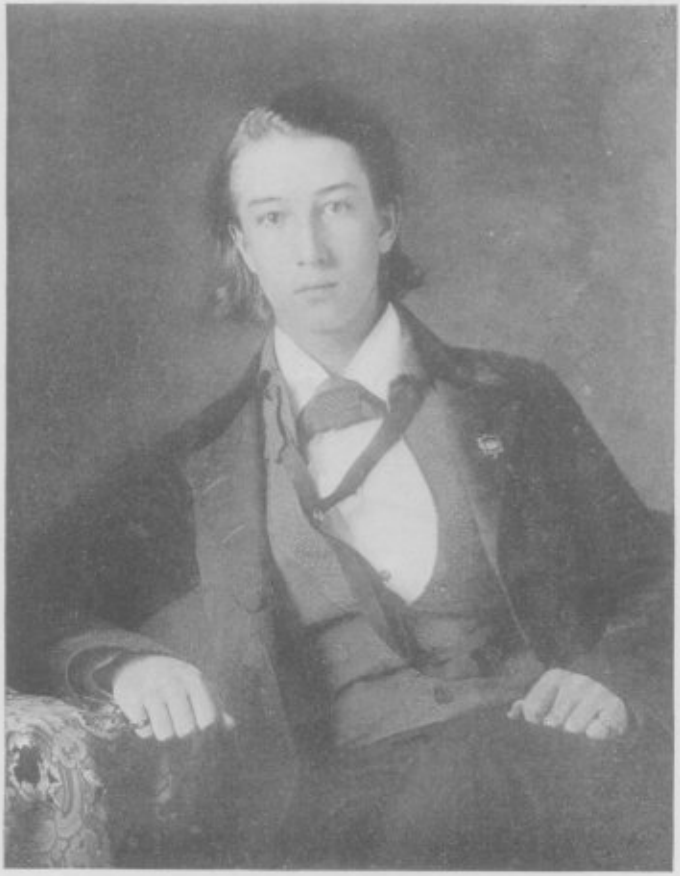

SIDNEY LANIER

From an ambrotype made in 1857

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SIDNEY LANIER, "FAMILIAR CITIZEN OF THE TOWN"

By JOHN SAULSBURY SHORT [1]

I

In the preface to his first book, *Tiger Lilies*, a novel of his own experiences in the Civil War, Sidney Lanier said that "A man has seventy years in which to explain his life . . ."

The Georgia veteran was in his early twenties when he wrote that. Even so young, he had mapped out a long career in music, literature and scholarship. He had chosen to devote himself to an "art life." Earnestness and enthusiasm were boundless. There was a Huguenot buoyancy of spirit about him. But the tragedy of his life is that he lived scarcely more than half the seventy years he had allotted, for he was dead at 39.

Yet in that short life-span he created such a personality in character, in poetry, in music, in scholarship, in family devotion, in friendships, in fortitude, that the accomplishment constitutes him a sort of genius in humanity, in social quality, as distinguished merely from his genius as poet.

He won a place among the nine great, or "elder," American poets who were, in the order of their chronological appearance in American letters, Bryant, Poe, Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, Lowell, Whitman and Lanier.[2] But since his literary accomplishment is so closely interwoven with his love for music, a musical

[1] This article has been prepared in large part from talks recently made by Mr. Short before meetings of the Woman's Literary Club of Baltimore, The Baltimore Music Club, the Woman's Club of Govans and the Maryland Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy. Quotations from the *Poems of Sidney Lanier* are made with the permission of Charles Scribner's Sons.

[2] See *The Chief American Poets*, ed. by Curtis Hidden Page, Houghton, Mifflin Company, first published in 1905 and still widely used as anthology and text in colleges.

comparison is essential to reach an estimate, in a general way, of his position in those fields of national art.

It may be said, for instance, that he was the foremost musician in American literature and the foremost literary figure in American music. But he was not a mere "Dixie singer," nor a competitor in the field of romanticism or balladry which has been almost pre-empted by the genius of Stephen Collins Foster. If Whitman's "Leaves of Grass" and Longfellow's "Hiawatha" are regarded as grand operas, Poe's "Raven" as a tone poem, Whittier's "Barbara Frietchie" as a march or martial music; and if other poems are classed as hymns, ballads or dances, then it may be said that Lanier wrote the *symphonies* of American literature.

He usually took a static idea or theme and developed it. He chose sunrise, corn, marshes, freedom, trade. They were just plain subjects,—still life, so to speak,—not scenes, nor stories, nor historic events. These themes he developed into musical words and concepts. He developed them into majesties of thought and with expressions of language that at times reach sublimity.

It is a most difficult type of poetry, for the poet is not aided by any accompanying plot or picture, whether sad or gay. It calls for sheer, unaided artistry. If there *were* any accompaniment, Lanier seemed to supply it himself, in much the same way as had caused old white-bearded Herr Thielepape, the orchestra leading ex-mayor of San Antonio, Texas, to exclaim, amidst a torrent of *bravos* after Lanier had played, "that he hat never heert de flude accompany itself pefore!"

Just as symphonies are not so widely known and hummed, so, too, Lanier is the least generally known of the major American poets. This is not entirely strange, for not only has America proceeded slowly to the final estimates of her giants in art, but, more specifically, the poetry of Lanier, from its very nature and content, could hardly be classed as of the so-called "popular kind." It is not particularly romantic or spectacular. Its structure is at times complicated. Lanier distilled thoughts as well as words. He seems to have foregone popularity for more individualistic, more stylistic expression. Thus, he became unique, although not remote. Lanier appeals to an increasingly widening audience by about the same process of artistic selection as that which impels many sensitive music lovers, growing older and wiser, more discriminating, less satisfied with brilliant instrumental solos and arias and obvious musical forms, to turn for their ultimate, highest pleasure to the symphonies.

There are other factors which have retarded somewhat the general

acclaim of Lanier. Some of these have not been fully weighed by critics and writers making estimates of the poet. Briefly, they are:

He was a Southerner during a period of crisis: the Civil War.

His poetry came during the period of reconstruction when Americans were more occupied with economics than with poetry.

He died young: he was not a white-bearded Greek god—a national figure—like Longfellow and Whitman: there was no Lanier legend.

He followed just on the heels of the great, prolific New England School whose work followed an accepted pattern. Lanier was new, somewhat unorthodox.

He was ill and poor during the whole of the period of his productivity, and was not able to make many helpful acquaintances and associations.

His work was necessarily hurried, in part unfinished: he fully realized that he was running " a race with eternity."

He wrote no poetic " best sellers," like " The Village Blacksmith " or " Paul Revere's Ride," obvious little pieces which could fix in the school-child mind and then carry on to settled acceptance in later life.

Yet, despite all drawbacks, the judgments of time and of critical study have awarded him a very conspicuous place in the American scene. He is an exceptional figure,—a " rarer " genius who represents the harmony of poetry and music and gracious personality. For

> His song was only living aloud,
> His work, a singing with his hand! [3]

II

The biography of Lanier falls readily into two parts, the War Years [4] and the Baltimore Decade. Just as easily, the division might be made between the two States, Georgia and Maryland, which claim him, for the War Years period includes not only his service as Confederate soldier from his native state, but also the few years of Claude Bowers's " tragic era " of reconstruction that Lanier spent in the homeland yearning to go away in search of more congenial, more responsive atmosphere. Not that Lanier disliked " the South," —not at all! By nativity, inspirationally (Glynn, Chattahoochee), traditionally, patriotically, he was of Georgia.

[3] The poet's widow at first selected this quotation from Lanier's " Life and Song " as appropriate for his tombstone.

[4] Dr. Garland Greever, of the University of Southern California, is now engaged in writing a book tentatively entitled *Troubadours in Gray*, with the sub-title, *The War Years of Sidney and Clifford Lanier.*

But, for some time at least, the aftermath of war had suspended there all possibilities for the devotion of his career to the pursuits of music, literature and scholarship. And, because of these circumstances, Lanier matured in Baltimore. In the words of Governor O'Conor:

> Sidney Lanier is a Marylander by a particularly binding tie. You have heard the old saying that one difference between our relatives and our friends is that we have a choice in regard to the latter. Well, Lanier does not belong to us by birth and blood; but he very strongly does become a Marylander by affection and adoption. . . . I have no better way of closing these remarks than by quoting four lines of verse written by a living Baltimore poet as a tribute to Sidney Lanier:
>
> And, ah, it haunts me just to know
> His feet along these streets did go . . .
> A haloed man—who also trod
> The clouds around the throne of God.[5]

Lanier was born in Macon, February 3, 1842.[6] His father, Robert Sampson Lanier, a fairly prosperous *ante bellum* lawyer there, was of French-English origin. His mother, Mary Anderson, was of Scots-Irish descent.

Family tradition and some research establish evidences of descent from Laniers who had been professional musicians as far back as the 16th and 17th centuries. Andrea and Clement had appointments as flute players in the English Royal Orchestra. James played the flute at the burial of Queen Elizabeth. Thomas was commissioned to play "upon the flutes and cornets, . . . amongst the lutes or voice in ordinary," and Nicholas had distinguished service not only as performer but as composer and instructor under Charles I and Charles II.

It was, therefore, quite to be expected that slender, gray-eyed young Sidney Lanier, of Macon, "could play passably on several instruments before I could write legibly."[7] In his teens, he entered the old staunchly Presbyterian Oglethorpe University, near Milledgeville, Ga., where, in his room, he alternately played the flute and studied according to the plan proposed by his most stimulating pro-

[5] Address of Governor Herbert R. O'Conor, of Maryland, "Sidney Lanier Commemoration Day" exercises, Peabody Institute, Baltimore, February 3, 1940. The verse quoted is from the poem "Lanier Walked Here!" by Folger McKinsey, "The Bentztown Bard," in the Baltimore *Sun*, October 20, 1918. The poem was especially inscribed by "The Bard" to the author of this article, and sent to him while he was stationed in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg as an officer in the American Expeditionary Force during World War I.

[6] Plans are now being discussed for a national Lanier Centennial observance in 1942.

[7] At various times during his life Lanier played upon the banjo, guitar, flute, piano, organ and violin.

fessor, James Woodrow, the brother of the mother of President Wilson.[8] Lanier's love of music was plainly hereditary, and it is curiously specific that his chosen instrument was the flute of his forbears. But his devotion to scholarship and research dates from the contact with President Wilson's uncle. Many years later, after Lanier had achieved success, he wrote of his college instructor: " I am more indebted to Dr. Woodrow than to any living man, for shaping my mental attitude toward nature and life. His spirit and method had a formative influence on my thought and fancy in all my literary work." It is interesting to know, too, that the President came to know and to admire Lanier through the enthusiasm of his wife, Mrs. Ellen Axson Wilson.

Graduating at the top of his class, Lanier was appointed tutor. Professor Woodrow continued shaping his thoughts, and Lanier was planning for studies abroad, particularly at the German universities. Just at this period, he was contemplating for his bread-winning vocation a professorship in an American university. Literature and music were to be his avocations. But:

> The early spring of 1861 brought to bloom, besides innumerable violets and jessamines, a strange, enormous, and terrible flower.
>
> This was the blood-red flower of war, . . . whose freshening dews are blood and hot tears, whose shadow chills a land, whose odors strangle a people, whose giant petals droop downward, and whose roots are in hell.[9]

Being then 19 years old, Lanier enlisted, as did almost everyone else connected with Oglethorpe University, in the Confederate Army. With him in the Macon Volunteers of the Second Georgia Battalion went his brother Clifford, then 17. Sidney could have taken higher rank than private, for he knew the drills; but he wanted to be with Clifford, who was also musical and literary, and for whom he always had a loyal brother-like affection. Until 1864 they saw action together. Years later, Clifford, in a sonnet, wrote that never would he forget how during the war Sidney's bright, serene, resolute spirit had cheered " my ever drooping forces."

[8] Professor Woodrow, born in England the son of a clergyman, came to Ohio as a child. He studied at Harvard under Agassiz and received his Ph. D., *magna cum laude,* from Heidelberg. Although at Oglethorpe he was professor of natural sciences, he seems by some extra-curricular influence to have inspired young Lanier with a love for British tradition and chivalry and for German scholarship. Later Woodrow was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry and became professor of theology. During the days of Darwinian controversy he maintained that there could be satisfactory reconciliation of science and religion. Prof. Woodrow was chief of the Confederate chemical laboratory, at Columbia, S. C., during the Civil War. Later he became president of the University of South Carolina. He died in 1907.

[9] *Tiger Lilies,* Book II, chapter I.

When the brothers were separated, Sidney became signal officer on a blockade runner. He was captured by the Northern forces and made a prisoner of war at the so-called " bull pen " prison at Point Lookout, Maryland, where the Potomac River meets the Chesapeake Bay.

It was a dreary, desolate experience for the young tutor of poetic temperament, but Lanier had managed to keep hidden about him his flute and a $20-goldpiece. In the long days of confinement he dreamt of a novel which would tell of his experiences, and for relaxation played the flute.

In the " bull pen " he met a young Virginian, John Banister Tabb, who later was to live in Maryland and become a poet of distinction. Companionship with Tabb helped make prison life endurable, and the two became fast friends. Father Tabb's poems of a later date were among the first of many tributes in verse which Lanier was to receive. And Father Tabb also carried in his memory a tune which Lanier had so often played on his flute in the prison camp. It was a sad, contemplative air. Years later, its haunting appeal never having left him, Father Tabb taught the tune to Edwin Litchfield Turnbull who preserved it by publishing it as "A Melody from Lanier's Flute." [10]

But that winter in prison (1864-65) on bleak, wearying, misty-blue cheerless sands was fatal to Lanier. Rations were scant and scarcely edible. Spirits were low. The Four Horsemen rode there, too: and one struck Lanier. He was Pestilence. Lanier fell victim to tuberculosis. Young, ambitious as he was, this was the beginning of the end.

At length, he was released. " Emanciated to a skeleton, down-hearted for want of news from home, down-headed for weariness," he boarded a boat to go down the Chesapeake Bay to City Point, Virginia. But while aboard he collapsed. By an almost unbelievable circumstance, an old friend and her little daughter were also on the boat. They had a kit of medicines which had been given to them in New York. Because of the possession of this kit, when they heard that a soldier was sick, they wanted to go below to help if they could.

The soldier they found wrapped in an old, soiled quilt, his hands tightly clenched, his eyes fixed, his body shivering. The girl recognized him at once: yet she could scarcely believe her eyes.

" Brother Sid! Don't you know me? " she called out, kneeling at his side.

[10] Breitkopf & Härtel, New York, 1905. The late Mr. Turnbull, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Turnbull, was the founder and conductor of the Johns Hopkins Symphony Orchestra.

She was Ella Montgomery, of Montgomery, Alabama, whose family knew Lanier. When Sidney saw her face, he asked:

" Is this Heaven? "

Little Miss Ella, who was really quite a child at the time, and her mother got Lanier fresh blankets, doctored him with quinine and brandy, and took him to a boatstove where they fed him hot soup. A little after midnight he called for his flute and commenced playing. The other released prisoners below heard the familiar strains: they yelled for joy, for they knew their comrade was restored.

This incident is related in detail because, of all of the personal anecdotes of Lanier that have been told, it seems the most characteristic, the most prophetic.

No matter what hindrances came in later life, no matter what the odds against him, he was forever putting them aside and going forward. He strove continuously against want and illness, for there was little to hearten and to sustain him in that drab decade following the war. He just called for his flute and commenced playing. He lived a sad life happily.

After he had returned home, which he did by walking and " hitchhiking " (in those days, by farm team and ex-cavalry horses) across Virginia and North and South Carolina to Macon, for the $20-goldpiece could not buy him a ticket on trains which were not running, he composed words and music for a song for Miss Montgomery. Called " Little Ella," the song proved popular when he played it for friends. So he had it published, and this was the first time his name appeared as author and composer. Copies are very rare indeed—they are now prized collectors' items.[11]

Lanier had indeed been deeply scarred in body by the war; but in mind the experience was not so much a shock to his sensitivity as a tempering to withstand hardships to come. He wrote to Father Tabb: " I can look at the most wretched beggar on the streets and say ' I have been in worse case than that man.' " [12]

Better still, Lanier had not been left embittered. After Appomattox, the young Georgian found it within him to express poetically what General Grant was saying politically in " Let us have Peace! " Lanier wrote, at a time when feelings were still running high:

[11] " Little Ella " was recently " revived " in an arrangement for full orchestra, by Mr. Sidney L. Shapiro, at the " Sidney Lanier Commemoration Day " exercises, Peabody Institute, February 3, 1940. A frank, graceful, carefree melody of the type popular just after the Civil War, it is somewhat reminiscent of the work of Stephen Collins Foster who had not long been dead when Lanier composed the song.

[12] As one of the minor horrors of war Lanier said of his soldier's coat that " it afforded no protection to anything but the insects congregated in the seams of the same."

Heartstrong South would have his way,
Headstrong North hath said him nay:
O strong Heart, strong Brain, beware!

* * * * *

Heart and Brain! no more be twain;
Throb and think, one flesh again!

Shortly after Sidney arrived at Macon, Clifford, too, returned. There must have been a demonstrative reunion at the home-fire. And much music as well! But this happiness was shortlived, for Mary Anderson Lanier, their mother, died. She had fulfilled "the strong conviction" that she would remain alive until both sons came home from war. Great as was the blow, Sidney dared not give way, for Clifford and their only sister, Gertrude, looked up to him.

Oglethorpe University had foundered, so Lanier could not go back there. Between 1865 and 1868, he was variously occupied as tutor on a plantation near Macon; as night clerk in a hotel in Montgomery, Alabama,[13] where guests with insomnia had the benefit of hearing strains from the office flute at intervals throughout the night; and as principal of a small academy at Prattville, Alabama. During these years, too, he wrote the earliest poems, the "juvenile" novel *Tiger Lilies*, made several trips for his health, and married Mary Day (1867), whom he had met in 1863 while home on furlough in Confederate gray.

Father Lanier saw no purpose in this sporadic activity, however, so he brought the literary and musical son back to Macon in 1868 and put Blackstone's *Commentaries* in his hand. At a desk in his father's office Sidney studied law with customary thoroughness. Admitted to the bar, he practised for several years, particularly concerning real estate transfers, mortgages and trust estates. Chancellor Walter B. Hill, of Macon, has said of him as lawyer:

> I have had occasion to go over much work of that sort which he did, and I have been struck with its uniform correctness and carefulness. I never saw deeds better drawn than his.

But, no matter how correctly he may have striven to write these deeds, they were hopelessly uninteresting. Music and poetry kept tugging at his heart. He did not like the law; and he probably turned away from the long legal papers with blue backs and looked out of the office window for a day-dream vision of the favorite glen he knew about in the Smoky mountains. He'd better make up his mind about this perplexing conflict!

[13] A modern hotel in Macon, Ga., today is called the "Sidney Lanier."

Up North there were large libraries, flourishing orchestras, brilliant " big names " among editors, musicians and professors; there were important concerts, magazines, plays and paintings, the mere thought of which completely fascinated him. Yes, the North was really *headstrong*! And he was *heartstrong* to be there. His scant equipment, when he set out, was an antiquated flute, a few poems, and open-eyed ambition.

III

The preface,—or prelude,—to the Baltimore Decade is written in Lanier's letter to his father from this city, arguing irrefutably the case of a son who *would* be a poet. Certainly, as an *apologia*, justifying the course he was about to follow, it would rank among the most persuasive ever written.

> . . . how *can* I settle myself down to be a third-rate struggling lawyer for the balance of my little life? . . . My dear father, think how, for twenty years, through poverty, through pain, through weariness, through sickness, through the uncongenial atmosphere of a farcical college and of a bare army and then of an exacting business life, through all the discouragement of being wholly unacquainted with literary people and literary ways—I say, think how, in spite of all these depressing circumstances, . . . these two figures of music and of poetry have steadily kept in my heart so that I could not banish them. Does it not seem to you as to me, that I begin to have the right to enroll myself among the devotees of these two sublime arts, after having followed them so long and so humbly, and through so much bitterness?

Lanier had had New York in mind as the most favorable place in which to settle, and he was *en route* there on some business and for an exploratory visit when, in 1873, aged 31, he stopped off in Baltimore. And Baltimore may thank Asger Hamerik, the celebrated Director of the Peabody Conservatory of Music, that he remained here.

Hamerik was a brilliant young Dane, a man of taste, intellect and energy. He was just a year younger than Lanier. He had gone from his native Copenhagen to Italy, where at Milan, in 1870, his opera " La Vendetta " had been produced. So great were his ability and promise that, in 1871, he was called to Baltimore to be Director at the Peabody. He had been here only two years when Poet-Musician-errant Lanier came passing through. Hamerik was at the time planning for the old Peabody Symphony Orchestra, which, in the last century, was regarded as one of the finest in the country.

Lanier met Hamerik in the parlor of the home of Henry Clay Wysham,[14] at 102 West Madison Street, a house which is still stand-

[14] Lanier named one of his sons Henry Wysham Lanier.

ing. Wysham was a lawyer, but being also an amateur flautist he had great enthusiasm for Hamerik's plans for an orchestra.

Lanier played on his old flute one of his own compositions," Field-Larks and Blackbirds," and Hamerik, a composer himself, was fascinated by the beauty of the piece, the remarkable agility and technique of the player, and the glowing personality of the man. Without any hesitancy at all, Hamerik offered Lanier the post as first flute in the proposed orchestra. Lanier at once and gladly accepted.

It was the rare ability of Hamerik, the pupil of von Bülow and Berlioz, to forejudge the unique gifts of Lanier that gave Baltimore another great poet to cherish, along with Poe and Lizette Woodworth Reese.[15] For the orchestra was formed as planned, and Lanier became its *flauto primo.*

Three men who were not native Baltimoreans, Gilman, Lanier and Hamerik, did much to give Baltimore its cultural rebirth and fame in the era just following the Civil War. Such men as Pratt, Hopkins, Peabody and Sheppard paved the way with financial provisions, of course. But it sometimes seems that the city, in its progress and modernism, fails properly to heed and to value the three distinguished outlanders who in earlier years were such a stimulus and influence here.

Hamerik was a distinguished musician. He was with the Peabody for twenty-seven years (1871-1898), and he made it world famous. He wrote much fine music, and was knighted by the King of Denmark. His American-born wife became Lady Hamerik. Yet, today, little is generally known or heard of him.

Competent critics have declared that Lanier was " one of the finest flautists in the world." The fact that he was entirely self-taught is an evidence of his intelligence and scholarship. He wanted to take lessons from some competent teacher who knew the history and larger possibilities of the flute, but lack of both time and funds prevented. Theodore Thomas, the distinguished musician and composer whose name is legend in American music, advised him to replace his antiquated instrument with a more up-to-date Boehm flute, and gave him encouraging praise. The happy young " professional " decided " to practice, practice, practice " until he should reach such perfection as could be attained all by himself.

Of course, his compensation both as member of the Peabody

[15] Miss Reese wrote in her twenties a lament upon the death of Lanier called " The Lost Shepherd," which was published in *The Southern Bivouac,* January, 1887. This was one of the earliest tributes in poetry to Lanier. Later Miss Reese inscribed her book, *A Handful of Lavender,* " To the Sweet Memory of Sidney Lanier."

Orchestra and for playing in concerts elsewhere was very important; but he was also playing for the sheer joy it afforded as part of the art-life he had planned. Coming home from a performance at the old Concordia Theatre one night, he wrote to his wife:

> I have just come from Venice . . . and have strolled home through the moonlight, singing serenades . . . I am full of gondellieds, of balconies with white arms leaning over the balustrades thereof, of gleaming waters, of lithe figures in black velvet, . . . of diamonds, daggers, desperadoes.

There were many musical appearances in Baltimore besides those at the Peabody. He played once in the Christmas music at St. Paul's Church; he inspired the local coloratura sopranos to their best flights of song with his deft accompanying *obligati*; and wrote such welcome and hopeful reports to his wife, still in Macon, as: " For this enclosed $25 (and $5 more which I have kept) I have played the first-flute parts in Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, the Ossian overture, [and] the staccato air of ' The Magic Flute ' . . . . "

Acquaintances made among musical people were stimulating. Equally as much as the thrill of actual performance, he revelled in musical conversation and friendships with its devotees. In a letter he wrote: " Then, after the concert, Mr. Sutro [16] and his wife invited Hamerik, Seifert (leader of the violins, just from Berlin), Wysham, and myself to take champagne with them at their rooms, where we sat until far in the morning, talking music."

Playing the flute brought him into the public eye: his performances were received with enthusiasm by audiences and newspapers. Of his playing, Hamerik wrote:

> In his hands the flute no longer remained a mere material instrument, but was transformed into a voice that set heavenly harmonies into vibration. Its tones developed colors, warmth, and a low sweetness of unspeakable poetry . . . he would magnetize the listener. . . . I will never forget the impression he made on me when he played . . . his tall, handsome, manly presence, his flute breathing noble sorrows, noble joys, the orchestra softly responding. Such distinction, such refinement! He stood, the master, the genius! [17]

While the performance of music was Lanier's supremest joy, he did not, however, give overly serious attention to its composition, although there are some examples of his work in this field. The song, " Little Ella," has already been mentioned, as well as the flute solo,

[16] Otto Sutro, Baltimore music publisher and merchant of music and instruments, in whose home and store were laid the early scenes of the famed Wednesday Club.

[17] A radiant account of the musical atmosphere of Baltimore at this period is contained in the chapter called "A Poet's Musical Impressions " in *Letters of Sidney Lanier*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899.

" Field-Larks and Blackbirds," which he played for Hamerik to win the appointment in the Baltimore orchestra. Another graceful ballad of the post-Civil War period is " Love that hath us in the net," Lanier's musical setting for a song from Tennyson's poem, " The Miller's Daughter."

" Danse des Moucherons," which Lanier humorously called " my gnat symphony," because like gnats it is very brief and airy, is a flute description of the flight of a swarm of gnats focused in a pillar of sunlight streaming through the woods. Lanier found that each gnat had his own little sphere and design of flight, although individually his activity fitted in agreeably with the flight of the swarm as a whole, " playing much the same part that a man does in the Great Plan of Life." This observation he sought to express musically.

Other Lanier music, most of which has never been published, includes " Wind Song," " Swamp Robin," " Sacred Memories," " Longing " and settings for the poems of others. There have, too, been many settings by other composers for the poems of Lanier which, in a sense, might be called " Lanier music." Notable among such settings are the musical versions of Lanier's " Evening Song " written by Henry Hadley and Dudley Buck, the two distinguished American composers, the latter having called his composition by the title of " Sunset." There is a manuscript full-length symphony by Gustav Strube[18] called " The Lanier Symphony."

But music was by no means the sole occupation. Almost as soon as the connection with the orchestra had been made, Lanier realized that the facilities afforded by the then almost new Peabody Library would enable him to go along further with the studies begun under Professor Woodrow at Oglethorpe which had been suspended by war and the law years. In fact, the Peabody now became his Temple.

To supplement the income received from musical sources, he prepared courses of lectures. His subjects were the novel, Elizabethan poetry, Shakespeare and the musical aspects of poetry. Some of these lectures were given in the old upstairs hall at the Peabody Institute before small audiences of " a fashionable nature," and others in the parlor of the home of Mrs. Edgeworth Bird, who lived at 22 East Mt. Vernon Place. Such lectures, sometimes called " parlor classes," were quite popular in that decade, and evidence the fact of the city's cultural rebirth and stimulus.

Working on them, he spent many, many hours at the same table in the reading room of the library, and a legend now attaches to a chair

[18] Professor of Composition at the Peabody Conservatory of Music.

and table there that are called Lanier's. When he was feeling indisposed, he sent notes to the staff; and, towards the end, his wife acted as his messenger.

Poetry, too, was claiming more and more of his attention, until ultimately it became the absorbing interest. Back in Georgia, at the age of 25, he had written a short poem called " Barnacles." He was quite sure that it was a sound one. He had written in it a maxim which, being now embarked on a career in Baltimore, he was resolved to follow:

> . . . I strive ahead
>
> * * * * *
>
> I needs must hurry with the wind
> And trim me best for sailing.

Under the stimulus of such congenial work with the Baltimore orchestra, he shaped the most pretentious verse which he had yet attempted. Its theme was trade, and he caused the violins to state it in the opening three lines:

> " O Trade! O Trade! would thou wert dead!
> The Time needs heart—'tis tired of head:
> We're all for love," the violins said.

Developing the theme, various other instruments,—the clarinet, flute, oboe, " the bold straightforward horn,"—sing out in turn against selfishness, hurry, trade, and argue for more art, more chivalry, more neighborliness. And in this symphony in verse there appeared distinct great hummable (quotable) melodies:

> Never shalt thou the heavens see,
> Save as a little child thou be.

and

> Man shall not live by bread alone
> But all that cometh from the Throne.

Called " The Symphony," it appeared,—a distilled labor of love almost, for the compensation was small,—in *Lippincott's Magazine,* in June, 1875. It was accepted as a work of distinction, and won for Lanier his first national acclaim. Bayard Taylor, then a favorite and established leader in critical literary circles, hailed him as " the country's newest poet." The poet-musician stood at the threshhold of fame.

Just at this point in his Baltimore residence, Lanier went one evening to visit and to play music for a young lady of his acquaintance. In her Victorian parlor, on the table beneath the lamp, was a " young lady's album," or " table book," containing forty prepared questions

which young men visitors were called upon to answer. It was a very popular pastime in that *post-bellum* era, and few indeed were the gentlemen who were not implored to "reveal themselves" in this quite formal fashion.

Lanier obliged his hostess of that evening in 1874. Some of the questions he answered light-heartedly, some pathetically, all revealingly. Of course, overmuch importance should not be attached to all of the answers, as, for instance, those involving favorite characters in romance or favorite painters, for it is not unlikely that Lanier was leaning over the piano eating cake and drinking lemonade when he wrote the answers. There was undoubtedly an air of gayety about it all, and perhaps some music was playing. One could not, obviously, amid such surroundings, summon up considered judgments.

Here are the pages from the album: [19]

The Mental Photograph of

Mr. Sidney Lanier.

Your favorite—

1 *Color?* The opal grey which one sees on the horizon just after a gorgeous sunset.
2 *Flower?* Tube-rose
3 *Tree?* The Mimosa.
4 *Object in Nature?* A certain glen in the heart of the Smoky Mountains.
5 *Hour in the day?* The two twilights of morning and evening.
6 *Season of the year?* The last half of Spring & the first half of Summer.
7 *Perfume?* The combination of heliotrope & violet.
8 *Gem?* The Opal.
9 *Style of beauty?* Oval face, large grey eyes, slender figure.
10 *Names, male & female?* Clifford, Mary.
11 *Painters?* Raphael, Titian, Guido, Salvator Rosa, Ary Scheffer.
12 *Musicians?* Schumann, Wagner, Beethoven, Chopin.
13 *Piece of Sculpture?* A Mercury in the act of flying, artist unknown.
14 *Poets?* Shakspeare, Chaucer, Lucretius, Robert Browning.
15 *Poetesses?* Elizabeth Browning, George Eliot.
16 *Prose Authors?* Sir William Hamilton, Sir Thos. Browne, Carlyle, Richter.
17 *Character in Romance?* Equally fond of Chaucer's "Persone," Dumas's "Athos" and Scott's "Richard Coeur de Lion."
18 *Character in History?* Sir Philip Sidney.
19 *Book to take up for an hour?* "Hood's Own" or Dumas's "Three Guardsmen."
20 *What book (not religious) would you part with last?* My Chaucer.
21 *What epoch would you choose to have lived in?* The Present.

[19] The questions and answers here quoted are from a copy given by the poet's widow to Mrs. Lawrence Turnbull, and now in the possession of Miss Eleanor Turnbull, of Baltimore.

22 *Where would you like to live?* Somewhere where lungs are not necessary to life.

23 *What is your favorite amusement?* To be on a springy horse, in a hilly country.

24 *What is your favorite occupation?* Teaching, either by poems, by music, or by lecture.

25 *What trait of character do you most admire in man?* Knightly magnanimity.

26 *What trait of character do you most admire in woman?* The power of implicitly trusting.

27 *What trait of character do you most detest in each?* The opposite of these: Littleness and Suspicion.

28 *If not yourself, who would you rather be?* If I were not I, what choice could I have?

29 *What is your idea of happiness?* A table with pen, ink, & paper, under a big oak, in early summer—wife seated where I can see her every second. Three boys rolling on the grass, a mountain in the distance & a certainty that my article won't be declined.

30 *What is your idea of misery?* To find the flute too sharp for the oboe after we've commenced the *andante* of the Fifth Symphony.

31 *What is your bête noir?* A certain moustache hair that will get across the *embouchure* when I play for company.

32 *What is your dream?* To study the highest civilization of the world, i. e., of London.

33 *What is your favorite game?* Chess.

34 *What do you believe to be your outstanding characteristics?* Suppose you answer this question for me.

35 *If married, what do you believe to be the distinguishing characteristics of your better half?* A passionate love for art, a heavenly combination of romantic spirituality with practical judgment, and an intense desire to take all the suffering people of the world into her heart.

36 *What is the sublimest passion of which human nature is capable?* Necsarily Love, for it includes all other passions.

37 *What are the sweetest words in the world?* " My dear Sweetheart " (in the beginning of a certain lady's letter.)

38 *What are the saddest words?* " Vater rufe dein Kind zurück," [20] in Thekla's Song.

39 *What is your aim in life?* "Aimer, toujours aimer, et toujours être aimé."

40 *What is your motto?* Ich dien.

[20] The line is from Schiller's " Wallenstein," and should read " Du Heilige," instead of " Vater."

After " The Symphony " had taken the name of the poet-musician of Baltimore out into the literary world, recognition and friendships became more frequent. In 1876, he was invited to write the words for a cantata to be sung at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, on a program for which Richard Wagner had " especially composed for the occasion " a " Centennial Inauguration March." The music for Lanier's Cantata was written by Dudley Buck, then widely known as organist, conductor and composer. It was indeed a gracious tribute to commission the ex-Confederate soldier to write in celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, and he responded as nobly. Within the text which he submitted, there occur eight lines—Lanier's testament of Americanism—which should, under the title " Dear Land of All My Love," be included in any anthology of patriotism:

> Long as thine Art shall love true love,
> Long as thy Science truth shall know,
> Long as thine Eagle harms no Dove,
> Long as thy Law by law shall grow,
> Long as thy God is God above,
> Thy brother every man below,
> So long, dear Land of all my love,
> Thy name shall shine, thy fame shall glow!

Then came the outstanding happiness of Lanier's career, his connection with the newly established Johns Hopkins University.

Daniel Coit Gilman, after whom Gilman Hall on the Homewood campus is named, brought together in the Centennial Year that first great Johns Hopkins faculty which almost overnight established the fame of the university. Some of the names are legendary now—Gildersleeve, Rowland, Osler, Remsen, Welch. Gilman's amazing feat of organization started a new era of educational force in America. It won for him such renown that today he is regarded as one of the pioneering giants of American education. He brought many glories to the Hopkins, not the least of which was to provide it with the poet who will be forever a tradition and asset on its " arts side."

" Sidney Lanier," said President Gilman, " like a comet appeared on our horizon during the centennial year." It went without saying that the two should meet and discuss a place for Lanier in the new university. Of that meeting Lanier wrote: " Mr. Gilman . . . received me with great cordiality. I took tea with him . . . and he devoted his entire evening to discussing with me some available method of connecting me with the University officially."

But, just as Lanier had taught himself to play the flute, for he never

had had a lesson, so also his equipment to become a member of the faculty at Hopkins had been self-acquired, mostly at the Peabody Library. Lanier admitted that his preparation was " sort of non-descript." And accordingly no position was immediately given; although, as Gilman said, " I was anxious to have him appointed, but the Trustees did not see their way clear to do so."

The disappointment merely served to sharpen Lanier's determination and purpose. He put increased time and labor into his lectures, his studies, and the writing of poetry. In two more years the city was fully aware of Lanier, student, musician, critic, lecturer, poet. In an incredibly short period he had become one of the most distinguished Baltimoreans. Step by step, he had brought himself to a point where an association with the university was inevitable. President Gilman now sought him out. " It was natural that he should be invited to lecture before the University," Gilman said, and wrote to Lanier:

> I think your aims and your preparation admirable. . . . I am very glad that you lend us your aid . . . we need among us someone like you, loving literature and poetry and treating it in such a way as to enlist and inspire many students.

Lanier was appointed in 1879 as lecturer in English literature, a position he filled faithfully until his death. One of the students who sat under him said that his teaching method brought about " a subtle expansion of the power of appreciation and an undefinable exaltation of the instincts of taste that I have since learned were more precious than any precise increments of knowledge."

As if to put in permanent form that great devotion which he had for the new university, Lanier wrote an " Ode to the Johns Hopkins University " which ranks as one of the foremost university poems in American literature. An excerpt showing its cadence is:

> And here, O finer Pallas, long remain,—
> Sit on these Maryland hills and fix thy reign,
> And frame a fairer Athens than of yore
> In these blest bounds of Baltimore,—
> * * * * *
> Bring old Renown
> To walk familiar citizen of the town . . .

The university, for its part, has honored the poet by setting aside space in the main reading room, appropriately in Gilman Hall, for a collection of Lanieriana which is perhaps the largest, not in private hands, in existence. The collection is gathered about a bronze bust of Lanier, detailing the sensitive, cameo-like features as they appeared

to the well-known Baltimore sculptor, Ephraim Keyser, in the last few months of the poet's life. By gradual acquisition, the university has been assembling memorabilia concerning the poet, and hopes to build up there the national Lanier shrine.

Lanier's eight years in Baltimore—somewhat short of a full decade—centered around the Washington Monument. Nearby were the classic marble Peabody and the sombre red-brick first buildings of the Johns Hopkins University on Howard, Eutaw and Monument Streets.

It was an era of shade-trees, cobblestones, horse-cars and bearded men. At many street intersections there were stepping stones upon which to cross in rainy weather to avoid puddles and streams of water. Professor Gildersleeve recalled that Lanier negotiated these with agility and grace, a collection of books under one arm and his precious lecture notes under the other.

He lived in various houses in Baltimore, not all of which are now standing. His addresses, by their old and present numbers, were:

Old number	*Present number*	*Present status*
64 Centre St.[21]	19 East Center St.	Still standing: converted into store.
66 Centre St.	17 East Center St.	Still standing: converted into store.
55 Lexington St.	2 East Lexington St.	Torn down: now office building.
180 St. Paul St.	1022 St. Paul St.	Torn down: now office building.
33 Denmead St.	20th St. at Lovegrave Alley	Torn down: now parking lot.
435 N. Calvert St.	1817 N. Calvert St.	Still standing: converted into store.

All except the two last named were boarding houses for musicians or houses in which Lanier rented a few rooms or an apartment.

It was not until 1878, five years after he had come to Baltimore, and comparatively late in his own life, that he was to have his own home. Mrs. Lanier had, in the autumn of 1877, come to Baltimore to live, bringing the sons. This was the first time that Lanier was "head of his house." It was a modest dwelling at 33 Denmead Street, now Twentieth Street, on the north side, between St. Paul and Charles Streets, at Lovegrove Alley. The house was three stories high, two rooms deep on each floor, with smaller rooms fitting into spaces left available by the planning of an "English stairway" which was parallel to the front of the house and situated between the two large front and back rooms on each floor.

From this address, Lanier wrote in proud and joyous vein:

> The painters, the whitewashers, the plumbers, the locksmiths, the carpenters, the gas-fitters, the stove-put-up-ers, . . . the piano-movers, the carpet-layers,—all these I have seen, bargained with, . . . and finally paid off. . . . I have

[21] The Centre Street buildings later became the first location of the preparatory department of the Peabody Conservatory of Music, under Miss May Garrettson Evans.

bought at least three hundred and twenty-seven household utensils which suddenly came to be absolutely necessary to our existence: I have moreover hired a colored gentlewoman who is willing to wear out my carpets, burn out my range, freeze out my water-pipes, and be generally useful. . . . I have had a *Xmas* tree for my youngsters. . . . We are in a state of extreme content with our new home. . . . Good heavens, how I wish the whole world had a Home! I confess I am a little nervous about the gas bills . . . but then . . . No man is a Bohemian who has to pay water-rates and a street-tax. Every day when I sit in my dining-room—*my* dining-room—I find the wish growing stronger that each poor soul in Baltimore, whether saint or sinner, could come and dine with me.

Being householder gave him a feeling of stability and assurance which he had never previously enjoyed. He wrote to Bayard Taylor:

When I am on the street there is a certain burgher-like heaviness in my tread . . . I am a man of substance . . . I am liable for water-rates, gas bills and other disbursements.

That was the measure of his great happiness—he was proud to pay taxes. And he was a " poor poet," at that!

Thus, three years before he was to die, Lanier became a full-fledged Baltimorean. First flute in the orchestra, lecturer in the university, tutoring and lecturing on the side, he was nevertheless first of all a " literary man." He was beginning to feel that he was an established and recognized poet. His name appeared in the city directory as " writer." He shaped his lectures so that they could be made into books. He stored up " poem outlines " for poems to come.

One such sketch or idea for a poem which was never written was found among his papers after he had died. It is a pathetic comment on the ever present problem of providing for his family, at the same time pursuing the " art life " he had come to follow. Intended to be in the form of a prayer, it was:

O Lord, if thou wert needy as I,
If thou should'st come to my door as I do thine,
If thou hungered so much as I
For that which belongs to the spirit,
For that which is fine and good,
Ah, friend, for that which is fine and good,
I would give it to thee if I had power,
For that which I want is, first, bread—
Thy decree, not my choice, that bread must be first;
Then music, then some time out of the struggle for bread
to write my poems;
Then to put out of care . . . [those] whom I love.
O my God, how little would put them out of care! [22]

[22] Quoted from *Southern Writers. Biographical and Critical Studies: Sidney Lanier,* by William Malone Baskervill. Nashville, Tenn.: Barbee & Smith, 1896.

Baltimore friends of the Laniers were numerous, and many Baltimoreans today tell traditional anecdotes of the poet's association with their families. Friends were recruited in the various circles in which he moved—in music, in university and social groups, in "parlor classes," among students, neighbors and church members. Lanier's buoyant and enthusiastic manner and smiling personality easily made acquaintances into warm friends, all of whom were much impressed by the underlying seriousness of his purpose. Outstanding among his friends were Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Turnbull, both of whom were actively interested in literary pursuits; President Gilman, Asger Hamerik, Col. Richard Malcolm Johnston, H. A. Allen, professor of violin instruction at the Peabody;[23] Otto Sutro, energetic leader of the Wednesday Club; Father Tabb; Leonce Rabillon,[24] a fellow lecturer to "parlor classes"; Philip R. Uhler, librarian at the Peabody; Mme. Nannette Falk-Auerbach, professor of instrumental music at the Peabody;[25] Frederick H. Gottlieb, one-time *flauto secundo* to Lanier's *primo*;[26] Henry C. Wysham, lawyer and music enthusiast; the Machen family, Dr. Thomas Shearer, and Dr. Adalbert J. Volck, a refugee from Bavaria, dentist, artist and raconteur.[27]

Other close friends of Lanier's who were not Baltimoreans were Bayard Taylor, Gibson Peacock, editor of the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*; Charlotte Cushman, the actress, Paul Hamilton Hayne, and George Westfeldt, whom Lanier met in North Carolina in the last months of his life. Lanier, dying, told Mrs. Lanier to inscribe his last poem, "Sunrise," to Westfeldt. Lanier knew, but only slightly, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Joel Chandler Harris.

In these hurried, crowded years Lanier wrote in Baltimore many of his greatest poems: "Sunrise," "The Marshes of Glynn," "The Symphony," "Psalm of the West," "Opposition," "My Springs,"

[23] Tradition ascribes to Prof. Allen the authorship of the maxim: "It is not necessary to have long hair and a limburger breath to be a musician." In the 1870's, this thought was startlingly original.

[24] Prof. Rabillon, born in France, lectured mainly on topics pertaining to that country and its language. He was also a sculptor, his best-known work being the seated figure of George Peabody in Mt. Vernon Place.

[25] Of her piano recitals, Hamerik said: ". . . their importance, in forming and improving the taste for true musical art, cannot be overestimated; and too many of them cannot be given." She was a pioneer in the cause of musical appreciation in Baltimore, yet found ample time to devote to her family.

[26] After Mr. Gottlieb had ascended the social scale from *flauto secundo* to become portly brewer, capitalist and clubman, he told in beaming reminiscence how Lanier had once told him that "as flautist he was a good brewer, and as brewer, a good flautist." This, he said, was "fun of the '70's."

[27] Dr. Volck is best known for his Dürer-like drawings of the Civil War, "Ben" Butler and the Wednesday Club; and for his work as silversmith. So thorough was his work as dentist that one patient, at least, boasted that his fillings had stayed in for more than 65 years.

" Individuality," " The Crystal," "Acknowledgment," " The Revenge of Hamish " and " The Hard Times in Elfland."

At this period, too, he wrote "A Ballad of Trees and the Master," the hymn-like lyric which many consider to be the finest poem in the English language appropriate to Easter. It is a nature setting for the Biblical incident, called the "Agony in the Garden," the pause for prayer just before the Master went on to Golgotha. It is an impression of the relation in that hour between the Man and nature.

Lanier was suffering acutely on the day the poem was written, in November, 1880, in the dwelling at 1817 N. Calvert Street. The postman had brought a letter from a friend asking Lanier to call for a supply of a new tonic which the friend, who was also ill, thought might benefit the poet. This was typical solicitude, for friends were constantly suggesting remedies. Lanier himself, however, could not go: besides, it was raining hard at the time. He discussed the situation with Mrs. Lanier, and, lest the friend be offended, it was decided that Mrs. Lanier should go in his place. She has written what occurred:

> It was cold November weather . . . I was to go out for a little while to see a friend who was also ill. He [the poet] urged me to go. As I went to change my house-dress for a warmer one, he began to write on a sheet of paper. I had been gone from the room perhaps fifteen or twenty minutes. When I came back he handed me the paper, saying, " Take this to her and tell her that it is fresh from the mint." It was "A Ballad of Trees and the Master," just as we have it without erasure or correction.

Almost spontaneously, the poet, himself desperately ill, and undoubtedly feeling that he, too, faced a Golgotha, had written down the ballad which seems destined to live forever in American poetry.[28]

The lectures have been gathered into books: *The Science of English Verse, Shakspere and his Forerunners,* and *The English Novel.* Even today, these are still regarded as authoritative. Recently, Mark Sullivan, reviewing the literary activity of America in the early twentieth century, said in *Our Times*:

> The understanding of words, prosody, style which many college students fail to acquire from a score of teachers and text books, [Henry L.] Mencken

[28] Many musical settings have been composed for "A Ballad of Trees and the Master," either by that name or by the title of its first line, " Into the woods my Master went." Among the published versions are those by Francis Urban, H. Alexander Matthews, George W. Chadwick, Daniel Protheroe, Arthur Shepherd, H. W. Dyckman, George B. Nevin and Frances McCollin. The poem has also been set to music by Peter Christian Lutkin in the Methodist Hymnal, hymn No. 132; and appears in " Franklin Square Song Collection," Harpers, 1889. Mrs. Lanier never revealed to the public during her lifetime the name of the friend for whom the poem was written, although it is probable that members of the family now living may know and will sometime give the name.

distilled for himself from one self-found book, Sidney Lanier's "Science of English Verse."

Lanier also wrote "pot boilers,"—a series of books for boys, such as *The Boy's King Arthur*; and travel essays, like *Florida,* all of which admittedly were done rapidly for the purpose of increasing income.

The poet was a stable, "un-temperamental" family man. He had shown an affectionate loyalty during the war to his brother Clifford. To parents and sister he was bound by the closest ties of gallantry and respect. Too, he loved children: to take walks with them, to play in their games, to name camps in their honor, as Camp Robin, after the youngest son, Robert Sampson Lanier. But the outstanding devotion was for his wife, Mary Day Lanier, for whom he wrote most of his lyric lines—such poems as "Evening Song," "My Springs," "Laus Mariæ," "June Dreams, in January." Her watchful attention to, her encouragement of, her fragile poet is almost without parallel in literary history. She, too, was a magnificent personality: the full complement to his.

Mrs. Lanier, after the death of her husband, lived for a time in Baltimore where, with Mrs. Lawrence Turnbull and Miss Louisa C. O. Haughton, she took an active part in launching the Woman's Literary Club, which is celebrating this year the fiftieth anniversary of its founding. It was from Mrs. Lanier's memories and the material which she preserved that the biographies of her husband by Ward, Mims, Starke and Lorenz have been compiled or derived. She never tired of speaking of the poet and their days in Baltimore. Her devotion to his memory throughout a full half-century of widowhood reminds one of John W. Alexander's well-known painting, "The Pot of Basil." She had for consolation, however, those lines from "Evening Song," which her husband had written for her:

> Look off, dear Love, across the sallow sands,
> And mark yon meeting of the sun and sea,
> How long they kiss in sight of all the lands.
> Ah! longer, longer, we.

Lanier was deeply spiritual. Although in childhood his mother placed him in the Presbyterian Church, he attended the Protestant Episcopal Church in Baltimore. Perhaps the best statement of his religious belief is contained in "The Marshes of Glynn." Standing in contemplation of the unending swamps off the coast of Georgia, the poet stated the basis of his faith:

As the marsh-hen secretly builds on the watery sod,
Behold I will build me a nest on the greatness of God:
I will fly in the greatness of God as the marsh-hen flies
In the freedom that fills all the space 'twixt the marsh and the skies.

Yet Lanier, despite all handicaps, was not bowed down. His disposition was essentially bright and gay. He had a marked sense of humor, as the following extract, which has a peculiarly up-to-date sound, shows:

I knowed a man, which he lived in Jones,
Which Jones is a county of red hills and stones,
And he lived pretty much by gittin' of loans,
And his mules was nuthin' but skin and bones,
And his hogs was flat as his corn-bread pones,
And he had 'bout a thousand acres o' land.

But above all else his poetic achievement is noted for his remarkable ability to combine music and poetry—to choose words to express thoughts in such way that the mere sounding of the words took on musical quality. "The Song of the Chattahoochee," as a whole poem, is the best illustration of this use of words and meter.

And, of course, his flute is always singing:

A velvet flute-note fell down pleasantly
Upon the bosom of that harmony,
And sailed and sailed incessantly,
As if a petal from a wild-rose blown.

It is generally considered that his masterwork is "' Sunrise," a symphony to the sun of 192 lines. Just as a few chords or a detached melody from a symphony would not be a fair sample of its musical content, so also it is difficult to select a quotation from " Sunrise." But here are examples of its melodic majesty:

The worker must pass to his work in the terrible town:
But I fear not, nay, and I fear not the thing to be done;
I am strong with the strength of my lord the Sun:
How dark, how dark soever the race that must needs be run,
I am lit with the Sun.

And then, speaking directly to the sun, Lanier concludes the poem:

And ever my heart through the night shall with knowledge abide thee,
And ever by day shall my spirit, as one that hath tried thee,
Labor, at leisure, in art, — till yonder beside thee
My soul shall float, friend Sun,
The day being done.

Among the descriptions of the appearance and personality of Lanier, perhaps the best is that left by President Gilman:

The appearance of Lanier was striking . . . his looks, manners, ways of speech had distinction. I have heard a lady say that if he took his place in a crowded horse-car, an exhilarating atmosphere seemed to be introduced by his breezy ways. He was not far from five feet ten inches in height, slight in figure, with jet black hair, pallid complexion, bright, restless eyes, and a long flowing beard which gracefully fell upon his breast. His motions were alert and nervous, his speech gentle and refined, his dress careful, and his gloves of the nicest fit . . . in the days of his greatest need, he was always a gentleman in appearance and dress . . . [A] rare combination of gentleness and intellectual brightness . . . [with a] sunshiny and sympathetic smile . . . [which] illuminated his face.

But Lanier seemed to throw his energy and enthusiasm almost recklessly into too many things. He was compelled by necessity to provide for the growing family,[29] and in those "depression years" following the Panic of 1873, the year he came to Baltimore, "parlor classes," flute playing, tutoring, poetry and lecturing, were not very remunerative. Just as he entered upon the joys of success, the consuming fever racked his frame with increasing severity, perhaps because of the intense cold of the winter of 1880-'81 in Baltimore.

We may only speculate now what might have been his career had he lived to fill his post at the Johns Hopkins as did the venerable Longfellow at Harvard.

"Sunrise" was written while his temperature was at 104 degrees. He feared that he would not live long enough to set it all down on paper. He came to the last lectures in Hopkins Hall wrapped in blankets in a closed carriage. Friends assisted him to the platform. "Those who heard him listened with a sort of fascinated terror, as in doubt whether the hoarded breath would suffice to the end of the hour."

President Gilman wrote:

The last time that I saw Lanier was in the spring of 1881, when, after a winter of severe illness, he came to make arrangements for his lectures of the next winter and to say good-bye for the summer. His emaciated form could scarcely walk across the yard from the carriage to the door. "I am going to Asheville, N. C.," he said, "and I am going to write an account of that region as a railroad guide. It seems as if the Good Lord always took care of me. Just as the doctor had said that I must go to that mountain region, the publishers gave me a commission to prepare a book." "Good-bye," he added, and I supported his tottering steps to the carriage door, never to see his face again.

It was very apparent that, although he was not yet forty years old, the end was near. Except for the fact that the quotation does not

[29] There were four sons—Charles Day, Sidney, Henry Wysham and Robert Sampson Lanier.

take into account his always cheerful, active, progressive resoluteness, it might be said of him, in his own words, that:

> . . . life was the dropping and death the drying
> Of a Tear that fell in a day when God was sighing.

In May, 1881, he went to a camp under canvas, called Camp Robin, in the pine mountains of North Carolina, overlooking the French Broad River, about three miles from Asheville. His father, his wife and loyal Clifford were with him. But there was no progess, and as the summer wore away the sad family moved into a little farm cottage of a few rooms in the Pacolet Valley, near Lynn, North Carolina. Even so late Lanier had not given up: he scribbled off hints of poems. Almost to the very end he was taking daily rides astride an easyloping pony, looking at the mountains, the trees, the river; going alone, as if taking a personal, solitary farewell to the nature which he worshipped.

He died, in the little cottage, on September 7, 1881. Mrs. Lanier had offered him, as he sat in a chair by a window looking into the sun-lit valley, a cordial which always before had served to stimulate, to revive him. He said: " I can't." These were his last words.[80]

Because Lanier had so completely adopted Baltimore as his home, it was decided that he should be buried here. The same little family group, arriving at Union Station from Washington on the Niagara Express, placed the coffin before the altar of the Church of St. Michael and All Angels, St. Paul and Denmead (Twentieth) Streets. Upon it was a cross of white flowers. This was the church which Lanier and his family had attended, and where his sons Charles Day and Sidney, Jr., had been baptised.

Funeral services were conducted by the Rev. William Kirkus, on September 9, 1881. It had been a summer of unprecedented heat, and many friends of the poet were still out of town. But a representative gathering attended. Dr. William Hand Browne and Leonce Rabillon represented the Johns Hopkins; Professor Allen, the Peabody; J. W. M. Lee, the Maryland Historical Society; Professors F. D. Morrison and Frank T. Barrington, the old Blind Asylum. Others present were Lawrence Turnbull, Col. Richard M. Johnston, Major Innes Randolph, Captain Wedburn Hall, John C. Wrenshall, Thomas W. Baxter, Mr. and Mme. Falk-Auerbach, John Machen, Arthur Machen, Frederick Brown and Dr. Hastings. The service

[80] Mrs. Lanier kept the little glass in which she had poured the cordial as a symbol of this last effort to help her husband. She wrapped it carefully and placed it with other mementoes. Late in life she gave it to Mrs. Sidney Lanier, (Jr.), in whose possession, still unwrapped, it is.

consisted simply of the rites of the Protestant Episcopal Church, no addresses being made.

He was buried in Greenmount Cemetery near the stone wall along the North Avenue boundary of the cemetery. Nearby are the graves of his devoted friends Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Turnbull. Marking Lanier's grave is an irregularly shaped boulder of pink granite from his native Georgia upon which is a bronze tablet giving his name, the dates of his birth and death, a delineation of a rising sun, and the line:

I AM LIT WITH THE SUN.

On the day of his funeral *The Sun* said: " His death removes from American literature one of its brightest intellects, and takes from Baltimore a gentleman whose gifts added many laurels to her fame." There appeared in the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* an editorial which said:

> A purer and a nobler man the records of literature could not show. If ever a knightly heart beat in the breast of a fragile man, it did in his. Not any of the heroes of the Round Table or of Froissart, that he loved so, ever lived a life of higher chivalry than he. He was so stainless in his life, so courteous to opponents, so punctilious in honor, so scornful of a lie or of a sham, so free from envy, so brave and patient under troubles, that he seemed like one of the Knights of the Holy Grail, a Galahad or Percival, living amid the prosaic contentions of the nineteenth century. An artist of rare musical gifts, a poet, a man of letters—it is sad to lose all these, but saddest that best of all his poems, his life.

NEW MUNSTER

By Carl Ross McKenrick

A plaque placed alongside the improved highway extending from Newark, Delaware, to Rising Sun, Maryland, near the crossing of the Big Elk in Cecil County bears the following legend:

NEW MUNSTER

A Tract of 6000 Acres laid out in 1683 by George Talbot (then Surveyor-General of Maryland) for Edwin O'Dwire and 15 other Irishmen. Its northern boundary extended into what is now the State of Pennsylvania.

Its odd allusion to the " 15 other Irishmen " naturally excites the curiosity of the fleeting motorist. Though only slightly noticed by historians, the event recorded deserves more than passing comment. It ties in with a broad background of provincial history and expands widely into national. This paper deals with the obvious query why and wherefore the " other Irishmen."

The certificate of survey sets down the metes and bounds minutely and quaintly:

Beginning at a marked poplar on a high bank over the west side of the Main Fresh of Elk River, and about a pistol shott to the mouth of a rivulet called the Shure, [etc.]

The area embraced ten square miles, one third of which extended into the present Chester County, Pennsylvania, and almost touching the Delaware line on the east, but all well within Lord Baltimore's original grant. The Big Elk pierces the approximate center, the Little Elk is to the West and the headwaters of " Christeen " Creek at the eastern end. It is highly arable, rolling land now thinly populated.

A well preserved eighteenth century stone dwelling stands on the roadside near the marker with foundation marks of extensive farm buildings. There are a few other such landmarks within the tract, including the old Dysart Inn at Appleton Cross Roads, claiming origin in 1714 and known variously as "Seven Stars" and "Fox Chase." By the Big Elk—a great source of water power in early days—there stood until recently the stone walls of a very large mill building. Other similar relics have disappeared. The present day center of interest is the " Fair Hill " steeplechase course, just beyond the western boundary, owned by Mr. William Du Pont and associates. Much of New Munster itself has been acquired by the same group for stock farm purposes. Enough that the physical remains of the tract are incon-

spicuous and unimportant, and but for its unique connection with Maryland and national history, its story would be as colorless as the average title abstract.

The able local historian, George Johnston, has preserved many facts relating to the settlement, in conjunction with the romantic and daring exploits of Colonel George Talbot on the border when the Penn-Baltimore controversy was rife; also in explanation of the numerous old Presbyterian churches and cemeteries thereabouts.

He concludes, as all researchers must, that Talbot's " other Irishmen " turned out to be Ulster Scots, whether by accident or design, but does not attempt to establish that fact as a logical sequence of the Calvert settlement policy and the imminent need of thwarting William Penn. Nor has he claimed for Cecil County the credit it deserves as one of the earliest and most influential centers of Scotch Irish settlement. The admitted importance of this breed in later history makes worth while an inquiry as to its local seed bed.

At the period, 1683, a half century had elapsed since Charles I granted his then favorite, George Calvert, the most liberal character yet known, with rights about equivalent to those the " King hath in his palace."

A realistic land settlement program followed. Fealty to the proprietary and payment of a moderate quit rent were the only conditions generally affixed to a grant of land. Every adult adventurer might have 50 to 100 acres upon the mere act of immigration. Traces of the feudal system were apparent in the offer of manors, 2000 to 6000 acres to chosen individuals and groups, with appurtenant rights such as court-baron and frank-pledge. But the tenancy idea did not thrive here, where individual aspirations seemed to spring from the land itself. All estates granted became practically allodial or fee simple. Civil and religious privileges were liberal. Competitive conditions among the projectors of colonies required such liberality. The harassed as well as the venturesome were to be encouraged and fortunately the Calverts were not imbued with theocratic or utopian notions to hamper plantation and development.

From the problem of merely settling the land and assuring revenue therefrom, it was soon necessary to face that of preserving the integrity and protecting the boundaries of the province. Following the settlement with Claiborne and suppression of minor Indian uprisings, there developed uncertainties as to Virginia, with actual threats of invasion on the seaboard side to follow, culminating with Penn's claim to a twenty-mile strip on the north " to the fortieth degree " at the period of the New Munster grant.

The " conditions of plantation " were being altered progressively to attract settlers to the disputed areas. The advent of Governor William Stone, a Protestant, in 1648 marked a new influx of settlers. In his commission Lord Baltimore set forth that Stone

> hath undertaken to procure five hundred people of British or Irish descent to come from other places and plant and reside within our said province for the advancement of our colony there.

An act of religious toleration was adopted the following year and the bid for settlers soon enlarged to include " those of French, Dutch and Italian descent." Stone's first experiment in mass migration was the seating of the Puritans ostracized by Virginia at Providence on the Severn. It proved an unhappy one. The colonies were quick to react to the violent clashes between creeds across the water and the Puritan party here in the flush of its ascendancy, seized the reins of government. After a sizable battle on the Severn in 1655, Stone was made prisoner and escaped execution by a hair.

Meanwhile Lord Baltimore was urging the establishment of permanent settlements " on that tract of land commonly called the Eastern Shore, lying between the Bay of Chesapeake and the Sea . . . for the better publication and remembrance of the bounds between Virginia and Maryland and prevention of controversies which may hereafter happen between the inhabitants of Virginia and those of our province."

Virginia having exiled the Quakers by statute and shown disfavor to nonconformists generally, Governor Calvert issued a proclamation November 6, 1661, under authority of Cecil Lord Baltimore " that the late inhabitants of Northampton-Accomack County, Virginia, be granted lands upon the Eastern Shore of the Province . . . to the end that this part of the province next adjoining said county be peopled." The first settlements in the area which became Somerset County date from this period and were chiefly composed of these migrants.

By 1667, the English had completed their conquest of Dutch territory on the Hudson and Delaware, and the Duke of York succeeded to the Dutch rights. The Council are informed that several persons " are seated on the seaboard side and do pretend to be under the Government of New York " and the question of territorial rights was to be determined by quick occupancy pending " a right understanding betwixt the two governments."

Colonel William Stevens was chosen as a medium for securing the settlement of that region, then known as " The Hoarkill " and later embraced within Somerset County. A special warant for 8000 acres

was granted " to be proportioned out by him for the encouragement of such as will seat there," with special inducements to families having " at least two working hands " who agreed to settle forthwith " and not desert their plantations." The group settlement idea was growing. Aside from protection, religious alignments, racial distinctions, family and social ties all favored it. So far as the Scotch Irish were concerned they constituted " congregations." Church history when available may, therefore, be useful where other data is vague.

It seems coincidental that Presbyterian organization reached a high point in Somerset County in 1683, the year of the New Munster grant, through the arrival of Francis Makemie as the direct result of Colonel Stevens' request of a North Ireland presbytery for " a Godly minister." Three others either accompanied or followed Makemie into Somerset. The records show the existence of congregations both here and on the western shore—Prince George's and Charles Counties, from about 1668. Makemie soon set about organizing a presbytery. When formed in 1705/6 under the name Philadelphia Presbytery, *five* of the original seven members were from Maryland,—one from Delaware and one from Philadelphia. For a period of about 38 years thereafter there was but one church of this denomination in Philadelphia. From the time of formation of New Castle Presbytery in 1716 it was the center of a much larger group surrounding the section at the head of the Bay and lower Pennsylvania. The Scottish surnames identified with old Somerset begin to appear in Cecil County and thereabout at later dates, with steady increase of church activities in the border region. The known disfavor of Penn and his agents toward this sect, together with many collateral facts confirm and explain the steady gravitation to this center. Following the settlement activities on the Eastern Shore, the Proprietary was confronted with William Penn's threatened usurpation at the north. He had arrived (in 1682) with his charter, and with deeds from the Duke of York covering the three lower counties—Delaware. The " Seaboard Side " seemed hopeless but Charles Calvert and his irascible surveyor general George Talbot had thrown a challenge to Penn on the " fortieth degree " claim.

On March 19, 1683, the Lord Proprietary issued a commission to Talbot to " lett any part of his Lordship's two manors in Cecil County " in the following language:

Whereas it hath been always our intent to strengthen and fortify the northern parts of this our province of Maryland, the better to enable the inhabitants

thereof *to resist the invasion and outrages of the northern Indians*: And whereas we have two manors in New Ireland, in Cecil county, each called Baltemore mannor, lying between Elk river, and the North East (als Shennon) river, which if well seated would conduce much to the strength and conveniencey of the neighbourhood thereabouts; We do therefore hereby authorise you to lay out in each of our said mannors, two hundred acres for demesnes, and to grant warrants of survey on all the rest to such persons as shall intend immediately to seate upon the same; (noe warrant to exceed two hundred acres;) And we do thereby promise to all such takers up of lands in our said mannors, that they shall at their election have leases of one and thirty years, or three lives granted them, at the yearly rent of one hundred pounds of tobacco, or one barrill of corne, or shall have firm grants to them and their heirs for ever, at the yearly rent of two hundred pounds of tobacco, per hundred acres, etc.

It must have been with tongue in cheek that the allusion to " northern Indians " was made. Certainly the only invasion then threatened in that quarter was that of neighbor Penn. In direct pursuance of this authority, Talbot on August 7th, 1683, issued the certificate of survey of the New Munster tract to " Edwin O'Dwire and fifteen other [unnamed] Irishmen."

When Calvert sailed to meet Penn in London during the summer of 1684 for a test of their respective territorial rights, the stage seemed set for an unhappy ending. A *quo warranto* proceeding for annulment of Calvert's charter was pending. Penn's claims had royal support. His friend the Duke of York was soon to ascend the throne as James II. George Talbot had been made chief of a council of nine to govern the province in Charles Calvert's absence, the heir, Benedict Leonard Calvert, being a minor. Talbot's murder of Revenue Collector Rousby and consequent flight proved the culminating woe. The fort at Christiana and the projected county of New Ireland passed from the scene. But for the New Munster tract, already laid out, no tangible relic of Talbot's bold campaign would have remained. The Charter was saved from annulment, but the issue of the " Fortieth Degree " was irretrievably lost.

Calvert himself had not despaired, for in reporting the unhappy outcome of the proceedings at London to his provincial council December 1, 1685, he hopefully adds:

In the meantime I desire and hereby order you to take care to prevent Penn's people from making any settlements near heads and branches of any of the rivers that fall into Chesapeake Bay, and to encourage the inhabitants of my Province that have already surveyed lands in those parts to seat them in my right as soon as they can, and particularly to take care the Pennsylvanians make no further encroachments on the lands where Colonel George Talbot was seated, and to secure the fort near Christiana Bridge until you hear fur-

ther from me, being resolved notwithstanding this order to keep possession of what is surveyed, and to be on the defensive part rather than forced to complain.

Lord Baltimore's allusion to settlements at the heads of rivers and lands seated by Talbot points directly to New Munster. It was a *fait accompli*, though but a fragment of the great seating project intended to checkmate Penn.

With the feudal element present in all Maryland grants, the Proprietor may well have relied upon the allegiance and support of his settlers in defense of his title under ancient custom. But the old order had passed and, as matters turned, the fifteen Irishmen or whoever settled these parts, were spared any call as liegemen. They were henceforth free to pursue their individual interests, and to bring about the doom of feudalism, along with other forms of political servitude.

With this background of events and settlement policy, we come to the speculative inquiry, Who were Edwin (or Edmond) O'Dwire and the fifteen other Irishmen?

It will be noted from the Proprietary's commission to George Talbot in 1683, that the tenures granted the " takers up " of the land should be, *at their election*, " leases for one and thirty years " or " firm grants to them and their heirs forever."

It may be merely coincidence, or a lack of certainty in the grant of " New Munster " itself, that the earliest deeds to actual settlers of the tract were executed and recorded in 1714, just 31 years after the original grant in 1683. Occupation of the land being the primary objective of the Proprietary, and possession the traditional " nine-points " to the settler, the choice of tenure was unimportant at the time. It became important, however, by the time the lease period had expired when permanent domiciles had been established and improvements made. Title had meanwhile passed from O'Dwire to several other non-resident holders. That O'Dwire never " seated " himself on the land, in the sense contemplated by the Proprietary's commission to Talbot, seems clear. While there is no conveyance from him on record, an instrument executed in 1691 refers to him as " late of this province."

Eventually, one Thomas Stevenson, of Bensalem, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, acquired title to a substantial portion of the tract, about 3,000 acres, and in May 1714 deeded about 1150 acres to a " company " consisting of Matthew Wallace, yeoman, James Alexander, farmer, Arthur Alexander, farmer, David Alexander, weaver, James Alexander, weaver, and Joseph Alexander, tanner. This deed, con-

veying title in fee simple, executed under Stevenson's power of attorney to " my friend John MacKnitt, of Back Creek in Cecil County, Md.," recites that inasmuch as the above grantees, Matthew Wallace and company, had " for some years last past improved and possessed said tract " and divided same " among themselves, each man according to his holden,"

I, the said Stevenson being minded to sell ye said tract, thought it most equitable, honest and right that they, ye said possessors thereof should have the first offer to buy

provided they complied with his terms as to price, which they had done.

Thomas Stevenson had previously,—prior to 1710—conveyed land in Bucks County to a group of Dutch settlers who formed the Bensalem Presbyterian Church, thus evidencing a personal interest in church organization. Incidentally, the Neshaminy Church nearby, seat of the famous " Log College " was also of Dutch derivation, as was that at New Castle, whereas the Maryland churches appear to have all had a Scotch Irish basis.

Johnston, in his history of Cecil County, concludes from the Stevenson deed that the grantees named were among the " fifteen other Irishmen " and, therefore, original settlers. This is plausible as can be, short of a factual demonstration. All parties to the 1714 transaction were of Scotch derivation. Stevenson's " friend," John MacKnitt, was located in Somerset County, Maryland, at an earlier date and has been identified as a member of one of the earliest Presbyterian congregations. There is record there of the marriage in 1693 of John MacKnitt with Jane Wallis (Wallace). One of the James Alexanders of New Munster married Margaret, daughter of John MacKnitt. Their son John McKnitt Alexander migrated to North Carolina and became secretary of the Mecklenburg Convention of 1775. There are numerous other chains of association between individuals in this group.

Henry Jones Ford, in his scholarly and well authenticated work, *The Scotch Irish in America*, refers to the group settlement on the New Munster tract as the earliest definitely recorded. Not surprisingly, he assumes that there must have been fifteen *real* Irishmen besides O'Dwire, and from the name " New Munster " surmises that they came from *south* Ireland. He was apparently unmindful of George Talbot's curious penchant for Irish place names which caused him to re-name the Northeast River " Shannon " and Susquehanna Manor " New Connaught," and of the border-protective purpose underlying the project of the " County of New Ireland."

" Irishmen " in common parlance meant, of course, all who hailed from Ireland, without distinguishing the Scotch element in Ulster from the native Irish. The former constituted the main body of immigrants and had the same fondness for Erin and its euphonic names. The hybrid name " Scotch-Irish " was a later American invention.

When a bufferland was in contemplation by Maryland she seems to have instinctively favored the same racial element that had proved a salutary influence on the seaboard side. A refractory type was desirable—capable of defending their rights to the inch and yet to be trusted against usurpation. Her experience with the Puritan importation from Virginia had been unhappy and perhaps the immobile and stolid qualities of other settler types seemed less appropriate to the work in hand.

New Castle had become a chief port of entry for the middle colonies and when superseded by Philadelphia later, Penn directed the inflow from Ireland toward the Maryland border. Quaker control of the Pennsylvania Assembly was to be held intact. Unfriendly attitudes elsewhere also influenced the drift of Scotch Irish. Theocratic New England scowled menacingly at all who were not of the prevailing " elect," while New York had actually enacted proscriptive laws. Virginia had its Established Church and all non-conformists were a source of irritation. She eventually tolerated Scotch settlers west of the Blue Ridge, but perhaps for protective purposes also.

Tested by experience in the province and reputation gained in their native heaths, these Scots were good border material. At any rate the selection appears to have been deliberate on the part of the provincial leaders and a happy exercise of free choice by the settlers as well. Talbot was evidently satisfied to designate the class wanted with complete indifference to individual names.

The extent to which transplantation of this breed developed in the first half of the eighteenth century was a matter of amazement on both sides of the Atlantic. Edmund Burke commented that in 1729 of six thousand immigrants to Pennsylvania, four-fifths at least were from Ireland. In that year, James Logan, Secretary of Pennsylvania, wrote: " It looks as though Ireland is to send all its inhabitants hither, for last week not less than six ships arrived." He consolingly tells the Penns that " they generally settle near the Maryland line." But they were " bold and indigent strangers " in his view, who when challenged for titles, cannily reply: " *You solicited for colonists and we came accordingly.*" In later appreciation of their intrinsic qualities, however, Logan when feeling the need of protection from

Indians in the Susquehanna Valley " thought it prudent to plant a settlement of such men as those who formerly had so bravely defended Londonderry and Inniskillen, as a frontier in case of disturbance."

Priority of settlement by the Wallace-Alexander group is strongly evidenced by the organization of Head of Christiana Church on the eastern border of the tract before 1708, following an earlier organization at New Castle. Soon thereafter a perfect cordon of churches surrounded the tract—" The Rock " on Little Elk; Lewisville (Upper Elk); Birmingham on Lower Brandywine; White Clay, Red Clay, New London, Bethel, Pencader and Appoquinimy (Drawyers), among others.

Rev. George Gillespie, of Head of Christiana Church, wrote in 1723 that " near to 200 families have come into our parts from Ireland and more are following. They are generally Presbyterians."

In subsequent history, the initial settlement on the New Munster tract is merged with an expanded area. Two later grants, " Society " and " Fair Hill," immediately to the west, assumed like character. The " twelve-mile circle " around New Castle may be taken as the symbol of this spreading population, with a bulge to the west and northwest. There was a liberal infusion of Welsh, French Hugenots and Dutch who did not differ essentially in creed or mode of life. The Germans, for the most part, were to the north, while the Swedes remained close to the Delaware.

In 1701 William Penn adopted Calvert's scheme for border protection by projecting into Maryland territory a grant of about 8500 acres known as the " Nottingham Lots " to the west of Fair Hill; where the " Brick Meeting House " at Calvert still stands. He also invaded Maryland along the Delaware border with a " Welsh Tract " of much greater area. These were retaliating movements (which George Talbot was not here to resist) intended to give color to Penn's territorial claims. Quaker settlements were induced in each. The neighborhood relationship apparently proved amiable; at least until the Whiggish disposition of the Scotch Irish and certain western frontier problems became assertive.

The pressing need for education made a tutor of every parson. At least four pioneer schools, each conducted by a classical scholar had sprung up in this area by 1740 and were to become famous for their foundational work. Francis Alison preached and taught at New London; Samuel Finley at Nottingham; Samuel Blair at Faggs Manor and Thomas Evans at Pencader. They gathered what was to become an illustrious roll of pupils,—governors, statesmen and leaders in

the professions. Among others, John Ewing, James Latta, Matthew Wilson, Samuel Davies, Joseph Alexander, Charles Thomson (secretary, Continental Congress), Governor Thomas McKean (Penna.), Governor John Henry (Md.), Governor Alexander Martin (N. C.), Richard Stockton (Signer, N. J.), George Read (Signer, Del.), James Smith (Signer, Penna.), Dr. Benjamin Rush (Signer, Penna.), Dr. John Archer, John Bayard, Ebenezer Hazard, James Waddell, Hugh Williamson and Alexander McWhorter. Robert Smith, alumnus of Faggs Manor, in turn founded a notable academy at Pequa.

Davies, Finley and the Blairs joined with the Tennents, of Log College on the Neshaminy, in the founding of the College of New Jersey (Princeton). For the Academy at Philadelphia, later to become the University of Pennsylvania, Benjamin Franklin drafted Alison and Ewing. Other colleges may be directly traced to the same root—Hampden-Sidney, Dickinson, Washington and Lee, to name a few. Newark Academy, now the University of Delaware was the outgrowth of the New London school. Ford credits the origin of the University of North Carolina to the pioneer school of Joseph Alexander, of New Munster (Princeton 1760) in Mecklenburg County.

The influence of the itinerant minister—the circuit rider of the day—is more difficult to appraise, but a great horde of them came out of New Castle Presbytery. Some, fortunately, were diarists, and their records are revealing. For instance, one John Cuthbertson landed at New Castle from Ireland August 5, 1751. The same day, he relates, "Rode twenty miles to the home of Moses Andrews" (at New Munster). Two days later he rides "Fifteen miles to Joseph Rosses at New London." This is the beginning of a missionary tour lasting forty years and covering 60,000 miles on horseback, according to the record. There were many others, Beatty, the two Brainards, McClure, Fithian (Beatty's son-in-law), Duffield, the Finleys and McMillan, to mention a few. Not all these started from New Castle, but all went under the same direction, during the pre-Revolution period.

The peregrinating preacher was a means of wide dissemination of both political and religious doctrine. These coalesced perfectly in the rising spirit of individualism. Little wonder that the conservative party laid upon the dissident Scotch Irish the charge of fomenting the Revolution.

"Unauthorized" settlements were made by Scotch Irish west of the Susquehanna as early as 1730 on the Conococheague (now Franklin County, Pa.) and they are referred to in Pennsylvania history as "intruders under Lord Baltimore's title." They spread steadily

through the Susquehanna and Juniata valleys and by way of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia into North Carolina. The New Munster section was the most prolific source of these early migrations.

By the time of the Braddock expedition in 1755 the Scotch Irish were pushing the frontier even beyond the point of safety from Indian attack. Every adult had become of necessity a rifleman and every congregation a convenient military unit.

In Cumberland County John Armstrong found the nucleus for his expedition against Kittanning (1756) in the first Presbyterian church. Parson John Steele of the same county, but late of New Castle, became Captain Steele, and his meeting-house "Fort Steele." John Elder, known as the "fighting Parson" became Captain Elder and commander of a fort on the Susquehanna. John Craighead fought and preached alternately and, according to the D. A. R. monument near Chambersburg, Pa. "led every man in his congregation" into battle. It is said that when Rev. James Finley of "The Rock" church migrated to Western Pennsylvania, at least thirty neighboring families followed his lead.

There were those who envisaged "Canaan" in the south. For them, the trail turned into the Valley of Virginia. There were Scotch-Irish settlements as far down as the Yadkin and Catawba Rivers before 1745, and soon after a great exodus out of the New Munster region into Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, developed. Family groups, including the Alexanders, Polks, Brevards, Sharps, McWhorters, Grahams, Davidsons, Pattons and Harrises moved about the time the pioneer ministers, Hugh McAden, Alexander Craighead, Hezekiah J. Balch, Joseph Alexander and others were sent out by New Castle Presbytery as "missionaries" to the Carolinas. They were of the group that formed the county of Mecklenburg in 1763, became its first magistrates, organized at least seven Presbyterian churches and a number of schools, with deeds such as the Battle of King's Mountain to follow later.

There are no available statistics on this movement, but there is no doubt of its source and magnitude. One early historian (Alexander Hewatt) wrote:

> About this time (1763) above a thousand families, with their effects in the space of one year resorted to Carolina, driving their cattle, hogs and horses overland before them.

Another (Dr. Hugh Williamson) writing in 1812, of the Yadkin River section:

Emigrants from the north of Ireland, by the way of Pennsylvania, flocked to that country, and a considerable part of North Carolina, is inhabited by those people or their descendants.

Closer inquiry will disclose that " Pennsylvania " as thus used means the Maryland borderland we have described. As examples of record evidence, one Cecil County will (1778) refers to three children, heads of families, and another (1789) to six " now residing in North Carolina." The chains of connection between this center and the entire Appalachian frontier are apparent in every study of these settlements.

Of the twenty-seven members of the Mecklenburg Convention who, according to legend on the Charlotte monument, signed the Declaration of Independence on May 20, 1775, at least twenty-four may be traced to New Munster, or its immediate environs. Six of these bore the name Alexander. A trite but telling illustration of the fruitfulness of the settlement is the fact that the Alexanders alone now consume about five pages in the Charlotte City Directory. Elsewhere, too, may be found equally striking examples of the spread of New Munster stock.

It seems well to close this story of New Munster at the eve of the Revolution although the thread of connection runs interminably through later history. Enough to have indicated what important consequences may arise out of a seemingly trivial event, such as the laying out of a tract of land for an uncertain group of Irishmen.

It is gratifying, of course, to find that the recalcitrant breed which James I thought " agreeth as well with monarchy as God with the devil " and sought to " harry out of the land " were found to be eminently fit and suitable for border settlement by Lord Baltimore and his deputy, Talbot.

Bibliographical Notes

A carefully prepared description of " New Munster, New Ireland County, Maryland " by Michael J. O'Brien, Esq., appearing in the *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*," vol. 26 (1927) deserves attention. Mr. O'Brien has incorrectly assumed, however, that the settlers were native or Celtic Irish.

Every channel of inquiry confirms the fact that practically all of the early settlers in this locality were protestant. No invidious distinction is intended, but it is clear that until sometime after the parish division by the Established Church in 1692, it had little foothold here, and until a much later date, no appreciable Catholic population appeared in the described area.

As indices of racial origin, the first census of 1790 covering North Milford Hundred, Cecil County, and the land and probate records of Cecil County may be relied upon.

A single probate record is typical: "Estate of William Ferguson" (Book 2/187) in 1762 mentions the names Alexander, Scott, Gillespie, Caruthers, Jordan, Wallace, Andrews, Caldwell and Longwill—all residents.

Ford in *Scotch Irish in America* says (181): "All accessible data indicates that the Chesapeake Bay settlements were the first distinctively Scotch Irish settlements made in America." This was prior to 1680.

And further (212): "Taking the earliest distinct mention of Scotch Irish settlements as the safest guide, their chronological order appears to be as follows:

1. Maryland 1680
2. South Carolina 1682
3. Pennsylvania 1708
4. New England 1718."

The following are of special value as authorities, aside from Maryland *Archives,* Land Office and County Records:

John Kilty's *Landholder's Assistant.* Baltimore, 1808. Invaluable on the early land system and government of Maryland.

George Johnston's *History of Cecil County.* Elkton, 1881. A work of exceptional merit.

Henry Jones Ford's *Scotch Irish in America.* Princeton, 1915.

Matthew Page Andrews' *History of Maryland* and *Founding of Maryland.*

The following have more remote but important bearing:

Charles A. Hanna, *The Scotch Irish* and *The Wilderness Trail.*

John Fiske, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies.*

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J. L. Vallandigham, *History of New Castle Presbytery.*

W. R. Huston, *History of New London, Pa. Presbyterian Church,* 1926.

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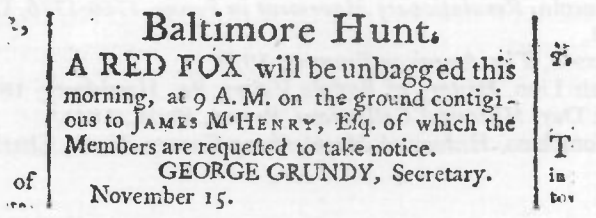
THE BALTIMORE HUNT CLUB OF 1793

By Margery Whyte

Since the last part of the seventeenth century, when packs of hounds were first kept exclusively for fox-hunting, country gentlemen in both England and the United States have owned their packs and have been in the hunting field nearly every winter day, either afoot or mounted.

In England hunt clubs came into existence very early, together with the ceremony and glamor which now surround the sport; in the United States, on the other hand, informal hunting with privately owned packs was the general rule until the eighteen seventies when interest in fox-hunting was revived and several hunt clubs were formed in the east, patterned on those of Great Britain, to be followed in recent years by numerous clubs scattered all over the country.

As there seem to have been few organized groups engaged in fox-hunting in the eighteenth century in this country, and none so far recorded in Maryland, several notices found by Dr. J. Hall Pleasants in the Historical Society's file of *Edwards's Baltimore Daily Advertiser* for the winter of 1793-4 were of immense interest, for they prove that a group of Baltimore sportsmen had organized a hunt club at that early date. The first of these notices, dated November 15, 1793, was as follows:



Baltimore Hunt.

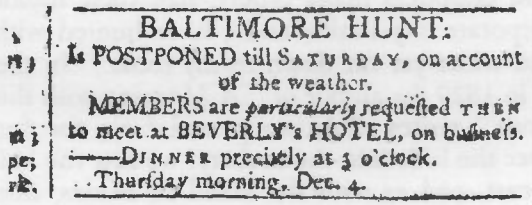
A RED FOX will be unbagged this morning, at 9 A. M. on the ground contiguous to James M'Henry, Esq. of which the Members are requested to take notice.

GEORGE GRUNDY, Secretary.

November 15.

This was repeated the next day. After this date many issues of the newspaper are missing but on December 4th we find: "Baltimore Hunt. A Bag Fox will be turned out on Thursday at 9 o'clock, from Walkers Tavern on the York Road to Govanstown. N. B. Dinner for the Members at Beverly's Hotel precisely at 3 o'clock."

The next notice on December 5th ran as follows:



BALTIMORE HUNT.

Is POSTPONED till SATURDAY, on account of the weather.

MEMBERS are *particularly* requested THIS to meet at BEVERLY's HOTEL, on buſineſs.

——DINNER precisely at 3 o'clock.

Thurſday morning, Dec. 4.

Then, on Tuesday, December 10, we find: "BALTIMORE HUNT. On Saturday for the first time the Baltimore Hunt dined together at Beverly's Hotel. The Meeting, though not very numerous, was a very agreeable one, and many good songs sung in the course of the evening, and 'tis but common justice to Mr. Beverly to say, that his dinner, and wines, were extremely good, and his attention such as cannot fail to insure him every encouragement in future."

There is nothing further, though again many issues of the paper are missing, until February 11, 1794, when we find: "BALTIMORE HUNT. The Members of the Baltimore Hunt will please take notice, that a Bag.Fox will be started this morning about 10 o'clock near the Burnt House."

The town of Baltimore was small in those days and the meets could be reached with little time wasted. Fayetteville, the country seat of James McHenry, afterwards became Alexandrofsky, the property of the Winans family on Baltimore Street at Fremont; Beverly's Hotel, which opened about this time, was located at Baltimore and Gay Streets; and George Grundy's country place is now the site of the Fifth Regiment Armory.

John Pendleton Kennedy writes of fox-hunting at North Point, and two early visitors to Baltimore—Frederick Gustavus Skinner, the author and sportsman, and Tyrone Power, the Irish comedian—both tell of the jokes leveled at one of the huntsmen who had retreated ignominiously before the advancing British over the same ground in 1814.

A Sporting Family of the Old South, in which Mr. Harry Worcester Smith has compiled the writings of F. G. Skinner, gives several instances where the Baltimore Hunt is mentioned. In a letter dated 1879 Skinner writes: "Like all southerners reared on the farm and plantation, my father [John Stuart Skinner] was born with a love of field sports, but his passion was fox-hunting, and for many years he hunted regularly with the Baltimore and Washington City Hounds." In an article first published in *Turf, Field and Farm*, he

says: "In my younger days the cities of Baltimore, Washington, Annapolis, and doubtless many others, had their hunting kennels within the corporate city limits, and I have hunted with the three first mentioned while yet far down in my teens." In the *American Turf Register* in 1829 the author of "A Morning with the Baltimore Pack of Hounds" writes: "As we passed from the fumes of the town fairly over the hills into the country, we saw the 'king of day' rising in the east, and as with the wand of Midas, turning everything he touched with gold, and presenting to the view a scene, that for gorgeousness and brilliant effulgency, I thought I had never before witnessed." After describing the chase, he adds:

> It was evident that their game could not have stood up half an hour longer, but it was supposed that the old rogue had about daylight put a crippled fat canvas-back under his belt. If *he* did not, I know who did, not many hours after by the Grace of God and a good friend in Gay Street; the flavor thereof being in nowise injured, by first a bottle of the genuine J. C. and then another of the good old bang-up T—— wine; with such in his cellar, who would not gladly fill the office of—Butler.

This clearly shows that a Baltimore Hunt Club was active as late as the eighteen-twenties, although it is impossible to know whether or not the membership was the same as that of the earlier club.

After a number of years, in another article in *Turf, Field and Farm*, Skinner again mentions the Baltimore Hunt when he describes the Richmond Fox Chase which took place in the autumn of 1888. He writes: "Some 30 or 40 in number followed close on the hounds from start to finish and did some splendid riding. . . . Mr. Swan Latrobe, M. F. H. of the Baltimore Hunt, rode in the first flight." However, Swan Latrobe at this time was Master of the Elkridge Hunt which had come into being about ten years before.

Can it be that the Elkridge Hunt Club is the direct descendant of the Baltimore Hunt Club of 1793? Should it be possible to prove this, Elkridge, the oldest club of its kind in Maryland, would add a hundred years, more or less, to its history and would be second only in age to the Rose Tree Hunt Club, a descendant of the Gloucester Hunt which was founded near Philadelphia in 1766, conceded to be the oldest existing fox-hunting club in the United States.

IMPROVEMENTS ON "COLE'S HARBOUR," 1726

By WILLIAM B. MARYE

What is one man's loss is another man's gain. His futile attempt to escheat "Cole's Harbour," which was frustrated by a caveat filed by Charles Carroll, grandfather of the "Signer," doubtless cost Edward Fell a pretty penny, but it resulted in there being preserved for posterity a description of the improvements as they existed on that extensive property (long since wholly covered by the City of Baltimore) three years before the town was laid out on this same land. One gets the impression of a large tract of land developed to as full an extent as was reasonably to be expected, if allowance is made for time and place, as well as for natural advantages. Baltimore, of course, grew and spread over no wilderness, but over the graves of many plantations. It is worthy of note, however, that, in 1729, unpatented land might still have been found between the site of North Avenue and the Basin.

To attempt to identify the improvements which existed on "Cole's Harbour," as described in Fell's unpatented certificate, is fruitless in most cases. We know that one Fleming lived as a tenant or overseer in a "quarter" located on that part of the land where the town was laid off. His house is alluded to in certain old depositions published in this magazine.[1] The mill referred to in Fell's certificate can be no other than Hanson's earliest mill, which was situated on Jones's Falls, a short distance above the ford of the old Philadelphia or Old Main Road, which crossed the Falls near what is now the intersection of Bath Street and the Fallsway, just at the upper end of the remarkable loop of the Falls, which was later eliminated by an artificial channel. The land on which this mill was erected, part of "Cole's Harbour," was conveyed to Jonathan Hanson by Charles Carroll, on June 9, 1711. Other improvements, described as "old," may well have dated from the time of James Todd, or even of Captain David Jones. The last named, who gave his name to Jones's Falls, acquired "Cole's Harbour" in 1679[2] and was a resident on the land in 1682.[3] He died in the spring of

[1] "Depositions in the Land Records," beginning, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XIX, p. 261.

[2] In his genealogy of the Gorsuch and Todd families Dr. J. Hall Pleasants has gone most thoroughly into the early history and title of "Cole's Harbour." See *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIV, 433-438; XXV, 93-96.

[3] Baltimore County Land Records, Liber I. R. No. A. M., folio 185: Sarah Gorsuch to David Jones, August 1, 1682, "Coles Harbour," 550 acres, "being ye plantation

1686/7. This was the land to which he refers in his will as his dwelling plantation. There appears to be no documentary evidence for the statement that he lived beside the Falls, where the old Main Road crossed that stream and where Hanson later built his first mill. This statement is made by Griffith in his *Annals of Baltimore*. I consider it more likely that his house was somewhere immediately adjacent to the north shore of the Basin. This would have been more according to custom in the case of a planter whose land bordered on a tidal river. However, if Griffith is right, then it is possible that the "old field by the ffalls," which is called for in the deed, Hurst to Colegate, October 13, 1701, may have lain about the site of Jones's dwelling.[4]

In his petition to the Land Office for a warrant to escheat "Cole's Harbour," Edward Fell recalls the fact that this land, originally laid out for 550 acres, was surveyed for Thomas Cole, August 28, 1668, and afterwards, by descent, conveyance, etc., "became the Right of a Certain David Jones who by his Last will and Testament in writing Devised the same (after the Death of his wife) unto his sister Elizabeth Jones which said Elizabeth Jones (Since the Death of the said David's wife) Likewise dyed possessed Intestate and without heirs by which means the said Land became escheat."[5] This statement, if correct, disposes of one explanation of the manner in which James Todd became possessed of "Cole's Harbour," one of the great mysteries connected with Baltimore land titles, though long since without any legal significance. It was surmised that Todd married Jones's sister, Elizabeth. James Todd, who was a son of Mrs. David Jones by a former husband, Captain Thomas Todd, had executed a resurvey on "Cole's Harbour," February 16, 1698, re-naming the land and calling it "Todd's Range," and later obtained a patent for the same.

It would appear that Fell's alleged "vacancy," except for a trifling amount on the north-west side of the Basin, included no land not supposed to have been included in the original patent and within the bounds of Todd's resurvey. This will account for the highly improved state of the "vacancy," which occupies a broad strip along the western and northern sides of the land. Fell's resurvey was executed September 21, 1726.[6] The plat filed by the surveyor is interesting in that it shows, though roughly and on a

or yt Divident of land the sd. David Jones now Live upon," said land having formerly (1679) been made over to said Jones by said Sarah's husband, Charles Gorsuch.

[4] Baltimore County Land Records, Liber H. W. No. 2, folio 196.

[5] Land Office, Annapolis, Md., Warrants, Liber D. D., 1726-1729, folio 1.

[6] Land Office, Annapolis, Md., Unpatented Certificate No. 516, Baltimore County.

small scale, the original shore line on the north side of the Basin, as it existed before Baltimore Town was laid out. The surveyor, as it was customary in the case of escheated lands, filed a description of the improvements on, and the state of cultivation of, the land, of which the following is a true copy:

Note ye Land is Midling and about one halfe clear'd: on ye originall survey is one very good Water mill with a brick Chimney to ye house. . . . Two Dwelling houses about 25 foot each about one quarter Worne; one verry good Store house plank floors and Two rooms: one ould forty foot tobacco house one forty foote toc:° house halfe Worne sixty seven ould apple Trees in an Orchad and about three thousand fence Loggs sett up in Corne field and pasture fence. . . . On the Vacancy added is one verry good Dwelling house about 25 foot Long 18 foot Wide framed & shingle[d] Two storry highe; upper & Lower Rooms plaster'd & hansomly finish'd With a verry good Seller stone wall'd one brick Chimney With a Chamber[d] Chimney: one Kitchen about 20 foot Long & 15 foot broad with a brick Chimney and brick Oven in it: a Middle Lodging Room Joining both ye above s[d] houses together With a passage from one to ye other plank floor and brick Chimney in it; a paild garden in good Repair; one sixteen foot Dwelling house: one fifteen foot Ditto: one old 30 foot Ditto three verry good Store houses plank floors and seald & well fitted. . . . Two 30 foot Tobc° houses one very good 50 foot Ditto: one Stable one Milke house one Henn house one small Meat house; seventy three bearing apple Trees Regularly planted one Meddow Well Cultivated & sow'd with Clover grass (&c) about 5 acres . . . about 2500 fence loggs sett up in Corne field Orchad and Meddow fence.

EVOLUTION OF COLONIAL MILITIA IN MARYLAND *

By Louis Dow Scisco

From the previous experiences of early English colonies it was known to the founder of Maryland that, from the very beginning, his own colonists must be armed and alert against Indian attack, and that they must have competent military leaders. In his first instructions, therefore, Lord Baltimore required that his people should be "mustered and trained in military discipline." In the list of principal colonists given in the *Relation of Maryland* appears the name of Captain John Hill, the only person in the group who bears a military title. It is a fair supposition that he had been chosen as the captain of the new colony.

Colonization was effected at St. Mary's in March, 1634, "within a pallizado of 120 yards square." Whether or not Hill was then present does not appear by any specific mention. Three months later there are indications that Thomas Cornwallis had become captain of the colony. At that time Governor Leonard Calvert had occasion to visit Virginia, taking with him two of his chief advisors. A shipmaster who met them there wrote that Calvert's companions were Captain Henry Fleet and Captain Thomas Cornwallis. The appearance of Cornwallis with a military title seems to mean the acquisition of military duties, for he was merely "Mr. Cornwallis" when listed by the *Relation of Maryland*. Captain Fleet, it may be said, had assumed his title several years earlier.

Nowhere in the records is the military unit at St. Mary's described with any detail. The constant use of the term "trained band" shows that it was modeled on the English militia unit of that name. At first it was officered only by a captain and sergeant. In all the earlier English colonies the captain of militia was a person of importance and responsibility. It was his duty to see that each householder had his proper outfit of arms and ammunition, and that each colonist had such instruction as would make him able to do his part in time of danger. This was true at St. Mary's as well as in other colonies. The sergeant of the trained band did much of the actual instruction and usually served as company clerk. In war time he was expected to lead some part of the fighting force. In Maryland the trained band was wholly a defensive force and not a mobile

* The sources for this account are chiefly the *Archives of Maryland* and the *Narratives of Early Maryland*, edited by C. C. Hall.

unit for field service. When it happened from time to time that armed parties were sent out for service they were recruited as temporary service units under leaders appointed for the occasion. Thus, in 1635 Captain Henry Fleet led a party to the Patuxent River to protect trade conditions.

By the beginning of 1638 the St. Mary's settlement was expanding to form outlying groups, and in consequence two sergeants were named for the trained band. Sergeant Thomas Baldridge trained the settlers at St. Mary's, while Sergeant Robert Vaughan headed those who had formed St. George's Hundred. In this same year the whole colonial structure was changed by the forced annexation of Kent Island settlement, which had its own administrative and military arrangements to be fitted into the general plan of government.

The Kent Island settlement was founded in 1631 by William Claiborne of Virginia. In so doing he acted as agent for a syndicate of London merchants, in whose venture he held a minor share. This syndicate had legal authority to carry on trade, but it had none for exercising government. Local organization, therefore, avoided the terms of civil offices and took on those of military usage. In his agency contract Claiborne had been termed "chief commander" and he used that title. For subordinates he had a lieutenant and a sergeant. Claiborne's term as commander ran from 1631 to 1637. His lieutenants were Arthur Figges, Richard Popely, and Ratcliffe Warren successively. Hugh Heyward continuously held place as sergeant. It was this Lieutenant Warren who was killed in 1635 in a fight at Pocomoke with a St. Mary's boat party led by Captain Cornwallis.

Made aware of Lord Baltimore's territorial rights, the London merchants in 1636 sent over Captain George Evelyn as commander to supersede Claiborne and the latter yielded control in May, 1637. Evelyn then acknowledged the St. Mary's government as paramount and from it he received commission of December 30, 1637, which formally conferred on him the title of commander and thus clothed the office with a legal authority which hitherto it had lacked. This commission provided for a local court in Kent, of which the commander was to be the head, but it seems to have left to Evelyn the same combined civil and military direction that had been in Claiborne's hands.

Evelyn's new commission clarified matters so far as legal authority was concerned, but Kent people stood out firmly against any actual submission to St. Mary's. In February, 1638, Captain Cornwallis quietly sailed out from St. Mary's with an adequate force, seized by

surprise the two Kent forts, and established proprietary rule on the island. In the conciliatory adjustment that followed, the unpopular Evelyn withdrew to St. Mary's and Robert Philpot, a Kent man, was made commander in his stead. John Boteler, another Kent man, brother-in-law of Claiborne, was made captain of the island's "military band." At this time the island had 120 men able to bear arms and the captaincy was important. Thus Kent County came into being, having its own special executive and its own military force. William Brainthwaite succeeded Philpot as the commander later in this same year, by a commission of October 22.

Meanwhile, at St. Mary's the militia has scant notice in the records. In January, 1638, Captain Robert Wintour came to the colony and was one of the leading officials, but for only a few months, his death taking place about September. There seem to be implications that he was captain of the trained band in this interval, but no definite statement of the sort. In March, during his supposed incumbency, the Assembly passed an act "for military discipline," the text of which has not been preserved, as all the acts of this Assembly were vetoed by the proprietor. The Assembly of 1639, however, passed an act which had the same title and probably the same content. It required that every household should have arms and ammunition proportionate to the males qualified for military service. The trained-band captain could make house visitations in search of such arms and if he found them insufficient or in bad condition he could impose fines on the householder. If there were no arms in a house the captain could supply what were needed and could collect therefor a price which must not afford him more than 100 percent profit. In case of alarm at St. Mary's each fighter must join the force at the chapel and get orders. Another Assembly act of 1639 provided that the two sergeants of the St. Mary's force should have certain fees for their work of training the militiamen.

In late 1638 Giles Brent appears in the colony records as Council member. Within a few months he was made treasurer, and soon after this, by commission of May 29, 1639, he became captain of St. Mary's trained band. In early 1640, at a moment when Indians were troubling, the governor sent him to Kent temporarily, with commission of February 3, 1640, making him commander there in place of Brainthwaite. Brent's absence from St. Mary's left the captaincy in abeyance there, and apparently Robert Vaughan took over command of the local force, for at this time he begins to be called Lieutenant Vaughan, a title not hitherto used at St. Mary's. On April 29 the Kent commandership was restored to Brainthwaite,

but Brent chose to remain on the island, where he acquired property and position. At St. Mary's the lieutenancy of Vaughan continued for two years.

The next changes came in 1642. Brent, having settled himself at Kent, on January 12 was made county commander there. Meanwhile, St. Mary's had received as residents Colonel Francis Trafford and Captain William Blount. Trafford seems to have acquired no military duties, although in August he was sent to Virginia to arrange military co-operation against Indians. Blount was appointed on June 23 to be captain of St. Mary's. About the time of Blount's appointment Lieutenant Vaughan removed to Kent, leaving his vacated lieutenancy to Thomas Baldridge. At Kent the militia presumably had remained in Captain John Boteler's charge from 1638 onward, until he died about June, 1642. Vaughan seems to have then taken over militia command, for he is officially styled "Lieutenant of our Isle and County of Kent."

Hardly had these adjustments been completed when, in August, the Susquehannas raided the upper Patuxent. The Assembly, meeting in September, 1642, authorized a punitory expedition and Captain Brent was given special commission to raise part of the new force in Kent. He went at once to Kent for the purpose and there learned that Brainthwaite had superseded him as commander of the county. Brent's subsequent efforts to raise men were without result, and he was accused of sabotage due to chagrin over losing office. His failure ruined the whole plan of an expedition, but in early December he had his day in court and was exonerated. On December 16 he was commissioned commander again.

In this time of alarm there is no hint of any dependable militia force. Following the Susquehanna raid the governor issued directions for St. Michael's and St. George's Hundreds, designating garrison houses for refugees and naming commanding officers for the occasion. Yet some sort of organization evidently existed, for the Assembly of September enacted that the sergeants in "every hundred" should have their fees for military instruction, proportioned to the number so instructed. Perhaps it was at this time that the two sergeantcies of the county were increased in number to provide one in each of the half-dozen hundreds.

Early in 1643 Governor Leonard Calvert decided to visit England. It was probably the growing civil war in the mother country that forced this desertion of office in the face of threatening hostility of savage tribes. Brent was called from Kent and on April 11, 1643, was made acting governor. The commandership of Kent probably

went to John Wyatt at this time, although Wyatt is not mentioned as such until later. Blount and Trafford disappeared about the time the governor sailed, probably going with him.

Brent, as governor, promptly filled Blount's place on April 17, by making Captain Thomas Cornwallis commander of St. Mary's County, presumably leaving Baldridge undisturbed as lieutenant. The innovation of a county commander at St. Mary's can be explained only by supposing that in a time of constant danger the capital needed an executive with special powers, and that Brent frankly copied the Kent model as best for the purpose. How long Cornwallis kept this office of commander does not appear. In September he led an expedition northward against the enemy Susquehannas and was defeated by them. On March 19, 1644, the St. Mary's captaincy was conferred by Brent upon William Brainthwaite and the wording of the commission seems to imply that he, too, was officially the county commander.

Governor Calvert returned to the colony in September, 1644, and relieved Brent from executive duty. On January 1, 1645, the governor commissioned Brainthwaite to be commander of Kent in place of Wyatt. Logically, it would be expected that Brent would have taken the captaincy at St. Mary's, but if any appointment was made to that position it is unrecorded. All the official records now extant, in fact, close abruptly in middle February, 1645, when Richard Ingle launched his revolution and the proprietor's government tottered. For a few weeks Governor Calvert struggled against the tide, but he was expelled by his antagonists.

From early 1645 to late 1646 the upset conditions of Ingle's rebellion continued, but its place in colonial history is almost a blank page to modern inquiry. In the extant records are found only unrelated scattered incidents. It is known that armed units roved here and there in the colony, but their character is unknown. No doubt some of them had a quasi-legal status of some sort. Thomas Baldridge led an insurgent foraging party at one time to gather supplies. Robert Vaughan is described as being made prisoner by insurgents led by one Thomas Bradnox, "captain of a crew of rebels." Nothing can be said of the militia in this interval. It is very doubtful if anything in the way of a militia system existed.

The interruption of proprietary government caused by Ingle's rebellion came to a close in late 1646. In December the expelled governor came back from Virginia with an armed force organized by him in that colony. He seized St. Mary's, made terms with the insurgents, and restored the proprietor's rule. Fort St. Inigo was

garrisoned with the incoming soldiers. Of this force Captain John Price was chief and his officers were Lieutenant William Lewis and Sergeant Marks Pheypo. Having quieted St. Mary's, the governor crossed the Bay in April and restored order in Kent. By commission of April 18, 1647, Robert Vaughan was installed as commander and captain of Kent. Pacification thus accomplished, the governor went back to St. Mary's and within a few weeks died there. It is not recorded that he revived the captaincy of St. Mary's.

Governor Thomas Greene, taking office in June by death-bed appointment from the late governor, found before him the problem of an armed garrison, no longer needed, but firmly planted until deferred wages were forthcoming. Eastern Shore tribes just then were threatening trouble and Greene sent against them an expedition which probably was recruited from the garrison, for Captain Price was leader and Lieutenant Lewis was his second. Soon after this, Lieutenant William Evans succeeded Lewis as garrison officer. The problem of garrison wages was settled finally by saddling the accrued burden upon the estate of the deceased governor. The soldiers were paid off in January, 1648, and the garrison disappears from the records as such, although many of its members remained as colonists.

When the Assembly met in March, 1648, it authorized a restoration of the county militia of St. Mary's. The governor was to appoint officers in every hundred, under whom the colonists were to be organized and trained. While there is no record of Greene's action to this end, the quick appearance of military titles shows that he was not dilatory in making the new militia a reality. The adopted plan apparently was to have a captain at St. Mary's and a lieutenant and sergeant in each of the hundreds. Captain John Price perhaps became head of the county force, Lieutenants William Lewis, William Evans, and Richard Banks are mentioned in 1648 and Nicholas Guyther in 1649. Toward the close of 1648 several new official commissions from Lord Baltimore reached the colony, showing that he, too, had given thought to militia matters. One commission made Captain Price muster master general, an office copied from English usage and equivalent to inspector general of militia. Another commission confirmed Robert Vaughan as commander of Kent, showing proprietary approval of that peculiar office. Further, both Price and Vaughan were made members of the Provincial Council.

Governor William Stone acceded early in 1649, under commission from Lord Baltimore. As in Greene's time, the records of Stone's militia appointments are lacking, leaving much to conjecture. In

the April Assembly the militia service was strengthened by the enactment that in each hundred the local unit should formulate its own rules for action in time of danger. Thomas Baldridge now is sometimes mentioned with the title of captain, which fact hints that he may have headed the St. Mary's force after Price became muster master general.

Early in 1650 Captain William Mitchell came to the colony, and in 1651 was advanced into the Council. This preferment and the constant use of his military title seem to imply that he had military duties, but there is no specific mention of such. Perhaps it was for him that the Assembly in April, 1650, authorized the use of St. Inigo's as a harbor fort with a garrison of six men under a captain, to be on duty whenever ships were in port. Nowhere is the captain of the fort indicated by name in subsequent proceedings. Mitchell's tenure seems probable but it is only conjecture.

Under Stone's rule the growing flood of incoming colonists brought an increase in the number of counties. Hitherto there had been only St. Mary's and Kent. New settlers were now taking the lands about Severn River, and in April, 1650, the Assembly authorized the new Anne Arundel County. Following this, in June of the same year, Robert Brooke brought a large party of colonists from England and bore with him Lord Baltimore's mandate that Brooke should be made commander of a new county to be created for him and his people. It came about, therefore, that when Anne Arundel was organized in July the governor commissioned Edward Lloyd to be its commander, and in 1651, when the governor erected Charles County on the Patuxent, Brooke was its commander as the proprietor had ordered. Nothing is on record of the militia arrangements in these new counties. From the fact that neither of the commanders ever is mentioned with a military title it may be assumed that in each county a captain or lieutenant exercised militia direction. The records have occasional mention of the commanders as local executives. In political matters the creation of the new counties was soon to show an unexpected significance, for in both of them there developed a smouldering antagonism to proprietary rule that soon found a reason for coming into the open.

Under commission from the parliament government in England the control of Virginia had been taken over by Richard Bennet and William Claiborne. In March, 1652, they came into Maryland and by a stretch of their legal powers seized control of Maryland also. In this act they received the able support of Charles and Anne Arundel Counties. Their method of taking control in Maryland was

the creation of provincial commissioners who superseded the governor's council. In this new group were Colonel Francis Yardley and Captain Edward Windham. Both were Virginians who had earned their titles before they came to Maryland. Apparently neither had any military duties in the colony. Windham's name disappears almost at once. Yardley stayed in the colony about two years. Other members of the group were Robert Brooke of Charles County and Lieutenant Richard Banks of St. Mary's. After a time Captain John Price was also a member.

The whole colony submitted to the new government, but there seems to have been some doubting of Kent. In July, 1652, when the Kent court was re-commissioned, Commander Vaughan's name was omitted, but later in the year Vaughan was again accorded his title, presumably meaning restoration to office. Amidst these changes there may have been shiftings of militia leaders but the trained bands remained. In March, 1653, at a time when settlers feared Indian raids, it was ordered that a defensive force should be recruited out of the trained bands of " St. Maries, Charles County and Patuxent River."

Although Governor Stone had accepted the new conditions in June, 1652, and was working in amity with his opponents, the proprietor in England insisted that the governor should enforce proprietary rule. In February, 1654, the governor yielded to his insistence and restored proprietary forms, which he maintained precariously for five months. Vexed by Robert Brooke's support of his opponents, Lord Baltimore now ordered the dismissal of Brooke from the office of commander. Stone executed this order by abolishing Charles County and creating Calvert County in its place. About the same time the use of the commander's title ceased in Anne Arundel, although no abolition of it is recorded. Stone's five months of proprietary rule ended in July, 1654, when Bennet and Claiborne again faced him, backed by armed men from the insurgent counties. He was forced to resign the governorship.

With Stone out of the way the parliament commissioners again established government by Provincial Commission. In the new group Anne Arundel was represented by Captain William Fuller, probably head of the Anne Arundel militia. The Charles County area was represented by Captain John Smith, who seems to have headed the Patuxent River militia. From St. Mary's was appointed Captain Robert Slye, who perhaps headed that county's forces. Kent began to be represented in October by Commander Philip Connier and Captain Robert Vaughan. It is not clear whether Vaughan's title was by courtesy or by right of militia command at this time.

In October, 1654, the new Provincial Commission held an Assembly. One of the acts of that body ordered that each county should have a captain and other officers for its militia, and the captains should view arms and train the inhabitants. Another act gave new names to Anne Arundel and Calvert, while St. Mary's was divided to form a new up-river area called Potomac County. For a time, however, the new county was to remain joined with St. Mary's in administration.

Under the Provincial Commission there followed seven months not troubled by open dissension. In this interval the militia makes no record of action and the identities of its officers may only be guessed. Toward the end of this time the Kent court received a new commission, dated March 1, 1655. Philip Connier was kept as commander and his specified powers included " the lawful and necessary use of the militia." About this time Joseph Wickes was made county captain with Thomas Hynson as lieutenant.

The rest period ended all too soon. Goaded on by the proprietor, the deposed governor, in March, 1655, declared a resumption of his former office and then, says an opponent, " gave several commissions to the papists and other desperate and bloody fellows to muster and raise men in arms." Stone's force, according to enemy accounts, was 250 men. John Price was its colonel, aided by Major Job Chandler. Under them were Captains Thomas Gerrard, William Lewis, Josias Fendall, and Nicholas Guyther. Lieutenant Richard Banks was put in charge of some fort, probably St. Inigo's. The anti-proprietary party also raised a force, said to have been 107 men. Captain William Fuller was in command, but his officers are not listed. On March 25 the two forces met at Severn River, where 40 men were killed and Stone was brought to surrender. Stone's officers were held prisoner for a time and Captain Lewis was one of four men executed after the battle.

Following the Severn fight the Provincial Commission re-established its power in the counties that had supported Stone and on April 24 the Commission named militia captains therein. Captain Richard Hodskeys had the district from Point Lookout to Clement Bay, which was probably the extent of St. Mary's County. Captain John (*sic*) Slye had the area from Clement Bay upward, which probably was the Potomac County of that time, and he also was made president of the county court serving both counties. Captain Samson Waring's district was on the Bay, extending from Herring Creek southerly an unstated distance, apparently corresponding to Calvert alias Patuxent County. Two captaincies were created for the

Patuxent Valley, despite the Assembly act that allowed only one captain to a county. Captain Peter Johnson had the upper river and Captain John Smith the lower river. Smith also was made muster master general and "captain in chief." Richard Ewen of Anne Arundel began to be mentioned as captain in May, 1655, which may mean that he was then captain of his county. On August 13, 1655, the Commission ordered that the Patuxent captains should enforce attendance at militia musters and should disarm any inhabitants suspected of disaffection toward the ruling power.

About this time the records reveal various holders of titles who have no apparent connection with the colony's militia. John Russell of Kent was regularly called Captain Russell from October, 1655, onward. He may have earned the honor by leading the Kent contingent at Severn fight, for there is no hint that he ever held the county captaincy. Major John Billingsley and Major John Hallowes were Virginians who often appear in Maryland records. Captain John Barrife, who died in the colony, may also have been a Virginian.

Late in 1655 Captain John Smith died and early in 1656 Captain Peter Johnson followed him. Because of these deaths, no doubt, the militia of Patuxent River became disorganized. In March, 1657, the Commission corrected this by appointing three captains to carry on, namely, Woodman Stockley for the settlers above the Brooke plantation, Henry Keene for the settlers below that point, and Philip Morgan for the area along the Bay. Morgan was made a member of the Commission. Evidently there were other militia appointments which do not appear on the existing minutes, for Lieutenants Philip Thomas of Calvert and Richard Woolman of Anne Arundel were put into the Commission in this year. Captain Thomas Besson of Anne Arundel appeared in the Assembly in September, his rank suggesting that he had followed Ewen as county captain. Lieutenant Richard Smith was made attorney general of the province this year but the source of his military title does not appear.

In 1658 the see-saw of politics again brought a shift of official powers. In England the lord proprietor came to an understanding with the insurgent party, and in the colony the new pact was put into effect on March 24 by Josias Fendall, who made a treaty with his opponents on that date and at once assumed the governorship by authority of the proprietor's commission to him. Fendall reorganized the Provincial Council and included in it Captain John Price, sometimes now called Colonel Price by courtesy because of

his recent service with Stone at Severn. Whether Price resumed his office of muster master general is not clear. Anne Arundel and Calvert resumed their former names. Potomac County lapsed, being now an illegal entity, but very soon the new Charles County was created in its place.

In June and July, 1658, the militia was re-organized by Fendall. On July 12 were created two regimental areas divided by Patuxent River. In the southern regiment Fendall assumed command, apparently as captain-general of the province, for he never is termed colonel in the records. No major of the regiment is mentioned. The district from Point Lookout to St. George's River is not listed. Possibly its militiamen formed the governor's own company. From St. George's to Poplar Hill was a new district under Captain Richard Banks and Lieutenant William Kennedy. From Poplar Hill to Wicomico River a new district was under Captain William Evans and Lieutenant John Jarbo. From Wicomico River upward, in the new Charles County, the earliest mentioned captain is John Jenkins. James Lindsey was lieutenant. The date of Jenkins' appointment is not stated, and he is first noticed as such in 1659. On Patuxent River the lower part was assigned to Captain Henry Hooper and Lieutenant Henry Keene, but Hooper's absence from the province caused John Odbur to be substituted for him. The upper river was assigned to Captain Thomas Brooke and Lieutenant John Bogue. In Charles County, William Battin begins to be called captain about this time, but there is no hint of militia service by him. He lived at Patuxent in 1655 and may have been one of Fuller's captains at the Severn fight.

In the northern regiment Nathaniel Utie was colonel and Richard Ewen was major. In all the area from Severn River northward there was but one militia company. Of this company Colonel Utie was nominal head, but John Cumber, as captain-lieutenant, was in actual command. From Severn River to South River was a district under Captain Thomas Howell and Lieutenant John Collins. At South River was a company under Major Richard Ewen and Lieutenant Alexander Gordon, which may have included the area south to the county line. Kent County had its own long-established company, which now was put under Captain Thomas Bradnox and Lieutenant Thomas Wetherell.

The local captains were instructed to list all residents of 16 to 60 years of age who were able to bear arms, and from such lists they were to pick enough men to make up the trained bands under their several commands. They must inspect householders' arms and

see that each family has its proper outfit. They were to hold monthly musters and fine absentees. These fines should be used to buy drums and colors, and then, " after such provision made, to make the company drink at their meetings to muster."

The adoption of regimental organization was a milestone in the history of the provincial militia. It was a step forced by the increase of local units to a point where some sort of regional supervision was needed for efficiency. Massachusetts led the colonies in this respect, creating county regiments in 1643. Virginia came next, creating county regiments in 1651. Connecticut in 1653 adopted a makeshift organization of regimental character. Maryland was the fourth colony in point of time.

ROBERT MILLS AND THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT IN BALTIMORE

(Continued from Vol. XXXIV, page 160.)

II. Building the Column

Six years elapsed between the selection of Mills' design and the completion of the column of the monument. The first step was the acquisition of ground as a site for the memorial. The location chosen was a hill in Howard's Woods, the property of Col. John Eager Howard, at the head of Charles Street, and the intention was to provide a sylvan setting for the structure. The following letters from Robert Gilmor to Mills throw light on the negotiations for the land.

Gilmor to Mills

Baltimore 7th August, 1814[1].

Sir,

I duly received your letter handing the sketches of plans for Col. Howard's lot, which I shewed to our Committee, who appeared much pleased with it, and agreeably to their directions, I inclosed them with your letter in a note to the Colonel himself for inspection & approbation. I should long since have written you in reply but I wished to ascertain first what likelihood there was of our succeeding in obtaining his consent to fixing our monument on his grounds. I met him in the street the other day when he told me he would examine into his ability to gratify us as soon as he got his land papers from the County, where he sent them for safety on the approach of the enemy. I have very little doubt but he will agree to give us the center of crossing streets, but what sure space I cannot say. I have sent all the agreements I am master of to him & his son John (who having been in Europe has some idea of the beauty of such places & the advantages of such distribution of ground) and they appear willing to adopt. . . . The lot is larger than 600 feet square which is an advantage as the space wanted can better be spared.

I have shewn your new elevation to Mr Buchanan & others who . . . approve of it but we have had no regular meeting for a long time, as our city has been at [wit's end] on account of the military situation at this period, & Mr. Buchanan has been engaged by the Committee of . . . of which he is a member. . . .

I am yours, Sir

R. Gilmor

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[1] From the collection of Mills papers in the possession of Mr. Richard X. Evans of Washington, D. C.

GILMOR TO MILLS

Baltimore 21 January 1815 [2]

Dear Sir,

I have received your two letters of 29 Decr & inst. with the elegant little design of Mr. Kid, all which have been submitted to my colleagues, particularly Mr. Buchanan (except the last letter).

I have made frequent applications to Col. Howard for the lot in question, but he continues to answer me in the same manner, "that his papers are not yet received from the County & till he secures them he cannot decide upon what he would do in our favor." He is however extremely friendly to us & I have little doubt of our success in obtaining a site in his park. It is not of much consequence now to press him on the subject any further, as the Committee have determined for the present to suspend all proceedings towards the erection of the monument, as the uncertain state of our city now the spring is approaching will not warrant any steps of the kind, & I much fear that the state of our . . . expenses appears as a difficulty of completing . . . the sum that will be required by lottery is considerably increased in these troublesome times. . . .

I am pleased that you are advancing in your plans & estimates, but I would have you to decide upon the final precise plan, as that can only be determined when the committee feel themselves authorized to proceed with the building. They do not see the necessity of models of the monument, and would decline for the present at least going to the expense of one. They presume that your plan will be fully sufficient to work by, but this will be settled more satisfactorily in convention with you, when you chance to be in Baltimore on your way to Virginia.

I believe I mentioned in a former letter that I had some objections to the nature of the . . . in the last drawing, and indeed, it becomes a matter of doubt to me whether a solid pedestal will not be better . . . but all this is a matter of consideration when the final decision of the plan comes before us. . . .

I shall attend to your wish to have the little drawing back again, & I shall send it by the first good private friend.

I have delayed replying to your request for permission to draw of the committee for money till I could see Mr. Buchanan, who is certainly the most influential man in it. He has just had your letter & agrees in opinion with me, that it would be better for you not to have the proposition made to the committee, as it might subject you to a refusal on their part on account of the present situation of the funds which are locked up chiefly in stock, which you know is below its value & would be sacrificed if sold at this time. Besides we think that they would decline advances of all kinds except for materials, & things indispensibly necessary to go on with the building. We take it for granted you have not expended any money for our monument. I hope you will be able to do without any advance till we make a beginning worth attention,

I am
Dr. Sir,
Yours truly
R. Gilmor

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[2] Evans collection.

Not long after this letter was written Colonel Howard presented the site for the monument and work was shortly under way. The next letters, from John Mowton, carpenter, to Mills, describe the early progress of the foundation, and the names of some of those assisting in the labor are mentioned. The references to a well seem to show that there was water at the site of the monument.

MOWTON TO MILLS

Monument Place [3]
Balte 31st May 1815

Sir

In my last I mentioned that McNulty with the advice of Mr Long, had commenced digging down Chas St, but I believe I omitted stating that he only opened it 40 feet in width; and unless it rains, it will be dug out by Saturday evening, or Monday at farthest.

Mr Wolfe promises to commence digging the Well today, and thinks he will come to good water before he comes to the depth generally contemplated (i. e. 80 ft.)

Messrs Fess & Clackner continue to haul stone regularly.

Mr Long has not sent me any person to work here, and no one has offerred to me. If the committee intend enclosing the 200 ft square, there is a laborer at work with McNulty who [is] competent to do fencing . . . he is a man of small family, and would probably suit for the person you intend to employ to take care of the materials &c, and could remain always on the spot, for his sobriety and industry I can vouch for; but as it is probable you will arrive here this week you can see him, he will not leave McNulty except for the situation here.

respectfully
Your Obt Servt
Jno Mowton

MOWTON TO MILLS

Monument Place,[4]
Baltimore, June 8th, 1815.

Sir:

Mr. McNulty is now progressing with the foundation, and unless prevented by bad weather will have it completed in the early part of next week. He has come to [a] vein of good building sand, which I have directed to be thrown aside for the use of the masons; he desires me again to mention his want of money for the purpose of paying his men who are at work here.

Mr. Wolfe has commenced the well, and progresses very fast. He expects

[3] Evans collection.

[4] Evans collection; printed in *The Federal Architect*, Vol. 8, no. 2 (Oct., 1937), p. 41.

to come to water this week; if he should want brick for the purpose of walling it up, before your return, I have directed him to provide them himself.

Steuart and Towson have given directions for their shop and wish it placed outside of the 200 ft. Square. Mr. Steuart told me he had spoken to Col. Howard, on the subject, who was satisfied it should be there provided he would pay the $40 per annum he now receives for the park as a pasture, which I believe Mr. Steuart has consented to do rather than be confined in the limits marked out.

Respectfully,
Yr. ob^{t}. Serv^{t}.
Jno Mowton

Mr. Rob^{t}. Mills.

The dedication of the monument took place on July 4, 1815, and the cornerstone was laid by Levin Winder, Right Worshipful Grand Master of Masons, with Colonel Howard and General Samuel Smith, representing the Society of the Cincinnati, and Mayor Edward Johnson as official witnesses. In connection with the exercises, it is interesting to read a portion of Rembrandt Peale's recollections as set forth in *The Crayon* for 1856.

The designs in competition for the Washington Monument, erected in Baltimore, were displayed in the City Library, and comprised a great variety of excellent drawings from different cities; but the vote of the directors, influenced by respect for the fancy of their president, Robert Gilmore, selected that of Robert Mills, which was a column with an external staircase winding up to the top. This was ridiculed by all the artists of Philadelphia—much to the mortification of Mr. Mills. He called on me in Baltimore, to request my assistance in decorating three of his designs—columns of the same proportions—one with the external stairs, which I deprecated, and two others, variously ornamented. Not long after this, he called again, and confessed his embarrassment, as the corner-stone was about to be laid, and reference would be made to his design. I suggested a relief to the modest but afflicted artist. I got Henry Warren, scene-painter to the theatre, to represent, on a canvas eight feet high, the plain column which I preferred; on which I painted (instead of Mr. Mill's *Tripod*) a full-length figure of Washington. Early in the morning of the day of ceremony, Mr. Finlay, an upholsterer of taste, attached our painting against a tree, which fortunately stood over the spot selected for the corner-stone, placed under the pictured column one of my portraits of Washington, elegantly framed, surmounted and surrounded the whole with festoons of drapery and flags of the Union. The imposing procession of military and municipal officers, with bands of music, terminated their route at the appointed spot, which was crowded by a vast multitude. The orator of the day (I forget his name) pronounced an impressive eulogium on the occasion—and, pointing to our decorated trophy, which he doubtless supposed to have been placed there by the directors, declared the intention of the board "to execute the column *according to that design.*" Mr. Mills,

hearing no remark on such a deviation from the original design, went on quietly, according to the orator's *accidental* decision, and Baltimore was spared the ridicule of the spiral stairs.

These remarks serve to show how unreliable memory may become during the course of years. Mills' design did not include any kind of external staircase, so he need have felt no embarrassment on that score. The canvas painted by Warren was described in Niles' *Weekly Register* as " a correct and beautiful representation of the monument to be erected." The orator of the day mentioned by Peale was James A. Buchanan, president of the board of managers, and no one except that architect himself would have been in a better position to know whether the Warren canvas was an accurate reproduction of Mills' design. It may be suspected, therefore, that Peale was exaggerating the importance of his advice on the subject.

The principal contractors for the work on the monument were Thomas Towson and William Steuart, marble masons. They agreed, on December 20, 1815, to do the marble work at certain specified prices, the stone to be procured in part from the quarry of General Charles Carnan Ridgely, who had just been elected governor of Maryland. The text of the contract is interesting for the details included. It indicates that Mills exercised almost complete authority over the entire project.

Articles of Agreement [5] made and concluded this twentieth day of December in the Year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and fifteen, between the President and Managers of the Washington Monument on the one part, and Thomas Towson and William Steuart Marble Masons and Contractors for executing the Marble and Free Stone work of the said Monument and James Sloan sureties for the said Towson and Steuart, jointly and severally, on the other part.

Whereas, the said President and Managers of the said Monument intend to erect a certain Building for a Monument to the Memory of Gen[l]. Geo: Washington in Monument Place, at the intersection of Charles and John Streets, Howard Park, precincts of the City of Baltimore, and to employ in the erection of the said Building, and in its decoration, a quantity of work in Marble, And whereas, the said Towson and Steuart are willing, and do hereby undertake and contract to provide, cut and set the same in the said Building, in the best and most workman-like manner, and agreably to the designs, and under the direction of Robert Mills, Architect.

Now therefore it is agreed by and between the said parties hereunto and in the manner and form following.

On the part of the President and Managers it is covenanted and agreed with the said Towson and Steuart.

1[st]. That in consideration of the work hereby stipulated to be done, and

[5] From the collections of the Historical Society.

on the conditions hereinafter specified, the said President and Managers will pay or cause to be paid unto the said Towson and Steuart, from time to time, such sums of money, as the state of the work shall justify, of which the said Robert Mills shall be the judge.

2d. The said President and Managers also agree to procure for the use of the said Towson and Steuart, the Marble quarry belonging to Genl. Charles Ridgley for the purpose of supplying as much Marble as may be requisite for the erection of the Base of the Monument, beginning at the height of six feet above the pavement of the Street.

3d. The necessary scaffolding and apparatus for hoisting the Stone, Clamps and lead are to be furnished the said Towson and Steuart, by the President and Managers.

And on the part of the said Towson and Steuart and their sureties it is hereby covenanted and agreed with the said President and Managers as follows, to wit.

1st. That in consideration of the said sums to be to them duly paid, and at the periods above recited, they shall and will at their own proper cost and expense provide all the Marble required in the erection of the said Monument, of the quality and sizes stated in the annexed schedule, and cut the same agreably to the designs of the said Robert Mills, in the best and most workman-like manner, setting the same in its place in the Building, preparing and having it ready with all despatch employing not less than fifteen stone cutters daily at the work, providing all the requisite tools and utensils, labor and hauling of all kinds required in removing, preparing and setting the same.

2d. Should the Stone of Genl Ridgley's quarry not continue sufficiently good for the purposes aforementioned, the said Towson and Steuart further agree to furnish Marble of the quality required in its place, at an addition to the prices hereinafter to be mentioned, of fifteen cents per foot.

When the work is finished, the whole shall be measured and valued agreably to the schedule and description of prices hereunto annexed, and should the parties not agree upon the valuation of such work done not herein determined each party shall chuse one person of experienced knowledge, who, if they disagree shall chuse a third, to whom all matters in dispute shall be referred, and whose award shall be final, excepting only, that the said Robert Mills or his successor shall be the sole judge of the quality of the material and work, and of their conformity to the terms of this agreement.

Schedule and description referred to in the preceding agreement dated. . . .

Materials

Basement. 1st. Six feet above the pavement to be of the Grey Marble.—2d. Above this to the commencement of the Column, the best quality from Ridgley's quarry is to be used.—3d. The whole of the Column is to be of the whitest and best quality Marble from Scott's quarry.

Prices

	pr foot $	cents
Marble ashler, square, of the Grey marble from 15 to 18 inches rise tooled on the face from 9 to 12 incs on the bed.....	1	40
Marble of the best quality, Ridgley's, 9 inch bed, 12 inch face, tooled	1	50
Do..... do..... do 12 do..... do	1	55
Do..... do..... do 15 do..... do	1	60
Circular Marble ashler rubbed on the face, of Scotts, or such like solid Stone measured as plain or square work, 12 inches on the bed, and 12 inches on the face.....	1	90
Do..... 15 do..... do 15 do..... do	1	95

Fixing the above work

For the first fifty feet in height, fifteen pr cent on the prices pr foot. From fifty to one hundred feet twenty pr cent on the price pr foot. All above one hundred feet, twenty five pr cent on the price pr foot.

In witness whereof the parties hereunto
set their hands and seals, this twentieth day of December
in the Year of our Lord, One thousand eight hundred and fifteen.

Signed in the presence of
Geo Wm. Murdoch
Robt. *Mills.*—
Levi Long

Wm. Steuart (Seal)
Thos. Towson (Seal)
Jas. Sloan (Seal)
J. A. Buchanan (Seal)
President of the Board of Managers

The minor contracts [6] for work on the monument show the kinds of work to be performed and the prices to be paid for them. They were signed by Mills and S. Smith Nicholas as witnesses.

November 23, 1815. Michael Warner, Brickmaker, to supply the best quality hard burnt bricks with a proportional quantity of paving bricks for the groins of the arches and facing the interior of the column, at $9 per 1000 bricks.

January 3, 1816. Robert Tuxworth, Carpenter and Laborer, to perform work as required and to care for the building and its materials, to live on premises, at $300, paid in installments during the year.

[6] Collections of the Society.

January 10, 1816. Sater Stevenson, Jr., Stonemason, to perform all rough stone and brick work, former at $1 per perch (24 9/12 ft.), latter at $3.25 per 1000 bricks.

January 16, 1816. James C. Dew and James Q. Grimes, Lime merchants, to supply the best lime with ten days' notice, at 40¢ per bushel.

The next papers are Mills' accounts of the expenditures on the monument in 1816 and 1817. The second is noteworthy because it lists the bills under subject headings, and it is possible to see how much was spent on each division of the work up to the date of writing.

Robert Mills in a/c with the Washington Monument.[7]

Dr.		
1816		
July 4th.	Cash received at different times for the use of the Monument	# 25.850.
	N. B. This $25.850 does not include $1000 pd. Mr. Mills for his own services—D[avid] W[inchester]	
Cr.		
1816		#
July 4th.	John Mowton & others for Carpenters work	520...
	Clackner & Toss for rough stone	1050 ..
	Sater Stevenson for rough stone & Brick work	1380 ..
	John McNulty for sand, digging	500.38¾
	Robt. Tuxworth for labor and services as overseer of premises	300...
	Messrs Constable & Co. for lumber	1800...
	Sundry small bills	236.86
	Mott & Dew & Grimes for Lime	661.40
	Charles Hammel for plaistering	51.57
	Michael Warner for Bricks	450...
	Towson & Steuart for Marble & work	17250...
	Gossen & McKean for Black smiths work	459.41
	Robt. Mills—for professional services	1000...
	Wm Jackson extra digging to well	30...
		#25.689.62¾
	Balance	.160.37¼
		#25.850.00

[7] Collections of the Society.

Washington's Monument In account with Robert Mills Architect [8]
December 31st 1817

Marble Mason

Towson & Steuarts Bill—Amr. pair pr Rtct.			34990.
Balance due on their Bill up to this date		5636.87	

Stone

	Perches		
Clackner & Foss Receipt for	1413	3532.50	
Robt. Mills . . . do. for 55 & Thos. Mills for 100.	155	387.50	
			3920.

Stone Mason

Sater Stevensons Receipt for laying Stone & Bricks			2484.74

Bricks

Michael Warners Rect. $1729.96.	J. Nagle 81.90		1811.86

Lumber

Charles Constable & Co's Receipt			2801.37

Lime

Bushels		B		
Dew & Grimes 1959 $783.60.	J. Motte 46		18.40	1020.85
572 218.85.				

Carpenter

John Mowton's Receipt			746.93

Blacksmith

Gossins Bill & Receipt $334.41	Motte pr Receipt	17.57	351.98
John McKeans 1 July 507.63 &	to 31. Decr. 1817	261.82	769.45

[8] Collections of the Society.

Ironmongery		
J & C. Nielsons Rec^{t}. for	———	300.
Sand & digging		
John McNulty, Rec^{t}.	———	1370.
Salary		
R. Tucksworth Rec^{t}. for 2½ yrs overseeing & Labor $300	———	750.
Bricklayer		
Aquilla Stallings Rec^{t}. 352.50. Sampson 141 dys.	176.25	528.75
Contingent.		
Architect—Paid him at Sundry times—		3500.
Moulds. Dan^{l}. Riffle $118.50. Ropes. W. Chalmers.	276.75	395.25
Well & Pump.—S. Wolfes rec^{t}. 326.71 Hoisting machines	124.50	451.21
Cordage, Blocks, Scaffolding & Lead, T & Steuarts rec^{t}.	526.74	
Lead, H. Allens Rec^{t}.	39.86	566.60
Advertising 9.95. Laborers. $22. Plaisterer & barrow 104 Loads Sand $52. Laborer 1.25. Pick paper & oil for Shop $4	57.57	89.52
putting up Blacksmiths Shop 7.25 Bricklayer $10. Blacksmith $5. Advertising 2.25 Stubbins $4.		85.75
	Dels	56.934.26
To Balance due the Monument		1826.37
		58.762.63

Apparently Mills was ready to abandon his early design by 1818, for in a letter written in January of that year he recommended that the exterior galleries be omitted. Two points were involved: 1. the choice between an historical pillar and a simple monument; 2. the expense. When we learn that the cost of the column without decorations was estimated at $500 per foot of height we realize how much the addition of galleries might have increased the total cost.

The Board of Managers [9]
of the Washington Monument
Gentlemen

In submitting a statement of the expenses incurred in the erection of the Washington Monument to its present heighth I am justified in saying that half the real cost of the whole Column is included. I have pursued the plan of the 2d. design which I had the honor to submit & which you were pleased to approve, embracing the full proportions of magnitude of the original design, but differing from it in respect to its detail, and its decoration, as it was your wish that I should keep the expenses of cost as near the appropriation as possible.—

So large an amount of expense being struck off the original design furnished the opportunity of throwing more of solidity into the body of the work, & neither labor nor materials have been spared to make the building as permanent as good materials could make it.—

I have turned my whole attention on the execution of the design to the accomplishment of the simple Column, being desirous to effect the completion of the plain building first, knowing from the nature & description of the decorations contemplated that it would be easy afterwards to attach these to any extent as circumstances may justify—

There is one particular that I would request your attention to, to bring the subject to a conclusion, it is in regard to the character of these decorations connected with the *Column*—By a reference to your minutes you will find that you have not decided whether the shaft of the Column shall be divided into compartments so as to embrace the original design of an historical pillar, or whether we shall abandon this idea altogether, and pursue the more simple character of a monument.— We have arrived at that heighth when it is necessary to determine whether we shall provide for the galleries contemplated in the original design,— If you will permit my professional opinion to have weight in this decision, I should certainly recommend that the galleries be omitted—Independent of the great expense that would result by their introduction, it may be a question whether we shall not be eliciting criticism, which from the novelty of the design, may not result in our favor.— By pursuing the 2d. design, we shall I hope only present an object that shall afford pleasure without giving any cause of criticism—

Since the commencement of the work we have been much favored in meeting with no accident either to our people or the building, we trust for its continuance— No settlement has been observed in the building, the work remaining the same as the day it was put up.

The present height to which the monument is raised, is 53 feet above the level of the Foundations, and ft42.6in above the pavement of Street.— As I before observed, I consider what has been done as fully equal in cost to what remains to be done to complete the Column— I could embrace more economy in the construction of the building, but I hope you will justify me in the permanent manner in which the work has been carried on— The average cost of one foot in height of the Column will be about 500$ if we pursue the same solid mode of building already done—

[9] Collections of the Society.

The progress of the Stone cutters during the two last months, and this winter will enable us I hope to raise the Column the ensuing season to 50 feet more than it now is— I should wish, if you could determine upon the character of decoration of the Column.— I cannot recommend any thing more simple than is exhibitted in the 2d design— If you will permit me to look forward to these I will make the necessary inquiries relative to their cost, and the practicability of getting them executed in our own Country— One of your board now in Europe (Robt. Gilmore Jr. Esqr.) informed me before his departure that if I would send him some particulars relating to the decorations, he would ascertain at what cost they could be had in England & France— Before his departure I shewed him the character of decorations I intended to recommend to you, which he expressed his approbation of

In the hope that what I have done meets your approbation, I have the honor to salute you Gentlemen with sentiments of

respect & esteem

Robt. Mills

Baltimore Jany 12th 1818.

(To be continued.)

FOUR GENTLEMEN OF THE NAME—THOMAS MARSH

By EMERSON B. ROBERTS

Capt. Thomas Marsh, of Kent Island, with a residence also at Chestertown, and the fourth in a direct line from the Honorable Thomas Marsh, died at an advanced age during the early stage of the American Revolution. Each generation was represented by one Gentleman only, and they all bore the name of Thomas. The Captain was the last of the male line, the first held a seat in Council—Davis: *Day Star of American Freedom.*

The first Thomas Marsh, of Maryland, was an immigrant from Virginia, with his wife, Margaret, in 1649. He had come to Virginia in 1637, or earlier—one of those brought in by Thomas Holt.[1] First he settled in New Norfolk County, where there are a number of court references to him. More than thirty years ago, these were collected by the late Samuel Troth, of Philadelphia, and since they have never been published, they are recorded here. Thomas Marsh is mentioned several times as " alias Thomas Rivers," but the Virginia records yield no reason for this usage, and it is presumed, if the reason is ever found, it will be uncovered in the English records. The references are:

Thomas Rivers, alias Marsh, deposition at Linhaven, Lower County of Norfolk, July 7, 1637, aged twenty-one years.

Court, April 2, 1638, Thomas Marsh and George Lowe, as to the division of certain land.

Court, April 8, 1639, Thomas Marsh, " being about to go for England."

Court, November 16, 1641, deposition of Thomas Marsh, aged twenty-six years.

Court, December 15, 1642, Thomas Marsh, juryman.

Court at Thomas Meares', June 16, 1643, Thomas Marsh to pay an old bill.

Court, September 6, 1641, Thomas Marsh, constable, applies for one hundred fifty acres for transportation of self and wife, and also William Smith whom he bought of Mr. Flood.

Court, June 15, 1646, Thomas Marsh, the settlement of a debt.

The foregoing records are taken from the unpublished manuscript copy of the Court Record, now in the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond. Further Court Records, from another manuscript volume, follow:

Lower Norfolk County Court, April 2, 1638: " Whereas it doth

[1] Greer, *Virginia Immigrants.*

appear that Richard Loe, planter, hath bought of Thomas Marsh, planter, all his estate whatsoever here resident in Virginia . . . but Richard Loe not giving security, it remains in Thomas Marsh."

Court, October 4, 1641, "Thomas Marsh hath made appear to this Court that he hath due him 150 acres of land for the transportation of himself and his wife unto this colony as also one William Smith."

And in the Land Grant Records (Virginia Historical Society, Richmond), these items:

"January 6, 1638, Thomas Marsh, alias Rivers, one hundred fifty acres, Upper County of New Norfolk, northerly upon Elizabeth River. Assigned by Peter Montague, and payment to be made seven years after August 22, 1637, for transportation of William Jones, Thomas Redby, Margaret Harford." This land was originally patented to Peter Montague (Volume I, folio 463), and officially confirmed to Thomas Marsh, alias Thomas Rivers.

And the record of land grant to Thomas Holt, before mentioned, is as follows:

"To Thomas Holt, 22nd of May, 1637, 500 acres in the Upper County of New Norfolk, on the north side of the eastern branch of Elizabeth River, upon a creek adjoining lands of Thomas Renshaw, fifty acres for transporting himself, and four hundred and fifty for nine persons, viz. Thomas Marsh, James Arundell, Yoeman Gibson, John Drabe, William Smith, Toby Smith, Samuel Taylor, George Taylor, and Natl Corder." [2]

From these records, it appears that Thomas Marsh first came to Virginia not later than 1637, at the age of twenty-two, and that he returned to England for a brief visit in 1639, returning with a number of persons, among them Margaret Harford, whom he subsequently married, and that as early as 1638 he was endeavoring to liquidate his Virginia affairs. On his English origin no very serious study has yet been put. Mr. Troth, whose investigations have been mentioned, points to the Registers of St. Dunstan's—Stepney, in which there is record, September 10, 1610, of the marriage of Thomas Marsh, of Ratcliffe, shipwright, to Elizabeth Mayne, of Lymehouse, and asks if he may not be of the same family. Similarity of given names of the children of the two Thomas Marshes leads to this suggestion.

Thomas Marsh was a Puritan, and in Virginia he resided in the Puritan settlement. Surrounded by Royalists who were vastly in the

[2] Book No. 1, f. 423. See also *Virginia Historical Magazine*, VI, 192.

majority and completely in control of the affairs of the colony, the Virginia Puritans were subjected to a persecution which, while it may not have gone further than to be distinctly annoying, was sufficiently stringent to result in their seeking new homes in Maryland, where there was no persecution on account of religion. As a result, Maryland gained immigrants whose descendants have shed luster on her history.

The records of Lower Norfolk County, Virginia, for 1649, contain this entry:

> Whereas, Mr. Edward Lloyd and Mr. Thomas Meeres, Commissioners, with Edward Selby, Richard Day, Richard Owens, Thomas Marsh, George Kemp, and George Norwood were presented to ye board by ye Sheriff for seditious sectuaries for not repairing to their Church, and for refusing to hear Common Prayer, liberty is granted till Occtober next to inform their judgments and to conform themselves to the established law. . . .

However, before the expiration of the time allotted, Thomas Marsh and several of the others mentioned had removed to Maryland, and had established themselves in Calvert and in Anne Arundel Counties.

Of the migration of Thomas Marsh from Virginia to Maryland, there is evidence in the Maryland records. In the index of early settlers in the Land Office in Annapolis, 1648/9[3] there is record of the coming of Thomas Marsh and his wife as among the "headrights" of William Durand. Neill, in his history of Maryland of this period, asserts that they were brought in as indentured servants of the said Durand, but there is nothing to substantiate this in the record, nor in the subsequent history of Thomas Marsh. It was quite common for those who arranged the coming of new colonists to claim "headrights of land," etc., and indeed, the use of this term itself indicates this limitation to the exclusion of the usual terms of service of indentured persons. It is not infrequent in the Maryland records to find two or more persons claiming "headrights" for the transportation of the same individual. Doubtless some of the early settlers moved about frequently, some returning to England, later coming back to Maryland at the expense of another who consequently claimed new "headrights." There may indeed have existed in some sections a sort of "headright land racket."

Thomas Marsh quickly attained established position in the Province of Maryland, and especially in Anne Arundel County on the Severn in the Puritan community. He took up lands in Herring

[3] Liber ABH, folio 35; also *Maryland Historical Magazine,* VIII, 60.

Creek Hundred totaling more than a thousand acres. Among his neighbors were Richard Bennett, John Norwood and Edward Selby.

In the Rent Rolls of Lord Baltimore, there is recorded the survey for him, October 24, 1651, of one hundred fifty acres, " Marsh's Seat." Early he is mentioned not only as a planter, but as a merchant of Severn. Then he appears as Justice of the Peace for Anne Arundel County.[4] His tact as a judicial officer is reflected in the report of one of the cases he tried. After effecting an arbitration between the two parties, and giving his award, he added, as his own donation, " a hogshead of sack, to be drunk between the parties." [5] Of sack we remember what Falstaff says,

If I had a thousand sons, the first human principle I would teach them should be, to forswear thin potations, and to addict themselves to sack.

On July 30, 1650, Thomas Marsh was appointed by Governor Stone and the Council one of the commissioners of Anne Arundel County organized at that time.[6] In 1651 " ague " was upon Kent Island, and Thomas Marsh, at least once in the record, is called a " chirurgeon." [7] His standing on Kent Island is reflected in the following minute from the Proceedings: " June 28, 1652, in the case of Captain Robert Vaughan. It is petitioned that Thomas Marsh or some other fitting and able person [be appointed] to the Office of Commander of the Isle of Kent." [8] On January 22, 1651, " Thomas Marsh, Gent., of Kent, his mark of hoggs and Cattle: Both ears swallowtailed, and no other mark." [9]

The religious difficulties, too, that Thomas Marsh had met in Virginia seemed to follow him to Maryland, at least in a slight degree. In 1649, he was presented as a " seditious sectary," [10] but the matter seems to have had little attention from the Proprietor, who was uniformly liberal in his attitudes on matters of religion and conscience. The staunchness of Marsh's Puritanism, and his prestige during the ascendancy of the Protectorate, may be gleaned from Court Proceedings of Kent County, 1652: [11]

Whereas, the reducing, settling, and governing of Virginia, and all English plantations within the Bay of Chesapeake, was referred to certain Commissioners, by Order from the Council of State for the Commonwealth of England:

[4] Maryland *Archives,* III, 257.
[5] Davis, *Daystar of American Freedom,* 120.
[6] Maryland *Archives,* XXXI, 257; *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XIV, 167.
[7] Liber A #1, folio 11 and 36.
[8] *Archives* III, 277.
[9] Liber A #1, f. 7. See also Hanson, *Old Kent,* p. 20.
[10] *Archives,* II, 83.
[11] Liber A, f. 66, and *Old Kent,* p. 28.

and Whereas, the Governor and Council for the Province of Maryland, in obedience and conformity of said order and power have authorized and deputed the persons whose names are hereunder subscribed for settling the Isle of Kent . . . [then come the names of those who are to constitute the Court] . . . to have power to hear and determine all differences, and to call Courts for that purpose as often as they see cause, to make choice of a Sheriff and a clerk for keeping Records, and execution of writs, and all other purposes, and to act in all things for the peace, safety, and welfare of the said Island, and the inhabitants thereof, as they or the former Commissioners did, or might do, by virtue of their commissions from the Lord Baltimore, and the Governor and Council of the Province under him.

Requiring all the inhabitants of the said Island to take notice of this Order, and to conform themselves accordingly, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

Given under our Hands at the Island of Kent, the 31st day of July, 1652.

Ri Bennett Thomas Marsh
Ead. Lloyd Leo. Strong

In June, 1655, Thomas Marsh was Commissioner of the Provincial Court and a member of the Council, which office he held until his death.[12] The archives of Maryland for this year, 1655, and the year following, are replete with references to his official and public acts.

In 1653, Richard Bennett, Esq., Mr. Edward Lloyd, Capt. William Fuller, Mr. Leonard Strong, and Thomas Marsh were constituted by the regime of the Parliamentary Commission under the leadership of William Claiborne, then in ascendancy in Maryland affairs, a Commission to negotiate with the Susquehannock Indians. The instrument that resulted was decidedly in the interest of the Puritan settlers of the vicinity of Providence, located in the newly erected County of Anne Arundel. Seven days from the appointment of the Commission, the whole affair was concluded " at the River of Severn," and by the terms of it, the Indians gave up a great territory extending " from the Patuxent River unto Palmer's Island on the western side of the Bay of Chesapeake, and from the Choptank River to the northeast branch which lies to the northward of Elk River," in effect, giving the white man the whole of the head lands of the Chesapeake Bay country, and without any western boundaries mentioned. Solemn provisions for friendship, diplomatic relations, etc., were entered into, but apparently the Indians received nothing in return. Record of this treaty is to be found in Maryland *Archives,* Vol. III, page 276, and in Proceedings of the Council, Liber HH, folio 62.[13]

On Kent Island, Thomas Marsh's land by patent was " Poplar Neck," three hundred acres surveyed for him, August 20, 1652.[14]

[12] *Archives,* III, 316.
[13] See also Bozman; History of Maryland, II, 452 and 683.
[14] Rent rolls, Queen Anne's County.

Thomas Marsh's older children were by his first wife, Margaret Harford, whom he married in Virginia and brought with him into Maryland. These children were the son Thomas Marsh II, Margaret, and Elizabeth.

Margaret married, first, Richard Preston, Jr., son of "The Great Quaker," the first Richard Preston, who had settled, first in Virginia, then on the Patuxent, and during the Puritan regime, was the most powerful man in Maryland. Later, the Prestons removed to the region of the Choptank and the eastern shore. Richard Preston, Jr., died in 1669, and his widow, Margaret, married, second, in 1670, William Berry, of "Poplar Neck," of another distinguished Puritan family that had come from Virginia with the migration.[15]

Elizabeth, known as Elizabeth Marsh, of Severn, married, April 1, 1669, "at the house of John Webb of Potoxon," Thomas Taylor, of Kent County. Her descendants have been treated in a previous article by the author, "Capt. Phillip Taylor and some of His Descendants" (*Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXIII, 280).

After the death of his first wife, Thomas Marsh I married a second time, Sarah, very possibly Sarah Pitt, and by her had at least one daughter, Sarah. The second wife, Sarah, seems to have been endowed with considerable energy and initiative. She administered on her husband's estate, March 20, 1656.[16] Because of his activity in the Puritan revolution, the proprietary government in 1658 refused to recognize some of her husband's land titles. As late as 1663, she was taking up additional land. "Heir's Purchase," a ninety-acre tract in Anne Arundel County, "at ye ferry Place" was then taken up for "the use of her [step] son." In the same year, November 18, on the eastern shore, on the north side of the Choptank River in St. Michael's Creek, "Marshland," five hundred acres, was surveyed for her. The last record found of Sarah Marsh, relict of Thomas Marsh, is dated 1664.[17]

Sarah, the daughter, appears to have died unmarried. She is surmised to be that Sarah Marsh, spoken of in the will of Dr. Jacob Neale, as "one of ye friends of ye Ministry." She died, probably in 1688, and her will appoints as administrators, "her loving friend, John Warren" [Warner?] and her uncle, John Pitt.[18] Third Haven Registers record her death: "Sarah Marsh departed this life at night, 1st month, 12th day, 1688, about ye tenth or eleventh hour." It is

[15] Liber X, folio 85-6, Annapolis.
[16] *Archives,* X, 486-7 and 553; Liber BB, f. 72, Land Office, Annapolis.
[17] *Archives,* III, 494.
[18] Test. Proceedings, Liber XIV, f. 108.

this mention of John Pitt, coupled with the fact that the name of this daughter was Sarah, that leads to the conclusion that she was the only child of the second marriage of Thomas Marsh, Sr. It may be added on this score that the fact of her fervency in the Meeting and great activity in its affairs strengthens this view, for the Pitts were more ardent as Quakers than the Marshes.

Thomas Marsh, I, died intestate in 1656.[19] On January 1, 1657, he is mentioned in the records as "Thomas Marsh deceased, late of Severn." [20] The record of his children is confirmed by Liber X, folio 82, Land Office.

Thomas Marsh, II, son of Thomas and Margaret Marsh, was born about 1643. He was first of Anne Arundel, then of Calvert, and later of Kent and Kent Island. The proof of this descent is ample, and is unfolded in the following paragraph, included not alone because of the descent it establishes, but because of its splendid exemplification of a method that frequently must be used in Maryland genealogy.

Thomas Marsh of Anne Arundel County executed a release to Thomas Manning, August 20, 1664, of lands in the Cliff in Calvert County, which lands belonged to his father. On February 1, 1663, Phillip Calvert gave a certificate that while Secretary of Maryland, he had in his custody a deed of a certain tract in the Cliffs of Calvert County from Thomas Marsh, late of Elizabeth River in Virginia, to Thomas Manning of Nansemond; which writing was delivered to Phillip Calvert by Thomas Manning, and acknowledged by Sarah, widow of Thomas Marsh.[21] The identity of the second Thomas Marsh with Thomas Marsh of Kent is developed, as follows: Dr. Jacob Neale, "chirurgeon" of Anne Arundel County, previously referred to, in his will, 1672, left one-third of his estate to Sarah, daughter of Thomas Marsh of Anne Arundel County, and the residue to Thomas Marsh and Margaret, his wife. The will of Thomas Marsh (the second Thomas Marsh, of Kent County) 1679, mentions his wife, Jane, his daughters, Sarah and Mary, and his sisters, Margaret Berry and Elizabeth Taylor. In the will, he mentions certain property for Sarah, "left her by her mother," so she was the child of a former marriage, and with the mention of Margaret Berry and Elizabeth Taylor as sisters, the chain of evidence is nearly complete. The records of Third Haven Meeting show that Thomas Taylor of Kent County married, in 1669, Elizabeth Marsh, of Severn, completing the rigid proof of the descent.

The first official activity of Thomas Marsh, II, was in Anne Arun-

[19] *Archives*, X, 486. [20] *Archives*, XLI, 19. [21] Liber BB, f. 172.

del County, where he was sworn as Justice of the Peace, May 4, 1667,[22] and Commissioner, May 4, 1668.[23] Within a few years he became powerful in the affairs of Kent County, and resided there. In 1675, Thomas Marsh is spoken of as "one of the Gentlemen of the Quorum, Commission of the Peace in Kent County."[24] Thomas Marsh, I, had taken up land on Kent Island in 1652, and Thomas, II, had another grant there in 1664. In May, 1668, he was commissioned Justice of the Peace for Anne Arundel County.[25]

Further of Thomas Marsh, II, there is his patent for land in Calvert, "Major's Choice," five hundred acres, surveyed for him, June 24, 1664. This tract he sold to Thomas Sterling, May 1, 1676.[26] This tract later became prominent in the litigation over the Calvert-Anne Arundel boundary. In May, 1669, there was an order by the Assembly for him to be paid 104 pounds of tobacco "out of the levy of Talbot County."[27] On June 6, 1676, he was commissioned Justice of the Peace and Sheriff of Kent County.[28] In 1678, he was Burgess of Kent.[29] Later he is called "Captain Thomas Marsh of Kent."[30] The terms in which his land on Kent Island are referred to are significant, and confirm the conclusions already drawn. In the Queen Anne's Rent Rolls, there is recorded the survey of "Marsh's Forebearance," one hundred fifty acres, surveyed March 22, 1664, on Kent Island, "at ye outward bounds of a parcel formerly laid out for him." The reference, doubtless, is to "Poplar Neck," surveyed, as mentioned, in 1652, for Thomas Marsh, his father. This seems to indicate a confusion of father and son on the part of the surveyor or clerk, for the second Thomas Marsh was not old enough to have had land laid out for him in 1652.

Thomas Marsh, II, like his father, married twice. His first wife was Margaret ————, and by her he had a son, Thomas Marsh, III, of Kent Island, and a daughter, Mary. Thomas Marsh married, second, before 1677, Jane Clements, daughter of John Clements, of Kent County, a recent immigrant from England, and by her he had a daughter, Sarah, born 24th of 10th month, 1677.[31]

Thomas Marsh, II, died in 1679. His will is dated August 12 of

[22] *Archives*, V, 30.
[23] *Archives*, X, 230.
[24] *Archives*, XV, 93 and 136.
[25] *Archives*, V, 30.
[26] Land Office, Liber WRC 1, f. 92.
[27] *Archives*, II, 30.
[28] *Archives*, XV, 93-136, and Liber CD, f. 87-11-149.
[29] *Archives*, VII, 4, etc.
[30] *Archives*, XVII, 79.
[31] Third Haven Records, and Annapolis Liber X, f. 85-6.

that year, and the probate was on October 29. In it, he refers to his wife, Jane, as the daughter of John Clements. His daughters, Sarah and Mary, are mentioned, as well as his son, Thomas Marsh, who is under eighteen years of age. The most significant item, however, from the standpoint of this study, is the mention of his sisters, Margaret Berry and Elizabeth Taylor, eliminating any doubt of the descents of the Marsh family in this generation. In September, 1681, a writ was isued for the election of another Burgess in place of Thomas Marsh, of Kent County, deceased. At the same time, there is a commission to Capt. William Lawrence to command the company of foot, formerly commanded by Capt. Thomas Marsh.[32] The inventory of the estate is by John Edmondson, William Berry, and Thomas Taylor.[33]

The son, Thomas Marsh, III, married Elizabeth, daughter of Major John Hawkins, of Queen Anne's County, and had, with two daughters (Mary, who married William Dudley; and Sarah, who married John—or Gideon—Emory), a son, Thomas Marsh, IV.

The extent of the Marsh landed estate is reflected in the assessment of Thomas Marsh, III, on the Rent Rolls of Lord Baltimore, 1709:

Queen Anne's County—" Little Thickett," two hundred acres, surveyed December 9, 1640, for Giles Basha, on Kent Island, in the possession of Mr. Thomas Marsh. " Catlin Neck," three hundred fifty acres, surveyed August 15, 1650, for Francis Lambert, on Kent Island, in the possession of Mr. Thomas Marsh. " Marsh's Forebearance," one hundred fifty acres, surveyed March 22, 1664, on Kent Island, possessed by Mr. Thomas Marsh. " Warner's Discovery," two hundred acres, surveyed, July 24, 1689, for William Warner, possessed by Mr. Thomas Marsh in right of his wife. " Sarah's Portion," five hundred acres, surveyed, September 1, 1681, for Isaac Winchester, possessed by Thomas Marsh. " Cabbin Neck," on Kent Island, three hundred acres, possessed by Thomas Marsh.

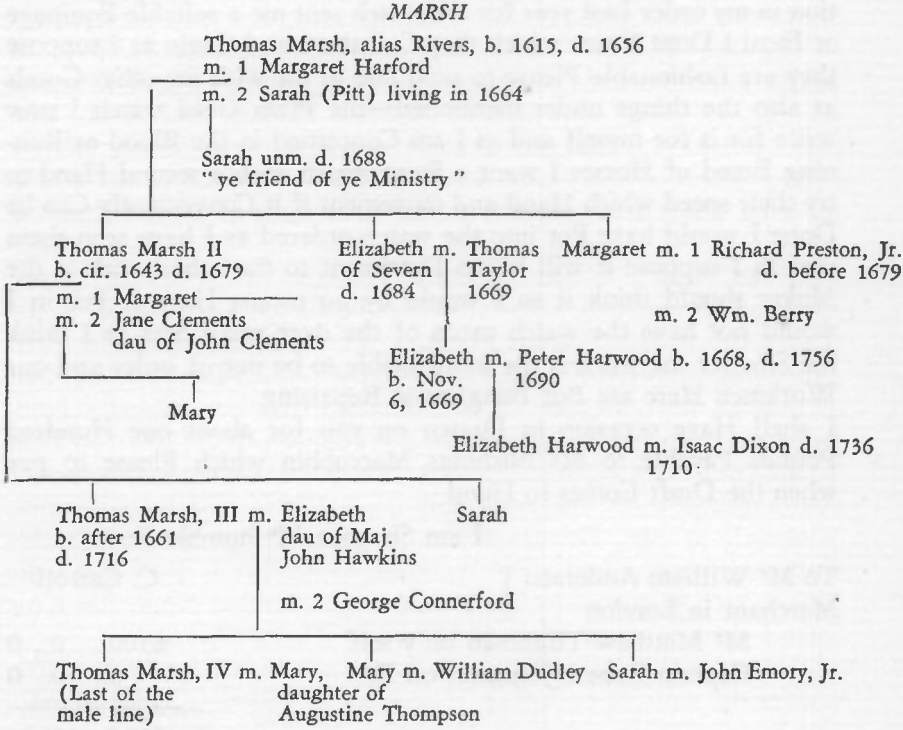
" Marshland " appears to have passed out of the family by 1709, for on the rolls of that year, it appears as follows: " Marshland," five hundred acres, surveyed November 18, 1663, for Sarah Marsh, possessed two hundred sixty-five acres, by Mr. Robert Grundy, and one hundred sixty-five acres, John Sherwood, for the heir of James Berry, seventy acres by James Anderson.

Elizabeth, widow of the third Thomas Marsh, married George

[32] *Archives*, XVII, 78.
[33] Test. Proc., Liber XII, f. 61. May 21, 1681.

Connerford, who administered on the estate of Thomas Marsh. It is the record of the settlement of this estate that establishes the Marsh genealogy in the third and fourth generations.[34]

Thomas Marsh, IV, of Kent Island, married before 1738, Mary, the daughter of Augustine Thompson of Queen Anne's County. It is he whom Davis calls " Capt. Thomas Marsh of Kent Island with a residence also at Chestertown." He died during the early days of the Revolution. With him passes the name of a distinguished line of gentlemen, but the blood and tradition of the Marshes is preserved in the descendants of the daughters, most of whom married and had families.



[34] Adm. Acts, Vol. II, f. 496; Accts., Liber IX, f. 296; Inventory Liber I, 145.

LETTERS OF CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER

(Continued from Vol. XXXIV, page 189)

Annapolis Maryland Novem^{r} 10th 1764

Dear Sir

Inclosed I send you the under noted Bills Amounting to three Hundred and six pounds Ten Shillings with which Please to Credit my Account. Yours ℔ the Collin James Brown I Received with the Goods for your Care in which I am much obliged I forgot to mention in my order Last year for the watch sent me a suitable Equipage or Eteni I Dont Know which they Call them and Chain as I suppose they are fashionable Please to send one to me with my other Goods as also the things under mentioned—the Plain Gold watch I now write for is for myself and as I am Concerned in the Blood or Running Breed of Horses I want a Stopt watch with a second Hand to try their speed which Hand and movement if it Conveniently Can be Done I would have Put into the watch ordered as I have seen them sent in I suppose it will be no Detriment to the other work if the Maker should think it so I would by no means Have it Put in I would not have the watch made of the over small Size as I think the Smaller the work is the more Liable to be out of order and our Workmen Here are But Bunglers at Repairing

I shall Have occasion to Drawn on you for about one Hundred Pounds Payable to M^{r} Nicholas Maccubbin which Please to pay when the Draft Comes to Hand

I am Sir your M^{o} humble Serv^{t}

C. Carroll

To M^{r} William Anderson
Merchant in London

M^{r} Matthew Tilghman on y^{r}self	£300.. 0.. 0
Captain Robert Johnston on D^{o}	6.. 10.. 0
	£306.. 10.. 0

℔ Captain Curling and Capt McLachlan November 19th 1764.

Invoice of Goods sent Inclosed in a Letter to M^{r} William Anderson Merchant in London Dated the 10th of Nov^{r} 1764

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One Plain Gold watch of Elliot to Run in Stones
One Seal with the Carrolls and Tilghmans Coat set in Gold
Seventeen Semicircular Brass Hooks for Hanging Back window Curtains the Hooks not to Screw into the Wanescot but with Brass Plates to fasten to the Wanescot and the Hooks to set in.
One China Terrine not over Large suitable to the China wrote for two Large China Sauce Boats for Ditto & two Smaller Ditto
Six China Shells for Escalloping Oisters
two strong fire screens Mahogany Stands.
A set of Common Ivory fish and Counters for Quadrille in a Box the fish & Counters of four Different Colours in four Small Square Boxes.
A Dozen Stained Ivory Handled Table Knives and Forks
A Dozen Stained Ivory Handled Desert Ditto
three Blank Day Books Parchment Covers three Quire in Each
℔ Capt Curling and McLachlan

Sir

Inclosed I send you Robert Peter's Bill of Exchange on Glasford and Company Glasgow for Seventy one Pounds Ten Shillings with which Please to Credit my account or send me under Protest by the first opportunity.

I shall be obliged if you[1] send me by any Convenient Ship Coming in this Fall or very Early in the Spring the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice. I do not Know the Quantities of seed necessary to sow the Ground mentioned therein so I wrote for them and mention the Ground Intended to be sown that the Seedsman may send me in the usual Proportion for Each you may be Pleased to ask him whether it would not be more safe from Damage by Damp if the seed should be sent in the Pod or Husk and Direct him to send it in Accordingly they must be the Freshest of this years seed.

I shall have occasion I believe to Draw on you this year Payable to Lord Baltimore for about Twenty Pounds Thomas Ringgold sixteen Pounds James Franklin Ten Pounds Clement Brooke Ten Pounds Richard Croxall Ten Pounds John Welsh fifteen Pounds, which Please to pay as they Come to Hand.

I am Dear Sir your Most Hble Servt

Annapolis Maryland
April 2d 1765

Chas Carroll

To Mr William Anderson
merchant in London
℔ Captain Brown
℔ Capt Andrews
Via Bristol

Invoice of Goods sent Inclosed in a Letter to Mr William Anderson Merchant in London Dated the 2d of April 1765

8 Bolts of Best Number three Sail Canvas or Duck
Best Brocoli seed 2 ounces
Best Cellery Ditto 2 ounces
Best Kind of Garden Beet 1 ounce
Tare Everlasting sufficient for one acre
Many flowered Vitchling for one acre
Kidney witch sufficient for one Acre
Birds foot Trefoil Ditto for one Acre
Ladies mantle Ditto for one Acre
Narrow Leaved Mountain Grass for one acre
Millet Ciprus Grass—Sufficient for half Acre
Tall meadow Grass Ditto for ½ Acre
Great water Grass Ditto for ½ Acre
Mouse tail Grass Ditto for ½ Acre

Sir

Please to send me with the Goods wrote for in mine of the 2d Instant four Pair of the Best Ten Quarter Blankets I think they Come at twenty five Shillings ℔ Pair and Ten thousand Ten Penny Nails

I am Sir your most Humble Servant

C. Carroll

Annapolis Maryland
April 6th 1765

To Mr William Anderson
Merchant in London

℔ Capt Brown
for London

℔ Captain Andrews
for Bristol

Sir

I shall Ship you in your Ship the Hazard Capt Adam Coxen now in Choptank six Tons of Barr Iron and nineteen Tons of Pigg—be Pleased to make Insurance for me on the said Iron that In Case of Loss I may Draw the sum of one Hundred and Eighty five Pounds Sterling—

I am Sir your most Hble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland
July 26th 1765

To Mr William Anderson Merchant in London
August 1st ℔ Captain Hannick
℔ Capt. Richardson
℔ Capt John Buchanan

Merct to make out Cert. for Ten tons of Bar and fifteen Tons of Pig as so much of Each Shipped the Insurance only wrote for as above.
October 1st Certificate Inclosed Capt Coxen ℔ Esqr Chamberlain

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Sir

I shall Ship you in yr Ship the Betsy Capt. Love now in Wye River Six Tons of Bar Iron and Seven Tons of Pigg Iron I Desire that you will make Insurance for me on the said Iron that in Case of Loss I may Recover the sum of one Hundred and Twenty five Pounds Sterg.

I am Sir Yrs

C. C.

Annapolis Augt 5th 1765
To Mr William Anderson
Merchant in London
℔ Captain Hanrick
℔ Captain Richardson
℔ Capt. John Buchanan
℔ Captain Spencer for Bristol

Sir

I shall Ship on Board a Ship of Mr William Stevensons Called the Isabella John Cole master twenty five Tons of Pig Iron. The Iron will go Consigned to Mr Stevenson who Goes Home to Bristol in the said Ship And She Loads Either in Chester or Elk River. I Desire therefore that you will make Insurance on the said Ship at and from the Place of her Loading to the Port of Bristol and there untill unlivered that in Case of Loss I may Draw the sum of one hundred and

fifty Pounds Sterling the Premium of such Insurance Place to my account.

I am Sir your H^ble^ Servant

Maryland August 13^th^ 1765 } C. C.

To M^r^ William Anderson
Merchant in London
℔ Cap^t^ John Buchanan
put in a Bag at M^r^
Middletons for Capt. Grundalls
℔ Captain Spencer for Bristol

Sir

I shall Ship you in your Ship the Captain Johnstoun now in Chester River Eight Hh^ds^ of Tobacco. I Desire you will make Insurance for me on the said Ship that In case of Loss I may Draw forty Pounds Sterling. And I shall Ship you in the Hazard Coxen four Tons of Bar Iron more than I wrote you of before and there will be four Tons of Pigg Less. So I Desire you will add to my Insurance on the said Ship forty Pounds Sterling more

I am Sir your most Humb^le^ Servant

Annapolis Maryland September 29^th^ 1765 } C. C.

To M^r^ William Anderson
Merchant in London
℔ Captain Hayton
℔ Capt. Coxen
℔ Captain Montgomerie

Gent

Yours of the 5^th^ of April Last I Received wherein you mention the Ballance of £23.. 14.. 4 Due to you of which I assure you I was not forgetfull But, was in Hopes of Remitting you Long before this Effects Sufficient to have paid that and Turned the Ball in my favour But I have been so unfortunate as to fail in my Endeavours As your Captains and those Concerned for you Chose to Give the Preference always to others I must now therefore Desire you will apply to M^r^ William Anderson who will Have Directions from me to pay off the Ballance And I Promise you I shall wherever I have opportunity Renew a Correspondence with you which has not been Interrupted

by any want of Inclination in me to Continue it In the meantime I Remain

Gentlemen your most H^ble^ Servant

Annapolis Maryland October 10th 1765 } C. Carroll

To Messrs Capel and osGood Hanbury Merchants in London } ℔ Capt. Johnstoun ℔ Capt. Coxen ℔ Capt. Montgomerie

Invoice of Goods sent Inclosed in a Letter to Mr William Anderson Merchant in London Dated 9th of October 1765

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Figblue 6 Pounds
Powder blue 4 Pounds
Green Tea 8 Pounds
Best Hyson D° 3 Pounds
12 Loaves Double Sugar
8 Loaves Single Ditto
Mace 6 ounces
Cloves 6 ounces
Nutmegs 6 Ditto
Cinnamon 6 Ditto
6 pounds of Sugar
2 Dozen Quire of best Post writing Paper
1 Ream of fools Cap D°
1 Ditto of uncut Coarse D°
Tindals Continuation of Rapin from the Death of George the first Down to Present time in Quarto—
Gordons Independent whig and Remarks on Tacitus
Fosters Sermons—Whistons Life
Macchiavel's Political Discourses on Livy Translated from the Italian—
Pringle on the Diseases of the Army—
An Account of the most usual Causes of Popular Diseases of the Danger of the Common Methods that are taken before a Physician is Called in and Plain Directions what is Proper to be Done from Doctor Tyssots advice to the People Translated from the French of Doctor Tyssots by Doctor Kirkpatrick Lately Published—
As Good a Microscope with all Proper Glasses and other Apparatus as Can be Got for five Guineas—With Directions for using and fixing the Glasses, made and fixed Strong and Put up in a Good Case for Keeping it in—and well Packed up
four best Flanders Bed Ticks with Bolsters and Pillows
one Piece of Good Holland Sheeting Linen at abt 4/6d or 5/
osnabrigs and Coarse Coloured Thread 25 lb
4 pair of mens best white Silk Stockings
two Dozen Pyrmont water fresh or not at all—

one Fashionable Silver Coffee Pot to Hold a pint and a Half with Coat of Arms—
4 Gross best Velvit Bottle Corks
1 lb of the Powder of Bark—Close Packed
½ lb of Best Rhubarb
½ of the Power of Jallop
½ of Glauber Salts
1 piece of Fine Cambrick
12 Dº fine Diaper Tape Different Breadths
12 Ditto Holland Dº Dº
8 Knots of best Bobin
1 piece white Silk Femt
1 piece Dark Brown Dº
6 pieces Dº Lively Colours all Different
1 piece of Black and 1 piece white Silk Shoe binding
1 piece of Black worsted Ditto
2 Dozen Best 3 yard Silk Laces
1 lb best Sewing Silk in Colours
4 ounces marking Silk
6 pair best Glazed Lamb Gloves
6 pair Ditto Mitts
3 m̄ midlings Pins
3 m̄ short whites
3 m̄ minekins
½ piece fine Pink Coloured Callimanco
6 yards strong Black Calimanco or Russell fit for Womens Shoes—
3 Dozn yards of Sattin Guard of the Inclosed Pattern

Dear Sir

I Received yours of 25th of April Last with Account Current Inclosed to 30th of Ditto which was Right. I hear nothing of a Bill of Robert Peters for £71.. 10s 0d which I Remitted you since

The Goods ℔ Love Came all Safe Except the seed which was I fear much Damaged the Knives also were much Rusted as they were not oiled before they were Packed up. There were Delivered me marked with my mark Six Plain Mahogany framed Chairs more than I wrote for, the Bottoms without Covers I Suppose they Came from Master Seabrook But they are no where mentioned

The Barr Iron in Coxen I would have Exactly weighed for our Clerk writes me that he put Ten Tons on board. Tho' I wrote at first for Insurance but on Six. I have wrote to the Messrs Hanbury's to Call on you for £23.. 14.. 4 The Ballance of their Account Due from me to them which I Desire you will pay and Take their Receipt and send it to me. I have Likewise Directed Mrs Alice Staines the wife of the Cook of Clare Hall Cambridge to Call on you for £8..

2.. 6 which Please to pay to Her Herself on your being sure of the Person or Her order The Inclosed Letter Relates to Her please to send it to the Penny Post My Wife still makes Complaint about her Tea that sent Mr Tilghman is Indeed Extraordinary Good which She has been used to But this of ours has no more flavour than a Chip Pray Let the Alderman Know that we have Tho' out of the sound of Bow a Distinguishing faculty in our Tastes and for the future Let us have his best with his Paper and Name on the Cannisters. We have Just had a Glimpse of our Cousin Jemmy while over at the Provincial Court he Delivered me my watch But there was no Account with it you need not send the Equipage wrote for as they are not worn (Please to send me In the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice Insured) I have seen at old Mr Chamberlain's Large Handsome Red Leather Trunks with Brass Nails and Good Locks which I think Came from you be Pleased to Let our Goods wrote for this year Except the Pyrmont water be Packed up in two such Exactly four foot Long Each but not too Deep with brass Handles well Lined and the Leather to over Lap when Shut Down to Keep out Dust Good strong Locks with Staples to the Lid to Let Down. And Carefully Packed up so as not to Rub the out sides shall be Glad if your Pyrmont water warehouse man will Let me Know How the water should be Kept whether in a Damp Cool Cellar or Dry My wife Joins me in Affectionate Compliments to you all

I am Dear Sir Your most Hble Servt

Annapolis Maryland
October 9th 1765 } Cha. Carroll

To Mr William Anderson
Merchant in London

℔ Capt. Coxen Sent by
Mr Chamberlain

℔ Captain Montgomerie

℔ Capt. Johnstoun

(*To be continued.*)

George Washington. By NATHANIEL WRIGHT STEPHENSON and WALDO HILARY DUNN. Oxford University Press, 1940. 2v. xiii, 473; vii, 596. $10.00.

The colossal figure of George Washington standing across the threshold of American national history has attracted countless biographers. It seems that we cannot know or read too much about our greatest American. In this newest study begun by the late Professor Stephenson and completed by Professor Dunn, now acting President of Scripps College, Washington has found a biography to match the epic quality of his career. Distinguished for its scholarship, its sanity of treatment, its literary quality, and its typographical excellence, this two-volume work represents a "publishing event." Professor Stephenson conceived it as the crowning achievement of his life, lavishing his historical scholarship upon it and saturating himself with the materials of Washington's career over a period of more than twenty-five years in preparation for this work. After his death in 1935 Professor Dunn, long a teacher of English and a close friend of Stephenson's, undertook to bring the manuscript to completion.

Here is presented neither a debunked caricature of Washington nor an idealized image, but the man in full stature as he actually appeared to his contemporaries and as he spoke to them in his letters and public papers. The authors have fully utilized all previous biographies, not excepting the first one by "Parson" Weems, and have widely and judiciously exploited a voluminous mass of other material. Nor have they neglected to make apt use of tradition and legend when these would illuminate the drama, and always their narrative glows with historical imagination. They have sketched the eighteenth-century background with broad and brilliant strokes, but Washington throughout occupies the center of their stage. Writing with sympathetic objectivity they will unquestionably convince modern readers that Washington was the hero that most of his contemporaries knew him to be.

In these pages the debunking biographers of Washington are themselves debunked. After examining all the evidence for the supposedly scandalous amours of the young Virginia grandee the authors emphasize "the purity of his personal life" and show that he was a devoted husband and stepfather. "Ambitious, though in a peculiar unegotistic way of his own" and singularly favored by events, he emerged as the sole hero of the ill-fated Braddock campaign and became the idol of both tidewater and frontier sections of Virginia before he was twenty-four years old. Indeed the lessons of his early military experience never left him, and he remained essentially a frontier fighter to the end always employing a skilful opportunism to overwhelm his enemies.

Washington's character became the principal asset of the American cause as he transformed a motley militia into an army and saturated them with his own indomitable spirit. After some blundering and hesitation, clear enough in retrospect, he evolved that masterful strategy which enabled him in spite of serious reverses, the inefficiency of an hysterical Congress, and the unreliability of supposed friends, to snatch victory out of defeat. Probably the descriptions of Washington's military campaigns, particularly the battle of Monmouth, are

the finest writing in this biography. This section reaches its appropriate culmination in the magnificent stroke by which he opportunistically altered his military plans to cooperate with the French fleet in the Chesapeake and to crush Cornwallis.

During the troubled post-Revolutionary years this republican aristocrat from his retreat at Mount Vernon watched with growing alarm the futile attempts of Congress to harvest the fruits of the Revolution. And as both the impotence of Congress and the need for national unity grew more apparent he became a statesman and began to work for a new frame of government. If he was not the most active or most vocal member of the Philadelphia convention, he was at least its guiding spirit. His character and intellect were impressed not only upon the final draft of the Constitution but also upon the work of the ratifying conventions.

But perhaps "the flare of radiant energy that marked the contest for the Constitution was the last which Washington ever experienced." Prematurely aged by the Revolution he was a tired man when, already an institution to the American people, he consented to become their first president. In that office his mellowed judgment, his uncommon common sense, and his sound wisdom carried the new nation safely through eight years of international chaos and established precedents which are still followed because they are still valid. Though this section of the biography is marred by unfriendliness to Jefferson the treatment of the Genêt episode is particularly effective.

This study probes deeply into Washington's soul and reveals the true inwardness of his career. It shows among other things that his biographers need not fictionize in order to humanize him. The "berserk" in his character as a young man proves his common humanity, and in later life he often relaxed his severe dignity in outbursts of tempestuous wrath or in shouts of laughter or in acts of unpatronizing generosity. Many illuminating facts generally known to scholars are here brought together as highlights in a captivating narrative, such as: that Washington rode his white horse to death in the furious battle of Monmouth; that "he was the true founder of American scientific farming"; that he was obliged to borrow money for his trip to New York as president-elect in 1789; and that in the eight years of his presidency he vetoed only two acts of Congress.

Maryland and Marylanders played prominent roles in Washington's life and frequently cross the pages of this study. His early trips into the wilderness of western Maryland introduced him to Thomas Cresap with whom he had many friendly relations, and his tilts with Captain Dagworthy at Fort Cumberland during the French and Indian War are described to show not only his official punctiliousness but the jealousy between Maryland and the Old Dominion. His connection with the Potomac Canal Company indicated his interest in the development of the West, and his occasional contacts with Governors Sharpe and Eden are duly recorded. He entrusted the education of his step-son to the Reverend Jonathan Boucher of Annapolis and became an interested patron of Washington College at Chestertown.

In this work Washington's career is unrolled like a majestic pageant described with unusual vividness and literary charm and appealing alike to the average reader and to the specialist. Its value is enhanced by the scholarly notes appended to each volume and by the impeccable index. This work will undoubtedly become the standard short biography of Washington.

University of Maryland. DONALD MARQUAND DOZER.

Men of Marque: Baltimore Privateers in the War of 1812. By JOHN PHILIPS CRANWELL and WILLIAM B. CRANE. New York, Norton, 1940. 427 pp. $3.75.

To do justice to a volume so carefully compiled by Messrs. Cranwell and Crane is hardly within the scope of a brief review, for it must be said that it is virtually impossible—there are so many actions described, so many portraits of master mariners depicted. To the serious reader, be he a follower of the naval history of that period, or be he a lover of tales of the sea and feats of arms—performed under the greatest of difficulties—this work should rank high.

Maclay and a few others have written on the subject of privateering, in general, during the Revolutionary Wars, the War of 1812 and the War of 1861; but it is very doubtful whether any history, dealing solely with the privateers of Baltimore, their officers and their crews, has ever been written or put forward so clearly. Of course there have been extracts of log books of individual ships published in the past; but they are rare and difficult to come by.

The authors of the present work seem to have been most careful in sifting their data. The presentation of Commodore Joshua Barney, who for the most part seems to have had ill luck on his cruises, the dash and success of Captain Thomas Boyle, the bravery of Captain James Dooly—the resourcefulness of these men, not to mention the spirit of the other masters—show to what an extent the privateers were a thorn in the side of the British blockading fleets, causing them to detach ships from the North Atlantic squadron to protect their shipping in Caribbean and South Atlantic waters. There is evidence, also, that the British mail brigs were no mean adversaries and that, on occasion, British merchantmen could put up a stiff fight.

Illustrations of the mentality and forcefulness of the captains are portrayed —men who were equally at home in a fight or a frolic as in the handling of drunken or mutinous crews. Their resources in times of peril, or stress of weather are also presented. There is the matter, too, of the humanity they showed to the vanquished. One only has to turn to the letter of appreciation written by Lieutenant J. C. Gordon, R. N., to Captain Boyle after his ship, H. M. S. *St. Lawrence,* had surrendered to the *Chasseur.* Such humanity might well be shown by the raiders of the present day.

The excerpts from the logs and newspapers are of great interest and bring before the reader facts which he would be unable to find for himself without a deal of research work.

It might seem that, for the benefit of the average reader, it would have been better if the arrangement of the book had been somewhat different—if the episodes of Barney, Boyle and Dooly had been given one part and the exploits of the lesser commanders and their actions had been relegated to another to aid in clarity and avoid redundancy—a thing which is difficult to escape in dealing with such matters.

The authors deserve immense credit for the labour which they have expended and for the very meticulous manner in which their results have been presented. The book should take an honoured place on the shelves of those interested in matters of privateering and naval history, and there is certainly

enough "gore" and acts of "derring do" to attract the casual reader. Nor can too much be said in regard to the format of the book itself.

CHARLES G. FITZGERALD.

The Mad Booths of Maryland. By STANLEY KIMMEL. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill [1940]. 400 pp. $3.50.

Stanley Kimmel, the author of *The Mad Booths of Maryland* en route from Washington to New York in 1934, stopped off to see the Booth home near Bel Air. His curiosity was so stimulated by the conflicting accounts of John Wilkes Booth's assassination of President Lincoln that he was inspired to pursue the matter to some more definite conclusion than had at that time been presented. He felt, too, that closer study of John Wilkes and his background might disclose some understandable weakness that would account for his mad act. This has resulted, after six years of continuous work, in Mr. Kimmel's interesting history of the Booth family.

Although material on the assassination is voluminous, there is little that can be considered entirely reliable, as so much of it is colored by the intense bitterness created by the Civil War and the President's death. Mr. Kimmel has, of course, gone through everything available and has given a clear and unbiased account of Booth's actions before and after the assassination, of the trial of the conspirators, and of everything bearing upon the tragedy. His comments and citations show the tremendous work involved as well as the care with which he has used his material. Presenting John Wilkes Booth as a personality was, however, a more rewarding task, for it led the author to bring to light numerous facts and legends surrounding all the members of the amazing Booth family.

There seems no doubt that a shadow was cast upon the family by the marriage of Junius Brutus Booth to Mary Ann Holmes after their children (Edwin, Asia, John Wilkes and the others) were grown. It was fear of the discovery of this scandal that made them shun all publicity except in connection with their theatrical careers, and their withdrawal from the world accounts for the fact that much of the history of the family which Mr. Kimmel now gives us is not generally known. There also seems no doubt that some of the children inherited Junius Brutus Booth's eccentricities, which, if not insanity, certainly verged close enough upon it to make the title of the book a suitable one.

While it is quite natural that the reader's attention should be held by the shocking and scandalous events in the lives of the Booths, there are many happier pages of equal interest. Much emphasis is placed on the unfailing devotion of Mary Ann to her tempestuous but equally devoted husband and to her children; one is made aware of the charm of the handsome and badly spoiled John Wilkes; and one admires the good sense and ability of the successful actor-manager Junius Brutus, Jr., and the unselfish devotion of Rosalie. Although much has been written of the gentle and lovable Edwin's later years, no book on the Booths would be complete without a description of these years, but the author has also traced Edwin's early career in the far west of the gold rush days, when he worked so hard to perfect his acting and

struggled so valiantly with his own frailties. In only a few places does he interpret his characters without giving his sources, but his interpretations are so convincing that they detract not at all from the value of the book as a history and aid in the creation of full length portraits.

Mr. Kimmel has used his wealth of material with honesty and discretion, carefully disentangling fact from fiction, and he writes fluently and amusingly. *The Mad Booths of Maryland* is therefore not only an important contribution to the history of the American stage but also swings along like an exciting novel—an all too rare combination.

MARGERY WHYTE.

West Virginia, the Mountain State. By CHARLES HENRY AMBLER. New York, Prentice-Hall, 1940, 660 pp.

From the standpoints of scholarship and impartiality, few State histories are creditable; but in his *West Virginia, the Mountain State,* Professor Ambler has produced a very unusual volume. It is not merely free from the weaknesses that so frequently characterize such works but it possesses merits of the highest order in historical presentation. Primarily, it is packed with information treated in a manner that assures conviction by virtue of accompanying citations from source material or secondary authorities.

Since West Virginia did not become a separate State until 1863, necessarily a large part of Professor Ambler's presentation concerns what were up to that time the western counties of Virginia. At first one is inclined to feel that the author is at his best in the treatment of the frontier, but in the eyes of the present reviewer that is merely to him the most interesting period and the one most needing attention as actual history rather than the uncertain handling of current, or near-current, events.

Parts of the work include a résumé of the antecedents of West Virginia. The author has but little space for this period; and, in that space, depends upon the increasingly discredited version of the redoubtable Captain John Smith, who libeled both his associate "venturers" and the noble company of "adventurers" who established the first permanent English colony in the New World. Smith "borrowed" or adapted from other chronicles many parts of his narrative, and while he took delight in being satirical about the story of cannibalism among the early settlers, it is by no means certain that this story is true to the facts in the case. Certainly it smacks of headline sensationalism to say, after statements about some colonists returning to England, that "others turned cannibals." Two pages later, the Smith story again receives undue emphasis in the sentence concerning conditions in 1670; when "From a land of starvation and cannibals, Virginia had become 'God's country'"—unless, perhaps, we put quotes around both depictions!

The excellence of *West Virginia, the Mountain State* cannot really be marred by such minor flaws, if such they be; and calling attention to one such allegation is, in itself, a flaw in this review! In truth, the reviewer would like to devote several times the space allotted him in referring to or descanting upon the many excellences in a work which involved so much research and which, for that reason, reveals so much that has been hitherto unknown or neglected. Necessarily, the text has many references to Maryland connections.

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS.

A Quaker Childhood. By HELEN THOMAS FLEXNER. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940. 335 pp. $3.00.

An English critic has remarked " that the most effective escape books are those written about periods of profound security." If this is true, it accounts for the many recent revivals of the late Victorians and the urge that moderns have for reliving their childhood. It is hard not to compare this childhood with that of H. L. Mencken's *Happy Days* or Clarence Day's *Life With Father* but it can be compared only as the repressed female of that period compares with her more robust brothers.

Dr. and Mrs. James Carey Thomas of Baltimore were unusual parents and they succeeded in rearing eight unusually clever and charming children. That they succeeded is remarkable because at the same time they were otherwise engaged in preaching in the Friends' Meeting, reforming the prisons, working among the poor and attending Temperance and innumerable educational meetings. This was, they felt, the work God intended them to do.

The children were not always charming for they were painfully normal with their squabbles, jealousies and pranks. But they lived the lives of the usual well-fed, well-bred children, ruled by love, justice and humor rather than by any disciplinary formulas of the day. In the background was the strict orthodoxy of the Friends and in the foreground is the first bubbling of educational rebellion and of equal rights for women.

Dr. Thomas' love of music, art and poetry was a fine balance to his strict Quaker beliefs in plain dress, temperance and the simple life. Mrs. Thomas held fast to all the tenets of her religion but loved to dress her little girls in pretty and becoming fashions. She was lovely to look at, and so adored by her children that they fought for her favor. Her own lack of a formal education led her to battle convention and her husband in securing for her brilliant daughter Carey the college degree she had herself desired. Her intenseness of purpose was clearly illustrated when she finally used strategy to overcome Dr. Thomas' objections to a higher learning for women. " Nothing is left for us but tears," she told Carey. This age old weapon won when logic and reason failed.

It was natural that two such high spirited people should not always agree. One other of these occasions was when Tolstoi's *My Religion* inspired Mrs. Thomas to put the Sermon on the Mount in practice. The big house on Madison Avenue became a meeting place for beggars. Dr. Thomas objected. " I admire Tolstoi in many ways," said he, " but he has no common sense, and he lives in the country." However, the stiff theology which was their daily meat became mellowed in practice by common sense and kindness, and the old Victorian conventions, with the influx of new ideas in the founding of the Hopkins University and then of Bryn Mawr College, were breaking down.

There is but a faint flavor of Baltimore in this book; a glimpse of Mt. Vernon Place in an early Spring, of Miss Mary Garrett's white Arabian horses, of " Cousin " Francis King and his daughters, and of the founding of the Bryn Mawr School for Girls, a school with a masculine curriculum complete with Latin. It is rather through the reactions of a sensitive little girl that you feel the placid life of a Southern city flow by, with only an occasional ripple, a death, a love affair or maybe a minor moral rebellion. But this book

will be interesting some day to scholars for the very intimate picture it gives of family life in the '80s, small and detailed as a miniature.

ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE.

The Log Cabin Myth. By HAROLD R. SHURTLEFF. Edited and with an introduction by Samuel E. Morison. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1939. 264 pp. $2.50.

This book does much more than demolish the myth that Americans built log cabins in the seventeenth century, a tradition in which nine out of every ten Americans strongly believe; it is a comprehensive survey of the first stage of American architecture—English, French, Dutch and Swedish,—and as such should be a fundamental book for an art or history library. Dr. Morison points out in the introduction that the work is " of great importance for American social history." With the enlarged conception of history now in style, students cannot remain indifferent to matters which were of so vital an importance to the early settlers as the form and construction of their dwellings.

Mr. Shurtleff was formerly director of research in Rockefeller's reconstruction of Williamsburg in Virginia. He has produced a well illustrated volume, which by careful documentation shows that in colony after colony, from Newfoundland to the Carolinas—with the one exception of New Sweden on Delaware River,—the settlers of the seventeenth century erected not log houses, but *timber-framed* structures of sills and studs, which they had been accustomed to *since the Middle Ages*. For Maryland, Shurtleff cites Cornwaley's " building of A house toe put my head in, of sawn Timber framed "; and he might well have included the frame manor-house of Wollaston, James Neale's home, which he mistakenly calls " a Virginia dwelling house."

The whole book demonstrates what an absurdity it is to believe that the English colonists brought a foreign, Scandinavian, log cabin technique to these shores, especially when there exists an " overwhelming body of framed-house documents " against a great " lack of log house evidence." According to Shurtleff, there have been discovered in literature only five references to seventeenth century log houses, namely: in Maine (Sept., 1662), " the earliest known mention of a log house "; in Maryland (1669) at Bohemia Manor; and three elsewhere. To this list may be added three Maryland references: Nevill's " Loged hows " of July, 1662, with a date which gives the Free State the doubtful honor of first place (*Archives*, LIII, 232); Glover's " loged howse " of 1663; and the St. Mary's City log jail. But these eight references—all in the 1660's—are but a drop in the bucket compared with the vast existing material on timber-framing in the Colonies.

In his very interesting last chapter, Shurtleff explains how the myth arose, chiefly from " the log cabin and hard cider campaign of 1840." President Tyler introduced the myth into Virginia with his Jamestown-log-cabin speech of 1857, thus giving a " godsend to cabineers," like Bruce, Yonge, Stanard and Dodd, in Virginia. To this list might well have been added, Thomas, Wilstach and Ives, of Maryland. In New England it is significant that C. M. Andrews and Yale University have promised to change in second editions their references to log cabins.

Gregory, of Virginia, is wrongly saddled with responsibility for the " fear-

ful" log reconstructions at Roanoke Island, which in reality antedate Gregory's publication. Nevertheless, Shurtleff's study, if it does nothing else, should prevent any future preposterousness like that at Roanoke. Yet it does more than seek to eradicate "log-cabinitis"; it makes a positive contribution to knowledge of our early housing and social history.

HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN.

The Public Life of George Chalmers. By GRACE AMELIA COCKROFT. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Number 454.] New York, Columbia University Press, 1939. 233 pp. $2.75.

George Chalmers (1742-1825) was one of the Scotsmen who left an impress on American colonial affairs. He is of particular interest to Marylanders because he practiced law in Annapolis and Baltimore from 1763 to 1775 and was an intimate friend of the principal men in the ruling clique. When his Loyalist sympathies forced him to flee, he settled in London and after some effort received recognition for his losses of property and the blight to his career. He was chief clerk at the Office for Trade from 1786 until his death and colonial agent for the Bahamas for a slightly shorter period. In both places he kept his fingers on the pulse of events and exerted influence on the British colonial policies. On the side he was an author and a collector, and he engaged in fierce controversies with some of the prominent literary figures of his day. His *Political Annals of the Present United Colonies from their Settlement to the Peace of 1763*, though unfinished, was one of the earliest examples of scientific historical method. He used manuscript materials whenever they were available, and historians from his day to the present have been unable to dispense with the results of his research.

Dr. Cockroft has written a capable and scholarly study of Chalmers' public life, without attempting anything in the nature of a "psychograph" of the man. Nevertheless she has included details which show many traits of Chalmers' character, and she admits that he was dogmatic, inconsistent, vain, vindictive, unfair, and unwilling to acknowledge glaring mistakes. This ability to recognize Chalmers' shortcomings inclines the reader to accept readily Dr. Cockroft's description of the latter eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Chalmers' life in Maryland is sketched briefly because the evidence from that period is scant, and one gets no more than the usual picture of the charming social life of Annapolis and the more rugged atmosphere of Baltimore, "a booming frontier town." The gradual approach of the Revolution is traced in general terms and the account of Chalmers' opinions of it are drawn largely from his own testimony before the Commission of Enquiry in later years.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Some Historic Houses; Their Builders and Their Places in History. Edited by JOHN C. FITZPATRICK. Published under the auspices of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America. New York, Macmillan, 1939. 160 pp. $4.00.

This readable book tells in an agreeable way the story of the old houses maintained by the Colonial Dames. In some cases they are owned by the

state or the city in which they stand and are entrusted to the state society of Colonial Dames. Here for instance are Gunston Hall, Philadelphia's Stenton, the Old Barracks, the Stephen Hopkins house, the Quincy homestead, the Van Cortlandt house and our own Mt. Clare. In other cases the society owns them outright: sometimes, as with Whitehall in Rhode Island, they even rescued them from disintegration. Not all of them are colonial: one is in Oregon, and others are in Ohio and Wisconsin. Nor are they all the grand homes like Gunston Hall or the Moffatt-Ladd house, for not many houses of that first water ever did exist.

Each house is described and enough of its gossip is given to stir the interest, gossip often unfamiliar and hard to come upon. There are no plans or measured drawings, but the book was not written for historians cr for architects. The illustrations the good, so good that they could be more numerous. They are all photographs, and for this sort of book photographs are better than drawings or etchings. The book was compiled from articles written within the state where the house is. This produces an unevenness of quantity and of quality, and possibly even a faint odor of rivalry, a healthy rivalry. But it was edited by John C. Fitzpatrick, and Fitzpatrick's hand has not yet lost its cunning.

ELIZABETH MERRITT.

Bibliography of Mathematical Works Printed in America through 1850. By LOUIS C. KARPINSKI. Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford Univ. Press, 1940. 697 p. $6.00.

This monumental contribution to American bibliography lists some 2998 editions of 1092 separate works on mathematics, and affords a most interesting picture of the development and condition of mathematical study in this hemisphere. It also serves admirably as a source for bibliographical information on the individual titles.

Publications relating to the history, biography, and philosophy of mathematics, as well as those devoted to the various branches of the subject are included. The compiler has endeavored to list all such works published in the United States, Canada, and the West Indies up to 1850, and all those of Central and South America up to 1800, with some of the latter for the period 1800-1850. His earliest title was published in Mexico in 1556. Many languages are here represented, including one title in Choctaw, one in Dutch, several in Hawaiian, and many in Spanish, French and German. American editions of works first published in Europe abound. Mathematical journals are included, and special attention is paid to mathematical material in encyclopedias of the time.

The structure of this scholarly work deserves careful consideration. The list is chronological by years and under each year is alphabetical by author, the only deviation from the chronological scheme being the plan of listing all editions of a certain work together immediately after the entry for the first known editions. As a censequence the output shown for each year is really the output only of first editions, not of all mathematical publications of the year. The great advantage is that the complete history of a certain work and its popularity through the years are visible at a glance. The bibliographical and

descriptive notes are extremely important and helpful. Copies of the items are located, by symbols in over 100 libraries including the Maryland Historical Society, the Peabody Institute, and the Enoch Pratt Free Library. Perhaps the most striking feature of this work is the liberal inclusion of reduced facsimiles of title pages and excerpts which illustrate a large percentage of the items.

A series of indexes makes it possible to locate a given item readily from several approaches. There is a general index to authors and to titles of anonymous works, a topical index, an index of non-English works, and an index of printers and publishers arranged geographically. From the latter it appears that some 42 mathematical works were published in Maryland during the period, one in Frederick, one in Hagerstown, the rest in Baltimore.

In the limits of a brief review, no extensive comparison with other bibliographies is possible. Suffice it to say that Dr. Karpinski has located many titles in the period covered by Evans' *American Bibliography* not included in that work, and has frequently located unique or additional copies of titles included therein. Because of its comprehensiveness, scholarship, accuracy, legibility and beauty of type, and the special features mentioned above, this should prove to be an invaluable addition to the bibliographical equipment of the day, and an inspiration to scholars and bibliographers everywhere.

MARY N. BARTON.

Kinfolks. By WILLIAM CURRY HARLLEE. New Orleans, Searcy & Pfaff, Ltd., 1934, 1935, 1937. (3 vols.) 2964 pp. $15.

These volumes are remarkable with respect to the title, the format and the range of material assembled from innumerable sources by the compiler. The work is truly a *magnum opus* of its kind. It is more than a genealogical record of kinsfolk; it is a graphic panorama, for the most part, of men and women who lived and moved and had their being in the social atmosphere of the Old South, from Virginia to Texas. However, the compiler's researches have not been limited to the southern geographical area only, but have extended into other States besides.

The author has had the good fortune to find many co-operators in his monumental undertaking and, as a consequence, has gathered together a vast store of historical, biographical and genealogical material. Particularly valuable, from the viewpoint of the genealogist, is the information given in Mr. Harllee's work with regard to the record sources in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. With meticulous care, these records are classified, the dates they cover are given and their respective places of deposit are indicated. As a consequence, this work serves as a genealogist's guide-post in directing the research worker in the southern field of family history, a want that has long been felt.

The volumes are illustrated by numerous family portraits, maps and photographic reproductions of documents. A separate volume, which goes with the set as a General Index, contains more than three hundred printed pages of names of persons.

FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Vickers-Kimball—Information is wanted regarding Mary E. Vickers, born at Taylor's Island, Dorchester Co., 1823; married Daniel K. Kimball, Sr., and lived in Philadelphia where they moved from Amherst, N. H. Later they lived at Annapolis, Maryland, where Mary Vickers Kimball died July 4th, 1885.

(Miss) Annabell Kimball,
814 N. Washington Street, Baltimore, Md.

Purdy; Ridgely; Hobbs—Desire data on Nancy Purdy, wife of Philip Warfield, who was the son of John & Ruth (Gaither) Warfield of Anne Arundel Co. Also on Mary Ridgely, wife of William Hobbs of A. A. Co., whose dtr. Susannah m. Philip Warfield, Jr., son of Philip above; on John Hobbs of Queen Caroline Parish, father of William above, whose will was dated 7-12-1731, and on Susannah, first wife of John Hobbs above.

Lloyd B. Jones,
817 Penn st., Hollidaysburg, Penna.

Steel—John Steel came to Cecil Co., Md., *circa* 1740 and is described in deeds of that time as "gentleman, late of the Kingdom of Ireland." His known children were Walter, Jane, Margery, Catherine and Elizabeth. There was one other daughter of John Steel whose surname and married name is being sought. Her only daughter (the grand daughter of John Steel) became the wife of James Gillespie of Cecil Co. prior to 1773.

D. Frank Magee,
523 Country Club Road, York, Pa.

Parrott; Irwin—Would correspond with descendants of: (1) George and Hannah (Martin) Parrott, of early history in Talbot Co., Maryland. (2) John & George Parrott, veterans of the American Revolution. (3) Francis & Mary Parrott, of Easton, Talbot Co., Maryland, in 1793 and earlier. (4) John Irwin, Deputy Commissary at Ft. Pitt in War of American Revolution.

Mrs. G. L. Caughron,
203 Wisconsin St., Neodesha, Kansas.

March 11, 1940—The regular meeting of the Society was held this evening with President Radcliffe in the chair. The Librarian read a list of the recent acquisitions to the library. Special note was made of the Civil War Library of the late Mr. Harry Bennett Green, presented to the Society by Mrs. Green, and of a bookcase provided for the collection by Mr. Robert E. Lee Russell and other friends of Mr. Green.

The following persons were elected to active membership:

Mrs. Wendell D. Allen
Mr. and Mrs. Nils Anderson
Mrs. G. Magruder Corse
Mrs. E. Rowland Dawson
Mrs. Richard H. James
Mr. and Mrs. Clyde Robe Meredith
Mrs. William A. Moore
Mr. George T. Ness, Jr.
Mrs. William C. Poe
Miss Marie W. Presstman
Mr. Richard B. Sealock
Miss Grace Vernon Smith
Mrs. William H. Thomas

Dr. J. Hall Pleasants gave a most interesting talk on "Colonial Maryland Printers and Printing."

It was announced that the Marie Worthington Conrad Lehr Memorial Room, provided for by the bequest of Miss Sally Randolph Carter, would be open for the first time this evening. It was regretted that Miss Susan Carter, of University, Virginia, a niece of Miss Sally R. Carter, was prevented by illness from being present to formally open the room. Mr. Laurence Hall Fowler and Mr. John Henry Scarff, the Committee who arranged the room, told the members something about the preparation of the room, most of the articles of furniture having come from the Lehr home, "Montmorency." Adjournment followed.

April 8, 1940—The regular meeting of the Society was held this evening at 8:15 o'clock. A list of donations since the last meeting was read.

The following were elected active members:

Mrs. William T. Biedler, Jr.
Major John Vernou Bouvier
Mr. George G. Buck
Mr. Douglas Gordon Carroll, Jr.
Mr. Albert Diggs
Miss Nora E. Gibbons
Mrs. James M. Hemphill
Mrs. Ogle Marbury
Miss Adelaide B. Wallis
Mr. Raymond S. Williams

The following deaths were reported among our members:

Dr. Henry J. Berkley, on April 5, 1940.
Mr. Leigh Bonsal, on April 8, 1940.
Mrs. Jackson (Anne Lee) Brandt, on March 16, 1940.
Rev. Charles Lee Reese, on April 12, 1940.
Mr. David C. Winebrenner, on March 27, 1940.

Mr. John Philips Cranwell and Mr. William Bowers Crane, co-authors of

Men of Marque, were introduced as the speakers of the evening. Mr. Cranwell described privateering during the War of 1812 while Mr. Crane spoke of the design and management of the Baltimore clippers.

The thanks of the Society were extended to the speakers in appreciation of their exceedingly interesting and informative addresses.

Mr. Charles O. Clemson offered the following resolution:

> *Resolved*, That the Maryland Historical Society consider the advisability of proposing to the respective county historical societies of Maryland, a plan under which there would exist an affiliation between the State Historical Society and the respective county historical societies, to the end that membership in the respective county societies would permit and entitle the county members to hold thereby certain associate membership rights in the State Historical Society.

The motion was seconded by Dr. Theodore M. Whitfield, and carried. The meeting then adjourned.

May 13, 1940—The regular meeting of the Society was held at 8:30 o'clock with President Radcliffe in the chair.

In describing donations to the library and gallery since the last meeting the Librarian called particular attention to the very valuable and interesting collection of sixteen miniatures of the Williams and Greenway families, and a portrait of William Greenway by Charles Jarvis, which were the gifts of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway, who is also presenting a case in which to display the miniatures in the main gallery. Another interesting gift was a small portrait of the late Governor Albert C. Ritchie, painted from life in 1926 by Miss Millicent Cope, of Philadelphia, being the gift of Dr. and Mrs. Michael A. Abrams. From the estate of the late Richard H. Thompson were received two very interesting small portraits, namely Mrs. Young, the daughter of William and Frances Barney, and the sister of Commodore Joshua Barney; and Mrs. Charles (Rebecca Lawson) Ridgely, the daughter of Dorothea and Alexander Lawson. During the past month the library has received books and pamphlets which are valuable additions.

The following named persons, having been previously nominated, were elected to membership:

Miss Charlotte Clark	Mrs. J. R. Onderdonk
Miss Sarah C. Hewes	Mrs. Hughes Robertson
Mr. G. Allison Long, Jr.	Mr. J. Forney Young

The death of Mr. William G. Wetherall, on April 9, 1940, was reported.

Mr. James W. Foster gave a talk entitled "Fielding Lucas and His Times," illustrated with lantern slides. Judge Henry D. Harlan moved that the thanks of the Society be extended to the speaker.

Attention was called to the fact that the regular meetings will be discontinued until the fall meeting on the Society in October next. There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.
