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THE REVOLUTIONARY IMPULSE IN MARYLAND

By CHARLES A. BARKER

Some ten years ago, when the present writer was beginning a study of revolutionary origins in Maryland, he planned a book in terms of the scholarship of the American Revolution. He thought then as he does now that the significance and meaning of the Revolution is to be understood only in detailed and inclusive terms—agriculture and trade as well as taxation, habits of thought as well as political argument. Maryland offered an unstudied case-history. The core of the problem was to investigate the conditions and movements of Maryland history in the eighteenth century, and to establish their dynamic connection with the national movement of separation from Great Britain.

Now that the account is rendered,[1] and the editor of the *Magazine* has generously invited a general comment on the investigation as a whole, the events of the year 1941 add a new and poignant interest to Anglo-American history. Today the independent United States is consciously re-entering the area of world politics as it never has before; the orbit begun by departure from the British Empire a century and two-thirds ago is visibly closing; national policy declares that the fate of Great Britain is inextricably our own. Such a declaration gives a fresh significance to the separation effected by the Revolution: was it a deep clean break, or was it

[1] Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940). As my invitation is to submit to readers of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* my reflections on the subject of the book, I feel free to dispense with elaborate documentation below. The book itself will supply documentation and detail for those who want them.

incomplete and superficial? What does the case of Maryland tell us on the point?

As we search out the origins of Maryland's separation from the mother country, we may well consider large things first, those intellectual influences toward liberalism which were not truly local but common to British culture everywhere, at home and overseas alike. Then we may gradually narrow the focus. There were certain emancipating influences, political and commercial, which were markedly American not British, such as the self-conscious aggressiveness of the assemblies and the economic independence of the merchants. They were important in Maryland. Finally we shall need to narrow our vision to the very particular. Certain distressed features of the tobacco-staple economy and the hopelessly divided structure of provincial politics, unique in Maryland, are necessary to understand the intensity of the revolutionary impulse when it came.

The very largest thing in the British Commonwealth of Nations today, as its spokesmen are proud to say, is its common mind and its set of liberal principles. In the long view, much the same thing was true of the old colonial system of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Far less was said then than now about a common political mentality or a common civilization; British liberalism was not yet mature or democratic in implication and appeal. Yet the prominence of mercantilism in the colonial period, with its accents on trade and central control, should not obscure the fact that there did overarch the British and British-American world a common English-speaking and English-feeling culture which was richer and more enduring than trade regulation. It was a culture which in its more liberal and conscious aspects stemmed largely from England's own revolutionary and early-scientific period of the seventeenth century, and which was destined in due time to contribute emancipating ideas to the revolutionary movements in America and Europe alike. This culture was partly a political thing: it conveyed the natural-rights philosophy in the writings of Coke and Locke and many others; and it conveyed a faith in constitutional government which came close to constitution-worship. It also practiced such a tolerance of religious and political differences as evoked the praise of Voltaire, who was used to Roman Catholic intolerance in France, and that of the young Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who resented the colonial

anti-Catholicism of the French and Indian War period. It equally expressed recognition of science, summed up in the reputation of Sir Isaac Newton; and it produced a contemporary literature which was inspired, Gibbon said, by " the spirit of reason and liberty."

Maryland had a generous share of this English culture. The libraries of well-to-do provincials testify to tastes which had been cultivated during periods of study in England. Stephen Bordley and various members of the Carroll family, for example, all had a special taste for the classics, particularly Latin letters and literature; their own correspondences include discussions of the merits of ancient statesmen as set forth by historians of the period. Such private libraries as theirs, as well as the circulating libraries which were launched in the dozen or so years before the Revolution, plainly indicate a wide preference for works of history and political thought; they also indicate special enthusiasm for the English poets, essayists, and novelists from the age of Dryden to contemporary publication. The importation of books into late colonial Maryland of course included much that is less marked with the special stamp of the Enlightenment: older works of English literature, handbooks of trade, books of law, and occasional volumes of divinity. But the accent on modern liberal letters is very plain, in no instances more so than in the Catholic Carroll's fondness for Voltaire, and in the occasional purchase of other French writers such as Bayle, Montesquieu, and Rousseau.

Maryland's own literary product, although it was a minor literature of newspaper essay and other ephemeral writing, exactly caught the modern accent. The gentlemen of the social and literary clubs around Annapolis, of which the well-known Tuesday Club was only one, produced their own mock-heroics after the manner of Butler; and Dr. Hamilton wrote a club history in an ironic and moralistic vein. The *Maryland Almanack,* like the better-known almanacs of Franklin and Ames, was penetrated with worldly wisdom and rationalistic thought. More particularly the weekly *Maryland Gazette,* until 1773 the one newspaper in the province, carried critical essays on government, society, history, and religion. The sharpness and the unanimity of this writing is more suggestive than the amount: there was only the one kind of literature in Maryland, and the thinking it expressed had the same critical quality and the same intellectual independence as Franklin's and Zenger's famous newspapers in Philadelphia and New York.

All this refers, of course, particularly to the members of the upper class—to men of education and social standing who had had a classical education, who belonged to clubs, who could express themselves in Addisonian essays. What of the ideas and attitudes of the lower classes? What particularly of the class of freemen who owned sufficient land to vote, but who as small planters had little or no education? Could they share the critical modernism of the well-to-do?

About the only direct evidence is that of religion in the established church, and it is such as to suggest that the ideas of the Enlightenment cut deep into the lower levels of society. Such clergymen as Hugh Jones and Thomas Bacon reported widespread deism in the parishes. They and their sort may have been alarmists, but they leave a picture of religious coolness, of scepticism about revelation, and of the decline of family worship; such a picture conforms nicely with the pattern of thought familiar in the upper class. With exceptions for the piety of the German sectarians and the Methodists of northern and western Maryland, and in spite of the opposition of religious individuals of the lower counties, it does seem that the critical secular spirit reached very far in Maryland. And, as religious rationalism and political Whiggism were intellectual twins in the British world, equal offspring of the natural-law philosophy, it seems farther that the Maryland mind was well prepared to receive the arguments of political liberalism, even of revolution. England had exported to the colony the hardy habit of critical thought, and the habit had taken many roots.

As Maryland shared a national culture that was at once British and American, so it also shared with all the other colonies an increasing movement of self-government in America. From the very earliest years of its history, the province had had an assembly; in a remarkably short period that assembly had established itself as a true legislature with powers to introduce and to enact laws of all kinds. A similar degree of autonomy prevailed in the whole British colonial world of the mid-eighteenth century. By that time a normal type of government had emerged; with the exception of Connecticut and Rhode Island, all the colonies were organized as provinces under crown or proprietor. Under this form government had been stabilized as a divided thing: the source and focus of authority was located in the mother country, and administration and legislation were located in America. Cer-

tain special institutional and political tensions and rivalries, which we shall have to consider later, were to flow from Maryland's peculiar proprietary control, as established by the charter of 1632. But in all the larger aspects Maryland's provincial government was the same as in Virginia and the other royal colonies. Authoritarian control from the mother country, represented by a governor and other officials appointed by the lord proprietor, was met and balanced by legislation in the elected assembly, by the custom of the country, by the political pride and self-consciousness of a growing and promising community.

The elected houses of all the colonial assemblies—whatever their individual differences—shared a common language of argument in asserting their ambition for power. It was the language of English constitutionalism or parliamentarianism, which had matured and gained currency in the course of the seventeenth century at home. Maryland excelled in its use. As early as 1638 the assembly declared that its members should have "powers, privileges, authority, and jurisdiction" similar to those of the House of Commons; in 1682 it was second only to Jamaica in winning a full grant of its right to parliamentary privileges; and in 1725 it employed the language of parliamentary privilege to justify itself in an endeavor to fix certain rules for the governor in the appointment of the county judges. As parliamentary privilege was thus stretched into an elastic formula expressing the will of the legislature to rule, so also other features of the British tradition were borrowed and adapted to the needs of Maryland. Each new session began with the presentation of the speaker of the House of Delegates to the governor, much as the speaker of the House of Commons was presented to the King; standing committees were set up with names and functions much like those of historic committees of the Commons; officials were regularly elected and rules of procedure adopted exactly on the English pattern. There was convenience in such arrangements, of course; the Delegates had business to do, and there was practical advantage in following a successful model. But close imitation of the Mother of Parliaments expressed a feeling of ambition even more than of convenience; to act in parliamentary way created overtones of parliamentary power, and colonial hearing was keyed to such tones.

The natural-rights philosophy, moreover, supplied another indication of political strength on the American side of the pro-

vincial structure of government. Here was a less used but more formidable weapon of political advance than the assertion of parliamentary traditions. A precedent borrowed from the House of Commons had the weakness of argument by analogy; a spokesman for the opposition, as was Attorney-General Pratt during the French and Indian War, might simply declare the precedent to have no meaning in an American legislature. But natural law—which seems to have been as well known to Marylanders from Coke's writings as from Locke's own—admitted no sifting of precedents. Ultimately moral and metaphysical in basis, an argument based upon it could not be crushed by weight of proprietary or other authority; it was universal in its claim. Thus, when in 1725 the House of Delegates declared that, " It is we that are the people's representatives for whom all laws are made and human government established," or when it informed the appointed council that an " ample and full power of legislation is lodged in this province," it attached its political position to an article of faith—to the then modern and always liberal position that government is in its very nature derived from people not kings. In Maryland, and everywhere in America, theory was matching precedent as it contributed to the conviction that the real seat of political power lay, not where commissions were issued and instructions prepared, in England, but where laws were enacted and administered, and where the will of the people was expressed.

In the two types of political thinking just described and illustrated as of about 1725, there will be recognized the same two types as were to be evoked, on a national scale, during the critical dozen years beginning in 1764. An argument which was more historical and precedent-stating than philosophical was to be marshaled against the Stamp Act: in such terms the Marylander Daniel Dulany was to plead for all the colonies. But in the deeper crisis of 1776 the ultimate philosophical argument alone, the assertion of rights against tyranny, was to suffice: the more sweeping mind of Thomas Jefferson was then to be required. The logical progression from the more moderate and legalistic constitutionalism of 1765 to the more radical and theoretical justification of revolution in 1776 has sometimes been made to seem more of a change of mind than actually it was. The case of the Maryland House of Delegates during the half-century before the Revolution is a useful reminder that in the colonial mind, as in the political

thinking of seventeenth-century England, the deepening of the parliamentary tradition and the expression of the fundamental-rights philosophy were merely two phases of the same emerging liberalism. They supported each other. And in using the two together, the Maryland House of Delegates placed itself in an interesting historical position: it was borrowing intellectual resources from the revolutionary age of the mother country; and it was using those resources to justify and strengthen self-government in America.

As we approach the significant economic movements of pre-revolutionary Maryland, we may narrow our focus to agriculture and trade, and particularly to the areas of the lower Chesapeake and Potomac where tobacco-raising was concentrated. In this instance, local conditions of production and marketing tell us more of the revolutionary impulse than do the wider aspects of the British regulation of trade. Yet the surrounding framework of British mercantilism did set the stage: Maryland as a tobacco-staple-producing area was obliged under the English act of 1660 to concentrate its trade in the mother country. The law required that colonial tobacco be sold in Great Britain or the colonies; and, because the very great part of the consumers' market for Maryland tobacco lay on the continent of Europe, the application of the law meant that nearly all of Maryland's staple was consigned to British merchants for reconsignment and sale abroad. This condition of the principal export trade focused the credit of the province and fixed the import market very largely at the "head of trade" in England. Thus Maryland planters and merchants were direct participators in a great overseas trading system, and as such they experienced the recurrent adversities of general depression. Yet they never made public protest against mercantilism, either in principle or in opposition to the administration of the old acts of navigation; any smuggling in contradiction to the laws was at a minimum. Their economic grievances they conceived in the more particular terms of tobacco-raising and selling, and of the specific practical difficulties of doing business overseas.

In the half-century before the Revolution those difficulties were continuous and serious. On the whole the period was one of great expansion: the population approximately trebled, reaching about a quarter-million at the time of independence; great fortunes were made, partly through speculation; towns rose and grew where

there had been none before—particularly Baltimore, Frederick, and Hagerstown. But in this period the annual exportation of tobacco expanded hardly at all, and there were several intervals, conforming to the wars and to depressions common to Britain and all the colonies, when the export of tobacco dropped alarmingly low. In so thoroughly agrarian an economy as that of Maryland (and Virginia) there was no general problem of subsistence—the problem of depression never became so serious a social problem then as it now is. But hard times made a burden of the vast complex of debts which extended, under normal credit arrangements, from provincial consumers of all classes through the middlemen to the ultimate creditors in the export business in Britain. Debts then as always were a worrying business; and in the most difficult times Maryland feeling translated them from private and individual transactions into the language of common protest.

Such questions came to their first full public discussions on the occasion which made full discussion possible, the setting up of William Parks' printing press and the launching of the *Maryland Gazette* in 1727. This was a period of the severest stringency; and pamphlets and newspaper columns debated the plight of the planters in elaborate and informing detail. Various remedies were proposed. The British merchants who managed the foreign sale of the tobacco might be drawn into a trade agreement in support of tobacco prices; the assembly might pass legislation fixing requirements of quality for tobacco to be exported, a program favorable to the large planters; or it might pass restrictions on the amount of tobacco to be planted, a plan favorable to the small planters. Discussion led to a moderate degree of action. In due course, the two types of tobacco legislation were tentatively tried, in 1727 and in 1728 and 1730; and in 1728 a trade agreement was attempted. No remedy really succeeded, however, and in 1733 a paper-money law accomplished more than any other measure to relieve the depression in the province.

Between that time and 1747, the year in which the assembly enacted a tobacco-inspection system on the model of the successful Virginia experiment, the province evolved a sort of double-headed economic policy. In the seventeen-thirties a considerable number of statutes was passed which may be grouped in so far as they all encouraged economic diversification; this was an effort

to escape such complete dependence on the staple as had seemed the hardest feature of the recent depression. Various provisions, in the form of bounties and tax-exemptions, were enacted for the encouragement of hemp-raising, linen manufacture, iron production, and copper-mining. The other object of the developing economic policy was the old one, the regulation of the tobacco trade with a purpose to improve sales overseas. This was accomplished with the law of 1747: it provided for the erection of public warehouses and the appointment of inspectors at designated official ports; all tobacco was required to pass examination as to quality before exportation; the administration of the law was placed under the supervision of the justice of the peace in the counties.

These economic undertakings have a significance of self-government entirely in character with the assembly's assertions of parliamentary privileges and fundamental rights. The laws in favor of paper money, new industries, and tobacco regulation created a public and political interest where there had previously been very little or none. The tobacco-inspection law had, in addition, a yet more specific political meaning. The House of Delegates, in the knowledge that the proprietary upper house wanted an inspection system as much as it did itself, refused to pass the law without clauses which provided for a scaling-down of the fees charged by provincial officials and for a twenty-five per-cent reduction of the tax for the salaries of the established clergy. As officials and clergymen alike were the appointees of the lord proprietor or of one of his high officers of state, these reductions were a matter of long political bargaining. This particular success became a point of pride with the Delegates. On the eve of the Revolution, the house stretched the precedent of having won a reduction of fees in 1747 to assert that the legislature had established an exclusive jurisdiction, and that when the law expired no fees could be collected without new legislation. The proprietary council of course refused to concede such a sweeping claim.

To return to the problem of provincial economic policy, we can now see, with the advantage of hindsight, that economic diversification and the state-regulation of tobacco together marked a step in separation from the mercantilist intention of the mother country. In a superficial sense, indeed, tobacco inspection conformed with the general interest—it was devised to improve a

staple trade which itself operated comfortably in line with British policy. But the act signified the contraction of this trade, not its expansion; it involved the local regulation of commerce, not the national. And the acts for advancing other industries than tobacco, except in the case of iron, were favorable to products which entered the intercolonial trade or the trade with southern Europe and the wine islands, and had little use to expand the trade with Great Britain. The relevant statistics are few and far-between, but the best indications suggest that, about 1760, two-thirds of Maryland's trade was with Great Britain, and that one-third, representing a vast increase, was with the other colonies or with southern Europe and the islands. This trend, while in no sense in violation of the acts of trade, does indicate a departure from the traditional policy of mercantilism. It indicates an Americanization of trade—shifting of lines to fit provincial needs—in place of the British predominance which had been the rule.

The final narrowing of our historical focus, in seeking out the tensions and conditions productive of the revolutionary impulse, must bring into view certain special features of Maryland's institutions and politics. We have already seen that provincial government in its nature involved a difficult reach in administration overseas, between authoritative control in the mother country and the processes of administration and law-making in the colony. In the case of Maryland, the charter of 1632 had defined the powers and privileges of the lord proprietor, the authoritative head, in uniquely feudal and reactionary language. Thus when the House of Delegates adopted the modern language and tactics of parliamentary precedent, the strain between the two sides of the provincial structure became almost more than politics could bear. With reference to the difficulties of the seventeenth century, Professor Andrews has well expressed the permanent situation:

> When the [proprietary] upper house spoke of its privilege, honor, and dignity, it was referring to a charter the terms of which are traceable to the fourteenth century; when the lower house spoke of its privileges, it had in mind the precedents and practices of the House of Commons in the seventeenth century.[2]

In the eighteenth century this continuing difference of principle

[2] Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History,* II (New Haven, 1936), 327.

was matched by an equal difference of interest. It was a plain matter of money and power.

The royal charter had conveyed to the lords proprietors legal rights which only waited on the occupation of land and the development of trade to become transformed into a vastly productive property. No proprietors were ever more insistent than Charles and Frederick, the fifth and the sixth Lords Baltimore, to have developed the machinery of administration and collection which would secure them the land revenues and other sources of income which were their right. Between 1762 and 1771 Frederick, Lord Baltimore, received from his agent in Maryland a total income of nearly £119,000, or an average of more than £13,200 annually. About two-thirds of the eighteenth-century proprietor's income derived from his rights in the soil, principally quit-rents and purchase-money; about one-third derived from minor sources and from port duties which had been enacted decades earlier and were now regretted by the assembly. Beside what the proprietor received personally, he controlled patronage offices worth about £12,000 annually, and he controlled church appointments worth about £8,000. Thus we reach a total of about £33,000 to represent the annual worth of the province to Lord Baltimore and his appointees, as of the later years of the colonial period.

In terms of any contemporary comparison, this was a great amount. In 1767 Governor Sharpe made an estimate of the annual cost to Maryland of those charges of government which did not involve patronage—the payment of county and parish expenses and the support of the courts and the legislature. In round figures the estimate was £18,000; and this makes it appear that proprietary and patronage benefits amounted to more than two-thirds again as much as public services. Or, in an economic comparison, the £33,000 of private benefits was roughly equivalent to an 18% tax on Maryand's annual purchasing power in Great Britain, as established by the export trade. In cold statistical fact, the proprietary system was expensive for the people of Maryland to maintain.

This was the interest, so well guaranteed by charter provision, which the House of Delegates faced in natural hostility. Colonial jealousy of an absentee landlord was inevitable; but the fact alone that Lord Baltimore had a very large stake in the institutional order of Maryland was something that could hardly be expressed

as a grievance. The delegates themselves were almost to a man the holders of large estates; their leaders were usually the principal lawyers of Maryland. In the common understanding of the eighteenth century, moreover, governmental office was not a public trust; it was a property right; and offices were commonly bought, sold, and inherited in Great Britain. And yet, through a long generation before the Revolution, a general consciousness of financial exploitation permeated the assembly struggle against the powers and prerogatives of Lord Baltimore. The House of Delegates seized whatever weapons it could to attack his privileges. It criticized the method of collecting quit-rents; it found grounds for objecting to alienation fines; it declared the permanent duty act of 1704 to be technically invalid; it resolved that proprietary officials had no right to collect the license fees paid by ordinary-keepers. Through long periods, these scattering attacks were supported rather by heat than by concentrated force; but occasionally, as in the case of the ordinary licenses, the lower house won a concession.

In the half-century before the Revolution two major influences did give the Delegates some real political leverage. The first we have already seen: the necessity of tobacco legislation obliged the two houses of assembly to make concessions, and the Delegates always regarded the statutory reduction of fees and the church tax as a greater political victory than it really was. The other point of political advantage was the necessity imposed by the wars with Spain and France for the governors to ask the assembly for fresh appropriations and taxes. This influence gave occasion for the most advanced proposals of the lower house: it would agree to pass the desired bills only on condition that the lord proprietor would make certain concessions.

Significantly enough, the first war year, 1739, was also the first year of a frontal political attack on the major financial privileges of Lord Baltimore. In a kind of manifesto, which followed a long period of controversy over a defense tax, the House of Delegates resolved in part that,

> The people of Maryland thinks the proprietor takes money from them unlawfully.
> The proprietary says he has a right to that money.

Accordingly, the resolutions went on, the house must appeal to the judgment of the crown for a decision which will bring order and

common agreement into Maryland affairs. Thus was launched an effort which persisted for thirty-five years, that is, until the final session of the colonial assembly in 1774. The underlying thought was that if the king in council heard and judged the practices of the lord proprietor, reform would be ordered or the proprietary government would be dissolved. Twice, namely in 1740 and in 1767, the Delegates reached the point of designating a colonial agent to plead their cause. But this political thrust never actually reached the king, and it probably would have failed if it had.

The significance of appeal to the crown is hardly less great in failure, however, than it would have been in success. This quixotic effort to destroy or transform Lord Baltimore's charter rights amply indicates that, for more than three decades before the Boston Port Act, the House of Delegates had advanced as far as possible in the assertion of legislative supremacy and of self-government. In this instance, the political aims of the lower house fully conformed with the familiar high language of parliamentary tradition and fundamental rights. And when the method of appeal to England failed, as particularly in 1767, that failure was not taken to signify that the policy of extremism was to be abandoned. Failure merely forced the impulse of political protest to flow into new channels. It did not change the objective. It compelled the House of Delegates to take its affairs out-of-doors and share them more fully with the voters of Maryland. During the French and Indian War period, when the lower house stood in the most irreconcilable disagreement with the proprietor, governor, and appointed council, the voters of certain counties began for the first time to " instruct " their members. This was a newly democratic procedure familiar in the New England townships but not in class-conscious Maryland. And in 1771 and 1773, the years of final and demoralizing conflict within the provincial system, voluntary committees took over some of the functions of government; the fee-incomes of some of the high officials were publicized in the newspaper; the salaries of many clergymen were withheld; and, generally, there was an unprecedented amount of public discussion and public participation in governmental business. If the king in council would not speak on the merits of Maryland affairs, the people themselves were ready to do so. Their sentiment was quite as anti-proprietary as the policy of the lower house.

Against such a background Maryland moved into the period of

active revolution. In common with the other colonies, the province was galvanized into protest and action by the familiar catastrophies of British policy in 1765, 1767, and 1774. We need not review that chain of events at this time. Nor would much more than an addition to the story of aggravation be gained by analysis of the peculiarly severe depression in the tobacco trade during the middle seventeen-sixties. Plainly the various stages of imperial policy represented by Grenville, Townshend, and Lord North were all of a sort to offend the doubly rooted Whiggism of Maryland political thought. And equally the political habit of resistance, led as always by the men of substance and education in the province—the Carrolls, Bordleys, Tilghmans, Johnsons, and the like—was not such as to yield because one or another of George III's ministers succeeded, for the time being, in putting a new face on Britain's policy.

From a deeper background of national history Britain had long since exported to colonials overseas an early-modern liberal view of politics. Such a view had been accompanied and supported by a kindred liberal culture, the inheritance of the governing and educated classes. To the parliamentary Britain of the Pyms and Hampdens Maryland leadership was deeply and consciously loyal. The Britain of the fifth and sixth Lords Baltimore, of Grenville and North, on the other hand, the Maryland mind knew all too well. By long conviction and fixed habit it was ready to resist that Britain. Nor would it draw back when resistance led into revolution through the familiar paths of political protest and turmoil.

WILLIAM GODDARD'S VICTORY FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

By W. Bird Terwilliger

When William Goddard,[1] who had removed from Philadelphia to Baltimore in 1772, issued the first number of the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* on August 20, 1773, it was scarcely to be expected, in view of his previous stormy career in Providence, New York, and Philadelphia, that he would long conduct himself and his business in a manner calculated to promote peace and harmony between him and his fellow citizens. It was, however, nearly four years before he was at odds with any of the citizens in Baltimore, for the simple reason that, when he had been publishing the *Journal* for only six months, he turned the business over to his sister, Mary Katherine Goddard, a very capable editor and printer, and set about establishing the Constitutional Post Office, which later became the United States Post Office, a task which kept him away from Baltimore until near the end of the year 1776. It was soon after his return to the city that there occurred the first of the incidents which involved him in difficulties with certain self-constituted authorities, and eventually drove him to seek protection at the hands of the House of Delegates, and even from Governor Johnson himself. Material which has only recently been acquired through purchase by the Maryland Historical Society enables us to piece together and verify for the first time the complete story of this unpleasant affair.

The *Maryland Journal,* which in Goddard's absence had been edited and published by his sister Mary, was continued in her name for some time after her brother's return to Baltimore, possibly because of the financial position to which William Goddard had been reduced, although he resumed the active direction of the policies of the paper. It was accordingly by his authority that there appeared in the *Journal* for February 25, 1777, the following letter:

For the Maryland Journal, To the Printer.

Through the channels of your paper, I take the liberty to congratulate my countrymen on the important intelligence, this day received by

[1] For the best account of the life of William Goddard, see Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776,* Baltimore (Typothetae of Baltimore, 1922), pp. 119-146.

Congress.—The terms of peace offered, by *Howe,* to *America,* manifest the magnanimity, generosity, and virtue of the *British* nation. The offer of peace, and, in return, to require *only* our friendship, and a preference to our trade and commerce, bespeaks the ancient spirit of love and liberty, which were once the acknowledged and boasted characteristic of an Englishman. My soul overflows with gratitude to the patriotic virtuous King, the august incorruptible Parliament, and wise disinterested Ministry of *Britain.* I am lost in the contemplation of their private and public virtues. I disbelieve and forget, nay, will readily believe any assertion, that the monarch of *Britain* is a sullen and inexorable tyrant, the Parliament venal and corrupt, and the Ministry abandoned and bloody, as wicked and base calumnies. I am not able to express the feelings of my soul on the prospect of immediately seeing my native country blessed with peace and plenty. I am almost induced to complain of Congress, for concealing one moment these glad tidings: however, I will anticipate the pleasure, and claim thanks from all lovers of peace, for thus early communicating what may be relied upon as literally true.

Your's, &c.

TOM TELL-TRUTH

Baltimore, Feb. 20, 1777.

On the opposite page of the *Journal* was printed this letter:

For the MARYLAND JOURNAL.

Many and various stratagems have already been practised by the insidious and wicked Court of *Britain,* and her artful agents, to deceive and divide the open, generous, unsuspecting *Americans.* One more attempt is made. A report is industriously circulated, that the Commissioners of *Britain,* Lord and General *Howe,* through General *Lee,* have offered to Congress honourable terms of negotiation. Be not deceived my countrymen. Expect nothing but fraud, force, rapine, murder, and desolation, from the hands of the tyrant of *Britain,* and his base and bloody partisans. Neglect not one moment to collect your forces, to drive the enemies of peace, liberty and virtue from your country. Shun any connexion with the people of *Britain* as with a common and infected prostitute. The sun beholds not a more perfidious, corrupt and wicked people. My soul detests them as the gates of Hell.

I have it not in my power to communicate the letter from General *Lee* to Congress. I have seen his letters to his friends, to whom he writes, "That, by permission of Lord and General *Howe,* he has wrote to the Congress, requesting them to depute two or three gentlemen to *New-York,* to whom he wishes to communicate something, deeply interesting not only to himself, but, he thinks, the public."

"*Timeo Danaos, et Dona ferentes.*"

"I suspect the Commissioners, nay, their *most conciliating* OFFERS."

CAVETO!

Both pieces were written by Judge Samuel Chase.[2] The irony of the first is obvious, and should have prevented any doubt as to the patriotism of the author. Moreover, the second, with its direct contradiction of the superficial import of the first, should have neutralized any suspicion of Toryism on the part of the *Maryland Journal* which might have been aroused by "Tom Tell-Truth's" letter. Only a zealot could have discovered, on the basis of these two communications, any subversive tendency on the part of either the *Maryland Journal* or the author. But zealots were then, as now, not wanting. In this instance they were found in the membership of the Whig Club, a secret organization formed early in 1777, under an elaborate set of "Rules," for the purpose of protecting the State against traitors. On the evening of March 3, 1777, this club sent a delegation, consisting of Colonel Nathaniel Ramsay and George Turnbull,[3] to require Miss Goddard to reveal the name of the author of the "traitorous" letter of "Tom Tell-Truth," completely ignoring, as they did throughout the altercation which followed, the second letter, signed "Caveto." Mary Goddard referred these emissaries to her brother, saying that the letters had been printed by his authority. Upon Goddard's refusal to reveal the name of his contributor, the delegation returned to the club, which later the same evening sent Captain John Slaymaker to Goddard, with the following summons:

> Requested that Mr. William Goddard do attend the Whig Club to Morrow Evening at Six oclock at the house of Mr. Rusk [a tavern keeper], to answer Such questions as may be asked him by the club, relative to a Publication in the Maryland Journal of last Week, under the Signature of Tom. Telltruth which has given great Offense to
>
> 3d March 1777
>
> Many of your Whig Readers
> LEGION [4]

Goddard informed Slaymaker that he felt under no compulsion to appear before such a self-constituted authority, whereupon a second delegation, consisting of Benjamin Nicholson, Nathaniel

[2] Chase's authorship is asserted by an annotation in Goddard's copy of *The Prowess of the Whig Club*, Part I, now in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society. See Wroth, *op. cit.*, note, p. 136.

[3] These men, and those named below, are named in the report of the Committee of Aggrievances and Courts of Justice, *Votes and Proceedings, House of Delegates*, March 10, 1777, p. 35.

[4] Manuscript in Library of the Maryland Historical Society.

Ramsay, Robert Buchanan, Hugh Young, and James Smith "(some of them armed)," called upon the printer and led him forcibly to Rusk's tavern, where the members were assembled " in Whig Club." He was again commanded to reveal the identity of " Tom Tell-Truth," and, upon his declining to do so, the following resolution was passed:

In WHIG CLUB. March 4, 1777

Resolved, that Mr. William Goddard do leave this town by twelve o'clock to-morrow morning, and the County within three days—Should he refuse due obedience to this notice, he will be subject to the resentment of a

LEGION.[5]

Goddard complied, as far as leaving town was concerned, but went straightway to Annapolis, where the Legislature was in session, and two days later, on March 6, submitted to the Council of Safety a memorial, which was laid before the House of Delegates on March 7. This memorial, in which Goddard related the affair from beginning to end, not neglecting to state that both letters had been written by a member of Congress, was referred to the Committee of Aggrievances and Courts of Justice. This committee three days later declared for Goddard in a report which summarized the episode and concluded as follows:

Your committee are of the opinion, that such proceedings are a manifest violation of the constitution, directly contrary to the declaration of rights assented to by the representatives of the freemen of his state and tend in their consequences (unless timely checked) to the overthrow of all regular government.

All which is submitted to the consideration of the honorable house.

By order of Com.

JOHN JOHNSON, clk.[6]

Next day the Whig Club issued the following handbill:

A late affair between The Whig Club' *and* Mr. William Goddard, *of this Town, having been the subject of much conversation, and having been also, by many, grossly misinterpreted,* The Whig Club *beg leave to* trouble *the Public with the following* true *and* plain *account of it.*

In a late Paper printed by M. K. Goddard, a piece appeared under the signature of *Tom Tell-Truth;* the intention of which was, ironically to

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[5] The above narrative summarizes the report of the Committee of Aggrievances and Courts of Justice before the House of Delegates, *V. & P., House of Delegates,* March 10, 1777, p. 35.

The notice of banishment was reprinted by Goddard in *The Prowess of the Whig Club,* Part I, now in the Library of Congress.

[6] *V. & P., House of Delegates,* March 10, 1777, p. 35.

sneer, at a silly report then prevailing, that General *Howe* had offered the most eligible terms of accommodation to Congress, which they had refused, and concealed them for the people. This *we* took to be the intention of that publication. But *we,* and with *us a very great majority* of the *readers of that paper,* thought the author *rather unfortunate* in framing his piece. *We* not only supposed that the ignorant and uninformed might mistake his intention, but *we* knew that *numbers* actually had *overlooked* the irony in *Tom Tell-Truth,* and mistaken it for a serious assertion of facts grounded on the *best* authority. Anxiously concerned for the bad effects which *might* attend the spreading of this error, *we* determined to find out the author, and to inform him of the light in which his performance was viewed. Not in the least doubting that he would immediately publish his real meaning in plain terms, sign his proper name to it, and thereby counteract the bad tendency of his clumsy irony. Two members of the *Whig Club* accordingly waited on Miss Goddard; and begged to know Mr. *Tell-Truth's* real name. She informed them that Mr. *William Goddard* was the person who brought the piece to the press. Mr. *Goddard* was then applied to for the author's name, which he refused to give, and used the gentlemen applying for it in the grossest, the most impolite manner. At a subsequent meeting of the *Club,* SIX members were ordered *to wait* on Mr. *Goddard* again. *They* in the gentlest and politest manner, endeavoured to *convince* him, that it was the *Public Cause* alone *they* had at heart; and *pointed* out to him the service he might do it, by procuring the author's consent for divulging his name. To *gentle entreaty* and *mild argument* Mr. *Goddard* opposed the most *mulish obstinacy* and *brutal impoliteness.* He abused the *gentlemen* present and the *Club* to which they belonged, in terms *so* injurious, that *they* determined to *carry* him before the *Club.* This was accordingly *done* without any the least injury or violence to his person. In the Club-Room Mr. *Goddard* continued to behave in a manner entirely *characteristic of himself,* in consequence of which the *Club* RECOMMENDED it to *him* to leave a Town, wherein he had so wantonly insulted a number of *gentlemen* able and determined to render his *stay* therein extremely disagreeable.

This, by evidence of the *most* undoubted *veracity* and *reputation,* can be proved to be a *true* and *impartial* account of an affair which has been painted in such horrid colours, and which has been so pompously declaimed upon, *as the most glaring infringement of domestic security and the Liberty of the Press.* Although how the *Press* and Mr. *Goddard* are connected, WE cannot conceive.

Upon the whole, *we* leave this and every other part of our conduct to the judgment of an impartial Public; conscious that *any errors* we *may* commit, proceed from that warmth of zeal in the *Public Cause,* which first convened

The WHIG CLUB.

Baltimore, March 11, 1777.[7]

[7] Handbill reprinted by Goddard in *The Prowess of the Whig Club,* Part I, now in the Library of Congress.

Here the matter undoubtedly would have rested, except for the formality of the reading of the report of the Committee of Aggrievances before the House for the requisite number of times, had not Goddard followed up his victory, on March 17, two days before the first reading of the report, by publishing a pamphlet, *The Prowess of the Whig Club, and the Manoeuvres of Legion.* In this pamphlet (which will be republished in these pages at a later date), Goddard let loose all the powers of invective and ridicule with which he was so abundantly endowed. He referred to the members of the club as " a set of men not remarkable for their penetration and sagacity," and described Nicholson as a " Commodore, *snug in harbour,*" relating the whole affair in a manner which could only further irritate the already sensitive club members. As a result they set about once more to discipline the acid tongued printer.

On Tuesday morning, March 25, as Goddard was at work in his printing establishment, Commodore Nicholson, of the frigate *Virginia,* then lying idle in Baltimore harbor, entered the composing room and ordered the printer to accompany him to Rusk's tavern, where the club was again assembled. Goddard refused to comply, whereupon the Commodore summoned several members of the club who had accompanied him as far as the foot of the stairs, and Goddard was once more taken by force before the tribunal of the club. He made some slight resistance to their efforts, but, not being completely recovered from a recent attack of rheumatism, was no match for a single assailant, let alone half a dozen or more. He called to his journeyman, Justus Brown, for assistance, but Brown, a fellow not remarkable for courage, extricated himself from the fracas as neatly as possible, and retired to the safety of the country, whence he did not reappear for a week.

" In Whig Club," much the same procedure was observed as on the former occasion of Goddard's unwilling presence there. The sentence of banishment was again invoked, with the same terms as before.

At the outset of the struggle in the printing house, Miss Goddard sent a messenger, and later went herself, to William Galbraith, Captain of the Town Guard, to enlist his aid in protecting her brother, but Captain Galbraith was unable or unwilling to act without orders; and his superior officer, Captain Smith,

refused to issue orders for the Guard to fire on such a body of men, on the pretext that he feared they would not obey such an order, since one of their officers, Colonel Nathaniel Ramsay, was sitting "in Whig Club." Both Captain Galbraith and Miss Goddard then appealed to the Committee of Safety, but James Calhoun, then acting chairman of that committee, also refused to issue any orders, on much the same pretext as that employed by Captain Smith. Galbraith did, however, give Goddard the protection of the Guard from the time of his release by the club until noon the next day, when the banished printer set out once more for Annapolis. Before he left, however, he wrote to Rusk, the tavern keeper, a letter requesting mine host to warn any innocent members of the club that they had best sever their unholy connections therewith in order to save themselves from the wrath to come.[8]

In Annapolis Goddard went to the Coffee House, where he prepared another memorial, relating the whole affair, which he sent with a letter to Governor Johnson.[9] The Governor turned it over to the Senate, whence it was dispatched by Charles Graham, Esquire, to the Speaker of the House, who in turn referred it to the Committee of Aggrievances, with instructions that it be considered immediately.

This time the committee, desiring further evidence, summoned to Annapolis James Calhoun, Captain Galbraith, and Justus Brown, the printer, who had by this time returned from his place of safety in the country. The depositions of these three tallied with the narrative of Goddard's memorial, bearing out the truthfulness of his every statement. The Committee of Aggrievances accordingly reported to the House in Goddard's favor.[10]

The House, however, acted with less alacrity than on the former occasion. When the report of the committee was finally considered, on April 11, there were motions and counter motions, resolutions and counter resolutions. With a war in full swing, the House, faced with an act for quartering soldiers, an act for pro-

[8] There is a copy of this letter, which Goddard printed as a broadside, in the John Carter Brown Library, and one in the Library of Congress.

[9] It is not known that this memorial and letter have been preserved, but their contents are summarized in the report of the Committee of Aggrievances and Courts of Justice of the House of Delegates, *V. & P.*, April 2, 1777, p. 65.

[10] The account of the club's second attempt to discipline Goddard has up to this point been taken from the *Votes and Proceedings*, cited above, and from the depositions (in manuscript) of Calhoun, Galbraith, and Brown, in the Maryland Historical Library, which will later be published in full.

viding blankets for soldiers, an act for preventing desertion, an act to promote recruiting service, and numerous bills connected with the establishment of the new civil government under the constitution, was inclined to be annoyed by this irascible gadfly. It was moved that Goddard be afforded the protection of the law of the land; it was moved " that Mr. Goddard's memorial and letter be returned to him, and that he be desired in the future to give this house no more trouble, and that he be informed the courts of justice ever had been and still are open, where he may have his remedy, if injured;" it was moved that Goddard " and every other citizen " be protected by the governor.[11]

At last, in the words of one of the members of the House then present, " Next morning, Samuel Chase, Esq., a member of the then house of delegates, as soon as the house met, opened said *Baltimore Mob* business: . . ." [12] Goddard himself presented his memorial at the bar of the House. The sergeant at arms was sent to Baltimore, and returned next day with several of the members of the Whig Club, whose spokesman made a feeble attempt at a " quasi apology." " But," says Galloway, " *Old S. Chase,* with *that manly, that unbending firmness,* and ardent love and attachment to *Law* and *Order,* scouted, *yes, he scouted the Idea* that *it could* in *any* degree, in *any* situation, while the General Assembly were in session, be *tolerable, by that Body* to wink at such an enormity! *No! Not even when our Army had been just beaten—, kicked from Pillar to Post, from Dan to Beersheba*: . . ."

Galloway, who was sitting by Chase, then watched the latter draft a set of resolutions, which were later published, with certain deletions, in the *Maryland Gazette.* Chase also drafted " in glowing language " an apology to the " injured *Sovereigns* of the State: *The People,*" which was pronounced before the bar of the House by the chairman of the offending club.

The resolutions adopted by the House were as follows:

The House took into Consideration the Memorials of William Goddard the Reports of the Committee of Aggrievances thereon and the Depositions

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[11] *V. & P., House of Delegates,* April 11, 1777, pp. 83-85.

[12] This part of the account is to be found in a letter from Benjamin Galloway, at that time member of the House of Delegates from Anne Arundel County, written to Ninian Pinkney, Clerk of the Council, on August 19, 1812. The letter is number 45 in Volume III of the *Red Book,* in the Maryland Hall of Records in Annapolis.

referred to by the Committee and thereupon Resolved unan. That every Subject in this State is entitled to the benefit and protection of the Laws and Government thereof.

That this House highly disapprove of any body of Men assembling or exercising any of the power of Government, (without proper authority from the Constitution).

That the proceedings of the Persons in Baltimore Town associated and stiled the Whigg Club, are a most daring Infringement and manifest Violation of the Constitution of this State, directly contrary to the Declaration of Rights, and tend in their Consequences (unless timely checked) to the Destruction of all regular Government.

That the Governor be requested to issue a Proclamation declaring all Bodies of Men associating together and meeting for the purpose and usurping any of the Powers of Government & presuming to exercise any power over the persons or property of any Subject of this State, or to cary into Execution any of the Laws thereof, unlawful assemblies and requiring all such assemblies and meetings instantly to disperse.

That the Governor be requested to order the Law of the Land to be executed, for the prevention of Riots and Mobs, and that the persons concerned in the late Riot and proceedings against William Goddard, be brought to trial, and to direct the Attorney General to prosecute such high and dangerous offences against the peace and Government of the State in the General Court.

That the Governor be requested to dismiss from the Service of this State any military or civil officers concerned in the said Riot and proceedings in Baltimore Town against William Goddard.

Resolved that Mr. Speaker be requested to communicate the above Resolution & Copies of the Memorials & Depositions to the Governor.

Resolved that the above Resolutions be published in the *Maryland Gazette*.

By order G. DUVALL clerk.[18]

The fifth and seventh paragraphs of the above were struck out before the document was published in the *Maryland Gazette* on April 17, 1777. We may surmise that the fifth was omitted in consideration of the apology of the chairman of the Whig Club, or that both were omitted out of deference to the feelings of the members, some of whom were quite prominent. The state of emergency then existing in the nation may also have been a factor influencing the omission of the resolution regarding the dismissal of civil and military officers. Goddard wrote a letter to Governor Johnson on April 14, 1777, asking that a warrant be issued against the members of the Whig Club, " that they may be bound over

[18] Manuscript in the Maryland Historical Library.

to the General Court and dealt with as the Law directs," but his request was apparently ignored.[14]

In the *Maryland Gazette* for April 17, 1777, was also published the following proclamation:

By his Excellency THOMAS JOHNSON, Esq.
Governor of MARYLAND,

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS the honourable House of Delegates have unanimously requested me to issue my proclamation, declaring all bodies of men associating together and meeting for the purpose and usurping any of the powers of government and presuming to exercise any power over the persons or property of any subject of this state, or to carry into execution any of the laws thereof, unlawful assemblies and requiring all such assemblies and meetings instantly to disperse: Wherefore I have issued this my proclamation, hereby declaring all bodies of men associating together and meeting for the purpose and usurping any of the powers of government and presuming to exercise any power over the persons or property of any subject of this state, or to carry into execution any of the laws thereof on their own authority, unlawful assemblies. And I do hereby warn and strictly charge and command all such assemblies and meetings instantly to disperse as they will answer the contrary at their peril: And that due notice may be had of this my proclamation, and that no person may pretend ignorance thereof, the several sheriffs within this state are hereby commanded to cause the same to be made public in their respective counties. Given at Annapolis this 17th day of April, seventeen hundred and seventy seven.

THO. JOHNSON

By his excellency's command,

R. Ridgely, Sec.

GOD save the STATE

Goddard, back in Baltimore, free from molestation at the hands of his tormentors, could not wholly refrain from exulting at their discomfiture and his vindication. Sitting down at his desk, he again dipped his pen in acid, and composed a second part of *The Prowess of the Whig Club,* no less trenchant than the first.[15] Apparently he never published this, however, contenting himself with reprinting the first *Prowess,* on April 18, 1777, to which he added a brief postscript describing his second skirmish with the club, copies of both of Chase's letters, a copy of the Whig Club's

[14] This letter is number 43 in Volume III of the *Red Book,* cited above.

[15] The manuscript of "The Prowess of the Whig Club," Part II, is in the John Carter Brown Library.

insincere apology, the resolutions of the House, the proclamation of Governor Johnson, and the names of twenty of the members of the Whig Club. The publication of Part II of the "Prowess" in these pages at a later date will be, so far as can be learned, its first appearance in print.

Thus was William Goddard victorious in the first, as he was later to be in the second (occasioned by his publishing in the *Maryland Journal* the "Queries" of General Charles Lee), of his battles which did so much to establish and preserve the freedom of the press in Maryland and in the new nation.

CONTROL OF THE BALTIMORE PRESS DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By SIDNEY T. MATTHEWS

From the very beginning of the American republic freedom of the press has been recognized as a fundamental right of every citizen. But there have been occasions in the course of our history when abuses of that right have sorely tried the legal processes of our government. Such a time was the period of the Civil War when the constitutional guarantee of a free press was brought into direct conflict with immediate considerations of military necessity. Faced with the problem of winning a desperate war, the Government was forced frequently to take measures of questionable legality in preventing the newspapers from injuring the public interest.

In this connection the control exercised over the Baltimore press during the Civil War offers an interesting object of study, replete with specific instances of vigorous Government action. During the War no less than nine Baltimore newspapers were suppressed, either temporarily or permanently, and two of these papers were forced to stop publication because of the arrest of their editors. Of the twelve instances of such action by the Government, eight were permanent suppressions and four were temporary suspensions of publication for brief periods of time. The Baltimore journals suppressed or forced to stop publication because of the arrest of their editors included: the *South,* the *Daily Exchange,* the *Maryland News Sheet,* the *Daily Republican,* the *Daily Gazette,* the *Evening Transcript,* the *Evening Bulletin,* the *Evening Post* and the *Evening Loyalist.* Only the *American,* the most loyal of all the city papers, the *Clipper* and the *Sun* were published uninterruptedly during the course of the conflict.

For the first four months of the War the Government made no attempt to prevent the publication of disloyal articles by Baltimore newspapers. During that period the appearance of disloyal utterances did not occur in a few isolated cases; they were printed daily in the *South,* the *Daily Exchange* and the *Daily Republican.* These expressions against the Government took the most violent forms and constantly evinced hostility to the administration and

its continued prosecution of the War. The three papers repeatedly defied the Government, attacked Lincoln as a " despotic and tyrannical " ruler and openly advocated Maryland's secession from the Union.[1] An editorial in the *Exchange* of April 15, 1861, is typical of the general tenor of its original expressions at that time and during the following months:

> We believe that right and justice are with our brethren of the South, and that the cause they represent and are defending is the cause of their domestic institutions, their chartered rights and their firesides. We look upon the Government which is assailing them as the representative, not of the Union, but of a malignant and sectional fanaticism, which takes the honored name of the Union in vain and has prostrated and is trampling on the Constitution. The war that Government has wantonly begun we regard as a wicked and desperate crusade, not only against the homes and rights of our Southern brethren, but against the fundamental American principle of self-government.

Although the *Exchange* had been in existence before the outbreak of hostilities, the *South* was established on April 22, 1861, primarily to further the Confederate cause in Maryland and to secure the secession of that State from the Union. Its general editorial policy is nowhere better stated than in the prospectus of its first issue:

> For the appearance of a paper especially devoted to the Cause of the South and of Southern rights, in this city and at this time, it is deemed that no apology will be necessary. . . . The present enterprise was projected, as many are aware, some time since—in anticipation of the very troubles that are now upon us—and in the hope . . . to stay and avert them. Failing in the hope—we now start with a clear recognition of the new relations and duties which the recent change in affairs have brought with it. We recognize the fact that the people of Baltimore and of the State of Maryland are at this moment in open and armed rebellion against the Government of the United States. We would have preferred, had we our choice, that what has been done, should have been done by authority of law, and in pursuance of an Ordinance of Secession, emanating from the Sovereign Power of the State. We hope that under the passage of such an ordinance we will soon sunder forever our present relations with the Federal Government and the Northern States and unite our fortunes, where all our sympathies and interests combine with those of our sister states that have already withdrawn from the Union. In the meantime, the fact that we are in a state of revolution simply makes no difference in our

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[1] *Daily Exchange,* June 6, July 23, August 2, 15, September 11, 1861; *The South,* May 21, 22, August 15, September 10, 1861; *Daily Republican,* July 16, 31, 1861.

eyes, as to the justice of our cause. It is a righteous and a holy cause and we are ready to stand by it to the last. If it is rebellion we are content to be rebels—if treason, traitors—we care not under what name—we are contending for the inviolability of the soil of Maryland and her emancipation from Federal thralldom and sectional domination. . . .

The *Daily Republican* was scarcely less violent in its criticism of the Government and in an editorial entitled "The Despotism of Lincoln and Co." declared:

> The time was when such outrages as have been perpetrated by Lincoln and his tools on the people of this city would have aroused the blood of the whole state. . . . Our public and private property has been seized and appropriated to the use of tyrants; our citizens have been imprisoned . . . by the arbitrary mandate of the despot who is laboring to subjugate other states to the same condition of vassalage.[2]

Such manifestly disloyal utterances did not escape the notice of the Federal authorities. The Government actually prepared an order for the suppression of the *South,* the *Daily Exchange* and the *Daily Republican* but vigorous protests from a group of loyal citizens in Baltimore, who apparently feared that pro-Southern sympathies would thereby be stimulated, prevented the execution of the decision. General Dix, the commanding officer in the city, refused to suppress the newpapers on his own authority because he believed "a measure of so much gravity should carry with it the whole weight of influence and authority of the Government." He had, however, corresponded with his immediate superior, General McClellan, with regard to the offensive journals.[3] In the latter part of August, Montgomery Blair, the postmaster-general, became concerned about the circulation of disloyal expressions through the Baltimore papers and recommended to Generals Dix and McClellan that the *Daily Exchange,* the *Daily Republican* and the *South* be suppressed.[4]

On September 10, 1861, the Post Office department, acting

[2] *Daily Republican,* July 31, 1861. In another editorial of July 16, 1861, this paper attacked the *American* and at the same time hurled a curious, though amusing, epithet at the Government. It stated: "A few more of such statements as this must open the eyes of the most bigoted partisan to the utter recklessness of the Lincoln journal and place it alongside the *tell-lie-grams* of this lying administration."

[3] John A. Dix to M. Blair, August 31, 1861, *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion,* Ser. II, Vol. I, 590-1 (hereafter cited as *O.R.*).

[4] Indorsement of letter from J. A. Dix by M. Blair, *ibid.,* 591. Blair stated that the *Sun* was "in sympathy" with the Confederate cause but was "less diabolical" than the other papers.

through the local postmaster, denied the use of the mails to the three papers and thereby sought to check the circulation of disloyal articles.[5] The three journals made violent protests against this measure and, at the same time that they denounced the Government and urged the dissolution of the Union and the overthrow of the Constitution, vigorously demanded their constitutional rights of free speech.[6] The *Daily Exchange* was particularly defiant in its comment upon the Government's action:

> The course which a despotic and foresworn administration has pursued towards us will not in the slightest degree influence our conduct. . . . As we have violated no law we can afford to despise Mr. Lincoln's warnings or menaces.[7]

The Post Office department's action was followed on the night of September 12 and 13 by the arrests and commitment to Fort McHenry of Frank Key Howard, editor of the *Daily Exchange,* and Thomas W. Hall, editor of the *South.* The arrests were made at the order of the Secretary of War as a " military precautionary measure " to prevent the further spread of secession sentiment which was regularly and openly expressed by them in their papers. In the opinion noted in the Record Book of the State Department, the arrest of the two editors would remove much of the secessionist agitation which had been actively carried on in Baltimore since the beginning of the war.[8]

That the editors of the *Daily Republican* did not meet the same fate might be explained by the fact that the Government's action against Hall and Howard was calculated to discourage further publications of this nature in any Baltimore paper. Apparently realizing that further attacks against the Government might subject them to similar action, the editors of the *Daily Republican* soon ceased to publish original articles and employed less direct means—e. g. use of reprinted articles—of voicing their pro-Southern sympathies.[9]

The editorial and press rooms of the *Daily Exchange* and the

[5] *The South,* September 11, 1861; *Daily Exchange,* September 11, 1861.

[6] Editorials in *The South, Daily Exchange* and *Daily Republican,* September 11, 1861.

[7] Editorial in the *Daily Exchange,* September 11, 1861.

[8] Extracts from the Record Book of the State Department, *O. R.,* Ser. II, Vol. II, 778-9, 787; J. A. Dix to J. E. Wool, September 13, 1861, *ibid.,* Ser. I, Vol. V, 194; Simon Cameron to John A. Dix, September 11, 1861, *ibid.,* Ser. II, Vol. I, 678.

[9] *See Daily Republican,* September 23, and November 26, 1861.

South were searched by a force from the corps headquarters and several documents of a disloyal character were found. Among these papers there was discovered a list of Baltimore citizens who had sworn to support the recognition of the Confederacy by the Federal Government and who expressly declared themselves in favor of the secession of Maryland in the event that Virginia seceded first. Drafts of proceedings for the Maryland legislature, presumably concerned with the contemplated secession of the State from the Union, were found among Howard's papers. Although there is no conclusive proof that the two arrested editors intended to use this material for publication, the Government reached that conclusion and cited possession of this "disloyal" material as proof of their secessionist sympathies.[10]

In the arrests of the editors of the *Daily Exchange* and the *South* and the subsequent conduct of their cases an interesting feature was the part played by the State Department. Allan Pinkerton, an agent of the State Department, accomplished the arrests of Hall and Howard with the aid of a force supplied by the provost marshal of Baltimore.[11] Although the order for the arrests was issued by the Secretary of War, the cases, being of a political character, were placed under the jurisdiction of the State Department and the editors were designated as "prisoners of state." The cases were handled by the State Department until February 15, 1862, when they were transferred to the charge of the War Department.[12]

The arrest of the editor of the *Daily Exchange* did not prevent the publication of that paper on September 14, the day after his arrest. In that issue there appeared two articles strongly derogatory to the Government. Their publication promptly resulted in the arrest of W. W. Glenn, one of the proprietors.[13] One of the articles reported the arrests of the two editors by the military force as the "brutal conduct and disgraceful ruffianism on the part of

[10] The legislature was to meet in September, 1861, and it was feared that this body would pass an ordinance of secession. *See* J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States* (New York, 1895), III, 553. *See also* Extracts from the Record Book of the State Department, *O. R.*, Ser. II, Vol. II, 778-9; Copy of printed declaration with original signatures of citizens of Maryland found among the papers of F. Key Howard at the time of his arrest, *ibid.*, Ser. II, Vol. I, 676-7.

[11] *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. V, 195-6.

[12] Extracts from the Record Book of the State Department, *ibid.*, Ser. II, Vol. II, 778-9, 787.

[13] *Ibid.*, 779; J. A. Dix to W. H. Seward, September 28, 1861, *ibid.*, 780; J. A. Dix to W. H. Seward, September 14, 1861, *ibid.*, 779.

the vice-police"; the other vigorously challenged the authority of the Government and deliberately announced the paper's intention to continue its espousal of the Confederate cause.[14] The *South* and the *Daily Exchange* were not suppressed by the Government but, deprived of the assistance of their editors, they were forced to discontinue publication on September 13 and 14 respectively.[15]

Upon the condition that he would not edit or republish the *Daily Exchange* and would not become affiliated with any "anti-administration newspaper" as long as "censorship of the press" prevailed, Glenn was released by the military authorities on December 2, 1861.[16] But Howard and Hall were subjected to a much longer imprisonment and were successively committed to federal prisons at Forts Monroe, Lafayette and Warren.[17] During his confinement Howard constantly sounded defiance at the Government, refused to recognize the jurisdiction of a military commission which was created on February 27, 1862, to hear the cases of political prisoners and, in a spirited letter to the Secretary of War, demanded not only his release but his vindication by the Government.[18] These strictures, however, had little effect on the settlement of the cases. In fact, it was not until November 27, 1862, more than thirteen months after their arrests, that Hall and Howard were freed.[19]

The *Daily Exchange* was not republished during the War but the *South*, which had been forced to discontinue publication on September 13 because of its editor's arrest, was printed again on September 19 under the proprietorship of James M. Mills. As stated in the edition of the same date, its purpose was merely to report the news of the day without undertaking to have any editorial policy at all.[20] At first it presented little or no editorial comment but did not long adhere to this practice and began gradually to voice its pro-Southern sentiments again through the

[14] *Daily Exchange*, September 14, 1861.
[15] A. V. Colburn to John A. Dix, September 18, 1861, *O. R.*, Ser. II, Vol. II, 779; *The South*, September 19, 1861.
[16] W. W. Glenn to John A. Dix, October 3, 1861, *O. R.*, Ser. II, Vol. II, 781; John A. Dix to W. W. Morris, November 29, 1861, *ibid.*, 783; Memorandum of W. W. Morris, *ibid.*
[17] Extracts from the Record Book of the State Department, *ibid.*, 778-9, 787; F. K. Howard to Edwin M. Stanton, March 3, 1862, *ibid.*, 783-6.
[18] *Ibid.*; F. K. Howard to M. Burke, October 23, 1861, *ibid.*, 783; Charles O. Wood to M. Burke, October 22, 1861, *ibid.*, 782.
[19] J. Dimick to L. Thomas, November 27, 1862, *ibid.*, 786, 790.
[20] *The South*, September 19, 1861.

medium of editorials and reprints from other newspapers. The tone of its original articles, however, was much milder than before the arrest of its editor and could not, at first, have been termed offensive to the Government. In fact it was not until December, 1861, that the *South*'s editorials began to express again sympathy for the Confederate cause and opposition to the Government's conduct of the war. In such a vein the issue of December 3, 1861, declared:

> Can this powerful people [referring to the Southerners] be thoroughly aware of the designs of their adversaries, with every motive urging them to undying action be subdued by a warfare conducted on the principles of Attila and Tamerlane? Will a Christian and civilized nation, the most enlightened, as it has been claimed, on the face of the globe, conduct in the nineteenth century a war of extermination against those so late their brothers after the model of the most barbarous of barbarians? [21]

Through subsequent editorials on January 23 and February 17, 1862, the *South* denounced the folly of the Government in trusting to the sagacity and intelligence of military commanders without laying down a fixed rule of conduct and expressed its sympathy for the South and its belief that the Confederacy would ultimately triumph.[22] But original articles of this nature were printed much less frequently than before the arrest of the *South*'s editor in September, 1861.

Another method used by the *South* to express its own opinion was the continual publication of articles reprinted from foreign, northern and southern newspapers which stressed the justice of the Confederate cause and the "wickedness" of the war waged by the Federal Government. Of such a character was Captain Matthew Fontaine Maury's letter to an English naval officer which defended in a lengthy argument covering the entire front page of the *South* the right of the Confederate states to secede.[23] The complete lack of reprinted articles reflecting contrary opinion raises strong presumptions that the paper was using not only its original editorials but reprinted articles to express its pro-Southern sympathy.

By the publication of a number of pamphlets at its printing office, all of which openly justified the cause of secession, the *South* further supported the rebellion and gave aid and comfort

[21] *Ibid.*, December 3, 1861.
[22] *Ibid.*, January 23, February 17, 1862.
[23] *Ibid.*, January 11, 1862.

to those opposing the Government. For more than two weeks prior to its final suppression the paper advertised the sale of those pamphlets at the top of its editorial page.[24] The State Department even received a letter from a Pennsylvania citizen requesting that the *South* be suppressed for printing such disloyal material.[25]

In view of such facts it was to be expected that before much time had elapsed the paper would be the object of repressive government action. Although it is not clear whether the privilege of using the mails was restored to the *South* after it resumed publication on September 19, 1861, certainly by February, 1862, perhaps before that time, it was "not allowed to be circulated through the mails." [26]

Upon the advice of General Dix who stated that the paper's suppression was strongly desired by Union men in Baltimore and who submitted evidence of the disloyal sentiments of the *South*, the Secretary of War ordered, on February 17, 1862, the permanent suspension of publication and the arrest of the editors and publishers for "treasonable practices." [27] In pursuance of that decision S. S. Mills and John M. Mills, the proprietors, and Thomas H. Piggott, the editor, were arrested and committed to Fort McHenry, their office was seized and further publication of the paper was stopped.[28] Although the offending newspapermen were ordered released from custoday on April 30, 1862,[29] the *South* was not republished during the course of the War.

During the first year of the War action against the newspapers was taken on specific orders from the Secretary of War. But, on February 18, 1862, the commanding general in Baltimore was directed to act on his own authority in the arrest of offending editors and the suppression of disloyal journals.[30] From that time until the end of the War the commanding general in Baltimore

[24] *Ibid.*, January 29 to February 17, 1862.

[25] B. Rush Petrikin to W. H. Seward, January 19, 1862, *O. R.*, Ser. II, Vol. II, 787.

[26] *The South* had been denied the use of the mails on September 10, 1861, but shortly after the arrest of its editor (September 13, 1861), it had resumed publication. Its right to use the mails was presumably restored at that time. Cf. John A. Dix to G. B. McClellan, February 14, 1862, *ibid.*, 788.

[27] *Ibid.*; L. Thomas to John A. Dix, February 17, 1862, *ibid.*

[28] John A. Dix to Edwin M. Stanton, February 18, 1862, *ibid.*

[29] John A. Dix and Edwards Pierrepont to W. W. Morris, April 30, 1862, *ibid.*, 789. This letter is an order for the editor's release and it naturally follows that the order was carried out, as Dix and Pierrepont formed the military commission which disposed of the cases.

[30] L. Thomas to J. A. Dix, February 18, 1862, *ibid.*, 789.

exercised original and complete jurisdiction over editors and their newspapers and undertook such action against them as he thought the circumstances required.

The single exception was the arrest of Charles C. Fulton, editor and publisher of the *American*, on June 30, 1862, at the order of the Secretary of War for an alleged " violation of confidence." [31] Fulton had just returned from a week's visit to McClellan's Army of the Potomac, which was then engaged before Richmond in the Peninsular Campaign, and had prepared a detailed account of the army operations in that section which appeared in the *American* of June 30.[32] Summoned to the White House for a conference, Fulton had given an account of his observations to President Lincoln.[33] But the reason for his arrest was not his narrative of the activities of McClellan's army which predicted Union success in the immediate future but his telegram to the Associated Press agent in New York that he was writing an account " including facts obtained from Washington, having been sent by special train to communicate with the President." The claim by Fulton that he had gained certain information during his presidential interview and would publish it in an Associated Press dispatch to New York provoked the Government's action in arresting him and constituted the " violation of confidence." [34] Through an unfortunate mistake Fulton's telegram, a private dispatch intended only for Craig, the Associated Press agent in New York, was printed in the New York papers the morning of June 30. From Fulton's statements as well as those of Craig, it appears that the former never intended to embarrass the Government by the publication of unauthorized information and that the telegram would never have been printed if Fulton's detailed account of McClellan's Peninsular Campaign had been allowed to be sent to New York.[35] At any rate, the Government was soon assured of his good intentions and the editor was released on July 1, forty-eight hours after his arrest.[36]

[31] E. S. Sanford, military superintendent of the telegraph, to C. C. Fulton, June 30, 1862, *American*, July 1, 1862; see also *Sun*, July 1, 1862.

[32] *American*, June 30, 1862; telegram of Fulton to Associated Press agent in New York, June 29, 1862, *ibid.*, July 1, 1862.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Ibid.*; E. S. Sanford to C. C. Fulton, June 30, 1862, *ibid.*

[35] C. C. Fulton to E. S. Sanford, June 30, 1862, *ibid.*; An extract of the letter of Craig, general agent for Associated Press in New York, to E. S. Sanford cited in *ibid.*, July 3, 1862; John E. Wool to E. M. Stanton, July 1, 1862, *O. R.* Ser. II, Vol. IV, 108-9.

[36] *American*, July 2, 1862.

The next instance of Government interference with Baltimore newspapers occurred on August 14, 1862, when, at the order of the commanding general, the *Maryland News Sheet* was suppressed and two of its editors, William H. Carpenter and Thomas D. Sultzer, and its proprietor, William H. Neilson, were arrested and committed to Fort McHenry.[37] The last named were released within a few days after their arrest but Carpenter was held in custody about a month.[38] The reason for the *News Sheet*'s suppression and the arrest of its editors was not stated in the official order but a study of its issues during 1862 reveals that the paper constantly reprinted from northern and foreign journals articles sympathetic with the Southern rebellion and hostile to the Lincoln administration. No better evidence of this fact can be found than in two articles reprinted in the editions of May 5 and August 2, one stating that the failure of the North to carry on the War effectively had rendered the restoration of the Union impossible and the other attacking the " despotic and tyrannical " Government.[39] As it printed no original editorials, the *News Sheet's* reprinted articles, many of them manifestly disloyal in their tendencies and none favoring the Union, could have formed practically the only reasonable basis for its suppression. The *News Sheet* was not republished during the course of the War, but its editor, William H. Carpenter, and its proprietor, William H. Neilson, again entered the journalistic field in October, 1862, and published the *Daily Gazette* [40] which, except for a brief suspension of its publication in 1863, continued throughout the War.

For more than a year after the suppression of the *News Sheet* the Government took no final punitive action against the Baltimore newspapers. But on September 11, 1863, the *Daily Republican* was suppressed at the order of General Schenck, the commanding officer of the Middle Department,[41] and its three proprietors, Frank A. Richardson, Stephen H. Joyce and Beal H. Richardson, were sent south and ordered not to return during the course of the War under the penalty of being treated as spies.[42]

[37] W. P. Jones to E. M. Stanton, August 15, 1862, *O. R.*, Ser. II, Vol. IV, 395; *Sun*, August 15, 18, 1862; *American*, August 15, 16, 1862.
[38] *American*, August 22, September 18, 1862.
[39] *Maryland News Sheet*, May 5, August 2, 1862.
[40] *Daily Gazette*, October 7, 1862.
[41] The Middle Department of the army had its headquarters in Baltimore and its commander was the commanding officer in Baltimore.
[42] Captain E. W. French to Brigadier General H. W. Lockwood, September 11,

Although the *Daily Republican* had shown a sympathy for the Confederate cause through the publication of reprinted articles which were generally hostile to the Government, the printing of a specific poem, "The Southern Cross," in the issue of September 10, 1863, occasioned its suppression and the arrest of its proprietors.[43] The poem had been previously published in musical sheets and suppressed by the military authorities.[44] Written after the style of "The Star-Spangled Banner," it breathed the very spirit of rebellion:

> Oh! say, can you see, through the gloom and the storm,
> More bright for the darkness that pure constellation,
> Like the symbol of love and redemption its form,
> As it points to the haven of hope for the nation?
> How radiant each star, as the beacon afar!
> Giving promise of peace or assurance in war!
> 'Tis the Cross of the South, which shall ever remain
> To light us to freedom and glory again!
>
> How peaceful and blest was America's soil
> 'Till portrayed by the guile of the Puritan demon,
> Which lurks under virtue and springs from its coil
> To fasten its fangs in the life-blood of freemen.
> Then boldly appeal to each heart that can feel,
> And crush the foul viper 'neath liberty's heel!
> And the Cross of the South shall in triumph remain
> To light us to freedom and glory again?
>
> 'Tis the emblem of peace—'tis the day-star of hope—
> Like the sacred Labarum that guided the Roman;
> From the shore of the Gulf to the Delaware's slope.
> 'Tis the trust of the free and the terror of foemen.
> Fling its folds to the air, while we boldly declare,
> The rights we demand or the deeds that we dare!
> While the Cross of the South shall in triumph remain
> To light us to freedom and glory again!

1863, MS Letters Sent from Headquarters, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, CVII, 287 (Hereafter all manuscript sources cited in this manner are in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.); H. W. Lockwood to A. Lincoln, February 4, 1864, *O. R.*, Ser. II, Vol. VI, 919-20. Also see *Sun, Daily Gazette* and *American,* September 12, 1863.

[43] For typical reprinted articles, see *Daily Republican,* January 30, February 13, August 25, 29, 1863; *Check List of American Newspapers in the Library of Congress,* 85; accounts of the *Daily Republican*'s suppression in *Sun, American* and *Daily Gazette,* September 12, 1863; H. W. Lockwood to A. Lincoln, February 4, 1864, *O. R.,* Ser. II, Vol. VI, 919-920.

[44] *American,* September 12, 1863.

And if peace should be hopeless and justice denied,
And war's bloody vulture should flap its black pinions,
Then gladly to "arms," while we hurl in our pride,
Defiance to tyrants and death to their minions!
With our front in the field, swearing never to yield
Or return, like the Spartan, in death on our shield!
And the Cross of the South shall triumphantly wave
As the flag of the free or the pall of the brave! [45]

The publication of the Baltimore *Daily Gazette,* successor to the *Maryland News Sheet,* was suspended on September 29, 1863, at the order of General E. B. Tyler and Edward F. Carter, one of its proprietors, was arrested. The other two owners, W. H. Neilson and William H. Carpenter, were ordered arrested but, apparently having left the city, were not located by the military authorities. The reason for the suspension of the *Daily Gazette*'s publication was the general charge of disloyalty with the attendant specific accusation that the paper had printed articles depicting the state of affairs in the North as "desperate." [46]

Although no original editorials were published in the paper, the large number of reprints expressing opposition to the Government and filled with Southern sympathies and the complete lack of any reprints supporting the Government or justifying its measures and the conduct of the War seem to indicate a general attitude of disloyalty on the part of the *Daily Gazette*'s editors.[47]

The specific charge forming a basis for the temporary suspension of the paper lay in the suspicion held by the commanding general in Baltimore that certain articles in the Richmond papers describing the "desperate state of affairs in the North" purported to have been originally published in the *Daily Gazette.* The suspicion proved entirely unfounded, however, as that paper

[45] The *Daily Republican* of September 10, 1863, is not available in the Maryland Historical Society's collection of newspapers. But the poem is reprinted in a contemporary New York newspaper found among the collection of newspaper clippings in Henry Stockbridge, History of the Great American Rebellion, VII, 175, a collection of newspaper extracts at the Maryland Historical Society. The poem has been attributed to Mrs. Ellen Key Blunt. *See Check List of American Newspapers in the Library of Congress,* 85.

[46] Special order of Col. William T. Fish (provost-marshal) to Lieutenant William E. Morris, September 29, 1863, MS Letters Sent by Provost-Marshal of Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, CVII, 328; Special order of W. T. Fish to Joseph Backers, Sept. 29, 1863, MS *ibid.,* 335-6; *Sun,* September 30, 1863; *American,* September 30, October 2, 1863.

[47] For typical reprinted articles *see Daily Gazette,* August 19, September 21, 23, 29, 1863.

had printed no such original articles.[48] After several hearings General Tyler became convinced that in the future the *Daily Gazette* would be conducted in a manner friendly to the Government and, on October 3, Edward F. Carter, the owner, and four compositors of the paper, who had been held as witnesses, were released from custody.[49] As sole proprietor, Carter was allowed to resume publication of the paper on October 7.[50]

Coincident with the *Daily Gazette* case was the arrest, at General Tyler's orders, of Michael J. Kelly, P. J. Hedian and John B. Piet, publishers of the *Catholic Mirror,* on September 29, 1863. Their arrest resulted from the publication at their printing establishment of a pamphlet, *Fourteen Months in American Bastilles,* written by Frank Key Howard, the former editor of the suppressed *Daily Exchange.*[51] The pamphlet presented an exceedingly bitter account of the fourteen months Howard had spent in Federal prisons and attacked the Lincoln administration with all the vituperative language which the author could command.[52] Because the pamphlet was of a definitely disloyal nature and its circulation might have aroused anti-Government feeling, the military authorities suppressed it and arrested its publishers. After assurances of their loyalty to the Government had been given, Kelly, Hedian and Piet were released from custody on October 3.[53]

In the latter part of October, 1863, William H. Neilson, a former proprietor of the *Maryland News Sheet* and the *Daily Gazette* began the publication of the *Evening Transcript.*[54] The latter newspaper was suppressed on November 10, 1863, at General Schenck's order but was republished four days later.[55] No reason for this

[48] Special order of W. T. Fish to Joseph Backers, September 29, 1863, MS Letters Sent by Provost-Marshal of Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, CVII, 335-6; Lieutenant Joseph Backers to Colonel Don Piatt, September 30, 1863, MS, *ibid.,* 337.

[49] *American,* October 5, 1863; *Sun,* October 5, 1863.

[50] *Daily Gazette,* October 7, 1863.

[51] Special order of Colonel W. T. Fish to Lieutenant W. E. Morris, September 29, 1863, MS Letters sent by Provost-Marshal of Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, CVII, 334; *Sun,* October 2, 1863, and *American,* September 30, and October, 2, 1863.

[52] Frank Key Howard, *Fourteen Months in American Bastilles* (Baltimore, 1863). *See* especially the preface and pages 52 and 89.

[53] *Sun,* October 2 and 5, 1863.

[54] *Daily Gazette,* November 11, 1863.

[55] Colonel William T. Fish to William H. Neilson and Co., November 10, 1863, MS Letters Sent by Provost-Marshal of Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, CVII, 439; notices of the *Evening Transcript*'s resumption of publication on November 14, 1863, in *Daily Gazette* and *Sun,* November 14, 1863.

action was given in the official order but the *American* claimed that as long as General Schenck remained the commanding officer he would not permit Neilson to publish a newspaper in the limits of the Middle Department (which included Baltimore).[56] Although the falsity of that statement can be at once concluded in view of Schenck's decision several days later to allow the *Evening Transcript* to resume publication, it seems probable that Neilson, who had been previously connected with two disloyal newspapers, was suspected of pro-Southern sympathies and for that reason his paper was the object of especial scrutiny by the military authorities.

From that time the publication of the *Evening Transcript* continued uninterruptedly until May 18, 1864, when it was permanently suppressed at the order of General Wallace, the commanding officer in Baltimore, for printing an exaggerated estimate of the Union losses in the battle of Spotsylvania Court House.[57] By attributing this information to the Washington Bureau of the Associated Press, the *Evening Transcript* sought to establish its authenticity.[58] The article which provoked the Government's action against the paper read as follows:

> Washington, May 15.—I have no further facts to send you. The report that a great battle was in progress yesterday is not believed. As to the result of the ten-day fighting, we have not lost in killed, wounded and missing less than seventy thousand men.—Associated Press.[59]

Soon widely circulated in Baltimore, the news contained in this statement intimated that the Union forces had sustained severe losses and virtual defeat in Virginia. After an investigation by General Wallace it became clear that the article had been reprinted from a Philadelphia paper (the Sunday *Mercury*) of May 15 but that the words "Associated Press" had been appended by the editor of the *Evening Transcript*.[60] The publication of this overstate-

[56] *American*, November 11, 1863.

[57] This estimate (70,000) was a great exaggeration. Rhodes gives the losses of Grant's army from May 4 to June 12, as 54,929, of which about 7,000 were casualties in the battle of Cold Harbor (June, 1864). The Federal losses in the "ten days" fighting were much less than the paper indicated. *See* J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States* (New York, 1899), IV, 441, 446-7.

[58] General Lew Wallace to C. W. Tayleure (one of the editors of the *Evening Transcript*), May 18, 1864, MS Letters Sent from Headquarters, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, XXXII, 190; *American Annual Cyclopaedia*, IV (1864), 394; *Daily Gazette*, May 19, 1864; *American*, May 19, 1864; *Sun*, May 19, 1864.

[59] The *Evening Transcript* containing this dispatch is not available in the collection of newspapers at the Maryland Historical Society but is reprinted by the *American*, May 19, 1864, in its account of the paper's suppression.

[60] *Ibid.*

ment of Federal losses and the attempt to establish its accuracy by imputing it to the Associated Press was viewed by the commanding general as a disloyal act intended to reflect discredit upon the Government and its conduct of the War.[61]

Several days later, on May 23, 1864, Michael J. Kelley and John B. Piet, publishers of the *Catholic Mirror*—who had previously been arrested for the sale of a disloyal pamphlet and subsequently released—were arrested and committed to Fort McHenry at General Wallace's order. The ground for their arrest was the sale at their bookstore and printing establishment of Confederate articles and books.[62] From May 23 to 30 the *Catholic Mirror* was forced to suspend publication because the printing office attached to the bookstore of Kelly, Hedian and Piet was closed by the military authorities to prevent the dissemination or sale of Southern material. Upon posting bond to sell no goods objectionable to the military authorities, Kelly was released from custody on May 29 and allowed to reopen his bookstore and printing establishment. Four days later Piet was freed upon similar conditions.[63]

In July, 1864, the Baltimore *Evening Bulletin,* which had been in existence only a very short time, was suppressed by the commanding general.[64] The reasons for this action are not clear but probably were based on the suspected disloyalty of the owner.[65]

Somewhat different circumstances combined to provoke the suppression of the Baltimore *Evening Post* on September 30, 1864. The account of a riot which had allegedly occurred in Cincinnati on the night of September 24 was placed on the bulletin board of that paper and published in its first edition of September 30.

[61] General Lew Wallace to C. W. Tayleure, May 18, 1864, MS Letters Sent from Headquarters, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, XXXII, 190; General Lew Wallace to Reverdy Johnson, May 25, 1864, MS *ibid.,* 257.

[62] Lieutenant-Colonel Haynes to General Lew Wallace, May 25, 1864, MS Letters Sent by Provost-Marshal, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, CVIII, 695-6; The offensive articles in the stock of the bookstore included photographs and steel engravings of Southern generals, note paper stamped with the rebel flag, playing cards with the pictures of Confederate leaders, Southern ballads, songs and books. *See Daily Gazette,* May 24, 1864, and *American,* May 24, 1864.

[63] Wooley to Wallace, May 29, 1864, MS Letters Sent by Provost-Marshal, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, CVIII, 733; Haynes to Wallace, June 3, 1864, MS *ibid.,* 775.

[64] *American Annual Cyclopedia,* IV (1864), 394.

[65] The proprietors of the *Evening Bulletin* had previously published the *Evening Transcript* and sometime after the suppression of the former paper bought the controlling interest in the *Evening Loyalist* (later suppressed). See General Wallace to editor of *Evening Loyalist,* October 29, 1864, MS Letters Sent from Headquarters, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, XXXIV, 446-7.

Reprinted from the Cincinnati *Enquirer,* the account asserted that a mob, led on by Government officials, had fired on and killed a number of men, women and children.[66] A group of Baltimore citizens including a number of soldiers became very excited about the statement which represented the Government in an unfavorable light and threatened to mob the *Evening Post* office. To forestall such action, General Wallace ordered the newspaper to discontinue publication.[67] Although Wallace stated that his action was determined by a regard for the preservation of law and order in Baltimore, it seems probable that, had he been so minded, mob violence could have been prevented and the office of the paper protected by the effective use of the military force. There is no evidence that the article reprinted by the *Evening Post* was deemed offensive to the Government by General Wallace.[68]

The newspapers of Baltimore were under the constant observation of the military commander for the publication of false statements which might conceivably be injurious to the best interests of the administration and its successful conduct of the War. That fact was again illustrated in the suppression of the *Evening Loyalist* on October 29, 1864. That paper had placarded its bulletin board and had printed in its issue of October 26 the announcement that another draft of 300,000 men had been made by the Secretary of War and that, under the new call, the substitute system would be abolished.[69] General Wallace immediately demanded an explanation from the editor of the paper,[70] and no satisfactory one being given, ordered its suppression. The publication of the definitely false statement which was calculated to arouse opposition to the Government, was termed a disloyal act by Wallace and was offered as the reason for his action against the paper.[71]

[66] This issue of the *Evening Post* is not available in the collection of newspapers at the Maryland Historical Society. For descriptions of this particular article, *see Daily Gazette,* October 1, 1864, and *Sun,* October 1, 1864.

[67] Captain Oliver Matthews to the editor of *Evening Post,* September 30, 1864, MS Letters Sent from Headquarters, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, XXXIV, 173.

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] General Lew Wallace to editor of *Evening Loyalist,* October 29, 1864, MS *ibid.,* 446-7.

[70] Major James R. Raf to editor of *Evening Loyalist,* October 27, 1864, MS *ibid.,* 425.

[71] General Lew Wallace to editor of *Evening Loyalist,* October 29, 1864, MS *ibid.,* 446-7.

During the final two years of the War the commanding general in Baltimore took other repressive measures to control the press. On June 20, 1863, Baltimore editors were forbidden by Colonel W. T. Fish, the provost marshal, to publish extracts from five northern newspapers: the New York *World,* the Cincinnati *Enquirer,* the Chicago *Times,* the New York *Express* and the *Caucasian.*[72] The purpose of this measure was to prevent the Baltimore press from reprinting sentiments expressed by the five papers. That those journals continued publication while the Baltimore papers were forbidden to reprint articles from them seems to indicate that a more vigorous control of the press was exercised in Maryland than in northern states less affected by pro-Southern sympathies.

The policy of the military commander to prevent the publication of material which he did not wish circulated by the press was again illustrated on November 2, 1863, when four Baltimore newspapers, the *Sun,* the *American,* the *Clipper* and the *Daily Gazette* were forbidden to print Governor Bradford's proclamation of the same date.[73] The proclamation was the result of a dispute between Governor Bradford and General Schenck over the conduct of the approaching state elections. In order to prevent disloyal persons from voting, General Schenck had ordered the provost marshals to arrest such people found at the polls and had directed that all voters take an oath of allegiance to the Government. In his proclamation the Governor instructed the judges of election to ignore Schenck's order and obey the laws of the state.[74] The order forbidding the newspapers to print the proclamation was revoked by General Schenck on November 3.[75] The following day the proclamation appeared in the papers along with a reply from General Schenck.[76]

The publication of two Confederate death notices in the *Daily Gazette* of June 16, 1864,[77] resulted in a warning from General

[72] Col. Fish to Baltimore newspaper editors, June 21, 1863, in *American Annual Cyclopedia,* III (1863), 425; also *see American,* June 22, 1863, and *Daily Gazette,* June 22, 1863.

[73] *American,* Nov. 4, 1863; J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), III, 666.

[74] *American,* November 4, 1863; *American Annual Cyclopedia,* III (1863), 618-622.

[75] Order of General R. E. Schenck to Baltimore newspapers, November 3, 1863, MS Letters Sent from Headquarters, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, XXX, 423.

[76] *American, Sun,* and *Daily Gazette,* November 4, 1863.

[77] The death notices read: "Died, at Richmond, Virginia, on Saturday, 21st of

Wallace that repetition of such action would provoke the paper's suppression. Wallace termed the printing of the obituary items a recognition of the Confederacy because the letters " C. S. A." were used after the names of the deceased men. He further charged that the *Daily Gazette* was in communication with persons in the rebellious states because it had requested a republication of the items by the Richmond papers.[78]

The vigorous control exercised by the commanding general over the Baltimore press in the latter part of the War was shown in the order issued by General Wallace on October 31, 1864, to J. and C. Kreuzer, proprietors of the *Catholische Volkzeitung,* a weekly newspaper.[79] In this order Wallace forbade the publication of " any article, either original or extracted, against the interests of the Government, directly or indirectly," threatened the paper with suppression for violation of the command and directed that each issue be sent to the provost marshal for examination.[80]

From the study of these particular instances of repressive action against the Baltimore press certain conclusions can be drawn. A variety of measures was employed by the Government to curb the publication of statements injurious to its cause. The principal method, of course, was the military suppression of offending newspapers. Frequently the arbitrary arrest of the editors accompanied the suppression of the papers. In such cases the editors were arrested by military authority without warrants and sworn charges were not brought against them. With the exception of Hall and Howard, arrested editors were released after brief periods of confinement. Another useful method for the control of the Baltimore press was the exclusion of offensive journals from the use of

May last, from wounds received on Thursday, May 12th, in the battle of Spotsylvania Court House, William J. Steuart, of this city, Lieutenant and A. D. C., C. S. A.

" In Washington, D. C., on 12 instant, of wounds received in battle on the 9th May, Captain Augustus F. Schwartze, Company F, 1st Maryland Cavalry, C. S. A., aged 24 years.

" Richmond Papers please copy."

See Daily Gazette, June 16, 1863.

[78] Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel B. Lawrence to editors of Baltimore *Daily Gazette,* June 18, 1864, MS Letters Sent from Headquarters, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, XXXII, 452-3. Any communication with persons in the Confederate states had been forbidden by military order. The *Daily Gazette* heeded the warning and its publication was not interrupted.

[79] In the official order the paper is designated as " Catholic paper." Scharf says the name of the paper was *Catholische Volkzeitung.* J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland,* III, 667.

[80] Col. John Wooley to J. and C. Kreuzer, October 31, 1864, MS Letters and Special Orders from Provost-Marshal, Middle Department, 8th Army Corps, CX, 839.

the mails. Such action, twice invoked in the first year of the War, checked the circulation of disloyal publications. That this means of newspaper control was not resorted to in the latter part of the War may be attributed to the use of the more effective method of suppression. In other cases warnings were issued by the military commander in Baltimore and adherence to them by the threatened journals prevented the use of punitive measures. Occasionally newspapers were restricted in the publication of specific types of material such as reprinted articles from disloyal Northern journals and rebel death notices which were deemed injurious to the public interest.

The lax policy of the Government towards disloyal publications in 1861 formed a marked contrast to its vigorous control of the press in the final years of the conflict. During the first four months the Government made no attempt to interfere with the printing of articles injurious to the Union cause. Although the arrests of the editors of the *Daily Exchange* and *South* had the immediate effect of discouraging other papers in the publication of disloyal sentiments, the Government did not undertake at once any policy of press control. Although much less frequent and much less violent than before the arrests of Hall and Howard, original editorials denouncing the Union appeared in Baltimore newspapers without interference from the Government until February 17, 1862.

During the last three years of the War, however, the commanding general in Baltimore exercised an efficient control over the newspapers. Although no censorship of the press existed during the War,[81] the Government's policy was sufficiently vigorous to prevent the repeated publication of articles hostile to the Union or sympathetic with the South. When such articles did appear, prompt and energetic action was generally taken. A silent witness to the effective military control of the press after February, 1862, is found in the complete lack of original editorials in the Baltimore newspapers attacking the policies of the administration or uttering disloyal sentiments against the Government. In the early years of the War reprinted articles tending to discredit the

[81] The Government controlled the newspaper dispatches sent over the telegraph but there was no attempt by the military authorities in Baltimore to censor the papers before they went to press. *See O. R.*, Ser. III, Vol. I, 394-5; *ibid.*, Ser. II, Vol. II, 40; Order of E. M. Stanton, February 25, 1862, J. D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, 1899), VII, 3309-3310.

Government were published without restriction in Baltimore journals. But, in 1864, the control of the press was so rigid that the publication of such extracted material was forbidden by the military commander. The effectiveness of this press control rendered unnecessary any repressive action against the newspapers at the time of the two major Confederate invasions in Maryland—September, 1862, and June and July, 1863.

The publication of disloyal articles and misstatements of fact tending to discredit the Government formed the main basis of newspaper suppressions in Baltimore. In three instances no reasons were given for the Government's action, which probably was provoked by the suspected disloyalty of the editors.

Although an adequate treatment of the Government's interference with Northern journals does not properly lie within the scope of the article, certain facts seem to indicate that during the Civil War the Federal authorities exercised a more effective control over the Baltimore press than over the Northern papers. The fact that the Baltimore papers were not allowed to reprint articles from certain northern papers which continued publication, that no original expressions could be published in Baltimore journals in any way hostile to the Government (after February, 1862) while the northern press continually flayed the administration and its conduct of the War, that the number of newspapers suppressed in Baltimore was much larger than in northern cities, all support the belief that Government control of the press was more rigid and effective in Baltimore than in the North.

Whether the failure of the Government to invoke judicial processes in the case of disloyal editors and the substitution of military power in the sphere reserved to the civil authority can be justified on legal grounds is doubtful. At the beginning of the War the only recourse the Government had to legal action against offending editors was through libel suits. Because such a method made provision for the claims of personal injury and not the injury to the public welfare, it was entirely useless in the suppression of disloyal publications. In the arbitrary arrest of disloyal editors the action taken by the Government, for the first year and a half of the War, had no support in law. Not until September 24, 1862, was a legal basis provided for arbitrary arrests by the Government. On that date President Lincoln issued a proclamation, suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* in the case of all persons who committed

any disloyal act against the Government. Suspension of the *habeas corpus* privilege is permitted under the Constitution in cases of rebellion when the public interest demands it. It allows prisoners to be arrested without warrants and to be held without hearings. But even in the case of suspension of the writ, it is uncertain whether the authority for such action rests with the President or with Congress.

The only reasonable justification, on legal grounds, for the suppression of newspapers appears to be " the doctrine that under martial law the military rule supplants the ordinary law." But, in Maryland, martial law was proclaimed only once (June 30, 1863) and all cases of newspaper suppression occurred during a time when the civil authority, in theory and according to the law, was supreme. As the student of constitutional problems during the Lincoln administration has stated: " Though the Supreme Court has issued no opinion which covers specifically this question of newspaper suppression as a war measure, yet the underlying principle of the Milligan case, discountenancing the extension of military jurisdiction into regions within the control of the civil authorities, would seem to apply to the military seizure of the newspapers as well as to the military trial of a citizen."[82]

The Government's action against the Baltimore newspapers was primarily determined by military necessity. During the Civil War the main objective of the Federal Government was to defeat the Confederacy and to reunite the country. To the achievement of that purpose all other considerations were subordinated and even constitutional guarantees of a free press were of less importance than the public welfare which demanded, above everything else, that the Government win the War. In Baltimore, where sympathies were divided and a substantial portion of the population had joined the Confederate Army, the Government was forced to control the publication of sentiments which, if they did not actually incite rebellion, would undoubtedly have injured the Union cause. For that purpose the Government's control of the Baltimore press was adequate and, while it may have been unnecessarily severe in some instances, on the whole the public interest seemed to justify the arbitrary action of the military authorities.

[82] James G. Randall, *Constitutional Problems under Lincoln* (N. Y., 1926), Chap. XIX, especially pp. 477-81, 505-10; *American Annual Cyclopedia,* III (1863), 609; Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the President,* VII, 3299-3300.

SHIP-BUILDING ON THE CHESAPEAKE: RECOLLECTIONS OF ROBERT DAWSON LAMBDIN[1]

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

JOHN PHILIPS CRANWELL

Since the middle of the eighteenth century, the Chesapeake Bay has been known among mariners and the students of maritime history as the home of fast sailing craft. Here were designed and built the great Baltimore Clippers whose exploits as privateers, slavers, opium smugglers, pirates, and, on the credit side, as pilot boats along much of the Atlantic Coast, have had no inconsiderable effect on the economic and naval history of the United States. While more famous than any other, the Clipper is not the only type of fast vessel indigenous to the tidal waters of Maryland and Virginia. Others are the log canoe, the pungy, the brogan, the bugeye, and the skipjack. The construction of nearly all these vessels has points in common, but the Chesapeake Bay log canoe probably ranks second only to the Clipper as the Bay's greatest contribution to ship-building.

It is not the purpose of this paper to trace the history of these vessels in detail or to note the technical features of their construction—that information is available elsewhere[2]—but rather to preserve some of the lesser known facts relating to the construction of wooden vessels and their builders in the Chesapeake Bay with particular reference to the log canoe. Robert Dawson Lambdin—known to his friends as Cap'n Bob—was for half a century a

[1] Robert Dawson Lambdin, the well-known ship-builder of St. Michaels, Talbot County, died in Baltimore on February 25, 1938, at the age of 90. Fortunately for the historian, a personal friend of Mr. Lambdin, John W. Crowley of Baltimore, persuaded the ship-builder to dictate his memoirs in 1935; and it is these recollections which form the basis for this article. The memoirs fall naturally into two parts, those dealing with Mr. Lambdin's memories of other ship-builders and their activities, and his own experiences, particularly in connection with the log canoe.

[2] For technical details on the history and construction of the Baltimore Clipper, the reader is referred to *The Baltimore Clipper,* by Howard I. Chapelle, Salem, Marine Research Society, 1920. For information on the building and history of the log canoes, the reader is referred to *Chesapeake Bay Log Canoes,* by M. V. Brewington, Newport News, Mariner's Museum, 1937; and to a motion picture in color recently completed by Robin S. Lanier and Dr. Alexander H. Layton of Baltimore. In addition to showing the actual construction of a canoe, this film depicts its various uses and the part it played in the lives of the early residents along the Chesapeake Bay.

builder of vessels, and constructed in that time more than sixty log canoes besides repairing some fifty others. Under the circumstances his recollections can well be considered primary source material on Chesapeake Bay ship-building.

Among the early shipyards on the Eastern Shore of Maryland were two established by Cap'n Bob's ancestors. Of three brothers who came to this country from England in 1724, one settled in lower Delaware, while the others came to Maryland, one going to Taylor's Island in Dorchester County, and the other, the forebear of Mr. Lambdin, made his home at St. Michaels, Talbot County,[3] and commenced the building of vessels. A descendant, William Neville Lambdin, the grandfather of Robert Dawson Lambdin, established a shipyard at Beverly Farm, San Domingo Creek, near St. Michaels. At this time there existed nearby a number of other yards including those of Perry Benson at Oak Creek, Talbot County; Impy Dawson at St. Michaels; William and Zachariah Skinner at Tobacco Stick, now Madison, Dorchester County; William Lambdin at Taylor's Island, and two other yards at San Domingo Creek, owners unknown. William Skinner later went to Baltimore and established the largest shipyard in the city on the site now occupied by the Baltimore Ship Building and Dry Dock Company.

In 1819, at the age of 20, Robert Lambdin, the father of Cap'n Bob, went to Baltimore and with a Samuel Butler established a yard at the foot of Jones Falls. Eleven years later, Mr. Lambdin returned to St. Michaels and set up a ship-building plant at Long Wharf and Mulberry Street, later taking into partnership with him, four of his five sons, George, William, Robert Dawson, and Samuel. This firm of Lambdin and Sons built schooners, sloops, and pungies, later adding bugeyes to the list. In 1881 the firm built the *Cynthia,* the first bugeye with a round stern. This construction carried the rudder inside the transom and gave more room on the afterdeck. Many of the firm's customers wanted scroll work and other fancy finishing and for this purpose the vessels had to be sailed to Baltimore after they had been nearly completed at St. Michaels. The last vessel built by the firm was the schooner *Bessie Reed* in 1886, " about 70 feet long and built to carry 3000 bushels of wheat."

[3] Genealogical detail omitted here for lack of space can be found in the Lambdin-Crowley manuscripts at the Maryland Historical Society and the Pratt Library.

Other important Eastern Shore ship-builders contemporary with Lambdin and Sons were: Edward Willey, whose plant was at St. Michaels; Joseph Faulkner, at Tilghman's Island; Thomas Bruff, who built on Sharp's Island, which in the middle of the last century consisted of some 250 acres but is now mostly washed away; and Thomas Kirby, who had learned his trade at the Lambdin yard. Kirby opened his own plant at St. Michaels in 1876 and later took as partner Frederick Lang. A few years earlier at Town Creek, Oxford, Md., William Benson and a Colonel Bateman established a plant and later employed Henry Sauerhoff of Baltimore to build for them the first marine railway on the Eastern Shore. There were, too, a number of other ship-builders who had no permanent yards but who built vessels wherever employed to do so. For the most part they worked on their client's property if timber were available. Among these men were Thomas Dawson of Baltimore and John W. Jewell of Philadelphia.

Besides the natural rivalry which existed between local builders of fast boats, there sprang up along the shores of the Chesapeake a sectional rivalry, which by the way is still going strong, between the Virginia builders of the log canoe and the Maryland builders. The most famous of the Virginia boats were built at Poquoson on the York River. Indeed Mr. Lambdin's earliest recollection of a properly built log canoe with washboards was one brought to St. Michaels from Poquoson in 1857 by Captain Greenbury Marshall. She was a two log, keel canoe, 20 feet long and rigged with two leg of mutton sails. Oddly enough she was called the *Baltimore.*

Other canoes owned in the vicinity, which were built at Poquoson, says Lambdin, were the following:

Length	Name	Owner
25 ft.	Good Egg	Joseph Sewell
30 ft.		Thomas Oliver
25 ft.	May	Henry May
20 ft.	Douglas Harrison	Samuel Harrison
25 ft.	War Eagle	George Summers

All of the boats were keel boats [writes Lambdin] and had 2 mutton leg sails except the 30 foot boat owned by Mr. Thomas Oliver which had a jib in addition. No clubs were used on any of the sails. The advantage of these boats became evident and a Mr. Mitchell, a native of Dorchester County about 1858, built a 25 foot 2 log canoe at St. Michaels. Later there was built at St. Michaels a 30 foot, 3 log canoe. All were keel boats.

The building of canoes at St. Michaels invited competition with the Poquoson built boats, and in 1859 Mr. Thomas Oliver promoted a race with the following results:

Name	Length	Owner	Built at	Sailed by	Order of finish
Not known	30 ft.	Thomas Oliver	Poquoson	Greenbury Marshall	1
May	25 ft.	Henry May (Villa head of Miles River)	Poquoson	Charles Bailey of Leeds Creek	
Ogle Jr.		Ogle Tilghman (of Bennetts Point)	Wye River	John Griffin of Wye	
Not known		Thomas Parsons (Pecks Point, Tred Avon River)	St. Michaels	Jesse Dobson	last
Douglas Harrison	20 ft.	Samuel Harrison (St. Michaels)	Poquoson	Samuel Harrison	2

These were all keel boats. They were rigged with two mutton leg sails and jib, no clubs on any sails. The first prize was a silver cup donated by Mr. Oliver. The second prize was a tin cup also donated by Mr. Oliver. The *Douglas Harrison,* which finished second, was awarded first prize by Mr. Oliver on account of the excellent manner in which she was sailed. This cup is still in St. Michaels in the possession of some of Mr. Harrison's descendants. The tin cup was awarded to the last boat, owned by Mr. Thomas Parsons, and sailed by Captain Jesse Dobson. During the race there was a collision between the pungy *Champion,* and the schooner, *Lap Wing.* The *Lap Wing* had her mainmast broken but no other damage was suffered by either the vessels or passengers, although both boats were crowded with spectators.

In 1860 there was a canoe race on Chester River. Captain George Summers of St. Michaels entered the Poquoson built canoe, *War Eagle,* and won first prize, a silver cup which is still owned by his descendants in St. Michaels.

Canoe racing was abandoned during the Civil War, during which several canoes made trips from points on the Eastern Shore of Maryland to York River, Virginia, with men who wished to enter the Southern army. Mr. Oliver's canoe made several trips for the same purpose until she was captured by a United States Government vessel. In one party were my brother, B. F. Lambdin, Thomas Edgar and Edward Valliant. B. F. Lambdin lost his life and was buried in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond. Thomas Edgar was killed at Gettysburg. Mr. Valliant was the only one of the three who returned.

A PARTIAL LIST OF VESSELS BUILT IN TALBOT COUNTY, MARYLAND, IS AS FOLLOWS:

Name	Date built	Description	Built at	Owner	Builder
Farmers Friend	1848	Keel schooner	Talbot Co.	Unknown	Unknown
Sharps Island	1856	Pungy	Sharps Island	Mr. Valliant	Thomas Bruff
R. Mason	1856	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Unknown	Thos. Willey
Caroline Skinner	1857	Keel schooner	St. Michaels	Jos. & Wm. Bridges	Lambdin & Sons
Royal Oak	1867	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Satterfield More	Lambdin & Sons
Itinerant	1862	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Wm. H. Michell	Lambdin & Sons

Name	Date built	Description	Built at	Owner	Builder
Agnes Owens	1864	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Greenbury Marshall	Thos. Bruff
U. S. Grant	1865	Pungy	St. Michaels	Harrison & Walker	Lambdin & Sons
Sonora	1865	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Thos. Larrimore	G. Lambdin & Kirk
Tred Avon	1866	Pungy	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
John Wethered	1867	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Wm. Green	Lambdin & Sons
Horatio Seymour	1868	Pungy	Oxford	Co. at Easton	Benson & Bateman
Sally Anne	1869	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Joe Harrison Wm. Kinnamon	Thos. Kirby
Julia & Annie	1869	Pungy	St. Michaels	Frank Cassidy	Lambdin & Sons
Amelia	1870	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Capt. J. Harris	Lambdin & Sons
Effee Estelle	1870	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Capt. J. Harris	Lambdin & Sons
Arena Bateman	1871	C. B. Schooner	Oxford	Unknown	Benson & Bateman
C. C. Wheeler	1872	Keel schooner	St. Michaels	C. C. Wheeler	Lambdin & Sons
Bonita	1872	C. B. Schooner	Oxford	Levi Duke	Benson & Bateman
Chas. Willey	1873	Keel schooner	St. Michaels	Chas. Willey	T. Kirby
C. H. Richardson	1877	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Unknown	T. Kirby
Anna Leonard	1877	C. B. Schooner	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
Wm. O. Lowery	1877	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Green Bros.	Lambdin & Sons
Martha Jump	1877	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Giles W. Jump	Lambdin & Sons
Chesterfield	1878	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels		T. Kirby
Ida	1878	Pungy	St. Michaels	Thos. Blades	Kirk
A. Booth	1880	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Booth Packing Co.	T. Kirby
Sally A. Lambdin	1880	Bugeye	St. Michaels	Lecompte Bros.	T. Dawson
Hattie Estelle	1880	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Jos. Harris	Lambdin & Sons
Carrie Sadler	1880	Bugeye	St. Michaels	Mr. Sadler	T. Kirby
Carradora	1881	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels		T. Kirby
Josephine	1881	Bugeye	St. Michaels	Jos. Harris	Lambdin & Sons
Leroy	1881	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Tunis Bros.	T. Dawson
Maria	1881	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels		T. Dawson
Mary Vickers	1881	C. B. Schooner	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
Cynthia	1881	Bugeye (round stern)	St. Michaels	Jos. Horney	Lambdin & Sons
Alice Bramble	1882	C. B. Schooner	Easton		Unknown
Arthur Stewart	1882	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels		Lambdin & Sons
Curtis	1882	Bugeye	St. Michaels		T. Kirby
John E. Bright	1882	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels		T. Kirby
R. A. Dodson	1882	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	R. A. Dodson	T. Kirby
Sand Snipe	1882	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Bush & Warner	T. Dawson
Thomas H. Kirby	1882	Bugeye	St. Michaels	Capt. Walker	T. Kirby
Emma Wills	1883	Schooner	St. Michaels		T. Kirby
Frank Bateman	1883	C. B. Schooner	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
Bohemia	1884	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels		T. Kirby
Emma Eleonora	1884	Schooner	Tilghman's I.		Jos. Faulkner
Estelle	1884	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Jos. Harris	Lambdin & Sons
Kate Tilghman	1884	C. B. Schooner	Oxford	Unknown	Benson & Bateman

Name	Date built	Description	Built at	Owner	Builder
Mary E. Wrightson	1884	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	J. Wrightson	Lambdin & Sons
Minnie and Helen	1884	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Unknown	Thos. Kirby
Two Sisters	1884	Bugeye	St. Michaels	Chas. Jones	Lambdin & Sons
Delight	1885	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels		T. Dawson
Cygnet	1885	C. B. Schooner	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
Commodore	1885	Bugeye	St. Michaels		T. Kirby
Elsie	1885	C. B. Schooner	Tilghmans I.	Unknown	Jos. Faulkner
C. H. Fields	1885	C. B. Schooner	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
Gipsy	1885	Skipjack	St. Michaels	Lambdin	Lambdin & Sons
Bessie Reed	1886	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	John Reed Geo Cripps	Lambdin & Sons
Albatross	1887	Keel Schooner	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
Elisha	1887	C. B. Schooner	Tilghmans I.	Unknown	Jos. Faulkner
Thomas Dawson	1887	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Chas. Welby	Thos. Dawson
Fannie Lowrey	1888	C. B. Schooner	Tilghmans I.	Unknown	Unknown
Thos. Blake	1888	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels		T. Kirby
Edna E. Lockwood	1889	C. B. Schooner	Tilghmans I.		J. Faulkner
	1889	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	F. Lang	T. Kirby
Gracie	1890	Bugeye	St. Michaels	Sadler	T. Kirby
Dan	1891	Batteau	St. Michaels		John Jackson
Arthur Stewart	1892	C. B. Schooner	Tilghmans I.		J. Faulkner
Patrick Prendergast	1892	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	P. Prendergast	T. Kirby
Alexander Bond	1893	Bugeye	St. Michaels		T. Kirby
Jos. Faulkner	1894	Bugeye	Tilghmans I.		Jos. Faulkner
Carrie Marie	1896	Sloop	Wittmans		Thos. Dawson
Emily	1896	Sloop	Royal Oak	Unknown	Unknown
Ethel E.	1896	Sloop	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
Ethel	1897	Sloop	Royal Oak	Unknown	Unknown
Ella Cripps	1900	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Geo. Cripps	T. Kirby
Claude	1900	Sloop	Wittmans		Jewell
Delta	1900	C. B. Schooner	Easton		
	1901	C. B. Schooner	Oxford	Unknown	Benson & Bateman
Eleanor	1901	Sloop	Oxford	Unknown	Unknown
Emma Faulkner	1901	Bugeye	Tilghmans I.	Unknown	Jos. Faulkner
Elmer C.	1902	Sloop	Oxford	Unknown	Benson & Bateman
C. L. Marie	1902	Sloop	Wittmans		Thos. Dawson
Charlotte	1902	C. B. Schooner	Tilghmans I.		Jos. Faulkner
Agnes	1898	Pungy	Tilghmans I.		Jos. Faulkner
A. L. Barnett	1870	C. B. Schooner	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
Charles Gibson	1876	C. B. Schooner	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
Clara N. Leonard	1875	C. B. Schooner	Oxford		Benson & Bateman
Corsica	1874	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels		Kirby
Ida	1875	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Chas. Leonard	Lambdin & Sons
Jeanette	1868	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Wm. Michell	Lambdin & Sons
Kate Woodall	1874	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	A. Woodall	Thos. Woodall
Lottie & Annie	1875	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Unknown	Lambdin & Sons
Susan Bryan	1886	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Bryan Bros.	T. Kirby
Thos. H. Kirby	1871	C. B. Schooner	St. Michaels	Capt. G. Tyler	T. Kirby

One of these craft, the *Caroline Skinner,* with about nineteen other locally built sailing vessels maintained a regular packet service in the Chesapeake prior to the advent of steam. Among these schooners were:

W. K. Dobson	plying	between	St. Michaels and Baltimore
Wm. Skinner	"	"	Wye Landing and Baltimore
B. M. Cornet	"	"	St. Michaels and Baltimore
I. L. Adkins	"	"	Easton and Baltimore
Robert Bowdle	"	"	Oxford and Baltimore
Caroline Skinner	"	"	points on Broad Creek, Bayside, and Baltimore

Until the Civil War interrupted trade, says Lambdin, these packets did a profitable business for their owners, and although many of them were used after the war was over, the rapid inroads of steam greatly curtailed their usefulness.

The rest of his story is best told in Captain Lambdin's own words:

The writer was born in St. Michaels, Maryland, November 2, 1849, and at the time of this writing is 86 years of age. I attended a one room school with 65 boys and one teacher, but I will say he was competent. Imagine a modern teacher having a number of grades in the same room, keeping them in order and teaching their lessons. But the job was done successfully and pupils were turned out who were well grounded in an elementary education.

At the age of 16 I was apprenticed in my father's ship yard. In 1869 at the age of 20, hearing of the then excellent wages of $3.25 per day, I made application and secured a job in the Washington Navy yard. I worked on a number of wooden ships, among others, the *Nipsic,* afterwards lost in the great hurricane in Samoa. I stayed at Washington Navy yard until the early part of 1872 when I returned to St. Michaels. During my stay in St. Michaels in 1872, I bought from Mr. G. W. Goodall a 30 ft. 3 log keel canoe, the *Mary,* which was built by Mr. Thomas Kirby of St. Michaels.

I believed I could improve her sailing by the installation of a centerboard, and much against the advice of a number of men whose opinions were entitled to respect, I installed the first centerboard in a canoe used in Miles River. After completion of the work, she was sailed against keel canoes which had previously been her equal in sailing. She outsailed both of them and on the return from the race, I was immediately given orders to install centerboards in the two canoes I had just raced against. That same year there was a race at Oxford, Maryland, course from Town Point up river to Tilghman's Point, thence to Benoni Point and return. The *Mary* won this race decisively.

Since 1872 I believe there have been no canoes built except those of the centerboard type. The advantages of this type of boat and the fact that it could be built of timber, of which there was a large supply locally, induced

a number of men to commence building them. Some of these men stood out as building a superior type of boat. Among others I would mention Captain Lewis Tarr, Samuel Blades, George Lambdin, John B. Harrison, and " Syd " Covington.

In 1871 Captain Jacob Morris, an ardent yachtsman, moved from Delaware and bought a farm on Hunting Creek. He brought with him two fast catboats, the *Cora* and the *Undine*. He had an idea that his cat-boats could outsail the log-canoes. It took only one race to convince him of his error. Captain Morris was a charter member of the Chesapeake Bay Yacht Club at Easton, the oldest yacht club in Maryland, to which later I had the honor of being elected an honorary member. Captain Morris was always enthusiastic and helpful to me in any matter concerning boat building or yacht racing.

In the later part of 1873 I went to Wilmington and worked at several plants; also at Chester, and Absecon, New Jersey. Learning of the illness of my father, I came home at Christmas, 1875. On my return to St. Michaels, I started to build and repair boats and built several small canoes. On September 27, 1876, I was married to Miss Salley Horney. I was then 27 years of age, my wife 25 years of age.

In the fall of 1876 I received an order from Mr. J. C. Harper to build a canoe. She was 28 ft. long and 5 ft. 6 in. beam, built of 3 logs. As this was my first order for a large canoe, I determined to apply such of the experience of others as I could obtain and to embody ideas of my own in her construction. There was still remaining a prejudice against centerboard boats on the part of some old timers. My oldest brother did not believe I could build a first class canoe. He had built several good ones and would not offer any suggestions. My father had never built any canoes. The only suggestion I got from him was, " The nearer you can keep a boat to the shape of an egg, the surer you can be that she will sail." This meant build your boat without hollow sections.

I had ideas of my own regarding the proper location of the centerboard with relation to the center of effort of the sail plan and also determined to use another idea of my own which was to make a well box in which the centerboard worked, 1 in. wider at the forward end than at the after end, in order to make the boat point higher into the wind.

I built the canoe at St. Michaels, then took it to Mr. Harper's farm on the Choptank River and placed it ashore for finishing work during the winter. She remained ashore, in the shade, until the summer of 1877. Four days before a race in Miles River, she was launched in the Choptank River and sailed to the Miles River where some finishing touches and adjustments were made.

On the day of the race she was entered with 5 other canoes. The course was from Hill Buoy to Wyetown Buoy, twice around this course. She finished 10 minutes ahead of her nearest competitor. This canoe was called *Dashaway* after Mr. B. B. Dashaway, then the leading exponent of the temperance cause. The *Dashaway* entered two more races on the Miles River and one at Oxford and was successful in all of them. In all these races she was sailed by Captain Giles W. (Bill) Jump.

In the fall of 1877 Mr. Harper sold the *Dashaway* to Mr. J. Chandler Roach of Atlantic City. She was sailed up the Chesapeake Bay to the Delaware Canal, up the Delaware River to Camden, New Jersey, where she was loaded on a railroad car for Absecon Inlet, Atlantic City. There were some fast sloops at Atlantic City; but after outsailing a number of them, Mr. Roach could not get anyone to race. He challenged any boat at Atlantic City and offered to bet $200 but could get no takers.

I was invited to Atlantic City as a guest of Mr. Roach and had a great deal of pleasure in sailing the *Dashaway* against the Atlantic City sloops and cat-boats. After two years, owing to the death of Mr. Roach the *Dashaway* was offered for sale. Hearing of this, two brothers by the name of Richardson of Oxford, Maryland, went to Atlantic City and bought her. They sailed her outside to the Delaware Capes, then up the Bay and river and through the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal to the Chesapeake Bay. She was used for a number of years as a sail boat, finally as a gasoline lunch, and as such she ended her days after a service of 52 years.

I had always been one to embody a new idea or any change in a boat which appeared good to me, and I believe I convinced many of my friends that I was not wholly the experimenter I had been called. The sailing reputation of the *Dashaway* and other canoes I had built resulted in my getting orders to build a great many canoes and I confined my work almost entirely to their construction. I was kept busy for a number of years.

In my time I have built 68 log canoes of all kinds and sizes and made alterations in more than 50. This is a larger number than have been built by any other builder in Maryland and perhaps no such number will ever be built again. This being due to the cutting down of the large pine trees necessary to their construction and also to the dying off of the men who were trained in the art of building them. I once built a 25 foot 3 log canoe complete in 20 days including selecting and cutting down the trees. My customers also brought me orders for a large number of decoy ducks and seemed to think that anything made of wood for use around the water could be produced at my shop.

The Three Masted Canoe *DAISY*

In 1891 Mr. R. A. Dodson, a resident of St. Michaels who owned and operated the Atlantic Hotel at Norfolk, Virginia, gave me an order to build a canoe in which he could leave Norfolk at any time he wished and come to his home. After several conferences it was decided to build a canoe 40 feet long by 8 feet beam, equipped with 3 masts. This was the first and I believe the only three masted Chesapeake Bay log canoe ever built. Because of her rig she caused a great deal of comment. However, she proved to be safe, fast, and handy under either full or reduced sail. She proved her seaworthiness in several blows and on one occasion made a run from Norfolk to Harris Creek near St. Michaels in 18 hours. She was finally turned into a power boat and her present owner is using her as such.

In the fall of 1892, at the solicitation of several friends and with the

personal, verbal assurance of Hon. Frank Brown, then Governor of Maryland, that I would be reimbursed for my work and expenses, I started to build what I hoped would be my masterpiece, the canoe, *Chesapeake.*

She was to represent a typical Chesapeake Bay log canoe and to be used for exhibition purposes in the waters adjoining the Maryland building at the World's Fair, Chicago, 1893. I took special care in selecting the pine trees, boring into each one with an auger to determine the amount of sapwood. Any tree containing an excessive amount of sapwood was rejected for use and was not felled. After selecting trees which were suitable, they were felled and cut into logs to the best advantage for handling, and then hauled to my yard. The logs were then hewn into shape and were chained in place, the whole allowed to season for 6 months before being finally bolted together. After being bolted together the boat was finished off in the best manner with black walnut trimmings and brass cleats and blocks. She was called the handsomest canoe ever built in Maryland.

In the later part of May, 1893, in company with Mr. George West, my helper, I left St. Michaels in the boat, sailed to Baltimore, had her loaded on a B. & O. freight car and at 9: 30 P. M. one Monday started for Chicago.

We arrived on Saturday morning. This was a personally conducted trip. We did not leave the boat for a minute. The train crew were generally interested and helpful; and as it was our first trip through that part of the country, we enjoyed the scenery very much.

On arrival at Chicago our car was shunted to Chicago Creek, then a very filthy stream. In launching the boat she shipped a great deal of this water. We bailed her out and rowed her to the mouth of the river where the water was clear; cleaned her throughly, rigged her spars and set her sails. We then sailed her to Jackson Park and made fast alongside the United States Government Fish Building. We went ashore, were directed to the Maryland Building and had a talk with the Maryland representative. He was astonished to see us, said he had no word to expect us or the canoe, and that he could give us no attention or assistance.

Although my helper and I stayed in Chicago three weeks, we never got any recognition from the Maryland representative. We did, however, during this time take occasion to race everything around Chicago which wore sails and had no trouble in outsailing them in any breeze. Confusion seemed to permeate this whole matter, as I was never paid for the boat or my expenses by either the State of Maryland or the World's Fair authorities. No one would admit responsibility. I suppose I had been too trusting in accepting men's words.

Possibly the thing which hurt worst was leaving the *Chesapeake* at Chicago. There were no suggestions to be had from the Maryland representative in making arrangements for her return. The B. & O. railroad freight agent at Chicago acted very differently from the agent in Baltimore. He wanted $100 for transportation and would only accept the shipment at owner's risk. There was no demand for this new type of boat, as it was the first of her type ever seen west of the Chesapeake Bay country and I was practically forced to sell her for the proverbial song.

As I had previously presented a six foot model canoe to the Maryland Building I was put to considerable expense. But I was young and had a good business and I was able to pocket my losses without serious results. I returned to St. Michaels and continued building and repairing boats of all kinds. I found at this time that it would be necessary to build canoes with small logs. I built the first four log canoe and later the first five log canoe.

In 1894 I accepted a position to take charge of a boat building shop in Wilmington and stayed there for two years, after which I went to work for the U. S. Government at the Norfolk Navy Yard. I stayed at Norfolk until 1919 when I returned to St. Michael's with the idea of living a life of semi-retirement.

The Building of a Chesapeake Bay Log Canoe

In building a log canoe the first step is to locate suitable large pine trees. These are of the kind known as " original " pine trees as distinguished from " second growth " trees. The trees before felling are bored with an augur to ascertain the proportion of sap wood. Any tree containing a large proportion of sap wood is not felled. After felling the tree, it is stripped of branches, the bark removed, the logs roughly shaped and then hauled to the shipyard. All sap wood is removed.

The bottom log is hewn out first. This is the bottom of the boat and is shaped at the ends in such manner that the logs which form the bilge are practically key fitted into it. After the bilge, the top log is fitted in a similar manner and shaped to give the desired shear to the deck line. The logs are then bolted together. The hull is shaped first on the outside, then holes are bored into the sides at various points and dark wood dowel pins of varying lengths driven in as gauges so that the appearance of their ends when hollowing the inside of the hull will indicate the desired thickness of the hull at various points

Canoes vary in thickness from $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the bottom to 1 inch at the deck level. A peculiarity of canoe building is that the entire final shape is determined by the bilge and top strakes and this shape is gotten " by eye " and not by any predetermined drawing. Thus the canoe is shaped before the inside is hollowed out to the final thickness. Also, in hewing out the bottom log the base for the well box in which the centerboard works is left to a thickness of about 6 inches higher than the final bottom level; so that the water line of the canoe, when light, is below the top of the solid base of the well box. This prevents leaking when the boat is not in use.

It may be noted that in most cases the canoes are sailed by others than the owner. This is because the sailing of a boat is a gift which very few possess. A good sailing captain has an instinctive feeling which tells him when all the factors for getting the best out of the hull, sails, and crew are in harmony. It does not seem possible for one possessing this gift to impart it to another. Many instances can be cited where an expert sailing captain can win a race against a competing boat, and then transfer to the

competing boat and beat the boat he originally sailed in. Recognizing his ability in this respect, all the boats belonging to me which were entered in races were sailed by Captain Giles W. ("Bill") Jump.

Several years ago Governor Albert C. Ritchie donated a large silver cup as a perpetual trophy to be raced for yearly by Chesapeake Bay log canoes. These races developed keen interest, and in their efforts to secure more speed, the owners of the canoes added great spreads of canvas, towering spars, and larger crews. The canoe *Magic,* which had been converted to a gasoline driven boat was reconverted back to sail. She made a fine record in these races and was afterwards exhibited at the 1933 New York Motor Boat Show, where displays of all kinds of boats are made.

Two log canoes designed especially for racing have recently been built at Tilghman's Island by Mr. John B. Harrison. One of these boats, the *John D.* was built in 1931 for Mr. John D. Williams of Oxford, Maryland. The other, the *Flying Cloud,* was built in 1932 for a syndicate composed of gentlemen living at Oxford, Maryland. These boats have very sharp bilges and hollow sections. Owing to the fact that they have transom sterns, the race committee ruled them out of competition for the Governor Ritchie cup. They were allowed in the free-for-all races and made a good showing; their exceptionally tall spars and great spreads of canvas made a beautiful picture while racing.

It is questionable whether or not the older canoes gain additional speed by the use of the larger spars and sails and consequently increased crews. All this adds to their displacement and lowers their hulls into the water below the original lines on which they were designed to sail. There is no doubt that every hull has a speed limit and that it is almost impossible to drive it beyond this. It is necessary to maintain rigid restrictions in every sport. It is thought by some that this kind of competition will kill a sport which has been popular around St. Michael's and nearby waters for almost a century.

Originally the canoes were raced with the same spars and sails as were used in their daily work, and one man could handle any of the spars. Every contestant believed at the beginning of a race that he had an equal chance. In the canoe races as now conducted, the rich man can add expensive and heretofore unknown changes which may practically insure him the victory. In such a case he will soon find he has no competition, as a man of moderate means or one interested in the true nature of the sport will not enter his boat.

The Bugeye

This type of vessel is an enlarged edition of the Chesapeake Bay canoe, having practically the same outline and sail plan. Owing to its greater dimensions it is necessarily of frame and plank construction. It is of the centerboard type and suitable for the shallower waters of the Chesapeake Bay and rivers. They are in extensive use; they are fast and seaworthy; they require only small crews. They are used for oyster dredging and for general freighting. Most of them average 40 or 60 feet in length, but a few have been built considerably larger than this.

The Brogan

The brogan is somewhat similar in construction to a canoe in that it has a log bottom, but there the similarity of the hull ends. In the case of the canoe, which is smaller, the hull is built entirely of logs. In the brogan the hull has only one center log, the rest of the vessel being frame and plank. These boats are generally rough work boats in shallow waters for scraping oysters. They have never been regarded as useful for pleasure or racing purposes as in the case of the canoes. Their use has declined rapidly; the skipjack, being an easier and cheaper boat to build, has practically supplanted them.

The Skipjack

These are slightly V-bottom centerboard boats, almost peculiar to the Chesapeake Bay. Being of broad beam, they are very seaworthy and their shallow draft enables them to be used in the shoal waters, over bars for scraping oysters and in the smaller creeks for general freighting. They are equipped with one mast which has considerable rake. The rig is one leg of mutton mainsail and jib. It is " easy to handle," two men being ample for this purpose under almost any conditions. The sails can be reefed and if need be reduced to a double reefed mainsail, under which condition, owing to the rake of the mast, the vessel will work well as the center of effort of the sail plan is balanced. They are built up to 60 feet in length. The beam is generally $\frac{1}{3}$ of the overall length. Most skipjacks are built by local talent by men of no particular skill at designing. But they are generally substantially, if roughly built.

READING INTERESTS OF THE PROFESSIONAL CLASSES IN COLONIAL MARYLAND, 1700-1776

By JOSEPH TOWNE WHEELER

THE CLERGY

After studying a cross section of the private libraries in Colonial Maryland and discovering that sixty percent of the free white population owned books, it should be helpful in rounding out the picture of Maryland's early literary culture to examine the libraries of the professional classes. The clergy was perhaps the most important class in the colony from the standpoint of numbers and influence on society in general. As has already been pointed out, the smaller book collections in the colony were made up to a very large degree of religious books. Even the larger general libraries of over twenty volumes contained at least twenty-five percent religious titles.[1] It should be interesting, therefore, to turn to the private libraries of the clergy to examine the character of their collections.

The parochial libraries supplied by the Rev. Thomas Bray and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were one of the most striking efforts to improve religious as well as cultural conditions.[2] But even during the decade after their establishment, these libraries did not completely supply the clergy with the books they needed. Many of the original clergymen whom Dr. Bray personally selected and sent over to organize churches had private libraries of their own in addition to the parochial libraries when they died.

The Rev. John Lillingston, who was selected by Dr. Bray in 1700 to compile the *Methods of God's Grace and Assistance* for the laymen's library,[3] had an estate in Queen Anne's County worth nearly seven hundred pounds when he died in 1710. He owned three pairs of spectacles, a reading glass and a parcel of books

[1] Joseph T. Wheeler, "Books Owned by Marylanders, 1700-1776" in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXV (1940), 337-353.

[2] J. T. Wheeler, "Thomas Bray and the Maryland Parochial Libraries" in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXIV (1939), 246-265.

[3] J. T. Wheeler, "The Layman's Libraries and the Provincial Library" in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXV (1940), 60-73.

valued at twenty pounds.[4] Another fairly large private library supplementing the parochial library belonged to the Rev. Stephen Bordley whom Dr. Bray had selected to prepare a book entitled the *Worthy Communicant.* When Bordley died in Kent County in 1709, his total estate was worth over three hundred pounds and his inventory contained:

> The anotacons on ye Testamt
> the 2 Sermons preached before the King
> 50 books middling Size
> 31 lesser do
> 46 less do
> 4 large books
> 5 lesser do
> 3 old do
> Grotius Works 4 Vols.[5]

The Rev. Edward Topp, who was to have compiled a *Discourse on Death-Bed Repentance,* died in 1702 and his inventory contained:

> ten books in folio 2 whereof in Latine
> seaventy two Octavos
> Eleven 4tos and fourty Duodecimos
> Old Musick books and pamphlets
> a folio bible and 2 volumes of Grotius
> Dr. Tillotsons Sermons [6]

Another of the early clergymen, the Rev. Benjamin Nobbs, whose estate was worth two hundred and twenty pounds when he died about 1704, had a private library in addition to his parochial library. The appraisers valued the books in his study at five pounds.[7] It would be interesting to know if among them was the manuscript of a volume on the *Christian Penitent* which Dr. Bray had asked him to prepare.

Even the Rev. Alexander Strachan of Baltimore County, apparently the poorest of the early Maryland clergymen, owned six printed books and some loose papers although his estate was worth only forty-three pounds.[8]

When the books in the parochial libraries became out-of-date and the volumes were lost owing to the carelessness of the clergy-

[4] Inventories and Accounts, XXXI, 371-377. Hall of Records.
[5] Inventories and Accounts, XXXI, 198-204.
[6] Inventories and Accounts, XXV, 97.
[7] Will Book, No. 3, 539.
[8] Inventories and Accounts, XX, 250-251.

man and the tolerance of the vestry who neglected to make the annual visitation, the ministers had to rely more and more on their private libraries. Among the clergymen who were faced with this situation was the Rev. Evan Evans. He was born in Wales and is said to have been educated in England. He received the King's Bounty, a gift of twenty pounds from the royal treasury for missionaries, clergymen and school teachers who were coming to the New World, and sailed for Maryland. He served for a time at the Christ Church in Philadelphia and, in 1716, he returned to England and received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. He then came to Maryland and was given St. George's Parish, Harford County. This benefice he held until his death in 1721, at which time the following books were in his library:

40 Small Sermon books
Concordance to ye Bible
2 new Books
1 Large quarto Containing 92 sermons
1 large Sermon Book by Jno Gaskaratts
1 Common Prayer Book
1 Book Discourses
ye Volume of the laws of Maryland [probably the Jones-Bradford edition of 1718]
Church Catechism
2 Small Histories
the History of Religion
the Life of the Duke of Marlborough
The History of K. Charles 1st & 2d & K. James
Practickle Caterhissume [sic]
1 Small Latin Book[9]

The Rev. Samuel Skippon received the King's Bounty on April 6, 1714, and came to Maryland as a clerk.[10] When he died in 1724, he was rector of St. Anne's Church in Annapolis and his total personal property was worth nearly two hundred pounds. His library contained:

some of the Acts of Assembly of the province of Maryland to ye year 1717 wanting severall Leaves [perhaps the Jones-Bradford collection of Laws, 1718]
Classick Authors Butlers Rethorick in 12°—a small Horace in Latin in 12° the same in 8° Valorius Maximus in Latin all old
Plinys Naturall History in five Vol 12°
Martials Epigrams in Latin 12° and Homers Iliad in Greek
Eight Latin Books in Large Octavo and thirty three Books in small Octavo and History Books 12°

[9] Baltimore County Inventories, liber E, folio 39.
[10] Gerald Fothergill, *List of Emigrant Ministers to America, 1690-1811*. London, 1904, p. 55. Entered as "Skippson."

Nathanll Bretz translation of ye history of Trent in folio
The second Book of the lifes of the Primitive Fathers (1 wanting)
Spotswoods History of England to the Reign of King James ye sixth
Calderwoods History of Scotland in folio
Bishop Ushers Life and letters in fol.
Cornelius Tacitus description of Germany
Ten History Books in small 8°
A parcell of Pamphletts and some small musical Books
Divinity Books and church Controversies
Cantona Auroa in foll and Index of the whole in Latin
Bishop Andrews Sermons
Richd Hookers Laws of Ecclesiasticall politie an Exposition of St. Pauls Epistle to the Colossians in Latin the grounds and contempt of the Clergy in 8°
fifty Eight Books Whereof 6 in quarto and all the rest in 8° and 12° several thereof of Church Controversies all old att 9d apiece
Chaucer's Poetry in English folio
a pockett Book
1 Large Bible in folio
2 Latin Books in folio with Comentarys on the Apostles Epistles [11]

This was an outstanding private library for the early eighteenth century. It is seldom indeed that the classics are found in the original and the edition of Chaucer is the only one discovered in this survey of colonial inventories. His library bears out Commissary Wilkinson's description of him to the Bishop of London as " A Whig, & an excellent scholar & good liver." [12]

The Rev. William Tibbs was one of the small number of clergymen in the colony whose character and actions were such that the entire establishment suffered thereby. He received the King's Bounty in 1701, and was appointed rector of St. Paul's Parish in Baltimore County. In 1715, the vestry complained of him to the Commissary and the charges were sent to the Bishop of London.[13] At the annual visitation of the clergy in 1717, he refused to answer accusations brought against him by the vestry. The relations between the minister and the parishioners remained in this state until his death. In 1731, the vestry again protested against him claiming that he was living outside his parish and had appointed a clerk who had been convicted of felony to read the service. Tibbs was accused of failing to come to church, of refusing to bury the

[11] Inventories, X, 370-373.
[12] William S. Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church,* IV, *Maryland,* 128.
[13] *op. cit.* 79-80.

dead and of setting a bad example to his congregation by his swearing and drunkenness.[14] In 1724, he replied to a query about his parochial library that:

I have a small parochial Library. The Books are preserved & kept in good condition. I have no particular Rules and orders for the preserving of them.[15]

His inventory shows that his interest was more in the revenues from his parish than in improving himself and his parishioners through reading and study. His estate when he died in 1733, was valued at over one thousand pounds and he had a mere handful of books:

2 Bibles & 5 Common prayer books
2 old Arithmatick & Clerks Guide Books
19 do of Divinity and a parcell of other do
a parcell of old Law Books [16]

In 1747, the aged and beloved Rev. Daniel Maynadier died. He had been rector at St. Peter's in Talbot County for many years and was described in 1722, in a report to the Bishop of London, as " A Whig of the first rank, and reputed a good liver, but a horrid preacher." [17] His estate was valued at a little over one thousand pounds and his books which were not enumerated were valued at seven pounds.[18]

His successor was the Rev. Thomas Bacon who had arrived in Maryland only a few months before Maynadier's death. Practically nothing is known of his early career except that in 1737, at the height of the interest in Irish finance, he published in Dublin a book entitled *A Compleat System of the Revenue of Ireland.* While he was rector at St. Peter's Parish, he established a charity working school for poor children and urged his parishioners to take an interest in converting their slaves. When a cargo of unfortunate Acadians was landed in Maryland, the Rev. Thomas Bacon and his friend, Henry Callister, were foremost in providing for them. He began a compilation of the laws of Maryland about 1753 and, after more than ten year's labor, the *Laws of Maryland at Large* was published in 1766 by Jonas Green in a fine folio

[14] *op. cit.* 309-310.
[15] *op. cit.* 190-192.
[16] Baltimore County Inventories, liber E, folio 454.
[17] Perry, *op. cit.,* 129.
[18] Inventories of Estates, volume unmarked, 275-281.

volume which holds first rank among the products of the colonial press. In the meantime, he was rewarded by the Proprietor for his loyalty by appointment as domestic chaplain and later as rector of All Saint's Parish in Frederick County.[19]

Bacon's love of music and his personal charm which endeared him to his friends without causing his parishioners to lose their respect for him will be mentioned in a subsequent article. It is the purpose here to describe his library and to indicate that it was probably one of the outstanding collections of a Maryland clergyman. His correspondence with his friends frequently contained allusions to the books he was reading.[20] In spite of his classical knowledge, which many men would have used to impress their friends, Bacon preferred the speech of the common man, particularly in his sermons. In a letter to Walter Dulany, in 1760, he rephrased a quotation from Virgil and then in apology wrote:

> You may see by this Speciman stollen from Virgil how readily I can snatch at a Thought of anothers [sic], and by disguising it in a home-Spun Dress make it look somewhat like my own. But, Pedantry apart, (for I'm not very fond of Latin Quotations, notwithstanding the Air of Profundity which they give a Discourse in a Country Pulpit) . . .[21]

Bacon died on May 26, 1768, and his friend, John Cary, who attended him during his last hours, wrote Walter Dulany that he was deeply in debt to his curate and clerks and " Sundry poor tradesmen such as Butchers Bakers Smiths taylors, and also those from whom he had his fire wood." He added that the property was not worth very much and that:

> . . . there are a great many books belonging to the Estate most of which are not of any use to any body this way, not being understood—those must be sent Elsewhere for Sale . . .[22]

Mrs. Elizabeth Bacon, the widow, requested her husband's creditors to have patience until the estate could be settled and added:

> Those Gentlemen who have Books belonging to the Estate, are requested to

[19] For the best account of his life see L. C. Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland,* pp. 95-110. Also see William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit,* New York, 1859, pp. 117-121.

[20] His correspondence with Henry Callister, Eastern Shore tobacco factor, will be treated more fully in a subsequent article.

[21] Dulany Papers, I, 6. Rev. Thomas Bacon to Walter Dulany. Maryland Historical Society.

[22] Dulany Papers, I, 20. John Cary to Walter Dulany, Frederick Town, " Thursday 15 minutes after 3 Oclock in the morning 26th May 1768."

send them to Mr. Jacques, in Annapolis, or, if more convenient, to Elizabeth Bacon, in Frederick-Town.[23]

The estate was appraised that same year and Bacon's personal property was worth three hundred and eighty pounds. One of the largest items, valued at twenty-six pounds, was "The Medicine Instruments and shop Utencils." The books in his private library were:

Synopsis Criticorum 5 vol.
James's Medicinal Dictionary 3 vol.
Foresti Opera 2 vol.
Acta Regia
Stanley's History of Philosophy
Stypes Annals 4 vol.
Quincy's Dispensatory
Aytiff's Commentary
Bastii Fabri 2 vol.
Hammond's Works 1, 2 & 4 vol.
Frederici Huffmanni Opera Omnia 6 tomes
Quincy's Chymical Lectures
Blancords Lexicon
Oper. Nich. Mattaire
Vansweetens Commentarys 3 vol.
Jones's Opium Revealed
Edinburghs Essays on Physic 2 vol.
Observations de Acre et Morbis
Cheyne on Health
Tharmacopoia by Peter Shaw
Saviards Surgery
Pharmacopia Mediana
Sharps Surgery
Sydenhams Works
Whitton on Vital Motion
M. de La Vaugion on Surgery
Cockbourne on a Cenorhoea
Quinceys Medicina Medica
Pembertons Dispensatory
Cheyne on Health
Monro's Anatomy
Monro on Dropsys
Simpsons Chimistry
Greek Lexicon
Homer with the Clavis 3 Books
Demosthenes
Stackhouses History of the Bible 2 vol.
Chillingworth on Religion
Raleigh's History of the World 2 vol.
Bayles Dictionary 5 vol.
The House of Morning 47 sermons.
Whitby's Paraphrase and Commentary of the new Testament 2 vol.
Stillingfleets Works 7 vol.
Chomatts History of Drugs
Keisters Surgery
Boerhaves Chymistry
Disaguliers Philosophy
Lowthrops Philosophical Transactions 5 vol.
Palmer on Printing [Samuel Palmer, *General History of Printing*, London, 1732]
M. Tullie Ciceronis Orationes 7 vol.
Newtons Principia
Heisters Surgery 2 vol.
Smellys Midwifery 3 vol.
Shaws Practise of Physick 2 vol.
Epidemics pr Jaune Huxham 2 vol.
Stephenson Consumptions
Strothers Materia Medica 2 vol.
Sedran on Surgery 2 Books
Allens Synopsis 2 vol.
Sharps State of Surgery
Turners Works 3 vol.

[23] *Maryland Gazette*, July 14, 1768.

Physical Tracts
Medical Observations 2 vol.
Friends History of Physick 2 vol.
Cheseldons Anatomy
Verdue on the Human Body
Willsons Chemistry
Medical Essays 6 vol.
Diseases incident to Children
Boerhave de materia medica
Anachrion Greek and Latin
Longinus
Zenephon
Stackhouse Body of Divinity
An exposition of the 5 Books of Moses
Synopsis Canonium Ecclesia Latina
Saundersons Sermons
Brays Lectures
Brunts History of the Council of Trent
Tirells ancient Constitutions
Drydens Satires
Puffendorfs History of the Principal Kingdoms and States of Europe
Common Place Book to the Holy Bible
Rutherford on Natural Philosophy
LeEstranges Alliance
Rapines History 2 vol.
Medleys
Mercers Abridgment of the Laws of Virginia
Teples Life
Bradleys Gardening
Shaftsbury Characteristick
Eight Hale's Ventitators[?]
Bacons Laws Bound
Stanhope on the Epistles 3 vol.
Harvey's Dialogues 3 vol.
Clerk on the Attributes
Cowpers Anatomy with cuts
Blairs Sermons 3 vol.
Enticks Evidence
Chamberlaynes Arguments 3 vol.
Fosters Sermons 2 vol.
Du Bois Works 8 vol. in French
Elements of Algebra 2 vol.
Scarboroughs Euclid in Fol°
Nolls Atlas
a Treatise on fortification
History of Pennsylvania
an Exposition of the Creed
Pamphlets
Sacheverels Sermons
Wares History of England
Hookers Works
Kennett's Antiquities
Deism Revealed 2 vol.
Cruders Concordance
Elihu on an Enquiry into the Book of Job by W. Hodge
Claude on Reformation
Caves Lives &c 3 vol.
Lucans Pharsalia
Gentlemans Dictionary
Stiths History of Virginia
Essay on Trade
Derhams Physico Theologia
The 1st 2d 5th & 6th Annals of King George the 1st
Millers Gardening Dictionary
Ainsworths Dictionary
Bacons Laws of Maryland Stitch'd
an old Common Prayer Book
an old Description of England
Historical Geography 3 vol.
Lally's Christian Religion 3 vol.
Family Instructor
Sherlock on Prophesy
Collyers Interpreter 2 vol.
Maps of Germany
Memoir of the Academy at Paris 9 vol. in French
a parcel of old Books Greek Latin Italian French and Dutch
a parcel of Manuscripts valued at £ 1
Tom Jones 4 vol.
Amelia 4 vol.
a parcel of old Books dissorted [24]

[24] Inventories of Estates, CI, 113-119.

One of the most interesting features of his private library is that thirty percent of the books were on medicine. From his obvious interest in medical literature and from the fact that he had in his possession a valuable collection of medical instruments, it seems apparent that Bacon ministered to the bodies as well as the souls of his parishioners. Records are not available to show whether this was a usual practice of clergymen in the eighteenth century. However, the Rev. William Brogden, of All Hallow's Parish in Anne Arundel County, read and took notes on a medical work in his commonplace book. It contains abstracts from *Epistola Clericana Contra Dodwell*; " some reflections on that part of a Book called Amyntor, or the Defence of Milton, which relates to the Primitive Fathers, and the Canons of the New Testament, by Mr. T."; and *Robinsonii Theosis Medicina et Merborum Abbreviata.* This last item was a book on the nature and causes of diseases and a description of the human body. Brogden took over fifty closely written pages of notes and abstracts including the prescriptions for some " choice Medicins referr'd to in ye Cure of ye forgog. Didd." [25]

Bacon's library reflects his wide interests. Nearly a quarter of the books, as might be expected, were on religion. About twelve percent were on history, biography and travel. A somewhat smaller number were classics and he had a few volumes of recent literature. He owned a collection of music entered as " Medleys " and he had a copy of Mercer's Abridgment of the Laws of Virginia and one bound and one unbound copy of his own compilation of Maryland laws.

Another distinguished clergyman living on the Eastern Shore was the Rev. James Sterling.[26] He was born in Ireland and attended Trinity College where he received his Bachelor's Degree in 1720 and his Master's Degree in 1733. He began writing poetry early in his youth and before he was twenty-one, he wrote *The Rival Generals,* a tragedy, which was performed in the Dublin theatre. Encouraged by his success, he went to London as a hack

[25] This is the only early Maryland commonplace book discovered. The recording of reading notes in the bound notebooks was a common practice of serious readers from Elizabethan days until the middle of the nineteenth century. Those commonplace books which have been preserved are an invaluable source of information on early literary culture. In box marked Mss Sermons of Old Maryland Clergymen in the Maryland Diocesan Library.

[26] Lawrence C. Worth. " James Sterling: Poet, Priest, and Prophet of Empire," in *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings* XLI (1931), 25-76.

writer and, in 1728, published *The Loves of Hero and Leander,* a translation from the Greek. Several other works came from his pen including his *Poetical Works* in 1734, and *The Paracide* in 1736.

He was disappointed in not receiving the appointment as lecturer in King's Chapel in Boston which he had requested of the Bishop of London. But, in 1737, he was sent to Maryland and the Governor gave him All Hallow's Parish in Anne Arundel County Later he received the rectorship of St. Paul's Parish in Kent County which he occupied until his death in 1763. In 1751, he returned to London and after skillful lobbying through an influential friend, the position of Deputy Collector of Customs for the District of Chester was created and he was appointed to hold it. That this was done contrary to the express wishes of the Governor and the Maryland merchants reveals either his ability at politics or the influence of his powerful friends. Before leaving Maryland, he wrote *An Epistle to the Hon. Arthur Dobbs, Esq.,* a patriotic poem in honor of the leader of the expedition which was to search for the Northwest Passage. It was written in the elevated style characteristic of English verse at that time and shows a close familiarity with contemporary English literature.

After his return to Maryland, he published several poems in the *American Magazine* from 1757 to 1758, and a sermon which he had delivered before the Maryland Assembly in 1754. The most interesting of his later poems was "On the Invention of Letters and the Art of Printing." [27] William Bradford, the editor of the magazine, prefixed a note to it: "The author is a gentleman of acknowledged taste and learning, in a neighboring government." He added:

> His intimacy with Mr Pope, he says, obliged him to tell that great Poet, above twenty years ago, that it was peculiarly ungrateful in him, not to celebrate such a subject as the Invention of Letters, or to suffer it to be disgraced by a meaner hand

The poem is amply footnoted and the references show the wide range of his reading:

Lucan
An. de Solis, History of the Expedition of Cortez
Pecock's *Travels to upper Egypt*
Old Testament
Aristotle
Ellis's article on printing in *Transactions of the Royal Society*
Dr. Warburton's *Div. Lega*

[27] *American Magazine* (1758), 118-121.

Sterling, like many of his contemporaries, believed that Laurens Coster was the inventor of the art of printing and attempted to show that those who supported Fust's claims were mistaken. Gutenberg was relegated to a footnote. Possibly Sterling had a copy of Palmer's *General History of Printing*, or, if not, he may have borrowed one from his colleague, the Rev. Thomas Bacon.

Bookplate of a famous Tory divine

When Sterling died in 1763, his estate was valued at fifteen hundred pounds. He owned twenty-five negro slaves, and the walls of his house were decorated with many paintings and engravings. His books were valued at seven pounds but, unfortunately, they were not listed individually.[28]

The Rev. Jonathan Boucher owned a valuable library which was advertised for sale by his attorney in the *Maryland Gazette* on June 5, 1777, several months after he was forced to flee because of his loyalist sympathies.

[28] Inventories of Estates, LXXXIV, 256-264.

On Monday the 21st of July next will be exposed to Sale by auction, at the Lodge near the Ferry-House, opposite Alexandria, the valuable and well choosen Library of the Rev. Mr. Boucher, containing a complete set of the Greek and Latin Classics, Dictionaries, Lexicons, and a Variety of other school-books, entertaining Miscellanies and Novels, a choice collection of English and French poets, the most approved writers on Agriculture, Biography, Chronology, History, Geography, Mathematics, Philosophy natural and moral, Law, Physic, and Divinity. Should the Library be disposed of by wholesale, before the day appointed, the public shall have timely notice.

This was an unusually fine library for this period. In his memorial to the Commission of Enquiry into the Losses and Services of American Loyalists, Boucher claimed that his books were worth £500, or one eleventh of his total estate.[29] His career in Maryland will be treated at greater length hereafter.

Those clergymen whose libraries have been mentioned were all members of the Church of England. Another religious movement which was rapidly gaining strength in Maryland at the close of the colonial period was Methodism. Although the Methodists had not yet separated from the Anglican Church, the tactics they used and their entire mental outlook differed so completely from that of the Anglican clergy that they were considered a class by themselves. The first Methodist came to the colonies about 1760, and shortly after this a society was formed in Baltimore under the leadership of Robert Strawbridge.

William Duke, a boy of sixteen, was living in Baltimore County at this time and became deeply interested in the movement. In spite of his youth he was licensed to preach by Francis Asbury and was given a new circuit every few months. He travelled through Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, exhorting the people to repent and to lead a more devout life. From 1773 to 1779, he was a travelling preacher and reformer but he was forced to retire from this strenuous life because his health threatened to give way.

He kept a private journal containing a record of his religious experiences, his reading and his travels from 1774 until 1825.[30] The record of his early career is particularly interesting because

[29] Transcripts from the Public Record Office, XXXVI, 134. In the New York Public Library.

[30] Unpublished manuscript Journal in Maryland Diocesan Library. The Journal is lacking for the following years: Feb. 3, 1776 to Jan. 1, 1787; Apr. 6, 1787 to July 2, 1789; and Aug. 3, 1789 to June 5, 1790.

during these years he strictly adhered to the early Methodist doctrine that one's entire thoughts should be concentrated upon a contemplation of God and anything which diverted this interest was wrong.

A few excerpts from his journal help to show his early attitude toward reading and study.

. . . I Read a Melancholy Narrative of a Plague in London although many years ago yet it is related in a very affecting Manner.[31]

The book he read was probably Daniel DeFoe's *Journal of a Plague Year* (1722) which purported to be a narrative of the great plague in London in 1664 and 1665. The gruesome scenes described by DeFoe in such vivid detail caused him to see in his dreams that night visions of the image of God surrounded with light. A few days later his spiritual nature again revolted against his reading:

I found that Constant Reading was of a bad Effect fixing My Attention so strongly on it Caused me to be very Cold and Dead it Dimed the Eyes of my Faith . . .[32]

Later that same month he read a life of a Quaker, the title of which unfortunately he did not record:

. . . in the evening I was reading an account of the Life and transactions of a Quaker it seemed that The Man was very bold and faithfull in the Cause of the Lord but there was some Passages in it very odd which is apt to divert the mind than really to profit the understanding.[33]

The following year his attitude toward learning underwent a change:

In the Morning I felt Much Desire after Human Learning which I would strive to attain if I was favoured with an opportunity for which I depend on the providence of God.[34]

He bought a Latin grammar and two or three Latin titles and began to learn the language.[35] He soon saw in a new light the follies committed by those who carried their religion to excesses, whether consciously or not. While he was preaching at Penn's

[31] William Duke Journal, No. 1. May 6, 1774.
[32] *Ibid.*, May 12, 1774.
[33] *Ibid.*, May 23, 1774.
[34] William Duke Journal. No. 3. February 14, 1775.
[35] William Duke Journal. No. 5. March 2, 1775.

Neck in New Jersey, he recorded an interesting recurrence of the fear of witches which had haunted the early colonists.

How industrious is the Devil to pull down the Work of God By his artful Insinuations he has almost distracted the People They think a certain Person amongst them is a Witch and their ground for it is that they think it so But I have better ground to think the contrary.[36]

Word soon reached Duke's superiors that he was becoming so interested in reading and study that he was neglecting his duties. He received a letter from Thomas Rankin, expressing his displeasure that this promising young man was allowing himself to be distracted from his calling by books.

I was Surprized when John Byrns told me that you had not met the classes; as also, that you had not given the different Societies Notice, when, and where you would hold the quarter day. Any kind of Study, or attention of mind, that takes up our thoughts, So as to hinder us from paying proper attention to the great end of our calling; certainly becomes Sinful. It ought to be your bounden duty to guard against every thing of the kind. Let the whole bent of your Soul be employed how to convert Souls to God. This is a Methodist Preachers calling, and ought to be his alone business.[37]

This letter concisely expresses the attitude of the early Methodists toward learning.

Duke rebelled against this interpretation of his duties but he decided to ignore his critics rather than to leave his calling at that time. Most of his leisure time was spent reading and studying:

I studied in the forenoon rather more Than my Head could bear, indeed intense Application to study would soon it is my opinion Destroy the whole Human Frame.[38]

He usually studied in the morning; in the afternoon and evening he delivered two sermons, frequently to congregations ten or twelve miles apart. It is no wonder that under this tension he sometimes had to restrain himself from bursting forth with laughter during a hymn or while he was preaching:

When I began I was beset with a spirit of laughter in an extraordinary Manner while I was singing there was such strange Ideas Suggested to me that I was forced to Desist before I had half Done the hymn but when I began to speak I found the assistance of the Divine power . . .[39]

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[36] *Ibid.*, January 24, 1776.

[37] Thomas Rankin to William Duke. Allen collection of letters of Maryland Clergymen, Vol. I, 140. Maryland Diocesan Library.

[38] *Ibid.*, June 3, 1775.

[39] William Duke Journal, No. 1. May 10, 1774.

He was undoubtedly suffering from a severe mental strain. The dizziness he felt after reading probably was due to this cause rather than eye strain.

Occasionally his conscience was bothered at wasting so much of his time reading:

I spent the forenoon chiefly in my studies but I am afraid of myself lest I should too anxiously pursue human Knowledge and so neglect that which is Divine but I do not find that studying is a hurt to my soul when I moderate it by intervals of humble prayer.[40]

He very seldom actually mentioned the titles he was reading, but the few references in his early journal indicate that they were probably religious books:

In the evening read Mr Wesleys Journal How indefigable in the glorious pursuit of proclaiming the everlasting Gospel animated with Love stronger than Death.[41]

In the morning I read a little in that valuable Book Mr. Clark' general Martyrology. What conflicts did the poor Christians undergoe surely it was an almighty Arm that supported them.[42]

I read the Life of Colonel Gardiner What an Example of Piety and Devotion although in Military station Not unworthy of the Imitation of our Ecclesiastical Officers.[43]

Later he began the study of literature, but here again he fails to specify the titles he read:

In the morning I was checked with a fear lest I should damage my Soul by my Study of Literature. Nevertheless after waiting before God in earnest Prayer he greatly comforted and strengthened my Soul . . .[44]

This conflict between the Methodist conception of religion and his interest in reading and study went on in his mind for many years. As late as 1779, his conscience again reacted against his intellectual interests:

The Enemy of my Soul would have me spend my precious moments which should be improved for my advancement in Grace and Holiness in useless speculations and studies which rather tend to improve the Head than the Heart. I believe certainly that I ought to exercise my Reason for intellectual improvement but the Exercise of Faith which immediately tends to my Improvement in the Knowledge of God is of greater Importance.[45]

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[40] William Duke Journal, No. 5. September 6, 1775.
[41] *Ibid.*, October 9, 1775.
[42] *Ibid.*, October 31, 1775.
[43] *Ibid.*, November, 27, 1775.
[44] *Ibid.*, January 6, 1776.
[45] William Duke Manuscript, January 1, 1779. Loose paper in Diocesan Library.

During the winter months of that year he withdrew from his labors as a travelling preacher and studied Greek and Latin. When the Methodists established a separate church in 1784, Duke refused to give it his support and he remained an Anglican during the rest of his life. He published several books including *Hymns and Poems* in 1789.[46] He continued his early studies, and in 1789, when he was considering a mission to Kentucky and the West, Bishop Clagett testified:

> Mr. Duke was a good and faithful minister of Jesus Christ, well learned in Divinity, and in the Latin and Hebrew Languages.[47]

In 1799, he opened a classical school in his home and, in 1803, he was appointed Professor of Languages at St. John's College. He died in 1840 after a long and useful life in the church and educational fields in Maryland.

Duke, like most of the other clergymen in the Middle Colonies, was acquainted with Parson Weems, the itinerant preacher and bookseller. Although this grave and "sad-hued divine" never became entirely reconciled to some of the mannerisms of his more volatile friend, they frequently travelled together and visited one another, and remained warm friends throughout their lives. Duke recorded in his journal that one evening he had difficulty in getting to sleep because Parson Weems and his friends "engaged in the conflict of paste-boards, with a preserverence that sadly interferred with my repose." While they were visiting together in 1790, Duke happened to read aloud from Wilson's *Account from the Pelew Islands,* and his listeners were so much interested that they made him read from the same book on the following evenings. Three years later, Parson Weems, the shrewd and energetic bookpeddler, had Samuel and John Adams print an edition which he could sell through the middle and southern states.[48]

His library in 1792 contained at least five hundred titles of which the following is a selected list showing his wide interests

[46] Joseph T. Wheeler, *The Maryland Press,* 1777-1790. Baltimore, 1938 No. 524. Among Duke's early publications were the following: *A Methodist's Remonstrance* (Wheeler, 525); *Thoughts on Repentance* (Wheeler, 497); *Observations on the State of Religion in Maryland* (Evans 28593); *Remarks on Education* (Evans, 28494); and *Clue to Religious Truth* (Evans, 28592).

[47] Sprague, *op. cit.,* pp. 309-314. The biographical sketch of Duke was written by Ethan Allen. L. C. Wroth has also written on Duke in the *Church Standard.*

[48] Lawrence C. Wroth, *Parson Weems, a Biographical and Critical Study,* Baltimore, 1911, p. 38.

in the classics, history and literature. Nearly all of these books were collected during and after the Revolution, so, strictly speaking, they do not belong in this study except in so far as they show his early intellectual development.[49]

Selected titles omitting religious works

Universal History 17[?] vol.
Cave's Historia Literaria
Kenelm Digby's Philosophy 4to
Greek lexicon
Latin dictionary
Hebrew Grammar and lexicon
Homer in Greek
Virgil in Usum Del.
Horace ditto
Guthries Geography
Rowning's Philosophy
Cicero's Orations Lat.
Kennett's Antiquities
Gibson's Surveying
Justin's General Hist. Eng. & Lat.
Xenophon's Hist. of Cyrus Gr. & Lat.
Longinus on the Sublime Gr. & Lat.
Eschinef and Demosthenes Orations
Pope's Homer's Iliad
Minor Poets 1 v.
Ovid Latin
Rollin's Belles Lettres
Parnel's Poems
Milton's Poetic works
Art of Speaking
Duncan's Logic
Locke on Understanding (abridged)
Hill's Arithmetic
Pomfert's Poems
Young's Night-Thoughts
Horace
Trap's Virgil
Burke on the Subl. and Beautiful
Lowth's Eng. Grammar
Constitutions of the United States
Mair's Introduction to Latin Syntax
Mela's Geography
Historical Mirror
Thompson's Seasons
Addison's Evidences of the Christian Religion
Hutcheson's Metaphysics Lat.
Ruddiman's Grammar 2 cop.
Terrence Lat.
Tuly's Offices Lat.
Greek Grammar
Two of Isocrates's Orations Greek and Latin [Same in English]
Elements of Rhetoric: Lat.
Anacreon Gr. & Lat.
Edwards on Free Will
Addison's Travels
Aristotle's Art of Poetry Gr. and Lat.
The Task a Poem and Tyrocrinum with French Grammar
Goldsmith's Deserted Vill, and Young's Last Day
Cicero de Finibus Lat.
Watt's Hymns 2 cop .
Sleidan's Four Monarchies Lat.
Select Epistls of Cicero
Sallust Lat.
Demosthenes's Orations Fr. & Lat.
Steele's Christian Hero
Eng. Dictionary
Pilgrim's Progress
Select Poetry 1 v.

[49] Catalogue of Books, January 26, 1792. Maryland Diocesan Library.

Epictetus
Bailey's Exercises
Anthologia Greek
Lives of the Fathers
Juvenal & Persius
Vocabulary
Hist. of Sir F. Drake
Select Stories &c
T. a Kempis's Imitation of Christ Lat. Same in English
Virgil Lat.
Robinson's Heb. Dictionary
The Poetical Epitome
Cicero's Letters Lat.
Curiosities of Literature
French Grammar
Bossuet L'Histoire Universal
Biographical Dictionary
Boerhaave's Materia Medica
Travels of Cyrus
De L(orS) olme on the Constitution of England
Paxton on the Human Body
Xenephon's Memorabilia
Backmair's German Grammar
Hoadley's Original & institution of civil government
Wotton's Reflections upon antient & modern learning
Virgil (small)
Jer. Collier's Essays
History of the 5 Indian Nations
Oldmixon's Critical History of England
Art's Treasury
Euclid's Elements
America Tutor's &c Arithmetic
Locke on the Human Understanding
Pindar's Olympiaes Gr.
Lucian's Dialogues
Mason on self Knowledge
Flowers of History
Tacitus (Lat.)
The Mirror
Walker's Dictionary
Brookes's Gazetteer
Biography, Dr. Johnson's Life &c
Hume's History of England 8v.
Armstrong Aikenside and Beaties poems
Juvenal
Watt's Lyrical Poems
Lexicon Homericum
Lyttleton's Dialogues of the dead
British Nepos
Plato's Dialogues
Seneca's Morals
Geography of Maryland and Delaware 1v.
Euripides Tragedies
Royal Dictionary of Arts &c 2v folio
Gregory's Dictionary of Arts and science
Guttiries Geography by Carey
French translation of Iliad
Ovid's Epistles Lat.
Comedies of Moliere
Ward's Mathematics
Life of Jno Newton
(NB some of his books were imported for him with the Balto Lib Cos. Books)
Caesar's Commentaries
Sallust
Boyer's Fr. Dictionary
Martiall Epigrams
Clark's Travels
Livy's Roman History
Plutarch's Lives 8v.
Fenelon's Dialogues
Smart's Horace
Humbolts personal narrative
Voyage to Abessinia by Salt
Caesar's Commentaries New York
Lucretius de rerum natura
Seneca's Works (Latin)
Translation of Greek tragedies
Wilson's Sallust
Leland's Demosthenes

THE HAYNIE LETTERS

INTRODUCTION AND DRAWINGS BY
DORIS MASLIN COHN

There are certain family names of early Maryland which for lack of sons after the second or third generation have passed entirely from our State rolls and their part in our history becomes lost and forgotten. Such a name is Haynie, a family who migrated from Northumberland County, Virginia, to the Eastern Shore in 1764. They were Samuel, the son of Richard Haynie Esq., originally from England, and Sarah Ball, a cousin of George Washington, (who left her the large sum of "three hundred dollars"), and Samuel's wife Judith James, and they settled on or near the Wicomico River west of Salisbury, probably near Rock-a-Walkin and then still part of Somerset County. Here two daughters were added to the group of four sons born in Virginia, Mary who died in infancy, and Lydia who married a Mr. Maddux. The sons were

1. Samuel Jr., 1756-1795. Died single.
2. Richard, 1758-1789. Married Leah Byrd of Virginia and had Leah B. and Martin Luther II.
3. Ezekiel, 1760-1799. Married Betsy Bayly, daughter of Esme and Sinah Polk Bayly, and had Esme B., Henrietta B., Charlotte, Richard Hampden, James Warfield, and Betsy B.
4. Martin Luther, 1763-1814. Died single.

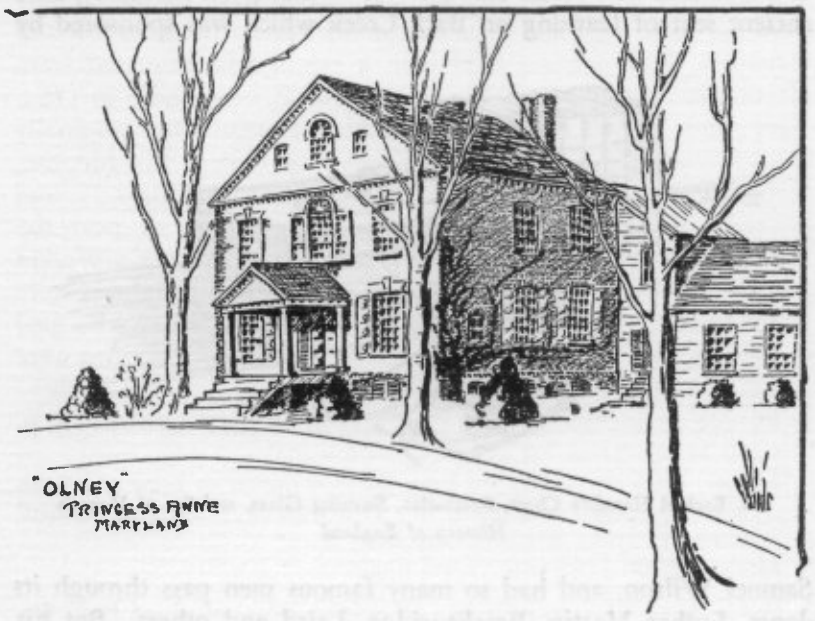
But enough of family trees. In a little brass studded box, Dr. Ezekiel's Revolutionary medicine chest, sometimes called "Great-great-grandmother Charlotte's box that was strapped on the gig," lie bundles of letters tied with colored strings. Some of these are printed here for the first time. Most of them are from Dr. Ezekiel Haynie to his brother Martin, some to others of his family and a few stray replies.

Ezekiel was four years old when his family moved across the Bay. Of his early schooling there is little record, but he studied medicine with his uncle, Dr. Ezekiel James of the Western Shore, and we know that he entered the Continental Army, Maryland 2nd Regiment, in August 1779.[1] In January and also in June,

[1] *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. XVIII.

1781, he is mate to R. Pindell, surgeon and in January, 1783, he is in the Maryland Line as surgeon with John Ebert as his mate. He was mustered out in November, 1783. A charter member of the Society of the Cincinnati and a founder of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland.[2]

The first letter refers to his being in the army, then a gap of three years and we find him practicing in Snow Hill. The Pindell



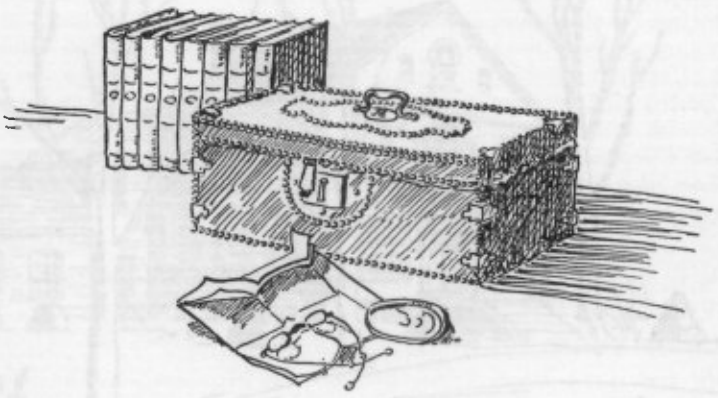
Olney Built in 1798 by Dr. Ezekiel Haynie, As It Appeared in Its Hey-Day

letter would show that like other veterans he is restless and feels a dissatisfaction which would probably have existed in any location. Local tradition says he was a successful doctor and after he moved his family to Princess Anne he built quite a nice home on the edge of the town, called Olney. The house still stands but with no trace of its former beauty, for it was once gutted by fire. It is the oldest and plainest of the buildings of the Eastern Shore Branch of the University of Maryland for the Higher Education of the Colored Race.

[2] Cordell's *Medical Annals of Maryland,* where an incorrect birth date is given.

Dr. Haynie's last letters show his failing health and spirits. His death followed soon after that of his wife, cutting short what promised to be a happy and useful life, and left his " orphaned Babes " to be brought up by their Bayly relations.

Doctor Martin Luther Haynie, the bachelor brother, was different in disposition, evidently of a bilious and depressed nature. He was said to bear a striking physical resemblance to Henry Clay. We find him first as an instructor at Washington Academy, that ancient seat of learning on Back Creek which was sponsored by



Dr. Ezekiel Haynie's Chest, Spectacles, Burning Glass, and Set of Hume's *History of England*

Samuel Wilson, and had so many famous men pass through its doors, Luther Martin, Brackenridge, Laird and others. But his gown grew irksome and he failed when a candidate before Presbytery. Next we hear of his studying medicine in Philadelphia, then there are records of his taking holy orders in the Episcopal Church but never having a charge. Years later a niece writes that he was a very religious man but a member of no denomination. Unhappy soul, he seems to have taught school, practiced medicine in various towns and never to have been satisfied. Having decided anti-slavery ideas, he ran counter to the current in most places.

The letters will speak for themselves, and reveal the likeness and the unlikeness of those times and these. If dear reader, you are an Eastern Shoreman, do not take to heart the criticisms of one hundred and fifty years ago!

[Addressed]
Martin Haynie
To be left until he comes
up from School.

Oct. 11, 1782.

Dear Brother,

I have determined to accept your kind offer respecting a settlement with Dr. Wilson. I acknowledge it one of such a nature, as I am by no means entitled to from you, but the consideration of my having to provide myself with Camp acquipage & must be at some expense in getting to the Detachment has induced me to intrude or rather impose on your brotherly goodness.

Inclosed is an account of the time which I was with Dr. Wilson which if necessary you may Show him. I hope to be able and in place to reimburse you before you stand in need of it. I am not less hurried than I was when we parted (it being now the Silent watches of the night) & can therefore only wish you all the happiness that this life can afford, & that God, on whom I depend for the Satisfaction of being restored to your company in a Short time, may bless & prosper you in everything in which you may be engaged. Farewell,

E. HAYNIE

T. T. Enclosed is a Dialoge which you may make what use of you think proper. So you don't Shew it to Critics.

[Memo on back of letter:]

April 20th 1773, began Going to School to Mr. Crow, and boarding at Mr. Kings.
August 2nd went up Home—Came down do. 29th.
June 2nd borrowed of Mr. Wilson thirteen Dollars or £ 2.7.6. Present at the time Mrs. S. Wilson.

Mr. Martin L. Haynie
Washington Academy

Dr. Brother;—

I confess I have been a little disappointed in my expectations of having your company part of this last week. Perhaps it was not altogether convenient to you to come—I know your situation and therefore cannot censure you upon reflection. But, as I told you before I scarcely expect to see you here now during my stay; for, (to own the truth) I grow every day more weary of this dull and unhappy place; which has for its chief characteristics Discord in Society, Stagnation in Business, and Infertility of Soil. None of which can ever prove Sources of either comfort or happiness.

I know not whether dissapation is a necessary consiquence of the properties I have mentioned as belonging to this place or not, but this I know that the incentives to it are more numerous and irresistable here, than I

have met with elsewhere. I see, I feel that I have not the same power of application to reading that I once had. And surely this is a Rock that must prove as destructive to a person in my indigent condition, as Scylla and Carybdis were fabled to be to the Marriners of old.

At the time I settled here I had motives for doing it, which I think will cease to operate in a short time—Those objects that are attainable will be accomplished and those that are not, will, must, and ought to be relinquished.

Since I saw you, I have been reading Blair's Lectures—They are certainly preferable to any writings on the subject that I am acquainted with so far as my Judgement is consistent with Truth and Taiste. As soon as read them through I propose begining Pope's works (which are to be had in Town)

When I shall go to Annapolis is yet uncertain, but I must go soon.

Adieu—

E. HAYNIE

Snow Hill Sunday 29th May 1785

Mr. Martin L. Haynie
W. Academy

Snow Hill June 14th 1785

Dear Brother.—

As I hate to be always complaining of the barrenness of my mind in puerile apologies for the want of something to write about, I am determined in future, to send you just what vague Ideas happen to be uppermost in my brain at the time I have an opportunity of writing. And I would have you take notice, that I am not now studying Nouns, Verbs, &c. as you are, and therefore I expect any blunder in that way will be faithfully overlooked; but you are not to look for the same indulgance from me, as it is not to be expected that an inferior Scholar will lose an opportunity of catching at an error in a Superior and taking occasion to be vain upon it.

I was at our old Mamma's last Sunday week and found the family nearly in the State you left them. Brother Richard told me he was to have gone down to meet you at P. Anne that day but could not do the business he had intended and of course it was not worth while but I am still a little surprised he did not go down last week, as he told me he had great hopes of getting the money he wanted either from Brother Samuel (who went the day I left Vienna to sell his Tobacco) or from Mr. M——x.

I did think to have set out to Annapolis this week, but could not get money to bear my expences up; nor am I certain I shall ever get as much from these vile people while I stay among them without Legal Assistance. Your indisposition I suppose you would willingly have me think to be either Vapours, as great Wits and very studious persons are said to be subject to them, but I hope it is not so bad as that. For tho' complaints of that Class are seldom dangerous, yet they are plain indications of a discontented, peevish, petulant temper of mind, which is a great bar to that internal complacency and quietude that is perhaps the only true source of happiness. Or it is rather that happiness itself.

If at any time you should need, in your Judgement the assistance of Medicine, you have only to let me know it. And I particularly desire you not to be backward in doing so. For how-ever unable I may be to assist you in any other respect, I shall never be to busy to afford you my assistance in this way.

The unhappy misunderstanding between your President and some of the Trustees, is now in the knowledge of almost everybody. I wish it may not undermine the Academy, or at least injure it considerably in the event, by giving occasion to some people to think there is Caprice where it ought not to be.

I hope by the next opportunity to be able to send you *Toga Virilis,* 'thou not the same that was worn by Maro, or Ovid, or Tully, I imagine not unlike theirs, as they are described to have been plain, without fringe, which differed from the *Toga Puorilis* that having a purple fringe. So it will just Suit you, a dignified Precepter.

But my paper's full. Adieu.

E. HAYNIE

Mr. Martin L. Haynie
Washington Academy.

Snow Hill June 24th 1785

Dr. Brother,–

You no doubt expected me at the Academy this week, and I thought to have gone, but having a little business here and none of equal consequence there, I declined it. Mr. Handy told me he saw you and Brother Rich'd both at Princess Anne: but I scarce think you were there in the middle of the week. As I intend up to Salisbury tomorrow, and from there to Mamma's I write this and leave it to be sent to you by Benny Martin who says he is going down Sunday or Monday. I have also left out a Gown to be sent by him. You will I think find it a very agreeable Academic dress, and they are not very dear, not so much as Summer Coats.

I can yet determine upon no particular time to set out to Annapolis— but it must be in about ten days, if that certain *pocket-necessary* can be obtained by any means. I wish very much to see you before that time, and must if possible take a day or two for that purpose.

My chief business up now, is to see our Relative who is my patient— Tho' for aught I know She may be in Virginia before this time.—If She is, it will be a matter of concern to me that I did not see her again before she went, not that I can do anything more for the complaint that I have already, but because perhaps she thinks I could and besides this, I wanted to write to that dear old Sister of ours, whose real affection for us, I dare say makes her anticipate with fine anxiety the pleasure she will have in receiving testimonies of ours for her, by this conveyance.

There are several things on my mind which I would be glad to impart to you, but I must defer it till we meet. In the meantime write me the first opportunity. Adieu,

E. HAYNIE

What a difference a year makes! Where now is the boredom of "stagnation of business," evidently revived enough to warrant setting up housekeeping even in a meagre manner? Fear and hope, timidity and courage, the same age-old approach to matrimony. He was married to Betsy Bayly on May 11, 1786.

Snow Hill Apr. 29 [1786]

Dr Brother–

If you have any desire to know how disjointed and incoherent a person's Ideas are, in so anxious a State as I am in at this time, this Letter will probably gratify it. My mind, you may readily suppose, is employed almost all my time in anticipating the important event which awaits; and whether my sensations are agreeable or not you may easily ascertain, by bringing the matter to the test of your own feelings when you were pretty certain of accomplishing a very desirable and interesting object. Tho' I must own even in this, I find the truth of the saying, that nothing comes to us unmixt. The difficulty of providing those necessaries without which there is no housekeeping, and the impatience and hurry the spirits are thrown into, are at least sufficient to keep a person from being happy to excess. I believe I have given it as my opinion, that such was the cloying nature of most of our pleasures and enjoyments, and happiness so much confined to the Mind, that we generaly enjoyed a thing more in anticipation than fruition. I still think it generaly true; but am much inclined to think it will not prove so in this instance.

I know of no alteration in the arrangements we had made before I left Somerset; so that I have nothing particular to request you to do in the matter; except that I want you to come here towards the last of next week if you can conveniently, as it is likely you may be useful to me about that time.

I have not yet made any preparation for the approaching event, only in putting my Garden in better order, and bespeaking some trifling articles of furniture.

I think if there is any alteration in my Spirits, it consists in their being a little depressed, by reflecting on the vast importance of the matter before me.

Tell Mamma, Brothers, and Sisters my love and good wishes always attend them.

E. HAYNIE

A few months pass and here speaks the master of a home. Food, the all important item to every generation, upsets the holiday visiting. Fickle winter weather must be endured and plans changed to meet its whims.

Mr. Martin Haynie
near Salisbury
favd. Capt. Smyly.

Snow Hill January 18 1787

Dear Martin–

We left Wicomico in so great a hurry that it was altogether out of our power to take Mamma's in our route here. The reason of it was this, I had got a quantity of Pork Fryday in Christmas week; and not expecting such a continuance of warm weather I went to Somerset and left it unsalted. On Sunday we intended up to the Forest, but I was sent for early in the day to go to Mr. W. Polk, and before I returned from thence I had a message from Col. Josh. Dashiell; I then was obliged to give up all the thoughts of going to Mamma's & Sot out on Monday in order to prevent my Pork from Spoiling. I assure you it was no very agreeable disappointment to us for we wished to have spent a day or two at least, with our Friends there, before we left the County, especially as we shall not have it in our power to do it very soon now.

We have been constantly on the lookout for you since we came home, and we are certainly entitled to expect you from your promise to us viz, That if we could not call at Mamma's "you would come down as soon as you heard we had come away." So that if you do not come soon I shall begin to fear you are actuated by some unworthy principal or passion or other, or else that you are more engaged than I think you to be. I know I have found Relations whose Suspicians about the Sincerity of my esteem for them are easily excited; but I hope I have also found those whose esteem for me will induce them to make the necessary allowance for the peculiar circumstances attending my Proffession & Situation in other respects. I think there are not many people who feel a more earnest wish for the happiness of their Relations or who enjoy their company when in it more than I do, and always did. But it has so happened that my affairs did not admit of my being often or long with them. I have often lamented but cannot alter it without great inconvenience.

If you Spoke to B. Dickey about his Pork, I will be glad if you will let him know that I am supplied. I hope he has not kept them up longer than he intended on my Account.

I neglected to bring Euclid with me from Wicomico but I shall probably have an opportunity of getting it very soon so that we may not only spend our time agreeably but profitably if you can tarry a month or two with me. If you should have an opportunity, you may get my Cheseldon of Doct. Irving and bring with you, if you wish to study it.

This is a leisure Season with me, and our family has no children in it to interrupt Studious people, tho' there are none such here now; for I read very little.

Give my most affectionate wishes to Mamma & all friends.

Adieu

E. HAYNIE

Martin Haynie has started the first of his moves to other pastures. Far away, measured by the slow travel of those days, Doctor Ezekiel writes to him at such length that the next letter has been much condensed. It exhibits concern over his brother's health, suggesting cold baths as a remedy for nervous weakness provided it is not "the effect of Atony or Debility." The good Doctor seems not to approve of careless mirth but thinks cheerfulness a sweetener of life, and encourages indulgence in "the Gaity of Georgetown to dispell the mists of too much thought and pensiveness."

Mr. Martin Haynie
George Town Montgomery County
fav'd by Mr. Irving.

Snow Hill May 27th 1787

Dear Brother–

Next to the presence and conversation of a Friend, his letters administer the most pleasure to an affectionate heart. Nor are you to think that this observation is the effect of a knowledge merely speculative, for I am happy to assure you, that it has grown out of the feeling which a sight of three of your letters before me, has excited.

In your last by Mr. Irving you tell me you were at great pains to get a conveyance here for your letters.

* * * * *

I have, however, delayed writing for a few days longer than I should on this occasion, in expectation of being able to tell you I had a SON or daughter; but that event has hitherto been looked for in vain. I must therefore reserve it for my next.

I took the earliest opportunity of forwarding the information your letters gave me, to our very dear Parent and other relations; but while I have been telling them what befel you, I have not collected anything from them to tell you. At Easter I was at Salisbury Fair, where I saw All our brethren; since that time I have not been in Somerset, or had any particular account from them. Mrs. Bayly who is here tells me she saw some of the family a few days ago and heard no complaint.

I wished to have seen you before you left Somerset for many reasons, and among others to give you the information I had of Gen'l Roberdeau's character, that you might not confide too implicitly in him. I am glad however, that you found him hospitable and Friendly. Perhaps my information of his being a *Designing Mercenary* was false. It was a just preference, I think that you gave to G. Town before Alexandria. I have been at both places, and am sure the former tho' not so populous and regular, is more agreeable and much healthier than the latter.

I cannot say that I am entirely satisfied with the prospect your school affords. Tho' if it should be augmented to the number you mention it will

be much better: and perhaps equal to any business you could engage in at this time of general embarrassment and stagnation of every kind of business.

* * * * *

You as well as myself could relish Society a little better. It would—but I must break off from this strain to tell you the Domestic (or rather Social) news. Rider Henry and Mrs. Nelly Horsey are dead. And now to take it in the order the publishers of Magazines generally do, after the Bill of Mortality comes the Marriages, not that there have been any, but your old friend Jemmy Wilson Senr. is to be united to Miss Kitty Morris next Wednesday week, no reconciliation having yet taken place between him and his unfortunate Daughter and Son in Law.

I have several Army acquaintances about G. Town among whom are Captains Beall, Lemarand Bell, and Messrs Saml. Hamilton, Boyd, Murdock, McGruder and Williams. If these or any of my old fellow-sufferers enquire tell them what has become of me, and that I wish them well.

* * * * *

Betsy directs me to speak for her as well as myself, when I tell you I love you and will always while I am

E. HAYNIE

The school at G. Town evidently was not " augmented to the number you mention " for here is Brother Martin back in Somerset and being scolded for the useless attempt to teach his personal opinions to those who do not care to learn.

Mr. Martin L. Haynie
Mr. James Wilson's Junr.
Manokin by Mr. Morris.

Snow Hill June 18th '88

Dear Brother,

I received your's by Doct. Rownd the day after it's date, and I was very glad to hear from you in that way. Tho' I had much rather have seen you either here or in Somerset, as I thought myself entitled to expect. It would not, perhaps, be very easy for me to ascertain the cause, but it is no hard matter to discover that my friends will not be at much pains to give me the pleasure of their company. One will come within a few miles of my dwelling and not call on me, another will not tarry a day or two to see me when he hears I am to be in the place where he is; while the rest will never come one mile towards the place where I live. This is I own the language of complaint, and I think it is not without good grounds. You will say many inconveniences are in the way, and should be considered, I answer that

I have not suffered small inconveniences to hinder me from going to see my friends. If I did I should never go.

You heard in Salisbury that we were to be up in a few days, we went up on Wednesday and you had returned on Monday. We heard at Mamma's that you intended down here in 3 or 4 weeks, but you say nothing about it, so that we are at *liberty* to conclude you have declined it. I hope however, you have not, and shall expect you. I believe I should not quarrel with you either, as *you* are the only one who has been to see us. You do not tell me whether you got your Rasor from Mr. King or not, or the letter that accompanied it.

I did not hear Josiah Bayly say anything about your having offended Mr. Denwood Wilson, but if I recollect you told me what you said to him & his remark upon it. How he came to suppose you meant Mr. Jones I cannot guess; I never heard the most remote hint of his driving his people so hard, or that he was charged with too much Industry. You know my sentiments upon the *Matter* of your dispute with Mr. Wilson, and will easily Judge what my opinion is of your Conduct. I am not of the most ductile Metal, but I do not know whether I should voluntarily engage in a difference of this kind with a people who would not be likely to hear Reason, or even the pathetic voice of *Human Misery,* when it tended to diminish their *Idol* Property. But considering the accidental manner in which you were drawn into it you are certainly in the right to defend yourself, even against the most dignified Characters in the State, if you had such to contend with. The mention of your dispute reminded me of a story I saw not long ago in the Museum. A number of Gentlemen were at a Dinner in Philadelphia, when one of them happened to say he thought it right to hold Slaves. Another immediately 'rose from the Table in a violent passion and Stamped about the floor, declaring a person of his sentiments was not fit to live &c &c. The Host who was a sensible Scotchman, laid hold of him, and exclaimed " Ho'd, Ho'd Man, ye cannot set the World to rights, set down to your Soup." It is necessary a reflecting Mind should be supplied with a good deal of Patience and forebearance to enable it to resist the numerous temptations that it must often be under to inveigh against the flagrant vices and excesses of the times. As to the sacrifice you make of a friendship of a certain Person, I esteemed it less than none at all; for abstracted from property, He is as insignificant as I think any Man can be. I hope, as it has happened that it will be productive of some good; and I really think it likely to be so. For people do not like for their crimes to become too public.

I send by my friend *Mr. Morris* The articles you mentioned. You know how to use them all except the Mercurial Water for Ring Worms, which is to be used as a wash once a day while necessary.

Will you come down to see us in a week or two? I will send a horse if that should be an obstruction.

Yrs, Affectionately

EZEK. HAYNIE

Mr. Martin Haynie
Somerset
by Mr. Ross.

Snow Hill Oct. 10th 1788

Dr. Brother,

From the information Mr. Ker gave me I have been expecting you down here several days past. You will find business enough here for you as soon as you will. The Presbytery is to meet at Blackwater the 21 Inst. and for your amusement in the meantime, Mr. McMaster has appointed you a Latin Exogesis (for so he and Mr. Tull call it) which is to be executed by that time as a part of probation. I have a letter for you which Mr. McMaster left here that will give you further information on the subject when you come down. I would have sent the letter but expecting you down every day, I thought you might not get it. We are not quite well Esme has the Ague, and I have been indisposed a week or two. My love to all friends.

Yrs.

E. HAYNIE

In the five years between this and the last letter the versatile Martin seems to have abandoned preaching and starting practicing. This is the only letter addressed to him as " The Rev.," and from now on they are from doctor to doctor.

The Rev.
Martin L. Haynie
Salisbury

Geo. Purnell Esq.

Snow Hill 9th Nov. '93

Dear Brother,

I got my return from Baltimore some days ago, and was agreeably surprised to find that the prices of medicine (a few articles excepted) are lower, instead of higher than usual. I have enclosed the Bill for your inspection. If you have not yet sent for your Medicine I will be obliged to you to add zii of Magnesia Alba and the same quantity of Saccharum Saturni to your order on my Acct.

We are much as you left us & it remains healthy in the neighborhood. I shall be at Court next week, and if I have time at Wicomico.

I shall expect you down to get a dividend of the Medicine last received, but it will be the best to defer it till Wednesday or Thursday next, on account of my going to Somerset the first of the week. I shall want the enclosed Bill again. You will bring it down when you come.

I am Affec.y, Yrs.

E. HAYNIE

Doctr. Martin L. Haynie
at Salisbury

Snow hill 14 Dec. 1793

Dear Brother,

I had no opportunity of speaking to Mr. Ball on the subject of his Sulky till a few days ago. He says that he has made a tender of it to his Father, but if he should not accept it will be for Sale. When he is to get his answer he did not mention. He however, observed that as you were the first at Salisbury he should have an opportunity of talking with you on the subject. From which observation I drew the conclusion that he perhaps would be determined pretty much by the price he was likely to get.

Old John Smith is no doubt impatient to get his medicine, if you see him you may let him know that I will send it to Salisbury on Tuesday if the weather will permit. You may also tell Major Bayly that I shall try to procure a load of Oysters at the same time (Tuesday) when I think of sending my Cart for Flour. I think I shall be at Salisbury about Christmas.

Yrs. Affectionately

E. HAYNIE

BALTIMORE COUNTY LAND RECORDS OF 1687

Contributed by Louis Dow Scisco

These entries of 1687 are to be found on pages 9 to 79 of the original Liber F No. 2 and on pages 211 to 247 of the transcript in Liber R M No. H S of the land records. In the original record three papers of 1688 and one of 1689 were interpolated in the sequence at later dates. These are given as they appear in the original liber.

Deed, June 6, 1688, Christopher Shawe and wife Elizabeth, for love, good will, and affection, conveying to John Ashes, planter, the 30-acre tract " Shaws Choice," adjoining to the tract " Planters Paradice." Witness, Nicholas Rogier. Grantors acknowledge in court. Deputy Clerk Nicholas Rogier attests for Clerk Thomas Hedge.

Deed, January 4, 1686-87, George Gouldsmith, gentleman, and wife Martha, for 10,354 pounds of tobacco, conveying to John Walstone, gentleman, two tracts on the south side of Swan Creek, first, the 200-acre tract " Procters Hall," adjoining to land of James Roberts, and second, the 200-acre tract " The Enlargement " adjoining to land formerly granted to Gouldsmith and Procter. No witnesses recorded. Gouldsmith acknowledges and wife Martha consents February 26 before George Wells and Edward Beadle. Sub-sheriff John Hall receives on March 30 from Walstone 12 shillings alienation money.

Bond, February 26, 1686-87, George Gouldsmith and wife Martha obligating themselves to John Walstone, gentleman, for 30,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, George Wells, Edward Beadle. Gouldsmith and wife acknowledge before same.

Deed, May 9, 1685, Thomas Richardson, planter, and wife Rachel as administratrix, for 3,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Michael Judd the 150-acre tract " Hogg Neck " on the south side of Bush River, which tract was taken up by Mr. Nathaniell Stiles, who sold to Lodwick Williams, who sold to John Towers, now deceased, who left it to his wife Rachel, now wife of Richardson. Witnesses, Anthony Drew, Edmond Stansley. Richardson acknowledges and wife Rachel consents March 3, 1686-87, before George Gouldsmith.

Letter of attorney, November 8, 1688, William Osborn, Junior, planter, appointing James Phillips, innholder, his attorney to act in all things concerning him. Witnesses, Nicholas Rogier, Thomas Dalby. (*Not in transcript.*)

Deed, October 26, 1686, Anthony Demondideer, planter, for 2,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Thomas Morris, planter, for 89 years,

with annual rent of one grain of Indian corn if demanded, 50 acres at George's Pond, as laid out September 1, 1686, by Thomas Lightfoot the deputy surveyor, said land being part of the 300-acre tract " Timber Neck " on the north side of Patapsco River and adjoining to Lewis Bryan's tract " The Hope," it being formerly possessed by Richard Ball, deceased, and on June 14, 1678, being possessed by Thomas Taylor, esq. Witnesses, John Robinson, Francis Poteet, Randall Jones. Grantor's attorney Charles Gorsuch acknowledges in court before Capt. Henry Johnson and George Goldsmith, commissioners. Clerk Hedge attests.

Letter of attorney, February 15, 1686-87, Anthony Demondidier appointing Charles Gorsuch his attorney to acknowledge a deed of 50 acres. Witnesses, Thymothy Ryly, Robert White.

Deed of gift, February 10, 1686-87, Anthony Demondideer freely giving to Thomas Jones 10 or 15 acres by guess on north side of George's Pond at Patapsco River, it being part of " Timber Neck " tract and adjoining to lands of Francis Potteet and Thomas Morris, to hold said land for the same period that grantor has it from Col. Thomas Taylor. Witnesses, Martha Demondidier, Randall Jones.

Deed, February 24, 1686-87, Charles Gorsuch and wife Sarah of Patapsco River, for 14,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Roger Newman, merchant, of London, the 260-acre tract " The Range " at Denton Creek, on the Bay side near Patapsco River mouth. Witnesses, Thomas Scudamore, Susanna Osten.

Bond, February 24, 1686-87, Charles Gorsuch of Patapsco River obligating himself to Roger Newman, merchant, of London, for 30,000 pounds of tobacco as security that Gorsuch and wife Sarah will fulfill covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, Thomas Scudamore, Susanna Osten.

Letter of attorney, February 24, 1686-87, Sarah Gorsuch appointing John Boring her attorney to acknowledge conveyance of 260 acres. Witnesses, Thomas Scudamore, Susanna Osten. Appended memorandum that on March 1 Charles Gorsuch and Sarah Gorsuch's attorney John Boreing acknowledge in court. Clerk Hedge attests.

Deed, December 24, 1684, (*sic*), Jenkin Smith planter, of Calvert County, for 5,400 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Richard Robeson (or Robinson) planter, the 100-acre tract " The Narrows " on north side of Stony Creek on south side of Patapsco River, as patented September 9, 1679, to Francis Leafe, bricklayer, of Calvert County, by an assignment from George Yate, gentleman, of Anne Arundel County, and deeded December 29, 1680, by Leafe and wife Sarah to Jenkin Smith. Witnesses, Francis Downs, John Meriton, Joseph Tilly.

Bond, December 24, 1685, Jenkin Smith, planter, of Calvert County, obligating himself to Richard Robinson, planter, for 10,800 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, John Harrison, Joseph Tilly, Francis Downes, John Merriton. Smith acknowledges March 2, 1686-87, and wife Ann consents to deed.

Deed, June 8, 1687, Thomas Thurstone of Bush River, for love, good will, and affection, conveying to Stephen Gill, son of Stephen Gill, planter,

late of Severn River, 182 acres out of the "Littleton" tract. Witnesses, George Goldsmith, John Hathway. Grantor acknowledges at court. Deputy Clerk John Hathway attests for Clerk Hedge.

Deed, June 6, 1687, James Mills conveying to James Phillips his interest in the 100-acre tract "Galiarbe" on the west side of Bush River, adjoining to John Collier's land, the tract belonging formerly to Joseph Gallion and afterward to George Gunill. Witnesses, Thomas Dalby, Robert Bengar, Francis Robinson. Grantor acknowledges before Capt. Henry Johnson, Mr. George Goldsmith, and Mr. Francis Watkins. Deputy Clerk Hathway attests for Clerk Hedge.

Deed, April 6, 1687, Thomas Lightfoot, gentleman, for £65 sterling, conveying to James Greeniff, planter, of Anne Arundel County, the 350-acre tract "Harbourrough" on the south side of the southwest branch of Patapsco River, excepting 5 acres lying on Holly Run. Signed by Thomas Scudamore as attorney. Thomas Lightfoot and Rebecca Lightfoot sign as witnesses. Scudamore acknowledges in June 7 court as attorney for grantor and wife and gives bond for them. Deputy Clerk Hathway attests for Clerk Hedge. Lightfoot acknowledges and wife Rebecca consents April 25 before John Boreing and Francis Watkins.

Bond, April 25, 1687, Thomas Lightfoot, gentleman, obligating himself to James Greeniff, planter, of Anne Arundel County, for £130 sterling as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Signed by Thomas Scudamore as attorney. Witnesses, John Boreing, Francis Watkins. Scudamore acknowledges in June 7 court. Deputy Clerk Hathway attests for Clerk Hedge.

Letter of attorney, April 20, 1687, Thomas Lightfoot and wife Rebecca appointing Thomas Scudamore their attorney to convey land. Witnesses, Daniell Palmer, Joshuah Aurrikon.

Deed, June 7, 1687, Edward Douse and wife Elizabeth, with Emanuel Ceely and wife Sarah, conveying to William Deane of Kent County the 200-acre tract "Forest" at head of Saltpeter Creek and adjoining to "Ebinezers Park" tract. Witnesses, John Hathway, Edmond Hansley, John Purnall. Acknowledged by two grantors and consent given by wives. Deed delivered to Robert Benger. Deputy Clerk Hathway attests for Clerk Hedge. Roger Mathews notes blanks in original record.

Letter of attorney, April 18, 1687, William Deane of Kent County, carpenter, appointing Robert Benjar, planter, his attorney to recover debts and give receipts. Witnesses, Sydack Whitworth, Edward Douse. (*Not in transcript.*)

Deed, June 7, 1687, James Phillips, innholder, conveying to Thomas Tench, gentleman, of Anne Arundel County, 1,000 acres at Susquehanna River out of the 2,000-acre tract "Phillips Purchase." Susanna Phillips signs with grantor. Witnesses, John Hathway, Clerk Thomas Hedge.

Bond, June 7, 1687, James Phillips, innholder, of Bush River, obligating himself to Thomas Tench, merchant, of Anne Arundel County, for 20,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, Edward Bedell, Thomas Hedge.

Clerk's memorandum, June 7, 1687, that James Phillips, before Mr. Edward Bedell and Mr. John Boring, acknowledges to Tench's attorney Capt. Henry Johnson. Wife Susannah consents before Bedell. Clerk Hedge attests. Supplemental memorandum that Phillips and Tench agree that Tench will bear rent arrears, alienation fee, and transfer costs.

Deed of gift, November 7, 1688, John Fuller, planter, of Gunpowder River, assigning to his son John Fuller one heifer. Witnesses, Edmond Hensley, John Bevans. Fuller acknowledges in court. Deputy Clerk Rogier attests for Clerk Hedge. (*Not in transcript*).

Bond, June 7, 1687, Edward Douse and Emanuell Ceely, planters, obligating themselves to William Deane of Kent County for 10,000 pounds of tobacco as security that they will perform covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, John Hathway, Edmond Hansley, John Pornell. Douse and Ceely acknowledged in court and delivery of bond made to Robert Benger. Deputy Clerk Hathway attests for Clerk Hedge.

Deed, July 19, 1687, John Fuller of Middle River (for 6,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Henry Enloes, Jr., of same river, the 100-acre tract "The Swallow Forke" at head of Senigoe Creek. Witnesses, Andrew Andersone, Deputy Clerk Nicholas Rogier. Grantor acknowledges in August 2 court and wife Easter consents before George Ashman, commissioner. Clerk Hedge attests.

Bond, July 19, 1687, John Fuller, innholder, obligating himself to Henry Enloes, Jr., for 12,000 pounds of tobacco as security for observance of agreements in deed of same date. Witnesses, Hendricke Enloes, Andrew Andersone. Fuller acknowledges in August 2 court. Clerk Hedge attests.

Deed of gift, May 2, 1689, Susana Philips, widow of James Phillips, assigning £20 each to her daughters Mary and Martha, payable when 18 or when married, and £10 to her son Anthony, payable when 21, trustee therefor apparently being James Phillips, heir and executor of her deceased husband. (*Not in transcript and partly illegible in original record.*)

Deed, July 25, 1687, Thomas Scudamore, gentleman, of Back River, for 3,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Joseph Strawbridge of same place the 200-acre tract "Westwood" on the north side of Back River and on west side of the northeast branch. Witnesses, John Hall, Charles Greene. Grantor acknowledges in August 2 court. Clerk Hedge attests.

Bond, July 25, 1687, Thomas Scudamore, gentleman, obligating himself to Joseph Strawbridge, carpenter, for 6,000 pounds of tobacco as security for observance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, John Hall, Charles Greene. Acknowledged at August 2 court. Clerk Hedge attests.

Deed, September 6, 1687, John Walston, gentleman, conveying to Col. George Wells, gentleman, the 81-acre tract "Walstons Addition" at Delfe Creek, lying in the woods at Muddy Branch and near grantee's tract "Timber Proofe," said deeded tract being patented July 14, 1679. Witnesses, Edward Bedell, George Goldsmith. Grantor acknowledges before Bedell and Goldsmith, commissioners. Deputy Clerk Rogier attests for Clerk Hedge. Undated receipt, Sheriff Thomas Long having received from Wells 3 shillings 2½ pence for alienation.

Bond, September 6, 1687, John Walston, gentleman, obligating himself to Col. George Wells, gentleman, for 10,000 pounds of tobacco, as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, Edward Bedell, George Goldsmith. Acknowledged before Bedell and Goldsmith, commissioners. Deputy Clerk Rogier attests for Clerk Hedge.

Deed, October 31, 1687, George Ogilsby, tailor, for 6,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Edward Dowce, planter, the 200-acre tract " Ogilsbys Chance " at head of the main branch of Middle River. Witnesses, Archibald Burnet, Michael Judd. Johanna Ogilsby signs with grantor. Grantor acknowledges and wife Johanna consents on November 1 before George Goldsmith. Deputy Clerk Rogier attests for Clerk Hedge.

Bond, October 31, 1687, George Ogilsby, tailor, obligating himself to Edward Dowce, planter, for 12,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, Archibald Burnet, Michael Judd. Acknowledged in November 1 court. Deputy Clerk Rogier attests for Clerk Hedge.

Deed, October 28, 1687, Robert Lockwood, planter, of Anne Arundel County, for £60 sterling, conveying to John Willson, planter, of same county, the 1,000-acre tract " Freindshipp " on east side of the middle branch of Bush River, as patented July 1, 1685. Witnesses, Thomas Knighton, Lenard Coles. Grantor acknowledges and wife Elizabeth consents before the Anne Arundel County commissioners Thomas Knighton and James Ellis. Receipt, November 1, from Sheriff Thomas Long for alienation in full received from Willson.

Deed, December 1, 1687, Richard Johns, merchant, of Calvert County, and wife Elizabeth, sister and heir of Paull Kinsey, deceased, for 4,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Richard Gwyn, planter, the 250-acre tract " Brandon," formerly in Anne Arundel County, on the northwest side of Deep Creek at Brandon Bay, on the south side of Patapsco River, as formerly laid out for Kinsey. Witnesses, William Tymis, John Gadsby. Grantor acknowledges and wife Elizabeth consents before John Boring and George Ashman.

Survey certificate, August 17, 1663, the deputy surveyor Francis Skenner having laid out for Paul Kinsey, planter, 250 acres called Brandon, in Anne Arundel County, on the south side of Patapsco River at Brandon Bay and on the northwest side of Deep Creek. Reference to Liber AA, page 382. James Cullen, registrar, signs.

Bond, December 1, 1687, Richard Johns, merchant, of Calvert County, obligating himself to Richard Gwyn, planter, for 8,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, John Boring, William Tymis.

A LETTER FROM THE SPRINGS

A letter written nearly a century ago from York Springs, Adams County, Pennsylvania, by Laura Jane Hooper, of Baltimore, has been made available for publication by Mr. George G. Buck, a member of the Society and grandson of the writer. Miss Hooper was a daughter of William Hooper, of the firm of Hooper and Hardester, cotton duck importers on Bowley's Wharf. At the date of the letter she was 22 years of age. The addressee was her future mother-in-law at whose home, Bristle Hill, in the present Walbrook, Miss Hooper was living following the death of her mother. She married George W. Grafflin.

The tunnel mentioned in the letter is known as the Howard Tunnel, cut in 1841 through solid rock between Glatfelter and Brilhart, both in Pennsylvania, on the Northern Central Railroad, then the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad. " Dr. Fisk " doubtless was Dr. Wilbur Fisk, clergyman, author and first president of Wesleyan University. The Kettlewells were neighbors of the Hoopers in the 900-block East Pratt Street. The brother who accompanied the writer was James A. Hooper, importer, shipchandler and owner of the clipper ship, *Kate Hooper,* reputed to have been the first ship of the type built here (1853). Another brother, not referred to in the letter, was William E. Hooper, founder more than a hundred years ago of the cotton duck firm that still bears his name.

" Lawyer Preston " was no doubt William P. Preston, of Fayette Street. " Mr. Lurman " if Gustavus W. Lurman, was not a bachelor but the husband of Frances Donnell, and founder of the well known family of that name and member of the firm of Oelrichs and Lurman. The Hoffmans need no identification. " Mr. Beatty " was James Beatty, one of the original directors of the Union Manufacturing Company, resident in Calvert Street north of Lexington.

[Addressed]
Mrs. Jacob Grafflin
Care of Hooper & Hardester,
Baltimore.

York Springs, Aug. 22nd, 1842

Dear friend:

Thinking perhaps you would feel some anxiety to hear how I am getting along, I have seated myself to try and give you some account of my journey here and of my enjoyments since I have been here, you will find them not quite as interesting as Dr. Fisk's, but perhaps you will prize them more, coming as they do from your adopted daughter. Well, to begin, I left the depot with a smiling face but a sense of desolation at my heart, never having traveled before without a female companion. This however soon wore away, for no one could ride through the beautiful country which lies between Baltimore and York without being delighted. It is so varying in its beauty that you never tire in looking; at this season the country is particularly beautiful, every thing looking so plentiful. I never saw such large barns and most of the houses not much larger than our Log Cabin. The passengers in the car were all so ugly that I turned from them gladly to contemplate the works of nature. I must not forget to mention the tunnel we went through. It was about the length of our long lane, dug (I suppose) through the rock. Only think of going through that dismal place with the locomotive; it is horrible to think of. We reached York about ½ past 12, got into an omnibus and rode to the hotel where we got a tolerable dinner, we had peaches and cream for desert. There was but one lady at the table beside myself. Having an hour to spare we walked over a considerable portion of the town, which is much larger than I expected to see. It has a very handsome court house, a very small market house and 3 or 4 pretty churches. We left York at 2 o'clock in a hack with one other passenger, a gentleman from Baltimore who said he had sojourned there for 13 years: rather a long sojourn I think. If the country between Baltimore and York was beautiful, how much more so is that between York and here, and we moved at a rate so much slower than what we did in the morning that I had a better opportunity seeing all the fine country through which we passed. We reached this place about ½ past 6 o'clock and was much disappointed to hear that the Kettlewell family did not stay at the springs, but at a place about 2 ½ miles from here. The proprietor of this house is father to the one who lives next to father's. Well to proceed; I was shown to my room where I smoothed my hair. The supper bell ringing soon after, I joined brother in the ball room, from thence proceeded to the table, at which I found, already seated, four ladies and about ten gentlemen. We took our seats; after the company had surveyed and found we looked like other people, we all went to work and ate our supper. After I had finished my supper, I lade my knife and fork down and returned the compliment of staring. Opposite to me sat lawyer Preston of our city, and next him a Miss Stout of a very uncertain

age, certainly past sweet seventeen. Well, he was talking very earnestly to her and she listened like a modest maiden, with down cast eyes and averted head. Next to Miss Stout sat Miss Stout's brother, who resembles our friend Mr. Raymond very much. Next to him was the wife of Judge some body of Wilmington. Next came the nobility of our city, Owings Hoffman, wife and daughter. Next Mr. Lurman of Baltimore, a rich old bachelor, and then a Mr. Stiles, another rich old bachelor; that finished one side of the table. The other commenced with two old Frenchmen, both unmarried; then Mr. Beatty of Baltimore; then old George Peters, wife and son and then our honourable selves. This made up the party the night of our arrival. After supper we adjourned to the ball room. After sitting for about half an hour very quietly, the musicians came in, gave us some tolerably good music, but finding none of the party disposed to dance they soon left the room. Feeling tired, I left the room and went to my chamber, where, after undressing I got into bed but not sleep, for the Mosquitoes were so annoying that it was almost impossible to sleep. Before I was dressed in the morning brother came to my door to say that Mr. & Mrs. Kettlewell were waiting to see me. I went to them and after a great deal of shaking hands we walked to the spring and drank some of the water which is horrible. The taste is nothing to the smell. It is a composition of sulphur, magnesia and iron. I drank but one glass. After drinking, Mrs. K and I walked around to see the place which is pretty. I felt very chilly after drinking the water which is generally the case, I believe, the water having a tendency to thin the blood. We then went back to the house where the gentlemen left. Mrs. K and I sat there some time when two of the company, Miss Stout and the other lady, came in prepared for a start. After breakfast four of the party left, and the next day five more left which leaves but a small party, only two ladies, Mrs. Hoffman and myself. If you want to know how I like being at the springs, I would only say in those memorable words " that it is not what it is cracked up to be " and I shall not be sorry when we leave, which I trust will be tomorrow. We will return by the way of Philadelphia. Brother James has improved very much. I must now conclude. Give my love to all, not forgetting self. So kiss the two Harrys for me. It will take me a month to tell you all I have seen and done for the last few days.

I remain,
Yours,
LAURA.

BOOK REVIEWS

Maryland during the American Revolution. By ESTHER MOHR DOLE. [Chestertown, Md., the Author, 1941] xi, 294 pp. $2.50.

This is an interesting, well-proportioned work on the causes and the course of the American Revolution in Maryland. The hope of the author, who is professor of history at Washington College, expressed in the preface, "that the account may be of real historical value and of special interest to Marylanders," has been realized. The grievances of Maryland are skillfully woven into the narrative of the general complaints of the thirteen colonies. However, sufficient emphasis is not given to the difficult problem of the constitutional relationship between parliament and the British empire after the Glorious Revolution of 1688-9 in England. Foremost scholars in this field, such as Charles H. McIlwain, in *The American Revolution: A Constitutional Interpretation*, and Robert L. Schuyler, in *Parliament and the British Empire: Some Constitutional Controversies concerning Imperial Legislative Jurisdiction*, have reached opposite conclusions.

The organization of the provisional government of Maryland is clearly and effectively presented. The military and naval contributions of Marylanders are given due emphasis, but are not exaggerated. The chapter on "Loyalists in Maryland" is a distinct contribution, and is marked because of its sympathetic and judicious approach to the "Oliver Wiswells" of Maryland. The author should have used and cited Judge Edward S. Delaplaine's *Life of Thomas Johnson* in dealing with "Conditions in the State During the War" (Chapter IX). The reviewer is in entire agreement with the opening sentence of Chapter X on "Then and Now—A Comparative Study": "The History of the past is of comparatively little value unless it enables us to understand the present and to live better and more intelligently in the future." This theory of History is applied cogently and forcefully in the chapter. The illustrations of George B. Keester, Jr., are very appropriate and add much to the attractive format of this volume. The index is adequate both with respect to names and topics.

This book presents an excellent political and military narrative, but it would have been more realistic if a greater emphasis had been placed on the economic motivations of the revolutionists and of the loyalists. The references to Maryland in Arthur M. Schlesinger's *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776* and his chapter on "The American Revolution" in *New Viewpoints in American History* should have led to an analysis of the attitudes towards England of the merchants, the eastern farmers, and the frontiersmen in Maryland. The narrative of events could have been further enlivened by characterizations of leading citizens such as Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Thomas Johnson, William Paca, Samuel Chase, and William Smallwood, similar to the author's sketches of the naval heroes, Joshua Barney, James Nicholson, and Lambert Wickes.

A number of minor slips were noted: "1938" should be "1939" (p. 3), "six days after the repeal" should be "four . . ." (p. 27), "1767" should be "1768" (p. 32), "1777" for "1775" (p. 89), "1782" for "1783" (p. 116), "1793" for "1783" (p. 249); the Declaration of Independence is referred to as taking place "Before America actually took up arms" (p. 56); Silver's "Provisional Government of Maryland" is cited as "Provincial" (p. 267, n. 70 and p. 268, n. 8); the last indicated note (57) of Chapter VI (p. 178) is not given in the notes (p. 274); the citations from the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (pp. 255, 259) are given sometimes by date, at other times only by volume and number.

JAMES BYRNE RANCK.

Hood College.

Aeronautics in the Union and Confederate Armies, with a Survey of Military Aeronautics Prior to 1861. By F. STANSBURY HAYDON. Volume I. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. 421 pp. 45 plates. $4.00.

With aviation playing so vital a part in the present war, Mr. Haydon's comprehensive study of the long neglected subject of aeronautics in the Union and Confederate armies has a timely as well as an historic interest. Aeronautics in this instance means, of course, the use of balloons.

The balloon made its appearance in Europe toward the close of the eighteenth century and no sooner had the first successful flight been accomplished than thoughts turned to its possible uses in military combat. Conspicuous among the uses suggested was bombing the enemy from the air, though more than a century passed before such use was realized in its most hideous form. The French used balloons in their revolutionary wars, but Napoleon had little faith in them, giving a sarcastic reply to the proposal that they be employed to transport his army to England. However, balloon ascensions proved a popular form of entertainment and adventure and such progress was made by balloonists both in Europe and in the United States that, prior to the outbreak of the American Civil War, trans-Atlantic flights were seriously contemplated.

Thus it came about that both in the North and the South, upon the opening of hostilities, there were experienced balloonists, each dignified by the title of "Professor," willing and ready to volunteer their services. In this first volume Mr. Haydon confines himself to an account of individual balloonists and the first balloon corps to serve the Union cause. Balloons were used successfully for observation and directing the fire of artillery near Washington, and at Fortress Monroe in the early days of the war, and later in the Peninsula campaign and around Culpeper and Fredericksburg. Generally the balloons were captive and messages were transmitted from the observers aloft to the ground by telegraph or by weighted notes attached to the cable. But La Mountain, a pioneer in the service, waited for a wind to carry him over the Confederate lines and,

after he had completed his observations, released his balloon and rose to great heights to be blown back by an east current which, according to his theory, prevailed at high altitudes.

Though the balloons led to no vital decisions, Mr. Haydon is of the opinion that they were, on the whole a success. They would, he believes, have played a more important part if they had not been handicapped by unfavorable weather, the indifference and ignorance of commanding officers and bad administration.

This work, which was prepared for a doctor's thesis, is distinguished by its scholarly thoroughness. It is heavily annotated and every page gives evidence of the conscientious research made into the smallest detail. Yet the author manages to avoid dullness and to present a volume which should appeal to the laymen interested either in the Civil War or in aeronautics, or both.

FRANCIS F. BEIRNE

Father Tabb, Poet, Priest, Soldier, Wit: Memories and Impressions of a Personal Friend. By GORDON BLAIR. Richmond, Whittet & Shepperson, 1940. 69 pp. $1.50.

Mr. Blair, as a young man, knew Father Tabb in the last decade of the Virginia poet's life—during the years when Father Tabb's graceful resignation in the face of approaching blindness was expressed in finely wrought verse which captured the attention and sympathy of many throughout the nation. At this time, Father Tabb was stationed at St. Charles' College, founded by Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and situated near historic Doughoregan Manor in Howard County. This association gives Maryland some distinction, too, in claiming and sharing Father Tabb with Virginia. But one of the principal Maryland interests in the Virginian has been because of his devoted friendship with Sidney Lanier, the Georgia-born symphonist in verse who made Baltimore his adopted home. And, strangely enough, Mr. Blair first met Father Tabb through their mutual enthusiasm for Lanier. Mr. Blair's little book does not pretend to be a full biography of Father Tabb, but is, as its sub-title indicates, rather a series of glimpses set down with mellowed and reverential feeling. There are new views of Father Tabb in his old family home, "The Forest," in Amelia County, Virginia; of a trip with him on the old bay-steamer *Charlotte* on the Chesapeake, and of a visit to St. Charles' College. There are published for the first time ten letters from Sidney Lanier to Father Tabb, dated between 1877 and 1881, which had been given to Mr. Blair in 1904 because, as Father Tabb said, "Your love for us both is your claim" to them. It is believed that the rest of the many letters from Lanier to Father Tabb (the two poets had met during their imprisonment as Confederate soldiers in the Federal "Bull Pen" at Point Lookout, Maryland) were burned in the fire of March 16, 1911, which destroyed old St. Charles' College. Of the ten letters thus saved from that fire, the most engaging is the one containing Lanier's comment upon learning that

Father Tabb, who had been an Episcopalian, had become a Catholic. Lanier wrote: "As for your adoption of the Catholic form of belief; pray fancy me as far as possible removed from any thought of *that* as coincident with death, or in any way like it. I long ago outgrew the possibility of such narrowness. An earnest belief is always beautiful to me; the circumstance that it does not happen to be my own never makes it less so."

Mr. Blair had given Father Tabb the hospitality of his home in Richmond; and he also shared with him the hospitality of his tomb, for Father Tabb is buried in the Blair lot in Hollywood Cemetery, in Richmond. With this book of memories, Mr. Blair hopes that "in black ink my love may still shine bright."

JOHN S. SHORT

The Delaware Loyalists. By HAROLD BELL HANCOCK. Wilmington, Historical Society of Delaware, 1940. 76 pp. $1.50.

Already much intrigued by the subject, I read the book, not only with enthusiasm, but with a feeling of gratitude to the writer. Treating a much needed topic, the author pictures, ably and in scholarly fashion, the background and activities of Delaware Tories, along with reactions to them by American patriots. Nor is this historian content to dismiss his subject without considering the part played by clergymen in the Revolution. Furthermore, he heightens the reader's interest by clearing up erroneous concepts held regarding Cheney Clow's Rebellion.

Thanks are due the author of *The Delaware Loyalists* for what he has done to familiarize lovers of historical research with Tories in a neighboring state. I hope his well-documented book will find a place in many libraries.

JANET BASSETT JOHNSON

Assembling the Homewood Site. By W. H. BUCKLER. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. 20 pp. 50c.

It became apparent, after the Johns Hopkins University had spent almost a quarter-century in its first rather plain red-brick buildings on Howard, Monument and Eutaw Streets, that they were wholly inadequate with respect to size, location and possibilities for expansion. Around 1899, there was "land-hunger" for a new site. A group of six Baltimoreans, William Wyman, William Keyser, Francis M. Jencks, Samuel Keyser, Julian LeRoy White and William H. Buckler, undertook to meet this need, and their joint foresight and generosity led to the acquisition of the several tracts comprising the present Homewood site. Daniel Coit Gilman, "Creator of the Johns Hopkins," had the satisfaction of making the first public announcement of this promising gift on February 22, 1901, the day upon which he, too, resigned as president of the university. Last February, the fortieth anniversary of that gift was observed by the showing in Gilman Hall of various documents and photographs relating to Homewood.

During the forty-year period the present university plant, gathered about the memorial hall to its first president, had grown from dream to stately reality. President Isaiah Bowman requested Mr. Buckler, now the only living member of the group of six, to set down the little known facts leading to the purchase and gift of the properties. Mr. Buckler has done so, modestly and briefly, in a little book which indicates that Mr. Wyman took the first step toward making Homewood the university's future location and credits Mr. Keyser with energetic leadership that brought success to the undertaking. Mr. Buckler's account will have prominent place in the annals of the university.

JOHN S. SHORT

Three Virginia Frontiers. By THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY (Walter L. Fleming Lectures in Southern History), Louisiana State University Press, 1940. 96 p. $1.50.

Three Virgina Frontiers challenges the popularly accepted theory of the democratizing influence of the frontier in American history. Indeed, the thesis of the author seems to be that " the democratizing influence of the frontier was largely offset by such countervailing factors as European customs and traditions, British legal systems, and the methods by which the public lands were disposed of." This last warns the reader of the author's reliance upon the economic interpretation of history. That Professor Abernethy is not carried away by a blind sympathy for the common man of the frontier is patently shown. " The vulgarization of the judiciary and of office holding in general was one of the chief accomplishments of that frontier leveling spirit of which so much has been said by historians of the West." Or again, " It should be noted in this connection that democracy is not necessarily the same thing as liberalism. During the early years of statehood in Kentucky it was really the reverse."

The chief merit of this book must be found in the disclosure of class-conscious groups—sometimes but not always antagonistic—on the frontier and in the admonition not to indulge in ready acceptance of generalities however persuasive they may appear.

THEODORE M. WHITFIELD

Western Maryland College

Montesquieu in America, 1760-1801. By PAUL MERRILL SPURLIN. Louisiana State University Press, 1940. 313 p. $3.00.

Willing readers of doctoral theses grow fewer with the years, many falling victims to the merciless bombardment of footnotes, and more fainting from dearth of simple, digestible English. To the tough, heroic remnant, it is possible to recommend Dr. Spurlin's *Montesquieu* where in return for their seemingly inevitable suffering, they will at least be rewarded with a modicum of interesting knowledge.

With sound strategy the writer first presents the fascinating question of Montesquieu's influence and illustrates its difficulty by an array of

discordant verdicts. Having shown the quicksands that surround Golconda, Dr. Spurlin limits his explorations to the borderlands. His purpose is merely to determine how widely and deeply Americans read the great Frenchman during the critical years between 1760 and 1801. Facts gathered with scholarly thoroughness are methodically presented and made more accessible by an excellent index. The evidence shows that many if not most educated Americans knew their Montesquieu well and regarded him as an authority, sometimes as an oracle, Whether this was because Montesquieu converted Americans to his ideas, or merely because their ideas happened to coincide, Dr. Spurlin firmly declines to say. He will supply no future scholar with a trophy to set beside the juicy examples of historical rashness that adorn his own Introduction.

Since Golconda remains undiscovered, is there advantage in knowing the borderlands? If Montesquieu was widely and deeply read in this country from 1760 on, does that add a leaf to his laurels, or is it America whose reputation is enhanced by evidence of her appreciation of Montesquieu? To the reviewer, it seems that both claims can be justly made and that Dr. Spurlin has rendered a service to history on both counts. Many will feel that the minds of Montesquieu and America were made for each other, and be glad to know that they met.

For members of the Society, the book has special interest. It began as a Johns Hopkins dissertation, and Maryland sources figure prominently in the footnotes. Numerous references to persons and events in the history of the State create an impression that Marylanders knew their Montesquieu as well as any Americans, if not better.

ST. JULIEN RAVENEL CHILDS

Brooklyn College

Letters of Robert Carter, 1720-1727. The Commercial Interests of a Virginia Gentleman. Edited by LOUIS B. WRIGHT. San Marino, Calif., Huntington Library, 1940. xiv, 153 pp. $2.50.

Virginia—and Maryland—may congratulate themselves on the publication of these letters of "King" Carter. The small and readable book they make up is next best to having here the original, now in the Huntington Library in San Marino. Indeed, for all who are not incurable lovers of manuscript, the book is better, since they can read it in armchair and slippered ease. The historian will wish that the spelling of proper names had in all cases been left as Carter wrote them, for the prevailing form could have been given in square brackets after the written form; but that is a minor objection. Outside of that, the editing and the introduction have the thanks of the reader, for the editor has the gift of words.

The prime importance of these letters lies in the evidence they give of the relations between the Virginia and Maryland gentleman and his London factors. Historians have long been well aware that the picture of the lordly planter, preceded and followed by trumpeting slaves, coming down from his house to his wharf and getting into his yacht for a pleasure sail,

gave a one-sided picture of the man. Philip Bruce shows, in his studies of the economic and social history of Virginia, that he was different from that and more than that. This volume lets even the runner read how much of his attention the planter gave to his business affairs. The temptation to quote largely from the letters is strong, for the matter and the manner of them are alike crackling with interest. If we, who live on the other side of the Potomac, must resist that temptation, all of us who can read should read this book.

ELIZABETH MERRITT

Adventures in Southern Maryland, 1922-1940. By ALICE L. L. FERGUSON. [Washington, D. C., the Author, 1941.] 179 pp.

Ostensibly telling the story of the acquisition of an old home near Accokeek, the inevitable remodeling, planting and farming against odds, and of the experiences that saddened (only momentarily) and enlightened her, Mrs. Ferguson has given us at once a brief social study of a Maryland community, a bundle of folk tales, and a collection of grand yarns. Like the artist she is, she knows how to paint with few but telling strokes. As an author she knows when to be serious, as readers of the March, 1941, *Magazine* will remember.

Down in the lower corner of Prince George's, bordering the Potomac, is her Hard Bargain—" rather a nice name after you get used to it, but it is no name to use when you take apples to market." The place, now graced by a modern dwelling because the old one tumbled down during attempted repairs, is not to be confused with Hard Bargain in Charles County. Building and gardening, farm animals and eccentric humans, week-end parties, and a wedding, volunteer firemen and the church, tournaments, bootlegging, relief, archaeology—these are some of the topics in a racy book. May it inspire some one to dig deeper in the inviting soil of Southern Maryland, filled as it is with history, legend and individuality—soil long and regrettably neglected. Mrs. Ferguson's pen and ink sketches add much to the enjoyment of her book, which was prepared solely for private circulation.

J. W. F.

The Life of Ira Remsen. By FREDERICK H. GETMAN. Easton, Pa., Journal of Chemical Education, 1940. 172 pp. $2.50.

This book written by one of Remsen's students and dedicated " to those alumni of the Johns Hopkins University who were privileged to come under the inspiring teaching of Ira Remsen " is indeed a labor of love.

The author was fortunately in possession of all possible data bearing on every phase of the life of Remsen from childhood to the end. A book on the life of Remsen was begun by the late Lyman C. Newell but was never completed. The material accumulated by Dr. Newell was made available to Dr. Getman together with everything in the files of the

Chemistry Department of Johns Hopkins and most important of all he was greatly assisted by Dr. Charles M. Remsen.

The author divides the book into the following chapters—Youth and Education, Teacher and Scientist, University President and Public Servant, Private Life, Public Addresses, A Chemist Again and Closing Years.

The author has produced a splendid work and one which should appeal strongly to Remsen's friends, scientific associates and students. The chapters on Remsen's Youth and Education are of unusual interest as most of this material is made available for the first time. However, Remsen is remembered largely as a teacher and scientist as his work in these capacities served to initiate a new era in American Science. It is an excellent book and will doubtless be found on the shelves of large numbers of Remsen's students and friends.

J. C. W. FRAZER.

The Johns Hopkins University

The Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard, 1885-1897. By CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL. New York, Fordham University Press, 1940, xxxix, 800 p. $5.00.

Professor Tansill has performed a valuable service for all students of American diplomatic history in tracing in this study the foreign relations of the United States in the two Cleveland administrations during the first of which Bayard served as Secretary of State and during the second as the first Ambassador of the United States to Great Britain. Called from his post as Senator from Delaware to the Cabinet of the first Democratic president since the Civil War he directed American foreign policy during a period when the War was still a vivid reality and party rancors unprecedentedly bitter. His problems of foreign policy are here treated topically under the following headings: the Samoan Question, the Chinese Question, the Fisheries' Question, the Hawaiian Question, the Corean Question, Canadian Questions, the Mexican Question, and the Venezuelan Question. Bayard appears in this study as an astute, fair-minded, and Christian statesman always zealous to protect if not to extend American interests but never sacrificing any of his humanitarian and anti-imperialist principles. He performed his duties ably, conscientiously, and always creditably to the United States, and was, as Professor Tansill convincingly shows, a true prophet of the present in his steadfast advocacy of Anglo-American unity. "Through his efforts the basis of an Anglo-American entente was established, and the way was prepared for the close political concert of the present day" (vii). It was small wonder that he so often aroused the ire of the Republican politicians.

The author has almost definitively exploited the rich collection of Bayard Papers and has also utilized other incidental source materials both published and unpublished. It is important that these materials from such a highly genetic period of American diplomatic history should be published. Professor Tansill's work is rather a compilation than a fresh study,

valuable principally as a collection of source materials rather than as an interpretation of Bayard's problems.

DONALD MARQUAND DOZER

University of Maryland

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

The Vestry Book of St. Paul's Parish, Hanover County, Virginia, 1706-1786. Transcribed and Edited by C. G. Chamberlayne. Pub. by the Virginia State Library Board. Richmond 1940.

West Virginia Revolutionary Ancestors, Whose Services Were Non-Military and Whose Names, Therefore, Do Not Appear in Revolutionary indexes of Soldiers and Sailors. Compiled by Anne Waller Reddy. 1930.

Dukehart and Collateral Lines, Antes, Dotterer, Latrobe, Von Blume, Murphy. Compiled by Morton McIlvain Dukehart. 1940. (mimeographed).

A Private Journal of John Glendy Sproston, U. S. N. Edited by SHIO SAKANISHI. Tokyo, Sophia University, 1940. *Monumenta Nipponica Monographs.* Edited by Sophia University. Series of Early American-Japanese Relations. (Note: Sproston was born in Baltimore).

The Blackburn Genealogy with Notes of the Washington Family through Intermarriage. Compiled by Vinnetta Wells Ranke, Washington, D. C., 1939.

Centennial History of the South Carolina Railroad. Columbia, S. C., 1930. Presented by the Southern Railway Co., 1940.

NOTES AND QUERIES

LANIER'S HOUSE ON DENMEAD STREET

The exact location of 33 Denmead Street, the house in which Sidney Lanier lived during the winter of 1877-78, has for some time been a matter of speculation among students of the poet's life. Denmead Street was in Baltimore County until 1888, and had a system of house numbers different from that of Baltimore City. Until 1889 no detailed plat was published for this section. The "Street Directory" parts of the *Baltimore City Directories,* so useful in locating old addresses, do not list Denmead Street numbers. However, there are several sources of information through which the Lanier house can be identified.

Denmead Street has had three names. In 1882 it was renamed First Street, and in 1892 it became Twentieth Street, the name it still bears. It has also had three sets of house numbers. The first numbers were used as early as 1876. In 1887, when the new numbers were introduced in the city, Denmead Street (at this time First Street) received a new numbering system. The following year Baltimore annexed this section and a third and final set of numbers was provided. In several instances names of residents appear in Thompson's *Plats.*[1] Names are also given in a survey made October 30, 1889, of this area.[2] By tracing these names in the

[1] Thompson, Winfield W. *Plats of the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Wards of Baltimore City.* 1889.

[2] Drawer 12, plat 287. Bureau of Archives, City Hall, Baltimore.

directories the original numbering system of Denmead Street can be reconstructed. The numbers began at Oak Street and ran eastward; the odd numbers were on the north side. As no street divided east and west, there were no duplicate numbers. The survey shows, with the help of the 1887 directory which gives old and new numbers, that Number 33, Lanier's address, was at the northwest corner of Lovegrove Alley and Denmead Street. This house became 610 in 1887, and finally 20 E. Twentieth Street.

It had been surmised that the poet lived in the block west of Charles Street. The original numbering of these houses can also be established. The Hopkins *Atlas*[3] designates the property at the northeast corner of Denmead Street and the alley between Charles Street and Maryland Avenue as R. M. Johnson's [*sic*]. Colonel Richard Malcolm Johnston was Lanier's friend. The association of their names and the opinion that Lanier lived at about this location made the site worthy of investigation. A sub-lease of this property dated June 3, 1878, from Richard Malcolm Johnston to W. C. Dimmock is recorded in the land records of Baltimore County.[4] The directories of 1879 and 1880 list W. C. Dimmock as having a dairy at 9 Denmead Street, a number in accord with the original numbering system.

Further and very reliable evidence that 33 Denmead Street became 20 E. Twentieth Street is shown in a survey that was made May 20, 1879, for the Baltimore Equitable Society.[5] This gives the numbers of the houses on the north side of Denmead Street, between Charles and St. Paul Streets. Five houses were west and five east of Lovegrove Alley. They were numbered west to east from 25 to 43. Number 33 stood at the northwest corner of Denmead Street and Lovegrove Alley. This nine room brick house remained standing until October, 1939, when it was demolished to accommodate a parking lot.

FREDERICK KELLY

GARRETT COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In the westernmost county of the State there was recently organized the Garrett County Historical Society, Captain Charles E. Hoye, president; Marshall G. Brown, first vice-president; Viola Broadwater, second vice-president; Crystall Elliott, secretary, and Dr. Joseph E. Harned, treasurer. Mr. F. A. Thayer, Sr., served as executive during the months devoted to organizing. The Society issued in March the first number of its bulletin which contains eight pages of information about the beginnings of Garrett County, organized 1872, and statements of plans and activities. Mr. Hoye is a member of the Maryland Historical Society.

[3] Hopkins, G. M. *City Atlas of Baltimore, Maryland, and Environs.* Vol. I, plate R. Philadelphia, 1876.
[4] *Liber* 107, *Folio* 305. Court House, Towson, Md.
[5] *Record of Survey.* Book G, p. 157. Baltimore Equitable Society.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF CARROLL COUNTY, INC.

Interest in the Historical Society of Carroll County has continued, this being helped by having meetings of other organizations held in the home of the Society, 206 East Main Street, Westminster. Many articles of historical interest have been either given or loaned to the Society. The meetings have been well attended, particularly that on January 3rd, when Senator George L. Radcliffe was the guest speaker. An important step forward has been the formation of junior membership for school children. Col. T. K. Harrison, executive secretary of the Alumni Association of Western Maryland College and a member of the Kiwanis Club; Dr. Theodore F. Whitfield, of the department of history of Western Maryland; and Prof. Raymond S. Hyson, Superintendent of Schools of Carroll County, form the committee to arrange for this through the schools of the county. The children will gather local historical data and submit it for the files of the society.

An important committee appointed by Mrs. M. John Lynch, chairman of the History Committee and approved by the president, J. David Baile, is the Filing Committee, composed of Dr. Whitfield, Miss Ada Belle Robb and Dr. Edwin Mirise, all members of the Faculty of Western Maryland College. The annual meeting was held in November, 1940, when all officers were re-elected.

Worthington—I would be grateful for any information, no matter how slight, or any clue that might lead to a discovery, about the birthplace and parentage of my grandfather, Charles Thomas Worthington. In the Bible he bought at the time of his marriage, he wrote that he was born 8 April, 1855, but gave no place of birth. He married, in Baltimore, 10 December, 1878, Mary Virginia, daughter of Carey and Anne (Robinson) Southcomb; she was born, in Baltimore, 12 January, 1859, and died, in Baltimore, 23 December, 1889. Mr. Worthington died in December, 1885. They had three children: Eugene Carey (b. 18 September, 1880; d. 21 December, 1936); William Alexander (b. 13 January, 1882; d. 6 March, 1883); and Clara Mary (b. 4 February, 1884). There are eight grandchildren and seven great-grandchildren.

A family tradition makes either Virginia or West Virginia Mr. Worthington's birthplace and assigns him a brother who was a doctor, but we know of no basis for this. There may, however, be a clue to his identity in the following: he is buried in Mount Olivet Cemetery, Baltimore, in a lot which contains the following persons:

1. Thomas J. Worthington, died 8 January, 1858, aged 60 years.
2. Henrietta Worthington, died 5 April, 1871, in her 73rd year.
2. Nicholas Worthington, died 20 December, 1856, aged 32; his wife, Nannie, erected the tombstone.
4. John A. Worthington, born 27 April, 1821; died 21 October, 1851.
5. Sarah and Willie G. Worthington.

Perhaps one of the above might be known to someone who could furnish

me with information or ideas about Charles Thomas Worthington. Any information will be most welcome.

Mrs. LESLIE J. MCINTOSH
2055 Jarvis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois

Simmons—"Wanted: Connection of Jonathon Simmons, who married Elizabeth van Swearingen, in Prince George's Co. (I believe), June 20, 1734, to George Simmons, or the immigrant to Maryland."

MAY F. SMITH (Mrs. Geo. E.),
Granville, Ohio

Swann—Can any one give me the connection between Thomas Swann of Eagleton, who died 1740/1741, and Edward Swann who established the plantation of Eagleton, Charles County, Maryland?

T. E. SWANN,
Route 1, Statesville, N. C.

Inlow—Information is sought concerning Henry Inlow (Inlows, Enlow, Enlows, etc.) born 1740, died 1828 in Fleming County, Kentucky. May have served from Maryland during the Revolutionary War.

JAMES L. PYLES,
Maysville, Kentucky

Handy-Hopkins—Information wanted to complete my genealogy. Ancestors of Mary King Handy who died February 23, 1834 (first husband Dr. George Gunby), and of her second husband Benjamin Burton Hopkins, born January 4, 1795, and died December 18, 1828, and married at Snow Hill, Maryland, August 17, 1820.

JENNIE WATERS ABERCROMBIE,
10 Whitfield Road, Baltimore

Welsh—From Miss Frances Houston Irwin, of the Irwin Clan, I learn that the first comer to this country of the Welsh family settled in Maryland. I have traced my line to William and Mary (Morton) Welsh, whose son John was born Aug. 1, 1770, in White Clay Hundred, Delaware. Their daughter Mary, born 1762, married John Irwin, and these were my great-great-grandparents. According to Miss Irwin, the Delaware Welsh's were descendants of the first comer (name unknown to me), who settled first in Maryland. Any data concerning early members of this family will be welcomed.

EDITH S. CAUGHRON (Mrs. G. L.),
203 Wisconsin St., Neodesha, Kans.

Widow Atkinson, Baltimore clockmaker—Anna Maria Atkinson, widow, according to the directories of 1796-1819, was listed as watch and clockmaker at 33 Market Square, Baltimore. She died 1823. Her grandson, Le Roy Atkinson, was Assayer of Baltimore 1824-1829. Abraham Le Roy, Swiss clock and watchmaker of Lancaster County, Penn., tended the Court House clock 1757-1765. Le Roy had a daughter, Anna Maria Le Roy, who is credited with having been a gifted clockmaker in her own right. About 1748 Wilmer Atkinson a cutler by trade (not a clockmaker) came from Baltimore and settled in Lancaster County and married Anna Maria Le Roy.

In 1750 Abraham Le Roy visited Switzerland and left his daughter, Mrs. Wilmer (Le Roy) Atkinson in charge of his shop, during which time she made a tall clock with the name Wilmer Atkinson on the dial. That is the only such clock known. Was Anna Maria Le Roy who married Wilmer Atkinson one and the same as the Widow Anna Maria Atkinson, clockmaker of Baltimore? What were the names of children of Wilmer Atkinson and Anna Maria Le Roy? Was one of their children Sophia Atkinson, who married Jacob Gorgas the clockmaker of Ephrata, Pennsylvania?

LOCKWOOD BARR,
60 E. 42nd St., New York, N. Y.

Eden—Wells—Want information concerning William Eden, who married Sarah Wells of Kent County, Maryland. Had ten children; a daughter, Ann, married Benjamin Armitage, at Zion German Lutheran Church, Baltimore, Aug. 31, 1805. Benj. Armitage died in 1824 and his wife Ann in 1857.

Mrs. Edmund S. Boice,
534 Falls Road, Rocky Mount, N. C.

Tamanend (Tecumseh)—Mr. Louis H. Bolander of the Naval Academy library, a member of the Society, draws attention to an error in the review of Pauline Pinckney's book, *American Figureheads,* on page 86 of the March *Magazine* where the wooden bust of Tamanend, commonly called Tecumseh, is mentioned as having once adorned the prow of the *Constitution.* The Naval Academy's "Tecumseh" is a replica of the figurehead of the ship-of-the-line *Delaware.*

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

Author of *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland,* reviewed by Dr. Charles M. Andrews in the *Magazine* last March, CHARLES A. BARKER is assistant professor of history at Stanford University. He is a native of Washington, D. C., was educated at Yale, and has served on the faculty of Smith College. ☆ An occasional contributor to these pages, W. BIRD TERWILLIGER is a student of the literary history of Mary-

land. He holds the Ph. D. degree from the University of Maryland and is headmaster of the Franklin Day School, Baltimore. ☆ SIDNEY T. MATTHEWS, a native of South Carolina, is completing requirements for the degree of Ph. D. in history at Johns Hopkins. During 1941-1942 he will be an instructor at the University of Richmond. ☆ JOHN PHILIPS CRANWELL, who assisted in preparing the Lambdin-Crowley account of Chesapeake Bay shipbuilding, is the author of a new work, *Spoilers of the Sea* (New York, Norton, 1941), as well as joint author with William B. Crane of *Men of Marque* (1940). ☆ Another Baltimorean, though he is now living in Minneapolis, JOSEPH T. WHEELER, son of the librarian of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, is author of *The Maryland Press, 1776-1790*, published in 1938 by the Maryland Historical Society. ☆ DORIS MASLIN COHN (Mrs. E. Hermann Cohn) lives at Princess Anne where she helps to keep alive interest in matters of local and state-wide history. The letters which she has transcribed for the *Magazine* came down to her possession through her family. ☆ Long a contributor to the *Magazine* and associate editor of Volumes LIII, LIV and LVII of the *Archives of Maryland*, LOUIS DOW SCISCO is known as a deep student of county records of Maryland, especially court records.

School Discipline in 1792—Among papers once the property of the late Rev. Edwin A. Dalrymple, Episcopal churchman, educator and for 24 years corresponding secretary of the Maryland Historical Society, now in the possession of his great niece, Mrs. Richard H. Collins of Chestertown, has been found the original of the following set of rules drawn up apparently by the pupils of a country school. The document is not signed.

Regulations, Rules and good Orders, We Scholars and Subſcribers
Promiſe and perform all what is hereunto
Mentioned . . . June the 4th 1792.

1. for coming to school with unwaſhed Hands and Face. 5 laſhes.
2. Hair uncombed. 3 laſhes.
3. in coming or going from School playing on the Road. 10 la[shes].
4. Running or Racing, Chumping or Rasslen. 15 laſhes.
5. Telling a lye of any Body, or of our Fellow Scholars. 12 la[shes].
6. Macking game of one another . . . 10 laſhes.
7. Talking and Laughing in School. 15 laſhes.
8. coming in School with Hat or Bonnet on his or her Head. 4 laſhes.
9. coming in School without making Bow, or Curtesy. 4 laſhes.
10. by Meeting any Person on the Road and not macking Bow, or courtesy, and tacking of our Hats. 8 laſhes.
11. for going out of our Pounds, which is fare of the School House . . . 12 laſhes.
12. if any of us ſent to School, and Stray away for idolness Sake . . . 24 laſhes.
13. Telling Tales out of School . . . 12 laſhes.
14. Every one to ask Leave to go out, if not ask to go out of the School Room . . . 12 laſhes.

15. Cursing or Swareing . . . 30 la/hes.
16. in any Comblaints heart by being not Obedient to our Parents to do what the Command us, without Murmuring. 30 la/hes.
17. if we not Combly with this Regulations and good Orders we are Liable to be punished, as above Written, without any Complaint to any Body, for it is our own Carelessness.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

March 10, 1941—The monthly meeting of the Society was held tonight at 8:15 o'clock, with President Radcliffe in the chair. The President announced that due to the honor of having Dr. Archibald MacLeish, the Librarian of Congress, as the guest speaker of the evening all formal business would be deferred, with the exception of the election and nomination of new members.

The following were elected to membership:

Active

Mr. Charles B. Bosley
Mr. John W. Bosley
Mr. James R. Edmunds, Jr.
Mrs. Eben C. Hill
Miss Rachel Minick
Mr. George M. Radcliffe
Mr. John L. Swope
Mr. Raymond S. Tompkins
Mr. Barclay H. Trippe
Mr. Frank C. Wachter

Associate

Mr. Mangum Weeks

President Radcliffe introduced Dr. MacLeish who gave a very interesting address.

Hon. Henry D. Harlan moved that a rising vote of thanks be extended to Dr. MacLeish for his most interesting talk. The motion was unanimously carried.

April 14, 1941—At the regular meeting of the Society Senator Radcliffe presided. A partial list of recent donations to the library was read. The following persons were elected to membership:

Active

Mrs. Harry J. Baker
Dr. John McF. Bergland
Mrs. John McF. Bergland
Mrs. S. A. Dodds
Mr. Paul Harris
Miss Nell Dennis Jones
Mr. Arthur Koppelman
Mrs. H. Benthall Marshall
Mr. John M. Nelson, Jr.
Mr. Neal A. Sibley
Mrs. Gertrude Smith
Mrs. R. Tinges Smith, 3rd
Mr. J. Paul Slaybaugh
Mr. Clifton Kennedy Wells, Jr.

Associate

Mrs. Edmund S. Boice — Mrs. Kline d'Aurandt Engle

The deaths of the following members were reported:

Miss Anna E. B. Clark, on March 29, 1941.
Mr. Henry Fletcher Powell, on March 24, 1941.
Mrs. Edward Simpson, on January 18, 1941.

Mr. Charles Stevenson Smith gave a very interesting talk on General Smallwood and of the efforts now on foot to restore "Smallwood's Retreat" in Charles County, Maryland. On motion of Dr. Norman Bentley Gardiner a rising vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Smith.

May 5, 1941—President Radcliffe occupied the chair at the regular meeting of the Society. In announcing recent donations to the library, Mr. Raphael Semmes urged the members of the Society to renew efforts to obtain old manuscript materials as gifts or deposits. The following persons were elected to membership:

Active

Miss Helen R. Branin
Mr. Donaldson Brown
Mr. Frank Markoe Dugan
Mr. Leonard V. Godine
Miss Elizabeth S. Gordon
Mr. William Belt Ingersoll
Mr. Michael Oswald Jenkins
Mr. A. Carroll Jones
Judge Emory H. Niles
Miss Louise E. Pickell
Mr. Van Rensselaer Saxe
Mr. Joseph Sherbow
Rev. John J. Tierney, S. S.
Mrs. Miles White, Jr.

Associate

Mr. John S. Biggs — Mrs. Ellouise Baker Larsen
Mr. Carroll G. Stewart

The death of Mr. Percy G. Skirven, on May 4, 1941, was reported. The President stated that Mr. Skirven had been a member since 1914 and had won a wide reputation as author and genealogist. A devoted son of Maryland, he was particularly interested in the history of Kent, his native county, and of the Eastern Shore.

Dr. Charles McLean Andrews, of Yale, gave a most interesting talk "On the Preservation of Historical Manuscripts." Senator Radcliffe, Hon. Carroll T. Bond, Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, Mr. B. Howell Griswold and Mr. Louis H. Dielman expressed the Society's gratification at having had the opportunity to hear Dr. Andrews on this important topic, and their interest in his suggestion that an inventory of manuscript materials in private hands be undertaken as a preliminary step toward securing the gift or deposit of additions to the present collections.