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MRS. GREENHOW AND THE REBEL SPY RING

By Louis A. Sigaud

On July 16, 1861, as Beauregard waited patiently for McDowell to move against him, a rebel messenger left Washington. This was young Betty Duval with a cipher message from Mrs. Rose O'Neale Greenhow.[1] Concealing the small note in the coils of her long, black hair,[2] Betty proceeded down the Potomac on the Maryland side, crossed near Dumfries, and reached General Bonham's headquarters.[3] According to Burton Harrison, secretary to President Davis, the deciphered message read:

> McDowell has certainly been ordered to advance on the sixteenth.
> R. O. G.[4]

[1] Beauregard to Miss Augusta J. Evans, Mar. 24, 1863. War Department, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901) (hereafter cited as *O. R.*), Ser. I, LI, Part II, 688-89.

[2] Belle Boyd, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison* (New York, 1865), p. 91-92.

[3] Mrs. Burton (Constance Cary) Harrison, *Recollections, Grave and Gay* (New York, 1911), p. 53-54.

[4] *Ibid.* Mrs. Harrison further identifies " R. O. G." as " a member of the family of Mrs. Dolly Madison, who actually enabled the Confederate generals to win that important victory in July 1861."

Immediately, Beauregard relates, he dispatched his aide, Colonel J. S. Preston, to inform President Davis, and prepared to meet the attack. That night, or early on the 17th, another cipher message was brought from Mrs. Greenhow by a Mr. Donellan. This stated the Federals were 50,000 strong, and were to move on Manassas from Arlington Heights and Alexandria via Fairfax Court House and Centerville. This news was wired President Davis, who replied at noon on the 17th that Johnston should be ordered to join Beauregard.[5]

By then the advancing Federals had driven in the Confederate pickets, and it seemed Johnston would come too late. But he arrived on the 20th at noon, two days after the initial Union success at Bull Run, and at 7 A. M. on the 21st Beauregard advanced confidently to win his great triumph at Manassas.[6]

The Confederate commander has credited Colonel Thomas Jordan, his adjutant general, with having made arrangements for most accurate information from persons in Washington of which "politicians high in council, as well as War Department clerks, were the unconscious ducts." Northern newspapers were also forwarded regularly from Washington, and on July 4th Southern pickets had captured a soldier on duty in the adjutant-general's office of McDowell's command who revealed without reluctance the strength of the Federal force as he had computed it officially as of July 1st. With such detailed information, and as Mrs. Greenhow claims she had received a copy of the order to McDowell to advance, Beauregard could indeed assert: "I was almost as well advised of the strength of the hostile army in my front as its commander."[7]

Jordan had resigned from the U. S. Army only two months before Manassas,[8] and before leaving Washington had organized the effective intelligence service mentioned by Beauregard. Prominent among his agents was Rose O'Neale Greenhow,[9] considered

[5] Beauregard to Miss Evans. *O. R., loc. cit.*, p. 688-89.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Beauregard, "The First Battle of Bull Run," *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1888), I, 197-98.

[8] Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the U. S. Army* (Washington, 1903), I, 584.

[9] Jordan to Acting Secretary of War Benjamin, Oct. 29, 1861. Refers to "a name I adopted before leaving Washington for purposes of cipher correspondence with Mrs. Greenhow." *O. R.*, Ser. I, V, 928.

the most persuasive woman in Washington,[10] and who became most assertive and dangerous in furthering the interests of the South in the highest Federal circles. About forty-four years of age, she was tall and well-formed, had a graceful and dignified carriage, small hands and feet, firm teeth, an olive complexion, black eyes, and black hair reluctantly turning grey. Famous for her beauty, brilliance of conversation, highly placed connections, and aptitude for intrigue, she had a forthright and commanding personality, and magnificently gracious manners bordering on the theatrical.[11]

As early as May, 1860, Lieutenant-Colonel E. D. Keyes, who had become military secretary to aged General Winfield Scott when Colonel Robert E. Lee refused appointment[12] had been appalled by the incandescent treason of numerous charming Southern matrons and damsels, including Mrs. Greenhow, whom he met at formal dinners at the home of her niece, Mrs. Stephen A. Douglas, and elsewhere. In his memoirs he recalls vividly how " Mrs. Greenough " sought ardently to undermine his allegiance. Professing that he was too far along in years to be endangered, he admits, however, that the rebel ladies who coaxed him were the most attractive in the world and often lured him to the very brink of the precipice.[13]

When the broken Northern forces streamed back in disorder from Manassas to Washington, McDowell lost his command. At the end of July George B. McClellan assumed charge and began to recreate the Union army. One of his first acts was to form a secret service unit and to place Allan Pinkerton at its head. Pinkerton, known to his agents as " Major Allen " and " Hutchinson," soon discovered that the intriguing Southern ladies Lieutentant-Colonel Keyes had repulsed had furnished the rebel forces with the position of every Union regiment and brigade, and had revealed the contemplated movements of the commanders and the hour of action. Indeed he learned that it was openly boasted in Washington that the secret information given the rebel generals had been the main cause for the crushing defeat at Manassas.[14]

[10] General E. D. Keyes, *Fifty Years' Observation of Men and Events* (New York, 1884), p. 330.
[11] General W. E. Doster, *Lincoln and Episodes of the Civil War* (New York, 1915), p. 79-80.
[12] Keyes, *op. cit.*, p. 318.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 330.
[14] Allan Pinkerton, *The Spy of the Rebellion* (New York, 1900), pp. 243, 245, and 250-51.

Until then the Federal Government had not wished to believe that harm could result from the activities of the feminine Southern partisans, and had felt it would not be chivalrous to take resolute steps against them. But once the effect of their treason was clearly evident, it was decided that such future activities would be punished by confining the culprits or exiling them to the South.[15]

One immediate result was that Thomas A. Scott, Assistant Secretary of War, instructed Pinkerton to have watched a lady believed to be furnishing military information to the rebels. All persons entering or leaving her house were to be placed under close surveillance and their identity established. If they attempted to pass through the military lines, they were to be arrested at once and searched. Reports were to be made to the Assistant Secretary daily.[16]

The suspected lady was Mrs. Rose O'Neale Greenhow. Taking several operatives with him, including three named Bridgeman, Ascot, and Pryce Lewis, the secret service chief placed his men about the Greenhow home on a dark, rainy night. He had scarcely done so when a man in uniform approached the house and was admitted. Peering through a window, Pinkerton saw Mrs. Greenhow greet her visitor cordially and recognized the man as a regular army infantry captain in command of a Provost Marshal station. An hour later, when the officer left, Pinkerton and Ascot trailed him. At Pennsylvania Avenue and 15th Street the captain entered a building. As the secret service men tried to follow him, four armed soldiers came out and placed them under arrest.[17]

Unwilling to divulge their real mission, Pinkerton and Ascot were kept in the guardhouse overnight. The next morning they succeeded in getting word of their predicament to Assistant Secretary Scott and were released. The captain, whose identity

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 251.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 252-54. Pinkerton states Mrs. Greenhow's home was at the corner of 13th and I Streets. Pryce Lewis states it was near that of Corcoran, the banker. Boyd's 1860 *Directory of Washington* gives it as 398 16th St., W.

[17] Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, p. 254-61. Pryce Lewis in his "Memoirs" (unpublished), p. 102-3, edited by Major David E. Cronin, First N. Y. Mounted Rifles, states Pinkerton remained at a window several minutes, that an hour later a man came out, and that when Pinkerton and "Scott" (Ascot) followed him, Lewis and Bridgeman remained to watch the house. The Lewis "Memoirs" are owned by Harriet H. Shoen, of New York City, who obtained them from Miss Mary Lewis, daughter of the Pinkerton agent.

Pinkerton conceals by giving him the fictitious name of "Ellison," was called before the Assistant Secretary the same day. Claiming he had taken his pursuers for foot-pads, he denied having dealt with the rebels. However, according to Pinkerton, search of the officer's effects revealed he was furnishing information to the enemy. He was imprisoned for more than a year, and broken in health and spirit, died shortly after his release.[18]

In her book Mrs. Greenhow discreetly withholds the name of the officer and indicates the incident occurred some hours after her arrest. She admits only that the officer was about to call on her when Pinkerton first observed him, and adds with satisfaction that he, as a Provost Marshal, arrested his pursuers and held them overnight.[19] But Pryce Lewis, condemned to death as a Yankee spy only eight months later in Richmond, is more informative in his memoirs. He discloses that his chief, when released, ordered him to shadow the captain. In weeks of surveillance Lewis noted suspicious conduct on occasion but not to a degree to justify severe measures. Pinkerton was vindictive, however, and ordered his arrest.[20]

While Pinkerton says only that "Ellison" died, Lewis states the officer was named Elwood and committed suicide in Old Capitol Prison.[21] The only regular army officer of that name was John Elwood of the 5th Infantry who was a captain when he died on December 3, 1862.[22] In 1915 General W. E. Doster, who in 1862 was Provost Marshal of the District of Columbia, recalled an incident regarding an army captain named Elwood. The latter, arrested by order of Secretary Stanton on suspicion of taking Government funds, had been confined for months in the Carroll Annex of the Old Capitol Prison. Noting in a morning report that a prisoner had killed himself, Doster had investigated. Later he wrote in his memoirs: "We found poor Elwood, his throat cut by his pen-knife, on the floor of a little chamber." According to General Doster, Elwood had been kept in solitary confinement and allowed to communicate only with a War

[18] Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, p. 261-68. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 103-04, adds details Pinkerton gave Lewis of the guardhouse incident.

[19] Mrs. Greenhow, *My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington* (London, 1863), p. 67.

[20] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 105-06.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, 404.

Department detective who visited him daily, made him confess " to all sorts of things " and finally so mixed up his mind that in despair he took his life. Doster, a skillful lawyer who later fought ably for two of the doomed defendants in the Lincoln assassination trial, sensed that there was something mysterious in the Elwood case. He noted that officers who saw the body expressed surprise that Elwood had not been tried by court-martial. And Doster wondered why, if guilty, had it been necessary to worm information out of the secluded prisoner? Whoever before, he asked, had dared to deprive an officer of his right to appeal to the President? [23]

Apparently Doster did not know that the dead man had been in touch with Mrs. Greenhow. And probably neither Doster nor Pryce Lewis knew about the Howard case. Some months after Lewis reported to Pinkerton that Elwood's conduct was suspicious, the secret service chief sent his right-hand man, Timothy Webster, south. Crossing the Potomac, Webster rescued two Southern ladies in a storm and picked up a packet one of them had dropped. This contained a detailed map of the Washington area on which were noted accurately the location and strength of the Federal forces. Webster forwarded the packet to Pinkerton by another agent returning north. An investigation followed.[24]

The trail led to the Provost Marshal's office where a clerk named James Howard confessed transmitting the packet and implicated others.[25] There is no record that Howard named Elwood, and Pinkerton, while stating Elwood furnished information to the enemy, does not connect the two men. But Webster found the map in December, 1861, and Elwood, though involved with Mrs. Greenwood as early as August, does not seem to have been arrested until December or later. Moreover, it appears from Doster, Pinkerton, and Lewis that the actual reason for Elwood's arrest and the daily inquisition that drove him to suicide was far more serious than mere suspicion that he had taken Government funds.

Mrs. Greenhow was arrested on August 23, 1861, by order of the War Department, charged with being a spy and furnishing insurgent generals with important military information.[26] Accord-

[23] Doster, *op. cit.*, p. 109-11.
[24] Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, 468-80.
[25] *Ibid.*
[26] State Department Record Book. *O. R.*, Ser. II, II, 561.

ing to Lewis, Pinkerton and he were accompanied on this mission by Assistant Secretary of War Scott but Mrs. Greenhow mentions only Pinkerton in uniform and a man in civilian attire.[27] Mrs. Greenhow, Pinkerton recorded, had been using her almost irresistible seductive powers to induce persons holding responsible Government positions to be disloyal, and was in touch with the enemy. Her many visitors also included several earnest and sincere Senators and Representatives whose loyalty was unquestioned but who were " perhaps " in ignorance of the lady's true character.[28]

A search of her house revealed many incriminating papers. Some, including messages in cipher, had been torn hurriedly and thrown in a stove but not destroyed. These were turned over to the War Department for further examination. A heavy guard was maintained over the prisoner in her own home, but, with the hope of intercepting interesting visitors or messages, no men were posted outside. The first two victims, William J. Walker and F. Rennehan, called late that night. Questioned by Assistant Secretary Scott, they refused to state their business, blandly professed to be making only a friendly call, and were consigned to the Old Capitol Prison. Pinkerton believed they had come to receive information and convey it to the enemy. Despite many efforts to secure Walker's release, two months elapsed before he was freed and then only upon taking an oath of allegiance containing the significant clause that he was not to live in Washington without permission from the Secretary of State.[29]

For days before Mrs. Greenhow's arrest, Pinkerton's agents had observed that a certain man called on her almost every evening. He was, says Pinkerton, ostensibly an attorney but actually a Southern spy with a number of men and women under him.[30] After Mrs. Greenhow's arrest there were found among the torn papers in her stove the fragments of a note to her. It was from G. Donellan, a former clerk of the Department of the Interior, who had delivered her second cipher message to the Confederates before the battle of Manassas. Dated July 20th, the note introduced its bearer, Colonel Thompson, a South Carolina lawyer,

[27] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

[28] Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, p. 268. Also Pinkerton to Provost Marshal General Porter, Nov. —, 1861; *O. R.*, Ser. II, II, 566-69.

[29] *O. R.*, *loc. cit.* For Walker's release, see *ibid.*, p. 571.

[30] Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, p. 268-69.

as a willing carrier of dispatches regarding Federal military movements in the next few days. It added that Donellan had information to convey which might prove valuable and stated Thompson would inform her verbally as to the extent of his information.[31]

Pinkerton had Thompson shadowed immediately. It was soon learned that he was in intimate contact with all leading local rebel sympathizers. These included a Dr. Van Camp, and William T. Smithson, a banker. As to the former, a noted dentist, a cipher message to Jordan, Beauregard's adjutant-general, had been found too among Mrs. Greenhow's papers. This read in part: " Your three last dispatches I never got. Those by Applegate were betrayed by him to the War Department; also the one sent by our other channel was destroyed by Van Camp." [32]

Meanwhile on August 23rd the Federal agents also took into custody Mrs. Philip Phillips, her two daughters, her sister Miss Levy, and Mrs. Bettie H. Hassler. Mrs. Hassler was charged, according to the State Department, with contraband correspondence with insurrectionary States. In her book Mrs. Greenhow admits Mrs. Hassler was accredited to her by Colonel Jordan as a messenger and had transmitted several dispatches for her, some of which, through no fault of Mrs. Hassler, fell into the hands of the Federals. Mrs. Phillips, wife of ex-Congressman Phillips of Alabama, and the members of her family were charged, says Pryce Lewis, with being spies. All these ladies, and Miss Mackall, an intimate friend of Mrs. Greenhow, were soon confined in the Greenhow house which Washington promptly began to call " the Greenhow Prison." [33]

Strong influence was quickly at work on behalf of some of the ladies. About September 8th, relates Mrs. Greenhow, two gentlemen called to see Mrs. Phillips. One was Edwin M. Stanton, former Attorney General in the Buchanan cabinet, who was soon to become Lincoln's Secretary of War. His errand was to make arrangements to send the Phillips family south and his companion was Colonel Thomas Marshall Key, an aide-de-camp of General McCellan. Mrs. Greenhow records that Mr. Stanton asked her whether he could serve her but that when she tried to employ him

[31] Pinkerton to Porter, Jan. 9, 1862. *O. R.*, Ser. II, II, 1308-09.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 572-74.
[33] Arrests recorded, *O. R.*, p. 237; charge against Mrs. Hassler, p. 295. Mrs. Hassler's service, Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, p. 88-89. Charges against Mrs. Phillips and family, Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

as counsel to obtain a writ of habeas corpus he had refused to act for her.[34]

Pryce Lewis states that after the arrest of Mrs. Phillips and "Mrs." Levy, he was one of the agents "placed in charge of the house." One day two gentlemen, one a doctor, presented a pass signed by Secretary of War Cameron and called on Mrs. Phillips' husband who "was a physician and was at the time ill in his room." Later the man who was not a doctor came downstairs and pompously reproached Lewis for some alleged discourtesy to the ladies. Lewis thereupon had him surrender his pass, which gave permission to "Dr. ———— and Edwin M. Stanton" to see Mrs. Phillips' husband. The Federal agent then made Mr. Stanton admit he had seen the ladies although the pass entitled him to see Mrs. Phillips' husband only, and, when the future Secretary of War tried to be overbearing, cut him short with the peremptory order: "Now, sir, you march right out of this house!" [35]

It is not clear whether Mrs. Greenhow and Pryce Lewis are referring to the same visit by Mr. Stanton. Lewis seems to be speaking of the Phillips house. Mr. Phillips was not imprisoned in the Greenhow home, and in one version the second man is Colonel Key while in the second he is an unnamed doctor. However, according to Mrs. Greenhow, Lewis was one of the guards at her home from the time of her arrest on August 23rd for she identifies as two of the most insolent of her guards "an Englishman named Lewis and an Irishman named Scully," and refers to their subsequent capture in Richmond.[36] Mrs. Phillips and her companions were taken to the "Greenhow Prison" on August 30th, seven days after their arrest.[37] It is unlikely that Lewis was on guard duty at both places simultaneously and therefore possible that Stanton made only one visit, and that to the "Greenhow Prison." Whether his companion was Colonel Key or a doctor remains uncertain.

There is no definite indication that Mrs. Phillips and Mrs. Greenhow had been working together as Southern agents. But the latter relates that after the Battle of Manassas she visited the Old Capitol Prison to minister to the Confederate wounded there. Accompanied by Miss Mackall, and in conjunction with high

[34] Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, p. 100-01.
[35] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 106-08.
[36] Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, p. 66 (footnote).
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

parties " whom it would be imprudent to name," she supplied the prisoners with needful things, and " Mrs. Phillips and family also exerted themselves in this holy work." As Mrs. Phillips remained a prisoner until at least February 20th, she was not released until Stanton had become Secretary of War. Then in June, 1862, in New Orleans General B. F. Butler found her guilty of disrespectful conduct when a Yankee officer's funeral passed her house and branded her as an uncommon, bad, and dangerous woman stirring up strife and inciting to riot. He had her confined on Ship Island, allowed her only a soldier's ration daily, together with the means of cooking same, and permitted her to communicate with no one except through his office.[38]

Although Mrs. Greenhow was now in custody and closely watched, Pinkerton soon realized she was continuing to send cipher messages South. Some of these, entrusted to an officer she thought she had bribed successfully, were confiscated, and it appears her cipher was broken by the Federals.[39] On October 27th Acting Secretary of War Benjamin transmitted to General Joseph E. Johnston by special messenger a private note for Colonel Jordan containing a cipher message President Davis had received addressed to Thomas John Rayford, and for which the President believed Jordan had the key.[40] Jordan forwarded a translation to Mr. Benjamin, said it seemed to have been sent by Mrs. Greenhow and explained that Rayford was a name he had selected before leaving Washington for cipher correspondence with her. He was not certain she had written the note and thought it might be a shallow device of the enemy to draw an informative reply which would be intercepted.[41]

Jordan added that the cipher, hastily devised in April, had been found easily decipherable. It would have been discarded long ago had Mrs. Greenhow escaped detection, and just as she was arrested he had been about to send her a new one. He knew the War Department in Washington had one of her cipher letters and felt they must have worked out the key. " I used it with but the lady, and with her it has served our purpose, including the one great

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 26-27. Also see prison list. *O. R.*, Ser. II, II, 236-37 and Special Orders, No. 150, Department of the Gulf, *ibid.*, Ser. I, XV, p. 510-11.

[39] Pinkerton to Porter, Nov. —, 1861. *Ibid.*, Ser. II, II, 568-69.

[40] Acting Secretary of War Benjamin to General Joseph E. Johnston, Oct. 27, 1861. *Ibid.*, Ser. I, V, 923.

[41] Jordan to Benjamin, Oct. 29, 1861. *Ibid.*, p. 928.

service of saving General Bonham from disastrous surprise on the 17th of July." [42]

Jordan also informed Benjamin that from another source he learned a reward was offered for the cipher key. As the cipher was now useless, he was inclined to furnish the key through a person in Washington and let his friend get the reward. Jordan stated further that Dr. Van Camp had just arrived at Centerville to inform them of the place to be attacked by the Annapolis armada and that Van Camp's informant was John F. Callan, Clerk of the U. S. Senate Military Committee. Jordan had received information, too, on the 24th from Washington from a lady of capacity and wit from whom he expected much timely and acute observation of a useful nature.[43]

The type of information Jordan hoped to get from the lady is best illustrated by the news Van Camp had just procured about the Annapolis armada. "Dr. Van Camp," General Holmes reported on the 28th, "is just from Washington, says the enemy, 65,000 strong, will land below Mathias Point tonight, and that sixteen regiments are opposite Evensport with sixty guns, light artillery." [44]

Meanwhile, as Allan Pinkerton indicates, the Federal Government was trying to treat Mrs. Greenhow as considerately as possible, although it realized she had caused the Union great harm. She herself wrote: "My social position was such that they did not dare follow out the suggestions of their first excited consultations in disposing of me." [45] Her connections were indeed such as to embarrass greatly the highest authority.

As young girls, Rose O'Neale and her sister Ellen Elizabeth had left Montgomery County, Maryland, and gone to Washington. Both are believed to have been brought up there under the guidance of an aunt, Mrs. Hill, who conducted the city's most fashionable boarding house in the Old Capitol building. At some social function young Rose met and conquered Cave Johnson, later Postmaster General in President Polk's cabinet, and the fascinated Tennessean beaued her devotedly about the capital.[46] She then

[42] *Ibid.*
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] General T. H. Holmes to General Cooper, Oct. 28, 1861. *Ibid.*, Ser. I, LI, Part II, 360.
[45] Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
[46] Doster, *op. cit.*, p. 80. General Doster, writing more than fifty years after

met, charmed, and, in 1835, married Robert Greenhow of the noted Richmond family, a fastidious scholar, doctor, linguist and author who was a friend of Lord Byron. Robert Greenhow, whose greatest work was his history of Oregon and California, was for twenty-two years librarian and translator of the State Department, and died in San Francisco in 1854.[47]

Early in 1835 Rose's sister Ellen married James Madison Cutts, a nephew of Dolly Madison. Dolly Payne had married James Madison, Lucy Payne had married Colonel George Washington Steptoe, a nephew of George Washington, and Anna Payne had married Richard Cutts, a Congressman who had previously been a judge in Massachusetts. President Madison and Richard Cutts were intimate friends, and in 1812 Dolly, writing Anna that a room and sisterly affection awaited Richard at the White House, added: "He will be here, I hope, in time to give his vote for war." [48]

Richard Cutts, father of Ellen O'Neale's husband, after twelve years in Congress became Superintendent of Military Stores in Madison's second term. When this high office was abolished in 1817, the position of Second Comptroller of the Treasury was created and President Monroe promptly appointed Richard Cutts who held it for twelve years under Presidents Monroe and John Quincy Adams. On the death of Richard Cutts, he was eloquently eulogized by ex-President John Q. Adams.[49]

At the time of Mrs. Greenhow's arrest as a spy, her brother-in-law, James Madison Cutts, held his father's former position of Second Comptroller of the Treasury, having been appointed by President Buchanan and retained by President Lincoln. He and his

1861, gives Mrs. Greenhow's maiden name incorrectly as "McNeill" instead of "O'Neale."

[47] *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-37), VII, 580.

[48] For Ellen O'Neale's marriage, see Cecil H. C. Howard, *Genealogy of the Cutts Family in America* (Albany, 1892), p. 167. For marriages of Dolly, Lucy, and Anna Payne, see (1), *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 181-82; (2), *Memoirs and Letters of Dolly Madison* (Boston, 1886), edited by her grandniece, pp. 11 and 36; and (3), Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 86. For intimacy of Madison and Cutts families, see *Memoirs and Letters of Dolly Madison*, pp. 75, 79, 117, and 201. Houghton, Mifflin Company, publishers, state that Lucia B. Cutts signed their publication contract for the *Memoirs* but cannot tell whether she edited the book. Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 168, states Lucia Beverly Cutts was a daughter of Richard Dominicus Cutts, who was a nephew of Dolly Madison, and that she edited *Memoirs and Letters of Dolly Madison.*

[49] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (Washington, 1928), p. 874. Also see obituary notice written by John Quincy Adams in Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 544-46, and Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, 349.

wife Ellen (O'Neale) Cutts were the parents of Rose Adele Cutts and James Madison Cutts, Jr.[50] Rose, presumably named for her aunt Mrs. Greenhow, was indisputably the belle of Washington just prior to the Civil War. Beautiful, universally loved and admired, and possessing much of the charm of manner of her great-aunt, Dolly Madison, she had married late in 1856 Senator Stephen A. Douglas who in 1860 was defeated by Lincoln for the Presidency. After the inauguration, Senator and Mrs. Douglas were among the first to call upon the President. And some time after her husband's death in June, 1861, Mrs. Douglas is understood to have called on President Lincoln for friendly counsel regarding her private affairs.[51] At the time of this call her aunt was evidently sending messages to Jordan and may have already been taken into custody.

James Madison Cutts, Jr., brother of Mrs. Douglas and nephew of Mrs. Greenhow, was a lawyer. He enlisted in the First Rhode Island Volunteers as a private on May 2, 1861, and on May 14, at the request of his brother-in-law, Senator Douglas, President Lincoln commissioned him as a captain in the 11th U. S. Infantry. He was soon placed on the staff of General Burnside as aide and judge-advocate, later served in the field and was wounded, and won promotion and high awards for most gallant and distinguished service.[52]

Another member of the powerful Cutts family devoted to the Northern cause but nevertheless close to Mrs. Greenhow was her sister Ellen's brother-in-law, Richard Dominicus Cutts. Also a nephew of Dolly Madison, he held in 1860 a responsible position in the United States Coast Survey. In 1861 he became a colonel in the U. S. Army and by November, when Mrs. Greenhow was in custody and still communicating with the Union forces, he was an aide of General H. W. Halleck. Later he was made a brevet brigadier general and remained on Halleck's staff.[53]

[50] Howard, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 167, and 293.

[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 167 and 293. Also sketch of Stephen A. Douglas in *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 401. Also Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln—The War Years* (New York, 1939), I, 269.

[52] Howard, *op. cit.*, pp. 167 and 571-74. Also Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, 349. In a letter to the author, dated Nov. 14, 1945, the Adjutant General, War Department, states Captain Cutts became aide de camp to General Burnside Apr. 22, 1862.

[53] Howard, *op. cit.*, pp. 86 and 560. Also Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, 349. In a letter to the author, dated Nov. 14, 1945, the Adjutant General, War Department, states Colonel Cutts was appointed aide de camp to General Halleck, Nov. 16, 1861 and relieved from that duty May 27, 1865.

Such connections were indeed sufficient to require that Mrs. Greenhow be treated with the utmost consideration. And adding undoubtedly to official perplexity was her close and well-known friendship with ex-president Buchanan.[54] Drastic measures against her might have embarrassed her relations and connections greatly. It was probably for this reason that she was at first restrained genteelly by being confined in her own home. This mild action might cut off her communications with the rebels and make it difficult for her to try to secure access to the important military and political information held by members of the Cutts family.

But contrary, perhaps, to official expectations, all of Mrs. Greenhow's relatives did not lose touch with her. Under date of November 16, 1861, she recorded as callers, " my sister, Mrs. James Madison Cutts, and my niece, the Honourable Mrs. Stephen A. Douglass." [55] There is no official confirmation of this particular visit, but two months later Assistant Secretary of State Seward wrote Provost Marshal General Porter that Mrs. Stephen A. Douglas should be permitted to make a single visit to Mrs. Greenhow in the presence " of a proper officer." [56]

After finding in a message to Jordan Mrs. Greenhow's statement that Van Camp had destroyed a Confederate dispatch to her, Pinkerton sought further information about the dentist. On November 26th two Federal agents found a U. S. Army doctor deserting to the South who had used a conveyance provided for that purpose by Van Camp. Much evidence against the latter developed, and one witness related that the spying dentist had stated that at Manassas he had had his wounded son appointed orderly to Beauregard. Charged with " communicating with the rebels," he was placed in the Old Capitol Prison and Pinkerton recommended that he be kept in close confinement to the end of the war. In due time two highly solicitous members of Congress asked the Secretary of State to permit the prisoner to take the oath of allegiance, file a bond to keep the peace, and move to the North or Northwest. Assistant Secretary Seward replied with suave regret that the military authorities when consulted had expressed a very decided opinion adverse to release.[57]

[54] Doster, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
[55] Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
[56] Seward to Porter, Jan. 20, 1862. *O. R.*, Ser. II, II, 575.
[57] Pinkerton to Porter, Jan. 9, 1862. *Ibid.*, p. 572-74. Offense charged on prison record, efforts by Congressmen, and State Department reply, *ibid.*, pp. 271 and 574.

In her book Mrs. Greenhow claims that in December, a few hours before the death of her intimate friend Miss Mackall, she wrote Secretary Seward for permission to see her friend, and that the Secretary wrote General Porter " that in consequence of her correspondence with the general commanding the armies now besieging Washington " her request to visit Miss Mackall could not be granted.[58] Incredible as the exceedingly frank wording of the quoted phrase may seem, Secretary Seward did write a note to General Porter on December 12th which, while not mentioning Miss Mackall, is practically as quoted by Mrs. Greenhow, and asks that she be informed " that her correspondence with the commanding general of the army besieging the capital " renders improper all interference in her behalf.[59]

On the same day that Secretary Seward refused to interfere, Colonel Jordan sent a message to a " Colonel Empty " (*Michael Thompson*) saying " All that you do and that our good friend has done are understood in the right quarter and appreciated." Beauregard's adjutant-general also enclosed a new cipher, avoiding the repetition of the same character in the same form which had constituted the chief weakness of the earlier cipher. Jordan's letter, together with one from Donellan and other incriminating papers, was found when Thompson was arrested on the 21st and his person, home, and office searched.[60] In the desk of Lewis L. McArthur, Thompson's confidential clerk, were discovered a rebel flag and a plan for a new cipher in the clerk's hand but signed with the cipher symbol for Thompson. Many symbols used in the new cipher were the same as in the one employed by Mrs. Greenhow, and there were added special conventional signs intended to confuse and mislead the enemy in case of interception.[61]

On December 19th the Navy Department turned over to Pinkerton letters seized aboard the captured ship *Lucretia.* Fourteen in McArthur's handwriting were from Thompson to persons in rebel States. When both men were confined in the Old Capitol, Pinkerton recommended that Thompson, who had refused to name any of his mail carriers or to take the oath of allegiance, as a military necessity be kept in close confinement until the end of the

[58] Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
[59] Seward to Porter, Dec. 12, 1861. *O. R.*, Ser. II, II, 571-72.
[60] Pinkerton to Porter, Jan. 9, 1862. *Ibid.*, pp. 1310 and 1308.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 1311-12.

war. For McArthur close confinement was recommended for a similar period, or until the Federal armies advanced so far that the prisoner could no longer harm the Government.[62]

On the 23rd William T. Smithson, the Washington banker, using the alias of "Charles R. Cables," sent two communications to the Southern forces which General Joseph E. Johnston relayed promptly to Acting Secretary of War Benjamin. In one note Smithson stated the Army of the Potomac would advance between then and January 5th and that General Porter (the Federal Provost Marshal) had told a friend an advance was likely that week. He also reported: "Colonel Thompson has been arrested; letters found on the ducker; poor fellow."[63]

The second communication was a note received by Smithson on December 23rd from someone he called "our friend" who was evidently a prisoner who had learned from a visitor that McClellan's forces would advance within ten days. It indicated the Federals wished to get rid of the prisoner because of the latter's daring activities. Unconditional release might be compelled but could take a long time. The mysterious prisoner was willing to remain in captivity if desirable. What course should be followed?[64]

On December 26th, more than four months after her arrest, a dispatch was sent Colonel Jordan by Mrs. Greenhow and passed on to the War Department in Richmond on instructions from Beauregard.[65] It suggests strongly that she was the mysterious informant who had sent a note to Smithson which the latter had forwarded to Jordan as "from our friend."

Mrs. Greenhow stated 1200 cavalry supported by artillery would cross the river in a day or two to get behind Manassas, and a frontal attack was also to be made. As to herself, she wrote: "They find me a hard bargain, and I shall be, I think, released in a few days, without condition, but to go South. A confidential member of McClellan's staff came to see me and tell me that my case should form an exception and I only want to gain time. All my plans are nearly completed.[66]

According to Mrs. Greenhow, the member of McClellan's staff who visited her was his aide, Colonel Thomas Marshall Key, and

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 1309-12.
[63] General J. E. Johnston to Benjamin, Dec. 25, 1861. *Ibid.*, Ser. I, V, 1006-07.
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 1007.
[65] Jordan to Confederate War Department, Jan. 18, 1862. *Ibid.*, p. 1038.
[66] *Ibid.*

the date was December 20th. The aide, she says, though her imprisonment impolitic, and his talks with some heads of Government revealed they were greatly embarrassed. As they had concluded they could not make terms with her, the only course left was banishment. When she demanded unconditional release, indemnity for her losses, and restoration of papers and effects, Key stated he might not be able to do anything about her freedom as there was a very strong influence against her. He suggested she let him make the best possible terms. She replied she would need time to think and would want him to call him again.[67]

Two days after Mrs. Greenhow's note of the 26th, another message from Washington was sent to Jordan, probably by Smithson. Referring to a dispatch he had sent on the 27th, the writer stated: " I omitted to say yesterday that I enclosed a dispatch from our friend Mrs. Greenhow which I hope reached you today." This doubtless referred to Mrs. Greenhow's note of the 26th, and as on the 23rd Smithson forwarded a note also evidently from Mrs. Greenhow it seems probable that Mrs. Greenhow was getting information somehow in the Old Capitol Prison and passing it on through Smithson, and that Smithson wrote the message dated the 28th.

After referring to Mrs. Greenhow and another agent, the message related that the following week Kelley was to advance on Winchester, Stone and Banks were to cross and go to Leesburg, Burnside's fleet would engage the Potomac batteries, and McClellan would move on Centerville and Manassas. It continued: " This information comes from one of McClellan's aides and from Fox of the Navy Department." [68]

The McClellan aide was probably Colonel Key, whose visits to her Mrs. Greenhow describes at length, and " Fox of the Navy Department " was surely Assistant Secretary of the Navy Gustavus V. Fox. In justice to both men, it is imperative to stress here that their loyalty has never been doubted. At its worst, their being named as the source of information must be considered solely in the light of General Beauregard's illuminating remark that in the transmission of data to the Southern forces men high in Northern council were " unconscious ducts."

" Greenhow Prison " now received another feminine prisoner.

[67] Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, p. 164-66.
[68] *O. R.*, Ser. I, V, 1038.

This was Mrs. C. V. Baxley, arrested in Baltimore about December 30th and charged with " carrying information to Richmond." She had taken letters there, including some to Jefferson Davis, and had brought many back, together with a commission as surgeon in the Confederate Army for a Dr. Septimus Brown who was also arrested. A full report of her activities was sent to McClellan's chief of staff by General Dix's adjutant.[69]

Promptly Mrs. Baxley sought to be released. She wrote Secretary Seward that the letters she had taken South were not State papers but only private correspondence. As she put it, somehow she happened to be introduced to President Davis, had merely secured a commission for Dr. Brown, and had incidentally tried to get a cadetship for her son. Later she renewed her plea to Secretary Stanton. Two months subsequently she informed Dr. Brown: " I did write to Seward and since to Stanton, but 'tis useless; they've too much against me. The commission is not all." [70]

Why she despaired even then is not clear for she had also conveyed to Dr. Brown the good news that " Colonel Thompson is out at last! " The original evidence against Thompson was ample. Further, he had refused to take the oath of allegiance and then Pinkerton, discovering more evidence against him, had renewed with greater emphasis his recommendation that " Colonel Empty " be imprisoned for the duration. Yet the prisoner had been freed.

The shadowing of Thompson prior to his arrest had shown his intimate connection with Smithson, and two of the cipher letters found on the captured *Lucretia* had for signature Smithson's alias " Charles R. Cables." Both communications contained military information. In one Smithson said: " Everything I have after paying my debts is at the command of those you represent. If you should fail to succeed, I don't wish to live any longer." In the other he reported 3000 Federal cavalry had crossed the Potomac, and commented: " I have something nice for your chief which I will send soon, and for General Beauregard." On January 8, 1862, Smithson was arrested by order of the State Department and taken to Fort Lafayette in New York. His premises were sub-

[69] *O. R.*, Ser. II, II, 1315. Prison record, *ibid.*, p. 237; Dr. Brown's arrest, p. 1315; Major Ludlow's report to General R. B. Marcy, Chief of Staff, Dec. 30, 1861, p. 1315-16.

[70] Mrs. Baxley to Secretary of State, Jan. 3 and 5, 1862, to Secretary of War, Mar. 10, 1862, and to Dr. Brown, Mar. 14, 1862. *Ibid.*, 1316-20.

jected to thorough search and Assistant Secretary Seward cautioned General Porter that nothing was to be removed.[71]

Meanwhile matters were developing unfavorably for Mrs. Greenhow. She relates that on January 6th she sent for McClellan's aide, Colonel Key, who told her that several letters she had written Secretary Seward had aroused much indignation. He left her to consult persons he would not name and returned two hours later to inform her that because of the dangerous knowledge she had it was deemed inexpedient to release her. She guessed that Seward and McClellan, instigated by Pinkerton, had brought about this decision. She had heard as early as December 27th that, fearing her escape, the Government had decided to remove her to a prison. On January 18th she was transferred to the Old Capitol.[72]

Three weeks later a prisoner said by Pinkerton to be " a second Mrs. Greenhow " was also placed in the Old Capitol. She was Mrs. Augusta Morris, arrested by order of General McClellan. Her prison record reads: " Spy; actively connected with Walworth, Smithson, and others. Sent to Washington by General Johnston." Pinkerton reported she had been transmitting information to the enemy, that Colonel Jordan had called on her at Brown's Hotel, and that in a letter to her Jordan, expressing the hope that " Jane Elmford " had not been involved through Smithson's arrest, spoke of Mrs. Greenhow as a persecuted individual.[73]

Mrs. Morris, also known as " Miss Ada M. Hewitt " and " Mrs. Mason," was very likely the " lady of capacity and wit " from whom, as he had informed Acting Secretary of War Benjamin four months earlier, Beauregard's adjutant-general expected much timely and acute observation. That he actually obtained such information from her appears in a letter written by Mrs. Morris to her husband on February 19th addressed in care of Jordan's assistant, Major T. G. Rhett, and intercepted by Federal agents. She told her husband she had been sent to Washington by Generals Beauregard and Johnston with the consent of President Davis, and that McClellan had arrested her too late for " I already had gotten his plans, as laid before the military committee, from one of the members." [74]

[71] Smithson's connection with Thompson; Pinkerton to Porter, Jan. 9, 1862. *Ibid.*, p. 1310. Smithson's arrest, *ibid.*, p. 1354-56.

[72] Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-78 and 202-05.

[73] *O. R.*, Ser. II, II, 1346. Prison record, *ibid.*, p. 272; Pinkerton report, p. 1346-47.

[74] Mrs. Morris to Dr. Mason, Feb. 19, 1862. *Ibid.*, p. 1348.

On February 7th, the same day Mrs. Morris was arrested, M. T. Walworth was taken into custody by order of General McClellan, charged with being a spy and connected with her and William T. Smithson.[75] Commenting on their arrests, the *New York Herald* stated that the lady, who was charged with informing the enemy as to the position of Washington fortifications and the strength of Federal troops, was the gay, dashing and sprightly "widow" who had offered for $100,000 to explain Confederate Army signals. As to Walworth, charged with complicity, the paper reported that he was a clerk in the Adjutant General's office and a son of Chancellor Walworth of New York.[76]

In a second intercepted letter to a Colonel B. T. Johnson on February 19th, Mrs. Morris informed him of her arrest on McClellan's orders, that she was in solitary confinement, and that "Greenhow enjoys herself immensely." She also conveyed a cryptic message she was sure he would understand. Another letter dated the 24th fell into Federal hands. This warned Jordan her letters to him since her arrest were being opened, resealed, and forwarded. She asked: "Did the ones with [McClellan's] plans as given to the military committee reach you?" and added: "I have great hopes of you if McClellan will give you fight." Mentioning a cabal against her formed by Mrs. Greenhow, she wrote of the latter: "She is drowned by mean ambition of being known as the only one in the good work, and jealous of everything that surpasses her in loyalty and courage."[77]

That spirited rivalry existed making it impossible for Mrs. Greenhow, Mrs. Morris, and Mrs. Baxley to collaborate closely is quite likely, and Colonel Jordan probably found it desirable to give them assignments providing as little contact as possible. Respecting Mrs. Morris, Mrs. Greenhow professed to believe she had been arrested on grounds related more to scandal than to espionage. And understanding Mrs. Baxley claimed to have a letter for her and instructions to communicate with her, she dismissed all this as "the result of a disordered imagination."[78] But what Mrs. Morris thought of Mrs. Baxley was that she was probably also acting for the Federals. According to Pinkerton, she wrote Colonel Jordan that some Maryland friends told her

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 1351-52. Prison record, *ibid.*, p. 272.
[76] *Ibid.*, p. 1349.
[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 1350 and 1349.
[78] Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, pp. 254 and 169.

Mrs. Baxley had been put in prison with Mrs. Greenhow to get as much information as possible out of her. Who, Mrs. Morris wanted to know, was Mrs. Baxley?[79]

Using evidence developed in part through the arrest of Mrs. Greenhow, Pinkerton had done remarkably well in breaking up the Confederate spy ring. In all his reports, except in the case of Walworth, his recommendation, which undoubtedly reflected the will of McClellan, was that the prisoners be kept under lock and key for the duration. Knowing the tendency of high authority to release them on parole or upon taking the oath of allegiance, or to casually send them South, he stressed with eloquent logic that those arrested had greatly endangered the Northern cause. Loyalty to those fighting for it demanded that those arrested should not be freed to resume their activities.[80]

Yet for all but Dr. Van Camp, whose fate is not revealed, there is a record of early release with the severest condition imposed being the oath of allegiance or a parole of honor. Almost as though the power to free were being exercised from Richmond, Mrs. Hassler, Walker, Colonel Thompson, Mrs. Phillips, Dr. Brown, McArthur, Smithson, and Walworth were soon at liberty. In Smithson's case, the Dix-Pierrepont Commission report favoring release was approved by order of the Secretary of War, who later had reason to regret it, and Assistant Secretary Watson authorized his release on taking the oath of allegiance.[81]

As to Walworth, an oddly subdued Pinkerton, seemingly forgetting that Southern feminine agents worked very effectively upon Federal employees they met socially and that Walworth had also been connected with Smithson, recorded: "There is nothing in the papers of Mrs. Morris or of himself to show any treasonable practices on the part of M. T. Walworth. He appeared to be mixed up with Mrs. Morris socially to some extent like several other parties." With understandable courtesy, the Commission's secretary, who was also secretary to the Secretary of State, for-

[79] *O. R.*, Ser. II, II, 1347.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 569.

[81] Mrs. Hassler released Oct. 30, 1861. *Ibid.*, p. 295. Walker released Nov. 26, 1861, p. 571; Dr. Brown ordered released Apr. 8, 1862, p. 1321; McArthur released Feb. 22, 1862, pp. 238 and 245; Walworth ordered released Apr. 1, 1862, p. 1352; Thompson reported "out at last!" by Mrs. Baxley, p. 1320; Mrs. Phillips reported by General B. F. Butler as "released by clemency of Government," *ibid.*, Ser. I, XV, 510. Smithson release approved by Secretary of War, *ibid.*, Ser. II, II, 1356; released May 10, 1862, p. 1357.

warded to Chancellor R. H. Walworth of New York a copy of the Commission's order for his son's discharge from the Old Capitol Prison. From it he learned that his son, said to have met the gay Mrs. Morris only socially, must nevertheless take a special oath of allegiance requiring him to leave Washington, repair to the paternal home in Saratoga, New York, report daily to his father, remain within his home county, and refrain from holding correspondence with any person in the States in armed insurrection.[82]

As to Mrs. Greenhow, Mrs. Baxley, and Mrs. Morris, the Dix-Pierrepont Commission relating to State Prisoners ordered on April 1st that, if these ladies consented, they were to be conveyed beyond the United States lines into the State of Virginia and released upon giving a written parole of honor not to return north of the Potomac during hostilities without permission of the Secretary of War.[83] The ladies undoubtedly did not object seriously, although Mrs. Greenhow indicates she at first said she would not obligate herself not to return. However, by April 14th she was insisting that there be no more delay.[84] But by then someone important must have protested vigorously for it was not until June 2nd that the three prisoners went South via Fortress Monroe.

Undoubtedly neither McClellan nor his intelligence chief, Pinkerton, was eager to release the ladies. Mrs. Morris had been arrested by McClellan's order, a report on the arrest of Mrs. Baxley had been made to his chief of staff, and Pinkerton had arrested Mrs. Greenhow. As to the latter, McClellan knew she had sent important information to Beauregard, and her own comment that the Prince de Joinville, attached to McClellan's staff, lamented that a female spy sent information of the general's plans to Beauregard, is confirmed by the Prince. Writing of McClellan's plans for the Army of the Potomac de Joinville states the general had to reveal them at a council, that the next day they were known to the Confederate enemy, conveyed, no doubt, " by one of those thousand female spies who keep up his connections into the domestic circles of the federal enemy . . . " and that thereupon Johnston evacuated Manassas.[85]

[82] Pinkerton report on Mrs. Morris. *Ibid.*, p. 1347.
[83] *Ibid.*, p. 577.
[84] Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, pp. 282 and 284.
[85] Prince de Joinville, *The Army of the Potomac* (New York, 1862), p. 27.

Mrs. Greenhow relates that Congressman Ely of New York told her on April 26th that McClellan had ordered her held, and that Senator Bayard of Delaware informed her later that he had learned from General Wadsworth that McClellan had countermanded the order to send her South and had demanded that she be kept in custody to the war's end.[86] On April 1st, when the three women were ordered released, it is possible McClellan had consented, thinking such leniency politic as three of his own agents were then in grave danger in Richmond. However, when Pryce Lewis and John Scully, were sentenced to hang on April 6th and Timothy Webster, Pinkerton's best agent, was hanged on April 29th,[87] McClellan had ample reason to insist that the release of Mrs. Greenhow, Mrs. Morris, and Mrs. Baxley be revoked or postponed to permit bargaining or retaliation.

As soon as the Federal Government learned of the death sentences, strenuous efforts were made to save the three men, Lewis relates that Pinkerton and McClellan's aide, Colonel Key, saw President Lincoln and that the rebel authorities were notified that it would be unwise to hang the Federal agents. Pinkerton adds that after he and Key saw the President a cabinet meeting was held and a message sent to Richmond. It stated the North had treated Southern agents most leniently and that hanging of Northern agents would inevitably mean retaliation.[88]

Webster died on the scaffold, but something certainly happened to save Lewis and Scully. It may be that their lives were spared in exchange for the freeing of Mrs. Greenhow, Mrs. Morris, and Mrs. Baxley, and that this arrangement caused McClellan to withdraw the objection attributed to him that presumably held up release of Mrs. Greenhow for two months. In fact, Lewis states that in September, 1863, in Richmond three citizens of Fairfax County released from the Old Capitol Prison on condition that they do their best for his release and that of Scully informed him that the release of the two Federal agents had been ordered earlier and that Mrs. Greenhow had been sent to Richmond to procure it.

[86] Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, pp. 289 and 299.

[87] Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, pp. 523-24, 544, 558 and 586. As early as Apr. 6, 1862, C. C. Fulton at Fort Monroe informed Assistant Secretary of the Navy G. V. Fox that "Richmond papers mention that 2 men Price Lewis and John Sully have been convicted as spies and were to have been hung yesterday but that a short respite has been granted." *O. R.*, Ser. II, III, 429.

[88] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 293; Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, p. 544-48.

Mrs. Greenhow admits only that when she arrived in Richmond, Lewis and Scully wrote her and asked her intervention on their behalf.[89]

Though Lewis and Scully were not executed, they were not returned North until late in 1863 after prolonged negotiations for exchange. The Federals were very anxious to get them back and the Confederates equally reluctant to let them go. On May 25, 1863, Colonel Ludlow, the exasperated Federal exchange agent, wrote sharply to Robert Ould, the Confederate exchange agent:

> I bring to your mind the cases of Lewis and Scully. You distinctly and without reservation told me that these men should be delivered on the day following the delivery to you of a large number of citizen prisoners, their names were especially mentioned and I have not received them. [90]

Nevertheless, Lewis and Scully were not pried loose until months later when former General Humphrey Marshall, an influential lawyer in Richmond, acted for them. Pinkerton, duly appreciative, saw to it that the War Department sent Marshall his fee. When one messenger failed to get the funds through, they were delivered by the Confederate spy Belle Boyd on her release from the Old Capitol in December, 1863.[91]

But Mrs. Greenhow's departure South in June, 1862, did not end the activities of her associate Smithson in Washington nor her interest in them. Evidence of this materialized when the banker was again arrested in May, 1863, on what Secretary Stanton termed "charges of grave magnitude." [92] On May 25th Judge Advocate General Holt reported to Stanton that Smithson, who had taken the oath of allegiance a year earlier, had nevertheless been engaged for a long time in buying and selling Southern securities and bank currency. He had also corresponded with rebels about running the blockade, and had been acting as agent for Mrs. Greenhow who authorized him to handle her securities and funds. In his bank were found a stock certificate in her name and a letter urging him to sell the stock for her and to remit the proceeds through a person she named. She asked him, too, to join her in cotton and tobacco speculations in Richmond which she represented as promising large profits.[93]

[89] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 293; Mrs. Greenhow, *op. cit.*, p. 66 (footnote).
[90] *O. R.*, Ser. II, V, 703.
[91] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 309-10.
[92] Stanton to Park Bank, May 20, 1863. *O. R.*, Ser. I, V, 664.
[93] Judge Advocate General Holt to Stanton. *Ibid.*, p. 699-701.

General Holt recommended that all property of Mrs. Greenhow be seized and applied to the support of the United States Army. Similar action was suggested as to Smithson's assets.[94]

In August, 1863, Mrs. Greenhow proceeded to Wilmington, N. C. to sail for Europe aboard the *Phantom.* On August 4th she wrote President Davis that she expected to leave in a few hours and hoped to get away safely. With other items of information she reported that she had received a letter from a Colonel Jones stating that Louisiana and Mississippi were wholly in the possession of the Yankees. In conclusion she wrote: "And now, my dear sir, I must say goodbye. I can never sufficiently thank you for your goodness to me. May Heaven guard you, sir, and keep you in health, is my most fervent prayer." [95]

After a year abroad, during which she published in England the story of her imprisonment, Mrs. Greenhow sailed for home aboard the *Condor.* When the ship ran aground near Wilmington, she attempted to get ashore in a small boat. The boat turned over in the heavy surf, and, weighed down by a bag of gold sovereigns about her waist, she was drowned.[96] It was generally believed that the gold represented proceeds of the sale of her book in England, and Provost Marshal Doster, commenting on this belief, admitted he had paid $16.00 in gold for a copy.[97]

At about the time of Mrs. Greenhow's death in September, 1864, Confederate Exchange Commissioner Ould was trying hard to get Smithson released. On September 2nd James Hamilton, a Union man who had been held in the South as a hostage, wrote Secretary Stanton that he and a man named Culbertson had been liberated on promising Ould that they would try to get Smithson and a Reverend Dr. Handy freed. Hamilton added: "We were told that you consent to the release of Handy." [98]

Handy may have been released, but Smithson apparently was not and became quite indignant. In 1866, after the war, and despite the conclusive evidence againest him, he audaciously brought suit against the Secretary of War. On September 12th

[94] *Ibid.*

[95] Letter, Mrs. Greenhow to Jefferson Davis, Aug. 4, 1863. *Confederate Veteran* XL (Nashville, 1932), 187. "Carroll Dulaney" of the *Baltimore News-Post* and *American* states this had recently come into the possession of a Baltimore collector.

[96] Margaret Leech, *Reveille in Washington* (New York, 1941), p. 441.

[97] Doster, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

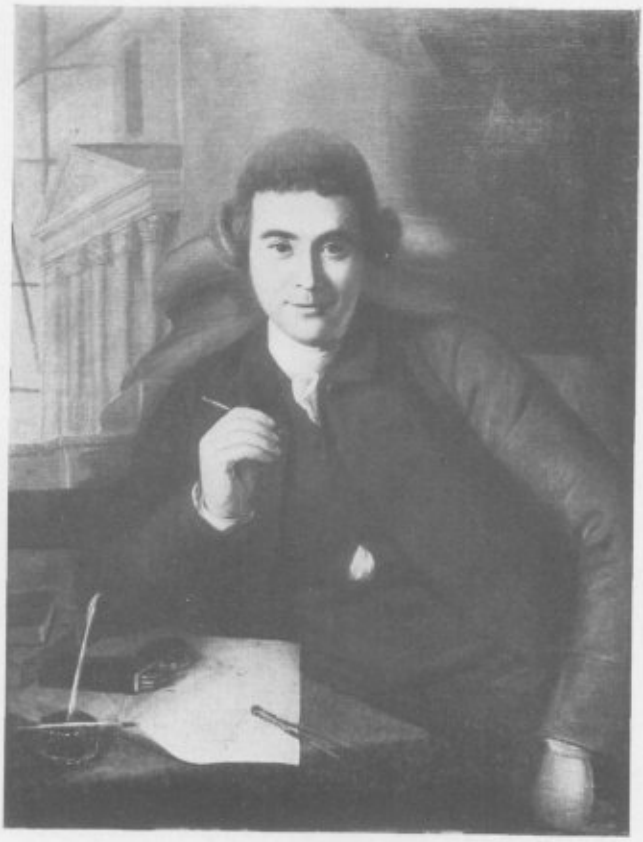
[98] James Hamilton to Stanton, Sept. 2, 1864. *O. R.*, Ser. II, VII, 849.

Major General Philip H. Sheridan came to the support of his assailed superior. He reported from New Orleans that a sister of charity had just called upon him and related that Smithson in the fall of 1861 had tried to send through the lines a plan of the Washington fortifications and other information. The papers had been enclosed in a small plug of tobacco, the center of which had been scooped out for a hiding place, and the end of the plug had been cut off as though used. Smithson's plan had failed when the sister of charity had returned the papers to him because a paroled rebel prisoner declined to take them through on the ground that it would constitute a violation of his parole. If the Secretary wished, the lady was willing to go to Washington to testify.[99]

Despite Smithson's bold suit against Stanton, there is no doubt that he was an important Confederate agent. Regarding Mrs. Greenhow, the evidence outlined in this article makes it apparent that she was an equally if not more important one, and that her arrest led to the apprehension of several others. Yet, unaccountably, the reality of her activities is doubted and challenged.

In its sketch of Robert Greenhow, the *Dictionary of American Biography*[100] refers cautiously to his wife as "an alleged Confederate spy." Even less impressed, and not troubling to prove their charge, the authors of *The Women of the Confederacy*[101] brand Mrs. Greenhow's own recital as a work of adventure "of slight value and of doubtful authenticity." But, upon the available evidence, to doubt or to challenge Mrs. Greenhow's service as a Southern agent is futile unless it is first charged and then proved that such distinguished Southern leaders as General Beauregard, Colonel (later Brigadier General) Jordan, and Burton Harrison are not competent, reliable, and effective witnesses on her behalf.

[99] General P. H. Sheridan to Stanton, Sept. 12, 1866. *Ibid.*, Ser. II, II, 1357.
[100] *Op. cit.*, VII, 580.
[101] F. B. Simkins and J. W. Patton (Richmond, 1936), p. 295.



WILLIAM BUCKLAND

1734-1774

By Charles Willson Peale

Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery

WILLIAM BUCKLAND, ARCHITECT OF VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

By ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE [1]

The name of William Buckland has been bandied about among the experts ever since one of the great authorities on Americana brought him out of obscurity in 1933 and introduced him to a somewhat select audience. In his preface to *Great Georgian Houses of America* the late R. T. H. Halsey gave Buckland his rightful place as designer and builder of "Gunston Hall" in Virginia and of the six or eight more important houses of Annapolis, but for nearly a century and a half before this Buckland was known to many of the more erudite inhabitants of Maryland's capital city.

Few have been the buildings in the colonies that could claim even traditionally a named designer or builder. However, research is gradually uncovering a talented man here and a date there and fitting them together. Where architectural knowledge and historical accuracy go hand in hand the results are most gratifying. Unfortunately there is a tendency on the part of some writers to attribute houses to a single author because of similar detail, when facts and figures can produce no verification. The historical record of William Buckland was never completed but because of a revival of interest in the subject the earlier findings, corrected where necessary, are here combined with the results of recent research.

William Buckland appeared in print for many years as Matthew Buckland for no apparent reason and it was not until his indentures were discovered among the papers of his business partner that some of the facts of his brief life became known.[2] These indentures disclose that William Buckland was born in the Parish of St. Peters-in-the-East, Oxford, England, on August 14, 1734.

[1] For invaluable aid in research the author is indebted to Edith Rossiter Bevan. This article is based on a paper of the late Daniel R. Randall, 1930.

[2] Originals in possession of Richard H. Randall, Towson, Md.

He was the oldest of eight children baptised there, born of Francis Buckland, yeoman, and Mary Dunadone of Burford, a quaint village in the County of Oxford.[3] The church of St. Peter's is one of those sturdy Norman structures begun in 1120, added to throughout the next three centuries and, though the oldest in Oxford, is still serving the town's worshippers. Mr. Halsey felt sure that young William was influenced by a certain house in Warwickshire, Honington Hall, 22 miles from Oxford, that was being constructed while he was learning his trade. It seems pertinent to remark that he must have been influenced all through his early years by the beauty of the early churches and colleges of Oxford. An education in design and proportion was there for the taking.

In April of 1748 when not quite fourteen years old, William said goodbye to his father and mother and apprenticed himself to his uncle James Buckland, then a "citizen and joiner of London to learn his Art—and to serve unto the full end and term of Seven years, his Secrets keep, his lawful commandments everywhere gladly do." The usual contract of the time went on to state what the apprentice was to do and what considerations his Master must give in return; a contract of give and take unknown to modern trades and labor.

Of his seven apprentice years we know nothing definite. There was in London at the time one James Buckland, a bookseller with a shop at the Sign of the Buck in Pater Noster Row and the owner of a publishing house with a branch at Chelmsford in Essex. James' dates are given as 1711-1790 and he was a man of some eminence and one of the authorized sellers of Abraham Swan's architectural works.[4] While it is difficult to understand how a bookish man who advertised as such as early as 1735 could be the same joiner with whom William went to live, it is conceivable that there could have been some relationship and that the budding builder could have received further education through access to a library and stimulation to provide himself eventually with most of the great volumes of designs appearing from time to time during this revival of interest in building.

As William Buckland's seven years in London drew to a close, across the Atlantic in the colony of Virginia George Mason was

[3] From parish records supplied by the Rev. J. H. Wooster, Vicar, in June, 1946.
[4] Charles Henry Timperley, *Encyclopaedia of Literary & Typographical Anecdotes*. (London 1839), p. 765.

making plans to build himself a house. He has selected a site on the Potomac river on one of his many plantations, between the ports of Dumfries and Alexandria, of which latter embryo city he was a founding father. At this time Mason was active in the Virginia Assembly and in the militia; a hardworking, rheumatic little man, versed in law and with a killing sense of civic duty.[5] Many writers have commented on the simple exterior and the elaborate interior of "Gunston Hall." In all likelihood the floor plans of the new house were drawn and the brickwork perhaps already under way when George Mason wrote to his brother, Thomson, then finishing his course in law at the Inner Temple, to procure for him a skilled workman to finish the job.

From this point the second document discovered in the Randall family papers records in some detail the history of our builder. Dated August, 1755, William Buckland makes a contract "to serve Thomson Mason, Esq., in the Plantation of Virginia, Beyond the Seas, for the space of Four Years—and as all Covenant Servants shall be provided with food, drink, washing, lodging and a Salary of £20 Sterling per annum." He joined the large army of proficient workmen, political exiles, younger sons of the poorer gentry and the less wicked criminals, pouring into the colonies by every ship that left a British port. It was certainly no handicap to an ambitious young craftsman to begin his career with all expenses paid to the new world and under the favorable circumstance of being employed by the Masons of Virginia.

There are various notations on the back of this second indenture. The very day he signed it Buckland borrowed from Thomson Mason against his future pay and followed it the next day with a larger loan of £3 13 s. One wonders whether he was buying himself clothes, which do not seem to be allowed for in his contract, or having a final farewell party. Certainly he was in no position at this time to purchase, or even to need, the expensive volumes we find later in his library.

A more important addition on the back of the indenture is an endorsement of his builder in George Mason's handwriting. He states that Buckland had come to Virginia with his brother Thomson Mason and "had the entire Direction of the Carpenters and Joiners work of a large House." Thus, by November 8, 1759, Buckland must have completed "Gunston Hall" in the allotted

[5] Kate Mason Rowland, *Life of George Mason* (New York, 1892).

four years and earned his freedom. His employer, feeling kindly disposed towards him for the imagination and skill he had shown in producing interior trim and decoration that is still a wonder to all who see it, was recommending him "to any gentleman that may have occasion to employ him, as an honest, sober diligent man and I think a complete Master of the Carpenter's and Joiner's Business both in theory and practice." So, at twenty-five Buckland was, with a pat on the back from Col. G. Mason, out to seek his fortune.

During his four years at "Gunston" he must have come in contact with a near neighbor at "Mt. Vernon," that silent country gentleman whose military duties were forever taking him away from his hearth and harvests. Together Mason and Washington worked for their colony, together they discussed crops and together they prayed in the Parish of Truro. These distinguished vestrymen selected rectors, sites for new churches, sites for glebes. From the Vestry Book of Truro Parish we find that in 1759 the committee for building a new glebe house for the Upper Parish was so dissatisfied with the contractor's delay in completing his contract that they annulled it. Thomas Waite was to have been paid £425 for building a one-story brick house with cellar for the Reverend Charles Green but when he proved so procrastinating who better to step into his place than Col. Mason's protégé? William Buckland was given the work, paid the balance due Waite and completed the house; "It to have convenient rooms and closets . . ."[6] This glebe house stood on the stage road from Alexandria to the now vanished town of Colchester, at a place now called Newington and is described in detail in a later advertisement.[7]

Fairfax County. To be sold to Highest Bidder,—on Friday, 22 May. The late Glebe lands of Truro Parish in Fairfax Co. Va.; containing by estimation 400 acres. Thereon is a Brick dwelling House with 4 rooms upon a Floor, Passages above and below and Cellars; also a Kitchen, Meat House, Corn House, Coach House and Barn; together with sundry other Houses and; Yard and Garden paled in. The Situation is high, dry and healthy, having the great Post Road from Alexandria to Williamsburg passing through it between the former and town of Colchester on Occoquan, is rendered convenient for a Publican, Merchant, or Doctor.

G. WASHINGTON
WM. GARDNER } Church Wardens

[6] Philip Slaughter, *History of Truro Parish* (Philadelphia, 1908), pp. 29, 34.
[7] *Virginia Gazette*, March 5, 1767.

Another friend and neighbor of the Masons was John Ballendine, a pioneer industrialist, who built flour and saw mills as well as iron furnaces at the Falls of the Occoquan, a tributary of the Potomac. His partners in the flour business were Quakers, the Janney brothers and Nathaniel Ellicott, brothers of men who came into Maryland in the same pursuit. Better to supervise his flourishing enterprises, Ballendine determined to move his residence up-county to his mills. About 1759 it is said that he engaged Buckland to build his home on a terrace cut from the steep rocky ledges bordering the Falls.[8] This sturdy structure is two-stories with attic and dormers, of native stone, six bays long and with a depth of but one room. The brick kitchen wing was added at a later period though the great fireplace and kitchen crane give evidence of the eighteenth century. Crude as to design, with certain solid qualities befitting the house of a business man in a business town, as is this residence, yet the block and bracket modillions of the cornice are as handsome as those of any Virginia dwelling. A well turned chair and stair rail and simple reeded mantels complete the woodwork. Its lofty position overlooking the mills and the creek is one of dignity and time has not spoiled the view up the lovely wooded vale. Ever seeking larger fields of endeavor, Ballendine lost most of his fortune in his efforts to build a canal and establish mills at the Falls of the Potomac. The little town of Occoquan has been by-passed by highways and what remains of it is still dominated by this great stone residence now called " Rockledge."

A later project of Colonels Mason and Washington for the betterment of Truro Parish was the building of a new church on the main highway, to be known as Pohick or the Lower Church. This was to take the place of an earlier structure fallen into disrepair and not so conveniently situated for the growing population of Fairfax County. Washington is supposed to have drawn the simple design with his own hands and the two prominent vestrymen gave the building of it to a friend and neighbor, Daniel French, as " undertaker." It took five years to complete, in which time French died and George Mason took over the supervision. It seems almost certain that William Buckland had the subcontract for the woodwork and carving though Bernard Sears was paid for carving the chancel.[9] As will be shown later, Sears and Buckland

[8] Notes of the late owner, F. A. Barnes.
[9] *Handbook of Pohick Church* (no publisher, no date). p. 10.

had business dealings at other times. The work is familiar to Buckland followers and there is the added record of Bishop Meade who notes that a friend told him that the date and the carver's initials, " W. B." were inscribed at the top of one of the original Ionic pilasters.[10]

All Buckland's patrons up to this date had business interests in the little town of Dumfries. Founded largely by a group of Scottish merchants for good wharfage and river shipments, it faded away as a center when the better port of Alexandria was developed. The Tebbs house built in 1762 and only recently destroyed had bricks laid in all-header bond which is very unusual in Virginia but common in the Annapolis houses.[11] It was here that Major Samuel Seldon, of " Salvington " a brother-in-law of the Masons, exported tobacco grown on his Prince William County fields and put up on his business trips at the old Stage Coach Inn which is now the only remaining colonial structure in the town. Major Seldon appears on an account list of Buckland's for £10, his price for drawing plans or for carving several mantels. These are but passing clews to what might have been a lucrative field for the " Joiner."

Research has failed to produce evidence that Buckland was employed by his friend and contemporary Thomson Mason though this would seem most likely. Mason practiced law at Dumfries and lived at the home place in Stafford County. Shortly after his marriage in 1760 he bought land in Cameron Parish, Loudoun County, which had just been cut off the old Truro Parish and established himself at his new place, " Raspberry Plains." There is a photograph of this house, now destroyed, in R. A. Lancaster's *Historic Virginia Houses and Churches*, and the large brick house with one attached wing and the familiar bullseye window is noticeably like Buckland's Annapolis houses. Lancaster says the house was built about 1771 on the site of the present one near Leesburg. Thomson Mason, called " the first lawyer at the bar," was taxed as early as 1767 on 329 acres of " Raspberry Plains " [12] but unfortunately the many missing court record books in these adjoining counties make the tracing of " improvements " practically impossible.

[10] Bishop William Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1857), II, 226.

[11] Thomas Tileston Waterman, *The Mansions of Virginia 1706-1776* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1945).

[12] Fairfax County records, Liber C 1.

Buckland's work in Truro Parish brought him in contact with William Moore, one of the lesser planters of Fairfax County. Moore was a near neighbor of George Mason as well as tenant of a Mason plantaion. He owned 500 acres on Accotink Creek taken by him by patent from the Proprietors in 1727 for his dwelling plantation, and accounted in his will for two other large estates.[13] In 1763 he was selected to "beat the bounds of Truro Parish" an ancient custom for verifying the boundaries, derived from the old country.[14] William Moore and his wife Mary had two sons and three daughters and into this family circle entered William Buckland, then over 30 years of age, to claim the second daughter as his bride. Moore's will probated Oct. 16, 1769, lists among his children Mary Bucklin (*sic*) and this daughter is again mentioned in the mother's will.[15] Further proof that Mary Moore became Mary Buckland is found in a family record written in a Book of Common Prayer (Dublin, 1772), which has come down in the Mann family, descendants of her second marriage.[16]

It appears that Buckland did not establish himself permanently until after his marriage and that he elected to leave the circle of friends and in-laws in the upper counties to live farther down the Northern Neck on the highroad to Williamsburg. He bought property near the town of Warsaw, then called Richmond Court House.[17] There is a tract of land now called "Buckland," north of Warsaw, though the fact that the County Court appointed Buckland one of two men to supervise the ferry and landing at Totusky Creek, an estuary of the Rappahannock river, makes one sure that he had property below Warsaw also.[18] There are over fifty entries in the Richmond County records of William Buckland, the first of which is in June, 1762, and others continuing until September 1772. Sometimes he is defendant, sometimes plaintiff, and sometimes juryman. There are suits against him by Tappahannock merchants for unpaid bills; once he is presented "for being a common profane swearer" and once for assault and battery. But against these are suits which prove his financial progress, mortgages he held, suits he won, accounts he ran up for materials with the neighboring merchants.

[13] Fairfax Co. records, Liber C 1, p. 248.
[14] Slaughter, *History of Truro Parish.*
[15] Fairfax Co. records, Liber C, pp. 66, 92, 93.
[16] Owned by Charles Harrison Mann of Jacksonville, Florida.
[17] Richmond Co. records, Order Books 14 and 16.
[18] *Ibid.* Order Book 16, p. 190.

By far the most interesting document is that of the case of one of Buckland's workmen, James Brent, brought against him for payment of back wages. Here are the detailed accounts of both master and laborer to be settled by the court. The names appearing on it from the year 1759 through 1763 are those of the merchants of Dumfries; Bernard Sears who worked on Pohick Church; Thomson Mason's brother-in-law, Major Seldon; Dr. Nesbitt and Hector Ross, both witnesses of William Moore's will and the item "To 37½ days work at Colo Masons." The two accounts do not differ greatly but James Brent was awarded £15:17:5 after the case had dragged on for a year, for the work he had done, over and above his debt to his employer.[19]

Living near here at the time was John Ariss, known as architect and builder of several of the local manor houses.[20] It is quite possible that the opportunity to work with a man whose reputation was already established was what drew the younger man to the neighborhood. Ariss vanished from the scene about this time to reappear in 1770 in Berkeley County, far to the west. There was work enough to keep two men busy with the domiciles of the various Carters, Lees and Tayloes as they married and set up home plantations of their own. The wealth of the planters had not yet diminished and there was constant improvement to the earlier houses which were having wings added and interiors newly decorated to keep up with the times. "Mt. Airy," on the outskirts of Warsaw, has been attributed to Ariss in 1758 but the sample of woodwork that survived the fire of 1844 has the stamp of Buckland. The design is similar to that at "Gunston Hall." John Tayloe, Esq., must have known the new resident well, possibly at Dumfries where he had business but certainly in Richmond County where he went security for Buckland in a case against John Tarpley, Gent. Two local mansions that have all the ear-marks of his work and were built about this time are "Blandfield," home of William Beverley in Essex County, and "Menokin" in Richmond County, built by John Tayloe in 1769 for his daughter at her marriage to Francis Lightfoot Lee. Buckland was on the spot, he had the training and the skill and he possessed by then a large library of architectural designs.

His first known building in Richmond County was the county

[19] Richmond Co. records.
[20] Waterman, *Mansions of Virginia.*

prison and two payments to him for this work were recorded by the Court in 1763 and 1764. In July, 1767, Rind's *Virginia Gazette* carried the following advertisement;—

Lunenburg Parish, Richmond Co., July 14, 1767.

The new Glebe House of this Parish with all the offices in neat repair. There is a good orchard and a garden new pailed. The whole will be rented with 100 acres of land more or less, by applying to the Rev. Mr. Giberne or Mr. Buckland who will show the premisses.

The Rev. Isaac William Giberne was a typical example of the sporting Church of England parson who led the church into such disrepute that it took 50 years to recover. He had been Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Argyle, nephew of another Duke, author of several books, before he sought a living in the colonies. Col. Landon Carter, one of his vestrymen, extols his sermons while bemoaning the viciousness of his gambling. Robert Wormeley Carter, the Colonel's son, was often lured to the home of the rector by his good company and the long evenings at cards.[21] Further worldliness is exhibited when young Carter and the Rev. Mr. Giberne were presented at the 1764 Court for evading taxes on their " riding chairs."

During these years Buckland was riding up and down the muddy roads of the Northern Neck on his roan horse or crossing the placid Rappahannock by ferry to the mercantile town of Tappahannock or journeying beyond it to the center of all Virginia life, Williamsburg. He was making friends, soliciting business and increasing his own wealth and position. He must have experienced workmen to please the sophisticated tastes of the plantation gentry and so he hires London carvers, takes his pick of a boatload of convict laborers who purport to be joiners and accepts as apprentices the young sons of two Richmond County friends.[22] But his convict labor in particular gave him endless trouble by running away. John Ewen was advertised for several times in the *Virginia Gazette* and after one escape turned up in the jail of Charles County, Maryland.[23] Samuel Bailey, a convict servant man, by trade a house joiner, ran away twice but was still in Buckland's employ at the time of his death.

[21] " Diary of Col. Landon Carter," *William & Mary Quarterly,* XIV (1906), 250.

[22] John Randall and John Callis. Richmond Co. Order Book 16.

[23] *Maryland Gazette,* July 13, 1769.

We have definite proof that Buckland was employed by the almost omnipotent Carter family about this time. One son and many grandsons of old "King" Carter were established on their thousands of acres in various sections of Virginia. Landon Carter, the surviving son, had built his home, "Sabine Hall," in Richmond County and had living with him a son, Robert Wormeley Carter. His nephew, Robert (Councillor) Carter, had inherited "Nomini Hall" over the line in Westmoreland County. The Carters combined business with culture in a remarkable list of enterprises. Their conscientious appearances in Williamsburg for Council and Assembly, their building of churches and their knowledge of horses were reminiscent of their English background and breeding but their mills and furnaces, their warehouses and ships were precursors of the American tycoon.

Robert Wormeley Carter kept a diary[24] and the following entries throw light on the activities of William Buckland.

February 6, 1766

Buckland this day brought home my Bookcases cost of 6 Lbs 0.0 also put up the Chimney piece of carved work 2..10..0—in all 8 Lbs..10..0 —also a Plan of a House 1..1..6 in all 9 Lbs..1..6—this Plan he drew some time agoe.

September 4, 1766

Sold Buckland 456 lbs of Beef at 2d—3Lbs..16..0½——Buckland to be credited for 2/6 paid Coll. Tayloe's Smith and 5/ paid John Willis the old Butcher—

August 8, 1768

Drew off Mr. Buckland's Acct. Balla in his favr. 8Lbs..18..3¼

December 6, 1768

Went to Vestry, chose Churchwarden, appointed B. Branham my collector, the work house shortly to be finished; paid Buckland 10,000 lbs tobo valued to 100 lbs a very extravagant demand.

The entry referring to "a plan of a house" seems to prove beyond doubt that Buckland was architect as well as builder and carver. What this house was may some day be discovered. The work-house mentioned is the Richmond County "poor house" laid off on part of the Lunenburg Parish glebe lands, an addition purchased in 1766.[25]

[24] Robert Wormeley Carter Diary, Archives of Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.
[25] *Hening's Statutes at Large, 1754-1773*, VIII, 204.

The only letter so far found in Buckland's hand is one addressed to Councillor Carter at " Nomini Hall " as follows: [26]

Honerd Sr.

I have just now heard of your being in these Parts and send of[f] the Bearer with this to Request the Faviour of you to lett me know what day it will be agreable for you for me to wait on you as I Flatter myself I should be able to explain the Nature of my Intentions to the Bill of Land in dispute to yr Honrs satisfaction and I have so high an opinion of your Willingness to do justice to all mankind that after having laid my Papers before you I could with great Pleasure submit the whole to yr Determination. I am and shall continue to be uneasie while I think I Labour under your Displeasure for I have long hopd for an opertunitie of being imployed (in the way of my Profesion) in some jobb under yr Honr Should I ever be so Fortunate I think I should aim to aquitt myself to your satisfaction I mention this because I have lately heard you had some notion of making Nomony your sumers Residence I have now some of the Best Workmen in Virginia among whom is a London Carver a masterly Hand. It is Probable that you will before you leave these Parts be within sight of my shop Should yr Fondness for Work of that kind and Drawings induce you to call in I shall ever Remember the Honr done me The last time you was up I was so unfortunate as not to know it till it was to late for you was sett of[f] home the day before I gott to Nomony your consenting to my Waiting on you will confer a lasting obligation on Sr

Yr Honrs most obedit. hbl. sert.
W. BUCKLAND
March ye 25th 1771

While eminently respectful the author stands up for himself and shows that he is a man proud and confident in his profession. He was having trouble with his property boundaries or right of way with the Councillor [27] and hoped it could be settled out of court. While the letter has no address it is evident that it was written from Richmond County and endorsed two days later as received at " Nomini " in Westmoreland. When Robert Carter rode from Williamsburg to his country home the highway passed through Richmond Court House and within sight of Buckland's acres and shop to the north. It was only a few years later that the young Presbyterian tutor, Philip Fithian, spoke of plans for remodelling " Nomini ":

The Col. is making preparations for a journey to Annapolis where he

[26] Keith-Carter collection, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.
[27] Richmond Co. records, Order Book 16.

Designs next month. In the Evening—he and Mrs. Carter shewed me their house, the original Design and the present form and what is yet to be done." [28]

To whom in Annapolis would he be going for consultation but to his old acquaintance, William Buckland?

The last we hear in Virginia of the Bucklands is in the September, 1772, Court of Richmond County when William and his wife, Mary, are summoned to show cause why Elizabeth White, a servant girl, should not have her freedom. She probably got it for lack of evidence against her because the Bucklands had moved away, bag and baggage. In February William had mortgaged his place to Archibald McCall, a Tappahannock merchant, to raise the small amount of £80 cash. Buckland had gone to Annapolis to find a home for his little family who were to follow in April, if all went well. At that time, if the mortgage had not been paid, McCall was to sell everything and to forward the difference to the former owner. Evidently selecting only his finest possessions, his clothes and books to be put aboard a boat at a Rappahannock landing and shipped direct up the Chesapeake Bay to the city dock at Annapolis, he left behind a large inventory of household goods. His 3 horses, a cow, 12 head of cattle, 12 sheep, 12 hogs, 1 pair of steers, 5 feather beds, 4 dozen pewter plates, his household goods and chattels proved him a man of property.[29] Virginia had been good to the young indentured joiner but larger fields spread themselves before him.

Annapolis was at its peak in 1770. Eddis' familiar description [30] is matched by the Rev. Jonathan Boucher's "Annapolis, the genteelest town in North America." [31] There was more wealth for the size of the town, and it was not small for those days, than in the larger cities of Philadelphia, Boston or Charleston. The planters desired and built town houses that would do credit to London and besides gave ample room for their expansive hospitality and luxurious living. During the five years before the outbreak of the Revolution there was a wave of building in the old city. Public buildings had fallen into disrepair and the help of the Assembly was sought in appropriations for a new "Stadt

[28] Philip Vickers Fithian, *Journal and Letters, 1767-1774* (Princeton, 1900) p. 100.
[29] Richmond Co. records, Deeds, 14, Feb. 21, 1772.
[30] William Eddis, *Letters from America* (London, 1792).
[31] *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, 1738-1789* (Boston, 1925).

House," a new St. Anne's Church as well as a new chapel for Severn Parish and an Assembly or Ball Room. Eddis describes the gala opening of the new theatre in November, 1771, and the additions the Governor was making to his residence.[32] The carved woodwork of Governor Eden's Mansion coincides with that of the newly completed ballroom for Ex-Governor Ogle and both suggest William Buckland's handiwork. The architect's partiality for hexagonal wings is demonstrated in both these additions as well as at " Montpelier," the home of the Snowdens in Prince George's County. Thomas Snowden, the son of the builder, came into possession of his estate in 1771 and forthwith added the wings and new elaborate interior. " Tulip Hill," the Galloway place at West River below Annapolis, was redecorated about this time and here is found in the entrance hall the double arch with pendant acorn, a feature elsewhere seen only at " Gunston Hall."

It seems probable that Buckland was known in Annapolis prior to his arrival there as a permanent resident. The trip up by horseback took only two long days. He could have shipped his carved mantlepieces, cornices and modillions up by boat from his Virginia shop. Plans were easy to draw up after a night's visit to a prospective employer. The two colonies of Virginia and Maryland were closely tied by common interests and by intermarriage. The old Governor of Maryland, Col. Horatio Sharpe, and the new Governor, Robert Eden, had many personal friends across the Potomac where horses as much as politics were a common bond. Col. Mason's recommendation of his builder would carry as much weight in one colony as in the other.

The only documentary evidence of Buckland's arrival in Annapolis is an advertised letter for him remaining in the Post Office, August, 1772.[33] To tie him definitely to all the houses which have been credited to him is still a matter of conjecture based on the evidence of design and workmanship. If he had not made trips to this city prior to 1772 it seems unbelievable that he could have completed all the work attributed to him by the experts in the short time remaining to him. The earliest of these attributed houses is " Whitehall " in Anne Arundel County, built by Governor Sharpe about 1765 as his country place. The original house was undoubtedly a much simpler conception and the portico and

[32] Eddis, *Letters*, pp. 17, 108.
[33] *Maryland Gazette*, August 6, 1772.

elaborately carved interior could have been added after the Governor was retired in 1769 by the Calverts so that Caroline Calvert's handsome and charming young husband, Robert Eden, might administer their rich patrimony. To date no evidence has been found to place the building of "Whitehall" in Buckland's hands and the Governor, himself, is usually considered the builder with the help of a wholly traditional consumptive indentured carver who is supposed to have died as he turned the last leaf on the elaborate drawing-room moulding. As the Governor was a bachelor and therefore did not need extensive quarters when he gave up statesmanship for farming, the raising of the hyphens to two stories and the addition of the Greek portico may have been made later by John Ridout. This secretary and close friend of Horatio Sharpe's held the place in trust to save it from confiscation after the Revolution and then inherited it.[34] More room would undoubtedly have been needed for his family. The consumptive carver may have been one of Buckland's workmen and certainly all signs point to the beautiful interior having been designed and executed at the time of the master's arrival in Annapolis.

The Chase house is even a harder case to prove for Buckland. Begun by Samuel Chase, bought in the midst of its building by Col. Edward Lloyd in 1771, the accounts for its construction carry no familiar names.[35] They do mention one Scott as supervising the work and carry the item: "To Scott for Wages Board 2 years & Passage from England 135..0..0." This would seem to indicate that Col. Lloyd had brought his own man over to complete the work. The marble mantels were of necessity importations but there is one mention of debt to the amount of £20 to an unnamed carver for "161 Modillions (to be finished by S. Chase)." This to date is the only documentary clew.

Three houses are proven Buckland creations. The most important of these, Matthias Hammond's home, was his from solid foundation to roof peak. The floor plan and elevation appear under his draughting tools in the portrait of the architect by Charles Willson Peale.[36] From journal entries made by young John Randall the facts are authenticated that together they worked on this house soon after their arrival from Virginia.[37] Because

[34] Will of John Ridout, Anne Arundel Co. 1797. Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[35] J. Donnell Tilghman, "Bill for the Construction of the Chase House," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII (1938), 23-26.
[36] In the Garvan Collection, owned by Yale University.
[37] From papers owned by the Randall family.

John Randall was Buckland's partner the Court appointed him with Denton Jacques, a merchant, to be administrators of Buckland's estate. In the final accounts brought in by them, as late as June 3, 1777,[38] there is the item: " By so much gained on finishing Mr. Hammond's Home, 96..17..6." Much has been written of the woodwork and symmetry of this outstanding house as well as of the nearby Brice house. Both were built by young men about to be married. Hammond died a disappointed man but James Brice lived to enjoy his partnership with Edmund Jennings' heiress and his beautiful home. By the will of his father, 1766, James Brice inherited both lot and material " already worked up or to be worked " for his dwelling house.[39] In the same final court accounting there is the entry that a small sum was received " from Mr. Brice for work continued by a servant." This settles the authorship of the Brice house woodwork.

The third house no longer stands on the high land above Dorsey's (now College) creek with a view over Annapolis and down to where the Bay and Severn meet. But research into this period discloses many mentions of " Strawberry Hill " and the Spriggs who lived there. The family tradition among the Sprigg descendants is that when Richard Sprigg of " Cedar Park," West River, married the attractive Margaret Caille his Quaker mother advised him to leave the dull country homestead and take his bride to the gayer surroundings of the state capital. It is maintained that five daughters were born on his new estate and that he changed its name from " Dorsey " to " Strawberry Hill," laid out gardens and orchards which made his place one to be spoken of with enthusiasm by many visitors.[40]

Charles Willson Peale is our authority for attributing this house to William Buckland. Discounting his notoriously careless spelling, he mentions the place no less than six times and must have been familiar with every foot of its 200 acres and with the Spriggs as well as later owners. . At " Strawberry Hill " he " walked with his gun " and shot birds; took tea with Mr. Sprigg and later dined with the MacKubins (owners in 1824) at which time he comments: " This farm possesses some beautiful views and the build-

[38] Accounts, Liber 72, 1775, p. 421. Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[39] Arthur Trader and Henry F. Sturdy, *Seeing Annapolis and the Naval Academy* (Annapolis, 1937), p. 15.
[40] Memoirs of Richard Sprigg Steuart, 1868, owned by Miss Susan Steuart.

ings, especially the Mansion-house, is in fine taste of architecture designed by Mr. Buckley [*sic*] for Mr. Sprigg a wealthy friend." [41] A more famous diarist made the entry in 1773, Sept. 29th: "Dined at Mr. Sprigs and went to the Play in the evening." [42] Col. George Washington was in town for the races! Between the retirement of Richard Sprigg to the homestead at West River and the purchase of "Strawberry Hill" by the MacKubins it was rented to an interesting Belgian family, refugees from Napolean's ambitions. Rosalie Stier, later the wife of George Calvert, writes in 1797 to her brother in Belgium a description of their new home.[43]

> Our house is enormously big, four rooms below, three large and two small ones on second floor besides the staircases and the finest garden in Annapolis in which there is a spring, a cold bath house well fitted up and a running stream; What more could I ask for?

The only description of the outside of the house is contained in the tax records for 1799 when the Hugh Thompsons (Mrs. Thompson was Elizabeth Sprigg) of Baltimore, who inherited "Strawberry Hill," pay on "one frame dwelling 38′ x 20′ two stories with wings each two stories." A house with wings appears on a map of 1834 and in a watercolor painted possibly by some of the French officers who frequented the parlors of the Stiers.[45] "Strawberry Hill" stood until a military hospital was built on the site during the Civil War and since that time the entire farm has belonged to the U. S. Naval Academy.

Both public and private building was seriously embarrassed by the approach of hostilities with the British. Plans had been drawn and in some cases money set aside by the Assembly for improvements but committees lost interest, materials and labor were nonexistent and the Colony remained in doubt as to the extent and purposes of future construction. Governor Eden laid the cornerstone of the new Stadt House in April, 1772, and the building was completed except for the dome by the outbreak of the war. William Anderson was the first architect, with Charles Wallace of the appointed building committee as contractor. Committee

[41] Autobiography of Charles Willson Peale, transcript at American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

[42] *Diaries of George Washington*, edited by John C. Fitzpatrick.

[43] "Calvert-Stier Correspondence," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVIII (1943), 128.

[44] Owned by Mrs. W. D. Nelson Thomas (Elizabeth Steuart Calvert) of Baltimore, Md.

comments on Wallace's work in 1779 are that he " gave it more elegance than was required by the Contract." [45] From later Assembly Accounts for repairs and replacements one can see that the original carving and plaster work was most elaborate. Again the tradition from father to son in the Randall family has been that the Senate Chamber woodwork was designed by Buckland and completed after his death. Thus he was again in all probability a subcontractor working in his chosen medium under the direction of a local " undertaker " who would hardly have yielded his political plum to a recent arrival from another colony.

Among the pieces of unfinished business left by the war was the Court House for Caroline County. There appeared in three issues of the *Maryland Gazette* for November, 1774, the following:

> The trustees for building a court house and prison in Caroline County do hereby give notice that they will attend Melville's Warehouse on the 16th and 17th days of the present instant, November, in order to agree with workmen to execute the same agreeable to plans and elevations that will be produced, which plans etc. may be seen at any time between this and the 16th, by applying to William Buckland in Annapolis.

The cost of these buildings was to be 70,000 lbs. tobacco, a very large sum.[46] There was much disputing over the proposed site at Hog Point and before a brick was laid the war had postponed all idea of it. When the Court House was finally built it was at Edenton (now Denton) and there are no existing records to show whether the structure was as Buckland had designed it or not.

Our knowledge of Buckland's private life centers again around the advertisements in the *Maryland Gazette.* Twice in 1773 and twice in 1774 his joiners, carvers and plasterers were taking to the highroads. Once three went off together and he offered different rewards according to their respective values.[47] Each year during the summer he had an unclaimed letter in the Annapolis Post Office. Perhaps the Bucklands were paying return visits to Virginia!

When his little family of wife and two children arrived from Virginia in 1772 Buckland bought two lots of ground in Bloomsbury Square from Charles Carroll, subject to ground rents.[48]

[45] Thomas W. Griffith, *Sketches of the Early History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1821), p. 62; *Proceedings of the House of Delegates* (November Session), Dec. 28, 1779, p. 78.
[46] *Laws of Maryland,* Nov. 16, 1773. Chapter XIII, Levy for building
[47] *Maryland Gazette,* April 3, 4, 21, 1774.
[48] Deeds No. 4 LB, 1773-4, pp. 529, 530. Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Whether he built a house here or whether it was already constructed there is no way of telling. It is in this deed that he is first called "Gentleman." No one studying Peale's portrait of his fine features and sensitive face could doubt the justice of this title. Mr. Buckland had come up in the world! Peale, like many other artists depicted stereotype women but found character in his male sitters. Buckland's portrait is one of his finest, and, perhaps because he was intimate with the subject, he has made him come alive. Surrounded by the tools of his profession and with an architectural background William Buckland smiles a quizzical, good-humored smile. The sittings were made in 1773-1774 but the entry in Peale's Journal is of April 7, 1879, when on a return trip from Philadelphia he notes: "Left Annapolis, having finished the pictures of Mrs. Howard and child, the picture of Mr. Buckland." [49] Poor Mr. Buckland had been in his grave many a year but his son-in-law, John Callahan, Treasurer of the Land Office, was intimate with the artist who called him cousin and visited often with him. So intimate were these two men that Peale comments at length on his reluctance to accept pay for painting the family portraits, those of Sarah Buckland Callahan, her husband and two little girls.[50]

Buckland must have enjoyed the sociable life of the city after his years in country districts. Convivial clubs flourished at this time and the professional and business men had their relaxed moments no less than the grandees and colonial officials. Democracy was already evident in the marriages and merging interests of many groups. We find Buckland's name in the settlement of George Mann's estate on a list of "debts desperate.[51] Mann owned the City Hotel, the finest inn the town could boast, and his debtors included the gentry of several colonies. Five years after Buckland's death he married the widow, Mary Moore Buckland.[52] Again, Buckland appears on the Day Book of William Faris, that versatile and gossipy silversmith. On the side Faris ran a tavern and "W. Buckland" occasionally dropped in for wine, punch or a silver watch, in the years 1772 and 1773.[53]

[49] Manuscript Diary of Charles Willson Peale. No. IX, 1788-89. Fordham University Library.
[50] *Ibid.* No. X, 1789-90.
[51] Inventories, Box 35, Folder 6, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[52] June 30, 1779, Index of Maryland Marriages, Hall of Records.
[53] Day Book of William Faris, transcript, Maryland Historical Society.

In August of 1774 Buckland mortgaged his house, lots and six slaves to James Williams, a merchant of the town.[54] He was raising funds, perhaps, for another move. By this time the citizenry was definitely divided as to its sympathies and Buckland probably realized that the building boom was over, for those who had the most to lose would wish to return to the Mother Country. If he had any thought of returning to England himself illness must have prevented. At the height of his career William Buckland died. No details are known and no burial records remain. Any notice of his death was crowded out of the Gazette by news of the burning of the *Peggy Stewart*, a momentous event in local history which occurred almost simultaneously.

The inventory of his goods and chattels was brought into court on the 19th of December, 1774,[55] and the court appointed the widow, Denton Jacques and John Randall administrators and had them bonded for the large sum of 2000 pounds sterling. Among his possessions were five white servants, five Negroes, his tools, instruments, lumber, bricks, goldleaf, mahogony and glue. But the library of architectural books is what makes his inventory unique:

Books

Wares Designs (Isaac Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture*, 1756)
Gibbs' Designs (James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture*, 1728)
Swan's British Treasury (of Staircases, by Abraham Swan)
Swan's Architect (Abraham Swan, *British Architect*, 1st ed. 1745)
Langley's designs (Batty Langley, *Workman's Treasury of Designs*, 1756)
Chippendale's Designs (*The Gentleman and Cabinet Makers Guide*, 1754)
Kirby Prospective (J. J. Kirby, *Dr. Taylor's Method of Perspective Made Easy*, 1762, 2 vols.)
Lightholder's Design (T. Lightoler, *The Gentleman and Farmer's Architect*, 1762)
Langley's Gothic Architecture
Essay on Gothic Architecture
The London Art.
Johnson's Carvers (Thomas Johnson, London, 1761)
Hoppus Masswierk (Edward Hoppus, *Carving and Tracery*, 1760)
Swanns Carpenter's Instructor (Abraham Swan, *Designs in Carpentry*, 1759)
Butlers Annalogy
Factors Guide

[54] Deeds No. 4 LB, 1773-4, p. 530, Hall of Rcords.
[55] Inventories, Liber 125, Folio 327, Hall of Records.

Reeds Reckoner (Reid)
Morris Design (Robert Morris, *Select Architecture*, 1757)
Tillotsons Sermons, 3 vols.

Several of these volumes were valued at £2 apiece and the whole estate totaled at the end £786:5:11.

The *Maryland Gazette* meanwhile carried the notice that Buckland's servants, his slaves, a parcel of household furnishings and finally his house in Bloomsbury Square would be sold at public sale.[56]

William Buckland left no descendants of his name, no fortune and few followers. But at the age of 40 he had created enough beauty to leave his mark on the history of American architecture. As attics yield up their treasure it is likely that facts will be forthcoming from letter or diary to fill in more fully the details of his life. Short and simple as it is, his career antedates many an early American success-story and points to monuments in brick and wood that testify to his skill and taste.

[56] *Maryland Gazette*, Dec. 15, 1774 and May 9, 1775.

YOUNG MEN IN LOVE, 1795 AND 1823

By Lucy Leigh Bowie

A group of letters which throw light on love affairs of more than 100 years ago is here presented for the incidental glimpses they afford of the thought and habit of our ancestors. Bundled together, doubtless to be destroyed, they have somehow withstood the changes of generations, and the lapse of time has rendered them so impersonal that they bring only echoes of their principals. All of them relate to young men who were in love and all, with one exception, were addressed to or dated from Annapolis. The focus of the earlier group was St. John's College and that of the second the Maryland General Assembly.

From his vicarage in Surry the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, one time rector of St. Anne's, described Annapolis as the "genteelest town in North America, and many of its inhabitants were highly respectable, as to station, fortune, and education. I hardly know a town in England so desirable to live in as Annapolis then was. It was the seat of Government, and the residence of the Governor, and all the great officers of state, as well as of the most eminent lawyers, physicians, and families of opulence and note." [1] There was a slump after the Revolution but the town soon recovered its tone. Society was gay and cultivated (Eddis had commented upon the elegance and accuracy of the Maryland pronunciation).[2] King William's School had developed into St. John's College, so in the Federal period, Annapolis was again the center of Maryland life where young men were sent to complete their education and to form their manners.

It is the common desire of parents to bestow upon their children what they regret having missed themselves. This is seldom appreciated by the younger generation. One of those who suf-

[1] Jonathan Boucher, *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, 1738-1789*, (Boston, 1925), p. 65.
[2] William Eddis, *Letters from America* (London, 1792), p. 59.

fered from this disappointment was the "Father of his Country" who, though childless, ardently desired the mantle of his statesmanship and public spirit to fall upon the son of his wife and later, even more ardently, upon her grandson who was his namesake and whom he had adopted. When George Washington Parke Custis matriculated at St. John's (1798), he was escorted by his step-father, Dr. David Stuart of "Hope Park," near Fairfax Court House, Va. As a member of Washington's family he was warmly received by the Annapolitans. His first letter home indicated that he was well pleased with his situation. He wrote that he found

> Annapolis a very pleasant place. I visited the principal inhabitants while the doctor was here, and found them all very kind. . . . I was so fortunate as to get in with a Mrs. Brice, a remarkably clever woman, with whom I live very well and contented. There are several clever young men boarding in this house, with whom I associate on the most friendly terms.[3]

Alexandria friends, visiting in Annapolis, soon carried the information to his family that Custis was "devoting much time, and paying much attention, to a certain young lady of that place . . ." Washington at once wrote and expressed a fear

> that your application to books is not such as it ought to be, and that the hours that might be more profitably employed at your studies are mispent in this manner. . . . and sure I am, this is not a time for a *boy of your age* to enter into engagements which might end in sorrow and repentance.[14]

Between the receipt of this letter and the reply to it, Custis had seen his mother, who informed him that the subject of his love affair sat heavy on Washington's mind. To relieve that anxiety he wrote:

> The report, as mamma tells me, of my being engaged to the young lady in question, is strictly erroneous. That I gave her reason to believe in my attachment to her, I candidly allow, but that I would *enter into engagements* inconsistent with my duty or situation, I hope your good opinion of me will make you disbelieve. That I stated to her my prospects, duty, and dependance upon the absolute will of my friends, I solemnly affirm. That I solicited her affection and hoped, with the approbation of my family, to bring about a union at some future day, I likewise allow. The conditions were not accepted, and my youth being alleged by me as an obstacle

[3] George Washington Parke Custis, *Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington* (Philadelphia, 1861), p. 99.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

to the consummation of my wishes at the present time, . . . I withdrew . . . Thus the matter ended, and should never have proceeded so far had I not been betrayed by my own feelings.[5]

George Washington Parke Custis was 17 years old at this time. His father had become engaged to his mother, with the consent of both families, when 18 years of age. Custis was never interested in education, and when his romance was broken off he seems to have had no desire to remain in Annapolis. Doubtless this was a consequence of the many restrictions placed upon him. There was some talk of his being sent to William and Mary, if he could be placed in the bishop's family. The bishop, however, did not assume this responsibility. Washington then realized that nothing could be gained by force so he gave up hope and bowed to the inevitable. Thus ended the education of "the Last male survivor of Washington's Domestic Family." [6]

1795-1796

The first group of letters to claim attention are several that passed between St. John's College students in 1795 and 1796. Two were from Richard Galen Stockett and three were from Joseph Richardson. All were addressed to John Leigh, "student of law," who lived, as young Custis did two years later, at Mrs. Brice's.[7]

Richard Galen Stockett was a son of Major Thomas Noble Stockett and his wife, Mary Harwood. They had ten children, five sons and five daughters, and lived near Annapolis on land called "Obligation," acquired by the Stockett family in 1668. Their chief interest lay in developing improved fruit and in breeding fine horses. It seems probable that while attending St. John's, Stockett rode into Annapolis each day. This required early rising both winter and summer, for after the first of May, classes began at six o'clock in the morning.

At the time of the first letter Stockett was a handsome, tall sandy-haired youth of 19 years, dressed in accordance with the fashion of the time, in knee-breeches and shoe buckles; on formal

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

[6] This episode, though dated 1798, has been included here to give the viewpoint of the older, as well as the younger generation; and also to afford a general view of student life in Annapolis at that period.

[7] *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXIX (Dec. 1934), p. 306.

occasions, powdered hair was worn with coats of bright blue, green and "laylock." He had at that date (December, 1795) left St. John's and gone to Philadelphia to study medicine with his father's old friend and brother-at-arms, in the War of the Revolution, Dr. Rush.[8] When Stockett left Annapolis he was the declared lover of Miss Margaret Hall, but he does not appear to have had the consent of her father, Major Henry Hall. In those times daughters were kept under strict discipline, so any engagement and correspondence that was not sanctioned by her parents had to be *sub rosa.* His letter discloses this situation as follows:

Philadelphia december 10th 1795

D[ea]r Leigh

I am sorry to trouble you with the care of another Letter to Miss M. but you are the only one whom I can trust, so therefore you must excuse me from my critical situation at present; when you deliver the Letter offer your service to forward any thing which she may think proper to send, as it is on you I must depend. It is now 2 o.clock in the morning so you [must] excuse my not writing more, and I have to [go] to the Post Office immediately to deliver th[ese] so remain

Your sincere Friend
R. G. Stockett

The second letter is dated seven months later. A number of love letters evidently had been delivered to the lady who seems to have replied only by verbal messages relayed to Stockett by Leigh; however, Miss Hall sent word that she would receive no more letters. Very reluctantly Leigh conveys this information and receives the following reply:

Philadelphia Jany 10th 1796

My worthy Friende

I am happy to inform you I have at last received your long wished for Epistle, which has relieved me from those torturing anxieties under which I have been labouring for some time past. I am sorry you did not let me know of Miss M.['s] determinations sooner but you was considerate, and did not wish to communicate those sentiments which you thought would be disagreeable and occasion uneasiness. Had not Miss Ms conduct been such as to leave sufficient grounds for me to imagine a Letter from me would be acceptable, I should not presumed to have taken upon myself that liberty which is only incumbent on Lovers, and which I thought my duty to discharge, without which she probable might have

[8] Frank H. Stockett, *Genealogy of The Stockett Family,* (Baltimore, n. d.), p. 16-22.

thought I had neglected her, and very justly. But I am unfortunate and in endeavouring to please I always displease. You know everything happens for the best, so make no doubt, but what this has. I am young and the world is wide, therefore shall not render myself unhappy on the present occasion. My dear fellow, give my compliments to Miss M. and tell her she is a girl after my own Heart. I like to see Ladies conduct themselves candidly and openly on matters of so great importance: Nay, further, ask her to let you peruse every letter I ever wrote her and examine them carefully whether I have made use of any improper Language or not; if I have I am sorry for it, and beg pardon; but being well convinced I have not, it would not give me one moments uneasiness if they were Published and free to be read by Women & Mankind at large. Miss Ms determinations will not lesten my good opinion of her, and shall esteem her as an acquaintance worthy of my utmost attention, and am ever willing to render her any service that lies in my power. Leigh you must be sensible that there are but few without their [illegible] and doubt not but I have mine, on the present occasion. (Her conduct I very much suspect is influenced by some particular Individuals whose names I shall not mention, sed tempus doccet) but will talk over matters more fully when we meet in the Spring—so remain

Yours Respt.
R. G. Stockett

N. B. respects to all friends.
write me soon

Thus ended what may be called the first stage of this romance. Four years later, having finished his medical education, Stockett established himself to practice his profession in Howard County. His home was located off the "new cut road" near Ellicott City and was called "Stockwood." On the 29th of March, 1799, he married his old love Margaret Hall and doubtless "they lived happy forever after." [9] Dr. Stockett died in 1861, aged 95 years, his life span having covered the entire Federal Period.

The other letters in this group were written by Joseph Richardson. The Stocketts had Richardson relations, as had John Leeds Kerr, another friend of John Leigh's. The Stocketts' kin lived in Anne Arundel while those of Kerr's were in Talbot, Caroline and Dorchester. All were descended from the William Richardson, a friend of William Penn's, who settled in Anne Arundel County in 1666. One thing the scattered records clearly demonstrate is that they were a roving race and dearly loved a change of scene.

Joseph Richardson must have been about twenty at the time

[9] J. D. Warfield, *The Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 95.

of this correspondence. The lady of his heart was "Sophia," presumably a daughter or granddaughter of Allen Quynn's. Quynn was a prominent merchant of Annapolis and a vestryman of St. Anne's church. He had many children and was notably strict with them even for an eighteenth century parent; however Richardson reproaches himself and not Quynn for the frustration of his love affair.

His first letter has neither place nor date indicated; it was undoubtedly written in Annapolis and delivered by a messenger, the only address being "Mr John Leigh, At Mrs Brices." The first paragraph of the letter is obscure, the best that can be made of it is that Richardson thought he had worn out Leigh's friendship by his constant confidences upon one theme, that of his "abortive hopes of future possession" of Sophia. The letter continues:

. . . I made this pause to eat my dinner and not returning to finish it till (after 8 o'clock) has given it another turn. I left Mr Q[u]ynn's in the greatest agitation (but let me before I proceed observe how transient and uncertain is every earthly pleasure) I thought myself at the summit of pleasure in the element of joy, indeed I was, but one indiscreet act has thrown me into the bottomles abys of misery. O Leigh cursed is my fate!—Each step I take is attended with fear, my words half articulated stand trembling on my tongue. Why does the earth support such a monster? Why is the Almighty so unjust as to let me live? No hopes of amendment, but clouds of dark dispair attend me whereso'ere I go, in whatever place or situation I am, millions of torments surround me there. My bed is a bed of thorns, but I spread it for myself [;] hellish demons haunt my troubled rest. My pillow is as the hardest rock, that presses too strong against my head reclined upon it and gives me no ease—If I sit, unnumber'd pains oppress me and motion ads a thousand more. Thus I know no pleasure and am the cause myself—What is this life that we are so strongly attached to it? Lif[e] to me is a burden a pain ineffable & still I dare [not?] part with it, Let me speak again, I dare not [illegible] afraid; of what? not of Death, 'tis not death I dread, but the presence of Omnipotence—Oh! could I believe there was no hereafter, no more would I move the quill to tell my woes, but with this damm'd dagger before me take away my wretched existence—But may I not repent and then end my life? Or can I not repent of a sin before it is committed; but this you will say is a contradiction—I must try: this life is pain and nought but cowardice gives me an attachment to it. It is the loneliness—but I dare not speak—All hell's before my face; and death stands at my elbow—No hope of rest nor here nor hereafter—What wretchedness—all despondency—But all too good for accursed me—Enough! I've said enough, and still I want to say more. But [a]dieu. May your fate be; not as mine but ever blessed, not as I am hated but ever loved may you

forever be. May every good attend these lovely two. May all the world be happy, but myself as now, miserable—Must I go further. No, well then once more adieu. Believe me to be unfeignedly yours

forever
J. Ri-----son
Sunday night ½ past 8

Youth is the season of despair. Since the thought of self destruction is rejected he turned to a change of scene and the next letter is dated from Charleston, South Carolina.

Charleston S. Carolina June 27th [17]95

Dr Leigh

Here I am in a large Town unhappy in the extreme and without any consolation but what I hope to receive from the Epistolary intercourse of my friends. You then my Dear fellow who have ever professed the warmest friendship for me will not after the reception of this let me linger long in tedious expectations of a letter. Any thing from you will be a subject for my amusement . . . It is unmanly to complain at the awards of providence, and a detail of my wretchedness to one who has felt the severity of disappointed love, is deemd unnecessary. And yet I can think of nothing but Sophia [;] she engroses all my thoughts [;] her image hovers o'er my slumbers and inspires all my dreams. How often in my disturb'd repose—but it is a folly [to] tell—let me think of something else.

Charleston is the place of my abode at present but it is not probable I shall be here long nevertheless write to me in Charleston directing your Letters to the Care of Mrs Coates Globe Tavern & She will always know where to send them to me.

Had I a glass of water from the forgetful current of Lethe to wash away the memory of my misfortunes perhaps I might recover my wonted chearfulness, but memory most faithful in recording evil delights to torture me by keeping the cause of my wretchedness forever before. How delightful to muse on the perfections of my fair. How severe the thought that tares her from me forever. I will not think it, yet 'tis impossible to forget it. Excuse me I am not well—when I have it in my power you shall again hear from

Your unhappy
Friend
J. Richardson

The third letter from the unhappy youth to the same confidant bears a form of address which suggests that Richardson had become a recruit on one of Citizen Genêt's privateers. The French

law commanded that no other form of address should be used by any one at that time in the French service.[10]

Citizen John Leigh
Annapolis, Maryland
Hon[d] [?] by Mr. W[m]. Wyley
Via New York

Leigh

Not a sentence from any of my friends. I hope they are well—If Sophia is well—But I can't be happy 'till my return which may—never happen. I am just bound to Europe. But a week ago landed from Berbiche.[11] Be happy & be my friend as I am yours from my heart

J. Richardson

Charleston June 19th [17]96

It is not within the scope of this article to establish this Joseph Richardson's line of descent, but evidence at hand indicates beyond a reasonable doubt that the writer of these letters was the son of Col. William Richardson of Gilpin's Point on the Choptank River, Caroline County, across from the mouth of the Tuckahoe.[12] Col. Richardson had commanded the Eastern Shore Battalion of the Flying Camp in the American Revolution and later the Fifth Regiment of the Maryland Line. Before the Revolution he had at various times been a delegate to the General Assembly and had held other public positions. He was also at this time part owner of the sloop *The Omega* that traded with

[10] Charles Edmund Genêt was the minister accredited to the United States by the revolutionary government of France. He landed at Charleston, S. C., and immediately began enlisting troops for the French service, using the French consul as his agent. He fitted out privateers to prey upon British shipping in the West Indies and, using American ports as bases for these activities, brought in captured British ships to be refitted. This was before he presented his credentials to the United States government, and was in total disregard of the American Act of Neutrality, that had been passed by the American Congress in 1793. Later, in response to strong protests by the United States, Frenchmen were forbidden by France to violate American neutrality. French commissions were revoked and ordered to be returned. The French consul at Charleston, Michael Angelo Mangourit, refused to credit this order and believed it to be a British hoax, so it was decided in 1796 to send Citizen Fulton to France to investigate and settle these questions.

[11] A port of Dutch Guiana.

[12] The Richardson Family History had been nearly completed by Mrs. Hester Dorsey Richardson at the time of her death. It is hoped that it will be finished and made available to the public. Also Edward M. Noble, *History of Caroline County* (Federalsburg, Md., 1920), p. 120.

the West Indies.[13] His son Capt. Joseph Richardson, presumably the writer of the foregoing letters, is reported to have followed an adventurous seafaring life until the ship he commanded was captured by the British in the War of 1812. He was imprisoned in England but made his escape and returned to Maryland. In 1817 he became clerk of the court at Denton which office he held for 27 years. He married, built a handsome house, finished in mahogany and containing a fine library. He died in 1848 and, having become a Roman Catholic, is buried with his wife, Elizabeth W. in St. Elizabeth's Churchyard, Denton. After his death his family, three sons and a daughter, settled in Cecil County.

1823

Although there are no letters from John Leeds Kerr, he is the next on the eighteenth century list of St. John's students to be considered. It is probable that he also lived at Mrs. Brice's and thus was thrown into close association with John Leigh, who accompanied him to Talbot for a vacation visit. This visit resulted in the marriage of Leigh to Kerr's cousin, Ann, daughter of William Thomas, Jr. of " Anderton " and his wife Rachel Leeds. Ann Thomas and John Leigh were married January 24th, 1798, and their son, George Singleton Leigh, was born April 11th, 1799.[14] John Leeds Kerr remained single until April 8th, 1801, when he married Sarah Hollyday Chamberlaine, daughter of Samuel Chamberlaine of " Bonfield," and his wife Henrietta Maria Hollyday. Their daughter, Sophia Leeds Kerr, was born January 29, 1802. It is the intended marriage between John Leigh's eldest son and John Leeds Kerr's eldest daughter that is the theme of the letters dated 1823.[15]

Another generation had come of age, the nineteenth century was well on its way. Fashions had changed, pantaloons strapped under the instep were in every-day use, although knee breeches were still worn on formal occasions, powdered hair had entirely gone out of fashion, colored coats were still in fashion. The depression that followed the Revolution had passed, as had the

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 76-79.
[14] Richard H. Spencer, *The Thomas Family of Talbot County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1914), p. 12.
[15] John B. Kerr, *Genealogical Notes of the Chamberlaine Family of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1880), p. 70.

sectionalism that threatened to split the country at the time of the War of 1812. Settlers were pushing west, roads and canals were being built and the people were becoming interested in public education. Monroe was President of the United States and " the Era of Good Feeling " was in full swing.

Annapolis was still the social as well as the political capital of Maryland. Each county sent young men of their best families to the House of Delegates and the older men to the Senate. These often took their families with them, with the result that from the sea to the mountains all the leading people knew each other and Maryland society at that period was a web of interlocking connections and mutual friends.

In 1823 the administration of Gov. Sprigg was over and Gov. Stevens had taken his seat. George Singleton Leigh was a member of the House of Delegates. He had become engaged to Sophia Kerr and had written to his father to that effect and inquired what he should say to her father regarding his prospects. John Leigh's letter intended for John Leeds Kerr's information is as follows:

Mr George S. Leigh
House of Delegates
Annapolis

[Leonardtown, Md.]
Jan.y the 25th 1823

Dear George

I was quite disappointed in not hearing from you by the two last mails; particularly as you had just before stated that you were labouring under a bad cold.

You say, in your last letter, that you wish to get married in April, and that you would like to inform Mr Kerr of such prospects as you might have in view.—If you should be married in April, I hope it will be towards the last of it—I would prefer the first of May;—Of course you must live with me the present year—In the Spring I mean to sell Anderton for what I have been offered for it, if I can get no more, and surely sometime during the year, I can purchase a farm for you.—Having the money to pay down will no doubt bring many farms into market that I have not heard of.—

You never informed me whether you spoke to an Attorney to attend to my case in the Court of Appeals, so as to have the Judgment affirmed next June Term—We are all as well as usual, and wishing you much health & happiness, I am

Yr Affectionate Father
Jno. Leigh [16]

[16] John Leigh was the son of George Howell Leigh and Ann Chilton. The

The date of the wedding was set for April 17th, 1823. A large party was invited to accompany the groom's family to the Eastern Shore, sailing from Leonardtown to the Miles River landing. One of those invited to join the party was Dr. Charles Llewellin Gardiner of "Bramley," on the Wicomico River in St. Mary's County.[17] The following is Dr. Gardiner's answer to the invitation, after the usual salutation and acknowledgment:

The information conveyed therein (your intended union with Miss Kerr) afforded much satisfaction . . . Nor was it less gratifying to have been one of the friends selected to accompany you on an occasion so very distinguishing . . . to partake with you of the mirth and festevities which will be I presume so very amply afforded by the hospitable inhabitants of Easton and vacinity . . . But Sir how great soever my anxiety might be to attend you upon an excursion so pleasing . . . Circumstances (at present unnecessary to detail) entirely forbid it—Think not my Friend that it proceeds from any want of inclination or that the (of late) apparent apethy of nature in any degree prompts me to retire from an invitation which will ever be considered honorable—No believe me my Dear Sir there are *Causes* which at some future period I may be willing to communicate to you—for the present then you must be content to learn that a spell of enchantment hovers about me A mystic cloud involves me, from which I must sooner or later (but God knows how or when) evolve myself . . . Now what all this means you will be much at a loss to know—but dwell not upon it. It is not easy of solution Sir—you may

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Chiltons were a Virginia family that removed to Maryland and settled at "Kingston" in St. Mary's county on the Patuxent River, some years before the Revolution. As far as known Ann Chilton had two brothers, one of whom married and lived in Loudoun County, Va., and died before 1824. He left three children or grandchildren, Charles W. who died unmarried; Sally, of whom nothing is known; and Susan, who married about 1825, Griffin Taylor of "Arcadia" near Frederick, Maryland. Charles Chilton, brother of Ann (Chilton) Leigh, never married. He lived at "Kingston" and practiced law in Leonardtown. He is said to have always worn black velvet knee breeches, and to have been so irascible that he kept his fine for contempt of court always in his pocket. Upon his death in April, 1824, George Singleton Leigh and his wife Sophia Kerr, went to live at "Kingston."

[17] Dr. Charles Llewellin Gardiner was descended from Luke Gardiner, who came to Maryland with Father Copley in 1637, and from John Lewellyn who arrived a little later. "Bramley" came into the Llewellin family through the marriage of Jane, widow of John Gerard. Her second husband, married before 1711, was Richard Llewellyn. By 1797 "Bramley" was divided into two portions. "Bramley" the original home place, which was said to have been the manor house of St. Clements Manor, was inherited by Mary Llewellin who married Thonas Gardiner, and had one child, Charles Llewellin Gardiner, born 1798.

The second portion was called "Lower Bramley" and was inherited by Ann, only sister of the above Mary. She married a Mr. Jorden, of Westmoreland Co., Va., and had two children, Richard and Ann. The latter married R. H. Lee of Va. Ann (Llewellin) Jorden married secondly a Mr. Turner of St. Mary's Co. but had no children by that marriage. "Lower Bramley" was owned for many years by the Thomas family.

call it if you like, any thing, the blue Devils—Love or some worse evil, but not Mania . . . May the balmy breezes of heaven waft you speedily to Easton, where to meet the certainly willing and caressing embraces of your lovely SOPHIA—Believe me Sir you will be conveyed with the best wishes of your sincere friend.

Adieu. C. Ll. Gardiner."

His disturbed state of mind may be accounted for by the following story which has been handed down, and it also may explain his reluctance to have any part either in marriages or the giving in marriage. It was generally believed that Dr. Charles Llewellin Gardiner and Miss Mary Key were to "make a match" [18] but it was not definitely settled. The binding words had not been spoken but the situation was accepted by all friends and relations. At the 4th of July ball in 1822 at Leonardtown, a small group of intimate friends, including this couple, strolled during an intermission out on the Courthouse green where a cow lay asleep on the grass. All were in high spirits and someone dared Miss Key to jump over the cow. Young, built like a fairy, gay as a lark and as light as thistledown, she took the dare and over the cow she jumped. The cow was undisturbed but the same could not be said of Dr. Gardiner. He considered that she had lost her dignity—that she should not have been carried away by the fun of the occasion. Miss Key, on the contrary thought he made too much of a little fun within a small group of close friends, all more or less related, among whom the incident would go no further. There the situation hung fire, neither one advancing or receding. Now Miss Key was too high spirited to rest under even the implication of disapproval and Dr. Gardiner was startled by the announcement that her marriage to one of his friends, Dr. John Hanson Briscoe, was to take place on May 3rd, 1823. As was the fashion of the period, he became enshrouded in Byronic gloom, and in his copy of Byron "The Farewell" was heavily underscored. Three years later he married Ann, the eldest daughter of John Leigh; she died within a few months and five years after her death he married Eliza, the youngest daughter of John Leigh. His family in the male line has become extinct.

Another letter relating to the Leigh-Kerr marriage has been

[18] Mary Hall Key was the daughter of Philip Key and his second wife Sophia Hall. She married Dr. John Hanson Briscoe, and had one child, Sophia, who died unmarried.

preserved. It is from Littleton James Dennis of "Beckford," near Princess Anne, Somerset County, and reads as follows:

Dear Leigh

I congratulate you most unfeignedly upon your approaching nuptials, and envy you the happiness, which you may most reasonably calculate upon, from such an Union.—"the union of desire of friendship & of tenderness, which is inflamed by a single female, which prefers her to the rest of her sex, and which seeks her possession as the supreme an[d] the sole happiness of your being."—Such I believe are your feelings towards your Sophia, from all I could collect, whenever she was the theme of our conversations, last winter in Annapolis. And from all I can learn from impartial sources (for I am unwilling, on so important an occasion, to take the wild asseverations of a *most devoted lover*, for naked facts.) she possesses a heart capable of appreciating and of reciprocating your best affections. May your happiness be perpetual! . . .

On my return from Annapolis, I found my unfortunate Uncle, Col Jackson, in a very languishing state, and soon perceived that the grim-visaged monster, had marked him as a victim; he died on the 13th ultimo. and has gone I hope to a better & a happier world.—This misfortune, together with my daily avocations will, (I fear) render it impossible to meet you in Easton on the 17th of April, although, I assure you under different circumstances it would afford me the most heart-felt satisfaction. I indulge the antiscipation however of meeting you before the lapse of a great length of time, and would be happy if Somerset could be the scene.

Present my best compliments to the Misses Harris & Lansdale when you next see them—you know I was pleased with them all, & you say particularly with Maria—be it so—she is a sweet little *innocent*.—but I am (I fear) far from the marriage goal.—indeed it would almost seem that I was a confirmed *old bâtchelor*.—Tell Millard I suspect that [I] am indebted to him for the reports you speak of concerning my addressing Maria—unless it be a hoax of your own invention.—How does poor Millard now? Does he still continue his deep-fetched sighs ab imo pectore, his groans, and lugubrious lamentations, & hum "Oh I shall *never, never* see her more?" Tell him I should not be surprised if they were married yet—at least such *unparalelled constancy* in him, deserves a rich reward.—If you see King tell him for God's sake to hasten home, for I am almost consumed with *ennui*. in haste

Your friend
L. I. Dennis [19]

The Misses Harris referred to were the daughters of Col. Joseph Harris and his wife, Susanna Reeder, who lived on the colonial

[19] Littleton James Dennis was the son of John Dennis of "Beckford" who was a member of Congress 1797-1807. He married Elinor, daughter of Henry Jackson of "Workington" in Somerset County. Littleton James Dennis died unmarried in 1829. He was a delegate to the Maryland General Assembly for some years.

family estate "Ellenborough" near Leonardtown. Their names were Maria, Ann, Eleanor and Josephine.[20] The Misses Lansdale mentioned were the daughters of Henry Lansdale of "Enfield Chase" in Prince George's County and his wife who was Cornelia Van Horn of Philadelphia. Their names were Cornelia and Eliza.[21] Another sister, Violetta, had married Gov. Samuel Sprigg, and a brother, Dr. Philip Lansdale, had settled in Leonardtown and married a Miss Reeder. Maria, the "sweet little innocent" became the second wife of Henry Greenfield Sothoron Key of "Tudor Hall" at Leonardtown.[22]

The "Millard" of the above letter was Enoch Ignatius Millard, later "Col. Millard." He was a scion of two of the oldest Roman Catholic families in Maryland, his father Joseph Millard of "Bellvill, near Leonardtown, having married Rebecca Fenwick. The tradition handed down in Col. Millard's family (which the above letter goes far to substantiate) is that he loved a Miss Chamberlaine of the Eastern Shore but the difference in religion kept them apart. It was a case of "strict Catholic versus staunch Episcopalian." This could well have been the case, for it is related of Samuel Chamberlaine, the grandfather of Sophia Kerr and numerous young Chamberlaine cousins, that he thought there was no salvation outside the Church of England. Because of this "great devotion" he "was supposed to be bigoted." A story recorded of him is that after General Washington's death in 1799 a memorial service for him was held in Easton and the new "Methodist Meeting House" was selected as the most conveniently situated. "A place of honor was assigned to Mr. Chamberlaine as one of the most respected members of the community" but "those who knew his character were not surprised to see him

[20] Col. Joseph Harris had six children who lived to maturity. Ann married Mr. Stonestreet of Charles County; Eleanor married Col. George Forbes of Prince George's County; Josephine married Dr. Franklin of Anne Arundel County, and Maria Louisa, as mentioned in the text. There were two sons, Benjamin Gwinn Harris who married his cousin Martha Harris, and Henry, who married her sister Kitty Ruth Harris. For this information appreciation is expressed to Mrs. Robert Cole, the granddaughter of the Hon. Benjamin G. Harris, who spent her young life at "Ellenborough." See also *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXI (Dec., 1936) p. 335.

[21] See Lansdale MSS, Maryland Historical Society.

[22] Col. Henry Greenfield Sothoron Key of Tudor Hall, was the son of Philip Key and his first wife, Rebecca Rowles, daughter of Zacharias and Margaret (Bond) Sothoron. Appreciation is expressed to Dr. Sothoron Key for items relating to the Key pedigree.

reach the door and decline to enter the building!" [23] This, even though the preacher on this occasion was the rector of St. Michael's Parish, the old Tory high churchman, the Rev. John Bowie, D. D. Col. Enoch I. Millard never married. He was always a "toast" with the ladies and "a great beau." He was described as an "elegant gentleman" and was highly regarded by all who knew him.[24]

The marriage customs of this period fell into an established pattern. The ceremony took place at home; there was no wedding trip. All the near relations and intimate friends entertained the bridal party in turn. These parties started with a large dinner at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, with a rich soup served from a gallon tureen. If the company was very large, there would be a matching tureen at each end of the table, and the china was apt to be "blue india." The next course consisted chiefly of meat. The cloth was then removed and the dessert was set upon the waxed mahogany table (some of the old highly decorated dessert sets are still to be found). A three-tier pyramid was for the center filled with cups of custard in winter, with syllabub (often called whips) in summer. Between the centerpiece and the ends of the table fruit dishes would be placed, filled with the season's best showing. At the corners were placed silver trays or decorated dinner plates holding slender glasses filled with wine jelly with small spoons between the glasses. At one end of the table would be a hot dessert with sauce in a sauce boat, at the other end a cold dessert with whipped cream served on the side. The decanters would circulate from start to finish, with "port wine for the clergy" and the punch bowl in the back parlor or hall was never empty. Around eight or nine o'clock that evening supper would be served. This was handed around on large trays and consisted of oysters in winter, crabs in summer with chicken salad and ham, always with hot rolls, beaten biscuits and muffins. Then followed ice cream and at least three kinds of cake (with coffee, I hope). Those who were not house guests would reach home in the small hours of the morning. These parties would follow each other until the list of family connections was exhausted, to say nothing

[23] Kerr, *Chamberlaine Family*, p. 55.

[24] The sons of Joseph Millard of "Bellvill," and his wife, Rebecca Fenwick, were Enoch Ignatius Millard, and Joshua Millard who married Anne Manning and had children. Appreciation is expressed to their descendant, Miss Eliza P. Worthington of Washington, D. C., for information relating to the Millard family.

of the guests. Such entertaining, of course was reserved for great occasions, such as weddings or patriarchal birthday celebrations and election to high office.

These customs could exist only where even the men of affairs had leisure at their command and a reasonable prosperity was general. A large and well trained serving class was also necessary. Times have changed since then.

A VISITATION OF WESTERN TALBOT

By EMERSON B. ROBERTS

In the introduction to his monumental work, *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire,*[1] Dr. Joseph Foster says that his recompense has been the contact that the work afforded him with "many a genial Yorkshireman." "I further hope" he adds, "that those who affect to dispise Pedigrees will, for the sake of their descendants, record, if only in their Family Bibles, what they do know of their forefathers and contemporary kinfolk, and so save much trouble to future genealogists and their own posterity."

The present writing is inspired by the old doctor in a double sense—not only the practical saving of time and the serving of essential accuracy, but more by the fact that as one turns the pages of the first volume of *County Families,* the sub-title of which is "West Riding," he is struck by the many names common to western Yorkshire and to the western part of Talbot.[2] Indeed, the village that grew up around the first Court House, on the headwaters of the Wye, was named by Act of Assembly, 1686, Yorke, in honor of the ancient city in Yorkshire. And there are records of Court holden in the town of York.[3]

As one might have set out from the present location of Easton a few miles south of Talbot Court House, or indeed if he makes the trip today, with someone beside him who knows the old roads,

[1] London, 1874.

[2] The word *riding* perhaps needs explanation, particularly as it is not used in America at all, and but little in England. It is a distinct noun, differently derived from "riding" of "riding and walking" connotation. Derived by corruption from *trithing,* perhaps a Danish word, it means a portion of a county, generally a third. Thus Yorkshire contained three trithings or ridings—north, west, and east. Each, in old days, had its reeve or principal officer, just as the shire. There was the shire-reeve or sheriff for the shire; the trithing-reeve for the trithing or the riding. The usage of the word has largely disappeared in England just as Hundred has disappeared in America—*Author*

[3] Tilghman, *History of Talbot County* (Baltimore, 1915), II, 217; Skirvin, *First Parishes in the Province of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1923), p. 144.

the inlets and branches of the creeks, and the names on the land, and rides in a generally westerly direction toward Claiborne, and then in a generally south-westerly direction down the "Bay Hundred" until he comes to Tilghman's Island, once Great Choptank Island, and yet earlier Foster's Island, he passes near at hand the home locations here recorded. On the trip he has crossed the old Hundred of St. Michael's and covered the full mainland of the Bay Hundred. In modern days counties are divided into Districts, but by many of the older county folk the term hundred is still employed. The area described was included in St. Michael's Parish, one of three in Talbot. The road remains virtually unchanged in location, and the homes are in close proximity, though here and there obscured from the road by the pine woods that skirt the creeks and headwaters of Third Haven, or Tred-Avon, Broad Creek, and Harris Creek, on the Choptank side, and the Miles or St. Michael's, and the Wye, on the north toward Eastern Bay. Most of the homes are near navigable waters which were the first highways of the tidewater country.

Stories of some the first settlers of these points and necks have been told in recent numbers of the Magazine.[4] Others are recorded here. Not all, but many were of Yorkshire origin.

Bartlett of "Ratcliffe Manor" and "Old Bloomfield"

Scarcely two miles from the Court House is "Old Bloomfield," ancient home of the Bartletts. Yet standing on Third Haven, on the part called the "Great Neck," with its roof projection of four and a half feet, with its simple paneling, with its interesting odd windows, it is in good repair, though unoccupied.[5] "Old Bloomfield" was the property of the late James Dixon of "North Bend," a descendant of the Bartletts. Never has the property been out of the possession of this family.

Thomas Bartlett, Yorkshireman, immigrant to Maryland 1691, was by trade a blacksmith and evidently he prospered at his trade.

[4] Other families of the West Riding of Talbot have been treated in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* by the author: Dixon, Gary, Harwood, Christison, Sharp, in "Some Friends of 'Ye Friends of Ye Ministry'," XXXVII, p. 311-326; Kemp, Webb, Stevens, Gary, Ball in "Among the Meeters at the Bayside," XXXIX, pp. 335-344; and, with Francis B. Culver, "Ball of Bayside," XXXX, pp. 154-163.

[5] Architectural description and floor plans are to be found in Forman, *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* (Easton, 1934), p. 184.

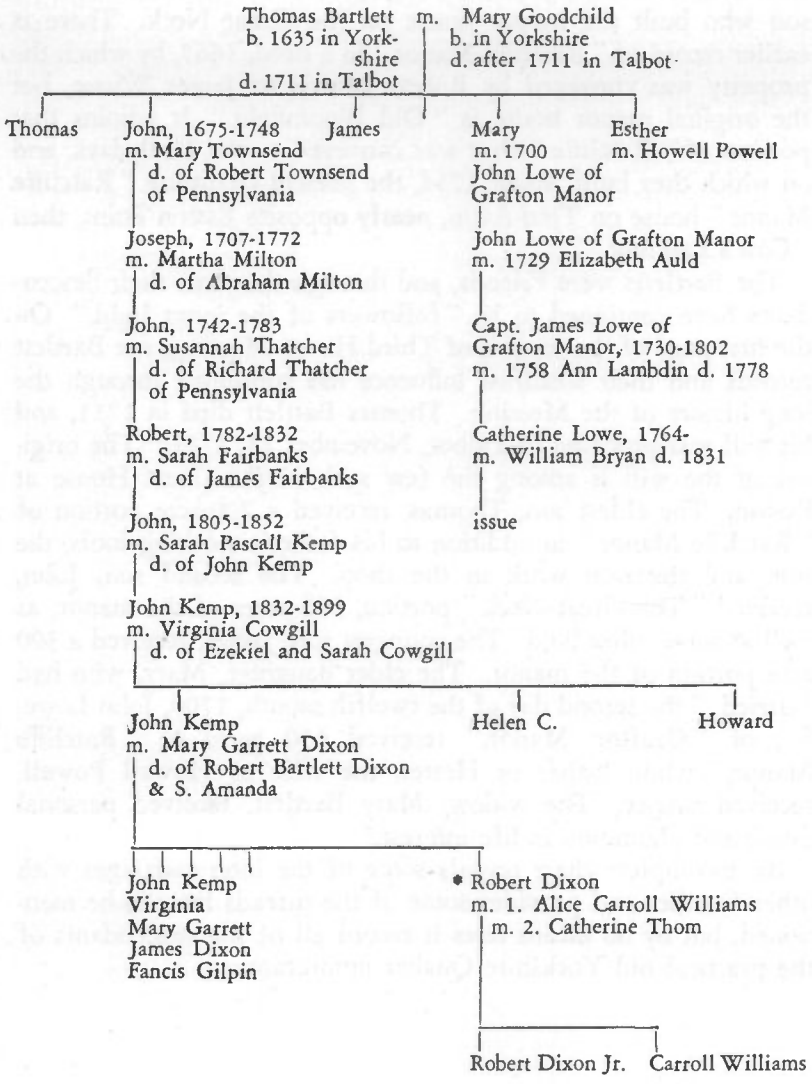
On September 21, 1698, he bought from Clement La Salle the tract of 960 acres, "Ratcliffe Manor," and it was either he or his son who built the manor house on the Great Neck. There is earlier record of "Ratcliffe Manor" in a deed, 1667, by which the property was conveyed by Robert Morris to James Wasse, but the original manor house is "Old Bloomfield." It adjoins that portion of "Ratcliffe" that was conveyed to the Hollydays, and on which they built, about 1754, the present charming "Ratcliffe Manor" house on Tred-Avon, nearly opposite Easton Point, then "Cow's Landing."

The Bartletts were Friends, and through the years their descendants have continued to be "followers of the inner light." On the first page of the records of Third Haven Meetings are Bartlett records and their steadfast influence has continued through the long history of the Meeting. Thomas Bartlett died in 1711, and his will was probated in Talbot, November 23, 1711.[6] The original of the will is among the few such in the Court House at Easton. The eldest son, Thomas, received a 200-acre portion of "Ratcliffe Manor" in addition to his father's working tools, the iron and the iron work in the shop. The second son, John, received "The Great Neck" portion, 300 acres of the manor, as well as some other land. The youngest son, James, received a 300 acre portion of the manor. The elder daughter, Mary, who had married, "the second day of the twelfth month, 1700, John Lowe, Sr., of "Grafton Manor," received 150 acres of "Ratcliffe Manor," while Esther or Hester, the wife of Howell Powell, received money. The widow, Mary Bartlett, received personal estate and plantation in life interest.[7]

An incomplete chart reveals some of the inter-marriages with other families and provides some of the threads later to be mentioned, but by no means does it record all of the descendants of the practical old Yorkshire Quaker immigrant.

[6] Wills, Liber 13, f. 451, Annapolis; Baldwin, *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, III, 231.

[7] An account of the Bartlett origins in America is given in *Tercentenary History of Maryland* (Chicago, 1925), IV, 635-637.



* Present owner of "Old Bloomfield"

FRITH OF "FRITHLAND"

Along the road, to the right, we come to the west branch of the Miles. Here settled Henry Frith when he came to Maryland in 1664. He had married in England, and his wife, Elizabeth, in 1666, came to join him.[8] His age we do not know, but his wife was born in 1641.[9] On the Talbot Rent Rolls Henry Frith is charged with two tracts: "Frithland," 200 acres, April 30, 1664, at the head of the west branch of the St. Michael's River, and "Frith's Neck," 50 acres, surveyed May 7, 1667.

On May 7, 1666, Henry and Elizabeth Frith acknowledged a covenant of sale to Robert Fuller for "Frithland," 200 acres. Later this land was possessed by James Dawson to whom it had come from his brother, John, who devised it in this phrase: "To James Dawson interest in land I ought to have on St. Michael's Creek called 'Frithland.'"[10] The land became escheat and in 1735 was resurveyed for Edward Tottrell. It appears to be the area yet known as the Dawson farm at the left of the road, just as one crosses Oak Creek. By 1716 "Frith's Neck," at the head of the northeast branch of Harris Creek, was in the possession of John Valliant "in right of his wife." The tract adjoins "Clay's Neck" and is near the old Bayside Meeting House.

Henry Frith's will was probated, July 23, 1674. The widow, Elizabeth, was the sole legatee, but in the event of her remarriage the estate was to be divided among a son, Henry, under 16 when the will was made, and three daughters, unnamed, and under 14.[11] As administrators on the estate, the bond of Edward Elliott and Elizabeth, relict of Henry Frith, was filed July 23, 1674.

Henry Frith m. Elizabeth
s. m. Edward Elliott

- Henry m. Rebecca Price — Inventory 1/26/1718 by Philip Fedderman and Elizabeth King; b. 1/7/1669, d. of John Price, Will 1700/1
- Three daughters all under 14 in 1674

[8] Liber 6, f. 294 and Liber 10, f. 466, Annapolis.
[9] Chancery Court, P. L. 35, Annapolis.
[10] Talbot Rent Roll, Liber 1, f. 36.
[11] Wills, Liber 1, f. 638, Annapolis, and Baldwin, *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, I, 83.

ELLIOTT OF "DAVENPORT" AND "FRITHLAND"

On the south side of the Miles River lived Edward Elliott who had come to Maryland in 1667.[12] He was born about 1640.[13] Elizabeth, the widow Frith, was his second wife.[14] By 1698 Edward Elliott was Deputy High Sheriff of Talbot County.[15] On January 16, 1724/5 he is recorded as High Sheriff. But as well as through high county office he served his community as a carpenter. Not least, he gave the land and built the parish church of St. Michael's.

The following land patents reveal the ties of family relationship among the Friths, the Elliotts and the Aulds to whom we shall presently come: On January 15, 1677, Humphrey Davenport, County of Talbot, "Dokter of Physick," sold Edward Elliott of same county, house carpenter, for 8000 lbs. of Tobacco in Casque, two parcels of land, "Beach," lying on the south side of the St. Michael's River, 50 acres, and "Davenport," 200 acres.[16]

"Davenport," 200 acres, resurveyed, September 16, 1675, was owned by Edward Elliott, Sr. and James Auld.[17] "Davenport" extends from Deepwater Creek to Shipping Creek, now the harbor of St. Michael's.[18] "The Beach," surveyed for John Hollingsworth, was bought by Edward Elliott in 1667. It skirts St. Michael's harbor.

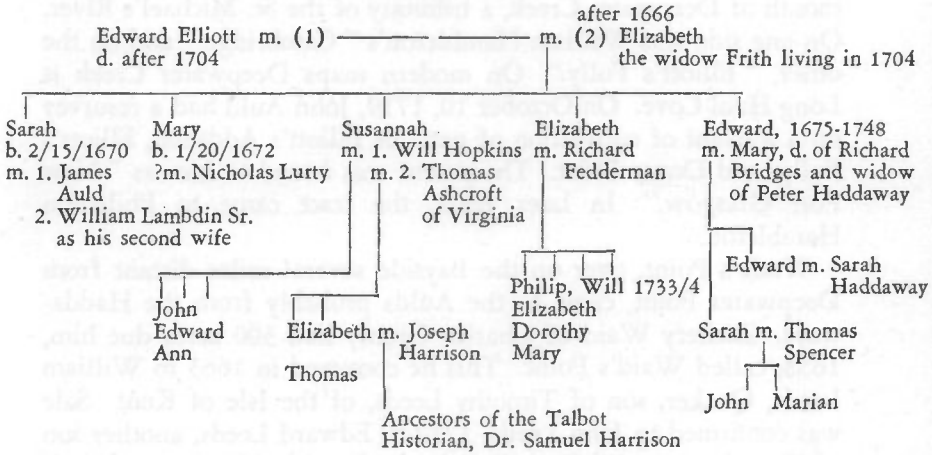
"Elliott's Folly," 100 acres, surveyed for Edward Elliott, November 26, 1685, lying south of a west line drawn from the head of Deepwater Creek, a tributary of the St. Michael's River, beginning at a black small walnut tree, consisted of 50 acres possessed by Edward Elliott and 50 acres by James Auld.[19]

"Elliott's Addition," 200 acres. By a certificate of survey, dated April 18, 1687, made by virtue of a warrant granted unto Edward Elliott, October 24, 1685, Thomas Smithson, surveyor, does certify that he has resurveyed the ancient tract therein ordered and has taken up for Edward Elliott, 200 acres by the name of "Elliott's

[12] Early Settler, Liber 15, f. 396, Annapolis.
[13] Chancery, P. L., f. 35 and P. C., f. 571 and Liber 1736-1745, f. 96.
[14] Bonds, 1662-1709, Easton and Test. Proc. Liber 6, f. 270, Annapolis.
[15] Liber 8, f. 516, Easton.
[16] Liber 3, f. 98, Eastin.
[17] Talbot Rent Roll.
[18] Plot in Land Office, Annapolis.
[19] Talbot Rent Roll.

Addition," lying on the south side of the Miles River and adjoining unto "Williston," "Martingham" and "Davenport." Possessed by James Auld, who married Elliott's daughter.[20] "Elliott's Addition" is the inland part of Edward Elliott's land. It adjoins "Crooked Intention," "Rolle's Range" and "Oak Level," as well as "Martingham" and "New Port Glasgow."

"Elliott's Lott," 476 acres, surveyed for Edward Elliott, April 4, 1695, lying on the south side of St. Michael's River, near the head of Shipping Creek. Possessed by Edward Elliott.[21] This evidently is a resurvey into which was brought most, if not all, of the land of Edward Elliott acquired by patent or purchase. It includes "Elliott's Folly," "Davenport," "Elliott's Addition," "Beach," and "Harley." "Harley" had come to Edward Elliott in 1691 by purchase from George Blades.



The birth dates of the daughters are recorded on the leaves at the back of the volume in Easton marked BBL 2. The basis of some surmise of the marriage of Mary to Nicholas Lurty, second of the name in Talbot, is the testimony of Edward Elliott, Jr., April 9, 1740, that "forty years ago he was in conversation with his brother-in-law, Nicholas Lurty . . ."[22] However, the tie may have been through the family of Bridges.

[20] Talbot Rent Roll.
[21] Talbot Rent Roll.
[22] Liber 1736-1745, Easton.

Edward Elliott gave his daughter, Susannah, the wife of Will Hopkins, in 1704 the 476 acres embraced in the resurvey as "Elliott's Lott." Afterwards she married Thomas Ashcroft of Virginia and the land passed to her Hopkins sons, Edward and John. A part of this land is the site of the town of St. Michael's. John Johning Hopkins, grandson or great-grandson of Susannah Elliott, sold it to James Braddock, Liverpool merchant in 1777/8, and it was he who laid out the village.

In his will 1733/4, Philip Fedderman, the son of Richard Fedderman (Wedeman) and Elizabeth Elliott, Queen Anne's County, refers to 100 acres bought of Henry Frith (Jr.).

Auld of Dover Point

The original home of the Aulds was "Dover Point" at the mouth of Deepwater Creek, a tributary of the St. Michael's River. On one side was William Hambleton's "Cambridge" and on the other, "Elliott's Folly." On modern maps Deepwater Creek is Long Haul Cove. On October 10, 1719, John Auld had a resurvey on a warrant of cultivation of parts of Elliott's Addition, Elliott's Folly, and Dover Point. The patent was issued to him as "New Port Glasgow." In later years, the tract came to Philemon Hambleton.

Wade's Point, over on the Bayside several miles distant from Deepwater Point, came to the Aulds probably from the Haddaways. Zachery Waid of Charles County had 300 acres due him, 1658, called Waid's Point. This he conveyed in 1663 to William Leeds, Quaker, son of Timothy Leeds, of the Isle of Kent. Sale was confirmed to John Leeds, 1712.[23] Edward Leeds, another son of Timothy, married Ruth Ball in the Bayside Meeting and their only son was John Leeds, and to him he devised Hatton and Wade's Point. John Leeds died 1789. From John "Wade's Point" passed to Lucretia, Rachel and Mary, then to John Leeds Bozman, son of Lucretia, and then was purchased in 1799 by Hugh Auld for £2,425.8.1-1/2. Hugh and Zipporah Auld sold "Wade's Point" and "Haddon" to Thomas Kemp in 1813 for $7,000.

In the family burial ground lie members of the Auld family illustrious in the military and civil annals of the state. James

[23] Land Record, Liber 12, f. 82, Easton.

Auld, the first of the name in Maryland, was a scion of the Clan McGregor, born in Ayr in 1665.[24] He died in 1721 and his will, the original of which is in the vaults at Easton, was proven July 28th of that year.[25] On April 10, 1722, Sarah Auld, the widow, and John Auld, the son, as executrix and executor, filed their bond " in common forme," with Philip Fedderman and Francis Rolle, their sureties.[26] The inventory of personal property amounted to £101.1.3, and final accounting was passed August 8, 1723[27] There were children as shown on the chart.

There is at Wade's Point a stone recording the military record and public service of Colonel Hugh Auld, but his remains, as well as those of his uncle, Lieutenant Hugh Auld, have been transferred to the National Cemetery at Arlington through the interest of Mrs. Laura Auld Flynn, great-great-granddaughter of Colonel Hugh Auld. The late Dr. Thomas E. Sears, was the son of John Lurty Sears and Ariana Amanda Auld, and a grandson of Colonel Auld.[28]

Among the manuscripts in the Maryland Historical Society (Sears Papers), is a volume, *The Practical Believer—The Knowledge of God,* London, MDCCIII, the flyleaves of which contain a genealogical record which begins with Edward Auld and Sarah, his wife; then follow the names and birth records of the children. The record is signed by Deborah Dawson, September 1, 1815, with this note, " wishing to preserve the memory of her worthy ancestors has set their names to these papers—the few she has knowledge of either by information or by personal acquaintance." Then this little prayer, " Oh Lord, Thou art my choice: uphold me with Thy mighty power—Deborah Dawson, St. Michael's, June 11, 1812, a pleasant day." Further the volume holds this, interesting to all Maryland Historical Society Members, " Presented July 13, 1893, by Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Thompson Mott,

[24] Chancery Liber P. L. f. 34, Annapolis.

[25] Wills, Liber 17, f. 105, Annapolis and Baldwin, *Calendar of Maryland Wills,* V, 86.

[26] Test. Proc. Liber 25, f. 95, Annapolis.

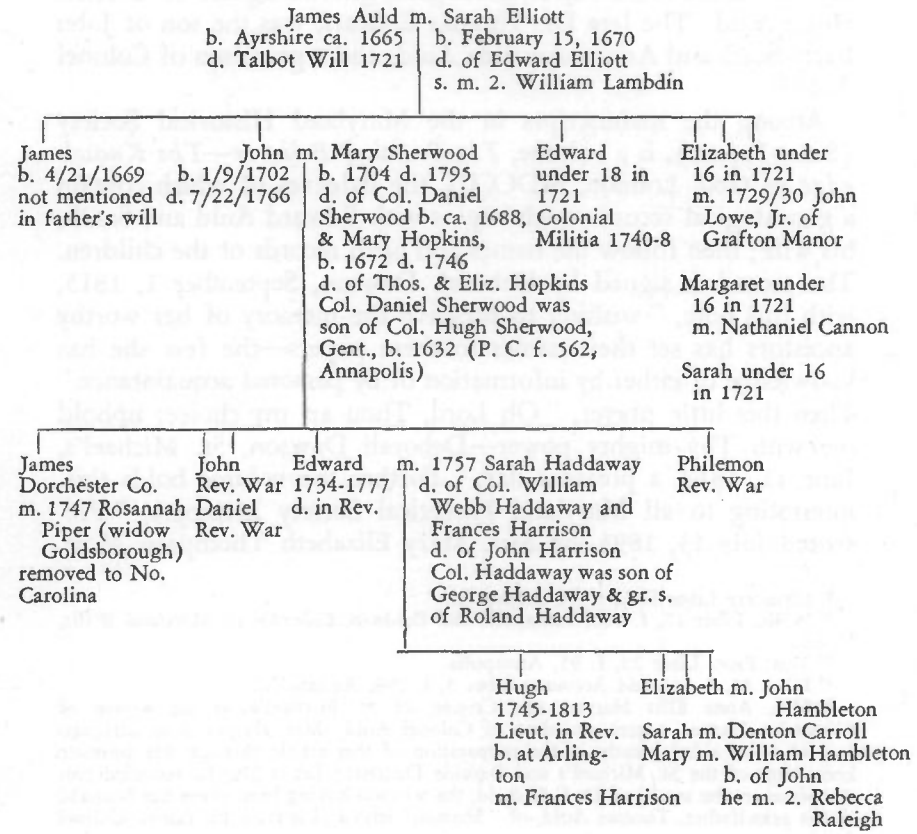
[27] Liber 25, f. 135 and Accounts Liber 5, f. 298, Annapolis.

[28] Mrs. Anna Ellis Harper, née Crouse, of St. Michael's, is the widow of Crittenden Harper, a great-grandson of Colonel Auld. Mrs. Harper is an antiquarian, who has aided greatly in the preparation of this article through her intimate knowledge of the St. Michael's and Bayside Districts. Let it also be recorded that she possesses the sword of Lt. Col. Auld, the weapon having been given her husband by his grandfather, Thomas Auld, of " Sharon," who had it from his father, Colinel Auld.

granddaughter of Mrs. Elizabeth Auld Dodson to Thomas Edward Sears, M. D., great-grandson of Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Auld, Jr. of Talbot County." Dr. Sears was a prominent physician of Baltimore, a genealogist of merit, and for many years chairman of the genealogical committee of the Maryland Historical Society. Beneath the inscription in the hand of the late Dr. Sears is this:

In this old book, if you choose to look
You will find a record kept,
Of a family called by the name of Auld
Over whom a young girl wept
And prayed that they should remembered be
In the years when she too slept.

T. E. S., 1893



(Auld continued)

Edward m. Sarah Haddaway

Thomas
b. 8/29/1758
d. 7/4/1798
m. Eliz. Dawson
1760-1825
d. of Robert
Dawson and
Sarah Lowe

Retilda
b. 1-27-1759/60

Sarah b. 1/25/1771
m. James Ball

Frances b. 1/5/1774
m. Impey Dawson

Elizabeth
b. 2/21/1765
d. 9/5/1812
m. Robert Dodson

Maria Ann m. Joseph Graham
he m. 2. Eliz. Hopkins
Elizabeth m. ———— Hopkins
Sarah m. 1. Dr. William Roberts
2. Abram Lee
Deborah Delinda m. Capt. John
d. 8/1/1849 Harrison Thompson
(Balto. Sun)
(She who wrote the poem)
Capt. William m. Amelia Brown
Robert m. Susan Lambdin
(others)

Hugh
b. 7/20/1767
d. 11/3/1820
Lieut. Col. 4th
Reg. Tabot
Militia—d. at
Wade's Point,
buried at
Arlington

Hugh
Shipbuilder
at Baltimore

m. Zipporah Wilson

Capt. Edward
b. 12/26/1777
m. Mary (Widow)
Clark

Capt. Thomas Auld
of "Sharon"
b. 1795 d. 1880
m. 1. Lucretia P. Anthony
m. 2. Rowena Rolle
Hambleton d. of
Capt. Wm. Hambleton
of Emerson Point

Louisa m. William Bruff

Rowena Hambleton
m. John Collinson Harper

Crittenden Harper
m. Anna Ellis Crouse

Ariana Amanda
m. John Lurty Sears

Thomas E., M. D.
Anne
Minnie
George

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Mansions of Virginia, 1706-1776. By THOMAS TILESTON WATERMAN. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1945. 456 pp. $10.00.

This is a good-looking book, with its Williamsburg colors and excellent photographs. It sheds new light, too, and is scholarly, which is real relief after the customary "sweet and pretty" volumes of the past.

After short chapters on English antecedents and seventeenth century Virginia houses—ones like Greenspring and Bacon's Castle—we are launched on the tide of the great Renaissance: that is on that particular phase of it which had surged up from Vicenza, through France, and, by now, under the magic gusto of Wren, had fairly saturated the deep soil of England. Even in far away Virginia the followers of this glorious master were planting their well-bred hipped-roofed houses. Grouped dependencies, tall chimneys and ordered sash with wide frames and sturdy muntins were giving distinction to the spacious land along the James, the York and the Rappahannock.

These chapters—headed "Early Georgian," "Mid-Georgian" and "Late Georgian"—are fuller and bring us to robust Carter's Grove with its excellent separate-wing plan, by splendid curved-winged Mount Airy and on, far past the head of navigation, to that renowned Palladian "Roman villa" at Monticello.

It was a country where to be a landowner was everything. In this volume we are concerned chiefly with the homes of the great, not the average, planter, so many familiar high-lights are bound to be included. That virile suite of paneled rooms at Carter's Grove is here, those luxurious stairs at Rosewell and Shirley, the rich walls of Marmion, Westover's elegant clairvoyée and Stratford's great tray-ceilinged hall. Waterman has wrought handsomely, accurately and untiringly. For some he is, perhaps, a little too weighed and measured, but we read every word of him, noted his every item, from the clustered chimneys of the lower York and James all the way out to those amusingly devised and very architectural privies at Poplar Forest.

There is an excellent postscript which tells how the material for the book was gathered and how assumptions and restorations were made: mostly pretty convincing. And then there is a well-arranged Summary Sketch of the Mansions and convenient bibliography, glossary and index.

We may not have agreed when, under "English Antecedents," Coleshill was taken from the hand of Inigo Jones; but later on we were allowed to give the design of Wythe House to Taliaferro, Blandfield to Ariss and the

Randolph-Semple House to Jefferson and we have gained far more knowledge than was taken away.

What the author said about European influences, the design books used in Virginia and about Taliaferro being Jefferson's first architectural mentor was most interesting. We knew of the famous group that met at the Tavern, the Palace and the Wythe House, where young Jefferson was welcomed and heard "more good sense, more rational and philosophical conversation than in all my life beside"; but that this group almost certainly included Richard Taliaferro, Wythe's father-in-law, who was Virginia's foremost architect at that time, was news indeed.

This skillfully prepared and documented book with its fresh material will be a valuable addition to the historian's or architect's library.

ADDISON F. WORTHINGTON

Album of American History. Volume II, 1783-1853. Edited by JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS. New York: Scribner's, 1945. 418 pp. $7.50.

Using over 1300 illustrations connected by an excellent running text written by R. V. Coleman, the editors of the second volume of the *Album of American History* have aimed "to provide a true and representative picture of how our history *looked* between 1783 and 1853." Because this period was "one of national growth and ever-widening boundaries," special emphasis has been given to the frontier and westward expansion. Instead of the topical arrangement by Colonies in the first volume, the treatment in the present one is chronological by successive presidential administrations.

Contrary to the difficulty in locating an adequate supply of contemporary pictoral material for the earlier volume, the editors found such an abundance for the second that the difficulty was one of selection. Although many readers, especially Marylanders, may be disappointed at the omission of favorite pictures and scenes and the scant notice accorded their State, the book very graphically presents the evolution of the civilization of the United States during the first seventy years of its independence. Since many of the illustrations are taken from rare contemporary books and periodicals, attention is called to these interesting source materials, some of which should be reprinted.

Neither of the two volumes published thus far has an index. It is hoped that when the set is completed, a full index will be included. The addition of a few key maps would have given a unity to the book, which is lacking because of the diversity of subjects presented in a rather incoherent manner. In no way does the present work supplant *The Pageant of America.* It does give a less expensive and bulky presentation of representative illustrations of our social, economic, political, and cultural life in the period covered. It should find extensive use in our public schools.

B. FLOYD FLICKINGER

Lincoln and the South By J[AMES] G. RANDALL. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946. viii, 161 pp. $1.50.

The lectures here published were delivered before a southern audience, the American audience most likely to be intensely "local." It is no doubt for this reason that Professor Randall's characterization stresses the southern influences on Lincoln's life to the virtual exclusion of the northern. There is a certain justice in this treatment, for it serves to emphasize Lincoln's unique ability to partake of the best in both northern and southern ideas. Mr. Randall's manifest enthusiasm for his subjects, however, occasionally leads him to inferences which are at first glance doubtful. It may be questioned, for example, whether Lincoln's neighbors in Indiana were "essentially Southerners" merely because some of them directed to Congress a petition in favor of slavery (pp. 12-13).

There are similar occasional suggestions of haste, as when Lincoln's political philosophy is defined as "liberal" because he was "conservative" in opposing "radicals" who were really "reactionaries" (p. 47).

But such objections cannot weigh heavily in the consideration of so small a book, professing to give no more than the broadest survey. Mr. Randall cannot be expected to marshal again the evidence he has already presented in *Lincoln the President: Springfield to Gettysburg*. As a distillation of some of that evidence, *Lincoln and the South* is a concise review of Lincoln's relations with the enemies he tried so hard to make friends.

EDWARD GARFIELD HOWARD

Records of Colonial Gloucester County, Virginia . . . Volume I. Compiled by POLLY CARY MASON (Mrs. George C. Mason). Newport News, Va.: the Author, 1946. 146 pp. $5.00.

This is the first volume of a work which promises to fill a long-felt want: the putting-together of the available, surviving records of a Virginia county, which has twice had the misfortune of losing all its wills, deeds and court-proceedings in a court-house fire. Gloucester County, in common with Hanover, James City, Caroline, King and Queen and King William Counties, has long been the despair of the historian and the genealogist.

The present work is provided with a foreword by Dr. E. G. Swem and an interesting explanatory preface by the author. Among the illustrations is a map of the county as it was in colonial times and a photograph of an ancient Indian deed, dated 29th October, 1655: Indian Pindavako, guardian to the young king of Chiskojak, to Edward Wyatt. The fact that the original document is in the possession of the Huntington Library at San Marino, California, gives a good idea as to how the search for material has reached out into far places. Even more significant is the fact that one of the old tax-lists of the county was, until recently, in the posses-

sion of the Perrin family, one of the oldest and most respectable families of those parts.

The first 83 pages of this work are devoted to abstracts of all extant Gloucester County land-patents. The inclusion of all Gloucester land-grants in one volume is a thing of value, which is not lessened by the fact that abstracts of patents issued between 1623 and 1666 will be found in Mrs. Nugent's *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, Volume 1.

The tax-lists (1770-1791) are of especial interest, giving, as they do, the number of acres, stock, Negroes and carriages on which each respective inhabitant was taxed. For comparison, the author publishes the tax-list of 1770 side by side with that of 1782. The tax-list of Kingston Parish is excluded, and given separately along with that of Mathews County (1791), which, created in that year, was almost limitrope with the former.

Among the larger land-owners (1000 acres and upwards) we are not surprised to find such first-class Virginia names as Armistead, Burwell, Grimes, Willis, Cooke, Whiting, Lewis, Page, Robinson, Perrin, Churchill, Peyton and Wiatt. Lewis Burwell leads off with 6800 acres in 1782—a considerable estate, though exceeded by not a few planters in Maryland at that time. It must be remembered, however, that some of these Gloucester County land-owners had lands in other counties. As a slave-owner Lewis Burwell was by far the most considerable, with 140 slaves. Many of the small-land owners, or yeomen, owned a slave or two.

In view of the approaching abolition of the law of entail, it is evident that a considerable number of the more distinguished families were destined to lose their status with the division of their lands, or to emigrate to towns, in order to engage in trade or to practice some profession. Historians should await with considerable interest the appearance of the second volume of Mrs. Mason's valuable work.

WILLIAM B. MARYE

George Alfred Townsend: One of Delaware's Outstanding Writers. By RUTHANNA HINDES. [Wilmington, Del.: the author, 1946.] 72 pp. $2.50.

It would not be strictly accurate to say that through this slim biography Miss Hindes has rescued the memory of George Alfred Townsend from oblivion. As a matter of fact, Townsend is known to a great many literate Marylanders as the author of that classic novel of the Delmarva Peninsula, *The Entailed Hat*. In one edition or another this book is to be found in more than a few private libraries on the Eastern Shore. Two other books by Townsend, *Katy of Catoctin* and *Tales of the Chesapeake*, have Maryland locales and to a very much lesser degree serve to keep alive the name of the author.

Little else is remembered about Townsend, a man who in his day was one of the nation's outstanding journalists, a writer of prodigious industry and a news commentator and analyst of considerable influence. Miss

Hindes points out that Townsend, writing under the pseudonym of "Gath," compared favorably with "Walter Lippman, Heywood Broun or any of the other well-known columnists of today in . . . timeliness and number of readers," and the truth of this observation becomes readily evident when the circumstances of Townsend's career are recalled.

By the very nature of the newspaperman's profession, however, his work is necessarily evanescent, even ephemeral. The old saying that "there's nothing so out of date as yesterday's newspaper" is perfectly correct, and all journalists know it. Townsend knew it, too, and so it would seem that in the latter years of his life he turned from newspaper writing to the production of novels, books on travel and poetry in an attempt to establish for himself some measure of literary fame. He was not entirely successful, for *The Entailed Hat* appears to be the only one of his works to survive on its own merits.

Miss Hindes' little biography, consequently, is worthy not only as a permanent record of the career of a peculiarly talented author but also it is a reminder that Townsend's novels represented but one phase of his literary skill. Although Miss Hindes lists Townsend as a Delaware writer, he lived as a boy in a half-dozen Maryland towns on the Eastern Shore where his father, a Methodist minister, had charges, and at the peak of his popularity as a writer he settled in Western Maryland, building that curious and exotic castle, "Gapland," on South Mountain near Boonsboro. Thus Townsend is pretty close to being half a Marylander, and as such his name should not be forgotten in this State. Miss Hindes' book will help materially to see that this does not come to pass.

JAMES C. MULLIKIN

The Formans of New York . . . 1645-1945. By HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN. [Baltimore: The Author, 1946]. [62] pp.

This is an attractive little volume, which, in quality, is just what one would expect of its compiler, the well-known architect and author, Henry Chandlee Forman. It is far more readable than most genealogies. The author gives very interesting details concerning the lands around Oyster Bay, Long Island, which were owned and dwelt upon by the early Formans, and illustrates his points with an instructive map. The work is illustrated with a portrait of Mrs. Jacob Forman (1766-1842), the arms of Sir William Forman, Lord Mayor of London, and (most charming of all) a sketch by the author of the old Forman homestead in Westchester County, New York. There are two genealogical charts, one illustrated with coats-of-arms. This is the family from which sprang General Thomas Marsh Forman, of "Rose Hill," Cecil County, Maryland, a miniature of whom, together with other valuable relics, was recently presented to the Society by his great-great niece, Miss Mary Forman Day.

WILLIAM B. MARYE

Days of Now and Then. By ELIZABETH GORDON BIDDLE GORDON. Philadelphia: Dorrance, [1945] [260] pp. $2.00.

This is a book of lively reminiscences covering phases of the social life of North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania from the 1890's to the present. It might almost be sub-titled "Parties, Politics and Poetry"—with the emphasis diminuendo in the order given. Mrs. Gordon reports without inhibitions her experiences, including both family life and public life, with evident enjoyment, from her early venture as a young business woman in Newport News to her grand-daughter's coming-out party.

Through the pages pass such figures as Lady Astor, the Duchess of Windsor, several Presidents and their wives, "Sir" Walter Poultney, Theodore Marburg, and the Byrds, besides a host of family connections. The book provides glimpses of a way of life, now nearing extinction, which are rarely to be found in print.

JAMES W. FOSTER

The History of the Hoffman Paper Mills in Maryland. By MAY A. SEITZ. [Towson, Md.: the author, 1946]. 63 pp. $2.00.

This is a story eminently worth telling—the account of a patriarchal enterprise that existed from 1775 or 1776 to 1893. Founded by William Hoffman, the immigrant, the business appears to have been the first paper mill in Maryland and provided paper, the author tells us, for use of State and Continental Congress. From family papers, public records and newspaper accounts the slender story of development of the various mills in the northern part of Baltimore County, all owned by the founder or his descendants, is woven. The post office known as "Paper Mills," changed in the 1880's to Hoffmanville in honor of William H. Hoffman, grandson of the founder, was the focus of the enterprise. The site lies today under the waters of Prettyboy Reservoir.

"Through generations," says Mrs. Seitz, "the Hoffmans had almost sold their souls to the paper," "a material without which no civilization can rise." "With stubborn tenacity they upheld the family tradition . . . Therefore the story of the Hoffman paper mills is almost the story of the Hoffman family." Considerable genealogical material is given. The attractive little book is documented and illustrated with reproductions of old photographs and paper watermarks.

J. W. F.

OTHER RECENT BOOKS RECEIVED

Major Trends in American Church History. By FRANCIS X. CURRAN, S. J. New York: America Press, 1946. [xix] 198 pp. $2.50. Gift.

Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon. By THOMAS D. COPE. (Reprinted from the *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. LXII, June, 1946). [14 pp]. Gift.

Encyclopedia of American Biography. New Series, Vol. XVIII. New York, American Historical Co., 1945. Gift.

The Beck Family in America. By WILLIAM M. BECK. Galion, O.: the author, 1940. 37 pp. Gift.

Chew Family. From Records of [the late] FRANK CHEW OSBURN. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Estate of author, 1945. 38 pp. Gift.

Cockey Family Genealogy. Compiled by John O. Cockey and Loyal C. McLaughlin. 1946. (Typescript). [37 pp.]. Gift.

American Genealogical Index, Vol. XIX (Hoyt-Jeffreys). Edited by FREMONT RIDER. Middletown, Conn.: 1946. (Lithoprint).

NOTES AND QUERIES

COORDINATING HISTORY

An attempt to describe the location of an old, historic landmark, such as a tree under which some treaty was signed, a boundary stone of an original land grant, a grave, or a building dating back to Colonial days, with any degree of exactness or permanence is an undertaking of magnitude. Such a description might read: "The building stands on a small knoll, due west 650 feet from the banks of St. Mary's River, about ¾ mile southeast of the crossroads at Johnson's Corner, and 1000 feet east of the county road."

Fifty years hence, the building may have vanished, the knoll may have been graded away, the river bank may have receded, Johnson's Corner may be Smithville and the county road may have been relocated and designated State Highway 12. These fanciful changes are by no means more extensive than those that have taken place in the past fifty years. Quite the contrary is true.

Contrast the above with the description of the same building under the

Maryland Coordinate System; simply 864,945; 476,282. Thus, with the aid of any map showing the Maryland Coordinate System, any fairly intelligent person could, without instruments, find the original site closely enough for most purposes. With the aid of a competent engineer the location could be determined quite accurately, fifty years hence or five thousand, as long as the record lasts.

The Maryland Coordinate system is a system of north-south and east-west lines, bearing a known relationship to the latitude and longitude monuments established by the U. S. Government. If every one of these monuments were destroyed, their location still could be re-established by astronomical observations. This is unlikely to happen. This system may sound appalling but its use is simple and facilitates not only the perpetuation of locations, but also the filing (or cross indexing) of historical information by geographical subdivisions.

Let us assume that the aforementioned building was the homestead of a land grant known as "Searcher's Plight," built about 1680. Let us assume further that our historical records have been filed in compartments, each containing records pertaining to an area of the earth's surface 5,000 feet square, or if this is not practicable, that our cross index is arranged in this manner. A searcher might know only that he was interested in a tract that he could point out on the map. Scaling the coordinates roughly, the librarian or archivist would turn at once to compartment 860-475 and find all the information bearing on "Searchers Plight" in one place, together with that concerning the adjoining properties. Or the searcher might know only the family name of the grantee, or the tract name or any other of the present avenues of approach. If all the records carried the figures 864,945; 476,282, any one of them would give both the exact geographical information and a cross reference to the great mass of information about this and adjoining properties that otherwise only could be compiled at great expense.

The Maryland Coordinates are ticked off on the sides of the maps published by the Army Map Service, Washington, D. C., and of the 1946 edition of the Maryland State Roads map. It is a matter of a few minutes work to join the tick marks with straight lines to locate any point. As time goes by, no new map will be complete without the state grid system.

A few years ago this suggested system would not have been possible. The creation by the Maryland Legislature of the Maryland Coordinate System has furnished an *unchanging reference framework* and the aerial mapping of our State by Federal agencies has furnished a cheap means by which the coordinates of landmarks of all kinds may be scaled from the maps and recorded for all time, and in such fashion that the researcher in the future may not have to wade through constantly increasing masses of records. To one who uses this same system for filing engineering data such as road and bridge surveys, bench marks, flood water elevations, boundary monument locations, triangulation, etc., it seems the method outlined has distinct possibilities.

Maybe the name for our land grant was ill-chosen, for if the coordinates were on record, the name could have been "Searcher's Delight."

B. EVERETT BEAVIN
c/o J. E. Greiner Co., Baltimore

JOHN LYON, MATHEMATICIAN

The Touchstone by John Lyon,[1] a Frederick Green imprint recently found among the Peabody Library's cache of uncatalogued pamphlets acquired some eighty years ago, is, so far as is known, a unique copy and previously unrecorded.

The pamphlet is a spirited attack by John Lyon on Andrew Ellicott's astronomical measurements recently calculated for and published in Mary Katherine Goddard's almanac for 1781.[2] Lyon insists Ellicott's meridian for Baltimore is incorrect and that the almanac's phases of the moon are inaccurate, sometimes off as much as half an hour. Lyon further asserts that his newly invented globe and orrery can easily correct these mistakes. To this attack the author appended "A Short Treatise of Algebra."

Ellicott is well-known: Miss Catherine Mathews has written a biography; there is a sketch of him in the *Dictionary of American Biography;* and parts of his Journal (1796-1800) have been published. Ellicott achieved considerable prominence as a surveyor for several of the states in settling their boundary disputes. He served as one of a group of four Commissioners appointed by Virginia and Pennsylvania and he performed a similar assignment for Georgia in establishing that state's northern boundary. But his outstanding achievement was probably his survey of the "territory" of Columbia, the first to be published, after the plan executed by Pierre L'Enfant.

The pamphlet, issued in 1781, states that Ellicott was then teaching mathematics in the Baltimore Academy; if this is correct it, advances by four years the date usually given for the time he began to live in Baltimore and advances for a similar period his previously known connection with the Academy. He ended his career as Professor of Mathematics at West Point. Ellicott was a son of Joseph, one of the founders of Ellicott City, Maryland.

Of Lyon little is known. From the pamphlet it is clear that he was at

[1] *The Touchstone: a Philosophical Controversy, Interspersed with Satire and Raillery; Wherein a New and Elegant Improvement of the Theory of the Earth and Moon's Motion is Asserted and Proved Beyond Contradiction.* By John Lyon. Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green, MDCCLXXXI.

Sm. 8vo. [A]-F^{4}; G^{2}-I^{4}. C^{2}-^{4} incorrectly numbered E^{2}-^{4}. 34 leaves; 68 pp. P. [1] title, verso blank; [3] dedication "To the Impartial Public"; verso blank; [5]-9 preface; [10] blank; 11-35 text; [36] blank; [37]-42 postscript; [43]-66 "A Short Treatise of Algebra"; [67-68] Advertisement.

[2] *The Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina Almanack and Ephemeris, For the Year of Our Lord, 1781; The Astronomical Part of this Almanack was Calculated by the Ingenius Andrew Ellicott, Esq., of Baltimore-Town.* Baltimore, [1780].

least a part-time resident of Annapolis. In 1780 he petitioned the House of Delegates for two thousand dollars to go to Philadelphia. The request said just that, and consequently the money was denied him. In *The Touchstone* he states that the purpose of the trip was to demonstrate the new globe and orrery to the American Philosophical Society and the large sum was necessary because the instruments were expensive to transport. In 1782 he asked to have a " new treatise on arithmetic, for the use of the schools " safeguarded by the House of Delegates against infringement. There is no record that the treatise was ever published.

Lyon speaks of the American Philosophical Society in very respectful terms. Though Ellicott " boasted his being a member of the philosophical society," Lyon denied it. Ellicott was not actually elected to membership until 1786. The inventor felt that, had he been able to afford the trip to Philadelphia to demonstrate his superior astronomical instruments, he might have been offered membership. The Society's records do not mention a John Lyon.

There is a possible reference to Lyon in a letter from Charles Willson Peale to John Muir of Annapolis;[3] Peale recommends John Lyon as a " good mechanic " to help in the construction of a bell for the Annapolis firehouse. It is conceivable that a mathematician and inventor of an orrery was also a " good mechanic " but to make the connection any more definite is, at the moment, impossible.

The pamphlet has two additional points of interest: (1) it is inscribed in an unknown hand to " the Hon^{ble} Charles Carroll of Carrollton Esq^{r}." (2) an appended advertisement refers to a " work [which] will shortly be published, in four books. The first is a treatise on natural and experimental philosophy, being the true theory of the earth and moon's motions perfected. . . . The second book is, the Paradox, being a treatise on natural and experimental philosophy, containing all the discoveries of the earth and moon. . . . The third book, a Treatise on natural and experimental philosphy, containing the last and most beautiful discovery of longitude that ever will be known. . . . The fourth, is a Perpetual Lunar Almanack . . . dedicated to the American Philosophical Society. The whole either stitched or bound together according to the circumstances of time, place, and persons concerned." Available bibliographical sources do not indicate the book was ever published.

Besides revealing another example of early Maryland typography, a previously unrecorded Frederick Green imprint, this pamphlet gives us knowledge of an unknown Maryland mathematician, inventor, and astronomer of the eighteenth century, and its appended advertisement indicates that a scientific book in four parts was being considered for publication in the last troublesome days of the Revolution. There is need for more knowledge of John Lyon and his various intellectual activities.

HARRISON WILLIAMS

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[3] Baltimore, January 22, 1804. In the Maryland Historical Society's Miscellaneous MS File.

Bayly (*Bailey*)—Information is wanted about the antecedents and family connections of Mountjoy Bayly (sometimes spelled Bailey) of Frederick County, Maryland. He was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati; and on June 31, 1791, was the Marshal of the parade at Frederick held in honor of George Washington. He later moved to Washington, occupying some official position in the Senate and died there March 22, 1836. Pierce Bayley of Loudoun County, Virgina, had a brother named, Mountjoy Bayley. It is particularly desired to know whether or not there is any relationship between these two families.

WALTER H. BUCK
809 Union Trust Bldg., Baltimore.

THE COVER PICTURE

The view on the cover shows the garden front of that distinguished example of Georgian architecture, the Hammond-Harwood House, Annapolis, referred to in Mrs. Beirne's article on Buckland. Built about 1774 by Matthias Hammond, the house has also been the home of the Pinkney, Chase, Loockerman and Harwood families. Since 1940 it has been owned by the Hammond-Harwood House Association which maintains the house, contents and garden as a museum. The engraving is from a photograph by Pickering in the collection of the Enoch Pratt Library.

CONTRIBUTORS

LOUIS A. SIGAUD, author of the authoritative *Belle Boyd, Confederate Spy*, published in 1944, sends the paper on Mrs. Greenhow from his home in Brooklyn, N. Y. A native of New Jersey, but of French descent, he is a veteran of World War I, and later was lieutenant colonel in the Military Intelligence Reserve Section, U. S. A. Col. Sigaud will welcome from readers of this article any further information bearing on Mrs. Greenhow's family, early life and career. ☆ Member of the Society's Council, ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE (Mrs. Francis F.) is co-author of *The Hammond-Harwood House and Its Owners* (Annapolis, 1941), has served as secretary of the Hammond-Harwood House Association, and is now President of the Board of the Union Memorial Hospital. She is a daughter of the late Daniel R. Randall, attorney and historian of Annapolis and Baltimore. ☆ LUCY LEIGH BOWIE, author of monographs on American historical topics and occasional contributor to the *Magazine*, has based the paper here published on a collection of family letters. ☆ EMERSON B. ROBERTS, whose articles on Eastern Shore families have appeared from time to time in these pages, is a business man of Pittsburgh.