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JOSHUA BARNEY AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

By BERNARD MAYO

When William Wirt was writing his biography of Patrick Henry and having difficulty in finding material on his subject, St. George Tucker commiserated with him on the indifference of Virginians to their great men. It seemed to Tucker that even Socrates would have been soon forgotten in the Ancient Dominion.[1] This same sort of indifference has obscured the merits of a number of Maryland's distinguished sons, and among them until recently has been Joshua Barney of Baltimore. To most Americans his name, if it meant anything at all, vaguely recalled the gallant defense of Washington in 1814 made by Barney's marines and flotilla-men at William Wirt's home town of Bladensburg. Yet this was but one of the Marylander's many exploits and public services. Happily he has now been rescued from an undeserved obscurity by Mr. Hulbert Footner's robust and stirring biography, *Sailor of Fortune: The Life and Adventures of Commodore Barney, U. S. N.*[2]

It is not the purpose here to recount what Mr. Footner has already told, but rather to throw a little additional light on one phase of Joshua Barney's career. In editing for the American Historical Association a volume comprising the instructions sent by the British foreign secretaries to Britain's envoys in America from 1791 to 1812, several items have been discovered which are pertinent to the man. The Foreign Office archives reveal that

[1] St. George Tucker to Wirt, April 4, 1813, in John P. Kennedy, *Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt* (2 vols., Phila., 1850), I, 317.

[2] Published by Harper and Brothers, New York, 1940. It was reviewed by Mr. William B. Crane in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXV (Sept., 1940), 303-305.

Barney's Baltimore during these years was regarded by British diplomats as a "Mob Town," a hotbed of radical Jeffersonian Republicans who illegally fitted out French privateers in the 1790's to prey on British commerce, and who frequently mobbed Britons and Americans for daring to say a kind word in favor of George the Third and the ruling British Tories. The activities of Barney himself only confirmed their unfavorable opinion of Baltimore. Already well known to the British for his naval exploits during the American Revolution, Barney became a very painful thorn in the flesh of John Bull when the great war began in 1793 between Britain and France. Quite naturally, Britain's diplomats looked with disfavor upon this Baltimore merchant-shipowner who traded with Britain's enemy, ran afoul of Britain's privateers and vice-admiralty courts, and for several years raided British shipping in West Indian waters as a commodore in the navy of the French Republic.

One interesting document discovered in the Foreign Office archives is a letter, which the British navy intercepted, written by Joshua Barney from Bordeaux in December of 1794. This letter is interesting for several reasons. It is one of the comparatively few Barney letters extant, and one of the most revealing. It is historically important for its sidelights on conditions in Revolutionary France in the months which followed the death of Robespierre and the ending of the Reign of Terror; on the cordial reception which the French National Convention gave to James Monroe, the new American minister to the French Republic; and on the ignorance in which Monroe was kept respecting the Anglo-American treaty John Jay was then negotiating at London. In a striking manner it conveys the pro-French enthusiasm of American Republicans of that day. For Joshua Barney, in common with other disciples of Thomas Jefferson, was convinced that the cause of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" throughout the world was dependent upon the victory of the French Republic over George the Third and the combined monarchs of Europe.

By way of preface to Barney's letter it might be noted that the Marylander's zeal for France had recently been augmented and intensified by unhappy experiences with the British. Early in this year of 1794, on a trading venture to the French in Haiti, his ship *Sampson* had been seized by the British and he himself had almost been hanged as a "pirate." In Jamaica he had been

forced to stand trial for piracy because, on a previous voyage, when the *Sampson* was illegally captured by three British privateers, he had retrieved his vessel from the prizemaster and inflicted wounds upon two of the prize crew. His trial had caused great excitement in Baltimore, where retaliatory threats had been made against the life of the British consul. Eventually Barney was released. But he had been plundered of his vessel and cargo, and the affair had whetted his hatred for Tory Britain.[3] On the other hand, when mercantile matters took him to Paris shortly thereafter the French greeted him as a hero, gave him the fraternal embrace, and urged him to accept a commission in the French navy. Barney wrote of these marks of consideration, and glowingly reported on conditions in France, to his brother in Baltimore. His letter was intercepted by the British and a copy of it, which is printed below, was sent by Lord Grenville, the foreign secretary, to George Hammond, the British minister to the United States.[4]

Bordeaux, Dec. 21, 1794.

My Dear Brother,

I now sit down to write you a few lines, and to inform you how things go with me, and in this Country in general. I arrived at Paris on the 3d August, a few days after I accompanied Mr. Monroe to the National Convention,[5] where we were received amidst 700 Members, and several thousand Spectators, with the loudest clapping of hands and cries of "Live the Convention, Live the United States of America, our brave Brothers," we were in fact received more like beings of a superior nature than men. The Convention voted that the Flag of the United States should be placed in the Hall of the Convention with the Flag of France: in Consequence Mr. Monroe had a most elegant one made of Silk, with Silver Stars and gold Fringe and tassels, under my direction. On the 11th Septr. I went to the Convention in order to present it and was received with as much applause as we had experienced before. The Convention received the Flag, which I presented by order of our Minister, & in the name of the United States, and decreed that I should be

[3] See Footner, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-190.

[4] It was enclosed with Grenville's instruction to Hammond of June 5, 1795, No. 12, Series 115, Volume 4, Foreign Office Records (hereinafter cited as F. O.), Public Record Office, London. The copy of Barney's letter (presumably to his brother, William Barney) which was sent to Hammond is reprinted here exactly as it was written.

[5] Barney and his young son William had sailed from Baltimore for France June 28, 1794, on the same ship with James Monroe, the *Cincinnatus*, owned by Oliver and Thompson of Baltimore. Footner, *op. cit.*, p. 195. Although Beverly W. Bond, Jr., *The Monroe Mission to France, 1794-1796* (Baltimore, 1907), does not mention Barney, this work should be consulted for Monroe's activities as American minister to France.

invited into the Convention, and receive from the President the Kiss of Friendship. At this time Several Members rose and demanded a decree should pass for to employ me in the Service of the Republic, which was instantly adopted. But having at that time four Ships arrived with Flour, and all my Affairs of the West Indies to settle, I could not instantly accept. This business has kept me ever since engaged, nor have I been able to put a finish to it. I left Paris on the 15th November. Two days before my departure the Minister of Marine offered me a 74 gun Ship, which had been taken from the British a few days before; and which I was obliged to refuse. I shall return to Paris in a few days; my desire is a fine Frigate, with liberty to appoint my Officers, and mann her with Americans and then to cruise where I please. If they agree to this, I am ready, but otherwise I shall be cautious how I accept of any Command. I suppose the History of the whole World does not afford such a scene of Success as the late Campaign has been the French Arms have every where been superior to all their Enemies. It would amaze the world still more to see the immense Sums of gold and Silver, which are daily brought to Paris from the conquered Places *little Jesus's, Virgin Mary's, Saints* of all Sizes melted down and deposited in Barrs, ready to carry on the War. The Country, notwithstanding appears perfectly quiet as if no War existed. You travel with ease and security; not a beggar to be seen, every child as well as Men and Women, go daily to the municipality and receive their bread; and they have been blessed this year with an abundant harvest. In fact, the Country is one large Family and the Convention provide for all. Since the Death of Roberspierre, things have taken a great change indeed, there is no more taking off of heads the prisons are nearly empty. Among the rest is our friend Thomas Paine who has again taken his seat in the Convention after a confinement of a number of Months,[6] with seventy one members more. Every day, before I left Paris brought forth new Victories. Every day there arrived the Keys of some conquered Town, and the standard of the flying Enemy. It would astonish you to see the palace of the Convention filled with Flags taken from the *Germans, Prussians, English, Dutch, Spaniards, Italians, &ca.* all hanging up *reversed*; at the same time to see the Flag of America standing along side that of France respected gives me satisfaction. I wish America would pay the same respect to it. The French are preparing for a severe Campaign by Sea next Spring: they will have out by the 1st of May 55 Ships of the Line from the Ports on the Atlantic, and 20 Ships of the Line in the Mediterranean, which will make their Enemies look sharp besides near 60 Frigates, some of which I think the finest in the world. Unless the Dutch make a peace this winter, Amsterdam must fall into the hands of the Republic before Spring, for the French do not know anything about going into winter quarters; and if the Dutch are foolish enough to overflow the Country, and the winter

[6] Thomas Paine, after yeoman service in the American Revolution, had gone to France to work for the cause of the French Revolution. He had offended the extremists by his moderation, and had been imprisoned during Robespierre's Reign of Terror.

should be severe, the French will overrun them upon the Ice, for no weather nor difficulties stop them. In fact how can it be otherwise, conceive to yourself fourteen Armies, consisting of twelve hundred thousand men, from eighteen years of age to twenty seven, all well cloathed and fed, commanded by Officers, who would rather die than retreat, Armies who have nothing but to conquer; composed not as other Armies are of Vagabonds but men of Character, fortune, and a high sense of liberty, men who would rather die ten thousand deaths than desert or leave the Enemy Victors. Every Soldier looks upon his Character at Stake, to believe this suppose the Company you Command were called out, do you think they would not defend their Fathers, Mothers &c, better than a Band of Ruffians, the thing will not bear a reflexion, and this is the case with the Armies of France. Spain by all accounts is seeking to obtain a peace, Prussia also, the Dutch must give up, Germany loses her Provinces, and England must pay for all. In every conversation I have had with the Members of the Convention, I find all agree in continuing the War against England, they declare, that they never will make peace with her, until she is so reduced as never to have it in her power to trouble the peace of Europe. O happy moment for America to be revenged the Million of insults which that haughty and Ambitious Nation has given her, this [is] the time to put it for ever out of British Power to insult her more, drive them out of Canada leave no such troublesome Pirates near her a Nation of Robbers, this I can say with safety. By your Paper the thing speaks for itself in the conduct of Major Campbell with Genl. Wayne.[7] Congress, I expect now see the folly in taking off the Embargo [8] that would have had more effect than 100,000 Men in Arms, but we have men in that *virtuous body,* men, who ought to be made food for a Guillotine, the people will and do see it, and I hope will act with Spirit; however I do not wish to judge for others, let every man be his own Master, and he will have no person to blame. I am very desirous to hear how Congress will act, and what Mr. Jay has done in England,[9] for we cannot learn any thing about him in this Country, not but we have sufficient Communication, but every thing is

[7] In 1794 war between the United States and Great Britain had seemed imminent because of Britain's wholesale seizures of American merchantmen and impressment of American seamen, and because of the aid given by the British of Canada to the Indians of the Ohio Valley, against whom General Anthony Wayne was campaigning. In violation of the Treaty of Peace of 1783 Britain was still occupying many frontier posts on American soil along the northern border. One of these was the Ohio post of Fort Miamis, commanded by Col. William Campbell, which was in the line of Wayne's victorious advance against the Indians. In August of 1794 a clash between Campbell and Wayne was narrowly averted. The posts were not evacuated by the British until 1796, as provided for in Jay's Treaty of 1794.

[8] The Embargo to which Barney refers had been enacted by Congress on March 26, 1794, to shut off American supplies to the British and to protect American shipping engaged in foreign trade by keeping the vessels within American harbors. It was in effect during April and May of 1794.

[9] Samuel F. Bemis, *Jay's Treaty, A Study in Commerce and Diplomacy* (New York, 1924), gives a detailed account of John Jay's negotiations and of Anglo-American relations from 1783 to 1795.

kept a perfect secret, *if he has done any thing.* I must finish this letter, as it is much longer than I expected to have made, but as it is the first I have wrote you since my arrival in France, I could not but give you some accounts of things.

God bless you and yours & am yours sincerely
Joshua Barney,

My Son Wm. is at Paris and well, he swallows with pleasure the Acts of heroism by the French, and I hope to see him one day fighting the cause of liberty. G. Stiles [10] is here and well, he is about loading for the Isle of France.

Barney's intention to enter the French naval service, as announced in this intercepted letter, was of special interest to Lord Grenville. In November of 1794 Grenville had concluded a treaty with John Jay which made it lawful, under Article 21, for Great Britain to hang as a pirate any American she might capture who held a commission in the French navy or served on a French privateer. The foreign secretary called this article to the attention of British Minister Hammond, and, with Barney in mind no doubt, stated that "it may become necessary to make some striking example . . . in order to deter others from a practice which is now carried on to so great an extent." [11]

Meanwhile Barney had become the owner in whole or in part of three French privateers, which bore the significant names of *La Vengeance, Le Vengeur,* and *Revenge.* Furthermore, in spite of the grim penalty awaiting him if captured by the British, he entered the French navy, harassed British commerce with his squadron during 1796 and 1797, and in general, as a British diplomat reported, "distinguished himself by a ferocious zeal in the service of the French Republic." [12] Later on, during the War of 1812, with an even greater zeal he distinguished himself in the service of the American Republic. His letter of marque *Rossie* in forty-five days captured fifteen British prizes. His Chesapeake Bay gunboat flotilla successfully defended the Patuxent approach to Washington until 1814. And, when the British finally marched on the national capital, Joshua Barney and his sailors contributed the only redeeming feature to the engagement Americans still shamefacedly refer to as "The Bladensburg Races."

[10] Presumably Captain George Stiles of Baltimore.
[11] Grenville to Hammond, July 1, 1795, No. 13, F. O. 115: 4.
[12] Robert Liston, British minister to the United States, to Grenville, Sept. 6, 1796, No. 11, F. O. 5: 14.

POE IN AMITY STREET

By May Garrettson Evans

Affixed to a humble little dwelling in an obscure quarter of Baltimore—No. 203 North Amity Street—is a bronze tablet bearing the following inscription:

IN THIS HOUSE LIVED

EDGAR ALLAN POE

The marker was lately placed by the Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore, one of whose purposes is *To protect existing memorials of Poe in this city from neglect or encroachment.* Hitherto the Society has marked the location of the room in which Poe died in the hospital on Broadway, now the Church Home and Infirmary; and it has placed on the monument over his grave in the old Western Burial Ground, known as Westminster Churchyard, a portrait in enduring bronze—a replica of the marble medallion carved deep on the memorial stone but fast disintegrating under the stress of time and tempest.

The place in which the poet died and the place in which he is buried are familiar spots to Baltimoreans. But no place in which he *lived* seems to be generally known. Some simple directions, therefore, to those who may wish to make a pilgrimage to the house on Amity Street, may not be amiss: Go straight along West Lexington Street until you come to about the middle of its nine hundred block. There you will find, cutting through the block, the lowly street with the lovely name. A few paces up on its east side, just above Lexington Street, is No. 203 North Amity Street. You can't miss it. Besides, there is the bronze marker to guide you.

After much uncertainty and tribulation this small abode—where old echoes of song seem still to linger—has been admitted at last into Poe memorabilia in Baltimore.

On June 4, 1938, there appeared in the Baltimore *Sun* an announcement which was startling to at least *some* Baltimoreans. The opening paragraph read:

> Baltimore's Housing Authority prepared yesterday to swing into action on plans for building low rental housing units after President Roosevelt approved the city's $18,462,400 program.

The article was accompanied by a map of "groups of 'blighted' blocks in the old residential core of the city," selected for the "slum-clearance" project of the Federal Housing Authority and the Baltimore Housing Authority, to make way for the erection of new model homes. One of these areas was listed as follows:

> Site H—Bounded by Saratoga street, Fremont avenue, Lexington street and Amity street. For Negroes. Total area, 7 acres.

Amity Street, between Lexington and Saratoga Streets? Dwellings to be razed to the ground? Why! Poe once lived there!

As soon as this disconcerting fact was borne in on some members of the Poe Society they sat up with a start. Vigorous protests were voiced, and an earnest appeal was made to the Baltimore Housing Authority to spare the twin dwellings in one of which Poe is reputed to have lived with his aunt Maria Clemm, his cousin Virginia Eliza Clemm, and his paralytic grandmother, Mrs. David Poe, the mother of Mrs. Clemm, from 1832[1] or 1833 to 1835.

The Baltimore Housing Authority was most coöperative. But first the Commission put it up squarely to the Poe Society to establish the authenticity of the Poe house:

"Which one of the twin houses, 203 or 205, did he live in?" it asked. "We cannot preserve both."

Thereupon intensive examination of available material was begun. The research was devoted chiefly to a study of land records, maps, surveys, directories, house-numbering ordinances, structural details indicative of the age of the twin houses, and biographies of Poe.[2]

[1] It is possible that Mrs. Clemm, as several biographers state, moved to Amity Street in 1832. That she was living there as early as the spring of 1833 is evident from the fact that the directory in which her name and Amity Street address appear was "Corrected up to May 1833."

[2] Grateful acknowledgment is made of valuable assistance received from Mr. Edward V. Coonan, Mr. Clarence H. Forrest, Mr. John Q. Boyer, Mr. Edgar Allan Poe, Sr., Mr. G. Corner Fenhagen, Mr. Arthur P. Vollerthum, Mrs. Harry L. Eichelberger; librarians of Peabody Institute, Johns Hopkins, Enoch Pratt, and Maryland Historical Society libraries; officials of the Baltimore Housing Authority,

The evidence pointed to No. 203—fortunately little altered since it was built more than a century ago—as the home of our most distinguished poet. The Baltimore Housing Authority, after careful consideration, agreed to spare the house. Subsequently it decided to name the whole Area H project "The Edgar Allan Poe Homes." The use to which No. 203 Amity Street will be put

The Clemm-Poe House, No. 203 North Amity Street (at right) and No. 205 before Alteration.

Drawn by Howard Frech for the Sunday Sun, Baltimore, 1933, from an old picture.

has not yet been determined by the Housing Authority; but it is considering plans to make the house serve some philanthropic purpose for the advantage of the neighborhood.

The preserving of No. 203 North Amity Street, southernmost of the twin houses, was not, by the way, an easy task, owing to the close construction of the pair as a unit. The problem was this: How could these lightly-built semi-detached houses be separated

the City Hall, the Court House, the Bureau of Plans and Surveys and the Division of Property Location in the Municipal Building, and the Municipal (Peale) Museum. Detailed notes of the Amity Street researches are in the possession of the Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore.

and one of them demolished without causing the other to totter and fall? As the architect expressed it: "It will be like a surgical operation on Siamese twins!" But it has been accomplished—a real achievement. Even the front of the little "diving alley" between the lower floors of the houses, belonging equally to both, has been preserved and cleverly converted into an approach to the brick veranda of the adjoining new apartment building.

The interior of the two-story-and-attic dwelling is still very primitive. Wandering through the small rooms one falls inevitably to reconstructing the scene in the Clemm-Poe household of old. One sees in fancy a little family group chatting in the tiny parlor into which the front door gives direct entrance, or partaking of an all-too-meagre repast in the back room which probably served as both kitchen and dining-room. And the redoubtable Mrs. Clemm toiling carefully up the steep, step-ladderlike stairs to her room on the second floor, where she ministers tirelessly to her bedridden mother. And Poe, probably domiciled in the adjoining room, working feverishly, far into the night, in the creation of a poem or a tale. And the child Virginia climbing perilously to a cot in the attic. Or was it Poe, not Virginia, who was quartered in the attic? Biographers rather like to depict Poe in Mrs. Clemm's attic. It may be so.

Outside, one notes with rejoicing that accretions of ugly grey paint have been removed from the lovely old red bricks, and that the exterior of the building is pleasing and well proportioned—much more so, indeed, than most of the little Baltimore houses of later periods. One conjures up another picture: Mrs. Clemm and Edgar and Virginia—strange trio—sitting cooling off of a summer evening on the small box seats that once formed part of the front stoop.

The Poe Society is, naturally, deeply gratified that the Amity Street house has been saved. To quote Dr. John C. French, founder of the Society:

> The name of Poe is probably known to more persons throughout the world than that of any other person who ever made his home in Baltimore. The modest dwelling in which he is believed to have served his literary apprenticeship is destined to be one of the two or three historic structures in the city most sought out by visitors in years to come.

Tradition had long associated with Poe the southernmost of the two houses (No. 203 according to the decimal system now in

vogue). And this despite the assertion to the contrary of at least one biographer, whose claim, by the way, was not accompanied by any sort of evidence. The printed word and diagram, however, took root and added to the uncertainty already existing because of the fact that these were twin houses and because their numbers had been repeatedly changed. The problem was further complicated by the disappearance from the directories of *all* house numbers in the entries of Amity Street addresses for over ten years after 1833, the year in which Mrs. Clemm's name appears.

At the outset there seemed little to go on except the following entry in the directory of 1833:

Clemm mrs. Maria, 3 Amity st between Saratoga and Lexington sts

In the hope of finding further clues every address in the volume was scrutinized. Only two other addresses in the block on Amity Street between Lexington and Saratoga Streets were found:

Owen Thomas, 5 Amity st [3]

Simmons Samuel F. 1 Amity st betw Saratoga and Lexington sts [4]

Four other addresses of householders, about two blocks south of the foregoing, were listed simply as "Amity st near Baltimore." Above these few scattered dwellings which had not yet attained the dignity of bearing house numbers there was a large unimproved tract between Fayette and Lexington Streets. This part of Amity Street was not declared a public highway until nineteen years later.

There were, then, in 1833 three dwellings on Amity Street between Lexington and Saratoga Streets. No. 3, the residence of Mrs. Clemm, was obviously the middle one of the three; with a neighbor on the south (Mr. Simmons, in No. 1); and a neighbor on the north (Mr. Owens, in No. 5). Even in those days of loose

[3] No. 5 Amity Street is not indicated in the directory of 1833 as being between Saratoga and Lexington Streets, but is evidently the same as in the entry: "Owen Thomas G. Amity st n of Lexington," in the succeeding directory, 1835. The old directories contain many variants of names and addresses—misspellings, changed initials, omissions, etc., including several other renderings of the name of Thomas Owen or Owens. Matchett, publisher for many years of the old Baltimore directory (or "director," as he preferred to call it), had his troubles. "Houses and parts of houses are shut up," he wailed, "and we have to take the names from their neighbors, *if they know,* if not, we cannot remember in all cases to call again."

[4] J. H. Whitty and several other biographers refer to a Mrs. Samuel F. Simmons as a Baltimore neighbor and friend of Mrs. Clemm and Poe to whom Poe is said to have given the manuscript of his tale *Morella.*

numbering in Baltimore there was at least an attempt at orderly sequence of numbers.

In order to follow up the several house-numbering systems, every address in the directories (usually published biennially) from 1827 through 1855 was examined. This brought the survey up to the numbering decreed in the ordinance passed in 1853; which numbering immediately preceded that decreed by the ordinance passed in 1886—the present decimal system. The directory of 1887, the first one issued after the passage of the ordinance of 1886, contains in its preliminary pages a list of the new decimal numbers side by side with the numbers of the preceding system. (This listing of the old numbers that immediately preceded the decimal system is, in the case of the one block on Amity Street between Fayette and Lexington Streets, inconsistent in placing even numbers on the west side and odd numbers on the east side. For consistent, logical numbering in this block see Bromley's *Atlas,* 1885, Vol. I, Plate 18.)

A study was made of the addresses of householders who had lived in the same dwellings for many years and through changes in house-numbering systems. This made it possible to compare old numbers and locations of houses with those of succeeding years.

One of the most convincing results of the scrutiny of these old directories was the confirmation of the claim that there were no houses north of No. 5 until a later period than 1833. Even as late as 1865 the directory contains no addresses on the east side of the block north of the twin houses except one near the corner of Saratoga Street. A comparison with reliable maps and surveys confirmed the evidence of the directories. (See, for instance, the area on the east side of Amity Street north of the twin houses in the Poppleton-Simmons map of 1851, of which Mr. Clarence H. Forrest made an enlarged diagram to facilitate the research; the Sachse *Bird's Eye View of Baltimore,* begun about 1865 or 1866 and published in 1869; and Owen Bouldin's survey of 1842, of which the original plat is in the Bureau of Plans and Surveys, Municipal Building.[5]

[5] A map of the city by Fielding Lucas, Jr., seems to indicate by a shaded area that the east side of the Amity Street block north of Lexington Street had been entirely built up by the time of publication, 1841. This is absolutely at variance with other records. It is possible, however, that the Bouldin 1842 survey of building lots was in progress or in contemplation in 1841, and erection of houses expected in the near future; though the evidence of other maps and the directories shows that the lots were not built upon until many years later.

It is, then, not only logical but evident that in Mrs. Clemm's time of residence in Amity Street the northernmost of the twin houses, *being also the northernmost house in the block,* must have borne the highest number, 5, in the series of three; and that No. 3 must have been the southernmost of the two houses. If, on the other hand, No. 3 was the upper one, and No. 1 the lower one, of the twin houses, where, then, could No. 5 have been? A phantom house existing somewhere in mid-air?

When the first ordinance for the numbering of houses in Baltimore, passed in 1844, decreed that numbering on streets running north and south and crossing Baltimore Street should commence at Baltimore Street, the twin houses became No. 53 and No. 55, respectively—as definitely established by a comparison of land records and directories. The number of houses at the time on North Amity Street between Baltimore and Lexington Streets had not actually approached fifty; but there was space for just about that number of building lots, improved or unimproved, in this area, including those later surveyed and built on in the tract between Fayette and Lexington Streets. It is evident therefore that the City, looking to future improvements on the vacant area, allowed for numbers which might soon be required.

When, in accordance with a later ordinance (1853), odd numbers were, for some unexplained reason, switched over to the west side and even numbers to the east side of North Amity Street, No. 53 and No. 55 became No. 46 and No. 48, respectively. (There were actually more than forty-four building lots, improved or unimproved, between Baltimore and Lexington Streets. This would have brought the first number on the east side of the block above Lexington Street into the fifties, instead of to 46, had it not been for the fact that several houses on the east side in the block between Baltimore and Fayette Streets had numbers which duplicated the numbers on other houses in the same block.)

In accordance with the ordinance (1886) introducing the decimal system, even numbers were returned to the west side of North Amity Street and odd numbers to the east side, as at present. The twin houses then became No. 203 and No. 205, respectively.

An inevitable question now arises: Where was No. 1 Amity Street in 1833? Being the next number below the southernmost of the twin houses, No. 3, it could only have been somewhere on the Amity Street side of the lot on the northeast corner of Lexing-

ton and Amity Streets, which extended sixty feet along Amity Street to the south wall of the twin houses.

Two theories as to the elusive No. 1—both tenable, but with the preponderance of likelihood in favor of the second—have presented themselves in the course of the research:

At first, it was surmised that No. 1 was either a former structure on the Amity Street side of the corner lot, or else the back section of a corner house, sublet as a separate dwelling place and having an Amity Street side door as its own numbered entrance, but without separate land title. There were and are in Baltimore innumerable examples of such subletting of the rear part of a corner property, with its own entrance; in some cases the sublet section using the number of the main corner house, in others adopting a number of its own in the orderly sequence of the numbering of the intersecting street. Such adopted numbers are, for convenience in identifying properties, recognized as unofficial or "memorandum" numbers and are so indicated in the municipal files.

The second theory is like unto the first—though somewhat in reverse. It developed in an interview with a former owner of No. 203 North Amity Street—Mrs. Harry L. Eichelberger, from whom the Baltimore Housing Authority acquired the house. Mrs. Eichelberger is specially qualified to speak on the subject; for, besides having inherited No. 203 North Amity Street from her father, she lived for years in the corner house, Lexington and Amity Streets, which had been in her family since 1855.

The structure of this corner property plays an important part in determining the location of No. 3 Amity Street, Mrs. Clemm's home in 1833. In 1855 Mrs. Lemuel Brown, maternal grandmother of Mrs. Eichelberger, acquired the property at the northeast corner of Lexington and Amity Streets—then a two-story-and-attic dwelling in the style of the period of the Poe house. Said Mrs. Eichelberger: "It had two rooms on each floor, with an entrance on Amity Street between the two first-floor rooms, leading to a small passage-way with a staircase. The door on Amity Street had small box seats on the sides of the stoop. The entrance to 203 Amity Street also formerly had box seats on the stoop, which I removed." In 1887 Mrs. Brown transferred the corner property to her son-in-law, Mr. Richard H. Thomas, and his wife, parents of Mrs. Eichelberger. Mr. Thomas enlarged and re-

The Clemm-Poe House, No. 203 North Amity Street (at right) and No. 205 after Alteration.

Photograph by James W. Foster.

The Clemm-Poe House after Erection of the Edgar Allan Poe Homes by the Baltimore Housing Authority.

Photograph by H. Clifton Kaufmann, Jr.

modeled the dwelling, building a double store-front in the Lexington Street section, where he conducted for a while a grocery business; replacing the attic with a full third story; adding a two-story back building; and changing the style of the Amity Street entrance. This was the form of the house when it was later acquired and occupied by Mr. Arthur P. Vollerthum, from whom it was purchased by the Baltimore Housing Authority.

I do not recall [said Mrs. Eichelberger] that there was a store-front on the Lexington Street side of the house before my father remodeled it. When it was still owned by my grandmother, I, in my girlhood, often accompanied her when she went to collect the rent from her tenant. The family entrance to the house was on Amity Street. After my marriage, and after my father had remodeled the house, my husband and child and I went there to live. The Amity Street door was still the family entrance to the dwelling. Though we used the Lexington Street decimal number, 926, it could just as well have been 201 North Amity Street for the family entrance.

Mr. Vollerthum also, during his thirty-five years' occupancy of the house, used the Lexington Street store entrance in his paint business and the Amity Street door as his family entrance, with the address, 926 West Lexington Street, serving for both.[6]

Asked her views as to the theory that No. 1 Amity Street in 1833 may have been a sublet back section of the Lexington Street corner property, with an Amity Street number, Mrs. Eichelberger expressed the opinion that it was probably the other way round—that the Amity Street door was the main entrance to the house, as in the time of her grandmother's ownership, and that the Amity Street number was used for the house proper, not merely for a subrented back room or section.

If there was any subrenting [she said], it is more likely to have been the room at the corner of Lexington and Amity Streets on the first floor. My grandmother's tenant, by the way, subrented this room to a woman who made molds for hat-blocking, probably for some factory; and I recall seeing her carry the molds out through the Amity Street door.

[6] As early as 1842 a directory entry shows that one Joseph Hall conducted a dry goods store at the northeast corner of Lexington and Amity Streets. This, however, does not necessarily imply that the original two-story-and-attic dwelling had been altered at this time to include a store-front. (Small retail businesses were and are often conducted in private dwellings without store-fronts. Such, for instance, was the case at No. 205 North Amity Street, northernmost of the twin houses, where two sisters used to operate a grocery store in the first floor of their home.)

The owner of the corner property, from whom Mrs. Brown acquired it, was one Patrick Skiffington, carter, whose address in the directory of 1853 is given as "cor Amity and Lexington" (not Lexington and Amity)—another evidence that the corner house was formerly regarded as fronting on Amity Street.

Unexpected and fortunate confirmation of the claim that No. 1 Amity Street in 1833 was the address of the property on the corner of Lexington and Amity Streets was found in the directory of 1845, following the first numbering ordinance (1844). This directory contains the following entry:

Hellman Christian, cooper, 51 N. Amity st

There were at this time on Amity Street only a few houses between Baltimore and Fayette Streets (numbered 1 to 20); and there were no houses on Amity Street between Fayette and Lexington Streets, which, as has been stated, was not declared a public highway until 1852. It follows that No. 51 N. Amity Street in 1845 was above Lexington Street, the dwelling next below No. 53, southernmost of the twin houses. No. 1 Amity Street between Saratoga and Lexington Streets in 1833 and No. 51 North Amity Street in 1845 are mutually corroborative. Subsequently, Amity Street numbering of the house on the northeast corner of Lexington and Amity Streets disappeared from the directories. After the ordinance of 1853, when odd numbers were switched to the west side of Amity Street, the number, 51, was used on the west side of the block.

Conclusions reached with respect to changes in certain house numbers on the east side of Amity Street, between Lexington and Saratoga Streets, may be summarized as follows:

	1833	1845	1855	1887
House No.	1	51	(Lexington St.)	
House No.	3	53	46	203
House No.	5	55	48	205

Though in the beginning of this investigation the only problem that presented itself was the uncertainty as to which of the dwellings, 203 or 205, was the Poe house, some other pertinent questions have arisen in the course of the research. For example:

Were the twin houses built as early as 1833? If not, what house bearing the number, 3, did Mrs. Clemm occupy?

In answer to this question, it must be admitted that the exact date at which the houses were built has not yet been ascertained, owing chiefly to the fact that, on inquiry at the City Hall, it was learned that the building permits of the period had been destroyed, and that some other relevant records had disappeared. There is, however, material of other kinds which sheds light on the subject. For instance:

1823: Publication of a *Plan of the City of Baltimore as enlarged and laid out under the direction of the Commissioners appointed by the General Assembly of Maryland in February, 1818, by T. H. Poppleton, Surveyor to the Board.* The map shows Amity Street as a country region, with only a few scattered houses on it near Baltimore Street.

October 3, 1829: Luther Ratcliffe assigned to Charles Klassen for the sum of $800 a piece of ground beginning 386 feet from the southeast corner of intersection of Saratoga and Amity Streets, and running thence southwardly, bounding on the east side of Amity Street 126 feet more or less. There is no indication of any kind that, at the time, the lot contained buildings. (The upper part of this tract included the 28-foot-front piece of ground which was set aside, probably later on, for the twin houses.)

March 5, 1830: Ordinance No. 11 was approved. It provided for the opening and extending of Lexington Street from Cove Street (now Fremont Avenue) to the city line westward; or, as in another official record, from Cove Street to Republican Street (now Carrollton Avenue). Included in the ground condemned by the City for this purpose was the lower part of the land acquired by Charles Klassen from Luther Ratcliffe on October 3, 1829.[7]

The next transfers of the property (three in number, made only a few days apart) were in the fall of 1834, and each one indicated that the ground had been improved:

October 22, 1834: Charles Klassen assigned to William Patterson for the sum of $2083.33 the "lot fronting upon Amity Street

[7] William H. Freeman also was a property owner in this region, and part of his land was included in the area acquired by the City for the opening and extending of Lexington Street. In the following year, 1831, Freeman had a survey made by the City of his land at the southeast intersection of Amity and Saratoga Streets, and the southwest intersection of Amity Street and Wagon Alley (north of Lexington Street). But no evidence has been found that building was begun on these tracts until periods later than Mrs. Clemm's tenancy of Amity Street. (See Owen Bouldin's surveys of 1842 and 1848.)

. . . together with all and singular the buildings and improvements thereon made and erected." From this lot the width of Lexington Street had been deducted in 1830, leaving about 88 feet on Amity Street—60 feet being the Amity Street side of the corner property and the remaining 28 feet the site of the twin houses. The great increase in the valuation of the property (notwithstanding its reduced dimensions) since the acquisition of the lot by Charles Klassen five years before was doubtless due to the opening of Lexington Street and the erection of buildings meanwhile. (Note that although Lexington Street in this region had been opened for several years, the corner lot is designated in the assignment as *fronting* on Amity Street.)

October 25, 1834: Patterson assigned to Samuel Moale in trust the upper part of the property on Amity Street: 28 feet front, beginning 60 feet north of Lexington Street; "together with the improvements."

November 6, 1834: Moale leased to Patterson the aforesaid 28-foot-front property; "together with the buildings."

January 31, 1835: Patterson subleased to Mary Lybrand the northernmost half of the property, "together with the use and privilege of an Alley two and a half feet wide opening into Amity Street [the "diving alley" between the lower floors of the twin houses] . . . together with all the improvements thereon made."

March 5, 1835: The southernmost half of the property was assigned by Patterson to Elijah Miller, . . . "to include compleatly the two story brick house erected upon the lot . . . the same being a part of all that lot and parcel of ground which was heretofore demised and leased by Samuel Moale trustee to the said William Patterson . . . together with all and singular the buildings and improvements made and erected . . ."

The evidence of all the city directories of the period shows that no owner of this property lived in it until some years after Mrs. Clemm's tenancy.

A comparison of directories with land records yields further data. Amity Street first appears in the directories of 1827, 1829, and 1831, but only in lists of Baltimore streets, lanes, and alleys; not in addresses of householders—except, in 1829, in connection with a grocery fronting on Baltimore Street, at the northeast corner of Baltimore and Amity Streets. (No directory was published

in 1832.) The first addresses of tenants on Amity Street—seven in number, as already stated—appear in the directory of 1833.

The foregoing land records and directories would seem to indicate that the twin houses were built not later than early in 1833.

Another significant piece of evidence regarding the approximate age of the twin houses, confirmatory of the conclusion that they had been built before Mrs. Clemm moved to Amity Street, has been afforded by an examination of certain structural details by Mr. John Q. Boyer, member of the Poe Society. Mr. Boyer's observations, based on his experience in the architectural field and without recourse to any public records, are as follows:

> The period in which the twin houses were built I would place at about the first quarter of the nineteenth century, or approximately 1825. The characteristics of the building are: the type of frames, those for the windows without weights for the sash, which were held up by supports; the style of outside shutters, without the middle cross rail; the narrow interior trim or casing; the type of doors, some plain square-work, others tongue-and-grooved, batten doors; the Colonial mantel; the wide flooring and hewn joist—all bearing marks of hand-made material.

Mr. Boyer places the houses on the west side of the block as of a later period than the 1830's, and those north of the twin houses, on the east side (now demolished), as of a still later period.

The following statement in the Baltimore Housing Authority's Report of History and Procedures (1939) is also to the point:

> A project known as the Edgar Allan Poe Homes is now rising on the site of a former slum. According to the records, this region has been a low-rent area since the time of Poe, whose initial success as a struggling poet and writer came to him while living on Amity Street. The *early nineteenth century house,* in which Poe is said to have rented a room, has been saved from demolition because of his connection with it, and because *it is typical of the less pretentious dwelling of that period.* [The italics are ours.]

There remain to be considered two other points which have been evolved in inquiring minds. The first of these:

"I wonder whether Mrs. Clemm really ever lived in Amity Street," said one doubting Thomas.

"The city directory lists her address there," was the reply.

"Directories sometimes make mistakes," the skeptic contended.

"True. But how about this newspaper notice?"

Died yesterday morning, July 7th, in the 79th year of her age, Mrs. ELIZABETH POE, relict of General Poe, of this city. Her friends are requested to attend her funeral, without further invitation, from the residence of her daughter, Mrs. William Clemm, in Amity Street, at 9 o'clock this morning.—*Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser,* July 8, 1835.

"Well, that does settle it," conceded the skeptic.[8]

Finally: What evidence is there that Poe was a member of his aunt Maria Clemm's household in Baltimore either before or after her removal to Amity Street? Did he or Mrs. Clemm specifically state that he was? No, not specifically—at least in so far as the present research has revealed. But the implications in Poe's letters and those of Mrs. Clemm so strongly support the claim that one can but accept them as evidential. Then, too, there is a cloud of witnesses in the affirmative—biographers,[9] several of whom were Poe's or Mrs. Clemm's personal friends or acquaintances.

Since it is not expedient in a limited space to quote copiously, only a few notes bearing special personal evidence are given herewith:

As early as 1829, when Poe first came to Baltimore to live, while awaiting enrollment as a cadet at West Point, we find him in close touch with his Aunt Maria's affairs. Note, for instance, the bill of sale of a Negro slave, December 10, 1829, by Poe to one Henry Ridgway (an item recently discovered by Mr. Edward V. Coonan in the Court House, Baltimore, and kindly put by him at the disposal of the present writer). This document begins thus: "KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS that I Edgar A.

[8] The directory of 1835 does not contain the name of Mrs. Clemm, though she was still a resident of Amity Street in that year. The omission is accounted for by the fact that though the directories were usually completed earlier in the year, that of 1835 was apparently belated, having been "Corrected up to September"—the month in which Mrs. Clemm was breaking up the little household preparatory to moving to Richmond. There would, therefore, have been ample time before publication to omit the name of the outgoing tenant and substitute that of an incoming one.

[9] See Hervey Allen, H. E. Buchholz, Killis Campbell, Eugene L. Didier, William F. Gill, James A. Harrison, David K. Jackson, John A. Joyce, Joseph Wood Krutch, Émile Lauvrière, Thomas Ollive Mabbott, Mary E. Phillips, Elizabeth Ellicott Poe, Una Pope-Hennessy, Arthur Hobson Quinn, Arthur Ransome, Edward Shanks, Mary Newton Stanard, Edmund Clarence Stedman, R. H. Stoddard, Sophie Treadwell (playwright), Augustus Van Cleef, Susan Archer Weiss, J. H. Whitty (by inference: see footnote 4), Lambert A. Wilmer, Vylla Poe Wilson, George E. Woodberry, Mrs. John C. Wrenschall.

Poe agent for Maria Clemm of Baltimore City and County and State of Maryland"; and is signed by "Edgar A. Poe for Maria Clemm" and "Henry Ridgway X his mark." (Chattel Record, Liber W G, No. 43, f. 180.)

In the same year, 1829, Poe writes to his foster father, John Allan, asking for "a piece of linen of which I am much in want . . . if you could get me a piece or a ½ piece at Mr. Galt's & send it to me by boat, I could get it made up gratis by my Aunt Maria."

Later, 1831-1832, in the Wilk Street home of Mrs. Clemm, Poe was a member of the household. This is recorded in an interview by Augustus Van Cleef with his relative, Mary——("Poe's Mary," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, March, 1889). "When I first met Mr. Poe," she said, "I was about seventeen, and lived in Essex [Exeter] Street,[10] I think it was, in the 'old town' of Baltimore. . . . Our house adjoined that of a Mr. Newman, who was our landlord. He had a daughter of about my own age, whose name was also Mary. Mr. Poe had at that time recently come to live with his aunt, Mrs. Clemm, after leaving West Point, and while his relations with Mr. Allen, whom he always called father, were not pleasant. Mrs. Clemm lived around the corner from us, in a street which crossed ours."

Susan Archer Weiss, who, as Susan Talley, in her youth in Richmond knew Poe personally, writes (in *The Home Life of Poe*) that when he came to Baltimore after his rupture with the Allans, Mrs. Clemm took him into her home, "and from that hour attended and cared for him. . . . And from the day on which he first entered her humble abode Poe was nevermore to be a homeless wanderer . . . even to his life's end."

Poe "lived in a very retired way with his aunt, Mrs. Clemm," writes Lambert A. Wilmer, of Baltimore, who was an intimate friend and associate of Poe's in 1832 and later (see "Recollections of Edgar A. Poe," *Baltimore Daily Commercial*, May 23, 1866[11]).

[10] No "Essex Street" appears in the list of Baltimore streets in the directory of 1831, but the following names and addresses are given: Lawson Newman, carpenter, Exeter st near Wilk; Mrs. Maria Clemm, Mechanics row, Wilk st [near Exeter]. Wilk or Wilks Street is now Eastern Avenue. The exact location of Mrs. Clemm's home there is not known.

[11] A copy of this issue of the *Baltimore Daily Commercial* is in the Library of Congress; also, Wilmer's article is included in Thomas Ollive Mabbott's edition of Wilmer's poetic drama, *Merlin*, 1941.

Eugene L. Didier, of Baltimore, writes (in *The Poe Cult and Other Papers*):

> When Poe's adopted father . . . drove him from the only home he had known for twenty-two years, the outcast was received into the family of his aunt, Mrs. Maria Clemm, in Baltimore, and until his unhappy life ended, his home was with her . . . I knew Mrs. Clemm in her last years, when she was an inmate of the Church Home, in Baltimore . . . It was while Poe was living in Baltimore, with his aunt, that he made his first success in literature, by gaining the . . . prize offered by the *Saturday Visiter* [October 12, 1833].

Of all the biographers consulted in this research, only one, John H. Ingram, has attempted to controvert the claim that Poe was a member of Mrs. Clemm's household in Baltimore. It is proper to state here that Ingram, a painstaking and able biographer, was an Englishman residing in London, and therefore must have been largely dependent on correspondence in seeking special information. He evidently was not familiar with much material to which other writers have had access.

Referring to Mrs. Clemm's removal from Wilk Street to Amity Street, Ingram, in his biography (1880) states that "extant correspondence proves that her nephew did *not* reside with her then, and, apparently, that he never lived with her until *after* his marriage." No letters confirming his claim that Poe had never been a member of his aunt's household until after his marriage to her daughter are known to the present writer. If the claim had been made that Poe, when he *first* came to Baltimore to live (1829) while awaiting enrollment at West Point, had written letters which seemed to give the impression that he was not living in his aunt's home, Ingram might have had some ground for his assertion (though even that point would be open to question). For instance, in 1829 Poe sent several letters to John Allan, appealing for money:[12] "Grandmother is not in a situation to give me any accommodation," he wrote in one of these. And again: "The lady with whom I board is anxious for her money." That "the lady with whom I board" was Mrs. Clemm is asserted by at least one biographer, who probably regards the statement as a mild Poe subterfuge intended to make the board bill seem more urgent than if it were merely a family matter.

[12] See *Edgar Allan Poe Letters till now Unpublished,* edited by Mary Newton Stanard, 1925, for the Valentine Museum, Richmond.

In his biographical sketch in the memorial volume, *Edgar Allan Poe,* edited by Sara Sigourney Rice (Baltimore, 1877), Ingram writes: "In Richmond [1836], where he was among his own kindred, he met, loved and married his cousin Virginia, . . . while marriage had the further advantage of bringing him under the motherly care of his aunt, Mrs. Clemm." Ingram is palpably in error here, except as regards the marriage (Poe and Virginia were publicly married in Richmond in May, 1836). As has been shown, Poe, for years before his removal to Richmond in 1835, had known Virginia and had felt the motherly care of Mrs. Clemm. Indeed, in the course of the Amity Street period he had grown to love his child cousin, had become betrothed to her (with Mrs. Clemm's approval), and even had obtained on September 22, 1835, a city license to marry her. (It has been said that a private marriage took place at this time; but no documentary evidence that the Baltimore license was ever used has been discovered.)

Poe left Baltimore in the summer of 1835 to take a position on the *Southern Literary Messenger*; but he returned in the fall for his aunt and his betrothed and established the little family in Richmond.

In a letter to William Poe, written in Richmond, October 7, 1835,[13] Mrs. Clemm says: "We arrived here Saturday evening last [October 3]. Edgar went to Baltimore for us. . . . Here, myself & daughter, have some one to love and care for us, there we had no one. . . . My daughter is with me here, . . . we are entirely dependent on Edgar. He is indeed a son to me and has always been so."

One other reference—not formal legal evidence to be sure, but none the less a revealing human document which bears its own significant testimony: Poe's autobiographical tale *Eleonora.* Coinciding with the Amity Street period, its first part depicts the happy life together of the two cousins, the gradual unfolding of their love, the vow of constancy.

> We had always dwelt together . . . in the Valley of the Many-Coloured Grass . . . to reach our happy home, there was need of putting back, with force, the foliage of many thousands of forest trees and of

[13] See *Edgar Allan Poe. Letters and Documents in the Enoch Pratt Free Library,* edited by Arthur H. Quinn and Richard H. Hart, 1941.

crushing to death the glories of many millions of fragrant flowers . . . its exceeding beauty spoke to our hearts in loud tones of the love and of the glory of God.

So it befalls that humble little Amity Street is transformed, by the enchantment of the poet's pen, into the resplendent Valley of the Many-Coloured Grass.

Thus it was that we lived all alone, knowing nothing of the world without the valley,—I, and my cousin, and her mother.

POLITICS IN MARYLAND DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By Charles Branch Clark

(Continued from Vol. XXXVI, page 262)

In addition to geographical sectionalism within Maryland and the existence of economic and social ties with both North and South, the State was further divided in sentiment by the political events of the 1850's. The latter included the rise and decline of the Know Nothing Party, violations of the Fugitive Slave law in cases affecting the State, the Dred Scott decision, and the John Brown raid. Maryland voted for Breckinridge in 1860 and from that time until late in 1861 secession was a strong possibility. Much pressure was brought to bear upon Governor Thomas H. Hicks, but he refused to call a special session of the State legislature until April, 1861, for fear that it would authorize a convention that would adopt an ordinance of secession. By April the Federal government realized the importance of keeping Maryland in the Union and made certain that secession was thwarted.

The Maryland legislature was placed under close military surveillance, its disloyal members were arrested and imprisoned, and in November, 1861, the State election was supervised to such an extent that a loyal legislature and governor, in the person of Augustus W. Bradford, were elected. It was Federal military force, therefore, that in the end made sure that Maryland remained in the Union. The people of the State, despite their economic ties with the North and their love of the Union, were enraged at the passage of Federal troops over their soil, at the establishment of martial law, at the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the suppression of the newspapers, the supervision of elections, and the arrest of many leading citizens. Friction between the Federal government and the State continued throughout the war.[1]

[1] The most complete account of the political background of Maryland's actions during the Civil War is the writer's unpublished doctoral dissertation (University of North Carolina library). Chapters III-VII, omitted in this publication, are entitled: "Politics of the Fifties and the Election of 1860"; "The Period of Indecision, November 6, 1860-March 4, 1861"; "Lincoln's Call for Troops and the Baltimore Riots"; "The Special Session of the State Legislature"; and "Federal Military Suppression of Maryland." These chapters are based upon all available sources. The outstanding published work for this period is George L. P. Radcliffe's *Governor Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War* (Baltimore, 1901).

III. MARYLAND IN THE SPECIAL SESSION OF CONGRESS, JULY, 1861

When President Lincoln issued his call on April 15, 1861, for 75,000 volunteers to suppress the rebellion and "cause the laws to be duly executed," he also called Congress to meet in special session on July 4. Members of the Senate and House of Representatives were summoned to "consider and determine such measures as, in their wisdom, the public safety and interest may seem to demand." Governor Hicks issued a proclamation soon thereafter directing that an election be held on June 13 to elect representatives to the special session of Congress.[2] Ordinarily, an election would have been held in November for the regular session of Congress that assembled in December.

The election in the Fourth District[3] caused much excitement. Henry Winter Davis was pitted against Henry May. Davis had been elected by the American party to the Thirty-fourth Congress, and as a Republican to the two succeeding Congresses. He ran as the candidate of the Unconditional Union group in 1861 despite the fact that May had been a prominent Unionist leader in that district. The *Baltimore Clipper* warned Davis on June 12 that his enemies would strike against him with all the force they could muster—influence, corruption, industry, and fraud. He was, said the paper, more violently hated than anyone else in the party. His vote for Pendleton, Republican speaker of the House of Representatives, in 1859, had much to do with this. But his "fidelity to the Constitution and to the Government are preeminent. His integrity is unimpeached and unimpeachable. His influence in the national councils is unsurpassed, and his brilliant talents, his wonderful ability, and his immovable firmness are everywhere admitted."[4] The *Clipper* argued that Davis alone could win a victory for the Union over disunionists in Baltimore.

Thousands, however, opposed Davis from the beginning on the ground that he did not represent the Union party. He had opposed its creation and continued to hamper it after its organization.[5] And Davis's stand had lost him many of his best friends. Henry May, meanwhile, had secured the support of a vast num-

[2] *National Intelligencer*, May 6, 1861.
[3] The Fourth District then comprised wards 9-20 inclusive of Baltimore City.
[4] *Baltimore Clipper*, June 12, 1861. [5] *Ibid.*, June 14, 1861.

ber of Union men and his speeches prior to his nomination had led them to believe he was a sound Union man and free from the objections urged against Davis. May had professed on June 5 an "unconditional reverence for and obedience to the principles and authority of our Federal Constitution, which, having created our Union of States, is alone competent to maintain it."[6] This was a reaffirmation of the position he had taken in a letter to the public on May 14, authorizing his nomination. In that letter, he said: "By a compromise amending our Constitution, I can yet see *the paths of peace,* which, with the favor of Heaven, I intend always to point out to my countrymen and for myself most faithfully to follow them." The geographical position of Maryland, said May, required that her representatives hold the olive branch rather than the sword. Such was Maryland's "honor as well as her interest," and upon this point Maryland should be a united people. He denounced the Republican party as a "sectional and aggressive party," and said he was "ever sternly opposed" to its "platform of principles and hostile policy." May declared that he was on the side of peace and compromise against those who favored "military coercion and a desolating war."

May and Davis were opposed by a third candidate who was chosen by the State Rights group. This group, variously called, had solicited Ross Winans to be its candidate, but had been unsuccessful.[7] In what was called a Southern Rights Convention this group then nominated Robert M. McLane,[8] late minister to Mexico, as its candidate. Because of Federal troops in Baltimore, McLane was not expected to be an important factor in the election, but the fight between May and Davis gave McLane some hope.[9] The *Baltimore American* thought that the nomination of Davis, an unconditional Unionist, and McLane, "an avowed Secessionist and Revolutionist" would place "the contest upon the right grounds—that of Union and Disunion, of continued peace in Maryland or revolution and disorder."[10]

The *Baltimore Clipper* supported Cornelius Lawrence Ludlow

[6] "Speeches of Henry May," *Maryland Pamphlets,* 1861-1863 (Baltimore, 1863), I, Appendix, p. 37.
[7] *Baltimore Clipper,* June 14, 1861.
[8] *Baltimore American,* June 1, 1861; *National Intelligencer,* June 3, 1861.
[9] *New York Times,* June 12, 1861.
[10] June 4, 1861; see also *National Intelligencer,* June 5, 1861.

Leary as the Union candidate in the Third Congressional District.[11] No single objection had been urged against him, and the opposition was challenged to produce a man with anything like equal qualifications. "He is known and universally acknowledged to be honest, able and faithful. None doubt his integrity, his ability has been amply proved, and his fidelity to the Union and the Constitution and the flag of our country is the pride and boast of his constituents."[12] The paper warned that unless Davis and Leary were elected to Congress the tyranny of April 19-23 to which Union men were "mercilessly subjected" would fade into nothingness compared with the "more heart-sickening outrages and exaggerated despotism that would assuredly be imposed in the event of a defeat of the Union candidates."[13] Voters were urged to lay aside all prejudices and preference for other candidates and support Davis and Leary. On the day of election this paper made a final plea:

> Some of you perhaps don't like Mr. Leary but will you permit your simple personal prejudice to imperil the whole Union? Some of you don't like Mr. Davis and have declared your intentions never to support him for Congress again. When these declarations were made the present circumstances did not exist. Mr. Davis was not then the candidate of the Union men and his defeat did not then involve the triumph of the disunionists in our midst. *Now,* the defeat of Leary or of Davis will be howled over by the disunionists as a secession victory and all who do not give their votes will be branded as secessionists and opponents of the Union. It is not for the men that you will vote, but for the cause they represent and let it be remembered that every vote cast today against the Union candidates and every vote withheld from them will be a vote for secession and against the Union.[14]

Leary was opposed by William P. Preston, State Rights candidate, who waged a vigorous campaign. As McLane in the Fourth District, Preston was commonly called a secessionist by his Union opponents.

In the First Congressional District[15] John Woodland Crisfield, Unionist, was opposed by Daniel M. Henry of Dorchester County.

[11] Then consisting of wards 1-8 inclusive of Baltimore City, annd districts 8-12 of Baltimore County.

[12] *Baltimore Clipper,* June 12, 1861.

[13] *Baltimore Clipper,* June 12, 1861.

[14] *Ibid.,* June 13, 1861.

[15] This District embraced the six lower Eastern Shore counties: Somerset, Worcester, Dorchester, Talbot, Caroline and Queen Anne's.

Henry was nominated by a State Rights Convention at Cambridge on May 28. The Convention adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Convention the coercive policy of the Administration is unwarranted, unconstitutional, and subversive of the principles on which this government was founded.

Resolved, That, voting money for the prosecution of this unholy and unjustifiable war, now waged against our sister Southern States, will be contrary to the wishes and sentiments of the voters of the first Congressional district; and anyone so acting will grossly misrepresent them.

Resolved, That we are in favor of a peaceful settlement of our difficulties, and the withdrawal of all invading armies, and the immediate recognition of the Confederate States Government, as the only means whereby peace and harmony can be restored between the contending sections, and of averting the horrors of civil war now already commenced.[16]

Crisfield defined his position in a letter published by the daily press. He believed that "the Union of the States is essential to national security and happiness; that the secession of a State is not warranted by the Constitution or by any right reserved by the States themselves; and at this time is justified by no sufficient cause, and is not a remedy for any wrong of which the South justly complains."[17] In case of well-founded wrongs the Constitution provided for amendments, a "peaceful and ample remedy"; therefore revolution was not justifiable, "at least till Constitutional redress has been sought and been deliberately refused, and the grievance has become oppressive." Crisfield declared the "distinctive doctrine" of the Republican platform to be "sectional, inconsistent with national harmony, and ought to be abandoned." And the course of the Lincoln administration "has not been characterized by wisdom, prudence, and a proper national spirit, and ought not to be approved and is not approved by the people of Maryland." But "it is at the same time admitted that Mr. Lincoln was lawfully elected President of the United States, and, in the just exercise of the powers invested in him by the Constitution and the Laws, he must be respected." Finally, Crisfield believed that "loyalty to the Union and Constitution is as well the interest as the duty of Maryland, and all attempts to lead her in a different course ought to be discontinued, but, consistent with her loyalty, her influence and efforts should

[16] *National Intelligencer,* June 1, 1861.

[17] *Ibid.,* May 28, 1861.

be earnestly directed to the restoration of peace and fraternal accord." [18]

Crisfield and Henry thus made similar complaints against the policy of the administration. The remedy proposed, however, was different. Both stood for peace and for averting the horrors of civil war, but Henry's party would recognize the Confederacy, while Crisfield would have Maryland remain loyal and aid in the maintenance of the Union.

In the Second and Fifth Districts the Union candidates were unopposed. Edwin Hanson Webster was nominated in the Second District [19] by the Union County Convention held at Bel Air, county seat of Harford County. The local press said: "We have heard of no objection to him in any quarter, and we believe the people of the district will see the propriety and importance of returning him to the House without any serious opposition." [20] Francis Thomas was nominated by the Unionists of the Fifth District.[21] His opponents were left without a candidate when George Schley, nominated by the State Rights men on June 3 at Hagerstown,[22] declined the nomination.[23]

The Sixth District was regarded as the secession stronghold of the State,[24] and a bitter and close contest was expected between Charles Benedict Calvert and Benjamin Gwinn Harris. Calvert was nominated by the Union men at their convention at Bladensburg, on June 1. His acceptance was generally applauded by the Union men throughout Maryland, his intelligence and public spirit, and his devotion to the interests of scientific agriculture having made him well known throughout the State at large. He stated his position as follows: "If Maryland has grievances under

[18] *National Intelligencer,* May 28, 1861.

[19] This district comprised the first seven districts of Baltimore County, the bordering counties of Carroll and Harford, and the two upper Eastern Shore counties, Kent and Cecil.

[20] *Bel-Air American,* quoted in *National Intelligencer,* May 6, 1861.

[21] Then composed of the three far western counties: Allegany, Washington, and Frederick.

[22] *Baltimore American,* June 4, 1861; *National Intelligencer,* June 5, 1861.

[23] A correspondent to the *Baltimore American,* June 7, 1861, sized up the situation as follows: "Mr. Schley was generally regarded as the most available candidate and it is thought none other, whose chances of success approach to a probability even, will be found willing to incur what is regarded as a political sacrifice."

[24] This district embraced Southern Maryland and the central Western Shore counties of Anne Arundel, Calvert, Charles, Howard, Montgomery, Prince George's, and St. Mary's.

the general government she should seek a remedy for them in and not out of the Union."[25] Calvert said that, since his first vote in 1829, he had been a Whig of the Henry Clay School. He had supported Fillmore in 1857, not because he was the American Party candidate, some of whose principles, particularly its want of toleration in religion, he could not accept, but because of Fillmore's conservative character and his patriotic sacrifice in behalf of the just rights of the South in 1850. In 1860, Calvert had urged the defeat of both Republican and Democratic parties, sectional parties, in order to preserve the Union, for he believed the South aimed to destroy the Union if unsuccessful in that election. He had supported Bell and Everett. He said "the whole question which you have to decide" in the congressional election of 1861 is whether there is any good and sufficient reason for Maryland seceding, or for recognizing the right of any other state to do so. He concluded by saying that Maryland should be the last to subscribe to the doctrine of a dissolution, as her interests and prosperity were more closely connected with and dependent upon a preservation of the Union than any other state. "This whole scheme of a dissolution of the Union originates in the design of reckless politicians to maintain their power by the overthrow of all the great interests of the country, and in defense of the will of the masses."[26] Harris, a resident of St. Mary's County, was nominated by the State Rights Convention of the Sixth District. Despite the vigilance exercised by the Federal government in Southern Maryland, Harris had a sizable following and Calvert did not underestimate his strength in the campaign.

On election day, June 13, there was none of that wild excitement and fear that Baltimore had known in April and which Baltimore and Maryland were again to experience in the gubernatorial election in the coming fall. In June the City was to all appearances loyal and there was no interference by the military, although the latter was ever ready to preserve order.[27] General Banks specifically forbade any interference by the United States troops in Baltimore and vicinity. He wrote to Mayor Brown that

[25] *National Intelligencer,* June 4, 1861.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] On June 12 a correspondent wrote from Baltimore: "There are some rumors of anticipated trouble, but I believe there is no ground for such expectations." *New York Times,* June 13, 1861.

In pursuance of this authority no soldier will be permitted to leave his post or enter the City during this day without positive orders from the general in command, except those who are voters under the constitution and laws of Maryland, and whose rights as voters, as I understand, have been recognized in a communication addressed by you to my predecessors in command of this department.[28]

The presence of troops had helped to preserve order in the active canvass before the election. "There is no doubt, indeed, that the display of so strong a force on the loyal side has had its effect in preventing the institution of that reign of terror, without which the elections in the seceding States could not have obtained their appearance of unanimity."[29]

The results of the election indicated that the people of Maryland would maintain the Union and support the administration in its efforts to reinstate the supremacy of the national government. May was elected in the Fourth District over Davis by a vote of 8,328 to 6,287. The vote for McLane, the State Rights candidate, was negligible. Davis's defeat was the only one sustained by the Unconditional Union group. The defeat was neither surprising nor disappointing, for May, as an Independent Unionist, claimed to be an uncompromising enemy of secession. The *Baltimore American* expressed its view as follows:

When Mr. Davis was nominated we declared that he was not the choice of the Union men of the District, and that he could not be elected. Mr. Davis and his friends, however, persisted in burthening the Union cause with the dead weight of his personal and political unpopularity, and the result has proved the truth of the declaration we then made. The whole contest has been unfortunate in its manifold cross purposes, but it is some consolation to know that Mr. May, the successful candidate, although not so decided in his expression of Union sentiments as could be wished, is yet one upon whom the Secessionists cannot depend for any 'precipitation' movements.[30]

The *Baltimore Clipper* asserted that the defeat of Davis was personal, not a Union party defeat.

It is the defeat of Davis—not the election of May—which has enlisted in the struggle between them the sympathies and efforts of the States' Rights men. . . . It will thus be seen that even our most determined

[28] *Official Records*, 1st Series, II, p. 681.
[29] *New York Times*, June 12, 1861.
[30] June 14, 1861.

opponents admit that the defeat of Mr. Davis is no defeat of the Union party, and in the face of this defeat, we maintain that the majority of the people of Baltimore are for the Union and the Constitution.[31]

The *Baltimore Daily Exchange,* an open and avowed advocate of disunion, supported this view, stating that the election did not "represent the real opinions of the majority of the people."[32] The Baltimore *South,* which aspired to be the organ of the disunionists, said that May represented opposition to Davis rather "than the views of any considerable number of voters, and his election will be hailed rather as a negative than a positive triumph."[33]

In the Third District Leary barely nosed out Preston, the vote being 6,381 to 6,061.[34] From the point of view of the Unionists this vote was considered satisfactory, especially since Breckinridge had been given a majority in this District in the presidential election of 1860.[35] Crisfield was elected over Henry in the First District by a majority of 1,800, the largest ever recorded in that District.[36] The election of Webster and Thomas, in the Second and Fifth Districts respectively, was assured since they had no opposition. In the Sixth District, Calvert won by a comfortable majority over Harris. The *Baltimore American* called his victory the "crowing point of the triumph which has demonstrated the unshaken loyalty of the State." The secessionists of this district, confident in their strength, met the issue more squarely than in the others. "The result speaks for itself, and, more than any one fact of the election, has an earnest and unmistakable significance."[37]

Maryland was thus represented by May, Calvert, Thomas, Leary, Crisfield, and Webster in the special session of Congress. Four of them had served previously in the House of Representatives.

[31] *Baltimore Clipper,* June 14, 1861. This paper claimed that the "straight-out" Republicans had voted against Davis.

[32] June 13, 1861.

[33] June 13, 1861.

[34] *Baltimore Clipper,* June 14, 1861. The vote in the Third District was variously reported. In the *National Intelligencer,* June 15, 1861, the figures were given as 6,555 to 6,061. The *New York Times,* June 15, 1861, gave Leary a majority of 375. Preston led Leary in the City wards by 311 votes, having 5,342 to the latter's 5,031. But in the Baltimore County districts, Leary led by a vote of 1,350 to 719.

[35] *New York Times,* June 15, 1861.

[36] *National Intelligencer,* June 17, 18, 1861.

[37] *Baltimore American,* June 14, 1861.

Francis Thomas,[38] had the most distinguished career, having previously served ten years in Congress and been Governor of Maryland. He was early a Democrat, but after nearly ten years of retirement he ran unsuccessfully as an independent for Congress in 1853.[39] In 1860 Thomas spoke in advocacy of the election of Douglas, but his support was so questionable that his real preference was thought to be for Bell. After Lincoln's election Thomas embraced the cause of the Union with great zeal and ability. He recruited 3,000 soldiers in Frederick and Washington counties.[40] He urged the people to stand by the Union, the Constitution and the laws. Throughout the war and for two years after its close, Thomas was the most conspicuous figure in Western Maryland, and in Congress he often spoke authoritatively for the whole State.[41]

John W. Crisfield[42] had served in the Thirtieth Congress, 1847-1849, while Henry May[43] had served in the Thirty-third Congress, 1853-1855. Edwin H. Webster[44] had represented Mary-

[38] Thomas was born in Frederick County on February 3, 1799. He was educated at St. John's College in Annapolis and admitted to the bar in 1820. He served for three terms in the Maryland House of Delegates and was a Democratic member of Congress from 1831 to 1841. Thomas was Governor of Maryland for one term, 1841-1844, and served again in Congress from 1861 to 1869 as a Union Republican. At one time he was President of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company and from 1870 to 1872 he was collector of internal revenue. He closed his active career as Minister to Peru from 1872 to 1875. Thomas was killed by a locomotive on January 22, 1876.

[39] He was defeated by William T. Hamilton, Democrat. Thomas lived in virtual recluse from 1846 to 1860 because of a domestic calamity—his divorce from his young wife, the former Sallie Campbell McDowell, daughter of Governor McDowell of Virginia, whom he married in 1841, when he was 42 annd she 20 years of age. Thomas and Williams, *History of Allegany County* (Cumberland, 1923), I, 284-287.

[40] Thomas' anti-slavery convictions (he sold his slaves at auction at the Frederick County jail in November, 1858, for $13,257) led him to break with the Democratic party, and aided Hamilton's victory over him in 1853. *Ibid.*, I, 284.

[41] *Ibid.*, I, 284-287. See also Will H. Lowdermilk, *History of Cumberland* (Washington, 1878), pp. 359-396.

[42] Crisfield was born at Chestertown, Maryland, on November 8, 1806. He was educated at Washington College and began the practice of law in Princess Anne. He served in the House of Delegates in 1836 and was a Whig in the Thirtieth Congress. He was a delegate to the Maryland Constitutional Convention in 1850-1851 and at the Peace Conference in Washington in February, 1861. He died on January 12, 1897.

[43] May was born in Washington, D. C., on February 13, 1816, and was admitted to the bar in 1840. He was sent by President Pierce to Mexico to investigate the celebrated Galpin frauds. He established residence in Baltimore in 1850.

[44] Webster was born in Harford County, Maryland, on March 31, 1829. He was admitted to the bar in 1851 and served in the Maryland Senate from 1855 to 1859. He was an elector on the Fillmore ticket in 1856. He later served as Collector of Customs at Baltimore.

land in the Thirty-sixth Congress. During the period of indecision which intervened between the secession of South Carolina and the outbreak of the war, Webster exerted his influence in Maryland in behalf of the Union, and in Congress for pacification. He was active and vigilant in thwarting the efforts of the commissioners from the seceding states, and those citizens in Maryland in sympathy with them, and was prominent among those who sustained Governor Hicks in resisting the pressure brought to bear upon him to convene the legislature in special session. When the war broke out he favored its vigorous prosecution by the government and was reelected in 1861 to Congress on that issue.[45]

The other two members of the House, Charles B. Calvert and Cornelius L. L. Leary were in Congress for the first time in 1861, although both had served in the State legislature. Calvert[46] is credited with founding the first agricultural research college in America, now the Agricultural College of the University of Maryland, chartered in 1856. Leary[47] had been a Whig member of the House of Delegates in 1838 and a presidential elector on the Fillmore ticket in 1856.

When the Congress convened many expected the Maryland representatives to support the administration. It should be remembered, however, that some of these men had specifically stated that they did not favor the policies of the administration. May had not proven his loyalty and the people of Maryland were not united in support of the Lincoln administration. The *New York Times* suggested that the Unionists had been greatly aided by the "fact" that their opponents had no intention of taking part in Federal legislation. "Their aim is simply to defeat the Unionists, and so to leave Maryland without representatives in Congress." A majority of the people, therefore, supported the Union candidates in order not to be "deprived of all influence in national affairs."[48] It is

[45] J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 692. See also *Portrait and Biographical Record of Harford and Cecil Counties*, p. 183.

[46] Calvert was born in Prince George's County, Maryland, on August 24, 1808. He was interested in all questions dealing with agriculture and its promotion. He served in the House of Delegates in 1839, 1843, and 1844.

[47] Leary was born in Baltimore on October 22, 1813. He was educated at St. Mary's College in Baltimore and admitted to the bar, at which profession he was engaged until his death on March 21, 1893.

[48] *New York Times*, June 12, 1861.

more probable, however, that the secessionists, if successful, would have attempted to thwart the efforts of the national government.

Maryland was represented in the Senate by James Alfred Pearce and Anthony Kennedy. Pearce had represented Maryland for many years in Congress, first as a representative and then as a senator.[49] He was elected to the Senate as a Whig in 1849 and 1855, but in 1861 sought reelection as a Democrat and was unsuccesful. Pearce was accused of shifting to the Democratic party after its "glorious victory" in the 1859 Maryland elections, when control of the legislature was wrested from the Know Nothing party. This shift insured his reelection to the Senate.[50] Edward Bates recorded in his *Diary* that in "Fillmore's time, Mr. Pearce was a good Whig and a very respectable Senator. But, like many another pretty good man, he lacked the courage to stand up for the right, against a truculent ruling party."[51] Until the Democrates won the Maryland legislature Pearce, says Bates, had not the hardened conscience necessary to become a Democrat, although his conscience "hurt him for deserting the Whig cause."[52] But if the Douglas Democrats could help Pearce win a seat in the Senate, he was willing to announce his conversion. When his election was pending in the legislature, Pearce declared in a letter that he had joined the Democrats in 1855, and that he intended to support the Charleston Democratic nominee of 1860 regardless of who he was and what his platform. Bates, contended, however, that Pearce had become a Democrat in 1854 when he voted for the Kansas-Nebraska Act, but had denied in a speech in Chestertown in 1856 that he was a Democrat.[53] At any rate, Bates was

[49] Pearce was born at Alexandria, Virginia, on December 8, 1804. He was educated at Princeton and took up the law profession in Dorchester County, Maryland, in 1824. He served in the House of Delegates in 1831 and as a Whig Congressman from 1835 to 1839.

[50] This was the opinion of the *Washington State,* quoted by the *Missouri Republican,* November 17, 1859. See Edward Bates, *Diary,* p. 61. Bates wrote that the *State,* the organ of Stephen A. Douglas, "is so eager to win adherents in all quarters, that it over steps the bounds of modesty and prudence, in making its meretricious advances to all available politicians whose old party connexions have become, by any cause, relaxed."

[51] Edward Bates, *Diary,* p. 61. Bates said Pearce "caved in" during Pierce's administration, when "as I think against his judgment and conscience," he supported the Kansas-Nebraska bill, "that fruitful source of all the evils that have followed from the various misgovernment of Kansas down to Brown's rebellion."

[52] Edward Bates, *Diary,* p. 61.

[53] *Ibid.,* p. 103. Bates claimed that ex-Senator Ezekiel F. Chambers, neighbor and personal friend of Pearce, gave him this information in Baltimore at a Whig Convention in September, 1856, over which Bates presided.

not pleased with the actions of his old Whig ally, and denounced Pearce as follows:

> He, I believe, has many good qualities in him, but they seem not to be mixed in due proportion. He loves truth and justice and would act them out, *if convenient* and *consistent with his personal success*: And he loves official rank and party influence and would like to enjoy them along with conscious rectitude, *if he could*. But he seems to lack courage and will: He halts between opinions not fully resolved which to sacrifice—his ambition to truth and justice, or truth and justice to his ambition. Most likely he will fall, as men commonly do who try to sit on two stools at once.[54]

Senator Pearce's colleague, Anthony Kennedy,[55] was a younger brother of John Pendleton Kennedy who had served with Pearce as a member of the House of Representatives in the Twenty-seventh Congress. Kennedy was elected as a Union Democrat to the United States Senate in 1856.

(*To be continued*).

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] Kennedy was born in Baltimore on December 20, 1810. He studied law and moved to Virginia where he served in the House of Delegates from 1839 to 1843 and as a magistrate for ten years. He returned to Maryland in 1851, and served in the House of Delegates before his election to the United States Senate in 1856.

THE MARYLAND GERMANS IN THE CIVIL WAR

By Dieter Cunz

Some writers consider the conflict between the North and the South which led to the Civil War in 1861 as resulting from the divergence of a democratic and an aristocratic republic. When seen from this point of view, there could be for the majority of German immigrants during the nineteenth century no doubt whatever as to which side they ought to join. In the decades after 1815, the age of the restoration and of the Holy Alliance, as well as during the years following the abortive revolution of 1848, many Germans had come to America because of their dislike of the conservative and even reactionary course of German government, and these liberals, after having undergone all the difficulties and hardships of emigration, would scarcely feel inclined, now that they were on this side of the Atlantic, to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the aristocratic landowners of the South. The concept of slavery stood in the sharpest contrast to their liberal and progressive ideas. Naturally they knew nothing of the specifically American background, the economic conditions, which for a certain period had made slavery understandable and pardonable; what they did observe was the horror of slavery as judged from the standpoint of their ideals and theories.

The constitutional aspects of this struggle left the Germans cold. Older Americans were influenced—frequently in favor of the South—by the fact that the conflict hinged, among other things, also on the question as to whether the individual State could act as it pleased or whether it had to surrender important rights to the federal government. German immigrants of the nineteenth century cared little about "states' rights"; in fact they tended to oppose them because they appeared as a parallel to the splitting up of the nation into numerous petty states, a phenomenon that had proved baneful in the course of German history. For them the United States was an entity; it made no difference to them whether they lived in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, or Texas —so long as they could live according to the ideals for the preservation of which they had undertaken the long journey into a foreign land.

There were, in addition, purely economic motives to win these Germans to the side of the North. In general, the Southern plantation owners were opposed to immigration. They had no conception of the high cultural value of European immigration. The economic system of the South did not require new blood, for its principle was mass production by unskilled labor. The social structure in the South had a relatively small top level: there were only about 2300 large plantations with slave populations numbering between 100 and 1000.[1] The middle class was very small and quite insignificant. Hence there was no social sphere except in the cities in which a German immigrant might win a position for himself. Precisely for the small farmer of German stock who contributed so much to the winning of the West there was no room in the economic system of the South. This was also true for the new territory of the Southwestern states, just opening up at this time. Every sensible farmer knew that his laboriously conquered farm land would lose enormously in value if next door to it a Negro plantation could be established.

These idealistic, practical, and emotional causes constitute the main explanation (although of course there were various minor reasons) why the majority of the Germans in America joined the side of the North in the Civil War.

This attitude not only brought new allies to the cause of the Union, but ultimately proved extremely useful also for the Germans.[2] The Forty-Eighters who had fled because of the German Revolution at first considered their stay in America as strictly temporary. Only reluctantly did they learn English, and did little or nothing to acquaint themselves with American conditions; there seemed no reason to do so, since they hoped shortly to return to the Republic of Germany. Carl Schurz was one of the very few to follow a different course. A large majority considered the sojourn on these shores as an ephemeral matter and the keynote of their relationship to the new country was a tone of carping criticism toward everything. This sterile, negative attitude was the reason why most of them, far from progressing materially and intellectually, found themselves in a sort of blind alley.

[1] A. E. Parkins, *The South. Its Economic-Geographic Development* (New York, 1938), p. 206.

[2] *Cf.* Wilhelm Kaufmann, *Die Deutschen im amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg* (München, 1911), pp. 101 ff.

When, after a few years, they became aware that they would have to establish themselves permanently in this country, because there was not the slightest chance for the revival of liberal ideas in Germany, their despair and gloom were great since they considered the fight for their ideals a total loss. Furthermore, most of them had by this time exhausted their financial reserves without having gained any footing in the social or economic structure of America.

At this very time, around the year 1854, when the danger of moral and intellectual decay was greatest for the Forty-Eighters, the anti-slavery struggle entered its final and decisive phase. There was thus opened up an entirely new and welcome field of activity for liberal German hot-heads. The old humanitarian ideals they had vainly fought to realize in their Fatherland could now be fitted into the scheme of current American politics. This helped them to get out of the rut of emigrant cliques: through their agitation against slavery they got into touch for the first time with the American people and American conditions, and learned to know, to love, and to struggle for their adopted country. The significance of the anti-slavery movement for the Forty-Eighters lies in the fact that a burning question of current American politics touched the very core of their natures, and enabled them to find a bridge leading from the dry ideas and theories of their past to a responsible, useful activity in the present.

This explanation refers particularly, of course, to the North and the northern part of the Middle West. The only Atlantic State south of the Mason and Dixon Line in which the ideals of the Forty-Eighters were carried over into American politics and played a part in the decision of the Civil War was Maryland.[3]

Since Maryland lies on the border line between North and South, the attitude there toward the issues of 1860 was far from unanimous. This State reflected in a microcosm as it were, the picture of the situation as it existed in the entire country. The plantation owners in the southern part of the State with their tobacco culture, stood opposed to the independent farmers of the northern or northwestern counties who raised grain and cattle. Between these two parts lay the only metropolis of the State, Baltimore, which belonged economically to the North due to its

[3] For the special situation of the Germans in Texas see Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1940), pp. 417 ff.

great industrial development, but socially and intellectually was very closely linked with the South.

In the South it was taken for granted that Maryland was Democratic and favorably inclined toward secession. Everyone in the South believed that the State would join the Confederacy as soon as Confederate troops entered its territory. This proved to be true only in part. It was doubtless the case regarding the southern counties and the Eastern Shore. In Western Maryland, however, the Confederates experienced on their first visit in 1862 the annoying surprise that feeling was definitely divided and favored in considerable majority allegiance to the Union. The two counties which most energetically opposed secession were Frederick and Washington, that is, the very counties that contained the oldest and largest settlements of German stock.

To be sure, seen from the point of view of party politics, this region also was Democratic; in the election of 1860 there was but a small scattering of votes for Lincoln.[4] The press of this region expressed frank regret concerning Lincoln's election, but was far from considering this a cause for secession. A big Union meeting was held in Frederick, on December 15, 1860, which was followed a few days later by a big county meeting " for the preservation of the Union." [5] The names of the leading men at these meetings show that they were of good old Maryland-German stock: Haller, Eberts, Baer, Biser, Boteler, Cramer, Eichelberger, Brengle. Similar meetings were also organized in Hagerstown after the election and after the outbreak of the War, and we find among the most ardent fighters for the Union men called Daniel Weisel, Daniel Startzmann, and Henry Dellinger—all purely German names.[6] Indeed, it was a descendant of an old German family who after Lincoln's call for troops in 1861 organized the first regiment of soldiers from Frederick County: Captain B. H. Schley, who was later advanced to the rank of major.[7] Thomas E. Mittag, of Ger-

[4] The results of the voting in Washington County were: Bell 2567, Breckenridge 2475, Douglas 283, Lincoln 95. Thomas J. C. Williams, *History of Washington County, Maryland* (Hagerstown, 1906), p. 304.—In Frederick County: Bell 3617, Breckenridge and Douglas 3609, Lincoln 103. T. J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County, Maryland* (Frederick, 1910), p. 364.

[5] Williams, *Frederick County,* pp. 364 ff.

[6] Williams, *Washington County,* p. 306. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), p. 216. Other German names appearing at different Union meetings in Hagerstown, Keedysville, Middletown (all in Western Maryland) were: Spigler, Sprecker, Kitzmiller, Rohner, Christmann, Lantz, Ecker, Christ, Hoppe.—Cf. Scharf, *op. cit.,* pp. 197 ff.

[7] This Frederick regiment fought throughout the entire course of the war.

man descent, was the owner of the Western Maryland paper which stood most emphatically for the preservation of the Union —*The Herald and Torchlight* of Hagerstown. It invariably referred to the Confederacy as "the hellish rebellion" and frequently expressed the view that the steps undertaken by Lincoln's government against the secessionists were far too feeble.[8]

Naturally enough in these two "German counties" there can be found German names also among the minority sympathetic toward the South. In Hagerstown a Colonel George Schley belonged to the leaders of the Peace Party, which consisted almost exclusively of camouflaged secessionists.[9] The organ of this Peace Party, *The Hagerstown Mail,* was edited by Daniel Dechert, a man of pure Pennsylvania German stock. His articles, no less violent than those of the *Herald,* led to his arrest and a jail sentence of six weeks.[10] After this his tone became somewhat gentler, but not sufficiently conciliatory for the Unionists, for in the course of an anti-secessionist riot the office of the *Mail* was attacked and plundered.[11] From Middletown, Maryland, comes the report of an enduring enmity between two German families, the Riddlemosers and the Crouses, the one in sympathy with the North and the other with the South.[12] In general, the attitude of Western Maryland was pro-Union.[13]

The story of Barbara Fritchie, who, according to Whittier, fearlessly hung out the Union flag in the face of the Confederate troops, is certainly rather legendary than historical, yet it characterizes in a striking way the prevailing mood of Frederick.[14] A

[8] Williams, *Washington County,* p. 307. A striking sentence characterizing the attitude of this paper during the year 1860: "It is our duty as Southern men to hold back secession until the sober thought of the North can be put into operation for the preservation of the Union."

[9] Williams, *Washington County,* p. 304.

[10] *Ibid.,* p. 317. [11] *Ibid.,* p. 324.

[12] J. H. Apple, "The Border Woman," in *The Pennsylvania German,* XI (1910), 300 ff.

[13] Abdel R. Wentz, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Frederick Maryland* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1938), pp. 233 ff.—The municipal election in Cumberland shows clearly the steady increase of the Union party in Allegany County. The same thing is proved by the election to the Maryland legislature of the Unionist delegate Fiery from Washington County. George L. P. Radcliffe, *Governor Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War* (Johns Hopkins Studies, Baltimore, 1901), p. 94.

[14] Barbara Fritchie (1766-1862) was the daughter of a German, Nicholas Hauer and wife, née Catherine Zeiler. Hauer emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1754 and in 1770 settled in Frederick. *National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (1909), Vol. X, p. 113. Williams, *Frederick County,* p. 378. *The Pennsylvania German,*

quotation from the memoirs of the most famous German soldier on the Southern side, Colonel Heros von Borcke, is very illuminating. He relates that during the days when Confederate troops were in Western Maryland he was at one time observing some Germans who were sitting in an inn, smoking and drinking. "I am quite sure that most of them were decided Yankee sympathizers, but as a gray uniform was right among them, and many others not far off they talked the hottest secession."[15] Though this testimonial is not altogether flattering to the Germans in Frederick, it shows clearly that even the Confederates had no longer the slightest doubt regarding the Union sympathies of the Germans in Western Maryland.

Some quotations from an unpublished diary of Jacob Engelbrecht (1819-1878), a German inhabitant of Frederick, may illustrate the feelings of the German element in the western counties. On November 17, 1860, Engelbrecht wrote: "As soon as the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency was known, the South Carolineans & Allabamaens were ready to seceed from the Union of the U. States and at this time they are making wonderful preparation to leave this glorious Union. For my own part I say go as quick as you please . . . the sooner they go the better for the piece & quiet of our Country." On December 21, 1860, after the secession of South Carolina, we read: "Thank you, Gentlemen, you have been dominaring long enough, and I hope you will stay out of the Union." On April 11, 1861, we find the remark: "I hope Uncle Sam (or rather now Uncle Abe) will give the seceding boys a good sound drubbing. The Constitution and the laws must be sustained."[16]

A further proof of the fidelity to the Union cause of the western counties can be derived from an examination of the exciting history of the Maryland legislature at the beginning of the War. Senator Radcliffe has described in detail the policy of the then governor, Thomas H. Hicks, his "masterly inactivity" shown by

IV (1903), 339 ff.; J. H. Apple "Barbara Fritchie," *Pennsylvania German,* VIII (1907), 366 ff.; *New York Times,* December 4, 1927; *Baltimore Sun,* January 17, 1937.

[15] Heros von Borcke, *Memoirs of the Confederate War of Independence* (New York, 1938), I, p. 190.

[16] Quoted from an unpublished Johns Hopkins University dissertation by George A. Douglas, "An Economic History of Frederick County, Maryland, to 1860" (Baltimore, 1938), pp. 35-42. The original orthography of Jacob Engelbrecht is reproduced.

long hesitation in summoning the legislature, because he wished to prevent all hasty or anti-Union resolutions. When Hicks finally did call the legislators together he summoned them to Frederick because of the well-known pro-Union attitude of this town, as he himself explained at the time.[17] The legislature, meeting on April 26, 1861, held its first meeting in the Frederick County Court House, but moved then for all subsequent meetings to the German Reformed Church, corner of Church and Market Streets.[18] Even before the legislature convened in Frederick, the Home Guard of Frederick had been founded, often called after its organizer, Captain Alfred F. Brengle, the "Brengle Home Guard." The name Brengle leaves no doubt concerning the German descent of its owner, and the list of members contains so many German names—about half of the 400 names—that lack of space does not permit us to mention them. This Brengle Guard had been founded to espouse the cause of the Union in Western Maryland and was supported by the citizens of Frederick.[19]

Except for the western counties, Frederick and Washington, the city of Baltimore had then—just as it has today—the largest percentage of Germans or descendants of Germans. But the situation there was slightly different. The Germans in Western Maryland had at the beginning of the War no love whatever for Lincoln because they were loyal Democrats, but, as I have said, they, for the most part, favored the Union. In Baltimore, party politics further were complicated by a new angle. There was published here the only Republican paper in the State of Maryland, the only one in Maryland to advocate openly and energetically the election of Lincoln: the German daily, *Der Wecker.* There is no need here to say much about its founder, Carl Heinrich Schnauffer,[20] particularly since he died only three years after he had founded the paper, in 1854. But his family continued the paper in his spirit and the *Wecker* maintained the attitude of its founder, the liberal Forty-Eighter who had fought in Germany against tyrants and the rule by princes. Here can be seen clearly,

[17] Radcliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 69. Frederick and Baltimore were designated by Lincoln in his call for troops in April, 1861, as the two places in Maryland where troops were to be mustered into service.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[19] *Maryland Historical Magazine,* VII (1912), 196 ff.

[20] *Cf.* A. E. Zucker, "Carl Heinrich Schnauffer," *in Twenty-fourth Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (1939), pp. 17 ff.

as we mentioned above, that the younger generation of German immigrants of the fifties conceived of the Civil War as a continuation of the struggle of 1848.[21]

As a Republican paper the *Wecker* advocated the freeing of the slaves unconditionally. It returned to this question again and again. It was well aware how difficult this problem was and that the abolition of slavery would by no means establish the equality before the law of the Negroes. After emancipation there should come education for the colored folk. "The negroes ought to become whatever they can make of themselves"[22]—but they must be given the *opportunity* to make something of themselves. True emancipation cannot be attained by law, it must grow historically; freeing the negroes from slavery must be followed by legal, political and social emancipation. It would not be right to tax the negroes without giving them the vote, for taxation without representation was the injustice that drove the Colonies to revolution in 1776.[23]

To be sure, when compared to the radical abolitionist New England sheets the *Wecker* appears decidedly moderate. In reply to some complaints from readers that the *Wecker* did not attack the slavery question with sufficient energy, the editor replied that he must perforce impose moderation on himself since the paper was being published in a slave State and that he could not willfully endanger the only progressive organ in Maryland; he would prefer to win over to his side fellow-citizens who were still undecided in their attitude, rather than rebuff them by violent fanaticism.[24] Shortly afterward he took sharp issue with some bigoted abolitionists, when he argued that their plan to send the Negroes

[21] An appeal by Leonard Streiff to his German fellow-citizens (*Wecker*, June 18, 1861) shows this plainly; he states that the same principles were and are involved in the Europe of 1848 and the America of 1861. An address delivered at a *Turner* festival in Berlin in 1861 harks back to an even earlier point in German history. In welcoming representatives of American *Turner* societies the orator assured them of his sympathy in their fight against barbarism and went on to state that the year 1861 represents for German-American *Turner* the same crucial test in the fight for freedom that 1813 had meant for German *Turner*. (*Ibid.*, July 18, 1861).

[22] "More Schools for the Negroes," *Ibid.*, June 22, 1865.

[23] *Ibid.*, June 22, 1865. The fact that Professor W. C. F. Walther in the *Lutheraner* published in St. Louis, defended slavery on the basis of his interpretation of some Biblical passages as well as citations from the works of some Reformation leaders is eagerly seized upon and castigated by the *Wecker*. This is part and parcel of the anti-clerical attitude of this as well as most papers conducted by Forty-Eighters. *Ibid.*, January 14, 1864.

[24] *Ibid.*, July 4, 1860.

back to Africa after their liberation did not spring from a feeling of humanity but from arrogance and intolerance. These people were eager to free the slaves but after that they never wished to see them again. Such a course would prove impossible. It was nonsense to call them "Africans," for they were Africans just as little as Lincoln was a European. The Negroes were Americans, they formed the lowest class of agricultural laborers, and as such they had a right to their position in the American economic system as much as anyone else, regardless of color or race.[25]

Though the *Wecker* at times showed a conciliatory spirit regarding the question of slavery, in regard to Lincoln it proved all the more absolute and adamant. It never felt the slightest doubt that Old Abe was the best man in the country. This is all the more noteworthy since the *Wecker* and the *Turner* paper were the only ones in Maryland at the time taking this point of view. Originally the *Wecker,* like most German papers, had been more inclined to favor Seward. When on May 16, 1860, the paper presented to its readers the ten men who came in question for the Republican nomination, Lincoln—in contrast to Seward and Wade—was mentioned only briefly and not very hopefully. He was characterized curtly as "America's greatest debater, witty and original." But two days later, after Lincoln had been nominated, the *Wecker* did all it could to strengthen Lincoln's position in Baltimore and on the day of Lincoln's visit to Baltimore it extended to him a cordial greeting.[26] The paper printed in full every one of Lincoln's messages, in 1864 it came forward as one of the first to advocate his reelection, and on the day after his assassination it appeared in mourning with a wide black margin.[27] When some German Republicans attacked Lincoln because his administration seemed not sufficiently energetic, the *Wecker* defended the President's deliberate hesitation.[28] When the same group complained regarding a rebuff Carl Schurz had received as a member of the new cabinet the *Wecker* came forward with conciliatory explanations. It reported with evident pleasure how Lincoln had expressed himself in an interview regarding the Germans, stating that he appreciated them as "straight-forward, honest people,"

[25] *Ibid.,* December 7, 1861.
[26] *Ibid.,* November 1, 1860, and February 23, 1861.
[27] *Ibid.,* June 13, 1864, and April 15, 1865.
[28] *Ibid.,* April 5, 1861.

that he regretted that he could not talk with them in German, but that one of his secretaries was regularly translating for him clippings from German papers for he was very much interested to know what the Germans in America thought about him.[29]

The *Wecker* was in full accord with Governor Hicks because it came to realize very quickly that the hesitant policy of this statesman was quite favorable to the Union cause.[30] In view of this the *Wecker* even forgave Governor Hicks his old association with the Know-Nothings, even though at regular intervals it continued to attack in the sharpest terms this as well as other nativistic groups. "It is wrong to say that adopted citizens should keep aloof from the quarrel. They are citizens and as such they must take their place—for the preservation of the Union." [31]

"Preservation of the Union" was the chief slogan of the *Wecker* throughout the years of the Civil War. It warned the Germans in Virginia, "Within the Union happy, outside the Union unhappy." [32] For this very reason the *Wecker* showed such great interest in the events in West Virginia and did everything to strengthen the anti-secessionist position of this State.[33] Once the war had gotten under way, it demanded that it be fought to the end for the sake of the Union. "No talk of peace now," it exclaimed in August, 1861, "that would be too soon. A peace concluded now would not serve the Union cause." [34]

These quotations probably characterize sufficiently the attitude of Baltimore's German Republican paper. What about its Democratic counterpart, the *Deutsche Correspondent*? The *Correspondent* had been founded in 1841 by Friedrich Raine, a German immigrant. It is characteristic of the founder as well as of the paper that both adapted themselves very rapidly to the American milieu. The *Correspondent* was the first German paper in the United States to adopt the make-up of the American press. Raine himself was already firmly planted in the life of this country and quite acclimatized when in 1851 Carl Heinrich Schnauffer, the

[29] *Ibid.*, January 31, 1861.

[30] *Ibid.*, January 2 and 8, 1861. Similarly the *Turnzeitung* called Governor Hicks a "white raven" and defended his policy (January 10, 1860). The Democratic *Deutsche Correspondent*, however, was against Hicks, "the Know-Nothing man," all the more so since it lumped together the Know-Nothings and the New England Puritans, identifying both with Governor Hicks. *Correspondent*, January 14, 1858.

[31] *Wecker*, June 2, 1861.

[32] *Ibid.*, January 28, 1861.

[33] *Ibid.*, April 12, 1861.

[34] *Ibid.*, August 31, 1861.

founder of the *Wecker,* came to Baltimore, filled with the liberal ideology of the Revolution of 1848. Raine had been moving in the Democratic atmosphere of the State of Maryland for fully twenty years before the Civil War broke out; naturally enough he had become rooted in the Democratic party, and he never left it. Thus he and his *Correspondent* took their attitude toward the current events on the basis of the Democratic party position.[35]

The volumes of the *Correspondent* from the Civil War years are unfortunately not preserved. We must attempt to supply this lack from a secondary source and from items in the later volumes of the paper, as when on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary the attitude of the *Correspondent* toward the Civil War is retrospectively outlined and explained.[36] The *Correspondent* did not openly advocate secession; among a hundred German papers in America in 1860 only three favored secession.[37] Regarding the slavery question the *Correspondent* took an essentially different position from that of the *Wecker.* To be sure, the *Correspondent* did not go so far as to praise and defend slavery as a divine institution. "In our state there was probably not one adopted citizen who was a slave-owner, not one who did not consider negro slavery a regrettable institution within a free republic, but"—there was the Constitution and the *Correspondent* always took refuge in this sacred document. Maryland happened to be a slave State and "one must never forget that the Constitution of the United States in support of which every adopted citizen of the Republic has sworn an oath of loyalty sanctions and protects the institution of slavery." It was not the stubbornness of the Southern slave barons that had caused the trouble, but the greed of the northern Yankees.[38] "If the humanitarianism of the North could have persuaded itself in the interest of human kindness to purchase the freedom of the three million slaves in the South at only $600 a head, an arrangement with which the Southern States

[35] Cf. Edmund E. Miller, *The Hundred Year History of the German Correspondent* (Baltimore, 1941), pp. 9 ff.

[36] *Correspondent,* May 13, 1891.

[37] Lonn, *op. cit.,* p. 46. The *Correspondent* was opposed to all tendencies that favored a centralization of the government. Yet it did not concede the South the right of secession, because it held that a State can leave the Union only with the consent of all.

[38] *Correspondent,* January 1, 1866: The Puritanical clergy of the North were to blame for the miserable Civil War. "What good can come from Massachusetts"? was a question the paper repeated again and again.

in 1857 would probably have been satisfied, then a financial sacrifice of 1,800 million dollars could have prevented the Civil War, which cost far more than 2,500 million dollars plus vast numbers of human lives and tears!—The *Correspondent* can point with pride to the fact that it has recommended this possible compromise very urgently in a number of editorials." The Republican notions concerning the emancipation of the Negroes were treated with irony and mockery, at times even with cheap demogogic arguments. In the New Year's issue of 1866 the *Correspondent* demanded suffrage for white women who should really be considered much more important than Negroes. "Heaven and earth are set in motion to get the vote for four million freed Negro slaves and they forget the white women. Why should these fifteen million paragons of creation be less favored politically than the four million bowlegged and flat-nosed kinky-heads?" On another occasion, after a discussion of the vast loss of human life and property in the War, the paper said "For this triumph, we are eternally indebted to the British Abolitionists without whose efforts we should still find ourselves in the condition of barbarism which existed here before 1861.[39]

This makes it readily understandable that during these years the *Correspondent* was none too fond of the great German-American Carl Schurz. It quoted Schurz as demanding that no State be readmitted to the Union before it had granted the vote to the Negroes, and commented that this demand was prompted by "purely party-politics." It held this to be on the same plane as the word of the Maryland politician, Henry Winter Davis, "What we need is votes, not intelligence." All these Republican maneuvers, it stated, had the one aim, namely, to get votes for the Republican party, since without the Negro votes of the South the Republican party of Mr. Carl Schurz would be lost. The *Correent* then asked menacingly: "How soon will the nation take a stand and expose these traitors in their true colors?"[40]

While the *Wecker* always spoke with contempt and disgust of the "rebels" and the "slave barons of the South," the *Correspondent* had profound understanding for the difficult situation after the war of the former "insurgents" and "Southern landowners."[41] Their money had been swallowed up by the war,

[39] *Ibid.*, January 3, 1866.
[40] *Ibid.*, January 6, 1866.
[41] *Ibid.*, January 6, 1866.

their soil was ruined, their property, i. e., the slaves, was now lost; in fact, the South could be saved only by means of generous loans on the part of Northern financiers. But the *Correspondent* had grave doubts as to whether "Yankee patriotism" would go so far. It held that Southern prosperity was essential to the welfare of the entire nation. The Government in Washington had not yet grasped the fact, for the unfortunate Freedman's Bureau,[42] far from aiding the solution of the problem, was making it worse by egging on the Negroes [43] and thus was turning it into a purely political tool, the strategic center of the Republican party for the domination of the South.

Since the volumes from the early sixties are no longer extant we are not in position to learn anything about the attitude of the *Correspondent* toward Lincoln. We find some discussion however of President Buchanan. As late as 1891 the paper said of him that history had not yet accorded him justice, that writers still continued to minimize his merits, and that he had never neglected his duty of defending the Constitution.[44] This sounds quite different from the peppery articles of the *Wecker* on, or rather against, Buchanan, "that old sinner." [45] In the election campaign of 1860 the *Correspondent* as a matter of course supported Breckenridge, the candidate of Southern Democrats.

In one respect the *Correspondent* deviated from its usual course and this occurred whenever it turned to the discussion of European politics. In the course of a retrospective New Year's Day article the events of 1865, so unhappy for members of the Democratic party, suddenly took on a new constructive value. The editor called on the readers to be proud of this victory of a republic, for as such it would serve to strengthen republican tendencies in Europe.[46] Thus when there was a question of evaluating the

[42] The purpose of this organization of the Federal Government was to aid Negroes in setting themselves up on small farms or in various trades.

[43] Naturally enough the *Correspondent* mentioned every Negro uprising in the country, designating each as one more failure of the Republican party.

[44] *Correspondent*, May 13, 1891.

[45] On one occasion when a Cincinnati paper spoke of Buchanan's poor health the *Wecker* remarked savagely, "Buchanan, the old billy-goat won't die so soon, as he is an extremely tough fellow for his age," (August 11, 1860). Naturally enough the *Turnzeitung* also viewed Buchanan extremely critically, "His course vacillated between love of peace and incitement to rebellion, truth and illusion, honesty and hypocrisy," (December 11, 1860).

[46] January 3, 1866. The article is reprinted from the New York *Staatszeitung*, but without commentary, hence with the editor's approval.

republican United States against monarchistic Europe the *Correspondent* showed a sort of a "feeling of American solidarity" and, face to face with the thrones of European princes, the old party fights between Republicans and Democrats were forgotten.[47]

The presidential election of 1860 was the first great political event in the history of the United States in which German *Turner* played an effective rôle. Five weeks before the Republican convention the associated *Turner* societies issued an appeal in the Baltimore *Turnzeitung* for the formation of local organizations for the purpose of exerting some influence on the course of the convention in Chicago.[48] In Baltimore, too, one of the leading *Turner,* Dr. George Edward Wiss, was closely associated with the early beginnings of the Republican party.[49] The first steps of the

[47] Polemics between the two German papers occur rather rarely. Occasionally one finds in the *Wecker* a few digs at the Democratic rival ("It is not at all ashamed of its incredible lies," *Wecker,* October 17, 1860). On November 15, 1860, the *Wecker* felt it its painful duty to report that the Baltimore *Correspondent* remained the only German paper still continuing with its attacks on the Republicans.

[48] *Turnzeitung,* April 10, 1860. "We must have our own representatives on the spot lest we be treated as on former occasions when before the election we were called 'our German friends' and afterward 'the voting cattle' and then treated accordingly."

[49] Despite considerable inquiries it has not been possible to learn much about George Edward Wiss (often called merely Edward Wiss). Requests for information adressed to the State Department and the National Archives have elicited the following facts: Dr. Wiss was born in Bavaria (probably in 1822), but became a naturalized citizen of Prussia. He immigrated to the United States in 1848 "with the full consent of the Prussian Government." Around 1852 he settled down in Baltimore as a practicing physician. He was also a prominent member of the *Turnverein,* from 1859 to 1861 one of the editors of the *Turnzeitung,* but in 1861 he resigned this post after a number of violent quarrels. He was a member of the executive committee appointed to look after the choice of the electoral ticket in 1860. In 1861 he applied for a consular post in Germany and was recommended by the Republican candidates for presidential electors of the City of Baltimore and the State of Maryland. According to the appointment records in the Department of State he was appointed American consul at Rotterdam, Netherlands, on June 5, 1861, (recess appointment) and on July 26, 1861, (confirmation appointment), and served from November 28, 1861, to August 29, 1866. (Cf. *Deutsche Amerikanische Turnerei,* I (1890), 91, and *New York Herald,* April 27, 1860, p. 10, col. 1.) In 1866 he applied for the position of minister resident at the Hague, but was not appointed. His official dispatches to the Department of State while consul at Rotterdam comprise about 400 manuscript pages. There are also on file in the National Archives his letters of application for positions and others recommending him. In E. F. Cordell's *Medical Annals of Maryland,* pp. 628-629, he receives only brief mention: "He was a regular graduate of a European medical school and sustained a satisfactory examination before your Board." (*Report of the Board of Examiners of the Western Shore,* June 1, 1850.) In the *Index Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office of the United States Army,* XVI (1895), 514, two of his works are mentioned: *De tenotomia in universum,* 32 pp., Berolini, 1845 (obviously his doctoral dissertation written in Latin) and *The Healing and Prevention of Diphtheria* (Berlin, 1879), 37 pp.

young Republican groups in Baltimore were not particularly fortunate. It stood completely under the influence of the Blair family, which was exerting its influence vigorously in the three border states, Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky, for the nomination of Edward Bates. Under the leadership of Dr. Wiss the German Republicans of Baltimore had joined the American Republican Association, with the understanding that they be permitted to vote for Seward or some other equally prominent Republican. At the Maryland State Republican Convention which met in Baltimore April 26, 1860, with only about thirty delegates present there were some extremely turbulent scenes.[50] The adherents of Bates—according to the *Turnzeitung*, almost all of them former Know-Nothings—under the leadership of Montgomery Blair pushed through a vote to the effect that the eleven Maryland delegates to the Chicago convention were to vote as a group for Bates. This candidate, a judge from Missouri, was anathema to the Germans because in 1856 he had identified himself completely with the Whig platform, one plank of which aimed to increase the probationary period for immigrants from five to twenty-one years. Hence Dr. Wiss, the representative of the German Republicans of Baltimore, declared that he could not accept his appointment as alternate delegate to the convention. It would mean a vote contrary to his convictions and very poor representation of the German Republicans of Baltimore if he were to deliver an obligatory vote for Bates; therefore he would not go to the convention as a delegate, but he hoped to find ways and means of informing the convention regarding the position of the German Republicans.[51] For a while the Germans planned to agitate violently against Bates, but then the latter's chances began to grow more and more hopeless anyway. Wiss was present at the Chicago convention, even though not as official delegate. He was the only representative from Maryland at a meeting held at the *Deutsches Haus* in Chicago May 15, 1860, at which the German Republicans agreed on the position they were to take. Some historians believe their united stand on the convention floor brought about the nomination of the "dark horse" candidate Abraham Lincoln.[52] Even

[50] *Wecker*, April 27, 1860.
[51] *Turnzeitung*, May 1, 1850.
[52] Frank I. Herriott, *The Conference of the German Republicans at the Deutsches Haus, Chicago, May 14-15, 1860* (Transactions of the Illinois Historical Society, 1928).

without the presence on the floor of Dr. Wiss, the Maryland delegates protested immediately against the instructions of the Blair clan to vote *en bloc* and insisted on voting individually.[53] Of German Republicans only one man took part in the convention, James F. Wagner, who became chairman of the executive committee of the Maryland Republican Party.[54] His name does not appear in any other record. Dr. Wiss, however, deserves considerable credit in helping to make impossible the candidacy of the reactionary Judge Bates and thus to clear the road for Lincoln's nomination.

At the next Republican Convention, held in Baltimore in 1864, a descendant of an old German family represented the Germans of Baltimore, Henry W. Hoffman, the grandson of a German who had immigrated in Revolutionary times and had, about 1780, established one of the first paper mills in this country.[55] Hoffmann had distinguished himself in the political life of Maryland during the years before the Civil War; among other things he served for some years as a member of the Legislature. As chairman of the Maryland delegation to the Convention of 1864 Hoffmann seconded the renomination of Lincoln.[56] At the close of the Convention he was elected the Maryland representative on the National Committee of the Republican Party.[57] In the autumn of the same year his name once more became prominent, when Maryland was to vote on the adoption of a new constitution which was to abolish slavery and Hoffman turned to Lincoln for an expression of his opinion. Two days before the voting, October 10, 1864, the President sent an open letter to Henry W. Hoffman, which, as the latter had hoped, aided in winning over the public in favor of the new constitution.[58]

Jacob Tome's share in the activities of the newly-founded Republican party in Maryland should not be overlooked. Tome

[53] *Report of the Proceedings of the Republican Convention in Chicago, 1860.* One of the delegates, Armour, declared, "We were recommended, not instructed." On the second ballot out of the 11 Maryland votes 8 were given to Bates and 3 to Seward and on the third 2 to Seward and 9 to Lincoln.

[54] *Report of the Republican Convention, 1860,* p. 144. *Report of the Republican Convention, 1864,* p. 1. The only other information I was able to find regarding Wagner was a brief mention in John Tweedy, *A History of the Republican Conventions* (Danbury, Conn., 1910), p. 42.

[55] *Biographical Cyclopaedia of Representative Men of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), p. 316.

[56] *Proceedings of the Republican Convention in Baltimore in 1864,* pp. 31 and 74.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

[58] Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1890), VIII, p. 467.

(1810-1898), one of the wealthiest merchants in Maryland during the latter part of the nineteenth century, was a descendant of Pennsylvania-German forebears. The original form of the name was Thom. His memory is preserved in the name of the school he founded, Tome School, at Port Deposit, Md. Tome was elected state senator in 1863 by the Union Party in Cecil County. He retained his seat until 1867 and took an active part, especially in questions of finance.[59]

Another enthusiastic follower of Lincoln among the Germans was William Julian Albert, the director of a large mining company in Baltimore.[60] Albert presided over the first meeting of citizens of the Union party held in Maryland, which assembled at Catonsville, to denounce the proceedings of South Carolina, and to pledge Maryland to the support of the Government. In 1861 Albert was delegated to go to Washington to explain to President Lincoln the difficult situation of Baltimore and to ask for help; his attempt to bring new life to the commerce of the city which had been injured by the war was as successful as possible under the circumstances. Albert's house was the gathering place of the unionists in Baltimore. He cooperated most ardently to organize the Republican Party and to found the Union Club of which he later became president. In 1864 he was president of the electoral college of Maryland for the approaching presidential election.

The *Turner* were the first group in Baltimore to support the nominee of the Chicago Convention, Lincoln, as a body and energetically. The headquarters of the *Turner* Societies of America were at the time located in Baltimore and here also its organ, the weekly *Turnzeitung,* was published. Consequently the history of the *Turnzeitung* of these years forms part of the history of the Germans in Baltimore.[61] One ought not underestimate the political influence of the *Turnzeitung,* since it spoke for 20,000 members of the *German Socialist Turner Society.* When therefore the Baltimore *Turnzeitung* first raised its voice in favor of Lincoln there was great joy in the Lincoln camp because of these new adherents.[62] Needless to state, the Baltimore editors of the paper

[59] *Bibliographical Cyclopaedia,* p. 5 f.

[60] *Baltimore Past and Present* (Baltimore, 1871), pp. 169 ff.; Hamilton Owens, *Baltimore on the Chesapeake* (Garden City, N. Y., 1941), p. 281.

[61] Of the volumes of the *Turnzeitung* published in Baltimore 1859-1861 there is extant only a single copy, property of the Boston Public Library.

[62] William Baringer, *Lincoln's Rise to Power* (Boston, 1937), p. 190.

—Wilhelm Rapp, Dr. Edward Wiss, and Dr. Adolph Wiesner—were all thorough Republicans. From Baltimore the *Turner* headquarters sent on October 16, 1860, an appeal to all *Turner* societies to campaign for Lincoln. "We Turner fight against slavery, Nativism, or any other kind of restriction based on color, religion, or place of birth, since all this is incompatible with any cosmopolitan view-point."[63] Since the attitude of the *Turnzeitung* is identical with that of the *Wecker* it is unnecessary to repeat details, except to mention their reaction to the events at Harper's Ferry. Both papers show no sympathy for John Brown; his actions were described as "a mad *Putsch* of a fanatic driven to despair by an unkind fate."[64] The *Turnzeitung* blamed the South for making a mountain out of a molehill by demanding a search for "wire-pullers," of which there were none at all. It went on to say that one could almost believe that Southerners had been the stage managers of the affair, were it not that John Brown was just as honest as he was fanatical, because this mad raid certainly served to inflame public opinion in Dixie. The calm, measured judgment here expressed concerning John Brown was angrily criticized by more violent *Turner* from northern states; especially the Boston *Turner* protested against the location of the editorial office in a slave state where it was subject to a certain amount of local pressure.[65] The riots of April 19 and 20, 1861, caused the precipitate removal from Baltimore of the editorial offices of the *Turner* Societies.

It seems in place to say a bit more concerning these riots. The *Turner* had never made a secret of their enthusiasm for Lincoln.[66] Among the thirty-two Germans who in the middle of April, on the very day after Lincoln's appeal, went to Washington to enlist as volunteers, fully one-half were *Turner*.[67] Regiments of German *Turner*, among them many from Baltimore, held Washington until troops from the North arrived.[68] Thus everyone in Baltimore knew what was to be expected of the *Turner*, and that led to an event that in a tragi-comical vein followed the turbulent Baltimore street battles of April 19, 1861.[69] On this very day a

[63] *Baltimore, Seine Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Baltimore, 1887), p. 234.
[64] *Turnzeitung*, October 18, 1859.
[65] *Ibid.*, November 1, 1859.
[66] Reports on Republican mass meetings in the *Turnhalle*. *Turnzeitung*, October 30 and November 6, 1860.
[67] *Wecker*, April 19, 1861. [68] *Ibid.*, May 20, 1861.
[69] *The Pennsylvania German*, VIII (1907), 19, 62, 117.

violent mob had appeared before the *Turnhalle* on West Pratt Street to demand from the *Turner* that they lower the Union banner and hoist the Maryland flag. This was to no avail, for the *Turner* had declared that they would rather blow up their hall than lower the Union flag.[70] When on the following Saturday, April 20, the news spread throughout the city that the German company of *Turner* Rifles had two days previously sent arms to Washington and had offered the services of the company to the Government, a violent riot ensued. A mob collected before the *Turnhalle,* which contained the armory of the *Turner,* invaded the building and smashed everything to bits, from heavy furniture and gymnasium apparatus to the dishes in the kitchen and the bottles in the bar. The only weapons that the mob discovered were four old muskets, which they of course carried off. Then the police appeared—after everything had been smashed and the mob had disbanded—and Captain Gardener with his fifteen policemen solemnly locked the building. The majority of the *Turner* had to flee, most of them going to the Union army.[71]

A similar fate on the same day overtook the office of the *Wecker* on Frederick Street. Here too a boisterous mob appeared and made preparations to storm the building. Windows were smashed and some of the machinery, employed in printing the only two Republican papers in Maryland, the *Wecker* and the *Turnzeitung,* was destroyed. However, the rioters had to withdraw before they could complete their vandalism. Whether this was because courageous Mrs. Schnauffer faced down the mob or whether the police arrived this time more promptly, is a matter regarding which reports differ.[72] The *Wecker* building was evi-

[70] Heinrich Metzner, *Geschichte des Turnerbundes* (Indianapolis, 1874), p. 77. Franz Hubert Cortan, *Geschichte des Turnverein Vorwärts 1867-1892* (Baltimore, 1892).

[71] Baltimore *Sun,* April 22, 1861; Cortan, *op. cit.,* p. 1; Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore,* p. 600. Cortan reports that the mob "was led by a German," but investigation has yielded no information on this point. Scharf, who on account of his sympathies with the South did not wish to represent the outbreak to be a violent act of the mob, says that "this act was committed by a number of indignant Southern men."

[72] Zucker, *op. cit.,* p. 22; J. T. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Baltimore, 1881), p. 630. *The Sun,* April 22, 1861, reports: "The crowd soon dispersed, not, however, until the Southern flag had been thrown out. No violence was done, and all good citizens regretted that any such demonstration was made." However, the *Sun* stands alone in reporting no violence. Cortan as well as Scharf speak of destruction—"office completely wrecked, building seriously injured" (Scharf). Probably the machinery was destroyed in part, for the *Wecker* could not be published from April 20 to 29; and after that it appeared for a considerable period as a so-called "extra," a single fly-leaf.

dently not destroyed completely. The editors had to flee and the paper could not be published for several weeks. Only after the city had been occupied by troops, the editor of the paper, William Schnauffer, a brother of the founder, could return to resume publication.

A similar outbreak of mob violence took place a few days later against Leopold Blumenberg (1827-1876), a merchant with strong Union sympathies. Blumenberg, of German-Jewish descent, was born in Brandenburg, Germany, and came to Baltimore in 1854, where he soon attained considerable prosperity. He was one of the first to follow Lincoln's appeal in 1861. In 1863, together with three other Germans, Bartell, Kühne and Straubenmüller, he founded a special German "Unionsverein."[73] He retired from business for the purpose of devoting himself to the Union cause, and spent a good deal of his own money in helping to raise the Fifth Regiment of Maryland Volunteers.[74] This earned him the bitterest enmity of Baltimore Secessionists who openly threatened his life and made it necessary that after an unsuccessful attack Blumenberg's house had to be guarded by the police for several nights. Blumenberg became a major in the Fifth Regiment and fought for some time under McClellan. He led his troops against Lee's army in the Battle of Antietam and was wounded so severely that for more than a year he was bedridden.[75] Lincoln then appointed him provost-marshal of the Third Maryland District, a post he held until the close of the draft, and President Johnson named him a brigadier-general for his valiant services in battle.

If on the other hand one examines the troop lists of the Maryland regiments who fought on the side of the South, the absence of German names is most striking. Of course, here and there a few German names are found but the percentage is extremely small, especially among the officers. Only one German—or German-Swiss—name occurs among the officers of the Maryland Infantry, a Lieutenant William P. Zollinger who distinguished

[73] *Wecker*, September 23, 1863.

[74] *Biographical Cyclopaedia*, p. 477; *Wecker*, April 30, 1861.

[75] *History and Roster of Maryland Volunteers, War of 1861-1865* (Balt., 1898), I, 179, 181; Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, I, 249. Some of the German names among members of the Fifth Regiment killed or wounded at Antietam are: (Officers) Magnus Moltke, Leopold Blumenberg, William Bamberger; (Privates) Warmboldt, Preiss, Stahl, Harochkamp, Bruder, Kohler, Merling, Kohlmann, Braun, Bremermann.

himself particularly in reorganizing the Second Maryland Infantry Regiment in Richmond.[76] In addition we find just a few more in the lists of the Maryland Infantry: W. H. Slingluff, William Ritter, Alfred Riddlemoser, Joseph Wagner.[77] In the First Maryland Cavalry we find only two German names among the twenty officers: A. F. Schwartz and F. C. Slingluff; in the Second Maryland Cavalry Herman F. Keidel is mentioned among the staff officers.[78] In the Maryland Artillery the only Germans that occur are Corporal W. F. Bollinger and Captain W. L. Ritter.[79] There were thus some Germans among the Maryland Confederate troops, but they constitute a mere scattering and their percentage compared with the great participation of Germans in the Northern cause is strikingly small. It might be noted that the Maryland Line in the Confederate Army was recruited particularly from Southern Maryland, where there had been least German immigration.

Up to this point there has been mention only of riots against German groups faithful to the Union. Naturally enough in the later years of the War we find that the opposite took place, namely that Southern sympathizers—among these also some Germans—were pelted with rocks. In the course of such a demonstration on May 25, 1862, the building of the *Deutsche Correspondent* was visited by an excited mob. Scharf reports on this as follows: [80]

> The office of the German Correspondent was then visited, but the proprietors stated that they were about to display their flag, when the crowd proceeded to . . . On returning, the crowd went again to the Correspondent's office, where a portion of the flag, showing the stripes, was hanging from an upper window, but this was not satisfactory to the crowd, who required that the entire flag, with the stars, should be exposed to view.

It has been stated that the *Correspondent* was Democratic but not Secessionist. Among the Germans of Baltimore, particularly among those of the upper classes, there were quite a number of adherents of the Confederacy. The *Turner* Societies who sympathized with the Union were composed mostly of members of the middle and lower classes. The social center of the élite was the

[76] W. W. Goldsborough *The Maryland Line in the Confederate Army, 1861-1865* (Baltimore, 1900), pp. 85, 86, 152.
[77] *Ibid.*, 76, 155 ff.
[78] *Ibid.*, 166, 246.
[79] *Ibid.*, 270, 315.
[80] *Chronicles*, p. 624.

Germania Club and this club was considered a hot-bed of Secessionism;[81] hence when the city was placed under martial law the Club was very quickly closed on the command of General Butler. The Germania Club in these years was an organization of merchants. Baltimore's tobacco trade at the time was almost exclusively in German hands. The two chief ports for tobacco export and import, respectively, were Baltimore and Bremen and hence the tobacco trade was largely in the hands of Bremen merchants who had branch houses or business partners in Baltimore. This seems to be the explanation of the fact that the merchants who were members of the Germania Club and who dealt mostly in tobacco sympathized with the tobacco-raising Southern states; their economic interests and friendly social relations with Southern planters had naturally produced this result. The events of the war years made their impression also on this Club, as when in 1862 the president, Frederick Schepeler, a tobacco merchant, had to withdraw, because he had been a bit too free in his expression of sympathy for the South and thereby had endangered the existence of the Club during the period of martial law under General Butler.[82] In the guest books of the Club one finds during the first years of the War innumerable entries of the names of merchants from Southern states, all the way from Virginia to Louisiana. At times a guest entered as his place of residence "Confederate States" or "Confederacy," which in these days was meant to convey a declaration of political principles. From 1863 on, the Union sympathizers came more and more to the fore. The Secessionist Schepeler was succeeded as president by his business partner, Albert Schumacher, a thorough Unionist. When the Club made a declaration to the effect that in political matters it was absolutely neutral, General Butler gave permission to have it reopened; thereupon the members could foregather again—to be sure under a Union flag suspended in the club house, whether they liked this or not.[83]

Next to the Germania Club the Concordia Society was the social center of the well-to-do Germans. Here, too, there was to

[81] From an unpublished speech by Henry G. Hilken on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of the club, 1910. (In possession of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland in the Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore.)

[82] *Ibid.*

[83] Dieter Cunz, *History of the Germania Club* (Baltimore, 1940), p. 13.

be found a fairly large Secessionist group. August Becker, for some time editor of the *Wecker,* relates an occurrence that was probably quite symptomatic of the general attitude in the Concordia Society. Becker was chatting one evening in 1861 in the club rooms with his friend, Justus Bruehl, concerning the probable outcome of the war and gave frank expression to his Union sympathies. Thereupon all other members left the room by way of a demonstration of their feelings, leaving Becker and Bruehl finally quite alone. "You spoke too vigorously," said Bruehl, "These gentlemen are all devoted to the Confederate cause." [84]

One well-known Forty-Eighter is found even among the adherents of the Southern cause: Dr. Adalbert John Volck.[85] His house in Baltimore became a rendezvous for Southern sympathizers in the earlier years of the War, and at times he offered Confederate soldiers a hiding place there. Further than that, Volck actively assisted in smuggling medical supplies into the South. Suspicion fell on him so definitely, that in 1861, at the instance of General Butler, he was for some time incarcerated in Fort McHenry.[86] It was as a caricaturist that Volck gained his chief importance during the Civil War. Quite consciously he attempted to counteract the influence of the famous cartoonist on the Northern side, Thomas Nast, who also happened to be a German Forty-Eighter. Under the pseudonym, "V. Blada," he published a series of cartoons, in which he attempted to heap ridicule on the Union, especially on President Lincoln and General Butler.[87] His *Con-*

[84] *Der deutsche Pionier* (Cincinnati, 1869), I, 286. Strongly pro-Southern, too, was Gustav Wilhelm Lurman, a wealthy Baltimore merchant, who had come from Bremen before 1835. Mrs. Elinor S. Heiser, his granddaughter, characterizes him in her reminiscences, *Days Gone By* (Baltimore, 1940), p. 90: "His sympathies were strongly with the South in the Civil War, and in its behalf he gave and lost largely his fortune."

[85] Adalbert J. Volck (1828-1912), was born in Augsburg, Germany. After his participation in the Revolution of 1848 in Berlin he had to flee Germany and came to the United States in 1849. Following a two-years' stay in the Middle West he was called in 1851 as instructor to the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery. He was a Charter member of the Maryland State Dental Association and a founder of the Association of Dental Surgeons. See *Dictionary of American Biography, Encyclopedia Americana* (1939), Vol. 28, pp. 172 f. A full account of his life and work is given by George C. Keidel in *Catonsville Biographies* published in the Catonsville, Md., *Argus,* Oct. 2-Nov. 20, 1915.

[86] When after the conclusion of the War General Butler was a candidate for the governorship of Massachusetts Volck's caricatures helped considerably in bringing about his defeat.

[87] Albert Shaw, *Abraham Lincoln. A Cartoon History* (New York, 1929), I, pp. 12, 63; II, pp. 236, 253.

federate War Etchings and his *Sketches from the Civil War* in which he shows markedly artistic gifts, were of considerable aid to the cause of the South. It was either he or his brother, the sculptor Frederic Volck, who made the famous bust of Jefferson Davis which was engraved on the ten cent stamps of the Confederacy.[88] Adalbert Volck's sketch of Stonewall Jackson was very popular in the South and his portrait of Robert E. Lee hangs in the Valentine Museum in Richmond, Va. Volck continued in his love for the South to the very end of his days, displaying it also in another art at which he later tried his hand, the work of the silversmith. The last significant work he undertook in this field was a memorial shield, completed in 1909, three years before his death: "To the Women of the South—As a continual reminder . . . of the splendid example of self-sacrifice, endurance and womanly virtues displayed during the war between the States." Volck is particularly interesting because he was an exception to the vast majority of the liberal Forty-Eighters who favored the side of the North.

From all this it becomes evident that the picture presented by the Maryland Germans during the Civil War is by no means a unified one and that their attitude cannot be set down in a simple statement. Still one might generalize from the evidence as follows: in the western part of the State where the German element had largely been amalgamated by other groups of settlers, the exceptionally vigorous pro-Union attitude of Frederick and Washington Counties can probably be justly attributed to the strong German element in the population. It is in the rural districts, in the western counties, that we find the large number of Marylanders of Pennsylvania-German stock who clung conservatively to their traditional membership in the Democratic party and yet remained adherents of the Union. In Baltimore the Germans were much more recent arrivals, the German language and German social life still flourished there, and therefore one can speak here of a more definitely German attitude than in the western settlements dating back to Colonial times. The Germans in Baltimore represented the most southerly outpost of the Republican Party. Hence there were to be found here the most fiery Lincoln adher-

[88] August Dietz, *The Postal Service of the Confederate States of America*" (Richmond, Va., 1929), p. 222.

ents south of the Mason and Dixon Line. In Western Maryland the Union sympathizers remained within the Democratic Party organization, whereas in Baltimore they were Republicans as a matter of course. This keen party feeling in turn drove the Democratic Germans of Baltimore into the radical, secessionist wing of the party, in contrast to the conservative Democrats of Western Maryland. The urban section of the German element in Maryland separated itself, politically speaking, approximately along the lines of its sociological strata. Among the wealthy Germans, bound to the South by the ties of the tobacco trade, there were many Secessionists or at least Southern sympathizers.[89] Just as there was in Baltimore the southernmost group of Lincoln enthusiasts so there was here also the northernmost clique of German adherents of the Confederate cause. The latter were mostly men who had been in the country for a considerable time, generally more than ten years, and had become quite acclimatized. The middle and lower social strata of German immigrants, men who were in general associated with the *Turner* movement, stood as a group behind the Union cause. Their intellectual leaders were liberal refugees from the Revolution of 1848 who without the least hesitation flocked to the Republican banner. We have mentioned above how important it was for this group, perhaps the most valuable to America of all German immigrants, that they found it possible through joining in the fight for a holy cause to unite themselves spiritually with their new fatherland. On the other hand, it is unnecessary to dwell at length on the advantages accruing to the Union cause through the fact that the strong and enterprising young men of this generation of German immigrants placed their strength at the disposal of the North. This was of decisive importance especially in the border states where public opinion was divided and where a few brave individuals counted for ever so much more than in the homogeneous and safe atmosphere of Northern states. And how important it was to preserve for the Union Maryland in particular can be seen by one glance at the map and the geographical position of the nation's capital.

[89] Cf. Robert T. Clark, Jr. "The New Orleans German Colony in the Civil War," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XX (1937), pp. 990-1015. Clark shows that also in New Orleans the wealthy members of the German colony were ardent adherents of the Confederacy, "because their income was derived in one way or another from the proceeds of slave labor."

It seems fitting to close this essay with a quotation from a speech by President Theodore Roosevelt delivered in 1903: [90]

The other day I went out to the battle-field of Antietam, here in Maryland. There the Memorial Church is the German Lutheran Church, which was founded in 1768, the settlement in the neighborhood of Antietam being originaly exclusively a German settlement. There is a list of its pastors, and curiously enough, a series of memorial windows of men with German names—men who belonged to the Maryland regiment recruited largely from that region for the Civil War, which Maryland regiment was mainly composed of men of German extraction. In the Civil War it would be difficult to paint in too strong colors what I may wellnigh call the all-importance of the attitude of the American citizens of German birth and extraction toward the cause of the Union and liberty, especially in what were then known as the border states. It would have been out of question to have kept Missouri loyal had it not been for the German element therein. So it was in Kentucky,—and but little less important was the part played by the Germans in Maryland.

[90] Quoted in *The Pennsylvania German,* V (1904), 44.

WILLIAM FARIS, 1728–1804

Silversmith, Clock and Watch Maker of Annapolis, Md.

By Lockwood Barr*

The period from 1725 up to the American Revolution, was one of expanding prosperity on the Atlantic seaboard. It manifested itself particularly in the tidewater section in the country estates and city mansions of those families drawing wealth from commerce and shipping, from tobacco, cotton, rice, indigo. Williamsburg, the capital of the Virginia Colony, had reached a high degree of culture by 1760-70. Annapolis was the social and political centre of Maryland—thronged at the time of the court and assembly sessions and during the races of the Maryland Jockey Club. Philadelphia had become the principal commercial city of the colonies. As in the mother country, that period was a golden era in art, architecture, furniture, home decorations. There were attracted from England and the Continent to the colonies master craftsmen, skilled in all lines of trade who produced for their patrons things as beautiful as those made by their overseas contemporaries.

The most picturesque figure among eighteenth century Maryland silversmiths is William Faris of Annapolis. Silversmith, watchmaker, clock maker, designer, portrait painter, cabinet maker, tulip grower, tavern keeper, dentist, diarist and gossip, he arrests and deserves our attention. In addition to his sundry notices and advertisements in the newspapers, we have his diary, . . . his account books, and what to the lover of old silver is even more interesting, a book of drawings with his beautiful designs for silver, probably the only existing example of original working drawings and patterns of an eighteenth century American silversmith which has come down to us, and one which shows that he was a craftsman and artist of no mean ability.[1]

Doubt as to the exact date of his birth is raised by the fact that William Faris on the 16th of August of the years 1795, 1796 and

* Berenice Owens, wife of the author, is the daughter of Florence (Chappell) Owens, daughter of William Pitt Chappell, son of Rebecca Maria Pitt and John George Chappell of Baltimore. Rebecca Maria Pitt was the daughter of Ann Faris and Capt. William Pitt. Ann was the daughter of William Faris of Annapolis.

[1] The quotation is from the biographical sketch of William Faris in *Maryland Silversmiths, 1715-1830*, by J. Hall Pleasants and Howard Sill (Baltimore, 1930).

1797, in his Diary recorded the date as the anniversary of his birth and stated his age as 67, 68 and 69 years respectively. Yet he made the following entry 18 October, 1793, stating his birthday as 7th August, 1728: ". . . Major Simms was with me this afternoon and in conversation told me that he was born June 1728, or that he is 2 mos. older than I am, as I was born on 7th August the same year. . ." Probably he was born in London, although that cannot be established beyond question. He died in Annapolis 5 August, 1804, aged 76 years.

According to family tradition, William Faris was the son of Abigail and William Faris, a London clockmaker and Quaker who died in an English prison because of his religious beliefs. When the son William was six months old, the Widow Abigail fled to the colonies, arriving in Philadelphia in the spring of 1729. The persecution in England of the Quakers during the period 1650-1736 is described by Joseph Besse in several books published in London—one a résumé in 1736 and in a second edition of two large volumes in 1753. In the preface there is the following passage:

> They were entertained with scorn and derision, with beatings, buffetings, stonings, pinchings, kickings, dirting, pumpings, and all manner of abuses from the rude and ungoverned Rabble; and from the magistrates who should have been their Defenders they met with Spoiling of Goods, Stockings, Whippings, Imprisonments, Banishments and even with Death itself.

Family tradition states that when Widow Abigail arrived in this country she brought with her five clocks made by her husband in London. This tradition was recorded in 1939 by the late Charles T. Stran, a great-great-grandson of William Faris.

> . . . Widow Abigail arrived from London with 5 or 6 clocks made by William the father. She sold some of the clocks to obtain money. One was sold in Philadelphia and was lost sight of until quite by accident it was discovered by Mrs. Thomas P. Stran, who was Kate Abrahams. She and Mr. Stran were visiting a friend in Philadelphia many years ago and she noticed that her host wound a tall clock in his possession left-handed (from right to left). As all the Faris clocks were supposed to be wound left-handed she examined this clock and discovered the name of William Faris, London, inside the case.

Philadelphia church records fail to disclose the baptism of the infant William Faris; however, they do shed some light upon

Mrs. Faris. On 11 January, 1735, Widow Abigail Faris married a second time, her husband being John Powell, according to the marriage records of the First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. On 27 November, 1738, Widow Abigail Faris Powell married, thirdly, Philip Petre (or Petro or Pedro) in the Old Christ Church (Episcopal) in Philadelphia.

On 31 October, 1749, it is recorded that "William Faris *of Philadephia, Clockmaker,* son of Abigail Petro (or Pedro) of the same City, *Shopkeeper*" purchased a plot of ground in Philadelphia. The deed was witnessed by Abigail Petro, Widow. William Faris was then just twenty-one years old, and if he was buying property, it is possible that he had for some time been a successful clockmaker in his own right—or had inherited money from England.

In William Bradford's *Weekly Advertiser or Pennsylvania Journal,* 16 May, 1751, appeared the following advertisement: "A House & Lot to be let at Spring Garden. Enquire of Abigail Pedro at the corner of Market & Water Street, Philadelphia." This was the same property which her son William had bought in 1749. The ledger of Alex. Hamilton, a firm of Philadelphia merchants, contains an account with Widow Abigail Petro from 9 December, 1745, to 1 April, 1755, during which time she bought £80 of miscellaneous merchandise—tea, cloth, needles, pins, ribbons, etc.,—in quantities for resale, all paid in full. After 1755 she vanishes from the record.

Mrs. Faris died either in Philadelphia or in Annapolis before 17 April, 1763, for at that time William Faris sold the Spring Garden place in Philadelphia. Had Widow Abigail been living then she would have signed the deed, or witnessed it, as evidently from the records she had some kind of financial interest in the property and her signature would have been necessary in the passing of title. There is a family tradition which, taken at its face value, would indicate that Widow Abigail died in Philadelphia. It is a note made in a family Bible in 1863 by Charles Faris Pitt.[2] It reads:

The small round tea table with carved feet (with my mother) belonged to great grandmother Abigail Faris, she having given it to my grandfather

[2] Descended from William Faris through his daughter Ann who married Capt. William Pitt.

(William) then a single man in Philadelphia, and at the death of my grandmother was taken by grandfather Faris to Annapolis.

An oil portrait of Widow Abigail is owned by Miss Sophie Pitt of Baltimore, a descendant. It is the likeness of an austere old woman, done in the manner of Hesselius, the Annapolis artist. Unfortunately the face was torn and the canvas was not skillfully repaired, so that the lower part of the head, particularly the mouth, is distorted. Charles Faris Pitt made this record of the portrait in the family Bible:

I obtained from Mr. Wm. McParlin at Annapolis, in a dilapidated state, my great grandmother Abigail Faris' likeness and had it renovated by a Baltimore artist (Volkmar). This likeness was painted by my grandfather William Faris.

When and where William Faris learned clockmaking may never be established, but there is circumstantial evidence worthy of being put into this record. Most of the early Philadelphia clockmakers, silversmiths, cabinet-makers, and other master craftsmen of that period, had their shops on Front, Second and Third Streets, within the confines of two blocks south of Market Street. Peter, William, Isaac and Samuel Stretch, Henry Flower, Francis and Joseph Richardson, John Wood and others, all clockmakers of the 1720-50 period, lived within a stone's throw of each other. William Faris' name is associated with Stretch and also with that of Henry Flower, who in 1747 witnessed papers for Faris. Henry Flower had his shop on Second Street between Black Horse Alley and Chestnut Street.

If Faris by 1749, when he was only 21 years old, had accumulated sufficient money to buy property upon which he subsequently erected a home and other buildings, he must have been working successfully for several years as a clockmaker. During the ten years that followed he evidently continued to work in Philadelphia, although search of the newspapers does not disclose announcements by him. This is strange, if he was in business for himself, for in subsequent years he was a prolific advertiser.

On 8 October, 1754, there was recorded a mortgage for 50 pounds given by "William Fareis of City of Philadelphia, Clockmaker" to one James Bagley.[3] On 1 May, 1755, "William Faris of the City of Philadelphia, Watch-maker, to Robert Greenway,

[3] City Hall, Philadelphia, Liber X2, p. 543.

Merchant" gave a mortgage for 108 pounds on the Spring Garden property. A witness to his mortgage was Isaac Stretch, a member of the famous clockmaking family of that name.[4]

It would be interesting to know why Faris chose to leave Philadelphia about 1756, then a thriving city and destined to become the principal commercial and political center of this country, and why he chose Annapolis, then but a seaport village. Annapolis in 1768 had a population of only 1217. The town achieved the height of its prosperity and commercial and social importance between 1750 and 1775, but thereafter failed to hold its own in face of the competition of her rival, Baltimore.

The earliest record of Faris at Annapolis appears in the *Maryland Gazette* of 17 March, 1757. In this announcement he stresses his skill as a maker of both 8-day and 30-day clocks. He does not mention silversmithing until four years later.

WILLIAM FARIS
Watch-Maker, from Philadelphia,
At his Shop near the Church, next door to
Mr. Wallaces', in Church Street, Annapolis,

CLEANS and REPAIRS all Sorts of WATCHES and CLOCKS, as well and neat as can be done in any part of America; And takes the same Prices for his Work as are taken in Philadelphia.

He also makes CLOCKS, either to Repeat or not, or to go either *Eight Days or Thirty*, as the Purchaser shall fancy, as good as can be made in London, and at reasonable Prices. And all Gentlemen who shall be pleased to employ him, may depend on having their Work done with all possible Dispatch, by

Their humble Servant,
WILLIAM FARIS

Again, 8 November 1759, there appeared the following announcement:

William Faris, Watch-Maker from Philadelphia. Has removed from Church Street to the Home late in the Occupation of Andrew Buchanan, the Sign of the Crown & Dial, opposite Mr. Creagh's, where he continues to Repair and clean Watches as neat and well as can be done in any Part of America, and at Reasonable Prices. He has procured a *Clockmaker* who makes Clocks of all Sorts which he will warrant to be good. N. B. He gives the Best Prices for Old Brass.

[4] Liber X2, p. 606, Mortgages.

The Faris home, shop and tavern, during the later part of his life, stood on a plot now occupied by business buildings at 25-27 West Street—not far from the Circle in which is St. Anne's Church. The tract ran back to Cathedral Street where now stand two dwellings numbered 98 and 100. This property was occupied by Philip Syng, silversmith, until his death in 1738. There were two separate tracts, one Syng had leased from the Widow Carroll, grandmother of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the Signer; and the other he had leased from the rector and vestry of St. Anne's Parish. These leases were inherited by William Reynolds, "Hatter," who had married Deborah Harper, widow of John, the son of Philip Syng.

Faris leased from William Reynolds the first tract on 16 November, 1761, and the second on 12, January 1763. The original indenture of 1763 is now in possession of Mrs. Eleanor McParlin Davis, the granddaughter of William McParlin, apprentice of William Faris. Incidentally the document bears the only official signature of William Faris which has been found. The Faris home was occupied by McParlin until his death in 1850, and by his family until 1922-23 when it was removed to make way for business property. The house was built on West Street. The open space at the rear of the stores now on West Street, and the back lot of the dwellings on Cathedral Street, was then the garden which is so frequently mentioned by Faris in his Diary. All that now remains of the garden is a giant holly tree, standing in what was once the centre of the garden. William McParlin told his descendants that Faris transplanted from the woods before 1800 a dozen or more small holly trees, which were his pride and joy, and that he kept them trimmed like a "sugar loaf." This one tree is all that remains and it is more than 4 feet in diameter and stands over 50 feet high.

Although William Faris was recognized as the outstanding Maryland silversmith of his era, it is strange that it was not known that he prided himself upon being a watch and clockmaker. During his long and busy career in many lines, his principal activity, according to his numerous advertisements, was making clocks and watches.

In his advertisements Faris styles himself as being from Philadelphia. Had he learned his trade in London, he surely would have described himself as "late of London." That was the adver-

tising custom of those days followed by the English artisans who, having served their apprenticeship in London, looked down upon their fellow craftsmen who had learned their trade in the colonies.

Few of the early craftsmen in the American colonies are known to have made 30-day clocks and still fewer made musical clocks, although such clocks were commonly made by clockmakers in England during the early eighteenth century. In Faris' book of designs for silver there is a drawing labeled in his handwriting "A Calliper of a Months Clock"—the scale drawing for the movement of a 30-day tall clock, the only such known drawing by an American colonial clockmaker.

"William Faris, Clockmaker" was the title of an article in the magazine *Antiques*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (April, 1940), by the present writer. In that article were shown as illustrations two tall clocks, one of which is owned by Mrs. W. E. Thomsen of Baltimore, a descendant. This clock has a very ornate brass dial, cast brass spandrels, a silvered ring for the hours, and in the half circle above is a cast brass British coat-of-arms. This clock is unique in that it is a timepiece—that is, it has no strike train. It has the power-sustaining attachment so that the weights continue to drive the movement while being wound, common in England but seldom used by colonial clockmakers. Originally designed to run a month, this clock still runs over three weeks at each winding. There is no name on the dial or the movement.

The family tradition regarding the clock owned by Mrs. Thomsen, as handed down from Mrs. Eleanor McParlin Davis, is:

> As for the Faris clock Cousin Kate [Mrs. Thomas P. Stran, née Kate Abrahams] had, it was, I understood from my father [General McParlin, Paymaster-General, U. S. N.) one of three clocks left him by his mother at her death, my grandmother having bought out the house and business of William Faris at his death. His widow, Priscilla Woodward Faris, lived with my grandmother, Cassandra Woodward McParlin, who was her niece, until her death, leaving her among her belongings the clocks and William Faris' Diary. The clock you now have is, I believe, the old Town Chronometer by which all the town clocks [in Annapolis] were regulated. My father gave the clock to Cousin Kate shortly after the death of his mother. It was not purchased, but was a gift.

This clock is not to be confused with another Faris clock discovered by the late Mrs. Stran, all trace of which has been lost.

The second clock used as an illustration in that article belongs to Martin B. Faris who acquired it in 1939 from an antique

dealer in Easton, Maryland. The beautifully pebbled brass dial has an imposed silvered hour ring and the cast brass spandrels are very ornate. The name "William Faris, Annapolis" is engraved in italics with appropriate flourishes in the semi-circle at the top of the dial. The movement has three winding arbors: one for the time-train; one for the strike-train; and the third for the musical attachment. This musical mechanism is like an old-fashioned music box with the roller in which there are pins actuating the levers, striking the series of eleven graduated bells. It plays the tune "Robin Adair," a ballad first heard in England in 1729. The words of the song were written about 1753.

This clock doubtless was originally designed to run thirty-days, but is now arranged to operate eight-days at one winding. Inside the case of this clock is a gilded cardboard plaque which reads:

> Faris C. Pitt, Jr., from his father 1910. This clock was imported from England by William Faris of Annapolis, Md., great-great-grandfather of the Donor in 1791.

This statement may be entirely correct, for Faris C. Pitt, Sr., was a descendant of William Faris through Capt. William Pitt and Ann Faris, the daughter of William. At the sale in 1805, of the effects of William Faris a musical clock was bought by Capt. William Pitt for $36. It may have been that William Faris did import movements or parts and brass dials from England and assembled them—as was done by some of the colonial clockmakers. However, this is difficult to reconcile with his continued advertisements in which he proclaimed himself a "Maker of clocks either to Repeat or not and to go 8-Days or Thirty as the Purchaser many fancy as good as can be made in England and at reasonable Prices." It is difficult to believe he would have engraved his name upon the dials of clocks he did not make—any more than it is to be believed he would have put his touchmark upon silver not made in his shop. Incidentally, this clock from the appearance of the movement and dial was made nearer 1760 than 1790.

Since the publication of that article in *Antiques* there has been found the personal clock of William Faris which stood in his home in Annapolis. This clock is now in possession of Mrs. Eleanor McParlin Davis, granddaughter of William McParlin who took over the Faris business and bought the homestead and married the niece of Mrs. Faris. During the remainder of her

life Mrs. Faris made her home with the McParlin family and when she died in 1817 this clock was one of the possessions that passed to the McParlin family.

This clock does not have the name of William Faris on the dial or on the movement. It is a 30-day clock which has a musical attachment that plays four tunes—a march, "Lovely Nancy," "Foots Minuet," and a Cotillion. The movement is rugged and heavy. The plates are thicker and larger than the average run of such clock movements. The back plate has pits and discolorations because after it was cast it was not hammered and filed. The musical mechanism is like the old music boxes and consists of a brass cylinder in which are inserted steel pins actuating a series of levers which play the tunes on graduated bells. The upper left corner of the movement is notched out so that the cylinder and mechanism are inserted at right angles to the plates. There are three winding arbors: one for the time train; one for the strike train; and the third for the musical mechanism. There is no power-sustaining attachment. The striking mechanism is rack and snail. Behind the arched, cut-out portion above the face there is a revolving disc on which are painted the phases of the moon, and on the field of the disc are stars. The days of the month are engraved on the outer edge of this brass disc. There is also a ring carrying the days of the month which show through an aperture on the lower part of the dial.

The remarkable feature of this clock is the brass dial. The arched cut out portion at the top is etched and engraved with conventionalized leaves and flowers. The square section of this brass dial bearing the hours is painted in oil after the style of the painted wooden dials of Connecticut tall clocks of 1790-1812; also like the painted wooden dials on the 30-hour Terry shelf clocks. The painting is beautifully done with flowers and scrolls for spandrels in the corners. The phases of the moon are executed by an artist who had a flair for portraiture. This oil paint is very thick and heavy and has chipped off in spots, particularly at one corner where can be seen evidence that the brass dial was once engraved with an over-all pattern corresponding to the scrolls engraved upon the arch above the dial. The present owner, is loathe to remove this paint; consequently if under the paint there is the signature of William Faris, it must rest for some future owner to make the discovery.

This clock passed from Mrs. Faris to William McParlin, then to his son General McParlin, and then to the latter's children, of whom Mrs. Davis is one. The clock was in the Faris-McParlin West Street house until it was destroyed 1922-23, and since then it has been in one of the several McParlin homes in Annapolis. The case is mahogany after the style of early Philadelphia Chippendale. It is very plain and heavy. The height to the one wooden urn in the broken arch on the top of the hood is 93 inches. The narrow door in the waist of the case has an arched top showing Queen Anne influence. There are ogee bracket feet.

McParlin told his children that William Faris imported from England, as an indentured servant, a clockmaker who had specialized in making musical attachments for clocks. This 4-tune clock by Faris is supposed to have been the first of his series of clocks, with the attachment, made by this English workman; and incidentally this particular clock is supposed to have been the first musical clock made in the colonies. Nothing has been found in the official record to confirm or refute this tradition as to this indentured servant, although of course there are several advertisements by Faris announcing that he has just acquired a clockmaker who has served his regular apprentice in that trade. Further, it is strange that he does not mention making musical clocks in any of his many advertisements.

There is no way to positively fix the date of this clock. A study of the movement itself shows it was built after the style and plan of clocks made between 1760 and 1775. In his Diary, under the date of 24 September, 1793. William Faris made this entry: "Pollished the under coating of the 4 Tune Clock and laid on one Coate of the finishing Coating." In the poem, "The Will of William Faris," Charlotte Hesselius, the 19-year old friend of Faris' daughters, wrote:

> . . . Now I make my last will and prepare me to die
> Then I give and bequeath to my dear loving wife,
> In case she's a widow the rest of her life,
> The plates, spoons and dishes, pots, kettles and tables
> With the red and white cow that inhabits the stables.
> The landscape, and Judith that hangs on the wall
> And the Musical Clock hind the door in the Hall . . .

This was written before 1790 so that the 4-Tune clock was evidentaly an important piece in the Faris household at that time.

In the appraisal and inventory of the assets of William Faris, filed in 1805, there was listed a number of watches in various stages of repair or construction, and the following clocks:

2 Quarter Clocks with Cases	$140.00
3 Plain Clocks without Cases	105.00
1 Timepiece	20.00
2 Clocks with Cases	120.00
1 *Musickel* Clock with Case	100.00

In the record of the sale of effects of William Faris, deceased, dated 8 August, 1805, there was a "Musickel Clock" purchased for $36 by Capt. William Pitt, the husband of Ann, the daughter of Faris. There is no record of what happened to that clock. However, it doubtless is the clock now owned by Martin B. Faris, which bears the label on the case stating that it came to Faris C. Pitt, Jr. from his father.

In the *Maryland Gazette* of 4 December, 1760, Faris announced a departure which proved to be very important during the years to come:

WILLIAM FARIS

Watch and Clockmaker at the sign of the
Crown & Dial near the Church in Annapolis.

Makes or Repairs Clocks and Watches as usual in the best and cheapest Manner. He also, having procured an excellent Workman for that Purpose carries on the SILVERSMITH'S BUSINESS, Large, Small or Chas'd Work in the neatest, best and cheapest Manner. Also Jewelling of any Kind.

All Gentlemen or Ladies who shall be pleased to employ him may depend on good dispatch, from

Their humble servant,
WILLIAM FARIS.

Thus at the age of 32 years in 1760 he branched out upon the career of a silversmith, which, if it did not result in great fortune, at least brought him lasting fame. His business as a silversmith must have expanded for in the *Gazette,* 25 August, 1763, he announced the employment of another helper in that line:

WILLIAM FARIS

Watch-Maker in Annapolis.

Having procured from Philadelphia a very Compleat Silver Smith, who has served a regular Apprenticeship to that Business, hereby informs the

public that he can now supply them at the most Reasonable Rates, with all kinds of Silver Work in the most genteel and fashionable manner, and with the greatest Dispatch. He also carries on as usual the Jeweller's Business, having an excellent Workman for that purpose and will give the Best Prices for old Gold and Silver and all Sorts of Precious Stones.

Thomas Sparrow, the doorkeeper of the Lower House of the Assembly, sent his son to Philadelphia to learn the trade of silversmith. It is believed that Thomas, Jr., may have been the man referred to by William Faris in this advertisement. If so, Sparrow did not long remain in service, for 21 March, 1765, he advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* that Thomas Sparrow, goldsmith and jeweller from Philadelphia, "had open'd Shop on South East Street near St. Anne's Church." On 4 February, 1777, Thomas Sparrow borrowed 15 pounds from William Faris, giving as security several pieces of household furniture and numerous silversmith's tools. The collateral Sparrow forefeited. (Liber LB, # 5, p. 575.)

There are today in museums and in the collections of private individuals some beautiful examples of silver by William Faris; also silver by two of his sons, Charles and Hyram, who became noted silversmiths in their own right. In the Baltimore Museum of Art there is a magnificent exhibit of silver by early craftsmen of Maryland, collected by Mrs. Miles White of Baltimore. In that collection are two pieces made by Faris; one, a sauce boat; the other, a cream jug. Sumner A. Parker of Baltimore, a descendant, owns a piece of exquisite silver lace made by William Faris for the dress of his wife. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City there is a silver service by Charles Faris—a coffee pot, creamer and sugar bowl. His mark was C^s Faris. The Maryland Historical Society has a large, heavy silver ladle which bears the mark of Hyram Faris. No specimens of the silver of William, Jr., are known.

On 18 July, 1763, Jasper Hall sold to Allen Quynn, merchant of Annapolis, "Certain goods and chattels not specified," and Hall accepted a mortgage which he assigned to William Faris who paid him £4. 1s. 6d. on 8 April 1766. (Liber BB, # 3, p. 375.) Allen Quynn was the father-in-law of Abraham Claude, the principal business rival of William Faris. The following lines in "The Will of William Faris" reflect the attitude of Faris towards these two worthies:

. . . Thank God I have but two that I hate from my heart
And as *ill luck* would have *it*, they're not far apart.
I've the greatest dislike, God forgive me the sin,
But indeed there's no bearing that old Allan Quynn.
There's another I hate bad as Quynn for the fraud,
That his heart is so full of—that's Abraham Claude. . . .

On 29 March, 1761, William Faris, then 33 years old, made an important move—he took unto himself a wife. She was Priscilla Woodward, the 22-year-old daughter of Abraham Woodward and Priscilla Ruley of Anne Arundel County.[5] In her will, dated 18 October, 1771, Priscilla Ruley Woodward mentioned her daughter Priscilla as follows: "I give and Bequeath to my daughter Priscilla Farris one silver cupp, one best Bed and furniture and one saddle and my weareing apparel to her disposal."

Priscilla Woodward and William Faris had born to them between 1762 and 1778 five sons and four daughters. To his various other activities, including the rearing of nine children—no mean task—Faris with the aid of his wife added tavern keeping at their home in Annapolis. In the *Maryland Gazette* 2 August, 1764 Faris informs his clientele that ". . . he has now open'd Tavern. Gentlemen Travellers and others favouring him with their Custom will meet the best Entertainment and Kindest Usage," and in a subsequent advertisement promoting his inn-keeping he wrote that he had "supplied himself with the best of Liquors, Hay & Oats, where Gentlement meet with Polite Treatment and best Accommodations for themselves and Horses."

Apparently William Faris continued to act as Mine Host and thoroughly enjoyed it up to the end of his days. His advertising features that service to the public and his famous Diary and account books are filled with amusing entries and comment upon friends and travellers, who stopped with him for a "dish of China tea," "a nip of grog," "a todey," or board and lodging for the night. Many of his regular guests were officers on sailing vessels in and out of Annapolis and Baltimore.

It seems to have been a common custom for colonial silversmiths to undertake inn-keeping as a side line; and usually those ventures were not only financially profitable, but were a source of attracting trade. The Diary and Account Books of William

[5] She was born 27 February, 1739, and died 17 May, 1817, aged 78 years and was buried in Annapolis.

Faris throw much light on his activities as an innkeeper, watchmaker and silversmith. From them we learn that in his later years inn-keeping contributed more largely to his support than did his work as a craftsman. When he balanced his books for the year 1799 he found receipts from his inn-keeping amounted to £230; his expenses were £161 and therefore his profits were £69 —a considerable income from a pleasant side-line activity.[6]

In his Diary Faris frequently mentions tangles with the law, and never fails to recount with glee how he bested his antagonists in court. He does not record, however, that upon occasions he was perhaps not as careful an innkeeper as he should have been, and as a result found himself in trouble—as for instance in 1765 when he was indicted and tried before the Mayor's Court in Annapolis for selling rum to an apprentice—in those days a most serious offense.

These Account Books, now in the Library of the Maryland Historical Society, show that his regular customers in his shop and in his inn included the more notable personages of Annapolis and Baltimore of that day and age. Samuel Chase the "Signer" on 15 June, 1774 paid £1, 2 and 6, for "guilding the head of a Cane." Anthony Stewart, Annapolis shipowner and merchant, who owned the brig *Peggy Stewart* which was burned by the Annapolis Tea Party at the beginning of the Revolution, paid 7 and 6 for polishing a dozen knives and forks. In 1774 Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the "Signer," and his kinsman, Charles Carroll, the Barrister, author of the Maryland Declaration of Rights, were each charged 10 shillings for cleaning their clocks. Nicholas Maccubin is frequently mentioned in the Diary and Account Books. Maccubin changed his name by law to Carroll in order to inherit half the fortune of his wealthy uncle, Charles Carroll, Barrister. Maccubin was charged £1, 11 s. and 6d. for 15 silver coat buttons. Among other customers were Thomas Jenings, the attorney general; William Paca, the "Signer" and Governor who had a "spring clock" and a "kitchen clock" repaired; and General William Smallwood, the Governor. Messrs. Paca and Hammond on 14 May, 1773, were charged 5 shillings a bottle for 18 bottles of "Madara," 6 shillings each for 10 bottles of Red Port and 5 shillings each for 8 bottles of punch.

[6] See *Maryland Silversmiths* by Pleasants and Sill.

In the *Maryland Gazette* of 4 January, 1770, Faris announced an adventure into an entirely new line of business—furniture manufacture:

WILLIAM FARIS

Clock and Watch-Maker

At the Crown and Dial near the Church in West Street, Annapolis, Begs leave to inform the Public that he has engaged Two exceeding good workmen (one of them has been a finisher several years to the celebrated Mr. Allen) and carries on the above businesses in all their various Branches. The Gold, Silversmiths and Jewellers Business he still carries on in the neatest and best Manner.

He also executes any Orders he may be favoured with for *Chair Work*, having lately supplied himself with a good workman and now has for sale several dozen of very neat black Walnut Chairs. Those who please to favour him with their Commands may depend on being faithfully served on reasonable Terms, and with utmost Dispatch. He continues to keep Tavern, having supplied himself with the best Liquors, Hay and Oats, where Gentlemen meet with Polite Treatment and the best Accommodations for themselves and Horses.

To watch-making and clock-making, silversmithing, jewelering and tavern-keeping, William Faris during this period added another branch to his business—mirror making. Apparently he had established an outlet for his mirrors in Baltimore, for in the *Maryland Journal & Baltimore Advertiser* of 17 September, 1793, appeared this advertisement: "For Sale: A pair of remarkable large and elegant Looking Glasses (new) just being finished by the American Artist Mr. Faris of Annapolis, in a masterly manner. The plates are 4 feet by 2 feet, very true. A. W. Dorsey, Exchange Broker." [7]

And here is the reference to another activity of this versatile gentleman. The Diary records " 1795, 16 Dec.—This Day finished the Stand of my Forty Pio Anio—all but painting it."

[7] In the *Maryland Journal*, Baltimore, 9 November, 1792, appeared an announcement of the establishment of a looking glass factory *in Baltimore* by *a* William Faris. There is nothing in the records of William Faris of Annapolis to prove that he was in business in Baltimore at that time. The advertisement reads: William Faris takes this Method of Acquainting the Public that he has commenced the Business on Calvert Street a few doors below Water Street and carries on a Looking Glass Factory in its several Branches: Viz. Silvering and Framing the Plates, carving and Gilding the Frames; he likewise makes Picture Frames of any Dimension and to any Pattern that may be required with the Members either plain or carved, black or gilt; also Glazing of Pictures and Pieces of Work, which will be particularly attended to so as to prevent Dust or Insects from injuring the pieces. Cabinet work of all kinds executed in the neatest Manner and as he intends making those who please to favour him with their custom.

Besides three sons who helped him, William Faris always had men in his shop who had served their apprenticeship, as seen from his advertisements. One of these, whom he called "Billie" in his Diary, was none other than William McParlin, one of the famous names in the group of Maryland silversmiths. There was another apprentice who arouses curiosity. He was memtioned in an announcement in the *Maryland Journal* 9 November, 1778, which read:

> . . . To be Sold, a very likely young negro fellow, by trade a silversmith, Jeweller and Lapidary; there are few if any better workmen in America. Any person inclined to purchase the said negro may know further by applying to the Subscriber living in Annapolis.
>
> WILLIAM FARIS.

It would be interesting to know what became of this skilled artisan who had few equals in America.

The Diary makes frequent references to the play and the theatre. An old Annapolis theatre program of the early seventeen-eighties announces that ". . . Places in the Boxes for the Play may be had at Mr. Faris's, next Door to the theatre; where also Tickets may be had. . ." In the Diary it is recorded on 23 September, 1797, that "Mr. and Mrs. Pitt, and Abee & Rebecka, went to the Circus to see Feats of Horsemanship."

There was issued to *a* William Faris, citizen of the state of Maryland, with no mention of a city of residence, on 29 April, 1797, a patent upon a Carriage Propeller, now owned by the Long Island Historical Society. On 17 May, 1799, a patent on a Water Elevator was issued to a William Faris of Maryland. Few if any copies of early patents were issued. The Water Elevator patent is owned by Martin B. Faris of New York City, a descendant of the St. Clairsville, Ohio, Faris family. No connection has been established between the Faris family of Annapolis and that Ohio family. Since the patent owned by Martin B. Faris was handed down to him through his family, it raises the question of whether these two patents were issued to William Faris the Annapolis the silversmith, or to another William Faris.

The Diary of Faris is racy reading.[7] He told with candor and frankness the goings-on of the first families of Maryland and the

[7] Extracts from the Diary were published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVIII (Sept. 1933), 197-244.

notables of his day. Birth, deaths, marriages are recorded with spicy comment. Family troubles, quarrels with his sons, illness, epidemics, tea parties, drinking bouts, balls, preachers, the theatre, horse races, cock fights, fires, public hangings, murders, are mixed with daily notes upon the weather, wind, tides, sea disasters, the arrival and departure of ships; and special notes on his gardens and beloved tulips. The Diary unfolds an intimate picture of the life of Annapolis in the late eighteenth Century—obtainable from no other source.

When William Faris died in 1804 his mantle was inherited by his apprentice William McParlin who in his own right became a distinguished silversmith. He married Cassandra Hillary Beall Woodward, niece of Mrs. Faris. McParlin bought the Faris home and came into possession of many of the Faris heirlooms, family portraits, furniture, private papers and documents, including the famous Faris Diary. If there were diaries covering his early life they have vanished. The existing one of 700 handwritten pages covers the last 15 years of his life. The Diary came to General McParlin and then to his daughter, Eleanor McParlin Davis, with the injunction that it was never to be published since it was so full of scandal. It passed to Mrs. Thomas Stran, a descendant, and after her death, to Sumner A. Parker of Baltimore.

A unique announcement appeared 29 July, 1791, in the *Maryland Journal & Baltimore General Advertiser* in which William Faris indignantly denied the truth of the malicious rumor that he was dead:

TO THE PUBLIC

WHEREAS certain evil-disposed Persons have knowingly, wickedly and maliciously counterfeited the Subscriber's Will and Testament, which was introductive of an erroneous Propagation, in several Counties of this State, that he departed this Life some Time in June last; and, as further indication of their malicious Disposition, they published, or caused to be published, a Funeral Sermon (possessed of very injurious Contents) to be delivered over his Body; both of which Circumstances, combined together, tend to very pernicious Consequences to the Subscriber's Trade and Manner of obtaining a Livelihood, by the Desertion of a considerable Degree of Custom which would otherwise have resorted to him—to detect Falsehood, disappoint Malice, and prevent Farther Injury to himself, he hereby certifies the Public, that such Propagations are not true, and hopes that no person will pay the least Degree of Attention whatever to them, as they were only circulated to impair and injure the Subscriber's trade; and the Public may rest assured, that he now remains in good Health, and full

Vigour of Life, in West Street, Annapolis, opposite Mr. Abraham Claud's, where he means to perservere in the Business of WATCH and CLOCK-MAKING in all its various Arts and Branches, and solicits once more the Patronage of a generous Public."

Annapolis, July 24, 1791.

WILLIAM FARIS.

The story of the "premature" death of William Faris was the prank of a friend of one of his daughters. She was Charlotte Hesselius, already referred to, the very clever 19-year-old daughter of John Hesselius, the famous portrait painter of Annapolis. The young lady's poem entitled "The Will of William Faris" was designed solely for private circulation, but apparently it got out of hand. Written by an outsider who knew all the family skeletons and all the town gossip, she told tales out of school. Thanks to her gifted pen we have an intimate picture of the amazing old man and the members of his interesting family. With acid she etches those different characters; with few words what pictures she paints! We are truly indebted to her for those vivid vignettes. Perhaps this incident of the spurious "Will" is the reason why Faris when he died left no last testament.

William Faris suspected that his principal competitor, Abraham Claude, was the author of "The Will." If he ever learned that the author was Charlotte Hesselius, he is not known to have admitted it. Strange that no reference to the incident is to be found in the Diary. Under the date of 5 June, 1792, there is the following entry in the Diary: "In the evening two of the Miss Hesselious was married. Mr. Walter Addison to Miss Charlot and Mr. Thos. Johnston to Miss Betsy." Thomas Jenings Johnson was the son of Thomas Johnson, the first governor of the State. Charlotte only lived a couple of years after her marriage and her death Faris duly chronicles in his Diary.

In the Diary and his private papers there is nothing to indicate that Faris himself took any active part in the Revolution. His sons were too young, with the possible exception of William, Jr., who, born in 1762, might have been old enough to have served towards the end of the War. It would be only logical to assume in view of his habit of recording in minute detail all manner of facts about himself and his children that had either he or his sons espoused with enthusiasm the cause of the colonists, he would have made some reference to his sentiments. In his Diary there

are only two entries that appear to shed any light. Under the date of 4 July, 1795, he wrote:

> No perading today, everything very ded & dull except the Flag being hoisted (etc.) and a Ball at night. Nancy's gone to Mrs. Green's to Dress & go to the Ball, but no Ladys Went except the 3 Misses Gassaways & 2 Misses Price, so she did not go but came home from Mrs. Greens between 9 & 10 oclock.

Under the date of 17 December 1799 he records: "There came an accot. to Town to Day that Genl. Washington died on Saturday night last." Just that and nothing more then or subsequently upon Washington the man or his contribution as Father of his country.

William Faris died from yellow fever after a few days' illness on 5 August, 1804. Presumably he was buried in Annapolis, but his grave and tombstone cannot be located. The *Maryland Gazette* recorded his death in just two lines: "Died yesterday morning Mr. William Faris, an old inhabitant of this City." If an obituary notice appeared in the newspapers subsequently, search has failed to find it. There is no record of his death or burial in the files of St. Anne's, Annapolis, which is strange since he was a vestryman, 1779-1783, and was made a warden in 1784.

Mrs. Faris in the absence of a will was appointed administratrix, and on 12 June, 1805, filed an inventory and appraisal, totaling $1,786.12. The inventory required eight pages in a large ledger. Following are some items from it, particularly clocks and watches, clockmaking and silversmithing tools:

9	Silver watches	$ 45.00
3	Gilt watches	9.00
2	Quarter clocks with cases	140.00
3	Plain clocks without cases	105.00
1	Time piece	20.00
1	Musickel clock with case	100.00
1	Clock and watchmakers tools	20.00
2	Clocks with cases	120.00
1	Case of Jewelry	150.00
1	Nest of drawers for watchmakers tools	1.50
1	Silversmith's cutting tools	1.50
1	Watch engine	20.00
1	Drawer with sundry clockmakers tools	2.00
1	Drawer of watch glasses	15.00
	Sundry silversmith tools in the forge	30.00
1	Large Laythe	2.00
4	Anvils with blocks	4.00
1	Mill for silver work	20.00
18	Silversmith's hammers	2.25
1	pair bellows	4.00
6	Lead rings for silversmith	5.00
5	Ingot molds	1.00
4	Pair forging tongs	.25
1	Silversmith's anvil (Large)	1.50

1	Ounce of gold	17.40
1	Electrifying machine and apparatus complete	30.00
3	Fowling pieces	3.00
1	Gun barrel	.60
1	Navigator's Instruments	4.00
3	Pair pistols	$ 6.00
1	Small brass cannon mounted	.25
4	Pair bullet moulds	.50
3	Swords	3.50
1	Dirk	.12
1	Gunlock	.60
1	Pair handcuffs	.60
1	Box tools	7.00
1	Clock groving tool	3.00
	Scale with silversmith's tools	.12
3	Large tail vices	8.00
1	Large case with clock and watchmaker's tools	1.00
1	Large laythe with whole apparatus	2.00
1	Box clockmaker's patterns	.50
1	Tin box for baking clock faces	.25
11	Birdcages	5.12
1	Copper plate mill	.25
1	Lapidary mill	1.98
1	Machine for polishing clock faces	1.00
1	Cabinetmaker's screw	3.00
	Sundry distorted clock and watch tools	50.00
6	Books silver leaf	.50
2	Books gold leaf	.50
	Black lead pots, crucibles	4.00
	Sundry brass and iron wire	4.00
1	Lot tooth instruments	2.00
68	Pairs of cocks heels	10.00
155	Ounces tenpy. wt. plate	172.78

BOOK REVIEWS

William Henry Welch and the Heroic Age of American Medicine. By SIMON FLEXNER and JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. New York, The Viking Press, 1941. 539 pp. $3.75.

The eagerly awaited biography of the late Professor Welch has come to hand and it is not disappointing. The Flexners (father and son) have written the kind of volume that might have been expected of them. Simon Flexner, Welch's most distinguished pupil, Director Emeritus of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, and his son James Thomas Flexner, a master of literary style and author of *Doctors on Horseback,* have made use of the senior author's intimate personal knowledge of Dr. Welch during some fifty years and of the mass of materials collected about him and have produced a satisfactory life-history of the great pathologist. The book is easily readable by the layman (except for the technical chapter, which, if he likes, he may skip); the facts are reliable and are largely documented by references in the appendix. Harvey Cushing's biography of William Osler, Welch's most distinguished colleague, though widely read, would have had more readers if it had not been extended to two large volumes; the Flexners have been wise in restricting their account of Welch to a single volume of moderate size.

Born in 1850 in Norfolk, Connecticut, the son of a physician, young William H. Welch had a quiet but a rather austere and lonely childhood owing to the early death of his mother and to upbringing by an overly religious and awe-inspiring grandmother. Though his father expressed the wish that his son should become a physician, the boy had a repugnance for medicine and shrank from experiences of pain as well as from the sight of blood.

After his preliminary schooling he entered Yale where he became intensely interested in classical studies, graduating in 1870. He had hoped to return to Yale as a tutor in Greek but no opportunity offered. After teaching in a private school for a year he reluctantly agreed to respect his father's wishes and entered upon the study of medicine. Today, those who have the good of American medicine at heart shudder to think of the loss it would have suffered had Welch been able to secure the position in Greek that he sought! Though at the end of his first year in the Medical School (the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York) he was offered an appointment in Greek at Yale, he turned it down for he had already through contact with inspiring medical teachers suddenly developed a deep interest in medicine.

During his further studies Welch discovered that he would like to become a professor of pathological anatomy rather than a medical practitioner. To obtain training in microscopic work he went in 1876 to Germany, where he studied for two years under Waldeyer, von Recklinghausen and Hoppe Seyler in Strasbourg, under Wagner and Ludwig in

Leipsic, and under Cohenheim in Breslau. In Germany the young pathologist underwent a great awakening for he got entirely new ideas as to what scientific medical teaching and investigation could be. He wrote that his previous experiences compared with those in Germany were like "the difference between reading of a fair country and seeing it with one's own eyes."

On his return to New York Welch taught in a small laboratory at Bellevue under very discouraging conditions; he also was made assistant to Dr. Austin Flint. After struggling along for six years in the New York environment, Welch was offered the professorship of pathology at Johns Hopkins by President Gilman in 1884, on the strong recommendation of John Shaw Billings. His friends Dr. Flint and Dr. Dennis were much opposed to his leaving New York where fame, and if he wished it fortune, awaited him. Despite these objections Welch accepted the Baltimore offer, for he saw opportunities to build a laboratory according to his wishes, to found a new medical school and to give start and impetus to the spirit of scientific medical work so sadly lacking in America. After drawing up plans of his new department for President Gilman, Welch returned to Germany to qualify himself in Munich and Leipsic to carry on bacteriological studies.

Of Welch's early years in Baltimore, of the part he played in the choice of men to head the clinics at the Johns Hopkins Hospital (opened for patients in 1889) and in the organization later of the Johns Hopkins Medical School (of which he was the first Dean), as well as of his students, many of whom later attained distinction and some of whom are caricatured in Max Broedel's well-known cartoon "Some Welch Rabbits," this biography gives a full account.

As counselor to philanthropic foundations that later gave financial support to scientific medicine, Dr. Welch was outstanding. He so commanded the confidence of those who had large funds at their disposal that his advice regarding their disposition was eagerly sought. It was through his suggestion that the great School of Hygiene and Preventive Medicine (of which he was the first Dean) was established in Baltimore and it was after two visits of personal inspection by Commissions of which he was a member that a great modern medical school was established in China. It was in Dr. Welch's honor that the Welch Medical Library and the Institute of the History of Medicine were endowed at Johns Hopkins.

On Dr. Welch's eightieth birthday, a great celebration was arranged for in Washington, D. C., when President Hoover sat by his side and in his address referred to him as "our greatest statesman in the field of public health." As his biographers say, this celebration was a historical landmark, indicating a major change in American life. A revolution, more important perhaps than the revolutions created by politics or war, had taken place; "Welch, more than any other American, had inaugurated the new era of healing in the land." The name of Welch like that of Osler will always be revered by students of the history of Maryland.

LEWELLYS F. BARKER

Baltimore on the Chesapeake. By HAMILTON OWENS. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1941. 342 pp. $3.50.

The hope of the undersigned that any high-powered promoter would ever get anywhere at establishing Baltimore as one of the really great cities of the United States by advertising and publicity weakened materially recently when *Time*, in an article mentioning Baltimore used the phrase, "a character known as 'The Bentztown Bard.'"

From this it seemed clear that there was no use going any further. When a noble institution like The Bentz, as firmly fixed and as stoutly defended as the Rock of Gibraltar, grounded in art, celebrated in myth and legend and nourished with cheers and applause so loud and long-drawn-out as to have echoed for half a century from the blue hills of Catoctin to the last outposts of the Chesapeake canvasback, is mentioned nationally as though he were somebody like One-Eyed Connolly it is time, ladies and gentlemen, to toss in the towel in the costly Battle of Ballyhoo and let nature take its course.

Hamilton Owens, the Editor of *The Sun*, finished writing his book *Baltimore on the Chesapeake* before this foul slur appeared, yet he had come virtually to the same conclusion. He decided it was no use.

"I wouldn't go so far as to say that the julep explains Baltimore," writes Mr. Owens in the very last paragraph of an interesting and enlightening 329-page search for some kind of explanation. "But it is the evidence of a spirit whch does explain Baltimore. Useful, yet leisurely, urban but not sophisticated, prosperous but not harassed—all these may be said of our city. If driving ambition plays but a small role with us these later days, what boots it?"

This was the phrase we had been looking for—"What boots it?" Mr. Owens took the words right out of our mouth even before he had read the calumnious crack, "a character known as 'The Bentztown Bard.'" Prescience like this is reserved for historians of the very first chop.

As such an historian Mr. Owens is not a high-powered promoter; indeed, he relates with relish an experience suffered by earlier civic leaders with such an artist at a cost of $100,000. Hence this is no ordinary rodomontade poured down a rat hole but a serious historical study of a great community's men and affairs. It was not written for the purpose of attracting conventions, crowds of tourists or new factories though it is not calculated to repel them.

For the truth is, this result of the labors of a first-rate journalist undertaken with great affection for his subject and sound technical equipment for his task, turns out to be a business history. Most consumers of municipal biography are not accustomed to having it dished up in terms of trade and produce. Yet that "angle" abounds in drama and romance as readers of Mr. Owens' story will discover.

"Man," he writes, "is a political animal," yet in Baltimore man for many years so successfully restrained this animal instinct as to make it appear that the chief aim of his existence was to get ahead in the tobacco business, the flour business, the clipper ship business, the railroad business,

the shoe business, the banking business, and the guano business, while promoting the general welfare with copper smelting, privateering, fighting yellow fever and slave-carrying. Occasional riots and mass assassinations notwithstanding, the typical Baltimorean appears to have kept his mind on business since the beginning with extraordinary fidelity. Boosterism began early. If the more urbane citizenry is inclined to shrink a little these days from the slightly brash maneuvers of local gentlemen in search of more annual conventions to entertain, let it read Mr. Owens' story of the late William Lux who actually brought the United States Congress to Baltimore. Mr. Lux was a leading Baltimore business man and booster of the noble days of 1776; and when the British moved in on Philadelphia and the Congress had to flee Mr. Lux was on the job with "the Baltimore presentation," as it would be called today—a complete prospectus showing available hotel rooms, entertainment facilities, a list of the choice local dishes, places of interest and the amount of the city's financial bid. There is no proof that Mr. Lux went about the job of signing up Congress in this modern fashion, Mr. Owens simply stating that "he was instrumental in persuading" the members, since they had to escape to somewhere, to escape to Baltimore. At any rate, Congress soon found itself appropriating valueless paper money, levying uncollectible taxes and drafting reluctant patriots in the brand-new three-story-and-attic tavern of Mr. Jacob Fite, corner of Sharp and Baltimore Streets.

So intent were Baltimoreans on the pursuit of business in those days that when amongst the great statesmen newly churning up the mud of Baltimore Street, John Adams arrived in town, that dour New Englander noted in his secret diary, according to Mr. Owens, the observation that the native Baltimoreans seemed more intent on driving business bargains than on driving out the British. Interpreting this phenomenon, Mr. Owens concludes that what Mr. Adams was seeing was an American citizenry "newly urbanized" and as pleased with metropolitan life as children with a new toy. While preoccupied with trade their lives were still set in the feudal pattern, everything contributing to the support of life in the old manor house in the back country far from the harbor and the smell of coffee and guano. "That ideal," writes Mr. Owens, "still obtains among the successful families of Baltimore. The city is the place where men make the money with which they support the country places to which they retire at every opportunity."

How the serenity of these charming old marts of trade could change swiftly into an inferno of rioting with 10 killed, 150 wounded; Belair Market a fortress, prominent citizens' houses being torn down by street crowds; folks dragging cannon around town as casually as people today haul around trailers—and firing them, too,—volleys of grape and canister right down a busy street with the sangfroid of Shriners tossing confetti at a parade—all is related with reportorial gusto by Mr. Owens who finds that somehow or other the mighty forces at work in the nation seemed to come into the most violent conflict with the most curious frequency in the streets of Baltimore—so frequently, especially during the "turbulent fifties" that "after a while the riots and anarchies seemed to have almost

no direct relation with what was going on outside." Inexplicably the dawn of a new day now and then seemed to find a majority of the citizens stalking the streets with murder in their hearts and loaded horse-pistols in their hands; and one particularly homicidal election day in the late fifties attracted newspaper reporters from all over the United States like a nationally important football game at the stadium nowadays, and even got international notice in the *Illustrated London News*, which devoted a page to it.

Geography made Baltimore and still controls its destiny Mr. Owens believes, and the particular item of geography involved is the harbor—a salt tide laving the city's docks and piers along nearly 100 miles of foreshore, almost 200 miles from the ocean. Upon that salt tide came first the people who made the city and next the trade upon which they existed and grew, and it has been so ever since.

RAYMOND S. TOMPKINS.

Newspaper Days, 1899-1906. By H. L. MENCKEN. New York, Knopf, 1941. 313 pp. $3.00.

By Light of Sun. By ELSIE SYMINGTON. Woodcuts by Clare Leighton. New York, Putnam, 1941. 196 pp. $2.00.

Here are two autobiographies by contemporary Marylanders so contrasting in the experiences they relate that it is not possible to read them both within a short period without being impressed by the complexity of a community which can produce two beings so disparate.

Mr. Mencken's book has already been widely discussed. It is, as most bookish people know, the second volume of his reminiscences. The first, *Happy Days* (reviewed in Vol. XXXV, No. 1 of this Magazine) took the author through his childhood. The present volume, as its title implies, describes the beginning of his professional career on the old Baltimore *Herald*.

The thing to remember in reading the recollections of a man like Mencken is that he is, by temperament as well as by conviction, both artist and honest man, an almost impossible combination. He is determined, to tell the truth and at the same time make his tale of the moment an artistic whole. Occasionally, the artistic urge gets the better of him and he is guilty of what he calls " stretchers." The book does not suffer thereby.

This *caveat* entered, *Newspaper Days* can be considered for what it is: a remarkable man's delight in his exploits and escapades in the period in which the sap of man runs fastest. It is Baltimoreana, of course. But it is Baltimore as seen through the eyes of a youth who had every day more energy, physical and mental, than most of us can command on our best days. Also, and especially, it is Baltimore uncorseted, as young reporters mostly see it. Here are the police courts, the politics, the saloons; the murderers and their hangings; the prostitutes in their leisure hours and the judges in their cups; the petty rivalries of newspapers; the appalling

ignorance of the principles of their own profession on the part of some of the practitioners of the journalist's art.

All these things are in it and many more. But none is more important than the occasional glimpses the author gives into the workings of his own mind at this impressionable period. For it was precisely at this juncture, when the raucous youth was, by his own account, giving most of his attention and no little of his adoration to men whose claim to fame was that they could drink more beer than other men, that the same young man was establishing his taste for what he calls "beautiful letters" and formulating those esthetic criteria which made him, fifteen years later, the acknowledged dictator of American fiction. The relationship here is so subtle that analysis of it is beyond me. But I suspect it is precisely because Mencken did see the seamy side of American urban life and was entertained by it instead of being shocked by it that he was able to evoke and direct the literature describing it.

If, in the foregoing paragraph, the word *urban* had been italicized, the transition from Mr. Mencken's book to that of Mrs. Symington would seem simple and natural. Mencken always had an appreciation, of a sort, for the country-side, as a number of charming passages in *Happy Days* testified. But the man is essentially urban. His need to see things growing and help them grow can be satisfied within the limits of a Baltimore back yard. His solace is not nature but the company of his fellows. His best moments, as all his writings attest, are those spent in a *bierstube* with a companion on the other side of the table as immune to illusion as himself.

Elsie Symington is younger than Mencken but not enough younger to make much difference in the historical sense. The Baltimore she knew in her youth was much the same Baltimore as that which Mencken knew. But it is clear that the very aspects of the town which gave him his gustiest moments were those which aroused in her the need for escape. Mencken's summers in the country made his return to the city something to look for. Mrs. Symington's youthful winters in the town were bitter interludes between her joyful days in the country. Mencken rushed to meet the noises and confusions of the city and reveled in them. The very necessity of adjusting herself to the constrictive manners and modes of town life brought the more sensitive and delicately adjusted woman to the verge of collapse and past it.

Just as Mencken feels the necessity for explaining his joy in the city, so Mrs. Symington feels the necessity of explaining her need to retreat from it. As honest as he, she is not above a few "stretchers" of her own. Yet she tells as candidly as she can the long story of her wanderings in various parts of the country as the wife of an energetic and successful business man and of the effort she made in each brief stopping place to find some manner of expressing the deep need within her of letting things grow in their own way.

Mencken, the exuberant, found food for both body and soul whatever the world beneath him. But Mrs. Symington, like the woodland plants she cherished, needed a special environment, a special soil, in which to

feel herself at home. Her book is the story of her search for such an environment, and its completion is proof that she found the soil she wanted and bloomed in it.

The almost simultaneous appearance of these two Baltimore books is a tantalizing puzzle to this reviewer. There is no easy explanation for it. A historian might suggest one line of speculation. Baltimore has always had difficulty being as urban and as metropolitan as its size and wealth demand. A great proportion of its well-to-do citizens have always given their first allegiance to the country-side rather than to the town. But one important group, those of German background, have rarely faced this difficulty. Baltimore was but a straggling village when the first Germans came down from York and established a brewery, which is surely a manifestation of urbanity. From that day to this, whatever the civic undertaking, the Germans have always provided more leadership and given more money than their share. Those of English and Scotch stock, on the other hand, have had to be cajoled, more often than not, into supporting the city's delights and partaking of them. Mencken, of course, is only partly German but that part could well be responsible for his delight in gregariousness. Mrs. Symington comes from the other group, those who have never been able to give their whole allegiance to the town. In her case, that kind of charming claustrophobia may have reached unusual heights.

The speculation is a tenuous one but it may have some significance.

HAMILTON OWENS

The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712. Edited by LOUIS B. WRIGHT and MARION TINLING. Richmond, the Dietz Press, 1941. xxviii, 622 pp. $5.00.

From the nature of some of the incidents which he relates, it is not hard to believe that William Byrd of Westover did not want his diary to be made public. For this very reason, however, we learn much of the true character of the man.

The Virginian was both religious and scholarly. Scarcely a day passed without the entry that upon arising he read "a chapter in Hebrew and some Greek." Then follows a statement that he said his prayers. In fact he rarely missed saying them both night and morning. On Sundays he usually attended church. So far as the observance of Christian formalities was concerned Byrd was religious.

He was also business-minded. In his plantation he took a great interest as well as in the arrival and departure of vessels in which he had invested. His losses were heavy when one of his ships foundered in a storm. "The Lord gives and the Lord has taken away—blessed be the name of the Lord," philosophically wrote Byrd.

About his health and diet the Virginian was extremely careful. With monotonous repetition he records what he ate and drank at each meal.

Daily he took some form of calisthenics, "danced my dance," as he called it. Yet, with all this care of himself, Byrd was often troubled with "hoarseness," "a little looseness," or other ailments.

A bit of humor appears now and then as when Byrd notes that he had seen Mrs. H. who is "a great instance of human decay." His daily habit of saying his prayers did not prevent the Virginian from enjoying billiards, playing cards for money and dancing.

Byrd's relations with his wife were far from pleasant and his diary contains many records of his quarrels with her. Almost as numerous as the references to his quarrels with his spouse, are the entries regarding other relations with his wife.

In their treatment of their servants and slaves the Byrds, judged by modern standards, would be called cruel. It is doubtful, however, that if judged by the standards of their own times, they were more harsh in their treatment of servants than many other colonists of Virginia or Maryland. Jenny, their maid-servant, appears to have received frequent beatings and, on one occasion, Mrs. Byrd branded Jenny with a hot iron. Servants of the Byrds were beaten for such comparatively trival offenses as spilling water on a couch, spoiling a plum pudding, etc.

The diary tells us little of the topics of conversation at the dinners which he and Mrs. Byrd attended. Also we learn little of the characteristics of the people who were their friends. While this is to be regretted, we do obtain from the book a very vivid picture of Byrd, the man. The diary is well edited with an introduction which forms an excellent background.

RAPHAEL SEMMES

General Washington's Correspondence concerning The Society of the Cincinnati. Edited by EDGAR ERSKINE HUME. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. XLIV, 472 pp. $4.50.

The Society of the Cincinnati derived its name from the *cognomen* of the distinguished Roman General, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus (*i. e.,* "curly-head"), who at country's call left his plough and his farm to lead the armies of Rome to victory and then returned to private life, refusing all public honors and rewards. The Society was instituted in May, 1783, at the cantonment of the American Army on the Hudson river and, at the first regular meeting the following June, General Washington was unanimously elected its first President General, an office which he filled from 1783 until his death in December, 1799.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hume has shown that Washington's conduct of the duties appertaining to his leadership in the Society of the Cincinnati was far from perfunctory. This fact is plainly revealed by the extent of the correspondence which the editor has gathered from various sources and which he has arranged in chronological order, with foot notes to connect a letter and its reply. Here and there, an introductory paragraph provides the background of some of the letters. Earlier compilations of Washing-

ton's letters and other writings, as the editor says, embrace only what Washington himself wrote. But, in this book, the other half of the correspondence, so far as it concerned the Society of the Cincinnati, is revealed; thus supplying material never published hitherto. Washington's letter to Col. William Barton, of Rhode Island, written from Mount Vernon under the date of September 7, 1788, is interesting as a strong defense of the institution of the Society of the Cincinnati and a severe indictment of its malevolent critics.

The French members of the Society included the very *élite* of the *noblesse*. King Louis XVI gave his officers permission for them to become members of the Cincinnati and wear the Society's "Eagle," although at that time no foreign decoration, save the Order of the Golden Fleece, could be worn in France. The list of these French officers who had served in the American Revolution, is a long one, but General Washington found the time and the will to correspond virtually with them all.

In a Supplement, the editor supplies biographical sketches of more than one hundred persons with whom General Washington corresponded concerning the Cincinnati, about *fifty* per cent. of them being citizens of France. Among the Maryland correspondents were Major General William Smallwood, Brig. General Mordecai Gist, Brig. General Otho Holland Williams, Gov. William Paca, Thomas Stone the Signer, Lt. Col. Nathaniel Ramsay and Lt. Col. Tench Tilghman.

FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER

Anthony Wayne, Trouble-Shooter of the American Revolution. By HARRY EMERSON WILDES. New York: Harcourt, Brace [1941]. 514 pp. $3.75.

In a revealing biography one of the most picturesque and intrepid leaders of the American Army during the War of the Revolution—the "Mad Anthony" of legend—is portrayed with rare mental honesty. Anthony Wayne's strength is shown, and his weaknesses are disclosed. The exposé of the latter gives emphasis to the former.

With the blood of his grandfather, a veteran of Marlborough's continental wars and a dragoon leader at the Battle of Boyne, who settled in Pennsylvania in 1724, resurgent in his veins, the grandson, born in Chester County in 1745, as a growing youth, gave little heed to the academic opportunities offered by a kindly father. With British troops stationed in Philadelphia and the French and Indian wars, the coincident events of his adolescent years, he early developed a martial mind. Vigorous physically, impetuous, tenacious, convivial, melodramatic, and a willing victim of feminine admiration and charm, Anthony Wayne showed lamentable lack of what might be termed the finer qualities of heart and mind. He was cold and indifferent in his family relationships and inconstant and fickle in his friendships. He was a very lonely man.

Yet, it may be that thus came about his greatness as a soldier. A patriot, forged of steel and unsullied by the jealousies, injustices and

cabals of the Revolutionary era, he cherished victory for the Colonies above everything else. A born leader, he was restive under inaction. Though a martinet in his requirements of discipline from his troops, he was yet ready to share with them their hardships. His warfare with the Pennsylvania authorities and the Continental Congress to secure for them adequate equipment and proper rations was as vigorous as were his conflicts in the field.

When General Gage occupied Boston, Wayne's initial estimate of the policy to be followed by the Mother Country in the subjugation of the Colonies showed astute political and military perception: "England does not dare to fall on all America at once, but on one colony only, hoping that it will not be protected by its sister colonies. 'Divide and Conquor' is the sum of politics. One of the chief members of the British Senate has said that this is meant to enslave America." How comparable to Axis strategy!

Entering the continental army as a colonel, commanding Pennsylvania troops, Anthony Wayne rose during the war to the rank of brigadier general. State insistence upon a military hierarchy, irrespective of merit, and a loosely knit and impotent Continental Congress apparently kept him from the higher rank of major general—a source of great disappointment to him— though, unlike other general officers whose hopes were thwarted, Wayne never sulked. He was ever ready for action, irrespective of the frustration of his cherished desire.

The post-war period found him broken in health and in considerable financial embarrassment. In an endeavor to alleviate the latter, he entered politics, but he was inept as a politician, and his career as such rather dimmed the lustre of his military record. Thus, the reader rejoices in the chance given to him in the closing chapters of his life. Chosen as commander-in-chief of the Army, he took personal charge of the campaign against the Indians in the west. He succeeded where his erstwhile superiors had failed. Complete victory came to him at the Battle of Fallen Timbers and in his consummation of the Treaty of Greeneville with the Indians on August 3, 1795, whereunder the great Northwest Territory became a part of the United States. The light, which flickered with uncertainty in Wayne's mid-career, shone brilliantly at the end.

It may be said unreservedly that the author has made a valuable addition to American history. Seemingly a vast reservoir of source material has been tapped. Perhaps a more complete account of surrounding conditions, political, social and economic, would have been helpful. Yet, Wayne becomes a vivid personality in the mind of the reader—a great patriot and leader,—who made a splendid contribution to the Colonies and to the infant Nation which he so valiantly and so faithfully sought to serve.

EDWARD D. MARTIN.

The Old and Quaint in Virginia. By GEORGIA DICKINSON WARDLAW. Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1939. 328 pp. $3.00.

Neither wars nor rumors of wars can stop collectors from collecting and this book will encourage still others to search in attic and trunk for mementoes from the past. Virginia has not been able to preserve as many of her lares and penates as some of the other states, but whatever she has had hidden away through the years must of necessity be interesting. Mrs. Wardlaw has explored the museums and made friends with collectors throughout the Old Dominion and here and there turned up a bit of evidence in a private parlor. The stories connected with each article are well told and the genealogy testifying to present ownership shows careful work. There is romance in a silhouette or in a pair of dueling pistols and the whole story of Betsey Patterson is told in connection with two chairs made for her wedding. Profusely illustrated, this book makes a good reference work on many subjects. It is a pity that Marylanders do not know their houses and histories, their "old and quaint" as well as do the Virginians.

ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE.

Peter Ainslie, Ambassador of Good Will. By FINIS S. IDLEMAN. Chicago, Willett, Clark & Co., 1941. 184 pp. $2.50.

Peter Ainslie was ever a proponent of tolerance, unity and peace and during his long ministry at the Christian Temple in Baltimore, he was a conspicuous figure in any cause to further civic or social betterment. In this biography Mr. Idleman has written with fairness and understanding, not allowing his evident close friendship to color his canvas too much.

From his Virginia heritage, Mr. Ainslie absorbed and retained a gentle courtesy that prevented his religious zeal from becoming over-aggressive. His father, a faithful follower of Alexander Campbell and the Disciples of Christ, was a minister in that sect and in spite of physical handicaps, the son early prepared to enter the same field. At first he was ardent in conforming to the rigid rules laid down by the Disciples but he later became convinced they were defeating their own ends and set out to widen the avenue leading toward a greater Christian unity. His courageous crusade soon brought him into the international limelight, especially in inter-Church groups and in conferences to promote peace. This passion for unity was the underlying motif of all his writings, varied though they might be in subject matter. Referring to a seeming inconsistency in his thinking, the author explains that this was rather "a constancy in the midst of changing attitudes" and that herein lay his power to coordinate differing points of view.

His many friends, who included Catholics and Protestants, Jews and Negroes, will welcome this volume. It should be of interest too, to others less familiar with his valiant efforts, though what he strove to accomplish may seem ironic in the light of present day events.

MARY G. HOWARD.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE RIDGELYS ENTERTAIN AT HAMPTON, JUNE 9, 1840

By William D. Hoyt, Jr.

Present generations hear much about the lavish entertainments of olden times, but seldom is it possible to find records of the provisions arranged for those parties. It is especially interesting, therefore, to note the contents of two pages in an account book kept by the Ridgelys of Hampton during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Among lists of servants, descriptions of clothes distributed to slaves, and calculations of hogs killed on the estate, is a "List of Provisions prepared for the Party given at Hampton June 9th 1840." Here are set down the actual items of food: meats, drinks, desserts, cakes, provided for the guests, and at the end is an estimate of the cost of the extras, such as music, confectionery, and waiting. It is not possible to give the total cost of the party, for doubtless most of the food was supplied from the place itself, but the quantities prepared point to a large outlay.

There is no indication as to the reason for the entertainment; it was not the birthday or wedding of any member of the family, and contemporary newspapers make no reference to the event. Possibly Mr. and Mrs. John Ridgely—she was Eliza Eichelberger Ridgely, 'the lady with the harp' painted by Thomas Sully—wished to celebrate their removal from their town house into the country for the summer. It may have been Mrs. Ridgely who wrote the list of provisions into the book; certainly the handwriting differs from that with which the master of the estate was wont to keep the records of his domain. Whoever it was, we may be thankful for this small bit of social history, showing one phase of the life on a large plantation near Baltimore in the days long gone by.

List of Provisions prepared for the Party given at Hampton June 9th 1840

(2 Left) 6 Hams for Building. 3 for Lower House [1]

[1] The references to the 'Lower House' indicate that preparation was made for the coachmen and footmen of the guests. Apparently they were served at the farm house where the Ridgelys themselves had lived before the main hall was built in 1783-90.

2 pieces of Beef & 1 of Lamb for Lower House & Giblet Pie
3 doz Loaves of Bread for L H
1 Gallon & a half of whiskey

1 Round of Corned Beef 6 Tongues
6 Dozen Chickens & 8. 2 Tubs of Lettuce.
300 Hard Crabs.— 6 Hams (2 not cut)
5 Dozen of champagne 4 gallons Madeira Wine
1 Gallon of Whiskey Punch 3 gallons Brandy
5 gallons Lemonade 1 gallon Spirits
8 gallons of Roman Punch— ½ gal^n of Brandy

6 dozen Eggs for Cake Lucy made 24 lbs 4 loaves Sugar Cake
6 lbs Fruit for Cake 6 lbs Butter
6 dozen Eggs Used for Sponge Cake & cothew [?]
1 bushel & 8 quarts of Flour for Bread
6 bottles Sweet Oil
24 Quarts of Strawberries
15 Quarts of Raspberries
4 Quarts of Cherries
4 Moulds of Charlotte Russe (1 doz & 8 Eggs)
6 Moulds of Ice Cream 2 measuring ½ gal. 3 meas.
6 Moulds of Jelly. 1 quart & 1.3 pints

Confectioner Made

4 moulds of Ice Cream
2 Moulds of Water Ice
6 doz Small moulded Water Ices.
6 dozen Almond Cakes
6 dozen Meringues 6 doz maccaroons
2 Pyramids of Cocoa nut
5 Nougat Baskets filled with Candied Cherries
$5.25 worth of French & other Confectionary & Strawberries
2 Citron Iced Cakes

4 whole cakes Left
1 Black Iced Cake. 1 Cocoa nut cake
1 Plain Bride Cake & 1 Lady Cake

6 lbs of Coffee making 3 gallons
2 Tea caddies Tea black & Green
6 lbs of butter for Bread
1½ gallons of Cream used
11 Cocoa nuts (7 not Cut)
for the Tea table

75 Oranges
12 doz Lemons
upwards of 300 Candles. 25 Lamps [2]

[2] The inclusion of candles and lamps seems to show that the entertainment was an evening affair. Some of the guests probably stayed overnight with the Ridgelys.

Estimate of Expenses—	$
Musicians bill	47.00
Confectioners' bill	65.25
Waiters' bill	10.00

Tournament at Doughoregan Manor, 1849

By way of postscript to Mr. Orians' article in the last number of the Magazine, pages 263-280, the following description of a celebrated tournament in which the sport was riding at the quintain may be of interest. The affair took place at Doughoregan Manor on October 18, 1849. Though only briefly noticed in newspapers of the time, it is fully described in an anonymous article in *The Sun,* Baltimore, March 31, 1907, p. 16, where it is the feature of the recollections of Mrs. Richard H. Pleasants, who, as Elizabeth Poultney had been crowned queen of the tourney at Doughoregan more than half a century before by a total stranger, one Lieut. Thomas Rhett, U. S. Army. Other contestants were Alexander MacTavish, George Howard, William Gilmor, Henry Scott, Alexander Riddell, John E. Howard of James, George S. Riggs, Harry C. Carroll, James McHenry, Tiernan Williamson, Charles Howard and

William Key Howard, all of Baltimore or Baltimore County. The height of the event was reached when Rhett named his choice of the young ladies present only after thrice making the rounds of the assembled company.

Towson-Wheeler—Thomas Towson, born Sept. 25, 1799, married Jan. 1, 1822, Elizabeth Wheeler, born Mar. 6, 1800. They lived at Fairfield, Lancaster County, Penna., and are buried there at Mount Zion M. E. Church. The early church records have been destroyed. Can anyone supply data on parents and place of birth?

Sheldon K. Towson,
2684 Landon Road, Shaker Heights, Ohio.

Henry Stouffer—My great-grandfather, Henry Stouffer, came to Baltimore from Pennsylvania and had two daughters, Hester B. who married my grandfather, John King, Sr., and Elizabeth, who married Robert Garrett, the founder of the banking firm of Robert Garrett & Sons. Henry Stouffer died in his 74th year, September 24, 1835. His funeral according to the *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser,* September 24, 1835, was held in North Eutaw Street, September 24. Can any one tell where he was buried, and can his grave be located? Henry Stouffer was a man of prominence and, as this paper reported, " filled many important trusts under the corporation " (meaning Baltimore). Can any one give reference to any details of his life, historical records, etc., and to his near relations and their residences?

Josias Stevenson—My great-grandfather, Josias Stevenson (maternal side), executed last will and testament February 4, 1832, and was of the family owning the farm known as " Fellowship " (turned into the Rodgers Forge Golf Course, opened June 22, 1924) about one mile from Towson, this farm being the Stevenson home for some 200 hundred years more or less. Stevenson's daughter, Rachel, married Job Smith, Jr., a prominent merchant and citizen of Baltimore, mentioned in *Baltimore on the Chesapeake* by Hamilton Owens, Esq. He operated a saw mill on Chase's Wharf. Can any one give information regarding forebears of Josias Stevenson and inform me whether any of same were engaged in the Colonial wars; also, as to any record as to any engaged in Revolutionary War? Job Smith had a sister, Louisa, who married into the Pierce family, Baltimore County. Can any one tell me her husband's first name and supply information about members of the Pierce family?

Edward Stevenson King,
5305 Falls Road Terraces, Baltimore.

Purviance—Wish information of heirs of Benjamin, Thomas, Robert R., Elizabeth and Margaret Purviance, children of John and Hester Ann (Roberts) Purviance, who were married in Jefferson Co., Ohio, April 12, 1831. Hester Ann (Roberts) Purviance died Aug. 14, 1853, aged 39. Her children received legacies from their grandfather, Benjamin Roberts, who died in 1871, Jefferson Co. Ohio, aged 96 years, leaving a will dated May 6, 1865. Did John Purviance marry again?

Vernie Dawson Lee (Mrs. Robert E. Lee),
Willmore Hotel, Long Beach, Calif.

Le Compte—Where in Dorchester County is the grave of Anthony Le Compte, Huguenot?

(Miss) Grace Vernon Smith,
Ridgely, Md.

Kline—My grandparents were Peter and Harriett Straeffer Kline, of Frederick, Md. I wish to find the name of *Peter Kline's* father (Peter Kline born 1814).

Mable Kline Johnston,
Water Valley, Texas.

Dr. Dieter Cunz, who contributes the article, "The Maryland Germans in the Civil War," is engaged in writing a history of the Germans in Maryland, and would be grateful to any who would make available to him historical material on this subject. Descendants of German immigrants in Western Maryland or Baltimore may have historical records, letters, diaries, newspapers, Bibles, etc. which are very valuable source material. Diaries from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries will be of particular interest. Anyone who has material of this kind is requested to communicate with Dr. Cunz at the University of Maryland, College Park, Md.

Contributors to this Number

A native of Maine and holder of a doctorate in history from Johns Hopkins, Bernard Mayo is professor of American history at the University of Virginia. He is the author of a recent biography of Henry Clay. ☆ May Garrettson Evans, author of *Music and Edgar Allan Poe*, *Facts about Music* and co-author with Miss Bessie Evans of *American Indian Dance Steps*, was for many years superintendent of the Preparatory Department of the Peabody Conservatory of Music. ☆ As stated in the last issue, Charles Branch Clark is a Howard Countian now teaching at West

Georgia College. ☆ DIETER CUNZ, student of European constitutional history and biographer of the Swiss reformer, Zwingli, is the holder of a research fellowship and an instructor at the University of Maryland, College Park. ☆ Born in Kentucky, a graduate of Yale, LOCKWOOD BARR is a consultant in public relations in New York. One of his avocations is the lore of early American clockmaking and related crafts.

Rigbie Genealogy—Omitted from this number for lack of space, "The Family of Colonel James Rigbie" by Henry Chandlee Forman, companion paper to the "Narrative" which appeared in the March issue, will be printed in the issue for March, 1942.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

October 13, 1941. The regular meeting was held at 8.15 p. m. with Senator Radcliffe in the chair. A list of donations to the library during the summer months was read.

The following were elected to membership:

Active

Mr. Frederick P. Adkins
Mr. Richard P. Baer
Mr. S. Duncan Black
Mr. J. David Baile
Miss Jane D. Buddecke
Dr. De Witt B. Casler
Hon. Stephen R. Collins
Mrs. Robert Y. Conrad
Mr. James Vincent Kelly
Mr. E. Lee LeCompte
Mr. Austin Jenkins Lilly
Mr. William Labrot
Mr. James I. Murphy
Mr. Price Morre
Mr. Edward L. McIntyre
Dr. Gilbert W. Mead
Mrs. John H. O'Donovan
Mr. Edward B. Passano
Col. Albanus Phillips
Mr. E. Ridgely Simpson
Mr. A. M. Sullivan
Mr. W. H. DeCourcy Tilghman
Mr. J. Nelson Tribby
Mr. James F. Turner

Associate

Mr. Robert F. Bingham
Miss Virginia Buchanan Oakes

The deaths of the following members were reported:

Mrs. W. Calvin Chesnut, on September 30, 1941.
Mrs. Frederick M. Dearborn, on August 1, 1941.
Dr. Julius Friedenwald, on June 8, 1941.
Mr. Boyd Billingslea Graham, on August 12, 1941.
General John Boynton Philip Clayton Hill, on May 23, 1941.
Miss M. Ella Hoopes, on June 23, 1941.
Mr. John Duvall Howard, on August 19, 1941.

Dr. Morris L. Radoff, Archivist of the Hall of Records, described the methods of preservation of the old records employed at the Hall of Records. Mrs. Ruth Krebs exhibited the materials used in the process of repair.

The unanimous thanks of the Society were extended to Dr. Radoff and Mrs. Krebs.

November 10, 1941. The regular meeting was held with President Radcliffe in the chair. A list of recent donations was read by the Secretary.

The following persons, already nominated, were elected:

Active

Mrs. Charles Amesburg
Mrs. Joseph L. Anderson
Dr. Ernest J. Becker
Mr. H. C. Brogden
Dr. Howard M. Bubert
Mrs. Harry Guy Campbell
Miss Helen Camp deCorse
Congressman Thomas D'Alesandro
Mr. John Dickinson
Mr. A. E. Duncan
Miss Grace Carvil Frazer
Mr. Ernest Green
Mrs. Anna Ellis Harper
Mrs. Robert Newton Krebs
Mr. Howard MacCarthy, Jr.
Mr. W. Edwin Moffett
Mr. Williamson Wade Moss, Jr.
Mr. John H. O'Donovan
Rev. I. Marshall Page
Mr. J. Milton Patterson
Mr. William Roger Quynn
Senator Mary E. W. Risteau
Mrs. Paul N. Rylander
Congressman Lansdale Sasscer
Mrs. Sherlock Swann
Mr. Merrill Hull Troupe, Sr.
Mrs. Van Noyes Verplanck
Hon. William C. Walsh
Mr. T. Wallace Warfield
Mr. William Pickney Wetherall
Lt. Col. F. R. Weaver
Mr. J. Purdon Wright

Associate

Mrs. W. D. Barr
Mrs. Merle Leroy Cox
Mr. Vincent Cullen
Miss Laurie Gray
Mr. Edward Cuyler Hammond
Mr. Emil Hurja
Mr. John M. Kopper
Hon. Thomas Riggs
Mr. Sheldon K. Towson

The following deaths were reported among the members:

Mr. Charles M. Wilkinson, on May 29, 1941.
Mr. Charles H. Linville, on October 22, 1941.

The paper of the evening, " A Library of Four Generations," written by Hon. John W. Garrett, was read by his niece, Mrs. Johnson Garrett. A rising vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Garrett and Mrs. Johnson Garrett.

INDEX TO VOLUME XXXVI

Names of authors and titles of contributed papers and original documents are entered in small CAPITALS. Titles of books reviewed or cited are in italics.

A. Booth (schooner), 175
A. L. Barnett (schooner), 176
Abell, Walter W., 91
Abercrombie Family, 96
Abercrombie, Jennie (Waters), Mrs. Ronald T., 234
Abercrombie, Dr. Ronald Taylor, 96
Abercrombie, Dr. Ronald Taylor, *The Abercrombies of Baltimore,* 354
Abernethy, Thomas Perkins, *Three Virginia Frontiers,* reviewed, 227
Abrams, Dr. Michael, 94
Abrams, Mrs. Michael, 94
Accokeek, 90, 229
Adams, Harrington, 96
Adams, John, 199, 443
Adams, Samuel, 199
Adams, Sir Thomas, 96
Addison, Charlotte (Hesselius), Mrs. Walter, 437
Addison, Walter, 437
Adkins, Frederick P., *elected,* 455
"The Adventure," 332, 333
Adventures in Southern Maryland, by Alice L. Ferguson, *reviewed,* 229
Aeronautics in the Union and Confederate Armies, with a Survey of Military Aeronautics Prior to 1861, by F. Stansbury Haydon, *reviewed,* 224-225
Agnes (pungy), 176
Agnes Owens (schooner), 175
Agricultural College, University of Maryland, 391
Aiken, M. Virginia, 95
Ainslie, Rev. Peter, 450
Alabama, 239
Albatross (schooner), 176
Albert, William Julian, 410
Alert (sloop-of-war), 346
Alexander's Baltimore Battery, 28
Alexander Bond (bugeye), 176
Alexandria Gazette, 271, 272
Algiers, Dey of, 347
Alice Bramble (schooner), 175
All Hallows Parish, Anne Arundel County, 192, 193
All Saints' Parish, Frederick County, 189
Allan, John, 377, 378
Allegany County, 251, 255
Allen, Rev. Ethan, 199
Allen, Hervey, 376
Amelia (schooner), 175
American Colonization Society, 250
American Figureheads and Their Carvers, by Pauline A. Pinckney, *reviewed,* 85-86
American Magazine (1758), 193
The American Neptune, 356
American Philosophical Society, 50
American Portrait Inventory, compiled by the New Jersey Historical Records Survey, 354
Ames, Susie W., *Studies of the Virginia Eastern Shore in the Seventeenth Century,* reviewed, 81-82
Amesburg, Mrs. Charles, *elected,* 456
Amity Street, Baltimore, 263 *ff.*
Anderson, Bart, 95
Anderson, George M., 95
Anderson, James, 336, 337
Anderson, John, 327
Anderson, Mrs. Joseph L., *elected,* 456
Anderson, William, 70 *ff.,* 336 *ff.*
Andersone, Andrew, 218
André, Maj. John, 266
Andrews, Charles M., 4, 76, 235, 238
Andrews, Matthew Page, 79, 248, 250, 253, 255
Anna Leonard (schooner), 175
Anne Arundel County, 243, 244, 247
Anthony Wayne, Trouble-Shooter of the Revolution, by Harry Emerson Wildes, *reviewed,* 448-449
Antietam, Battle of, 413, 419
Antiques, 426
Apple, J. H., 398
Architecture, American Colonial, 100
Archives of Maryland, LVI, reviewed, 76-77
Archives of Maryland, LVII, reviewed, 345-346
Arena Bateman (schooner), 175
Arkansas, 239, 254, 256
Armitage, Ann (Eden), 235
Armitage, Benjamin, 235
Armstrong, Gen. John, 302
Army of the Potomac, 25
Arthur Stewart (schooner, 1882), 175
Arthur Stewart (schooner, 1892), 176
The Articles of Confederation, by Merrill Jensen, *reviewed,* 82-83
Asbury, Bishop Francis, 195
Ashby, Thomas A., 264, 275
Ashby, Gen. Turner, 264

"Ashby," Talbot Co., 315 *ff.*
Ashes, John, 215
Ashman, George, 218
Assembling the Homewood Site, by William H. Buckler, *reviewed,* 226-227
Associated Press, 158, 163
Atkinson, Anna Maria, Widow, 235
Atkinson, Anna Maria (LeRoy), 235
Atkinson, LeRoy, 235
Atkinson, Wilmer, 235
Auld Family, 335
Auld, James, 335
Aurrikon, Joshuah, 217
Avary, Myrta, 275
Avirett, Rev. James B., 274
Azarias, Brother, 58, 59

B. M. Cornet (schooner), 177
Backers, Joseph, 161, 162
The Background of the Revolution in Maryland, by Charles Albro Barker, *reviewed,* 74-76
Bacon, Elizabeth (Mrs. Thomas), 189-190
Bacon, Nathaniel, 78, 79
Bacon, Reverend Thomas, 128, 188-192
Bacon's Rebellion, 1, 3, 4
Baer, Richard P., *elected,* 455
Bagby, Dr. George W., 267
Bagley, James, 423
Baile, J. David, 233, *elected,* 455
Bailey, Charles, 174
Baker, Mrs. —— (Campbell), 51, 52
Baker, Mrs. Harry J., *elected,* 237
Baker, William G., Jr., 92
Baldwin, Summerfield, Jr., 92
Ball, Mr. ——, 214
Ball, Richard, 216
Baltimore, Charles Calvert, fifth lord, 135, 138
Baltimore, Frederick Calvert, sixth lord, 135, 138, 333, 336
Baltimore (City), 132, 240, 243 *ff.*
Baltimore (log canoe), 173
The Baltimore American, 150, 158, 163, 166, 256, 264, 269, 376, 383, 386, 389, 453
Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 256, 257, 259
Baltimore Clipper, 382 ff.
Baltimore County, 244, 246, 251
Baltimore County Inventories, 186 *ff.*, 289
BALTIMORE COUNTY LAND RECORDS OF 1687, edited by Louis Dow Scisco, 215-219
Baltimore Daily Commercial, 377
Baltimore Daily Exchange, 389
Baltimore Equitable Society, 232
Baltimore Housing Authority, 364, 365, 370, 371, 375
Baltimore Iron Works, 343
Baltimore Museum of Art, 93
Baltimore on the Chesapeake, by Hamilton Owens, *reviewed,* 442-444
Baltimore Patriot, 273
A BALTIMORE VOLUNTEER OF 1864, by William H. James, 22-23
Bandy, *see also* Banning
Bandy, William, 322
Banks, Gen. Daniel B., 387
Banning, Anthony, 322
Banning, Henry, 322
Banning (Bandy), James, 322
Banning, Jeremiah, 322
Barker, Charles Albro, 235
Barker, Charles Albro, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland,* reviewed, 74-76
BARKER, CHARLES ALBRO, *The Revolutionary Impulse in Maryland,* 125-138
Barker, Dr. Lewellys F., 441
Barlow, Joel, 302
Barney, Frances, 93
Barney, Commodore Joshua, 93, 100, 223, 357-362
Barney, William, 93, 359, 362
Barr, Berenice (Owens), Mrs. Lockwood, 420
Barr, Lockwood, 95, 235, 455
BARR, LOCKWOOD, *William Faris, 1728-1804,* 420-439
Barr, Mrs. W. D., *elected,* 456
Barrett, Alexander, 89
Barrett, Ann, 89
Barrett, Elizabeth, 89
Barrett, Elizabeth (Beall), 89
Barrett, Isaac, 89
Barrett, John Beall, 89
Barrett, Mary (James), 89
Barrett, Ninian, 89
Barrett, Richard, 89
Barron, Commodore James, 88
Bartell, Mr. ——, 413
Barton, Col. William, 448
Bateman, Colonel ——, 173
Bates, Arlo, 55
Bates, Edward, 259, 392, 393, 408, 409
Bayard, Thomas F., 230
Bayly, Major ——, 214
Bayly, Mrs. ——, 210
Bayly, Esme, 202
Bayly, Josiah, 212
Bayly, Sinah Polk (Mrs. Esme), 202
Beadle, Edward, 215
Beale, Mrs. Elizabeth, 335
Beale, Howard, 259
Beall, Captain, 211
Beall, Catherine (Duke), 89

Beall, Ninian, 89
Beatty, James, 220, 222
Becker, August, 416
Becker, Dr. Ernest J., 350, *elected,* 456
Bedell, Edward, 217 *ff.*
Beirne, Francis F., 225
Beirne, Rosamond (Randall), Mrs. F. F., 92, 450
Beirne, Rosamond Randall, and Bevan, Edith Rossiter, *The Hammond-Harwood House and Its Owners,* reviewed, 348
Bel-Air American, 386
Belair Market, 443
Bell, Captain ——, 211
Bemis, Samuel F., 361
Bengar (Benger, Benjar), Robert, 217, 218
" Benjamins Lott," 335
Benn, William, 326
Benson, Perry, 172
Benson, William, 173
Benson & Bateman, 175, 176
" Benstead's Adventure," 333
Bentley Family, 88
Bentztown Bard, 442
Berenburg, Mrs. Samuel R., *elected,* 91
Bergland, Dr. John McFarland, *elected,* 237
Bergland, Mrs. John McFarland, *elected,* 237
Berkeley, Governor Norborne, 78, 79
Berry Family, 95
Berry, James, 334
Berry, Thomas L., Jr., 95
Besse, Joseph, 421
Bessie Reed (schooner), 172, 176
Bestor, Arthur E., Jr., 356
Betsy (ship), 70, 336, 337
Bevan, Edith Rossiter, Rosamond Randall Beirne and, *The Hammond-Harwood House and Its Owners,* reviewed, 348
Bevans, John, 218
" Beverly Farm," 172
Biggs, John S., *elected,* 238
Billings, Amelia, 89
Billings, Ann, 89
Billings, Dr. John Shaw, 441
Billings, Rebecca, 89
Bingham, Robert F., *elected,* 455
Black, S. Duncan, *elected,* 455
Blackburn Family, 96
Blackburn Family, by Vinetta Wells Ranke, 231
Bladen, William, 282, 284-286
Bladensburg Races, 362
Blades, Samuel, 178
Blades, Thomas, 175
Blair, Gordon, *Father Tabb, Poet, Priest, Soldier, Wit,* reviewed, 225-226
Blair, Montgomery, 152, 408, 409
Bland, ——, 79
Bloedorn, Mrs. Ella May Howard, 95
Blume, Henry, Baron von, 96
Blumenberg, Leopold, 413
Blunt, Ellen Key, 161
Boddie, William Willis, 273
Boden, Mrs. Harry Clark, *elected,* 91
Bohemia (schooner), 175
Boice, Mrs. Edmund S., 235, *elected,* 238
Bolander, Louis H., 235
Bollinger, W. F., 414
Bonaparte, Elizabeth (Patterson), 307, 450
Bond, Beverly W., Jr., 359
Bond, Judge Carroll T., 238, 346
Bond, Richard Furners, *elected,* 91
Bonita (schooner), 175
Boone, James R. Herbert, 92
Booth Packing Co., 175
Borcke, Heros von, 399
Bordley Family, 95, 138
Bordley, Elizabeth, 290
Bordley, John Beale, 297
Bordley, Stephen, 127, 282, 283, 289 ff.
Bordley, Rev. Stephen, 185, 290
Bordley, Thomas, I, 290
Bordley, Thomas, II, 282, 294-295
Bordley, William, 290
Boring, John, 216 *ff.*
Bosley Family, 96
Bosley, Charles B., *elected,* 237
Bosley, John W., *elected,* 237
Boston Port Act, 137
Boucher, Rev. Jonathan, 194-195
Bouldin, Owen, 368, 373
Bowie, Forrest Dodge, 95
Bowie, Rev. John, 328
Bowman, Isaiah, 227
Boyce, Heyward E., 92, 98
Boyd, Mr. ——, 211
Boyer, John Q., 364, 375
Bozman, John, 333
Bozman, John Leeds, 282
Bozman, Maj. Risdon, 333
Bracco, John, 334
Brackenridge, ——, 204
Brackett, Jeffrey R., 248, 250, 252
Bradford, Gov. Augustus W., 166, 381
Bradford, William, 193, 422
Bragg, Rev. George, 355
" Brandon," 219
Branin, Helen R., *elected,* 238
Bray, Rev. Thomas, 184, 185
Brengle, Capt. Alfred F., 400
Brengle Home Guard, 400
Brent, Gen. Joseph Lancaster, 96
Bretz, Nathaniel, 187
Brewington, M. V., 171

Brice, John, 282
Bridges, Joseph, 174
Bridges, William, 174
Bright, James W., 54
"Bristle Hill," 220
British Queen (vessel), 272
Broad Creek, Anne Arundel Co., 39
Broadwater, Viola, 232
Brock, R. A., 264
Broedel, Max, 441
Brogden, H. C., *elected,* 456
Brogden, Rev. William, 192
Brooke, Clement, 336, 343
Brooke, Dr. Richard, 298-299
"Brooklandwood," 278-280
Brown, Col. Alexander D., 278, 279
Brown, Donaldson, *elected,* 238
Brown, Gov. Frank, 180
Brown, George, 278
Brown, George S., 279
Brown, George William, 249, 250, 387
Brown, Dr. Gustavus R., 298
Brown, John, 411
Brown, Justus, 144, 145
Brown, Mrs. Lemuel, 370
Brown, Marshall G., 232
Brown, Susan, 94
Browne, William Hand, 54, 264
Bruce, Philip, 229
Bruehl, Justus, 416
Bruff, Thomas, 173 ff.
Brumbaugh, Chalmers S., *elected,* 90
Bryan Brothers, 176
Bryan, Lewis, 216
Bubert, Dr. Howard M., *elected,* 456
Buchanan Family, 95
Buchanan, Andrew, 424
Buchanan, Capt. George, 337
Buchanan, Pres. James, 406
Buchanan, Robert, 142
Buchanan, W. Jefferson, 242, 258, 260, 262
Buchholz, H. E., 376
Buck, George G., 220
Buckler, William H., *Assembling the Homewood Site,* reviewed, 226-227
Buddecke, Jane D., *elected,* 455
Bulkley, Mrs. Louis C., 95
Burke, Edmund, 283-284
Burke, M., 155
Burnet, Archibald, 219
Burr, Aaron, 88
Burwell, Col. Nathaniel, 352
Bush & Warner, 175
Butler, Gen. Benjamin F., 415
Butler, Samuel, 172
By Light of Sun, by Elsie Symington, *reviewed,* 444-446
Byrd, William, of Westover, 446-447
Byrd, Mrs. William, of Westover, 447
C. C. Wheeler (schooner), 175
C. H. Richardson (schooner), 175
C. L. Marie (sloop), 176
Cabell, Frederick M., *elected,* 91
Cabell, Joseph Carrington, 308-309
Cadwalader, Thomas F., 92
Cadzow, Donald A., 1, 8
Caile, John, 335
Cain, Mary Clough, *The Historical Development of State Normal Schools for White Teachers in Maryland,* reviewed, 349-350
Calendar of the General Otho Holland Williams Papers in the Maryland Historical Society, reviewed, 79-80
Calhoun, James, 145
Callister, Henry, 188, 189
Calvert, Gov. Benedict Leonard, 282
Calvert, Charles Benedict, 386, 387, 389, 391
Calvert County, 243, 247
Cameron, Simon, 153
Camp Bradford, Baltimore, 22
Camp Carroll, Baltimore, 22
Campbell, Miss ——, 51
Campbell, Alexander, 450
Campbell, Mrs. Andre, 51
Campbell, Archie, 52
Campbell, Elizabeth, 326
Campbell, Emma (Patterson), 50 ff.
Campbell, Mrs. Harry Guy, *elected,* 456
Campbell, Killis, 376
Campbell, Matilda, 51
Campbell, Maj. William, 361
Campbellites, 450
Carey, Margaret C., 350
Carey, Mrs. Thompson, 52
Caroline Skinner (schooner), 174, 177
Carpenter, Mr. ——, 291
Carpenter, William H., 159, 161
Carradora (schooner), 175
Carrie Marie (sloop), 176
Carrie Sadler (bugeye), 175
Carroll Family, 127, 138
Carroll, Widow ——, 425
Carroll, Mrs. Ann, 343, 344
Carroll, Charles, Barrister, 282, 297, 433
Carroll, Charles, Barrister, Letters of, 71-73, 336-344
Carroll, Charles, of Carrollton, 433
Carroll, Dr. Charles, 299
Carroll, Harry C., 452
Carroll, Henry, 282
Carroll, Nicholas Maccubin, 433
Carroll County, 255
Carter, Edward F., 161, 162
Carter, Robert ("King"), 228-229, 351
"Carter Hall," Va., 352
Cary, John, 189
Casler, Dr. DeWitt B., *elected,* 455

Cassidy, Frank, 175
Catholic Mirror, 162, 164
Catholics, 244
Catholische Volkzeitung, 167
The Caucasian, 166
Caughron, Edith S. (Mrs. G. L.), 89, 234
Cave, Edward, 291
" Caveto " (pseudonym), 140, 141
Cecil County, 243, 251, 255
Ceely, Emanuel, 217, 218
Ceely, Sarah (Mrs. Emanuel), 217
Centennial History of the South Carolina Railroad, 231
" Chamber's Adventure," 333
Chamberlaine, Henrietta Maria (Robins), Mrs. James Lloyd, 328, 330
Chamberlaine, James Lloyd, 328
Chamberlaine, Susannah (Robins), Mrs. Thomas, 328, 331
Chamberlaine, Thomas, 328
Chamberlayne, C. G., ed., *The Vestry Book of St. Paul's Parish,* Hanover Co., Va., 231
Chambers, Ezekiel F., 392
Champion (pungy), 174
Chapelle, Howard I., 171
Chapman, Mrs. Doctor, 52
Chappell Family, 95
Chappell, John George, 420
Chappell, Rebecca Maria (Pitt), Mrs. John George, 420
Chappell, William Pitt, 420
Charles (sloop), 317
Charles County, 243, 247
Charles Gibson (schooner), 176
" Charles' Gift," 100
Charles Willey (schooner), 175
Charleston Courier, 268, 270
Charlotte (schooner), 176
Charlotte (steamer), 225
Chase, Richard, 288-289
Chase, Judge Samuel, 141, 146, 148, 248, 283, 433
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 187
Chesapeake (log canoe), 180-181
Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, 257, 390
Chesapeake Bay Yacht Club, Easton, 178
Chesnut, Mrs. W. Calvin, 455
Chesterfield (schooner), 175
Chew Family, 95
C. H. Fields (schooner), 176
Childs, St. Julien Ravenel, 228
Chinard, Gilbert, ed., *George Washington as the French Knew Him,* reviewed, 83
Chinard, Gilbert, ed., *Vashington, ou la Liberté du Nouveau Monde,* reviewed, 351-352
Chrisman, Alta R., 89
Christ Church, Philadelphia, 186
Cincinnati, Society of the, 203, 447-448
Cincinnatus (vessel), 359
City Guard Armory, Baltimore, 22
Claggett, Henry, 5, 7
Claggett, Bishop Thomas John, 199
Claiborne, Mrs. Mary R., 95
Clara N. Leonard (schooner), 176
Clark, Anna E. B., 238
CLARK, CHARLES BRANCH, *Politics in Maryland During the Civil War,* 239-262, 381-393
Clark, Charles Branch, 356
Clark, Robert T., Jr., 418
Clark, George Rogers, 79
Clarke, Carl, 93
Clarke County Historical Association, 352
Claude, Abraham, 431, 432
Claude (schooner), 176
Clemm, Mrs. Maria, 364, 366, 367, 369, 370, 372 *ff.*
Cleveland, Pres. Grover, 61, 230
Cleveland, Richard Folsom, 93
Clow, Cheney, 226
Coale, Skipworth, 45, 46
Cockey, Captain, 72, 73
Cockey, Melchoir, 279
Coffee House, Annapolis, 145
Cohn, Doris Maslin (Mrs. E. Hermann), 236
COHN, DORIS MASLIN, ed., *The Haynie Letters,* 202-214
Coker, Daniel, 355
Colburn, A. V., 155
Cold Harbor, Battle of, 163
Coles, Lenard, 219
Colgan, Edward J., Jr., *elected,* 91
Collett Family, 95
Collett, John D., 95
Collier, John, 217
Collins, Mrs. Richard H., 236
Collins, Stephen R., *elected,* 455
Colonial and Revolutionary Lineages of America, 95
Columbia Academy, New York, 302
Commodore (bugeye), 176
Concordia Society, 415-416
THE CONFEDERATE RAID ON CUMBERLAND IN 1865, by Basil William Spalding, 33-38
Conrad, Mrs. Robert Y., *elected,* 455
Constable, George W., 92
Constitution (U. S. S.), 86, 235
Constitutional Post Office, 139
CONTROL OF THE BALTIMORE PRESS DURING THE CIVIL WAR, by Sidney T. Matthews, 150-170
" The Controversy," 332
Cook, Jane James, 92

Cooke, William, 282
Cooledge, Mr. ——, 55
Coonan, Edward V., 364, 376
Cooper, Mary, 322
Cooper, Thomas, 322
Cora (catboat), 178
Cordell, Eugene F., 203, 407
Corner, Mary Cromwell, 77-78
Corner, Thomas Cromwell, 61
Corrigan, Archbishop Michael A., 57
Corsica (schooner), 176
Cortan, Franz Hubert, 412
Coster, Laurens, 194
"Cottingham," 335
Couden, Robert, 336
Council of Safety, 142
The County Herald, Towson, 275
Courtney, Capt. James A., 22, 30, 32
Covington, Sid, 178
Cox, Mrs. Merle Leroy, *elected,* 456
Coxen, Captain Adam, 72, 336
Cradock Family, 95
Cradock, Katherine, 95
Crain, Miss Matt, 56
"Crams Delight," 333
Crane, William Bowers, 100, 236, 357
Cranwell, John Philips, 100, 171-177, 236
Craven, Avery Odelle, 244
Crawford, William H., 302
Craycroft, T. Veazey, *elected,* 91
Creagh, Mr. ——, 424
Creecy, John Harvie, 95
Creswell, John A. J., 248
Cripps, George, 176
Crisfield, John Woodland, 384 *ff.*
Cronise Family, 96
Crook, Gen. George, 36
Crooks, Esther, 264
Crooks, Ruth W., 264
"Crosiadore," 325
Crouse Family, 398
Crow, Mr. ——, 205
Crowl, Philip A., 83
Crowley, John W., 171
Crown and Dial, Sign of, Annapolis, 424
Cullen, James, 219
Cullen, Vincent, *elected,* 456
Culpepper Observer (Va.), 273
Culver, Francis Barnum, 80, 448
Cumberland, 33 *ff.,* 257
Cunz, Dieter, 415, 454
CUNZ, DIETER, *The Maryland Germans in the Civil War,* 394-419
Curling, Captain ——, 70, 336, 337
Curtis (bugeye), 175
Cushing, Dr. Harvey, 440
Custis, Elizabeth Parke, *see* Law, Elizabeth Parke (Custis).
Cygnet (schooner), 176
Cynthia (bugeye), 172, 175

The Daily Exchange, Baltimore, 150 *ff.*
The Daily Gazette, Baltimore, 150, 159, 161, 162, 166, 167
The Daily Republican, Baltimore, 150, 152, 153, 159, 160, 161 *fn.*
Daisy (log canoe), 179
Dalby, Thomas, 215, 217
D'Alesandro, Thomas, *elected,* 456
Dalrymple, Rev. Edwin A., 236
Dan (bateau), 176
Dandridge, Anne Spotswood, 315, 331, 356
Darlington, 40
Dashaway, B. B., 178
Dashaway (log canoe), 178, 179
Dashiell, Col. Josh., 209
David Glasgow Farragut, Admiral in the Making, by Charles Lee Lewis, *reviewed,* 346-347
Davidson, W. F., *elected,* 90
Davis, Mr. ——, 51
Davis, Ann, 322
Davis, Mrs. Eleanor McParlin, 425 *ff.*
Davis, Henry Winter, 382 *ff.,* 405
Davison, Carolina V., 10
Davol, Ralph, 266
Dawes, Betty Baker, 89
Dawes, Joseph, 89
Dawes, Margaret (Parrott), 89
Dawes, Theodore, 89
Dawes, William, 89
Dawson, Doyne, 354
Dawson, Elizabeth, 354
Dawson, Elizabeth (Thompson), 354
Dawson, Impy, 172
Dawson, John, 354
Dawson, Ruth (Howard), Mrs. Doyne, 354
Dawson, Thomas, 173, 175, 176, 354
Deane, William, 217, 218
Dearborn, Mrs. Frederick M., 455
DeBow's Review, 256, 259
Decatur, Commodore Stephen, 88
Dechert, Daniel, 398
deCorse, Helen Campbell, *elected,* 456
Deer Creek (Friends) Meeting, 41, 47
DeFoe, Daniel, 196
Dehoff, Eliza, 355
Delaplaine, Judge Edward S., 223
Delaware, 239, 254, 256
Delaware (ship-of-the-line), 235
The Delaware Loyalists, by Harold Bell Hancock, *reviewed,* 226
Delight (schooner), 176
Dellinger, Henry, 397
Delta (schooner), 176
Demondidier, Martha, 216

Demondidier (Demondideer), Anthony, 215, 216
DeMoss Family, 88
DeMoss, John, Jr., 88
DeMoss, John, Sr., 88
DeMoss, Margaret Celinda (Kennedy), 89
DeMoss, Dr. Morton, 89
Denmead Street, Baltimore, 231-232
Der Deutsche Correspondent, 403 *ff.*
Devereux, Gen., 19 *ff.*
Dickey, B., 209
Dickinson, Charles, 88, 326
Dickinson, John, 325, 327, *elected,* 456
Dickinson, Judith (Troth), Mrs. Samuel, 325
Dickinson, Gen. Philemon, 325
Dickinson, Samuel, 325
Didier, Eugene L., 376, 378
Dielman, Louis H., 92, 96, 238
Dimick, J., 155
Dimmock, W. C., 232
District of Columbia, 240, 242, 254
Dix, Gen. John A., 152 ff.
Dobbs, Arthur, Esq., 193
Dobson, Jesse, 174
Dodds, Mrs. Solon A., *elected,* 237
Dodson, R. A., 175, 179
Dole, Esther Mohr, *Maryland during the American Revolution,* reviewed, 223-224
Dole, Esther Mohr, 83
Donaldson, Samuel Johnston, 95
Donovan, Jack, 279
Dorsey, A. W., 434
Dorsey, Edward, the Immigrant, 95
Dorsey, Joshua, 95
Dorsey, Vernon M., 95
"Doughoregan Manor," 452-453
Douglas, Mrs., 14
Douglas, George A., 399
Douglas Harrison (log canoe), 173, 174
Douse, Edward, 217, 218
Douse, Elizabeth (Mrs. Edward), 217
Dowce, Edward, 219
Downs, Francis, 216
Doyle, Rev. A. P., 57
Drew, Anthony, 215
Ducatel, ——, 12
Duffy, Henry, 92
Dugan, Frank Markoe, *elected,* 238
Duke, Levi, 175
Duke, Rev. William, 195-199, 301
Dukehart, Morton McIlvain, 96
Dukehart, Morton McIlvain, *Dukehart and Collateral Lines,* 231
Dukehart, Valerius, Family, 96
Dulany Family, 95
Dulany, Daniel, 76, 282
Dulany, Daniel, the Younger, 76, 130, 282
Dulany, Lloyd, 282
Dulany, Walter, 189
Dulany Papers, 189
Duncan, A. E., *elected,* 456
Dunham, Ann (Howard), Mrs. Nathan, 354
Dunham, John, 354
Dunham, Nathan, I, 354
Dunham, Nathan, II, 354
Dunlap, Mrs. T., 52
DuPonceau, Peter Stephen, 309
Duvall, Gabriel, 147

"Eagleton," Charles Co., 234
Ebert, John, 203
"Ebinezers Park," 217
Eccleston, ——, 341
Eckenrode, H. J., 266
Eddis, William, 281
Eden, Sarah (Wells), 235
Eden, William, 235
Edgar, Thomas, 174
Edgar Allan Poe Letters and Documents in the Enoch Pratt Free Library, ed. by Arthur H. Quinn and Richard H. Hart, *reviewed,* 350
Edgar Allan Poe Society, 363, 364, 366, 375
Edmondson, William, 326
"Edmondson's Addition," 326
Edmunds, James R., Jr. *elected,* 237
"Edmundson's Desire," 317
Edna E. Lockwood (schooner), 176
Edward's Ferry Road, 32
Effee Estelle (schooner), 175
Egerton Family, 96
Egerton, Stuart, 96
Eglinton Castle, Scotland, 269, 270, 272
Eglinton, Lord, 270, 272
Eichelberger, Mrs. Harry L., 364, 370, 371
Eleanor (sloop), 176
Elgin, Francis, Jr., 355
Elgin, Francis, Sr., 355
Elgin, Gustavus, 355
Elgin, Walter, 355
Eliot, S. A., 303
Elisha (schooner), 176
ELIZA GODEFROY: DESTINY'S FOOTBALL, by William D. Hoyt, Jr., 10-21
Ella Cripps (schooner), 176
Ellicott's Mills, 31
Elliott, Crystall, 232
Ellis, James, 219
Elmer C. (sloop), 176
Elsie (schooner), 176
Emily (sloop), 176
Emma Eleonora (schooner), 175

Emma Faulkner (bugeye), 176
Emma Wills (schooner), 175
Engelbrecht, Jacob, 399
Englar, Preston, 95
Engle, Mrs. Kline d'Aurandt, *elected,* 238
"The Enlargement," 215
Enloes, Hendricke, 218
Enloes, Henry, Jr., 218
Ennalls, Bartholomew, 325
Ennalls, Elizabeth Greenbury (Goldsborough), Mrs. William, 325, 326
Ennalls, Joseph, 325
Ennalls, Mary (Brooke), Mrs. Joseph, 325
Ennalls, William, 325, 326
Enoch Pratt Free Library, 95
The Enquirer, Cincinnati, 166
Erie (U. S. S.), 347
Essex (U. S. S.), 346
Estelle (schooner), 175
Ethel (sloop), 176
Ethel E. (sloop), 176
Evans, Rev. Evan, 186
Evans, Hugh Davey, 250
Evans, Bessie, 454
Evans, May Garrettson, 454
EVANS, MAY GARRETTSON, *Poe in Amity Street,* 363-380.
Evening Bulletin, Baltimore, 150, 164
Evening Loyalist, Baltimore, 150, 165
Evening Post, Baltimore, 150, 164, 165
Evening Sentinel, Alexandria, Va., 275
Evening Transcript, Baltimore, 150, 162, 163
"Evergreen," Talbot Co., 329
Ewing, Mrs. ——, 52
The Express, New York, 166

Die Fackel, Baltimore, 245
Fallen Timbers, Battle of, 449
Fanny Lowrey (schooner), 176
Faris Family, 95, 420-439
Faris, Charles, 431
Faris, Hyram, 431.
Faris, Martin B., 426, 430, 435
Faris, Priscilla (Woodward), Mrs. William, 426, 428, 432, 438
Faris, William, 420-439
Faris, William, Jr., 431, 437
Faris, William, of London, 421
Farmers Friend (schooner), 174
Farragut, Admiral David G., 346, 347
Fassitt, Miss ——, 51
Father Tabb, Poet, Priest, Soldier, Wit by Gordon Blair, *reviewed,* 225-226
Faulkner, Joseph, 173, 175, 176
"Fellowship," 453
Fendall Family, 95
Fendall, Mary G., 95
Fenhagen, George Corner, 92, 93, 364
Ferguson, Alice L. L., 2, 90
FERGUSON, ALICE L. L., *The Susquehannock Fort on Piscataway Creek,* 1-9
Ferguson, Alice L. L., *Adventures in Southern Maryland,* reviewed, 229
"Fernwood," 278
Ferrar Family, 95
Fiery, Mr. ——, 398
Fifth Regiment of Maryland Volunteers, U. S. A., 413
Finney, J. M. T., *A Surgeon's Life,* reviewed, 83-85
First Maryland Cavalry, C. S. A., 414
First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, 422
Fish, Colonel William T., 161, 162, 166
Fisher, Richard S., 245
Fite, Jacob, 443
Flexner, Simon, and Flexner, James Thomas, *William Henry Welch and the Heroic Age of American Medicine,* reviewed, 440-441
Flint, Dr. Austin, 441
Florida, 239, 254
Flower, Henry, 423
Flying Cloud (log canoe), 182
Fooks, Joseph, 326
Footner, Hulbert, 100, 347, 357
The Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard, by Charles Callan Tansill, *reviewed,* 230-231
"Forest," Saltpeter Creek, 217
"The Forest," Amelia Co., Va., 225
Forman, Henry Chandlee, 90, 95, 455
FORMAN, HENRY CHANDLEE, *The Narrative of Colonel James Rigbie,* 39-49
Forrest, Clarence H., 364, 368
Fort Garrison, 40
Fort Lafayette, 155
Fort McHenry, 153
Fort Monroe, 155
Fort Warren, 155
Fort Washington, 2, 4
Fort Worthington, 32
Forty-Eighters, 395, 396, 400
Foster, James W., 98, 100, 229
Fothergill, Gerald, 186
"Four Square," 332 *ff.*
Fourteen Months in American Bastilles, 162
Fowler, Laurence Hall, 92
"Fox Harbor," 320
Frank Bateman (schooner), 175
Franklin, Benjamin, 127
Frasure, Carl M., 254, 257, 258, 260
Frazer, Grace Carvil, *elected,* 456
Frazer, J. C. W., 230
Frederick, 132, 397 *ff.*

Frederick County, 246, 251, 255, 400, 417
Frederick County, Va., 352
Freedmen's Bureau, 406
Freeman, William H., 373
"Freindshipp," 219
French, Captain E. W., 159
French, John C., 350, 351, 366
French and Indian War, 130, 137
Frey, Marshal Jacob, 279
Frick, R. Denison, 94
Friedenwald, Dr. Julius, 455
Fritchie, Barbara, 398
Fuller, Easter (Mrs. John), 218
Fuller, John, of Middle River, 218
Fuller, John, Jr., 218
Fuller, John, Sr., of Gunpowder R., 218
Fulton, Charles C., 158

Gadsby, John, 219
Galbraith, Captain William, 144, 145
"Galiarbe," 217
Gallion, Joseph, 217
Galloway Family, 95
Galloway, Samuel, 146
Galt, Mr. ——, 377
Gambrill, John Montgomery, 250
Gardiner, Dr. Norman Bentley, 238
Gardner Family, 332
Gardner, Captain ——, 412
Garnett, George, 286-288
Garrett, Elizabeth (Stouffer), Mrs. Robert, 453
Garrett, John Work, 92, 456
Garrett, Mrs. Johnson, 456
Garrett, Robert, 453
Garrett County Historical Society, 232
Garrison, Mrs., 52
Gaskaratts, Rev. John, 186
Gassaway, Misses, 438
Gaston Family, 95
Gay Family, 95
General Washington's Correspondence concerning the Society of the Cincinnati, ed. by Edgar Erskine Hume, *reviewed,* 447-448
Gentleman's Magazine, 291
George's Pond, 216
George Washington as the French Knew Him; a Collection of Texts, Gilbert Chinard, ed., *reviewed,* 83
Georgia, 239, 254
Georgetown, D. C., 210, 257
Germania Club, Baltimore, 415
Germans, 241 *ff.*, 394-419
Getman, Frederick H., *The Life of Ira Remsen,* reviewed, 229-230
Gibson Family, 95
Gibson, E. B., 297
Gilder, Richard Watson, 59
Gildersleeve, Basil Lanneau, 54, 61
Gill, Stephen, Jr., 216
Gill, Stephen, Sr., 216
Gill, William F., 376
Gillingham, Harold E., 95
Gilman, Daniel Coit, 54, 55, 226, 441
Gilmor, Robert, 268
Gilmor, Robert, II, 268
Gilmor, William, Jr., 269, 452
Gilmor, William, Sr., 269
Gipsy (skipjack), 176
Gist Family, 96
Gist, Brig. Gen. Mordecai, 448
Gittings, D. Sterett, 356
GITTINGS, D. STERETT, *Recollections of Brooklandwood Tournaments,* 278-280
Gittings, Hamilton, 279
"Glen Ellen," 269
Glenn, W. W., 154, 155
Goddard, Mary Katherine, 139, 141, 144, 145
Goddard, William, 139-149
Godefroy, Eliza, 10-21, 307
Godefroy, Maximilian, 10 *ff.*
Godine, Leonard V., *elected,* 238
Greenberry, Ann (Mrs. Nicholas), 319
Goldsborough, Ann Maria, 344
Goldsborough, Ann (Turbott), Mrs. John, 332
Goldsborough, Caroline, 330, 335
Goldsborough, Charles, 319, 322-327
Goldsborough, Gov. Charles, 325
Goldsborough, Elizabeth, 326, 328
Goldsborough, Elizabeth (Dickinson), Mrs. Charles, 325
Goldsborough, Elizabeth (Ennalls), Mrs. Charles, 325
Goldsborough, Elizabeth (Greenberry), Mrs. Nicholas, 316 ff.
Goldsborough, Elizabeth (Robins), Mrs. William, 327, 328, 330
Goldsborough, Greenberry, 328 *ff.*, 334
Goldsborough, Henrietta Maria, 328, 334
Goldsborough, Henrietta Maria (Tilghman), Mrs. William, 328, 330
Goldsborough, Judge Henry Hollyday, 332
Goldsborough, Howes, 319, 321, 334-335
Goldsborough, Jane (Spencer) Banning, Mrs. Nicholas, Jr., 322
Goldsborough, John, 319, 324, 327, 332-335
Goldsborough, Judith, 316
Goldsborough, Admiral Louis, 332
Goldsborough, Margaret (Howes), Mrs. Nicholas, 316, 317
Goldsborough, Mary Ann Turbott, 321
Goldsborough, Mary Ann (Turbott) Robins, Mrs. Robert, 321

Goldsborough, Mary Brice, 334
Goldsborough, Nicholas, 315-317, 321-322
Goldsborough, Rebecca, 326
Goldsborough, Robert, 282, 316-323, 332, 334
Goldsborough, Dr. Robert, 332
Goldsborough, Sarah, 326
Goldsborough, Sarah (Nicols), Mrs. Robert, 320
Goldsborough, Sarah (Yerbury), Mrs. Robert, 325
Goldsborough, W. W., 414
Goldsborough, William, 319, 321, 324, 327-334
Goldsborough, William Tilghman, 317
Goldsborough's Company, Talbot Co. Militia, 88
"Goldsborough's Range," 330
Goldsmith (Gouldsmith), George, 216 *ff.*
Goldsmith, Martha (Mrs. George), 215
Good Egg (log canoe), 173
Goodall, G. W., 177
Gordon, Elizabeth S., *elected,* 238
Gorgas, Jacob, 235
Gorgas, Sophia (Atkinson), 235
Gorsuch, Charles, 216
Gorsuch, Sarah (Mrs. Charles), 216
The Government of Montgomery County, Maryland, reviewed, 347-348
Gracie (bugeye), 176
Grady, Henry W., 63, 64
Grafflin, George W., 220
GRAFFLIN, LAURA JANE (HOOPER), *A Letter from the Springs,* 220-222.
Graham, Boyd Billingslea, 455
Graham, Charles, 145
Gray, Laurie, *elected,* 456
Great Falls of the Potomac, 2
Greeley, Horace, 248
Green, Mrs. ——, 438
Green Brothers, 175
Green, Ernest, *elected,* 456
Green, Fletcher Melvin, 245
Green, Harry Bennett, 94-95
Green, Mrs. Harry Bennett, 94
Green, Jonas, 188-189
Green, William, 175
"Green Park," Charles County, 33
Greenberry, Nicholas, 319
Greene, Charles, 218
Greeneville, Treaty of, 449
Greenfield, Kent Roberts, 92
Greeniff, James, 217
Greenway Family, 95
Greenway, Elizabeth W., 94, 95
Greenway, Robert, 423-424
Greffe, Chevalier de, 306
Greif, Mrs. Leonard L., *elected,* 90
Grenville, Lord George, 359, 362
Griffin, John, 174
Griffith, Henry, 73
Grigg, John, 266
Griswold, Benjamin Howell, Jr., 93, 100, 238
Griswold, Rufus W., 351
Gross, Roger, 317
Gross, Roger, Jr., 317
Gross, William, 317
Grove, Katharine Nichols, 95
"Grundy's Addition," Talbot Co., 322
Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Historical Society of Pennsylvaina, reviewed, 354
Gunby, Dr. George, 234
Gunill, George, 217
Guthrie, James, 255
Guy, Francis, 93
Gwyn, Richard, 219

Hagerstown, 132, 397 *ff.*
Hagerstown Mail, 398
Hall Family, 95
Hall, Edward, 265
Hall, Dr. Frederick, 302
Hall, Jasper, 431
Hall, John, 215, 218
Hall, Joseph, 371
Hall, Thomas W., 153 *ff.*
Hall of Records, Annapolis, 95
"Hall's Neck," 322
Hamil, Stephen, 355
Hamilton, Captain, 73, 342 *ff.*
Hamilton, Alexander, 88
Hamilton, Alex. (merchant), 422
Hamilton, Dr. Alexander, 127, 298, 299
Hamilton, Samuel, 211
Hamilton, William T., 390
Hamlin, Mrs. Josephine Nelson, 93
Hammond Family, Talbott Co., 332
Hammond, Mr. ——, 433
Hammond, Edward Cuyler, *elected,* 456
Hammond, George, 359, 362
Hammond, John, 282
The Hammond-Harwood House and Its Owners, by Rosamond Randall Beirne and Edith Rossiter Bevan, *reviewed,* 348
"Hampton," Baltimore Co., 451-452
Hanbury, John, 329
Hancock, Harold Bell, *The Delaware Loyalists,* reviewed, 226
Handy, Mr. ——, 207
Hanrick, Captain ——, 336
Hansley, Edmond, 217, 218
Hanson, Nannie, 94
Hanzshe, Mrs. ——, 23
"Harbourrough," 217
"Hard Bargain," Charles Co., 229

"Hard Bargain," Prince George's Co., 229
Hardwick, S. W., 88
Harford County, 255
Harlan, Judge Henry D., 91, 237
Harllee, Col. William C., 95
Harman Family, 96
Harman, William Gray, 22, 96
Harned, Dr. Joseph E., 232
Harper, Mrs. Anna Ellis, *elected,* 456
Harper, J. C., 178, 179
Harper's Ferry, 411
Harris Family, 95
Harris, Aunt, 52
Harris, Benjamin Gwinn, 386, 387, 389
Harris, Isaac L., 95
Harris, Captain J., 175
Harris, Joseph, 175
Harris, Matthias, 292-297
Harris, Paul, *elected,* 237
Harris, William Hall, Jr., 92
Harris, Mrs. William Hall, Jr., *elected,* 91
Harris, William T., 62, 63
Harris Landing, 40
Harrison, George, 92
Harrison, James A., 376
Harrison, Joe, 175
Harrison, John, 216
Harrison, John B., 178, 182
Harrison, Samuel, 44, 173, 174
Harrison, Samuel A., 318
Harrison, Sarah, 44
Harrison, Col. T. K., 233
Harry, James Warner, 246, 247
Hart, Mr. ——, 53
Hart, Mary (Howard), 355
Hart, Richard H., 379
Hart, Richard H., Arthur H. Quinn and, editors, *Edgar Allan Poe Letters,* reviewed, 350
Hart, William, 355
Harvard College Library, 303
Harvard Medical School, 84
Harvey Family, 95
Harvie Family, 95
Harwood, Robert, 331
Hathway, John, 217, 218
Hattie Estelle (schooner), 175
Hauer, Catherine (Zeiler), Mrs. Nicholas, 398
Hauer, Nicholas, 398
Havre de Grace, 257
Hay, John, 240
Haydon, F. Stansbury, *Aeronautics in the Union and Confederate Armies,* reviewed, 224-225
Hayes, President Rutherford B., 37
"Haylands," 321.
Haynes, Lieut. Col. ——, 164
Haynie, Betsy B., 202
Haynie, Betsy (Bayly), Mrs. Ezekiel, 202, 208, 211
Haynie, Charlotte, 202
Haynie, Esme B., 202, 213
Haynie, Dr. Ezekiel, 202-214
Haynie, Henrietta B., 202
Haynie, James Warfield, 202
Haynie, Judith (James), Mrs. Samuel, 202
Haynie, Leah Byrd, 202
Haynie, Leah (Byrd), Mrs. Richard, 202
Haynie, Martin Luther, 202
Haynie, Dr. Martin Luther, 202 *ff.*
Haynie, Mary, 202
Haynie, Richard, 202, 206, 207
Haynie, Richard Hampden, 202
Haynie, Samuel, 202
Haynie, Samuel, Jr., 202, 206
Haynie, Sarah (Ball), Mrs. Richard, 202
THE HAYNIE LETTERS, edited by Doris Maslin Cohn, 202-214
Hayward, Margaret (Robins), Mrs. William, 328, 330
Hayward, William, 328
Hazzard (ship), 336
Hedian, P. J., 162
Hedge, Thomas, 215 *ff.*
Heffner, Albertus, 355
Heffner, Maria Catherina (Konig), Mrs. Albertus, 355
Heiser, Mrs. Elinor S., 416
Hellman, Christian, 372
Hemsley, Philemon, 282
Henderson, Louisa (Patterson), Mrs. Robert R., 50
Hennisee, Captain, 22
Henry Family, 332
Henry, Daniel M., 384 *ff.*
Henry, Patrick, 79, 357
Henry, Rider, 211
Henry, Robert Goldsborough, 316
Henry, Roberta Bolling (Mrs. Robert G.), 315, 356
Hensley, Edmond, 218
Herald and Torchlight, Hagerstown, 398
Herriott, Frank I., 408
Hesselius, John, 77, 423
Hesselius, Gustavus, 77
Hewett, Dr., 90
Hicks, Gov. Thomas H., 240, 253, 257, 262, 381, 382, 399, 400, 403
Hilken, Henry G., 415
Hill, Bancroft, *elected,* 91
Hill, Mrs. Eben C., *elected,* 237
Hill, Gen. John Philip, 91, 92, 455
Hill, Norman A., *elected,* 91
Hindman, Jacob, 331
Hiss, Hanson, 264, 269, 270, 274
The Historical Development of State

Normal Schools for White Teachers in Maryland, by Mary Clough Cain, *reviewed,* 349-350
Historical Society of Carroll County, 233
Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 354
Hite Family, 353
Hobbs, Mrs. Andrew Jackson, 95
Hodges, Margaret Robert, 95
Hoffman Family, 96
Hoffman, Miss ——, 222
Hoffman, Henry W., 409
Hoffman, S. Owings, 220, 222
Hoffman, Mrs. S. Owings, 220, 222
" Hogg Neck," 215
Holland, C. D., 40
Holliday, J., 48
Holliday, Dr. Robert, 299-300
Holloway, Mrs. Reuben Ross, 90
Hollyday, Ann Maria (Robins), Mrs. Henry, 328, 330
Hollyday, Henry, 328
Hollyday, James, 282
Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, 226
Holmes, John, 51
Hooker, Richard, 187
Hooper, James A., 220, 222
Hooper, William, 220
Hooper, William E., 220
Hooper & Hardester, 220, 221
Hoopes, M. Ella, 95, 455
" The Hope," Baltimore Co., 216
Hopkins, Benjamin Burton, 234
Hopkins, G. M., 232
Hopkins, Mary King (Handy) Gunby (Mrs. Benj. B.), 234
Hopkins, Roger Brooke, Jr., 92
Hopper Family, 95
Hopper, Charles Cox, 95
Hoppin, Charles A., 4
Horatio Seymour (pungy), 175
Horner, Mrs. Dr., 52
Horney, Joseph, 175
Horsey, Mrs. Nellie, 211
House of Delegates, 139, 141, 142, 144 *ff.*
Howard, Charles, 452
Howard, Charles McHenry, 92
Howard, Cornelius, 354
Howard, Enoch, 355
Howard, Frank Key, 153 *ff.*
Howard, George, 452
Howard, John, 354, 355
Howard, John Duvall, 455
Howard, John E., of James, 452
Howard, Joshua, 354, 355
Howard, Mary G., 85, 450
Howard, William Key, 453
Howard County, 251, 255
Howe, Gen. Lord William, 140, 143, 265
Howell, Thomas, 327
Howes, Abraham, 316
Howes, William, 316
Howland, Judge, 64, 65
Hoye, Capt. Charles E., 232
Hoyt, William D., Jr., 80, 90, 353, 356, 451
HOYT, WILLIAM D., JR., *Eliza Godefroy, Destiny's Football,* 10-21
HOYT, WILLIAM D., JR., *The Warden Papers,* 302-314
Hrdlicka, Ales, 9
Huffer, Hannah (Miller), 89
Huffer, Joseph, 89
Hughlett Family, 96
Humboldt, Alexander, Baron von, 313
Hume, Edgar Erskine, *General Washington's Correspondence concerning the Society of the Cincinnati,* reviewed, 447-448
The Hundred Year History of the German Correspondent, by Edmund E. Miller, 354
Hurja, Emil, *elected,* 456
Hutchinson, Miss ——, 56
Hyde, Samuel, 329
Hyson, Raymond S., 233

I. L. Adkins (schooner), 177
Ida (pungy), 175
Ida (schooner), 176
Idleman, Finis S., *Peter Ainslie, Ambassador of Good Will,* reviewed, 450
Independence (U. S. S.), 347
An Index of the Source Records of Maryland, Genealogical, Biographical, Historical by Eleanor Phillips Passano, *reviewed,* 80
Indians, Algonkin, 5, 8
Indians, Choptico, 3
Indians, Iroquois, 1, 2, 6
Indians, Mattawoman, 3
Indians, Nanjemoy, 3
Indians, Piscataway, 2, 3
Indians, Pomonkey, 3
Indians, Seneca, 3
Indians, Susquehannock, 1 *ff.*, 79
Ingersoll, William Belt, *elected,* 238
Ingle, William, 92
Ingram, John H., 378, 379
Inlow(Inlows, Enlow, Enlows), Henry, 234
Inlow, *see also* Enloes
Inns of Court, London, 281-282
Inventories of Estates, 188, 191, 194, 288
Inventory of the Church Archives of Maryland. Protestant Episcopal: Diocese of Maryland, reviewed, 353
Irish, 241 *ff.*

Irvine, Mary (Leiper), 52
Irving, Mr. ——, 210
Irving, Washington, 266
Irwin Family, 234
Irwin, Frances Houston, 234
Irwin, John, 234
Irwin, Mary (Welsh), 234
Isabella (ship), 72, 336
Itinerant (schooner), 174
Ivanhoe, by Walter Scott, 263, 266, 267
Ives, Mrs. Charles P., *elected,* 91

Jackson, Mrs. ——, 14
Jackson, Andrew, 88
Jackson, David K., 376
Jackson, John, 176
Jackson, Dr. John, 300-301
Jacobs Lutheran Churchyard, Washington Co., 355
Jamaica, 128
James, Dr. Ezekiel, 202
James, Kate Francesca (Harman), 22
James, Macgill, 99
James, Mrs. Norman, 95
James, William H., 90
JAMES, WILLIAM H., *A Baltimore Volunteer of 1864,* 22-33
James River, 3
Jamison, Penelope (Westcott), 86
Janeway, Dr. Jacob Jones, 50, 52
Janeway, Thomas, 51
Janeway, Mrs. Thomas, 52
Janeway, William, 52
Jay, John, 358, 361, 362
Jeanette (schooner), 176
Jefferson, Thomas, 79, 130, 307-308
Jeffray, Dr. James, 305
Jeffery, Mrs. Elmore B., 95
Jencks, Francis M., 226
Jenings, Thomas, 433
Jenkins, Michael Oswald, *elected,* 238
Jenkins, Ruth Lord, 272
Jenkins, Mrs. T. Courtenay, 95
Jensen, Merrill, *The Articles of Confederation,* reviewed, 82-83
Jerome Family, 95
Jewell, John W., 173, 176
"Job's Content," 316
John D. (log canoe), 182
John E. Bright (schooner), 175
John Wethered (schooner), 175
Johns, Elizabeth (Kinsey), Mrs. Richard, 219
Johns, Richard, 219
Johns Hopkins Hospital, 84, 100, 441
Johns Hopkins University, 54, 56
Johnson Family, 138
Johnson, Pres. Andrew, 413
Johnson, Elizabeth (Hesselius), Mrs. Thomas J., 437
Johnson, Capt. Henry, 216 *ff.*
Johnson, Janet Bassett, 226
Johnson, John, 72, 142
Johnson, Joseph C., *elected,* 91
Johnson, Reverdy, 164
Johnson, Gov. Thomas, Jr., 139, 145, 147 *ff.*, 297, 437
Johnson, Thomas Jenings, 437
Johnston, Jemmima (Meek) Howard, 354
Johnston, Rev. Lucian, 67
Johnston, Mable Kline, 454
Johnston, Mary Frances (Mansfield), Mrs. Richard Malcolm, 59, 65 *ff.*
Johnston, Richard Malcolm, 54-69, 232
Johnston, Ruth, 67, 68
Johnstoun, Captain Robert, 70, 72
Jones, Mr. ——, 212
Jones, A. Carroll, *elected,* 238
Jones, Charles, 176
Jones, E. A., 282
Jones, Griffith, 320
Jones, Rev. Hugh, 128
Jones, John, Family, 95
Jones, Martin W., *elected,* 91
Jones, Nell Dennis, *elected,* 237
Jones, Peter, Family, 95
Jones, Randall, 216
Jones, Thomas, 216
Jos. Faulkner (bugeye), 176
Josephine (bugeye), 175
JOSHUA BARNEY AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, by Bernard Mayo, 357-362
Jowles, Henry, 282
Joyce, John A., 376
Joyce, Stephen H., 159
Judd, Michael, 215, 219
Julia & Annie (pungy), 175
Jump, Giles W., 175, 178, 182
Justice, Mr. ——, 51

Kaessman, Beta, *see* Manakee, Beta K.
Kane, Elisha Kent, 50
Kane, Jane (Leiper), Mrs. John K., 50, 52
Kane, Judge John K., 50
Kansas-Nebraska Act, 392
Kate Hooper (clipper), 220
Kate Tilghman (schooner), 175
Kate Woodall (schooner), 176
Kaufmann, Wilhelm, 395
Keester, George B., Jr., 223
Keidel, George C., 416
Keidel, Herman F., 414
Kelley, General, 36 *ff.*
Kellogg, Mrs. Charles W., *elected,* 91
Kellogg, Dora Zink, 96
Kellum, William H., 91
Kelly, Frederick, 232

Kelly, James Vincent, *elected,* 455
Kelly, Michael J., 162, 164
Kennedy, Anthony, 392, 393
Kennedy, George, 89
Kennedy, John, 89
Kennedy, John P., 259 *ff.*, 357, 393
"Kennedy's Addition," Talbot Co., 333
"Kennedy's Hazard," Talbot Co., 333
Kennerly, Joshua, 323
Kent, Mrs. Frank Richardson, *elected,* 91
Kent County, 247
Kentucky, 239, 254
Ker, Mr. ——, 213
Kerr, John Bozman, 328
Kettell, Thomas Prentice, 254, 255
Kettlewell, Mr., 220 *ff.*
Kettlewell, Mrs. 220 *ff.*
Key, Edmund, 282
Key, Philip Barton, 282
Keyser, H. Irvine, 92
Keyser, Samuel, 226
Keyser, William, 226, 227
Kinfolks, by William C. Harllee, 95
King Family, 95
King, Mr. ——, 205, 212
King, Edward Stevenson, 453
King, Hester B. (Stouffer), Mrs. John, Sr., 453
King, John, Sr., 453
King, R. S., 95
King's Bounty, 186
King's Chapel, Boston, 193
Kingston Academy, New York, 302, 305-306
Kinnamon, William, 175
Kinsey, Paull, 219
Kirby, Thomas, 173, 175 *ff.*
Kirke, John, 323
Klassen, Charles, 373, 374
Kline, Harriett Straeffer, 454
Kline, Peter, 454
Knighton, Thomas, 219
Knott, Edw., 331
Know Nothing Party, 245, 381, 392, 408
Koppelman, Arthur, *elected,* 237
Kopper, John M., *elected,* 456
Krebs, Mrs, Robert Newton, *elected,* 456
Krebs, Mrs Ruth, 456
Kreuzer, C., 167
Kreuzer, J., 167
Krutch, Joseph Wood, 376
Kühn, Justus Engelhardt, 77
Kühne, Mr. ——, 413

Labagh, Rev. Isaac, 305
Labrot, William, *elected,* 455
The Ladies' Garland, 272
Lafayette, Gen. (Marquis de), 41, 313-314
Laird, ——, 204
Lambdin, B. F., 174
Lambdin, George, 172, 175, 178
Lambdin, Robert, 172
LAMBDIN, ROBERT DAWSON, *Ship-building on the Chesapeake: Recollections of Robert Dawson Lambdin,* 171-183
Lambdin, Salley (Horney), 178
Lambdin, Samuel, 172
Lambdin, William, 172
Lambdin, William Neville, 172
Landis Family, 95
Landis, Henry K., 95
Landrum, Grace W., 266
Landstreet, Colonel, 23, 29
Lane, Rebecca Anne (Kennedy), 89
Lane, Samuel, 89
Lang, F., 176
Lang, Frederick, 173
Lanier, Robin S., 171
Lanier, Sidney, 225, 226, 231-232, 276
Lap Wing (schooner), 174
Larkin, Capt. Thomas, 335
Larrimore, Thomas, 175
Larsen, Mrs. Ellouise Baker, *elected,* 238
Lascelles Family, 315
Lathrop, George Parsons, 57
Lathrop, Rose Hawthorne, 57
Latrobe, Benjamin H., 10
Latrobe, Ferdinand C., II, 92
Latrobe, John H. B., 250
Lauvrière, Emile, 376
Law, Eliza, 306
Law, Elizabeth Parke (Custis), 306-307
Law, Thomas, 306
Lawrence, Lieut. Col. Samuel B., 167
Lawrence, Sir Thomas, 282
Lawrence (privateer), 356
Lawson, Alexander, 93, 282
Lawson, Dorothea, 93
Layton, Dr. Alexander H., 171
Leafe, Francis, 216
Leafe, Sarah (Mrs. Francis), 216
Leary, Cornelius Lawrence Ludlow, 383, 384, 389, 391
Lecompte Brothers, 175
LeCompte, Anthony, 454
LeCompte, E. Lee, *elected,* 455
Lee, Gen. Charles, 140, 149
Lee, Gen. Fitzhugh, 35, 38
Lee, Gen. Henry (Light Horse Harry), 89-90
Lee, Philip Thomas, 282
Lee, Richard, 282
Lee, Vernie Dawson (Mrs. Robert E.), 355, 454
Leeds, John, 333
Legg, John Carter, Jr., 95
Legg, Joseph Baker, 95
"Legion" (pseudonym), 141, 142, 144
Leiper, Ann, 51, 52

Leiper, Miss E., 51
Leiper, George, 52
Leiper, Thomas, 50
Lemar (Lemarand). Capt., 211
Leonard, Charles, 176
LeRoy, Abraham, 235
Leroy (schooner), 175
A LETTER FROM THE SPRINGS, by Laura Jane (Hooper) Grafflin, 220-222
Letters of Robert Carter, 1720-1727, edited by Louis B. Wright, *reviewed,* 228-229
Lewis, Captain, 70
Lewis, Mrs. J. Harmon, 95
Lewis, Charles Lee, *David Glasgow Farragut, Admiral in the Making,* reviewed, 346-347
Lewis, Meriwether, 308
Lexington Street, 363, 364, 367 *ff.*
Liberty (Libertytown), Carroll Co., 32
The Life of Ira Remsen, by Frederick H. Getman, *reviewed,* 229-230
THE LIFE OF RICHARD MALCOLM JOHNSTON IN MARYLAND, by Francis Taylor Long, 54-69
Lightfoot, Rebecca (Mrs. Thomas), 217
Lightfoot, Thomas, 216, 217
Lillingston, Rev. John, 184
Lilly, Austin Jenkins, *elected,* 455
Lincoln, Pres. Abraham, 151, 152, 158, 169, 239, 240, 397 *ff.*
Linville, Charles H., 456
Liston, Robert, 362
"Little Pines Farm," Harford Co., 40
"Littleton," Baltimore Co., 217
Littig Family, 96
Lockwood, Elizabeth (Mrs. Robert), 219
Lockwood, Brig. Gen. H. W., 159, 160
Lockwood, Robert, 219
Long, Francis Taylor, 90
LONG, FRANCIS TAYLOR. *The Life of Richard Malcolm Johnston in Maryland,* 54-69
Long, Mary Wilson, 94
Long, Thomas, 218, 219
Long Meadows, by Minnie Hite Moody, *reviewed,* 353
Longworth, David, 267
Lonn, Ella, 396, 404
Loockerman, John, 332
Lottie & Annie (schooner), 176
Louisiana, 239, 254, 256
Love, Rev. Mr. ——, 337
Love, Captain Robert, 70, 72, 336, 337, 341, 343
Lowdermilk, Will H., 33, 390
Lowell, James Russell, 54, 56
Lucas, Fielding, Jr., 100, 368
Lugand, E. P., 67
Lurman, Frances D., *opp.* 263
Lurman, Frances (Donnell), Mrs. Gustavus W., 220
Lurman, Gustavus W., 220, 222, 416
Lux, William, 336, 443
Lynch, Branford Gist (Mrs. M. John), 96, 233
Lynn, Mrs. ——, 53

McCarthy, Howard, Jr., *elected,* 456
McCeney, Mrs. George Patterson, *elected,* 90
McClellan, Gen. George B., 152, 157
McClung, Alexander Keith, 88
McConville, Mary St. Patrick, 243 *ff.*
McCormick, Roberdeau Annan, 90
Maccubin, Nicholas, 282
McDonnell, Bishop (Catholic), 57
McDougal, Dougal, 337
McGaw, Mrs. George K., 304
McGlannan, Mrs. Alexius, 94
McGruder, *see* Magruder, 211
Machen, Thomas G., 92
McHenry, James, 266, 452
McIlvain, Elizabeth Grant, 94
McIlwain, Charles H., 223
McIntosh, Mrs. Leslie J., 233
McIntyre, Edward L., *elected,* 455
Mackall, R. McGill, 92
McKeel, Mary, 326, 327
McKinley, President William, 37
McLachlan, Captain, 71
McLane, Robert M., 383, 384, 388
MacLeish, Archibald, 237
McMahon, Rev. D. J., 58
McMaster, Mr. ——, 213
McMillen, Rev. Thomas, 59
McNeill, Lieut. Jesse, 33, 34
McNeill, Capt. John Hanson, 33, 37
McNeill's Rangers, 33 *ff.*
McParlin, ——, Paymaster General, U. S. N., 426
McParlin, Cassandra (Woodward), Mrs. William, 426, 436
McParlin, William, 423, 425, 427, 429, 435, 436
McPherson, Mrs. L. D., 95
MacPike Family, 96
MacPike, E. F., 96
McSherry, Richard M., 59
MacTavish, Alexander, 452
Mabbott, Thomas Ollive, 376, 377
Mabbott, Thomas Ollive, ed., *Merlin, Baltimore, 1827 . . . by Lambert A. Wilmer,* reviewed, 350-351
Maddux, Mr. ——, 202, 206
Maddux, Lydia (Haynie), Mrs. ——, 202, 207
Magic (log canoe), 182
Magruder (McGruder), Mr., 211

Manakee, Beta K. (Mrs. Harold R.), 264
Manning, Mrs. James R., 95
Mare Island Navy Yard, 347
Maria (schooner), 175
Marshall, C. Morgan, 92
Marshall, Captain Greenbury, 173 *ff.*
Marshall, Mrs. H. Benthall, *elected,* 237
"Marshy Hope," 327
Martha Jump (schooner), 175
Martin, Benny, 207
Martin, Edward D., 88, 449
Martin, Luther, 204, 248
Mary (canoe), 177
Mary E. Wrightson (schooner), 176
Mary Vickers (schooner), 175
Marye, William Bose, 92
Maryland Abolition Society, 248
Maryland Almanac, 127
Maryland Artillery, C. S. A., 414
Maryland Colonization Society, 249-250
Maryland County, Liberia, 250
Maryland during the American Revolution, by Esther Mohr Dole, *reviewed,* 223-224
Maryland Gazette, Annapolis, 127, 132, 194, 288, 325, 424, 430, 431, 434, 438
THE MARYLAND GERMANS IN THE CIVIL WAR, by Dieter Cunz, 394-419
Maryland Historical Magazine, 98
Maryland Jockey Club, 420
Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser, 139 *ff.,* 434, 436-7
The Maryland News Sheet, 150, 159, 161, 162
Mason, Samuel, Jr., 40
Massachusetts, 242
Matchett's Baltimore Director, 367
Mathew, Thomas, 3, 4
Mathews, Edward B., 92
Mathews, Roger, 217
Mathias (ship), 337
Matthews, Capt. Oliver, 165
Matthews, Sidney T., 236
MATTHEWS, SIDNEY T., *Control of the Baltimore Press during the Civil War,* 150-170
Maury, Capt. Matthew Fontaine, 156
May, Henry, 173, 174, 382, 383, 388 *ff.*
May (log canoe), 173
Mayle, Anthony, 317
Maynadier, Rev. Daniel, 188, 327
Mayo, Bernard, 454
MAYO, BERNARD, *Joshua Barney and the French Revolution,* 357-362
Mead, Dr. ——, 299
Mead, Dr. Gilbert W., *elected,* 455
Mease, Dr. James, 309
Medical and Chirurgical Faculty, 203
Medical School, U. of Pennsylvania, 298
Mencken, Henry Louis, *Newspaper Days,* reviewed, 444-446
The Mercury, Philadelphia, 163
Meriton, John, 216
Merlin, Baltimore, 1827, . . . by Lambert A. Wilmer, edited by Thomas Ollive Mabbott, *reviewed,* 350-351
Merritt, Elizabeth, 79, 229
Merryman, Mrs. Eugene, 42
Methodism, 195, 197, 198
Metzner, Heinrich, 412
Meyer, Walter F., 79
Michael Family, 95
Michell, William H., 174, 176
Middle Department, United States Army, 159 ff.
Middleton, Mr. ——, 337
Milburn, Mrs. John Grey Hopkins, 80
Miles, Mrs. Walter, 96
Miller, Alfred J., 77
Miller, Edgar G., Jr., 94
Miller, Edmund E., 404
Miller, Edmund E., *The Hundred Year History of the German Correspondent,* 354
Miller, Elijah, 374
Miller, Ethel M., 94, *elected,* 91
Milligan, *ex parte,* 170
Milligan, Robert, 282
Mills, Charles, 267, 272
Mills, James, 217
Mills, James M., 155
Mills, John, 72
Mills, John M., 157
Mills, S. S., 157
Minick, Rachel, *elected,* 237
Minnie and Helen (schooner), 176
Mirise, Dr. Edwin, 233
Mississippi, 239
Missouri, 239, 255
Mitchell Family, 95
Mitchell, Rev. J. H., 58
Mitchell, S. Weir, 266
Mittag, Thomas E., 397-398
Moale, Samuel, 374
Mockley Point, 4 *ff.*
Moffett, W. Edwin, *elected,* 456
Money, Ann, 330
Money, Mary, 330
Monocacy Bridge, 23, 24, 27
Monocacy River, 26
Monroe, Pres. James, 358, 359
Monrovia, Carroll County, 32
Montesquieu, Charles L. de S., 72
Montesquieu in America, by Paul Merrill Spurlin, *reviewed,* 227-228
Montgomerie, Capt. John, 337, 341, 343
Montgomery County, 247, 255, 347-348

Moody, Minnie Hite, *Long Meadows*, reviewed, 353
Moore, Frank, 259, 261, 266
Moore, James, 89
Moore, Captain Thomas, 96
More, Richard, 89
More, Satterfield, 174
Morecroft, John, 345
Morgan, R. C., 255
Morgan, Lady Sidney, 314
Morgan, Sir Thomas Charles, 314
Morre, Price, *elected*, 455
Morris, Mr. ——, 211, 212
Morris, Gouverneur, 310
Morris, Captain Jacob, 178
Morris, Kitty, 211
Morris, Thomas, 215, 216
Morris, W. W., 155, 157
Morris, Lieut. William E., 161, 162
Moss, Mr. ——, 53
Moss, Williamson Wade, Jr., *elected*, 456
Mt. Airy, Carroll County, 32
Mt. Jackson, Virginia, 33
Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, 90
Moyaone (Indian village), 5, 9
Mulliken, Ruth (Parrott), 88
Mulliken, Samuel, 88
Murdock, Mr. ——, 211
Murphy, Francis, Family, 96
Murphy, James I., *elected*, 455
Murray, Henry, 327
Murray, Dr. John Donaldson, 33
Murray, Michael, *elected*, 91
Murray, William Vans, 282
"Myrtle Grove," 318, 320 *ff*.

THE "NARRATIVE" OF COLONEL JAMES RIGBIE, by Henry Chandlee Forman, 39-53
"The Narrows," Baltimore Co., 216
Nast, Thomas, 416
National Geographic Magazine, 263
National Intelligencer, 273, 382, 383, 385 *ff*.
National Pike, 34
Neilson, William H., 159, 162, 163
Nelson, John M., Jr., *elected*, 237
Nelson, Gen. Roger, 94
New Creek Station, 36
The New England Galaxy, 272
New England Magazine, 268
New England Society of New York, 63, 64
New Jersey, 242
New Light Presbyterians, 44
New Market, Frederick Co., 29, 30, 32
New York, 242
New York Herald, 261
New York State Library, 303, 310 *ff*.
New York Times, 391
Newell, Lyman C., 229
Newell, Prof. M. A., 349
"Newnams Addition," Talbot Co., 320
Newman, Mr. ——, 377
Newman, Lawson, 377
Newman, Mary, 377
Newman, Roger, 216
Newspaper Days, by Henry Louis Mencken, *reviewed*, 444-446
Nichols Family, 95
Nicholson, Benjamin, 141, 144
Nicholson, James, 223
Nicolay, John G., 240
Nicols, Rev. Henry, 320
Nicols, Jonathan, 333
Niles, Judge Emory Hamilton, *elected*, 238
Nipsic (vessel), 177
Nobbs, Rev. Benjamin, 185
Noble, Sarah, 95
Nolting, William G., 91
Norfolk Herald, 274
North American Review, 266
North Carolina, 239
Northern Central Railroad, 220

Oakes, Virginia Buchanan, *elected*, 455
O'Brien, W. J., 57
O'Donovan, John H., *elected*, 456
O'Donovan, Mrs. John H., *elected*, 455
Ogilsby, George, 219
Ogilsby, Johanna (Mrs. George), 219
"Ogilsbys Chance," Baltimore Co., 219
The Old and Quaint in Virginia, by Georgia Dickinson Wardlaw, *reviewed*, 450
Old Christ Church, Philadelphia, 422
Oliver, Thomas, 173, 174
Oliver and Thompson, 359
"Olney," Princess Anne, 203
Orians, G. Harrison, 356, 452
ORIANS, G. HARRISON, *The Origin of the Ring Tournament in the United States*, 262-277
THE ORIGIN OF THE RING TOURNAMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, by G. Harrison Orians, 262-277
Orrell, Elizabeth (Mrs. John), 323
Orrell, John, 323
Osborn Family, 95
Osborn, William, Jr., 215
Osler, Dr. William, 440
Osten, Susanna, 216
Owen, Thomas, 367
Owens, Mrs. Florence (Chappell), 420
Owens, Hamilton, 446
Owens, Hamilton, *Baltimore on the Chesapeake*, reviewed, 442-444

Paca, John P., Jr., 92
Paca, William, 282, 297, 433, 448
Packard, Joseph, 61
Page, Rev. I. Marshall, *elected,* 456
Paine, Thomas, 360
Painter Family, 95
Painter, Orrin Chalfant, 95
Palmer, Daniell, 217
Park Avenue Friends Meeting, 41
Parker, Sumner A., 431, 436
Parkins, A. E., 395
Parkman, Francis, 55
Parks, William, 44, 132
Parnham, Dr. John (Joan), 298
Parrott Family, 89
Parrott, George, 88
Parrott, John, 89
Parsons, Thomas, 174
Parsons, Walbridge, Family, 95
Passano, Edward B., *elected,* 455
Passano, Mrs. Edward B., 95
Passano, Eleanor Phillips (Mrs. Edward B.), *An Index of the Source Records of Maryland,* reviewed, 80
Patrick Prendergast (schooner), 176
Patterson, Mrs. ——, 14
Patterson, Helen Hamilton (Leiper), Mrs. Robert Maskell, 90
PATTERSON, HELEN HAMILTON (LEIPER), *A Wedding of 1841,* 50-53
Patterson, J. Milton, *elected,* 456
Patterson, Louisa (Sprigg), Mrs. Thomas Leiper, 50
Patterson, Robert, 50
Patterson, Dr. Robert Maskell, 50
Patterson, Thomas Leiper, 50
Patterson, William, 373, 374
Paul, John Gilman d'Arcy, 78, 92, 352
Payne, D. A., 355
" Peach Blossom," Talbot Co., 316
Peale, Charles Willson, 77, 341, 342
Peale, Rembrandt, 77
Peale, Sarah M., 77
Pearce, James Alfred, 392, 393
Peckhover, Edmund, 45
Pedro, Abigail Faris Powell, 421 *ff.*
Peehover, Edmund, 45
Peninsular Campaign, 1862, 158
Penn, William, 75
Pennsylvania, 242, 244
Perrie, A. W., 275
Perry, William S., 187, 188
Pershing, Gen. John J., 84
Peter Ainslie, Ambassador of Good Will, by Finis S. Idleman, *reviewed,* 450.
Peters, George, 222
Peters, Mrs. George, 222
Petrikin, B. Rush, 157
" Phillip's Purchase," Harford Co., 40, 41
Phillips, Col. Albanus, *elected,* 455
Phillips, Anthony, 218
Phillips, James, 215, 217, 218
Phillips, Martha, 218
Phillips, Mary, 218
Phillips, Mary E., 376
Phillips, Susannah (Mrs. James), 218
Piatt, Colonel Don, 162
Pickell, Louise E., *elected,* 238
Pierce Family, 453
Pierce, Louisa (Smith), 453
Pierrepont, Edwards, 157
Piet, John B., 162, 164
The Pilot (periodical), 58
Pinckney, Pauline A., *American Figureheads and Their Carvers,* reviewed, 85-86
Pindell, Dr. Richard, 203
Pinkerton, Allan, 154
Pinkney, Ninian, 146
Piper, Rev. Michael, 335
Piper, Rosanna, 335
Piper, Rose (Mrs. Michael), 335
Piper, Samuel Webster, *elected,* 91
Piscataway Creek, 1 *ff.*
Piscataway Fort, *see* Susquehannock Fort
Pistols at Ten Paces, by William Oliver Stevens, *reviewed,* 86-88.
Pitt Family, 95
Pitt, Ann (Faris), Mrs. William, 420, 422, 427, 435
Pitt, Faris C., Jr., 427, 430
Pitt, Faris C., Sr., 427, 430
Pitt, Sophie, 423
Pitt, Capt. William, 420, 422, 427, 430, 435
" Plain Dealing," Talbot Co., 321
Plaindealing Creek, 321
" Planters Paradice," Baltimore Co., 215
Plater, George, 282, 318, 344
Pleasants, Elizabeth (Poultney), Mrs. Richard H., 452
Pleasants, J. Hall, 78, 92, 95, 98, 100, 238, 263, 353, 420
Pleasants, J. Hall, editor, *Archives of Maryland, LVI,* reviewed, 76-77; *LVII,* reviewed, 345-346
Poe, Amelia, 350
Poe, Gen. David, 376
Poe, Edgar Allan (1809-1849), 363-380
Poe, Edgar Allan, 350, 351, 364
Poe, Elizabeth (Mrs. David), 364, 376, 378
Poe, Elizabeth Ellicott, 376
Poe, Virginia Clemm (Mrs. Edgar Allan), 364, 366, 378, 379
Poe, William, 379
Poe, William Leonard, 351
POE IN AMITY STREET, by May Garrettson Evans, 363-380

Point Lookout, 225
POLITICS IN MARYLAND DURING THE CIVIL WAR, by Charles Branch Clark, 239-262, 381-393
Polk, W., 209
Pope-Hennessy, Una, 376
Poppleton, T. H., 373
Pornell, John, 218
Porter, David, 346
Porter, Rachel, 334
Porter, William, 334
Post, Capt. Thomas M., 93
Poston, John, 356
Poston, Sarah (Hamil), Mrs. William, 355
Poston, William, 355
Poteet (Potteet), Thomas, 216
Potomac River, 2, 4, 5, 6, 260
Powell, Henry Fletcher, 238
Powell, John, 422
Pratt, Charles (Att'y Gen'l of Great Britain), 130
Prendergast, P., 176
Preston, Richard, 100
Preston, W. W., 41
Preston, William P., 220, 221, 384, 389
Price, Misses, 438
Prices Current, Baltimore, 258
Prince George's County, 243, 247
Princeton University, 84
Printers and printing, Maryland, 100
Private Journal of John Glendy Sproston, U. S. N., ed. by Shio Sakanishi, 231
Proceedings of the Clark County Historical Association, vol. I, reviewed, 352
PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY, Dec. 9, 1940, 90-91; Jan. 13, 1941, 91; Feb. 10, 1941, 91-100; Mar. 10, 1941, 237; Apr. 14, 1941, 237-238; May 5, 1941, 238; Oct. 13, 1941, 455; Nov. 10, 1941, 456
"Procters Hall," Baltimore Co., 215
The Prowess of the Whig Club, 141 *ff.*
Purnall, John, 217
Purnell, George, 213
Purviance, Benjamin, 454
Purviance, Elizabeth, 454
Purviance, Hester Ann (Roberts), Mrs. John, 454
Purviance, John, 454
Purviance, Margaret, 454
Purviance, Robert R., 454
Purviance, Thomas, 454
Pyles, James L., 234

Quakers, 248
Quinby Family, 332
Quinn, Arthur H., and Richard H. Hart, *Edgar Allan Poe Letters*, reviewed, 350
Quinn, Arthur Hobson, 376, 379
Quynn, Allen, 431, 432
Quynn, William Roger, *elected*, 456

R. A. Dodson (schooner), 175
Radcliffe, George L., 91, 92, 233, 237, 238, 381, 398 *ff.*
Radcliffe, George M., *elected*, 237
Radoff, Dr. Morris Leon, 456
Raf, Maj. James R., 165
Raine, Friedrich, 403, 404
Ralston, Mrs. David A., 95
Ramsey (Ramsay), Colonel Nathaniel, 141, 142, 145, 448
Ranck, James Byrne, 224
"The Range," Baltimore Co., 216
Ranke, Vinette Wells, 96
Rankin, Thomas, 197
Ransome, Arthur, 376
Rapp, Wilhelm, 411
Rappahannock River, 3
Ratcliffe, Luther, 373
Raymond, Mr. ——, 222
Reading, Thomas, 284
READING INTERESTS OF THE PROFESSIONAL CLASSES IN COLONIAL MARYLAND, 1700-1776, by Joseph Towne Wheeler, 184-201, 281-301
RECOLLECTIONS OF BROOKLANDWOOD TOURNAMENTS, by D. Sterett Gittings, 278-280
Reddy, Mrs. Ann Waller, 96
Reddy, Anne Waller, comp., *West Virginia Ancestors Whose Services Were Non-military*, 231
Redwood, Mrs. Francis, T., 94
Redwood, Capt. George Buchanan, 94
Reed, Mrs. Emilie McKim, 94
Reed, John, 176
Reeder, Mrs. Foster M., *elected*, 91
Register of Members of the Maryland Society Colonial Dames of America, 1915-1938, 95
Reid Family, 95
Reid, Mathew Mark, 89
Reindollar Family, 95
Reizenstein, Milton, 256
Relay House, 23, 32
Remsen, Charles M., 230
Remsen, Ira, 54, 56, 229
Revenge (privateer), 362
Revere House, Cumberland, 36
THE REVOLUTIONARY IMPULSE IN MARYLAND, by Charles Albro Barker, 125-138
Reynolds, Deborah Harper (Mrs. William), 425
Reynolds, William, 425
Rhett, Lieut. Thomas, 452, 453
Rhode Island, 256

Rhodes, James Ford, 154, 163
Rice, Sarah Sigourney, 379
Richardson, Captain ——, 336,
Richardson, Beal H., 159
Richardson, Francis, 423
Richardson, Frank A.. 159
Richardson, James D., 168, 170
Richardson, Joseph, 423
Richardson, Rachel (Mrs. Thomas), 215
Richardson, Thomas, 215
"Richardson's Folly," 326
Richmond Compiler, 268, 270
Richmond Dispatch, 274
Richmond Enquirer, 271, 273, 274
Richmond Examiner, 273
Richmond Whig, 273
Riddell, Alexander, 452
Riddlemoser Family, 398
Riddlemoser, Alfred, 414
Ridgely Family, 451-452
Ridgely, Charles, 93
Ridgely, Eliza Eichelberger (Mrs. John), 451
Ridgely, John, 451
Ridgely, R., 148
Ridgely, Rebecca (Lawson), 93
Ridgway, Henry, 376, 377
Rieman, Charles E., 92
Rigbie Family, 39-40, 49, 455
Rigbie, Cassandra (Coale), 40, 42, 45, 47
Rigbie, Elizabeth (Harrison), 44, 45, 47
Rigbie, James, 39, 40
Rigbie, Col. James, 40-53
Rigbie, Katherine (Mrs. James), 38
Rigbie, Col. Nathan (Nathaniel), 40 *ff.*
Rigbie, Nathan, Jr.. 46
Rigbie House, Harford Co., 40, 41
"Rigby," Anne Arundel Co., 39
Riggs, George S., 452
Riggs, General Lawrason, 91
Riggs, Thomas, *elected*, 456
Riley, John B., 59
Risteau, Mary E. W., *elected*, 456
Ritchie, Gov. Albert C., 182
Ritter, Capt. W. L., 414
Ritter, William, 414
Rives, Hallie Erminie, 264
R. Mason (schooner), 174
Roach, J. Chandler, 179
Robb, Ada Belle, 233
Roberdeau, General ——, 210
Robert Bowdle (schooner), 177
ROBERT GOLDSBOROUGH OF ASHBY, AND HIS SIX SONS, by Roberta Bolling Henry, 315-335
Roberts, Benjamin, 454
Roberts, James, 215
Robeson (Robinson), Richard, 216
Robins, Elizabeth, 331
Robins, George, 316, 317, 327, 330
Robins, John, 321
Robins, Lambert, 316
Robins, Mary, 316
Robins, Thomas, 316, 327, 330
Robins, William, 316
Robinson, Francis, 217
Robinson, John, 216
Robinson, Richard, *see* Robeson
Rodman, John, 310-311
Rogers, James Lloyd, 282
Rogier, Nicholas, 215, 218, 219
Roosevelt, Pres. Theodore, 84, 419
Ross, Mr. ——, 213
Rosser, Gen. Thomas L., 35, 37
Rossie (letter-of-marque), 362
Rownd, Doctor ——, 211
Royal Oak (schooner), 174
Royal Sovereign (steamer), 272
Rusk's Tavern, 141, 142, 144, 145
Rutherford, Lieutenant ——, 25, 30
Rutter, Frank Roy, 256
Ryan, Archbishop, 57
Rylander, Mrs. Paul N., *elected*, 456
Ryly, Thymothy, 216

Sadler, Mr. ——, 175
St. Anne's Church, Annapolis, 186, 425
St. Charles College, 225
St. George's Parish, Harford County, 186
St. John's College, Annapolis, 199, 390
St. Mary's College, Baltimore, 391
St. Mary's County, 243, 247
St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore County, 187
St. Paul's Parish, Kent County, 193
St. Paul's Parish, Hanover County, Va., 96
St. Peter's Parish, Talbot County, 188, 327
Sakanishi, Shio, ed., *A Private Journal of John Glendy Sproston*, 231
Sally A. Lambdin (bugeye), 175
Sally Anne (schooner), 175
Sampson (ship), 358, 359
Sand Snipe (schooner), 175
Sanford, E. S., 158
San Domingo Creek, Talbot Co., 172
Sargent, Winthrop, 266
Sasscer, Lansdale, *elected*, 456
Saturday Visiter, 378
Sauerhoff, Henry, 173
Sauvigny, Billardon de, 351
Saxe, Van Rensselaer, *elected*, 238
Scarff, John Henry, 92, 94, 100
Scerce, John, 73
Scharf, John Thomas, 33, 166, 167, 244, 391, 412, 414
Scheffel, Iva, 95
Schenck, General R. E., 159, 166
Schepeler, Frederick, 415

Schlesinger, Arthur M., 223
Schley, Maj. B. H., 397
Schley, George, 386
Schley, Col. George, 398
Schnauffer, Carl Heinrich, 400, 403
Schnauffer, Mrs. Carl Heinrich, 412
Schnauffer, William, 413
Schumacher, Albert, 415
Schurz, Carl, 395, 402, 405
Schuyler, Robert L., 223
Schwartz, A. F., 414
Schwartze, Capt. Augustus F., 167
Scisco, Louis Dow, 95, 236
SCISCO, LOUIS DOW, ed., *Baltimore County Land Records of 1687*, 215-219
Scisco, Louis Dowe, assoc. ed., *Archives of Maryland, LVII*, reviewed, 345-346
Scott, Henry, 452
Scott, Sir Walter, 263, 266, 268, 269, 274 *ff.*
Scudamore, Thomas, 216 *ff.*
Sealock, Richard B., 353
Second Maryland Cavalry, C. S. A., 414
Second Maryland Infantry, C. S. A., 414
Second Maryland Regiment, 202
The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712, ed. by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, *reviewed*, 446-447
Seitz, Mrs. Clayton, 96
Semi-Weekly Mississippian, 274
Semmes, Raphael, 4, 81, 92, 99, 100, 238, 447
Seventy-five Years of Teacher Education, reviewed, 349-350
Seward, William Henry, 157, 402
Sewell, Joseph, 173
Shakespeare Club, Baltimore, 66
Shanks, Edward, 376
Shannon, W. A., 255
Sharpe, Gov. Horatio, 135, 298, 323, 328
Sharps Island (pungy), 174
Shaw, Albert, 416
Shawe, Christopher, 215
Shawe, Elizabeth (Mrs. Christopher), 215
"Shaws Choice," 215
Shedd, Daniel, Family, 95
Shedd, Frederick, 95
Sherbow, Joseph, *elected*, 238
"Sherwins Folly," 326
SHIP-BUILDING ON THE CHESAPEAKE: RECOLLECTIONS OF ROBERT DAWSON LAMBDIN, 171-183
Shirk, Joseph, 89
Shirk, Mary Moore (Parrott-Kennedy), 89
Short, John S., 226, 227
Shriver, Alfred Jenkins, 61
Shriver, J. Alexis, 41
Sibley, Neal A., *elected*, 237
Sill, Howard, 420
Silver, Albert, 40
Simmons, Elizabeth (Van Swearingen), Mrs. Jonathon, 234
Simmons, George, 234
Simmons, Jonathon, 234
Simmons, Samuel F., 367
Simms, Major ——, 421
Simonton Family, 95
Simpson, E. Ridgely, *elected*, 455
Simpson, Mrs. Edward, 238
Sioussat, St. George Leakin, 77
Skenner, Francis, 219
Skiffington, Patrick, 372
Skinner, William, 172
Skinner, Zachariah, 172
Skippon, Rev. Samuel, 186
"Skipton," 326
Skirven Family, 95
Skirven, Percy G., 95, 238
Slagle, A. Russell, 96
Slaybaugh, J. Paul, *elected*, 237
Slaymaker, Captain John, 141
Slingluff, F. C., 414
Slingluff, W. H., 414
Sloo, Mrs. Thomas, 96
Smallwood, Gen. William, 238, 433, 448
"Smallwood's Retreat," 238
Smith Family (Charles Co.), 95
Smith, Captain, 144, 145
Smith, Ann (Mrs. Jenkin), 216
Smith, Charles Stephenson, 238, *elected*, 90
Smith, Mrs. Gertrude, *elected*, 237
Smith, Grace Vernon, 454
Smith, Mrs. Harrison, 306-307
Smith, Hoke, 61, 62
Smith, James, 142
Smith, Jenkin, 216
Smith, Job, Jr., 453
Smith, John, 214
Smith, Dr. John, 301
Smith, May F. (Mrs. George E.), 234
Smith, Mrs. R. Tinges, III, *elected*, 237
Smith, Rachel (Stevenson), Mrs. Job, Jr., 453
Smith, Richard Penn, 266
Smith, Robert, 317
Smyly, Captain ——, 209
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 184
Somerset County, 247
Sonora (schooner), 175
The South, Baltimore, 150 *ff.*, 389
South Carolina, 239
South Carolina Courier, 273, 275

Southcomb, Anne (Robinson), Mrs. Carey, 233
Southcomb, Carey 233
The Southern Cross, 160-161
Southern Literary Messenger, 379
Southern Rights Convention, 383
Spalding, Basil William, 90
SPALDING, BASIL WILLIAM, *The Confederate Raid on Cumberland in 1865*, 33-38
Sparks, Jared, 310
Sparrow, Thomas, 431
Sparrow, Thomas, Jr., 431
Spencer, Mr. ——, 322
Spingarn, Arthur B., 355
Spirit of the Times, 273, 274
Spotsylvania Court House, Battle of, 163, 167
Sprague, William B., 189, 199
Sprigg, Michael Cresap, 50
Spring Garden, Philadelphia, 422, 424
Sproston, John Glendy, 231
Spurlin, Paul Merrill, *Montesquieu in America*, reviewed, 227-228
Staatszeitung, New York, 406
Stamp Act, 130, 333
Stanard, Mary Newton, 376, 378
Stansbury Family, 95
Stansley, Edmond, 215
Stanton, Edwin M., 155, 157 ff.
Startzmann, Daniel, 397
State Normal School, Frostburg, 350
State Normal School, Salisbury, 350
State Teachers College, Towson, 349-350
Stedman, Edmund Clarence, 54, 60, 64, 65, 376
Stedman, Mrs. Edmund Clarence, 65
Steele, Henry, 324
Steiner, Bernard C., 69
Sterling, Rev. James, 192-195
Steuart, Lieut. William J., 167
Stevens, William Oliver, *Pistols at Ten Paces: The Story of the Code of Honor in America*, reviewed, 86-88.
Stevenson Family, 95
Stevenson, Mr. ——, 72, 336
Stevenson, Josias, 453
Stewart, Anthony, 433
Stewart, Carroll G.. *elected*, 238
Stiles, Mr. ——, 222
Stiles, Capt. George, 362
Stiles, Nathaniell, 215
Stockbridge, Henry W., 161
Stoddard, R. H., 376
Stone, Thomas, 448
Stouffer, Henry, 453
Stout, Mr. ——, 222
Stout, Miss ——, 221, 222
Stow, John Carroll, 94
Strachan, Rev. Alexander, 185
Stran, Charles T., 421
Stran, Kate (Abrahams), Mrs. Thomas P., 421, 426, 436
Stran, Thomas P., 421
Straubenmüller, Mr. ——, 413
Strawbridge, Joseph, 218
Strawbridge, Robert, 195
Streeter, Sebastian F., 4
Streiff, Leonard, 401
Stretch, Isaac, 423, 424
Stretch, Peter, 423
Stretch, Samuel, 423
Stretch, William, 423
Strutt, Joseph, 267, 272
Stuart, Fannie E., 95, 96
Stuart, Sarah Elizabeth, 96
Studies of the Virginia Eastern Shore in the Seventeenth Century, by Susie W. Ames, *reviewed*, 81-82
Sullivan, A. M., *elected*, 455
Sullivan, Mrs. Mark, 91, 95
Sultzer, Thomas D., 159
"Summerly," Talbot Co., 334
Summers, George, 173, 174
The Sun, Baltimore, 150, 166, 270, 272, 273, 364
A Surgeon's Life: The Autobiography of J. M. T. Finney, reviewed, 83-85
Susan Bryan (schooner), 176
Susquehanna and Tidewater Canal, 257
Susquehannock Fort, 1 *ff.*, 79
THE SUSQUEHANNOCK FORT ON PISCATAWAY CREEK, by Alice L. L. Ferguson, 1-9
Swain, Robert L., Jr., 95
"The Swallow Forke," 218
Swann, Edward, 234
Stwann, Mrs. Sherlock, *elected*, 456
Swann, T. E., 234
Swann, Thomas, 234
Swope, John L., *elected*, 237
Symington, Elsie, *By Light of Sun*, reviewed, 444-446
Syng, John, 425
Syng, Philip, 425

Tansill, Charles Callan, *The Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard*, reviewed, 230-231
Tarr, Captain Lewis, 178
Tayleure, C. W., 163, 164
Taylor, Sergeant ——, 34
Taylor, Elizabeth (Patterson), Mrs. John, 50 *ff.*
Taylor, John, 50 *ff.*
Taylor, John, of Caroline, 50
Taylor, Thomas, 216
Taylor, William, 53
Taylor's Island, Dorchester County, 172
Tecumseh (bust of), 86, 235

Tench, Thomas, Esq., 40, 217
Tennessee, 239, 251, 254
Terwilliger, W. Bird, 235, *elected,* 91.
TERWILLIGER, W. BIRD, *William Goddard's Victory for the Freedom of the Press,* 139-149.
Texas, 239, 254, 256
Thaxter, Celia, 66, 67
Thomas, Gov. Francis, 386, 390
Thomas, L., 155, 157
Thomas, Richard H., 370, 371
Thomas, Mrs. Richard H., 370
Thomas, Sallie Campbell (McDowell), Mrs. Francis, 390
Thomas, Samuel, 334
Thomas, Tris[tra]m, 331
Thomas, William, 331, 333
Thos. Blake (schooner), 176
Thomas Cromwell Corner: An Appreciation, reviewed, 77-78
Thomas Dawson (schooner), 176
Thomas H. Kirby (bugeye), 175
Thos. H. Kirby (schooner), 176
Thompson, Dr. Adam, 299
Thompson, Charles R., 279
Thompson, John R., 23
Thompson, Richard Hardesty, 93
Thompson, Winfield W., 231
Thomsen, Mrs. W. E., 426
Thorpe, Francis Newton, 246, 248, 249
Three Virginia Frontiers, by Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *reviewed,* 227
Thurstone, Thomas, 216
Tibbs, Rev. William, 187-188
Ticknor, George, 308, 312-313
Tierney, Rev. John J., S.S., *elected,* 238
Tilghman Family, 138
Tilghman, Anna Maria (Lloyd), Mrs. Richard, 328
Tilghman, Edward, 282
Tilghman, Matthew, 72
Tilghman, Ogle, 174
Tilghman, Richard, 282, 328
Tilghman, Richard, 328
Tilghman, Tench, 448
Tilghman, Tench Francis, *elected,* 90
Tilghman, W. H. DeCourcy, *elected,* 455
Tilghman, William, 291
Tilly, Joseph, 216
Tilton Family, 95
"Timber Neck," Baltimore Co., 216
"Timber Proofe," Baltimore Co., 218
Time (periodical), 442
Tinling, Marion, Wright, Louis B. and, *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712,* reviewed, 446-447
Tobacco Law, 133
Tobacco Stick (Madison), Dorchester County, 172
Tolley Family, 95
Tolley, Col. Oscar Kemp, 95
"Tom Tell-truth," 140 *ff.*
Tome, Jacob, 409-410
Tome School, 410
Tomlinson Family, 95
Tompkins, Raymond S., 444, *elected,* 237
Topp, Rev. Edward, 185
Torchbearer of the Revolution: the Story of Bacon's Rebellion and Its Leader, by Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *reviewed,* 78-79
Tournaments, Ring, 262-277
Towers, James, 305
Towers, John, 215
Town Creek, Talbot County, 173
Townshend, Isaiah, 310
Townshend, Isaiah, Jr., 311-312
Towson, Elizabeth (Wheeler), Mrs. Thomas, 453
Towson, Sheldon K., 453, *elected,* 456
Towson, Thomas, 453
Trausum, Mrs. ——, 335
Treadwell, Sophie, 376
Tred Avon (pungy), 175
Treide, Henry E., 93
"The Triangle," Talbot Co., 332, 333
Tribby, J. Nelson, *elected,* 455
Trinity College, Dublin, 192
Trippe, Barclay H., *elected,* 237
Troupe, Merrill Hull, Sr., *elected,* 456
Truman, Major Thomas, 2, 3
Tucker, St. George, 357
Tuesday Club, Annapolis, 127
Tull, Mr. ——, 213
Tunis Brothers, 175
Turbott, Foster, 321, 332
Turnbull, George, 141
Turnbull, Lawrence, 54
Turnbull, Mrs. Lawrence, 54 *ff.*
Turnbull, Percy Graeme, 54
Turner, James F., *elected,* 455
Turnzeitung, Baltimore, 245, 407, 410, 411
Twain, Mark, 267
Tweedy, John, 409
Two Sisters (bugeye), 176
Tyler, General E. B., 161, 162
Tyler, Captain G., 176
Tymis, William, 219
Tynes, Narcissa (Mrs. C. F.), 356
Tyson, A. Morris, 92

U. S. Grant (pungy), 175
Undine (catboat), 178
United States Hotel, Cumberland, 36
University Club, Baltimore, 61
University of Md., Eastern Shore Branch, 203
University of Virginia, 308, 309

Valliant, Edward, 174
Van Bibber, Mrs. Armfield F., 95
Van Cleef, Augustus, 376, 377
Vandiver, Lieutenant, 37
Van Nest, Mr. ——, 51, 52
Vashington, ou la Liberté du Nouveau Monde . . . par Billardon de Sauvigny. Editée par Gilbert Chinard, *reviewed,* 351-352
Vaughan, Sarah (Howard), 355
Vaughan (Vaun), James, 355
La Vengeance (privateer), 362
Le Vengeur (privateer), 362
Verplanck, Mrs. Van Noyes, *elected,* 456
Vestry Book of St. Paul's Parish, Hanover Co., 1706-1786, 231
"The Vineyard," Baltimore Co., 269 *ff.*
Virginia, 239, 251, 254, 255, 258 *ff.*
Virginia (frigate), 144
Volck, Dr. Adalbert John, 416-417
Volck, Frederic, 417
Vollerthum, Arthur P., 364, 371
Voltaire, F. M. A., 72

W. K. Dobson (schooner), 177
Wachter, Frank C., *elected,* 237
Wagner, James F., 409
Wagner, Joseph, 414
Walker Family, 95
Walker, Captain ——, 175
Walker, George, 355
Walker, Jacob, 355
Walker, Margaret (Heffner), Mrs. George, 355
Wallace, Charles C., 92
Wallace, Gen. Lew, 23, 25, 29, 163 *ff.*
Walsh, William C., *elected,* 456
Walstone, John, 215, 218, 219
"Walstons Addition," 218
Walther, W. C. F., 401
Ward, Grant Eben, 96
Ward, William, Family, 96
War Eagle (log canoe), 173, 174
Warden, Misses, 304
Warden, David Baillie, 10 *ff.*, 302-304
THE WARDEN PAPERS, by William D. Hoyt, Jr., 302-314
Wardlaw, Georgia Dickinson, *The Old and Quaint in Virginia,* reviewed, 450
Warfield, T. Wallace, *elected,* 456
Warner, Charles Dudley, 55, 59-60
Warren, Charles, 281, 285
"Warwick," 333
Washington, Col. John, 1, 2
Washington, Lawrence, 76
Washington County, 251, 255, 397, 398, 400
Washington Academy, Somerset Co., 204
Washington College, 390
Watkins, Francis, 217
Watson, John F., 266
Wayne, Gen. Anthony, 361, 448-449
Weaver, Lieut. Col. F. R., *elected,* 456
Webb, Captain, 32
Webster, Edwin Hanson, 386, 390, 391
Wecker, Baltimore, 245, 400 *ff.*
A WEDDING OF 1841, by Helen Hamilton (Leiper) Patterson, 50-53
Weekly Advertiser or Pennsylvania Journal, 422
Weeks, W. P. Mangum, *elected,* 237
Weems, Rev. Mason Locke, 199
Weisburger, Siegfried, *elected,* 91
Weisel, Daniel, 397
Weiss, Susan Archer, 376, 377.
Welby, Charles, 176
Welch, William Henry, 61, 440-441
Wells, Clifton Kennedy, Jr., *elected,* 237
Wells, Tobias, 316
Welsh Family, 234
Welsh, Mary Morton (Mrs. William), 234
Welsh, William, 234
Wells, George, 215
Wells, Col. George, 218, 219
Wendell, Barrett, 55
Wentz, Abdel R., 398
Wertenbaker, Thomas Jefferson, 1, 3 *ff.*, 9
Wertenbaker, Thomas Jefferson, *Torchbearer of the Revolution,* reviewed, 78-79
Wesley, John, journal of, 198
West, George, 180
West River, 42
West Virginia Revolutionary Ancestors, Whose Services Were Non-military, compiled by Anne Waller Reddy, 231
Western Burial Ground, Baltimore, 363
"Westwood," 218
Wetherall, William Pinckney, *elected,* 456
Wharton, Anne H., 266
Wharton, Major H. W., 22
Wheaton, Henry, 312
Wheeler Family, 95
Wheeler, C. C., 175
Wheeler, Joseph Towne, 236, 281, 356
WHEELER, JOSEPH TOWNE, *Reading Interests of the Professional Classes in Colonial Maryland,* 184-201, 281-301
Whig Club, Baltimore, 141 *ff.*
White, Julian LeRoy. 226
White, Mrs. Miles, Jr., 431, *elected,* 238
White, Robert, 216
White Sulphur Springs, 268, 270, 271, 274
Whitfield, Rev. George, 44
Whitfield, Theodore M., 227, 233
Whittier, John Greenleaf, 55

Whitty, J. H., 367, 376
Whitworth, Sydack, 217
Wickes, Lambert, 223
Wiesner, Dr. Adolph, 411
Wildes, Harry Emerson, *Anthony Wayne, Trouble-Shooter of the Revolution,* reviewed, 448-449
Wilkinson, Commissary ——, 187
Wilkinson, Charles M., 456
Willey, Charles, 175
Willey, Edward, 173
Willey, Thomas, 174
WILLIAM FARIS, 1728-1804, by Lockwood Barr, 420-439
WILLIAM GODDARD'S VICTORY FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, by W. Bird Terwilliger, 139-149
William Henry Welch and the Heroic Age of American Medicine, by Simon Flexner and James Thomas Flexner, *reviewed,* 440-441
Wm. O. Lowery (schooner), 175
Wm. Skinner (schooner), 177
Williams Family, 95
Williams, Mr. ——, 211
Williams, Elizabeth Chew, 92, 95
Williams, John D., 182
Williams, Lodowick, 215
Williams, Otho Holland, 79-80, 448
Williams, T. J. C., 33, 243, 397, 398
Williamson, Tiernan, 452
Willis, Nathaniel P., 272
Willson, John, 219
Wilmer, Lambert A., 350, 351, 376, 377
Wilmeth, James L., 96
Wilmot-Wilmoth-Wilmeth Family, 96
Wilson, Denwood, 212
Wilson, James, Jr., 211
Wilson, Jemmy, Sr., 211
Wilson, Peter, 305
Wilson, Samuel, 204, 205
Wilson, Mrs. Samuel, 205
Wilson, Vylla Poe, 376
Wilson, President Woodrow, 84
Wilstach, Paul, 264
Winans, Ross, 383
Winchester, Marshall, 92
Wirt, William, 357
Wiss, Dr. George Edward, 407 *ff.*
Wood, Charles O., 155
Wood, John, 423
Woodall, A., 176
Woodberry, George E., 376
"Woodland Neck," 332
Woodward,Abraham, 432
Woodward, Nathaniel, Family, 95
Woodward, Percy Emmons, 95
Woodward, Priscilla (Ruley), Mrs. Abraham, 432
Wool, Gen. John E., 153, 158
Wooley, Col. John, 167
The World, New York, 166
World's Fair, Chicago, 180
Worthington, Charles Thomas, 233
Worthington, Clara Mary, 233
Worthington, Eugene Carey, 233
Worthington, Henrietta, 233
Worthington, John A., 233
Worthington, Mary Virginia (Southcomb), 233
Worthington, Nannie (Mrs. Nicholas), 233
Worthington, Nicholas, 233
Worthington, Sarah, 233
Worthington, Thomas J., 233
Worthington, William Alexander, 233
Worthington, Willie G., 233
Wrenshall, Mrs. John C., 376
Wright, Mrs. J. P., 95
Wright, J. Purdon, *elected,* 456
Wright, James Martin, 248, 249, 251
Wright, Louis B., and Tinling, Marion, ed., *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712,* reviewed, 446-447
Wright, Louis B., ed., *Letters of Robert Carter,* reviewed, 228-229
Wrightson, J., 176
Wrightsville, Pa., 257
Wroth, Lawrence Counselman, 139, 141, 189, 192, 199
"Wyatt's Fortune," Talbot Co., 321-322
Wyckoff, Vertrees J., 82, 348
Wyman, William, 226, 227

Yancey, William L., 261
Yate, George, 216
Yoe, Margaret M., 93
York River, Va., 3
York Springs, Pa., 220 *ff.*
Young, Mrs. —— (Barney), 93
Young, Hugh, 142
Young, Dr. Hugh Hampton, 91, 100
Young, William, 278

Zenger, John Peter, 127
Zink Family, 96
Zollinger, Lieut. William P., 413-414
Zucker, A. E., 400, 412