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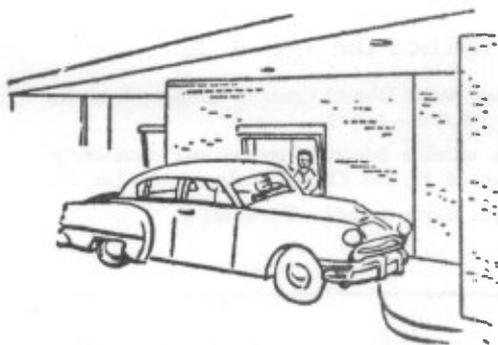
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Richard Walsh, Editor

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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

*A Quarterly*

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Volume 62

SEPTEMBER, 1967

Number 3

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## THE COMMON BRITISH SOLDIER— FROM THE JOURNAL OF THOMAS SULLIVAN, 49th REGIMENT OF FOOT

Edited by S. SYDNEY BRADFORD

THE journal of Thomas Sullivan, 49th Regiment of Foot, possesses unusual importance. It is one of the small number of British military diaries dating from the American Revolution and one of the few written by an enlisted man during the eighteenth century. The journal therefore contains the seldom recorded experiences and observations of a common soldier.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Eric Robson, *Letters from America, 1773 to 1780* (Manchester, England, 1951), xxii; Robson, "The Armed Forces and the Art of War," Chapter VIII, *The New Cambridge Modern History* (Cambridge, England, 1957), VII, 176-77, 180; C. W. C. Oman, *Wellington's Army, 1809-1814* (New York, 1913), 3.

Sullivan entered the British army at age twenty. Why? To travel, he declares in the preface to his journal. He hints that other reasons also motivated him, but leaves them unsaid.<sup>2</sup>

He enlisted in Dublin on February 5, 1775. Four days later he marched for Cork with five of the regiment's companies. On February 20 the troops reached the port on the River Lee, where the recruits were assigned to permanent companies and received some training. When the 49th climbed aboard three transports on April 16, Sullivan boarded the *Diana*. Additional transports received other regiments in the next four days, but adverse winds delayed sailing until April 28. The crossing took about seven weeks. The *Diana* docked at Boston's Long Wharf on June 17, just before the Battle of Bunker Hill began. After that debacle, Sullivan and the army were entrapped until March 17, 1776, when General Sir William Howe evacuated the city. The first division of the army sailed for Halifax, Nova Scotia, on March 25. Two days later the second division, Sullivan's division, sailed for Halifax and reached it on April 2, three days after the first division's arrival.<sup>3</sup>

The army sailed from Halifax for New York on June 10, 1776.<sup>4</sup> En route, Sullivan was promoted to corporal,<sup>5</sup> which rank he retained throughout the New York and New Jersey campaigns of 1776-77 and well into the campaign that resulted in the capture of Philadelphia in the fall of 1777. But on September 14, 1777, his regimental commander demoted him to private.<sup>6</sup> Angered, Sullivan soon transferred to his regiment's light infantry company, a component of the 2nd Light Infantry Battalion.<sup>7</sup> On October 19 he marched into Philadelphia with his new battalion, whose commander promoted him to sergeant on October 22.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Sullivan's Journal, Preface, ii-iii, and 1.

<sup>3</sup> This paragraph's material is from the extract printed below.

<sup>4</sup> Sullivan's Journal, 56.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 253.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 277. During the Revolution, the Light Infantry and Grenadier companies of the British regiments were organized into separate battalions. They formed the elite troops of Howe's army. Edward E. Curtis, *The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1926), 4-5, 17.

<sup>8</sup> Sullivan's Journal, 277, 283.

Sullivan now began his last days as a King's soldier. On December 13 he married Sarah Stoneman.<sup>9</sup> She apparently urged him to quit the army in the following months. When Sir Henry Clinton abandoned Philadelphia on June 18, 1778, Sullivan, influenced by Sarah and his demotion the previous fall, decided to become an American, and he forsook his sovereign on June 25.<sup>10</sup> Within a month, he joined General Nathanael Greene's military family at White Plains, New York, as a servant. Sullivan's wife joined him on July 28, and, as he says in concluding his journal.<sup>11</sup>

Any man that tasted the sweets of Matrimony and the blessing of a contented life, may conceive the joy and pleasure I felt, in meeting the woman from whom I received the strongest ties of love and obedience, that could be expected from any of the sex, without exception.

Sullivan explains in the journal's preface, which is dated "*Philadelphia, 22d. April 1778,*" the purpose and nature of his diary. His reasons for beginning the journal in Cork included the fact that his father had educated him and Sullivan determined to use some of his free time to continue his reading and writing. The latter could be done by keeping a journal of events that concerned only himself. Such an undertaking would also please his friends. Furthermore, he began the journal so as "...not to have...[his] name buried in Oblivion."<sup>12</sup>

Begun as a personal account, the journal was enlarged in scope after Sullivan's arrival in Boston. The "...bloody and unnatural scene which happened on the 17th of June 1775..." spurred him to record events in which he had not participated. He claims to have done that "...with as much exactness, as the nature of the particulars would permit a man, in the station of a Private Soldier."<sup>13</sup> In describing these happenings, Sullivan used material from the "...most authentick and current reports..."<sup>14</sup> He generally copied such reports verbatim, fre-

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 300.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 407-8.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 422.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Preface, i-ii.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Preface, iii.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Preface, vii.

quently inserting personal comments or additions. His account of Bunker Hill, below, is an excellent example of his use of official reports.

Sullivan secretly kept his journal except for telling a few friends. The difficulty of writing sometimes caused him to consider stopping, especially because of the "...Numbers of men being daily killed or wounded in the many Actions contained in it [the journal]..." and his "...expecting to share the same fate,...being an eye Witness to the most part of them;..."<sup>15</sup> Fortunately, he both survived and persevered.

The American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia owns the original journal.<sup>16</sup> The manuscript is a thick volume of over 400 neatly hand printed pages; it is largely unpublished. Several unedited selections from the journal dealing mainly with Howe's Philadelphia campaign have been printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*,<sup>17</sup> but the first forty-seven pages covering the period from February 5, 1775, to April 2, 1776, are printed here for the first time.

The journal is printed as written, including Sullivan's sometimes oddly spelled words. The only exceptions are that the thorn is spelled out and that the periods or colons under superior letters are omitted.

## A JOURNAL

For the Year M, DCC, LXX, V.

THOMAS SULLIVAN Inlisted in *Dublin* on Sunday the 5th. day of February 1775 in His Majesty's Forty Ninth Regiment of Foot,<sup>18</sup> commanded by the Honourable Major General *Alexander Maitland*. And was attested on monday following, together with twenty Recruits that inlisted the same time.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Preface, iv-v.

<sup>16</sup> The editor is indebted to Mr. Murphy DeWitt Smith, Archivist, American Philosophical Society, for bringing the journal to his attention.

<sup>17</sup> "Before and After the Battle of Brandywine. Extracts from the Journal of Sergeant Thomas Sullivan of H.M. Forty Ninth Regiment of Foot," XXI (1907), 406-18; "Battle of Princeton," XXXII (1908), 54-57; "From Brandywine to Philadelphia," XXXIV (1910), 229-32; "Some Account of Vice Admiral Howe's Voyage From the Elk River, Md., to Billingsport, N.J., extracted from the Journal of Sergeant Sullivan, of H.M. 49th Foot," XXXIV (1910), 241-42. Henry Pleasants, Jr., quotes Sullivan's account of the Battle of Paoli in his article, "The Battle of Paoli," LXXII (Jan., 1948), 44-53.

<sup>18</sup> The 49th was organized in the West Indies in 1743 and was first known as the 63rd, or Americans. It became known as the 49th in 1748, and remained in

Feb. 8th. The several recruits that were with the Regiment, was drawn for, and put into different Companies; thus we remained untill we came to Cork.<sup>19</sup> I was then in the 20th year of my Age.

Feb. 9th. The 1st. Division of the Regiment, composed of five companies, marched out of Dublin for Cork: The 2d. division, composed of the other five companies, marched out the day following. The Regiment was then under the command of Major *Thomas Dilkes*, and marched with the 1st. division. The 2d. division was commanded (on the march) by Captain *Charles Murray*. On the march we halted on thursdays and saturdays. Our Quarters from *Dublin* to *Kilkenny*, were *Naas*,<sup>20</sup> *Castledermot*,<sup>21</sup> *Laughlin-bridge*;<sup>22</sup> and from thence to *Kilkenny*;<sup>23</sup> to *Callin*<sup>24</sup> and from that to *Clanmell*,<sup>25</sup> where we halted a day. The friday following we marched forward & halted in the towns of *Fermoy*<sup>26</sup> and *Ralphcormaic*.<sup>27</sup>

Feb. 20th. About 6 o'clock in the morning we marched from said towns to the City of *Cork*, where the 1st. division received Billets on the Inhabitants of mallow-lane, Blarney-lane, Fairhill, and the adjacent Lanes. The 2d. division of the Regiment came into the City the day following, and were billeted on the Inhabitants of Black-pool, and on the South and north Mall: on the former (of which Malls) the Regiment Paraded for Roll-calling, until the time we embarked.

*Garret Keating* who was my comrade, and was born in ballynakill, in the Queen's County with two men more and myself, was

---

the West Indies until 1762. In 1775 the regiment formed part of the Irish Establishment. Its uniform was distinguished by green facings. The regiment campaigned on mainland America from June, 1775, until November, 1778, when it participated in the attack and subsequent occupation of St. Lucia in the West Indies. Much later, the 49th and the 66th Regiment of Foot were combined to form the Princess Charlotte of Wales's Royal Berkshire Regiment. Curtis, *British Army*, 151, 155; Walter Richards, *Her Majesty's Army* (3 vols.; New York, 1897), I, 177; C. T. Atkinson, "British Forces in North America, 1774-1781: Their Distribution and Strength," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, XVI (Spring, 1937), 14.

<sup>19</sup> Cork and its magnificent harbor formed a major base for the army in America. The city also served as a recruiting center for southern Ireland. Curtis, *British Army*, 83.

<sup>20</sup> Naas, southwest of Dublin and the county seat of County Kildare.

<sup>21</sup> Southwest of Naas, near the lower boundary of County Kildare.

<sup>22</sup> Leighlinbridge, in County Carlow and south of Castledermot.

<sup>23</sup> County seat of County Kilkenny and almost due west of Leighlinbridge.

<sup>24</sup> Callan, southwest of Kilkenny.

<sup>25</sup> Clonmel, county seat of County Tipperary and southwest of Callan.

<sup>26</sup> In County Cork and southwest of Clonmel.

<sup>27</sup> Rathcormack, in County Cork and almost due south of Fermoy.

billeted in the house of one *James Barrow* in Blarney-lane; where we were used with great civility. He was a Master-Cooper by trade, & was married to a civil modest woman; but had no children: He kept several journey-men and apprentices, and a Shop in which they sold all sorts of Spirituous liquors.

*March 2d.* The Recruits of the Regiment were again drawn, and put in the respective Companies,<sup>28</sup> in which they remained. I was then put into the General's company, then commanded by Capt. Lieutenant *James Grant*. My comrade aforesaid was put into another company. On the march from Dublin to Cork, we received our subsistance daily; and in *Cork* we were paid<sup>29</sup> twice a week *i.e.* on wednesdays and saturdays.

*March 3d.* On this day the recruits of the Regimt. were marched to a back-yard in Blarney-lane and also several other Days to the South-Mall, where we learned to march and go through the different facings, which we fully learned in *Cork*; but had no Arms.

*March 8th.* The regiment paraded on the South-mall aforesaid, and marched to the Barracks, in which the 54th. Regiment of Foot then lay. Here we were inspected by the honourable lieut. General Lord *Blayney*,<sup>30</sup> commander in chief of His Majesty's Forces then in *Munster*; and Inspector General of the Army under Orders of embarkation at *Cork*.

The 35th. and 63d. Regiments were in *Cork* before us, under orders of embarkation: The 35th was billeted in the City, the 63d. lay in the North-Barracks.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The infantry regiments, numbered from 1 to 70, consisted of ten companies of from twenty to forty men each and were usually commanded by a major. There were eight line companies and one company each of Grenadiers and Light Infantry. In the eighteenth century, the words "regiment" and "battalion" were practically synonymous. Curtis, *British Army*, 3-4; R. Ernest and Trevor N. Dupuy, *The Compact History of the Revolutionary War* (New York, 1963), 462-63.

<sup>29</sup> The British soldier received about 8d. a day in 1775. But because of the deductions taken from that sum, the average soldier got but little in coin (Curtis, *British Army*, 22; Herman De Gaston Watteville, *The British Soldier. His Daily Life from Tudor to Modern Times* [London, 1954], 81-82, 84). Nevertheless, ". . . a few pence were enough to get drunk on, and the expenses of female society were proportionately low." (Robert Money Barnes, *A History of the Regiments and Uniforms of the British Army* [London, 1950], 62). Apropos of the inexpensiveness of drink, Lieutenant John Barker commented in his journal on January 1, 1775, about the drunkenness of the soldiers in Boston, which he attributed ". . . to the cheapness of the liquor, a Man may get drunk for a Copper or two." Elizabeth E. Dana, *The British in Boston* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1924), 18.

<sup>30</sup> The ninth Lord Blayney of Monaghan in the peerage of Ireland. *DNB*

<sup>31</sup> King George III ordered the 17th Light Dragoons and the 35th, 49th and 63rd Regiments of Foot to Boston on January 23, 1775. Atkinson, "British Forces in North America," 6.

March 17th. *Heyleys* 17th Regiment of Light-Dragoons and Drafts from different Regiments of Horse, marched into Cork; and were Inspected together with the Drafts aforesaid by Lieut. General lord *Blayney*, on foot, in the Barrack-yard of the 54th Regiment: They were reinspected (on Horse-back) by him, near the River Lee to the eastward of the City.

March 25th. Lieut. Colonel *Sir Henry Calder* Bart.<sup>32</sup> joined the Regiment in Cork, who came from *England*. He inspected the recruits of the Regiment, on the Regimental parade; and reinspected them in the rear of their respective Companies the day following. This day also the first part of the Transports (in which we went abroad) arrived from the Downs at the Cove of Cork.<sup>33</sup>

April 5th. The drafts from the different regiments in *Ireland*, were drafted into the three Regiments of Foot that were in Cork, under orders for embarkation *i.e.* 35th, 49th, and 63d.

April 6th. We marched from the city of Cork to a small town called *Mongstown*,<sup>34</sup> where we were mustered in a large field by Mr. *George Tabuteau* deputy Muster-Master then in *Munster*;<sup>35</sup> who also mustered the 35th, and 63d. Regiments, and the 17th Regiment of Light-Dragoons with the Drafts, on their different days of embarkation; in the same place. After our Regiment were mustered, we went on board five lighters or boats; in one of which the General's and Capt. *Hepburn's* Companies came to the Cove of Cork, where the said Companies went on board the *Diana* Transport Ship, *Story Hebdon* master. The remaining 8 companies went on board the *Laurel*, *Three Sisters*, and *Rochford* transports.<sup>36</sup> The different companies were put into *Messes*, each composed of six men, in which manner we received our Provisions during the Passage. There were Births made up of Boards at both sides of the ship, between Decks; sufficient for four men to lye in each. Every man had a Bed, Rug, Bolster and Blanket, with a spoon:

<sup>32</sup> Calder's lieutenant colonelcy in the 49th dated from July 12, 1773. He was promoted to colonel in the same regiment on November 25, 1778. Worthington C. Ford, *British Officers Serving in the American Revolution, 1774-1783* (Brooklyn, 1897), 38.

<sup>33</sup> Cove is Cork's deep-water harbor and lies at the mouth of the River Lee. Cove was renamed "Queenstown" upon the landing of Queen Victoria on August 3, 1849, but is now known by its old name. Richard Haywood, *Munster and the City of Cork* (London, 1964), 11.

<sup>34</sup> Monkstown, south of Cork and on the west side of Cove.

<sup>35</sup> The Province of Munster, which includes Counties Clare, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary and Waterford.

<sup>36</sup> The navy bore the responsibility for transporting troops to America in 1775. But it hired merchant ships, generally "...the refuse of the trading fleet." to do that. Civilians manned those vessels, which usually took six to eight weeks to cross the Atlantic. Curtis, *British Army*, 120, 124.

each *Mess* had a platter and Bowel. Those Articles were provided by the Owners of the Transports.

*April 7th.* The 63d. Regiment embarked at the Cove aforesaid on board their different Transports: When they came to Cove, we received them with three *Cheers*, to which they answered.

*April 8th.* The 35th. Regiment embarked on board their respective transports, and were received with three *Huzza's* as above, by the aforesaid regiments that were already embarked: As also by the Drafts and Recruits for the regiments that were then in *America*, that embarked some days before us.

*April 9th, 10th.* The 17th Regiment of light Dragoons embarked at passage on board the transports which were ordered for their *Horses* and them, for, the former could not be conveniently carried in lighters to Cove.

The following is a Copy of the Regulations we received on board from the *Agent*<sup>37</sup> of the Fleet: which were Issued by order of government, for Victualling the troops on board the different transports: as well in this Fleet, as on board all transports employed in transporting the troops to any part of *America*. And also a copy of the Regulations by which we were victualled during the Passage; which I received from the Steward of the Ship, to whom I was assistant in serving the provisions.

#### Six Men's allowance every day in the Week

	Bread lb.	Pork Ps.	Beef Ps.	Pease Pints	Flour lb.	Butter lb.	Cheese	Oat- meal pints	Raisins lb.
Sunday	4	2		2					
Monday	4					$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	4	
Tues- day	4		1		3				1
Wednes- day	4			2		$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	4	
Thurs- day	4	2		2					
Friday	4			2		$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	4	
Satur- day	4		1		3				1

N.B. Each Piece of Beef weighs 4 lb. and the piece of Pork 2 lb.

<sup>37</sup> A navy lieutenant exercised general supervision over a fleet of transports. He was referred to "... as the agent, or superintendent, of transports, . . . ." *Ibid.*, 125.

**RULES TO BE OBSERVED BY  
Masters and Commanders of Transport Ships, in  
VICTUALLING LAND-FORCES.**

Six Soldiers Allowance for every Day in the Week.

	Bread lb.	Beer Gal. or Wine Pints	Beef 4 lb. Pieces.	Pork 2 lb.Pieces.	Pease Pints.	Oatmeal Pints.	Oil Pints.
Sunday	4	4		2	2	4	1 or 1 lb. Butter and $\frac{2}{3}$ lb. Cheese
Monday	4	4					
Tuesday	4	4	2 or 6 lb. of Flour or 1 lb. Suet.				
Wednes- day	4	4			2	4	1 or as above
Thurs- day	4	4		2	2		
Friday	4	4			2	4	1
Satur- day	4	4	2 or as above.				

Vinegar one Quart a week to six men.

A Pint of Wine, half a Pint of Brandy, Rum or Arrack, is equal to  
a Gallon of Beer.

*April 19th.* We weighed Anchor at the cove of *Cork*, our Fleet consisted of 23 Sails, about 10 o'clock in the morning, and sailed with a N. W. wind: But before we cleared off from the land N. E. of *Kinsale*<sup>38</sup>, the wind changed from the S. W. and after 3 or 4 hours tacking about, we were obliged by the contrary winds, to turn back into the Harbour at three in the afternoon, where we came to an Anchor. The wind continued foul for a few days.

Victualling

*April 27th.* We weighed Anchor (a second time) at 5 o'clock in the morning, and sailed to the Harbour's mouth; where the dif-

<sup>38</sup> A seaport in County Cork and southwest of Cove.

ferent transports were running foul of one another for the want of wind, which obliged the Fleet to cast Anchor there. And

(April 28th.) Next morning we weighed Anchor (a third time) and set sail with a good breeze, from the S. E. We steered our course to the S. W. At 9 o'clock at night the *Agent* fired a Gun, as a Signal for our tacking about; for fear of touching upon *Cape Clear*<sup>39</sup>, which we had not then past; which we accordingly did. Another Vessel by name *Henry*, which continued her former course, came so close to our ship after we were tacked about, that she almost ran foul of us, which if she had, it would have certainly prove fatal to both.

May 4th. About 12 o'clock at night, the *Laurel* transport in which were three Companies and a half of our regiment, broke her *Fore-top-mast*; which accident hindered her sailing the right course, for the Wind blew very hard, and the sea ran mountains high. Next morning (the *Agent* missing her) the other 3 Ships in which the rest of the regiment were, tacked about in different courses, in expectations of seeing her, which we did in a few hours after. During said time the Fleet (our 4 Ships excepted) continued their course, and got so far a head that we were separated from them on account of the said accident.

May 13th. This day some of the Sailors and Soldiers on board our ship *i.e.* *Diana*, had a great contest and cabal among them; which alarmed the whole Vessel, and after some struggle and a few blows between them, the Officers were acquainted with the dispute; which put them and the Capt. of the Ship in great Confusion. The Officer commanding on Board, ordered the Sailors to be confined, which was done immediately, and the Steward who uttered some mutinous and opprobrious expressions was lashed to the *Mizen-mast*, and handcuffed. This misunderstanding gave us great uneasiness, for the Sailors declared they would not lay hand to a rope, or any thing belonging to the Ship, we having but few sailors among the Soldiers to work the Vessel, so that we were almost exposed to the mercy of the waves. Next morning (14th) the Captain of the ship ordered the jack to be hoisted to the *Fore top mast-head*, and a gun to be fired, as a signal for the *Rochford*, on board of which our Colonel was, to lie to, until we could come up close enough to her. At 12 o'clock the Colonel came on board our ship, in a small boat, the sea being very calm and smooth: And so after he came the dispute was mitigated, and the Sailors set at liberty.

<sup>39</sup> Cape Clear is at the south end of Clear Island, which lies off the south coast of County Cork.

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# JOURNAL

For the Year M, DCC, LXX, V.

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**T**HOMAS SULLIVAN Inlisted in *Dublin* on Sunday the 5th. day of February 1775. in His Majesty's Forty Ninth Regiment of Foot, commanded by the Honourable Major General *Alexander Maitland*. And was attested on monday following, together with twenty Recruits that inlisted the same time.

*Feb. 8th.* The several recruits that were with y<sup>e</sup> Regiment, was drawn for, and put into different Companies; thus we remained untill we came to *Cork*. I was then in the 20th year of my Age.

*Feb. 9th.* The 1st. Division of the Regiment, composed of five companies, marched out of *Dublin* for *Cork*: The 2d. division, composed of the other five companies, marched out the day following. The Regiment was then under the command of Major *Thomas Dilkes*, and marched with the 1st. division. The 2d. division was commanded (on the march) by Captain *Charles Murray*. On the

march

May 29th. We met a great lump of Ice, which was covered with snow, and it floating with the current and wind, which occasioned its moving. This uncommon spectacle struck terror and astonishment on all the beholders, which had not seen the like before, because of its great size. It was about 30 feet high at one end; and 20 feet on the other: It was 100 feet in Circumference. Upon our first seeing it, we took it to be a Rock or small Island<sup>40</sup>.

June 5th. We arrived on the borders of *Nova Scotia*, about 9 o'clock in the morning we saw two small Islands, which, after a few hours sailing we perceived to be the main Continent, lying to the west of us: Then we changed our course to the Southard.

June 13th. We came in sight of *Cape-Ann*<sup>41</sup>, but the wind proving contrary we could not make out the Point, notwithstanding the several tacks we made. We saw the rest of the Fleet, which we parted as aforesaid, a great way to the windward. Between 2 and 3 o'clock next day (14th.) the sea was very smooth, and the wind could not be distinguished to blow from any quarter. The calm lasted for 3 hours; and then the wind blew somewhat fresh from off the land to the westward of us, which gave us some hopes of coming into the Harbour of *Boston* that night. The wind increased very much, and the Capt. of the Ship ordered the sails to be hoisted, which was done with great expedition: But the wind blew so strong that we were obliged to lower part of our Sail. In a few hours we came within four leagues of the Harbour; the wind was so strong, and it being late, without a Pilot, we did not venture the Harbour, for fear of the Rocks that are dispersed in several small Islands about the harbours mouth. The Fleet got in to the harbour 3 days before us: We beat about the coast all night, and kept clear off the land.

June 15th. This we came into the Harbour of *Boston*; the wind being right ahead, we could not get up to the City, which is 7 miles from the lighthouse; so that we were obliged to cast anchor at *Nantascut-Road*<sup>42</sup> inside the light-house<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Ambrose Serle, secretary to Lord Richard Howe, also expressed amazement at seeing an iceberg on his trip to America in May, 1776. He referred to it as an "Island of Ice" and a "Mountain of Ice." Edward H. Tatum, Jr. *The American Journal of Ambrose Serle, Secretary to Lord Howe, 1776-1778* (San Marino, California, 1940), 12-13.

<sup>41</sup> Cape Ann is the eastern peninsula of Essex County, Massachusetts.

<sup>42</sup> Nantasket Road lies between the end of Nantasket Peninsula and Georges Island, and west of the Boston light.

<sup>43</sup> The Boston light, situated on the south side of Little Brewster Island, was erected in 1716 and was the first in the colonies. Destroyed by the British when they evacuated Boston, the light was rebuilt in 1783. George R. Putnam, *Lighthouses and Lightships of the United States* (Boston, 1933), 1-2, 7-8.

June 16th. The wind changed a little to the Northward; but we met with an unexpected accident before we weighed anchor. There was a merchant ship in the harbour, which had weighed anchor, and was on her way for *England*, bearing strait before the wind, which blew very strong: She ran against the side of our Ship, so that we expected our going immediately to the bottom: But our Vessel being very strong, she was not much Damaged. The Captain of the Merchantship paid three Guineas for what damage that she sustained in her cable and rigging. We weighed Anchor and came up the River in the afternoon, where we stayed that night; the rest of the Fleet being close to the wharfs, so that all the Troops landed except 8 companies of our Regiment; the other two landed early that morning.

*A Description of the Battle of Bunker's Hill,*  
17th. June 1775.<sup>44</sup>

[An<sup>45</sup> alarm was given at break of day, by a firing from the lively ship of War<sup>46</sup>; and advice was soon afterwards received that the *Americans* broke ground, and were raising a Battery on the Heights of the Peninsula of Charlestown, against the town of *Boston*.] This town was divided from the Peninsula aforesaid, by

<sup>44</sup> Sullivan, as he said on page vii of his preface, used "authentick and current reports" in writing about events that he had not witnessed. His account of Bunker Hill is an excellent example of this technique.

In writing about Bunker Hill, the journalist relied on General Thomas Gage's letter of June 25, 1775, to Lord Dartmouth. He probably also knew of Gage's letter of June 26, 1775, to the Earl of Dunmore, which repeats much of the letter to Dartmouth. Gage's letter to Dartmouth is in Clarence Edwin Carter's work, *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State, 1763-1775* (2 vols.; New Haven, Connecticut, 1931), I, 405-06; and in Peter Force's *American Archives*, 4th Series (Washington, D.C., 1839), II, 1097-1098. The letter to Dunmore is in Force, *ibid.*, II, 1107.

In using material such as the above, Sullivan's general practice was to copy from the despatch in almost exact fashion. But he frequently interjected additional information, as is illustrated in his report on Bunker Hill.

Sullivan's punctuation, capitalization and spelling differ in many instances from that of the documents he used. Despite those differences, the meaning of an original sentence, or paragraph, and Sullivan's transcription of it are the same.

<sup>45</sup> The first sentence of Sullivan's Bunker Hill account, marked by brackets, is from the second paragraph of Gage's letter of June 2, 1775, to Dartmouth (Carter, *Correspondence of Gage*, I, 405-06).

It is interesting to note these differences between Gage's sentence and Sullivan's: Gage capitalizes "Alarm," "Day," "Firing" and "Lively" in the first two lines, whereas Sullivan does not; Gage uses a comma after "War" in the second line, Sullivan, a semi-colon; and Gage uses the term "Rebels" in the fourth line, Sullivan, "Americans."

<sup>46</sup> A twenty-gun ship, manned by 130 men. Robert Beatson, *Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain from 1727 to 1783* (6 vols.; London, 1804) VI, 27.

an arm of the sea; but the Ferry is not above 30 Perches broad. There is also a River called *Cambridge-River*, that empties itself in the small arm of the sea aforesaid above the ferry, about 3 miles, and the Tide ebbs and Flows continually up the River; where the *Lively* was at that time stationed. Charlestown was built near the ferry, and all made of timber, except the Chimnies, that were made of Brick. It was built on a Neck of land almost surrounded by water.

The<sup>47</sup> Rebels were plainly seen at work, and in a few hours a Battery of 6 guns played upon their works. Preparations were instantly made for landing a body of men to drive them off, and ten Companies of Light Infantry, ten Grenadiers, with the 5th, 43d. 38th, and 52d. Battallions, with a proportion of Field Artillery, under the Command of Major-general Howe<sup>48</sup> and Brigadier-General *Pigott*<sup>49</sup>, were embarked with great expedition, and landed on the Peninsula without opposition, under the protection of some ships of war, armed Vessels, and boats by whose fire the Rebels were kept within their works.

Upon<sup>50</sup> our Regiments coming to the long wharf to disembark, the aforesaid troops were marching to it, and going on board the Flat bottomed *Boats*; which were manned by the Sailors of the different transports, that were at the wharf to receive them. The troops formed as soon as landed; the *Light Infantry* posted on the Right, and the *Grenadiers* on their left. The 5th. and 38th Battallions drew up in the rear of those Corps, and the 43d. and 52d. Battallions made a third line. The Enemy upon the Heights were perceived to be in great force and strongly posted. A Redoubt thrown up on the 16th at night, with other works full of men, defended with Cannon, and a large body posted in the houses in *Charlestown*, covered their right Flank; and their Center and left were covered by a breast-work, part of it Cannon proof, which reached from the left of the *Redoubt* to the *Mystick* or *Medford* River.

<sup>47</sup> This paragraph, except for the first two words, is from the second paragraph of Gage's letter to Dartmouth, June 25, 1775. Carter, *Correspondence of Gage*, I, 405-06.

<sup>48</sup> William Howe (August 10, 1729-July 12, 1814) commanded the British on June 17. He succeeded Gage (see footnote 89) on October 10, 1775, holding the rank of general in America. *DNB*

<sup>49</sup> Sir Robert Pigot (1720-August 2, 1796). Howe commanded the right wing, Pigot, the left. *DNB*

<sup>50</sup> Except for the first sentence, this paragraph is from the third paragraph of Gage's letter to Dartmouth, June 25, 1775. Carter, *Correspondence of Gage*, I, 405-06.

[This<sup>51</sup> appearance of the Rebels strength, and the large Columns seen pouring in to their assistance, occasioned an application for the troops to be reinforced with some Companies of *Light-Infantry*, *Grenadiers*, the 47th. Battallion, and the 1st. Battallion of *Marines*; the whole when in conjunction, making a body of something above 2000 men.] The *Grenadiers* and light *Infantry* of our Regiment, did not go to the field, being the Regiment was but then landed. [Those troops advanced, formed in two *Lines*, and the attack began by a sharp Cannonade from our Field-pieces and Howitzers, the *Lines* advancing slowly, and frequently halting to give time for the Artillery to fire. The *Light-Infantry* was directed to force the left Point of the Breastwork, to take the Rebel line in flank, and the *Grenadiers* to attack in front, supported by the 5th. and 52d. Battallions. These orders were executed with perseverance, under a heavy fire from the vast numbers<sup>52</sup>, of the *Rebels*; and notwithstanding various Impediments before the troops could reach the works, and though the left under *Brigadier General Pigott*, who engaged also with the Enemy at *Charlestown*, which at a critical moment was set on fire, the *Brigadier* pursued his Point and carried the Redoubt.] There happened through a mistake of the Conductor of the *Artillery*, that 12 Pound shot was sent in the Place of 6 Pounders, which was unperceived untill they were in the Field; so that our *Artillery* were obliged to wait for proper Ammunition, before they could gain any advantage over the Enemy<sup>53</sup>; that were pouring out of their works with Cannon and small arms. Our troops during this interval had nothing to cover 'em, nor trust to, but the mercy of GOD, and the unwearied strength and force of their Arms: Notwithstanding they faced their Enemy with undauntedness and Valour; and by reason of the aforementioned disadvantages and Impediments, our men were terribly cut off: *Brigadier General Pigott* upon the left, seeing the men suffering so much, gave them the word to *Retreat*, which

<sup>51</sup> The sections in brackets in this paragraph are from the fourth paragraph of Gage to Dartmouth, June 25, 1775 (*ibid.*), except for the next to the last sentence, which is from Gage's fifth paragraph.

<sup>52</sup> Between 700 and a thousand Americans were stationed on Breed's Hill. Howe's force numbered around 2,200 men, plus some artillery. Richard M. Ketchum, *The Battle for Bunker Hill* (New York, 1962), 115,121.

<sup>53</sup> A British officer blamed Colonel Samuel Cleaveland, commander of the artillery in Boston, for this affair. After the battle, he wrote that "The wretched blunder of the over-sized balls sprung from the dotage of an officer . . . [Cleaveland], who spends his time in dallying with the schoolmaster's daughters." Quoted in Ketchum, *Bunker Hill*, 116.

they accordingly did<sup>54</sup>. The Center and Right of our *Line* which had not heard the word, were still advancing. When the Enemy perceived our troops were retreating on the left, it revived their spirits in hopes of gaining the Victory: But their surprise was greater than their hopes, for, when Major-General *Howe* saw the troops upon the left retreating, he gave the word *Advance*, which went from right to left of the *Lines*, and was accordingly obeyed. General Putnam who commanded the *Rebels* in this action<sup>55</sup>, seeing the *Regulars*, (as he called them) advance to the very works, and himself wounded, told doctor *Warren*<sup>56</sup> (who was an Inhabitant of the City of *Boston*,) and next to him in Command, that it was better for them to leave the works and retreat: Upon the *Doctors* refusing, he told him "he would leave the Neck himself," for he was certain the English would enter the works in less than 15 minutes; which they did in less than 10 minutes after, for, says *Putnam*, "if I had but 5 Companies of the *Regulars* under my command, I would maintain those works, in spite of all the troops in *Boston*; together with those in the Field." The brave Doctor *Warren* was deaf to his Proposals, and with a drawn sword, stood at the entrance of the Breastworks and declared openly if any man would offer to leave the works, till ordered, he would instantly run him through. In that posture he stood untill he was killed upon the spot, after his death, the *Rebels* began to retreat, which were so thick and numerous in the works, that they may be justly compared to a swarm of Bees in a *Beehive*. Our brave men ran through with their *Bayonets*, such of them as had not time to run away. [The Enemy then were forced from other strongholds, and pursued till they were drove clear off the Peninsula, leaving five Pieces of Cannon behind them.] *Charlestown* was reduced to ashes, and great many of the Enemy and Inhabitants perished in the Flames.

Some of the Rebels who rallied and turned back into a small scrub to the Northwest of the town, kept firing at the advanced

<sup>54</sup> This incident occurred in the second attack on the American position. Clinton claimed that Pigot's wing gave "totally away." Allen French, *The First Year of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1934), 239.

<sup>55</sup> Major General Israel Putnam (January 7, 1718-May 29, 1790) commanded on Bunker Hill; Colonel William Prescott (February 20, 1726-October 13, 1795), on Breed's Hill. Ketchum, *Bunker Hill*, 75, 110; *DAB*

<sup>56</sup> Joseph Warren (June 11, 1741- June 17, 1775), a personable individual, doctor and patriot, whose death at the age of thirty-four on Breed's Hill led to his apotheosis. Sullivan repeats here a fanciful account of his demise. Actually, he left the redoubt with the last of its defenders and received a mortal wound in his head as he retreated. He probably died instantly. Nevertheless, one eulogistic play had Warren present a two-page speech after being hit. John Cary, *Joseph Warren, Physician, Politician, Patriot* (Urbana, Illinois, 1961), 221-22.

guards and Picquets, which were on the Hill; so that the fire continued at both sides till next morning, and several men were killed and wounded during the Night.

Our wounded men were brought to *Boston* in the evening, and put into *Hospitals* that were got ready for them, and a sufficient number of Nurses, who were mostly the Wives of the wounded, to attend them.

The<sup>57</sup> loss the Enemy sustained must have been considerable, from the great numbers they carried off during the Time of action, and buried in holes, since discovered exclusive of what they suffered by the shipping and boats: Near 100 were buried the day after, and 30 found wounded in the field. *Deserters* from the Enemy informed me some time after that they lost 1500 men killed and wounded in this Battle, of which number 380 were killed on the spot<sup>58</sup>. The Number of Officers and Men that were killed and wounded on our side, in this action, was very shocking to our friends to hear or see; for the Enemy had such advantages (as above specified,) that it was almost impossible to do them much damage, but by entering their Breastworks.

This<sup>59</sup> Action shewed the superiority of the Kings troops, who, under every disadvantage, attacked and defeated 3 times their own number, strongly posted and covered by Breastworks.<sup>60</sup>

The conduct of Major-General *Howe* was conspicuous in this occasion, and his example spirited the troops, in which Major-General *Clinton*<sup>61</sup> assisted, who followed the reinforcement.

Lieutenant Colonels, *Nesbit, Abercrombie, Clark; Majors, Butler, Williams, Bruce, Spendlove, Smelt, Mitchel, Pitcarne, and Short*, exerted themselves remarkably; and the valour of the Officers and

<sup>57</sup> This sentence is from the sixth paragraph of Gage to Dartmouth, June 25, 1775. Carter, *Correspondence of Gage*, I, 405-06.

<sup>58</sup> The Americans' total casualties numbered 450. Of that number, 138 were killed. Ketchum, *Bunker Hill*, 147.

<sup>59</sup> This and the next two paragraphs are from the seventh and eighth paragraphs of Gage to Dartmouth, June 25, 1775. Carter, *Correspondence of Gage*, I, 405-06.

<sup>60</sup> Gage issued a broadside describing the Battle of Bunker Hill on June 26, which generally duplicates his letter of June 25 to Dartmouth. But in the broadside he praises the troops as follows:

This Action has shown the Bravery of the King's Troops, who under every Disadvantage, gained a compleat Victory over Three Times their Number, strongly posted, and covered by Breastworks, *But they fought for their KING, their LAWS and CONSTITUTION* (editor's italics).

"General Gage's Broadside Account of Bunker Hill," *Old and Rare*, Catalogue 531, Goodspeed's Book Shop, Inc., Boston, 40-41.

<sup>61</sup> Sir Henry Clinton (1738?-December 23, 1795). A major general, Clinton was made a lieutenant general in America in September, 1775, as a reward for his bravery on June 17. Clinton succeeded Howe as commander in chief in North America in May, 1778. *DNB*

Soldiers in general was at no time more Conspicuous than in this Action.

At the time the Battle began, our Regiment marched thorough the City of *Boston*; with Colours flying and *Drums* beating, and encamped on the Common that lies to the west of the town: And we were under arms during the time of the Engagement.

*Return of the Officers, Non-commissioned and Privates, Killed and Wounded of His Majesty's Troops at the attack of the Heights of Charlestown 17th June 1775.*<sup>62</sup>

*Royal Artillery.* 2 Captains, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Serjeant, 8 Rank and file wounded.

*4th. Regiment.* 2 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Serjeant, 29 Rank and file wounded. 1 Serjeant, 13 Rank and file killed.

*5th. ditto.* 22 Rank and file killed. 4 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 10 Serjeants, 2 Drummers & 110 Rank and file wounded.

*10th. ditto.* 2 Serjeants, 5 Rank and file killed. 2 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 1 Drummer, and 39 Rank and file wounded.

*18th. ditto.* 3 Rank and file killed. 1 Lieutenant, 7 rank and file wounded.

*22d. ditto.* 1 Lieutenant Colonel wounded<sup>63</sup>.

*23d. ditto.* 1 Captain, 3 Lieutenants, 2 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 35 rank and file wounded. 1 Drummer; 11 Rank and [file] killed.

*35th. ditto.* 2 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 2 Serjeants, 2 Drummers 41 Rank and file wounded. 1 Lieutenant 18 Rank and file killed.

*38th. ditto.* 2 Captains, 3 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 4 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 69 Rank and file wounded. 1 Lieutenant, 2 Drummers, 23 Rank and file killed<sup>64</sup>.

*43d. ditto.* 1 Major, 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 3 Serjeants, 2 Drummers 77 Rank and file wounded. 2 Drummers<sup>65</sup>, 20 Rank and file killed.

*47th. ditto.* 1 Major, 3 Captains, 3 Lieutenants, 3 Serjeants 47 rank and file wounded. 1 Drummer<sup>66</sup>, 15 Rank and file killed.

*52nd. ditto.* 1 Major<sup>67</sup>; 1 Captain, 3 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 7 Serjeants, 73 Rank and file wounded. 3 Captains, 1 Serjeant, 20 rank and file killed.

<sup>62</sup> This return largely agrees with the one attached to Gage's letter of June 25, 1775, to Dartmouth that is in Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, II, 1098-99.

<sup>63</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Abercrombie died of his wound. *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> Two sergeants, not drummers, were killed. Also, Sullivan did not list one quartermaster as being wounded. *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> "Drummers" should read "Serjeants." *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> "Drummer" should read "Serjeant." Sullivan fails to note that one of the wounded lieutenants died. *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> Subsequently died. *Ibid.*

59th. ditto. 1 Lieutenant, 25 Rank and file wounded. 6 rank and file killed.

63d. ditto. 2 Captains, 2 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 25 Rank and file wounded. 1 Lieutenant, 1 Serjeant, 7 Rank and file killed.

65th. ditto. 1 Major, 1 Captain, 3 Lieutenants, 1 Serjeant, 1 Drummer, 25 Rank and file wounded. 1 Captain killed.

1st. Battallion of Marines. 1 Major<sup>68</sup>, 3 Captains, 1 Lieut. 2 Serjeants, 55 rank and file wounded. 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 2 Serjeants, and 15 rank and file killed.

2d. ditto. 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Drummer<sup>69</sup>, 29 Rank and file wounded. 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 5 rank and file killed.

67th. Regiment. 1 Captain, *Aid-de-Camp* to Major General Howe killed.

14th. ditto. 1 Lieutenant killed. 1 Ensign wounded.

Royal Navy. 1 Lieutenant wounded.

1 Engineer wounded.

Besides 6 Staff Officers wounded.

#### TOTAL.

1 Lieutenant- Colonel, 2 Majors, 7 Captains, 9 Lieutenants, 15 Serjeants, 1 Drummer 191 rank and file killed. 3 Majors, 27 Captains, 32 Lieutenants, 8 Ensigns, 20 Serjeants, 12 Drummers, 706 Rank and file wounded.

N. B. The killed and wounded of the 35th and 63d Regiments, were out of the *Light Infantry* and *Grenadier* Companies of them Corps.

Great many died of their wounds after coming from the field, the weather in that part being so very hot in summer, that the wounds of several men mortified; and it was supposed the Enemy Poisoned some of their Balls, so that some of the wounds were uncurable<sup>70</sup>. There was not above 300 of the wounded men, that were cured fit for service; most of them as well as the troops getting a bloody flux, which killed numbers of them.

July 18th. This day the following Regiments were put into Brigades, viz. 4th, 10th, 35th, and 63d Regiments: As also the 22d, 40th, 44th, and 45th Regiments, that arrived in *Boston* this Month. Their fleet consisted of 18 Sail; and the transports came to the Cove of *Cork* to receive them, before we left *Ireland*.

<sup>68</sup> Major John Pitcairn, who subsequently died. *Ibid*.

<sup>69</sup> "Drummer" should read "Serjeant." *Ibid*.

<sup>70</sup> One doctor who operated on many of the British wounded reported that the rebels had used nails and pieces of iron in their muskets. That report fathered the story of the poisoned balls. A merchant claimed that that testified to the "hellish disposition of the accursed rebels." Quoted in Ketchum, *Bunker Hill*, 143.

We shifted our encampment close to the Neck of *Boston* about 12 o'clock, being in one Brigade, and in a *Line* with the 35th, 23d, 63d, and 52d Regiments, together with the *1st. Battallion of Marines*. The duty of the *Garrison* was done by Brigades during the season; and all the troops were in three Brigades that time; exclusive of the Regiments that were encamped on *Charlestown Heights*<sup>71</sup>.

Our Brigade was under the Command and Inspection of Major-general *Burgoine*, untill he went to *England* in the latter end of the Campaign<sup>72</sup>.

*July 31st.* About 1 o'clock in the morning, the *Lines* opened and began to play upon a small town inhabited by the Enemy to the Southward of *Boston*, called *Roxbury*. There is a Post road from *Boston* to this town, part of which was forced through a swamp that the tide (in Highwater) covered. Upon, and a cross this Road, our *Lines* or outworks were made, about 300 Yards from the Neck. The town is about an *English* mile from the City.

After a few hours Cannonading, and the firing of several shots by the Centinels in the out Flushes; an Officer of the train of Artillery with a party of men, under his command, advanced to the town, and set the *Enemy's* Guardhouse on fire about the Guard. The same time another party with more of the train, advanced to the town, in order to cover the aforesaid party, from any attack from the Enemy: But they entered their works that were made in the street, in hopes that our Party would go into them or into the houses; which they did not. The 1st. Party set fire to several of the houses, in the outskirts of it, which were reduced to ashes<sup>73</sup>.

On this expedition there was but one man of our Party hurt: He belonged to the Train, and was accidentally wounded by the bursting of a piece of our own Cannon; he was also wounded thorough the thigh by the Enemy, and died soon after.

The same morning two *Gundalo's* went up the River from the Quay of *Boston*, towards *Cambridge*, over against our encampment, and kept continually firing at the small town of *Cambridge*, during the time the above Parties was at *Roxbury*.

<sup>71</sup> Gage established Howe in a separate command on Charlestown Peninsula after June 17. Bellamy Partridge, *Sir Billy Howe* (New York, 1932), 26.

<sup>72</sup> John Burgoyne (1722-August 4, 1792) returned to England in December, 1775. F. J. Hudleston, *Gentleman Johnny Burgoyne* (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1927), 4, 94, 313.

<sup>73</sup> A British deserter warned the Americans of the attack. During the skirmish, the British burned the George Tavern, which was on the north side of Roxbury. An American attack on Little Brewster Island at the same time succeeded in capturing a British party working on the light house. Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington* (7 vols.; New York, 1945-57), III, 507-09.

After the Battle of *Bunker's Hill*, Major-General *Howe* and the Detachment under his Command, such of them as escaped being killed or wounded, encamped on the heights there; and were reinforced by more troops from *Boston*.

Upon the *Rebels* being defeated in that action, they began to raise works and cut entrenchments, upon every rising ground and eminence all round the City and *Charlestown Lines*, as close as Possibly they could; and planted several Pieces of Cannon in them<sup>74</sup>. From the outworks & trenches they kept firing very frequent at our out-posts, in the night, but without much Success. They generally opened their Batteries at us on Saturdays and Sundays<sup>75</sup>.

About this time the *Boyne* Ship of war of 70 Guns, went out Cruizing from *Boston*, about the Coasts in them Parts, and in a few days she met with a Vessel that was bound to *Cape Cod*, for the use of the *Rebels*; which was laden with Flour and other Provisions. The *Boyne* took her Prisoner and brought her into the Harbour; and the flour was given for the use of the Army.

In a few days after, she went upon a second Cruize, and espied 3 ships under sail, bearing to the Leeward; upon her approaching them, they knew her to be a ship of force, and gave her three Broad-sides, and attacked her at once. The first Broad-side the *Boyne* fired, the nearest Vessel to her of the three she sent to the bottom immediately. As the other two perceived that, they sheered off with all speed. The *Boyne* crowded up all her sails, and in a short time overtook one of the two; and took her Prisoner: But the other got off. The latter was an armed vessel, loaded with *Brandy*, *Rum* and other Liquors.

This time also 8 transports with 150 Soldiers, with a proportion of Officers and Non-commissioned Officers, went to *Long-Island* and about *New-York*, to buy Cattle and Sheep for the use of the Army<sup>76</sup>. Upon their arrival there, the Captains and Crews of the

<sup>74</sup> Captain Evelyn, 4th Regiment, wrote from Boston on August 19, 1775, "They [the rebels] are burrowing like rabbits all around us, determined not to leave us a passage through which we may surprise them." Scull, *Evelyn*, 66-68. For a description of the American works, see Richard Frothingham, *History of the Siege of Boston*, (Boston, 1849), 210-17."

<sup>75</sup> An American journalist, James Thacher, says in his entry for August that some "...cannon-shot and some bomb-shells...[were] every day thrown into Boston." *Military Journal of the American Revolution* (Hartford, Connecticut, 1862), 30.

<sup>76</sup> This expedition might have been the one that sailed from Boston on July 25. Three war ships and six transports visited Fisher's, Gardiner's, Plumb and Block Islands, all in Long Island Sound, in search of food. Freeman, *Washington*, III, 505-06.

different transports went on shore, and left the troops on board to guard the Vessels, for fear of being set on fire by the Rebels, which were encamped there. They brought 500 Oxen and 300 sheep, which was killed in *Boston* for the use of the Army & Navy there<sup>77</sup>.

*Of the Provisions the Troops Received in Boston.*

The Provisions were Issued out of the King's Stores, as follows. The *Bakers* always received 7 Pounds of Flour, for every man in the Regiment or Company, for whom they baked: Out of the 7 lb. of Flour the *Baker* gave two loaves, weighing 4 1/2 lb. each, which were served twice a week to the troops. Once a week we received 4 lb. of Pork or 7 lb. of Beef; 6 ounces of Butter; 3 Pints of Pease or Oatmeal; and 1/2 lb. of Rice per man. Every Woman had 1/2 a man's share, and every Child 1/4 Rations.

In this month (July) all the wounded men, that were not, or would not be fit for service, were sent to *England*; together with some women and Children; such as belonged to the killed and wounded men, that were willing to go home.

*A Short Description of Boston.*<sup>78</sup>

The City of *Boston* is built on a small Island or Peninsula, and has but one road from it, which was forced by art a cross a swamp and channel at the Neck. This Neck is about 50 feet broad, goes to

<sup>77</sup> A Bostonian's statement on August 1, 1775, that "This day [I] was invited by two Gentlemen to dine upon *rats*.-" emphasizes the success of the Americans in cutting off provisions for Boston (Timothy Newell, "A Journal Kept During the Time yt Boston Was Shut Up In 1775-6," Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 4th Series, I [1852], 265). Gage despatched transports to Halifax, New London, and elsewhere to obtain provisions. Early in October, he had thirty-eight ships out seeking food and fuel. John Richard Alden, *General Gage in America* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1948), 276; Troyer S. Anderson, *The Command of the Howe Brothers During the American Revolution* (New York, 1936), 94.

<sup>78</sup> Sullivan's descriptions of the towns that he saw while campaigning in America are an important part of his journal. Others who served in the same campaigns and kept journals, such as Lieutenant Henry Stirke (S. S. Bradford, "A British Officer's Revolutionary War Journal, 1776-1778," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 56 [June, 1961], 150-75), Lieutenant John Barker (Dana, *British in Boston*), Captain Frederick Mackenzie (*Diary of Frederick Mackenzie* [2 vols.; Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1930]). Captain John Montresor (G. D. Scull [ed.], *The Montresor Journals*, New-York Historical Society, *Collections*, 14 [1881]). Captain Archibald Robertson (Harry M. Lydenberg, *Archibald Robertson, His Diaries and Sketches in America, 1762-1780* [New York, 1930]), and Ambrose Serle (Tatum, *Serle*) say much less about the towns and cities they saw.

Sullivan's comments about Boston are generally accurate. See Harold and James Kirker, *Bullfinch's Boston, 1787-1817* (New York, 1964) and Walter Muir Whitehill, *Boston, A Topographical History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959) for recent discussions of eighteenth-century Boston.

the main land, and has great command over the road to Roxberry. The houses are about two-thirds built of wood; and the other one third of *Brick*. The foundation of the wooden Houses is also built of *Brick* or *Stone*; and every house ha [s] a large *Cellar* under ground, in which the Inhabitants keep their Stores in the Summer; such as *Butter, Sugar, & c.* which could not be kept safe in the upper part of the houses, by reason of the excessive heat. In winter they keep their *Potatoes, Turnips & c.* and the like things that are Subject to be spoiled by the Frost; which is very severe in winter, as is the heat in Summer. The Streets are well paved with Stones, and pretty large. It is two miles long and about five miles in Circumference. The Inhabitants were chiefly *Presbyterians*, but upon the breaking out of the *Rebellion*, the most-part of them left the town; them that remained there were some *English, Irish* and *Scotch Merchants*, with their adherents. *Charlestown* was built to the N. N. W. of it. *Cambridge* to the W, in which last are two Colleges<sup>79</sup>, and a few houses. There is a large *River* that runs thro' this small town, over which is a wooden Bridge. *Roxburry* is a small town that lies to the South of it, to which leads the only road from *Boston*. The Harbour is on the East side; in the middle of which stands *Castle* or *Fort-William*, which was a strong *Fortress*; in which were several guns mounted. The Harbour is good and safe for Vessels, to get up to the City, as also for Vessels to winter there. There are several Wharfs made of timber, in convenient parts of the town; and especially in the *East, North-East* and *South* part of the City. Vessels of great burthen may come quiet close to the Wharfs at high water; Store-houses are very plentyful built on those wharfs, which are very convenient for merchants. The City is well watered with Pumps, but is very brackish and unwholsome in many parts of it; which was very destructive to the troops, for giving them (as it was supposed) the Flux; and good many of the Inhabitants as well as the army died of that disorder, during the course of the summer.

*Boston is the Metropolis* or Capitol of *New-England* in *NORTH AMERICA*<sup>80</sup>. Now I shall acquaint my Readers with its sufferings since the breaking out of the *Rebellion*, or at least since my coming into it, until the Army left it. Upon our first coming into that City. *i.e.* the first of the troops, under the Command of Lieutenant-general *Gage*, this City (as I was Credibly informed) was well

<sup>79</sup> There was only one college, Harvard, in Cambridge. Sullivan probably mistook the town's grammar school for a second college, Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1960), 82, 95.

<sup>80</sup> Boston was the capital only of Massachusetts Bay, not of all New England.

inhabited, and great trade and Commerce was carried on there. Provisions were very cheap, for, very good Beef may be bought for 2d. a Pound; and so on, every kind of Provisions in like Proportion. Liquors were very Plentiful and sold very cheap. A Gallon of West-India-Rum was sold for 2s. per Gallon; Brandy for half a dollar or 2s. 3d. per Gallon; *New-England Rum* for 13 1/2d. sterling per Gallon. Wines were sold from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. per Gallon. All kinds of Roots were exceeding Cheap. *Porter* was sold here according to its goodness, as in *England* and *Ireland*.

I cannot forget what a *Butcher* in *Boston* said to one of the Soldiers, who was buying a Bullocks head from him. "the Soldier said that 2d. was too much for the head, which was the Price the *Butcher* demanded; he began to swear that it was too dear; to whom the *Butcher* made answer, it he would leave off swearing in his presence he would give him the Bullocks head gratis."

When I landed there, I bought a quart of Rum for 4 1/2d. sterling. In this part of the Continent, they have no *Ale*, but such as they import there from *Europe*, or some parts of the Continent towards the Southward: for they have not proper Conveniencies for making it, for their *Barley* is not near so good as In *England*. What they generally use for drinking there, is what is called *Spruce Beer*, which is made of *Spruce Trees* and Molasses; by boiling a proper Quantity of *Spruce*, and putting the Molasses into the Boilers, and from thence into large Barrels, and sometimes into *Cellars* or *apartments* made for that purpose under the Brewery. It is sold there commonly a halfpenny a Quart. It is deemed by the Physicians and Surgeons, to be very wholesome; and particularly for the curing of the Scurvy, they highly commend it.

The houses being chiefly built of wood, (as before observed) the fences or Walls of the City was also built or made of wood. In the back of the Streets and Lanes are very Commodious *Gardens*, which were full of all sorts of Trees: and all kind of Plants.

After the first Engagement between the King[s] troops and the *Americans*, which happened the 19th. of *April* 1775. on a Common at a place called *Concord*; the troops grew more cruel and vigorous against the Inhabitants, so that they began in most parts of the town, in which they resorted, to pull down and destroy the fences and hedges: as an opportunity offered: Notwithstanding the repeated Orders the Commander in Chief issued to the Contrary. After the Battle at *Bunker's-Hill*, they were so inveterate against the *Rebels*, on account of their ambitious designs; and the dreadful Spectacles that presented themselves after that action; they destroyed every thing they could come at, without Scruple. When

the troops went into winter Quarters<sup>81</sup>, the General gave Orders, that all the *Old houses* in every part of the town should be pulled down, for firing the Army<sup>82</sup>; so that every Regiment got firing convenient to their respective Quarters. The *River* being (that time) almost frozen; so that the Shipping could not get safely out of the Harbour, to bring in timber from othe[r] Parts, as they did during the *Campaign*. All the Creeks and Harbours upon the Coasts about *Boston*, were in the month of *November* frozen.

There were working Parties, composed of a detachment from every Regiment in the Garrison, for cutting of trees, old houses, old Vessels and Wharfs, for firing. Those Parties were paid at the rate of 5s. sterling per *Cord*, they cut. A *Cord* of wood is eight feet long, four feet broad, and four feet high. The one-fourth part of the town, was either pulled down for firing in that manner, or otherwise destroyed in making *Batterries*<sup>83</sup>; so that the most-part of the houses that was damaged, were Irreparable. In the *Batterries* were mounted 42, 32, and 24 Pounders, and long 18 and 12 Pounders.

### *Of the Payment of the Army in America.*

The Army was mostly paid in *Joes*, *Half-Joes*, & *Dollars*; the *Dollars* were of two kinds, *i.e.* *Spanish Milled*, and *Cob-Dollars*. The *Pay-Master-general* of the Army charged 4s. 8d. for every *Dollar*; for which the Inhabitants give but 4s. 6d. sterling. And the 2d. difference in the *Dollars* by exchange, the *Paymasters* of Regiments charged to the Companies accounts; and gave them the *Dollars* for 4s.6d.

There are old Pieces of *Silver* in the Province *Massachusetts Bay*, which Passes for 9d. 4 1/2d, and 1d. sterl.

<sup>81</sup> Barker says that on December 12, 1775, his unit left Charlestown and took up winter quarters in Boston. Dana, *British in Boston*, 68.

<sup>82</sup> Howe on December 14 ordered the pulling down of Old North Church and a hundred wooden houses for fuel (Frothingham, *Siege*, 282). A general order of December 21 said that the 49th Regiment was to draw its fuel on Fridays ("General Orders by Major General The Honourable William Howe," in the Kemble Papers, *Collections*, New-York Historical Society, XVI [1883], 281).

<sup>83</sup> Sullivan exaggerates the extent of the demolition in Boston. Old North Church, some wharfs and something over a hundred houses were pulled down. The houses were probably the oldest and most dilapidated in the town. (Horace E. Scudder, "Life in Boston in the Revolutionary Period," Justin Winsor (ed.), *The Memorial History of Boston* [4 vols.; Boston, 1881], III, 156.). Furthermore, Howe on January 19, 1776, ordered the detachments collecting wood to turn in their tools because the arrival of coal had eliminated the need for wood (Howe, "General Orders," 297).

*Of the Currency and Value of English and Spanish  
Coins in BOSTON.*

Pieces.	English	Value					
		English			Currency		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>A Guinea</i> (as in England.)	1	1	.	10	10	.	
<i>Half-Guinea</i> . . . . .	.	10	6	5	5	.	
<i>Crown</i> . . . . .	.	5	.	2	10	.	
<i>Shilling</i> . . . . .	.	1	.	.	10	.	
<i>Six pence</i> . . . . .	.	.	6	.	5	.	
Spanish.							
<i>Johannes, or Joes</i> . . . . .	3	12	.	36	.	.	
<i>Half ditto</i> . . . . .	1	16	.	18	.	.	
<i>Dollar</i> . . . . .	.	4	6	2	5	.	
<i>Half ditto</i> . . . . .	.	2	3	1	2	6	
<i>Quarter ditto</i> . . . . .	.	1	11/2	.	11	3	
<i>Half Quarter ditto</i> . . . . .	.	.	63/4	.	5	71/2	
<i>Sixteenth part ditto</i> . . . . .	.	.	31/4	.	2	81/2	
<i>Pistreen</i> . . . . .	.	.	103/4	.	8	111/2	
<i>Half Pistreen</i> . . . . .	.	.	51/2	.	4	7	

*N.B.* An English 11/4d. is 1 shilling Currency. An Irish or welsh halfpenny is but a farthing sterl.

***Augmentation of the Army, 25th August.***

The Establishment of a Company in Ireland was a *Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign; two Serjeants, three Corporals, and thirty six Private*. And there was an Augmentation of *one Serjeant, one Drummer, and seventeen Private men*; so that a Company on the New establishment was, a *Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, three Serjeants, three Corporals, two Drummers, and fifty three Private men*. Each Regiment was Augmented with two additional Companies; the Promotion or appointment of the Officers of one *Company*,

was in the Regiment and the Officers of the other *Company* were appointed in *England*<sup>84</sup>.

### *Of the Ships of War that were stationed in Boston Harbour.*

There were two 64 Gun Ships<sup>85</sup> inside the light house, at the Harbours mouth; as a safeguard to all Transports and Victualling Ships that may come into the Harbour: As also to the small *Islands* that are about the *Light-house* and on the River. Those *Islands* were closely watched, lest the *Rebels* would raise any *Batteries* near the Harbour, to hinder the *Navigation* of the River; and our Shipping from coming into the Harbour. Near *Fort William* lay another ship of 74 Guns<sup>86</sup>. The *Admiral's Ship*<sup>87</sup>, together with other Ships, Frigates and armed Sloopers lay near the Town. Some of the ships of war frequently cruized about the Coasts; from *Nova Scotia* to *Long-Island* and New York: They took great many of the *American Vessels*, during the Campaign.

The different Transports that brought the Troops from *Ireland*, were at the Wharfs; and were always employed in bringing *Wood*, *Hay*, and other Necessary Forrage from the *Islands* upon the Coast, for the use of the Army.

*Sept. 13th.* There was a working party carrying Timber and Provisions from the Town to the *Lines*, in Boats, and the wind blew excessive strong, so that the Harbour was very rough. A *Serjeant* and six men that were in a boat, and rowing up to the *Neck*, were driven on the opposite side, and soon were seized by the Enemy, with all that was in the Boat.

*Sept. 16th.* The General thought it Necessary for the Preservation and Regularity of the City, to order a Regiment to be raised in the town; of such *Volunteers* as were willing to take up arms against the *Rebels*. This Regiment was raised under the Appel-

<sup>84</sup> In August, 1775, Britain planned to increase her army from 33,000 to 55,000 men. As far as each regiment was concerned, the augmentation called for an additional 200 men to every battalion, raising the usual regimental strength from 477 to 677. Few regiments, however, benefited from the augmentation until the summer of 1779. J. W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army* (8 vols.; London, 1899-1930), III, 170; Atkinson, "British Forces," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, XVI (Spring, 1937), 4.

<sup>85</sup> The *Somerset* was the only sixty-four gun ship at Boston on June 30. It subsequently sailed away. Beatson, *Naval and Military Memoirs*, VI, 27, 29-30, 43-44.

<sup>86</sup> Sullivan probably meant the *Boyne*, a seventy-gun ship. *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Vice Admiral Samuel Graves (April 17, 1713-March 8, 1787) was the commander of the North American Station and he used the *Preston*, a fifty-gun ship, as his flagship. Lord Molyneux Shuldham (1717? - fall, 1798) replaced Graves on January 27, 1776. He used the *Chatham*, fifty guns, as his flagship. *DNB*; Beatson, *Naval and Military Memoirs*, VI, 27, 29-30, 43-44.

ation of *Royal Fencible Americans*, and commanded by Lieut. Colonel Goreham<sup>88</sup>.

October 9th. Lieutenant-General Gage was called to England, and then the Command was given to Major-general Howe<sup>89</sup>.

Oct. 29th. Some North British Merchants in the city of Boston were made into a Company, under the Appellation of *Royal North British Volunteers*. They were distinguished by a *Blue Bonnet*, with a *St. Andrew's Cross* upon it<sup>90</sup>. There were also a Company of *Irish Merchants* and *Irish Inhabitants* raised the same time<sup>91</sup>. Those Companies *Patrolled* the streets at Night, and took up all straglers, and disorderly people; and kept their Guard-houses, convenient to their alarm-Posts.

About this time, three Frigates of War<sup>92</sup> well manned with *Sailors* and some troops on board, sailed out of the Harbour in order to burn the sea port towns. Upon their Arrival into the Harbour of *Norfolk*, in the Province of *Canada*; they sent word to the Inhabitants to carry their Goods and Effects out of the town, in two hours time, or else they would Perish with them in the Flames; being they would set it on fire. At the expiration of said time, the *Sailors* went on shore, and with their *Matches*, which they had, set the Town a fire in several Places.

The Alarm by that time being spread all round the Country, and the *Rebels* assembled from all parts in great numbers, and began to fire upon the Vessels and Boats; so that the *Sails* were

<sup>88</sup> The Crown authorized the raising of two Loyalist regiments for use in Canada and Nova Scotia on April 5, 1775. One of those units was Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Gorham's Royal Fensible Americans. Gorham arrived in Boston from England in September, 1775, but he already had recruiting agents afield in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Boston. Thus three officers and sixty men of Gorham's regiment were ready for duty in Boston in September. Paul H. Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats, A Study in British Revolutionary Policy* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1964), 14, 67-69; Carter, *Correspondence of Gage*, I, 414-15; Atkinson, "British Forces," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, XIX (Autumn, 1940), 163.

<sup>89</sup> The order recalling Gage to London did not formally end his command in America. That occurred in April, 1776. Until then, Howe commanded in Gage's absence. Gage transferred his authority to Howe in a formal ceremony on October 10, and sailed from Boston at 9 P.M., October 11, in the *Pallas*. Anderson, *Command of the Howe Brothers*, 84; Alden, *Gage*, 278.

<sup>90</sup> Scottish residents of Boston formed the bulk of the Royal North British Volunteers. The strength of the corps is not known. Wilbur H. Siebert, "Loyalist Troops of New England," *The New England Quarterly*, IV (January, 1931), 118-19.

<sup>91</sup> This unit was called the Loyal Irish Volunteers, wore a white cockade as a badge and included ninety-seven men. *Ibid.*, 124-25.

<sup>92</sup> The raid described in this and the following paragraph was against Falmouth, Maine, and occurred on October 18, 1775. Captain Henry Mowat, of the *Canceau*, commanded the four-ship, not three, squadron that attacked the town. Freeman, *Washington*, III, 559-60.

tottered with the Balls, that flew as thick as *Hailstone*. There was but one Officer (who belonged to the *Navy*) and one *Sailor* killed or wounded, during the time. The *Captains* of the men of War, ordered all the Ships & Boats, that were in the Harbour, belonging to the Enemy, to be set on fire; which was immediately done: *But they* were obliged to leave the Harbour, and put out to sea; for the *Rebels* kept continually firing with their Musketry at them. Upon their going to sea, a great storm arose, so that the fleet were dispersed. One of the Vessels, on board of which was an Officer and four *Sailors*, was driven into a Creek, and were apprehended immediately by the Enemy, before they could make their Escape. The town of *Norfolk* was burnt to Ashes, and great numbers of merchandize and Stores destroyed<sup>93</sup>.

*Nov. 10th.* The troops in *Charlestown*, sent a party to a small hill over against their encampment, to the westward, called *Phipp's Farm*; and upon their advancing the *Rebels* began to fire at them. There was a *Gundalo* or *Ro galley* at our side of the River, that kept firing at them, being assisted by an armed Vessel, which was always stationed between the City, to the west end, and the above farm. Our Party surrounded the *Farm*, and after engaging the *Enemy* a few minutes at some distance; for they advanced down upon them from *Prospect hill* in great numbers; our party retreated, altho our *Drums* were beating the *Grenadiers march* to make the *Enemy* believe they were still advancing. They drove the Cattle that was on the *Farm* before them, to their own encampment. We had but two men of our Party wounded in that Skirmish: There were several of the *Enemy* seen carried away wounded<sup>94</sup>.

*Dec. 31st.* The *Rebels* under the command of General *Montgomery*<sup>95</sup>, made an attack upon the City of *Quebec*, in which were 1500 of our troops, under the Command of Major General *Sir Guy Carleton*<sup>96</sup>. They entered the lower town, and were Scaling the Walls of the upper, when *Montgomery* was killed; then General *Carleton* ordered all the Cannon in the Garrison to open upon them, with all the small Arms he could muster, at once, before they could advance any further, which was done with great

<sup>93</sup> The town lost 139 houses and 278 other buildings. *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> This incident occurred on November 9, not November 10. Furthermore, some 250 Light Infantry were rowed from Boston to Lechmere's Point and then marched on Phipp's Farm. The raid netted ten to fourteen cattle. Frothingham, *Siege*, 267-68; Dana, *British in Boston*, 66-67.

<sup>95</sup> Brigadier General Richard Montgomery (December 2, 1738-December 31, 1775) led the attack against Quebec. *DNB*

<sup>96</sup> Carleton (September 3, 1724-November 10, 1808) was governor of Canada from 1775 to 1778, and from 1786 to 1796. *DMB*

expedition and Courage; so that they swept away the *Rebels* by Companies at a time. Notwithstanding their being 3000 in *Number*, they were defeated and routed from the town to their Encampment, leaving all that entered the lower town prisoners, and 250 men killed and wounded<sup>97</sup>. Our loss was very inconsiderable, being they were well situated & under cover of their Works.

I was informed by a letter that came into *Boston* from the *Enemy*, to some of their acquaintances in town; that a reinforcement of the *Rebels* was going to *Canada*; to carry on the Siege<sup>98</sup> which they had against *Quebec*; and the Party upon their setting out were 6000 strong: But when their Commander Arrived there, had not above 600<sup>99</sup>. They deserted and staid behind on the Road. Upon the Expedition to *Canada*, the *Rebels* were so scarce of Provisions on the march, that the men eat their Buffs.

### A JOURNAL For the year 1776.

January 8th. A PARTY of the *Rebels* came into the lines in *Charlestown* side, in the night time; and surrounded an old Mill, which stood upon the Neck of land that runs from that *Peninsula*, to the Main Continent, in *Cambridge* side. and after taking a *Serjeant* and six men of ours, with some *Carpenters*, that were at work there Prisoners: They set a part of the Mill on fire, as also some houses that stood by the Waterside. They being discovered by the advanced Sentries, they drove them back, and kept a continual fire at them, untill the whole Garrison got under Arms<sup>100</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> Just under 1,200 Americans attacked Quebec, and they lost 372 as prisoners and 48 killed. Williard M. Wallace, *Traitorous Hero, The Life and Fortunes of Benedict Arnold* (New York, 1954), 83, 85.

<sup>98</sup> After the repulse on December 31, the Americans besieged Quebec until routed by the British on May 6, 1776. Charles Henry Jones, *History of the Campaign for the Conquest of Canada in 1776* (Philadelphia, 1882), 92-93.

<sup>99</sup> Sullivan does not exaggerate the difficulties of the march to Quebec, but he does overestimate the size of the reinforcement. Some additional troops were sent to Quebec, but nowhere near 6,000. *Ibid.*, 21-28.

<sup>100</sup> Some 200 Americans launched the raid described here at 8:30 P.M., just as Burgoyne's farce, *The Blockade of Boston*, began in Boston. A sergeant who ran onto the stage to give the alarm was at first mistaken for an actor in the satire on Washington and the American troops. When it was realized that he was not acting, the house emptied with a rush, the officers dashing to their units. The timing of the raid, apparently, was accidental. Captain Evelyn, in a letter of January 15, says that the British officers "... cursed the Yankees for spoiling our entertainments." Newell, *Journal*, 271; Hudleston, *Gentleman Johnny Burgoyne*, 88; Frothingham, *Siege*, 287-88; G. D. Scull (ed.), *Memoir and Letters of Captain W. Glanville Evelyn of the 4th Regiment ("King's Own,") from North America, 1774-1776* (Oxford, England, 1879), 79-80. The American journalist, Thacher, mistakenly cites the incident as occurring on February 8, 1776, in his *Military Journal* (page 36).

January 9th. I was appointed *Clerk* to the Regiment, and was writing all the time we were in *Boston*; but did no other duty. The transactions or Orders of the Regiment, together with all general Orders are kept in a large *Folio* Book, procured for that purpose. As also all Letters received from the War Office, all *Monthly Returns* and *Court-martials* are wrote in Books, and kept with the Regiment.

When the Troops went into winter Quarters, the weather was so very cold, that the Army on *Charlestown* Heights could not hold out in *Camp* there. That Duty therefore was done by Detachments from the Troops in *Boston*; beginning with the Oldest Regiments, and so out by every Regiment in the Garrison. Those Detachments were Commanded by two *Field-Officers*, according to their Seniority; and relieved regularly once a Fortnight<sup>101</sup>.

Jan. 25th. A Detachment of 150 men, with Officers and Non commission Officers in Proportion, of our Regiment, with a like number from other Regiments; went from *Boston* to do duty on the Heights of *Charlestown*. The whole were under the Command of Lieut. Colonel *Calder*, and Major *Tupper*.

A Party of our *Light Infantry* Company under the command of Lieut. *Armstrong*, of the same Company; went over to *Phipp's Farm* aforesaid, and kept a continual fire at the *Enemy's* advanced Picquet; which they also returned. During that time our party surrounded the *Farm*, & drove from thence ten *Bullocks*; without receiving any hurt, except one man that was wounded in the Head, but soon after recovered. The Colonel who commanded there, ordered the Cattle to be killed and distributed among the Detachment.

Feb. 14th. A Detachment of 6 Companies of *Light-Infantry* and 6 Companies of *Grenadiers*, with a Party of the 64th Battallion, (which lay in *Castle-William*;) under the Command of Lieut. Colonel *Leslie* and Major *Musgrove*; went in the night time from the *Neck* of *Boston*, over a small arm or Creek of the Harbour, which was frozen so hard, that the Detachment got over it to *Dorchesterhill*[.] That Hill is almost surrounded by water, lying to the South of *Boston*, and takes its name from a small town called *Dorchester*; which also lies about a mile from *Roxbury*, and two miles from *Boston*. The *Enemy* had several Guard-houses upon that Hill, in which they kept strong Guards.

<sup>101</sup>The winter quarters were occupied on December 12, 1775. During the winter, the garrison at *Charlestown* numbered 600. Dana, *British in Boston*, 68.

There was a party of the *Train of Artillery* with the troops on that expedition, who had *Portfire*. They sat fire to every house they could find on the Hill, and took 6 men of the Enemy Prisoners; and one Centinel who refused to deliver his arms to the Party they killed. The rest ran away upon their hearing our men approaching them. The Party returned home at day-break, without firing one shot, or a man being hurt; for the Enemy fired but very few shots before th[e]y took to their Heels<sup>102</sup>.

Every man that was on this *Expedition*, Received by the Commander in Chiefs *Order's* a Pair of *Shoes* and a Pair of *Stockings*<sup>103</sup>.

*March 3d.* The Rebels began to fire their Cannon, and threw down some part of a few houses in the town, with their Balls. They also fired Shells plentifully into the lines and out posts of our Army, and some into the town; they continued firing all night. Our lines and *Batteries* were also opened, and fired upon their works from all parts of the *Garrison*, and in *Charlestown*; where they could expect to do them any damage<sup>104</sup>.

There was 270 shots fired that night out of three 32 Pounders, that was upon the hill westward of the town, at *Prospect Hill*; and 300 Shells out of the 3 Brass-Mortars from the Lines into *Roxbury*. The Shells and Mortars, it was supposed the *Rebels* got on board of an Ordnance Vessel that was coming from *England to Boston*; and taken at sea by an *American Privateer*<sup>105</sup>. However the truth of that may be; they never fired a Shell into the Town before that time.

After the destroying of the Houses at *Dorchester hill*, the *Rebels* began to raise a *Battery* upon it; in order to set fire to *Boston*, and hinder our shipping from coming close to the town.

<sup>102</sup> The reason for this raid is more interesting than the action itself. Howe wanted to find out if the Americans had made any preparations to occupy Dorchester Heights, he having heard that they had such plans. But the British made no effort to retain the high ground. All they did was to chase away some seventy Americans and burn six or eight buildings. Anderson, *Command of the Howe Brothers*, 99; Frothingham, *Siege*, 289; Lydenberg, *Robertson, His Diaries and Sketches*, 72.

<sup>103</sup> A general order of February 15, 1776, made this award. Howe, "General Orders," 306.

<sup>104</sup> The American bombardment began on the night of March 2-3, and was renewed on the night of March 4. The Americans occupied Dorchester Heights on the night of the 4th. On the following morning, as Lieutenant John Barker wrote, "...Works were perceived to be thrown up on Dorchester Heights,...." Frothingham, *Siege*, 297; Dana, *British in Boston*, 70.

<sup>105</sup> The American ship *Lee* had captured the British vessel *Nancy* in November, 1775. The latter carried 2,000 stand of small arms, plus flints, shot and a brass thirteen-inch mortar. Named the "Congress" by the Americans, the mortar split on the night of March 3-4 on its third shot. Freeman, *Washington*, III, 566-67.

*March 5th.* The 40th, 44th, 49th, and 52d. Battalions, together with the six Companies of the 55th Regiment; went on Board 5 Transports, in order to drive the *Rebels* off *Dorchester Hill*<sup>106</sup>, where they entrenched themselves. The 44th, 49th, and the 6 Companies of the 55th. Regiment dropped down the river towards *Castle William*, where the Vessels ran a ground; the wind blowing hard and it rained very heavy; so that it was Impossible for the troops to land on the intended place: For the two days and two nights we were on board, the storm lasted and the wind blew right a head. During that time the *Enemy* were hard at work<sup>107</sup>.

When the General perceived the Impossibility of performing the intended expedition, he ordered the troops back.

*A List of the Regiments that served in Boston in 1775.*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Foot. {  | 4th. Or Kings Own Regiment  |
|  | 5th.  |
|  | 10th.   |
|  | 14th. Part of.  |
|  | 17th.   |
|  | 18th or Royal Irish. <i>This Regiment was drafted into the weakest Regiments, in Boston; &amp; the Corp sent home: They being a long time in the Country, and much reduced.</i> |
|  | 22d.  |
|  | 23d. or Royal welsh Fuzileers.  |
|  | 35th.   |
|  | 38th.   |
|  | 40th.   |
|  | 43d.  |
|  | 44th.   |
|  | 45th.   |
|  | 47th.   |
| 49th.  |   |
| 52d.   |   |
| 55th. Six Companies of. <i>The other 4 Companies were driven, by distress of weather to the West-Indies.</i> |   |
| 59th. <i>This Regiment were drafted, and the Corp sent to England.</i>                                       |   |
| 63d.   |   |
| 64th.  |   |

<sup>106</sup> The 49th boarded the *Venus* at Long Wharf. Howe, "General Orders," 312.

<sup>107</sup> This storm, it is thought, prevented another Bunker Hill. One British officer realized that, and wrote in a letter that "A wind, more violent than any thing I ever heard, prevented our last night's purposed expedition, and so saved the lives of thousands." *The Remembrancer; Or Impartial Repository of Public Events, 1776* (London, 1776), III, 107.

65th. Regiment

1st. Battallion of Marines

2d. Battallion of ditto.

Royal Regiment of Artillery; under the command of Brigadier-general *Cleveland*. Brevet Colonel.

17th. Regiment of Light Dragoons.

The *Rebels* sent word to General Howe, if he and his troops would not leave the City of *Boston*, in a few days, they would set the town on fire: Which may be easily done from *Dorchester hill*. They were then under the command of General *Washington*<sup>108</sup>.

The *Grenadiers* and *Light-Infantry* Companies of the above mentioned Regiments, were made into 4 Battallions. The 1st Battallion of *Light Infantry* was under the command of Lieut. Colonel *Clerk*; the 2d. under the command of Major *Musgrove*.

The 1st. Battallion of *Grenadiers* were under the Command of Lieut. Colonel *Agnew*; the 2d. under the command of Major *Dilkes*: And sometimes Capt. *Wemyss*, of the 40th. Regiment.

The General thinking it adviseable to withdraw the Troops from *Boston*<sup>109</sup>, gave immediate *Orders* that all the Baggage belonging to the Army, and also the *Women* and *Children*, should be put on Board ships, that were lying ready at the wharfs: Every Regiment had their respective Transports allotted them for that Purpose<sup>110</sup>. There were also some of the Inhabitants and followers of the Army, that sent their *Goods* and *Effects* on board the Vessels that were appointed them. All the Cannon were sent on board, except a few Pieces, which were left for the security of the Town; untill every thing was ready to leave it. All expedition was made, so that all the Inhabitants, such as were willing to leave the City; and the Army's Baggage, was on board by 5 o' clock in the afternoon, 11th. *March*.

<sup>108</sup> Anderson (*Command Of the Howe Brothers*, 102-03) cites the evacuation as "Another example of tacit understanding in war..." Neither Howe nor Washington suggested a formal agreement providing for the peaceful evacuation of Boston. Howe did inform some Bostonians that he would not harm the city if allowed to leave it without being attacked. That information was carried to Washington, who officially ignored it because of its informal nature. Yet, he made no move as Howe prepared to leave Boston. Howe, on his part, prevented all but minor and senseless damage by his men.

<sup>109</sup> Howe decided on March 5 to evacuate and an army council agreed with that decision on March 7. Lydenberg, *Robertson, Diaries and Sketches*, 74-5; Anderson, *Command of the Howe Brothers*, 100.

<sup>110</sup> On March 13, the 49th was ordered to board its transport at Hancock's Wharf. Howe, "General Orders," 319-20.

*March 15th.* The whole Garrison paraded under arms this day at 8 o'clock, in order to go on board their respective Transports. The *Light-Infantry* and *Grenadiers* took the Guards of the lines that day. But the wind blew from the N. E.; so that the shipping could not get down the River. The *Embarkation* was put off untill 4 o'clock next day.

*March 16th.* The wind continued still unfavourable, so that the Vessels could not leave the Wharfs; and the *Embarkation that morning* was countermanded, after the Garrison's being some time under Arms.

*March 17th.* The whole Army in *Boston* and *Charlestown*, were under Arms at 4 o'clock this morning; and at six *Embarked* on board the Transports; except the *Grenadiers* and *Light-Infantry*, which composed the rear Guard. They remained in the Lines untill all the Troops were safely on board: Then they retreated, and embarked on board the Transports that were ready at the *Long wharf* for their reception<sup>111</sup>. There were two armed *Scooners*, to the west of the town, above the *Ferry*; and a *Frigate of War* below the *Ferry*, to cover the Retreat. The Admirals Ship and 2 *Frigates* lay against the town, untill all the Fleet were at anchor at *Nantaskut* and *King's-road* below *Castle William*.

When the Commander in chief came to anchor at *Nantaskut-road* aforesaid, every ship of War in the Fleet fired a Royal salute of 21 Pieces of Cannon: The same was fired from the *Light-house*, by a detachment of the *Royal Artillery* that were stationed there; for the security of the *Harbour*. The *Admiral* in the *Chatham* of 50 Guns, (on board of which was the General,) answered the salute by firing the same number of Guns, after coming to an Anchor<sup>112</sup>.

*March 20th.* The *Barracks* and *Block-house* at *Fort-William* were burnt to ashes, by the Generals Orders. And the Fort was put in readiness to be blown up, as soon as the Fleet left the *Harbour*.

This day a *Scooner* mounted with seven Carriage Guns and some *Swivels*, ran a ground on the *Enemy's* shore, and great numbers of them came down from their Batteries to burn her; but they were driven back by the firing of the Cannon from the Fort. A *Frigate* of War went to relieve the *Scooner*, and brought her

<sup>111</sup> By 9 A.M., all the troops had embarked. Lydenberg, *Robertson, His Diaries and Sketches*, 79.

<sup>112</sup> Select Man Timothy Newell wrote of the evacuation on March 17 as follows: "Thus was this unhappy distressed town (thro' a manifest interposition of divine providence) relieved from a set of men, whose unparalleled wickedness, profanity, debauchery and Cruelty is inexpressible, . . ." Newell, *Journal*, 275-76.

off at high-water. All the Transports were close to the *Light-house*, and the ships of War stationed all round them, for fear of the *Rebels* setting any of them on fire, or firing into them from the shore.

Seven transports arrived from *Halifax*, to take part of the troops on Board, which were too much crowded in the Transports: For we were obliged to throw several Barrels and Casks of Flour and other Provisions over Board, for want of Vessels to stow it in.

*March 22d.* A Sloop of war arrived in the *Harbour*<sup>113</sup>, with an express from *Virginia* to the General. The same sloop was at the burning of the town of *Norfolk* above mentioned<sup>114</sup>.

A Frigate of War which was on a Cruize, arrived in the *Harbour*; and brought in a sloop belonging to the *Rebels*, which was the 13th Prize she brought or sent in, in the course of six weeks.

*March 25th.* The 1st. Squadron, composed of 3 Frigates and Sloops of War, several armed Scooners, with 30 Transports and 12 Sloops; set sail out of that *Harbour*. They had on board, the 17th. Regiment of Light Dragoons; the 1st. and 2d. Battallions of *Marines*; and the *Irish, Scotch, and American Companies* raised last year; together with the most part of the Inhabitants of *Boston*, that came on board and under the Protection of the *Army*.

*March 27th.* The 2d. Division, composed of six men of War, and about 100 sail of Transports, set sail from the *Harbour* of *Boston* for *Halifax*.

There was two Companies of our Regiment, on board the *Hope Snow*; and in the last division; she was an excellent good sailor. I acted as *Steward* in serving out Provisions to the troops, on board of that Vessel, during the time we were on board.

*April 2d.* After leaving the *Harbour* of *Boston*, we had a fair wind for about 30 hours; then the wind changed and blew very hard from the *Northward*, so that we were driven quiet out of our course. Early in the morning of this day, the wind grew favourable; we sailed at the rate of three leagues, or nine miles an hour, from 11 in the morning and came in sight of the *Light-house* by 3 in the afternoon. At 8 o'Clock at night we came to an Anchor in the *Harbour* against the town of *Halifax*, in the Province of *Nova Scotia*.

The first Division of the Fleet arrived there, three Days before us.

<sup>113</sup> Robertson notes on March 22 that "The King's Fisher came in." Lydenberg, *Robertson, His Diaries and Sketches*, 81.

<sup>114</sup> See footnote 92.

# PRIEST NEALE, HIS MASS HOUSE, AND HIS SUCCESSORS

By JOHN W. MCGRAIN, JR.

## PART I

**A**N old house on the skyline of the Deer Creek hills in Harford County has survived many vicissitudes since it was built in the days when that county was part of the "Old West" and the actual frontier but one county away. The house has been described as Paradise Plantation, Priest's Ford, Priest Neale's Mass House, or the Mission of Saint Joseph. The main structure is not much altered from its original form, and only the roof line has been remodeled as a result of a fire in the spring of 1940. The house is located on the west side of Priestford Road, just south of the bridge over Deer Creek. The origin of the house is not pinpointed, but its ownership and use as a place of Catholic worship is well established.

The operation of a plantation by parish clergy and the use of an ordinary farm house as a church edifice grew out of the peculiar situation in which Maryland Catholics found themselves after the glorious Revolution of 1689 had swept away the Maryland Toleration Act, however fair or however dubious it might have been, and established the Church of England in the Maryland colony to be supported by Anglicans, Catholics, and dissenters alike.<sup>1</sup> The penal laws of England following that revolution forbade Roman Catholics to hold office, serve in the army, or to educate their children in their beliefs, and it placed penalties of banishment or life imprisonment upon Popish Priests who performed their duties or conducted any religious service, bestowed any sacrament, or furnished instruction to anyone else. The Maryland General Assembly in October 1704, passed a local act to "prevent the growth of popery within the province", imposing a £ 50 fine on any popish priests, bishops,

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, Arch. Md.*, edited by William Hand Browne, (Baltimore, 1888-1912), XXIV, 265. Cited hereafter as *Arch. Md.*

or Jesuits exercising their functions or making converts. Second offenders were to be transported to England to undergo the penalties provided by the statute made in the eleventh and twelfth years of the rule of King William III, "for the further preventing the growth of popery."<sup>2</sup> Catholic young people were to be ineligible to inherit property if they failed to take the prescribed oath on reaching maturity. This act was suspended for 18 months by a special session of the assembly of December 9, 1704.<sup>3</sup> In January 1705, Queen Anne suspended the first part of the act without any limit of time. The assembly enacted the suspending order into law "during the Queen's pleasure" in April 1707.<sup>4</sup>

The Queen's order, like the assembly's suspension, allowed a Roman priest to offer Mass in private homes without incurring the penalties of the law; chapels, if they existed at all, had to be part of a larger residence; thus we see the chapel of Doughoregan Manor, the Carroll seat, built as part of the design and structure of the great house as its domiciliary oratory (1732). This exemption permitted the few priests in Maryland to carry on their duties using their residences as churches and riding the circuit through the settlements to offer Mass in the homes of Catholic colonists. They traveled in plain clothes and carried vestments, chalices, wine, and books in their saddle bags. The threat of revocation of the exempting act hung over the heads of Maryland Catholics for the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century, and there were several waves of anti-popery that threatened, and indeed impaired, the civil liberties of both priests and parishoners. Maryland that once had offered a refuge to the British Catholic was becoming in the 1750's a trap for his descendants.<sup>5</sup>

In 1760, Charles Carroll, the Squire, wrote to his son Charles,

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXVI, 340. Fornication was made illegal the same day, XXVI, 341.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Md.*, XXVI, 431, "An Act for Suspending the prosecution of any Priests of the Church of Rome incurring the Penalties of an Act of Assembly Entitled An Act for preventing the Growth of Popery by exercising his function in a private family of the Roman Communion, but in no other Case whatever."

<sup>4</sup> Dr. John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, (New York, 1886), II, 385ff; *Arch. Md.*, XXVII, 146.

<sup>5</sup> Edward I. Devitt, S.J., "A Dark Chapter in the Catholic History of Maryland," paper read at Loyola College, Baltimore, February 14, 1887.

then studying overseas, "From what I have said, I leave you to judge whether Maryland be a tolerable residence for a Roman Catholic. Were I younger, I would certainly quit it."<sup>6</sup> He went on to describe how he was turning his real property into cash so that young Charles could leave the colony for French or Spanish territory where he might be allowed to participate in normal public life.

It was under these conditions that the first Roman Catholic pastor settled in what had not yet been established as Harford County. The Jesuit fathers, who were the only Catholic clergy in the colony, served their scattered population from a number of plantation residences: Newtown on Bretton Neck and Saint Inigoes in Saint Mary's County; Saint Thomas Manor at Port Tobacco in Charles County; and in 1704, they began to cover the head of the bay from Bohemia Manor, Warwick, Maryland, on land both purchased and patented. About 1732 or earlier, the Jesuits from Maryland and German Jesuits began to visit the settlers in the Little Conewago Valley west of Hanover, Pennsylvania. The Conewago area was patented to its inhabitants under grants by Lord Baltimore, although the land was also claimed by William Penn. A mission in the Deer Creek neighborhood formed a half-way station between Bohemia and Conewago.<sup>7</sup> Walter H. Preston<sup>8</sup> says that in this eastern region of Baltimore County, "very early in the eighteenth century members of the Catholic Church began to take up lands and settle about Deer Creek and its tributaries from the Susquehanna River in the east to the neighborhood of Coopstown in the west." These Catholics were served by the priests at Bohemia, and as early as 1720 private masses were celebrated at the home of Benjamin Wheeler, near what is known as Goat Hill, Kalmia. Benjamin Wheeler brought his family of 15, plus slaves from Prince George's County to the area in 1715.<sup>9</sup> The long-lost iron

<sup>6</sup> Charles Carroll, July 14, 1760, in Kate Mason Rowland, *The Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, (New York, 1898), II, 43.

<sup>7</sup> John Timon Reily, *Conewago, A Collection of Catholic Local History*, (Martinsburg, West Virginia, 1885), p. 48.

<sup>8</sup> Walter H. Preston, *History of Harford County, Maryland*, (Baltimore, 1901), p. 160.

<sup>9</sup> Edward L. Devitt, S.J., "Deer Creek," *Woodstock Letters*, LXIII (No. 3, 1934), 400. (This is a privately circulated quarterly not generally deposited in public libraries, in Georgetown University Library).

forges of Harford County, Lancaster forge and Nottingham forge, were variously described as half mile above Deer Creek at the mouth of Thomas' Run, a spot sometimes identified as Johnson's Ford on the Garrison Road.<sup>10</sup> There is a tradition, but no proof, that a temporary priest's house was on the north side of Deer Creek in back of Nottingham forge where many of the forge Irish lived.<sup>11</sup> It is recorded in Jesuit archives that the first pastor assigned to Deer Creek was Father John Digges, Jr., who arrived in 1743.<sup>12</sup> He was the son of John Digges who had received 10,501 acres at Conewago from Lord Baltimore, a parcel known as Digges Choice, which eventually turned out to lie north of the Maryland line, following the running of a temporary boundary in 1732. Conflicts grew into skirmishes, and in one attempted eviction led by the senior Digges, his son Dudley was shot and killed by a Pennsylvania farmer and miller (1752). Other Conewago land holders such as Mr. Carroll desired to have an English-speaking priest within visiting range of their tenants, since the regular Conewago fathers were Germans attending to largely German settlers. Father Digges had just returned to the colonies from his training in the English Jesuit colleges-in-exile in the Austrian Netherlands and French Flanders. He had been born in Maryland in 1712 and had entered upon his training in 1734 at the age of 22. Due to the exigencies of the times, he had passed through the scheduled 14-year Jesuit preparation of humanities, philosophy, theology, and practice teaching in a mere seven years, by omitting the period of teaching, one year of study, and the final probationary year after ordination. A Latin record in the Jesuit catalog describes his school standing as "*ingenium*

<sup>10</sup> William B. Marye, "The Baltimore County Garrison and the Old Garrison Roads," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XVI (June, 1921), 129.

<sup>11</sup> J. Alphonse Frederick, "Early Roman Catholic Worship in Harford County," *Times* (Bel Air), July 30, 1937, p. 11 (Reprint). Fr. Frederick believed that Fr. Greation, who was the first Jesuit to work in the area of Philadelphia, may have visited the Wheelers. J. Alphonse Frederick to Miss Catherine Lochary, Catonsville, September 29, 1932, in possession of Francis X. Gallagher, attorney, Baltimore. Wheeler displayed his recusant leanings by naming one of his tracts Saint Omers or Saint Omars, Maryland Land Office Record, Liber E. I. No. 5, fol. 355.

<sup>12</sup> E. I. Devitt, S.J., "The Suppression and the Restoration of the Society in Maryland," *Woodstock Letters*, XXXIV (No. 1, 1905), 118. Devitt, "Deer Creek," *Woodstock Letters*, LXIII (No. 3, 1934), 400.

*non promptum*"—not so quick mentally.<sup>13</sup> He returned to Maryland in 1742.

On March 14, 1743, John Digges, Jr., entered into an agreement with Thomas Shea, the original patentee of the present Paradise Farm, to purchase it at the purely nominal sum of 5 shillings. No record of this transaction exists in Jesuit archives, although the Woodstock Archives possess an almost identical conveyance of the same tract to Father Bennett Neale twenty-one years later. Shea made two tracts over to Father Digges; the first was fifty acres, Thomas's Beginning on the south side of Deek Creek and parallel on the south to Jacob Reigneen's estate of Jerico; Shea had acquired the Beginning by patent from the Proprietor's land office September 14, 1715 "to be holden of the Manor of Baltimore." The second parcel had been patented from the manor on July 19, 1721, and was entitled Addition to Thomas's Beginning; it extended on both sides of Deer Creek. (Various spellings of Shea are Shy, Shey, and even Shchy and Skey.) Thomas Shea's plats, certificates and sealed original patent of the Addition are preserved in Jesuit Archives; a note by Clem. Hill, surveyor-general of Maryland, is inscribed on the 1715 document pointing out a discrepancy between the plat and the certificate.<sup>14</sup>

The indenture reads:

Thomas Shey to John Diggs (Conveyance)

This indenture made this fourteenth day of March Anno Dom. one thousand and seven hundred and forty three Between Tho<sup>s</sup> Shey of Baltimore County and Ann his wife on the one part and Jn<sup>o</sup> Diggs, Jun. of the same county Gent on the other Part Witi- niseth that the said Tho<sup>s</sup> Shey for and in consideration of five shil- lings current money of Maryland to him the said Tho<sup>s</sup> Shey in hand Paid by the said John Diggs Jun. The accept whereof is here- by Acknowledged has given, granted bargained sold enfeefed con- firmed and made over as by these Presents the said Tho<sup>s</sup> Shey & his heirs give grant Bargain, sell and alein enfeef confirm and make over to him the said John Diggs Jun, his heirs and assigns for ever two

<sup>13</sup> Thomas J. Hughes, S.J., *History of the Society of Jesus In North America, Colonial and Federal*, (New York, 1908, 1917), Documents I, 82; Text II, 691.

<sup>14</sup> Md.-N.Y. Province Archives, 108 AL. The archives, previously housed at Woodstock College, are now at the Jesuit Provincial House on Roland Avenue, Baltimore.

tracts of land, the one called Thomas's Beginning lying in Baltimore County on the South Side of Deer Creek Beginning at two bounded white oaks standing close together on the South Side of the Creek and containing and laid out for fifty acres of land more or less, according to the certificate of survey thereof taken and returned into Land Office bearing date of the fourteenth day of September Seventeen hundred and fifteen, the other called the addition to Thomas' Beginning Lying and being in Baltimore County afd and on the East and West Sides of Deer Creek Beginning at the end of the west one hundred and seventy perch line of the afd Land called Thos Beginning and containing and laid out for sixty five acres of land more or less according to ye certificate of survey thereof taken and Returned into the land office Bearing Date the nineteenth day of July Seventeen Hundred and twenty one, together with all and singular the improvements, conveniences advantages thereon or thereunto belonging or in any manner of way appertaining without any manner of exemption only that of a half an acre of Ground where the Dwelling place now is which the said Thos Shey reserves for a Burying Place for him and his family as he thinks proper to the only proper use of him the said John Diggs Jun his heirs and assigns and to no other Intent or Purpose whatsoever to have and to hold the land and premises aforesaid unto him the said John Diggs Jun his heirs and Assigns for ever and the said Thomas Shea doth for himself his heirs and assigns covenant promise grant and agree to and with the said John Diggs Jun his heirs and assigns the lands and premises afd against him the said Thomas Shey and his heirs and assigns against all manner of persons lawfully claiming or to claim from by and under him forever hereafterto warrant and defend and that the said Thomas Shey shall & will at any time within the Space of Seven years from the Date thereof at the proper Cost and Charge of the said John Diggs Jun. make do or execute an further act or acts conveyances or other assurances in the law for the further or more firm assurance of the Premises so as such conveyances contain no other than a special warrantee In Testimony whereof the party to these presents hath set his hand Affixt his seal, the day and year afd.

Thomas Shea (Seal)

Signed sealed Delivered in the presence of J. Rigbie

N. Rigbie

Jun<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Baltimore County Deeds, Liber T. B. No. C. fol. 465, H.R.

Ann Shea was examined privately and agreed to the conveyance before Nathaniel Rigbie and R. F. Young. On March 27, the 4 shilling 8 pence alienation fine was paid to Thomas Franklin, and the deed recorded and revised May 2, 1744 by Thomas Brerewood, Clerk of Baltimore County.

This document confirms the existence of the house to at least 1743, and ought to remove any conjecture about temporary priests' houses among the forge Irish.

Father Digges' parish extended from the Susquehanna to the Patapsco.<sup>16</sup> It was his assignment to visit Doughoregan Manor, and he used to pass through Baltimore but never held services there. Father Digges died "in Baltimore" in 1746, at the age of 34, the cause or exact place being unrecorded.<sup>17</sup> He remains a vague shadow of history, and the chapel house might deserve to be called Priest Digges' Mass House.

By his will of September 11, 1744, Digges left all his real and personal property "to my well beloved friend Mr. Bennet Neale, son of Mr. Anthony Neale, deceased." The document was witnessed by (Fr.) Robert Harding, John Whittenhall, and Elizabeth Rozer. The will was not certified until November 12, 1761, when its validity was sworn to by Robert Harding before J. Ridout, "Com. Genl.". The will does not specify what property was involved. It is not in the Hall of Records.<sup>18</sup> There are no deeds in the Hall of Records to show that the property reverted to Mr. Shea, whereby he could once more transfer it to a second priest 18 years after this young missionary's untimely death.

Digges was succeeded in 1746 by his legal heir, and a relative, the scion of another leading Maryland family, the Rev. Bennett Neale. This young Jesuit, then 38 years old, established himself permanently in the neighborhood, purchased property in his own name, supported himself without recourse to collections, and gave his name to the ford, the road across it, and the house he inhabited. His memory grew into a number of fantastic

<sup>16</sup> Devitt, "Suppression and Restoration," *Woodstock Letters*, XXXIV (No. 1, 1905), 118.

<sup>17</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text II, 691, J. A. Frederick, to E. I. Devitt, S.J., Bel Air, Dec. 14, 1917, takes "in Baltimore" to mean the county and in fact, at Paradise Farm. Georgetown University Archives.

<sup>18</sup> Md.-N. Y. Province Archives, 96D1, original with seal.

legends and gross historical inaccuracies; he put in 40 years as a circuit rider, and lived to see Catholics become first-class citizens under a Maryland bill of rights. He died a few months before the United States Constitutional Convention assembled.

Bennett Neale was born August 3, 1709,<sup>19</sup> the son of Anthony Neale, Gentleman of Charles County, and his second wife Elizabeth Digges, daughter of Colonel William Digges. His father was the second son of Captain James Neale, Gentleman, the Lord of Wolleston Manor, a 2000-acre estate surveyed in 1642 on Swan Point and Neale Sound between the Potomac and Wicomico Rivers. The Captain, grandfather of the priest, was a member of the Provincial Council and of the Governor's Council, and Commissioner of His Lordship's Treasury. Captain Neale had come to Maryland in 1636 from London. He once led an expedition of two pinnacles to Boston to buy mares and sheep for the colonists, but the drafts on Lord Baltimore's accounts could not be accepted due to the war in England, and one of the pinnacles became so worm-eaten it was abandoned.<sup>20</sup> He married Anne Gill, daughter of Benjamin Gill of Charles County. The Neales returned to Europe for a long period, living in Spain and Portugal, representing Charles I and the Duke of York in different capacities. The Captain spent 1660 in Amsterdam. One record<sup>21</sup> speaks of Captain Neale as "merchant of Lisbon." The Neale family traditions hold that Anne Neale was at some time lady in waiting or maid of honour to Queen Henrietta Maria. The Catholic queen is believed to have stood as godmother to Henrietta Maria Neale. Four other Neale children were also born abroad, James, Dorothy, Anthony, and Jane. The family returned to Maryland in 1660, and the children were naturalized as Maryland subjects. The Neale family had a ring of Jacobean design, skull and cross bones, passed down through the female line which was believed to be a gift of Queen Henrietta Maria; it is now the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. The ring con-

<sup>19</sup> Christopher Johnson, "The Neale Family of Charles County," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, VII (June, 1912), 208f.

<sup>20</sup> "Maryland Genealogy, Captain James Neale and Some of His Descendants," *the Times*, (Baltimore), Sunday, December 27, 1885.

<sup>21</sup> Donnell MacClure Owings, "Private Manors: An Edited List," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIII (Dec., 1938), 315.

tained a miniature of Charles I. Another family treasure, believed to have been a royal gift, was a monstrance for use in church services.<sup>22</sup>

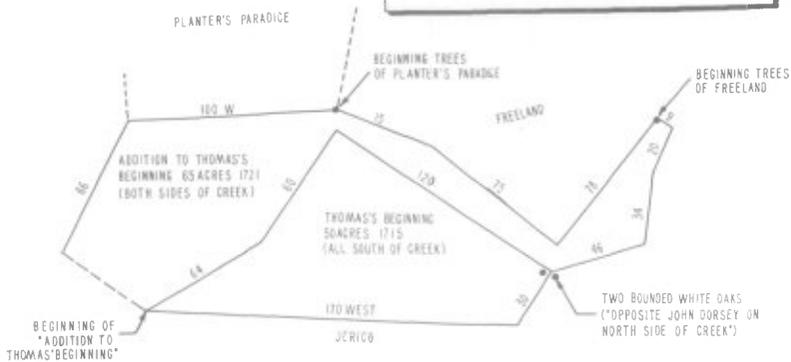
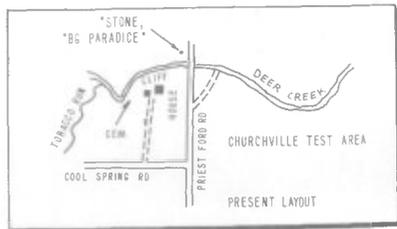
The Lord of Wolleston became deputy governor the year of his return, and in 1661 commissioned a two-story manor house, 40 by 26 feet, of frame and clapboard construction, built at the cost of 3500 pounds of tobacco and board and lodging for its builder, Francis West. The house faced the Potomac near Swan Point. The grounds were laid out with locust trees planted on 30-foot squares. Two lombardy poplars framed the view of the river.<sup>23</sup> Captain Neale's daughters married into good families, Henrietta Maria marrying Richard Bennett, Jr., son of the governor of Virginia, perhaps accounting for the first name of her nephew, the Jesuit. She later married Colonel Philemon Lloyd and became the Lady of Wye House, Talbot County. Her descendants through Richard Bennett, Jr. included John Randolph, Light Horse Harry, and Robert E. Lee.<sup>24</sup>

The Captain's son Anthony, a year old when brought to Wolleston Manor, inherited half the manor, but not its lordship. He had been born in Spain. He first married Elizabeth Roswell, producing Raphael, Roswell, Anthony, Thomas, and James, of whom only the first two were long-lived. His second wife Elizabeth Digges, produced Edward Neale, Charles, Henry, Bennett, and Mary. He was sixty years old when this ninth and final son was born, and the boy was thirteen when Lieutenant Anthony Neale passed away. Anthony Neale possessed what was described in his will as a "dwelling plantation Aquenseek," and "William's Folly," and a storehouse and lot in Chandler Town. Aquenseek was apparently the family home, some part of the once great Wolleston Manor, and the boyhood home of Bennett and the other minor children. The Neales were clearly Stuart sympathizers and intensely Catholic. The will leaves to Edward Neale half the dwelling plantation Aquenseek and personal estate "including silver chalice and suit of church stuff to remain

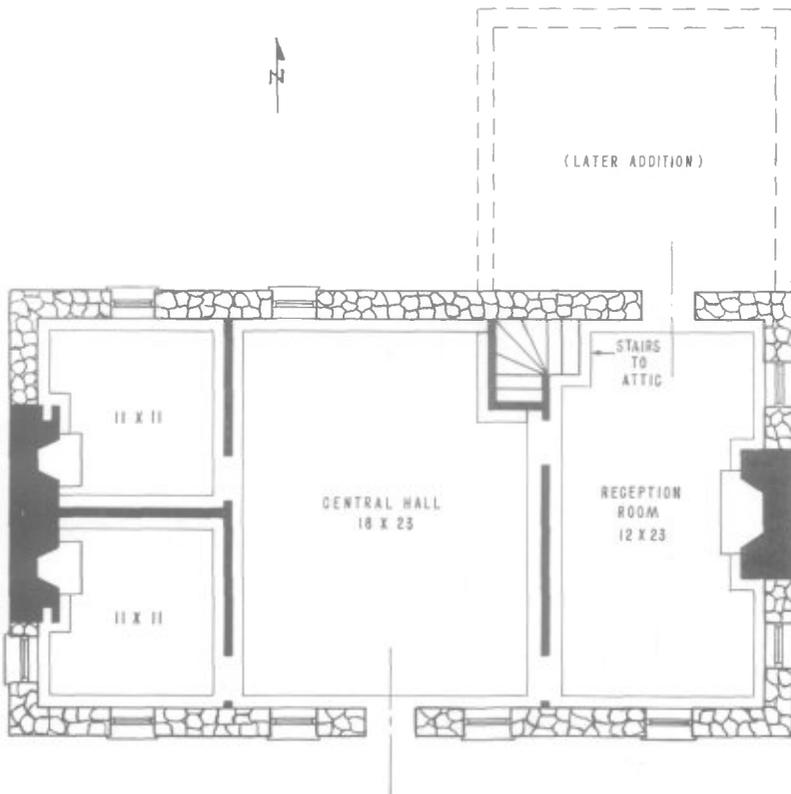
<sup>22</sup> Paul Wilstach, *Potomac Landings*, (Garden City, N.Y., 1921), pp. 98ff.

<sup>23</sup> Henry C. Forman, *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland*, (Easton, 1934), pp. 70, 246.

<sup>24</sup> Wilstach, *op. cit.*, p. 99.



Original Plats of Thomas Shea in Priestwood Road Area, Harford County



Early Floor Plan of Priest Neale's House



Priest Neale's house on skyline of Deer Creek Hills



Sideview of Paradice, 1967, now home of Col. William W. Graham, USAF Ret.

in said dwelling house for use of family."<sup>25</sup> The Neale house, then, provided facilities for the visits of the itinerant priests, and may have served the entire neighborhood. The will leaves money to "Thomas Mansell, William Hunter, and John Bennett, priests". The teen-aged sons Henry and Bennett are each left one fifth of the personal estate "in case he does not enter priesthood," and in that event, their shares were to be divided among the four other younger children. This condition can hardly imply a prohibition of their taking orders, as much as the recognition that a clerical student would have to renounce any personal property and turn his personal assets into the order's common fund. The Rev. William P. Treacy, who studied old Maryland Catholic records, believed that Bennett, and possibly his brother Henry, had been sent to Saint Omer's in French Flanders for their preparatory schooling, as was the custom with well-to-do Catholic families.<sup>26</sup> Catholic schools were forbidden by statute, and unless the young Neales had private tutors or attended a short-lived academy at Newtown, the only way they could have prepared for college or seminary work was by going

<sup>25</sup> Jane Baldwin and Roberta Bolling Henry, *The Maryland Calendar of Wills* (Baltimore, 1907), V, 146.

<sup>26</sup> William P. Treacy, *Old Catholic Maryland and Its Early Jesuit Missionaries*, (Swedesboro, N.J., 1889), p. 152. Henry (1702-1748) also took orders in the Society of Jesus, and returned to Maryland, took up land, and settled at Goshenhoppen (now Bally), Pennsylvania in 1747, dying at Philadelphia. He has been occasionally confused in genealogies with a Henry Neale (1715-1767) of approximately the same age, but the son of his much older brother, Roswell Neale. Still another Henry Neale (1691-1743), owner of Gill's Land, begot a short-lived son, Henry Neale, possibly the Jesuit, Brother Henry Neale (1733-1754) who died the year he entered his training. Father Henry Neale of Goshenhoppen was once described as "a British subject", that is, not native to Maryland, but a cousin of the Maryland Neales, E. I. Devitt, S.J., "Lancaster, Pa.," *Woodstock Letters*, LXII (No. 2, 1933), 182. However, in one of Henry Neale's several wills in the Woodstock Archives (96N3), it is certified that "in the presence of Edward Neill heir at Law to the Testator which same Edward Neall did not object to the probat of the same will, Before me, William Tilghman (his title illegible), Queen Anne's County." Queen Anne County Wills, Liber 25, fol. 437, H.R. This is the Edward Neale, brother of Bennett and Henry, who was the oldest son of Lt. Anthony Neale's second family, the inheritor of Aquenseek plantation, and the only one of the second group of sons living at the time and not in the religious life. Edward Neale was once in the forge business near Deer Creek with Ralph Faulkner and William Bennet, Ironmaster, with whom he purchased one-third of Arabia Petrea in 1748, but sold out in financial difficulties in 1750. Baltimore County Deeds, Liber T.R. No. C, fol. 309, T.R. No. D, folios 147, 185, and 192. In his own will of 1760, Edward Neale left L. 50 for Mr. John Lewis of Caecil County to establish himself in Queen Ann's County to serve the "congregation of Catholics." Queen Anne County Wills, Liber 31, fol. 165.

to territory not controlled by England. This system involved prolonged separation of parents and children, who were no doubt total strangers when reunited, if they were ever fortunate enough to see each other again.

It is recorded that in 1728, on September 7, when he was 19, Bennett Neale followed his brother Henry and entered the Jesuit order in Europe and passed through the English Province's schools at Watten, in Flanders, then went to study philosophy at Louvain, and theology at Liège. Bennett Neale was given the privilege of being promoted to the priesthood at the end of his second year of theology, that is 1741.<sup>27</sup> In that year the English provincial, Charles Shireburn, requested the Jesuit general in Rome to dispense Bennett Neale and John Digges from the fourth year of theology and from their probationary year at Ghent, to free them for immediate work in Maryland. This request was granted by the general but with the comment that it did no good to send men out before their souls and intellects were fully formed.<sup>28</sup>

The few surviving academic records, some in Latin, give Bennett Neale's name as Benedictus or even Benjamin. He has been erroneously listed as Benedict in a great many records, perhaps as a pious attempt to give him a saint's name, but Bennett is itself an old English form of Benedict. Nonetheless, the priest's father was inclined to give family names to his sons.

Four years after entering the society, Bennett Neale on June 4, 1734, renounced all personal property and resigned it absolutely to the provincial without any further specification. This act was required before taking the vow of poverty which distinguishes the members of Roman Catholic religious orders from Roman Catholic secular clergy, who may retain even large personal fortunes at their own discretion.

A 1730 provincial record shows the novice to be of first class capacity, judgement, prudence, and good progress in studies; fit for everything as his age increases; this statement however, seems to be a stock appraisal of many novices, the only thing distinguishing B. Neale from another Marylander's like descrip-

<sup>27</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Documents I, 80.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Text II, 131; Documents I, 82.

tion was that he possessed a "balanced temperament." Another annual report describes him as a "professor of the sacred language;" still another as "sharp of wit" (*ingenium acre*) and talented for learning philosophy, mathematics, and humane wisdom."<sup>29</sup>

With their fourth year cut to an oral examination and their year of spiritual preparation reduced to a month of retreat, Frs. John Digges and Bennett Neale returned to their native colony in 1742, one with four years to live, the other destined to see American independence. Father Neale was assigned to Newtown Neck, perhaps later to Bohemia on the Eastern Shore.<sup>30</sup> He was professed of four vows on February 2, 1746 or 1747.<sup>31</sup> Jesuit records of those days are sketchy, confusing, erratic, and often written in roundabout codes to avoid any mention of their Catholic nature. With the use of codes and circumlocutions, such as writing "factory" for "mission" in report, an intercepted letter would but confirm the public's overly romanticized picture of the conspiratorial Jesuits plotting to overthrow the crown on behalf of French, Stuart, or Pope. Father Neale seems to have come to Deer Creek about 1746 to replace his late schoolmate, perhaps to move into the Paradise house which Father Digges had left him among his unspecified possessions.

Dr. George W. Archer, who lived all his life in the Priest's Ford area, thoroughly researched all existing land records in the 1880's. Dr. Archer states that in 1750, Father Neale bought a tract on Deer Creek from Henry Beach.<sup>32</sup> The original document of conveyance, a half page, large folio indenture, made November 7, 1750, is in the Jesuit archives. It reads:

This indenture witnesseth that, in consideration of the sum of fifteen pounds current money of the Province of Maryland, Henry Beach doth bargain, sell, and convey to the aforesaid Bennet Neale, eighteen acres of land lying in Baltimore County together with all the houses, gardens, fences and profits belonging or in any way ap-

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, Text II, 692.

<sup>30</sup> Preston, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

<sup>31</sup> William P. Treacy, "Newtown Manor and Church," *Woodstock Letters*, XIII (No. 3, 1884), 290.

<sup>32</sup> George W. Archer, M.D., "The History of the Old Catholic Chapel at Priest's Ford, Harford County," *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, III (1890, Reprint, in Enoch Pratt Free Library), p. 9.

pertaining thereto...being part of a tract called Maiden's Bower Secured...Viz: Beginning at two bounded white oaks, the beginning trees of Thomas' Beginning, running thence forth one degree east for forty three perches till it intersects the west line of Jerico at the end of eighty five perches; thence with the said line of Jerico at the end of seventy-five perches, thence north one west until 18 perches intersect the west one hundred and seventy perch line of Thomas' Beginning, then east one hundred and sixty-eight perches. Thence N. N. East thirty perches to the aforesaid two bounded white oaks, laid out for 18 acres more or less with everything thereupon and thereunto appertaining.<sup>33</sup>

Signed HENRY BEACH

Witnessed: Thos. Shea, his mark  
Pat. Gold  
Robt. Bishopf

The land lay on the south side of the creek. It was a narrow strip, said Archer,  $\frac{5}{8}$ -miles long by 20 perches (320 feet) wide. The houses mentioned in the conveyance seem to have dropped out of sight. It may have included a mill and millrace, which could account for the long and narrow configuration of the tract. Fr. Frederick suggests that Neale built the mill to support himself. When Dr. Archer wrote in 1889, the mill had, in his estimation, been in ruins for a century, 100 yards below the bridge, on the south side of Harmony Church Road "with little more than the width of the road to Glenville between it and the creek." It may have been the first mill in the region, since the nearby Noble's Mill (now Eilers') dates to 1854, and Wilson's Mill of about the same era (1740-1760) was a long haul away. The millrace, ruins, and millstones could be identified in the 1930's by county historians Samuel Mason and Charles D. Holland.<sup>34</sup> Today, the mill site has been obliterated by the Churchville army vehicle testing facility (1942), but some of the millrace can be traced on the Paradise property, and the stones have migrated to Medical Hall.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Md.-N.Y. Province Archives, 108 A3. Baltimore County Deeds, Liber T.R. No. D, fol. 39, H.R.

<sup>34</sup> Samuel Mason, Jr., *Historical Sketches of Harford County, Maryland*, (Darlington, 1955), p. 65. Mason places a Bennett's Mill at the mouth of Thomas Run, circa 1750.

<sup>35</sup> Charles D. Holland, *Some Landmarks of Colonial History in Harford County, Maryland*, (Baltimore, 1933), p. 9.

Neale sold the mill site to Benjamin Wheeler only 3 years later for £ 15; yet his successor, Father Matthews, bought the tract back again for 15 shillings in 1770; perhaps this was another legal maneuver in a time of uncertainty.<sup>36</sup>

Neale was resident pastor until perhaps 1773. Scharf says that "owing to the great opposition of the Protestants in the neighborhood, and the trouble they gave him, he was compelled to leave after a residence of two or three years."<sup>37</sup> Scharf offers no source for this statement, which would put such a departure at 1755. The *Woodstock Letters* speak of Father Neale as visiting the settlers in the Little Conewago valley and Elder's Settlement (Emmitsburg) from 1748 to 1753 before the departure of Father Wappeler and the coming of Father Manners, both Germans, but they do not imply that he ever left his post. He is recorded as being in Philadelphia on November 2, 1751, when he gave power of attorney to John O'Neill in connection with the estate of John Callahan.<sup>38</sup>

The vestry records of Saint George's Parish (Episcopal) showed Bennett Neale among the bachelors of the region in 1756. The task of finding and taxing the wines, liquors, billiard tables, and bachelors of Maryland to pay for the war with France was allotted by the General Assembly to the established church whose vestrymen were regarded as civil officers.<sup>39</sup> At the vestry meeting of July, 1757, "Bennett Neale produced a certificate that he was not worth £ 100 a year and is not taxable as a bachelor."<sup>40</sup> These dates affirm his residence to the years after Braddock's defeat, but do not say much for the value of his estate, least of all for a practicing mill owner. (Catholics, by the way, were to pay twice the tax of other bachelors, since their co-religionists, the French, were the enemy.)

<sup>36</sup> Baltimore County Deeds, Liber B.B. No. I, fol. 69. Liber A.L. No. B., fol. 99, H.R.

<sup>37</sup> Thomas J. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and Baltimore County*, (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 526.

<sup>38</sup> "Archives of 'Old' Saint Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, List of Deeds and Documents," *Catholic Historical Researches*, XIV (Jan., 1897), 168.

<sup>39</sup> Nelson W. Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church*, (Baltimore, 1956), p. 93.

<sup>40</sup> "Saint George's Parish," in *Harford County Directory*, (Baltimore, 1953), p. 37.

The name Priest Neale's Mass House first appears in Jesuit records and Maryland archives in relation to Father Neale's difficulties of 1756. The pastor was accused of treason and of complicity with the French. The testimony given by his accuser introduced the title of the house, and the testimony of his defenders established his residence at the Paradise house at about 1750, or to even the year before buying Henry Beach's 18 acres. The testimony also confirms his unbroken occupancy.

The story of the treason accusation as found in the *Woodstock Letters* is based on an account by Father George Hunter (1713-1779), then superior of the Maryland Jesuits. The three church historians Frs. Devitt and Hughes, and Dr. John Gilmary Shea, wrote before the publication of the *Maryland Archives*; each had the wrong date and seemed to think the event grew out of the antipopy sentiments of the times, which was not the case. The accusation may have seemed credible to persons living in such an atmosphere, but it was an almost absurd happening. Shea, writing in 1889, did not even connect the story with Bennett Neale, whom he had previously described.<sup>41</sup> Devitt revised his later writings, after publication of the *Maryland Archives*, but Monsignor John Tracy Ellis repeated their misconceptions as recently as 1965.<sup>42</sup>

After Braddock's defeat at Fort Duquesne, panic ensued throughout the English colonies. There were rumors of Indian invasions and fear of spies and traitors. A young man of twenty-three named William Johnson (or Johnston) was arrested near Fort Cumberland and charged as a spy who had engaged in the service of the French. He "admitted that he had been in the French service at Fort Du Quesne, having been carried off by a party of Indians."<sup>43</sup> He had been held prisoner 14 months and made his escape, he said, from the Cuskuskie, about 40 miles northwest of Duquesne. He testified before Thomas Cresap, justice of the peace at Frederick, October 26, 1756.

The "Examination of William Johnson" appears in Samuel Hazard's *Pennsylvania Archives*, following Johnson's earlier ac-

<sup>41</sup> Shea, *op. cit.* I, 443f.

<sup>42</sup> John Tracy Ellis, *Catholics In Colonial America*, (Baltimore, 1965), p. 356.

<sup>43</sup> Shea, *loc. cit.*

count of the strength and disposition of the French forces.<sup>44</sup> It is easy to imagine the indignation aroused by this account:

The Examination of William Johnson 1756

Aged twenty-three years or thereabouts, taken before Thomas Cresap, Gent. One of his Lordship's Trustees of the Peace for the County of Frederick, in the province of Maryland. The examinant being sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, saith that he was born near Naaman's Creek, on Delaware River, which Place he left about three years ago, and came to Deek Creek in Baltimore County, Maryland, where he was for some time employed in the service of Thomas Burgons, Derby Toote & James McDonald, during which Time he was several Times to Mass at Priest Neale's Mass House, and whilst in that Society, it was insinuated to them by the said Neale, that it would be much better for them to live under a French than an English Government, as they would thereby get their Lands on Easier Terms and might enjoy the Free Exercise of their Religion. He recommended to them the providing themselves with Arms and Amunition, to be ready to joyn any Party of French & Indians that might come down to invade or attack his Brittannick Majesty's Subjects. This was generally approved by the whole Society. This Examinant saith one John Flaugherty likewise made himself very busy in the matter, & that the s<sup>d</sup> Neale informed him that one Diggs who lived near York, being an able Person would be of great service in effecting their Schemes, furnishing them with Arms, Ammunition and the Like. This Examinant also saith that by the Discourse of the whole Society, he understood that one Burke would do all in his Power toward furnishing any that would join in their Schemes, with Arms, Ammunition, & c. This Examinant saith further, the s<sup>d</sup> Priest Neal understanding that he the this Exam<sup>t</sup> from the Notions that had been put in his Head of the several advantages of being under a French Government, had an inclination to go back to the French and become a subject of the French King, apply'd to him to carry a Packet of Letters to a French Officer at Winango, who as the s<sup>d</sup> Neale informed him had but one eye, and this Examinant saith that he at the earnest request of the s<sup>d</sup> Neal consented and undertook to carry the s<sup>d</sup> Packet to the s<sup>d</sup> officer, & that Neal gave him a Pistole soon after which the Exam<sup>t</sup> sets off to Winango, where by the Directions of the Indians

<sup>44</sup> Samuel Hazard, *Pennsylvania Archives*, (Philadelphia, 1853), III, 13, 16f. This single statement was the only document Archer, Hughes, and Father Frederick had to draw upon in their earlier writings.

he arrived and was kindly received by the said French Officer to whom he delivered the sd Packet, but he knew not the Contents, the French Officer after reading the same told this Examinant he was glad to see him and treated him very well, he also told him He might either stay there or go to Canada, which he should chuse, & that he should be well used. This Examinant further saith he continued at Winango abt three weeks, after which he went with some Indians to Fort du Quesne, & continued there or near that Place till after Gen. Braddock's defeat. This Examt saith that he was not in the Action, but was at the Place of the Battle abt three Days after it with several French & Indians by whom he was informed that abt seven days before the action there were not more than five hundred men at Fort du Quesne, but that abt three days before the Action a Reinforcement of about fourteen hundred men arrived at said Fort. . . . This Examinant further saith, the French have about 200 men at Buffaloes Fort, that they have settled near two hundred Families at a place called the Licks near Cayahoge that they were building a Town abt three miles from Fort du Quesne, which when done, they will make an Attack on Virginia and Maryland.

This Examination was taken the 26th October 1756.

Johnson was brought to Annapolis and committed to the sheriff's custody. The deposition was forwarded to Governor Horatio Sharpe. Sharpe and Colonel Tasker, the Chief Judge Attorney General, examined Johnson. The governor wrote an account to Lord Baltimore on November 1, saying he had sent the attorney general to Baltimore County to check on Neale, who had "no certain abiding place, but resides sometimes in this province, and sometimes in Pennsylvania." He went on to say that one Irish papist had already been hanged for desertion in spite of giving a full report on the French, and Colonel Stevenson had warned him not to allow Johnson to impose on him with another long story in order to obtain his freedom.<sup>45</sup>

Sharpe summoned a council meeting in Annapolis, November 13.<sup>46</sup> His Excellency laid before the board a copy of the examination taken in Frederick. Johnson was called before the council to explain the matters he had withheld in his testimony before Colonel Cresap. Johnson accused Ignatius Wheeler, Thomas

<sup>45</sup> *Correspondence of Governor Sharpe, Arch. Md.*, VI, 501-504.

<sup>46</sup> *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, Arch. Md.*, XXXI, 165-179.

Burgen, John Crayton, Darby Tool, James McDonald, Ulick Burke, and Thomas Skey. The testimony was read back to Johnson; he affirmed it all, and was sent back to jail. The council felt obliged to act, and requested the accused to be arrested. A warrant for their arrest was issued to Charles Christie, Esq., High Sheriff of Baltimore County, charging them as "persons ill affected to His Majesty's Person and Government and have behaved themselves on many occasions in a seditious manner contrary to their due Allegiance."

The accused, all except Thomas Skey, whose name seems to have been a clerical error, very likely for Thomas Shea, were present at the meeting before governor and council on November 29, 1756. The first witness, John Cretin, knew Father Neale and swore that, "Mr. Neale lives on a plantation that was given by one Thomas Shea, that he has three or four Negroes as he believes working upon it, and Mr. Neale has resided six or seven years there." Cretin denied all disloyalty or complicity with the French. Johnson was brought into the room, and asked if he knew Cretin. He said he did, and stated that Cretin was the Priest Neale whom he had seen say Mass at the chapel in Baltimore County.

The next witness, Darby Tool, also denied the treason accusation, but did not know a William Johnson; he did however know a William Marshall, a well-set young man, 5 feet 6 or 7, middling fair and sandy haired, who had worked on his farm, married a local girl, and two months afterwards ran away for debt. Marshall had not been an intimate of the Catholics, but had in fact been raised a Protestant by Abraham Jerrard.

James McDonald, the shoemaker, testified that he was not a Catholic in the first place and had never met Priest Neale until he had been arrested and confined in his company. He denied that Neale had ever come to his house to baptize a daughter Susannah, whom he had never begotten. He said there was a Donnely in that neighborhood who had a daughter Susannah who was baptized at the chapel. He knew of a Marshall, but had not met him. Thomas Burgen also knew of Marshall and swore that Marshall had married the daughter of William Deale.

The priest, Ignatius Wheeler, and Burke were brought in, and they didn't know Johnson, and Johnson stated that he didn't know them. "His Excellency then asked the prisoner wherefore he had so imposed on him and accused persons that he did not even know, and said, 'If you are really that Marshall that these evidences declare you are, you may as well acknowledge it, otherwise I shall send for and confront you with your wife, Jerrard, and the other persons, that according to these witnesses' account you were conversant with and lived among in Baltimore County.'"

Then Johnson hung his head down a few moments and then said, "I am sorry I have acted so foolishly and imposed on your Excellency but, if you please to hear me, I will now declare the truth." He declared that he was indeed William Marshall, and was actually from Marcus Hook, and had been brought to Gunpowder Neck where his parents died early, and he had been raised by Mr. Jerrard. He had rambled around Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia as a farm hand. After his marriage, he contracted under bond to "grub and tussock a piece of meadow for Joseph Renshaw," but he ran off in violation of the contract, went to York, and joined Captain Clarke's Company. He deserted from Fort Cumberland to rejoin his wife, but he was overtaken by cold weather and was unable to walk when Kirking Pauley, a Delaware Indian, took him in, first as a guest. After the news of Braddock's defeat, the Indian announced that Marshall was now his slave. He took Marshall to Fort Duquesne where the French commander talked to him, treated him well, and put him to work in the woods cutting timber into shingles. One day Marshall slipped away and walked for 9 days to Fort Cumberland, where he pretended to Colonel Stevens that he was an escaped prisoner with the highly original name of William Johnson. The colonel seemed satisfied, and Marshall was sent to Cresap's Fort in company of a soldier named Plumber. Marshall said he became drunk and "entirely deprived of my senses" on the journey. When Johnson came to, Plumber informed him that he had babbled in his stupor that he had lied to Colonel Stevens and had been sent out to Fort Duquesne by Roman Catholics who corresponded with the enemy. Johnson

denied what he had said, and his companions beat him unmercifully, and Plumber became enraged and threatened him with a red-hot gun barrel if he recanted one syllable.

I found that they would be pleased with my making some information against the Catholics, and as I knew some of that profession, and had heard the names of others, while I lived in Baltimore, I framed such a story as I thought would be believed, and on my arrival at Fort Frederick I repeated it to Captain Dagworthy, being then afraid to deny what I had declared on the road lest by recanting and contradicting myself, I should lessen my own credit. This was my only reason for falsifying to Colonel Cresap and to your Excellency. . . I solemnly declare that I was never at Mr. Neale's or any other Mass House in my life, that I was never in company with Mr. Neale or Wheeler, and that every word that I have heretofore told you, concerning them, McDonald, Diggs, Crayton and Burk was absolutely false. I have never taken up arms against the English.

I hope you will pardon me and that I shall not be hanged for telling such a story as I did when I was made to believe that I had no other way to save my life.

The priest and Catholic gentlemen were immediately discharged and Governor Sharpe ordered the sheriff to "defray their expenses and conduct them to their respective homes." Shea states that the priest and Catholics were previously well known to the governor and officials.<sup>47</sup> The deflated Marshall was sent to Lord Loudon (John Campbell, Fourth Earl of Loudon) who was the Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Virginia, then conducting the campaign against the French in the province of New York, "as falling under his discretion in quality of a deserter."<sup>48</sup> Lord Loudon was looked on as a paper-and-ink commander, and if the Captain General went by the book, the charming and inventive William Marshall may have found his just deserts on the end of a hemp line.

The great mystery is, why did Marshall, even when drunk, come forth with such a far-fetched tale or mention Catholics at all. We can imagine his comrades' indignation that an unfamiliar religion was responsible for the Indian rampages. It might be

<sup>47</sup> Shea, II, 444.

<sup>48</sup> Devitt, "Suppression and Restoration," *Woodstock Letters*, XXXIV (No. 1, 1905), 119. *Arch. Md.*, VI, 512.

conjectured that he had heard unfavorably of "Priest Neale," a name which sounds like an opprobrious title, since Catholic clergy well into the 19th century were addressed quite respectfully as "Mister." Marshall may have heard the priest's work discussed by others as an affront to the Crown and Established Church. The father's education in France and Flanders was a possible basis for suspicion, and his aristocratic lineage could well have been resented by frontier farmers. A second-hand knowledge of a suspicious character was perhaps better than no alibi at all for a man who would rather be hanged in the future than just right now. At the same time, no government could take the risk of letting treason hide behind religion. The executive hearing seems to have been arranged with an eye to extracting the truth. Governor Sharpe, in spite of his devotion to the Established Church, was in general fair to Catholics, exonerating them of conspiracy and caballing in his letter of April 1756, to Frederick Calvert, Lord Baltimore.<sup>49</sup> Sharpe, under some pressure from the lower house, had indeed allowed the Bachelor Tax to be doubled for Catholics, but by and large, the governor gave Bennett Neale a fair hearing in a time of public turmoil.

John Cretin stated in his testimony that Thomas Shea had given Mr. Neale a plantation where he had lived 6 or 7 years, the period of 1749 to 1756. Mr. Shea according to Cretin's understanding, had given the property to Neale, but Neale was the heir of John Digges, the previous recorded owner. However, the Digges will had not been certified at the time of the trial, and to all appearances, Shea had merely given Priest Neale the use of the land and house. A formal bill of sale was not executed until 1764. Thomas Shea, by other witnesses, was described as having a house distinct from the Mass House. This testimony removes all doubts about Neale's living arrangements for the many years before getting actual title, and lack of title might help explain why his estate fell below the minimum income for the bachelor tax.

In 1764, Bennett Neale became the full owner of the plantation that already endowed his activities and would support his

<sup>49</sup> *Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Arch. Md.*, IX, 315-318.

successors until the end of the Federal era. The document reads almost the same as the conveyance of the same property to John Digges in 1743. The same price of 5 shillings was paid; Ann Shea was examined out of hearing of her husband and freely relinquished her dowry right to the property. Just as before, Shea reserved a half acre as a Burying Place, but no other conditions whatever. The original indenture witnessed by John Harris and Ignatius Wheeler on October 8 is preserved in Jesuit archives. The alienation fine was paid again, and if any cloud hung over Bennett Neale's title it was now removed.<sup>50</sup>

The same day Thomas Shea made his will to dispose of the last of the many properties that he had possessed in Baltimore County in his successful career.

In the name of God Amen. I Thomas Shea of Baltimore Count., Planter being of sound mind and understanding do make this my last will and testament in manner and form following. Viz: Imprimis, I give my Dear beloved wife Ann Shea the Dwellinghous wherein I know dwell and all the part of my Land Lying on the west side of my Spring Branch, During her Natural Life and after her death the above mentioned land to fall to Jane Shea and her heirs for Ever. Then, I give and bequeath to Ann Monk the remaining part of my land lying on the East Side of my Spring Branch to her and her heirs forever. Now third, I give and bequeath to Sarah Putney Seventy Pounds Current money to be paid out of my personal estate after my decease. Lastly I do constitute, and ordaine and appoint my well beloved wife Ann Shea whole and sole ecceatrix of this my last will and testament on this eighth Day of October one thousand seven hundred and fifty four.

Thomas Shea (mark, seal)  
his mark<sup>51</sup>

Signed sealed delivered  
Ignatius Wheeler  
Philip Quinlan  
Edward Flannanann

Many churchmen have claimed that Shea fixed one other condition to the donation: that Neale would furnish him with

<sup>50</sup> Md.-N.Y. Province Archives, I08 A5, original. Recorded in Baltimore County Deeds, Liber B. No. N., fol. 370, H.R.

<sup>51</sup> Baltimore County Wills, Liber 3, fol. 74, H.R.

"lodging, board, and all things necessary, during life."<sup>52</sup> However, the conveyance is specifically unconditional, and no document exists to prove this frequently mentioned claim. The will shows that Shea then lived at "Spring Branch" and had considerable cash. The donation of the estate by no means made him a public charge. Dr. Archer, the historian, found in the ledgers of his grandfather, Thomas Archer, the blacksmith, that Shea, in spite of his age, had bought plows in 1761-1763. The ledgers of McClure's general store at Lower Crossroads, now Churchville, showed that just after the conveyance, Shea brought Ann "one fine hatt" for £ 2.10, a rather frightening price in any day, certainly a sign of fiduciary abandon in 1764.<sup>53</sup>

In 1766 the blacksmith's ledgers show that Father Neale bought a plow, paid for by Henry McBride, perhaps an overseer. The next year's entries show a plow sold to "Ann Shea, Widow."<sup>54</sup> The will was probated in March, 1767.

It is not likely that Neale ever had to support Shea. Archer surmised that he lived near Lower Crossroads; apparently his widow continued to farm on her share of Spring Branch. The unwritten proviso, if any ever was made, might have been an ensurance against some dire turn of fortune. The Shea-Neale conveyance does not mention the Mass House, and the Jesuit historian Thomas Hughes, who had never seen the Shea-Digges conveyance, was of the impression that Shea gave unimproved land only, leaving Neale to house himself. He presents extracts from the documents, and after some calculations, adds a jarring note of ingratitude to his monumental work of scholarship:

It was stated in a later information that this seeming gift was hampered with the condition of a life-annuity, to the extent of Shea's being supported by Father Bennet Neale during the rest of his life. The land was unimproved. And as Bennet Neale's original purchase there some 14 years earlier, of 18 acres from Henry Beach, part of a tract called Maiden's Bower Secured, had cost him L 15 Maryland Currency, these 115 acres of Shea's would be worth at the same rate about L 96 currency. Now as the rate of profit issuing from a capital of L 96 currency could under no

<sup>52</sup> Devitt, "Deer Creek," *Woodstock Letters*, LXIII (No. 3, 1934), 403; also in Archer, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Province Archives, 108 A17.

<sup>53</sup> Archer, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

form of investment, and least of all that of unimproved land, contribute more than a fraction to the maintenance of a man, it is clear that what was nominally a donation of Shea to Neale, was really a charity of Neale to Shea.<sup>55</sup>

Shea's exact intention became the basis of dispute many years later when Baltimore received its first Catholic bishop, and the question arose whether Shea donated his land to the person Bennett Neale, or to the Society of Jesus, or to the yet unestablished diocese of Baltimore.

The stone house is a simple but sturdy structure, 46 feet wide by 26 feet deep in the original section. The original roof was low with two dormers, and the original end chimneys were slim and gallant. The interior ceiling was of heavy hickory timbers, and the stone walls were crude, amateurish, and not in plumb, some slanting markedly inward, windows and door frames set crooked. Inner walls were of unfired, homemade brick. The walls have, as with so many houses, been described as 3 feet thick, although actual sill measurement is 23 inches. The original floor plan featured a long central hall 18 by 23 feet, a reception room at the east end 12 by 23 feet, and at the west end two small rooms 11 by 11 feet. Either of the two long rooms has been thought of as the chapel room. The central hall, while more roomy, had no fireplace; the two small rooms and the priest's reception room were heated. Stairs from the reception room led to an attic, reputedly the priest's sleeping quarters, although the small heated rooms would have sufficed a single gentleman. It is more likely that the central hall was used for public gatherings before a fixed or temporary altar, while either small chamber could have been a year-round chapel of repose. The Jesuit houses in southern Maryland had permanent chapel rooms with appropriate pictures and furnishings. Occasional guests and fellow missionaries stayed at times with the pastor. Joseph Gates, a gentleman who had given a large tract of land to the society spent his last months there; Gates had earned the title of "The Baltimore County Saint," in Maryland Jesuits' letters, but his fame has vanished.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Hughes, Documents I, 265.

<sup>56</sup> Md.-N.Y. Province Archives, 202.

The three parcels of land came at some time to be known as Paradise although its title was the Mission of Saint Joseph. The properties were still called by their own names in 1773 according to a quit-rent receipt paid by Neale to Thomas Jones.<sup>57</sup> Neale ran the place with the help of seven slaves of whom, one was in the house, four in the fields, and two were children. The yield was reported to be £24:0:0 per annum, earned by the four slaves at £6.<sup>58</sup> Jesuit records usually speak of it as Deer Creek, calling it Paradise only to distinguish it from other nearby estates they bought (*Missio Si. Josephi, vulgo Deer Creek*). Archer and Samuel Mason both cite the reluctance of rustic colored persons to go near the house. Mason said that none would sleep inside, and Archer cited their legend that a priest was buried under the porch with a set of iron shoes to make his way through Purgatory. Archer argued that iron shoes would only make the trip more incendiary, but his informants were unconvinced. Father Frederick suspected that one of the pastors, the Rev. Mr. Eden, might have been buried temporarily near the house shortly before it was sold.

Far from leading the life of a planter, Bennett Neale still had his parish of the present counties of Baltimore, Harford, and parts of Carroll, and a fringe of Pennsylvania. The Jesuits covered their territory on sturdy horses of their own breeding, natural pacers with a gait of 7 to 9 miles per hour, which could go an entire day, however foul the weather. Mr. Edwin W. Beitzell found that Father Neale, at least on a later assignment, had a horse named Snip. The horse and sheep records of the province's stock farm in southern Maryland were kept by a Father Whitgreave in the same pigskin memorandum book with the marriage and baptismal records.<sup>59</sup> Most records of the old Deer Creek days have vanished. A diary of Father Mosely of Talbot County shows that B. Neale visited him on December 10 and 11, 1764, and aside from a few legal documents, Bennett Neale has left no trace of his labors. He stayed on until about 1769 or even 1773. He paid the plantation quit rents of L 5. 4-1/2 to Thomas Jones, according to a receipt in

<sup>57</sup> Md.-N.Y. Province Archives, 108 A7.

<sup>58</sup> Archer, *op. cit.* p. 11; Hughes, Documents, I, 36.

<sup>59</sup> Edwin W. Beitzell, "Newtown Hundred," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LI (June, 1956), 129.

the Woodstock Archives, September 29, 1773.<sup>60</sup> He spent the remainder of his life at Newtown, Saint Mary's County. He visited Piscataway in December, 1767, spending L 6, according to Father Hunter's homemade account book.<sup>61</sup> He made his will in 1780, "being in good health and sound memory, God be praised, but uncertain how long I may continue so."<sup>62</sup>

By the late 1760's and 1770's the antipopery had subsided, and four separate chapel buildings were constructed in Maryland without any great pretense of being residences, although no change in Queen Anne's suspending act had been enacted. They were Boone Chapel at Cheltenham, and the Carroll Chapel at Forest Glen, Saint Francis Xavier at Newtown, and Saint Peter's Church, Baltimore.<sup>63</sup>

Bennett Neale's successor was another Marylander, Ignatius Matthews, who had studied abroad and had taken orders in the Roman church and then entered the Jesuit society in 1763 when fully ordained and in his thirty-second year. He was scholastically approved and returned to Maryland in 1766.<sup>64</sup> He is shown as the taxpayer on the Spesutia Hundred tax list of 1778 and he took the oath of loyalty there also.<sup>65</sup> For a time a native of Luxembourg, Father Bernard Diderick, who shortened his name to Rich, stayed with Father Matthews at Deer Creek. He had been threatened with murder by a Berks County farmer in the neighborhood of his post at Goshenhoppen.<sup>66</sup> Before we accuse Mr. Rich of resorting to the better

<sup>60</sup> Md.-N.Y. Province Archives, 108 A7.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 108 C7.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 96 N4.

<sup>63</sup> Msgr. Edward P. McAdams, "Sermon on the occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the founding of St. Ignatius' Parish at Hickory, Harford County, Maryland, September 20, 1942" (Typed text at St. Margaret's Church, Bel Air), p. 2.

<sup>64</sup> Hughes, Text II, 696.

<sup>65</sup> Brumbaugh, Gaius, Marcus, *Maryland Records, Colonial, Revolutionary, County and Church*, (Lancaster, Pa., 1928), II, 248.

<sup>66</sup> Devitt, "Suppression and Restoration" *Woodstock Letters*, XXXIV (No. 1, 1905), 119. Father Farmer of Philadelphia explained Fr. Diderick's absence to Bishop Challoner in London in a letter of April 22, 1773, ". . . The above mentioned Father . . . having in a private discussion with a non-Catholic man, made use of some rather harsh and insulting words, he came nigh being killed, a musket having been twice discharged at night on his dwelling or chapel. Wherefore he was obliged to remove to the Missions in the Province of Maryland," John Tracy Ellis, *Documents of American Catholic History*, (Milwaukee, 1962), p. 126.

part of valor, it should be recorded that he later undertook a singlehanded dispute with his society's superiors and opposed the appointment of an American bishop and the creation of Georgetown College. America's first medical graduate (in alphabetical order), Dr. John Archer, Princeton, Class of 1760 and College of Philadelphia, Class of 1765, owner of Medical Hall, recorded visits to the Rev. Mr. Diderick in 1774 and 1775, as well as to other missionaries and their Negroes. Father Diderick in these years was the first priest recorded as regularly attending Baltimore and Elkridge Landing.<sup>67</sup>

Father Matthews served until 1779, also going to Newtown and being replaced by a Father Charles Sewall, another Marylander, 35 years old, who had spent some of the Revolutionary period at Deer Creek. It was during his tenure that Lafayette's army passed down the Priest Ford Road from Bald Friar Ferry on their way to Yorktown, April 13, 1781, the very Saturday morning of the mutiny court martial held at Sheriff Rigbie's house at Darlington. One local writer conjectured a meeting between priest and French Catholics, for Father Sewall was trained overseas like all those before him. Some French officers, Captains Grème and de Gimat, did climb the nearby slopes, and Grème actually settled there after the war.<sup>68</sup>

Father Sewall was a relative of Charles Calvert, who had married a daughter of the Honorable Henry Sewall. He started the makeshift Deer Creek plantation chapel on its way to liquidation, when for £60 he bought in his own name two acres, part of Denis' Choice, from Martin Preston, September 13, 1779.<sup>69</sup> This land is the present site of the church of Saint Ignatius, Hickory, Maryland. It was 3 miles north of Bel Air and closer to the centers of population.

Father Charles Sewall in 1780 had petitioned the Harford County Court for a resurvey to conform with an act of 26 August 1780, "An Act for the marking and bounding of lands." The resurvey documents include depositions made by John Archer, Thomas Johnson, and John Love. The surveyors on November 6, 1780, took Henry Beach, John Paca, and Joseph

<sup>67</sup> Frederick, *op. cit.*

<sup>68</sup> J. Alexis Shriver, *Lafayette In Harford County 1781*, (Bel Air, 1931), p. 31f.

<sup>69</sup> Hughes, Documents I, 278, 290. Harford County Land Records, Liber J.L.G. No. C, fol. 200.

Johnson out to reidentify the sites of the white oaks that began Thomas' Beginning and recorded their understandings of the original property lines. The commission of resurvey is on an old form first printed for the Proprietary Government of Henry Harford with "State of Maryland" corrected in by pen.<sup>70</sup> A carved stone marks the beginning of the Paradise lines.

Sewall's successor, the Rev. Sylvester Boarman, was the last Jesuit at the plantation and the builder of the church that replaced it. Father Boarman, born in 1746, had been studying with the Jesuits when their entire order was suppressed in 1773. His studies cut short, he was ordained and returned to Maryland in 1774 to serve with his Jesuit brethren, who were no longer Jesuits but carried on their affairs in the same manner as before, but with much uncertainty as to their identity. The absolutist Catholic monarchies of Europe had forced the Pope to dissolve the order, which in 1540 had sworn to go anywhere and perform any assignment the Pope might command. The brief of dissolution was accepted in good grace, and some members, like John Carroll retired to lives as family chaplains; the others continued their rounds and missions. The public still considered them Jesuits. The Revolution brought a demand for food, paid for at wartime prices by the Continental army, removed without remuneration by the British. With wheat going at \$60 a bushel, the non-existent Jesuits did rather well,<sup>71</sup> in spite of losses of livestock to the British fleet. The prosperity permitted some postwar expansion and reorganization that led to later financial difficulties and misunderstandings with the first Roman Catholic bishops appointed for the United States.

The 22 Jesuits in Maryland and Southern Pennsylvania at the time of the society's suppression in 1773 constituted the entire Catholic organization in the thirteen original colonies. No replacements came during the War of Independence. They remained a close-knit organization of ex-Jesuits, and in 1786 formed a General Chapter preliminary to establishing a corporation for "promoting and effecting an absolute and entire

<sup>70</sup> Md.-N.Y. Province Archives, 108 A 10-1/2, A 11.

<sup>71</sup> Joseph Zwinge, S.J., "The Jesuit Farms in Maryland," *Woodstock Letters*, XLII (No. 2, 1913), 138.

restoration of the Society of Jesus, if it should please Almighty God to re-establish it in this country, of all property belonging to it." An early meeting of the General Chapter, November 16, 1786, authorized the Procurator General to purchase a tract of land convenient to Deer Creek settlement, without exceeding L 900, and after sufficient improvements should be made on the new settlement, the old settlement be disposed of by the Procurator General.<sup>72</sup>

Acting on the board's motion, the procurator, the order's business agent, Father John Ashton, bought the 344-acre plantation, Arabia Petrea, north of the existing tracts from James Calhoun, first mayor of Baltimore, for £645.5 current money, December 21, 1786.<sup>73</sup>

The members of the board were Fathers Ignatius Matthews, James Walton, Diderick, Ashton, Robert Molyneux, and the future bishop, John Carroll. The Jesuits were vowed to keep no property, and when they took personal title to real estate, it was as a confidential trust, since under the English colonial system, no corporate body could be set up to administer church holdings. The members who held property made out wills leaving their estates to other members, and the legatees in turn made out wills to still other members. Not all wills took effect.

Archer traced the original Shea parcels from Bennett Neale to James Walton in 1780; and from Walton, by his declaration of trust in 1793, and by his will in 1798, to Robert Molyneux; and from Molyneux to Francis Neale in 1805. Archer stated quite correctly that Bennett Neale sold his first 18-acre mill site holding for L 14 to Benjamin Wheeler in 1753, perhaps only as a confidential trust during his period of antipopery troubles. Wheeler, (this time called Benedict) sold it back for a nominal 5 shillings to Ignatius Matthews in 1770.<sup>74</sup> Matthews gave power of attorney to "his trusty friend, Charles Sewall" over the property on November 26, 1780<sup>75</sup> and conveyed it by will (1790) to James Walton, the various wills being re-

<sup>72</sup> Hughes, Documents I, 290.

<sup>73</sup> Hughes, Documents I, 291.

<sup>74</sup> Md.-N.Y. Province Archives, 108 A4, A6.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 108 A10.

corded in Saint Mary's County. Father Sewall's will left the Hickory chapel lots to Charles Neale or Francis Neale.<sup>76</sup> The Jesuit superior of those days would leave a will naming all Jesuit properties which might have devolved upon himself from the many individual members, as did Father Hunter.<sup>77</sup>

Bennett Neale had during his life been named as beneficiary of the wills of Fathers Matthias Manners of Conewago, R. Molyneux Farrar, and John Digges, Jr., as well as the layman Joseph Gates, although there is no evidence that he ever took title to any other properties thereby. The Gates and Manners wills were each superseded by later testaments.<sup>78</sup>

After the war, Bennett Neale is on record as attending the meeting of the Southern District at Newtown to choose a new superior, Father Lewis, September 23, 1783.<sup>79</sup> Another record shows him as one of 21 witnesses to the erection of a boundary stone at Saint Thomas Manor. But his health had apparently declined shortly thereafter, since he was unable to attend the general chapter meeting at White Marsh in 1786; the proceedings were sent to him to enquire his opinion on the incorporation, and subsequently he signed his name to the document of spiritual government.<sup>80</sup>

Father Bennett Neale died in 1787, on March 3, in his 78th year and is buried at Newtown Cemetery, overlooking Bretton Bay.<sup>81</sup> His rest has been interrupted only by the British troops who camped in the plot and used the stones for bake-ovens in 1813.<sup>82</sup>

The former Jesuits in 1793 established the Corporation of Roman Catholic Clergymen, confirmed as a legal body by an act of the General Assembly of the State of Maryland, an "Act For Securing certain estates and property for the support and uses of the Ministers of the Roman Catholic Religion". James

<sup>76</sup> Hughes, p. 345f.

<sup>77</sup> Province Archives, 96 H7. Original, 1 May 1769; leaving all to John Lewis or Joseph Mosely; witnessed by Charles Carroll of Carrollton, John Boone, George Huart.

<sup>78</sup> Md.-N.Y. Province Archives, 108 A4, A6.

<sup>79</sup> Treacy, *Old Catholic Maryland*, p. 133.

<sup>80</sup> Md.-N.Y. Province Archives, 90 Z2.

<sup>81</sup> Treacy, *Old Catholic Maryland*, p. 152.

<sup>82</sup> Edwin Warfield Beitzell, *The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County, Maryland* (Abell, Md., 1959), p. 119.

Walton resigned the three original Deer Creek properties to the Corporation, plus a 36-acre Harford County tract called Pogmods, and Father Ashton surrendered his trust of Arabia Petrea.<sup>83</sup> The tracts were duly registered in the General Court of the Western Shore. Thus the tactic of interlocking wills was no longer necessary, although continued in practice as late as 1805, as a double check against the property escheating to the State. The General Assembly passed a clarifying act in 1806.<sup>84</sup>

The church at Hickory was 5 years a-building, under Father Sylvester Boarman. Colonel Ignatius Wheeler, a relative of Father Boarman, contracted with Jack Reardon, stonemason, for building the 30 by 50 foot structure with a semicircular or pentagonal apse. Josias Wheeler bequeathed £75 in 1792, and his brothers Thomas and Benjamin Wheeler furnished a slave to help the builder. Colonel Ignatius Wheeler had been cleared of treason charges along with Bennett Neale. He was married to a third cousin of Bennett Neale, Henrietta Maria Neale, daughter of Captain Joseph Neale, once Privy Councillor of Maryland, who was a grandson of the second Lord of Wolleston Manor. The church dedication took place in 1797 or 1798.<sup>85</sup>

(To be continued)

<sup>83</sup> Hughes, Documents I, 292, 722f. William Kilty, *The Laws of Maryland*, (Annapolis, 1800), II, Chapter 55.

<sup>84</sup> Will of Robert Molyneux to F. Neale or Ignatius Baker Brooke, 13 June 1805, Province Archives 96 M9.

<sup>85</sup> Frederick, *op. cit.*

# EDITOR BENJAMIN KURTZ OF THE *LUTHERAN OBSERVER* AND THE SLAVERY CRISIS

By DOUGLAS C. STANGE

**D**R. BENJAMIN KURTZ (1795-1865), a Lutheran clergyman in Baltimore, assumed editorship of the *Lutheran Observer* in 1833. Serving the paper for twenty-five years, he fashioned it into the most important Lutheran periodical in ante-bellum America. One of the founders of the Synod of Maryland and Virginia and the General Synod (1820), he also was the principal mover in the establishment of the Melancthon Synod in western Maryland, in 1857. Moreover, Kurtz served the General Synod twice as its president. Next to Samuel Simon Schmucker of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, the *Observer's* editor was the chief exponent of "American Lutheranism."<sup>1</sup>

The newspaper, only two years old, in 1833, was to grow, expand, and endure until it could claim a circulation that encompassed nineteen states, with subscribers in Boston, Washington, Richmond, Savannah, Charleston, and other major cities.<sup>2</sup> Every Lutheran pastor had been requested by the previous editor, John G. Morris, to be an agent for the paper.<sup>3</sup> Each pastor who consented to do this, thereby assisted the extension of the publication. The newspaper's wide coverage among English-speaking Lutherans gave Kurtz's editorial opinions a far reaching authority. No editor, at least in the eastern portion of American Lutheranism, remarked Gotwald in his valuable study of early Lutheran journalism, ever exer-

<sup>1</sup> *DAB*, X, 514. Cf. also Martin L. Stoever, "Reminiscences of Deceased Lutheran Ministers: LXVI. Benjamin Kurtz, D.D., LL.D.," *Evangelical Review*, XVIII (1865), 25-46; John G. Morris, *Fifty Years in the Lutheran Ministry*, (Baltimore, 1878), pp. 137-146; and Charles A. Hay, *Memoirs of Rev. Jacob Goering, Rev. George Goering, Rev. George Lochman, D.D., and Rev. Benjamin Kurtz, D.D., LL.D.*, (Philadelphia, 1889), pp. 107f.

<sup>2</sup> *Lutheran Observer*, I, N.S. (1834), 268. Hereafter cited as *L.O.*; some of the issues are not paginated.

<sup>3</sup> *L.O.*, II (1833), 152.

cised "so lengthy and powerful an influence as did Benjamin Kurtz."<sup>4</sup>

Baltimore served as a base for Kurtz's publication, and with his residence in this border state city, Kurtz found himself between the Scylla of pro-slavery sentiment among Lutherans in the South, and the Charybdis of anti-slavery feeling of many Lutherans in the North. A month before Fort Sumter, the opening of the Civil War, roughly one-fourth of the *Observer's* subscribers were from the South, especially, Georgia and Virginia.<sup>5</sup> Kurtz's primary concern was to maintain a Lutheran paper that would endure and, therefore, he fought very hard not to offend the sensitivities of his southern readers.<sup>6</sup> However, this attempt to please these readers, only alienated many subscribers in the North. The topic of controversy in general, of course, was the slavery question and the particular offending issue, was abolition.

Kurtz, in consternation over the lack of northern loyalty for the *Lutheran Observer*, penned an editorial in 1837 that marked clearly his difficulty in walking the tightrope of neutrality:

On questions *not essential* and on which we knew a conflict of opinion to prevail in the Lutheran Church, we have [tried] to maintain a conscientious neutrality. We felt bound to pursue this course, because we were aware that the united patronage of the whole church was requisite to sustain our publication. . . . It would seem, our hitherto approved neutrality is doomed to become the ground of opposition. Some of our brethren in the North who have espoused the cause of *Abolition*, can no longer support a paper, . . . that does not . . . crusade against the long-established institutions of the South. . . . Is it possible that the Lutheran church in the North will sustain its ministers in this unreasonable warfare against the only ecclesiastical paper they have? If so, Lutheranism must indeed sit lightly on their shoulders and is as easily thrown aside as a worthless old coat.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Frederick G. Gotwald, "Pioneer American Lutheran Journalism, 1812-1850," *Lutheran Quarterly*, XLII (1912), 188.

<sup>5</sup> *L.O.*, XXIX (1861), No. 11.

<sup>6</sup> For an account of the numerous attempts and disappointments in establishing a sound and continuing Lutheran publication in America Cf. Gotwald, pp. 161-191.

<sup>7</sup> *L.O.*, IV (1837), 195.

Kurtz warned that the northern stalwarts of abolitionism should not place that cause above a regard for the unity of the Lutheran Church, and the continuing prosperity of the *Lutheran Observer*:

Let them seriously inquire whether it is *really essential* that they should be employed in overt acts of Abolition? whether they cannot find abundance to do in the cause of Christ without agitating this vexed question in the Lutheran church? For ourselves [we believe] we ought not to throw away our strength on objects of doubtful character and uncertain attainment.<sup>8</sup>

Contrary to the mainstream of confessional Lutheranism in the United States, Kurtz had allied himself with those in the Lutheran Church, who sought to identify themselves with the larger American Protestant groups, specifically the Methodists and Presbyterians. Identification with these two groups led to freer liturgical practices and de-emphasized confessional allegiances. It also manifested a greater interest in applying the Gospel to social problems. Hence, Kurtz appreciated frontier revivals, and endeavored to bring the problem of intemperance to his readers.<sup>9</sup> His alliance with the advocates of "American Lutheranism" was evidence that he normally would have spoken to the slavery issue if the success of his paper and the unity of the church were not at stake.

Kurtz's fear of division in the church was a legitimate one. In the 1830's the slavery controversy was already beginning to cause dissension in the ranks of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Therefore, Kurtz was quick to take note whenever the question came up at Lutheran synodical meetings. Anxious over the unity of the Lutheran Church and possessing inherent apprehension over extremism, Kurtz was indeed disturbed when he began to report the meetings of the abolitionist Franckean Synod of New York state.

In an article on their first meeting, in 1837, he began by objecting to the "test of admission" which prohibited slave-

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 195.

<sup>9</sup> L.O., IV (1837), 199. Similarly, Dr. J. G. Morris, the *Lutheran Observer's* first editor, favored temperance. Numerous articles on temperance appeared in the paper under his leadership. Morris wrote, that rum was the severest kind of slavery; maintaining that although ". . . slavery is, no doubt, a hard master, . . . rum is harder," *Cf. L.O.*, I (1832), 285.

holders from their Synod: "To set up a test that is neither contained nor justified by the inspired scripture, indicates an ambition to be wise above what is written. . . . Ultraism appears to be the *mania* of the age in which we live. . . ." <sup>10</sup> Kurtz then proceeded to brush completely aside the Franckean Synod's four resolutions on slavery as "irrelevant" and "productive of more evil than good." <sup>11</sup>

Ten years later, Kurtz again discussed the extremism of the Franckeans, merely echoing his comments quoted above. "We believe they are wrong," he remarked, in 1847, "and that more moderate views and measures would have done much more good and much less harm." <sup>12</sup>

In a subsequent issue of the *Observer* he clarified exactly what he meant by this statement. General emancipation had been seriously discussed in Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, and if the North had been moderate and prudent the South, in her own way, would have speedily terminated slavery. "This is what we mean," Kurtz remarked, "when we say that the Franckeans were wrong on the subject of slavery; . . ." <sup>13</sup>

Kurtz then closed the article by retreating behind his shield of neutrality:

. . . We object to all *ultraism* on all and every subject. '*Mittelmass ist die beste Strass.*' Extremes and excesses should always be avoided. Even in benevolence and religion we dislike them. . . .—But enough;—we here close the subject and do not intend to resume it, nor to allow it to be resumed by others in our columns;—at least not until we can see it to be our duty so to do, and that too with a degree of perspicuity and conviction to which at present there is no approximation. <sup>14</sup>

In a similar fashion, Kurtz discussed and discarded abolitionism per se as a topic to be reported. How closely he *did* for a time follow the various activities of the abolitionist societies and leaders may best be mentioned here. Apparently, the initial appearance of anything of this nature was Kurtz's

<sup>10</sup> *L.O.*, IV (1837), 179.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 179.

<sup>12</sup> *L.O.*, XIV (1847), 197.

<sup>13</sup> *L.O.*, XV (1847), 10.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.

article on the first annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in 1834. Kurtz pleaded innocence in respect to the Society's goals, and declared he knew nothing more about the group than was designated by its name.<sup>15</sup>

The next reference of any substance is Kurtz's account of the "trouble at Andover." Fifty students at Phillip's Academy in Andover had left the school because their principal refused to let them form an anti-slavery society. Kurtz highly commended the principal on his decision, and strongly censured the students:

Truly the times are out of joint:—would it not be more in character if those Andover boys would attend to their books and learn their lessons instead of forming societies entirely foreign to the cause of education? Better a thousand times that that ancient and excellent school should be forever barred than that its rash and inconsiderate youth, imbued as they now are with crude notions of slavery, should associate themselves in obnoxious societies.<sup>16</sup>

When Lovejoy's *Alton Observer* in Alton, Illinois, was demolished for the second time, in 1837, Kurtz could only report the tragic incident in the most cautious terms.<sup>17</sup> Within three weeks, readers of the *Lutheran Observer* were told that Lovejoy was dead, "a fallen martyr to the zeal in the cause of *Abolitionism*." This time, however, Kurtz felt he must enter his decided and solemn protest. Although he avoided saying one word in favor of the abolitionists, he reiterated again, that violent actions such as that directed against Lovejoy only strengthened their position. Kurtz ended with a reprint of an account of the whole incident from the *Baltimore Chronicle*.<sup>18</sup>

Thereafter, from time to time, Kurtz published accounts of anti-slavery meetings,<sup>19</sup> commented upon abolitionist leaders, and inserted short pieces of information concerning the abolitionist activity that were often but mere anecdotes. Articles showed that Kurtz possessed no admiration for Garrison,<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *L.O.*, I, N.S. (1834), 277.

<sup>16</sup> *L.O.*, II, N.S. (1835), 207.

<sup>17</sup> *L.O.*, V (1837), 11.

<sup>18</sup> *L.O.*, V (1837), 54.

<sup>19</sup> *L.O.*, XIII (1846), 158.

<sup>20</sup> *L.O.*, XI (1844), No. 32.

but did respect and appreciate the work of Gerrit Smith.<sup>21</sup> As for Charles Torrey, Kurtz published lengthy accounts of the abolitionist's incarceration in a Baltimore jail, but did so largely because of the local interest.<sup>22</sup> As the issues became more sharply drawn and abolitionism grew into a powerful movement, so that the mere mention of the word abolition would excite some southerners to challenge a duel, references to the movement became conspicuously absent from the *Observer's* pages. When Kurtz published the following comment of an Englishman speaking on the slavery controversy, he was in reality advancing his own point of view: "The question of slavery in America is one of the most difficult and the sorest which possibly can be conceived, and it ought not be touched by a rude, rash, and ignorant hand."<sup>23</sup>

Antedating the abolitionist movement was the activity of the American Colonization Society. This rather innocuous organization offended few people and Kurtz could safely report its meetings and work. Kurtz actually was a firm supporter of the Society, occupying a post on the Board of Managers of the Auxiliary Society of Maryland.<sup>24</sup> Since the Society only worked with free Negroes the South had no overt objections to its activity. Therefore, Kurtz expended much time and energy in announcing its meetings, reporting its work, and providing testimonies to its worth, and for its welfare.<sup>25</sup>

An Edinburgh colonization society received first mention by Kurtz, in 1833, in the *Lutheran Observer*.<sup>26</sup> The design was "a noble one," remarked our editor, "...we hope it may be successfully prosecuted."<sup>27</sup> Thereafter, he reported steadily the activity of the societies, noting their success in raising funds,<sup>28</sup> and

<sup>21</sup> *L.O.*, XV (1847), 38. Cf. also *L.O.*, XIV (1847), 191.

<sup>22</sup> *L.O.*, XII (1844), No. 1, No. 7.

<sup>23</sup> *L.O.*, XI (1843), No. 1.

<sup>24</sup> *Annual Report, American Colonization Society*, 1829, p. 70.

<sup>25</sup> Another phase of the slavery controversy that could be safely reported was the "slave trade." Its complete illegality caused few southerners to defend it. Thus, for Kurtz this was a green light to proceed. Cf. *L.O.*, VII (1840) Nos. 40 and 45.

<sup>26</sup> J. G. Morris had also been a patron of the Colonization Society, deeming it a "noble charity," Cf. *L.O.*, II (1833), 136 and also I (1832), 297, and II (1833), 104.

<sup>27</sup> *L.O.*, I, N.S. (1833), 6.

<sup>28</sup> *L.O.*, II, N.S. (1835), 127.

pointing out the southern support of the project.<sup>29</sup> When the newspaper, the *Colonization Herald*, was published, in 1835, Kurtz gave it due credit in his own paper.<sup>30</sup> He extolled the salubrious climate of Liberia,<sup>31</sup> and frequently printed testimonies by others in its behalf.<sup>32</sup> State legislation directed toward colonization was publicized,<sup>33</sup> and, in 1837, a special column was set aside by Kurtz to list the frequent announcements of the Colonization Societies and to tell of their work.<sup>34</sup> Even the schedules of boats departing for Africa were periodically noted.<sup>35</sup>

The New York Colonization meetings Kurtz covered from afar,<sup>36</sup> but when the Maryland Colonization Society met, his physical presence there provided direct reporting. Kurtz attended the meeting in 1834, and heard his own colleague, J. G. Morris, give one of the addresses. His enthusiastic narration of the event indicates that Kurtz followed the assembly's business with keen interest. He gave the details of the meeting and explained that contrary to the American Colonization Society, the publicly proclaimed object of the Maryland group was the termination of slavery. He moreover took the opportunity to weigh the abolitionists' cause over against the advocates of colonization:

Those who are opposed to the American Colonization Society because the immediate object professed by it is not the emancipation of slaves, . . . have here an opportunity to exercise their benevolence in behalf of our colored population in a manner more congenial with their views. For our own self, we are fully convinced of the wildness, the folly and madness of the plan of those who are usually termed "Abolitionists," . . . Would to God, that northern abolitionists could see this deeply interesting and awfully important subject in its true light and learn to understand better the true interests of Africa's enslaved children and of our own beloved country.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *L.O.*, IV (1837), 102. Cf. also I, N.S. (1834), 206, and IV (1837), 114.

<sup>30</sup> *L.O.*, II (1835), 135.

<sup>31</sup> *L.O.*, III (1836), 121, and XII (1844), No. 13.

<sup>32</sup> *L.O.*, I, N.S. (1834), 291. Cf. also I, N.S. (1834), 298.

<sup>33</sup> *L.O.*, I, N.S. (1834), 156, and XIII (1846), 106-107.

<sup>34</sup> *L.O.*, IV (1837), 138.

<sup>35</sup> *L.O.*, II, N.S. (1835), 115. Cf. also VI (1838), No. 16, *et al.*

<sup>36</sup> *L.O.*, XI (1844), No. 42.

<sup>37</sup> *L.O.*, I, N.S. (1834), 267.

A most important feature of any newspaper is its section reserved for letters to the editor and the *Observer* was no exception. Granted that Kurtz favored a position of neutrality, his editorial comments still invoked and provoked various responses from his readers regarding slavery. Even the position of neutrality can draw displeasure from a newspaper's clientele.

Such a customer was a man who, in 1836, sent "a ranting communication" to Kurtz over the signature, "A Lutheran Abolitionist." The writer, a New Yorker, declared in unmeasured terms that he was against slavery and that the Lutherans in the New York area shared his views. He asked Kurtz to insert in the *Observer* an advertisement for the purchase of slaves, closing his sizzling letter with the admonition, that Lutherans would be heard on the subject of slavery. Kurtz, vociferously lashed his opponent with a stinging reply, obviously perturbed that the writer of the letter had failed to pay the necessary postage fees:

...The anonymous author...with all his zeal for the rights of the slaves, did not scruple to tax us 25c, and thus set at naught *our rights*... We would ask this "Abolitionist"... Did you not know...that we do not meddle with the "vext question" of slavery...? Have you not yet learned that you could not have devised a more certain and speedy scheme to destroy the *Lutheran Observer* and introduce contention, controversy, schism, and a train of other lamentable evils into the Lutheran church...than by breaking ground on this agitating subject through the medium of our columns? ...If your [actions] may be regarded as a fair specimen of the tactics of abolitionists, we should only feel strengthened in the resolution long since formed, not to identify ourselves with them.<sup>88</sup>

Several other communications were sent to Kurtz as attempts to batter his bastion of neutrality. They came from various points of the church, but Kurtz indefatigably kept his silence. Finally, however, the letters antagonized the irenic editor to the point where he again defended his irrefragible rule of "see no abolition, hear no abolition, speak no abolition." Kurtz expressed his determination that the question would not be mentioned in his columns in any connection whatever. "Once

<sup>88</sup> *L.O.*, III (1836), 115.

for all then we say to our correspondents," sputtered Kurtz, "hands off!"<sup>39</sup>

Seven years later, the Baltimore editor spoke with pride when he wrote of running effectively the gauntlet between the "Northern fanatics" and the "advocates of slavery." He firmly believed that few offending words had come from his pen, and thereby he boasted:

If the advocacy of either *slavery* or *abolitionism* can be detected in our columns, it will require that acuteness of intellect, which  
—could distinguish and divide

A hair 'twixt North and North-West side.

We would respectfully remind both parties of that famous old distich:

'For optics sharp it needs I ween,  
To see what is not to be seen.'<sup>40</sup>

A decade of peace passed by for Kurtz. The editor had kept his promise well. Then, in 1854, it was his bad fortune to publish a letter from a Lutheran leader in the South, the Reverend Levi Bedenbaugh. The southerner wrote from Haralson, Georgia, an extensive letter explaining the progress of revivals in his section of the country, and thereupon, turned to that tragic topic that Kurtz had so long avoided, by saying:

I wish to direct a few thoughts to another subject, and that is, that a portion of the members received into the church during our meetings were among the colored population of our country. . . . They are not that oppressed, borne-down, trampled-under-foot people that many represent them to be. . . . They have plenty to eat and to wear, and no care upon the mind, as it regards the future, only to prepare to meet their God. If you were in some of our country villages upon the Sabbath, . . . to see this race of people passing through the streets, . . . and the fine apparel in which they are clad—the smiling and cheerful countenances that characterize them—you would at once say that things have been misrepresented; . . . and that they enjoy more liberty—civil and religious—than I anticipated. . . .<sup>41</sup>

Bedenbaugh continued, objecting to the "many hard sayings" and "anathemas" that had been directed to his people. The

<sup>39</sup> *L.O.*, III (1837), 199.

<sup>40</sup> *L.O.*, XII (1844), No. 16.

<sup>41</sup> *L.O.*, XXII (1854), 166.

North had no right to speak in a derogatory manner about slave labor for little difference existed between the social standing of the common laborer in the North and the Negro worker of the South. If any difference existed, it was that the latter received better care! Bedenbaugh admonished the North to tend its own fences, and closed with a plea for peace.<sup>42</sup>

Bedenbaugh's letter was not received by everyone as an olive branch. The Reverend Daniel Garver grasped the southerner's remarks, and, as if pricked by a thistle, fired a letter to Kurtz, in protest. Garver, a professor at Illinois State University,<sup>43</sup> could not countenance the idea "of Christian? slavery." With great emotion he addressed Bedenbaugh:

My brother, . . . would you "*be content*" with your station if you were stationed as are your slaves at the South. . . ?

I think you would hesitate to take the place of the best treated *slave* you ever saw. . . .

I have no doubt in my mind but that multitudes, perhaps the majority of the slaves are infinitely better off than thousands of their brethren in Africa. If this be so, why not encourage the African slave trade, and have them brought in by ship loads to this land of freedom, where the *stripes* grace our national banner as well as the stars?<sup>44</sup>

Even though an advocate of the middle way of silence, Kurtz uttered periodically a statement that demonstrated sympathy for either north or south of his border state of Maryland. The indications of northern sympathy were few; 1.) an editorial deploring the beatings of free Negroes in Missouri;<sup>45</sup> 2.) an exposition on the principle of "a higher law," a concept used by the northern abolitionists as proof that slavery was in violation of the "Golden Rule,"<sup>46</sup> and 3.) a reference dis-

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 166.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Abdel Ross Wentz, *Gettysburg Lutheran Theological Seminary*, II, Alumni Record, (Harrisburg, 1965), p. 37. The information for Daniel Garver, an alumnus of the Seminary, is incorrectly listed under the name of William Franklin Greaver, an unfortunate mistake carried over from Wentz's *Seminary History* of 1926. Cf. Abdel Ross Wentz, *History of the Gettysburg Theological Seminary* (Philadelphia, 1926), p. 404.

<sup>44</sup> *L.O.*, XXII (1859), 184.

<sup>45</sup> Missouri, however, was a fairly neutral state upon which to direct condemnatory editorials. Kurtz had few subscribers there. Likewise, the state was not wholly in the southern camp. Cf. *L.O.*, XIV (1847), 73.

<sup>46</sup> *L.O.*, XVIII (1850), 402.

approving the annexation of land by the United States and the extension of the area of slavery: Kurtz here being desirous that the South should yield.<sup>47</sup>

Albeit Kurtz's self-drawn hallmark of neutrality and a few references of sympathy for the North, his more substantial statements show a distinct southern direction, not incongruous with his residency south of the Mason-Dixon Line. In reading one particular article by Kurtz, published in 1850, we are essentially asked to believe that slavery is really not so gruesome as some others would say it is:

We often hear and read of the cruelties said to be practised on the slaves in the South, and . . . we must maintain, that a vast amount of falsehood and slander has been put into circulation on this subject, while in many cases the truth is suppressed. For instance, how seldom do we hear of the religion and other advantages enjoyed by the slaves, . . . ? In the state of Maryland and elsewhere, many of them are taught to read and write. Still farther South, more and more attention is paid to their religious instruction on the plantations. The Bible is beginning to be extensively distributed among them. [And finally,] a great many pastors are devoting an unusual share of their time to the instruction of the slaves on the plantations around them.<sup>48</sup>

Kurtz's selection of books on slavery for review and his comments as a reviewer also are indicative of southern sympathy. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a volume which certainly set the North aflame with anger for *what* it said, and the South bristling with animosity for *how* it said it, was dispassionately reviewed by Kurtz. The real substance of his opinions were expressed through the use of a quote from the *Christian Observer*, which stated that Mrs. Stowe's "characteristics" [characterizations?] were "unrealistic" and said, that she painted "her negroes [sic], mulattoes, and quadroons, the whitest white and her whites . . . the blackest black."<sup>49</sup>

Even if we would kindly grant Kurtz the benefit of the doubt and judge this review as a product of sagacious discern-

<sup>47</sup> *L.O.*, XIV (1847), 97.

<sup>48</sup> The article happened to occur in an issue of the *Observer* that also carried a defense of Colonization, a reprint that testified that four million slaves could be shipped to Liberia in thirty years! Cf. *L.O.*, XVIII (1850), 339, 340.

<sup>49</sup> *L.O.*, XX (1852), 806.

ment, other books and his comments upon them support the opinion, that he was favorably disposed toward the South.

In reviewing the work, *Domestic Slavery*,<sup>50</sup> in 1845, Kurtz was favorably impressed: "This discussion is complete, and whoever reads it need read nothing more to form a correct view of the subject in question. We warmly recommend it to our friends."<sup>51</sup>

*Domestic Slavery* consisted of an exchange of letters between a clergyman in the South, Richard Fuller, and Francis Wayland, President of Brown University and a professor of moral philosophy, the issue being whether or not slavery was sanctioned by Scripture. Wayland's defense did not please everyone in the North; expressing as it did a conciliatory attitude.<sup>52</sup> The work was irenic enough to warrant coverage by Kurtz. No censure would be forthcoming from the South, indeed, the southern protagonists of slavery probably appreciated finding such a review in the *Observer*.

Somewhat later Kurtz, in 1852, reviewed John Fletcher's *Studies on Slavery*,<sup>53</sup> praising it as "a storehouse of learning and research." In his admiration for the work, our venerable editor remarked: "It knocks down fallacy, consented to by great names—with the club of a giant.<sup>54</sup> It dissipates errors long taught in the pulpit, in the schools, and the works of illustrious writers. . . ."<sup>55</sup> Kurtz was obviously enamored with the study, a book that really was no more than an apology for the institution of slavery; its publisher calling it, "a plea of defense" from the South.<sup>56</sup> Fletcher's volume was a scholarly attempt to refute the advocates of anti-slavery with the use of Scripture and the witness of church and secular history. For Kurtz to recommend this work, he had to be either an advo-

<sup>50</sup> Richard Fuller and Francis Wayland, *Domestic Slavery Considered as a Scriptural Institution*, (New York, 1845).

<sup>51</sup> *L.O.*, XII (1845), 59.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. e.g., William Hauge, *Christianity and Slavery: A Review of the Correspondence between Richard Fuller... and Francis Wayland*, (Boston, 1847), pp. 6,7.

<sup>53</sup> John Fletcher, *Studies in Slavery* (Natchez, 1852).

<sup>54</sup> Kurtz probably had in mind the personalities alluded to in the book: William Ellery Channing, Albert Barnes, etc. Cf. Fletcher, *passim*.

<sup>55</sup> *L.O.*, XX (1852), 786.

<sup>56</sup> Fletcher, p. iii.

cate of the southern position on slavery or a reviewer who had not read the book!

It became harder and harder for Kurtz to defend his fortress of neutrality. As the tumultuous issue of slavery brought the country to the brink of civil war, it was with a sense of relief for Kurtz to lay down his editorial pen, in 1858, and leave his post to two associate editors: George Diehl, then a pastor in Frederick, and Frederick R. Anspach, a Maryland slaveholder. Kurtz continued to be the spirit of the paper; the aims of the *Observer's* new editors differing very little from those which he promoted: "Ever to unite, not to divide."<sup>57</sup>

It became almost impossible for Kurtz's child, now in the hands of foster editors, to speak moderately on the events that were transpiring around it and still maintain a semblance of patriotism. Nonetheless, its editors, and Kurtz who continued to write for it, tried to hold a middle course alongside a Ship of State that was speedily heading towards disaster. In January of 1861, the paper pleaded support for the Crittenden resolutions, a set of compromise measures, in a lengthy editorial, accompanied by the resolutions themselves printed in full.<sup>58</sup> When a minor skirmish occurred in Baltimore, in May, where northern troops were fired upon, the *Observer* limited its coverage to the bare facts.<sup>59</sup> A week after the Baltimore conflict, the *Observer* claimed it was not "a partisan paper," but at the same time revealed that Lincoln was not its choice.<sup>60</sup>

Actually, for the *Observer*, the year of 1861 was a downhill slide. In April, in an article that dealt with an entirely different subject, it had cited an illustration that spoke of the respect due the presidents of the Confederate States and the United States because of their offices.<sup>61</sup> In June, one of the editors was accused of being a slaveholder, an accusation most assuredly

<sup>57</sup> *L.O.*, XXVI (1858), No. 6. The paper partially changed hands in 1862, when Theophilus Stork and F. W. Conrad became associate editors along with Diehl of the *Observer*. The policy of the newspaper still echoed Kurtz's feelings. Cf. *L.O.*, XXX (1862), No. 45.

Anspach had several slaves on his estate in Westburg. Cf. J. C. Jenson, *American Lutheran Biographies*, (Milwaukee, 1890), p. 41.

<sup>58</sup> *L.O.*, XXIX (1861), No. 2.

<sup>59</sup> *L.O.*, XXIX (1861), No. 18. Cf. also No. 17.

<sup>60</sup> *L.O.*, XXIX (1861), No. 19.

<sup>61</sup> *L.O.*, XXIX (1861), No. 15.

directed at Anspach, although no specific name had been given. The *Observer* offered only an anemic explanation stating that the offending editor was in reality not an editor per se, but only a contributor.<sup>62</sup>

Concurrently with these events several articles appeared over the initials "B.K.", undoubtedly written by Benjamin Kurtz himself. One related his experiences on "a flying trip south," where he was treated with "the utmost courtesy." Regarding the subject of secession, Kurtz thought "it most prudent. . . 'to lie low and keep dark'." Kurtz closed the article with a testimony ("we love the Union") and a plea for "brotherly harmony."<sup>63</sup> Brotherly harmony, however, did not prevail and, in 1862, "B.K." authored another article maintaining that the war was not inaugurated to abolish slavery. In fact, Kurtz was fearful about such a happening: ". . . What would be the condition of four millions of slaves, if suddenly let loose upon the country? God save them and us from such a dire calamity!" Slavery must be abolished slowly, so that ". . . the ignorant down-trodden" slaves can be instructed and disciplined. "As respects the great curse of slavery, we should not force matters nor run ahead of Providence. God has set limits to it, and will undoubtedly, in his own time, make an end of it."<sup>64</sup>

That same summer, in 1862, Kurtz echoed his fear of an universal and sudden emancipation of the slaves, regretting that "the dangerous measures" of the abolitionists would possibly become effectual:

Most of the slaves are ignorant, improvident, incapable of self control and providing for themselves; just as any other people with similar antecedents and in the same condition would be. The field-hands especially, are to a great extent but a small degree above semi-savages, and wholly unfit to enjoy freedom or to exercise the rights of freedom. To suddenly set free and throw upon their own resources and voluntary efforts four millions of such rude and helpless creatures, would be a cruelty to themselves, injustice to their proper guardians, and a fearful calamity to the community around them, nay, to the country at large. In this sense we hold that the abolitionists of the north are as immensely mistaken as

<sup>62</sup> *L.O.*, XXIX (1861), No. 25.

<sup>63</sup> *L.O.*, XXIX (1861), No. 19.

<sup>64</sup> *L.O.*, XXX (1862), No. 7.

the fire-eaters of the south, and their measures as destructive to peace and comfort, so far as they go, as those of their southern antipodes. *Ibi tutissimus in medio.*<sup>65</sup>

When the Emancipation Proclamation was issued by Lincoln, a few months later, it was printed without editorial comment.<sup>66</sup> The *Observer* had concluded its observations of the slavery controversy as it had begun them: through the fogged glass of neutrality. Kurtz's abiding spirit in the paper had desired only one thing that his church remain undivided and that that church would have a religious newspaper to serve it. His newspaper commanded the attention of a large audience; had he devoted time and energy to stoke the fires of agitation over the slavery question, he could have very well destroyed his paper as well as split the church. The Lutheran churches of the North and those of the South might have close contact once a year at a meeting of the General Synod and some sparks might fly; but persistent and concentrated attention by Kurtz to the slavery question in the *Observer* would have provided continual friction between both sections of the country. Perhaps, Kurtz followed the wisest path, in going via the middle way, but in so doing he neglected to speak to his readers about a problem that was not only a political, but a moral issue. He offered them overall little guidance, but that of silence. This would not have been so objectionable if Kurtz and the *Observer* had then disclaimed the fruit of the advocates of emancipation—the freeing of the Negro. Yet in 1864, when the Maryland state legislature made their state free, the *Observer* praised the event, it had done so little to bring about:

There is no single act in the history of Maryland that can compare in importance with the passage of this Article. As we gaze through the long vista of coming years and contemplate the change that will be brought by this measure, we are overwhelmed with the immeasurable significance of an act so wondrous in its simplicity.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup> *L.O.*, XXX (1862), No. 28.

<sup>66</sup> *L.O.*, XXX (1862), No. 39.

<sup>67</sup> *L.O.*, XXXII (1864), No. 27.

# JOHN EAGER HOWARD: PATRIOT AND PUBLIC SERVANT

By CARY HOWARD

**J**OHN EAGER HOWARD, the son of Cornelius and Ruth Eager Howard, was born 4 June 1752, at "The Forrest."<sup>1</sup> Here he spent his boyhood and was taught by private tutors. Reared to be an aristocrat and to lead a life of comfort, John Eager studied only those subjects which he enjoyed and shunned those which he disliked.

When the Revolutionary War began, he immediately volunteered. Proffered a colonelcy, Howard, considering himself too inexperienced for this high rank, accepted instead a captaincy<sup>2</sup> in the Maryland militia in Colonel J. Carvil Hall's "Flying Camp." On 28 October, the "Flying Camp" fought under General Hugh Mercer in the Battle of White Plains, Captain Howard's first battle experience.<sup>3</sup> In December, this regiment was disbanded because Congress requested that the states replace the less effective militias with regular troops. Howard was then promoted to the rank of Major in the Maryland Fourth Regiment.<sup>4</sup>

On 4 October 1777, the Americans surprised the British in the Battle of Germantown, Pennsylvania. As the Maryland Fourth led the advance towards the center of the British line, Colonel J. Carvil Hall, commanding officer of the Marylanders, was disabled and replaced by Major Howard. This regiment was soon fired upon by the British Fortieth who were hiding in the country home of Chief Justice Benjamin Chew, Howard's future father-in-law. Unharmed, Howard's men marched past the house but were halted by an order to wait until General

<sup>1</sup> McHenry Howard Papers [bound volume], Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md., pp. 3-5.

<sup>2</sup> H. E. Buchholz, *Governors of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1908), p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> "Howard, John Eager," *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography...* (New York, 1899), IX: 292.

<sup>4</sup> J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), pp. 423-424.

Lord Stirling's men subdued the British Fortieth and then withdrew.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile, the temporarily defeated British were retreating from the battlefield. The Americans, except for Stirling's command, pursued. Before the retreat was completed, General Adam Stephen, hearing Stirling's guns behind the American line and mistaking the gunfire to be that of the British, ordered his men to fall back to help. The Maryland and North Carolina troops who had advanced far into enemy lines were therefore mistakenly informed that they were between two groups of British, but actually one group was Stephen's command.<sup>6</sup> The Maryland and North Carolina troops retreated and as they returned to the Chew house, were fired upon again by about 100 British. After minor fighting, the British were checked, and Howard retreated leisurely.<sup>7</sup> Notwithstanding the Americans' loss of the battle as a result of General Stephen's error, the Marylanders were somewhat compensated by General Sullivan's commendation of their action.<sup>8</sup>

On 11 March 1778, Major Howard was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Maryland Fifth Regiment.<sup>9</sup> This regiment marched to the Carolinas in 1780, to assist in the Southern campaign. In the intense fighting during the Battle of Camden, South Carolina, on 15 August, the Maryland and Delaware troops under the command of Howard held their ground in the hand-to-hand fighting by skillfully using bayonets.<sup>10</sup>

Although he had thus gained recognition for his military ability, Howard was not recognized as a hero until the Battle of Cowpens, South Carolina, on 17 January 1781, when he was credited with turning the apparent British triumph into an

<sup>5</sup> J. E. Howard, a copy of a letter to a doctor, dated at Baltimore, 29 January 1827, and now in the Maryland Historical Society Library, Baltimore.

<sup>6</sup> Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland; Province and State* (Garden City, N.Y., 1929), pp. 345-346.

<sup>7</sup> Howard, *op. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> Andrews, *History of Maryland; Province and State*, p. 346.

<sup>9</sup> "Howard, John Eager," *Who Was Who in America 1607-1896* (Chicago, 1963), p. 262.

<sup>10</sup> Andrews, *History of Maryland; Province and State*, p. 355, and *Tercentenary History of Maryland* (Chicago, Baltimore 1925), pp. 604-605; Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution 1780-1783* (New York, 1902), 187-97.

American victory.<sup>11</sup> Before meeting the British, Brigadier General Daniel Morgan, commanding officer of the greatly outnumbered Americans, devised a plan for the most effective use of his many inexperienced militiamen. These provincials, untrained in the strategy of warfare, were given to running, but they were nevertheless deadly shots, and Morgan placed them in front of Howard's seasoned troops. After firing several rounds, the militiamen were to withdraw to the rear in order to be kept in reserve.<sup>12</sup> Some historians claim that Howard's men reportedly had orders to shoot any novice who became frightened and ran. But several historians agree that Morgan instructed the militia to fire and conduct a withdrawal to the rear and regroup behind Howard.<sup>13</sup> Howard thought the inexperienced militiamen seemed eager to fight the notoriously cruel Lieutenant-Colonel Banastre Tarleton. Lieutenant-Colonel Howard was to command Morgan's main line, with the Maryland and Delaware regiments in the center position, flanked by Georgia and Virginia soldiers on the left and by additional Virginia troops on the right.

During the close and heavy fighting, Morgan's men were endangered when the British reserves marched into position at the end of Tarleton's line, thus lengthening his line to outflank the American troops. Observing this, Howard ordered the Virginia Continentals to change their front, but they misunderstood the order and began to retreat. The whole line followed. Alarmed, Morgan hurried over to Howard to inquire if his men were beaten. Howard replied that men who withdrew in such an orderly manner were obviously not defeated. The Americans quickly reformed their line, but Tarleton, thinking they were retreating, charged. Howard ordered an about-face and counter-charge which amazed and confused the attacking British. Seeing the enemy's panic, the Maryland

<sup>11</sup> Buchholz, *op. cit.*, p. 28; McCrady, *op. cit.*, IV: 187-97.

<sup>12</sup> George Athan Billias, ed., *George Washington's Generals* (New York, 1964), p. 307.

<sup>13</sup> Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris, eds., *The Spirit of 'Seventy-Six* (Indianapolis, New York, 1958), II:1153. R. Ernest DuPuy and Trevor N. DuPuy, *The Compact History of the Revolutionary War* (New York, 1963), pp. 382-383.

officer then commanded his men to attack with bayonets.<sup>14</sup> Throwing down their guns in surrender, the British broke formation and ran. The Americans halted their massacre of them only when Howard ordered them to spare the defenseless soldiers.<sup>15</sup> The infantryman later wrote that he had noticed several of his men about to kill an artilleryman who considered surrendering his match dishonorable. When Lieutenant-Colonel Howard asked his men to be lenient with the courageous man, the proud British soldier immediately surrendered the match to him.<sup>16</sup>

After the battle, Howard, holding seven swords of British officers who had personally surrendered to him, was complimented by General Morgan: "'You have done well, for you are successful; had you failed, I would have shot you.' Col. Howard replied: 'Had I failed, there would have been no need of shooting me.'"<sup>17</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lee credited Howard with turning the tide of the battle by quick, decisive action at a vital instant and said that he was continually invaluable to the Continentals.<sup>18</sup>

Congress received word of the Cowpens victory on 8 February, and on 9 March, voted a gold medal to Brigadier General Morgan and silver ones to Lieutenant-Colonel Howard of the Infantry and Lieutenant-Colonel William Washington of the Cavalry.<sup>19</sup> The Latin inscription on the Howard medal is translated "Because, rushing suddenly on the wavering line of the foe, he gave a brilliant specimen of martial courage at the battle of the Cowpens, January 17, 1781."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>14</sup> George F. Scheer and Hugh F. Rankin, *Rebels and Redcoats* (Cleveland and New York, 1957), pp. 428-431. Other satisfactory accounts of the Battle of Cowpens may be found in Henry B. Carrington, *Battles of the American Revolution, 1775-1781* (New York, Chicago, New Orleans, 1876), pp. 542-547; Henry Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1812), I:252-266; Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution*, ed. John Richard Alden (New York, 1952), II:755-762.

<sup>15</sup> Burke Davis, *The Cowpens-Guilford Courthouse Campaign* (Philadelphia and New York, 1962), p. 38.

<sup>16</sup> Buchholz, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>17</sup> "Howard, John Eager," *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* . . . , IX, 293. This conversation is also quoted in Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland*, p. 608; Buchholz, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Francis Sims McGrath, *Pillars of Maryland* (Richmond, Va., 1950), p. 70; and Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

<sup>18</sup> Lee, *op. cit.*, I:409.

<sup>19</sup> Benson J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* (New York, 1859), II:437.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 433n.

On 15 March 1781, Howard served under Colonel John Gunby in the Maryland First Regiment in the Battle of Guilford Court House, North Carolina. This regiment was attacked by Colonel James Webster, but his assault was repulsed. Soon Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Stewart charged the Maryland line and forced the Second Regiment to fall back. Colonel Gunby and his men turned on Stewart who was soon weakened by Washington's swords and Howard's bayonets. Gunby was dismounted and replaced in command by Howard, whose men then succeeded in driving back Stewart. The American commander, Major General Nathanael Greene, realizing the extent of the British casualties, was content with severely disabling the enemy and withdrew from the field. The British therefore won a Pyrrhic victory.<sup>21</sup>

In the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill, South Carolina, Howard commanded the Maryland Second Regiment when the former leader, Colonel Benjamin Ford, was wounded.<sup>22</sup> The next encounter, described as the most savage of the war, was at Eutaw Springs, South Carolina, on 8 September. The British succeeded in driving back General Greene's Continentals until their charge was stopped by the bayonets of the Virginia and Maryland Regiments under Colonel Otho Williams and Lieutenant Colonel Howard. The battle was determined when Howard's Marylanders defeated the "Bufs," a well trained Irish division, in the most violent hand-to-hand fighting of the conflict. In his report of the battle, General Greene wrote, "Nothing could exceed the gallantry of the Maryland Line. Cols. William and Howard, and all the officers, exhibited acts of uncommon bravery, and the free use of the bayonet, by this and some other corps, gave us the victory."<sup>23</sup> General Greene

<sup>21</sup> Scheer and Rankin, *op. cit.*, pp. 449-450. Other accounts of the Battle of Guilford Court House may be found in Carrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 556-565; Lynn Montross, *Rag, Tag, and Bobtail; The Story of the Continental Army* (New York, 1952), pp. 412-416; and David Ramsay, *The History of the American Revolution* (Trenton, 1811), II, 309-311; McCrady, *op. cit.*, 156-157.

<sup>22</sup> "Howard, John Eager," *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* . . . , IX, 293.

<sup>23</sup> Quoted in Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 220. For other accounts of Eutaw Springs, see Commager, *op. cit.*, pp. 1185-1194; and Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 823-834. Because the British remained on the field, whereas the Americans withdrew, and because the number of casualties of the Americans nearly equaled that of their opponents, the British also claimed a victory. McCrady, *op. cit.*, 1780-83, 458-461, 544-545.

had been so pleased by this performance of the Marylanders that he had ridden over during the heat of the fighting to compliment them.

Casualties were heavy on both sides. Only thirty of Howard's men survived the battle. The lone officer to escape death, he was severely wounded<sup>24</sup> and as the war was nearly over, resigned and returned to his Baltimore estate. He is said to have refused to accept pay for his military services.<sup>25</sup> General Greene praised him in a letter of 14 November to be delivered in Baltimore "by colonel Howard, as good an officer as the world affords. He has great ability and the best disposition to promote the service. My own obligations to him are great—the public's still more so. He deserves a statue of gold no less than the Roman and Grecian heroes."<sup>26</sup>

Meanwhile, Howard, while recuperating from his wound, courted Peggy Oswald Chew, one of the charming and beautiful daughters of Chief Justice Benjamin Chew. Cyrano-like, he plied her with love letters written by his physician. Howard feared that Peggy would choose one of her many British beaux, among whom had been Major John André. He had fought in her honor at the *Mischianza*, the tournament and celebration held by the British officers to entertain their admirers. In later years when Peggy described André as being highly amusing and refined, Howard replied, "He was a damned spy, sir, nothing but a damned spy."<sup>27</sup>

Peggy Chew married Colonel Howard on 18 May 1787.<sup>28</sup> A frequent caller at the Chew's Philadelphia home, George Washington, on 23 May, "Dined at Mr. Chew's, with the wedding guests (Colo. Howard of Baltimore having married his daughter Peggy). Drank Tea there with a very large circle of ladies."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> "Howard, John Eager," *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* . . . , IX, 293.

<sup>25</sup> Hester Dorsey Richardson, *Side-Lights on Maryland History* (Baltimore, 1903), II, 148.

<sup>26</sup> Quoted in Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

<sup>27</sup> Quoted in McGrath, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>28</sup> Francis B. Culver, "Chew Family," *Maryland Historical Magazine* (June, 1935), XXX, 169.

<sup>29</sup> John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799* (Boston and New York, 1925), III(1786-1788), 218.

Since his resignation from the Continental Army, Colonel Howard had become active in public service. In February 1785, the Governor and Council of Maryland had appointed him Justice for the Baltimore County Court. He was re-appointed to this position for the three subsequent terms. Chosen in a popular election in 1786, he served as one of the two electors of Baltimore County to the Maryland State Electoral College. In fulfilling the duties of this position, he helped select fifteen State Senators from the state-at-large.<sup>30</sup> This choice was important because the new Senators would assist in determining the question of the paper money movement which had arisen as a consequence of the economic depression after the Revolutionary War. Perhaps the leadership of John Eager Howard in the fight against soft money influenced the Electoral College to select a majority of Senators opposed to paper money.<sup>31</sup> During the same year, the Governor and Council appointed him Justice of the Orphans' Court in Baltimore County.

On 11 December 1787, the Maryland General Assembly selected Howard as a State Delegate to the Continental Congress.<sup>32</sup> He served in this capacity in 1788, from 21 January to 1 March, and from 7 July to the nineteenth, or later, of the same month.<sup>33</sup> In a letter written on 27 January, Howard had informed William Smallwood, Governor of Maryland, that the delegates from seven states were present and that the Congress had elected Cyrus Griffen of Virginia, President of the meeting. The Maryland delegate had explained that his private affairs would prevent his attending the Congress later than the end of February and had asked to be replaced at that time.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Public Service of John E. Howard, McHenry Howard Papers, Maryland Historical Society Library, Baltimore, Maryland.

<sup>31</sup> Allan Nevins, *The American States During and After the Revolution* (New York, 1927), pp. 530-532.

<sup>32</sup> Public Service of John E. Howard, p. 1.

<sup>33</sup> Edmund C. Burnett, ed., *Letters to Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, D. C., 1936), VIII, lxxxvi.

<sup>34</sup> John Eager Howard, a letter to Gov. William Smallwood, dated at New York, 27 January 1788, and now in the Maryland Historical Society Library, Baltimore. Howard's report of Griffen's election to the Presidency is confirmed in *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1961* (Washington, D.C., 1961), p. 37.

On 21 November 1788, John Eager Howard was elected Governor of Maryland for a one-year term when Thomas Johnson declined the position.<sup>35</sup> He succeeded William Smallwood, and their governorships gave "ample proofs of the affectionate regard of the people and legislature towards the gallant men who had won so much glory for Maryland."<sup>36</sup> The fifth governor of the Free State, Howard was the first leader of Maryland to belong to a political party. Previous governors had had no party affiliations because pronounced political lines had not existed in America until after the Revolutionary War. Howard was an avid Federalist during his governorship and remained loyal to that party until it resisted another war against Britain in later years.

During his first term of office, Maryland's electors to the Electoral College unanimously cast their votes for President of the United States for George Washington. In this same year, the Maryland Assembly approved the donation of a tract of land, ten miles square, for the proposed national capital. The state also loaned the profits from the auction of public lands to the new central government for the construction of the governmental office buildings.<sup>37</sup>

Governor Howard was re-elected unanimously on 16 November 1789.<sup>38</sup> During this tenure of office, the legislature passed an act for an improved judicial system in the state. A few months later, the Governor and Council appointed the state's most prominent men Associate Justices, for these men would best present Maryland's requisition to the federal government which was considering the assumption of the states' debts. The Governor and United States Senator Charles Carroll then drew up a state militia law, which was subsequently passed by the legislature.<sup>39</sup> Next, the state's new constitution was adopted and enforced. Although he favored this new document, the

<sup>35</sup> Rough Minutes of the Proceedings of the Council [of the State of Maryland], 10 November 1788- 7 November 1791, Hall of Records, Annapolis, p. 2; and Buchholz, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

<sup>36</sup> James McSherry, *History of Maryland; From Its First Settlement in 1634 to the Year 1848* (Baltimore, 1849), p. 318.

<sup>37</sup> Buchholz, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-30; "Howard, John Eager," *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, p. 293.

<sup>38</sup> Rough Minutes of the Proceedings of the Council, p. 115.

<sup>39</sup> "Howard, John Eager," *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, p. 293.

Maryland Chief-Executive thought it encouraged the "too great merging of state rights."<sup>40</sup>

The Governor was again unanimously re-elected for his third term on 8 November 1790.<sup>41</sup> Since the state constitution prohibited any person from holding the office for more than three consecutive terms,<sup>42</sup> Howard was succeeded by George Plater on 14 November 1791.<sup>43</sup> Aristocracy was a common characteristic of the first Governors of Maryland, and John Eager Howard has been called the most noble of them all.<sup>44</sup>

In September, Howard had been elected State Senator by the Maryland State Electoral College.<sup>45</sup> He served in this capacity until 1795.<sup>46</sup>

In 1792, Howard utilized his former experience as a state elector when he served as one of the Free State's ten representatives to the United States Electoral College, in which the entire Maryland Electoral Committee cast their votes for George Washington and John Adams. After this election, the Governor and Council selected him one of the two Associate Justices of Baltimore County in Maryland's Fifth Judicial District. However, he did not accept this position.<sup>47</sup> The next year, he was chosen a Commissioner of the City of Baltimore, a position which included the duties of planning the city stock yards and purchasing land for this weekly marketplace.<sup>48</sup> In 1794, the Governor commissioned him Major General of the Third Division of the Maryland Militia, but Howard declined this appointment.

The following year, George Washington offered him the position of Secretary of War in his cabinet. In his letter of 23 November to the President, Colonel Howard refused this post, explaining that he was still hindered by his old war wound and required daily exercise. Howard stated that no other reason,

<sup>40</sup> Public Service of John E. Howard, p. 2.

<sup>41</sup> Rough Minutes of the Proceedings of the Council, p. 243.

<sup>42</sup> Public Service of John E. Howard, p. 1.

<sup>43</sup> Buchholz, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

<sup>44</sup> Nevins, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

<sup>45</sup> The Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, 22 September 1791, p. 3.

<sup>46</sup> "Howard, John Eager," *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, p. 1336.

<sup>47</sup> Public Service of John E. Howard, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

not even his private affairs, could influence his decision to decline any public duty he might be considered worthy of performing for his country. Washington replied from Philadelphia in a letter of 30 November:

Had your inclination and private pursuits permitted you to take the office that was offered to you, it would have been a very pleasing circumstance to me, and I am persuaded, as I observed to you on a former occasion, a very acceptable one to the public;—but the reasons you have assigned for not doing it carry conviction along with them, and must however reluctantly be submitted to.<sup>49</sup>

Another honor Howard received in 1795, was the Vice-Presidency of the Maryland State Society of the Cincinnati, an association for veterans of the Revolution. He was continually re-elected to this office for the next nine years, until 1804, when he was chosen President. He continued to serve in this capacity until his death in 1827. Throughout these years, he was frequently a delegate to the meetings of the General Society.

Having been appointed to the United States Senate to fill the unexpired term of Richard Potts, John Eager Howard was sworn in on 27 December 1796.<sup>50</sup> When this term ended, he was elected in his own right and served until 1803.<sup>51</sup> Throughout these years, Howard usually followed the policies and program of the Federalist Party.

During his Senatorship, the United States was anticipating a war with France, as disagreements between the two countries were becoming increasingly frequent and bitter. Probably influenced by his military experience and by the strained Franco-American relations, he voted repeatedly to enlarge the Army and to otherwise strengthen the armed forces, to equip merchant vessels for defense, and to endow the President with wartime powers.<sup>52</sup> In addition, Senator Howard recommended the abrogation of treaties between the United States and

<sup>49</sup> Public Service of John E. Howard, pp. 2-3. The President's letter is quoted, in part, in George W. Howard, *The Monumental City, Its Past History and Present Resources* (Baltimore, 1873), p. 508.

<sup>50</sup> *Annals of the Congress of the United States*, 4 Cong., 2 sess. (Washington, 1849), p. 1527.

<sup>51</sup> Public Service of John E. Howard, pp. 2-3. Howard's Senate appointment is also given in Buchholz, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>52</sup> *Annals of the Congress of the United States*, 5 Cong., I,546,18; II,2224; I,16,579,584; II,2222.

France.<sup>53</sup> He also favored the establishment of a Department of Navy and the taking of a census of the country's inhabitants.<sup>54</sup> He advocated the Hamiltonian principle of laying duties on paper and parchment and generally favored a tariff.<sup>55</sup>

It is apropos that a military man such as Howard served on Senatorial committees and sub-committees concerned with veterans' pensions, appropriating funds for new regiments, the organizing, supplying, and training of militia, and other defense measures.<sup>56</sup> He also served on a committee that helped to establish the postal service.<sup>57</sup>

During the undeclared war between the American and French governments, Senator Howard read several proclamations from his constituents in which they pledged their loyalty to, and support of, the United States.<sup>58</sup>

He attended the Senate regularly, except for three occasions of approximately one-month each.<sup>59</sup> During one period of absenteeism, he was not present to vote on two of the three Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798.<sup>60</sup> He voted, however, with the minority, against restricting the criticism of the President, Congress, or the Constitution.<sup>61</sup> Thus he showed his political independence and the courage of his convictions. Later, he hewed to the Federalist line, as we have seen, by voting for a bill which prohibited aliens from buying, holding, or selling land in the Northwest Territory.<sup>62</sup> During part of the sixth Congress, Senator Howard served as President pro tempore of the Senate.<sup>63</sup>

While he had been in the Senate, Congress, fearing the outbreak of a war with France, had asked George Washington to raise and command an army. On 7 November 1798, in one of his first acts in complying with this request, the ex-President

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, I,587.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, I,541, II,2202.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, I,36.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1569; 5 Cong., I,586, 16; II,2238,2234; I,582; II,2196; 4 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1570.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1542.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 Cong., I,551, 558, 561, 582; II,2208.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, I,19-25, 469-479, 510-537, 606-613; II,2189-2194.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, I,562-578, 565-566, 577.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, I,599.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, II,2216.

<sup>63</sup> Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

was to offer Colonel Howard a commission as Brigadier-General. The easing of hostilities made Howard's acceptance of this appointment unnecessary.<sup>64</sup>

Despite his strong Federalist position, Howard was offered the position of Secretary of War by Thomas Jefferson. But the former soldier declined,<sup>65</sup> because at the end of his Senate term on 4 March 1803, he preferred to retire to private life and to turn his attention to his family and to the management of his extensive estate and fortune.

Yet he continued to be active in public service. In 1804, he was appointed Commissioner of the State Penitentiary. His responsibilities while serving in this capacity included buying land for, and supervising the construction of, the new prison.<sup>66</sup> He was considered for the Governorship in 1806, 1807, and 1811, by the Maryland Legislature, but was rejected in preference of others.<sup>67</sup> It appears unlikely that he would have accepted the position, had he been elected.

Although he was too old for active duty during the War of 1812, he worked loyally for his country's defense by participating in civilian organizations and by giving moral support to the alarmed citizens of Baltimore. He served on the Baltimore Committee of Supply which raised money for defense measures.<sup>68</sup> After his election on 23 August 1814, as Representative of the Western Precincts Ward to the Committee of Vigilance and Safety, he was an active member of this organization.<sup>69</sup> The main purposes of this association, which met daily, were to give any possible aid to civil and military officials, to aid families of needy soldiers, to support a military hospital,<sup>70</sup> and to raise money and supplies for the city's defense. Howard served on a group selected from this committee to go to Washington to discuss military matters with President James Madi-

<sup>64</sup> Public Service of John E. Howard, p. 3.

<sup>65</sup> The *Baltimore News*, 16 January 1904, p. 5. Examination of Jefferson's *Writings* fails to confirm or refute this claim.

<sup>66</sup> Public Service of John E. Howard, p. 3.

<sup>67</sup> Buchholz, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

<sup>68</sup> Public Service of John E. Howard, p. 3.

<sup>69</sup> William D. Hoyt, Jr., ed., "Civilian Defense in Baltimore, 1814-1815: Minutes of the Committee of Vigilance and Safety," *Maryland Historical Magazine* (September, 1944), XXXIX, 202-203.

<sup>70</sup> Public Service of John E. Howard, p. 4; Gilbert Byron, *The War of 1812 on the Chesapeake Bay* (Baltimore, 1964), pp. 63-64.

son.<sup>71</sup> In addition, he obtained supplies and residences for officers stationed in Baltimore and assisted them in their defense of the city and in the improvement of the public welfare.<sup>72</sup> It was also his responsibility to inform certain military authorities of important news received by the Vigilance and Safety Committee and to ask these officers to command any men who might volunteer in the event of an attack.<sup>73</sup> Colonel Howard raised and commanded a corps of veterans to assist in the defense of Baltimore, but the old patriarch did not have the occasion to lead his men into combat.<sup>74</sup>

Howard was not the only member of his family to promote the war effort. His wife donated jellies and preserves to an auction, the proceeds of which helped to build a hospital for the wounded.<sup>75</sup> Four of his sons served in the Army and participated in the Battle of North Point. The elderly Howard had planned to be present at this conflict, but because it was fought earlier than expected, he missed the action. When one of his sons related the details of the encounter, his first inquiry was characteristic of the old Revolutionary War hero: "Did they give them the bayonet?"<sup>76</sup>

When it was later suggested to him that the Americans capitulate, the patriot replied:

I have as much property at stake as most persons, and I have four sons in the field, but sooner would I see my sons weltering in their blood, and my property reduced to ashes, than so far disgrace my country.<sup>77</sup>

Howard ran as the Vice-Presidential candidate on the 1816 Federalist ticket with Rufus King, the nominee for President. Because the party had opposed the war with Britain, they made a poor showing.<sup>78</sup>

In the same year, he was elected to the Maryland Senate, but declined this office. The General Assembly then appointed him

<sup>71</sup> Hoyt, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-19.

<sup>73</sup> William M. Marine, *The British Invasion of Maryland, 1812-1815* (Baltimore, 1913), p. 136.

<sup>74</sup> Buchholz, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>75</sup> Hoyt, *op. cit.*, pp. 294-295.

<sup>76</sup> Quoted in Public Service of John E. Howard, p. 4.

<sup>77</sup> Quoted in George W. Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 508.

<sup>78</sup> Buchholz, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

to a commission which was to survey and lay out the city's new streets and alleys and to plan for the extension of the old avenues. This work, which included the part of Baltimore known as "Poppleton's Plat," was completed in 1822.<sup>79</sup> Having been appointed on 14 December 1825, as the representative of Baltimore, he then served on a committee, the purpose of which was to encourage internal improvements in Maryland.<sup>80</sup>

Howard was chosen President of the Maryland African Colonization Society in 1817. At this time he was also serving as the Vice-President of the General Society.<sup>81</sup>

As we have seen, Howard was President of the Society of the Cincinnati in 1824, when Marquis de la Fayette visited Baltimore on 24 August. This association, along with the dignitaries and inhabitants of the city, received the distinguished Frenchman enthusiastically. In his reply to Colonel Howard's cordial welcoming address, Lafayette thanked the citizens for their warm greeting and said:

It has been the lot of the Maryland Line to acquire glory in instances of bad as well as good fortune, and to whom can I better speak of the glory of that Line than in addressing Col. Howard?<sup>82</sup>

Throughout the years, the Howards had resided at "Belvedere," their elegant home located at the north end of Calvert Street. The main house, two stories high, was connected by colonnades on either side to a wing, each of which were the size of an average house. Colonel Howard had begun the construction of this house in 1786 when the north wing was built. The family had lived in this portion and in the south wing until the main residence was completed in 1794.<sup>83</sup>

The mansion was famous for its hospitality, the result of Mrs. Howard's charm and grace. The list of visitors to "Belvedere" has been described as more distinguished than that of any other Maryland home. The Howard's guests included George Washington, who dined there in 1791 while he was President; Charles Carroll of "Carrollton" and Associate Justice Samuel Chase of the Supreme Court, signers of the Declara-

<sup>79</sup> Public Service of John E. Howard, p. 4.

<sup>80</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

<sup>81</sup> Public Service of John E. Howard, pp. 4-5.

<sup>82</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*, pp. 409-411.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 239-240.

tion of Independence; Chief Justice Roger B. Taney; Lafayette; Generals Gist, Smallwood, and Williams, leaders of the Maryland Line in the Revolutionary War; the Catholic Archbishop and Protestant clergymen of Baltimore; and prominent state leaders.<sup>84</sup>

From the house, the family and their guests enjoyed an excellent view of Baltimore and the Chesapeake Bay.<sup>85</sup> The mansion was surrounded by extensive grounds known as "Howard's Park." This land was open to the public, and many civic events such as parades, political rallies, and concerts were held there.

As has been shown, Howard's vast estate, inherited from his grandfather, included a large portion of the present city of Baltimore. He had generously contributed land from his holdings to projects for public purposes. Among his donations were the sites for Mount Vernon Place and the Washington Monument, Lexington Market, and the cathedral and rectory of St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church.<sup>86</sup>

In 1809, he had given the ground for the monument to Geroge Washington,<sup>87</sup> and on 4 July 1815, the cornerstone had been laid by city and state officials.<sup>88</sup> The site of this memorial, Mount Vernon Place, was later enlarged by Howard's heirs in the 1830's to its present size.<sup>89</sup>

In 1782, John Eager Howard had given Baltimore a tract of land in which he had had reminiscently named the streets Eutaw, Lexington, German, Paca, and Cowpen. This plot, donated for the site of a governmental seat, had been rejected by the General Assembly by a one vote margin, as the result of a lack of public interest in the project.<sup>90</sup> In addition, in 1785, he had given a piece of land in western Baltimore for a cemetery for strangers.<sup>91</sup> During the next year, he had persuaded

<sup>84</sup> *Baltimore News*, 16 January 1904, p. 5. The "Belvidere" guests are also listed in Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

<sup>85</sup> Nevins, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

<sup>86</sup> *Baltimore News*, 16 January 1904, p. 5. The estate was bound by "Pratt Street, Paca Street, South Street, North Street, Jones Falls, a vast estate, now entirely within the limits of Baltimore."

<sup>87</sup> Public Service of John E. Howard, p. 3.

<sup>88</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

<sup>89</sup> Public Service of John E. Howard, p. 3.

<sup>90</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

Samuel Chase to settle in Baltimore by presenting him with a lot on which the Judge was to build his home.<sup>92</sup>

Descendants of John Eager Howard state that some of these donations were given under the condition that, if for any reason the land was not used for the designated purpose, it was to revert to the estate.<sup>93</sup> It has been estimated that, had the benefactor kept his property and used it for personal gain, he would have been a multimillionaire.<sup>94</sup>

In the summer of 1827, the health and strength of the seventy-five year old patriarch were rapidly declining. The elderly statesman refused to submit to Nature and continued to be as active as possible. While horseback riding on 3 October, he caught a severe cold. In spite of the efforts of his doctor and his family to tend their patient, he died on 12 October.<sup>95</sup>

His funeral was attended by the country's most prominent leaders, including President John Quincy Adams.<sup>96</sup> A feeling of sadness is said to have spread over Baltimore as the huge procession of civilians and military men<sup>97</sup> moved towards Old St. Paul's Cemetery for interment.<sup>98</sup>

John Eager Howard was survived by six of his nine children. Several of his sons became successful in military and political endeavors. The eldest, John Eager, II, served in the War of 1812. His only child, John Eager, III, served in the Mexican War and was among the soldiers who led the attack in the Battle of Chapultepec.<sup>99</sup>

Following in his father's political footprints, the second oldest son, George, was appointed Governor of Maryland on 22 July 1831, and was then elected in his own right and served until 17 January 1833.<sup>100</sup> Henry Clay said that George Howard had " 'as brilliant a mind as I ever encountered.' " <sup>101</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Nevins, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

<sup>93</sup> William Key Howard. Personal statement to Cary Howard. May 13, 1966.

<sup>94</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

<sup>95</sup> *Baltimore News*, 16 January 1904, p. 5. Peggy Chew Howard had died on 29 May 1824. Culver, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

<sup>96</sup> Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

<sup>97</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

<sup>98</sup> "Howard, John Eager," *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, p. 1082.

<sup>99</sup> Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

<sup>100</sup> Buchholz, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

<sup>101</sup> Quoted in Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

The third son, Benjamin Chew Howard, achieved both military and political honors, as had his father. During the War of 1812, Howard was a Captain in the Mechanical Volunteers of Baltimore. After the conclusion of the war, he remained active in the militia and later attained the rank of Brigadier-General.

In 1820, he was chosen a member of the Baltimore City Council, and four years later, he was elected to the State House of Delegates and worked on a committee which promoted the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. He served as a Democrat in Congress from 4 March 1829 to 3 March 1833. Two years after the expiration of his Congressional term, he was appointed by President Andrew Jackson to represent the federal government as a Peace Commissioner in the boundary dispute between Michigan and Ohio. He was returned to Congress 4 March 1835 to 3 March 1839, and was Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. Elected to the Maryland Senate in 1840, he resigned this position during the next year when he was appointed Recorder of the United States Supreme Court. In fulfilling his responsibilities of this position, he recorded the proceedings of the judicial body from 1843 until 1862. Consisting of twenty-four volumes, his minutes have been described as being clear and thorough. In February, 1861, he served as a State Delegate to the Washington Peace Conference, a futile attempt to prevent the Civil War. Later in that year, he made an unsuccessful bid for the Governorship of Maryland, and soon after, retired from public life.<sup>102</sup>

William, the fourth son of John Eager and Peggy Chew Howard, became a physician, but his first patient died, he rejected the medical profession in preference to an occupation in civil engineering. Having become proficient in this field, he helped to design and construct the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.<sup>103</sup> His intense desire to climb mountains was realized when, in 1819, he ascended to the summits of Vesuvius and Etna. In July of the same year, he became one of the first Americans to reach the top of Mont Blanc.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>102</sup> William G. Elliott, "Howard, Benjamin Chew," *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 275. Another good account may be seen in "Howard, Benjamin Chew," *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1961*, p. 1081.

<sup>103</sup> Mrs. Clarence Randolph Howard. Personal statement to Cary Howard. May 13, 1966.

<sup>104</sup> William Howard, *Ascent to Mont Blanc* (Baltimore, 1821), p. 1.

The fifth member of the family to become a participant in public services was Charles Howard, who served as President of the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad and Judge of the Orphans' Court. In 1860, he was appointed President of the Board of Police Commissioners of Baltimore. The four additional children of the Howards, Juliana Elizabeth, James, Sophia Catherine, and Mary Anne, attained no offices or positions of merit.<sup>105</sup>

As we have seen, John Eager Howard, military hero and statesman, dedicated his life to public service. Having demonstrated his courage and loyalty in the Revolutionary War, he served continually in offices such as Governor of Maryland, State Senator, United States Senator, and in numerous other civic positions. He apparently believed it his responsibility to give generously, not only of his time and effort, but also of his vast land holdings, to promote the general welfare.

Because of his many services to the city and state, the indebted citizens of Baltimore honored the late soldier and legislator by unveiling a statue of Howard in Mount Vernon Place on 16 January 1904, in a ceremony commemorating the one hundred twenty third anniversary of the Battle of Cowpens. The sculpture, which cost \$17,000, was donated by the city's residents through their individual contributions. This memorial was designed and cast in Paris by Fremiet, a prominent sculptor of equestrian statues. The bronze effigy shows Howard, dressed in the decorative apparel of the day, astride a prancing horse. His left hand is holding the bridle; his right hand is extended in command.<sup>106</sup>

In addition, Baltimore has followed the American tradition of perpetuating the names of her heroes by calling her streets after the famous men. The city has thus recognized the gallant infantryman and statesman with a John Street, an Eager Street, and a Howard Street.<sup>107</sup> Marylanders have also honored him in the third verse of their state song, *Maryland, My Maryland!*: "Remember Howard's warlike thrust,—"<sup>108</sup> in possibly their greatest tribute to the patriot and public servant.

<sup>105</sup> Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 344-349.

<sup>106</sup> *Baltimore News*, 16 January 1904, p. 5.

<sup>107</sup> Douglas H. Gordon, "Hero Worship as Expressed in Baltimore Street Names," *Maryland Historical Magazine* (June, 1948), XLIII, 121.

<sup>108</sup> Andrews, *The Poems of James Ryder Randall* (New York, 1910), p. 95.

## SIDELIGHTS

“NOT WITHOUT HONOR”:

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

By JEAN WENTWORTH

### I

#### WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON IN MARYLAND

WILLIAM Lloyd Garrison first arrived in Baltimore in the fall of 1815 on a packet from Salem, Massachusetts, a homesick and sea-sick boy just ten years old. His mother, Fanny Garrison, deserted by her sailor husband, supported her two sons by working for a local merchant, to whom the older boy was apprenticed. Lloyd was so incurably miserable in Maryland that his mother sent him back to Newburyport in the summer of 1816 to finish his meager formal schooling and eventually to learn the printer's trade.<sup>1</sup>

Garrison's second visit to Baltimore, under very different circumstances, came in 1829. Already a dedicated abolitionist and the editor of several short-lived reform journals, the twenty-three old New Englander was coming to Maryland to serve as editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, an anti-slavery paper founded by Benjamin Lundy. The two men, gentle Quaker and fierce Calvinist, boarded at the home of two Quaker ladies on Market Street. Lundy devoted himself mostly to lecture tours and travel on behalf of his Negro colonization plans, while Garrison assumed the chief burden of the paper. At once the *Genius* took on the tone of Garrison's uncompromising hatred for slavery. The first editorial demanded immediate freedom, education and citizenship for Negroes. Characteristically, Garrison did not define "immediate emancipation" nor did he present any plan by which his moral precepts could be put into effect. His editorials attracted attention and criticism but his sojourn in Maryland was pleasant enough at first.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John L. Thomas, *The Liberator, William Lloyd Garrison* (Boston, 1963), p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 102-105.

Then the brig *Francis*, out of Newburyport, Massachusetts, cleared Baltimore en route to New Orleans, picking up a cargo of slaves in the port. This was part of the legal domestic slave trade which annually saw some 50,000 slaves from Maryland and Virginia shipped south to labor on the great plantations. Many respectable merchants engaged in this trade when regular business was slow. The *Francis* was owned by one Francis Todd, a fellow-citizen of Garrison's home town of Newburyport and Garrison could not ignore such an opportunity. In a column called the "Black List", the young editor called attention to this traffic in bodies and labeled both Todd and his captain, Nicolas Brown, "highway robbers and murderers".<sup>3</sup>

Todd filed suit for libel. In February, 1830 the state of Maryland also sued Garrison for injuring the ship-owner. The trial was held on the first of March, 1830 in the Baltimore City Court, Judge Nicolas Brice presiding. A jury of local citizens took fifteen minutes to find Garrison guilty, whereupon he was fined \$50.00 and costs. Since, as usual, he had no money at all, Garrison was sent to jail for six months. Almost gleefully, the abolitionist entered the city jail in April, 1830, determined to exploit his "martyrdom" to the full. His stay behind bars was, in fact, quite pleasant. He had freedom to roam the corridors at will, chat with other prisoners, including captured fugitive slaves, receive visitors, and most of all, write. He inscribed a sonnet on the walls of his cell and produced a more lasting work in an eight-page pamphlet entitled "A Brief Sketch of the Trial of William Lloyd Garrison, for an Alleged Libel of one Francis Todd, of Massachusetts". This creation, printed and circulated in New England, was an attack on Maryland justice and a promise, very completely fulfilled, that Garrison would never be silenced.<sup>4</sup>

## II

### GARRISON AND THE HISTORIANS

Garrison's "martyrdom" was cut short in June when Arthur Tappan, the New York reformer and philanthropist, impressed by the pamphlet, paid Garrison's fine. The editor left Baltimore at once and went to Boston, where he was very shortly to establish the *Liberator* and the American Anti-Slavery Society.<sup>5</sup> In this indirect fashion Maryland unwittingly helped to attract attention to

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 107-108.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 108-113.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

Garrison and his ideas. His experience in Baltimore served him well for no man was ever more talented at capitalizing on adversity.

The *Liberator* had weathered barely nine and one half months of its stormy thirty-five year existence when its brash young editor wrote that "The unborn off-spring of those who are now living will reverse the condemnatory decision of my contemporaries."<sup>6</sup> Thus, superbly conscious of his own righteousness and untroubled by enervating doubts of his mission, William Lloyd Garrison looked to future generations and their historians to vindicate his reputation. In large measure the historians have obliged. It was not, however, to be quite the uncomplicated process Garrison anticipated. To the Boston abolitionist the world was a simple place where every man, every deed, every institution fitted into a neat category, morally white or black, with no shadings to confuse judgment. Historians, at least the more conscientious among them, are notorious for finding grey in infinite variations. The student who toils through the interpretations of Garrison's motives, methods, and relative importance in the anti-slavery movement, comes away from his labors with a bewildered feeling that he has been reading about several different men with the same name. There is the selfless crusader who single-handedly aroused the conscience of a nation; there is the attention-hungry egoist who was a negligible figure in an irrelevant reform movement. In between these extremes lie several studies of Garrison—many of which perhaps reveal more about the historian than about the reformer.

The abolitionist had been in his grave only six years when two of his sons, Francis Jackson Garrison and Wendell Phillips Garrison, brought out the first book of a four-volume labor of love, a biography which has remained a mine of source material ever since. Garrison was that rare creature, a hero to his own family, and his children carefully preserved and published hundreds of letters to and from the editor of the *Liberator*. Nothing that concerned him was too trivial to be included. There was even a three-page report of a phrenological examination to which Garrison submitted in 1836. Through long sections of these volumes there was little editorial comment and Garrison spoke for himself in editorials, speeches and correspondence. Even in affectionate letters to his wife Garrison strikingly revealed the traits of character and purpose which made him a center of controversy. When the sons wrote of their father it was with uncritical approval and with calm acceptance of his importance as creator and embodiment of American

<sup>6</sup> *The Liberator*, 15 October 1831, cited in Walter M. Merrill, *Against Wind And Tide* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 55.

abolitionism. They saw him, in fact, very much as he had seen himself.<sup>7</sup>

A little earlier, Garrison's friend and assistant of many years, Oliver Johnson, had published his memoir, a personal tribute no less heart-felt than that by the reformer's sons. Johnson defended Garrison against any who might attempt to cast doubts on his character or question his primacy in the cause of abolition. The sub-title of the book proclaimed unequivocally that Garrison was "Founder and Moral Leader" of the anti-slavery movement in America.<sup>8</sup> This image of Garrison, accepted by himself and by his sons and admirers, was, when stripped of the admiring overtones, exactly the view taken by his pro-slavery antagonists before the war. The early biographies have not only been major sources for the facts of Garrison's life but their equation of Garrison and abolition proved formative and appeared in histories of the United States with little modification for years.

During the decades after the Civil War, while old soldiers and military chroniclers endlessly refought the battles, other scholars, in sober Germanic spirit, applied to the writing of history those "scientific methods" which produced learned dullness in multi-volume sets. Their emphasis on constitutional and political history left little room for consideration of such moral issues as those which dominated the life and career of William Lloyd Garrison. In recording the abolition movement, these historians gave Garrison central place, but they did not pause to investigate the man or his motivation, for they generally accepted the evil of slavery and the sincerity of the anti-slavery crusaders. The entire reform ferment of the early 19th century from which anti-slavery drew its inspiration and its manpower, they largely by-passed as irrelevant to political history. John Bach McMaster, who wrote in 1906, epitomized the scientific ideal. He listed in order the key facts and dates in Garrison's career without any attempt at analysis or comment.<sup>9</sup> The result was a flat and unsatisfying study which conveyed none of the excitement and conflict of the period, and which other historians, fortunately, were not entirely able to duplicate. John W. Burgess had earlier stated the credo of the historian of the period when he remarked that the character, purposes, and motives of Garrison "are not subject for treatment

<sup>7</sup> Wendell Phillips Garrison and Francis Jackson Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison, The Story of His Life Told by His Children*, 4 vols. (New York, 1885-1889).

<sup>8</sup> Oliver Johnson, *William Lloyd Garrison and His Times*, (Boston, 1885).

<sup>9</sup> John Bach McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States*, 8 vols. (New York, 1906), VI.

in a work upon constitutional history." Indeed, the concern was only with the "doctrines of political ethics and public jurisprudence which he formulated, and with the means . . . for their realization."<sup>10</sup>

Burgess did not always observe his own designated limitations, however, and his most interesting passages on the subject of abolition sound oddly like the later Revisionists. He seemed irritated that the abolitionists (by whom he meant Garrison) did not find some moral basis for compromise with Southern spokesmen. He reflected the views of Social Darwinism when he lamented that the anti-slavery forces had not taken the "historical" and "evolutionary" view of ethics and had not seen that "temporarily" a better state of morality could be maintained within slavery than in any other situation. The Southerners, in turn, should have seen that the "time had come for a modification of the existing form of negro slavery." Instead, each party irrationally persisted in regarding the other as criminals and sinners. The Northern mobs, implied Burgess, were probably quite justified in suppression of abolition meetings and publications since Garrison's violent language had made it seem he was encouraging bloody slave revolt, surely a worse evil than slavery itself. The mobs acted out of the "indignation of a righteous conscience." Garrison did not use what weapons the Constitution gave him against slavery but chose instead methods "revolutionary, almost anarchic." The best thing Burgess can find to say about Garrison and abolitionists is that they were right in seeing the complete inconsistency of slavery in the 19th century.<sup>11</sup>

Hermann Von Holst, greatly respected for scholarship in his day, felt far greater moral indignation over slavery than did Burgess. Slavery, he wrote, was one of those things about which it was said, "if men will hold their tongues, the stones will cry out." Although he recognized the moral imperative which led Garrison to combat the evils of slavery, he mentioned Garrison very briefly, other abolitionists not at all by name, but took a stand that became monotonously familiar in histories of this period—that the South was goaded to extremism in reaction to radicals, chiefly Garrison. Like Burgess he felt Northern opposition to the abolitionists was justified because their violence endangered the Constitution and they would brook no compromise.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> John W. Burgess, *The Middle Period, 1817-1858*, (New York, 1897), p. 246.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 246-250, 267-268 (See also 377-378).

<sup>12</sup> Hermann E. Von Holst, *The Constitution and Political History of the United States*, 7 vols. (Chicago, 1881), II, pp. 84, 467-468.

James Schouler, who wrote in the 1880's as did Von Holst and colored his lengthy volumes with Victorian morality and near-biblical phraseology, regarded Garrison as central to abolitionism and typical of abolitionists. He credited Garrison with ruining the chances of the Colonization Society in its drive for English funds and this is an estimate which Garrison himself would have echoed proudly. In the main, Schouler regarded Garrison as a valuable irritant whose violence was regrettable, but whose agitation was necessary to "arraign the frozen apathy of the North and the prostitution of the South on the slavery question." Garrison proved the "plague-spot of reform" which "thousands dared not touch." Schouler most unobjectively rejoiced in the agitation of such as Garrison "though it sent a two-edged sword," for anything was better than "another century of corrupt growth and bonded misalliance."<sup>13</sup>

More interesting to read than any of the earlier historians is James Ford Rhodes. He shared their habit of equating Garrison with abolition and of recording the reformer's doings without attempting to see into his mind or grasp his compelling personality. Nevertheless he admired Garrison, and his evaluation of the abolitionists led him to honor them as the relentless voice of conscience to the nation. They had a great part in the election of Lincoln for "they made possible the formation of a political party... whose reason for existence lay in the belief that slavery . . . was wrong." Rhodes stressed again and again this function of waking up a reluctant people and forcing them to recognize both the sin of slavery and their own guilt in allowing it to continue. Garrison was uniquely suited for this task. His influence can not be correctly estimated from the small number of his followers. Though Rhodes and Schouler wrote only three years apart and their views generally coincide, Rhodes, perhaps because of his literary style, seems somehow far more modern.<sup>14</sup>

Woodrow Wilson made more spectacular history than he wrote, thereby bringing on himself poetic retribution. Southern by birth and instinct, Wilson handled the abolitionist by ignoring him completely. The name Garrison did not appear at all in his volumes and the entire non-political wing of the anti-slavery crusade was dismissed with a brief notice of the establishment of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, embellished further by a

<sup>13</sup> James Schouler, *History of the United States of America*, 6 vols. (Washington, 1889), IV, pp. 212-220.

<sup>14</sup> James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States*, 9 vols. (New York, 1920 [1892]), I, pp. 55, 62-63.

note that very few joined it.<sup>15</sup> Wilson exerted himself in a long passage on the manifold burdens and trials of the planter under the slave-system. Then he reflected the honest indignation of the South at the charges of moral guilt made against them in the North. Southerners conscious of their freedom from moral taint "felt to the quick the deep injustice of imputing to them . . . brutal pride of mastery in maintaining their hold upon the slaves."<sup>16</sup>

In his attitude toward slavery Wilson differed from the other historians mentioned and held the Southern view of the Civil War expressed as far back as 1866 by the Virginian, Edward Pollard, who maintained that the "slavery question was not a moral one in the North, unless, perhaps, with a few thousand persons of disordered conscience."<sup>17</sup> Garrison must have been in the ranks of the insignificant "disordered" for Pollard did not mention his name either.

In a valuable monograph on abolition Albert Bushnell Hart took a more personal interest in Garrison than earlier writers had permitted themselves. He felt that Garrison could have surpassed the famous editors of the day had he taken to another form of journalism. Interestingly, Hart acknowledged the existence and independence of the western abolitionists and his was the earliest book of broad scholarly significance which spoke at length of Theodore D. Weld, James G. Birney, the Tappan brothers and other members of the Ohio-New York coalition of non-Garrisonian abolitionists—men who appear with magnitude in more recent studies. Hart also seemed to be the earliest to perceive that Garrison was not typical of abolitionists in general since the main strength of anti-slavery diverged from him on the question of the use of political methods. Hart blamed the editor of the *Liberator* for further weakening the cause by his insistence on uniting the fight for women's rights, peace, anti-clericalism and a lavish assortment of other reforms with the struggle against slavery.<sup>18</sup>

Almost every historian who mentions Garrison at all comments on the violence of his invective and its marvelous effectiveness in enraging his antagonists. Jesse Macy, writing for the *Chronicles of America* series, acknowledged that Garrison merely took the usual

<sup>15</sup> Woodrow Wilson, *A History of the American People*, 10 vols. (New York, 1918 [1901]), VII, pp. 76-77.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 50.

<sup>17</sup> Edward Pollard, *The Lost Cause* (New York, 1866), p. 49.

<sup>18</sup> Albert Bushnell Hart, *Slavery and Abolition, 1831-1841* (New York, 1906), pp. 184, 200-201, 320.

journalistic polemic style of his day and raised it to new heights. He repaid pro-slavery writers in their own coin—with interest.<sup>19</sup>

Edward Channing was one of the last and best of the “scientific” historians, but he added no new insights to the study of Garrison. There was, predictably, no mention of the non-Garrisonians. Channing felt that it was the acts of the “slave-power” itself, as in pushing the Fugitive Slave Act and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which turned the North against slavery and not the agitation of the abolitionists. “The New England literary and oratorical group has a great responsibility on its shoulders” for the moral condemnation which helped lead to war, but even here he is thinking chiefly of Harriet Beecher Stowe.<sup>20</sup>

Even while McMaster, Schouler, Channing and the others were painting their lack-lustre picture of the abolitionists, two biographers, Lindsay Swift and John Jay Chapman wrote on Garrison in a spirit very different and far more partial than that of the contemporary historians, drawing heavily on the biography by his sons for their facts as well as for their admiring estimate of the man. To them he was a universal reformer, motivated by his evangelical religion and by his intense belief in human perfectability, to which slavery was a major (but not the only major) hindrance. Only in a book written before the 1920's could a scholar say, as Swift did, “There are singularly few historical tangles in the annals of anti-slavery and abolitionism. . . .” Certainly neither of these writers found any tangles in interpreting the career of Garrison. Swift recognized Garrison's chief function in abolition as giving “impetus and then motion” to public opinion against slavery. Interestingly, Swift considered that the most lasting of Garrison's multi-reforms was his attack against the all-powerful New England churches. His long and bitter vendetta—against enforced Sabbath observance, against the sacrosanct clergy, against the refusal of the churches to face up to the controversial issues of the day—helped to bring on the sweeping changes in the protestant churches which marked the later 19th century. The unifying principle in all Garrison's reforms was the all importance of the individual. Abolition itself was only a part in a larger work which was “the emancipation of the individual soul in America.”<sup>21</sup>

Swift's conventional study of Garrison did contain one striking

<sup>19</sup> Jesse Macy, *The Anti-Slavery Crusade* (New Haven, 1919), p. 58.

<sup>20</sup> Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, 6 vols. (New Haven, 1925), VI, p. 413.

<sup>21</sup> Lindsay Swift, *William Lloyd Garrison* (Philadelphia, 1911), pp. 8, 22, 375, 220.

insight into the source of his strength, the great factor in the reforming personality which helps to explain everything he did and was. "What he really did accomplish was largely owing to this perfect trust in his own methods, his own weapons of offense. It is fortunate that he lacked the paralyzing faculty of self-analysis; there was ever before him an open field of battle and only one right side."<sup>22</sup>

John Jay Chapman produced a beautifully written impressionistic essay rather than a true biography. Here, above all, Garrison appeared as an agent in the hands of God. Chapman's Garrison—or God's—permanently changed American history as much as one man has ever changed any nation. Indeed Chapman believed that, "The history of the United States between 1800 and 1860 will some day be rewritten with this man as its central figure." By 1830 our nation was sick with the guilt of slavery. The North had consented to an evil "conspiracy of silence" which protected the slave-power. Slowly the inner poison was destroying the moral fiber of America. It was a cold, grasping age, hardened to suffering and willing to purchase peace and profits by conciliating evil. Into this spiritually moribund society came Garrison to flay slave-holders while not sparing the Northern merchants and politicians who catered to them. If his invective was harsh, so was the iniquity which called it forth. In Chapman's moving prose the story of the Liberator almost became an allegory of the eternal struggle of light against darkness. It does not help us to know Garrison any better, perhaps, but the book is worth reading for the feeling of early 19th-century America it conveys.<sup>23</sup>

After the first World War a new approach to history threw open the doors to bold new investigators. Men such as Charles A. Beard searched out the forces moving behind the facts and found, or imposed, patterns on the past. In the hands of these historians, with their contradictory approaches Garrison has become almost as controversial a figure as he was in his own day.

Charles A. Beard in his emphasis on economic forces tended to view the Civil War as the outgrowth of clashing economic interests and he correspondingly reduced the role of the anti-slavery agitators. Beard's choice of words when he wrote of Garrison indicated a certain impatience and distaste for the vociferous reformer. He spoke of Garrison's "shout of defiance", his "shrill cry", his "lan-

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>23</sup> John Jay Chapman, *William Lloyd Garrison* (Boston, 1921 [1913],) Preface x, pp. 17-19, 187-189.

guage as imperious as the declamations of the ancient prophets", his "passionate criticism", his "scathing abuse".<sup>24</sup> Beard would probably have preferred to dismiss Garrison as a loud-mouth of little importance, but his scholarly instincts compelled him to recognize that the anti-slavery agitation had far more influence than the votes cast for anti-slavery parties revealed. Garrison's work forced pro-slavery thought to consolidate, he said, and form its elaborate system of defense. Of Garrison's abolition creed, Beard observed, "Nobody but agitators, beneath the contempt of the towering statesmen of the age, ever dared to advocate it. No great political organization ever gave it the most casual indorsement." Beard did not consider whether appeals to the conscience of the individual men of the North were effective, for slavery, he said, was only "a minor element" in the forces that brought on the conflict. No writer has ever yet been able to argue that Garrison had economic motives or interests. Perhaps this is why he so irritated the learned economic historian.<sup>25</sup>

The post-World War I decades also brought to the interpretation of the Civil War a renewed sympathy for the South. Many of the historians were themselves Southerners. William E. Dodd, of the University of Chicago, had pointed the direction for this approach as early as 1915, when he was incensed that Garrison should demand the abolition of slavery without compensation for slave owners. Garrison's denial that there could be property in human beings, Dodd compared to the socialist denial of property in land. Garrison's real motive was a desire to destroy the basis of Southern political power and of its ruling aristocracy. His followers were men of the North who used the anti-slavery crusade as a means of breaking the stranglehold of the South on the federal government.<sup>26</sup> In Dodd's footsteps came the Revisionists who held forth on the follies of a "blundering generation" which had plunged the nation into an unnecessary war for irrational reasons. In this view, those guilty of the tragedy were the extremists on both sides: the fire-eating secessionists of the South, and above all, the radical anti-slavery men of the North. Garrison might reasonably have expected to be elevated from the role of insignificant noise-maker, assigned him by Beard, to the status of villain of villains in the drama as presented by James G. Randall or Avery Craven. Ironically, however, another scholar, not himself a member

<sup>24</sup> Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, 2 vols., (New York, 1943 [1933]) pp. 595, 696-697.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 700-710; II, p. 38.

<sup>26</sup> William E. Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict* (Boston, 1915).

of the blundering-generation school, intervened just at this time to challenge Garrison's importance even to abolition itself.

Gilbert Barnes shifted the center of abolition from East to West and produced a new hero, Theodore Dwight Weld, whom he made the major figure in the entire movement. Barnes down-played Garrison's role in the crusade and, indeed, attacked the man himself with such vigor that no student of abolition since has been able to ignore the intricate problems and personalities interwoven in anti-slavery. In introducing this new area of scholarship Barnes probably over-stated his case. His was a subjective approach with a personal bias against Garrison. He did, however, give a needed perspective on the Boston editor as part of a far more complex movement than the earlier historians ever hinted.

Barnes attempted an analysis of Garrison as a person and found him motivated by an obsessive craving for attention which caused him to pose as the personification of American abolitionism. Basking in undeserved glory, he deliberately cultivated the "Garrison legend" of his identity with the cause. Actually, Barnes believed, Garrison was a hindrance to anti-slavery and his paper an "incubus"; his virulent language alienated many who would otherwise have supported abolition; his break with the clergy threw him into opposition to the real source and strength of reform. It was necessary for Weld, the Tappans and others to counteract the reputation of Garrison before they could begin their work. As a leader of abolition, he was only "a name, an embodied motto, a figurehead of fanaticism."<sup>27</sup> While thus building up the western brand of abolition, which certainly deserved much more attention than it had previously received, Barnes too drastically discounted the "noisy futilities of Boston reform." It is noteworthy that even he did not deny Garrison's complete dedication to the cause.<sup>28</sup>

While Barnes was setting up Theodore Weld as champion of abolition, the Revisionists such as George Fort Milton and James G. Randall, were reappraising the Civil War along the lines charted by Dodd. Milton was lauding Stephen A. Douglas as the un-sung hero of the moderates, whose policy of compromise and calculation might have saved America from the "needless war", if it had not been for the fanaticism of men like Garrison. With little more moral concern over slavery than Douglas himself, Milton expressed eloquently the theme of the "repressible conflict" which was dominant in studies of the Civil War throughout the

<sup>27</sup> Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, *The Anti-Slavery Impulse* (Gloucester, Mass. 1933), pp. 52-58, 62, 93-98.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 99.

thirties.<sup>29</sup> This theme was elaborated at length by James G. Randall who combined it with Barnes' view of Garrison.

In Randall's pages Garrison was a minor figure compared to Weld, a self-created "legend" (even the phrase is Barnes'). But in his judgment on abolitionists in general, it was clearly the Bostonian that Randall had in mind. He said that in those who were most vocal about reform, enthusiasm—

was often unrelieved by wisdom, toleration, tact, and the sense of human values. Thus unrelieved, the zeal for salvation became at its worst a means of self-promotion; it became at times an instrument of propaganda for collateral and unrelated causes that utilized it; and it remained an agent of destruction and disturbance, more than a force for genuine social improvements.<sup>30</sup>

This attitude fitted well with the blundering-generation interpretation which saw the Civil War as the result of fanaticism and misunderstanding, a war for which slavery was neither a necessary nor an adequate cause.

Agreeing with Randall on the repressibility of the conflict, but conceding Garrison a greater importance among those forces which made for war, was Avery Craven. He discussed both Eastern and Western centers of abolition without noticeable enthusiasm for either. He accused Garrison of tactics which killed off the native Southern anti-slavery movement—a frequent charge, but one which could be vigorously challenged. More important, Craven blamed Garrison and his disciples for helping to make it impossible to approach the slavery question with either "sanity or moderation". In this lay the core of Craven's thinking about abolitionists. They "slowly built into a section's consciousness the belief in a Slave Power." To the inevitable distrust between sections, Garrison and others "added all the force of Calvinistic morality and American democracy and thereby surrounded every Northern interest and contention with holy sanction and reduced all opposition to abject depravity."<sup>31</sup>

Developing further the Dodd-Milton-Craven theme, Roy F. Nichols in his study of the Democratic Party between 1856 and 1860 saw that the ordinary processes of politics were not adequate to cope with the enormous pressures of emotionalism, fear and

<sup>29</sup> George Fort Milton, *The Eve of Conflict, Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War* (Boston, 1934).

<sup>30</sup> James G. Randall, *Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, 1937), pp. 101-102, 148.

<sup>31</sup> Avery Craven, *The Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1942), pp. 119-121, 136, 150.

hatred engendered during this period. The agitation against slavery was only one of the forces which led to the breakdown of communication between sections and the destruction of the national party system. But Nichols' "New Englandism" was motivated by the jealousy and frustration of a section dispossessed of its earlier power and forced into increasing insignificance in national politics. This frustration, said Nichols, expressed itself in Puritan terms as a holy war against the sin of slavery. It was ironic that Garrison, who held aloof from all politics and repudiated the Constitution, appeared to be cast by Nichols as synonymous with "New Englandism."<sup>32</sup>

Recent scholarship increasingly seeks consensus, a balanced picture in which all factors are seen and their subtle inter-relationships are explored in the light of the insights of many men, and one of the most successful of this school has been Allan Nevins. The ideas of several earlier writers were blended in his treatment of anti-slavery. Like Barnes he gave first place among abolitionists to Theodore Weld, saying "nothing could be more unhistorical than the New England myth that Garrison was the soul of the whole cause." But he refused to dismiss Garrison as insignificant. He felt the Bostonian's break with the church impaired anti-slavery strength, and that Garrison's attacks stopped the emancipation movement in border states. At the same time he made it clear that the deep South was already firmly set in defense of slavery before the *Liberator* ever appeared. Garrison influenced and drew into the cause men far abler than himself, a fact his critics have overlooked. Nevins concluded that it was impossible to say whether Garrison did more harm or good; at any rate he could not be ignored.<sup>33</sup>

Good basic texts in American history produced or revised during the 1940's showed in uneven fashion the results of the accumulating scholarship of contemporary historians. In their 1942 edition, Morison and Commager dealt with abolition as if neither Barnes nor Beard had ever written. Here Garrison was central to abolition and abolition agitation had closed all avenues to freedom for the slave except war. The uncompromising editor had broken "a great conspiracy of silence" about slavery and "seared the northern conscience with the image of a slave cowering under his master's whip—but at what a cost in hatred, bloodshed, and un-

<sup>32</sup> Roy Franklin Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York, 1948), p. 30.

<sup>33</sup> Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union*, 2 vols. (New York, 1947), I, pp. 144-148.

charitableness!" Oddly, it was this general history text which gave the clearest picture of Garrison, the man, as his followers must have seen him, "mild in manner, soft of voice yet driven by a fierce passion for righteousness to write words that cut and burned. . . ."<sup>34</sup>

John D. Hicks wrote his excellent text under the influence of Beard's economic theory. It was not Garrison's hot moral barrage that destroyed the South's efforts at emancipation but the cold fact that slavery was profitable and becoming more so. Hicks thought the planter class used Garrison's attacks as an excuse to set forth the righteousness of their way of life. He saw the slow development of anti-slavery feeling in the North as a matter of economic self-interest but he did not discount the force of moral arguments in effecting this change. Striving for synthesis of his own Hicks was careful to mention all the leading abolitionists, but Garrison remained the one singled out for special attention. The abolition crusade dated from the first issue of the *Liberator*.<sup>35</sup>

With the struggle of the Negro for civil rights in the fifties and sixties a new interest emerged in the earlier crusade for his freedom from slavery. The abolitionists were re-considered from a more sympathetic viewpoint as much of their battle was duplicated in our streets, our press, and our halls of government. Garrison's editorials and speeches had an oddly contemporary ring. The historian of this post-war era found it far easier than the writers of the previous one to appreciate Garrison's "passion for righteousness."

Typical of this new spirit was Ralph Korngold's tract for the times called *Two Friends of Man*. The "friends" were Garrison and Wendell Phillips. Korngold had little fault to find with Garrison and none with Phillips although he accused both of failing to sympathize with the problems of white labor and said this prevented the Northern wageworkers from enlisting in the anti-slavery movement. Phillips redeemed himself by his ardent pro-labor stand after the Civil War but Garrison remained blind to this reform. Korngold was unhappy with Garrison's action in 1865 when he discontinued the *Liberator* and retired from the American Anti-Slavery Society. Garrison felt his work was done and did not grasp the grim realities of the freedman's position. Most of this book discussed the war years and their aftermath. Garrison

<sup>34</sup> Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic*, 2 vols. (New York, 1942), pp. 528-532.

<sup>35</sup> John D. Hicks, *The Federal Union, A History of the United States to 1865*, (Boston, 1948), pp. 492, 501-507.

came to be a strong supporter of Lincoln, especially after the Emancipation Proclamation; Phillips condemned Lincoln and all his ways in favor of the most radical Republicans. This caused the final split between the two old co-workers and friends. After the war Phillips was violent and public in his opposition to Presidential reconstruction, while Garrison lived quietly, interesting himself in a number of non-political reforms. The fiery radical of other days had become a conservative. He had not changed, but the world had. Korngold reluctantly concluded that Garrison was too naive, too limited, especially in his understanding of economics, to face the problems of the new age.<sup>36</sup>

More significant was Russel B. Nye, another biographer moved by the strong currents of the 1950's, who tackled the subject of Garrison in a readable and scholarly biography which openly applauded its subject while striving to evaluate objectively his position in anti-slavery. Unlike Korngold, Nye tried to see Garrison as he was in relationship to his own times, not in relationship to the social and economic insights of the mid-20th century. Nye stressed the individualism which colored every aspect of Garrison's life, remarking that "his aversion to co-operation was as ingrained as Thoreau's." Nye saw Garrison as a "symbol to his generation of . . . moral and ideological conflict." As a symbol, Garrison was also a personality no self-respecting southerner could ignore, but he was a gad-fly to the North as well. "To disagree with Garrison men had to face up to the problem, rethink their beliefs, examine their own consciences. When men did this, slavery was doomed." If Nye was a bit too enthusiastic about the efficacy of an aroused conscience, he did not allow this to overload his case for Garrison. He realized the anti-slavery movement started long before Garrison appeared and was carried to its conclusion in ways Garrison did not approve or control. "Abolition passed through him, not from him." Yet symbols are the center around which causes form. Russel Nye maintained that Garrison played a significant role in bringing on the "irrepressible conflict."<sup>37</sup>

In 1961 Dwight L. Dumond published a sweeping indictment of slavery and a passionate plea for racial justice in his *Anti-Slavery*. He made no claim to dis-interested objectivity. This was a detailed and documented record of the early abolition movement

<sup>36</sup> Ralph Korngold, *Two Friends of Man, The Story of William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips and Their Relationship with Abraham Lincoln* (Boston, 1950), pp. 323-328, 367, 380-381.

<sup>37</sup> Russel B. Nye, *William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers* (Boston, 1955), pp. 200-206.

which took much from Gilbert Barnes but attained a balance Barnes lacked. He did not neglect Garrison, though he valued him unmistakably far less than Weld as the leader of the crusade. Dumond investigated and found valid most of the standard criticisms of Garrison. He believed the Bostonian hurt the cause in many ways by his uncompromising disunionist stand, his quarrel with the clergy, his insistence on injecting the "woman question" into abolition organizations, his refusal to use political weapons, his "colossal conceit" which led him to take full credit for everything that was achieved before 1840, and his ill-considered verbal violence which aroused such hostility to the reformers. He was "a man of distinctly narrow limitations among the giants of the anti-slavery movement." Dumond obviously attempted to be fair to this difficult and exasperating reformer, however, for he pointed out that Garrison provided an invaluable opportunity for Negro leaders to express themselves in the *Liberator*. For 35 years he relentlessly battled for the Negro's rights and rejected color as any criterion of achievement or ability (an insight not all abolitionists reached). Further, "his condemnation of every sort of injustice was an encouragement and a blessing to an oppressed people which can not be measured but was very great."<sup>88</sup>

Another product of the sixties was Louis Filler's comprehensive, and valuable *Crusade Against Slavery*. Filler restored Garrison to first rank among abolitionists and much of his work seemed phrased with the Barnes thesis in mind. He saw, indeed, Garrison's glaring faults but he also saw beyond them. Filler surveyed very carefully the entire anti-slavery movement, including the important development of political abolitionism after 1840, but unlike many earlier historians, he did not find clear dichotomy between the earlier moral crusade and the later political activity of men like Joshua Giddings, Ben Wade, or Salmon P. Chase in Congress and in the state legislatures. Both forms of agitation were necessary to fight slavery effectively. In his view, Garrison had a seminal role, serving as a catalyst during the early years of agitation. He was first to publicize a cause most Americans preferred to ignore and in terms calculated to bring a storm of protest—and hence more publicity. He drew into the fight a large group of able men and women whose reforming zeal he set to work for the slave. Many of them broke personally with him in later years, but none of them deserted the battle for abolition. Filler thought that Garrison, far from forcing the creation of a pro-slavery program

<sup>88</sup> Dwight Lowell Dumond, *Anti-Slavery, The Crusade for Freedom in America*, (Ann Arbor, 1961), pp. 173-174, 179 (See also 285.)

in opposition to his vehement campaign, rather unmasked pro-slavery power both North and South. His pamphlet *Thoughts on African Colonization* forced the Colonization Society, so respectable and so anti-Negro, to "clarify its real intentions." Garrison was very effective in destroying the prestige and appeal of the Society both by his attacks on it at home and by his memorable trip to England in 1833, where he succeeded in getting the English anti-slavery leaders to repudiate it. Neither Barnes nor Dumond will give Garrison the credit for this latter coup.<sup>39</sup> Most of all, said Filler, Garrison was a "barometer of free speech." "His insistence upon open debate and individual expression guaranteed the free form without which abolition could be suppressed by its influential foes."<sup>40</sup> The crusade against slavery was far bigger than William Lloyd Garrison, and Filler brought into focus dozens of others who had a vital part in it, many of them Garrison's enemies. This book was badly needed to integrate the work of many scholars into a balanced picture of the whole movement. In its pages the editor of the *Liberator* found the recognition he craved, but not at the expense of others who, like himself, dedicated their lives to the cause of freedom.

Recently a new technique in biography has been in vogue, as historians have tried to bring the insights of psychology to bear on their subjects. Probing in depth early childhood experiences, family relations, and unconscious motivations, the psychological biographer often produces a portrait of a familiar figure which is oddly unrecognizable. Any man with Garrison's abnormal family background, beset by his perfectionist yearnings, filled with so great a crusading zeal—is fair game to the analysts among us. Two biographies published in 1963 approached the facts of Garrison's career from this direction. While earlier historians tried too little to understand why Garrison was what he was, these two very thorough researchers perhaps tried too hard.

John L. Thomas searched Garrison's childhood in a broken family, his impoverished youth, and especially his religious convictions for clues to his actions. More than other recent writers, Thomas stressed the shaping power of Garrison's religion in every aspect of his life. He turned to anti-clericalism out of profound disillusionment with the organized churches, which he found "transgressing and lying against the Lord by refusing to denounce slavery." He turned against political institutions for the same

<sup>39</sup> Louis Filler, *The Crusade Against Slavery* (New York, 1960), *passim*; see especially pp. 59-62, 155-157.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

reason "as his obsession with conscience scattered before it questions of doctrine and polity." At the same time, Thomas saw Garrison driven by an insatiable need for recognition combined with a perpetual rebellion against society instilled in him by his mother, a formidable individualist in her own right.<sup>41</sup>

Garrison "dramatized the fundamental issues of freedom," said Thomas, who believed him indispensable in bringing on that emotional climate in America which made war inevitable. There was more than an echo of Avery Craven in Thomas' presentation of the power of abstractions and symbols to thrust a reluctant people into war. "American democracy could work only if no absolute moral judgments clogged the machinery. Garrison provided one such." Although he believed the war fully justified if democracy was not to be a sham, Thomas criticized Garrison for failing to see that the slave could be freed in no other way and, above all for failing to use the opportunities the war opened to him. The "tragedy" of the war was not that it was "needless" but that it was fought without any clear sense of purpose. For this tragic lack of direction the Abolitionists, and chief among them, Garrison, must bear a large share of the blame." Garrison's career after 1860 was a failure, Thomas said with all the harshness of hindsight, because the editor lacked the vision and ability to direct the forces he had helped set in motion. He left the battle field victorious, then surrendered the freedmen into the hands of their former masters, naively assuming that once the shackles were struck off him, any man could raise himself to whatever level he chose. When the North was at last ready to listen, Garrison had no more to say. A success and a failure, Garrison was so limited by his dreams of "a self-regulating society of saints" that he could not judge of men as they are nor co-operate with them for common goals. Thus reluctantly admiring and vigorously criticizing, Thomas granted Garrison the importance he sought.<sup>42</sup>

Walter M. Merrill's biography, which appeared about the same time as that of Thomas, illustrated how the same facts can inspire two different interpretations. Merrill dwelled upon all of Garrison's faults; he probed considerably deeper into his unconscious than did Thomas. Although the picture that emerged would astonish and horrify Garrison, Merrill remained friendly to his subject and appraised his later years in a way exactly opposite to Thomas. Touched by the magical new appeal of symbolism in

<sup>41</sup> John L. Thomas, *The Liberator, William Lloyd Garrison* (Boston, 1963), pp. 197, 225, 309.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 190, 253, 406-408, 457, and *passim*.

history, Merrill regarded Garrison as chief symbol of the abolition crusade, in his own day and now. In this lay his great importance to the cause, in this and in his powers as a publicist which forced the slavery question to the attention of the nation. Merrill's chief aim seemed to be to study the personality of this man who fought his way from penniless obscurity to almost equally penniless fame. He devoted several chapters to the early years—the development of Garrison's unshakable self-righteousness, his desire for martyrdom, his determination to be heard regardless of the reaction of the audience, his apparent compulsion to alienate all those who were his benefactors, his inevitable choice of hopeless causes as a means of self-glorification, his genuine personal suffering over slavery, his impractical, impulsive, emotional approach to all of life. Merrill did not condemn Garrison for these qualities. Indeed he realized that without them Garrison "would never have accepted Abolitionism as a profession."<sup>43</sup>

In Merrill's pages the abolitionist became a more understandable human being but one who aroused no warmth in the reader until the closing chapters. Here Merrill's insistent delving behind every act for its psychological—and frequently neurotic—basis gave way to mellow approval. Garrison supported Lincoln and his conduct of the war, even breaking with his old friends over this. After the war he did not cease his reforms but worked steadily and quietly for education for freedmen, women's rights, free trade, and decent treatment of Indians and Chinese immigrants. "He had in effect the grace and strength to come of age the very moment when the uncompromising reformer was no longer needed." The story of his life is that of a long bitter campaign crowned with honor and success. So Merrill saw it. So Garrison himself saw it.<sup>44</sup>

Today, as the Negro struggles to escape his grim past and to shape along better lines his uncertain future the renewed interest in every aspect of the race problem in America is leading historians to re-examine the anti-slavery crusade. Already the abolitionists seem to be gaining a new importance and William Lloyd Garrison appears to be once more emerging in first rank among them. The last word has not been said about this man. He has somehow eluded the grasp of all those who tried to fit him into a current historiographical pattern or explain him away or turn him into a spotless hero. He will require prolonged and careful consideration. Nothing could have pleased him more.

<sup>43</sup> Walter M. Merrill, *Against Wind and Tide* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), preface xvi, pp. 23-24, 36, 46, 146, and *passim*.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 267-268, 291.

## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*Patrons and Patriotism. Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States, 1790-1860.* By LILLIAN B. MILLER. University of Chicago Press, 1966. xv, 355. \$8.50

When the Declaration of Purpose of the National Foundation of the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965 proclaimed "that the world-wide respect and admiration for the Nation's high qualities as a leader in the realm of ideas and of the spirit" are matters of national significance, it was continuing a tradition that began with the birth of the country. In that period of notable "national enthusiasm" for these matters between 1820 and 1860, Americans little doubted that the country would eventually "throw her influence over the Earth, not by hugeness of dimensions, nor by armies...nor by all the physical powers combined", but by "the living power of thought...and intellectual grandeur."

That the young nation confronted by the imposing image of European civilization should feel a sense of inferiority was only in the nature of things, and in the arts this feeling was to last a long time. Our initial effort to achieve a national culture, paralleling the dream of national unity—both doomed of realization by conflicting forces and terminating in the Civil War—is the leit motif of Mrs. Miller's excellent account of American ideals in the fine arts of painting and sculpture during the ante bellum period. Despite "numerous false starts and some dismal failures", the efforts of our early patrons of art, "acting under the stimulation of the nationalistic spirit", to raise the cultural level of the public by creating institutions to build up collections, hold exhibitions and train young artists eventually grew into the free publicly-supported art museums that we know today. "What was uniformly manifest in all these efforts was the belief that public co-operative enterprises devoted to the cause of art were necessary, useful and valuable to the community as well as to the nation, and that their development was the responsibility of men of wealth, position and leadership within the community."

The several episodes of the federal government's role in art in the decorations for the building, rebuilding and extension (1850) of the Capitol are related with full justice to the conflicts that arose. Some congressmen doubted that it was proper for the Government of the United States to become a patron of the fine arts until its debts arising out of two wars had been paid, and since

paintings and statuary had had "no perceptible effect in preserving the liberty and independence of the nations where they had flourished," they undoubtedly would not contribute to the preservation of the rights and liberties of this nation. In sum, "the art that was produced for government gave little satisfaction and led to a prejudice against government sponsorship of the arts that was never wholly eradicated." Hence, perhaps, the lateness of the Act of 1965.

The story of collectors and collecting during this era is comprehensively told. Its larger pattern is indicated by the fact that "the wealthier Americans continued to buy acceptable European paintings, both old (the majority were copies) and new...and in a period when the concept of 'national culture' was being most stridently articulated...Native art seemed wanting when compared to the glorious achievements of Europe in the past...and naive when compared to the finished products of the contemporary European schools". American taste was conservative; and the truly native American school envisioned failed to come about.

*Patrons and Patriotism* is an important contribution to the understanding of American culture during the seventy years before the Civil War. The recounting, with its consideration of the many influencing factors, political, social, economic and ideological, is distilled from a voluminous literature, which as presented together with copious notes, offers a highly organized reference source for anyone wishing to pursue the issues further. The seventy-four key illustrations lend added vividness to the developments discussed.

*The Walters Art Gallery*

EDWARD S. KING

*American Furniture, The Federal Period*, by CHARLES F. MONTGOMERY, New York, Viking Press, 1966, 489, 491 ills., 27 color plates. \$25.00.

This is a book that every collector, every library, and every interested person must have. It is the catalogue of the furniture of the Federal Period (Hepplewhite, Sheraton, and early Empire) of the Winterthur Collection of Henry F. du Pont, which is not only one of the prime collections of the land, but includes some of the finest furniture as well as many important documented examples. The book is the result of two generations of research begun by Joseph Downs, the first curator of the collection, and continued after his death by Charles Montgomery. Mr. Downs would be as startled as most readers to discover the vast amount of knowledge that has come to light since his death in 1954. Much of this is

the labor of the author, and some has been contributed by enthusiastic Winterthur students in research projects over the years. The result is a rich book, full of new information, many new cabinetmakers' names and works, as well as the first publication of much of the material.

There are startling things in this book, such as the bombé front chest of drawers labelled by "G. Stedman, Norwich, Vermont" and two Chippendale-style looking-glasses labelled by Stokes of Philadelphia and Tucker of Boston, who went to work in 1791 and 1809 respectively. There are new pieces by many fine makers and some extraordinarily beautiful furniture. But underneath the illustrations and the surface excitement is a very solid book, full of research on unusual types (No. 359, a Newport sideboard, for instance), and sound opinion based on the discoveries of the past ten years.

There is much Maryland furniture in the book, and at the same time some of the problems of Maryland furniture are squarely faced. The idea that oval work tables were made only in this area is disproved by a labelled example by William Lloyd of Springfield, Mass. Documents have been discovered by Mr. Montgomery that eagle inlaid heart-back chairs were made in Philadelphia as well as Baltimore, and there are several Newport Hepplewhite examples with belleflowers, as well as a labelled table by Matthew Egerton of New Brunswick, N. J. The superb roll-top secretary with its crowning eagle and the inlaid initials, SB, of the owner (no. 194) which has long been called Maryland, is now called "possibly Maryland" only, as its Virginia history and our growing knowledge of the Hepplewhite furniture of both Alexandria and Philadelphia bring the old attribution in question.

There are a number of plates of inlay details in color and several plates of carving details, labels, and brands, which add considerably to the descriptions and suggestions of the text. The color plates greatly enliven a number of pieces of furniture, which are shown also in black and white. The book is replete with a biography of each cabinetmaker mentioned, a fine index and an unusually perceptive bibliography.

On related subjects, such as Price Books, Mr. Montgomery has added much new work which is integrated into the text, the excellent introduction, and the essay at the beginning of each category of furniture. His study of woods and materials is well known. In sum, it is a book not to be missed or easily ignored.

*Early American Homes for Today: A Treasury of Decorative Details and Restoration Procedures* by HERBERT WHEATON CONGDON. Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, Japan, Charles E. Tuttle Company 1963. xi, 236. \$12.50

Even in this fast-moving, cynical age there is a large group of homeowners who appreciate the graciousness and comforts of old houses. For this segment of the population the author has written an informative and practical book. Mr. Congdon, an architect who is also a practicing craftsman, has given of his own experiences with old houses in Vermont. The title is a bit misleading as "Early American" in this case refers entirely to the clapboard house of the New England village. However, the advice given on restoration applies as well to the box type wooden house anywhere. Houses from earliest times to 1840 are discussed, not only for restoration purposes but also for the possibility of increasing their attractiveness. The wealth of the owner, the availability of material, design and skilled builders make for variation in houses of the same period. Selecting the best of these, the author first discusses general construction principles; how it was done and why. Over and over he emphasizes the crime of changing the original contours. The old builders had a better eye for scale and proportion than many of their successors today.

Taking off a 1870 porch or some later protuberance often reveals the symmetrical exterior of a sturdy eighteenth century structure. Then the original doorway can be studied. Here, within period, is a selection of handsome entrances. Windows, cornices, stairways are then discussed in detail and advice given for restoration but by modern building methods. The erection of a safe chimney takes a chapter, as do fireplaces, "the heart of a house." For a Vermonter the amount of heat generated by the open fire is important but even so the mantel became for him, too, "the craftsman's delight." Paneling, plaster and wallpaper are subjects for sound advice. The final chapter is a treatise on what kinds of wood make the best open fires and how to lay them.

It is obvious from the advice that the author has had first-hand experience with everything he discusses. He writes in an interesting, informal way so that any amateur master-builder can follow the directions and he has illustrated his points with 128 excellent photographs. This should prove an indispensable book for the do-it-yourself old-home owner.

*The Memoir of John Durang, American Actor, 1785-1816*, Edited by ALAN S. DOWNER—Illustrated—University of Pittsburgh Press, 176. \$7.00

This is a notable addition to the literature of the early American theatre, and has more than a little importance as an authentic piece of Americana. In many respects it is good history, too, as a social commentary on the stirring decades which immediately followed the Revolution and what people were doing and thinking about in Philadelphia, Baltimore, the Pennsylvania Dutch country, and then semi-civilized eastern Canada. It is a story of our pioneers in the arts, recounted at first hand by a participant and a passionate lover of the stage in all its manifestations.

The memoir manuscript, with Durang's lovely drawings, had been reposing in the archives of the Historical Society of York County since it was acquired in 1945, and four years ago was taken in hand by the American Society for Theatre Research. With careful editing by Princeton's Alan Downer, who made only minor alterations and preserved Durang's spelling pretty much intact, we seem to hear the actor himself speaking—telling about his experiences in building playhouses, painting scenery, performing as dancer, acrobat, puppeteer, equestrian, developer of summer amusement parks, and producer of Shakespeare (often in German) in the Pennsylvania and Maryland countryside. Durang was a true man of the theatre, never discouraged by small houses and with a keen ear for the public taste. He devised transparencies, pantomimes and pyrotechnic displays, and was the opportunist which all followers of Thespis must be.

Durang, who was born in Lancaster in 1768, was the second son of Jacob, a native of Strasbourg, who emigrated to this country in 1767. His brother, Ferdinand, was said by Chief Justice Taney to have been the one who selected "Anacreon in Heaven" from a volume of old flute music as the tune for The Star-Spangled Banner one night in a tavern next to the Holliday Street Theater after Key had read the words to the electrified customers "once, twice, three times." John was associated with many of the prominent theatrical figures of the time, such as Hallam, Henry, Allen, and Ricketts, and accompanied the last named's circus on a fantastic barnstorming tour in Canada in 1797. He teamed up with Wignell and Reinagle in Philadelphia's Chestnut Street Theatre; played Easton, Cambridge, Annapolis, and the Pantheon in Baltimore, where he found the city springs in the "elegant street leading to Howard's Park celebrious and conducive to health". The great Baltimore "flood" of 1817 is described in Durang's best

style, as is "the wooden frame theatre at the end of High street and the head of the Crossway near the Bason leading to the Point," where he acted in 1787.

The theatre writing on the period is not extensive and this book is therefore a rare item. Some Hopkins graduate degree theses exist, such as Virginia Shaffer's 1926 study of the early Baltimore theatre from 1775 to 1781, but this fertile research field has in the main been neglected. The Durang book is welcome.

*Maryland Historical Society*

G. H. POWDER

*The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution.* By BERNARD BAILYN. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967. pp. xvi, 325. \$5.95.

When the first of Bernard Bailyn's projected four volumes of Revolutionary pamphlets appeared in 1965, comment on the selection, annotation, and introduction of the pamphlets was nearly drowned out by acclaim for the 202 page general introduction, "The Transforming Radicalism of the American Revolution." Now Harvard University Press has provided students with a badly needed separate edition of that essay, and Professor Bailyn has expanded the text, added much fuller documentation, and given the study a new title.

Bailyn contends that the pamphlets "reveal not only the positions taken" in the pre-Revolutionary debate, but also "the reasons why positions were taken. . .: the assumptions, beliefs, and ideas that lay behind the manifest events of the time." He describes the phenomenon of pamphlet writing, identifies the classical and seventeenth and eighteenth-century sources of political ideas on which the pamphlets drew, reconstructs the conceptions of power and liberty which are essential to understanding these writings, and searches out the fears of conspiracy, irrationality, and despotism which permeated the pamphleteers' thought. He demonstrates how these preoccupations drove colonial writers to "transform" the concepts of representation, constitutionalism, and sovereignty from accumulated, traditional ideas into radical, disruptive ones. So much so, that in a final chapter on "The Contagion of Liberty" Bailyn argues that the whole doctrine of a "deferential society"—with its hierarchical social order and reasonable restraints on political activism—had, by 1776, been called into question.

Like the unpredictable and suggestive 1965 edition of this interpretation, the new version contains some unsettling surprises. Subsequent research has convinced Bailyn that the cluster of ideas

and assumptions he found in the pamphlets of the 1750's and 1760's "could be found intact—completely formed—as far back as the 1730's." Though a forthcoming study will argue this thesis more fully, Bailyn begins here by contending that the radical English thought of Bolingbroke, Hoadly, Trenchard, and Gordon retained in America its original coherence, enabling and requiring colonial writers to attain a new sophistication. This view of the trans-Atlantic transmission of ideas is not just the inverse of Daniel Boorstin's theme of European ideas being broken down by the American environment. Bailyn derives it, in part, from his searching analysis of the moral and intellectual sensitivities of Mayhew, Dickinson, and John Adams, and he suggests that peculiar qualities of the "political culture" of the colonies kept these ideas potent, though submerged, for a generation and then "detonated" them during the pre-Revolutionary debate. Bailyn has enlarged his instructive thesis; the "transforming radicalism" which he found in the Revolution is now only one part of an "explosive amalgam of politics and ideology" in eighteenth-century America.

*University of North Carolina  
at Greensboro*

ROBERT M. CALHOON

*Gunboats Down the Mississippi*, by JOHN D. MILLIGAN, Annapolis:  
United States Naval Institute, 1965, 216. \$7.50

The Mississippi River was one of the vital arteries of travel and commerce in the United States, and when the Civil War began both contestants realized the significance of controlling it. The North needed the river as an outlet for mid-western farm produce, and General Winfield Scott and others knew that the blockade of the South would be less effective if the Confederacy dominated the river or any portion of it. Confederate personnel were aware of the river's importance and its connection with the sources of foodstuff and war material from states beyond the river and from Mexico.

*Gunboats Down the Mississippi* depicts the role of the Federal fresh-water navy in the struggle for mastery of the river; a struggle which culminated in Northern victory with the fall of Vicksburg on July 4, 1863. The fresh-water navy, later designated the Mississippi Squadron, was under the command of the War Department until the fall of 1862, at which time it was transferred to the Navy Department. Throughout its operation, however, it functioned in conjunction with the land forces in the west.

Although the author describes the various crafts which com-

prised the river flotilla, and the number and kinds of guns possessed by each, his discussions of the personalities associated with the fleet are more absorbing reading. Among them were John Rodgers, the first commander and the man responsible for the initial assembling of the boats; Andrew H. Foote, who assisted land forces at Forts Henry and Donelson, Pittsburg Landing and elsewhere; Charles Ellet, Jr. and his kinsmen and their exploits with the rams; Charles H. Davis, who was in command at the disastrous battle of Plum Point Bend; and David D. Porter, who was placed in command of the squadron when it was removed from the War Department, and who assisted U. S. Grant in the final assault on Vicksburg.

The author describes the effectiveness of the river fleet in the military operations in the west, and although he has not presented a brief for his subject he implies that without the fleet Grant could not have taken Vicksburg, the Confederacy would not have been severed, and the blockade would not have been most effective. Although the author is cautious in his assessment of Federal success in the Mississippi valley, he quotes with approval J. F. C. Fuller that "the fall of Vicksburg was the decisive factor in the war."

Specialized monographs of this type are valuable for a fuller understanding of what happened in the war, but the reader should always keep in mind that they present only a partial view of what was happening. For example in this study the role of the army is minimized and matters of political concern, which often affected military policy and strategy, are virtually ignored.

This volume, which originated as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Michigan, is presented in an attractive format. It contains several helpful maps, a number of illustrations, and a ten page bibliography. The placing of footnotes at the end of the book is a most distracting feature.

*University of Richmond*

W. HARRISON DANIEL

*Thomas Woodrow Wilson: Twenty-Eighth President of the United States: A Psychological Study.* SIGMUND FREUD and WILLIAM C. BULLITT, New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1967, 307. \$6.00

"What hath God wrought," was the first message transmitted by Samuel F. B. Morse's recently invented telegraph on May 24, 1844. Had Morse read the book under review, he might well have wired: "What have Freud and Bullitt wrought?" Surely this is a book which ought never to have been written, for it does a disservice to both psychology and history. Depending upon one's point of view,

it may be considered a preposterous caricature of the worst sort of psychoanalytic rantings or else a terrible and vindictive slander upon one of America's great Presidents.

Readers who turn to historical literature for pleasure and enlightenment certainly have a right to demand objectivity of an author—or, as in this joint undertaking—authors. Yet, Freud candidly confesses his "aversion" toward Wilson in the very first paragraph of his Introduction to the study:

I must, however, commence my contribution to this psychological study of Thomas Woodrow Wilson with the confession that the figure of the American President, as it rose above the horizon of Europeans, was from the beginning unsympathetic to me, and that this aversion increased in the course of years the more I learned about him and the more severely we suffered from the consequences of his intrusion into our destiny.

Freud's general animosity toward people and things American is well enough known; his particular dislike of Wilson may have been rather personal. It has been suggested that the Austrian's personal fortune had dwindled away into nothing in the post World War I inflationary period for which Freud blamed Wilson and American policies. William C. Bullitt (who died in Paris as this review was being written), the other partner in this ill-conceived, cliché-ridden post-mortem, possessed equally discreditable credentials of objectivity for a study of Wilson. As a young, idealistic State Department aide, he accompanied the President to the Paris Peace Conference, but broke with Wilson in May, 1919 and resigned from the American Commission. His harsh letter of resignation to Wilson closed with these words: "I am sorry that you did not fight to the finish and that you had so little faith in the millions of men, like myself, in every nation who had faith in you." Convinced that the President was co-sponsor of an unjust peace settlement and personally stung by Wilson's refusal to see him after his visit with Lenin, Bullitt returned to the United States—bitter and disillusioned. Bullitt wasn't the only one to walk out on the Paris Conference. On June 7, 1919, John Maynard Keynes resigned from the British Commission and returned to England to write *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*. Within a month after his return to America Bullitt appeared as a surprise witness before Henry Cabot Lodge's Senate Foreign Relations Committee. His testimony—which delighted the Lodgemen—was a devastating setback to Wilson's cause. To offset the anti-League and anti-Versailles Treaty sentiment, the President embarked upon his fateful summer tour in 1919. On September

26th, Wilson collapsed in Pueblo, Colorado. The Presidential train raced the mortally stricken Wilson back to Washington. He lingered on as an invalid until Sunday, February 3, 1924, when he died in his sleep. Not long after Wilson's death (exactly when isn't clear) Freud and Bullitt decided to collaborate on a psychological study of the twenty-eighth President of the United States. This literary abortion is the result.

Apparently the collaboration wasn't easy going. It took them ten years to write it (and the reader is never really told who wrote what parts, though the style, save for a few sections is not that of Freud). They disagreed often, for both men were stubborn: the agnostic Jew and the disillusioned Christian. But, it would seem their common animosity toward Woodrow Wilson saw them through to completion in 1938. By joint agreement the book was not to be published until after the death of Wilson's second wife, Edith Galt. (She died in 1961).

The book is appallingly easy to summarize: "little Tommy's" intense childhood relation with his strong and affectionate father stood at the center of his emotional life and dictated all his later actions as a man. "Little Tommy" viewed his father as God and hence considered himself a Christ figure. As Christ had his Judas, so Wilson had his Joe Tumulty, Colonel House, Robert Lansing, the Princeton faculty, Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Henry Cabot Lodge. Words like "libido," "outlet," "passivity," "cannibalistic identification," "Super-Ego" and "Oedipus complex" dot almost every page. The authors' (Bullitt's?) vendetta against Wilson is nowhere more obvious than in these lines:

His reason, in the service of his fear of a masculine fight and his unconscious desire to be Christ, invented the comforting theory that he could obtain all that he wished without a fight, that he could hand all his weapons to his enemies and convert them by that noble gesture into saints.

And, later, apropos of Wilson's quarrel with French President Poincaré:

The libido insulated in his reaction-formation against his passivity to his father had been without outlet and had reached such a pitch of intensity that it had to break out against someone.

When Wilson and Poincaré settled their difference, Freud and Bullitt have the perfect explanation:

Then in the end Wilson submitted to Poincaré, and the charge of mingled libido and Death Instinct was again without outlet and remained repressed, awaiting Lodge.

Had enough? Well, it goes on for more than 300 pages in just such a vein of insensitive, mechanical jargon. The animus that underlays every chapter isn't hard to see. That Freud's "aversion" for Wilson gave way (as Freud states on p. xiii) to "a measure of sympathy...mixed with pity" is difficult to believe.

Actually, the book tells us more about the authors than it does about the subject, President Wilson. Every intelligent reader has the right to expect a psychological study to set the problem of the psyche against the whole texture of a society. As Richard Hofstadter has remarked elsewhere of this Freud-Bullitt study: "By subordinating or ignoring the real problems put to Wilson by historical events, it makes personal psychology the demiurge of history..." Freud writes in his Introduction: "A more intimate knowledge of a man may lead to a more exact estimate of his achievements." But—and this is the crux of the matter—throughout the book the authors ignore Wilson's achievements. It is this sort of one-sided "psychology as history" which casts serious doubts upon the authors' purpose in writing such a sustained and unremitting attack upon a man of remarkable achievement—as a scholar, university president, governor of New Jersey, Progressive leader, President of the United States and world statesman.

Less serious, but nonetheless important, is the repercussion which Freud and Bullitt's study may have upon the whole field of psychological history. Within the past decade or so, a remarkable number of penetrating and revealing psychological studies of historical figures have been written. (For a sprightly, searching comment upon the best literature in the field, see Bruce Mazlish's "Inside the Whales" essay in *The Times Literary Supplement* (London), July 28, 1966, 667-69). Eric Erickson's *Young Man Luther* (1958) and Alexander and Juliette George's *Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: A Personality Study* (1956) immediately come to mind as outstanding examples of successful "psychology as history" craftsmanship. Even Gandhi is on the couch! So too—Hitler, Napoleon and Henry Ford have been stretched at full length on the psychiatrist's couch and probed in depth as to the mechanisms and motives which propelled them and hence influenced history.

This seems all to the good, although some members of my profession, like Know-Nothing native Americans of the nineteenth century, would bar the gates as these "new immigrants" (the economists, the anthropologists, the sociologists, the psychologists) invade the realm of historical writing. Perhaps the day is not far off when the Kennedy and Johnson entourages have not only

a Schlesinger and physician, but also a psychiatrist with couch and tape recorders.

Freud and Bullitt's study will certainly supply enough ammunition and more to critics and skeptics of psychoanalysis as history. Not only is it outdated psychology and biased history, it is badly written and eminently unfair to Wilson. Readers well acquainted with the vast Wilsonian literature which has been amassed over the years are quite aware of the strong influence which Wilson's father had on his son, throughout the latter's life. If it were not for the personal vindictiveness which mars every page of this study, the work would border on boredom. The volume contains no footnotes, no bibliography. It is based on secondary sources and interviews with Wilson's associates "on the understanding that their names would not be revealed." If this is history then the French proverb is true- "history is the lie agreed upon." All the principals are now dead and all of them were men of remarkable achievement in their chosen fields. What a pity, as Marc Antony lamented; "the evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones."

*Merrimack College*

EDWARD G. RODDY, JR.

*Virginia Historical Index.* By E. G. SWEM. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith. 1966. 2 vols. in 4. 2299. \$100.

In the 1930's a great moment in Virginia scholarship occurred when Dr. Swem's two monumental volumes appeared, virtually opening the doors to researchers in Virginia and peripheral states. Dr. Swem produced an index to all the leading Virginia magazines: *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, *William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine*, *Tyler's Quarterly*, and also *I, Henning's Statutes of Virginia*, *the Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, and other works. The accuracy of the work was typical of everything associated with Dr. Swem, and although the cut-off date had to be 1930, it is still one of the finest reference works for historians and genealogists. In recent years second-hand copies have rarely appeared, and then only at fantastic prices. This reprint, though expensive, is most welcome.

*Maryland Historical Society*

P. W. FILBY

## BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

*Ballots and Fence Rails: Reconstruction on the Lower Cape Fear.* By W. MCKEE EVANS. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966-1967. x, 314. \$7.50.

*New Jersey's Jeffersonian Republicans: The Genesis of an Early Party Machine, 1789-1817.* By CARL E. PRINCE. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia. xvi, 266. \$7.50.

*Old Buildings, Gardens and Furniture in Tidewater, Maryland.* By HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN. Cambridge, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1967. xi, 326. \$12.50.

*Civil War Books: A Critical Biography.* Volume One. Edited by ALLAN NEVINS, JAMES I. ROBERTSON, JR., and BELL I. WILEY. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967. ix, 278. \$11.50.

*Salt Water & Printer's Ink: Norfolk and Its Newspapers, 1865-1965.* By LENOIR CHAMBERS and JOSEPH E. SHANK, with a final chapter by HAROLD SUGG. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967. xiii, 418. \$7.50.

*Blyden of Liberia: An Account of the Life and Labors of Edward Wilmot Blyden, LL.D., as Recorded in Letters and in Print.* By EDITH HOLDEN. New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1966. 1,040. \$10.

*From Plantation to Ghetto: An Interpretive History of American Negroes.* By AUGUST MEIER and ELLIOTT M. RUDWICK. New York: Hill and Wang, 1966. vi, 280. \$5.75.

*The Death of Slavery: The United States, 1837-65.* By ELBERT B. SMITH. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967. The Chicago History of American Civilization series. viii, 225. \$5.

- Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba.* By HERBERT S. KLEIN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967. xi, 270. \$6.95.
- The Arts in America: The Colonial Period.* By LOUIS B. WRIGHT, GEORGE B. TATUM, JOHN W. McCOUBREY, and ROBERT C. SMITH. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966. xvi, 368. 267 illus. \$15.
- Civil War Chronicle.* By LT. COL. JOHN W. KEELER. St. Louis, Mo.: Warren H. Green, Inc., 1967. 126. 404 illus. Cloth \$13.50; paper \$10.50.
- Dumbarton Oaks: The History of a Georgetown House and Garden, 1800-1966.* By WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967. x, 147. \$6.95.
- Prospector, Cowhand, and Sodbuster: Historic Places Associated with the Mining, Ranching, and Farming Frontiers in the Trans-Mississippi West.* ROBERT G. FERRIS, Series ed. Vol. XI in The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. Washington: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1967. xi, 320. \$3.
- Historical Scholarship in the United States and Other Essays.* By W. STULL HOLT. Seattle: The University of Washington Press, 1967. xii, 184. \$6.95.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

### THE CONSTITUTION OF A BALTIMORE NEGRO BENEVOLENT SOCIETY

Dr. Jeffrey Brackett's pioneer work, *The Negro in Maryland* (1889), tells us that in 1835 there were 35 or 40 benevolent societies of free Negroes in Baltimore, each with between 35 and 150 members.<sup>1</sup> The chief purpose of these societies, apart from the opportunities for social intercourse they afforded, was the accumulation of a fund that could be drawn upon by members in distress.<sup>2</sup>

So far as I am aware, no systematic effort has been made either to collect or analyze whatever records of such societies may still exist to evidence what was once an obviously important element of Negro life in Baltimore.<sup>3</sup> Although the Negro problems of that day were utterly different to those of the present, surviving relics of Baltimore Negro life 130 years ago remain of interest and perhaps of significance as well.

Such a relic is a little (6" x 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ ") pamphlet I have recently acquired, printed in 1834. Its cover-title may be described as follows:

THE CONSTITUTION | AND | BY-LAWS [outline] | OF  
THE | Free African Civilization Society | OF BALTIMORE. | [or-  
nament in the form of a tapered rule] | BALTIMORE: | 1834.

The pamphlet consists in four unsigned leaves, the first and fourth disjunct, the second and third a conjugate pair. The cover is page [1]; page [2] is blank; and pages [3]-8 comprise the constitution and by-laws proper. My copy is very inexpertly (though contemporaneously) sewn, suggesting that the printer supplied only the sheets, which were later sewn at home by the wives or daughters of members.

The printer is not disclosed in the pamphlet itself; but he

<sup>1</sup> Page 204n., citing a report by three Negro clergymen in 49 *Niles' Register* p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> See also Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland 1634-1860* (1921), pp. 250-252; *The Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine* (1838), iv, pp. 168-176.

<sup>3</sup> Work's extensive *Bibliography of the Negro* (1928) lists nothing of the kind from Maryland (§ XII — The Free Negro), and I have never seen a Maryland imprint comparable to the one here described.

must have been Richard Matchett, for, pinned inside the cover of this copy is a card ("certificate"?) 1 25/32" x 2 1/2" reading: [within a rectangular ornamental border and below a space suitable for writing a member's name] AN AFFLICTED MEMBER OF THE | *African Civilization Society*, | Wishes the attendance of the Stewards. | [rule] | Matchett, print.

The Society was governed by a 12-man board, and its funds were deposited with The Savings Bank of Baltimore, still a flourishing Maryland institution. Monthly dues were 25 cents. Only healthy free men between 20 and 45 years of age were eligible to join. It is not clear from either the constitution or the by-laws what payment a member could expect in sickness, but it does appear that sickness enduring more than seven days would entitle him to some "pension" and that upon a member's death his "widow or children, or relatives" would receive "twenty five cents per member out of the funds, and twenty five cents from each member."

The last of the by-laws here printed, dated September 19, 1834, is a resolution that the Society should publish "fifty Constitutions, and fifty certificates," the cost of which was defrayed by an assessment of 12 1/2 cents against each member. The card described above is presumably one of the "certificates" referred to.

What is the survival rate of "Constitutions and certificates" such as these? In the nature of things it must be extremely low; but nevertheless a few printed or manuscript records of those other Baltimore benevolent societies of the time must exist somewhere. Can any reader describe one for these pages?  
*Baltimore* EDWARD G. HOWARD

### NOT IN SEMMES III

Adlard Welby—*A Visit to North America . . .* 1821.

This is the third in a series of descriptions of books by visitors to Baltimore that are not listed in Semmes, *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860* (1953).

A | VISIT TO NORTH AMERICA | AND | THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS IN | ILLINOIS, | WITH A | Winter Residence at Philadelphia; [Gothic] | SOLELY TO ASCER-



G. Harvey Loring

*View at Fort Cumberland, Maryland*

*Published by J. Downer, 16, Lombard St., London.*

*Printed by R. Rogers & Taylor*

TAIN THE ACTUAL PROSPECTS OF THE EMIGRATING | AGRICULTURIST, MECHANIC, AND COMMERCIAL SPECULATOR. | BY ADLARD WELBY, ESQ. | *South Rauceby, Lincolnshire.* | [rule] | "Nothing extenuate—nor ought set down in malice." | [rule] | LONDON: | PRINTED FOR J. DRURY, 36, LOMBARD STREET; | BALDWIN, CRADOCK, AND JOY; AND G. AND W. B. WHITAKER; | DRURY, STAMFORD, AND DRURY AND SON, LINCOLN. | 1821.

*Collation:* (81 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 5") :  $\pi^2$ , a<sup>4</sup>,  $\chi$ , B-P<sup>8</sup>.

*Signing:* first and second leaves of lettered gatherings signed.

*Pagination:* 119 leaves: pp. [i]-[vii], viii-xii, [xiii]-[xiv], [1], 2-224.

*Contents:* p. [i] half-title A | VISIT TO NORTH AMERICA, | &c., p. [ii] blank, p. [iii] title, p. [iv] [within rules] Printed by J. Drury, | 36, Lombard-street, London., p. [v] TO THE | RESPECTABLE PART OF HIS COUNTRYMEN | RESIDING IN THE | UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, | AS BEING THE BEST JUDGES OF THEIR TRUTH, | THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS | ARE DEDICATED, BY | THE AUTHOR., p. [vi] blank, p. [vii] PREFACE., p. [xiii] ERRATA. [correcting three errors, followed by a rule and "*Directions to the Binder.*" which establish locations for the plates], p. [xiv] blank, p. [1] VISIT TO NORTH AMERICA, text continuing without chapters but with textual heads and headlines in capitals through p. 224. FINIS. on p. 224, followed by (below a rule) Printed by J. Drury, | 36, Lombard-street, London.

*Paper:* unwatermarked wove paper of fair quality.

*Plates:* 14 lithographs of American scenes, by G. Harley, printed by Rowney & Forster, with tissue guards. Two are of Maryland interest, both captioned "View at Fort Cumberland, Maryland." The first (facing p. 150) is reproduced herewith.

*References:* Sabin 102514, Howes W-229.

*Notes:* in some copies the disjunct errata leaf ( $\chi$  in the collation) is replaced by a slip correcting the errors but omitting the directions to the binder.

The copy of Welby's *Visit* recently acquired by the Society lacks the half-title but is otherwise in excellent condition. It

has a handsome modern binding of full polished tan calf by Riviere with green morocco labels and elaborate gilt tooling on the spine and inner dentelles. All edges are gilt. This copy bears the bookplates of John Gribbel, the noted Philadelphia collector, and the George N. Meissner Collection of Washington University, St. Louis. There are at least two other copies in Maryland, at the Peabody and Pratt Libraries.

Welby's book is a rare one and is valued for its plates, which, though of severely limited artistic merit, display a long-vanished America. It is primarily a work of middle-western interest, for the author's avowed purpose in journeying to the United States in 1819-1820 was investigation of the truth of Birkbeck's accounts of the English settlement in Illinois.

Welby entered "the picturesque State of Maryland" from the west and was entranced by the area around Cumberland. "Such scenery," he said, "healthy air, and good water, must I conceive render Maryland a desirable residence to the man of refinement and property . . ."

At Baltimore in November 1819 Welby found the view "fine from an eminence about half a mile from the town, nor are you disappointed on entering the city; though not so large, it is yet the most pleasing by far of the three eastern ports we have visited [the others were New York and Philadelphia]: whether the beauty and taste, the variety and neatness of the buildings, both public and private be considered, or the plan and situation—the whole is indeed strikingly interesting."

Welby admired the unfinished Washington Monument (which he confused with the Battle Monument), the Cathedral, and the Unitarian Church. He was not so attracted to the College of Physicians, which he found "a very heavy combination, and not rendered the most pleasant by . . . the inappropriate neighbourhood of a burial ground."

On leaving Baltimore for Havre de Grace, after a stay of only two or three days, Welby observed another burial ground to the east of the city. As he passed it "a man within it was carrying a child's coffin under his arm, which he was going to inter apparently by himself."

*Baltimore*

BERNARD DE BRUYN

THE STATES OF VAIL'S *DESCRIPTION*

It does not seem to have been noticed that Alfred Vail's pioneer *Description*<sup>1</sup> of the telegraph system in operation between Baltimore and Washington in 1845 appeared in two states. The *Description* is a 24-page pamphlet printed by J. & G. S. Gideon, Washington, and issued in printed wrappers in 1845. Another edition appeared in 1847.

The two states of the 1845 edition can be distinguished by 1) the presence or absence of the price at the upper center of the front wrapper, just above the decorative border surrounding the type; and 2) the presence or absence of advertising on the back wrapper. The first state contains no printed price notice and no advertising; the second contains "*Price 12½ Cents.*" printed in the space indicated and 18 lines of letter-press on the back advertising the *Description* and a larger work by Vail on telegraph systems generally. Many copies of the first state were priced in MS by Vail himself or someone acting under his direction.

The copies of this work I have seen are wrapped in blue or dull orange (first state) and buff (second state), but I have not seen a sufficient number to feel assured that these colors bear any constant or even characteristic relation to the respective states. Perhaps readers who possess copies in wrappers will let me know of the correspondence between states and colors.

Baltimore

EDWARD G. HOWARD

## ERRATUM IN ERRATA

In the June issue of the *Magazine* (p. 210) an effort was made to list and correct three errors of substance that had crept into the bibliographical notes published in the December issue. One of them was merely perpetuated. The June entry in question should have read:

Page 369: "25" in the second line of the "Signing" paragraph should read "25".

E. G. H.

<sup>1</sup>The full title is *Description of the American electro magnetic telegraph: now in operation between the cities of Washington and Baltimore.*

## NOTES AND QUERIES

*Rembrandt Peale*—The Peale Museum is preparing a definitive catalogue of the paintings, prints and drawings by the American artist Rembrandt Peale. It will be greatly appreciated if owners of works by him will notify the Peale Museum of present location and ownership so that catalogue data may be current and correct. In addition, the Peale would like to locate and identify Rembrandt Peale paintings not previously recorded in "The J. Hall Pleasants Studies in Maryland Painting" at the Maryland Historical Society or at the Frick Art Reference Library in New York. Also desired is original manuscript material relating to Rembrandt Peale. Please address information to

John A. Mahey, Assistant Director  
The Peale Museum  
225 N. Holliday Street  
Baltimore, Md. 21202  
PL 2-2000, Ext. 2361

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*Winterthur Program Thesis, "Glass in Baltimore: The Trade in Useful Wares, 1780-1820"*—The purpose of my thesis is to establish the extent and process of trade in foreign glasswares in Maryland (and especially Baltimore) and how it affected local glassmakers. I plan to examine the process of glass trade during its re-establishment after the Revolutionary War, how it affected Amelung, and its course after the demise of Amelung's manufactory. I am particularly interested in locating documents related to the glass trade during the years 1780-1820, especially: glass-sellers, account books, sales records, receipts, bills, import records and advertisements. I should also like to locate documented surviving glass ware that was imported into Maryland from Europe in this period.

Dwight Lanmon  
Winterthur Fellow, Class of 1968  
The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum  
Winterthur, Delaware 19735

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*Swords presented by the Commonwealth of Virginia*—Edward F. Heite, of the Virginia State Library, is conducting a survey of such swords presented to military and naval heroes. He has not been

able to find the swords of George Armistead and of several other Maryland heroes who were honored by Virginia. Anyone who knows of inscribed Virginia swords should write to Mr. Heite at the Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia 23219.

### CONTRIBUTORS

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CARY HOWARD is a student of American Revolutionary history.

JEAN WENTWORTH, student of American history at the Graduate School, University of Maryland, produced her paper on Garrison in the seminar at the University.

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