

MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



Election in Baltimore, 1862.

By A. J. Volck. (See p. 240.)

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BALTIMORE

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ELECTION BY SWORD AND BALLOT: THE EMANCIPATIONIST VICTORY OF 1863^{*}

By CHARLES L. WAGANDT

“SIR, the State of Maryland has been sectionalized, just as the whole country has been sectionalized . . . the northern and western counties . . . are wantonly waging an aggressive war upon the institutions of Southern Maryland.”¹ The year was 1864, the speaker a defender of the static, agricultural society that dominated the southern two-thirds of Maryland’s twenty-one counties. Here lived 25% of the state’s white population and 84% of its slaves. To the north, in Baltimore and the counties bordering Pennsylvania, there

^{*} Copyright, 1964, by Charles L. Wagandt.

¹ *The Debates of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1864), I, 624.

flourished a different way of life. Slavery played such an insignificant role that they were known as the free counties. Commerce and industry thrived, aided by the thousands of Irish and German immigrants who had poured into the area.

Political recognition did not come with this growing population. The southern counties overwhelmingly controlled the Maryland Senate and mustered an equal number of seats on a joint ballot of the two-house legislature. Inevitably dissatisfaction arose, creating a sectional conflict reminiscent of the larger struggle between the northern and southern states.

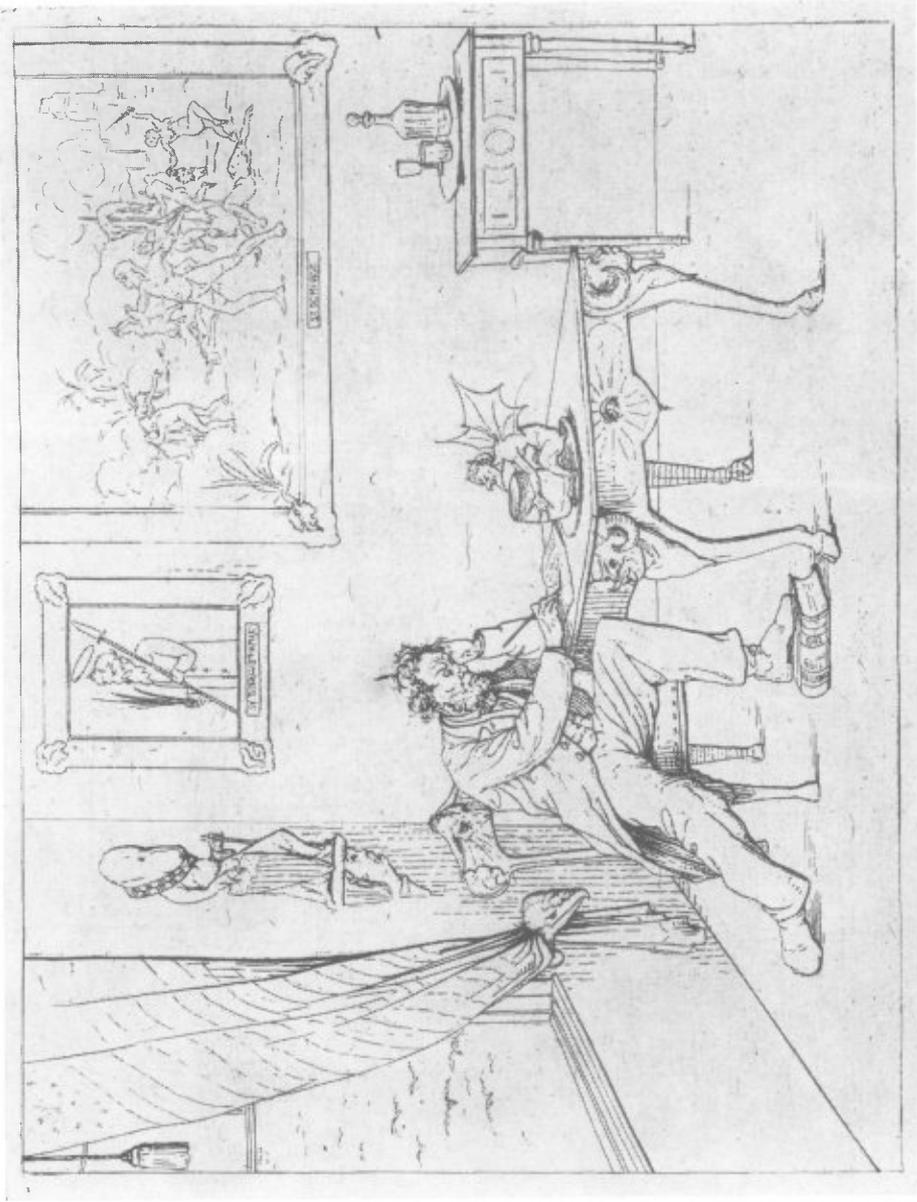
As in the nation, so in Maryland the war-time movement to free the slaves became a tool to overthrow the old social, economic, and political order. Of critical importance to the success of the campaign in Maryland was the election of November 4, 1863. At stake were a multitude of offices, including those of five Congressmen and all of the state legislators except ten senators.

Control of the legislature was vital. If the emancipationists failed to win both houses, then their cause was lost. Prospects in the northern counties and Baltimore looked good, but hopes waned in the counties directly south of the city. The tobacco country between the Potomac River and the Chesapeake Bay sympathized with the Confederacy. That meant the Eastern Shore must produce some successes if the emancipationists were to know victory. The Union had won the support of many of these counties in 1861, but tampering with the institution of slavery had irritated numerous loyal men. Among them was Congressman John Woodland Crisfield. An able and articulate advocate of the status quo, he was running for re-election against John A. J. Creswell,² a man backed by that stormy petrel of Maryland politics, radical Henry Winter Davis.

Prospects for a free election seemed cloudy. Crisfield listened to rumors of impending military action to influence the election. He asked Thomas Swann,³ chairman of the Union State

² John A. J. Creswell (1828-1891) later served as a United States Senator and a member of President Grant's cabinet.

³ Thomas Swann had already achieved prominence as president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and as mayor of Baltimore. In the fall of 1864 he was elected governor of Maryland.



WRITING THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION — Volck.

(See p. 240)

Central Committee, to call upon Lincoln.⁴ Unquestionably loyal and with contacts in high places, Swann could not easily be ignored, even by the President of the United States. The two men conferred in Washington on October 26. The gist of their discussion appeared in an exchange of letters in which Swann asked Lincoln for his views.⁵ The President retorted, "I am somewhat mortified that there could be any doubts of my views. . . . I wish all qualified voters . . . to have the undisturbed privilege of voting. . . ." ⁶

This was soothing news to conservatives, but foolish were they who took much comfort from it. Lincoln's wishes had been disregarded before, and the end was not yet.

The radicals intended to employ every means possible to achieve their purpose. A test oath of loyalty provided a handy weapon. Out of many counties came the plea for its use. A Harford Countian believed the swearing of every voter would help defeat conservative Unionists,⁷ who either supported slavery or sought only cautious steps to abolish it.

Other coercive measures were secretly planned. They involved arbitrary arrests and military pressure. These techniques aimed primarily at that stronghold of conservative Unionism—the Eastern Shore. Yet in that region there seemed little justification for federal intervention. No rebel invasion threatened the region nor was it included in the martial law declared in Maryland during General Robert E. Lee's invasion of the previous summer.

The radicals and their allies ignored such considerations. Many of them had come to regard conservative Unionists with as much hostility as rebels. This intolerance swept the more rabid into believing that everyone who did not parrot their views was an enemy of the state.

⁴ Maryland House of Delegates, *Report of the Committee on Elections, on Contested Elections in Somerset County, together with the Testimony taken before that Committee* (Annapolis, 1864), 24. Cited hereafter as *Elections in Somerset County*.

⁵ Thomas Swann to Abraham Lincoln, October 26, 1863, Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln, Library of Congress. Cited hereafter as Lincoln Collection.

⁶ Abraham Lincoln to Thomas Swann, October 27, 1863, Lincoln Collection.

⁷ Lewis T. Pyle to Robert C. Schenck, October 29, 1863, Record Group 98, Middle Department, Letters Received, 1863, 332, National Archives.

About two weeks before the election Winter Davis chatted about a military order that would elect Creswell—its announcement to be delayed as long as possible for fear “that old dotard,” Lincoln, might revoke it.⁸ The order, dated October 27, was quietly dispatched through the state but kept from public notice. To enforce it, at least ten soldiers were to be sent to every political sub-division that had a polling place. The commanding officer of each detachment was to report to the local provost marshal for instructions.⁹ These marshals were directed to help carry out the order¹⁰ and got broad powers to make arrests.

This was an intriguing move. The provost marshals sat on the politically saturated Boards of Enrollment whose agents reached into every election district of every County. The provost marshal in the Southern Maryland district doubled as a Congressional candidate, while his Eastern Shore counterpart, John Frazier, Jr., was running for clerk of the Circuit Court in Kent County. Many others on the radical-backed Unconditional Union¹¹ tickets on the Eastern Shore were closely linked to Davis and would greatly benefit by any intervention.

Information pertaining to troop movements planned for November 2, reached Governor Augustus W. Bradford on October 31. Believing there was no reason to expect violence, he concluded that the troops would be used for exerting “some control or influence” upon the election.¹² Bradford, a Unionist of conservative leanings, urged their countermanding, noting that all candidates were loyal except possibly two or three in one Congressional district. This did not justify federal interference. In other states citizens voted freely and in one case for a man so hostile to the Government that he had been exiled.

These thoughts Bradford put into a letter, which helped to

⁸ *Maryland Union* (Frederick, Maryland), March 10, 1864.

⁹ Instructions dated October 31, 1863, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps General Orders 1863. There is a copy in the Executive Papers in the Hall of Records, Annapolis.

¹⁰ James B. Fry, Provost Marshal General, to Major Noah L. Jeffries, Acting Provost Marshal General in Baltimore, October 31, 1863, copy in Augustus W. Bradford Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.

¹¹ Unconditional Unionists supported the Republican Administration in Washington and immediate emancipation in Maryland.

¹² Augustus W. Bradford to Abraham Lincoln, October 31, 1863, *Baltimore American*, November 3, 1863.

win from the President a suspension of the orders. Lincoln then instructed the responsible general to come to Washington.¹³ He was Major General Robert C. Schenck of Ohio, an ally of Winter Davis who had already won a seat in the next Congress.

Schenck wired Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton that he was taking the next train, leaving at 5 p. m. "Can I see you first on arrival. . . ?" he asked, warning that a revocation of his order would lose Maryland.¹⁴ A secessionist victory was impossible because of a lack of rebel candidates. Schenck was therefore indirectly admitting that the loss he feared was to conservative Unionists. That evening Schenck arrived at the White House and told Lincoln violence would almost surely occur unless prevented by "provost-guards." In some places Union men would not be willing to vote or put up a ticket unless assured protection.¹⁵

It is highly doubtful that Schenck heard these charges from any one but the unreliable Frazier and his associates. The military records at the National Archives disclose numerous requests for troops and test oaths to stop the ballots of the disloyal and the "Copperheads"¹⁶ but express no fear of violence.

Schenck claimed in his order, designated as General Orders No. 53, that there were "many evil disposed persons" in Maryland. Fearing that they might "foist enemies of the United States into power" he decreed:

I. That all provost marshals and other military Officers do arrest all such persons found at, or hanging about, or approaching any poll . . . on the 4th of November, 1863. . . . II. . . . [*and also*] support the judges of election . . . in requiring an oath of allegiance to the United States, as the test of citizenship of any one whose vote may be challenged on the ground that he is not loyal. . . .

¹³ Augustus W. Bradford to Reverdy Johnson, November 1, 1863, Reverdy Johnson Papers, Library of Congress.

¹⁴ Robert C. Schenck to Edwin M. Stanton, November 1, 1863, Lincoln Collection.

¹⁵ Abraham Lincoln to Augustus W. Bradford, November 2, 1863, Roy P. Basler (editor), *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1953), VI, 556. Cited hereafter as *Lincoln Works*.

¹⁶ "Copperhead" was the name pinned upon those who opposed the war and sought a negotiated peace.

The 188-word oath did not catechize one's past acts but pledged future loyalty to the United States. It involved swearing that unless official permission were granted, no communication would be held with any one in the Confederacy—a considerable hardship to those desiring to hear from relatives in the South. The third and final proviso required reporting to military headquarters any election judge who refused to compel a challenged voter to take the oath of allegiance.¹⁷

On November 2 Lincoln wired Bradford his decision about this order and followed with a more detailed letter of the same date. The President accepted his general's version of threatened violence and justified Schenck's prescribing an election oath unknown to the laws of the state. Lincoln believed the oath fair and gave an example: Major General Isaac Ridgeway "Trimble, captured fighting us at Gettysburg, is, without recanting his treason, a legal voter by the laws of Maryland. Even General Schenck's order admits him to vote, if he recants upon oath. I think that is cheap enough."

Lincoln did, however, revoke the first clause of Schenck's order, not because it was wrong in principle but because the military as exclusive judges of whom to arrest were liable to abuse the provision. He substituted in its place: "That all provost marshals and other military officers do prevent all disturbance and violence at or about the polls. . . ." This was more restrictive than Schenck's wide-ranging authorization for the arrest of any one in the polling area who was thought to be disloyal. Lincoln closed his letter with the assurance that "General Schenck is fully determined, and has my strict orders besides, that all loyal men may vote, and vote for whom they please."¹⁸

Lincoln doubtlessly did not see the order as a despotic exercise of force. He had already assumed vast powers in his struggle to save the Union. That which ordinarily would seem intolerable and unjust no longer stung so deeply. The war had caused the change. Nor could Lincoln easily forget

¹⁷ Schenck's General Order No. 53 was printed in numerous places, including the November 7, 1863 issues of *Baltimore County Advocate* and *Chestertown Transcript* (Kent County, Maryland).

¹⁸ Abraham Lincoln to Augustus W. Bradford, November 2, 1863, Lincoln Collection, or *Lincoln Works*, VI, 556-7.

the obstructionist tactics of Congressman Crisfield, the many pleas by Governor Bradford on behalf of slave owners, or the fact that Schenck seemed to be on the side of emancipation. The general's future presence in Congress must not be overlooked either. Despite these conjectures, it is possible that a more effective and detailed presentation would have won Lincoln to Bradford's side. If so, the radical attempt to prevent disclosure of the orders until the final hours largely succeeded.

Lincoln's statement about the oath-takers being allowed to vote could rightfully have aroused scoffing among Marylanders. For a long time army officers within the state had been ignoring, evading, or disobeying orders pertaining to the enlistment of slaves.

Governor Bradford had shown great annoyance at these military irregularities. Now he met the assault upon the purity of Maryland elections head-on. Parts of Schenck's order he denounced as "outrageous," even worse than rumor had led him to expect.¹⁹ Here a general was dictating orders pertaining to a Maryland election and doing it without consulting the governor.

On November 2 Bradford issued a lengthy proclamation to the citizens of the state, with special attention to the judges of election. Never in the last two years, he said justifiably, could sympathizers with treason have gained control of a single department of the state even if all of them had voted. He praised Maryland loyalty and reminded his readers that Maryland law forbade the appearance of troops within sight of a polls during an election. The power to preserve the peace belonged to the election judges, whom the state intended to protect. Bradford trusted the judges would "discharge their duty . . . undeterred by any orders to provost marshals to report them to 'headquarters.'"

After writing this section of his proclamation, Bradford received Lincoln's telegram modifying General Orders No. 53. This prompted the governor to append a three paragraph com-

¹⁹ Augustus W. Bradford to Reverdy Johnson, November 1, 1863, Reverdy Johnson Papers; Augustus W. Bradford to Abraham Lincoln, November 3, 1863, Lincoln Collection.

mentary that claimed the military were still left the "exclusive Judges" of whom to arrest. The army, he warned, was "as likely to provoke" disturbances "as to subdue such a disposition." Bradford could see no reason for changing his proclamation.²⁰

Caught in the middle were these very judges of election, who gained office as appointees of their county commissioners. The judges faced the dilemma of defying either the state or national authority. Neither Bradford nor the federal government would retreat.

When Schenck heard during the night of November 2 of Bradford's action, he at once stopped the sending of any telegrams pertaining to the governor's proclamation. Similar instructions forbade publication in the Baltimore daily papers.²¹ The *Baltimore American* got the order just in time. It had already set Bradford's proclamation in type.²² To clamp tighter the lid of censorship, Schenck refused to let any vessels leave the harbor for the Eastern Shore²³ and ordered a discreet suppression of any of Bradford's proclamations that might slip through.²⁴

Schenck was not yet finished. He wired Lincoln for copies of the latter's correspondence with Bradford. The President arose from bed, and clad in an overcoat, walked to his desk. There he fumbled sleepily for the letters. His secretary, John Hay, took them to the telegraph office for despatch that evening.²⁵

²⁰ The quotations in this and the preceding paragraph came from the governor's proclamation, *To the Citizens of the State, And More Especially the Judges of Election*, November 2, 1863. Among the many contemporary sources for this document was the *Baltimore American*, November 4, 1863.

²¹ *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Series III, Vol. 111, 983. Hereafter cited as *Official Records*.

²² *Baltimore American*, November 4, 1863.

²³ Dr. Samuel A. Harrison's Journal, Md. Hist. Soc., Pt. 2, 591, November 4, 1863; *Message of the Governor of Maryland to the General Assembly. January Session, 1864* (Annapolis, 1864), 32.

²⁴ Capt. D. P. Thruston to Lt. Col. C. Carroll Tevis, November 2, 1863, Record Group 98, Middle Department, Letters Sent, Vol. 30, 420-1; copy in Executive Papers.

²⁵ Robert C. Schenck to Abraham Lincoln, November 2, 1863, *Official Records*, Series III, Vol. III, 982-3; Tyler Dennett (editor), *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay* (New York, 1939), 115.

The next day Schenck, acting under the sting of Bradford's bold stand, stated his case in the broadside, "To the Loyal People of Maryland." Bradford's proclamation, he charged, encouraged "collision between the military power and the citizens. . . ." Therefore he had to restrict "its circulation in those parts of the State to be most affected by it," an obvious reference to the Eastern Shore. Thus did Schenck unintentionally confess his complicity in the radical scheme to win the election there. Yet the general called "unworthy of reply" Bradford's intimation "that my order might have been prompted by some other consideration than patriotic purpose or official duty. . . ." He intended only to prevent traitorous people from voting.

In claiming this single-minded and patriotic purpose, Schenck was either lying, indulging in a fantasy, or suffering from the bigoted belief that all who disagreed with him were disloyal. He tried to improve the appearance of his instructions by cautioning the men implementing the orders not to commit or allow "any unlawful violence," nor to discuss politics. The soldiers were to support the judges of election.²⁶ This last injunction particularly smacked of the equivocal because if the judges did their duty they would almost inevitably conflict with the military.

Having issued this rebuttal, General Schenck lifted the restrictions imposed upon the telegraph lines and the newspapers.²⁷ Whether by accident or, more likely, design, this step came too late on election eve, November 3, to allow any significant circulation of Bradford's document outside of Baltimore. No other city in the state published daily papers.

Despite these obstacles, Bradford's proclamation did reach much of the Eastern Shore. Benjamin F. May, a conservative Unionist who held the political appointment of inspector general of grain for Baltimore, rivaled Paul Revere in his race to inform the public. He left Baltimore Monday night, the 2nd

²⁶ For the source of Schenck's quotations, see his statement of November 3, 1863 "To the Loyal People of Maryland," *Official Records, Series III*, Vol. III, 988-990.

²⁷ Capt. (no name), A. A. A. G., to *Baltimore American*, November 3, 1863, Record Group 98, Middle Department, Letters Sent, Vol. 30, 423. Copies were sent to the *Sun*, *Clipper*, and *Gazette*, all of which were Baltimore papers. See also Capt. (no name), A. A. A. G., to Agent of the Independent Telegraph Line and American Telegraph Line, November 3, 1863, Vol. 30, 421.

of November, aboard the 8:30 P. M. express heading north. As the train passed through Elkton in Cecil County, he tossed out a package to a conservative Union candidate. That was at 11 o'clock. May traveled around the top of the Chesapeake Bay and then moved southward. By 4 the next afternoon he reached Salisbury in the southern part of the Eastern Shore. There he distributed copies of the proclamation and found a volunteer to supply several other voting places.

But May had not yet finished. Salisbury being the end of the railroad, he boarded the stage for Princess Anne, county seat of Somerset. Along the way he left copies at various stores, mills, and other places of habitation. He arrived at Princess Anne about 7:30, twenty-three hours after his departure from Baltimore. Hurrying to Crisfield's office, he found the Congressman surrounded by friends.²⁸

Crisfield needed all the comfort they could give. Only yesterday he had been in Salisbury addressing a crowd on fair day when a train arrived with two companies of troops, sent home to vote. Marching to the vicinity of the speaker's stand, they let loose a cheer for Crisfield's opponent.²⁹ The Congressman continued to talk. As he was finishing, another train pulled into town with an estimated 400 cavalymen under the command of Captain Charles C. Moore. The officer had with him General Orders No. 53, which he intended to promulgate and enforce.

This news greatly alarmed the people. Crisfield was "amazed" and no wonder. He believed Lincoln's assurances guaranteed there would be no armed force used in the election.³⁰ But even worse, Moore told Crisfield the next day of his intention to go beyond the letter of Schenck's order, arresting judges of election who failed to obey instructions instead of simply reporting them. As to the test oath, it would not assure the right to vote if there were reasonable doubts of a citizen's loyalty.³¹

²⁸ Benjamin F. May to Augustus W. Bradford, November 5, 1863, Executive Papers.

²⁹ *Elections in Somerset County*, 12.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 13. Moore allegedly admitted private instructions to arrest the judges of election if they did not obey Orders No. 53. See November 4, 1863 statement of Isaac D. Jones, verified by many others, in the Executive Papers and *Docu-*

With these gloomy events fresh in his mind, Crisfield took a copy of the governor's proclamation that May had brought and began reading it. The faces of those around him seemed to brighten. Who would go to the different election districts of Worcester and Somerset Counties, asked Crisfield. Back came the cry in unison, "I will go. I will go."³² Before 9 P. M. messengers were heading for all but one of the unsupplied districts. May felt confident that before sunrise of election day both counties had been informed.

But the exhilaration of this joint venture could not overcome the raw force brought to bear upon the actual election. At the Princess Anne polls appeared Captain Moore. He refused to recognize Lincoln's modification of Schenck's order or Bradford's proclamation because neither had been received officially.³³ This placed the election judges in a difficult position. The chief judge, John V. Pinto, called Moore to one side. Walking out the rear of the court house, they sat down on a bench. Pinto confessed he was troubled; "I feel like I am between two fires. . . ." Either he would have to violate his oath or incur the general's "displeasure."

Captain Moore had no words of comfort. He replied, "My dear sir, I do not suppose that you can feel half as unpleasantly as I do. Gladly would I be out of my present position if I could, but here I am. I have my orders and must obey them, peaceably if I can." Nothing gained, Pinto returned to the polls, which opened an hour late.³⁴

The judges having been sworn in, they called on the sheriff to preserve order. He quite naturally asked how to do it. Someone suggested summoning the bystanders, but another member of the crowd objected. The sheriff had no force capa-

ments Accompanying the Governor's Message to the Legislature of Maryland (Annapolis, 1864), 151-156. See also testimony of William J. Brittingham in the Proceedings of a Military Commission to Investigate and Report upon Captain Charles C. Moore's Conduct in Carrying Out General Orders No. 53. Judge Advocate General's Papers, National Archives. Cited hereafter as Military Commission Report upon Captain Charles C. Moore's Conduct.

³² Benjamin F. May to Augustus W. Bradford, November 5, 1863, Executive Papers.

³³ Statement of Isaac D. Jones, verified by many others, Executive Papers and *Documents Accompanying the Governor's Message*, 151-156.

³⁴ See Testimony of John V. Pinto and John W. Crisfield, *Elections in Somerset County*, 19 and 59.

ble of resisting Moore's. Soldiers were stationed from the door to where the judges presided, some 40 either bestriding the polls or within supporting range.³⁵

William J. Brittingham, who had declined the Unconditional Union nomination for register of wills, and was running instead on the Conservative Union legislative ticket, stepped forward as the first man to offer his ballot. Captain Moore challenged him and insisted on the administering of the oath. The judges complied under protest. Brittingham took the oath and cast his ballot. Next came forward Arthur Crisfield, son of the Congressman.

Again rang out the challenge of Captain Moore. Learning the voter's name, Moore began interrogating him. The quizzing in substance followed:

Capt. Moore—"Are you loyal?"

Mr. A. Crisfield—"I am."

Capt. Moore—"Have you ever been in the Rebel service?"

Mr. A. Crisfield—"No."

Capt. Moore—"Have you ever sympathized with those in rebellion against the Government?"

Mr. A. Crisfield—"I have never given aid, assistance or encouragement to the South."

And so it continued as the inquisitor pressed Crisfield to see if he supported *every* means for prosecuting the war—the implication doubtlessly being abolition. Crisfield stuck to his broad interpretation of the government's right to employ "all the means recognized by international law and civilized warfare within the limits of the Constitution and the laws of the country." At last Moore relented and ordered the oath administered.

An exasperated Pinto could restrain himself no longer. He told Moore that it was impossible to conduct an election in this manner: "We shall never get through." If the election could not be held in accordance with Maryland law, "we submit to arrest."³⁶ The refusal of the judges to obey Schenck's order brought just that—arrest by Moore.

³⁵ *Ibid.* and testimony of Isaac D. Jones and William J. Brittingham from aforementioned sources.

³⁶ The preceding quotations are from the testimony of Isaac D. Jones, November 4, 1863, Executive Papers and *Documents Accompanying the Governor's Message*, 151-156.



HOMEMADE CAMPAIGN BADGE 1860.

Lincoln's picture mounted on leather strip
and his name burned on it.

Courtesy the Smithsonian Institution.

(See p. 240)

Some of the crowd cheered the judges' stand. This Moore would not tolerate. Hands upon revolvers, he and his men seemed to expect an attack. A bugle sounded, and a half dozen more soldiers rushed in. The action quickly hushed the gathering. Moore later acknowledged that if he had been unable to quiet the demonstration, he would have opened fire.³⁷

The three captive judges went by carriage under an armed guard to Salisbury but did not long remain confined. Levin D. Collier, the deputy provost marshal for Somerset County, confessed his powerlessness to hold the prisoners and released them before sundown.³⁸ But Collier defended Moore. He told a military commission that if the captain had not made his arrests, "the Judges would have conducted the election to suit themselves. . . ." In other words, they would have abided by the laws of Maryland. According to Collier, this "would have been prejudicial to the good of the Government."³⁹ By such a distortion of the democratic process, any means could be justified for assuring the success of the Unconditional Union candidates, and Collier was only too happy to employ these means.

Collier gained an unenvied reputation among the conservatives for "petty tyranny." He publicly declared that no "damned Democrat vote" would be accepted⁴⁰ and threatened to arrest any one who dared to run as a candidate of that party. In the town of Salisbury some tickets were illegally examined and in a number of cases rejected.⁴¹

At the Deal's Island polls in the Tangier area an army sergeant held sway. He ordered the election judges to take the oath prescribed by General Orders No. 53 and pulled from his pocket a yellow paper; "this," he said, "is the only ticket that shall be voted today."⁴²

³⁷ Testimony of John W. Crisfield, *Elections in Somerset County*, 20.

³⁸ See *Elections in Somerset County* and George W. Parsons to Augustus W. Bradford, November 5, 1863 and John W. Crisfield to Montgomery Blair, November 8, 1863, Lincoln Collection.

³⁹ Testimony of Levin D. Collier, Military Commission Report upon Captain Charles C. Moore's Conduct.

⁴⁰ Testimony of C. S. Packard, *Elections in Somerset County*, 85.

⁴¹ J. H. Tarr to Augustus W. Bradford, November 12, 1863 and George W. Parsons to Augustus W. Bradford, November 5, 1863, Executive Papers, and *Documents Accompanying the Governor's Message*, 177-179, 189-190. The chief judge of election at the Salisbury polls, Jacob White, sanctioned the proceedings. He was a candidate for judge of Somerset County's Orphans Court.

⁴² Statement of Cyrus L. Jones, chief judge of election, John A. J. Creswell

The colored ticket proved particularly helpful to the radicals. It made identification of friend and foe quite simple because the Democrats and conservative Unionists used white paper. Such mockery of the principle of the secret ballot was possible because the government did not issue official ballots. Instead, each party or faction printed its own. A citizen picked the one he wanted and voted it. If there were names on the ticket that he did not like, he could cross them out and substitute his preferences. One man bragged that he had erased Crisfield's name from 22 tickets and put in Creswell's.⁴³ Another wrote his own ballot.⁴⁴ A straight ticket, however, predominated. That was probably why some political manipulators printed tickets with several regular nominees on them but with other candidates sprinkled in. The purpose was to snare the unsuspecting.

The heaviest handed tactics of Collier and his associates seemed directed at those polls where the Crisfield men should have run strongest.⁴⁵ In some districts, however, there was little intervention, and in one case armed citizens drove an army officer from the polls.⁴⁶

Crisfield carried the county by 691 to 348,⁴⁷ but this was not enough. Back in 1861 he had won handsomely, piling up 1991 ballots.⁴⁸ Thus he dropped from his previous race 1300 votes, home county support he could ill afford to lose. If it had not been for the heartening effect of the governor's proclamation, the Crisfield vote would likely have been more minute. But it was the Democrats who reaped the greatest benefit from the proclamation. It kept them from withdrawing their ticket. They swept the legislative and county offices as the rival Union slates divided the majority into losing portions.

Papers, III, Library of Congress and *Documents Accompanying the Governor's Message*, 171-2.

⁴³ J. P. [?] Fieroe to John A. J. Creswell, January 5, 1864, Creswell Papers.

⁴⁴ Testimony of George W. Parsons, *Elections in Somerset County*, 49.

⁴⁵ For details on the Somerset County election see documents in the Executive Papers, *Elections in Somerset County*, and *Documents Accompanying the Governor's Message*. The Democrats, incidentally, omitted the name of any Congressional candidate on their ticket.

⁴⁶ Testimony of Lieutenant George W. Burnes (or Barnes), Military Commission Report upon Captain Charles C. Moore's Conduct. See also testimony of Isaac Smith Lankford and Dr. George R. Dennis, *Elections in Somerset County*, 78.

⁴⁷ *Baltimore American*, November 13, 1863.

⁴⁸ Statement in Executive Papers.

Charges of electoral fraud also reverberated from Worcester, Somerset, and Kent, but none of the eight counties in the First Congressional District escaped some anguish. In Kent the conservative Unionists allegedly planned to elect their slate by arresting several persons for violating the slave code. Radical John Frazier, Jr. proposed to counter-attack by jailing the conspirators. In answer to this request, Lieutenant Colonel Charles Carroll Tevis got orders to make a number of arrests. He added others to the proscribed list and willingly accepted the story that the disaffected would try to grab the polls. As a consequence, he seized the arms of all "suspected persons."⁴⁹

Then came the *pièce de resistance*. Frazier wanted to reassure any laborers frightened by the conservative opposition. He drafted an order and got Tevis to sign it on grounds that the lieutenant colonel's name would be more effective than his.

The *Kent News* was "commanded" to print copies. Fifty were distributed to the five county election districts.⁵⁰ The order read:

Head-Quarters,
Third Maryland Cavalry,
Chestertown, November 2nd, 1863.

. . . it therefore becomes every truly loyal citizen to . . . [give] a full and ardent support to the whole Government ticket. . . . None other is recognized by the Federal authority as loyal or worthy of the support of any one who desires the peace and restoration of this Union.

Charles Carroll Tevis
Lt. Colonel Commanding.⁵¹

All men who wished to be considered loyal were thus instructed by the army to vote for the Unconditional Union ticket. Captain Frazier could not have asked for much more. No wonder he was said to be "strutting about the street."⁵² The arrests were also gratifying to the radicals, for they removed from political combat some leading conservative Unionists and

⁴⁹ C. Carroll Tevis to Donn Piatt, November 6, 1863, copy in Record Group 94, T261-1863 (Tevis), National Archives.

⁵⁰ *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D. C.), November 12, 1863.

⁵¹ Copy in Executive Papers.

⁵² George Vickers to Augustus W. Bradford, November 2, 1863, Executive Papers.

doubtlessly intimidated others. Such action tended to keep the vote small, a factor working to the radicals' advantage. Frazier had allegedly said that he would win the clerkship "if he got but ten votes."⁵³

The day before the election, Tevis ordered the *Nellie Pentz* to sail for Baltimore with "his caged birds."⁵⁴ Originally he intended transporting them on election day, but local sympathy for the prisoners and annoying requests to visit them changed his mind. He advanced the date. This turned into a massive blunder for the Frazier men.

The vessel arrived in Baltimore about nine that evening. The prisoners were taken to General Schenck's headquarters on Calvert Street, to be met by a surprised chief of staff, Lieutenant Colonel Donn Piatt. One of the captives proceeded to read Tevis' order on the "Government ticket." This was too much even for Piatt. Happy as he was to mount the rostrum on behalf of Unconditional Unionists and to apply military pressures on their behalf, he raged at Tevis' presumptuous violation of Lincoln's and Schenck's orders. Tevis, said the indignant Piatt, was "not much of a politician" even though he rated high as a soldier.⁵⁵ Piatt at once issued an order for Tevis to withdraw his decree and to comply with General Orders No. 53 "to the letter." He warned Tevis, "You will play the devil with us."⁵⁶

Piatt agreed to release the prisoners and rush them back home. But how were they to get there? The steamer that had brought them to Baltimore lacked enough coal for the return journey. Fortunately, the *Thomas Collyer* was about to head down the bay on its way to New Bern, North Carolina. The Kent Countians got aboard and in less than a four hours passage disembarked at Chestertown. The time was five o'clock, Wednesday morning, just four hours before the polls opened.⁵⁷ Wherever the news of their arrival reached, it must have greatly relieved anxious and indignant conservatives.

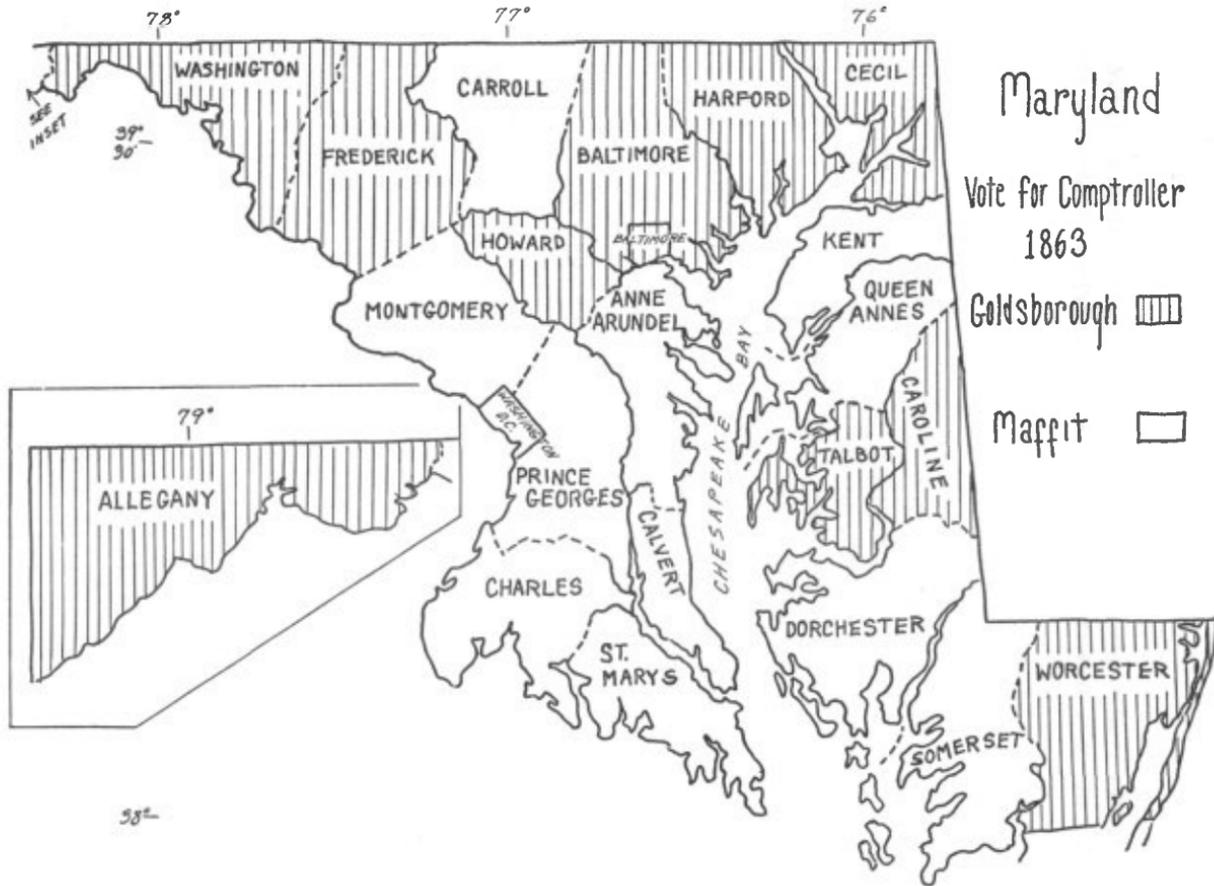
⁵³ *National Intelligencer*, November 12, 1863.

⁵⁴ C. Carroll Tevis to Donn Piatt, November 2, 1863, Record Group 98, Middle Department, Letters Received, 1863, T254.

⁵⁵ *National Intelligencer*, November 12, 1863.

⁵⁶ Donn Piatt to C. Carroll Tevis, November 3, 1863, Record Group 98, Middle Department, Letters Received, 1863, 389 (copy in Executive Papers).

⁵⁷ *National Intelligencer*, November 12, 1863.



Maryland

Vote for Comptroller
1863

Goldsborough 

Maffit 

Map by Mary W. Lord.

Nevertheless, the vote was one third that of four years before. At the polls of all five districts appeared military detachments. Though for the most part the soldiers behaved well, officers challenged voters and in one case examined ballots. Apparently, however, no one lost the franchise if he took the oath.

Tevis continued his efforts to influence the voting. Then came instructions from Baltimore for the arrest of Tevis and Frazier.⁵⁸ What a shock! Their hopes and dreams tumbled before them. To add to their woe, the Conservative Unionist slate swept the county, beating the partially filled Democratic ticket and trouncing the Unconditional Unionists. Frazier suffered a particularly crushing defeat at the hands of one of the prisoners sent to Baltimore.

Elsewhere on the Eastern Shore Frazier's minions devised a variety of ways for squeezing Unconditional majorities out of a sometimes reluctant populace. His cohorts worked to get friendly service men furloughed to vote. In other cases they assured politically helpful draftees they would be replaced in the service by Negroes. This action was vitally important. One official said it would give the radicals "character as the poor man's friend. . . ." ⁵⁹

There were other ways to bargain for votes. One politician knew of 400 men in Caroline County who could "be reached," the means being money. The Unconditional Unionists spent about \$2400 in that county alone.⁶⁰ And Frazier was reported to have said that the bayonet could accomplish whatever the "greenbacks" could not.⁶¹

Despite the fraudulent practices directed at his candidacy,

⁵⁸ Lt. Col. Wm. H. Chesebrough to Lt. Col. C. Carroll Tevis, November 4, 1863, Record Group 98, Middle Department, Letters Sent, Vol. 30, 423. Back in Baltimore Piatt hoped to salvage Tevis but expressed a willingness to sacrifice Frazier (Donn Piatt to C. Carroll Tevis, November 4, 1863, copy in Executive Papers). Five days later Tevis won release from arrest with only an official rebuke to remind him of his indiscretion (Endorsement of report on Lt. Col. C. Carroll Tevis by Lt. Col. Wm. H. Chesebrough by command of Maj. Gen. Robert C. Schenck, November 9, 1863, Record Group 94, T261-1863 Tevis). As for Frazier, he was allowed to resume his duties, pending a final decision, that became enmeshed in a long political fight.

⁵⁹ Thomas A. Timmons to John A. J. Creswell, November 8, 1863, Creswell Papers, Vol. II.

⁶⁰ George Russum to John A. J. Creswell, March 15, 1864, Creswell Papers.

⁶¹ George Vickers to Augustus W. Bradford, October 22, 1863, Bradford Papers.

Crisfield won half the counties in the first Congressional District. He lost, however, because his opponent was able to roll up 20-25% more votes.

In the Fifth Congressional District, centered upon the southern part of the western shore, the distress calls were few and the drop in votes smaller. Yet the region embraced the largest disloyal area within the state. Because of relative freedom at the polls, the Democratic Congressional candidate was able to capitalize upon a split Union vote and sweep to victory.

In the northern counties the vote was off. Harford County polled less than half of its November, 1861 totals, but the blame could not be placed just on military orders. The great majority of the regularly nominated Union candidates were unopposed. Therefore the race lacked drawing power. In Allegany, Maryland's westernmost county, the voter turnout was, however, relatively full. No reports of irregularities appeared other than the case of some citizens who refused the oath and were not allowed to vote.

State-wide, on the average, only 60% as many Marylanders voted as in the four previous elections. The results sent four Unconditional Unionists and one Democrat to Congress. As to Maryland's legislative body, 47 of the 74 seats in the House of Delegates fell to the emancipationists, while another five to eight went to men pledged to a referendum on a constitutional convention. This was an essential step toward the achievement of abolition. Of the twelve state senate seats up for election, nine went to emancipationists, thereby giving them a workable margin.⁶²

Equally significant was Henry H. Goldsborough's thumping victory as comptroller over incumbent Samuel S. Maffit, the margin being $2\frac{1}{4}$ to 1. Goldsborough symbolized Unconditional Unionism and the demand for immediate action on ridding the state of slavery. Maffit personified those who wished to stand pat or, at the most, move as slowly as possible. But Maffit also got support from some moderate emancipationists who respected his unquestioned excellence as comptroller and accepted him as the regular nominee of the Union Party.

⁶² *Baltimore American*, November 12, 1863; *Civilian and Telegraph* (Cumberland, Md.), November 19, 1863.

Therefore it can be assumed that a majority of Marylanders would have favored some form of emancipation even if all southern sympathizers had been allowed to vote.

These results deeply interested the Administration in Washington. The President earnestly desired emancipation for Maryland and believed the goal would be militarily significant. It would demonstrate to the South that Maryland was lost to it forever.

The dead hand of the slavocracy thus was broken in the election of 1863, but in the upheaval democratic traditions had been shaken by arbitrary power and corruption. Without federal interference the Maryland Senate, based on inequitable representation, might have been won by the pro-slavery men. It could then have blocked any legislation looking toward a constitutional convention. The election mingled the elements of the lofty and the profane as it heralded a political revolution of great impact upon social and economic life.

Nor can the vital role of the war be forgotten. Had it been brief and less costly in lives and material, the emancipation movement could never have achieved success in that era, either in the nation or in Maryland. Necessity drove men to positions they formerly scorned, forcing people to trample upon their most cherished customs and prejudices. And so the fiery cataclysm of civil war lit the torch of freedom that burned away the bonds of slavery.

POLITICAL VIEWS OF MARYLAND LEGISLATURES ELECTED IN
NOVEMBER 1863

VOTE FOR COMPTROLLER

<i>Northern Counties</i>	<i>Senate</i>	<i>House of Delegates</i>	Unconditional		Total	1859 Total Vote for Comptroller
			Union GOLDS- BOROUGH	Union MAFFIT		
Allegany	Emancipation	Emancipation	3,162	1,013	4,175	4,508
Baltimore County	Pledged to Convention	Emancipation	2,785	474	3,259	6,947
Carroll	Emancipation	Pledged to Convention	1,617	1,912	3,529	4,733
Cecil	Emancipation	Emancipation	2,231	1,556	3,787	4,024
Frederick	For Convention *	Emancipation	3,985	751	4,736	7,422
Harford	Emancipation	Emancipation	1,173	326	1,499	3,738
Washington	Emancipation *	Emancipation	3,362	65	3,427	5,712
			<u>18,315</u>	<u>6,097</u>	<u>24,412</u>	<u>37,084</u>
 <i>Southern Counties</i>						
Anne Arundel	Union *	Democrat & Slavery	561	1,141	1,702	2,222
Calvert	Democrat & Slavery *	Democrat & Slavery	86	692	778	908
Charles	Democrat & Slavery *	Democrat & Slavery	41	479	520	1,170
Howard	Emancipation	Union	472	443	915	1,615
Montgomery	Union *	Democrat & Slavery	769	960	1,729	2,516
Prince Georges	Union *	Democrat & Slavery	140	1,039	1,179	1,833
St. Mary's	Democrat & Slavery *	Democrat & Slavery	270	737	1,007	1,413
			<u>2,339</u>	<u>5,491</u>	<u>7,830</u>	<u>11,677</u>

POLITICAL VIEWS OF MARYLAND LEGISLATORS ELECTED IN
NOVEMBER, 1863

<i>Eastern Shore Counties</i>	<i>Senate</i>	<i>House of Delegates</i>
Caroline	Union *	Emancipation
Dorchester	Emancipation	Emancipation
Kent	Pledged to Convention	Union
Queen Anne's	Union	Union
Somerset	Union *	Democrat & Slavery
Talbot	Emancipation	Emancipation
Worcester	Emancipation	Emancipation
Baltimore City	Emancipation	Emancipation

	Senate	House
Emancipation	10	47
Pledged to Convention	2	5
Union, unpledged	6	4
Democrat & Slavery	3	18
	<u>21</u>	<u>74</u>

* Senate Seats held by virtue of a previous election.

Men pledged to a convention were more conservative than immediate emancipationists but could be relied on to vote for a public referendum on a Constitutional Convention. Without the convention there could be no abolition.

This break-down is based on an analysis in *Baltimore American*, November 12, 1863.

VOTE FOR COMPTROLLER

	Unconditional Union GOLDS- BOROUGH	Union MAFFIT	Total	1859 Total Vote for Comptroller
	868	469	1,337	1,614
	773	864	1,637	2,413
	286	785	1,071	1,608
	328	540	868	1,873
	350	700	1,050	2,938
	672	39	711	1,696
	<u>1,267</u>	<u>528</u>	<u>1,795</u>	<u>2,817</u>
	4,544	3,925	8,469	14,959
	10,942	368	11,310	23,453
Grand Total	36,140	15,881	52,021	87,173

The 1863 comptroller vote as a percentage of the 1859 tally showed:

Eastern Shore	56.6%
Southern Maryland	67.1%
Northern & Western Maryland	65.8%
Baltimore City	48.2%
Average	60.0%

The Goldsborough-Maffit results are based primarily on the *Baltimore Sun*, November 13, 1863, with reference also to the *Baltimore American* of the same date. As the official totals showed Goldsborough getting 36,360 votes and Maffit 15,984 (announced in *Baltimore American*, November 20, 1863), it is obvious that there are slight discrepancies in the figures listed here. Nonetheless, the relativity of the various tallies, which is the important factor, is clear. For the 1859 vote see James Wingate, *The Maryland Register, for 1860-'61* (Baltimore, 1860), 8 (back of book).

LINCOLN'S WESTERN IMAGE IN THE 1860 CAMPAIGN

By PATRICIA HOCHWALT WYNNE

AMERICANS of 1860 were interested in many things. They talked of expanding railroads, the unsuccessful Atlantic cable, the Pony Express, patent medicines, the slavery issue, and smallpox. John Brown was a heated topic of conversation; immigrants and natives alike made allusions to the opportunities in the Far West. Garibaldi and Italian independence evoked prodigious discussion in the newspapers, as did the visiting dignitaries from Japan, and the massacre of British Christians in Damascus. Gossips in New York and Boston whispered that the Prince of Wales had lost his heart to an American girl, while citizens of Washington discussed the erection of the Washington Monument. A new game called rounders or baseball interested them. But most of all conversations were occupied with the quadrennial occupation of choosing a president.

"As our party-creeds are commonly represented less by ideas than by persons (who are assumed, without too close a scrutiny to be the exponents of certain ideas), our politics become personal and narrow to a degree never paralleled, unless in ancient Athens or medieval Florence."¹ One might assume that the preceding statement came from the pen of a contemporary political analyst, when, in fact, it was made by James Russell Lowell over a hundred years ago, shortly before the November 6, 1860, election. In an era which thrived on heated partisan politics there was a wealth of incentives for a particularly bitter campaign. No avid campaigner felt the necessity of preserving the dignity of semantics when discussing the opposition, and due to the unique division of the parties in 1860,

¹ James Russell Lowell, "The Election in November," *The Atlantic Monthly*, VI (October, 1860), 492.

and candidate's personality, as much as his politics, received the brunt of the attack.

Against his three main opponents, John Breckenridge, John Bell and Stephen Douglas, Abraham Lincoln apparently lacked the necessary qualification one expected to find in an aspirant to the Presidency. He was a country lawyer with only slight legislative experience in his own state of Illinois and a single uneventful term in the United States Congress to his credit. Most of the Republican leaders had not desired his nomination to head the infant Republican ticket. However, November 6 concluded the campaign of 1860 and gave the country its first Republican president, and its first Chief Executive born outside the thirteen original states.² While many observers sensed inauspicious omens if Lincoln should become the president, others saw only the "ballyhoo" and "hoopla" directed toward them from four sides. Thus, the leading candidates for the Presidency in 1860 were thrown upon the public in praise and verbal blasts and in song and poetry.

Today's campaign manager consciously creates diverse images of his candidate in order that each segment of the public may find something irresistible in him; this is accepted and considered to be the normal procedure in politics, and not to use the technique would disillusion the public. Some might consider this to be an invention of the twentieth century, albeit the pattern was designed long ago in our political past. While Lincoln remained in virtual seclusion in Springfield, his campaign managers devised a successful array of "images" of the candidate with which they deluged the public. An astounding array of biographies, songs, speeches, rallies, clubs and parades were used to this end. In many cases these images were adjusted to the section of the country to which they were directed, and at other times they were standardized to solicit the support of all.

Of the many images which were presented to the public during the summer of 1860—the people's choice, Honest Abe, a product of free American institutions, not to mention the various images of Lincoln through his photographs—the theme of "Old Abe of the West" represented a popular refrain in

² Melvin Hayes, *Mr. Lincoln Runs for President* (New York, 1960), p. 213.

the campaign of 1860. The nomination of Lincoln as the Republican candidate appeared at first to have been a great triumph of the Western elements of the party over the Eastern, but in fact the convention had been Western-oriented from the beginning. That the largest metropolis of the West, Chicago, entertained the convention was significant in itself; the name of the convention hall, the "Wigwam," carried implications of the West. Thus the nomination of a Western candidate appeared to complete the theme which the Republican convention had pursued. If the Republican leaders had felt that the emphasizing of Lincoln as a "man of the West" presented a deterrent to his election, they quickly reversed their views and assumed a positive approach by stressing the heroic aspect of Lincoln's Western heritage. Doubtless, the Harrison campaign had acquainted the public with a portion of Western life, albeit some of it was not remembered in an altogether favorable light; but the image of an American pioneer still retained its heroic allure.

That this image of the Western man was advanced is immediately obvious from the many newspaper headlines publicizing Lincoln's nomination. The *Chicago Press and Tribune* on May 19, the day after Lincoln's nomination, had carried a headline, "Log Cabins and Hard Cider Come Again!"³ The *Weekly Illinois State Journal*, in Lincoln's home town of Springfield, echoed this thought in its June seventh edition: "Hard Cider Times of 1840 Returned."⁴ However, it appears that this particular aspect of the West was regarded with disdain by the East, for it was quickly played down, and the emphasis transferred to the picture of the "heroic" man of the West who was also a sophisticated intellectual. The *New York Daily Tribune* early effused: "Abe Lincoln, [*combines*] the intellectual power of a giant with the simple habits of a backwoods farmer; the genuine whole-souled manliness of a Kentucky-born, Western-raised, self-educated, and self-made man, will be hugged to the people's hearts like a second Andrew Jackson. He has the magnetism of genius in him; his mien is genial and dignified; his wit is natural and unaffected, and he

³ *Press and Tribune* (Chicago), May 19, 1860.

⁴ *Weekly Illinois State Journal*, June 7, 1860.

drops in the most casual way some of the more terse and epigrammatic expressions that ever fell from human lips.”⁵

In New York the stress was on Lincoln's noble characteristics. “Dignity,” “wit,” and “manliness” are the Western attributes which place him above the average. An upstate New York paper, the *Troy Daily Times* stated: “Mr. Lincoln is a representative Western man; a candid, devoted and earnest advocate of Republican principles and free from all prejudices which weaken and overthrow great men who had been long in the field of politics.”⁶

The May twenty-third edition of the *New York Evening Post* hastily reassured its readers that Lincoln abstained from the undesirable habits usually associated with “log cabins”: “Mr. Lincoln's early life, as you know, was passed in the roughest kind of experience on the frontier, and among the roughest sort of people, yet in the face of all these influences, he is strictly a temperate man, never using wine or other strong drink; and stranger still he does not ‘twist the filthy weed’ nor smoke or use profane language. When we consider how common these vices are all over the country, particularly in the West, it must be admitted that it exhibits no little strength of character to have refrained from them.”⁷

Political cartoons often depicted Lincoln in the dress of a Westerner to contrast with the usual Eastern clothes of the other candidates. Louis Maurer of the New York firm of Currier and Ives was particularly adept at portraying Lincoln as a rough, carelessly dressed Westerner. Three of his cartoons, entitled, “Taking the Stump,”⁸ “Uncle Sam Making New Arrangements,”⁹ and “Political ‘Blondins’ Crossing Salt River”¹⁰ picture all the men except Lincoln dressed as conservative politicians, while Lincoln, appears as the informal Westerner. In each cartoon he is depicted with tousled hair (obviously copied from the early 1857 Hesler photograph), dressed only in an opened-necked shirt and plain trousers, con-

⁵ *Tribune* (New York), May 21, 1860.

⁶ Wayne C. Williams, *A Rail Splitter for President* (Denver, Colo., 1951), p. 57.

⁷ *Evening Post* (New York), May 23, 1860.

⁸ Rufus Rockwell Wilson, *Lincoln in Caricature* (New York, 1953), p. 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

trasting sharply with the coats, ties, and vests of the other men in the cartoons. Doubtless, the New Yorkers who bought these cartoons noticed Lincoln's unkept appearance and seeming lack of taste. These cartoons, distributed by Currier and Ives, numbered only three of the many which the New York firm issued during the campaign. To facilitate the distribution of these lithographs, each morning, Currier and Ives sent out pushcart vendors from their main store to sell the cartoons for a nominal sum. This was a means of disseminating the pictures of important news events quickly and cheaply.

While the Eastern newspapers announced Lincoln's respectable Western heritage, a poem dedicated to the "Wide-Awakes," a semi-military organization well known for their Lincoln rallies, extolled his Western traits in language meant for the man who personally knew the hardships of the West:

Once more—if some youth who may list to my song,
Guides an unwieldy flat-boat the river along,
Or sweats, like a Trojan at splitting of rails,
And braves, like a hero, adversity's gales;—
Who always is true to the dictates of right;
With no guilt of conscience to haunt him at night;
Who modest and truthful, will do what he can
To overcome evil and elevate man;—
O, let it console him, if e'er he's deprest [*sic*]
To think of the lucky *Old Boy of the West!*¹¹

At a general meeting held in Springfield, Illinois, one speaker, Richard Yates, explained to Lincoln's neighbors that his nomination represented a culmination of the growth of Illinois. The one-time frontier had acquired new prestige by presenting a man for the Presidency who embodied the old, noble traits of the founding fathers:

Now, fellow citizens, it may strike you as rather a strange matter that the people of so great a nation as this should come to Illinois for its President—that the mighty Republican party should look to this far-away Prairie State for its standard bearer in such a momentous contest. If you are surprised at this—if you are surprised to find such a man in your very midst, it is because you are in the

¹¹ Almon H. Benedict, *A 'Wide-Awake' Poem* (Cortland Village N. Y., 1860), p. 14.

habit of looking at him as men look at mountains who live close at their bases, losing sight of their grand outline. . . . I have heard the most renown [*sic*] orators on the floor of the Senate and House daily for years; and I say here today, that for thought, for power of irresistible logic, for broad, comprehensive, statesman-like views, for exalted purity of private and public character your own Abraham Lincoln is the clearest, noblest, purest and best of them all. (Great and profound applause.) . . . The name of Abraham Lincoln is this day and hour the mightiest name upon the continent of North America. (Prolonged cheers.)¹²

At a rally held in Washington, D. C., to congratulate Hannibal Hamlin on his nomination for vice-president, a representative from Pennsylvania paid an Easterner's tribute to Lincoln's pioneer spirit:

My state is Union-loving and conservative . . . she has therefore looked around her for some . . . man and has heard of a citizen of Kentucky, born on her soil, a pioneer of the Western wilderness—she has heard of the nomination of Abraham Lincoln with unfeigned gratification. (Applause.) She believes that Abraham Lincoln is the man for the times and marches breast up with the advancing wave of civilization and liberty.¹³

At a meeting in Independence Square in Philadelphia the Hon. William Dunn of Indiana explained the name "Old Abe": "Out West, fellow-citizens, we use that word [old] not as signifying "aged" but as a word of friendship . . . 'Old Abe' is only fifty-one . . . in the very prime of manly vigor, ready to take hold of the helm of State and guide it."¹⁴ A voice from the audience called out, "Just like old Jackson," which prompted the orator to eulogize the candidate in these words: "Yes, he is of the Old Hickory stamp. He was trained in the same kind of school as that in which General Jackson grew up. He was a Western pioneer. He grew up among the big trees. . . . But he triumphed over those giants of the

¹² Hon. Richard Yates, Speech delivered at the Republican Ratification Meeting of the citizens of Sangamon County, June 7, 1860 (Springfield, Ill., 1860), pp. 1-2.

¹³ *Life and Public Services of Hon. Abraham Lincoln of Illinois and Hon. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine* (Boston, 1860), p. 126.

¹⁴ Hon. William McKee Dunn, "The Republican Party and the Republican Candidate for President," Speech delivered in Philadelphia, Pa., May 26, 1860 (Washington, D. C., 1860).

forests as he has triumphed over all the giants he has since encountered (Applause). . . . His heart was first educated and afterwards his head (Applause)."¹⁵

That segment of the population which invested in one of the many campaign "Lives of Lincoln" which were written during the campaign could read that "Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, was a genuine scion of the 'Westland' and might therefore be regarded as a representative man . . . characteristic of our Western Pioneers, Abraham Lincoln stands today [*sic*] . . . a representative of the early Western stock, the hunter, farmer, and pioneer. . . . Not only in character but in person is Abraham Lincoln a type of the West. Tall and loose-joined, with large bones, the person of the future Hoosier President will attract attention everywhere."¹⁶ Describing his talents as an orator the same biography continued:

Mr. Lincoln is one of the most effective of 'stump speakers.' He understands well how to move the hearts of people more powerfully affected and controlled by the fiery eye, the working features, the speaking tongue, and the many magnetic elements which go to make up the orator, than possibly any other people on the face of the earth . . . qualities of earnestness, enthusiasm, evident sincerity, large knowledge of men, quick perception of the humorous and a ready application of his faculties to the surrounding circumstances. All these make him a powerful and popular speaker of the Western school."¹⁷

Other readers who had never experienced the hardships of frontier life might have read with sympathy descriptions written by John Scripps, one of the better campaign biographies, of shipping cargo by flatboats or warding off Indian attacks which had since disappeared from the scene:

While the order lasted . . . the business of shipping by flatboats was maintained on all the Western rivers. . . . The business itself was one of exposure, of hard labor, and of constant peril. It developed and nurtured a race of men peculiar for courage, herculean strength, hardihood, and great contempt of danger. Western annals abound in stories of these men. As a class they

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Life and Public Services of Hon. Abraham Lincoln of Illinois and Hon. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

have become extinct, and the world will never see their like again; but their memory remains and will constitute a part of the country's history, and mingle with our national romance forever. This much is necessary to say for the benefit of the uninitiated reader, by way of preface to some account of young Lincoln's experience.¹⁸

While Robert Barnwell Rhett's radical Charleston *Mercury* hinted that the Republicans were "enraged over the nomination of the green backwoodsman of Illinois,"¹⁹ the Philadelphia *Inquirer* reported that he was ". . . a true type of the sturdy pioneer who settled the Western wilderness and made it blossom like a rose."²⁰ And the Springfield Illinois *State Journal*, publicizing a rally for Lincoln, printed a drawing of an elephant in high boots carrying signs stating, "We are Coming!" "Clear the Track." The headlines read: "A Political Earthquake! The Prairies on Fire for Lincoln."²¹

The prairies were indeed on fire for him, but the flames came from the throats of Republicans all over the country. "The opposition," declared one author, "insisted the Republicans were determined to make up in song what their nomination lacked in reason, but they would sing small in November."²²

Little regard was given to the enduring popularity of these campaign ballads. Rather, their purpose appears to lie in evoking what we of the present day would term, "audience participation." The numerous song books contained little differences in content, but multitudinous variations on the same theme. In an era when society, particularly rural society, met for the purpose to entertain as well as to be entertained, it becomes obvious why these ballads enjoyed their popularity. The theme of Lincoln as a man of the West repeated itself throughout many of these songs.

One such ballad, sung to the accompaniment of "Vive la Companie" went like this:

Come all ye bold freemen and join in our song,
Hurrah for old Abe of the West!

¹⁸ John L. Scripps, *Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Chicago, 1860), p. 49.

¹⁹ *Mercury* (Charleston), May 23, 1860.

²⁰ Robert S. Harper, *Lincoln and the Press* (New York, 1951), p. 55.

²¹ Osborn Oldroyd, *The Great Republican Campaigns of 1860 and 1896* (Chicago, 1896), p. 85.

²² Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

While millions of voices the strain will prolong,
 Hurrah for old Abe of the West!
 Honest and pure is our champion's name
 Stainless his scutcheon and noble his frame
 Hurrah for old Abe, Hurrah for old Abe,
 Hurrah for old Abe of the West!²³

Another called "Lincoln of the West," written for the Fairfield (Connecticut) Republican Club, ended:

For Lincoln of the West, my boys,
 For Lincoln of the West
 The Champion of Freedom's cause
 Is Lincoln of the West!²⁴

And in Philadelphia the lyrics to the "People's Campaign Song" were:

The People are rising in their might—
 With brave Lincoln for their leader,
 bold Western Pioneer
 Long familiar with hardships, and with peril,
 toil and pain
 His worth its just made has secured.²⁵

One can well imagine the popularity of:

The West is bound to have the next President,
 Have the next President, have the next President,
 The West is bound to have the next President,
 and Lincoln is the man.²⁶

Or, with a variation of lyrics:

Old Abe Lincoln came out of the Wilderness
 Out of the Wilderness, Out of the Wilderness;
 Old Abe Lincoln came out of the Wilderness
 Down in Illinoy!²⁷

From the places of origin of these effusions it appears that the use of Lincoln as a figure of the West was equally popular on both sides of the Mississippi. In a day before the advent of the realist school, it was imperative to romanticize all facets of

²³ *The Lincoln and Hamlin Songster* (Philadelphia, 1860), pp. 9-10.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁶ Oldroyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-166.

²⁷ Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

life. The song writers of the campaign followed this tradition and gave to even the most menial chores an extravagant new meaning, as in "The Wood-Chopper of the West":

The woodman is a pioneer
 And he will cut a pathway clear
 From Illinois to Washington.
 Fence out the wrongs of power and place;
 Fence in the rights of all the race;
 Fence out the greedy hand that steals,
 Fence in the noble heart that feels.²⁸

"The Star Spangled Banner" received many new interpretations. One of these, retitled "Honest Abe of the West" was evidently calculated to stir even the most callous Republican heart:

The spirit that fought for the patriots of old
 Has swept through the land and aroused us forever;
 In the pure air of heaven a standard unfold
 Fit to marshal us on to the sacred endeavor!
 Proudly a banner of freemen we bear;
 Noble the hopes that encircle it there!
 And where battle is thickest we follow the crest
 Of gallant Old Abe, Honest Abe of the West!²⁹

"The Taller Man Well Skilled" boasted:

I shall go for Abraham Lincoln,
 the Farm-hand, the Flat-boatman,
 the Rail-splitter, the Surveyor,
 the Legislator, the Soldier,
 the Member of Congress,
 the prospective President of the
 United States.
 Then go with me for the tall man of
 the West!³⁰

While still another sang:

There was an old hero, and they called him honest Abe,
 And he lived out West, out West
 Work was his pleasure ever since he was a babe.³¹

²⁸ Oldroyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-182.

²⁹ *The Lincoln and Hamlin Songster*, pp. 5-6.

³⁰ *The 'Wide-Awake' Vocalist* (New York, 1860), p. 29.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

One can easily imagine the "Wide-Awake" meeting or ratification rally which might have concluded with this song to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne":

Old Abe was a pioneer
 His cabin in the wood
 He felled the trees, he shot the deer--
 The work he did was good.
 Old Abe is a working man,
 He knows the sons of toil
 Old Abe is an honest man
 All bribes he'll flee and shun.³²

For those who enjoyed an informal musicale in the front parlor with their friends, sheet music companies eagerly provided material. A Boston music company, perhaps feeling that all branches of society would not be disposed toward political ballads, published in sheet music a stirring selection called, "The 'Wigwam' Grand March," dedicated to the "Republican Presidential Candidate, Hon. Abraham Lincoln." The cover carried a distinguished portrait of Lincoln with scenes of Washington and Illinois in the two top corners, while the two lower corners pictured men engaged in chopping wood and splitting rails.³³

Campaign medallions or pocket pieces carrying a likeness of Lincoln on one side emphasized various campaign slogans. One such medallion split Lincoln's name in order to denote both the presidential and vice presidential candidates. Above the profile of Lincoln was inscribed: "*Abr-ham Lin-coln*" [italics mine]. Below was printed: "Honest Abe of the West."³⁴ On the reverse would be printed sponsoring dealers' names, such as D. Venten's Needle Threaders, and Robbins, Royce and Hard Wholesale Dealers in Dry Goods, who combined advertisement and politics. Salesmen dispensed the medallions as gifts from their company in areas where Lincoln was popular.

³² *The Lincoln and Hamlin Songster*, pp. 13-15.

³³ "The 'Wigwam' Grand March," Sheet Music, Stern Collection, Rare Book Div., Library of Congress.

³⁴ Doyle DeWitt, *A Century of Campaign Buttons 1789-1889* (Hartford, Conn., 1959), p. 151. Similar campaign medallions are in the possession of the Divisions of Political History and Numismatics, Department of Civil History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

Because the worship of an extravagant and heroic figure was traditional in American political history, as is witnessed by "Old Hickory," "Rough and Ready," Davy Crockett and Sam Houston, the opposition was not so quick to condemn this popular theme which had developed with the frontier. Rather, the opposition attempted to disprove the heroics of Lincoln's past. For example, the New York *Herald*, the leading bulletin for the opposition, on July 9 printed a story of Lincoln's "record" during the Blackhawk War: "Lincoln refused three calls to enlist for that war and went into a company of high privates that hung upon the outskirts of the army and was in disrepute; that Lincoln's company had no battles, no captures; that Lincoln was esteemed a good 'camp soldier'; he could crack a joke better than he could train an Indian; he was the life of the mess around the camp fire at night. . . . Lincoln commenced his public life by working in a still house making corn whiskey in a log cabin down on the Sangamon river in Illinois. . . . The profits of this trade led him to establish a liquor grocery. . . . He always did his part of the drinking and was hailed as a jolly fellow."³⁵

Another *Herald* editorial on "Electioneering Devices" ridiculed the Republicans for some of their campaign publicity: "The Republicans are endeavoring to strengthen a weak nomination by some of the electioneering touches borrowed from former campaigns. They are resorting to the building of wigwams. There is no sort of connection between wigwams and Abraham Lincoln's career. The only chance he ever had of seeing a 'live, fighting Indian' was in the Blackhawk war and then, as he admits, himself, he never came in a mile of one."³⁶

Reprinting a story from a Boston paper the *Herald* stated: "Efforts to excite such a furore about wigwams and the like, as was once raised about log cabins and hard cider seem destined to an inglorious failure."³⁷ And in Manchester, New Hampshire, the *Union Democrat* curtly stated: "Lincoln is a third-rate Western lawyer."³⁸

Another Currier and Ives cartoon issued in October, 1860, scoffed that the "Western" candidate attracted all the radicals

³⁵ *Herald* (New York), July 9, 1860.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, May 28, 1860.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, July 4, 1860.

³⁸ Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

in society. Again, Lincoln was depicted with tousled hair and open-neck shirt to contrast with the conventional clothes of the other figures. Entitled, "The Republican Party Going to the Right House" Lincoln is shown being carried by Horace Greeley into a lunatic asylum while assuring those behind him that he will obtain their wishes. The crowd watching him is composed of would-be social reformers, one advocating free-love, another equal rights for Negroes and women, as well as a Mormon and an incipient Socialist.³⁹

A more effective Democratic attack was formulated against what seemed to be the weakest part of Lincoln's record, that of his lack of proven ability to fulfill the office of the Presidency. With skillful aim the Democratic Press opened an attack which traversed the gamut from extreme contempt and ridicule to sarcasm and slander. In many respects it reflects the partisan barrage which occurs in all political campaigns, as can be substantiated by the history of politics since the country ceased to have a one-party system. But the attitude of the opposition had a remarkably bitter flavor emanating from the fact that there were four candidates in the campaign; therefore, the attack against Lincoln was a three-barbed spear. Anything and everything which could be accumulated to show Lincoln's incompetence was made public; that which could not be substantiated in fact was invented. In retrospect some of the charges used appear eccentric, but in 1860 they were presented with utmost seriousness. Not only was this contempt of Lincoln's inexperience reflected in the Democratic newspapers, but it appears also in those sections of the country which were unable to reconcile themselves to the Western heritage of the nominee.

While the Republican leaders drew attention to Lincoln's abilities through diverse representations intimating that he could capably fulfill the office of the Presidency, notwithstanding his relative inexperience; the opposition amplified his negative side. Such puns as the following were common:

Why Brown won't vote for Lincoln.
Because he thinks if elected, the Presidential
office would be probably Abe-used.⁴⁰

³⁹ Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁴⁰ *Vanity Fair*, No. 40, September 29, 1860, p. 164.

The Democratic-minded Philadelphia *Evening Journal* printed a lengthy article entitled, "Why Should Lincoln Be President?" which reflects the disdain felt by Eastern Democrats for Lincoln's record. The *Journal* scoffed:

It is very evident that the 'Republican' newspapers are hard put to it for something to say in favor of Mr. Lincoln. His record as a statesman is a blank. He has done nothing whatever in any executive, judicial or legislative capacity that should entitle him to public respect. There is not in all the history of his life any exhibition of intellectual ability and attainments fitting him for the high and responsible post in the Government for which he has been nominated. . . . But the party organs think Lincoln is a capital man for a political canvass, because, forsooth, he was once a flat-boatman and a rail-splitter. . . . It does not by any means follow that because an individual who, beginning life as a flat-boatman and wood-chopper, raises himself to the position of a respectable County Court Lawyer and a ready stump speaking, is therefore qualified to be President of the United States. There is no fitness or proportion between the two things—between the measure of merit or title and the high and arduous trust to be conferred.⁴¹

However, this was only the beginning of one of the most vigorous facets of the campaign. Each side drew on all possible evidence to prove or disprove Lincoln's ability to hold the office of the Presidency. In Manchester, New Hampshire, the *Union Democrat* sneered: "Lincoln is a third-rate western lawyer . . . who cannot speak good grammar, and who, to raise the wind delivers his hackneyed, illiterate compositions at \$200 apiece. [*The Cooper Union address*] . . . the most unmitigated trash, interlarded with coarse and clumsy jokes. . . . He has no positive elements of strength. He is a stiff-necked, cold-blooded, calculating man . . . homely . . . uncouth."⁴² James Bennett's New York *Herald* stated: ". . . the candidate for President—Abraham Lincoln—is an uneducated man . . . a vulgar village politician without any experience worth mentioning in the practical duties of statesmanship and

⁴¹ *Semi-Weekly Tribune* (New York), May 25, 1860, reprinting an article from the *Evening Journal* (Philadelphia).

⁴² Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

only noted for some very unpopular votes which he gave while a member of Congress." ⁴³

Republican slogans publicizing Lincoln in numerous songs were a choice morsel for ridicule. An irresistible item was the sarcastic attack on the equating of Lincoln's ability to sail a flatboat with that needed to guide the "ship of state." Said the New London *Daily Star*:

Resolved, that our candidate's name is Abraham.
 Resolved, that for short we call him "Abe."
 Resolved, that he is the "honest" candidate.
 Resolved, that he is the "oldest" man in the world.
 Resolved, that he is the handsomest man in the world as everybody can see by looking at the *Courier* this morning.
 Resolved, that our candidate "has split rails."
 Resolved, that he has "sailed a flatboat" and is therefore competent to manage the "Ship of State." ⁴⁴

The New York *Journal of Commerce* was somewhat kinder in its criticism: "While we have no desire to detract from Mr. Lincoln's position as a respectable citizen of Illinois, we are not aware that he possesses, in any considerable degree, the qualifications demanded for so elevated a position as that of Chief Magistrate." ⁴⁵ In Rochester, New York, the *Advertiser* jeered:

A year ago Lincoln was unknown out of his own state. . . . His reputation rests on his canvass with Douglas. . . . His private record is that of a third-rate district politician, not at one time, at least, in his life, very particular in his associations or correct in his moral habits. We cannot resist comparing the meeting [*the Chicago convention*] with the recent Union convention. . . . John Bell, the educated gentleman, the experienced statesman, the man who has brought ability and dignity to the discharge of important official duties and "Abe Lincoln" the disputatious village politician, the stump orator whose highest qualification has been an off-hand popular manner and a rough wit, and whose public life is as obscure as it is unmeritorious. Comparisons, truly, are odious, but the people will not fail to draw them.⁴⁶

⁴³ *Herald* (New York), May 22, 1860.

⁴⁴ *Daily Star* (New London, Conn.), May 30, 1860.

⁴⁵ *Semi-Weekly Tribune* (New York), May 22, 1860.

⁴⁶ Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

In the mid-West where one would expect the ridicule of "honest labor" to lose more votes than gain them, an Ohio paper stated: "He has two great overruling qualifications for the Presidency. First, in early life he split rails for a living until he became disgusted with honest labor and turned lawyer. . . . Second, he has the honor of being defeated by Judge Douglas."⁴⁷ And this from the Fort Wayne, Indiana, *Sentinel*: ". . . his friends seem to claim his election to the Presidency chiefly on the skill he formerly showed in mauling rails. This is a rather novel qualification for the Presidency."⁴⁸

But the opposition ranted in vain. Heroics were a part of the American tradition, and the speeches, the biographies, and the songs, though mediocre in quality, carried the implication that the frontier represented America of a strong and sterling nature. One newspaper reporter wrote late in the campaign:

Mr. Lincoln may be regarded as representing what I will venture to call the highest type of Western Civilization in the country; for the development of manhood West of the Ohio is essentially different from what we are accustomed to see East of it. He is . . . a representative of that energetic, sturdy and progressive people, who have by their own strong arms and stout hearts, cleared the forest, plowed the prairies, constructed the railroads and carried the churches and school-houses into the one wilderness of this mighty region, causing it to blossom like a garden and diffusing blessings everywhere.⁴⁹

It could not be asserted that Lincoln was elected because of the heroic figure he was represented to be, but the people who struggled to carry civilization with them from New England across the country found more in common with Lincoln than with the other candidates. Those who had not faced the hardships of frontier life were strongly attracted by his native talent and energy which echoed the traditions of the founding fathers. In the unsophisticated society of the mid-nineteenth century it was this romantic image which strongly swayed the opinion of the voters. That Lincoln's life presented adequate facts to create a picture of the fruition of American pioneer life is self-

⁴⁷ *Statesman* (Columbus, Ohio), June 2, 1860.

⁴⁸ *Sentinel* (Fort Wayne, Indiana), May 19, 1860.

⁴⁹ *North American* (Philadelphia), October 20, 1860.

evident. His Western heritage became synonymous with the "noble virtues" which the voters desired to connect with all that was extolled as American democracy. Frank Leslie's *Illustrated Newspaper* struck the popular note:

The Republican candidate for the Presidency is one of a class which belongs especially to our Republic. No other nation on the face of the globe can boast of men who, by mere force of individual hardihood and merit, rise through all the gradations of toil to the highest offices in the State. Common labor, which brutalises and degrades man in other lands, in our own country strengthens him mentally as well as physically, and the cabinet-maker [*Stephen Douglas*] and the rail-splitter, after having earned a competency by the honest labor of their hands, finally meet face to face as contestants for the highest office in the gift of the people.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, X (October 20, 1860), 345.

A VOYAGE TO THE EAST INDIES, 1805

Edited by FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

IN March, 1805, Captain William Stevenson left Baltimore in the ship *Erin* on a voyage which would take him to Europe and the East Indies.¹ During the first part of his journey, his ship had been engaged to carry Elizabeth Patterson of Baltimore and her husband Jerome Bonaparte to Lisbon. Leaving Jerome at that port, the captain continued on to Amsterdam in the *Erin* while Jerome supposedly went on to Paris to prepare for the arrival of his bride. There, "Betsey" was forbidden to land, because Napoleon objected to his brother's marriage and would not receive her. Ordered to leave, the *Erin* had no choice but to obey. Captain Stevenson, therefore, sailed for England where he arrived on 19 May 1805. The first section of his journal closes with his arrival at Dover where "the concourse of persons assembled to see Madame B. land was immense." After a stay of five days, the Captain returned to Amsterdam where he experienced no difficulties in landing and was permitted to transact his business without interference.²

Very little is known of the early life of Captain William Stevenson. He was born in Bristol, England, on June 17, 1774,

¹ The original journal is in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. It was purchased at a public sale in Philadelphia.

The *Erin* was a vessel with "one deck and three masts and . . . her length is eighty-six feet and six inches her breadth is twenty-five feet and eleven inches and her depth is eleven feet and . . . she measures two hundred thirteen tons and 6/95 of a ton and . . . she is square sterned has no galleries and has a woman [figure] head." When the vessel was built in 1804, she was registered as belonging to "Moore Falls and Stewart Brown of the City of Baltimore, State of Maryland, merchants." When she was lost at sea in 1808, she was the property of "William Cooke, Junior, of the City of Baltimore" (Register of Vessels, Port of Baltimore, 1804-1807, no. 21. Record Group 41, National Archives).

² The account of the first part of the trip in which Betsey and Jerome Bonaparte sailed to Lisbon, their parting, and her long voyage to England alone has been published previously. See Dorothy M. Quynn and Frank F. White, Jr., "Jerome and Betsey Cross the Atlantic" (*Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVIII [September, 1953], 204-214).

the son of a Maryland merchant who was residing there. When he was very young, the family returned to Maryland. By 1795, he had become a sailor and had obtained the command of his own ship. In March, 1805, when he left Baltimore on the voyage already alluded to, his ship had been chartered for the purpose of carrying the Bonapartes to Europe. Leaving them, he went on his way to the Indies. In 1808, the *Erin* was lost in the Bay of Biscay and her captain drowned. His sea chest, however, survived, and with it, the journal describing his voyage from Baltimore to the Indies.*

After he arrived in Amsterdam on 1 June 1805, Stevenson remained in that port until 12 July. Then, he sailed once more for Lisbon. After a short stay there, he left for Capetown and Batavia. On 12 December, he left Batavia for home, stopping on the way to Ceylon and Malabar. The captain's narrative contains many nuggets of information about the trials and tribulations experienced by an American trader in various ports of the world during the early years of the nineteenth century. In addition, it contains insights into the social life and customs of Amsterdam, Lisbon, Capetown, and Batavia, besides many happenings at sea.

Capt. Stevenson's journal contains many frank comments about the countries in which he visited. The Netherlands—he completely despised. "Such as Holland is, I never wish to see it again," he complained. "This country of Honorable and estimable men, I left with the greatest joy." The Portuguese, he thought, were a strangely aloof people and he bemoaned his lack of information about them. "You get no access to their families and you may for years trade with them and never be further than their Shop," he declared. Capetown, on the other hand, appealed to him very strongly. The town was, he felt, "the most delightful place to stop at for refreshments, everything being in greatest abundance and extremely cheap." The Batavians disgusted him completely. "You should bribe every one, when your only object is to get just weight," he commented. Robbery was commonplace and everyone indulged in it except against the church "and the only reason for not doing it—there would be nothing worth taking."

* For data on Captain William Stevenson, I am indebted to his great-granddaughter Mrs. G. Howard White.

While he was at sea, Captain Stevenson met another United States ship. "Every country man we meet is a kind of relation," he noted. "A separation becomes a parting of old friends. Happy it is, that the active calls of duty do not suffer us to devote much time to the thoughts which frequent partings give rise to."

After leaving Muscat, the captain's journal comes to an abrupt end. It seems to have been written during odd moments in the voyage. It can only be assumed that he made his entries whenever he had the opportunity to do so, and until his voyages terminated. Consequently, the journal was never completed, and after the captain was drowned, it was returned to his family.

For all of its many years traveling, the captain's journal remains physically in a good state of preservation. Only a few places are torn, which I have indicated in the text. In addition, the transcription of several of the sections was difficult because of the captain's illegible handwriting, and on several pages for that reason, some brief sections had to be omitted. These are also indicated in the text. The editor has also supplied the minimum amount of punctuation necessary to understand the text. These would include, for example, the italicizing of the names of any vessels which the captain mentioned, and the spelling out of any archaic abbreviations which he used. Also the ampersand has been rendered, "and"; the thorn, "the." Typical early spellings, however, have not been corrected.

THE JOURNAL

The appearance of Amsterdam to a stranger is very gratifying. In every street, there runs a canal its whole length and rows of trees are planted along the Borders of the Canals. The houses are lofty and generally of a deeper colour than the Brick of America, which gives to the whole an appearance of grandeur, I have seen nowhere with us but at New York. The cleanness of the city cannot be surpassed. You see no house the woodwork of which does not appear fresh painted, and the Better sort having generally a flight of steps going up to the front door the rail of which is Brass adds considerably to the view . . . [torn].

I found the Dutch a very reserved people. They never wish to have strangers among them, and if they ever give you a dinner.

I really believe it is to answer some Interested view. I knew several young Americans who had resided at Amsterdam a twelve month and some longer, who beyond the house of their particular mercantile friend were never able to get footing, anywhere. One of them, a gentleman of good information and who had seen many parts of Europe told me that on his arrival at Amsterdam, as the house in which he was connected in America was of the first character, many of the Dutch merchants invited him to their houses, that is to a dining party. But as soon as it was known that he had fixed on a house to transact his business, the rest all dropped him, and some one of whom he had two or three dinners on his first arrival, had almost forgotten him. . . .

You get probably a weekly invitation to dine with them in the Country, and if you are an economist, you will find it your interest has to accept it.

Shortly after my arrival at Amsterdam I went in company with some other Americans to dine at the country house of a merchant *whom we all did Business with*. My attention was fully occupied in visiting every part of the farm, which was solely occupied as a grazing farm. Nor can I do justice to the neatness and order that appeared to reign throughout it. We passed an agreeable day. In the evening when we were in the ante-chamber mustering our coats to return to town a friend asked me if I had given any thing to the Servants who attended us at table and who were now busy getting our things ready. I told him I had not. Then, said he, you had better do it, for they expect it. I observed I would give the servants something with pleasure, but the mistress of the house being present, it would not do, to give it before her. "Pooh," said he, "hand me your money," and taking it from me he gave to the Girl in waiting, observing to her quite loud, "that Gentleman gives you this." Whether the sum was not as much as she expected or what it was I know not, but the Girl scarce moved when she received the money, which the mistress, who saw all that passed, observing said to her with the utmost coolness, "Catherine, why don't you thank the Gentlemen!!!" In America, a person would have risked being turned out of doors for such an Insult, as to pay the servants for doing their duty. But the fact is, it is the universal practice in Holland and a pretty expensive practice too, and it becomes as you might frequently dine for half the money at a *taverne*, a vast deal better.

Capt. B. of Philadelphia was consigned to the House of Hope, the first commercial house in Holland. B. has generally a weekly

invitation to dine in the country. The Hopes⁴ lived in great style and, to do as others did you must pay the servants in proportion; or risk having a dish of Gravy on your shoulders, the next time you made your appearance.

B. who knew the value of a guilder as well as any in Holland, at length grew less frequent in his visits and had omitted his weekly appearance for 3 or 4 Sundays, when one of the Gents. meeting him on change, observed to him, they had not had the pleasure of his company for some time. "Why, Mr. Hope," said B. "to tell you the truth, I find, that, what with coach hire, and *paying your servants*, it costs me about as much to dine with you on Sunday, as it does to maintain me all the remainder of the week; and by —— Sir," continued B., "unless you reduce the Rate of payment to your servants, you must excuse my coming so often."

But the Instance of M. P. is still stronger. He dined with F. at the house of a partner of S. and having no money about him, when they were about to take leave, he called out to S. to lend him two guilders, and having given the money to the servants of the partner before both the Gentlemen, he turned round to F. and observed to him, loud enough to be heard by every one present, "What a damned country this is when a man is obliged to borrow money of one partner to pay the servants of the other for his dinner!"

Altho I was five weeks in Amsterdam, I was never inside the magnificent State House of which the Dutch boast so much. I passed by every day and its interior is in no way favorable to its having more the appearance of a heavy prison than the Government House of a great People. Nevertheless, I own I ought to have visited it and I regret I did not do it, but the fact is I had not one Dutch acquaintance to accompany me—and I did not wish to go with an American equally as uninformed as myself.

Such as Holland is, I never wish to see it again. Of the honor and integrity of its merchants, I have not a favorable opinion. The Mechanics at least show with whom I had anything to do, and they were tolerably numerous, are the greatest Villains on earth and the lower class are Brutal and Disgusting to the last degree.

This country of *Honorable* and *estimable* men, I left with the greatest Joy on the 12 July on my way to Lisbon and to the East Indies, and having passed thro the Channell which divides France and England I had a full view of the French troops encamped near Boulogne and the British on the Heights of Dover, and thus

⁴ The Hopes were a leading merchant family in both Amsterdam and London.

situated have they been for 3 years, waiting the orders of a despot or two to meet and devour each other.⁵

Ten days brought us to Lisbon where without any quarantine they permitted us to proceed up to town.

This country is most intolerably priest ridden and being blessed with a numerous band of protecting Saints each of which has a day dedicated to him. You are eternally incommoded with hollidays. An thus it happened to me no less than three days from the day of my arrival was lost on some of those thieves—and when I expected to get thro' the Customs House behold the *Princess Royale* lay in. Then came great rejoicing, great illuminations, great processions—and to close all these days more of Holliday!!!

At length this immense affair became old and the public offices were again opened. I got through the ship's business and all clear for sea by the 1st August.

I have made a number of Voyages to Lisbon; yet I know nothing of the Portuguese. You get no access to their familys and you may for years trade with them and never be further than their Shops. But their being here a great number of English and Irish you have an excellent society which leaves you nothing to regret on account of the Portuguese. The British and French have a factory for each nation at Lisbon, and the former have a Hospital and Burying ground for the people of their nation. . . . [illegible]. . . .

The Fineness of the Climate of Lisbon, and the great Abundance of every necessary of Life, to be had there, render it a delightful residence, for 6 months of the Year. I allude particularly to the upper part of the City, where all the English families of reputability live. But down in the City among the Portuguese it is a perfect pest. The Streets are the filthiest that can possibly be imagined, and are overrun by half-starved dogs feeding on the dung-hills. An American one day standing at the corner of the street where I was, counted thirty-nine of those wretches in sight at once. Judge the Number which must be in the City.

I saw two or three of their famous processions during my stay. In one of which some little girls were dressed with large Wings (which had the appearance of being Wood) fastened to their Shoulders. As soon as you see those gents. at a distance, pull off your hat, or you may be obliged to kneel in the curb and probably be knocked down.

⁵ Captain Stevenson arrived in Europe during the Napoleonic wars. Ships flying the American flag were subjected to seizure both by the French and the British, so the voyage had many difficulties.

Having compleated the object for which I came to Lisbon, on the 1st August I put to sea, bound to the Cape of Good Hope and Batavia. A passage across the ocean, offers so few interesting events to any one but a nautical man that it would be but a dull subject for you to follow a ship's route from day to day. The only event worth narrating was my falling in with a ship when we were forty five days from Lisbon. The ship was from Emden in Prussia bound to the Cape of Good Hope, and had been out of port four months!!! She had a number of passengers on board for the Cape, and was in great distress for want of water, having only one small cask on board for forty eight souls, which at a bottle a day would have lasted four days.

I staid by them three hours, gave them five hundred gallons of water, being a moderate supply, for three weeks, and *one half* my fresh stock. I likewise supplied them some wine, and in fact every thing they stood in need of.

For the assistance I gave them, they appeared very gratefull. I took letters from them to their friends at the Cape, and after receiving a thousand good wishes from them, I pursued my route and soon left them out of sight.

Eight days after this at sun rise we saw the Cape of Good Hope, and most assuredly we saw it farther than any land I ever saw in my Life, as by our run afterwards we must have been no less than *seventy-five* miles from it. Between 7 and 8 in the evening of the same day we got to anchor before the Town, having been just 56 days from Lisbon. This was considered as a great passage, the usual time from Europe being 70 to 90 days.

The next day I went on shore and waited on the Governor a ceremony all strangers undergo. But with respect to Governor Jansen a most agreeable man as he is extremely affable and attentive to strangers, I was invited during my short stay of a week three times to dine with him.

The Cape is a most delightful place to stop at for Refreshments. Everything being in the greatest abundance and extremely cheap. I furnished the Ship with fresh provisions. Every day I was there, brought away a large stock with me, paid the port charges, and my own expenses for *forty-eight Dollars*. You live at a hotel, one of the Best I ever saw, have everything in the first style, and as much wine as you can consume for one Spanish Dollar per day!!!

There prevails at the Cape a custom somewhat singular. Almost every house in the town takes Boarders, so that it is usual to go to the tavern only for a day until you chuse a house to live at. By

this means strangers soon cease to be so at the Cape, and the Inhabitants are very sociable and familiar. With all this you are not to expect any thing like Hospitality. You may run in and out of every man's house but beyond an evening dish of tea, you get nothing . . . [torn].

The Ship I spoke and supplied at Sea before my arrival had been considered as lost or taken. Consequently, the news of their being well and on their way gave general joy. There were on board her twenty-eight persons belonging to the Cape —most of them young persons who had been sent to Holland during the short peace for their Education and two or three of those young Gentlemen were bringing out wives with them. Their letters by me spoke very highly of my treatment of them and to this circumstance I owe partly the Civilities I received from the Governor, but not one of the Relations of any one on board the Ship ever called on me.

I met, by accident, in the Ante-Chamber of the Governor the father of one of the Young Gentlemen who was bringing out his wife in the Prussian ship. The Governor's Secretary introduced him to me. The old Fellow who was one of the richest men in the Colony and a lawyer, said, "[H]e was extremely obliged to me, his son had written him fully how much I had relieved them. It was indeed," continued he, "a noble and humane action which they should never forget." Never saw or heard of the Old Brief afterwards.

I cannot deny but I felt mortified at this Neglect, yet it only gave me one more proof that a Dutchman is insensible to the finer feelings, and where nothing is to be gained they never wish to appear.

Having compleated the object for which I touched at the Cape, on the 2nd October I left the Bay. I was to have sailed the day before in company with the ship *Pennsylvania*, . . . [torn] bound to Canton but whose route lay the same way as mine for 2 or 3 thousand miles.⁶ But not being quite ready, they could not wait for me. As I expected to outsail him, he kept a good look out for me, and on the 5th day after leaving the Cape we saw a ship, who soon made a signal agreed on between Capt. C. and myself and proved to be him. In the evening we spoke each other and agreed to keep together as far as the Island of St. Pauls if there should be no material difference in our rate of sailing.

The day following I went on board the *Philadelphian* and got

⁶ At the time of Stevenson's visit to the Cape, this land was owned by Holland, but shortly thereafter, the British took possession of it.

his Surgeon to make up some medicines, having unfortunately no scales in the ship's medicine chest. As we all lived together at the Cape we were very glad to see each other. There were on board the *Pennsylvania* two supra cargoes, Messrs. Redwood Fisher and Neal and with the Doctor John Young of Maryland for a very agreeable party.⁷ What a contrast to my Solitary situation confined as I am in a few years space with Eleven *Bears* for probably Eleven Months to come. O Lord!⁸

From this time until the 10th we kept company with the *Pennsylvania* when the wind coming quite fair and finding we outsailed them greatly, I went along side of her and took a farewell of them. My best wishes are offered for their prosperity and well they merit it. At daylight the next day we could just see them in the western Horison probably ten miles from us.

Those who have been at sea have doubtless experienced the same sensations as I now felt. After having been for some time in company with a ship and then seperating from them in the midst of a vast ocean, every countryman we meet is a kind of Relation, an acquaintance thus begun is cemented into a friendship in a few days and a seperation becomes a parting of old friends. We watch their lessening sails in the distant Horison with sensations of melancholy regret and as the agitations of the waves takes them from our view from time to time we catch at length a momentary look and a few revolving seas seperate us—perhaps for Ever. Happy it is, that the active calls of Duty do not suffer us to devote much time, to the thoughts which frequent parting give rise to.

Nothing worthy of notice occurred until the night of the 20th when at midnight we ran close to a Ship, who told us he was from Salem bound to Batavia 4 months out. By daylight he was out of sight behind us and in the forenoon of this day we made the Island called by the Dutch St. Pauls. It is a barren Island of 3 or 4 leagues in extent. There is another called Amsterdam within a few miles of this but we did not see it. There are no inhabitants on either of them, but occasionally ships sett men on shore there to fish and kill Seals, for the oil and skins. An English Capt. and 4 men were taken off Amsterdam a few days before we saw St. Pauls, by an American Ship, and carried to Batavia, where I saw them. They had been on the Island ever since the Commencement of the War. What a Voluntary Banishment for a little Money?⁹

⁷ All are further unidentified.

⁸ The Captain's reference is not clear.

⁹ The Islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam are located in the Southern Indian

On the 6th of November, we saw the Island of Java and on the Eight, got to an Anchor at Batavia having been 36 Days only from the Cape of Good Hope. The Ship belonging to Salem which I spoke near St. Pauls came into Batavia the day before we left it having been 46 days from the time we spoke coming to Batavia while we were only 16 days from that same place.

When we were visited by the Boat from a Guard Ship always stationed at Batavia, I went on shore and found a carriage waiting for me at the place you land at. This is always the case when a stranger arrives. You are usually conducted to the Shebänder's, a kind of agent between the Government and foreigners—who asks you a few General Questions. And from thence you proceed to the Hotel where all strangers are obliged to dine. An American generally finds a swarm of his Countrymen here eager to learn the News.

I found among them Capt. Butler¹⁰ of Baltimore and several Gentlemen from various parts of the United States, I had known on foreign parts. I rode out in the country with Capt. B., to the country hotel to dinner, for there are two establishments kept up, some chusing to live in the country and some in town.

Nothing can exceed the Beauty of the place to which we went. A large house surrounded with a piazzas or varanda as they call them in India—and a most beautiful and extensive garden to walk in. Here you sit or stroll in parties until dinner is ready. Dinner is served at 2 and a sumptuous one it generally is. You generally find your Own Wine. For this you pay about 15 cents pr bottle for drawing the Cork—as they call it. The wine of the house is generally exorable Dutch manufacture claret and they have the conscience to charge you three dollars pr Bottle for it.

At four or five you return to town when you may see the Shebänder or your consignee if you have any business afterwards. You take tea and then drive what is called the rounds, as you must pay for a carriage whether you have it or not, everyone keeps it, and having it, it would be folly not to make use of it. Some persons who suddenly find themselves master of a carriage, never cease rolling it from morn till night. Each carriage has two pair of horses, and some three pair belonging to it, which they use alternately, so that, generally, your horses are fresh. Nonetheless, during my stay there, some of the Americans would tire their 3 pair a day. It is to be observed you do not walk ten yards, and as there

Ocean midway between the Cape of Good Hope and Tasmania. They are owned by France.

¹⁰ Not further able to identify.

are always a number of carriages before the Hotel arriving and setting off every minute, the noise of calling your coach is incessant.

Your coachman is generally a Malay to whom the Americans contrive to fit an English name. You have from January round to December, and from Sunday to Saturday. I found my genius christened April, a very improper name for him, or he must have wintered very much since he received it.

After you have driven your evening round, you go out to the country where at supper you are served every thing hot, a curious and one would suppose a very unwholesome Custom for this Country. Notwithstanding what has been said of the climate of Batavia I did not find it so unhealthy as represented. No American died during my stay there nor had there been a death out of the Hotel for five months. But this I was told was very uncommon. I have always found it unnecessary to guard against the Night air and noon day Sun and this I very carefully did in Batavia. I did not even suffer my Seamen to work from Eleven until three o'clock and as little as possible at any time in the Sun.

I was told it had formerly been the custom for the Governor to give a Ball and Supper every Saturday to which the Americans were invited. On some occasion, it happened some of the Gentlemen took more than their quantity of Wine and behaved very improperly. Since that time, parties at the Governors to foreigners are rare and when a selection is made whom to invite. During my stay one of those parties took place, and I had the honor to be one of the Invited. I did not go, however, for which I was afterwards sorry, as I learned I might have forwarded my Interest by being there.

It has generally been revered as an Opinion that business as far as regards the sale of a cargo or the purchase of one, is transacted with more ease and requires less talents and knowledge of business than any other ports. Were things in the same situation they were some years ago, it might be so. At that period, the Governor after seeing an Invoice of your cargo fixed an advance on it which they never deviated from, and the payment being made in Coffee at a certain rate, you had nothing farther to do than discharge the One and receive from the company's stores the other. But now the company buy very few cargoes which obliges you to apply to the Merchants who if the Market happens to be pretty well stocked impose on you horribly. Their method of valuing your cargo according to which the purchase is, I believe different from any Part of the World. They take your Invoice home with them and

calculate the retail price of any article in it, and make you an offer for it. But if there is any thing lost or spoiled they make you deduct from the sum they were to give you for the whole cargo, not the value of the article as it stood on your invoice, but the retail price, or the price which they valued this article at in their Estimate, and they are allways carefull to value articles likely to be broken or spoiled much higher than any other.

Capt. Jacobs of Phila. sold an Invoice when I was there at 12000 dollars.¹¹ He had in this Invoice hams to the amt. by cost in Holland of 1500 dollars. When the cargo came to be landed the Hams were found to be spoiled, and they insisted on his deducting 4000 dollars from the Invoice, which they said was the value of the hams at the Retail Price. He was obliged to comply.

Among my cargo which I sold for \$14000 was a case containing 12 globe Lamps for Entry, *etc.* They cost in Amsterdam 200 dollars owing to their being badly packed or carelessness in landing them, or it may have been done on purpose, when the case was opened, four was broken, for those 4, they charged me 60 dollars, each being 240 dollars. *40 dollars more than the whole twelve cost in Amsterdam!!!* Thus they had eight Lamps for nothing and forty dollars for their trouble in taking them.

This story would appear incredible to people who had never heard of the Batavians, and indeed, I could not credit it when I first rec'd the amount. But I was soon made sensible of it and obliged like my friend Jacobs to comply.

Sometimes if articles are much in demand you can argue with them to deduct Invoice price for Breakage &c. But this is seldom. But every Effort should be made to do it. Otherwise their deductions run away with all the profits.

They told me in Batavia that few cargoes had ever been delivered in as good Order as the *Erin's*. Not withstanding out of \$14,000 they contrived to deduct *one thousand three hundred dollars*. Oh the honest band! Ye meritorious subjects, the barefaced villians.

You have now made your sales—and for returns the Government make you take on third in Coffee, One third in Sugar, and One third in Spices—that is Nutmegs, Cloves, Mace and Pepper. When you receive your order for your Coffee and present it at Magasin [*magazine*] or Warehouse, the first thing necessary is to bribe the warehouseman, who is often a person of consequence. Next bribe all the Clerks and lastly all the Weighers!!! By this means and this way only you will get ———— *your due*. ———— Then comes a

¹¹ Unidentified.

proposal from the warehouseman to cheat the Government. That is, to sell you a quantity of the article they have, coffee or Sugar, *etc.*, at an underprice. This is followed by an offer from the Clerks to join you in cheating the warehouseman and when you return home, you will find the man who calls out the weight at the scales, with his offer of services to call out the Weight falsely!!!

This is what may be termed the climax of roguery, and yet every step I have narrated is gone through to every person who receives produce, and it is indispensibly necessary you should as above stated bribe every one, when your only object is to get just Weight. Thro this part of the ceremony I went and having heard of their tricks, I never trusted to an officer of the Ship to weigh one pound of any thing, not even sugar but took the whole weights myself and had a friend with me Capt. Rutter of Baltimore, to be a check on them. And in return I always attended when he received cargo. Two months after this I weighed the whole cargo out myself and weighed it on board ship. When it fell short of 6 tons Sugar I found myself deficient near 3 tons!!! And I am convinced the Cheating was in Weighing in Batavia. After this you will think my Opinion of their Honesty is not too severe.

The fact is every man in Batavia will join you to cheat company and then join to cheat you. And in my Opinion there is but one thing they would not join you in . . . [*torn*]. And this is *robbing the Church*. And here the only reason for their not doing it would be—*there would be nothing worth stealing*.

I should not do justice to Batavia was I not to mention the number of beautifull country Seats in its vicinity. There are none of them but what would be viewed with admiration in America. And many of them have more the appearance of the palace of a prince than the common residence of a dutch Boor. For it is a fact that of the number of Dutch at Batavia there are very few, but such as are sprung from the dregs of the people. The late Governor general who retired on a moderate fortune of *three millions of Dollars* was originally an undersail maker on board one of the company's Ships and the director General was Captain's Clerk on board another.

On the 12th December, having my cargo on board, and the ship all clear for sea, I went on board at the same time with Capt. Rutter of the *Ann* bound to Baltimore, while we were yet destined to circumnavigate the Indian Ocean before we could put our Ships head towards America.¹²

¹² Unidentified.

It is usual in Batavia when the supra-cargo and commander of a ship come on shore, not to return on board again during the ship's stay in port and thus is sometimes the case even when a ship lays two or three months there. The reason of this is the very great danger you incur by going off and on as well as from the Effects of the Sun, as the dreadfull effluvia arising from the long canal up and down which you are obliged to pass. As you must go off early to await the sun, and this you are exposed ten times as much as you would be if there were any wind.

I have been told, and I have no reason to doubt it, that two thirds of those who die here are strangers, get their death by going off to their Ships, and so sure [are] the ill effects of it, that you always have a head ache after being off. I went on board 4 times during my stay and always felt this effect more or less.

We proceeded on our Voyage in company with the *Ann* and a brig under Moor's colours until the evening of the 14th, when I took leave of the brig to keep company as our rout[e] lay together, but differing in Opinion, which was the most eligible tract to make a short passage, we seperated he intending to go up along the coast of Sumatra and we to push out at once away from the land with a View of avoiding the bad weather prevailing near Sumatra at that Season of the Year.

Two days after our seperation the Unfortunate Vessel, commanded by Capt. C. Lecott¹³ and owned by Mr. I. Coats of Philadelphia then on board, caught fire and was burnt up, and with her perished 10 or 12 persons. The manner which I learned this was somewhat singular. During the trial of the *Erin* in Bombay 10 months after this period I dined with a numerous company at the House of the Gentleman who was counsel for the *Erin*. He mentioned to me that he had received that day some papers in which to give his Opinion as counsel, respecting the loss of a Ship at Sea, and on perusing them found there my name and the name of the *Erin*. And he requested me to look over them and give him my opinion of the loss whether it was a misfortune unavoidable, or whether as he suspected the vessel was destroyed on purpose.

To my astonishment and extreme regret I found the paper in question to be a kind of protest drawn up in Batavia by Coats, and forwarded on to Bombay to recover the Insurance, the brig having been insured at this Place.

The protest proceeds to state their seperation from the *Ann* and the *Erin* and that "two days after this the weather being

¹³ Unidentified.

extremely bad and the sailors much wet and fatigued, the steward was sent into the hold to draw off some [*illegible*] for the men," that the most pointed directions were given, to the Steward not to carry a candle into the hold. Notwithstanding those orders it appears he did and most unfortunately set fire to the cargo. An alarm was instantly given, and the Lascars who composed the crew, being a timid lot of men, were so frightened as to be almost of no use in the attempt to put it out. Nevertheless, altho the smoke kept rushing up the hatchways they continued to pour water down at every place they could. This dreadfull business took place in the morning about 8 o'clock, and by noon the fire had got to such a height as baffled every effort to extinguish it, when the only boat they had being put into the water, Capt. and Mr. Coats got into her and put off. From the brig, it appears from the protest that the Boat would not possibly hold more than what were now in her, and thus ten or twelve were left aboard miserably to perish. The Boat kept near the Vessel until Night, when at once the flames ceased and they saw no more!!! It appears further, that the Boat, full as she was, returned to Batavia, where Mr. Coats dates the protest.

Just after parting from the Brig several of my men began to get ill, and my first Officer in 12 hours after he was taken was out of his senses and totally helpless. We were fortunate enough not to lose any one of them, and in 3 or 4 weeks they were all about again.

Having passed in sight of the British settlements on Ceylon and the coast of Malabar on the 11th February, we came to anchor at Muscat.¹⁴

Immediately on anchoring a Boat was sent on board to compliment me on my arrival by the souldan and we soon found the place to be in great confusion, owing to a disputed Successor in the Govt.

Of all the places I have been at, this Muscat presents to View the most singular and the most horrid appearance. The port is nothing more than a large cove surrounded by the most stupendous Rocks, many parts of which are so steep as to be inaccessible. In the Bottom of the cove is a plain or level of about 1/2 a mile in circumference and here the Town is placed. From the ship nothing in nature can be more miserable or dreary than the appearance of those mountains surrounding you on every part, but the small space at which you enter not one vestige of verdue is to be seen,

¹⁴ Captain Stevenson's visit occurred during the reign of Sa'id ibn Sultan (1804-1856), under whom the fortunes of the country were the greatest.

and during my stay there I could find neither tree or shade except a tree belonging to the Collector.

If anything could add to the natural horror of such a place it was that the enemy were only removed from the town by those very mountains. On the steep precipices of which they were continually fighting during our stay, we could from the ship's deck see them shooting at each other if they were goats.

One night the Gentlemen of the opposite party had the address to get a Cannon on top of the Mountain and in the morning began to fire down on the town. It happened fortunately there was not sufficient space for it to recoil and after firing it nine or ten times it kicked over and went all the way down again. The next day I went on the mountain and saw the very spot where the gun stood and I was informed they had 600 men pulling it up all night before they began to fire. I suppose they were tired by this experiment, as they did not attempt to renew it.

I should indeed not have felt myself very easy among those savages but the British resident arriving a few days after assured me there was no danger, our party being incomparably the stronger. Four or five days after my arrival, I made my visit of ceremony to the Sultan, and as it is customary I was told to make some little present on the occasion. I paraded some Sugar Candy, sweetmeats, and a few Spices of Jerome Bonaparte which he left on board. I say paraded, for although my steward would have carried with ease the whole of the articles, there were no less than 9 Arabs to carry it up from the boat. This business was managed by my broker, as he told me "to make look too much."

I expected at least to have seen something for my sugar, but was sadly disappointed. The Sultan received me in a wretched looking room, where a little Carpet was set, two Chairs, one of which I occupied, while his majesty placed himself in the other, and the Gentlemen of the Court squatted down on the floor around us. My broker being a Hindoo from India was clothed something like a woman, with a muslin gown. The Sultan had a kind of loose yellow garment thrown over him, and his sword buckled on round him, but all the rest of the Animals were naked to the Waist, and a grotesque figure they made, at least to me.

I was offered a favorite drink of theirs called Sherbet and had some rum water sprinkled on my handkerchief.

I however sold my cargo to them and the *Sultan* took half of it for his majesty does not think himself above trade.

A few days afterwards my Visit was returned by the Sultan and

the sailors who heard he was coming on board and expected to see something where a King was concerned were not a little surprised to perceive that no one waited for him to go up the Ship's side first but every one scabbled on board as fast as he could.

He examined every thing about the Ship and saw the Hogs, etc. which there is not one in the whole country, particularly caught their attention . . . [*torn*].

Those people have a most singular aversion to hogs, as have all Mahomodans. Sometimes when there would be a hundred of them on the ship's deck by letting one of the Hogs out of the Pen they would all jump overboard, a young arab of consideration told me he would not for all the world one should touch even his clothes.

FRANKLIN'S "DR. SPENCE": THE REVEREND ARCHIBALD SPENCER (1698?-1760), M.D.

J. A. L. LEMAY

FRANKLIN, writing late in his life, attributed his introduction to electricity to "Dr. Spence . . . [who] show'd me some electric experiments. They were imperfectly performed, as he was not very expert; but, being on a subject quite new to me, they equally surpris'd and pleased me."¹ I. Bernard Cohen has shown that Franklin actually meant Dr. A. Spencer, whose demonstrations Franklin probably saw when he was in Boston in 1743.² But Cohen mistakenly assumes that Spencer did not give public lectures in Boston, and, following Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh,³ accepts Spencer's first name as "Adam." *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* lament that more is not known of Spencer: "Adam Spencer is one of the least known but possibly most influential men in BF's life."⁴ Although I have been able to turn up nothing of Spencer's background or education,⁵ I can piece together a reasonably full

¹ Max Farrand, ed., *Benjamin Franklin's Memoirs, Parallel Text Edition* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949), p. 380.

² I. Bernard Cohen, "Benjamin Franklin and the Mysterious 'Dr. Spence': the Source and Date of Franklin's Interest in Electricity," *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, CCXXXV (1943), 1-25.

³ Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (New York, 1942), pp. 268, 269-70, 323-324, 331; cf. Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt* (New York, 1955), p. 206. Every later writer must be indebted to Carl Bridenbaugh's excellent books.

⁴ Leonard W. Labaree, ed., and Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., assoc. ed., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven, 1960), II, 450-1, note 6.

⁵ It is usually said that he was educated at Edinburgh. However, his name does not appear in any of the Edinburgh Matriculation or Graduation Records for the period. Charles P. Finlayson, Keeper of Manuscripts, University Library, Edinburgh, in a letter dated June 22, 1960, assured me that Spencer did not study at Edinburgh.

A brief check of the published records for most of the better known medical schools of the time has failed to turn up any record of his medical education.

record of his activities from the time he attended a Masonic meeting in Boston in 1743 to his death in Maryland on January 13, 1760. For the last ten years of his life Archibald Spencer was a prominent Marylander, and his biography casts light on the religious, scientific, medical, social and Masonic life in the colonies in the mid-eighteenth century.

On May 11, 1743, Archibald Spencer was admitted a member of Saint John's Grand Lodge of Boston.⁶ He was undoubtedly at the following meetings on May 25 and June 8 when Benjamin Franklin attended them.⁷ Spencer's first lecture advertisements are in the May 30 issues of the *Boston Evening Post* and the *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*. Spencer's expensive charge for attending his course was £ 6; nevertheless, the course was popular.

Boston Evening Post

May 30, 1743

Doctor Spencer having a compleat Apparatus, proposes to begin a Course of Experimental Philosophy in Boston, as soon as Twenty shall have subscribed (of which Notice shall be given) to be continued at such Times as shall be agreed upon by the Subscribers at the first Lecture. The Charge of going through the Course is Six Pounds, Old Tenor, to be paid the one Half at subscribing. Those that are inclined to attend, are desired to enter their Names, and pay the Subscription Money to Mr. Thomas Kilby at the Naval-Office, who will furnish a Catalogue of the Experiments, gratis.

Unfortunately, no copy of Spencer's catalogue is known to exist. The June 6 issue of the *Boston Evening Post* repeated this advertisement. The advertisement below and the one in the *Boston Weekly News-Letter* for August 4 testify that Spencer's highly successful course was given at least twice in Boston.

The contents of his library seem to suggest a French orientation. It may well be that his medical studies were pursued in France.

⁶ *Proceedings in Masonry: St. John's Grand Lodge, 1733-1792; Massachusetts Grand Lodge, 1769-1792 . . .* (Boston, 1895), p. 399; and Melvin Maynard Johnson, *The Beginnings of Free Masonry in America* (New York, 1924), p. 272.

⁷ *Proceedings*, p. 390; Johnson, p. 273.

Boston Evening Post

August 1, 1743

Dr. *Spencer*, at the Desire of several Gentlemen and Ladies, begins next Thursday, at Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, another Course of *Experimental Philosophy*; which will be the last he ever Intends to perform in this Town. Those, therefore, as are not willing to omit such an Opportunity, may subscribe at the *Naval-Office*, where a Catalogue of the Experiments is given *gratis*.

From Boston, Spencer seems to have gone to Newport, where he established a friendship with Dr. Thomas Moffatt;⁸ while there, he probably visited the "Philosophical Club"⁹ and perhaps planted the seeds of interest in William Claggett which were to flourish when Claggett read the article on electricity in the *American Magazine* and became the first person in the colonies to devote an entire public lecture to electricity.¹⁰ Spencer could not have remained in Newport for more than a few weeks; he was in Boston until at least the latter part of August, and he was in New York in early October.

New York Weekly Journal

October 24, 1743

The Gentlemen Subscribers to Dr. Spencer's Course of EXPERIMENTAL PHILOSOPHY are desired to meet at *Mrs. Parmyter's* in *Beaver-Street* on *Tuesday* the first Day of *November* at three o'clock in the Afternoon; at which Time he proposes to begin the first LECTURE.

Spencer also advertised in the *New York Post-Boy* for January 16, 1743/4, and in the *New York Weekly Journal* for January 23, 1743/4. He soon became known to the scientific leaders

⁸ Carl Bridenbaugh, ed., *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton* (Chapel Hill, 1948), p. 189.

⁹ Dr. Alexander Hamilton had visited it when he was in Newport on August 20, 1744. *Gentleman's Progress*, pp. 151-152.

¹⁰ "An historical account of the wonderful discoveries, made in Germany, &c. concerning Electricity," *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, II (December, 1745), 530-537. This article was reprinted from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1745, pp. 193-197. An "Extract of a Letter from Newport, Feb. 28, 1745-6" printed in the *Boston Evening Post* for March 3, 1746, makes it clear that "An historical account" started Claggett in his electrical experiments.

of pre-revolutionary America; James Alexander wrote to Cadwalader Colden that Spencer had told him of a comet which "was Seen by the people."¹¹ Alexander first saw the comet one evening while Spencer was dining with him.

From New York Spencer went to Philadelphia, where he advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for April 26, 1744, that the first lecture of his *second* course of experimental philosophy in that city would begin on May 10. His advertisements also appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for May 3 and July 26. Here, as in Boston and New York, Spencer's course was popular: the April 26 advertisement was printed after finding that "A greater Number of Gentlemen having subscribed to *Dr. Spencer's* first Course of EXPERIMENTAL PHILOSOPHY, than can be conveniently accommodated at a Time. . . ."

Spencer attended at least one meeting of the infant (American) Philosophical Society. John Bartram wrote to Cadwalader Colden on April 29, 1744, "On next fifth day night we are to have another meeting [of "*our Philosophical Society*"] where Doctor Spence [*sic*] will accompany us. [H]e exhibits Phylosophical Lectures now of Philadelphia & approves of our design: offers to take our proposals¹² with him to the west indies with a favourable account of our proceedings."¹³ In addition to lecturing and taking part in the social and intellectual life of Philadelphia, Spencer also practised medicine there. A letter by Spencer, interesting for the light it sheds on his character as well as for the medical theory of the time, is preserved in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania:

Letter of Drs. Spencer and Zachary¹⁴
to Samuel Blunston, July 18, 1744

Sir

We are of Opinion that Nature was kind to you in endeavoring to discharge the Redundancy of Blood which your Sanguine Con-

¹¹ *The Letters and Papers of Cadwalader Colden* (New York Historical Society Collections for 1917-23, 1934-35), III (for 1919), 46.

¹² Benjamin Franklin, *A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge among the British Plantations in America* (Philadelphia, 1743).

¹³ MS, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Quoted by permission.

¹⁴ Spencer wrote and signed the letter; Zachary added, "We could not get an oppo sooner after considering Thy Letter."

Dr. Lloyd Zachary had studied at St. Thomas's Hospital (there is a certificate in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania from St. Thomas's dated June 15,

stitution is subject to. You live well and no doubt like other men you are apt when in agreeable Company to leap over the Bounds of strict Temperance both in Eating and Drinking. It is a misfortune we are all liable to and unless our Depletions by Exercise or other Means be in Proportion to our Repletions we must succumb to the direful Effects of Plenitude. We are talking to a man of sense or otherwise we would not thus freely tell you our Sentiments. According to the Proverb *Contraria contrariis curantur*, you therefore acted to your own Prejudice and against Nature in stopping so suddenly the Flux of Blood. For tho' the Discharge ever became a Disease yet it ought to have been restrain'd very gradually by the most gentle methods and not at once by so strong an Astringent as the Juice of green Yarrow. You did however well in letting Blood and living low which on considering the Symptoms have hitherto prevented an Apoplexy or Palsy of your right side. We now proceed to Advice.—Take four of the Pills sent you¹⁵ every Morning and Evening and now and then the Quantity of an Nutmeg of the Elecbuary about ten in the Morning in Case the Pills procure you not at least two or three stools every Day. At the same time strictly observe the following Regimen.

1. Eat of such Meats only as are Young and of easy Digestion, with a sufficient Quantity of well baked Bread.

2. Chew your Victuals thoroughly and drink at your meals Water with a little Wine.

3. Eat little at a time tho' you should oftner, but sparingly at supper.

4. Abstain from Pork, Salted Meats, Greasy Sauces, the Skin and Fat of Meats, and in short all visced Foods.

Lastly, use the Flesh Brush every Morning and moderate Exercise on Horseback.

On September 14, 1744, Dr. Alexander Hamilton delivered a letter from Dr. Thomas Moffatt to Dr. Spencer who was at "the coffee house" in Philadelphia in the company of Dr. John Mitchell and Dr. Phineas Bond.¹⁶ Spencer probably re-

1725, which says that he has studied surgery "for 12 months" and has attended courses of anatomy and operations). Since Spencer was recommended by Dr. Richard Mead, who was associated with St. Thomas's for some time, I thought that Spencer might have studied there. Miss E. M. McInnes, Archivist, and Mr. Frederick A. Lubbs, Librarian of St. Thomas's, have kindly assured me in correspondence that there is no record of Spencer at St. Thomas's, but that that does not preclude his having studied there.

¹⁵ The pills were sent with the letter "in a small packet."

¹⁶ *Gentleman's Progress*, p. 189.

mained in the Philadelphia area until the spring of 1745. Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, in his preface to *An Essay on the West-India Dry-Gripes*, dated March 25, 1742, wrote, "I must not omit this Opportunity of returning Thanks to my learned and worthy Friend, Dr. A. Spencer, of Philadelphia (who is justly recommended by the famous Dr. Mead, and several eminent Gentlemen of the Faculty in London, as a most judicious and experienced Physician and Man-midwife), for his Trouble in revising this Essay, as well as for imbellishing it with some curious and useful Observations, which he would not suffer me to point out to the Reader."¹⁷

Before the fall of 1745, Archibald Spencer went to Virginia. Dr. John Mitchell wrote from his home in Urbanna, Virginia, on September 10, 1745, to Cadwalader Colden that he was sorry to learn "by Dr. Spencer" that the plans for the Philosophical Society had been dropped.¹⁸ Colden, in his reply, remembered to send his respects to Spencer.¹⁹ Archibald Spencer intended to settle in Williamsburg. His advertisement of the course of experimental philosophy in the *Virginia Gazette* for January 9, 1746, concluded, "Catalogues of the Experiments may be had gratis, at his House in Williamsburg, where the Course is to be performed."²⁰

Spencer applied for the vacant mathematical professorship of William and Mary College, was refused, and, probably in 1747 or early in 1748, returned to England. He hoped to be ordained. A letter by the Reverend William Robinson, Minister of Stratton Major, King and Queen County, Virginia, dated July 27, 1748, to Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, tells of Spencer's unorthodox (though not uncommon) religious views and something of his character.

¹⁷ Thomas Cadwalader, *An Essay on the West-India Dry-Gripes* (Philadelphia, 1745), pp. v-vi. See William S. Middleton, "Thomas Cadwalader and his Essay," *Annals of Medical History*, 3d ser., III (1941), 101-113.

¹⁸ *The Colden Papers*, VIII (for 1934), 321.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 338.

²⁰ In a letter dated March 2, 1961, Edward M. Riley, Director of Research at Colonial Williamsburg, kindly replied to my question concerning Spencer's house: "We have searched diligently to locate the house of Dr. Spencer in Williamsburg, but we have not identified it. Either he rented a house and no report was made, or he owned a house in the James City County portion of Williamsburg and the records were destroyed in the burning of Richmond in 1865."

I think it therefore my Duty to advertise your Lordship, that there is one Alex: Spencer,²¹ a man pretty well advanc'd in years, and recommended to your Lordship for Holy Orders. He has travelled through several of the British Provinces on this Continent; but I am apt to believe made no long stay in any one, for he seems to be a Man of a very unsettled Disposition—He came into this Province about three Years ago, and settled in Williamsburgh as a Physician; during his abode there, which was of no long continuance, the Mathematical Professorship of Wm & Mary Coll. became Vacant, he made application to the Visitors of the Coll. for that Professorship, but was rejected—Some little time after this, he sufficiently discover'd his Principles to the Rev^d Mr. John Fox Min^r of Ware, Who told me, in presence of several Gentlemen, that Spencer declar'd to him, in some discourse he had with him, that he was a Deist, and did not believe the Scripture—This was a bold declaration to one whom he had but a little before appli'd to for the Professorship. Mr. Fox being one of the Visitors. As to his Morals, My Lord, I am so little acquainted with him, that I can say nothing of my own knowledge, but I have been credibly inform'd he is a great Gamester, that he has set up whole Nights at Dice.

Whether these things are known to the Persons who recommended him to your Lordship, I will not take upon to say; One would be inclin'd to think they are not. But I assure your Lordship, 'tis the common talk that Spencer the Deist is recommended to be a Parson.²²

Perhaps Bishop Gibson would not have allowed Spencer to become a minister, but Edmund Gibson died on September 6, 1748. Thomas Sherlock, at 70 years of age, formally accepted the Bishopric of London on October 1, 1748.²³ It must have been shortly after this that Bishop Sherlock talked with Archibald Spencer and asked him to sound out the opinion of the colonists regarding a Bishop in America. Spencer returned to America, talked to "merchants and Gentlemen of Philadelphia and New York," and brought back²⁴ the following report to the Bishop:

²¹ "Alex:" is evidently a mistake for Archibald; as Robinson says, he is "little acquainted with him."

²² Fulham Palace Papers 15, f. 50. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Edward M. Riley for calling this letter to my attention and for sending a typescript of it.

²³ Edward Carpenter, *Thomas Sherlock, 1687-1761* (London, 1936), p. 142.

²⁴ Although Spencer's trips back and forth between England and the colonies seem unusual, Spencer's letter seems to admit no other interpretation,

June 12, 1749

My Lord,

I would have done myself the Honour of waiting on your Lordship, had not Affairs prevented my coming to Town.

I made it my Business to converse with several Merchants and Gentlemen of Philadelphia and New York about what your Lordship mentioned to me. Their chief Objection against a suffragan Bishop is, That he will be invested with such a Power as would be inconsistent with the Privileges of the People in those Parts, and even interfere with the Rights of the several Proprietaries. I replied, that I believed he would have no more Power over the Laity, than what the Commissaries in the Colonies had already; but that the Advantages arising to Religion by having a suffragan Bishop would be so great, that I could not think any Man of Piety and Virtue, who considered them, would oppose so laudable a Design. Being desired to give my Reasons I proceeded thus,—That a Suffragan Bishop being on the Spot could be fully satisfied whether the Lives and Conversations of the Persons, desiring to be admitted to the Ministry, were in Fact as mentioned in their Recommendatory Letters; and that he would be such a Check upon their future Behaviour, as to deter them from those Gross Irregularities, which the Laity are too apt to charge some of them with.—In a Word, I found the Gentlemen I conversed with unanimously to agree, that if the Affair was on such a Footing as I had endeavour'd to represent it, they would be so far from opposing such a Design, that they would rather heartily concur with your Lordship in promoting so good a scheme.

I shall always think myself happy in receiving and obeying your Lordship's Commands. If, therefore, My Lord, you think proper to honour me with any more Orders; your Lordship may direct to me at Mr. Richard Burgis's in Rochester, where I may be till the middle of next month.²⁵

Despite Rev. William Robinson's protest, "Spencer the Deist" was ordained a minister: on August 30, 1749, he was licensed for Virginia; and on September 20, 1749, he received the royal bounty of £ 20 "to perform the Ministerial Office in

²⁵ This letter, minus the first paragraph, and with a few slight textual differences, is printed by Arthur L. Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (New York, 1902), Appendix VIII, p. 310; cf. pp. 115-116. My copy is taken from the transcript in the "S. P. G. Missions" Box of the Fulham Palace Papers in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress.

Virginia in America."²⁶ Spencer waited until the spring of 1750 to return to the colonies. After arriving in Virginia in June of 1750, Spencer immediately left for Maryland, "having," he wrote, "the Promise of a Parish in this Province." Dr. Archibald Spencer, like all distinguished visitors to Annapolis from 1745 to 1755, was invited to attend the meetings of the Annapolis Tuesday Club "as a Stranger"; Dr. Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Tuesday Club, recorded in his "History of the Tuesday Club"²⁷ for the meeting of July 17, 1750:

At this Sederunt [*meeting*], for the first time, was Introduced into the Club, and Entertained as a Stranger, the Celebrated Dr. Rhubarb [*the club name for Dr. Spencer*], a person famous all over America for his great skill in Natural Philosophy and Free Masonry:²⁸ the first of which, he showed in his Curious and Learned experimental Lectures, held for the entertainment and amazement of the Ladies and Gentlemen, where he proved by the bye with great force of argument and Ingenuity [*sic*], that the raising of water in tubes or pumps was not done by suction, as is commonly believed, but by the gravity of the atmosphere;²⁹ his skill in the latter appeared in the many Learned disputes and altercations he had upon that mysterious Subject, with Mr. Chancellor Dogmaticus [*Rev. Alexander Malcolm*]³⁰ and Mr. Secretary Scribble [*Dr. Hamilton*]. We shall have occasion soon to show that Gentleman's profound knowledge in Grammar, Logic, the Equivocal Generation of Insects, and the Structure of Conundrums.³¹

Spencer attended the meetings of the Tuesday Club on July 17 and 31, September 11 and 18, October 9 and 23, and Novem-

²⁶ Edward Louis Goodwin, *The Colonial Church in Virginia* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1927), p. 308.

²⁷ Dr. Alexander Hamilton's "History of the Tuesday Club" is a lengthy, two-volume, bound manuscript deposited in the Library of the Johns Hopkins University. It is of importance as an index to the social life of colonial America and, as one would expect from Dr. Hamilton, reveals no little literary art.

²⁸ Dr. Hamilton was Master of the Annapolis Lodge of Freemasons.

²⁹ This was doubtlessly one of the experiments performed by Spencer in his lectures in Annapolis.

³⁰ Malcolm was a Warden of the Annapolis Lodge at this time. Edward T. Schultz, *History of Freemasonry in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1884-88), III, 258. For biographical sketches of Episcopal colonial clergy in Maryland, see Nelson Waite Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church* (Baltimore, 1956).

³¹ "History of the Tuesday Club," II, 206-207. I have retained the original spelling and capitalization, but have modified the punctuation for clarity. I am indebted to John H. Berthel, Librarian, and the Johns Hopkins Library for permission to quote this manuscript.

ber 6, 1750.³² Dr. Alexander Hamilton recorded the following argument for the meeting of September 11:

There were in the Club at this Sederunt, Invited as Strangers, according to ancient Custom, two very eminent persons as to learning and accomplishments, vizt: Dr. Rhubarb, whom we have mentioned before, and Dr. Prygos [*Rev. Dr. Towers*].³³

These two personages passed with many for very Eminent Scholars and Philosophers, and were doubtless so in their own opinion, for they both had an equal share of that sort of self opinion (I will not call it vanity) which is peculiar to that class of men. The discourse between them happened to be upon the nature of Insects, and the Polypus, a creature lately discovered by the Virtuosi, or Connoisseurs in the Secrets of nature, to have a power of multiplying itself, was the subject of their discourse and argument.³⁴ Dr. Rhubarb took most of the talk to himself, and Dr. Prygos seemed to show a great contempt for him, as professed Scholars and Philosophers will sometimes do for one another. But the ground of this Contempt was laid upon a Correction, which Dr. Rhubarb made, on an expression of Dr. Prygos, in a preceding conversation between them, wherein it appeared, that the first [*Spencer*] alledged, that the latter broke Priscian's head, and uttered false grammar: for Dr. Pyrgos having occasion to use the term *ex post facto*—Dr. Rhubarb being of opinion that the latter proposition *post*, and not the first *ex*, governed in this Case, harshly Interrupted him, and said, "*Ex post factum*, Sir!"—with an Emphasis.

Dr. Prygos repeated again, "*Ex post facto!*—with equal emphasis.

"*Ex post factum!*" says Dr. Rhubarb.

"*Ex post facto!*" says Dr. Pyrgos.

And thus the dispute continued for some time, without any other

³² Dr. Alexander Hamilton, "Records of the Tuesday Club," pp. 241, 245, 250, 254, 261, 266, and 267. The "Records of the Tuesday Club" are Hamilton's minutes, taken at the meetings or shortly after. These are brief, factual minutes, whereas the "History" is an elaborately and facetiously written document. The "Records," which are deposited at the Maryland Historical Society, give the actual names of the members and visitors. It should be noted that there is a continuation of the "History" from May 27, 1755, to February 11, 1756, deposited in the Library of Congress, Manuscript Division.

³³ I have been unable to identify the "Rev. Dr. Towers." A possible reading of Hamilton's script may be "Jowers."

³⁴ There are a number of articles on the polypus in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society from volume XLII (1742-43) to volume L (1757-58). Franklin had also read of the wonders of the polypus and included in his *Poor Richard* for 1751 in the long essay on "That admirable Instrument the MICROSCOPE" a section dealing with "that most unaccountable of all Creatures, the Polype" (folio D).

mode of reasoning, like two schoolboys that get at it tooth and nail, with "I say *yes*," and "I say *no*." But it is not known which of these philosophers had the last word. Again, what contrived to increase Dr. Pyrgos's contempt for this learned man, was an expression used by him, in a certain disputation, where one of the Company made use of the term *Ens rationis* (well known to logicians and metaphysicians) as a term of contempt, throwing a slur on his adversary's argument. The learned Dr. Rhubarb observed that the Gentleman was mistaken, or else must be supposed to speak Ironically; for that *Ens rationis* was the very quintessence of reason. This specimen of Dr. Rhubarb's grammatical and logical learning induced Dr. Prygos to conclude, that he was only a pretender to Literature, and, at best but a muddy-headed fellow. However, in their conversation at the Club, Dr. Rhubarb fell at last upon equivocal generation, a doctrine of the ancient philosophers, and happened to say, that he was almost induced to believe that there was such a thing in nature, from the infinite multitude of maggots that bred in a very short time in cheese and other substances.³⁵

While he was lengthening out his discourse, Dr. Prygos with a sneer said, "Pray, Sir!"

Dr. Rhubarb with a smile said, "Permit me, Sir."

"Prithee now," says Dr. Prygos.

"Look ye now, Sir," says Dr. Rhubarb.

"Poh! Poh!" says Dr. Prygos.

"These maggots, as I said, Sir," says Dr. Rhubarb.

"Maggots, Sir!" says Dr. Prygos.

"The maggots in the cheese, Sir," says Dr. Rhubarb.

"Pish! Pish! You mean the maggots in your brain and mine, Sir! says Dr. Prygos.

This raised a laugh in the Club, and here the Dispute ended, much to the satisfaction of the longstanding members, who, not understanding Logic, metaphysics, or physics, this discourse and dispute to them was dry and unentertaining.³⁶

At the next meeting of the Tuesday Club, September 18, 1750, Dr. Hamilton proposed the conundrum, "Why is a Sevil orange like a pox-curing quack?" As the members were unable to give the answer, Hamilton told them, "Because we have a peel (pill) from it." The club condemned the conundrum,

³⁵ See Anthony Van Lewenhoek, "The history of the generation of an insect, called the wolf; with observations on insects bred in rain water, cheese &c.," *Philosophical Transactions*, XVII (1693), 194.

³⁶ "History of the Tuesday Club," II, 225-227.

and Spencer did not let this opportunity to attack Hamilton pass.

The Learned and Ingenious Doctor Rhubarb observed upon this conundrum of the Secretarie's that there was a great Impropriety in its Structure: for that we not only had a pill from a Sevil Orange, but there was also abundance of Juice in it, if the orange was good, which observation he accompanied with an affected laugh, a thing very usual with that polite gentleman—by this he showed his great Judgment in the Art of Conundrum creation. None in the Club Contradicted this Doctor's Remarks, for they were generally much out of the reach of persons of Common understanding.³⁷

Spencer wrote to Bishop Sherlock from Annapolis on September 25, 1750, revealing, among, other things, that he had not yet been successful in securing a parish.

My Lord

I arrived in Virginia about the Beginning of June, but having the Promise of a Parish in this Province I came directly hither.

It is with Pleasure I tell your Lordship, That all the Gentlemen and men of sense in these Parts condemn not only Dr. Middleton's Arguments upon Miracles³⁸ but also his ungentill Manner of Disputing.

Your Lordship's Letter upon the Earthquake³⁹ I brought into this Province, where it has been read by most People with the greatest Approbation.—I remember the Governor,⁴⁰ one Day at his own Table, (where your Lordship's Health has been several Times drank) observed, That allowing the Earthquakes to be no Threatening from the Almighty, yet, as your Lordship's Letter tended to awaken the Consciences of harden'd Sinners and to make Mankind better, it certainly deserved the highest Encomium.

I shall ever retain such a due Sense of your Lordship's Goodness towards me, as to be ready on all Occasions to show my Gratitude.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 237.

³⁸ Conyers Middleton, *An Examination of the Lord Bishop of London's Discourses concerning the Use & Intent of Prophecy* (London, 1749). For a discussion of the controversy between Middleton and Sherlock, see Carpenter, pp. 306-310; for examples of Middleton's "ungentill Manner of Disputing," Carpenter, p. 309, note 51.

³⁹ Thomas Sherlock, *A Letter From the Lord Bishop of London, to the Clergy and People of London and Westminster, On Occasion of the Late Earthquake* (London, 1750); reprinted (at Spencer's suggestion?) in Williamsburg by W. Hunter in 1750.

⁴⁰ Samuel Ogle.

If therefore I can be of any service to your Lordship in these Parts, I hope to be honoured with your Commands which at all times shall be Cheerfully and punctually obeyed. I am with the greatest Esteem and Respect ⁴¹

The Bishop of London's *Letter upon the Earthquakes* (borrowing Spencer's title) was occasioned by a series of earthquakes that shook England, alarming the people, in the late winter of 1749-50. In addition to giving the customary admonition that the earthquakes were God's warning to a sinful people, Thomas Sherlock, contrary to the dominant intellectual mood, scorned the attempts of the scientists to explain the workings of the universe.

THOUGHTLESS or hardened Sinners may be deaf to these Calls; and Little Philosophers, who see a little, and but very little into natural Causes, may think they see enough to account for what happens, without calling in the Aid and Assistance of a special Providence; not considering, that God who made all Things, never put any Thing out of his own Power, but has all Nature under Command to serve his Purposes in the Government of the World. . . .⁴²

Sherlock's attack against deistic books and their popularity in America is an especially relevant passage.

How has the Press for many Years past swarm'd with Books, some to dispute, some to ridicule the great Truths of Religion, both natural and revealed. I shall mention no particular Cases, there is no need for it; the Thing is notorious. I wish the Guilt in this Instance was confined to the Authors only, and that no body else was answerable for it: But the Earnestness with which these Books were sought after, the Pleasure and Approbation with which they were received, are too strong Indications of the general Taste to be dissembled; and the Industry used to disperse these Books at home and abroad, and especially to our Plantations in *America*; to which great Numbers, and at a great Expence have been conveyed; are Proofs of such Malice against the Gospel and the Holy Author of it; . . .⁴³

⁴¹ A note at the end of the letter reads, "Your Lordship may direct to me at Benedict Calvert's Esqr in Annapolis, Maryland." Taken from the transcript in the "Fulham Palace MSS., Maryland" Box in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. This letter has been summarized and quoted in part by Bernard C. Steiner, "Some Unpublished Manuscripts from Fulham Palace Relating to Provincial Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XII (1917), 141.

⁴² Sherlock, p. 5.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

The Reverend Archibald Spencer did not, of course, say that he disagreed with the Bishop of London; he said that the Governor of Maryland did not believe that the earthquakes were threatenings from God. Whether or not the Governor said this, "Spencer the Deist" would prefer a naturalistic explanation. On the 26th of September, the day after Spencer wrote to Sherlock, the *Maryland Gazette* carried an editorial note regarding Spencer's lectures: "We hear that the Rev. Dr. Spencer will begin his Lectures, on Tuesday next at Three of the Clock in the Afternoon." The only information I have found regarding them is by Dr. Hamilton (above). Doubtless they were similar to his earlier ones: a combination of experimental philosophy (science) and medicine.⁴⁴

On November 6, 1750, Spencer visited the Tuesday Club for the last time. After this episode, it may be that he and Dr. Hamilton never spoke to one another again.

This was the last Sederunt, on which that Celebrated Philosopher Dr. Rhubarb, honored the club with his presence, being Invited as a Stranger, according to ancient custom. For it unluckily happened that the Secretary and he had some warm disputes on some mathematical subjects, in which kind of Science, the aforesaid and learned Doctor would not allow the Secretary to be a Judge, and began to Catechise him on that point, as he thought, by desiring him to give a proper definition of an Astronomical Term, which that sagacious Philosopher called the "Procession of the equinoxes," which "Procession," had he called it "Precession," as it is thought he ought to have done, had nothing to do with the science of mathematics in general, as belonging properly to astronomy (and a man may possibly be a good mathematician and yet a sorry astronomer). The dispute at which some sharp words passed, was not in any likelihood ever to come to a conclusion, since the one gentleman, as the proverb goes, talked of chalk and the other of cheese; and besides, the subject was not within the Compass of a proper Clubical Conversation, that is, it exceeded the understanding of most there present; however the result was that the Phi-

⁴⁴I. Bernard Cohen discusses the content of Spencer's lectures in "Benjamin Franklin and the Mysterious 'Dr. Spence' . . ." (note 2). In addition to Cohen's excellent evaluation, I can only call attention to Dr. Cadwalader's comment, "The Effects produced in the human Body by a heavy or light Atmosphere, and according as it is affected by Cold, Heat, Moisture, or Dryness, were fully and clearly explained in the Philosophical Lectures exhibited by Dr. Spencer . . ." *Essay*, p. 29 n.

losopher was so disgusted with the Club, as a parcell of Ignoramuses, and the Club with the Philosopher, as an ostentatious pedant, that neither chused to converse together, ever since this learned Altercation.⁴⁵

Reverend William Brogden, Minister of All Hallows Parish, Anne Arundel County, presented an appointment to the parish of Queen Anne, Prince George's County, on October 1, 1751. His appointment to Queen Anne's was dated by the Governor September 11, 1751.⁴⁶ Spencer was given the living of All Hallows in Anne Arundel County, probably in September of 1751.⁴⁷ The only mention of a minister's name in the records of All Hallows Parish between 1750 and 1760 is for March 29, 1752, when "Mr. Richard Moore and Miss Mary Magdalen West were married with License by the Revd Mr. Archibald Spencer."⁴⁸

Spencer was evidently unpopular with a number of people. On July 15, 1751, the Reverend William Dawson⁴⁹ wrote to the Bishop of London:

Mr. Menzies brought me Your Lordship's most obliging Favour of Decr. 25th 1750. Soon after, one of an older Date; namely, Sept. 20th 1750, came to Hand. That of the 3^d or 13th of Sepr 1749, I never received. Mr. Douglas, ordained about that Time, informed me, that he waited on Your Lordship for Your commands to Virginia, and Your Lordship told him, that You had a little before sent me a Letter by an elderly Clergyman, whom I take to be Dr. Spencer, now in Maryland, and who, I suspect, has suppressed it, he having done me other ill Offices, because I [*could*] not in Conscience heartily recommend him for Orders.⁵⁰

The meeting house of another flourishing club of colonial Maryland was only a stone's throw from All Hallows Parish

⁴⁵ "History of the Tuesday Club," II, 258-259.

⁴⁶ Rightmyer, p. 166.

⁴⁷ I have searched in vain for any record of this.

⁴⁸ Register of All Hallows Parish, Anne Arundel County, 1685-1858, p. 132, Maryland Historical Society.

⁴⁹ Dawson (1704-1752) was Commissary of Virginia and President of the College of William and Mary. In addition, he was an important colonial poet. Harold Lester Dean, "An Identification of the 'Gentleman of Virginia,'" *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXXI (1937), 10-20.

⁵⁰ William Stevens Perry, *Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Virginia, 1650-1776* (Hartford, 1870), p. 377.

Church.⁵¹ On July 10, 1755, Archibald Spencer, Henry Woodward, and Thomas Gassaway were elected members of the Ancient South River Club.⁵² Spencer was active in the club for at least nine months: September 4 and 18, 1755, he provided the refreshments and food; and on January 22, 1756, he agreed to supply the club with copies of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for 5 shillings a year. On February 5, he delivered the first of the Pennsylvania papers; as his name does not again appear in the minutes it seems likely that he stopped attending the meetings shortly after this date.

On November 29, 1758, Archibald Spencer and others petitioned the Maryland Assembly that "an Allowance may be made them in the Public Levy or otherwise for a quantity of Tobacco burnt in October Last at Howard's Point Warehouse in Anne Arundel County." Spencer's petition was indorsed in the Upper House and given by Benedict Calvert to the Speaker for the consideration of the Lower House.⁵³ No further reference to the petition appeared; it was probably not acted upon.

Spencer became ill in the fall of 1759, and on November 29, 1759, made out his will. He left all his property ("my books and papers excepted which I give unto Daniel Dulany") to my nearest relation Ann Brown . . . towards her Support and maintenance until She Shall Marry or attain her Age of Twenty-one⁵⁴ . . . and on her Marriage or age which shall first happen I give to her at her disposal the whole principle of everything belonging unto me. But in case the said Ann Brown should die unmarried and within her age aforesaid then what I have given to the said Ann Brown I give unto Daniel Dulany Esq.⁵⁵

On January 13, 1760, Archibald Spencer died. His obituary appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* for January 17, 1760.

Sunday Evening last Died here, Aged 62, the Reverend Archibald Spencer, M. D. and Rector of Allhallows Parish in this County, a

⁵¹ See the map in Thomson King, Chairman, The Historical Committee of the South River Club, *The Ancient South River Club* (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1952).

⁵² The Minute Book of the South River Club. Photostats of the Minute Book are deposited in the Maryland Historical Society.

⁵³ *Arch. Md.*, LVI, 44-45, 79.

⁵⁴ Ann Brown was born (according to Spencer's figures) on May 1, 1745. She was "now living with Mrs. Jennings widow of Thomas Jennings." In 1763 she married Joseph Watkins.

⁵⁵ H. R., Original Wills, Box S, Folder 77. Quoted by permission.

Gentleman much Esteem'd by his Acquaintance, and well known in many Parts of this Continent for his Lectures in Experimental Philosophy. While he seemed in good Health, and a little Time before he was attacked by the Disorder of which he Died, he declared, with great Indifference, his Expectation of a speedy Death, and afterwards met his Fate with a singular Constancy and Resignation.

On April 24, 1760, Jonas Green, acting as Vendue-master, auctioned off the goods belonging to Spencer's estate for £233 .4 .9.⁵⁶ Spencer's possessions at his death included the following books and items of interest:

The Reverend Thomas Bacon bought "Books of Physick, Experimental Philosophy, with some small pamphlets" for £10.⁵⁷

Dr. [Richard?] Brooke bought "1 prim" for 5s.

William Cummings bought "The Life of James Fitz James" for 4s.⁵⁸

James Dickson bought "A Large Bible" for 10s 6d; "A Parcel of Books" for £1; "A Parcel of Books on Divinity" for 10s; and "A Parcel of small Books" for 5s 6d.

Daniel Dulany⁵⁹ bought "Tillotson's Sermons, 13 vols"⁶⁰ for £3 3s; "A Compendious System of N. Philosophy"⁶¹ for 7s 6d; "Huroms Observations"⁶² for 7s 6d; "A New Compendious Dictionary" for 5s.

Alexander Ferguson bought "A Parcel of Pamphlets" for 2s 9d.

John Golder bought "A Quantity of Antimony" for 2s; and "A Parcel of Medicines" for £2 15s.

Jonas Green Bought "Boyer's Dictionary"⁶³ for 12s 6d; "Gor-

⁵⁶ Maryland Hall of Records, Probate Records, Inventories, 1763 Anne Arundel, Liber 81, folio 275.

⁵⁷ Joseph T. Wheeler, "Reading Interests of the Professional Classes in Colonial Maryland," Md. Hist. Mag., XXXVI (1941), 184-201, 281-301, includes the library of Thomas Bacon on pp. 190-191. Thirty per cent of Bacon's library was devoted to medical books, but only a few titles on "Experimental Philosophy" were among his books. I believe that some of these books were those purchased from Spencer's estate: "Quincy's Chymical Lectures; Bayles Dictionary; Boerhaaves Chymistry; Desaguliers Philosophy; Lowthrops Philosophical Transactions, 5 vols.; Newton's Principia; Willsons Chemistry; and Rutherford on Natural Philosophy."

⁵⁸ Guillaume Plantavit de La Pause, Abbe de Margon, *The Life of James Fitz-James, Duke of Berwick* (London, 1738).

⁵⁹ Dulany could have had all Spencer's books and papers; evidently he chose to contribute to the support of Ann Brown.

⁶⁰ An edition of John Tillotson's sermons.

⁶¹ John Rowning, *A Compendious System of Natural Philosophy* (London, 1744).

⁶² I have been unable to identify this.

⁶³ Abel Boyer, one of the numerous editions of his English-French dictionary.

dan's Paradoxes Solved" for 1s 3d; "A Parcel of Almanacs" for 6d; "History of Philosophical Memoirs"⁶⁴ for 16s; "A Glass Calender" for 1s 9d; and "A Guntor's Scal with a Brass Dial" for 6d.

Jasper Hall bought "Pamphlets" for 2s.

Thomas Peckor bought "A Table Book" for 4s 3d; and "A Quantity of Antimony" for 1s 3d.

Philip at William Reynolds⁶⁵ bought "Jary's Sermons"⁶⁶ for 9d; "The Young Clerk's Tutor"⁶⁷ for 1s 3d; and "A French Grammar" for 2s 9d.

Dr. John Schaw bought "A Vocabulary in Six Languages"⁶⁸ for 2s; "A Parcel of Books" for £ 1; "A Description and Use of the Globes"⁶⁹ for 5s; "Some old Numbers of Anatomy"⁶² for 3s; "A System of the Planets"⁶² for 2s; and "Seven Magazines" for 1s 6d.

Robert Swan bought "Laybourns Dialling"⁷⁰ for 1s 6d; "The London Brewer"⁷¹ for 4s 6d; "Lock upon Human Understanding 2 vols"⁷² for 16s; "Farencis [sic] Comedys in Latin and English with a Prayer book"⁷³ for 5s; "A Parcel of Pamphlets and Sermons" for 3s 6d; and "A Parcel of Manuscript Sermons" for 15s.

Philip Syng bought "A Pocket Book"⁷⁴ for 1s 3d.

On September 30, 1763, Robert Swan, Executor, settled the estate of Archibald Spencer who left £ 589 .0 .11½ to Ann (Brown) Watkins.⁷⁵

⁶⁴ Academie des Sciences, Paris. *Philosophical History and Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences; or, An Abridgement of all the Papers . . .* (London, 1742).

⁶⁵ It is interesting to note that an indentured servant or slave had the money and intellectual interests to purchase books.

⁶⁶ Could this be a collection of sermons by Lawrence Juillard, Abbe Du Jarry?

⁶⁷ An edition of John Hawkins and Edward Cocker, *The Young Clerk's Tutor*.

⁶⁸ R. John Andree, *Vocabulary in Six Languages, English, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese . . .* (London, 1725).

⁶⁹ Probably an edition of Benjamin Martin, *Description and Use of both the Globe, the Armillary Sphere, and Orrery*; but possibly Theophilus Grew, *A Description and Use of the Globes* (Germantown, 1753).

⁷⁰ An edition of William Leybourne, *The Art of Dialling . . .*

⁷¹ Possibly a volume of *The London and Country Brewer*, 3 vols. (London, 1736-1738).

⁷² An edition of John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*.

⁷³ Publius Terentius Afer, *Terence's Comedies*. A two volume edition in Latin and English edited by S. Patrick appeared in London in 1745 and again in 1750, and a similar edition by "Mr. Cooke" appeared in 1749 and in 1755.

⁷⁴ Possibly an edition of *The Constables Pocket-Book: or, a Dialogue Between an Old Constable & a New . . .*

⁷⁵ Maryland Hall of Records. Probate Records 1635-1776, Accounts, 1763 Anne Arundel, Liber 49, folio 540. Before payments, Spencer's estate amounted to £ 687 .17 .5 and 3/4ths.

SIDELIGHTS

WILLIAM PATTERSON AND "OLD IRONSIDES"

By HAROLD D. LANGLEY

Generations of American school children were exposed to the stirring stanzas of Oliver Wendell Holmes' poem "Old Ironsides"; and with their lines they learned that his verses saved the frigate *Constitution* from being destroyed. Many of them also heard that the ship was preserved as memento of the early days of the Navy and the country. From time to time children and their parents were asked to contribute funds to repair the ship in order that the work of building tradition might be carried on. Within recent years a document has come to light which shows that William Patterson, of Baltimore, attempted to preserve "Old Ironsides" as a national shrine two years before Holmes wrote his poem.

William Patterson had a long and honored association with Baltimore and its civic and maritime interests. Born in Ireland in 1752 he was brought by his parents to Pennsylvania while an infant. As a young man of fourteen, he was apprenticed to a Philadelphia merchant named Samuel Jackson, from whom he learned the ways of the commercial world. Patterson was an apt pupil and showed a great keenness for trade. When he reached his majority he went into the shipping business on his own.

Sensing that the tensions between the American colonies and Great Britain might lead to fighting, in 1775 he invested all he could raise to send three ships to Europe where they sold their merchandise and returned with military supplies. By the time these vessels were on their way back the war had already begun, and two of them were captured by the British. One made port safely, and Patterson sold his cargo at a great profit. It marked the beginning of his acquisition of a personal fortune.¹

This venture led him to others. For a time he conducted trade with the colonies from his headquarters in the West Indies, first on the island of St. Eustacius and later at Martinique. In 1778 he went to Baltimore and settled there. Half of his fortune was invested in real estate as security against reverses in the shipping

¹ *DAB*, XIV, 309; *Niles' Weekly Register*, XLVII, 119.

business. Already a rich man, he was soon to become a prominent citizen of his adopted city.

While building his fortune Patterson did not neglect his personal life. He married Dorcas Spear who bore him thirteen children, several of whom died in infancy. Later, in 1803, Patterson acquired additional prominence when his daughter, Betsey, married Jerome Bonaparte, a brother of the Emperor Napoleon. This marriage ended in divorce in 1812.²

As for William Patterson, he devoted himself to shipping, to real estate, to philanthropy, and to the interests of his country and his city. During the closing months of the American Revolution, he was one of the Baltimore merchants who contributed money to Lafayette for the Yorktown campaign. Patterson himself saw service with the 1st Maryland Cavalry on that peninsula. In the years before the War of 1812 he helped to raise money to complete Fort McHenry, and during the war he assisted in getting supplies for the garrison.

In peacetime, he served as the first President of the Bank of Maryland, as an organizer of the Merchants Exchange Bank, and as a planner and director of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. His civic activities also included his efforts to preserve Baltimore's navigation facilities, to lay out its new streets, and to give it monuments and a park.³

It is not improbable that this civic and commercial minded gentleman noticed a small item in *Niles' Weekly Register* announcing the arrival in Boston on July 2, 1828 of the frigate *Constitution* after a three-year cruise in the Mediterranean.⁴ But wherever he heard the news, the arrival of that ship prompted him to write to Secretary of the Navy, Samuel L. Southard, on July 15, as follows:

Observing that the Frigate *Constitution* (commonly called old *Ironsides*) has lately arrived at Boston. It has often occurred to me, that the best possible use that could be made of that Celebrated vessel would be to have her holed up at the Navy yard in Washington, a parment [sic] House built over her & kept for the admiration & benefit of future generations. She has fortunately done more than any other single vessel ever did or probably will ever do again, and ought not to die a natural or premature death, which she consequently must do if continued in service, our Navy must be come [sic] the great protection & dependence of this Country and what an example, excitement & stimulis [sic] would the

² *DAB*, XIV, 309-310.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXXIV, 313.

Bones, I may say, of old Ironsides be to young Naval officers yet unborn, exposed to their view at the seat of government. It would do more to promote the Interest & stability of our Navy than many Victories. I hope therefore, that on consideration, [the] administration will see this object in the light it strikes me, & no longer risk so celebrated a vessel to chance & the danger of the seas. Having the success of our Navy much at heart, I trust you will pardon the freedom I now take in offering my sentiments on so momentous [*sic*] a subject.—⁵

According to the endorsement on this letter, Southard answered it on July 18, but his reply has not been located.⁶ Other materials in the archives of the Navy Department, and the subsequent history of the ship, suggest to this writer what the answer may have been. Southard probably thanked Patterson for his interest and said that the ship was still needed by the Navy and could not be retired to inactive service as yet. She would be repaired and made ready for future use. It is not unlikely that Southard expressed an interest in Patterson's scheme, but for economic and other reasons he may have considered it premature or unrealistic. At any rate, the ship went into drydock and was surveyed.⁷ On July 19, *Niles' Register* referred to her as "the *pet-ship* of our navy," when it reprinted an item from the *Boston Commercial Gazette* that contained the following paragraph:

She is now to undergo all necessary repairs, and on the first emergency will, forthwith, be ready to serve her country. About seven years since she was hove out and completely examined at the navy yard in Charlestown, when her timbers, &c. were found in a remarkable good order, a fact which, after twenty-five years wear and tear and hard service redounds not a little to the credit of the old fashioned mechanics of Boston.⁸

William Patterson may well have felt that the ship was in good hands. But before the *Constitution* was again ready for sea, the

⁵ William Patterson to S. L. Southard, July 15, 1828, Samuel Southard Papers, Correspondence, Box 27, Princeton University Library.

⁶ No reply was found in the letter books of the Secretary of the Navy in the Navy Records Branch of the National Archives, in the Southard Papers at Princeton University, or in the collections of Southard material at the Library of Congress and the New York Public Library.

⁷ Appendix G to the annual report of the Secretary of the Navy for 1828 gives the condition of the *Constitution* as follows: "The frame generally is believed to be sound, but will require new planking, from the wales inclusive to the rail; new ceiling in the hold, and new berth deck and orlop decks, beams and knees, spar deck new planked, galleries and head, &c.; caulking and coppering throughout": *Senate Documents*, 20th Congress 2d session, I, doc. 1, 169.

⁸ *Niles' Weekly Register*, 332-333.

election of 1828 took place. John Quincy Adams was defeated for reelection, so Southard and the rest of the Cabinet stepped aside to usher in the era of Andrew Jackson. The new President appointed John Branch of North Carolina to be his Secretary of the Navy. Branch soon proved that he was a very different Secretary than Southard, and his administration irritated many officers.⁹

What William Patterson thought about these things has not been ascertained. If the "Old Ironsides" project was still in his mind, he must have been disturbed by reports that the Secretary of the Navy was contemplating the disposal of the ship on the grounds that she was not worth the cost of repair. If Patterson's concern for the ship did not prompt the publication of the following item in *Niles' Register*, he must have been disturbed to read that:

. . . A report has spread abroad that the secretary of the navy wishes to *sell* the frigate Constitution! We do not believe it; or if so, cannot apprehend that those having superior authority will permit a proceeding so repugnant to the best feelings of the people. If unworthy of repairs, let her be hauled up on the land, and have a house built over her, to remain as long as her wood and iron will hold together, a pioneer in breaking the boast—that

the winds and sea are Britain's wide domains,
And not a sail without permission spreads.¹⁰

But all was not lost. A similar item in a Boston paper caught the eye and the spirit of a young student named Oliver Wendell Holmes. The poem he wrote and published aroused the public sufficiently to save the ship. John Branch had been checkmated! *Niles' Register* carried the good news to its readers.

The frigate *Constitution*, "old Ironsides," it seems is now to be repaired, immediately. The idea of selling this ship, if ever entertained, is abandoned—and we hope, will be, while one of her timbers shall last.¹¹

Patterson must have been pleased by the outcome, although a long time would pass before the ship would be the shrine that he envisioned. At the time of Patterson's death in February 1835, the ship was still an honored old veteran on active service. Two weeks

⁹ Thomas Harris, *The Life and Services of Commodore William Bainbridge, United States Navy* (Philadelphia, 1837), 240-243; Charles F. Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, . . . (Philadelphia, 1876), VIII, 354; Charles O. Paullin, "Naval Administration Under the Navy Commissioners, 1815-1842," *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, XXXIII, 633.

¹⁰ *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXXIX, 57.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 93.

after he was laid to rest *Niles' Register* carried a story about the great activity in the Navy Yard at Boston to prepare the *Constitution* and another ship for sea service as quickly as possible.¹² It was the beginning of another cruise that ended successfully.

William Patterson did many things in his lifetime for which he was gratefully remembered. His attempt to save "Old Ironsides" is in keeping with his other projects for the benefit of future generations.

¹² *Ibid.*, XLVII, 426.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

"The Winterthur Series": *Grandeur on the Appoquinimink: The House of William Corbit at Odessa, Delaware*. By JOHN A. H. SWEENEY. A Winterthur Series Book. [Newark (Del.)]: University of Delaware Press, 1959. xiv, 146. \$6.50.

Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade, 1785-1835. By JEAN McCLURE MUDGE. A Winterthur Series Book. [Newark (Del.)]: University of Delaware Press, 1962. xxii, 284. \$15.00.

June 1964 will see the graduation of the tenth class in the University of Delaware's Winterthur Program in Early American Culture. The Program, designed to allow graduate students of American culture to learn a new approach to their field through the stupendous collections of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, has produced more than fifty graduates, now occupying important scholarly positions (primarily in museums) across the country. Each of these graduates produced a thesis for his master's degree, on some special aspect of American culture. Surpassingly thorough, most of the theses are also dramatically good in providing interpretation of new bodies of data. That many of these theses are eminently worth publishing is underscored by these two volumes, the first of the Winterthur Series, each of them being a revision of its author's Winterthur Program thesis. Their individual excellence points up the collective failure: that the Winterthur Series, after five years in being, has only two titles, when it should have thirty or forty.

John Sweeney's concise text summons up the physical landscape and the social situation amid which William Corbit, successful Quaker tanner, built his house at Odessa, Delaware, in the early 1770's. Mr. Sweeney, a native Delawarean who is now Curator of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, writes in an exceedingly graceful style, synthesizing the remarkably complete records of the house and the man, which include Corbit's own building accounts, the bill from the carpenter and chief contractor, Robert May, the will, inventory, and estate division of Corbit (all the above reproduced in appendices), and other papers. The result is a superb document of 18th-century life in the lands below Phila-

delphia: one from which all readers interested in the Maryland-Delaware-Pennsylvania area will profit.

Jean Mudge's extremely thorough book is an encyclopedia of the Chinese porcelains bought in such enormous quantities by Americans of the Federal period. Based on the results of Mrs. Mudge's exhaustive search for documentary references (she used the manuscript collections of 19 separate institutions) and documented objects, it is necessarily the standard work in this field. The lucid descriptions of the making and decorating, wholesaling, transporting, retailing and use of Chinese export porcelain in America, make *Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade* basic to the interests of collectors and to the studies of economic and social historians. A particularly interesting aspect is Mrs. Mudge's discussion of the decline in the use of Chinese export porcelain in the 1820's and after, stemming from the decline in quality of the ware itself, the flooding of the American market with English wares, and the rise of interest in French-style porcelains (chiefly European, though including Tucker's productions also).

Marylanders will be especially interested in the section on Baltimore as a China Ware port, and the illustrations of porcelain objects originally owned by Marylanders and now in Maryland institutions—especially the soup plate from the extremely fine dinner service originally owned by Jeremiah Townley Chase (figure 59), the lighthouse coffeepot with the Nicholson crest (figure 61), and the handsome punch bowl originally owned by Samuel Sprigg (figure 61), all in the Maryland Historical Society.

In a work with so many quotations from original sources, the degree of accuracy seems almost unbelievable. Aside from the interchange of figures 40c and 40d and an apparent misprint on page 67 (18 teapots sold for 9 shillings by the same merchant who was noted as charging 8 shillings for only 1 teapot, in an earlier reference), the only questions raised for me are those of fringe information and interpretation: On page 18, Mrs. Mudge records that "America was still second only to England in numbers of ships and in tonnage." I would find it useful to have this elucidated by the figures themselves. I should think that the "Stone Tea Pots" on page 67 would be interpreted more appropriately as English white saltglaze stoneware than as Chinese export porcelain. Mrs. Mudge's recommendation of the 18th-century term "China Ware" as a short and useful title seems very appropriate, but I personally find somewhat infelicitous its transformation into "the chinaware." I am not certain that I agree with the point (p. 43) that American appreciation of porcelain objects "in the early, precarious years of

the new nation" was for their utility and not their beauty; the 18th-century concept of right form, "neatness," is distinctly aesthetic as well as utilitarian.

The depth of research and interpretation, the excellence of verbal presentation, and the high quality of the photographs of the two works only serve to underscore the way in which they, and the Winterthur Series as represented by them, fall short of the greatness one would wish and expect. For the makeup of the books, and the wedding of text and illustrations, though clearly good, could be greatly enhanced. The thin type-face seems to me to be hard to read when at smallest weights, or in italics, and I should think a heavier face could be better; it need not give up the quality of an old design, for such a magnificent face as Baskerville might well fill both requirements. The spacing of the type on the page, which would be most handsome on a low-reflecting rag surface, is excessively generous and "white" when rendered on slick paper. The "bleeding" of some illustrations (that is, having them run off the page, with the book-trimming taking away a fraction of the picture) seems inappropriate to the generally formal design of the books; the bleeding of important illustrations, such as the views on the Canton River in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. David Stockwell (pp. 26-27 of Mrs. Mudge's book) is a psychological, if not an actual, detriment to their usefulness. The indexing should probably have more entries: "Maryland Historical Society" is indexed in *Chinese Export Porcelain* . . . for the place in the text where it is mentioned as the repository of most of the Maryland-owned porcelain referred to, but the pages on which pieces from its collections are illustrated, 15 pages further on, are not listed; "Maryland, porcelain owned in" is noted on pp. 68-69 but includes only "see" references to "Baltimore" and "Annapolis" for the material on pp. 103-105, in spite of the fact that most of the items mentioned there were in fact owned and used outside either city, in Maryland country houses. It seems inappropriate, in a scholarly publication, to separate the text and notes (in Mr. Sweeney's book, at the end of each chapter, in Mrs. Mudge's, at the end of the book), and I would recommend notes unobtrusively at the bottom of each page, where they can be used or passed by, as desired. Good writing will not read worse for its footnotes, and the footnotes can sharply enhance their text.

It seems unfortunate that the excellent Gilbert Ask photographs of the Corbit furniture are separated from Mr. Sweeney's careful catalog of the furniture, and that all of the pieces (even just all of the pieces one might consider "important") are not illustrated.

Mr. Sweeney's distinguished summation of the character of Corbit's region deserves the support of a map, but does not have it; nor are there views of the manufacturing processes or the River, to bring into the eye of the uninformed reader the web of life around the house (and its furniture), the tannery, the wharf, the store, the town, the roads, the fields. Mr. Sweeney cites the relationship of the architectural designs to 6 plates in Swan's *Designs in Architecture*, but only 3 of these are shown, not including those which, Mr. Sweeney states, probably inspired the principal plan and the principal elevation of the Corbit house. Although William Corbit's 13 children by 3 wives certainly provide genealogical complexities, one would think the genealogical chart could be more graphically arranged.

Though Mrs. Mudge's work uses one rather simplified modern map of the Canton River area, there are no original maps to lend more texture to the progress up the River after its goods. And in spite of its high price and large number of excellent illustrations, *Chinse Export Porcelain . . .* uses black-and-white illustrations, with material that cries out for color (except for four color figures—almost entirely blue-and-white!). The splendid series of paintings on the process of porcelain production, formerly in the Danby collection, not only should be in color, but should be much larger (certainly no more than two to a page).

All this is not to detract one whit from these excellent books, but to suggest some lines of thought for turning the Winterthur Series into a magnificent contribution to the technique as well as the substance of American historiography. The Winterthur Series should be the illustrated equivalent of the Johns Hopkins University's vital thesis-series, *Studies in Historical and Political Science*. It should use brilliant illustrations (in color where needed) and imaginative makeup to bring the potent virtues of the slide lecture to the permanent setting of the printed page.

JOHN N. PEARCE

Smithsonian Institute

The American Colonial Mind and the Classical Tradition. By RICHARD M. GUMMERE. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963. xiii, 228. \$5.25.

It was after reading a book not unlike this one, *Education of the Founding Fathers of the Republic*, that Walter Lippman demolished the apparent paradox that "the men who had made the modern world should have been educated in this old-fashioned way"—in the tradition and languages of Greece and Rome—and "began to think that perhaps it was very significant that men so educated had founded our liberties. . . ." Mr. Gummere's well-written essays are replete with instances to prove that they did, though he also devoted a whole chapter to the Reverend Jonathan Boucher of Maryland and his marshalling of the classical forces for the other side.

Mrs. Tayloe was being arch when she told lumpish young Bob Carter of Nomini that he might not have *her* daughters, and would never "win a young Lady of Family & fortune for his Wife," unless he learned his Latin; but acquaintance with the classics was, indeed, one of a gentleman's hallmarks. Even gentlemen with little Latin and less Greek, like George Washington, learned some suitable allusions and ordered busts of the ancients to adorn their houses. But those with college training were Latinists at least. Mr. Gummere shows us on every page, in citations from sermons and epitaphs, political speeches and private exchanges, how constantly the Greeks and Romans were in the minds of men like these, how trippingly the classical quotations came on their tongues. Any single essay would suffice to make his point, but notable are "Two Diarists in the Ancient Tradition," in which he improbably pairs William Byrd of Virginia with Samuel Sewall of Massachusetts, and the exchange of correspondence between "Adams the Stoic" and "Jefferson the Epicurean" in their thoughtful old age.

One colonial wrote a proposal of marriage in Greek—though his nerve failed him then, and he urged the lady to reply in English. Others kept their private memoranda in Greek or Latin. And when Sir Robert Eden arrived to be Maryland's governor, Annapolis noted with approval that he knew "Horace all by Heart"; it was quite as helpful to him socially as being, also, Horace's "faithful Disciple."

Our degeneration really shows when the author of even such a book as this, for the special audience it must at best command, feels the need for English translations in parenthesis.

ELLEN HART SMITH

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The Confederate Constitutions. By CHARLES ROBERT LEE, JR.
Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963. viii,
225. \$6.00.

Since all of Confederate history took place within a martial context, there is a tendency to forget that the short-lived Southern nation operated not only on orders of military commanders but within a framework of fundamental law as well. The Confederate constitution is too often dismissed with a patronizing line about similarities with the United States constitution except for positive guarantees for slavery. It is to right this imbalance and draw attention to the instrument itself, that Professor Lee of Centre College of Kentucky offers this compact and generally unpretentious monograph.

The author surveys the secession conventions of the Lower South, then proceeds to membership and organization of the Montgomery Convention which produced the new nation. There follows a close, but not stiflingly minute, account of the provisional and permanent constitutions. The emergency which produced these documents also helps account for the book's relative brevity: there are no ratification struggles to chronicle, since because of the crisis, southern politicians thought best to dispense with popular approval and the secession conventions ratified the document.

A striking and recurrent aspect of Confederate constitutionalism appears in the strength of the old ties, despite the assumption of separate sovereignty. The preliminary constitutional plan of South Carolina's Christopher G. Memminger called for a provisional government based on the federal constitution. The very name Confederate States of America, argued a delegate, would still allow southerners to be known as "Americans" abroad. Howell Cobb's letter of transmittal pointed out the obvious similarities between the two constitutions. The South always boasted allegiance to pristine American constitutionalism, and in seceding it felt it was in reality saving the document from the consolidating nationalists.

This last points to the primary quarrel with the national government, and its subsequent reflection in the confederate constitution. While the convention banned the foreign slave travel and directed the congress to enforce the prohibition, it granted slaveowners all the protections for their property that had seemed threatened during the 1850's. The other major area of change came, of course, in federal-state relations, as the state rights votaries sought to curb centralizing tendencies. Lee deals extensively with points of difference (an appendix proves very useful in this respect, giving both

constitutions in parallel columns with changes italicized). The anti-national governmentalism went further than the constitution, however; for instance, the Confederacy never established a supreme court, despite its theoretical creation in the constitution, an obvious result of Southern distrust of the U. S. Supreme Court in general, and appellate jurisdiction over State court decisions in particular.

The volume succeeds within a limited sphere, despite a concluding chapter which combines a jejeune review of the sectional conflict ("The Supreme Court under Chief Justice John Marshall greatly added to the power of the federal government." Or this demographic gem: "The population of the United States increased by leaps and bounds between 1789 and 1861."), with the inflated claim that the Confederate constitutions "mark a milestone in the constitutional development of the United States." Given the exigencies of war and the immediate needs of Southern nationhood, the particularist aspect of Confederate constitutionalism ought more properly to be labelled a millstone than a milestone.

FRANK OTTO GATELL

University of Maryland

Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships. Vol. I. Navy Department, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Naval History Division. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1959. xvii, 349. \$3.

Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships. Vol. II. Navy Department, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Naval History Division. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1963. xxiii, 591. \$4.25.

Here are books to get! Both the student of naval history and the genealogist searching for ancestors with a naval past, as well as all maritime-minded, will welcome the two volumes which have so far been released.

Each of the two volumes has attractive end papers, with drawings of our naval types from 1778 to 1959. Volume I had 1,000 histories plus statistical data on 3,000 more and covers all commissioned vessels in both the Continental Navy and the U. S. or Federal Navy. Volume I, first published in 1959, covers the letters A and B. It does not include non-commissioned vessels like individual state's navies, nor privateers, letters of marque nor vessels

building and not finished. It does cross-reference where a vessel had more than one name.

The arrangement of histories is simple and easy to follow: Under the name of the vessel, for example, *Buchanan*, is a paragraph giving the origin of the name for navy use, in this case the original Franklin Buchanan who was born in Baltimore, Maryland, September 17, 1800. These thumbnail histories give complete service records of those for whom ships have been named, and many are full of interest to students of Maryland history.

An example is the *Boyle* DD600. She was named for Thomas Boyle who commanded the Baltimore privateer, *Comet* and fought the *Chasseur* so daringly. This *Boyle* sailed from Norfolk October 25, 1942, for the African theatre, thence to the Pacific theatre and ended up with four battle stars.

Following the ships' histories in Volume I comes the Appendix which is of separate and absorbing interest to naval buffs. Here types of ships are classified. First come battleships, with pictures, of types from 1886 through 1948. Then comes the name of each vessel alphabetically with all pertinent data, *viz.*: thickness of armor, armaments, ship's dimensions, displacement, tonnage, and type of engine.

After battleships come cruisers, 1882-1958. These are followed by submarines from the *Holland* of 1900 (which for years was at Annapolis) up to the latest, together with their tenders. The histories of individual submarines and their patrols, battles, and records of sinkings and captures are alone well worth the price of these books. Volume I closes this section with a chapter on torpedo boats, 1887-1958, and their escort vessels, 1941-1958.

To Volume I is appended an Errata of five pages noting additions, corrections or expansions which have developed from readers and men who saw service with those ships.

Volume II covers the letter "C" through "F" and adds 1,800 more histories. Volume II has two Appendices. As for Volume I, the first lists certain types of ships. Here are aircraft carriers with pictures and complete data. The second adds lists of much interest, *i. e.*, Confederate forces afloat. They are listed by type, name, and armaments. To this are several Annexes: No. I, a list of privateer commissions issued by the Confederate States Government; No. II, the River Defense Fleet; No. III, the Texas Marine Department-Confederate States Navy, and No. IV, the Confederate "Stone Fleet." These volumes place a wealth of information in convenient form before the public. Heretofore this information has

been scattered through many government departments, and much of it was classified and not available to the civilian.

We congratulate Admiral Eller and his staff on completing two volumes of a monumental work well done and long needed for research and reference by just such a library as we have at the Maryland Historical Society. My only hope is that upon its completion with the end of the alphabet he will go on and add privateers and letters of marque from our earliest days through the War of 1812.

RICHARD H. RANDALL

Md. Hist. Soc.

The United Colonies of New England, 1643-90. By HARRY M. WARD. New York: Vantage Press, 1961. ii, 383. bib. app. 384-425. \$4.25.

Prof. Harry M. Ward's book concerns the history of the "New England Confederation," the first attempt by the colonies at union. These United Colonies of New England found themselves forced to come together owing to the Civil War in the mother country. Pledged to cooperation and mutual defense and assistance, the member provinces of New Haven, New Plymouth, Connecticut and Massachusetts perpetuated themselves past the immediate crisis in the old country until 1690.

This very important union—the seeds of the later federal republic, as Ward asserts—was badly in need of historical investigation. It has received but scant attention from the historians and is mentioned only briefly in the textbooks on the period. It is generally regarded as a failure because of the domination and excessive ambitions of the Bay Colony which bred much distrust among the sister provinces, while Rhode Island, purposely isolated from the union, lived in fear of annexation by the larger states. To some extent Prof. Ward alters these views and in recounting fully, with exhaustive research, the history of the union, he describes the numerous instances of cooperation among the colonies. He correctly concludes that the United Colonies accomplished the tasks it prescribed for itself. For example, it successfully conducted foreign relations with the Acadians; overawed the Indians and the Dutch; arbitrated the imposts of one colony against another and raised a mutual fund for education. The United Colonies, it should be added, had a mutual basis for unity in the puritan religion, and it produced a very able leadership in the Winthrops, Saltonstall,

Bradstreet, Endicott, the Dudleys, Webster, Leverett—to name but a few—who left a heritage of political acumen to future America. *The United Colonies of New England* is a very good book.

RICHARD WALSH

Georgetown University

The Whirligig of Politics: The Democracy of Cleveland and Bryan.

By J. ROGERS HOLLINGSWORTH. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963. xii, 263. \$5.00.

“As we are not likely to discover any significantly new sources for the study of American politics during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the important thing is to make new use of old sources. . . .” This is what Professor Hollingsworth of the University of Illinois has successfully done in *The Whirligig of Politics*, a penetrating account of the Democratic party from the start of Cleveland’s second administration through the elections of 1904. In preparing this study the author assigned himself two fundamental tasks: “. . . to reveal the extent to which the [Democratic] party reflected the tensions in American society and how party leaders were at times unwittingly responsible for the intensity of the nation’s conflicts”; and “. . . to reveal how the Democratic party helped to shape public policy.”

Between 1893 and 1904, the Democrats were denied the strong, effective leadership necessary to overcome the centrifugal forces within the party. President Cleveland failed to understand the complex causes of the depression which beset his second administration and was stoutly opposed to bimetallism which became the be-all-and-end-all for a major segment of his party in 1896. The author feels that Allan Nevins in his *Grover Cleveland: A Study of Courage* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1947) minimizes the Democratic President’s “ineptness as a party leader.” And as for William Jennings Bryan, by “reducing all issues to silver” in 1896 and by his clumsy handling of the question of imperialism in the campaign of 1900, he continued, Hollingsworth believes, the party’s deprivation of sound leadership. “Unable to view issues except in moral terms, self-righteous in his relations with others, intolerant of those who disagreed with him, Bryan was no better qualified than Cleveland to be a coalition leader.” Not until 1912 was a capable coalition leader found for the Democratic party.

The author, among other things, reveals effectively the shifting

tactics of candidates and the changing emphases of parties during the course of the various campaigns that were waged during the period covered by his study.

Students of American political history will find that this book merits their attention.

WILLIAM LLOYD FOX

Montgomery Jr. College

Victorian Antiques. By THELMA SHULL. Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1963. xviii, 421. \$12.75.

This volume on Victorian antiques so thoroughly covers the field of collecting as listed in the contents, from "fans" to "furniture" (with fifty-five subjects in between), that it is sure to be a delight to the collector of Victoriana. With the scarcity of eighteenth century antiques and decorations, and the resulting sky-rocketing in the prices of goods in the fine arts and antiques field, the earlier Victorian antiques are becoming more collectible.

Whatever is your reason for collecting—whether from a sense of the nostalgic, something reminiscent of grandmother's day, or something historical: a diary, or a letter of a hundred years ago, during the Civil War—the author has supplied the reader with ample descriptions of furniture, lamps of all types of the period, music boxes, prints, clocks, Rodgers groups: also porcelains and pottery, from Wedgwood to Haviland, and Ironstone to Rookwood, as well as glass from Bristol to Venetian, to Tiffany art glass, to paper weights, and even marbles! Besides this, there are chapters on toys, penny banks, sleigh bells, buttons, and jewelry; parasols and fans are also considered.

Miss Shull has done a great deal of research, and where she has included antiques which originated in an earlier period, she has confined her consideration of them to their output in the Victorian era.

There is an extensive bibliography and more than two hundred and twenty illustrations, as well as a very compete index covering eight and one-half pages, three columns to the page, which is invaluable in identifying and dating any article which may interest the reader. It might be wished that the author had included a chapter on painting, particularly primitive painting of the Victorian era.

Victorian Antiques by Thelma Shull is an addition to the collector's shelves, as a reference source, for a growing number of people interested in Victoriana.

FRANCES-ANN ZUG STOKES

Baltimore, Md.

The Peabody Museum Collection of Navigating Instruments. By M. V. BREWINGTON. Salem, Massachusetts: Peabody Museum, 1963. 154. \$11.25.

Here is a fine catalogue of the navigating instruments in the collection of the Peabody Museum at Salem, Massachusetts. Rare is the museum with a comparable group of sailing tools. Part I covers "Instruments for Location from the Heavens"; Part II "Instruments of Direction"; Part III "Instruments of Time, Speed and Distance"; followed by sections on miscellaneous instruments and instrument makers, dealers and designers. There are 56 plates.

Fortunate is the museum which can publish catalogues on those departments in which it specializes and in which sufficient material is at hand. We wholeheartedly congratulate the Peabody Museum and Mr. Brewington.

RICHARD H. RANDALL

Baltimore, Md.

Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782. By THE MARQUIS DE CHASTELLUX. Revised translation with introduction and notes by Howard C. Rice, Jr. Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1963. 2 vols. xxiv, 688. \$15.

We owe these much-quoted *Travels* to the habit of eighteenth century gentlemen with a literary bent of writing for their friends or for the general reading public about their doings and observations abroad. Francois-Jean de Beauvoir, Chevalier de Chastellux wrote for both audiences and added this choice item to a genre that enjoyed immense vogue in Europe and America.

While serving in the French forces as a general officer under Rochambeau during the American Revolution, Chastellux found time to make three major trips for sightseeing and pleasure. The first, in November and December of 1780, took him from the French encampment at Newport, Rhode Island, to Philadelphia with a side trip to Albany on the return journey. Then in March and April of 1782 he made a circuit of upper Virginia by way of Monticello and the Natural Bridge, returning to his starting point at Williamsburg just before hot weather. His last trip, in November and December of the same year, began at Hartford, Connecticut, fol-

lowed a cross country route to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, a return south through Boston, back to Hartford, and then on to Philadelphia by way of the Moravian settlements around Bethlehem.

Altogether the record of Chastellux on his travels covers much of the populated area of the United States above the North Carolina-Virginia border. Wherever he went he saw nature as a true son of the Enlightenment—as a work of art and as an object of science. His eye for the beauty of vale and the grandeur of mountain rivalled his eye for the rock formations that he tested with his handy vial of *aqua fortis*. The purple martin or the humming bird at once enchanted him and evoked speculation on their ecology or zoological characteristics.

In the same vein of *philosophe* Chastellux studied man and his works with evident relish. He seemed equally at ease in Philadelphia or Boston drawing rooms and in backwoods inns. As a military man battlefields and fortifications interested him and he took pains to visit any that lay within reach of his itineraries. But his observations on manners, speech, fashions, food, houses, industry, and amusements take up the bulk of his account. It is these that have made his *Travels* a mine for historians of revolutionary America. Viewing the American scene as an enlightened sympathetic outsider, he records in vivid prose much that a native would have taken for granted and consequently passed over. Not the least of his gifts is his keen perception of social temper of a locality. In a few sentences Chastellux gives his audience the “feel” of society.

In this edition of the Chastellux *Travels* author, editor-translator, and publisher are joined in a happy combination. Dr. Rice has taken the eighteenth century translation of George Grieve, drastically revised it, and added the critical apparatus of modern scholarship. Beside the original Chastellux notes and those added by Grieve in the English edition, he has included his own to clarify or amplify as needed. The introduction, checklist of editions of the Chastellux *Travels*, a list of surviving houses mentioned the text, and the note on bibliographic and cartographic sources combine meticulous scholarship with wit and charm rare in definitive editions. Maps, illustrations and the handsome endpapers add visual appeal.

AUBREY C. LAND

University of Maryland

The War of 1812 on the Chesapeake Bay. By GILBERT BYRON. Baltimore 1964. Published by the Maryland Historical Society. 94. \$2.

This excellent little volume is Mr. Byron's second contribution to the Maryland Historical Society's publications on Maryland history. Recognized widely as a regional poet, Mr. Byron is steeped in the lore of the Chesapeake Bay country, where for many years he was a teacher of history. In the present work the author has eschewed poetic diction and imagery for a style nearer to his purpose of providing a much needed textbook for teachers and students of local history. Qualities which distinguish the history are accuracy in historical detail, objectivity in point of view, and clarity obtained through logical organization of material and through simple, precise expression—the essential qualities of any good high-school textbook in history. The general reader will find it a reliable, if condensed, reference book.

The history is noteworthy in that within its relatively few pages are included many more instances of military action along the Bay than can be found in any one of the lengthier histories. This fact should insure its popularity as a text or a reference book throughout the Bay country. Almost any tidewater community will be able to point with pride to some notable action of its citizen-soldiery.

As additional aids to learning, the author has provided a chronological record, two useful maps, a group of portraits of military leaders and reproductions of contemporary battle sketches, some thoughtfully chosen suggestions "for further thought, reading, report, or discussion," and an excellent bibliography.

The book deserves to enjoy success in its field.

JOHN A. PENTZ

Baltimore, Md.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Royal Raiders: The Tories of the American Revolution.* By NORTH CALLAHAN. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1963. 288. \$5.
- The Quest for Power: The Lower Houses of Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies, 1689-1776.* By JACK P. GREENE. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1963. (Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg.) xi, 528. \$8.50.
- From Prairie to Corn Belt: Farming on the Illinois and Iowa Prairies in the Nineteenth Century.* By ALLAN G. BOGUE. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963. 310. \$6.95.
- Pills, Petticoats and Plows: The Southern Country Store.* By THOMAS D. CLARK. Norman, Okla.: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1964. xiv, 306. \$2.95.
- The Papers of James Madison, Volume III, 1781.* Edited by WILLIAM T. HUTCHISON and WILLIAM M. E. RACHAL. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963. xxv, 381. \$10.
- Richard Allen.* By MARCIA M. MATHEWS. Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1963. vi, 151. \$3.95.
- Washington: Capital City, 1879-1950.* By CONSTANCE McLAUGHLIN GREEN. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963. xvii, 558. \$9.50.
- Adventure in the Wilderness. The American Journals of Louis Antoine de Bougainville, 1756-1760.* Translated and edited by EDWARD P. HAMILTON. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964. xx, 344. \$5.95.
- The Papers of Henry Clay, Volume III, Presidential Candidate, 1821-1824.* Edited by JAMES M. HOPKINS and MARY W. M. HARCREAVES. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1963. xiii, 933. \$15.
- The Virginia House of Burgesses, 1750-1774.* By LUCILLE GRIFFITH. Northport, Ala.: Colonial Press, 1963. xi, 245. \$10.
- Buying The Wind.* By RICHARD M. DORSON. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964. xvii, 574. \$7.95.
- Surname Index to Sixty Five Volumes of Colonial and Revolutionary Pedigrees.* By GEORGE RODNEY CROWTHER, III. Washington, D. C.: National Genealogical Society, 1964. x, 143. \$5.

- Intellectual Life in Jefferson's Virginia, 1790-1830.* By RICHARD BEALE DAVIS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964. (Sponsored by the American Association for State and Local History, Madison, Wis.) x, 507. \$8.75.
- The Republican Party, 1854-1964.* By GEORGE H. MAYER. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964. ix, 563. \$9.75.
- George Washington's Generals.* Edited by GEORGE ALLAN BILLIAS. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1964. xvii, 327. \$6.
- The Meaning of History.* By ERICH KAHLER. New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1964. xiii, 224. \$5.
- The Colonial Wars, 1689-1762.* By HOWARD H. PECKHAM. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964. ix, 239. \$5.
- Images of American Living: Four Centuries of Architecture and Furniture As Cultural Expression.* By SEAN GOWANS. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott Company, 1964. xv, 498. \$16.50.
- Court Records of Prince George's County, Maryland, 1696-1699.* Edited by JOSEPH H. SMITH and PHILIP A. CROWL. Washington, D. C.: The American Historical Association, 1964, in collaboration with the Hall of Records Commission of the State of Maryland. cxvii, 674. \$10.
- Hayes: The Diary of a President, 1875-1881.* Edited by T. HARRY WILLIAMS. New York: David McKey Company, Inc., 1964. xlv, 329. \$6.50.
- The Glorious Revolution in America. Documents on the Colonial Crisis of 1689.* Edited by MICHAEL G. HALL, LAWRENCE H. LEDER and MICHAEL G. KAMMEN. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964. (Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg.) xv, 716. \$7.50.
- The Negro in North Carolina, 1876-1894.* By FRENISE A. LOGAN. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964. ix, 244. \$6.
- A History of Colonial America.* By MAX SAVELLE, revised by ROBERT MIDDLEKAUFF. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964. xvii, 701. \$7.95.
- Virginia, 1705-1786: Aristocracy or Democracy?* By ROBERT E. and B. KATHERINE BROWN. East Lansing: The Michigan State University Press, 1964. 333. \$8.50.

NOTES AND QUERIES

The Maryland Historical Magazine has been selected by *The Register* (Kentucky Historical Society) as one of the guide models for a survey of the outstanding publications of American historical societies.

The *Building Research Institute* will conduct a Forum on the Restoration and Preservation of Historic Buildings June 11-12, 1964, at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C.

Descendants of Union Officers—I would like to contact descendants of officers who served in the Union Army, specifically: Major Generals John R. Kenly, E. O. C. Ord, and Wm. H. Emory; Brigadier General John W. Horn, Major General Andrew W. Denison, Brigadier Generals Richard N. Bowerman, Charles W. Phelps (later Judge), David L. Stanton; Colonels Nathan T. Dushane and John W. Wilson of the 1st. Md. Vols., both killed in action; Lieutenant Colonels Henry Howard and B. F. Taylor of the 2nd Md. (Howard killed at the Crater; Taylor prominent in G. A. R. circles); Jos. M. Sudsburg, Colonel of the 3rd Md.; Colonels Wm. L. Schley and Wm. W. Bamberger of the 5th Md.; Lieutenant Colonel Joseph C. Hill of the 6th; Colonels Edwin H. Webster of the 7th; & Wm. P. Maulsby, 1st Md., P. H. B., Henry A. Cole, and Lieutenant Colonel George W. F. Vernon of Cole's Cavalry.

WM. T. MAHONEY, *President*
The Union Room Committee
309 Marsh Road, Wilmington 3, Del.

Philosophical Library Annual Essay Contest—Subject: "Existentialism and the Social Sciences." Requirements: An essay of no less than 25,000 words demonstrating and discussing the influence of existential thought on either a particular social science or on all the social sciences. Manuscripts must be typed and double-spaced. Prize: \$500, which will constitute an advance against royalties, and publication of the winning essay as a book. Deadline: December 31, 1964.

THOMAS KIERNAN, *Editor*
Philosophical Library, 15 E. 40th St., New York 16, N. Y.

Seminar for Historical Administrators—Twelve grantees and six auditors will begin studies on June 14 at the sixth Seminar for Historical Administrators at Williamsburg, Va. The course, which will be concluded July 24, is under the joint sponsorship of the American Association for State and Local History, American Association of Museums, Colonial Williamsburg, and the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Those who have been awarded scholarships to the summer seminar are: James LaVerne Anderson, Lawrence, Kansas; Miss Mary Ellen Beasley, Fayette, Mo.; Michael John Brodhead, Marion, Kansas; John Gregg Folkes, Reno, Nevada; Gary S. Horowitz, Hollis, N. Y.; Clyde Ray Jones, Charles City, Iowa; Russell Victor Keune, Chicago, Ill.; Miss Carolyn Jane Neff, Duluth, Minn.; John Skinner Osmundson, Stanwood, Wash.; William Seale, Jr., Beaumont, Texas; Harvey Allan Tolbert, Lubbock, Texas; and Miss Jo Ann Wahl, Baltimore, Md.

Seminars on American Culture—The New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, will conduct its seventeenth annual Seminars on July 5-11; 12-18. Among the varied topics are "Frontier Foods and Cooking" and "Saving the Past: Historic Preservation and City Planning."

Randall—I would like the names of the parents of Christopher Randall and of his wife, Anna, who came to Gallipolis, Ohio, in 1813 from Maryland. I have the following tombstone information: Christopher was born between September 23, 1778 and September 22, 1779, and Anna was born between January 1, 1771 and October 15, 1771. However, in various census records, Christopher gave ages showing he was born between 1759 and 1771. The ages of the children he reared at Gallipolis show he was born before 1779 or that they were Anna's children by a previous marriage. The children were all born in Maryland per 1850 Gallia Co. Ohio census, as follows: Mary, "born Feb. 5, 1795 beside the Chesapeake Bay, Md." James b. Feb. 24-26, 1797; Richard, b. Mar. 5, 1798; Ann, b. 1807-1808; Christopher, Jr., b. May 5, 1811. Family history is that a Richard and Nanny Randall, rather than Christopher and Anna, were the parents of Richard Randall, b. Mar. 5, 1798. A Christopher Randall appears page 116, 1800 Anne Arundel Co. Md. census, with the correct number of children of the right ages. He is likely the Christopher Randall who was a member of a small group from the Baltimore-Annapolis area who went to Ashtabula

County Ohio in 1807 to teach tobacco growing. That Christopher Randall had a son born there May 3, 1811, and a daughter Sally married there in 1809. He left there in 1813. Family correspondence dated 1850 refers to a relative "Robbert Welsh."

DONALD F. KRESIE

1332 Polk St., Topeka, Kan. 66612

Letton (Litton, Lytton), Caleb, of Prince George's Parish, Md. Died on his plantation named "Oatry" or "Autra" St. Mary in 1763. Location was one mile east of Rockville on the road to Baltimore. I need to know his age at death or at any other dated event during his life; also any detail of his life prior to 1714. I believe I have located his birth and parentage in England. Will exchange information gratis.

M. R. LYTTON

128 Price St., West Chester, Pa.

Davidson—I would appreciate information on the parents and origins of John Davidson, born June, 1787, in Cecil County, Md. He married Jane Hutchinson, also of Maryland, and the same on John Price who married Susanna White. In 1804 they were living in the vicinity of Cambridge, Md. He later moved to Delaware.

MRS. DOROTHY B. JACOBSON

800 Hinman Ave., Evanston, Ill. 60202

COVER PICTURE

"The Election of 1862" and the "Writing of the Emancipation Proclamation" were drawn by Adalbert John Volck, the rabid anti-Lincoln, Baltimore dentist. Born in Augsburg, Bavaria, Volck, one of the "48ers," immigrated to the United States in 1849. He received his degree in dentistry in 1852. He was a charter member of the Maryland Dental Association. But his fame rests on his pro-Southern cartoons which are in the Pratt and Peabody Libraries, Baltimore, and the Maryland Historical Society. An edition of these and other cartoons was published in *Sketches from the Civil War in North America* (London, 1863). After the war, he wrote a friend, "I feel the greatest regret ever to have aimed ridicule at the great and good Lincoln." There are Volck letters in the Library of Congress.

CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES WAGANDT's article grew out of his research on the Civil War period of Maryland history both here and in England. His book, "The Mighty Revolution: Negro Emancipation in Maryland, 1862-64," to be published by the Johns Hopkins Press, will appear in the near future.

PATRICIA H. WYNNE is a former member of the staff of the Smithsonian Institution. It was at the suggestion of Dr. Wilcomb E. Washburn, Curator of the Division of Political History at the Smithsonian, that the research for this article was undertaken. Currently Miss Wynne is teaching in the public school system of Prince George's County.

FRANK F. WHITE, as a member of the staff of the Maryland Historical Society, worked in the manuscripts division. At present he is an archivist at the Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis. Among his articles in the *Magazine* are "The Comet Harrasses the British," III (Dec. 1958), 295, and, with the late Dorothy M. Quynn, "Jerome and Betsy Cross the Ocean," XLVIII (Sept., 1953), 204.

DR. HAROLD D. LANGLEY is a diplomatic historian with the Department of State. He has been an instructor and lecturer in American history at Marywood College, Pennsylvania; Montgomery Junior College, Maryland; and Catholic University of America. At the last named he is visiting Associate Professor. Among his publications are "Bolivar As Seen By An American Sailor," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXXVI (1956); and "The Tragic Career of H. G. Rogers, A Jacksonian Diplomat," *Pennsylvania History*, XXXI (1964).

J. A. LEO LEMAY is a student of colonial literary history. He has completed residence for the Ph. D. at the University of Pennsylvania and is now teaching at the George Washington University.

IN 1904—

when we reached the age of 25

22 gold medals were awarded the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company for exhibits at the St. Louis Exposition.—*Oct. 16.*

Andrew Carnegie gave \$263,000 to help finance the building of the Maryland Institute School of Art and Design on Mt. Royal Avenue.—*Dec. 8.*

President Theodore Roosevelt announced the appointment of W. Hall Harris as Postmaster of Baltimore to succeed S. Davies Warfield.—*Dec. 26.*

A bronze bust of Rear Admiral Winfield Scott Schley was placed in the rotunda of the Maryland State House in Annapolis.—*Dec. 28.*

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