
MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Hoofbeats in Colonial Maryland

Allen Eustis Begnaud

The British Cabinet and the
Confederacy

Frank J. Merli and Theodore A. Wilson

Baltimore Organs and Organ Building

Thomas S. Eader



Vol. 65 No. 3

Fall, 1970

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Richard R. Duncan, *Editor*

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HOOFBEATS IN COLONIAL MARYLAND

BY ALLEN EUSTIS BEGNAUD

MARYLAND was not long in following Virginia in the adoption of the "Sport of Kings."¹ The similarity of social and economic conditions of the two colonies would have made this an easy prediction. In Maryland, as in Virginia, the self-erected aristocracy which arose from the plantation system lent its impetus to the gentlemanly sport of horse racing. And, as in Virginia, the church condoned the interest of its members in the sport. The race courses and churches were so intimately connected that they were often situated at the same location. One observer wrote:

that on Sundays the blood horses tied about the houses of Worship made them look like precincts of a race meeting; between sermons their owners talked horse, not theology; and that when divine services for the day had finally dragged out their interminable

¹ Charles E. Trevathan, *The American Thoroughbred* (New York, 1905), p. 110.

length, an adjournment would be taken to settle differences of opinion at the nearby courses—which had a habit of snuggling up so close that in both Virginia and Maryland it was found expedient to prohibit one's location with specified distance of the tabernacle of the Lord.²

The *Catholic Churchman* of 1774 lists racing as one of the legitimate pastimes of the population and one which had the sanction of the church.³ In 1752 the General Assembly passed an act forbidding horse racing “near the yearly meetings of the people called Quakers.”⁴ Apparently this was done because the General Assembly did not want to offend the sensibilities of the Quakers who approved of horse racing for improvement of the breed only. It is to be observed, however, that the restrictions were in effect only during the “yearly meetings.”

One of the earliest notices of horse racing in Maryland appeared in 1721 when an order by the Annapolis town officials directed César Chiselin to “make 12 silver spoons of the value of 10 pounds current” which was to be run on September twenty-ninth. The best horse was to win eight spoons and the second horse four.⁵ The fact that the race was run for “12 silver spoons” indicated the elementary condition of the turf in Annapolis at this date.

In 1747 the first advertisement for a horse race appeared in the *Maryland Gazette*; the prize was to be a fifty-guinea purse. Thus, monetary reward and public advertisements were introduced simultaneously. This notice informed the readers that the contest would take place on the “Race Ground near Annapolis.” The following day a subscription race for twenty-pounds, current money, was to be run for by any horse, mare, or gelding carrying nine-stone and the best of three heats would win the prize. Non-subscribers had to pay a twenty-shilling entrance fee and all who expected to participate in the race were required to enter their horses with one Richard Lewis.⁶ The results of this race, included in the *Gazette* of September 30, announced that the race, run by the Governor's bay geld-

² John Hervey, *Racing in America* (New York, 1944), p. 83.

³ Trevathan, *The American Thoroughbred*, pp. 116-117.

⁴ Hervey, *Racing in America*, p. 86.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁶ *Maryland Gazette*, Aug. 18, 1747.

ing and Colonel Plater's grey stallion, was won by the former. The twenty-pound race had been run for by six horses and won by Mr. Water's horse, *Parrot*, who won the first two heats and distanced several of the other horses while running the second heat.⁷

An advertisement for a race, near the city of Annapolis, on Friday the 29 of September, 1749 for a twenty-pound purse, stated that any horse, mare, or gelding bred in the province was eligible. The horses were required to be entered the preceding day, no later than twelve o'clock with Jonas Green at Annapolis who was to collect a twenty-shilling entrance fee. The entrance fees were to be awarded to the horse that came in second. If any disputes arose they were to be determined by the mayor and aldermen present.⁸ The restrictions to "horses bred in this Province" may have been due to what was felt to be the unfair competition of horses imported from England or Virginia. Since Virginia had begun to import horses from England as early as 1730, it seems likely that they were transporting these horses to the Maryland tracks and taking advantage of the slower development of the turf in Maryland. But in any event these regulations seem to indicate that suitable racing stock was available in Maryland at this date.

The early races apparently were held as part of special occasions; for example, on October 4, 1749, the paper informed its readers that on the previous Friday John Bullen was chosen and sworn in as mayor of Annapolis for the ensuing year. On this same day a race was run on the race ground near the city for a plate of twenty-pounds donated by the previous mayor, and which was won by Mr. Butler's horse, *Callico*.⁹ Elections of this period seem to have been miniature festivals with horse racing forming at least a part of the merry-making. Certainly the fact that the former mayor of the city donated the plate indicated the high esteem in which the Maryland aristocracy held horse racing.

Another race was part of the spring fair held in Annapolis

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1747. Governor Samuel Ogle imported the first thoroughbred horses into Maryland in 1747.

⁸ *Ibid.*, July 5, 1749. Jonas Green was the publisher and editor of the *Maryland Gazette*.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1749.

two years later. On the first day of the fair a match race was run between Mr. Ignatius Digges's horse, *Vendome*, and Mr. Harrison's *Beau*. The sixty-guinea prize went to *Vendome*, who won the first two heats. The best of three two-and-a-half mile heats was the requirement for the winner.¹⁰

Horse racing at Annapolis really came into its own in 1751. Although no fair or election is mentioned in September of that year, an advertisement in the *Gazette* announced that a race would be run on the course near the city on Tuesday, the 22nd of October, for a twenty-five pound currency purse. This race was open to any horse, mare, or gelding whose owner was willing for his horse to carry nine-stone and run three heats. The following day at the same course a fifteen-pound currency purse was to be run under the same regulations. Furthermore, the horses had to be entered by ten o'clock the morning of the race with Jonas Green.¹¹ Practically all the racing advertisements announced the entrance fees and the person to whom this fee was to be paid. In the September 18 issue of the newspaper the editor mentioned that he had heard about the cancellation and postponement of the October races until the beginning of May.¹² His information was apparently correct, because the March paper advertised a race to be held on the first of May for a forty-pound current money purse. Each heat was to be once around the poles on the race ground near the city of Annapolis. On the second of May the entrance money, with additions, was to be run for. The month of May was an active one as far as racing was concerned. The April 1752 *Maryland Gazette* advertised a race to be held on the 13th of May for a forty-pound purse. The entrance money would again be run for on the following day. The May 7 paper notified interested personnel that fifteen-pounds would be run for on the 14th of May, the second day of the fair, and that all horses had to be entered with Jonas Green in the morning. The results of the races previously run on the thirteenth and fourteenth were published in the newspaper. On the thirteenth Colonel Benjamin Tasker's mare, *Selyma*, and Captain Butler's mare, *Creeping Kate*, com-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, May 8, 1751.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 4, 1751.

¹² *Ibid.*, Sept. 18, 1751.



Governor Samuel Ogle (1694-1752) of "Belair," Prince George's County. Governor of Maryland 1731-1742 and 1747-1752, one of the earliest importers of blooded horses. Portrait attributed to British School c. 1740-1745. Courtesy of Mr. H. Gwynne Tayloe, II of "Mt. Airy," Virginia.

peted for the forty-pound purse with *Selyma* the winner. The next day seven horses competed for the prize, which had risen to twenty-pounds and which was won by Mr. Hungerford's horse, *Hector*.¹³

On September 10, 1754, there was a race for a twenty-pound purse donated by the governor. Any horse, mare, or gelding

¹³ *Ibid.*, March 5, 1752; April 9, 1752; May 7, 1752. Most tracks seem to have been oval shaped with poles all the way around and poles at the finish.

could compete provided it carried nine-stone and ran three heats. The usual half-hour was to be allowed between heats to rub down the horses. If inclement weather interfered the race was to be held the next clear day. The governor's twenty-pound prize was run for by only two horses: Captain Hopper's horse, *Pleasure*, and the winner, Captain Gantt's horse, *Buffaloe*.¹⁴

By 1758 both restrictions and regulations had been tightened considerably. A July advertisement announced that on the 17th of October, a thirty-pistole purse was to be run for by any horse, mare, or gelding that had never won a one-hundred-pistole purse. There would be no race unless three reputable horses were entered; however, if one or two horses were entered and no race was held, they were to get five-pistoles for their trouble. A postscript to this advertisement stated that a twenty-pistole race was expected for the following day, but the winner of the first day's race was to be prevented from running in the second race. This same advertisement appeared in subsequent issues until the October 19 *Gazette* noted that the date had been changed to October 24. The issue for the twenty-sixth noted that the twenty-fourth had been a very rainy day, so the races for the thirty-pistoles had been put off to the next day. Mr. Darnall's horse *Childers*, Colonel Barnes's horse, *Ranter*, and Mr. Nicholson's horse, *Spark the Third*, competed. *Childers* won the purse. On the following day the twenty-pistole purse was run for by six horses. Taylor's *Grey* won because of his excellent performance in the first two heats.¹⁵

On Tuesday, August 11, 1760, an extremely hot day, a most remarkable cross-country race had taken place. This race was run from Frederick town to Annapolis, a distance of seventy-five to eighty miles, by a large horse with a man rider and a small mare with a boy rider. The race was run for seventy-five pistoles and the odds were fifty to twenty-five on the large horse. They completed the journey in exactly eleven hours, four of which the two competitors traveled "very gently" together. The large horse won.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Aug. 15, 1754; Sept. 12, 1754.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, July 20, 1758; Oct. 19, 1758; Oct. 26, 1758.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug. 14, 1760.

Up until this time the purses had been in pounds, guineas, and pistoles, but in the March 5, 1761, paper "dollars" were mentioned for the first time. A race was to be run in May for a purse of eighty-dollars. The next day a similar race was to be run for forty-dollars.¹⁷

Earlier on February 25, 1762, the paper had announced that any horse, mare, or gelding whose value did not exceed sixty-pounds sterling could compete for a thirty-pistole purse to be run for on the twenty-second of April. Three heats had to be run and the best two won the purse. Every horse should be approaching the age of four years that season and was required to be fourteen hands high and carry eight-stone. For every inch over or under the fourteen hands the horses added or subtracted seven-pounds per inch. This race presented a unique feature; if anyone wanted to purchase any of the horses running in this race, the owner had to sell the animal for sixty-pounds sterling, and if two individuals wanted the horse, they were to draw lots for a decision as to who would get the animal.¹⁸ This is the first mention of the claiming race. This custom of claiming the horse, if one so wished, and paying the established price for it has filtered down to twentieth century America and remains very much a part of American racing tradition.

As racing grew in popularity, it also increased in complexity. Regulations reached their zenith in the advertisement for a race to be held on the race ground near Annapolis in 1763 for a fifty-pistole purse. These rules, with modifications, remained as the basis for Maryland racing regulations. In the race for the fifty-pistoles four-year-olds carried eight-stone, five-year-olds eight-stone-ten pounds, six-year-olds nine-stone-six pounds, and aged ten-stone. Horse shoes and plates were not included in the weight allowed. The horses' owners were required to produce satisfactory vouchers of age; if these were not produced, the horse would be classified as aged. The horse winning two out of three heats, four times around the poles per heat, won the prize. Should several horses start and each be won by a different horse, the winners had to run another heat to decide the

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, March 5, 1761.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1762. In this issue of the paper races were also advertised for New York and Philadelphia.

winner. It was also stated that the winner of the first and second heats could be obliged to start again if any of the other riders insisted; upon many occasions the horse then had to save his distance to be entitled to the purse. If the horses had to run a fourth heat, "distance" was not recognized. In the event of a tie the heat was not counted and the horses started again if each had won one previous heat. After every heat the riders had to come to the scales to dismount and not before. He was then weighed to the satisfaction of the judges, and should he neglect to do this, or refuse, or lack weight, his horse was to have no share in the purse. If, however, the rider got off his horse because he was not aware of these regulations, he could be permitted to start in the next heat. If a rider fell and was replaced by another of the same weight, the horse was allowed to continue, but the substitute rider was required to mount the horse where the original rider fell. If a rider committed a foul, his horse was declared distanced, regardless of his position at the finish. Any horse that ran on the wrong side of the poles and did not turn back and retrace his steps would be disqualified. Under these conditions, the entrance money was to go to the horse which placed second in the finish. Should three heats be run, the horse which won one heat was declared second; but if only two heats were run, in any race, the order in which they came in at the finish would decide the placing.

The starting time for all races was between one and three in the afternoon, and horses were allowed the usual half-hour between heats to be rubbed down. These same regulations were in effect for the race to be run the following day for a twenty-five pistole purse. These regulations and provisions seem to indicate that Maryland racing had outgrown its juvenile stage and was now on the way of distancing its adolescent position. And it was under these strict regulations that six horses started for the purse. Mr. Calvert's *Jolly Chester* won the first two heats and thereby won the purse. Captain Chapman's *Creeping John* was second.¹⁹

In March 1764 it was announced that a race was to be held at Annapolis on April 13 for a fifty-pistole purse. The next

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 13, 1763; April 28, 1763.

day a twenty-pistole purse was offered, but the winner of the first day's race was prohibited from running in the second. The same regulations and purses were in effect for races to be run on the 13th of May and the day following. The May 15 *Gazette* gave the results of the races, including the position of the horses and the name of the owners.

<i>Horse</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Position per heat</i>
<i>Figure</i>	Dr. Hamilton	2 2 1 1
<i>Trial</i>	Mr. Hall	3 1 2 2
<i>Chester</i>	Mr. Yeldell	1 3 3 3
<i>Britannica</i>	Mr. Gantt	distanced
<i>Merry Andrew</i>	Mr. Heath	distanced
<i>Terror</i>	Mr. Simm	distanced

The following day only three horses started for the thirty-pistole purse: Mr. Calvert's *Regulus*, Dr. Hamilton's *Ranger*, and Mr. Tyler's *Driver*. *Regulus* won the race.²⁰

May 19, 1767, there was a race for fifty-pistole purse. This race was open to all horses except *Selim*. This exception from the first day's racing is difficult to explain when his subsequent record is examined.²¹ During the interval between the advertisement which excluded *Selim* and the day of the racing Mr. Jonas Green died, and his brother William assumed the registration duties. The results of the races were published in a later issue of the paper.

<i>Horse</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Position per heat</i>
<i>Travelier</i>	Col. Tayloe	1 1
<i>Tryall</i>	Mr. Bullen	3 2
<i>Regulus</i>	Mr. Calvert	2 distanced
<i>Ranger</i>	Dr. Hamilton	distanced

Second Day

<i>Fearnought</i>	Mr. Hall	1 1
<i>Tryall</i>	Mr. Bullen	3 2
<i>Shelaley</i>	Mr. Bullen	2 3
<i>Sportsman</i>	Mr. Sprigg	4 distanced ²²

²⁰ *Ibid.*, March 15, 1764; March 20, 1766; May 15, 1766.

²¹ *Selim* lost races on May 4, 1769; Aug. 31, 1769; Sept. 26, 1771; and Oct. 15, 1772.

²² *Maryland Gazette*, March 12, 1767; May 21, 1767.

On May 2, 1768, there was a sweepstakes match for a sixty-guinea purse, and the day after there was a one-hundred-pound prize for which the horses would run three four-mile heats. Vouchers attesting to the correct age of the horses had to be provided on both days.²³

The results of the May 1769 races were included in the paper of May 4, 1769. The sweepstakes purse of sixty-guineas was run by four-year-old colts and was won by Dr. Thomas Hamilton's bay filly, *Thistle*. The subscription purse of one-hundred-pounds was run for by three horses which came in as follows:

<i>Horse</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Position per heat</i>
<i>Nonpareil</i>	Mr. McGill	1 1
<i>Selim</i>	Mr. Galloway	2 2
<i>Ranger</i>	Dr. Hamilton	3 3 ²⁴

More elaborate races were held on October 24, 25, and 26, according to the August 31, 1769 issue of the *Gazette*. On the first day there was a fifty-guinea purse; the second a fifty-pound purse, while on the third and last day a "Ladies Purse" of fifty-pounds was awarded to the winner. For the use of scales in weighing in, the winners had to pay twenty shillings, the newspaper on October 19 suggested that there would be "good Diversions" during the races because fifteen horses had already been named to start in the various contests. An editorial note indicated the popularity of the sport and the impatience of the race fans. It stated that "on Tuesday last a Number of People impatient to Cross *South River*, in order to see the Race, the wind blowing fresh, one of the Ferry Boats was overloaded in such a Manner, that she sank within about Two Hundred Yards of the Shore, by which unhappy Accident, Mr. *Samuel Marlow of Prince-George's County*, and another Man, were drowned." Within these few lines lies the unquestionable proof of the status and popularity of horse racing in Maryland. The same paper carried the results of the races and these were as follows:

²³ *Ibid.*, March 23, 1768.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, May 4, 1769. The March 16, 1769 issue of the *Maryland Gazette* announced that there would be sold, at the May races, a grey mare with foal by *Othello*, a bay filly *Othello*, a filly got by *Selim*, a five year old mare by *True Briton*, and a Virginia chestnut mare, eight years old and got by *Dabster* then in foal by *Othello*.

Tuesday Race

<i>Horse</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Position per heat</i>
<i>Volunteer</i>	Daniel McCarty	5 1 1
<i>Britannia</i>	Horatio Sharpe	1 4 3
<i>Selim</i>	Samuel Galloway	3 2 2
<i>Nonpareil</i>	Patric McGill	2 3 4
<i>Brunswick</i>	Theo. Bland	4 distanced
<i>Juniper</i>	John Tayloe	6 distanced
<i>Paoli</i>	Mr. Dulany	distanced

Wednesday Race

<i>Silver Legs</i>	Daniel McCarty	1 2 1
<i>Nonpareil</i>	John Tayloe	2 3 2
<i>Ranger</i>	Dr. Tho. Hamilton	3 1 distanced
<i>Trial</i>	Dr. Shuttleworth	4 distanced

Thursday Race

<i>Primrose</i>	Dr. Tho. Hamilton	1 1
<i>Fearnought</i>	Mr. Henry Hall	2 2
<i>Brunswick</i>	Theo. Bland	3 3
<i>Cato</i>	Mr. Edward Worrell	4 distanced
<i>Little Driver</i>	Daniel McCarty	5 distanced
<i>Grog John</i>	Mr. Robert Robert	distanced
<i>Regulus</i>	Governor Eden	threw his rider ²⁵

In March 1770 the *Maryland Gazette* notified its readers that the races "intended to be at Annapolis in May next, are put off to a future day, of which timely Notice will be given in this Gazette." In July 1770 the newspaper makes its first mention of a Jockey club. Included in an advertisement was the information that on September 27 the Maryland Jockey Club would award a purse of one-hundred-guineas. This race was open only to members of the club, except that the members of neighboring provinces could compete in this race if their respective jockey clubs offered the same privileges to the members of the Maryland Jockey Club. The twenty-eighth was to witness a race for a fifty-pound subscription purse. On the twenty-ninth there was to be a race for the surplus of the subscription money. A later paper elaborated on the race scheduled for the twenty-ninth. The purse had been esti-

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 31, 1769; Oct. 19, 1769; Oct. 26, 1769; Nov. 2, 1769.

To be RUN for,
 At ANNAPOLIS, on Tuesday the 10th of September,
 (Being the Gift of his Excellency),
A PURSE of TWENTY
POUNDS, by any Horse, Mare, or
 Gelding, carrying Nine Stone Weight, the best of
 Three Heats, each Heat to be once round the Poles
 on the Race Ground; to rub Half an Hour be-
 tween each Heat. The Horses, &c. to be enter-
 ed with *Jonas Green* on Monday the 9th, pay-
 ing Twenty Shillings Entrance; at the Post Forty
 Shillings.

Such Rules and Orders are to be observed, as
 are usual on those Occasions; and if any Disputes
 should arise, they are to be determined by Gentle-
 men appointed for that Purpose, before starting;
 and if the 10th should be a rainy Day, the Prize
 to be run for on the first fair Day after.

Notice which appeared in the August 29, 1754 issue of the *Maryland Gazette*.
Maryland Historical Society

mated at fifty pounds; the regulations, however, were the same
 as those of the previous day.²⁶

The Jockey Club advertised a proposed meeting of its mem-
 bers in June 1771. They gave notice that "the members of
 the *Maryland* Jockey Club are desired to meet at Mr. Middle-
 ton's Tavern, Thursday the 20th Instant." The stewards of
 this club were Robert Eden and Horatio Sharpe; the present
 and former governor of the province. The notice also in-
 formed its members that dinner was to be on the table at two
 o'clock and those who proposed to attend would "be obliging
 to give timely Notice to William Eddis, Secretary."²⁷

During the fall of 1771 there was a race for a one-hundred-
 guinea purse which could be run for by any horse, mare, or

²⁶ *Ibid.*, March 12, 1770; July 12, 1770; Aug. 23, 1770.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, June 6, 1771.

gelding which belongs to members of the Jockey Club. The next day a subscription purse of fifty-pounds would be run for. The third day a "Ladies Purse" was offered and the entrance money was added to this one to make it more inviting. The fourth, and last, day the purse was simply fifty-pounds. A later paper informed the readers that there would be balls at the assembly house on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday of the race week. The races had now become social affairs of the first rank. From this time on race week was one of the more important events of the social season in Annapolis. The same issue of the newspaper which advertised the ball also notified the prospective racers that the next year horses would not be allowed to enter or run for "any of the plates," if the owner was not a subscriber of at least three-pounds.²⁸

The results of three days of fall racing at Annapolis were included in the September 26, 1771 *Maryland Gazette*:

First Day

<i>Horse</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Position per heat</i>
<i>Nancy Bywell</i>	Mr. Lloyd	1 6 1
<i>Regulus</i>	Mr. Fitzhugh	2 1 2
<i>Selim</i>	Mr. Samuel Galloway	6 4 3
<i>Apolio</i>	Mr. Alex. Spotswood	3 3 -
<i>Nonpareil</i>	Daniel Dulany	4 2 distanced
<i>Black Legs</i>	Mr. Master	5 5 distanced

Second Day

<i>Regulus</i>	Mr. Wm. Bane	1 1
<i>Driver</i>	Mr. Wm. Iiams	3 2
<i>Primrose</i>	Dr. Tho. Hamilton	2 distanced
<i>Driver</i>	Mr. Alex. Spotswood	4 distanced

Third Day

<i>Lovely</i>	Mr. Bayley	1 1
<i>Wildair</i>	Mr. Sim	3 2
a bay mare	Dr. Tho. Hamilton	2 -
<i>Atlas</i>	Dr. Shuttleworth	4 distanced ²⁹

The next advertisement of a horse race at Annapolis announced simply that the races would begin on Tuesday, October 6, 1772, and that they would last four days. The

²⁸ *Ibid.*, July 18, 1771; Sept. 12, 1771.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1771.

August 13 issue of the *Gazette* was more detailed. The first race was being run for one-hundred-guineas; the second would feature a "Give and Take" purse; the third a fifty-pound purse for four-year-olds; the fourth would feature a purse donated by the "American Theatrical Company." This purse was donated by the American Company of Comedians who always made a practice of trying to play Annapolis during the racing season. The "Clerk of the Course" entered the horses and collected the fees. Again the social aspects of the races were emphasized here, since the advertisement announced that balls would be held on three of the four days of racing. The results of these races were as follows:

Tuesday, October (The Jockey Club Race)

<i>Horse</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Position per heat</i>
<i>Nancy Bywell</i>	Col. Lloyd	1 4 1
<i>Wildaire</i>	Maj. Sim	2 - -
<i>Kitty</i>	Mr. Master	distanced
<i>Regulus</i>	W. Fitzhugh	5 1 distanced
<i>Apolio</i>	Mr. Spotswood	3 2 distanced
<i>Harmony</i>	Dr. Hamilton	distanced
<i>Britannia</i>	Benj. Ogle	4 3 2

Wednesday, October 7 (Give and Take)

<i>Primrose</i>	Dr. Hamilton	distanced
<i>Bashaw</i>	Mr. Delancy	3 distanced
<i>Black Legs</i>	Mr. Master	1 2 1
<i>Achilles</i>	Mr. McCarty	4 1 2
<i>I Will If I Can</i>	Mr. Nevins	2 distanced

Thursday, October 8 (Give and Take)

<i>Sultana</i>	James Delancy	3 1 2
<i>Quaker Lass</i>	Mr. Water	2 distanced
<i>Brilliant</i>	W. Fitzhugh	1 3 1
<i>Garrat</i>	Mr. Iiams	4 2 3

Friday, October 9 (American Theatrical Co.)

<i>Silver Legs</i>	W. Fitzhugh	4 3
<i>Selim</i>	Sam Galloway	3 2
<i>Sportsman</i>	Mr. Master	distanced
<i>Nettie</i>	Mr. Water	1 1
<i>Wildaire</i>	Maj. Sim	2 4 ³⁰

³⁰ *Ibid.*, July 2, 1772; Aug. 13, 1772; Oct. 15, 1772.

The results of five days of racing at Annapolis in 1773 listed some of the same horses.

Monday (The Sweepstakes)

<i>Horse</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Heats</i>
Gray Filly	Wm. Fitzhugh	1
Gray Filly	Mr. Ogle	2
Gray Filly	Mr. Heath	3

Tuesday (The Jockey Club Purse)

<i>Nancy Bywell</i>	Col. Lloyd	1 1
<i>Lady Legs</i>	Samuel Galloway	4 2
<i>Nettie</i>	Mr. Delancy	2 distanced
<i>Harmony</i>	Dr. Hamilton	distanced
<i>Regulus</i>	Mr. Fitzhugh	3 3
<i>Kitty</i>	Mr. Master	distanced

Wednesday (The City Purse)

<i>Primrose</i>	Dr. Hamilton	1 4 1
<i>Sultana</i>	Mr. Delancy	5 1 3
<i>Ariel</i>	Mr. Slaughter	2 5 -
<i>Black Legs</i>	Mr. Master	6 2 4
<i>Miss Sprightly</i>	Mr. Fauntleroy	3 3 2
<i>Pettycoats Loose</i>	Mr. Warren	4 6 -

Thursday (The City Purse)

Gray Mare	Mr. Fitzhugh	3 1 1
<i>Marius</i>	Mr. Carroll	2 2 2
<i>Babram</i>	Mr. Master	distanced
<i>Figure</i>	Mr. Iiams	4 - -
Bay Mare	Dr. Hamilton	1 distanced
Gray Mare	Mr. Heath	5 3 3

Friday (The Theatrical Purse)

<i>Regulus</i>	Mr. Fitzhugh	4 3 1 1
<i>Why-Not</i>	Gov. Eden	1 2 2 2
<i>Packcolet</i>	Mr. Nicholson	2 - - -
<i>Nettie</i>	Mr. Delancy	3 1 3 3 ³¹

The races in the fall of 1774 were advertised for the month of November, somewhat later than usual. The Jockey Club purse, the City purse, and the surplus money remaining over the five years' subscription of the Jockey Club were to be run

³¹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 5, 1773; Oct. 7, 1773.

for on four consecutive days. Later, the paper informed its readers that a sweepstakes race would also be run. In November, however, an announcement stated that the members of the Jockey Club of Annapolis were "doubtful whether the running of the races advertised in the Gazette to commence on the 15th Instant, might not be an infringement of the eighth resolution of the general congress," and that the races were cancelled for the present.³²

Annapolis was by far the most important center of racing in Maryland, but it was not the first location at which there was racing. Prince George's County had races before Annapolis, and several other locations were quite prominent in turf circles, if the number of races is any indication. The earliest race advertised in Prince George's County was at Queen Anne Town to be run on the 17th of September 1745 and the following day. The occasion for the races was a fair which was being held at Mr. Murdock's Old Fields near the town. The purses were thirty and twenty-pounds current money.³³

It is not until 1768 that another advertisement for a race at Queen Anne Town appears in the paper. A twenty-five pound purse would be run for by four-year-old colts with Mr. McGill's *Nonpareil*, and Mr. Young's *Gimcrack* excluded from the running. Jockeys were required to appear "with a neat waistcoat and half boots." This differs from the Annapolis races, inasmuch as there were no requirements for dress in that town. The last announcement for races at Queen Anne Town was in 1772, when a twenty-pound purse was run for in October. The regulations were more elaborate and included such things as the length of the heats, weight to be carried, rules governing the jockeying, age certificates and others.³⁴

Upper Marlboro emerged as a greater racing center than Queen Anne Town. Races were advertised there as early as May 1751. The October 1752 issue of the *Maryland Gazette* stated that two prizes at Upper Marlboro were won by two

³² *Ibid.*, Sept. 29, 1774; Oct. 20, 1774; Nov. 3, 1774. The general resolution asked the states to halt all idle amusements until the political situation improved.

³³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 13, 1745.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 6, 1768; Oct. 22, 1772.

mares belonging to Captain Butler. No further details were included. These results were probably for the race advertised in August 1752 for a thirty-pound purse. Thirty-pound purses, however, had been advertised at Upper Marlboro as early as 1750.³⁵

Mrs. Crawford's Old Fields, near Upper Marlboro, was the site of a race held in October 1753 for a twenty-pound currency prize, but it was limited to horses which had belonged to persons who had lived in the province for at least twelve months. The same terms governed the next day's race for a ten-pound purse. This race was later postponed because of an election. On October 8, 1754, a race was run at Upper Marlboro for a twenty-pound purse, the next day the purse would be the entrance money and whatever could be added to that sum. This is the last mention of races at Upper Marlboro until 1757. In that year purses of thirty and fifteen pounds were offered. In 1759 races at Upper Marlboro were "to be Run on the usual Race-Ground" as were the races in October 1761. Races were also held here in October 1762 and 1763 for sums of around thirty-pounds with varying regulations governing each race.³⁶

By 1768 the purses at Upper Marlboro had increased to one-hundred-pounds. The purses would be run according to "the King's Plate Articles." The jockeys were again required to appear dressed in a "neat Waistcoat and Half-boots." The results of a hundred-pound race run on May 5, 1768, were as follows:

<i>Horse</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Position per heat</i>
<i>Figure</i>	Dr. Hamilton	1 1
	Col. Thorton	3 2
<i>Selim</i>	Mr. Galloway	2 3
<i>Buckskin</i>	Mr. Thomas	4 distanced ³⁷

On May 1, 1770, there was a match between horses belonging to Ignatius Digges and Henry Rozer for twenty-five guineas. This same day saw Samuel Galloway race his horse against one owned by Joseph Sim.³⁸ In May of the next year

³⁵ *Ibid.*, April 3, 1751; Oct. 19, 1752; Aug. 20, 1752; April 4, 1750.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug 30, 1753; Oct. 18, 1753; Sept. 12, 1754; Aug. 18, 1757; Sept. 20, 1759; Sept. 10, 1761; Sept. 16, 1762; Sept. 1, 1763.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Feb. 11, 1768; May 5, 1768. The King's Plate Articles were apparently rules of racing common in England at the time.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, April 5, 1770.

there were races for thirty and fifty-pound purses. William Fitzhugh's horse, *Regulus*, won the first day's purse and Daniel McCarty's *Silver Legs* won the purse the second day.³⁹ This notice, in 1771, marks the disappearance of Upper Marlboro from the racing scene until the latter years of the American Revolution.

Lower Marlboro entered the racing picture a few years before the fading of the sport in Upper Marlboro. In October 1767 a race was held for a subscription purse of twenty-five pounds in which the best of three heats won the prize. Four times around the half-mile track were necessary to complete the prescribed two-mile heats. Time was allowed to rub down the horses between heat.⁴⁰ This single racing announcement marks the extent of racing activities in Lower Marlboro until the Revolution.

The only notice of racing "near Mr. Kennedy Farrell's at Rock Creek, in Mr. Henry Wright Crabbe's Old Field" appeared in May 1727. This location was also in the racing county of Prince George's. Obviously these were novice races because the first day a ten-pound currency purse was offered and a six-pound purse the second.⁴¹

Nottingham, another town in Prince George's County, appeared in the racing advertisements in 1762 when a race for a twenty-pound purse open to any horse, mare, or gelding was scheduled for April. A race on the following day excluded full-blooded horses. The next advertisement for a race at Nottingham appeared in March 1764, but from 1764 to 1773 there were no further notices. In 1773, however, races were held on three successive days. The purses for each day varied but the winner of the first day had to pay twenty-shillings, that of the second day ten-shillings, and the third day's winner had to pay five-shillings for the use of the weights and scales. The June 3, 1773 issue of the *Maryland Gazette* carried the results of a race held "on Tuesday last" at Nottingham. This race was won by Governor Eden's horse, *Why-Not*, the winner over Dr. Hamilton's *Harmony* and Mr. Baynes's *Regulus*. *Why-Not's* performance was considered rather remarkable

³⁹ *Ibid.*, April 5, 1771; May 9, 1771.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Oct. 15, 1767.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, May 12, 1747.

for he had run the four-mile heats at Philadelphia a fortnight before, and then had traveled to Nottingham "in very hot weather." The weather, according to newspaper reports, was supposed to be "much against him," but "he won very easy, and the knowing ones were greatly taken in." The year 1774 saw the end of racing advertisements for the Nottingham course. In May a double feature was held for a forty-pound purse. The advertisements explained that the races were being held at this time of year to permit the horses "to go from thence to Baltimore." From this it would appear that the racing fans of Maryland were riding the circuit. The May double feature was won by Governor Eden's *Why-Not* who competed against Dr. Hamilton's *Primrose*, Colonel Barnet's *Young Tanner* and two others. The second day Governor Eden's *Slim* edged out Colonel Sim's *Wildair* and Dr. Hamilton's and Mr. Lyles's fillies.⁴² The governor had won both of the last two races to be run at Nottingham prior to the Revolution.

Nottingham disappeared from the racing stage a few years after the closing of another racing center, Frederick Town in Frederick County. There had been racing in Frederick Town since 1749, only two years after Annapolis, but meetings were sporadic. The purse in 1749 was twenty-eight pounds, two-shillings, six-pence. A ten year span separated the first and second announcements of horse racing in Frederick Town with the next purse, one of thirty-pounds in 1759. In 1750 a three-day-race meeting was held at Frederick Town, but six years passed before another advertisement appeared in the *Maryland Gazette*. It stated that races would be run on the "usual Race Ground" on the twentieth of October. Five years later a twenty-guinea purse was offered to the winner of a two day meet. The advertisement for the race to be held in 1773 was an odd one. After it stated the usual number of heats, weights to be carried, entrance fee, and other regulations it attached a postscript stating that "no horse that William Iiams is concerned with will be allowed to start for either day."⁴³

⁴² *Ibid.*, March 11, 1762; March 15, 1764; April 1, 1773; June 3, 1773; April 14, 1774; May 26, 1774. The April 1 issue advertised Philadelphia races to be held "next week."

⁴³ *Ibid.*, May 3, 1749; Sept. 27, 1759; Oct. 2, 1760; Sept. 18, 1766; Sept. 19, 1771; Sept. 2, 1773.



Horatio Sharpe (1718-1790), a proprietary governor of Maryland, 1753-1769.
Maryland Historical Society

No reason for the exclusion of Mr. Iiams is given nor do subsequent issues clarify the problem. No races at Frederick Town were advertised after 1773; however, while racing was still going on there, another town of the county, George Town, joined the racing fraternity.

The first report of races in George Town, Frederick County, appeared in the *Gazette* of September 1760. An announcement notified its readers that on October 30 at the plantation of Mr. Thomas Johns "about three miles from George Town" a race would be run by any horse, mare or gelding that had never started around the poles for any purse or other wager; clearly an amateur race. By 1761 the race course near George Town must have been fairly well known, although not a major track, because in that year an announcement of races stated that they would take place on "the Usual race ground near George Town." A twenty-five pound purse would be run for by horses that had never started, "further than a quarter of a Mile for

any Sum." Not until after eight years did another advertisement appear. The races again took place "near this town." Other races were run in 1771 and 1773.⁴⁴ In 1773 the notices of races at George Town disappear from the *Maryland Gazette*.

Another town in Frederick County, Skipton, both appeared and disappeared from the turf in 1772. The only announcement of a race there appeared in July. The meeting was to last for three days and the third day's racing excluded blooded horses.⁴⁵

Skipton had come late and gone early, but Baltimore had started its racing as early as any other place in Maryland. On October 10, 1745 and the next two days, Baltimore held a fair and an integral part of this fair was horse racing. The purses were small, and the heats were only a half-mile each, but Baltimore had begun its racing history. In 1747 the General Assembly of Maryland appointed the first Thursday, Friday, and Saturday in October as the time for yearly fairs to be held in Baltimore. In its 1747 fair horse racing was included and so important was this diversion that William Lux, the clerk of the town, entered the horses and collected the entrance fees. As an added inducement it was declared that there were to be no arrests the day before, during, or after the fair except for serious offences. The *Maryland Gazette* of October 11, 1749 noted that on the previous Thursday, the first day of the Baltimore fair that "as some People were riding a Race towards Evening, Philip Jones (son of Capt. Philip Jones, Junior), a very hopeful Youth, who was one of them, fell off his horse when in full speed and died in a few minutes without speaking a word." It was unfortunate that one of the early races in Baltimore was marked with this tragedy.⁴⁶

In Baltimore "on the usual Race ground" a race was run in 1761 as were meets in 1770. The races in 1774 carried the strange censure of Mr. William Iiams again since no horse owned by him could be entered in the racing. The results of these 1774 races were announced in the May 26, 1774 news-

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Sept. 2, 1773; Sept. 3, 1761; April 20, 1769; Sept. 26, 1771; Sept. 3, 1773.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, July 30, 1772.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Sept. 8, 1747; Oct. 11, 1749. Although the assemblies often assigned days for fairs, the one announced in Sept. 1747 appears to have been assigned in a separate act.

paper. Governor Eden's *Why-Not* had beaten Colonel Nicholson's horse and Mr. Gough's *Garrick*. But Mr. Gough's *Garrick* won the second day's purse.⁴⁷ This race of 1774 marks the last advertised race at Baltimore until the Revolution.

Another town, however, which began racing later than Baltimore should be included in the chronicle of Maryland racing; this town was Joppa in Baltimore County. It began its racing in 1759 and terminated it in 1761.⁴⁸

Pig-Point had begun earlier than Joppa and had lasted longer also. The first race advertised at Pig-Point was in 1775 for a fifteen-pound purse and was limited to horses that had never won a prize of ten-pounds at any time before. A ten-pound purse was run for in 1761 for horses that had never won more than four pounds at any time. In this race horses of English blood and a sorrel stallion belonging to John Elliott were excluded. Later, horses of not over one-half English blood could run on some specified days only horses not over one-fourth English blood could run. By 1768, however, any horse could compete for the various purses. The last notice for a race at Pig-Point before the Revolution was in 1772 when a race was run for a thirty-pound purse.⁴⁹

In 1754 Talbot County was mentioned in racing advertisements when a purse donated by Governor Sharpe was offered. This race was held at Talbot County courthouse and the purse, which was to be run for by any horse, mare, or gelding who had never won a purse of over seven pounds before, amounted to twenty-pounds. Four horses competed. According to the report, there were "a great number of people on the Race ground" and over "2000 horses, beside a great number of carriages." In the middle of the grounds "a stage about 60 feet in length and 20 in width" was erected for the reception of the Governor and a "number of Gentlemen and Ladies who could from thence view the Horses quite round the course." The race was won by a horse belonging to Mr. Rice. This race was the first mentioned for Talbot County, yet it drew a large crowd, including the Governor.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1761; March 29, 1770; April 7, 1774; May 26, 1774.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 20, 1759; Sept. 3, 1761.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, May 15, 1755; Aug. 13, 1761; Aug. 1, 1765; May 12, 1768; April 16, 1772. The Aug. 13 issue carried an advertisement for races to be held at Philadelphia.

Oxford, a town in Talbot County, held its first advertised race in September 1763. Certificates stating that the horse entered had no English blood had to be produced before the horse was allowed to compete. The same requirements were in effect for a race held at Oxford in 1771 with the exception that an elaborate formula for weights to be carried were included in the advertisement. These were as follows:

	<i>Aged</i>	<i>six yr.</i>	<i>five yr.</i>	<i>four yr.</i>
Full Blood Carrying	154	148	142	130
$\frac{7}{8}$	148	142	136	124
$\frac{3}{4}$	142	136	130	118
$\frac{5}{8}$	136	130	124	112
$\frac{1}{2}$	130	124	118	106
$\frac{3}{8}$	124	118	112	100
$\frac{3}{4}$	118	112	106	94
$\frac{3}{8}$	112	106	100	88
country horses	106	100	90	82

A similar schedule was in effect for a race run in 1774 when the last notice of racing at Oxford appeared.⁵⁰

Oxford let the advertisements but another Talbot County establishment had come into existence the year before the last mention of Oxford; this was a track owned by a Mr. Francis Clinton. Here, in October 1773, a twenty-pistole purse was run for over three two-mile heats. With this notice of 1773 Mr. Clinton's short-lived race track entered and departed the racing scene.⁵¹

Until the American Revolution a relatively intense racing fever existed at Piscataway, on the Potomac River in Prince George's County. A mile from Piscataway, at the plantation of Mr. George Fraser, a race was run in September 1760 for a fifteen-pound purse by horses that had never been around the poles for money prior to this time. Similar races were held in 1764, 1765, 1766, and 1768. The last race held in 1768 was for a two-hundred-dollar purse. This race was a match between John Addison's *Dutchman* and Mr. Robert Hanson's *Fox*. In

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, March 15, 1754; April 25, 1754; Aug. 11, 1763; April 18, 1771; Sept. 29, 1774. The *Maryland Gazette* May 7, 1767 carried an advertisement for a race to be run on May 14 for a twenty-pound purse. The horses could not be above one-half blooded. The day after this race a pony race was planned.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 28, 1773.

1769 a race was held in Piscataway for a purse of twenty-pounds.⁵²

Chestertown, in Kent County, advertised four races in the *Maryland Gazette*: in 1764, in 1765, and two in 1766. The first three races followed standard practices in the purses and requirements but the last in 1766 at Chestertown was for one-hundred pistoles. Different ages carried different weights, and the notice included the fact that *Selim* and *Yorick* were supposed to start for the purse. The next advertised and the last race at Chestertown was in 1774.⁵³

A four-year span covered the racing history of Charles Town in Cecil County. Its first race was in 1768 with a twenty-pistole purse with elaborate calculations included in the advertisement for the determination of weights to be carried by the horses, depending on the degree of thoroughbred blood. In 1769 the race run was "agreeable to the Philadelphia rules." The next race mentioned was in 1771 and with this advertisement Charles Town vanished from the scene.⁵⁴

The town of Warwick, in Cecil County experienced a brief turf history. The October 1772 issue of the newspaper carried the results of a race held there. A single four-mile heat was run for a three-hundred-guinea purse between Mr. Delancy's *Lath* and Colonel Edward Lloyd's *Nancy Bywell* with the latter winner. This same advertisement of racing results also stated that at the next races "'tis expected there will be good sport" because of the great number of horses already in town from the "Northward and Southward" to enter for the different purses.⁵⁵

⁵² *Ibid.*, July 31, 1760; Sept. 13, 1764; Oct. 17, 1765; Oct. 2, 1766; Sept. 29, 1768; Nov. 17, 1768; Oct. 26, 1769.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, March 8, 1764; March 21, 1765; April 24, 1766; Nov. 6, 1766. The *Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 29, 1774 advertised a race to be held at Chestertown on October twenty-fifth for a fifty-pound purse. The next two days would also witness races. Horses had to carry weight for age and blood as follows:

Full Blood	140	133	126	119
7/8	133	126	119	112
3/4	126	119	112	105
5/8	119	112	105	98
1/2	112	105	98	91
3/8	105	98	91	84
1/4	98	91	84	77

The first row of weights is for the aged and the others for six, five, and four-year-olds.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Sept. 22, 1768; Aug. 31, 1769; Sept. 19, 1771.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Oct. 1, 1772.

Before the races had begun at Warwick, Leonard Town had come and gone. It had races for the usual purses in 1760, 1761, 1767, and 1768. The last mentioned race was conducted agreeable to "the Articles for the King's Plate." Each jockey had to appear in a "neat Waistcoat half boots and cap," adding an air of sophistication to the races at Leonard Town.⁵⁶

Before the Revolution, in 1750 and 1767, Port Tobacco began horse racing on a moderate scale. The purses varied from twenty-pistoles to ten-pounds.⁵⁷ Bladensburg, in Prince George's County, produced four notices of horse racing. The first was in 1753 and the second in 1754. In 1754 the purse offered could be run for by any horse, mare, or gelding bred in the province of Maryland only. In a 1761 advertisement for a race, full-bred horses were excluded from the competition. The last mention of Bladensburg was in 1766. Twelve and six-pound purses were offered but full-blooded horses or horses that had won ten-pounds before could not compete.⁵⁸ It would seem that the entire racing history of Bladensburg was for novices.

Over a twenty-year span three races were advertised as taking place at Elk Ridge. The first, in 1752, had a saddle as the second day's prize and excluded horses with English blood. The second also excluded full blooded horses but scales were provided to determine the weights to be carried by horses with some English blood. The last mentioned race at Elk Ridge was for a twenty-pound purse and seems to indicate that races at Elk Ridge were for local amusement only.⁵⁹ A similar situation must have existed at Queen Town, in Queen Anne's County. The first advertised race was in 1747 for a seven-pound purse and the second in 1760 for a hundred-pound purse. In 1760 the owner of the track saw fit to inform the public that "all gentlemen who are so kind as to honour him with the favor of their custom may depend on having the best in Quality and Quantity."⁶⁰

Other places which appeared briefly in racing advertisements

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Sept. 25, 1760; Aug. 20, 1761; Aug. 27, 1767; also September 3, 1767; August 4, 1768.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Oct. 10, 1750; Oct. 22, 1767.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 13, 1753; Oct. 10, 1754; Oct. 8, 1761; Oct. 16, 1766.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 13, 1752; May 29, 1766; Oct. 22, 1772.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, March 24, 1747; July 17, 1760.

were Hohn Corner's, Anne Arundel County, in 1745; Newport, Charles County, in 1764 and 1765; and at the dwelling of Anthony Smith in 1753. Two years later, in 1755, races were held near Captain Harwood's place "on the road leading to Jonathan Rawlings." Mr. Walter Maddox's Old Fields in Charles County had races in 1759. Races in 1764 near Magothy River were marred with tragedy for here "a melancholly accident happened at a petty horse Race" because two men, William Redwell and Jones Dawson got in a fight, and later Dawson dropped dead from one of Redwell's blows. Near Wicomico River at the "Globe Old-Fields" there were races in 1762. Broad Creek on Kent Island had races in 1764 as did Winchester in 1769, Pomenkey in 1772 and Cambridge in 1774.⁶¹

A D V E R T I S E M E N T S .

ON the 29th of *September*, will be Run, on the Race-Ground near *Annapolis*, a Match for Fifty Guineas.

And the *Day* following, a Subscription Race for Twenty Pounds Current Money, by any Horse, Mare, or Gelding, carrying Nine Stone, the best of Three Heats. A Non subscriber to pay Twenty Shillings Entrance.

Notice which appeared in the August 18, 1747 issue of the *Maryland Gazette*.
Maryland Historical Society

When it is remembered that racing advertisements were practically nonexistent during the American Revolution in most of the southern colonies, it is interesting to read the newspapers of the province of Maryland. For racing not only took place openly during the Revolution but in 1779 and afterward was advertised as it had been in peace time. The most numerous races were held in the capitol of Maryland turfdom, Annapolis. War time races began on October 29, 1779 for a purse of one thousand pounds. The aged carried one-hundred-thirty-three pounds, six-year-olds one-hundred-twenty-six, five-year-olds one-hundred-nineteen, and four-year-

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, May 24, 1745; Oct. 25, 1745; Aug. 30, 1764; Oct. 3, 1765; Sept. 20, 1753; Oct. 23, 1755; March 22, 1759; Sept. 9, 1762; Oct. 11, 1764; Oct. 5, 1769; Oct. 8, 1772; May 12, 1774.

olds one-hundred-twelve. The next day a race was run for a five-hundred-pound purse. The horses carried the same weight as prescribed the previous day for those under six years old, since the race was limited to horses below that age. The third day a three hundred seventy-five pound purse was run for by horses under five years old. Four-year-olds who participated in this race carried one hundred and twelve pounds and three year olds one hundred pounds even. Two heats won the purse, and the horses had to be entered with George Mann two days before running. Sixty dollars was the entrance fee the first day, thirty dollars the second, and twenty dollars the third with subscribers paying half fee. Inflation had come to the races. September, 1782 was the next date for a race at Annapolis. Fifty guineas was the first day's purse. The heats were four miles each the first day and three miles the second. On the first two days four year olds carried seven stone, five year olds—seven stone, ten pounds, six year olds—eight stone seven pounds and aged—nine stone. On the third day the purse was thirty pounds and could be run for by three and four year olds, if the four year olds carried seven stone and three year olds a "feather." Two heats in any of the races won the purse. George Mann collected the entrance fees which were four pounds the first day, two pounds ten shillings the second, and one pound ten shillings the third. All horses had to be entered the day before the race or pay double entrance fees.

The next-to-last Annapolis race during the era of the American Revolution was in April, 1783. The races lasted two days and the first day's purse was seventy-five pounds, and the horses had to run four-mile heats on this day. The second day offered forty pounds as a prize for four-year-olds and three-year-olds running two-mile heats. George Mann again collected the entrance fees on the Tuesday before the race. This notice stated that booths on the race course must be approved by the clerk. In November, 1783 the Jockey Club revived its advertisements. It offered a sixty-guinea purse for club members only on the first day's running. A seventy-pound purse was to be offered the second day and the third day a thirty-pound purse for three and four-year-olds. George Mann collected the entrance money. Dr. Bowie's horse *Buck-*

skin, won the sixty guineas, Mr. Clayton's *Morick Ball* won the second day's purse, and Mr. Deakin's sorrel horse, *Fayette*, won the last day's race.⁶²

Other races during the Revolutionary era occurred at Lower Marlboro in September, 1779 for one three-hundred-pound purse and the other for two-hundred-pounds. Mr. John Spicknall registered the horses and collected the subscription money; thirty dollars for the first purse and twenty dollars for the second if the prospective racer was a subscriber—double that amount if he was not. Port Tobacco appears on October 12, 1779 with a three hundred seventy-five pound purse for the first day's running and one hundred fifty pounds the second. Thomas Reeder collected a sixty-dollar fee the first day, and forty dollars the second from non-subscribers, and half that amount from subscribers.

The only appearance of Bryan-Town upon the Revolutionary racing scene occurred in 1779. A one-hundred-sixty-pound purse was offered on the first day and one-hundred-pounds the second. James Smith collected the entrance fees and entered the horses.⁶³ Cambridge held a three-day meet in 1780 with a seven-hundred-fifty-pound purse offered for the first day and three-hundred-seventy-five pounds the next. Fifty-pounds was offered the third day. Mr. Richard Bryan collected the entrance fee: eighty-dollars for the first day, forty-dollars for the second, and thirty-dollars for the third. Subscribers paid only half of the regular fee required at entrance. An elaborate and detailed account of the weight to be carried by horses of various fractions of thoroughbred blood was included in this notice.⁶⁴

Piscataway boasted a forty-pound purse for the first day's racing in 1782. The second day a twenty-pound purse would be run for. Mr. John Dyer and Benedict Edelen collected the entrance fees and entered the horses. A race was advertised

⁶² *Ibid.*, Sept. 10, 1779; Sept. 5, 1782; March 13, 1783; Aug. 21, 1783; Nov. 6, 1783. Feather weight is the lightest weight possible. Francis Barnum Culver in *Blooded Horses of Colonial Days*, p. 70, writes that "in 1774, out of deference to a recommendation of the Continental Congress, . . . the Fall races at Annapolis were postponed on account of the political state of the country, and racing in Maryland was not revived until after the war." Not only did the racing begin at Annapolis before the peace was signed, but other locations in Maryland also ran horses during the Revolution and advertised them in the newspaper.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Aug. 27, 1779; Oct. 1, 1779; Oct. 8, 1779.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, March 17, 1780.

at Upper Marlboro in 1783 for "encouragement of the breed of FINE HORSES" and a "very genteel purse" of fifty guineas for the first day and twenty-five on the second was offered. Dr. John Bowie's *Buckskin* won the fifty-guinea purse and Mr. Benjamin Roger's *Little Davy* came in second, Mr. G. Smith's *Sleeping John* was third, and Mr. N. Young's *Why-Not* was fourth. The twenty-five-guinea purse was won by Mr. Walter Bowie's bay horse, *Sweeper*, who beat Mr. Benjamin Dulany's sorrel horse, *Slim*. Apparently by 1783 even the Maryland racing fans felt the need to justify the continuance of the luxury of horse racing. Thus, the "encouragement of the breed of FINE HORSES."

Pig-Point reappeared in 1783 with an offer of twenty-pound purse the first day and the entrance money the second day as purses. Adam Allen collected the entrance fees and entered the horses the day before the races. Captain Peter Clarke's tavern, in Calvert County, was the site of two races in June, 1783. One was for forty pounds and the other for twenty.⁶⁵

The racing advertisements were absent from the pages of the *Maryland Gazette* for a while during the early stages of the Revolution, but by 1779 they were beginning to reappear. Annapolis led in the number of racing meets just as it had before the war. Maryland was the only state in which racing was advertised to any appreciable degree during the American Revolution.

Looking back, it can be seen that horses had always been an important part of the life of the people of Maryland. As early as 1647 a proclamation of the governor contained a provision for the preservation of the increase of the horse stock and forbade their exportation.⁶⁶ By 1671 horses had multiplied to such a number that an act of the general assembly forbade their importation by land or sea. It stated that:

For as much as the great Numbers of horses Geldings mares and Colts within this province are soe destructive to the Inhabitants thereof that with their yearely encrase in the Country and their Importacon from forreigne parts would soe greatly augment in a

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1782; Feb. 20, 1782; Feb. 20, 1783; March 6, 1783; May 8, 1783; Nov. 20, 1783; May 29, 1783.

⁶⁶ William Hand Browne, ed., *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland January 1637/8—September 1664*, *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883), I, p. 229.

few yeares that the whole Province would Receive great Injuries thereby Wherefore for prevencon for the future It is hereby Enacted . . . That noe person or persons whatsoever from and after the end of this Assembly shall import or bring into this Province by sea or land any horses mares geldings or Colts from any forraigne parts whatsoever.⁶⁷

Once horses were available it was to be expected that races should take place as a matter of course and that disputes should arise and be settled in court. In 1672 Dr. William Hensley made himself liable to pay a one-thousand pound tobacco bet, if George Hurlock should lose the arranged horse race with John Browne. Browne won the race, but Hensley welched on the payment. The case was carried to court, and Hensley wound up paying the bet and the court costs.⁶⁸ Another case in 1672 involved Thomas Hallings and Peter Whaples. Hallings sued Whaples for two-hundred pounds of tobacco lost on a "wagger at a Horse Rasse," but the case was thrown out of court.⁶⁹ The plaintiff, who accused the defendant of running races at the Clifts in Calvert County in 1671, won a case which appeared in a Maryland court in 1647 over the ownership of a horse.⁷⁰

By 1682 the aristocracy of Maryland became convinced that the preservation of the status of the horse racing sport was necessary and so was the maintaining of the quality of the breed. In that year they suggested that "no Freeman whatsoever keep any Stone Horse or Mare who hath not in the Country where he liveth fifty Acres of Land" and that no stoned horse should be permitted to run free in the woods "above Twelve Months old that he not fourteen hands high." The houses of the assembly could not agree on the bill which did not pass.⁷¹

When horses became too numerous the assembly complained that with "the great encrease of horses within this Province,

⁶⁷ William Hand Browne, ed., *Proceedings and Acts of General Assembly of Maryland 1666-1672*, *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1884), II, p. 281.

⁶⁸ J. Hall Pleasant, ed., *Proceedings of the County Courts of Charles County 1658-1666 and Manor Court of St. Clements Manor 1659-1672*, *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1936), LIII, XXVI.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Elizabeth Merritt, ed., *Proceedings of the Provincial Court of Maryland 1679/1-1675*, *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1952), pp. 65, 287-88.

⁷¹ William Hand Browne, ed., *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland October 1678-1683*, *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1889), pp. 7, 275. For the controversy on the bill see pages 275, 277, 292, 296, 302, 303, 338, 480, 481, 564, and 568.

the Inhabitants do find themselves very much Impoverished in their Stock and damnified in their Cornfields to the ruine and distruction of the inhabitants." To remedy this situation any person was entitled to "take up any stoned horse of any person . . . within this Province." His reward was to be two-hundred-pounds of tobacco. Under this same act a freeman could keep only a gelding unless he owned land. Horses under fourteen hands high were required to be penned up or cut. Under no circumstances could they be turned loose.⁷²

In a like manner an act of the General Assembly provides definite proof of the early popularity of racing in Maryland. This act states:

For as much as frequent horse racing on Saturdays is found by Experience to tend very much to the Prophanacon of the Lord's Day following for prevencon whereof for the future, Bee it Enacted . . . That no person or persons within this Province Presume to make a horse race and Appoint a Certaine place; Where as to runn their horses upon any account whatsoever on Saturday under the Penalty of five Thousand Pounds of Tobo on every such person being so Concerned in such horse race, whether the horses be their Owne or other mens. . . . This Act to Endure for Three Years.⁷³

This act leaves no doubt but that the General Assembly wanted racing to cease, and it leads to interesting speculations as to the reasons for the passage of such laws. The races must have been as boisterous in Maryland as they were in Virginia, where William Byrd would not allow his servant permission to attend because of the rowdy surroundings. Maryland seems to have been the sister state of Virginia in more ways than one.

It would be an understatement to say that horse racing was popular in Maryland. When ferry boats sank because racing fans were in haste to reach the race track, when two thousand horses were counted at a race, and when the governors attended and donated prizes for the meetings, the popularity of the sport can not be questioned. In Maryland, as in the other southern colonies, the landed aristocracy was closely connected with the growth of the sport. Governor Ogle, for

⁷² *Ibid.*, April 1684-1692 (1894), pp. 13, 549-550.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, April 26, 1700-May 3, 1704 (1904), pp. 24, 275.

example, was the first to import thoroughbreds into the province. The popularity and aristocratic tint of the sport are further attested by a letter addressed to George Washington, in which his correspondent wants him to make clear his plans for attending a horse race at Annapolis. For the person offering him accommodations expected "many acquaintances here at the races whom he would be glad to serve should you [Washington] not come."⁷⁴ At racing time, even a planter of George Washington's status was only one out of many fans and treated as such.

Annapolis soon became the queen of Maryland turf, but by no means was it the only location where the sport achieved wide acclaim. In Maryland, horse racing was a definite facet of culture.

⁷⁴ John Parke Custis to George Washington, August 18, 1771, Stanislaus Murry Hamilton, ed., *Letters of Washington and Accompanying Papers* (Boston, 1904), IV, p. 81.

THE BRITISH CABINET AND THE CONFEDERACY: AUTUMN, 1862

BY FRANK J. MERLI
AND
THEODORE A. WILSON

IN October, 1862 William E. Gladstone, then Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Palmerston's last ministry, made a famous speech at Newcastle-on-Tyne in which he declared, with more ardor than accuracy, that "Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army; they are making, it appears, a navy; and they have made what is more than either—they have made a nation." That remark set off a flurry of speculation then, and echoes of that great debate on foreign policy still reverberate in historical literature. There is little agreement about the meaning and intent of that speech. A common interpretation holds that the chancellor, knowing Cabinet colleagues shared his estimate of American affairs, had sent up a trial balloon for the foreign secretary to test public opinion and prepare the public mind for an impending switch in government policy toward the war. The speech is often cited as evidence of strong pro-South sentiment in official circles. But did this ministerial *obiter dictum* accurately reflect Cabinet opinion as it then was? Had Her Majesty's government actually reached a point of intervention in transatlantic affairs? Perhaps no thoroughly satisfactory answers to such questions can be given, but a re-examination of that contretemps may point up some of the difficulties British ministers faced in coming to an accurate appraisal of issues raised by the American Civil War and in relating those issues to the larger context of long-range national interests. Such a study may also provide a context in which to reassess the role of Prime Minister Palmerston in that crucial confrontation of the Cabinet and the Confederacy in the autumn of 1862.

I

A multitude of domestic and foreign pressures converged on Victoria's ministers as they grappled with the problems raised by civil war in America.¹ Although the country was enjoying the final years of what Professor W. L. Burns has so nicely called an age of equipoise, conditions in mid-nineteenth-century Britain were a strange blend of contradictions, of tensions seeking equilibrium. Domestically, party alignments were unstable and political discourse moribund; party fragmentation and social compromise, as Asa Briggs has noted, kept "politics in a state of truce, of arrested development."² Then, there was a sort of vacuum, "a centre of indifference" at Whitehall, where the prudent Prime Minister had no wish to challenge the parliamentary status quo. Knowing that domestic and foreign foes waited to exploit any weakness and fully conscious of his narrow margin in the House of Commons, Palmerston confessed himself "well satisfied" with things as they were.³ One might almost say that the diversity

¹ The question of the British response to the Civil War has been examined from many different viewpoints, and is now undergoing a rather extensive reinterpretation. A large body of "revisionist" historiography has developed around the British attitude toward the war. See, for example, the following: Max Beloff, "Historical Revision No. CXVIII: Great Britain and the American Civil War," *History*, XXXVII (February, 1952); Joseph M. Herson, Jr., "British Sympathies in the American Civil War: A Reconsideration," *Journal of Southern History*, XXXIII (August, 1967); Robert H. Jones, "Anglo-American Relations, 1861-1865, Reconsidered," *Mid-America*, XLV (January, 1963); Wilbur D. Jones, "The British Conservatives and the American Civil War," *American Historical Review*, LVIII (April, 1953); Rupert C. Jarvis, "The Alabama and the Law," *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, CXI (October, 1959); C. Collyer, "Gladstone and the American Civil War," *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical Society*, VI, Pt. 8 (May, 1951); Frank J. Merli and Thomas W. Green, "Great Britain and the Confederate Navy, 1861-1865," *History Today*, XIV (October, 1964).

² W. L. Burn, *The Age of Equipoise: A Study of the Mid-Victorian Generation* (London, 1964); Asa Briggs, *Victorian People: A Reassessment of Persons and Themes, 1851-67* (Chicago, 1955), p. 91.

³ G. Kitson Clark, *The Making of Victorian England* (pb. ed., New York, 1967), p. 43; on one occasion Palmerston reminded Russell that parliamentary strength was "small as to the Balance of votes which follow us into the lobby and a small number going over or staying away might at any time leave us in a minority." Palmerston Papers, Historical Manuscript Commission, Chancery Lane, London (hereafter HMC), Palmerston-Russell, December 29, 1859. [The authors wish to thank the Trustees of the Broadlands Estate for permission to consult and quote these valuable papers.] The Prime Minister expressed satisfaction with things as they were in Palmerston Papers, HMC, Palmerston-Gladstone, May 21, 1864. The sentiment applies to the early 60s as well. In a letter to the Queen, he spoke of the always possible chance that "political combinations" might produce "administrative changes." Windsor Castle, Royal Archives (hereafter



Jefferson Davis from *Battles and Commanders of the Civil War*.
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of viewpoints represented in the Cabinet precluded vigorous action in any direction.⁴ A major reason for prudence in American affairs during the 1860's was the restive state of Continental politics. It seems certain that European problems,

RA), Palmerston-Victoria, June 18, 1861. [Material from the Royal Archives is used by gracious permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.] In the period before 1868 "governments were preoccupied with the problem of remaining in power." Many ministers were "like poor swimmers, content, to cling to a floating plank without much attention to spare for the direction it was carrying them in." The period was marked by "a succession of weak governments or of governments which could remain in existence only by doing very little and being ready to accept all sorts of humiliations in doing that little." Burn, *Equipoise*, pp. 219-220, 329. See also Briggs, *Victorian People*, pp. 89-90, and J. B. Conacher, "Party Politics in the Age of Palmerston," in P. Appleman, W. Madden, M. Wolff, eds., *1859: Entering an Age of Crisis* (Bloomington, Ind., 1959).

⁴ Historians who argue that the British should have amended the neutrality laws during the war fail to take the precarious political balance in Parliament into account, and they tend to underestimate the power of another pressure mitigating against revision of the rules of neutrality, that is, the popular aver-

especially Napoleonic aspirations, claimed far more of Palmerston's attention than did transatlantic unrest.

Naturally enough under the circumstances, the early responses of Her Majesty's government to American affairs were not well received there. The initial move—the Proclamation of Neutrality of May, 1861—set off deep currents of resentment in the North, while failure to proceed beyond it to formal recognition of the Confederacy generated suspicion of British motives in the South. While both belligerents soon recognized the benefits of a benevolent British stance toward the war, the seasoned statesmen who conducted the Queen's foreign policy had no wish to commit the Crown prematurely. They preferred to watch and wait. Soon after news of the fall of Fort Sumter reached London, Palmerston told a colleague that it might be wise to allow the combatants "to take some of the wiry edge off their craving for armed conflict" before offering good offices.⁵ As the struggle intensified, Pam repeated this advice, telling his foreign secretary, Lord John Russell, that the best course consisted of keeping "quite clear of the conflict."⁶ Russell ably seconded the sentiments of his chief—he, in fact, set the keynote of British policy when he told Parliament that the nation had not been involved in the struggle and urged: "for God's sake, let us, if possible, keep out of it."⁷

But as the war threatened to spread to the oceans, Crown advisers had deemed it necessary and proper to recognize the belligerent status of the South as the best means of forestalling incidents which might embroil the country in the war. By so

sion to "truckling" to the Yankees. A fairly representative expression of this sentiment appeared in the *Liverpool Courier* on September 12, 1863: "The Government which proposed to alter the laws of England through dread of a Federal menace would merit impeachment." One small example of the difficulty of setting policy in official circles may suffice: "I am sorry the Duke of Somerset opposed my wish to send a Squadron to N. America on two separate occasions. It would have inspired respect, and we might have been spared this trouble." Palmerston Papers, HMC, Russell-Palmerston, September 6, 1861.

⁵ Palmerston Papers, HMC, Palmerston-Ellice, May 5, 1861.

⁶ Russell Papers, Public Record Office, London (hereafter PRO), PRO 30/22/14, Palmerston-Russell, October 18, 1861. Material from the Public Record Office is used by permission of Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

⁷ *Hansard Parliamentary Debates* (3rd ser., London, 1830-1891), CLXII, 1378. See also Norman Graebner, "Northern Diplomacy and European Neutrality," in David Donald, ed., *Why the North Won the Civil War* (pb. ed., New York, 1962), pp. 55-78.

doing they merely announced the first step in a calculated policy of watchful waiting; they then sat back to allow the logic of events to mould policy. Having no ardent wish to welcome the South to the family of nations, they waited for the Confederacy to win that accolade by a convincing demonstration of ability to maintain its so-hastily-declared independence. Only the "fortune of arms," Russell said, could sanction Southern claims to nationhood.⁸

During the early months of the war, Her Majesty's government attempted to steer a sensible middle course between rival claims of the contending parties, for, as one newspaper put the case, "no very keen sympathy has been awakened in Great Britain on behalf of the North or the South."⁹ And *Punch*—that marvelous mirror of the age—again caught a prevailing mood by telling his readers that "Yankee Doodle is the Pot, Southerner the Kettle."¹⁰ Of course, neither belligerent made the British task any easier. Poor diplomatic representation, the arrogance of cotton diplomacy, the moral blight of slavery, and an uncertain military future told against the South, while ambiguous war aims, a high tariff, an untrustworthy secretary of state, and a penchant for braggadocio tarnished the Union cause.

The desire for aloofness from transatlantic affairs received a rude shock when a Northern naval officer seized two Southern envoys from the deck of a British mail packet. The *Trent* affair, though raising tempers to dangerous levels, was settled diplomatically and was followed by a resumption of

⁸ United States Navy Department, comp., *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1894-1927), Series II, Volume III, pp. 247-248, Russell-Yancey, Rost, Mann, August 24, 1861. Hereafter this source will be cited as *ORN* with the roman numeral referring to the volume number; all citations are to Series II. See also Foreign Office Records (hereafter *FO*) at the PRO, FO 414/17, Russell-Lyons, June 21, 1861. Russell told his minister at Washington that Britain could hardly treat some five million people who had declared their independence like "a band of marauders or filibusters." The question of belligerency was, he insisted, one of fact, not principle. The "size and strength of the party contending against a Government, and not the goodness of their cause, entitle them to the character and treatment of belligerents."

⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, July 3, 1861. Much of the British press stood firm against intervention; see Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union, II, War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863* (New York, 1960), p. 247. Its excellent chapter on foreign affairs, "Britain, France, and the War Issues" deserves careful reading.

¹⁰ *Punch*, August 17, 1861, September 28, 1861; see also Oscar Maurer, "Punch on Slavery and Civil War in America, 1841-1865," *Victorian Studies*, I (September, 1957), pp. 5-28.

amicable relations. When the Confederate envoy finally reached his post, he quickly learned that the Crown had no intention of departing from neutrality, and in the aftermath of the crisis Southern agents in Europe sensed a shift in the climate of opinion and thought it portended a rapprochement between Washington and Whitehall.¹¹

But there remained in 1862 a number of potential friction points in Anglo-American relations which might, if conditions changed, lead to serious trouble. Speakers in Parliament frequently expressed anti-American sentiments which they usually accompanied with attacks on the illegality of the blockade. Confederate naval construction in British yards annoyed Americans, as did the use of Crown Islands in the Caribbean as way stations for supplying the South. More important in shaping relations during 1862 was growing distress in the textile manufacturing districts of England. Then, too, as time went on Englishmen grew increasingly skeptical of Northern ability to force the rebels back into the Union, for by mid-summer federal forces were again retreating from Richmond.¹² A growing economic dislocation coupled with widespread expectation of an extended war might subject the government to more public pressure than it could withstand, might make it more amenable to mediation.

Indeed, in the summer of 1862, William S. Lindsay, an avowed partisan of the South and an influential member of the commercial community, engineered such a move on July 11 by introducing in the Commons a motion calling for mediation in America. Ill conceived and poorly executed though it was, the move revealed a strong current of pro-South senti-

¹¹ *London Times*, January 11, 1862; the paper referred to the Commissioners as "worthless booty" and reminded them that the government "would have done as much" for any two British Negroes. *ORN*, II, pp. 148-149, Semmes-North, February 26, 1862 and 166-68, North-Mallory, March 16, 1862.

¹² See, for example, the cartoon in *Punch*, September 13, 1862, entitled "Not Up to Time" (Americans would say "On the Ropes") which depicts two battered pugilists on the point of exhaustion and ready to throw in the towel. The sub-caption is "Interference would be very welcome." Later in the year many newspapers were taking for granted Northern inability to conquer the South. For a fairly representative view see the *London Spectator*, December 13, 1862: "We are assuming what all Englishmen now assume, that absolute subjugation of the South is a dream." Cited in Herson, "British Sympathies in the Civil War," 360. Earlier, in the summer of 1861, the *Glasgow Herald* had expressed the view that "subjugation of the South by the policy of coercion appears an idle dream." *Glasgow Herald*, July 3, 1861.

ment in Parliament. But Palmerston easily squelched the maneuver by pointing out that meddling might mean war, reminding colleagues of the benefits of non-interference, calling attention to the uncertain state of Southern national aspirations, and by urging that the ministry be given a free hand "to determine what to do and when."¹³

During the ensuing weeks the Confederate commissioner in London, James M. Mason, resumed his recognition offensive. He told Russell on July 24 that recent military success in the South clearly foreshadowed a final separation of the American States, and he argued that restoration of the Union was not possible. Had not the Confederacy given sufficient demonstration of its intent and ability to maintain independence? In a subsequent note he again urged recognition of the South by reminding Russell that failure to grant it could only encourage continuation of a war devoid of hope, destructive to the participants, and highly dangerous to the peace and prosperity of Europe.¹⁴

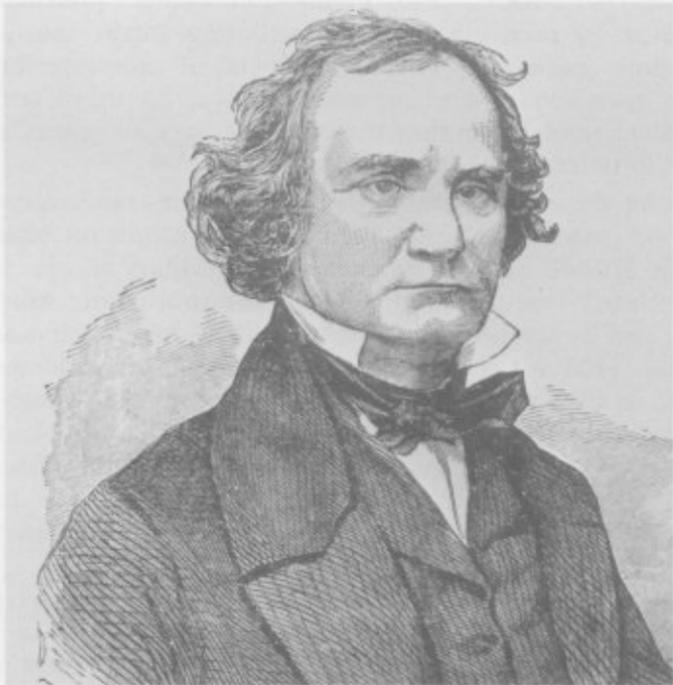
Russell rejected Mason's pleas. Some days later, in response to parliamentary questioning, he reaffirmed his intent to maintain strict neutrality and informed the House that any action taken in regard to America ought to be taken in concert with Europe's major maritime powers. If any modification of policy were required while Parliament was in recess, the government would consult those powers.¹⁵

In early August, then, the Queen's foreign secretary publicly indicated that the time for intervention had not yet come. But behind the scenes a serious and long sustained reconsideration of government policy was in fact underway. The Cabinet, or

¹³ RAA 30/94, Palmerston-Victoria, July 18, 1862. For an extended treatment of conditions in the summer of 1862, see Ephraim D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War* (New York, 1925), II, pp. 17-23 and *passim*; see also Donaldson Jordan and Edwin Pratt, *Europe and the American Civil War* (New York, 1931), pp. 106-109.

¹⁴ ORN III, pp. 501-503, Mason-Russell, August 1, 1862.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 503-504, Russell-Mason, August 2, 1862. Russell's counter argument stated that in order to merit a place among the world's independent nations, "a State ought to have not only strength and resources for a time, but afford promise of stability and permanence. Should the Confederate States of America win that place among nations, other nations might justly acknowledge an independence achieved by victory and maintained by a successful resistance to all attempts to overthrow it. That time, however, has not, in the judgment of Her Majesty's Government, yet arrived." See also RA B 19/132, Russell-Victoria, August 24, 1862.



James Murray Mason from *Battles and Commanders of the Civil War*.
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more accurately, a portion of it, was exploring the possibility of a more aggressive response to the war. During the late summer and early autumn of 1862, and only then, Great Britain voluntarily skirted the precipice of involvement in the American Civil War.

II

Lord John Russell guided the policy review and became the major spokesman for a more active response to the war. Though he had earlier suggested to Palmerston and the Queen that a reappraisal of American policy might be called for, he took no active steps toward implementing any changes until mid-September, when Northern military reverses and Lee's march into Maryland indicated that the end of the war might be in sight. With the prospects of the South so much im-

proved, Russell felt free to mature a plan that would permit a more positive role in the war. He instructed his ambassador at Paris to sound the French unofficially about joint efforts to halt hostilities. Then, after an exchange of views with his chief—but without Cabinet consultation—he outlined the plan's main features in a letter to Gladstone on September 26. He proposed an offer of mediation and, in the likely event of Union rejection, recognition of the South coupled with a strong reassertion of neutrality.¹⁶

The war news was also having its effect on Palmerston. In early September he had been opposed to all meddling in transatlantic affairs, but on the 14th he informed Russell that information from the front indicated that Washington might fall to the Confederates. If that happened, should Britain and France suggest to the belligerents acceptance of separation as a *fait accompli*? Pam had raised the possibility of inviting Russia, the most pro-Northern state in Europe, into the negotiations, perhaps with the hope of sugar-coating an unpalatable pill for the North, and he again stressed the inter-relatedness of the military situation and European diplomacy. He believed that the battle then raging north of Washington would have important results: defeat of the Union forces might open opportunities for mediation “and the iron should be struck while it is hot.” Conversely, if the Confederates did not succeed Britain might safely wait.¹⁷

On September 24, Palmerston gave Gladstone a long review of his outlook on American affairs; it differed in small ways from that of Russell. The Prime Minister thought that Britain,

¹⁶ Gladstone Papers, British Museum (hereafter BM), Add. MSS, 44292, Russell-Gladstone, September 26, 1862. It would be awkward, the foreign secretary noted, “to have a Cabinet upon this, unless France thought the opportunity favourable, & this was previously ascertained.” Russell had earlier informed the Queen that Cabinet discussion of the mediation question was “probable.” RA Q 9/115, Russell-Victoria, September 16, 1862. Another reflection of the secretary's thinking may be found in his note to the British ambassador in Paris: “I cannot think the South can now be conquered.” Therefore, Britain, France, and Russia ought to join in an offer of mediation, which, if refused, might be followed by a notice of intent “to recognize the Southern States, but continue neutral in the Civil War.” He went on to remark that the prime minister was in substantial agreement, but could not “propose it to France till we see a little more into the results of the Southern invasion of Pennsylvania.” Cowley Papers, PRO, FO 519/199, Russell-Cowley, September 26, 1862.

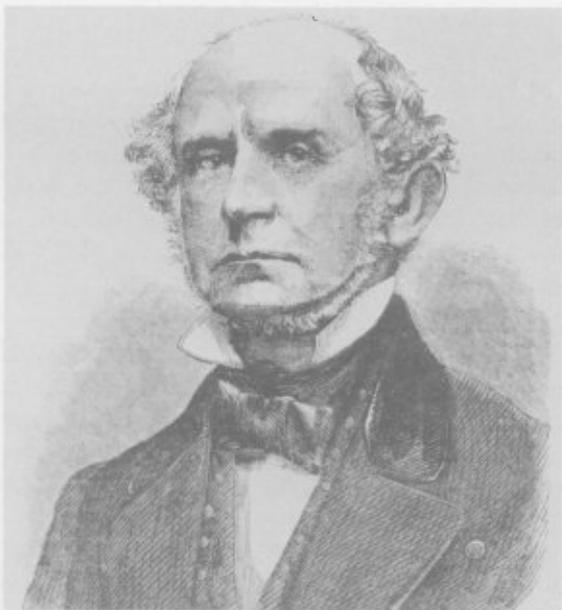
¹⁷ Russell Papers, PRO, 30/22/14, Palmerston-Russell, September 14, 23, 1862; RA Z 463/95, Palmerston-Victoria, September 14, 1862; see also RA Q 9/115, 116, 117.

France, and Russia might propose mediation with a small chance of success; explained that discussions were underway to seek French accord; stressed the necessity for Cabinet assent to any policy change; and guessed that the chancellor would approve a more vigorous effort by the Crown. Pam told his colleague that any proposal would need to be communicated to both sides and, if accepted by them, Europe would suggest an armistice, an end to the blockade, and negotiations on the basis of separation. If both parties rejected the offer, war would continue. But if—and this was the more likely possibility—the South accepted and the North did not, then, while affirming neutrality, Europe might “acknowledge” Southern independence. At all events, the outcome of the battle near Washington might force a decision; a few days might bring information of critical importance.¹⁸

To interpret this note as a strong stand for intervention, to regard it as an expression of full-blown Cabinet consensus, would be a serious mistake. For when taken with other expressions of growing disenchantment with the scheme of his foreign secretary, this note suggests that the Prime Minister wished to allow military events to play the decisive role in whatever decision the Cabinet came to. However strong interventionist inclinations may have been in mid-September, they had clearly weakened by early October. A lifetime of crisis diplomacy had honed Palmerston's sensitivity to the most subtle shifts in political currents, and conditions in America did not look right for intervention—certainly not without a resounding Southern military success. It was as if some intuitive feeling for the sentiments of his countrymen said “not yet.”

As September waned other influences slowed the drift to-

¹⁸ Gladstone Papers, BM, Add. MSS 44272, Palmerston-Gladstone, September 24, 1862. In this letter the Prime Minister advised his chancellor to avoid mention of economy in government and reduction in tax rates. An extensive search by Professor Merli in the papers of Gladstone, Russell, and Palmerston has failed to disclose any evidence that would support the assertion that the chancellor was speaking for his colleagues; on the contrary there is reason to believe that Gladstone had lost touch with Cabinet sentiment as it evolved from mid-September to early October. Certainly when he spoke, Gladstone did not reflect the views of Palmerston. And when he disclaimed any intent of making an “official utterance,” Russell rather tartly replied that “you must allow me to say that I think you went beyond the latitude which all speakers must be allowed when you said that Jeff Davis had made a nation. Negotiations would seem to follow, and for that step I think the Cabinet is not prepared.” *Ibid.*, 44292, Russell-Gladstone, October 20, 1862.



Charles F. Adams (1807-1886), U. S. Minister to England, *Harper's Weekly*, 1861.
Maryland Historical Society

ward intervention. French reaction to the proposal was cool, perhaps because of an impending shuffle in Louis Napoleon's Cabinet. But the key element in braking the move was news of the "stalemate" at Antietam. Palmerston, who was expecting a clearcut Confederate victory, adjusted to the changed conditions most rapidly, and on October 2 he reminded Russell that effective mediation required a "great success" of Southern arms. Ten days earlier such a success seemed probable; now it seemed less so. The government's position was difficult, but the dilemma could only be resolved by the God of Battles. What had seemed so sensible shortly before now seemed senseless. The Prime Minister began to talk of an armistice, to examine alternatives, to re-evaluate affairs in America, to reconsider the consequences of intervention. Did British interests dictate involvement? Was that game worth the candle? In early October, there surely was no Cabinet consensus about the proper line of action toward America; rather, the evidence suggests that the Prime Minister had

already started his retreat from recognition.¹⁹ Then Gladstone spoke at Newcastle.

A wave of speculation rippled across the country after that speech. No one knew whether it had expressed an official or a private point of view; it seemed on the face of it to suggest that the Cabinet had altered its stance on the war, that the government had finally espoused the Confederate cause and had chosen an unorthodox way of preparing the public mind for that decision.²⁰

Whatever the speech implied, it caught the American minister off guard. Some days earlier Charles Francis Adams had written to the minister in Paris that conditions in Britain were calm and expected to stay that way. Surprised by the speech, he quickly recognized its potential for mischief and Anglo-American friction. Strong words on the Tyne might, he thought, adumbrate recognition on the Thames. At least, they suggested a shift in Cabinet views and added danger for the Union.²¹ He thought better of his idea of seeking an official explanation from Russell and elected to wait for the response from Whitehall.

¹⁹ Palmerston Papers, HMC, Palmerston-Russell, October 2, 1862 and Palmerston-Granville, October 2, 1862: "In fact no offer would be accepted by the North until the South have been more decidedly successful." Future events on the battlefield, Pam said, "must determine our course."

²⁰ Sarah A. Wallace and Frances E. Gillespie, eds., *The Journal of Benjamin Moran* (Chicago, 1948), II, p. 1078. Moran, the secretary in the American legation, noted the speech's bad effect: "it is feared there may be something official in it, and that it is intended to indicate in advance a determination to recognize the South." Disraeli later criticized the speech in the Commons, charging that it "indicated a major change of foreign policy on the part of the government." Cited in W. D. Jones, "British Conservatives and the Civil War," p. 535. A correspondent told Gladstone that his speech had "profoundly affected the community" and that "popular opinion" did not support the views expressed at Newcastle. Gladstone Papers, BM, Add. MSS, 44399, Arnold-Gladstone, October 11, 1862. According to Clarendon, the leader of the Conservative faction (Derby) thought the speech "rash" and believed that a member of the Cabinet "must be supposed to speak in the name of his colleagues, & in that case it was an inconvenient mode of making known to the country and the U. States a most important change in our policy." Palmerston Papers, HMC, Clarendon-Palmerston, October 16, 1862. In later years, Gladstone admitted his error in speaking out of turn; see John Morley, *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone* (New York, 1932), II, p. 81. Allan Nevins has described the speech as a "deplorable gaffe," in *War Becomes Revolution*, p. 268, n. 59. Philip Magnus refers to it as one of the "cardinal blunders" of the chancellor's life. *Gladstone: A Biography* (New York, 1954), p. 153.

²¹ Charles Francis Adams, "Diary," October 8, 9, 11, 1862 (microfilm copy on deposit at the Indiana University Library and used by permission of the Adams Manuscript Trust). Adams thought the speech would "change the face of our affairs here."

Aware of Gladstone's pro-South temper and his tendency toward talkativeness, Adams consoled himself with the thought that the chancellor had expressed a private view and not one authorized by his associates. That hope received a substantial boost a week later when another member of the Cabinet, George Cornwall Lewis, told a Hereford audience that the South had not yet satisfied the criteria for recognition set by international law. Therefore, he said, the interests of the country could be best served by an inflexible adherence to the Queen's Proclamation of Neutrality and to the government's policy of non-interference.²²

News of the Hereford speech relieved the mind of the American minister, for it told him that if Gladstone spoke for the Cabinet, he did not speak for a unanimous one. Perhaps, Adams mused, the chancellor had "overshot the mark."²³ But with no way of testing that thought, he realized that the danger was not past. He knew that Lord Lyons was still in England and feared that Russell might make his Washington representative the instrument of a more forceful policy. If Adams had known the full story of what was taking place behind the scenes, he would have had added reason for apprehension.

Six days after the Newcastle speech (October 13) Russell gave Cabinet colleagues a memorandum on American affairs. Seemingly, he sought to exploit the Gladstonian gaffe to rally opinion for intervention. He argued that the South had shown determination and ability to resist conquest; that sentiment for reconstruction of the Union was weak in the South; that the Emancipation Proclamation would cause a slave insurrection. Under these conditions, it seemed proper for the powers of Europe to propose an armistice to allow a calm appraisal of the advantages of peace. One may note in passing that this memo fell far short of active mediation and recognition: Russell would not or could not spell out the specifics of an armistice or the means by which it might be implemented.²⁴

Almost as if in direct rebuff to Russell, and apparently on

²² Adams, *Britain and the Civil War*, II, pp. 50-51.

²³ C. F. Adams, "Diary," October 16, 1862.

²⁴ Palmerston Papers, HMC, copy of Russell's "Memorandum on the American Civil War," October 13, 1862, printed for the Foreign Office.

his own initiative, Lewis, as noted, spoke at Hereford. Although that speech had no more sanction than Gladstone's, it tipped off the press and public that the Cabinet had made no final decision on America. The Hereford speech and a later memorandum prepared by Lewis were parts of a two-pronged attack on Russell's proposed departure from neutrality; and because Lewis did not speak as a partisan of either belligerent and because he rested his case on British interests, his words carried much weight, in and out of the Cabinet.

Lewis repeated his objections to intervention, diplomatic or otherwise, in a lengthy, carefully-reasoned Cabinet paper on October 17. While agreeing with Russell on some points, he rejected the secretary's proposed remedy. Any policy other than strict hands-off was "full of dangers," some obvious, some obscure. For his own part, Lewis had serious reservations about the "philanthropic proposition" of Russell, thinking it more likely to do harm than good.²⁵

Meanwhile, Palmerston, upon whom final responsibility rested, had indirectly sounded the opposition leader, Lord Derby, for his reading of American conditions. The response to this overture had indicated that the Conservative leadership strongly opposed any intervention because it was chimerical, apt to arouse the North without helping the South or securing cotton for Britain. Given the passions of the belligerents, mediation could not succeed, even if the intervening powers "knew what to propose as a fair basis of compromise." Britain could not reap any benefits from recognition unless she were prepared to sweep away the blockade at the same time. And that, Derby hinted, might mean war.²⁶

The opponents of intervention received timely support from an unexpected source. A report to the government from America shed useful light on conditions there, revealing that even if the war terminated immediately there would be long delays before any appreciable amounts of cotton flowed to Europe and that the Northern states, especially those in the

²⁵ *Ibid.*, copy of Lewis' "Memorandum on the American Question," October 17, 1862, printed for the Foreign Office. Russell, of course, considered Lewis' speech "imprudent." In his view there was neither necessity nor expectation that a minister should make public "a line of policy not agreed upon by his colleagues." *Ibid.*, Russell-Palmerston, October 18, 1862.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Clarendon-Palmerston, October 18, 1862.



Cartoon from *Harper's Weekly*, 1861. Maryland Historical Society

west, showed little sympathy for a negotiated peace and favored vigorous prosecution of the war. It therefore seemed probable that mediation would neither decrease distress in the cotton districts nor find favor in America.²⁷

This information, of course, undercut much of Gladstone's argument at Newcastle. But Russell, still believing that an armistice proposal, even if rejected, could do no harm, admitted only that recognition would now be "premature" and that no move ought to be taken without Russian concurrence. Apparently, the role of arbiter of American affairs fascinated him, for he held on to it with the grip of a bulldog.²⁸

If Palmerston sympathized with Russell's tenacity, he was himself too seasoned and too shrewd to ignore realities. The Prime Minister clarified his thinking on interventionism in an

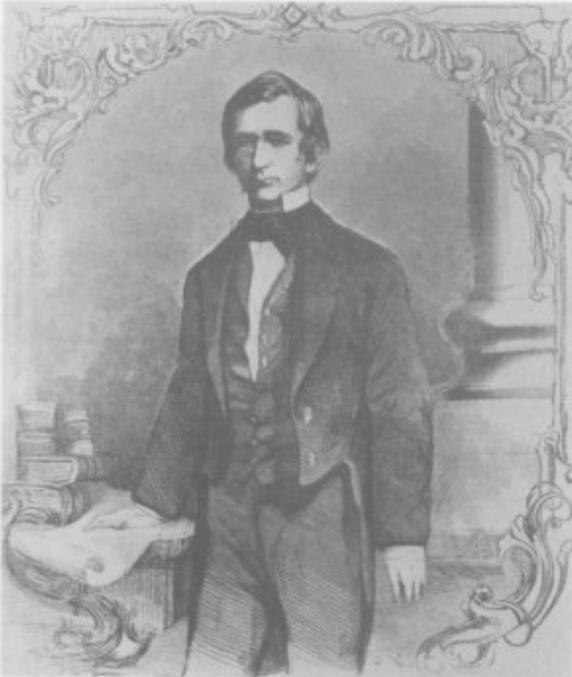
²⁷ Adams, *Britain and the Civil War*, II, p. 53.

²⁸ Palmerston Papers, HMC, Russell-Palmerston, October 18, 1862.

exchange of views with his secretary in late October. While calling his colleague's view of American conditions "comprehensive and just," Palmerston was nevertheless still inclined to side with Lewis' view that there was little point in making a proposal that was certain to be rejected. Even an unconditional armistice proposal might weaken Britain's moral position; all that the government might do was to ask the belligerents whether they would consider "an arrangement between themselves." Common sense could predict the answer to such a proposition. To speak of peace to the participants in the war would be, as Pam later said, about as useful as asking the winds to leave the waters undisturbed. Under these circumstances, the mediation maneuvers ought to cease: "I am very much come back to our original view of the matter that we must continue merely to be lookers-on till the war shall have taken a more decided turn."²⁹

Russell did not surrender his scheme. He did, however, postpone a scheduled meeting of the Cabinet on October 23, though he met informally with some of its members to discuss an armistice proposal. He then turned his thoughts to a meeting with Minister Adams, who, after two weeks of apprehension and uncertainty, had decided to seek official explanation of the remarks at Newcastle. He learned that the Cabinet and Prime Minister "regretted" the speech because it conveyed an erroneous impression that Her Majesty's government had altered its policy, when in fact no change had been sanctioned. Russell did not think it necessary to disclose his own pique at Gladstone's ill-timed revelation that a re-examination of American affairs was underway. He told Adams, straightforwardly enough, that the government wished to adhere to strict neutrality and allow the struggle to settle itself. He was careful, however, to make no promises about the future. When Adams asked if Britain would continue its present policy, Russell said, "yes." Reassured by the answer, Adams perhaps took it more positively than Russell intended it. Because this interview coincided with a downturn in the discussions seeking an active response to American affairs, the foreign secre-

²⁹ Russell Papers, PRO, 30/22/14, Palmerston-Russell, October 22, 24, 1862; see also George P. Gooch, *The Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell, 1840-1878* (London, 1925), II, p. 328.



William H. Seward (1801-1872), Secretary of State, *Harper's Weekly*, 1861.
Maryland Historical Society

tary could say without equivocation that at the moment no interference was contemplated. If he had any mental reservations about that statement, he kept them to himself.³⁰

The Russell plan certainly was not dead. It retained its lease on life because its creator did not believe an intervention would have the dire consequences predicted by Lewis; nor did he believe that its implementation required a departure from strict neutrality. But opposition to the plan caused him to shift its focus. Originally, he had sought a joint Anglo-French action; then, in response to a Palmerston hint, Russia had been given a part in the play; still later it became clear that "no less than five powers" could operate the machinery of mediation. In good diplomatic fashion the plan was being multilateralized—with the usual result.

³⁰ C. F. Adams, "Diary," October 23, 1862; Moran, *Journal*, II, p. 1083.

Meanwhile, its architect had drawn up a rejoinder to the Lewis memo in which he insisted that his colleague had misunderstood the original plan. Russell argued that he had always counted on a concerted action by the European powers, that he was merely canvassing the possibilities of gaining such support, and that if the Cabinet approved and if the powers agreed, then, and only then, would he propose to the Queen a definite plan for a negotiated settlement between the belligerents.³¹ Perhaps because he believed, with Gladstone, that the Americans ought not to resist a concerted European plea for peace, Russell failed to take adequate account of the probable impact of his plan on transatlantic passions.³² Despite its imperfections the plan remained very much alive after its author had assured Adams that Her Majesty's government contemplated no change in policy.

But if the plan remained, so also did opposition to it. The advocates of non-interference received strong support from the influential Lord Clarendon who, though not in the Cabinet, had close contacts with its members. A brother-in-law to Lewis and Palmerston's emissary in the sounding of Conservative views, and himself a former foreign secretary, Clarendon was well informed about the intervention imbroglio and adamant in opposition to any departure from current policy. In his view, Lewis had made a substantial contribution to national sanity by alerting the country and the Cabinet to the dangers of intervention and by checking the "alarm and speculation" touched off by Gladstone. Clarendon especially liked Lewis' stand-pat approach because it afforded the government a fair amount of flexibility in responding to changed conditions in America. Conversely, he thought the Russell plan rigid and likely to commit the Crown to un-

³¹ Palmerston Papers, HMC, copy of Russell's "Answer to Sir G. Lewis's Memorandum Re Mediation in America," October 24, 1862.

³² *Ibid.*, copy of Gladstone's "Memorandum on the War in America," October 25, 1862. The memo strongly endorses Russell's plan; and in it Gladstone says, *inter alia*, that the Americans could not resist "a general opinion on the part of civilized Europe that this horrible war ought to cease." Neither of the chief advocates of the plan paid much attention to the wishes of the North. It is also curious, though little commented upon, that the proposal violated many—if not all—of the standards by which Gladstone came to measure intervention: i.e. it ought to be "rare, deliberate, decisive in character, and effectual for its end." The Gladstonian standards are quoted (in a different context) by Donald Southgate, "The Most English Minister . . ." *The Policies and Politics of Palmerston* (New York, 1966), p. 547.

tenable and exposed positions; it would, he thought, place Britain in an "idiotic" pose before the world. The desire for intervention he assigned to Russell's deplorable tendency to be forever active, to his failure to recognize the higher wisdom of occasionally doing nothing.³³

With so little to recommend it, the plan seemed safely dead—or so its opponents thought. In late October, however, it took a new lease on life, in part because the crisis in the French Cabinet ended with a new minister in charge of that country's foreign affairs and a new aggressiveness on the part of the Emperor. Napoleon suddenly seemed anxious to play a part in bringing the American war to a conclusion. According to the British Ambassador at Paris, Lord Cowley, plans had been drawn which proposed a concerted effort by the three major powers of Europe—Britain, France and Russia—to arrange a six-month armistice and a suspension of the blockade.³⁴

The French proposal did not impress Palmerston—partly, one suspects, because it was French. Was it reasonable to assume, he asked Russell, that the Yankees would agree to an

³³ Adams, *Britain and the Civil War*, II, pp. 57-58. In late October the first stage of the plan ended. On the 20th Russell informed Palmerston of a letter from Chargé Stuart in Washington in which he reported that all signs pointed "to the word 'wait.'" Palmerston Papers, HMC, Russell-Palmerston, October 20, 1862. The note from Washington takes on added significance when one notes that Stuart had a reputation as "a strong partisan of the South." See E. D. Adams, *Britain and the Civil War*, II, p. 66, n. 3. On the 23rd Russell and Palmerston had concluded that "at the present moment" no advice about the war could be given to the Queen. RA I 36/38, Russell-Victoria, October 23, 1862. After this decision, French interest gave the plan a new lease on life.

³⁴ FO 27/1446, Cowley-Russell, October 28, 31, 1862. In a résumé of conversations with Drouyn de Lhuys, the new foreign minister, Cowley reported that the French minister had noted "a very great desire on the part of the Emperor to attempt to put an end to the war," but that de Lhuys was inclined to wait because the fruit did not yet seem ripe; moreover, Cowley received a strong impression that the new minister had little enthusiasm for the task imposed upon him by the Emperor. Some days later Undersecretary of State A. H. Layard reported that the French did not attach much importance to the offer of mediation in America and that the Emperor regarded it as a duty to humanity. Russell Papers, PRO, 30/22/28, Layard-Russell, November 13, 1862. The French plan, as reported by the Confederate commissioner in Paris, John Slidell, proposed "an armistice of six months, with the Southern ports open to the commerce of the world." *ORN*, III, pp. 574-578. "Memorandum of an Interview of Mr. Slidell with the Emperor at St. Cloud," October 28, 1862. The entire question of the French response to the war has been studied in a definitive way by Lynn Case and Warren Spencer, *The United States and France: Civil War Diplomacy* (Philadelphia, 1970). The authors would like to thank Professors Case and Spencer for sharing some of their findings on this subject with us in advance of publication of their book.

armistice and surrender their most potent weapon? Was it likely that the Cabinet and the Confederacy could reconcile their fundamental differences over the status of slavery? Dislike of slavery and distrust of France prevented the Prime Minister from generating any serious interest in intervention.³⁵

Russell, however, seemed ready to support a plan that dovetailed so nicely with his own, even though by this time he suspected that the Americans would reject an armistice proposal. And again, Lewis spearheaded the opposition. In another memo on November 7, he examined the principles of recognition and the traditional practice of the Crown in such cases and found these inconsistent with the proposal of the foreign office. His argument received the support of "Historicus" (another relative of Lewis!) who argued in the *Times* that premature intrusion in the affairs of another state was a hostile act which might be construed as "a breach of neutrality and friendship."³⁶

Once more the Cabinet divided, though by this time it leaned in the direction of indifference, if not downright hostility, to any interference in America. For the last time Russell played all the old themes; Palmerston embellished them but with little enthusiasm; other members picked the plan to pieces (as Lewis gleefully described the process); with one or two exceptions everyone threw stones at the plan. Much opposition grew out of its partiality: "it was so decidedly in favor of the South, that there was no chance of the North agreeing to it." With Cabinet sentiment decisively against meddling, Palmerston "capitulated" and Britain rejected the French proposal.³⁷

³⁵ Adams, *Britain and the Civil War*, II, p. 61, citing a letter from Palmerston-Russell, November 2, 1862.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63; London *Times*, November 7, 1862.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65, for Lewis' account of the Cabinet discussion that torpedoed the plan and for Gladstone's letter to his wife in which he asserts that the secretary "turned tail" and "gave way without resolutely fighting out his battle," and that the Prime Minister provided only "feeble and half-hearted support" for the plan. See also Palmerston Papers, HMC, Russell-Palmerston, October 25, 1862. Russell had suggested that events in the new year might "show pretty clearly whether Gladstone was right." The Prime Minister had replied that Confederate independence could become an established fact by "the course of events alone." Russell Papers, PRO, 30/22/14, Palmerston-Russell, October 26, 1862. Oddly enough, the Confederates—or some of them—had good information about their chances at this point. In reporting the contents of a conversation he had with de Lhuys, Slidell told Judah Benjamin of a letter dated October

Cowley conveyed this decision to the Emperor, while at the same time the British and French press published news of it. Soon thereafter, Adams and Russell met, though the former still knew nothing about the latter's maneuvers in favor of mediation. Adams told Russell that the British note to Paris would generate good will in Washington. Russell, in turn, remarked that the move by the European governments had been sparked partly by a belief that Secretary of State William Seward might have welcomed an international move for peace. Adams replied in no uncertain terms that such was not the case. He then informed Russell of Seward's mid-August orders to reject "propositions of interference" and to suspend his mission if the South were recognized. The foreign secretary blandly complimented Adams on his discretion in not revealing these instructions earlier. "It is possible," one historian has argued, "that if Russell had known earlier about Seward's absolute opposition he might have thought twice before pursuing intervention plans."³⁸ Such a view might be qualified by noting the further and more likely possibility that Seward's intransigence might have rubbed British statesmen the wrong way, might have added to their interest in intervention. However that may be, the decision turned on a hair; any added weight—one way or the other—would have tipped the balance.

Like many of their countrymen after more than a year of war, Palmerston, Russell, even Gladstone had come to believe that the North could not force the South back into the Union. So, in the autumn of 1862, in part because their concern was heightened by growing economic distress in the cotton districts and in part because repeated demonstrations of Northern military ineptness seemed to leave no alternative, Russell and

24 from an unidentified "friend in London" who was "very intimate" with Palmerston: "My impression is that little or no progress has been made as regards your question [of recognition]. The great majority of the government are clearly adverse to recognition at present, on selfish and narrow grounds, perhaps, but on grounds they think good. *Gladstone's individual expression of opinion goes for very little.*" [italics added] Considering the source, Slidell concluded "we had nothing to expect from England." John Bigelow Papers, New York Public Library, Slidell-Benjamin, October 28, 1862. The note is published (but without the fascinating marginalia speculating about the identity of the "London friend") in *ORN*, III, pp. 572-574.

³⁸ Martin Duberman, *Charles Francis Adams, 1807-1886* (Boston, 1961), p. 297. For Seward's mid-August instruction to Adams, see Moran, *Journal*, II, p. 1057.



REINFORCED TROOPS CARRYING THE BRIDGE OVER ANTIETAM CREEK, AND STORMING THE CONFEDERATE POSITION, SEPTEMBER 17, 1862.

Antietam from *Battles and Commanders of the Civil War*.
 Maryland Historical Society

certain of his colleagues felt that the time had come for Europe to take a hand to protect its interests and to end the slaughter.³⁹

III

Russell almost succeeded. He failed primarily because Lee did not win at Antietam, and that, in turn, cooled Palmerston's enthusiasm for the project. As modifications of the secretary's plan came under scrutiny, the consequences of intervention grew clearer. It became apparent that the North would reject any proposal that seemed to promise independence for the South. Such a refusal meant, of course, a strong possibility of

³⁹ Nevins, *War Becomes Revolution*, p. 272; Duberman, *Charles Francis Adams*, p. 298; Adams, *Britain and the Civil War*, II, pp. 72-74; Beloff, "Great Britain and the Civil War."

British military involvement in the war, and for that, as even the advocates of intervention realized, there was little sentiment. Continued neutrality had its advantages and ought not to be surrendered lightly. Many people recognized, with Cobden, that "it would be cheaper to keep all Lancashire on turtle and venison than to plunge into a desperate war with the Northern States of America."⁴⁰

Fortunately for America, the move toward mediation did not touch any sensitive nerve in the British body politic. It could consequently be debated objectively and unemotionally within the government. When viewed rationally, intervention promised little advantage with high risk. The odds did not appeal to Palmerston. The reasons for his disenchantment with the scheme are set out in a letter he wrote King Leopold of Belgium:

I can assure you that we should have been glad to have adopted the Proposal of the Emperor of the French for a joint communication to the Contending Parties in America if we had thought that such a communication as he proposed could have done any good, and was not, on the contrary, likely to do mischief. There was a time some months ago when we thought an opportunity for making some communication was approaching. The Confederates were gaining ground to the North of Washington, and events seemed to be in their favor. *But the tide of war changed its course and the opportunity did not arrive.*

In the present state of the war it was not likely that the Federals would agree to an armistice; and it was quite certain they they would not agree to suspend their blockades and open the Southern ports to supplies of all sorts of things the Confederates are in want of.⁴¹

The letter may be taken as a fair example of the Prime Minister's mind at work. It shows a nice appreciation of what diplomats call "the realities;" it evaluates the "wisdom and expediency" of intervention in pragmatic terms; it suggests neither sympathy for the South nor rancor for the North (though, to be sure, on occasion Pam was capable of both); and it demonstrates that famous ability to go to the heart of a

⁴⁰ London *Times*, November 13, 1862; Nevins, *War Becomes Revolution*, p. 247.

⁴¹ Palmerston Papers, HMC, Palmerston-Leopold, November 18, 1862 [italics added].

problem. Palmerston knew, even if his colleagues did not, that between recognizing the Confederacy and breaking the blockade there was a step "as wide as the distance which separates peace from war."⁴² He had no wish to take that step. By his understanding of British interests and the ways by which they might be achieved, by his sense of "high responsibility" in crisis, by his preference for peace, Palmerston was able to temper the rashness of Russell and counteract the gaffe of Gladstone. The South might have won the war, Sir Denis Brogan has written, "by military triumphs so complete that Britain and France would have felt it safe—and so right—to recognize the Confederacy even at the risk of war with the United States. That chance went at Antietam not at Gettysburg."⁴³ It went largely because Palmerston correctly estimated the folly of intervention without a resounding Southern success, because he realized better than Gladstone or Russell the futility of asking the North to lose the war, because he recognized that Russell's plan, as Allan Nevins correctly notes, amounted to "Northern acknowledgment of defeat under foreign pressure."⁴⁴ The Prime Minister's handling of the intervention crisis was superb, but it seems strange that even after a century of study Palmerston's contribution to peace is so little appreciated in the United States he helped preserve.⁴⁵

⁴² RA H 51/183, copy of a letter from Palmerston-Russell, September 16, 1863. Professor Southgate reminds us that the popular image of Palmerston "was a distorted image, partly because the public was so attracted to the icing that it overlooked the texture of the cake. The elements of traditionalism, of conservatism, and of high responsibility in the hour of greatest crisis, have often received less attention than they deserve, so that the statesman is submerged beneath the quarrelsome bully, the showman, the poseur." *Policies and Politics of Palmerston*, p. xvii.

⁴³ Denis Brogan, *American Aspects* (London, 1964), p. 40. The essay in which the quotation is embedded, "A Fresh Appraisal of the Civil War," pp. 22-51 has much provocative commentary on the war (including a perceptive estimate of Gladstone's "made a nation" argument); it ought to be read by all students of the war, for it is altogether a model of stylistic clarity, clear thinking, and fair mindedness.

⁴⁴ Nevins, *War Becomes Revolution*, p. 269.

⁴⁵ Even so careful and conscientious a scholar as Professor Joseph Hernon speaks of the Prime Minister as "craftily pro-Confederate in a number of diplomatic maneuvers. . . ." See his excellent *Celts Catholics and Copperheads: Ireland Views the American Civil War* (Columbus, Ohio, 1967), p. 84. A popular textbook in dipomatic history puts the case with compelling candor: "It seemed an ill piece of luck that Palmerston should have been in office as Prime Minister at the time of the American Civil War." Robert H. Ferrell, *American Diplomacy: A History* (New York, 1969), p. 273.

BALTIMORE ORGANS AND ORGAN BUILDING

BY THOMAS S. EADER

No North American church is known to have used an organ before the eighteenth century. Though few Southern denominations prohibited the use of musical instruments in worship as many did in New England, most liturgical churches worshiped by featuring spoken responses, so organs were not required. Usually only urban congregations could contemplate the purchase of such a luxury since problems of selection of a suitable instrument, payment, packing, shipment, installation, tuning and the procurement of an organist were difficult to solve. With plantation economies and the attendant lack of urban development, fewer than half a dozen organs, even as late as 1775, could be found in all of Maryland and Virginia.¹

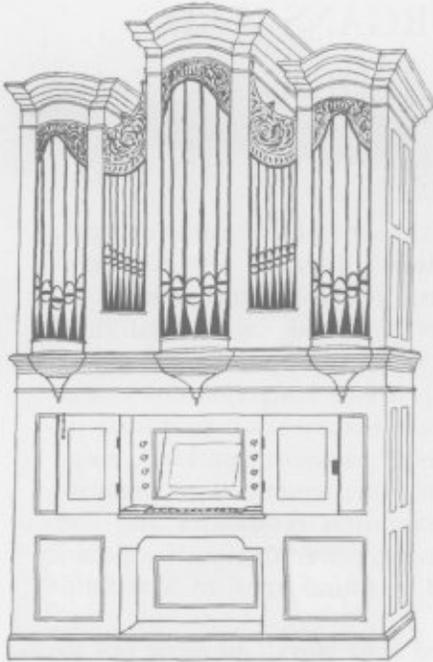
The first organ to be introduced into Maryland came not to the largest, most urban church in the colony (St. Anne's in Annapolis, which obtained an organ in 1761²) but to St. Paul's in Baltimore in 1750. Baltimore was then only a village of about two dozen houses. Little is known of this organ except that it was moved to a new building in 1784 and was so often out of repair that it was useless.³ Baltimore thus led in the introduction of organs into North America.

Baltimore continued to hold a position of leadership in these matters, for in the early decades of the nineteenth century, with Boston and New York, it became a center of a newly emerging American organ building craft. By gathering together scattered bits of information, it is possible to survey Baltimore organs (those either built in the city or built elsewhere but installed locally) to reveal the qualities of the instrument when first introduced and to show how, as time progressed, its nature was adapted to new concepts in musical

¹ Rev. Jonathan Boucher, *A View of the Causes of the American Revolution* (London, 1797), pp. 232-234.

² St. Anne's Vestry Records, 1761.

³ Ethan Allen, *History of St. Paul's Parish*, MS. 13, Md. Hist. Soc.



Left

Tannenberg style organ built for Zion Lutheran Church, Fish Street (now Saratoga), Baltimore in 1796. Drawing by Thomas S. Eader



Right

G. P. England organ built for St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church, Saratoga Street, Baltimore in 1804. Drawing by Thomas S. Eader

thought. While Baltimore was a center of organ building, composers were also experimenting with new modes of musical expression to create a style now termed "Romantic." How local organ builders established themselves and also met the challenges of a period of musical transition indicates another side of the vigor that characterized nineteenth century Baltimore.

Zion Lutheran Church on Fish Street (now Saratoga), the second church established in Baltimore, introduced the city's second organ in 1796. It had been built in Lititz, Pennsylvania by David Tannenberg at a cost of £395.⁴ Tannenberg, best known among the few colonial American builders, had

⁴ K. G. Wust, *Zion in Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1955), p. 36.

produced from 1760 until his death in 1804 at least forty organs which were installed from Winston Salem, North Carolina to Albany, New York. When Zion Church constructed a new building on Gay Street in 1808, the Tannenberg organ was moved at a cost of \$235.08⁵ and served until the building was destroyed by fire on March 30, 1840.⁶ At the time of its loss the organ was valued at \$1,400.⁷

In 1804, St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church obtained two new organs from London, one for its own building to replace the old organ and the other for its chapel, Christ Church.⁸ Later, however, on January 2, 1817 St. Paul's organ was offered for sale.⁹ The newspaper advertisement stated that it had been built by G. P. England in London. Today, a small organ with its original nameplate, "G. P. England, London, 1804," may be found in St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church in Taneytown, Maryland. It was relocated in Taneytown in the 1870's and must be one of the organs ordered by St. Paul's so long ago.

By comparing the London built organ of 1804 and the Tannenberg type used at Zion Church, we may note some few differences. The ideas which led to these changes grew to profoundly influence and motivate organ builders throughout the nineteenth century.

No description exists of Zion's organ, but Tannenberg's remaining instruments exhibit such a closely related design that it is possible to describe it. The pine case, painted white with carvings trimmed in gold, contained five compartments, three rounded "towers" separated by two smaller "flats." The pipes displayed in these compartments were taken from the largest set or stop of metal pipes and were grouped to show the progression from bass to treble. Thus, the form taken by pipes in the case followed their musical function since pipes become narrower and shorter as their pitch rises. All the rest of the pipes to the other stops were grouped internally in the same five sectional plan, the larger ones behind the "towers" and the smaller ones behind the "flats." Thus arranged, a

⁵ J. Hofmann, *History of Zion Church* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 38.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁷ *Baltimore Sun*, March 31, 1840.

⁸ Allen, *History of St. Paul's Parish*.

⁹ *Federal Gazette*, Jan. 2, 1817.

Tannenberg facade was not merely a front, but part of an integrated cabinet and windchest design, the compactness of which permitted the case to best perform its primary function of tone reflector and blender. The tonal structure, based upon well understood scientific principles of harmonic overtones, produced a rich, full bodied sound, not overly loud, but unexcelled for accompanying singing.

A drawing of the G. P. England organ shows modifications made in functional form by the builder. First, a five part arrangement was treated to minimize the effect of a central tower, in itself no crime, but with the tops of all parts of similar height, such a case is not as effective for blending and projecting the tone of the smaller pipes. In the design are four pipes of equal diameter and length. No two pipes of any organ stop can be of equal size, or they would sound exactly the same note, so this inclusion engenders a sense of falseness. Also, the internal arrangement cannot follow the form of this front, for no small treble pipes are indicated.

Trivial as these modifications may seem, they indicate that the case and tonal contents of an organ were no longer necessarily and closely related. Once a cabinet or case was no longer expected to indicate the precise nature and arrangement of the instrument it contained, there was more opportunity for change in tonal design. Tonally, the G. P. England organ was well designed for the accompaniment of singing. Yet, changes of a tonal nature were to come, but only slowly at first.

In November, 1807, Carr's Music Store offered two organs of London manufacture: one was a small second hand single keyboard instrument of eight stops, while the other consisted of four stops, drum and triangle, which was a barrel organ with three barrels, each of which played ten tunes.¹⁰ By turning a crank such an organ was pumped and produced tunes from a pinned drum akin to music box mechanisms; no organist required! Carr's had advertised both barrel and "finger" organs (those with keyboards) as early as 1794.¹¹

When St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church on Broadway was dedicated on November 29, 1807, an organ was used

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. 8, 1807.

¹¹ *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), Aug. 6, 1794.

which had been procured through the great exertions of the Rev. Mr. Moranville, pastor of the church.¹² The dedication of the new building followed so closely to Carr's advertisement of the eight stop second hand London organ, that it seems likely that this was the instrument installed, as difficulty had been experienced in finding funds for the building itself.

The newly completed St. Mary's Seminary chapel also had an organ at least by 1808, for Elizabeth Seton recorded in her journal how sweet it sounded mingled with the singing of the seminarians.¹³ Nothing else has come to light about this early Baltimore organ, but a fragment of a drawing remains of a "Gothic" organ case designed by the architect of the chapel, Maximilian Godefroy. Today, the building is known for being the first example of a Gothic revival ecclesiastical structure in the United States.

John Geib, an English organ builder who relocated in New York City, installed two organs in prominent Baltimore churches in 1811.¹⁴ One in First Presbyterian Church remained in use until 1845,¹⁵ while the other in Second Street German Reformed Church long was used in various locations. It was moved in 1866 to the congregation's new building on Calvert and Read Streets, and finally in 1902 it was sold to a Catholic parish near Havre de Grace.¹⁶

In 1813 James Stewart, piano maker (an example of his work is in the collection of the Maryland Historical Society), advertised that he was prepared to use the skill in organ building which he had gained in Europe.¹⁷ Three years later he was offering for sale a small but elegant five stop instrument of his own manufacture which was, as far as can be determined, the first organ built in Baltimore.¹⁸ In 1819, Stewart closed out his business, according to his advertisements, "due to pressure of the times, to try elsewhere."¹⁹

¹² *Religious Cabinet* (1842), Vol. 1, p. 527.

¹³ Charles I. White, *Life of Mrs. Elizabeth A. Seton* (London, 1856), p. 435.

¹⁴ *Federal Gazette*, Dec. 27, 1811.

¹⁵ First Presbyterian Church Minutes, 1846, First Presbyterian Church, Baltimore.

¹⁶ *First and St. Stephen's Reformed Church 200th Anniversary Booklet, 1750-1950*.

¹⁷ *Federal Gazette*, April 19, 1813.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Oct. 28, 1815.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 16, 1819.



Henry Erben organ built for the First Presbyterian Church, Fayette Street, Baltimore in 1846. *First Presbyterian Church Archives*

Small, single keyboard instruments of the kinds so far mentioned, were available for another century, but they began to be superseded by larger and more complete ones which permitted the playing of more complex compositions than psalm and hymn tunes. The larger organs had more stops to produce a richer and more satisfying sound when played "full" or with the main stops drawn. Also increasing value was placed on the provision of a second keyboard which enabled a solo melody to be carried on one keyboard and a softer or contrasting accompaniment to be taken on the other. Another musical advantage was the quick contrast in either tone color or volume obtainable by transferring hands to the other manual. A third benefit came with the enclosure of the pipes of the second keyboard in a box with movable louvers on one side. Opening these, a performer could produce a swelling effect. Thus, the second and upper manual was called the "Swell," while the lower manual was called the "Great" due to its larger and more powerful tone. Opening and concluding voluntaries were used with increasing frequency in services of worship and required for their intended effect, the variety afforded by these larger instruments. The

instruments were now planned not just for the accompaniment of singing, but also for solo use. As the nineteenth century progressed, the solo role of the organ was given preference over the accompanimental, and the sound and appearance of the organ changed accordingly.

When the new St. Paul's Church was consecrated on March 17, 1817, organ and choral music formed a distinctive part of the service.²⁰ The instrument used was built by Thomas Hall in Philadelphia at a cost of \$5,000²¹ and served until the building burned on April 30, 1854.²² A known stoplist for a similarly sized Hall organ built in 1822 for St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Augusta, Georgia indicates an instrument of standard English design with two manuals but with no pedal keyboard.²³

A program of Sacred Music presented at St. Paul's shortly after the installation of the organ reveals the type of music performed at that time in Baltimore churches.²⁴ Handel and Haydn continued to be popular in the nineteenth century and of course remain well known today. Two selections on the program were offered by men who were closely associated with Baltimore's music: B. Carr and Mr. Meinecke, organists for the occasion.

Another innovator was Maximilian Godefroy. When Godefroy designed the First Unitarian Church which opened in 1818, he again included a drawing for an organ front which was built to house an organ by Thomas Hall of Philadelphia. *Port Folio* magazine published this description of the instrument:

The organ merits particular mention, as well from the classic taste which has been displayed by Mr. Godefroy, in giving it a form perfectly novel, as from the intrinsic excellence of the instrument. It is constructed in the form of an antique lyre, of colossal dimensions, the strings of which are represented by the pipes. The two angles of the front are formed by large pipes. The top of the lyre, which is generally enriched with some emblematic ornaments is formed by a half crown of stars, in the center of

²⁰ *Ibid.*, March 12, 1817.

²¹ Allen, *History of St. Paul's Parish*.

²² *Sun*, May 1, 1854.

²³ *The Euterpeiad* (Boston, 1822).

²⁴ *Federal Gazette*, June 20, 1820.

which reposes a bronzed eagle, amidst gilded rays. The body of the organ is of bird's eye maple and mahogany, and all the ornament of the frieze, the capitals and the bases are bronzed. This truly magnificent instrument, which is twenty-two feet, nine inches high, and sixteen feet, nine inches wide, contains fourteen hundred pipes, the tone of which, as they sweep through the arches under the masterly execution of Mr. Carr, are sublimely melodious. It was built by Mr. Thomas Hall of Philadelphia, to whose skill it does infinite honour.

Godefroy's design for the case illustrates the novel form described in the article, but sumptuous ornamentation cannot redeem a poor basic design. Good design produces a form which satisfies the requirements inherent in an object's function. To make an organ resemble a harp is an absurdity, as the two do not function alike.

After many years of delays and frustrations, the Roman Catholic Cathedral was consecrated on May 31, 1821, with impressive ceremony, and with the use of an organ.²⁵ This instrument of 1819 was a product of the Thomas Hall workshop, by then relocated in New York City.²⁶ The case remains in the north gallery today, a fine interpretation of the three towers separated by the two flats type described earlier. The case and its fine proportions in respect to the building is imposing, but not overpowering, and exhibits the great majesty obtainable by combining and contrasting the organ's pipes in their natural lengths. It is a handsome addition to a noble interior. Regrettably, its fine effect is considerably spoiled today by inappropriate repainting and by a later builder placing meaningless pipes on either side of the original cabinet.

When Haydn's *Creation* was sung by a large group on May 3, 1821 the Cathedral organ was used with such success that the work was repeated on May 8.²⁷ Later sixty voices from the Harmonic Society assisted the regular choir of the church, accompanied by the organ and an orchestra, were used when portions of the *Creation* were sung at the consecration service.²⁸

After the Cathedral installation in 1819, nothing can be

²⁵ *Ibid.*, June 7, 1821.

²⁶ *Cathedral Records* (Baltimore, 1906), pp. 98, 101.

²⁷ *Federal Gazette*, May 3, 1821.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, June 7, 1821.



Hall and Co. organ built for the Brown Memorial Presbyterian Church, Park Avenue, Baltimore in 1870. *Maryland Historical Society*

found concerning organs in Baltimore until February 7, 1835 when an elegant organ valued at more than \$1,000 was reported to have been consumed in a fire which totally destroyed the Baltimore Athenaeum.²⁹ The organ, located in the music salon, was the property of Rial Shaw, teacher of psalmody, music teacher in the public schools, and compiler of several publications of church and other vocal music. At last the hiatus of silence was broken in 1839 with the installation of an organ at St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church (the old Cathedral church).³⁰ Unfortunately, nothing more is known of this instrument.

Such a long gap in the installation of organs can be explained. The major churches had been provided with instru-

²⁹ Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 473.

³⁰ J. H. Frederick, *Old St. Peter's or the Beginnings of Catholicity in Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1910), p. 391.

ments, and wear, disaster or changing taste had not as yet required their replacement. But during the 1840's, however, a number of new organs were installed and several organ builders took up residence in Baltimore. With this new development organ building in the city was on the threshold of a new and tremendously productive era.

One of these new organ builders was Norris G. Hales. The *Baltimore Clipper* of March 18, 1840 contains an account of all that is known of the work of Hales:

Mr. Norris G. Hales, an organ builder of much tact and experience, has recently established himself in this city. The first specimen of his entire workmanship was opened at the Rev. Mr. Morris' Church [First English Lutheran on Lexington Street] on Sunday last and won high encomiums, not only from the members of the church, but from several eminent professors of music. The organ is neat, the case of the Grecian order, compact and modestly ornamented; its tones are rich and effective, the clarabella stop being particularly sweet.

The following description of its stops has been furnished to us: Great organ—Stop. diapason, open diapason, dulciana principal, 12, 15 and 17. Pedal to reduce the great organ to a choir organ comprised of the stop diapason and dulciana. One octave of pedals attached to the manuals. Swell—Stop. diapason down to double g, clarabella, principal and fifteenth to F below middle c, leaving the upper bank of keys a complete organ of itself.

We here note two things new for a Baltimore organ—pedals played by the feet and a shifting pedal to reduce all stops on the Great keyboard to the two softest stops. The addition of pedals enabled a bass to be played by the feet, but without pipes of their own the pedals were not of great utility.

Another builder was John Barnhart who was listed in the 1840 *Baltimore Directory*. Also *Craig's Business Directory* lists in 1842 Henry Judge at 15 Holiday Street as an organ builder and instrument maker. Except for a bill from Henry Judge for tuning and repairing St. Paul's organ in 1847,³¹ nothing further is known of the work of Barnhart, Hales or Judge.

When Zion Lutheran Church was rebuilt after the fire of 1840, Henry Knauff of Philadelphia provided the organ.³²

³¹ Henry Judge to St. Paul's Vestry, 1847, V. F., Md. Hist. Soc.

³² Wust, *Zion in Baltimore*, p. 73.

A swell division was added three years later. The influence of the "Gothic" style so popular during the nineteenth century in church architecture and furnishings was also evidenced in this case which was finally discarded in 1958.

A most unusual organ was fashioned in 1843 for the newly completed St. Alphonsus Roman Catholic Church on Saratoga Street.³³ It had the traditional five compartmented main case, but featured a retarded form that had been popular in European organs of the seventeenth century: a division of pipes mounted at the gallery rail, well forward from the main organ case, called a ruckpositiv. Only three or four similar arrangements in American organs are known during the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. This particular instrument was built in Cincinnati by M. Schwab, and the console formed the back of the ruckpositiv case, permitting the organist to face the altar. The ruckpositiv case still exists, but the main case was destroyed a few years ago in a senseless act of vandalism when a new organ was installed. This Schwab organ was probably the first organ in Baltimore to have a three manual keyboard.

In 1846 the interior of First Presbyterian Church was remodeled, and the ladies of the choir arranged for a new organ to be procured from Henry Erben in New York City at a cost of \$4,500. The old Geib organ, valued at \$1,000 was taken in trade.³⁴ The new organ's handsome five compartmented case was externally traditional in form, but the internal arrangement did not follow the same plan. The tendency towards massiveness that was becoming common in much of the cabinet work of the period could well be seen in this case.

In another instance, with the Hall organ at the Unitarian Church inoperative by 1847 and in need of a new and improved bellows, a committee was appointed to dispose of the entire organ and purchase a new one. Frequently such excuses were given when, in truth, the organ could have been repaired, but probably the instrument lacked either pedals, a swell, or a strong enough tone necessary to satisfy increasing demands for music making. The Hall had served well and had been in demand for musical affairs, but now it was forced to make way for a newer model. The prominent firm of Warren

³³ *United States Catholic Magazine* (1843), Vol. 2, p. 303.

³⁴ First Presbyterian Church Minutes, 1846.

and Appleton in Boston set the price for the new organ at \$2,500 with the old organ in trade.³⁵

The first builder who had come to Baltimore for a long stay was James Hall from Philadelphia. He was related to the Hall family that had built many organs for earlier Baltimore churches. He began work in 1845 at 152 West Lombard Street, and then in 1847 he moved to a large five storied building variously numbered as 3, 5 and 7 South Eutaw Street;³⁶ a shop later occupied by other builders. Always conducting a small business, he operated in what was to become the western of two areas generally favored by Baltimore organ builders.

Later, the *Baltimore Wholesale Business Directory* for 1852 contained an advertisement for H. F. Berger, located at 11 South Frederick Street, and pictured an organ exactly like that remaining in Old Salem Lutheran Church, Ingleside Avenue in Catonsville. The advertisement stated that Berger had lately arrived from Germany and had several organs in his shop for sale. Berger was in Baltimore for only a short while, but continued work in York, Pennsylvania where he became well known.

Another shop opened about 1850 in the eastern area of the city and soon assumed a position of major importance. By 1854 the partners, Messrs. August Pomplitz, a Prussian about 25 years old, and Henry Rodewald, had rebuilt on the southwest corner of Pratt and Albemarle Streets, after fire destroyed the original building on an adjoining lot, and were actively engaged in the construction of several instruments simultaneously.³⁷ Most were small, with one manual and only from four to eight stops, but larger instruments had been commissioned. One, for a Catholic church in Pittsburgh, contained 26 stops in a "Gothic" cabinet 22 feet high, 16 feet wide and 10 feet deep, and was described as having a "brilliant tone and quality, two rows of keys, with pedal and swell organ." The smaller instruments were bright sounding, but not loud, continuing the tonal ideal of the first half of the century. Both large and small ones included stops representing "the most popular band instruments—violoncello, violin,

³⁵ R. Funk, *A Heritage to Hold in Fee* (Baltimore, 1962), p. 63.

³⁶ *Matchett's Baltimore Director for 1847'8* (Baltimore, 1847).

³⁷ *Sun*, Aug. 15, 1854.



Henry Niemann (1838-1899).
Maryland Historical Society

etc.," an indication that the growing interest in special solo effects, orchestral in nature, was being satisfied. Work was warranted for five years, and a choice could be had of "Gothic" or "Byzantine" cabinets. The woodwork was generally painted in imitation of live oak. At the 1855 fair of the Maryland Institute, Pomplitz and Rodewald organs won the highest premium.³⁸

By 1851 the New York City organ builder, Henry Erben, was able to open a Baltimore branch. Erben's New York establishment was the largest in the country, with space existing, even ten years earlier, for thirteen organs, (one very large, with three manuals and pedals) on the erecting room floor at one time.³⁹ Jabez Horner was the branch's agent at first, but from 1853 to 1866 James Hall was agent on South Eutaw Street.⁴⁰

A few organs exist today which were built in Erben's Baltimore branch. One is a small one manual organ of only four stops built in 1851, now in the Presbyterian Church, McLean, Virginia. The finest is a large thirty stop two manual and pedal organ placed in 1863 in St. John the Evangelist Roman Catholic Church at Valley and Eager Streets, Baltimore. This instrument was in excellent condition after 103 years of use

³⁸ *Baltimore Directory*, 1856; *Matchett's Baltimore Director for 1855-56* (Baltimore, 1856).

³⁹ *American*, Oct. 13,; 1841.

⁴⁰ *Baltimore Directories*, 1853-1866.

when the church closed in 1966. Housed in a pine case, painted white, trimmed in gold, it is almost identical in appearance to the 1846 Erben which was in First Presbyterian Church. The rich, bright, but mild full chorus of this instrument is comparable to the subtle complex of color in a superb Oriental rug, all parts working together to form a concisely blending pattern, bright, colorful, rich but subdued.

After the Henry Erben branch closed at the end of the Civil War, the location was taken over by Bernard Tully. Tully continued from 1864 to 1866 at 7 South Eutaw Street, then made a succession of moves, first to 282½ West Pratt Street in 1867, then to 64 South Sharp Street in 1869, later to the corner of Camden and Paca in 1872, and finally to Washington, D.C. in 1875.⁴¹ No work from his Baltimore period has been discovered, and it is unlikely that his activity encompassed more than repair and tuning.

After the Erben branch closed, James Hall again set up shop for himself in 1864 and moved to 216 West Lexington Street, where he remained until 1867. In that year he moved to 216 West German Street, which was a large building and was to be used by subsequent builders. Later J. Edward Schad, Hall's grandson, began working with the firm when in 1881 it moved to 288 West German Street. Schad assumed responsibility for pipe voicing and tonal matters, and he ultimately became a partner in 1884. However, after the death of Hall in 1888, he only repaired, rebuilt or tuned existing instruments.⁴² Schad, who died in 1941, was helped at times by his brother, Walter L. Schad, a local organ tuner. Interestingly enough, in spite of the long period during which the James Hall Company was in operation, no evidence of their work has been found, so their influence, if any, cannot be assessed.

Sometime during the Civil War the partnership of Pomplitz and Rodewald was dissolved, and August Pomplitz was left to continue on his own at Pratt and Albemarle Streets. By 1866 the *Baltimore American* was able to report that Mr. Pomplitz had engaged a large force of artisans to fill many orders for church organs. The Pittsburgh area received several

⁴¹ *Baltimore Directories, 1864-1875.*

⁴² *Sun*, Nov. 3, 1927. Obituary notice of Mrs. Elizabeth Hall (daughter of James Hall and mother of J. Edward Schad and Walter L. Schad).

sizable instruments, and within the next few years monumental organs with thirty to thirty-five stops were constructed by Pomplitz for Baltimore churches. St. James Roman Catholic Church on Aisquith Street was one, and both St. Michael's Roman Catholic Church on East Lombard Street and St. Gregory's on West Gilmore Street contained others. The St. James' organ has been provided with a new playing action, but tonally it remains as it was in 1868. The St. Michael's walnut case remains, but St. Gregory's superb instrument was ruthlessly axed to pieces in 1960. All of these reflect the heavy arched pediments which dominated the dark walnut cabinets after the close of the war.

In 1870 the trustees of the new Mt. Vernon Methodist Episcopal Church contracted with Pomplitz for a very large instrument for their new church which was under construction near the Washington Monument.⁴³ The organ was designed to include all the new improvements of this country as well as those of Europe. Its fifty-two stops produced an organ surpassed in size by only two others in the entire country. One innovation was the raising of wind by water power, an improvement which proved highly successful and was advantageously applied to other large instruments. The organ cost \$12,000 exclusive of the case which required an additional \$3,000 to construct. Walnut, in both light and dark tones, enclosed the lower portions of the instrument, while the pipes in the upper part of the front were gilded and trimmed in colors which had been selected to harmonize with the church interior. Today, such an organ would cost at least \$100,000, but in the 1870's the cost to a large church might be from \$3,000—\$5,000 for a two manual organ of adequate size.

Later in 1871 Thomas Winans contracted for a two manual, thirty-five stop organ for the new concert room in his residence on West Baltimore Street.⁴⁴ The organ cost \$8,000 and contained five full octaves in the manuals, while the pedal compass was extended to include twenty-seven notes. This pedal organ compass, which remained standard until the close of the nineteenth century, enabled all the concert compositions of the period to be played. Every instrument in a well regulated

⁴³ *Sun*, Nov. 24, 1870.

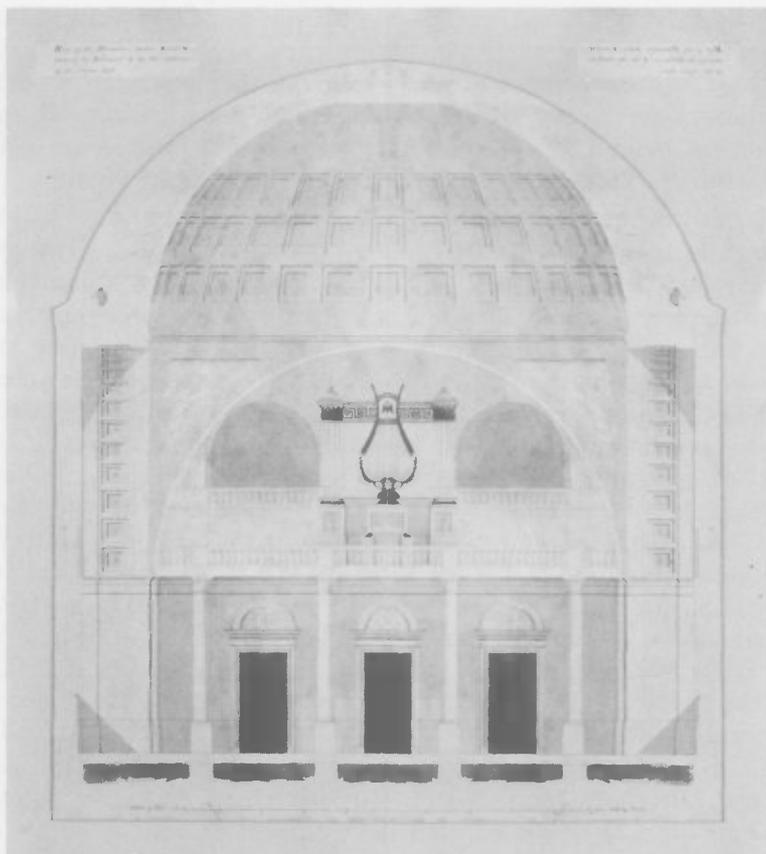
⁴⁴ *Sun*, July 14, 1871.

concert orchestra was represented, and when desired, wind could be dispensed with and the organ could be used as a piano.

The requirement now was that an organ have many solo stops, so larger and larger organs became the rule. With the musical potential depending upon the number and variety of these solo stops and upon the power contrasts available, builders began dispensing with mild choruses, composed of many pitched ranks of diapason pipes, and obtained power with fewer, more boldly voiced pipes. In the process, clearness and a rich textured sound, so useful in the accompaniment of singing, was sacrificed. Increased power demanded higher wind pressures, but higher wind pressures increased the weight of the keyboard touch, so experiments were conducted to devise different key actions that would permit both light key touch and heavy windchest pressure. Thomas Winans himself was quite interested in these innovations, and many drawings of action improvements can be found among his papers.

After the Civil War, not only were the compasses of both manuals and pedals extended, but consoles were changed to make registration, the term applied to the choosing of stops, easier. Keyboards had formerly been recessed into the lower central portion of the case with the stops arranged in vertical rows on each side of the manuals. The recess had been closed by folding or sliding doors, as shown in the drawings of the Tannenberg and England organs. Newer consoles had key desks, similar to slant top desks, which projected from the front of the case and were covered by a folding lid which were hinged in back to form a music rack. The stops were placed beside the keyboards in horizontal rows or terraces, and the stop face, with the make of that particular stop engraved upon ivory, angled so as to be easily seen by the organist.

During the 1870's as August Pomplitz was coming to the end of his career, Henry Niemann established himself in Baltimore and worked on developing and furthering Romantic ideals. Niemann, born in 1838 in Asnabruch, Germany, had served there as an apprentice cabinet maker. In 1857 he came to this country and gained employment with John Closs, an organ builder in Cincinnati, but after two years there he went to London to study under the well known



Design of the Thomas Hall organ, 1818, for the Unitarian Church, Franklin Street, Baltimore by Maximilian Godefroy. *Unitarian Church Archives*

builder and experimenter, Barker. Barker was famous for inventing a pneumatic system for opening the valves of the windchest to permit the key touch to remain as light as that of a piano-forte. After concluding two years of study, Niemann next entered the factory of the famous Cavaille-Coll in Paris and stayed there five years. Cavaille-Coll was renowned for his beautiful voicing of orchestral stops and the powerful voices of trumpet like tone. After completing several small organs in Paris, Niemann went to Meppen, Germany and built a large three manual organ costing \$8,000, for the Parr

Kirche in that city. After touring all the largest factories and examining the new methods, he returned to the United States in 1872 and opened his business at the corner of Caroline and Holland Streets in Baltimore. Later in 1878 he moved to numbers 10 and 12 North High Street, and in the same year he won the Maryland Institute Exhibition Gold Medal.⁴⁵

By the time of his death on October 26, 1899, he had built about forty organs for Baltimore churches alone, and many others had been shipped to all parts of the country. Niemann instruments produce a clear, powerful sound which engulfs the listener in a dazzling fullness of tone, quite superseding in boldness and brilliance earlier Baltimore organs. Niemann did not adopt the pneumatic key action that was always used by his teacher Cavaille-Coll, but employed the old direct linkage of wooden traces between key and windchest valve, called tracker action. In some of his later instruments he did use the pneumatic system to operate the stops. The Baltimore Cathedral had one of his instruments in the Sanctuary, and it was the first three manual organ in the country to have two swell boxes. When the chancel of the Cathedral was enlarged in 1890, Niemann bought the organ, and then sold it in 1892 to the Associate Reformed Church on the corner of Maryland Avenue and Preston Street. Organs built by Niemann are still in use in St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church on Hollins Street, Otterbein United Brethren Church on Conway Street, and in the Unitarian Church on Franklin Street, to name a few.

The cases of Niemann organs were nothing more than wood panels topped by rows of meaningless large diametered pipes, all of nearly equal length. Often these false fronts contained pipes distorted in appearance by elaborate applications of painted or stenciled designs in many colors. After 1899, Frank Niemann, Henry's son, continued the business of building organs but in 1908 had suspended operations.

After August Pomplitz died on February 3, 1877,⁴⁶ J. W. Otto, who had worked for Pomplitz for many years, took over the business at the Pratt and Albemarle Street location and

⁴⁵ *Illustrated History of the Baltimore Federation of Labor* (Baltimore, 1900), p. 199.

⁴⁶ Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

continued to build organs under the name Pomplitz Church Organ Company. The business ceased operation about 1896.

Another important late nineteenth century organ maker was Hilbourne Roosevelt. As Henry Niemann had done, Roosevelt had toured the largest organ works in Europe. During the 1880's his success made the Roosevelt Organ Works in New York City one of the largest in the country. A Baltimore branch was opened in 1883 at 218 West German Street, the shop formerly used by James Hall.⁴⁷ Roosevelt organs were held in the highest esteem throughout the country because of the superior quality of the workmanship and because of the refinement of tone. The full sound was as powerful as Niemann's work, but was by comparison, much smoother. Roosevelt experimented constantly and patented the first adjustable combination stop action—a system of toe operated levers which drew on groups of stops in advance by the organist. Roosevelt was the first to perfect a key and windchest action operated by electricity, which not only ensured a light key touch, but permitted the separation of key desk from the main body of the instrument in circumstances where the size of the organ made its accommodation within the church a problem.

The Roosevelt shop in Baltimore had, in the rear, an erecting room three stories in height for the setting up and testing of even the largest instruments. Adam Stein managed the Baltimore works, but he was called to the New York factory in 1887 after the death of Hillbourne Roosevelt. William F. Hastings managed the Baltimore branch until 1893⁴⁸ when Stein returned after Frank Roosevelt, Hilbourne's brother, closed all operations entirely. Now Adam Stein continued his work at the German Street address and built organs under his own name until 1912.⁴⁹ He was the last Baltimore builder who was capable of producing on one premises all of the parts necessary for the fabrication of an organ.

In 1900, another Roosevelt employee, C. Louis Miller, took over the Maryland Organ Company which had begun in 1894

⁴⁷ *Wood's Baltimore City Directory* (Baltimore, 1883).

⁴⁸ *Baltimore Directory*, 1893 *R. L. Polk & Co's Baltimore City Directory* (Baltimore, 1893).

⁴⁹ *Baltimore City Directory* (Baltimore, 1912).

under the management of Charles Tillman. But only a few organs were built. One of them, marked No. 2, is still to be found in St. Stephen's and St. James' Lutheran Church at Hanover and Hamburg Streets in Baltimore.

Although Baltimore builders were able to construct instruments that were the equal, if not superior in design and size to any in the country, many churches obtained their instruments from elsewhere. Builders whose work was known in Baltimore included the Halls, Jardines and the Odells of New York City, Hook and Hastings of Boston, Johnson and Son of Westfield, Massachusetts, Lyon and Healy of Chicago, Barkoff in Pennsylvania and others. Since the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the firm of Moller has provided organs for many churches from a Hagerstown location, but their development into what is today one of the world's largest factories is not a part of the Baltimore story.

The few Baltimore organs described indicate that many builders contributed to the realization of an instrument that was capable of expressing the contrasts in tone color and volume with a wealth of orchestral solo color which was demanded in the interpretation of Romantic music. The gradual process of change is still very much in evidence, but today the tonal, mechanical and visual qualities of the pre Romantic organ are favored, and the character of the late nineteenth century organ is held in lower esteem.

No matter what tonal ideal is found suitable in our time, or in any future time, the organs of the nineteenth century in Baltimore give testimony to the successful ability of their makers to accept the challenge of changing taste and to combine, with imagination, the use of skilled craftsmanship and fine materials to produce a product of superior utility and individuality. These attributes will always mark the work of the best artists.

SIDELIGHTS

GLENN'S "HILTON"

BY ED H. PARKISON

"HILTON" became the largest privately owned estate in southwest Baltimore County during the latter half of the 19th Century,¹ with holdings of nearly 1100 acres. This was the country seat of John Glenn, a prominent Baltimore attorney and judge of the United States District Court,² which remained in his family well into the 20th century.

Located in the First Election District, "Hilton" extended along the Patapsco River from Ilchester to below Orange Grove, and from the river northeastwardly to the neighborhood of Rolling Road where its boundaries ran from below Wilkens Avenue up to the present vicinity of Gary Drive and Park Grove Road in Catonsville.

The estate has provided the lands and buildings for the Catonsville Community College, and has also supplied much of the acreage of the Patapsco State Park, as well as homesites for several dozen families in the Catonsville area. It is because the lands of "Hilton," to a greater or lesser degree, touch and concern nearly every family in that part of Maryland where they are situated, that it has become increasingly important to document the geographical history of the estate as a means of preserving and disseminating a portion of the regional heritage, and to provide these citizens with an awareness and a vicarious sense of "belonging" to this land which they use and/or upon which they live.

The geographical history of "Hilton" will be examined in the light of its sources as derived from the original land grants and subsequent changes in ownership, and its relationship to the Glenn family through its partition and disposition, culminating in its present usage with a view toward the future.

¹ C. M. Hopkins, *Atlas of Baltimore County, Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1877 and reprinted by Baltimore County, 1968), pp. 16 and 34. Hopkins credits the estate with over 1100 acres.

² He occupied the seat of his father, Judge Elias Glenn, from 1852 until his death. As an attorney, John Glenn had been reputed to have had the most lucrative practice of anyone at the bar in Baltimore, and had been mentor to many later prominent people preparing for this profession, such as Severn Teackle Wallis. (Henry Stockbridge, "Baltimore in 1846," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, VI (March, 1911), p. 34, and Frederick Down Scott, S. J., "Letters of Severn Teackle Wallis, 1816-1894," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIX (June, 1944), p. 128.) As a director of the Bank of Maryland, he, along with Reverdy Johnson, had his home ransacked during the Bank Riot of 1835. ("Bank Riot, 1835," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, IX (June, 1914), pp. 157-162.)

TAYLOR'S FORREST

Although Glenn's "Hilton" was composed of parcels carved from four colonial land grants, the nucleus and first acquired portion of the estate consisted of the lands which were derived from the patent known as "Taylor's Forrest" (or simply, "The Forrest").

"The Forrest" was not only one of the first of the original grants in southwest Baltimore County, it was also the largest³ (excluding some larger resurveyed grants in the eighteenth century), containing 1800 acres. It was a rectangular tract, originally patented as measuring 302 perches⁴ by 956 perches (approximately 3 miles long by 0.9 miles wide), whose principal boundary ran northwesterly.⁵

"The Forrest" was surveyed in 1678 for Col. Thomas Taylor, a colonial landowner and London merchant, who held the fee until he presented it to his son John in a deed of gift in 1709.⁶ John Taylor (also spelled Taillor) sold the tract to the Galloway family in 1742,⁷ where it remained until 1761 when it was purchased by Caleb Dorsey, the Ironmaster.⁸ At this time, the first division of "Taylor's Forrest" was made when Dorsey conveyed 130 acres to John Owings.⁹ Dorsey then retained the remaining portion until his death in 1772.

The will of Caleb Dorsey specifically stated that "Taylor's Forrest" was to be held as a tenancy in common by his two sons, Edward and Samuel, but the latter died in 1777, leaving a son and heir, Edward Hill Dorsey (also known as Edward Dorsey of Samuel), along with his widow, Margaret, and two daughters, Eleanor and Mary Anne.¹⁰

³ George C. Keidel, *Early Catonsville and the Caton Family* (Baltimore, 1944), pp. 59, 60, and 65.

⁴ 1 perch = 1 rod = 16½ feet.

⁵ Md. Patent Liber 15, folio 611, Hall of Records, Annapolis (this repository hereafter abbreviated as A). The location of "The Forrest" can be visualized in terms of present day geography by placing its westernmost corner, the end of the "first line," a few feet beyond the end of Seminole Avenue in Catonsville, just south of its intersection with Park Grove Road, and its second line running parallel to Park Grove and along Gary Drive approximately to a point where Gary and Payson would intersect. From this northernmost point, the third line runs southeasterly through the Catonsville Senior High School athletic field and the grounds of the Rolling Road Golf Club, crosses Shelbourne and Sulphur Spring Roads in the vicinity of their junction, and passes beyond Francis Avenue. The fourth line travels approximately parallel to Francis to the beginning of the first line, located in the vicinity of the intersection of Rolling Road, Cedar Blvd. and Arlington Ave. in Relay. Nearly the entire length of South Rolling Road lies within its boundaries.

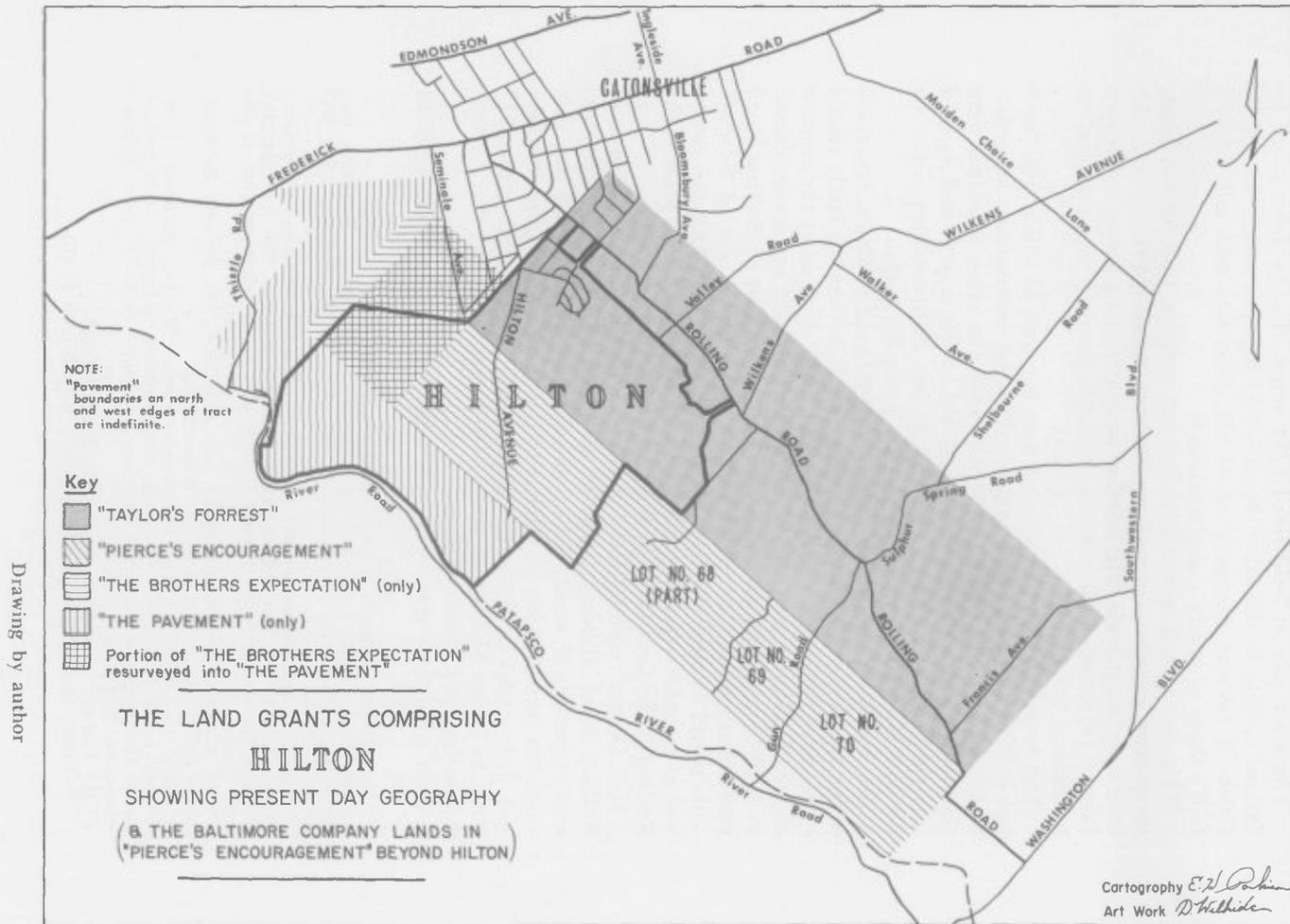
⁶ Provincial Land Records, Liber TP No. 4 folio 95 (A).

⁷ *Ibid.*, Liber EI No. 3 folio 336 (A).

⁸ *Ibid.*, Liber BT No. 4 folio 351 (A).

⁹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber B No. I folio 301 (A).

¹⁰ Md. Chancery Records, Liber 17 folio 97 (1789) (A); see also Provincial Land Records, Liber JG No. 3B (1792-95) folio 662 (A).



The tract was so held until 1784 when, due to debts owed by Samuel's estate to the other devisees and legatees under the will of Caleb, it became necessary to divide the estate and sell Edward Hill's share to satisfy the obligation.¹¹

This was accordingly done, with the division line (drawn along the present lane known as Foxhall Farm Road) splitting the entire tract into two parcels. The northwestern parcel was given to Edward Dorsey of Caleb, and the southeastern portion was awarded to Edward of Samuel.¹²

The latter portion was divided into five lots, of which number 5 was sold to the Norwood Brothers. This lot encompasses a portion of the present town of Relay.¹³ Although the other four lots were also sold, these sales were later nullified by the court¹⁴ and most of this property was conveyed (early in the 19th century) either by Edward Hill Dorsey in his own right, or by his heirs.

The northwestern parcel, awarded to Edward of Caleb, remained in his hands until his death in 1799, at which time his lands passed to his five children,¹⁵ and which were to be divided at the coming of age of his elder son, Hill Dorsey. This partition was accomplished in 1815¹⁶ and practically all of the lands northeast of Rolling Road were awarded to Hammond Dorsey, the younger son of Edward. This parcel became the Somerville estate, later the Lürman estate, and at present constitutes the Catonsville Senior High School, the Rolling Road Golf Club, and numerous homes.

Hill Dorsey received most of the land on the southwest side of Rolling Road, although some of the other children were awarded smaller parcels of woodland in this vicinity. Hill did not live very long after receiving his heritage, and this land passed to his brothers and sisters, who conveyed four contiguous parcels, aggregating 511 acres, to James McCulloch in 1818.¹⁷ It was this land that became the nucleus of Glenn's "Hilton."

This combined tract was purchased by Lennox Birkhead in

¹¹ Md. Chancery Records, Liber 14 folio 136 (1784) (A).

¹² Baltimore County Land Records, Liber WG 128 folio 47, Baltimore City Court House (this repository hereafter abbreviated as B). See also Liber WG 129 folio 340 (B).

¹³ The Norwood Brothers operated the ferry across the Patapsco on the newly opened road where Washington Boulevard now crosses. The lot comprises generally the area between Francis Avenue and the southeast outline of the whole tract.

¹⁴ Md. Chancery Records, Liber 59 folio 369 (1804) (A); see also Baltimore County Land Records, Liber WG W folio 147 (A).

¹⁵ They were Priscilla (wife of Alexander Contee Hanson, grandson of the President of the Continental Congress), who inherited "Belmont," Mary (wife of Daniel Murray), who inherited Rockburn, Caroline (wife of John Johnson Donaldson), Hill, and Hammond.

¹⁶ Md. Chancery Records, Liber 91 folio 411 (1814) (A).

¹⁷ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber WG 144 folio 64 (B).

1827,¹⁸ who in turn sold two portions of the tract, the larger of which was a long narrow strip running from the northwest edge of "The Forrest" paralleling Rolling Road (and bordering it for approximately ½ mile) to and including the previously mentioned division lane.¹⁹ The other parcel, which was much smaller and lay on the opposite side of Rolling Road, became part of the Somerville & Lürman estates.²⁰

The remaining 391 acres were sold to Samuel Smith Buchanan (greatnephew of General Sam Smith) in 1837,²¹ and by him within a few weeks to Wm. C. Glenn,²² who held the property for about 4 years. Then, on June 29, 1842, for a purchase price of \$25,000, "Hilton" passed into the hands of Judge John Glenn,²³ and parts of it remained in his family for over a century.

It is not specifically known what buildings there were on "Hilton" when it was purchased by Judge Glenn, but it is documented that in 1815 there were "no buildings whatever" on the portion of the lands belonging to the late Edward Dorsey of Caleb northeast of Rolling Road, and only "a log dwelling house, kitchen, stable and other buildings, with a large orchard" southwest of Rolling Road.²⁴ This statement would tend to dispute certain local traditions concerning the colonial origin of various presently existing buildings on these lands.

The first reference found to the use of the name "Hilton" was in 1835 during the tenancy of the Buchanan family, who were in possession (and actually lived on the land) for a longer period of time than the duration of their fee simple estate.²⁵

The land records of Baltimore County are replete with the real

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Liber WG 192 folio 187 (B).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Liber WG 201 folio 161 (B). This parcel, containing 110 acres, became the estate known as "Bellevue" and now contains many residences, St. John's United Church of Christ, the future home of the YMCA, and the frontage of the Catonsville Community College.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Liber WG 203 folio 195 (B). The ten acres of this lot now comprise portions of the the Rolling Road Golf Club, the Rolling Road School, and frontage along both sides of Wilkens Avenue.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Liber TK 276 folio 136 (B).

²² *Ibid.*, Liber TK 276 folio 141 (B); this was probably a brother of Judge John Glenn.

²³ *Ibid.*, Liber TK 321 folio 222 (B).

²⁴ Md. Chancery Records, Liber 91 folio 411 at 419 (A).

²⁵ It was recorded at that time that "The crops at Hilton, which at one time were worse than unpromising, have, as to rye, corn, oats, and potatoes, make the appearance of being excellent. The wheat, although it will be deficient in quantity, will be fine in quality." (James A. Buchanan to Wm. Boyd Buchanan, July 14, 1835, James A. Buchanan Papers, MS. 1220, Md. Hist. Soc.) It is generally difficult to determine possessory interest from official sources because the recording of title transfers was usually limited to freehold estates. The rent rolls indicate, however, that Edward Dorsey was in possession of 900 acres of Taylor's Forrest near the beginning of the eighteenth century. ("Maryland Rent Rolls: Baltimore County," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XX (September, 1925), p. 290.)

estate transactions of Judge Glenn, and it is not known whether it was his intention to found a dynastic empire, or whether he merely wished to use "Hilton" as a means of investment. At any rate, additional lands were annexed to "Hilton" in 1847 and 1852 by him from sources other than "Taylor's Forrest."

OTHER ORIGINAL GRANTS

"Pierce's Encouragement" was an original patent that was surveyed for Capt. John Pierce in 1677, prior to "Taylor's Forrest." It was very nearly rectangular, 1000 acres in area, and adjoined "The Forrest" on the southwest, with coincidental "first lines."²⁶ This patent was sold by Capt. Pierce's son to Wm. Digges in 1680 for 13,000 lbs. of tobacco.²⁷

"The Brother's Expectation" was an original rectangular patent granted in 1695 to George Hollingsworth for 250 acres of land contiguous to "The Forrest" and "Pierce's Encouragement" along their northwest boundaries.²⁸

THE BALTIMORE COMPANY

Most of the "Brother's Expectation" was sold by the heirs of Hollingsworth to The Baltimore Company in Iron Works in the mid eighteenth century.²⁹ This company was a partnership formed for the purpose of manufacturing and exporting iron that was mined and processed in the Patapsco Valley, and its members included several of the Carrolls, the Dulaneys and Benjamin Tasker.³⁰ To accomplish this mission, vast quantities of land were required to provide a source of iron ore, and equally important, to supply timber to fuel the company's hungry furnaces located on the banks of Gwynn's Falls near its outlet into Baltimore Harbor.

There was a considerable amount of vacant land adjacent to "The Brother's Expectation," most of which was annexed by resurvey for The Baltimore Company into a new patent, known as "The Pavement," in 1748 with the quantity of 535 acres.³¹ "The Pave-

²⁶ Md. Patent Liber 19 folio 573 (A). The width of Pierce's Encouragement was 167 perches at the northern end and 157 perches on the southern end, which extended to the vicinity of the Thomas Viaduct near the colonial town of Elkridge Landing. The futility of locating the "beginning tree" of these two grants becomes apparent when it is discovered that in 1785 a commission was formed for the purpose of restoring the boundaries of "The Forrest" which were in danger of becoming lost. At that time, a middle aged witness was called to testify that as a boy he had been shown the stump of the bounded tree, which had long since disappeared. General Court Land Records Liber WG Y folio 72 (A).

²⁷ Provincial Land Records, Liber WRC No. 1 folio 179 (A).

²⁸ Md. Patent Liber C No. 3 folio 270 (A).

²⁹ Provincial Land Records, Liber EI No. 8 folio 339 (A).

³⁰ Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber PL No. 8 folio 220ff.

³¹ Md. Patent Liber BY & GS No. 3 folio 72 (A).

ment" lay on the Patapsco River (which formed one of its boundaries). It was also bounded by other patents, such as the aforementioned tracts, and "Christian's Lott," "The Tanyard," "Land of Goshen," and by the lands of Dorsey's Forge.

A few years later, "Pierce's Encouragement" was brought into the Baltimore Company in its entirety,³² and by the time of the Revolutionary War, nearly the entire Catonsville area and southwest Baltimore County had been swallowed by the partnership, with "Taylor's Forrest" being one of the few exceptions.

Eventually, however, ownership in the company changed, due to the deaths of the original partners and the confiscation of the Dulaneys' share following their return to England during the Revolution, and the company was dissolved. By 1805, nearly 14,000 acres of the holdings had been sold, and in 1810 the remaining 12,396 acres were partitioned equally among the five entities in interest into 153 large lots, some of which were several hundred acres in area.³³

Judge John Glenn annexed two of the above lots in 1847, which were designated as lots 66 and 67 in the partition proceedings of The Baltimore Company, and both of which had gone through several changes in ownership during the interim.³⁴ "Hilton" had increased in size to 945 acres by this addition which included 198 acres in Lot 66 (derived from "The Brother's Expectation" and "The Pavement") and 356 acres in Lot 67 (derived from "The Pavement" and "Pierce's Encouragement"). The combined price for the two parcels averaged \$25/acre. 104 acres of Lot 68 (also from "The Pavement" and "Pierce's Encouragement") were added to "Hilton" in 1852 in two separate transactions, the latter involving the acquisition and immediate resale of the lands presently known as Foxhall Farms in addition to the lands desired to be retained by Judge Glenn.³⁵

Judge John Glenn died in 1853, with the size of "Hilton" at

³² "Letters of Charles Carroll, Barrister," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIII (June-Dec.), pp. 196, 373, and 375.

³³ Md. Chancery Records, Liber 79 folio 67-136 (1810) (A); see also Baltimore Company Survey Book, MS 66, Md. Hist. Soc. Although most of these entities consisted of only one individual, such as Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Nicholas Carroll, and Daniel Carroll of Duddington, who each received 1/5 of the total property, the other entities included several parties in interest. The confiscated share of the Dulaneys was sold to Abraham and Isaac Van Bibber and William Smith, while the entity belonging originally to Benjamin Tasker descended through Robert Carter, deceased, to seventeen parties with varying degrees of interest.

³⁴ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber AWB 378 folio 85 (B); except for a small portion, containing the present town of Thistle, conveyed by Richard Caton to Ellicott. *Ibid.*, Liber WG 162 folio 753 (B).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Liber 2 folio 123. Baltimore County Court House, Towson (this repository hereafter abbreviated as T). Also see Liber 3 folio 252 and 255.

nearly 1049 acres, for which he had paid an average price of just over \$40/acre. One can merely speculate as to the eventual size of "Hilton" were it not for his untimely death merely one decade following his initial purchase of the "Taylor's Forrest" lands.

Between the death of Judge John Glenn and that of his wife, Henrietta Rebecca Wilkins Glenn in 1891, very little change was made in the size of the estate. Eighteen acres from "The Pavement" were added in 1860 by the purchase of an additional portion of Lot 68 bordering on the Patapsco River near Orange Grove,³⁶ and approximately four acres of "Taylor's Forrest" were bought in 1887 to give access to "Hilton" from the northern part of South Rolling Road.³⁷ The latter lands include the first few hundred feet of the present Brook Road and Newburg Avenue on the immediate west side of Rolling Road, and some land between. Except for additional access to Rolling Road acquired near the present St. John's Church,³⁸ this completed the building of "Hilton," with approximately 1071 acres at a total acquisition cost of about \$44,000.

THE PARTITION AND DISPOSITION

John Glenn devised a life estate in "Hilton" to his wife with the remainder to his two sons and four daughters in various legal capacities and with provisions for contingencies in the event of the death of any of the devisees.³⁹ As the chatelaine of "Hilton" for nearly 40 years, Mrs. Glenn outlived her eldest son, William Wilkins Glenn, her unmarried second daughter, Mary, and her third daughter, Henrietta (Mrs. James Kemp Harwood).

Approximately 10 years after the death of Mrs. Glenn, the claimants under Judge Glenn's will petitioned the court for the partition of "Hilton." By this time, the Glenn's second son, John Glenn, II, and their unmarried eldest daughter, Anne, had passed away, leaving only the youngest daughter, Lucy (Mrs. A. R. H. Ranson) as the sole surviving child.⁴⁰

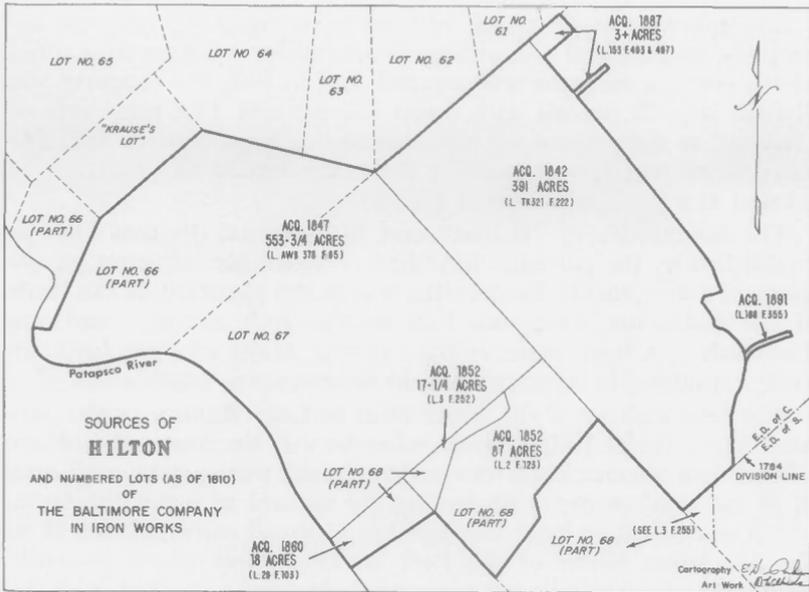
³⁶ *Ibid.*, Liber 28 folio 103 (T). Mrs. Glenn was no stranger to the lands of "Hilton." Her maternal grandmother, Milcah Dorsey Goodwin, was the elder sister of the previously mentioned Edward Dorsey of Caleb whose children had disposed of these same "Taylor's Forrest" lands a quarter of a century prior to their acquisition by Judge Glenn. On the succession of Henrietta Glenn to the freehold upon the death of her husband, this part of "Hilton" was restored to the descendants of Caleb Dorsey, Ironmaster.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Liber 153 folio 493 and 497 (T).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Liber 188 folio 355 (T).

³⁹ Baltimore County Circuit Court Records, Judicial Liber WPC 210 folio 58ff (T). Also see Baltimore Register of Wills, Liber 25 folio 376 (B). See Ed H. Parkison, *The Glenn Family*, MS, Md. Hist. Soc. for genealogical information concerning the Glens and their descendants.

⁴⁰ A Proprietor of the Baltimore Daily Exchange, W. W. Glenn became well known for his pro-Southern stand at the outbreak of the Civil War and was incarcerated in Fort McHenry for several months in 1861 for his views. (Sidney



Drawing by author

The process of partition is extremely difficult at best. It is the duty of the court to grant partition of lands held in concurrent ownership only in those cases where it can be assured that none of the parties in interest will be injured thereby. The alternative to partition is a sale of all the lands and a division of the proceeds. Partition involves problems of determining relative values of various segments of the property to insure equality of quantity and quality, creation of rights-of-way for access, etc. It is additionally complicated by differing degrees of interest among the parties.⁴¹

T. Mathews, "Control of the Baltimore Press During the Civil War," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXVI (June, 1941), pp. 154-155, and Scott, "Letters of Severn Teackle Wallis," p. 129. He was subsequently released and spent the duration of the war in Europe advocating the cause of the Confederacy. (Glenn Papers, MS. 1558, Md. Hist. Soc.).

Messrs. Harwood and Ranson both served as Confederate officers. Harwood, previously a paymaster in the United States Navy, had accompanied Perry on his famous voyage to establish trade relations with Japan. *Baltimore American*, Dec. 20, 1895, clipping in the Goldsborough Collection and the Dielman-Hayward Index, Md. Hist. Soc.)

A co-founder of the Charity Organization Society (later the Family & Children's Society), J. Glenn, II was physically handicapped by blindness and was unable to practice law, in which he had been trained. See eulogy published by Daniel Coit Gilman, President of the Johns Hopkins University, in *The Recollections of the Life of John Glenn* (Baltimore, 1896).

⁴¹ In this case, these interests were both legal and equitable and varied from 29/720 to 1/6 of the total estate.

Attempts were made to sell "Hilton" in its entirety,⁴² but were apparently unsuccessful. Accordingly, commissioners were appointed by the court, a surveyor was engaged, and in 1906 the property was divided into 25 parcels with access easements.⁴³ The gross area of "Hilton" as determined by the commission amounted to 1071.645 acres which was apportioned by the court among the 9 parties in interest at a total valuation of \$139,842.08.⁴⁴

The boundaries of "Hilton" and the internal division lines as established by the partition have had considerable influence on the shape of 20th Century Catonsville, just as the partition of the lands of the Baltimore Company had in the 19th century, and undoubtedly will have more as time passes. Many of these lines are easily recognizable in streets and in development boundaries.

The largest share of the estate went to Lucy Ranson as the only surviving child of Judge Glenn, whereby she, her husband and her children (in various capacities and interests) were vested with over $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total property (including the interest of her sister Anne, which was willed to her). She and her husband conveyed Lot 15 to the All Saints Sisters of the Poor in 1917⁴⁵ (on which presently stands the children's home) prior to their deaths in 1919. Her descendants and their representatives joined in subsequent deeds conveying the remaining Ranson interests in "Hilton" until their complete disposition by 1924.

The largest sale of the "Hilton" lands was to George W. Knapp, who purchased all of the Ranson lands east of Hilton Avenue⁴⁶ in 1922 (including Lot 6 which the Rev. Wm. Lindsay Glenn had sold to the Ransons in 1907⁴⁷ and which contained most of the buildings of "Hilton"). Knapp had already purchased Lot 5 (containing the mansion house) from John Mark Glenn in 1917,⁴⁸ and in 1938 the Knapps purchased Lot 4 from John Glenn, Jr.⁴⁹ These

⁴² *Country Life in America*, April, 1905, p. 563 (full page advertisement).

⁴³ Baltimore County Circuit Court Records, Judicial Liber WPC 210 folio 58ff (T).

⁴⁴ At an average of \$130/acre, this represents a three-fold increase in value in approximately fifty years.

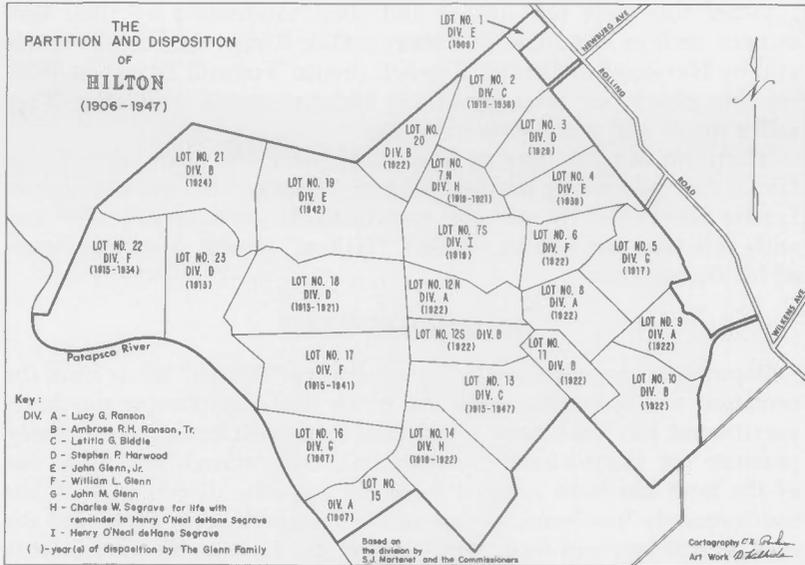
⁴⁵ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 479 folio 282 (T).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Liber 554 folio 333 (T).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Liber 310 folio 474 (T). The Rev. Wm. Lindsay Glenn was the younger son of Wm. Wilkins Glenn.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Liber 478 folio 67 (T). The house was demolished and replaced with the present structure by Knapp. John Mark Glenn was the older son of Wm. Wilkins Glenn and was an attorney, general director of the Russell Sage Foundation, and a trustee of the Johns Hopkins Hospital. (*Who's Who in America* (Chicago, 1948), Vol. 25, p. 924.) He was the head of the Baltimore charities during the great fire of 1904. (G. W. Johnson, et al., *The Sunpapers of Baltimore* (New York, 1937), p. 242.)

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Liber 1040 folio 5 (T). He was the only son of John Glenn, II. He was an attorney and trustee of the Johns Hopkins University.



Drawing by author

buildings and some of the above lands have since become the Catonsville Community College, but much of the land is still owned by the Knapp family.

All of the lands of "Hilton" located west of Hilton Avenue were (and mostly still are) forested woodland. Much of this land was presented by deeds of gift to the State of Maryland between 1907 and 1941 by John M. Glenn and his brother, the Rev. Wm. L. Glenn, for the purpose of establishing and preserving a state forest for the benefit of the people of Maryland.⁵⁰

Subdivision of the lots along Hilton Avenue by the Glenn descendants was begun in the period following World War I. Letitia Glenn Biddle subdivided Lot 2 into 11 blocks (two of which were sold to James McCurley, hence the name McCurley Avenue in Catonsville), Stephen P. Harwood divided Lot 18 into 4 blocks (and from this the Peters family cleared the first "Hilton" land west of Hilton Avenue), and the Segraves (Charles W. and Henry O' Neal de Hane Segrave) split Lot 7 North into 3 blocks and Lot 14 into 4 blocks.⁵¹

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Liber 314 folio 585 (T); Liber 452 folio 11; Liber 1183 folio 236; and Liber 933 folio 241 (T).

⁵¹ Letitia Glenn Biddle was the only daughter of John Glenn, II. Biddle Place and Biddle Court in Catonsville are named for her. She was the mother of

Other lots were sold intact and then subdivided by their new owners, such as Lot 20, which became Oak Ridge. Lot 3, which was sold by Harwood to George Tugwell (hence Tugwell Drive) in 1929, was not developed (into Newburg Heights) until 1953 after Tugwell's death and a subsequent resale.

Then, on the 21st day of May, 1947, over 100 years after Judge Glenn had purchased the first acre of "Hilton," his granddaughter Letitia Glenn Biddle sold the remaining 51 acres of Lot 13,⁵² and with this sale, the last of Glenn's "Hilton" passed from the hands of his descendants.

IN PROSPECTUS

Population pressures are being applied to "Hilton" lands from the direction of Catonsville, with the result that the extreme northerly partitioned lots have been subdivided to a great extent. Conversely, pressure for institutional, recreational, educational, and civic use of the land has been applied from the opposite direction, with the southwesterly lots forming part of the Patapsco State Park, and the east central lots and buildings forming the Catonsville Community College.

In general, it appears that application of the population forces, which are becoming increasingly mobile, will result in subdivision down Hilton Avenue (and spreading outwardly therefrom) to the boundaries of the Patapsco State Park, which at the same time are moving northward as utilities become available. The Rolling Road is becoming increasingly institutional in character from the vicinity of "Hilton" southward. For example, the Catonsville High School, the Rolling Road Golf Club, the Catonsville Community College, the Rolling Road School, The Baltimore County campus of the University of Maryland, the proposed YMCA, St. John's United Church of Christ, Mount Providence Junior College, The Oblate Sisters of Providence, and the Research Institute for Advanced Studies are all located on the Rolling Road within a distance of two miles of each other. Most of these institutions have been lo-

Charles J. Biddle, attorney, who is author of *Fighting Airman: The Way of the Eagle*, a World War I ace in the Lafayette Escadrille and recipient of the Croix de Guerre and the Legion of Honor.

Stephen P. Harwood was the only surviving child of Henrietta Glenn Harwood. Harwood Road in Catonsville is named for him.

Henry O' Neal de Hane Segrave was the grandson of Henrietta Glenn Harwood and was the only great-grandchild of Judge Glenn involved in the partition suit. Later Major Sir Henry Segrave served as secretary to the British Chief of Air Staff during World War I, and was the author of the *Lure of Speed*. He was knighted by King George V for setting the world land speed record and was killed while duplicating this feat in a speedboat. *New York Times*, June 14, 1930.

⁵² Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 1572 folio 78 (T).

cated in this vicinity within the past twenty years. From this trend, it would appear that those lands of "Hilton" bordering on or near the Rolling Road will probably become institutionalized eventually. It remains to be seen as to which of the two forces, subdivision or institution, will win the battle for the lands yet remaining between.

Fortunately, at least, the remaining buildings of "Hilton," which partially preserve the flavor of its past character of a plantation and country seat, by virtue of their adaptive use, have been spared the complete destruction of Caton's "Castle Thunder" (or Brown's "Mondawmin" and Gibson's "Ingleside" where only the vestige of a name vainly attempts to recall visions of past glories) or the ignominy of encroachment to almost the last rood of lawn as in the case of several estates.

Today, very little evidence remains of the Glenns or their past glories in Maryland. Not one street in Catonsville or its environs bears the family name. In the churchyard of St. Timothy's Episcopal Church in Catonsville there stands a solitary monument—a tall stone Celtic Cross reminiscent of the Scottish forebears of the family whose remains repose beneath its grassy base. On this monument, almost severe in its simplicity, is inscribed but a single word—Glenn.

AN ESSAY ON THREE GRACIOUS BALTIMORE HOUSES

BY DOUGLAS H. GORDON

THE three houses owned by the Peabody Institute—33 East Mount Vernon Place at the southwest corner of St. Paul Street and its two neighbors uphill and to the west, 31 and 29—have a historic interest which is probably not exceeded by that of any three contiguous buildings in the City of Baltimore or any other city in the United States. The land occupied by the buildings originally belonged entirely, like all of the Mount Vernon District, to John Eager Howard. His large home, "Belvedere," was situated facing Jones Falls not far from the intersection of Eager and Calvert Streets. The 1000 block of North Calvert Street known as Belvedere Terrace perpetuates its memory as does, of course, the name of Baltimore's celebrated hotel.

The rest of the Howard property was a country estate, the future of which was, as a direct result of Colonel Howard's one-man city planning, to become the most important part of the city. Aside from such gifts as the site of the rectory of St. Paul's Church, he gave land for the Richmond Market, and above all that on which the Washington Monument was built, and on which were laid out the four squares, correctly known as East and West Mount Vernon Place and North and South Washington Place.

The Southwest corner of East Mount Vernon Place in the division of his estate was designated as Lot 82 and was allotted to his son, George Howard. It consisted of a frontage of 184'3" on Mount Vernon Place, having a depth of 179' to Spring Alley now known as Peabody Alley. On its West side the rectangular tract was flanked by a space reserved for Lovegrove Alley which was never built at this point. John Sterrett Gittings, who had bought the land, sold it on May 26, 1836 to John MacTavish and Richard S. Stewart, Trustees under the will of Charles Carroll of Carrollton for Mary Caton, his daughter, during her lifetime and after her death for her

daughters. These were the famous "Three Graces," the first Baltimore belles to give to this city its reputation, acknowledged by George IV, as the place of origin of great beauties (and, in the case of one, the first Baltimore Duchess of a line that ends with Wallis Warfield) and their far less fair sister, Emily.

By 1851 the sole trustee of Charles Carroll's estate was John Eager Howard, Jr. Those for whom he then held title to the properties which had been improved in each case by a three story brick building were Mary Ann, Marchioness of Wellesley; Elizabeth, Baroness Stafford; Louisa Catherine, Duchess of Leeds, and Emily MacTavish, the ugly duckling who had married the British Consul in Baltimore, John MacTavish. She was the only one of the four Caton sisters to leave descendants.

In the partition proceedings which were initiated before Chancellor John Johnson on May 7, 1851, by Grafton Lloyd Dulany, one of the leaders of the Bar at that time, it was asked by the three Graces that the large holdings which their grandfather, Charles Carroll of Carrollton had left to Trustees for them and their sister Emily should be partitioned so that the Trustee would hold specific pieces of property for each sister. Emily, who had agreed to the partition, but had then refused to proceed with the plan, was named as a defendant together with the then sole Trustee, John Eager Howard, Jr.

The defendants answered by another celebrated lawyer, Henry Winter Davis, born in Annapolis when his Virginia father, the Reverend Henry Lyon Davis, was President of St. John's College. He was the hero of the "mechanics of Baltimore" as he called them though others gave them the less euphonious name of plug-uglies. Largely by their efforts he was elected to the United States Senate where he was one of the greatest of its orators. An extremist on all subjects, he was a violent abolitionist who opposed the re-election of Abraham Lincoln on the grounds that he had been too gentle with the South. Like many another radical before and since his time, he had found radicalism not inconsistent with marrying an heiress, the daughter of John B. Morris. This celebrated banker was so conspicuously wealthy that his house on South Street was mobbed during the Bank Riots of 1835. He then

built on less populous West Mulberry Street the handsome house long used by the Cathedral School and now the headquarters of the Catholic Charity Fund. It is the only building in Baltimore that still has a few panes of purple glass, so conspicuous in proud Boston's well-preserved Beacon Hill.

Just two months and two weeks after the partition suit was filed, the parties agreed to the partition and submitted their case to the judgment of Chancellor Johnson. As a result, the corner house, 33 East Mount Vernon Place, then occupied on a year-to-year lease by Robert McLane, afterwards Governor of Maryland, and Minister to France, was awarded to the Marchioness of Wellesley. The adjoining house, awarded to the Baroness Stafford, was occupied by George William Brown, later Baltimore's first citizen as a member of the Board of Johns Hopkins University in its great early days, as a Trustee and *Chairman of the Library Committee of the Peabody Institute* when its famous library was being formed, and above all as the courageous Mayor of the City who on the fatal April 19, 1861, though a Southern sympathizer, deemed it his duty to lead the Massachusetts regiment through the City in an unsuccessful effort to maintain order and preserve life.

To the Duchess of Leeds was awarded the third lot, 29 East Mount Vernon Place, occupied by Captain William Owens. She also received the vacant lot back of the three buildings upon which were later built three very ordinary houses, which have been demolished by the Peabody Institute expansion program.

The first of the sisters to die was the Marchioness of Wellesley. She left the corner building to her sister, Emily MacTavish, with the suggestion that after her death her sister should leave it to whichever of her two sons did not inherit the MacTavish home at 98 (now 800) Cathedral Street. She also left to the Second Duke of Wellington the portrait of his father by Sir Thomas Lawrence. This portrait is a reminder of the fact that the Iron Duke as a younger son without a title had been an admirer to whom she preferred his elder brother, the Marquess of Wellesley. The Duke of Wellington also admired the third of the beauties, later the Duchess of Leeds. To her he gave one of the three versions of the Goya portrait of himself—the very one which was bought several years ago

by the British Nation, mysteriously disappeared from the National Gallery a few days later, and has now been recovered.

Meanwhile on June 21, 1852, Baroness Stafford sold 31 East Mount Vernon Place, the house adjoining the corner to Francis Patrick Kenrick, whose address is given as 106 North Charles Street, the then number of the Arch-Episcopal Mansion where the Right Reverend Dr. Joseph Kenrick, Archbishop of Baltimore, presumably a close relative, was residing. He in turn conveyed it to Mrs. MacTavish on February 17, 1859, for whom apparently he was acting in the matter. But, shortly before her death the Duchess of Leeds sold 29 East Mount Vernon Place to Ellen Atkinson.

Although Charles Carroll MacTavish, according to Wood's City Directory for 1868-69 was living at the corner of St. Paul Street and Mount Vernon Place, numbered 35 in the Directory, his mother had two years before sold the property to Arunah S. Abell. He in turn had in 1866 leased the property for a term of ninety-nine years renewable forever to Charles J. M. Gwinn, with the privilege within seven years of redeeming the lease. Mr. Gwinn in addition to being Attorney General of the State was the lawyer who drew the will of Johns Hopkins. This with the Charter of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad were certainly the documents which had the most profound effect on the City of any ever executed.

Just before the expiration of the seven years, the lease was redeemed and Mr. Gwinn became the owner of the fee simple title to the property. Shortly afterwards he conveyed it to a trustee to hold for the benefit of his wife for life with whose money it was recited the property had been bought. Mrs. Gwinn was Matilda Johnson, daughter of Reverdy Johnson. He had been twice Senator, Attorney General of the United States and Minister to England, as Robert McLane had been Minister to France, who was living in the same house at the time of the partition proceedings between the Caton sisters. Upon the death of Mrs. Gwinn the property passed under the terms of the deed, she having failed to exercise a power of appointment in that deed, to her daughter, Mary Gwinn Hodder, who conveyed it to a real estate man, who in turn conveyed it to former Mayor James H. Preston.

The adjoining property, 31, long occupied by Mr. and Mrs.

W. Hall Harris, Sr., was turned over to Mr. and Mrs. W. Hall Harris, Jr. on February 9, 1915, who remained there until 1943. All three properties ultimately passed on the interests which sold them together with 27 to the Peabody Institute. Title to the properties passed to the Institute on April 13, 1962. A few weeks later the ground rent on 27 was bought from the Mercantile-Safe Deposit and Trust Company. Thus, the absolute ownership of the four buildings and the three which in the rear face on Saint Paul Street, become vested in the Peabody.

The plans for the use of the property have not been finally made. The Peabody Institute has announced it will rehabilitate the buildings South of the Conservatory on South Washington Place. Many hope that rehabilitation, not demolition, will be found a less expensive way for the utilization by the Peabody of the three buildings and their lots, once the property of the Three Graces, the owners and tenants of which have occupied such conspicuous positions in the history of our city, state and nation.

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NOTES ON MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

BY NANCY G. BOLES, CURATOR OF MANUSCRIPTS

THE JOHN HANSON COLLECTION

WHEN Mrs. Robert H. Stevenson generously presented this fine collection of fifty-four letters to the Maryland Historical Society in November, 1969, a large bulk of John Hanson material became readily available to scholars and researchers.¹ Fifty-two of these letters were written by Hanson between mid-1780 and mid-1783, at the height of his political career, to his son-in-law, Dr. Philip Thomas of Frederick, Maryland. (The remaining items are a letter from Hanson to his wife, Jane, and a copy, in Hanson's hand, of a letter from his granddaughter, Kitty, to her father, Dr. Thomas.) The letters are as revealing of his private life as of his civic activities. They discuss political questions, military developments, the progress of the peace commission—all of national importance. And his private comments—his cares about his family and the health of each member, the management of his plantation and the treatment of his slaves—reveal other facets of the patriot, his deep humanity and practicality.

A Revolutionary War leader, an influential member of the Second Continental Congress, and president of the United States in Congress Assembled from 1781-1782, John Hanson was born in 1721 at "Mulberry Grove" in Charles County, Maryland. As a civic-minded planter and landowner, he entered public life in 1757 and continued to serve almost without interruption until a year before his death.

¹ Hamer's *Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States* (1960) and the *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* (1959-1968) do not record any body of Hanson material, and apart from a few letters in various collections in the Maryland Historical Society, the only other collection recorded is mentioned in an article, "Revolutionary Mail Bag: Governor Thomas Sim Lee's Correspondence, 1779-1782." Ed. by Helen Lee Peabody, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLIV (March, June, September, December, 1954), pp. 1-20, 122-42, 223-37, 314-31. Mrs. Peabody states on p. 19, "A biography of him . . . [J. Bruce Kremer, *John Hanson of Mulberry Grove*, (New York, 1938)] speaks of very few of his letters surviving. In our collection, however, there are fifty-six, written to Governor Lee during this period."

Efforts to discover the location of this collection have failed thus far, but the Society would greatly appreciate any information about these elusive letters.

Elected first to the Maryland Assembly from Charles County and then from frontier Frederick County after moving there in 1773, Hanson gained over two decades of legislative experience on the local level. He played an active role in the revolutionary stirrings in Maryland and stood boldly in the vanguard of the sentiment for independence. His championing of the cause of freedom led to his election in 1779 as a delegate to the Continental Congress. When Hanson took his place in mid-1780, Maryland stood alone in refusing to ratify the Articles of Confederation. Not until the states with claims to the unsettled western lands surrendered their controversial rights to the national government did John Hanson and his colleague, Daniel Carroll, sign the Articles of Confederation, completing its ratification on March 1, 1781. On November 5, Hanson was appointed the president of the Congress of the Confederation. He served his one year term faithfully, though he had grown weary of public life and longed for retirement. As he left office in November, 1782, peace was near, and before he died a year later at Oxon Hill, Prince George's County, it was a reality.

The Hanson collection is of course valuable to historians. The comments of this influential Marylander are pungent and very quotable. And student research in these papers could be a rewarding experience. Textbook facts come alive as Hanson recounts the familiar story of the war: American patriotism; the drastic, nearly disastrous shortage of food and munitions to wage the new nation's fight; the fledgling government's financial difficulties because of constitutional restrictions; the André-Arnold plot to take West Point; and the surrender of Cornwallis. History books may move abruptly from the fields of Yorktown in 1781 to the Peace of Paris in 1783, but Hanson elaborates our knowledge of this little known part of the war. He vividly tells of the sea battles and skirmishes between France and Britain off the West Indies which raged for almost a year after Cornwallis was defeated. With Spain and Holland joining the French as American allies, Hanson grew guardedly optimistic that the war was nearing an end.

It was during his term as president that the United States peace commission was established. With rumors of peace rampant, Hanson's chilling cynicism and open distrust of the British and their motives offers a balancing restraint to the jubilation of others. In letter after letter his opinions of the British and the peace feelers are clear. Peace did not come during his presidency but it did come before his death. And it is through the kindness of Mrs. Stevenson, great, great, great granddaughter of John Hanson, that scholars and students alike have an opportunity to gain further insight into the Revolutionary-Confederation period.

GENEALOGICAL NOTES

By MARY K. MEYER

IN this decennial year of 1970, the Federal Census Form arrived on schedule. Upon examining the form, I was amazed to find that one of the more important items, place of birth of each individual, that in the past had been required, had been omitted. I found myself projecting my sympathy across the next hundred years to some hapless genealogist in search for his ancestor's birthplace.

Omitting this vital information from one decennial census is in itself relatively unimportant. But should it be omitted from future censuses, it will eventually present a serious problem to the genealogist. The Federal censuses have in the past been one of the most important sources of genealogical information.

The first Federal Census was taken in 1790 and was a simple project. It listed only the name of the head of the household, the number of males over 16 years of age to give the newly formed government an idea of the number of men available for military service, the number of males under 16 years of age, the number of females, the number of other free persons in the household and the number of slaves. It was primarily a head count and was used to apportion seats in the House of Representatives.

In each succeeding decennial census more detailed information on the family unit was requested, but it was not until 1850 that each person in the household was listed by name. This same census showed age and birthplace of each individual as well as other items such as type of dwelling, occupation, ability to read and write, mental capability, etc. As the years passed, the censuses become far more detailed as government agencies, schools, manufacturers, and the various states needed to compile statistics to enable them to project growth and future needs.

Microfilm copies of the censuses for 1790 through 1880 of Maryland are available for research at the Maryland Historical Society Library. The 1790 census is also available in printed form; however, there are numerous omissions and errors in

spelling of names due to the sometimes illegible handwriting of the census taker. But the use of the original of these schedules is recommended when an ancestor cannot be found. Unfortunately, the returns of Baltimore County for 1800 are missing, as are the 1830 schedules for Montgomery, Prince George's, Queen Anne's, St. Mary's, and Somerset Counties.

With the exception of a very few schedules the 1890 census for the entire United States, including that for Maryland, was destroyed by a fire in the Commerce Department in Washington, D.C. in 1921. In 1890 a special census of Union Veterans or their widows was taken. Fortunately, these latter schedules for Maryland are also available on microfilm at the Society Library.

Federal censuses from 1900 to date have not as yet been released to the public for research because of the confidential information contained therein about many living people. It is hoped that the 1900 census will be released for research in this decade.

An important part of the Federal censuses, often overlooked because they are difficult to locate or their existence is unknown is the Mortality Schedules. These schedules were taken in the years 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880 and listed all persons who had died within the twelve month period prior to the day the census count was made. Those for Maryland are in custody of the Maryland State Library, Annapolis, Maryland, and are fairly complete. The National Archives is currently engaged in a project to locate and microfilm the extant Mortality Schedules of every state.

The first attempts at census taking in Maryland were made by the Lords of Trade through the early governors of the Province. These were merely head counts. The early governors sent only the total number of taxables to the Lords of Trade and their successors, the Board of Trade in England. By 1700 the Board of Trade demanded a more accurate head count. The governor at the time, Nathaniel Blackiston, ordered a census taken. All the inhabitants of the province were counted—men, women, and children, regardless of race, or condition of servitude, with names of each person, his sex, age, and color—a total of 32,258 persons. The information was duly forwarded to the Board of Trade.

The Board was not too gracious upon receiving the voluminous report. They took the Governor to task over his zealous effort as they had no need for such tiresome details. They needed only to know the number of people in each county. The Board of Trade then proceeded to abstract the information they needed, sent a copy to the hapless Governor as an example of what they required and then presumably destroyed the first census of Maryland. At any rate, this census of 1700 has never been found.

The first Maryland census of any practical use to the genealogist is the Provincial Census of 1776. Facsimile reproductions of much of this census have been printed in *Maryland Records, Colonial, Revolutionary, County and Church*, 2 volumes (reprint, Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Company, 1967) by Gaius Marcus Brumbaugh. Returns for Prince George's, Frederick, Anne Arundel, Caroline, Dorchester, Harford, Queen Anne's, and Talbot Counties can be found in this publication, whole or in part. The return of 1776 for Deptford Hundred or Fells Point has been published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Volume 25, pp. 271-275.

Another census—the Constable's Census of 1778—was taken to list all males above the age of 16 years who had not taken the Oath of Allegiance. This Constable's Census of Charles County is also published in Brumbaugh's *Maryland Records*. By using the Provincial Census of 1776, and the Constable's Census of 1778 in conjunction with the lists of signers of the Oaths of Allegiance in the various counties, the researcher can usually pinpoint his family during the Revolutionary period, if not completely reconstruct it.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Speak For Yourself, Daniel. Edited by Walker Lewis. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969. Pp. xix, 505. Illustrations, index. \$8.95.)

Unlike his prominent contemporaries, Daniel Webster has not been a subject for major biographers. Claude Fuess' two-volume edition, now forty years old, remains the standard piece. Perhaps in recognition of the historians' neglect of Webster, the editor of this volume decided to permit the Great Daniel to speak for himself. Drawing principally from the eighteen volumes of *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster* (1903), the editor has compiled and arranged letters and orations which present an interesting form of autobiography.

The carefully chosen letters reveal an ambitious and diligent lawyer, studious farmer, avid fisherman and hunter, and devoted father. Webster's brilliance as a lawyer brought him considerable profits and involved him in some of the more important cases of that era. Able and ambitious lawyers eventually entered politics, and Webster was no different. He represented his native New Hampshire in Congress, and after relocating in Massachusetts he soon went off to Congress again.

Though drawn into public life, Webster actually preferred the relaxed atmosphere of his New England farm or the quiet banks of the Potomac when the fish were running. Even when involved in important negotiations with Lord Ashburton Webster, the then Secretary of State took time to advise his farm manager on the use of fertilizer: "Go ahead with the fish. Never mind the ladies." Webster found though that the remunerations of public office were insufficient to finance his and his second wife's expensive tastes, and he was compelled to retire periodically from politics and return to his law practice. Nor, as the letters show, was he reluctant to accept cash gifts from his supporters—a practice that today would bring charges of conflict of interest. The letters reveal, too, a man intensely devoted to his family who was saddened by the loss of his first wife, and then at the age of sixty-six tragically stricken by the deaths of a son and daughter within a few months of each other.

The editor admits that selecting from Webster's works "is like sampling a box of assorted chocolates" and "no two admirers would select exactly the same." Walker Lewis, a lawyer himself, prefers to

see the Great Daniel delivering one of his famous orations before an entranced jury or enraptured audiences. Other readers, this reviewer for one, might like to see Webster the politician. He was, after all, a national leader of the Whig party. This volume affords only scant attention to Webster in that role.

Nonetheless, the editor has attended to his task well. He has identified the correspondents, provided adequate commentary, and compiled excellent portraits of Webster. While we are waiting for a new biography, this book will serve as a fine introduction to the Great Daniel.

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

W. WAYNE SMITH

Democracy in the Old South and Other Essays by Fletcher M. Green.

Edited by J. Isaac Copeland. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1969. Pp. xx, 322. \$8.50.)

The publication of this work offers the reviewer an opportunity to pay tribute to one of the historical profession's most outstanding trainers of graduate students. The quality of their scholarship under Fletcher Green's masterful guidance testifies to his success in a vital but often unacknowledged aspect of the discipline. Moreover, in an age that has witnessed the almost uncontrolled expansion of university life, with consequent turmoil in state legislatures, Congress, meetings of trustees and faculties, and on the campus streets, Fletcher Green's quiet integrity and gentlemanly spirit serve as a needed illustration of how the dedicated scholar should conduct himself. But far from representing the cloistered antiquarian, Green has stood firmly for the principle of academic freedom (before that term became a battle-cry for crude license). When a former student was charged with violation of the Smith Act during the McCarthy era, Green defended him before an investigating committee of the North Carolina legislature, even though some avowed liberals displayed a regrettable timidity and failed to join him in his courageous stand. In a preface, Professor Copeland explains why his students have continued to honor their mentor, for, as he says, "there are qualities of strength and character in him that . . . words fail to convey (p. xiii)."

The book itself could easily be used as a textual model for a certain type of academic performance in courses for graduate students in their first encounter with problems of research and writing. The essays, which span Green's career from 1936 through the decade recently ended, are marked by scrupulous attention to accuracy of

statement and fact, a conscientious regard for the limitations that historical evidence imposes upon the glib generalizer, a clarity of organization, and an absence of disturbing jargon. Green must be placed in company with Evarts Boutwell Greene, Charles McLean Andrews, and others of that school of institutional historians who unabashedly admired the progress of democratic and liberal constitutionalism in American history. He has celebrated this development herein with the same faith that is evident in his *Constitutional Development in the South Atlantic States, 1776-1860* (1930). Yet, his scholarly caution, admirable as it may be as a rule to set before beginning students, appears in this collection as an inhibiting factor. Though Green cannot be faulted for any deficiency in editorial skill, he lacks the breadth of vision, the intense drama (or melodrama, as some might say), sensitivity to irony and nuance, and literary grace of Wilbur J. Cash, his fellow Carolinian. Green is by no means a pedant, but one yearns for that deeper penetration of the soul of the South which can only be achieved by analogy, comparison, and perhaps by that grieving for the failings and tragedies of Southern experience which one finds in the work of C. Vann Woodward, David M. Potter, and Cash.

One example will suffice. At the end of an absorbing summary of Duff Green's promotion of Southern industrialization, Green observes, "His program for economic solidarity in the South bears a striking parallel to that of Count Cavour in the Italian states of the 1850's (p. 64)." His casual reference brings to mind a congerie of possibilities for further exploration. To place this supporter of John C. Calhoun and a railroad enterprise (a paradox in itself) in the context of another underdeveloped, agricultural region, with analogous difficulties in transforming its *infrastructure* and with its similar group of educated liberal elitists, eager to modernize and integrate their region's economy in a larger whole, is to expand Southern history beyond parochial limits. Such insights, with all their complex and sometimes painful implications, abound throughout Green's essays, but they are seldom pursued. Yet, with a careful eye, one can find perception numerous enough to keep another generation of scholars supplied with dissertation topics. For this reason it is regrettable that the editor did not include Green's article on Northern missionaries in the South, which appeared in the *Journal of Southern History* some years ago.

Recently Woodward, who is another scholar of whom the University of North Carolina is justly proud, sadly remarked, "In America, historians are out as soon as they are down. There is no comfortable back bench, no House of Lords for them." Perhaps that is so, but the publication of this volume as well as that useful

collection, *Writing Southern History*, and *Essays in Southern History*, two other *Festschriften* for Fletcher Green, will insure that if ever a formal pantheon of American historians is erected, Professor Green will have an honored place within it.

University of Wisconsin

BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN

Letters from America. By William Eddis. Edited by Aubrey C. Land. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Pp. 237. \$6.95.)

Long an important source for scholars, the graceful and informative letters of William Eddis written in the years 1769-1777 have now been made available in a handsome, annotated volume. A friend of Robert Eden, the last proprietary governor of Maryland, Eddis left London for Annapolis in 1769 to assume a minor office in the provincial government. During his eight-year residence in America Eddis wrote numerous letters to friends and relatives back in England carefully describing the people and the country. The letters written before 1773 provide a memorable picture of aristocratic life in Maryland during the final years before Independence. Eddis was welcomed into the best social circles of Annapolis, and his correspondence reflected his favorable attitude toward the clique of rich and well-born people who surrounded the governor. His perceptive comments on Maryland's economy, government, and social structure are of particular value. After 1773 Eddis became increasingly preoccupied with the deteriorating relations between England and America. Against a background of rising American militancy, of revolutionary committees seizing power, and of the persecution of Loyalists, Eddis' letters conveyed his own inner turmoil. A loyal Englishman, he believed his future lay in America, but his sturdy patriotism kept him from embracing the patriot cause. Eventually, when confronted with the choice of renouncing his king or leaving Maryland, Eddis reluctantly abandoned his adopted country and returned to England.

Professor Land has done a superb job of editing. Besides modernizing the spelling and punctuation, he has included useful footnotes and an extensive introductory essay that puts these fascinating letters in proper perspective.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

FRANK A. CASSELL

Ulysses S. Grant: Warrior and Statesman. By Major General Ulysses S. Grant 3rd, USA. (New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1969. Pp. 480. \$12.50.)

Posthumously published, Major General Grant's biography of his grandfather is a personal portrait of limited usefulness to the serious historian. In tone and organization, the book is late Victorian, of a piece with the eulogistic biographies of Coolidge, Badeau, and James Grant Wilson.

The most attractive section of *Ulysses S. Grant* are the family anecdotes, especially the reasonable explanations about Grant's resignation in 1854 (boredom and loneliness, not liquor, poverty or insubordination), his cigar habit, and his ill-fated career as a banker after his presidency. The last chapter of the book is the most moving. The dying general, unable to speak, wrote notes describing his own deterioration and his determination to see his *Personal Memoirs* published and his family secure, and these notes are extensively quoted.

Major General Grant's assessment of his grandfather's Civil War generalship is sound enough, resting as it does on the works of J. F. C. Fuller and Kenneth P. Williams. The emphasis is on strategy, intelligence, and logistics. When General Grant writes about politics and tactics, his analysis is not profound and is in error in some matters of fact. For example, John Sedgwick was killed on May 9, 1864, not May 6 (p. 218), and the U.S. Army recognized the need for open order formations before the Boer War, when it adopted Upton's *Tactics*. On the positive side, Major General Grant agrees with Bruce Catton's conclusions in *Grant Takes Command* (which apparently the author had not read before his death) that the Army of the Potomac's flawed command system frustrated some of General Grant's most promising moves in the 1864 campaign.

The account of Grant's presidency is the least satisfactory part of the biography. Since Grant's own honesty is not a serious issue anymore, the general-president's political leadership becomes the central question in evaluating his presidency. Major General Grant's narrative does little to alter the standard picture of his grandfather's two terms, despite his assertion that Grant's presidency "initiated the growth of the United States to greatness" by pursuing a deflationary monetary policy, Caribbean annexations and the friendship of the South.

As history, *Ulysses S. Grant* does not challenge the Lloyd Lewis-Bruce Catton biography in either depth of research or stylistic excellence. As a family portrait of a likeable military hero and attractive man, Grant's *Grant* is a pleasant and unpretentious book.

August Belmont: A Political Biography. By Irving Katz. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968. Pp. lx, 296. \$10.00.)

August Belmont has been almost a non-person in American history. Scholars long have known that this German-born American agent for the Rothschild banking firm was prominent in Democratic party politics from 1850 to 1890. Only nine years after entering politics Belmont had risen to be national party chairman for that wing of the Democracy led by Stephen A. Douglas. Belmont retained this position for twelve years, shepherding his party through the Civil War and early years of Reconstruction. He recognized the emerging problems of the post-war industrial era, symbolized in the currency debates of the 1870's and 1880's, and, as a party elder statesman, strove to keep the Democracy committed to a hard money standard. But aside from these bare bones, Belmont remained unknown because his political and financial correspondence was destroyed in a 1912 fire. Now Irving Katz, using a hitherto unknown collection of letters in the possession of Belmont's heirs, has attempted to explain both Belmont's meteoric rise to a position of political prominence and his long tenure of the post, as well as to assess Belmont's political significance.

We now know more about Belmont and his times. The author argues convincingly that Belmont, while United States consul at the Hague, was responsible for initiating and shaping the American effort to purchase or take Cuba from Spain which culminated in the 1854 Ostend Manifesto. In detailing Belmont's relations with Andrew Johnson, new light is thrown on the readjustment and realignment of parties between Appomattox and Grant's first election. The Hays-Tilden disputed election is given extended coverage, and Belmont is shown as favoring the revolutionary proposition that his party refuse all compromise efforts, thus preventing a constitutional selection and forcing a new popular election to be held. Yet, despite the added knowledge, the reasons for Belmont's rise to prominence and long tenure of office, longer than any other Democratic national chairman, remain enigmatic.

Although the study is not free of errors, both factual and interpretive, it is Belmont himself who provides most of the enigma. Belmont's rise to national party leadership was certainly not due to his importance in or control of the New York Democracy. Professor Katz frequently shows Belmont out of step with the party leadership in his native state (pp. 126, 174, 256). Nor was Belmont's continued party leadership due to his political acumen in anticipating the wishes of his party: of the seven Democratic presidential nominees between 1860 and 1888, Belmont favored only the first

two, and worked actively against the last five in pre-convention maneuverings. His record on Vice-Presidential nominees was, if anything, worse. Certainly a very strong element in Belmont's leadership was his personal financial largesse: he claimed to have "spent \$500,000 if I have spent one dollar in the service of the party" (p. 269). Yet this element is difficult to evaluate, given the absence of complete financial records of the party during Belmont's tenure as well as the apparent absence of comment on this subject in sources outside the Belmont papers. Yet one suspects that contemporaries found this to be the most important part of Belmont's political activity.

For the author, Belmont's political significance lies elsewhere: his "most substantial party achievement" was that he "gradually transformed the nature of his national committee post" (p. 277). In support of this view the author marshals his evidence well. Belmont, beginning the transformation of the national committee from a quadriennial collection of individuals concerned only with a seven-month Presidential campaign into a committee that attempted administrative continuity of party affairs, did use the national chairmanship innovatively. Continuous Democratic failure at the polls made Belmont the party's coordinator, sometime spokesman, and mediator with other political groups, a role which he passed on to his successors. Thus the author has drawn a picture of the institutionalization of party politics and political machinery in which Belmont looms large. The limits of biography make the picture one-dimensional, and it is to be hoped that the author will follow it with a full-length study of the growth of the national committee. This biography shows that August Belmont enhanced the power and importance of the national committee and its chairman. By writing it Professor Katz has enhanced Belmont's political reputation.

*State University College
Fredonia, New York*

DAVID E. MEERSE

Luther Martin of Maryland. By Paul S. Clarkson and R. Samuel Jett. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1970. Pp. ix, 318. Bibliography and index. \$12.00.)

Luther Martin of Maryland presents us with superb research in a setting of great historic interest. It is the intimate and well-told story of a man of brilliant mind and sharp wit who played vital roles in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, the impeachment

trial of U. S. Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase, the treason trial of Aaron Burr, and much else.

Martin has long been recognized as one of the outstanding lawyers of Maryland at a time when the Maryland bar was itself preeminent. But there have been so many gaps in our knowledge of him that he has often seemed more fabulous than real. Paul S. Clarkson and R. Samuel Jett, Baltimore lawyers and members of the Maryland Historical Society, have now accomplished a remarkable reincarnation. They have brought us Martin in flesh and blood.

Martin has aided in his own revivification. The book makes extensive use of quotation, and few people have been more quotable. His words often have the electric quality of Thomas Paine. Modern education seems pallid when we compare today's writing with the rhythm and force of men of that period, of whom Martin was one of the most expressive.

Born in New Jersey in 1748, he graduated at eighteen from the College of New Jersey (Princeton), taught school on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia, studied law, and in 1771 was admitted to the Virginia bar. In 1778 he was appointed Attorney General of Maryland. The principal function of the office was criminal, and he was the chief prosecuting officer of the State, while at the same time doubling in brass as a dragoon in the militia.

After the Revolution, Martin's law practice sprouted, as did his reputation. In 1787, he was one of five delegates named by the Maryland legislature to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. At this point the book soars. Most of us have some general familiarity with the story of the Convention and the compromises that shaped the final document. But through the eyes and prejudices of Martin, we acquire a fresh and novel viewpoint. It is an exciting experience and the most significant part of the book. This the authors tacitly acknowledge by giving it a fourth of their space.

Even if there were no more to the book, it would be well worth the writing and the reading. But there is much more, both of Martin and of history: some exciting, some humorous, and some, as we become emotionally involved, heart-rending. He was a real man, and it is a real book.

It should be cautioned that this is a "definitive" biography, designed to tell substantially all that is known about the subject. The scholarship is magnificent, but such an approach inevitably involves some compromise with readability. Since the New Testament, there have been few individuals whose every act was of interest to everyone. I personally perused the book from cover to cover and was very glad that I had; but those who like to skip will find it easy to be selective. There has also been a compromise in the format, small

type having been used to reduce the number of pages. My tired old eyes would have welcomed a fatter volume with larger type.

If these are disadvantages, they are minor. The book holds rich rewards for the reader, whether his interest is in history, in law, or in Martin as an individual. Its coverage is extraordinarily complete, and the authors merit our gratitude.

Baltimore

H. H. WALKER LEWIS

The War of 1812. By Reginald Horsman. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969. Pp. 286. \$6.95.)

It is appropriate that Reginald Horsman, who has to his credit several articles and books on the coming of the War of 1812, should now publish a military account of the conflict. In most respects, it is a sound piece of historical scholarship. As to origins, Horsman ranks Western economic depression and Indian hostility but feels that British infringements of American neutral rights was the crucial issue. Although certain passages are devoted to problems of finance and manpower and to questions of strategy and tactics, the major part of the book describes campaigns, land battles, and sea engagements. Some readers will think the accounts of naval and military matters dull reading, but this reviewer liked the rather cool and detached approach of the author. Moreover, the British side of the war probably has never been surveyed so adequately in a work of this kind. This is due to Horsman's research and use of original sources found in the archives of the Admiralty, Colonial Office, and War Office. His American sources are equally impressive. Generous space is given to a good analysis of peace negotiations. The detail of the maps is somewhat inadequate, but the twenty-odd illustrations of personalities and battles are excellent.

Horsman believes that while the war at sea disappointed both belligerents, the British achieved naval dominance. Still, victory could only be won on land. In that theater, neither power was able to solve problems of "offensive warfare in a vast, untamed country, with huge distances, poor roads, and great forests. . . ." Defensive maneuvers therefore predominated. In larger terms, if the war ensured American sovereignty and stimulated nationalism, if it enhanced Canadian identity and suspicion of the United States, it was soon forgotten in Britain. The Anglicization of such words as programme and honour suggests that Horsman feels his fellow countrymen might renew that lost interest by reading his book.

I have a few minor criticisms. Horsman makes the same error as others in implying that Western congressional delegations were unanimous for war. This was not the case. Senators Pope of Kentucky and Worthington and Campbell of Ohio opposed the declaration. Horsman also exaggerates Western enthusiasm for war. Kentuckians and Tennesseans, at safe distances from India attack, may have been eager for a fight, but it is significant that no Hawk came from vulnerable Ohio. In fact, residents of that state and of Michigan Territory knew that a war fought for neutral rights meant an Indian war and that their frontiers were defenceless. General Hull reflected this opinion. While not whitewashing his surrender of Detroit, one must remember that the Indian threat was real and that he had argued in vain for American naval control of the Great Lakes and against offensive operations against Canada. In short, besides inept preparations, lack of regular soldiers, and problems of supply and communication, did not this lack of enthusiasm in the most exposed regions of the West react adversely on American attempts to gain a foothold on foreign soil? These observations do not detract from the value of the book. It is highly recommended.

Seton Hall University

WILLIAM BARLOW

The Architects of the American Colonies of Vitruvius Americanus.

By John Fitzhugh Millar. (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishers, 1968. Pp. 205, Illustrations, glossary, bibliography, index. \$20.00.)

Scholars and amateurs alike have become increasingly concerned with America's heritage of colonial houses. Recent decades have witnessed the salvation of hundreds of buildings from generations of neglect. Scores more are currently undergoing preservation and restoration while others perish annually. Even though serious, scholarly work is constantly being produced, it lags behind the demands of enthusiasts, historians and restorationists alike. This handsome work is designed to fill such a demand.

Mr. Millar divides his architects sectionally after a brief consideration of those who sent designs from England. Within this framework he has discussed each architect separately. Perhaps this organization is a part of the problem. He has felt compelled to associate almost every building with a known architect. Many readers will doubtless enjoy this comforting attribution, but it is often unsatisfying to the architectural historian. Lacking documentary evidence the author

makes his attributions on the basis of style and often minor detail which might be explained in other ways. Mr. Millar admits this possibility. His descriptions of the buildings will prove useful to professional and amateur alike, especially in conjunction with the line elevations which enhance the book. All readers will benefit from the comparisons of one building with another which the author frequently makes judiciously. These are certainly one of the most valuable elements of the book. The work reflects a vast fund of knowledge and considerable thought. The greatest weakness is too little restraint. Delighted as we would all be to know that Peter Harrison was connected with all of the building here associated with his name, the text does not convince this reviewer. Similarly, in discussing the Virginia architect, John Prince, the author has followed the thesis of Thomas Waterman but without Waterman's careful reservations in the face of lacking documentary evidence. The treatment of Maryland will disappoint many interested in the local scene. Indeed the pages of this journal could have been consulted with benefit. The work of Simon Duff and Patrick Creagh are included, although here again there is an effort to associate more houses with these early builders than can be documented. William Buckland, Charles Carroll, Richard Boulton, Joseph Anderson, and Robert Key are also discussed.

One of the author's fundamental points is that there is a distinction to be made between the architect and the master builder of the colonial period. Unfortunately, the distinction is never quite clear. Even Mr. Millar admits that on occasion many of the architects also served as master builders. Unfortunately, surviving records seldom make the distinction as clearly as the author would like.

Many important comments on early American buildings and their makes are to be found in this extremely attractive book, and the reader will be constantly stimulated by them. One can only regret that the work is undocumented and that the bibliography is scanty. Nevertheless at the very least the book is an important expression of architectural opinion. As such it warrants serious consideration by anyone interested in America's architectural heritage. No one who reads it will come away without a significant addition to their knowledge of this country's cultural tradition.

Laws Divine, Morall and Martiall, etc. Compiled by William Strachey and edited by David H. Flaherty. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1969. Pp. xxxviii, 101. \$2.00.)

Laws Divine, Morall and Martiall, etc. is the third, and by far the most significant, publication in the *Jamestown Documents* series. Compiled by William Strachey and originally published in 1612, this small paperback volume, edited by David H. Flaherty, is a welcome addition to the growing number of basic sources available to a wider circle of readers.

The importance of this compilation may not be at once apparent, but here we have at our fingertips the first body of laws drawn up for an English colony in America. These laws serve as a bridge; they are the first example of the long process of transference of the common law from England to America.

A perusal of the laws graphically illustrates the fact that Jamestown was more a military camp than a civilian community during its early years. The strict discipline provided by this code is comprehensible only in terms of a sorely besieged military outpost. That civilians were thus subjected to martial law, in clear violation of the charter, is evidence of the seriousness of the problem confronting the Virginia Company.

Professor Flaherty has done a superb job of editing and has contributed a long and valuable introduction. If there is a weakness, it lies in the editor's compulsion to prove that in the context of the times the laws were reasonable, absolutely necessary, and not as harsh and repressive as many historians have claimed. Fifteen pages of convincing argument as to the reasonableness of the laws fades rapidly away as one absorbs the impact of page after page of such reasonable punishments as whipping, mutilation, and the endlessly repeated penalty of death. Having been promised "all liberties, franchises and immunities" of Englishmen, the early residents of Jamestown might well have questioned the price of survival.

Purdue University, Indianapolis

GERALD E. HARTDAGEN

The Life of William Pinkney. By the Rev. William Pinkney. (Repr.: New York, Da Capo Press, 1969. Pp. x, 407. \$19.50.)

William Pinkney was one of those near great men of the second rank who did not quite make the pantheon of historical greatness. He has failed to attract much notice and no great manuscript collection survives to assist the would-be biographer.

Fortunately, however, a nephew did attempt a biography in 1853 which the Da Capo Press has reprinted for the modern student of the federal period. The biographical approach is the nineteenth century life and times school and the treatment adulatory in the "Mount Rushmore" tradition. This ought not in any sense make the volume less useful to today's historian, for the biography contains dozens of Pinkney letters which are immensely valuable.

Pinkney was a major figure in the star-studded early nineteenth century Maryland bar. In a day when court attendance was a major spectator sport, Marylanders delighted in the legal contests afforded them by Luther Martin, Robert Goodloe Harper, William Wirt and the incomparable Pinkney. The courtroom was never empty when "Orlando Furioso," as William Wirt nicknamed him, was scheduled to appear in a case. His style was overwhelming and bombastic and extremely difficult for the opposition to cope with. On one occasion Wirt complained that Pinkney, having promised to speak for only two or three hours, was well into his second day. Much of the biographer's effort went into defending Pinkney from the criticism that his legal reputation depended as much on his style as substance. There is no question that Marshall and Story paid tribute to his abilities as a lawyer, and that Jefferson and Madison were impressed by his masterful assault upon the "Rule of 1756."

A staunch Federalist, Pinkney loyally defended John Adams' conduct of office to the end. Unlike many Maryland Federalists, however, Pinkney accepted the verdict of 1800, made his peace with the Jeffersonians, and served on several occasions as minister plenipotentiary. While the most important of his diplomatic efforts failed to reconcile the Anglo-American disagreement in 1806, it ought to be noted that he and Monroe were probably attempting the impossible. To the dismay of many of his Federalist friends, Pinkney defended the Embargo, and when war came supported the administration.

It seems that he missed none of the oratorical arenas available to his talents, managing to serve in the United States Senate long enough to deliver a major defense of the state rights position during the debates on the Missouri Statehood Bill. Since this speech seemed inconsistent with his attack while in the Maryland House of Delegates upon a bill forbidding manumission, his biographer felt obligated to offer an elaborate rationalization. The nephew, thus, attempted to save his uncle's reputation from misuse at the hands of the abolitionists by asserting that in both instances William Pinkney was defending the right of exclusive state sovereignty on all internal matters. The author's efforts are not much more convincing now than they were in 1853.

In the opinion of one who teaches an occasional Maryland history seminar, this reviewer greatly appreciates the source material this reprint makes readily available.

Towson State College

JOSEPH W. COX

The Liberal Christians, Essays on American Unitarian History. By Conrad Wright. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970. Pp. 147. \$7.50.)

This slim volume consists of six essays by the Professor of American Church History at Harvard Divinity School. Four of them have been previously published and the other two were delivered as lectures in 1960 and 1961. Together they comprise an informative and stimulating account of certain aspects of Unitarian history from the late eighteenth century to 1865.

The opening selection discusses the difference between two kinds of rational religion in the eighteenth century: deism and supernatural rationalism. The author maintains that the latter was "far more . . . prevalent and significant" in America than scholars have intimated. Unlike the deists, supernatural rationalists asserted the validity of revealed religion, argued that certain doctrines were "above reason," accepted the belief in miracles, and declared that men were "saved through the mediation of Christ." Supernatural rationalism is described as "Christian apologetics, framed in the language . . . of Newton and Locke." It was "the ecumenical theology" of intellectuals until the time of Emerson, when German Idealism replaced Scotch Realism as the reigning philosophy in the colleges and universities.

The chapter on William Ellery Channing traces factors which influenced the development of his religious thought. Two points are emphasized: (1) the ideas of Samuel Hopkins were minimal in the formation of the theology of Channing, and (2) the influence of transcendentalism on his religious development has been greatly exaggerated. The essay on Emerson and his Divinity School Address illustrates how a dull and mediocre clergyman might inspire a creative and provocative response from a parishioner.

In "The Minister as Reformer" three different clergymen, Samuel J. May, Henry W. Bellows, and Orville Dewey, are presented as representatives of varying degrees of reform sentiment found among Unitarians in the decade prior to 1860. Chapter five is an account of the successful efforts of Bellows in bringing together the different factions of American Unitarians to form the National Conference of Unitarian Churches in 1865. The concluding selection is an ex-

amination of some of the ideas and values associated with the abolition of the Standing Order in New England in the early nineteenth century.

Any of these essays might serve as a model of compactness, clarity, and scholarship. They are all well documented and the presentation is cogent and precise. They are a welcome contribution to the study of American Christian thought. The publisher, however, has placed a handicap upon the author and his efforts by placing the footnotes at the end of the volume and by presenting the essays in exceptionally small type. They deserve a better format.

University of Richmond

W. HARRISON DANIEL

A History of The Maryland Line in the Revolutionary War 1775-1783. By Rieman Steuart. (Towson, Maryland: Society of the Cincinnati, 1969. Pp. xiii, 169.)

Mr. Steuart has consulted the *Archives of Maryland*, Heitman's *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army*, McSherry's *History of Maryland*, and the records of the Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland to compile a record of the various companies with a list of officers that served in the Revolutionary War from Maryland.

Chapter 8 contains a brief account of the battles and skirmishes in which the Maryland Line participated from 1776 to 1782, while the last chapter contains a list of the original members of the Maryland Society of the Cincinnati. Although there is no name index, most of the book is made up of biographical sketches of the officers, listed in alphabetical order. The sketches show the date of enlistment, dates of various promotions, and when service was terminated. In many cases, the dates and places of birth and death of the officer are also given. Finally, if the officer is currently represented in the Maryland Society of the Cincinnati by a descendant, the name of that member is given.

In compiling his book, the author has contributed new data and compiled in one volume information formerly found only by consulting many works. This reviewer highly recommends the book to all those interested in Maryland history and genealogy, or in the Revolutionary War era generally.

Maryland Genealogical Society

ROBERT W. BARNES

NOTES AND QUERIES

"Economic Developments in British North America" is the theme of the 27th Conference in Early American History to be held at Bowling Green State University on October 23 and 24. Of particular interest to Marylanders will be a paper by Jacob M. Price of the University of Michigan entitled "Capital and Credit in the Chesapeake Tobacco Trade, 1750-1775." Commenting on this paper will be Aubrey C. Land of the University of Georgia. Other papers will be read by Lawrence A. Harper of the University of California, Berkeley, and Peter Marshal of McGill University. For further particulars, apply to either Mrs. Virginia B. Platt or David C. Skaggs, Department of History, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

COVER: "Washington and Fairfax—Field Sports." Steel engraving from *Life of George Washington* by Washington Irving. *Maryland Historical Society*

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