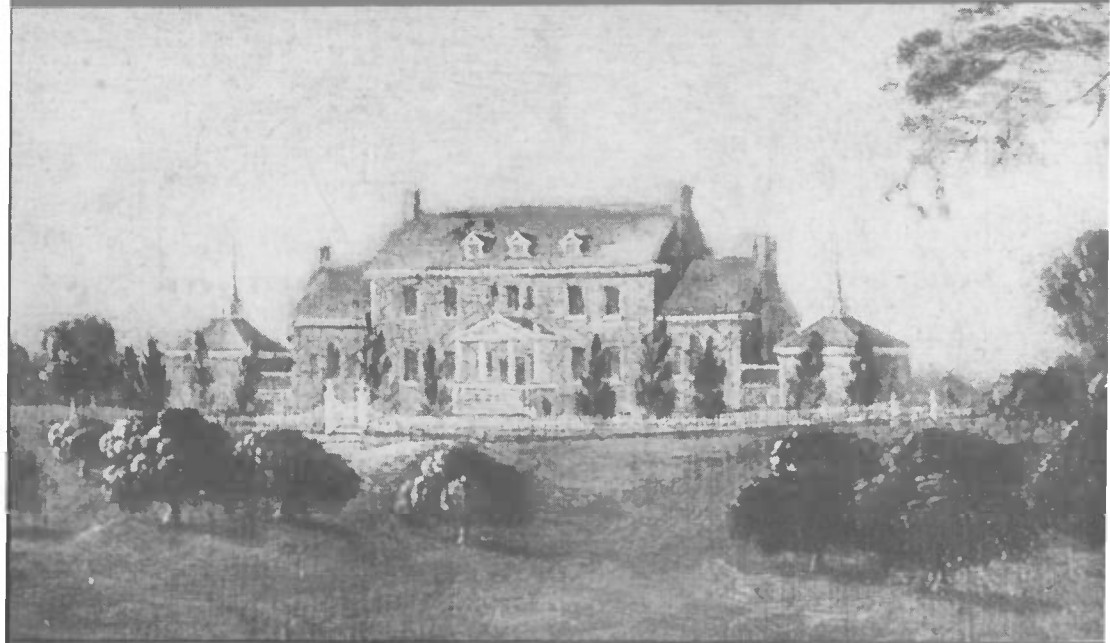


MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



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Central Part Built 1773, Wings Added 1784

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BALTIMORE

March · 1950

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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Volume XLV

MARCH, 1950

Number 1

ALLEN PINKERTON AND THE BALTIMORE "ASSASSINATION" PLOT AGAINST LINCOLN

By EDWARD STANLEY LANIS



IN the middle years of the nineteenth century American business began to expand at an accelerated speed. Along with business—almost as a variant aspect of American energy—crime expanded, too. The combined factors of growing business and increasing crime called into existence a new profession and a new institution: the private detective and the detective agency. A pioneer in the new profession was Chicago's Allan Pinkerton—destined to become the country's most famous detective and founder of an agency which, for many years, led all the rest.

In the Chicago region railroad tycoons, who were experiencing repeated attacks upon their property by organized gangs of robbers and thieves, received little assistance from the police in solving this serious problem. The small and over-taxed forces of city and

county police were political appointees, and frequently, too, they were corrupt. Moreover, under the American system of law enforcement all peace officers confined their duties to definite political districts, and as a result, these officials had little authority either to investigate crime or to pursue and arrest criminals outright.

To cope with this curious situation officials of Chicago's leading railroads gave financial support to Pinkerton to organize a private police and detective force which would give them the special attention and protection they needed. Pinkerton's agency—which was a private business enterprise—was an immediate success. Within a few years it became so successful that Pinkerton expanded its operations to include renting out uniformed watchmen, guards, and private policemen to bankers, insurance and express company executives, and merchants. By 1861 Allan Pinkerton had gained respectful local recognition as a protector of American business, but the event which elevated him to national fame was Abraham Lincoln's "midnight ride" to his first inaugural. In the crucial days preceding Lincoln's inaugural of 1861, Pinkerton, in order to gain publicity for himself and his enterprising agency, exaggerated the danger that Lincoln was about to be assassinated in Baltimore.

After the November elections of 1860, it was widely rumored that southern men were secretly plotting to prevent the inauguration of the newly elected Republican President, to seize Washington, and to make it the future capital of a southern republic.¹ One of the several persons who was deeply alarmed by these ugly rumors was Samuel M. Felton, Unionist president of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad. Like the Northern Central Railroad, which operated from Harrisburg to Baltimore, Felton's line joined the free and slave states of Pennsylvania and Maryland and was a vital route for conveying troops, passengers, and freight to Washington. Felton feared that if secessionists ever seized control of Maryland they would cut the

¹ In January, 1861, Congress appointed a Select Committee of Five to investigate whether or not any secret organization hostile to the United States Government existed in the District of Columbia. When the Committee made its report on February 14, it said that ". . . the evidence produced . . . does not prove the existence of a secret organization here or elsewhere hostile to the government. . . ." See *Alleged Hostile Organization against the Government within the District of Columbia* (36th Congress, 2d session, Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives, no. 79, vol. 2, ser. 1105, Washington, 1861), p. 2.

lines north of Baltimore and thereby isolate Washington from the North. He also feared that if Maryland followed South Carolina and other southern states in seceding from the Union, then his company's rails, bridges, and ferry boats would suffer at the hands of the secessionists.²

About the middle of January, 1861, after an unsuccessful attempt to obtain federal troops to police his railroad, Felton summoned Allan Pinkerton to his aid. The detective arrived in Philadelphia, made an investigation, and concluded that there was no real reason for the railroad executive to be alarmed. But Felton was not reassured and urged the detective to take the case. Pinkerton promised that upon his return to Chicago he would consider the matter fully.³

A few days after Pinkerton had returned to his office, he received another appeal from the frightened Felton. But, still unconvinced that he could make any capital of the situation in Maryland, Pinkerton told Felton on January 27 that he saw no reason to return East. When, however, three days later Felton renewed his pleas—by telegram—that Pinkerton come to Philadelphia to ferret out "plots and plans," Pinkerton came to the conclusion that there might be possibilities in the excitement in Maryland and that he should accept Felton's proposal to aid the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad.

On February 1, two days after receiving another telegram from Felton, Allan Pinkerton, with a force of eight men and one woman, left his Chicago office. After arriving in Philadelphia and consulting with Felton, the detective chief dispersed his operatives at important points along the railroad and established his secret headquarters at Baltimore. For the time being, Pinkerton became "John H. Hutchinson," a stock broker.

It took the operatives but a short time to discover that Maryland was in a state of great excitement, that there were numerous rumors of plots to seize Washington, and that there were still other rumors of a conspiracy to prevent the inaugural of Abraham

² Allan Pinkerton, *The Spy of the Rebellion* (Chicago, 1883), p. 47; William Schouler, *A History of Massachusetts in the Civil War* (2 vols., Boston, 1868-1871), I, p. 59; and Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial History of the Civil War in the United States of America* (3 vols., Phila. and Hartford, 1866-1868), III, p. 565.

³ Allan Pinkerton, *History and Evidence of the Passage of Abraham Lincoln from Harrisburg, Pa., to Washington, D. C., on the 22d and 23d of February, 1861* (New York, 1906), p. 8. (Hereafter this source will be cited as *History and Evidence*. . . .)

Lincoln. The operatives, however, even after continuing to frequent hotels, saloons, and brothels, could discover no definite plots to destroy Felton's railroad.⁴ Having found, then, no need to save the railroad, Pinkerton—a man with a great imagination—set out to find a need to save something else, and thus attract attention to Felton, to Felton's railroad, to himself, and to his agency.⁵ To do this, he decided to make use of the existing rumors that the presidential inauguration might be prevented. For many days past, newspapers had publicized Lincoln's plans for his journey to Washington, and their stories provided the germ of Pinkerton's idea. The President-Elect was due to leave Springfield, Illinois, by train on February 11, to proceed east to Cincinnati, Columbus, Buffalo, and New York, and then to turn south through Philadelphia, Harrisburg, and Baltimore to Washington.

The numerous railroad companies which operated between the West and the East were all out to "capture" Lincoln and to use him for their advertising salesman—exactly as Pinkerton himself intended.⁶ Lincoln's original purpose was to take the shortest route to the capital city; when this plan was subsequently changed, Mayor James G. Berret of Washington inquired of John W. Garrett, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, whether any threats made against his line had caused Lincoln to change routes. Garrett replied that rumors of such threats were false and that they were ". . . the simple inventions of those who are

⁴ Ward H. Lamon, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln; from His Birth to His Inauguration as President* (Boston, 1872), p. 514.

⁵ The writer accepts Lamon's statement that Pinkerton, "Being intensely ambitious to shine in the professional way, and something of a politician besides, it struck him that it would be a particularly fine thing to discover a dreadful plot to assassinate the President elect; and he discovered it accordingly." See *ibid.*, p. 512. Although Chauncey F. Black was the ghost writer of this volume, Lamon made the "midnight ride" with Lincoln and Pinkerton and later managed to obtain Pinkerton's evidence of the plot against Lincoln. Furthermore, Pinkerton wrote an account of the ride and gave it to William H. Herndon with the understanding that all statements relating to Lamon be kept secret. This letter, written in 1866, was not revealed until 1913. See "Allan Pinkerton's Unpublished Story of the First Attempt on the Life of Abraham Lincoln," *The American Magazine*, LXXV (Feb., 1913), 17-22. However, recently discovered evidence reveals that Lamon, who for ten years had believed in the Baltimore plot, had a personal grudge against Pinkerton, and it may be for this reason that he turned against the detective. Consult Norma B. Cuthbert, ed., *Lincoln and the Baltimore Plot* (San Marino, Calif., 1949), pp. 86-87. This volume is a collection of Pinkerton records and related papers of this case.

⁶ See the numerous articles in contemporary newspapers from February 11 to 22, 1861, describing to what lengths railroad officials had gone and what facilities they had provided to make Lincoln's trip as comfortable as possible.

agents in the West for other lines, and are set on foot more with a hope of interfering with the trade and travel on the shortest route to the seaboard than with any desire to promote the safety and comfort of the President elect."⁷

Felton, anticipating that Lincoln would use the regular route from New York to Washington, was perturbed to learn that he would ride directly from Harrisburg to Baltimore over the Northern Central route, and therefore, would by-pass the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore line. Felton was perturbed not only because he would lose an excellent opportunity to advertise his own railroad, but also because he and John Gittings, president of the Northern Central, were in direct competition with each other and were fighting to obtain control of the traffic between the North and Washington, D. C.⁸

There was, however, a way out. If it could be shown that danger lurked along the Northern Central route, it might be possible to persuade Lincoln to change his plans. Felton's employee, Allan Pinkerton, therefore, set his agents "looking" for assassination plots.

Mingling with the "rough" elements of Baltimore in the bar-room of Barnum's Hotel, Pinkerton's men spied a noisy Italian barber by name of Cypriano Ferrandini. Ferrandini operated a shop in the hotel and frequented the saloon in his spare time. Like many other men about him, he drank and talked much and made swelling speeches in favor of the South, much to the delight of his southern-sympathizing customers. Pinkerton himself hastened to meet this man, to shake his hand, to talk to him, to drink with him, and to hear him ranting.⁹ Then returning to his head-

⁷ New York *World*, Feb. 7, 1861.

⁸ William Stearns, one of Felton's own officials, admitted: "I felt very solicitous for the safety of Mr. Lincoln; but there was a delicacy with me in relation to the matter, in regard to the action to be taken, inasmuch as the programme of the route of Mr. Lincoln to Washington was published as via Northern Central Railroad, from Harrisburg to Baltimore, and that road was considered, to some extent, as a competing road to our road from North to South." See Stearns' statement in Pinkerton, *History and Evidence* . . . , p. 25.

⁹ Pinkerton, *The Spy of the Rebellion*, p. 65. Ferrandini, who was also a leader of a small drill company of volunteers, testified before the Select Committee of Five that the purpose of the organization was to prevent northern volunteer companies from passing through Maryland. He stated that it was to prevent "a northern invasion." For his complete testimony see *Alleged Hostile Organization against the Government within the District of Columbia*, pp. 132-139. Ferrandini appeared before the Committee on February 5, while Pinkerton and his agents already had arrived on the scene.

quarters, the detective put the name of Ferrandini in his reports as the leader of a diabolical conspiracy to murder Lincoln.

When the Indianapolis and Cincinnati train bearing Lincoln and his party arrived in Cincinnati, Pinkerton made his first contact with the group. He sent a message to an acquaintance of his, Norman B. Judd, who was a close friend of Lincoln and a member of the presidential party, warning him that there was a plot on foot to assassinate Lincoln in Baltimore. Pinkerton added that he had not yet obtained the details, but promised that another letter would be forthcoming soon. True to his word, he sent another letter to Judd, who received it at Buffalo. This time he said that "the evidence was accumulating" and repeated the request made in his first letter that the matter be kept secret. Judd did so.

During the afternoon of February 21, Lincoln arrived in Philadelphia, where he and his party were scheduled to remain for one day before going on to Harrisburg. As the procession was moving from the railroad station through streets lined with thousands of spectators, a man broke through the police lines, handed Judd a slip of paper, and then vanished in the crowd. Upon opening the mysterious note, Judd read: "St. Louis Hotel—ask for J. H. Hutchinson."

With the presidential party established at the Continental Hotel, Judd hurried to see the mysterious stranger. At the hotel Pinkerton and Felton were in a private room waiting for Lincoln's friend, and after brief introductions, Pinkerton produced the evidence which he had gathered to convince Judd that Lincoln's life was in great peril.¹⁰

Going through the papers and pausing now and then to ask questions, Judd learned the details of the conspiracy uncovered by Pinkerton's agents. The conspirators knew, as did everyone else, that Lincoln would arrive at approximately noon on Saturday, February 23, at Baltimore's Calvert Street station of the Northern Central, and that in order to board a train for Washington, he would need to change stations. Then, according to the story, while Lincoln's carriage was passing through the narrow streets, some of the conspirators would create a disturbance to distract the

¹⁰ Lamon stated: "These documents are neither edifying nor useful: they prove nothing but the baseness of the vocation which gave them existence." See Lamon, *The Life of Lincoln*, p. 513. To determine whether these documents are edifying or useful, let the reader examine them in Miss Cuthbert's *Lincoln and the Baltimore Plot*, pp. 19-106.

attention of the small detail of police. Other conspirators would then dash out of the crowd to Lincoln's side, either shoot or stab him, and make their escape. The death of Lincoln would be the signal for all secessionists to rise in arms, cut the telegraph lines, and tear up the railroad tracks leading to the North to prevent the shipment of troops to Washington.¹¹

Pinkerton pointed out that the many rumors were indications that something was bound to happen to Lincoln. More than that, only a few hours ago he himself had demonstrated to Judd that a person could reach Lincoln's side. If it could be done in Philadelphia it could likewise be done—and even more readily—in Baltimore where the police were allegedly sympathetic to secessionists.

Impressed by the reports and these arguments, Judd agreed that Lincoln's life was in great danger and that he should be warned. He proposed that Pinkerton should immediately accompany him to the Continental Hotel with the papers and submit the facts to Lincoln. Both men departed immediately. Before entering his room at the hotel, Judd sent an urgent message to Lincoln requesting his presence, and when he arrived, Pinkerton presented his evidence and related substantially the same story which he had just told Judd.

Throughout Pinkerton's recital, Lincoln listened attentively and asked many questions, but he was not impressed by the detective's statements.¹² As a lawyer Lincoln was well acquainted with the collection and the presentation of evidence. He remained calm and refused to believe Pinkerton's tale. He, however, did inquire what Pinkerton proposed to do in the event his warning should be heeded. The detective chief answered that he had a "counter-plot" to thwart the Baltimore conspirators. He proposed that Lincoln drop his remaining engagements and steal a march on his enemies by proceeding at once to Washington over the well guarded Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad. But Lincoln immediately rejected the proposal, feeling it ridiculous and saying that he had promises to fulfill on the following day. With that explanation he left the room.¹³

¹¹ Pinkerton, *The Spy of the Rebellion*, p. 72. The details of the assassination plot as written up by Pinkerton may be found in *ibid.*, pp. 74-80.

¹² Judd's statement in Pinkerton, *History and Evidence . . .*, p. 19.

¹³ Within an hour after leaving Pinkerton and Judd, Lincoln encountered Senator William H. Seward's son, Frederick, who had arrived only recently from Washing-

The following day, after raising the stars and stripes over Independence Hall, Lincoln and his party departed for Harrisburg. There he appeared before the State Legislature and attended an early evening banquet given by Governor Andrew G. Curtin. By now Lincoln's friends had learned about the alleged plot and they, too, attempted to persuade him to change his routes. But Lincoln asked, "What would the nation think of its President stealing into the Capital like a thief in the night?"¹⁴ Opinion, however, was unanimous that the question was not one for Lincoln to decide. His advisers argued that since he was the newly elected head of state, he should yield to the counsel of those around him. Finally, Lincoln gave up his fight and agreed to permit his friends to determine his course of action.

One argument used to exert pressure on Lincoln was the change of railroad stations in Baltimore. If Lincoln arrived at the Northern Central station, he would need to go by carriage to board a train for Washington, but if he arrived at the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore depot, he need not leave his coach car. Felton had recently installed a new service with horses drawing the railroad coaches over tracks from his depot to the Washington Branch terminal of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

At approximately six o'clock in the evening, Lincoln, who was in no state of alarm or fear, and Ward H. Lamon, a member of the presidential party whom Lincoln chose to accompany him, secretly boarded a special train to make the return trip to Philadelphia.¹⁵ As soon as the two men had departed, Judd hurried to the American Telegraph office and dispatched a coded message to Pinkerton in Philadelphia that his plan had been accepted and that the special train had departed from Harrisburg. Pinkerton,

ton with information from his father and others who sought to convince Lincoln that his life was in danger. Lincoln, thus, heard two stories which were allegedly derived from two separate sources and independent of each other, but if Lincoln did accept this as a fact, he still did not believe in the contents of either one of them. See John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (10 vols., N. Y., 1890), III, p. 303. The mysterious "Public Man" wrote in his diary on February 24, 1861: "I do not believe one word of the cock-and-bull story of the Italian assassins, which Mr. Seward told me to-day had been communicated to Mr. Lincoln as coming from General Scott . . ." He added that Seward himself did not believe one word of it. "The Diary of a Public Man," *North American Review*, CXXIX (Sept., 1879), 259-260.

¹⁴ Alexander K. McClure, *Abraham Lincoln and Men of War-Times* (4th ed., Phila., 1892), p. 52.

¹⁵ Curtin's statement in Pinkerton, *History and Evidence . . .*, p. 37.

now exultant, prepared to meet Lincoln and Lamon at West Philadelphia.

At the same moment, back in Harrisburg, a line expert of the American Telegraph Company went beyond the limits of the city and grounded a competing company's telegraph wires leading from there to Baltimore, under the Pinkertonian pretext of keeping spies in Harrisburg from warning conspirators in Baltimore. The blocked line was owned and operated by the Northern Central Railroad—the same concern which was giving so much trouble to the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad.¹⁹ Its president, John Gittings, had two enemies: one was Samuel Felton and the other was E. S. Sanford—president of the American Telegraph Company. Felton and Sanford found an excellent opportunity to injure their common competitor.

When Lincoln and Lamon arrived in West Philadelphia, Pinkerton had a carriage waiting to meet them. Felton, however, had not arranged for a special train to take Lincoln from Philadelphia to Baltimore, which was the terminus of his line; so they waited an hour before the regular night train arrived. Finally, when the train did arrive and Lincoln and Lamon had boarded a sleeping car, Pinkerton joined the two men to see his final plans materialize.

When the train got to Baltimore, the horses of Felton's new service slowly drew Lincoln's sleeping car through the dark streets to the Washington Branch depot. At six o'clock on Saturday morning of February 23, 1861, Lincoln arrived in Washington without fanfare of crowds, cheers, and cannon that had greeted him in northern cities.

When Lincoln's presence in Washington became known, rumormongers took up the story. Many journalists, both in the North and South, ridiculed Lincoln's act while others alleged

¹⁹ Andrew Wynne, the man who grounded the wires, stated that H. E. Thayer, manager of the Philadelphia office, ". . . asked me if I had any objections to fix the wires of another company so as to prevent any communications passing over them. I answered I would not in some cases. Mr. Thayer then stated that the life of President Lincoln was in great danger, and that he (Mr. Thayer) wanted some good man he could depend upon to cut the wires between Harrisburg and Baltimore. I replied, under that circumstance I would." Wynne's statement may be found in *ibid.*, p. 41. The reason Pinkerton did not seek the aid of Gittings when he was bringing in so many other men in his plans was probably that he deliberately chose to see Gittings' services disrupted. The writer has been unable to find evidence linking Gittings with secessionism or disloyalty during the Civil War.

that Lincoln had hurried on to Washington to avoid an assassination plot in Baltimore. The editors of the *Baltimore Sun*, however, saw a more significant meaning in Lincoln's "underground railroad" journey. They claimed that it unmasked at last the real purpose of Governor Thomas H. Hicks. The editors charged that Hicks had reported plots to seize the government in order to furnish ". . . a barren, frivolous pretext for concentrating troops at the capital of the nation, and fortifying to an unusual extent the fortresses of Maryland and Virginia."¹⁷

Subsequent events moved rapidly, and the Pinkerton-Felton affair was soon forgotten, but to the end of his days, Lincoln never believed that he would have been assassinated had he taken the Northern Central route to Baltimore.¹⁸ Moreover, Lincoln came to regard the "midnight ride" ". . . as one of the grave mistakes in his public career,"¹⁹ and to regret having listened to and yielded ". . . to the solicitations of a professional spy and of friends too easily alarmed."²⁰

In the meantime, Samuel Felton and Allan Pinkerton had largely accomplished their objectives. To publicize his railroad, Felton revealed the part it had played in bringing Lincoln to Washington. On February 25, the editors of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* announced that "Such was the determination of the officers of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, that nothing should be done to endanger the safety of . . . Mr. Lincoln . . . that . . . persons were sworn in to watch the bridges. . . ." While Felton did not succeed in getting troops to guard his property, nevertheless, federal arms in Washington, D. C., Maryland, and Virginia made him breathe a little easier. In fact, he felt his position was so secure that he dismissed Pinkerton and his staff soon after Lincoln's inaugural.

For various reasons, Pinkerton did not immediately seek full public notice for his work, but he did advertise his agency privately.²¹ He saw to it that influential men, among them Judd,

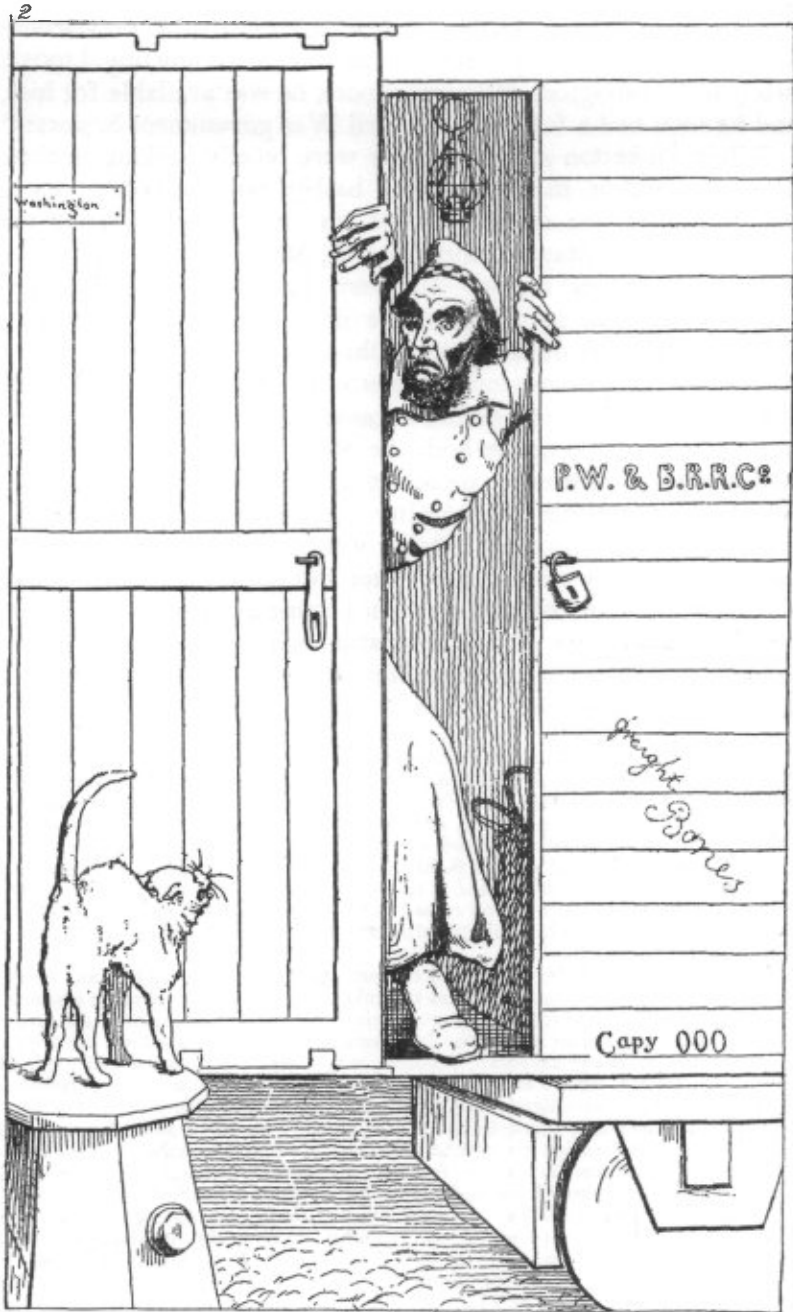
¹⁷ Feb. 26, 1861.

¹⁸ Isaac N. Arnold, *The History of Abraham Lincoln and the Overthrow of Slavery* (Chicago, 1866), p. 171.

¹⁹ Alexander K. McClure, "The Night at Harrisburg. A Reminiscence of Lincoln's Journey to Washington in 1861," *McClure's Magazine*, V (June, 1895), 96.

²⁰ Lamon, *The Life of Lincoln*, pp. 526-527. But Lincoln had ". . . thought it wise to run no risk, where no risk was necessary." See Arnold, *History of Lincoln*, p. 171.

²¹ Most newspapers gave credit to a "E. J. Allen"—another alias of Pinkerton—



LINCOLN'S PASSAGE THROUGH BALTIMORE: A CONTEMPORARY COMMENT.

One of a series of pro-Southern cartoons drawn by Dr. Adalbert J. Volck of Baltimore and surreptitiously published under the pseudonym, V. Blada.

Lamon, and William H. Seward—men close to the President—knew of and were impressed by his role in conducting Lincoln safely to Washington. What was more, he was available for hire, and he soon had a full share of Civil War government business.²²

While Pinkerton and his agency were quietly basking in their glory, Ferrandini, the poor Italian barber, went unnoticed about his trade, and was never molested for any crime.²³ During the Civil War when Mayor George Brown, Marshal George B. Kane, several newspaper editors—all from Baltimore—and members of the Maryland legislature were being locked up in federal prisons on charges of disloyalty to the Union, Ferrandini remained a free man. That these men were arrested and the barber left free was all the more remarkable because Allan Pinkerton and his agency, now working for both the State and War Departments, had assisted authorities in rounding up suspected traitors but had left the barber alone.²⁴ Even after Lincoln had been assassinated and General La Fayette C. Baker was running down every clue and offering large rewards, Pinkerton did not make known to him the knowledge he had of Ferrandini's connections with the alleged earlier assassination plot—information which might have linked John Wilkes Booth with Ferrandini, for Booth was known to have frequented Baltimore.

for safely conducting Lincoln to Washington. The *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York World*, however, published Pinkerton's true name. See the February 27, 1861, editions of both newspapers. The *World* reporter, who did not accept the assassination story, called Pinkerton ". . . a gentleman of Vidocquean repute in the way of thief-taking . . . whose villany eluded all save the Pinkertonean investigations. . . ."

²² He served as General George B. McClellan's intelligence agent, but Kenneth P. Williams in his recent *Lincoln Finds a General* (2 vols., N. Y., 1949) writes: "On the whole, Pinkerton and his band turned out to be a great asset to Jefferson Davis, on account of the exaggerated reports that they made of the Confederate strength." *Ibid.*, I, p. 129.

²³ The following article, reproduced in part, appeared in the *New York World*, February 27, 1861: "Rumor attributes to Pinkerton the discovery of secret organizations, the members of which, sworn upon their daggers, had taken oath to assassinate the President. An Italian barber wanders vaguely through this shadowy surmise; a leader of the Baltimore carbonari, probably, who wears a slouch hat and gives an easy shave for six cents. This tonsorial person was recently summoned before a secret committee of investigation at Washington; he resigned his membership upon receiving the summons, proceeded to Washington, swore black and blue, returned to Baltimore, and resumed his membership of the conspiratory cabal." If an assassination plot had actually existed in 1861, it appears that authorities—then or later—would have arrested Ferrandini, for he is clearly identified by this article.

²⁴ *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (4 series, 70 "volumes," 128 books, Washington, 1880-1901), ser. I, vol. V, pp. 195-196; *ibid.*, ser. II, vol. I, p. 688; and Sidney T. Matthews, "Control of the Baltimore Press during the Civil War," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVI (June, 1941), 154.

Moreover, to the end of his days, Pinkerton never permitted disinterested parties to examine the papers which persuaded Judd and others to put pressure on Lincoln to flee from a danger largely imaginary.²⁵ Instead, by continuing to exaggerate this danger, Pinkerton got the publicity he wanted and advertised his business dramatically.²⁶

²⁵ Miss Cuthbert, after examining the relevant documents in the case, concludes in her *Lincoln and the Baltimore Plot*: "It is not in anticipation of proving the authenticity of the Baltimore plot that these papers at last are put into print. Whether they throw enough significant light on the question to decide it is a point for Lincoln students to determine." *Ibid.*, p. xxii. It should be noted that Pinkerton's *History and Evidence* . . . is not documentary proof that the plot existed; rather, it is a collection of letters supporting Pinkerton's claim that it was he and not a government detective who conducted Lincoln to his first inaugural.

²⁶ During the years that followed, Pinkerton was involved in other questionable assassination plots: 1) Col. E. H. Wright stated that before the elections of 1864 he met Pinkerton in Baltimore and learned from him of a plot by McClellan's friends to murder Lincoln. Pinkerton claimed that the conspirators—among whom he charged were Wright—were known and being watched. Because he was McClellan's friend, Pinkerton wished to serve him and said that the plotters "might as well give up the fight." Lincoln, desiring to befriend McClellan and to save him from trouble, had employed him (Pinkerton) in the matter. When McClellan heard this story he treated it as absurd. This assassination story may be found in William S. Myers' *A Study in Personality: General George Brinton McClellan* (N. Y., 1934), pp. 461-462. 2) In 1868 Pinkerton himself was the victim of an attempted assassination, but the man arrested for this crime confessed that Pinkerton, who was ". . . rather fond of sensations in which he figured," had arranged this scheme against his own life. The prisoner, however, soon repudiated his statement and swore that other private detectives in the hire of the United States Secret Service had employed him to murder Pinkerton. For this episode in Pinkerton's career, see *The New York Times*, Aug. 5 and 24, 1869, and the *Detroit Free Press*, Aug. 3, 1869. 3) This case is that of the "Molly Maguires," twenty-two of whom were hanged on charges of murder. J. Walter Coleman, who has made a new and a scholarly study of this famous case in *The Molly Maguire Riots* (Richmond, Va., 1936), pp. 168-169, sums up his investigations with: "The Philadelphia and Reading Company, for example, may have entered into an agreement with Pinkerton officials to produce evidence calculated to convict certain undesirable men for the crimes against capital committed in the region within the ten or fifteen years preceding. If the men who sought assistance from the Pinkertons were innocent, the officials of the latter organization may have acted of their own accord in manufacturing spurious evidence, to enhance their reputations and secure additional clients."

THE EARL OF LOUDOUN AND HORATIO SHARPE, 1757 AND 1758

By JAMES HIGH

The French and Indian War has been the inspiration for a prodigious amount of historical writing. It has been studied as an extension of the European Seven Years' War, as a symptom of British imperialism, as the background for depicting personalities, and as part of the American Revolution. There seems to be rather general agreement that the colonial legislative bodies were reluctant to furnish men and money on English terms. At the beginning of the war, the Duke of Newcastle's ministry with its ideas of Whiggery thought of colonial participation as defensive, and the provincial people were expected to furnish the means for that defense. Newcastle himself was able to think only in terms of thousands. It was not until 1759, when Pitt rose to power, that Parliament was required to disburse millions on the American war. Maryland, as many other colonies, used the early Whigs' frugality as a constitutional lever for forcing concessions from the mother country. The commanders-in-chief found themselves in opposition to what they thought was the obstinacy of the colonials. Some of the governors tried to stand in an intermediate position. Horatio Sharpe, governor of Maryland, illustrates this attitude in his dealings with John Campbell, 4th Earl of Loudoun, who arrived in New York July 23, 1756, as the fifth commander of the troops of King George II in the last great struggle for North America.¹

¹ Published discussion of the French and Indian War started with its inception. Thomas Pownall, successor to William Shirley as governor of Massachusetts when the latter was superseded by Loudoun as commander-in-chief, published *Administration of the Colonies* (London, 1756), in which he recognized the constitutional struggle that was going on in America. Francis Parkman left a classic in his volumes on *Montcalm and Wolfe*, *A Half Century of Conflict*, and others, *Works*, Frontenac ed. (Boston, 1902), which are still in some respects the most fascinating accounts of the great conflict between France and England. See Stanley McCrory Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun in North America* (New Haven and London, 1933), bibliography, 366 ff. for a select and critical list of works bearing on the period July, 1756, to March, 1758. See also Paul Henry Giddens, "Maryland and the Earl of Loudoun [*sic*]", *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXIX (1934), 269 ff., and

Pitt was not yet in power when Loudoun arrived in America. His appointment did not meet with the approval of William Pitt, the Great Commoner, champion of American constitutional rights, later to become the 1st Earl of Chatham. Lord Loudoun represented an antithetical point of view: the king's prerogative and aristocratic scorn of colonials. He enforced the order of the Duke of Cumberland, the king's second son in charge of the British army, to rank all provincial field officers below captains in the regular British service. He attempted to force local legislatures to appropriate funds and raise troops. He antagonized several of the assemblies over the issue of quartering troops, which he considered an unquestionable right of the army. He failed in two major military ventures: on the Great Lakes and before Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island. He clashed violently with two governors: William Shirley of Massachusetts and Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia, both of whom he considered insubordinate.² Yet, by the beginning of 1758, many of his officers had come to respect him, and when he was recalled in February he left many friends in America. Lord Loudoun could only have changed his attitude during his year and a half as virtual viceroy of British North America.

Among his papers is a little noticed letter to Governor Sharpe of Maryland.³ In it he made very clear recognition of the necessity of adopting a policy toward the American colonies completely at variance with the ideas he brought from England. The letter is marked "Private" and dated January 2, 1758, just three days after the order for his recall was issued at Whitehall. It must be remembered that he did not know in January that his successor was already appointed.

"Bibliography on Maryland," *ibid.*, XXXI (1936), 6-16, for items concerning Maryland and the French and Indian War. The most recent and exhaustive study is by Lawrence Henry Gipson, *The Great War for the Empire, the Years of Defeat, 1754-1757* (New York, 1946), vol. VI of the partially completed study of the *British Empire before the American Revolution*. Volume VII, *The Victorious Years, 1758-1763* (New York, 1949) has just appeared. Charles A. Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven and London, 1940), chapters VI, VII, and VIII is a specific study of the effects of the war in Maryland.

² See Pargellis, *op. cit.*; Louis Knott Koontz, *Robert Dinwiddie* (Glendale, Cal., 1941); George A. Wood, *William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, 1741-1756* (New York, 1920), *passim*.

³ Loudoun to Sharpe, January 2, 1758, Public Record Office, Colonial Office 5/50: 37-38; what seems to be the original of this and several other Sharpe-Loudoun items appears in War Office 34 (Amherst Papers), 34 Library of Congress Transcripts.

Sharpe, the recipient of the letter, was governor of one of the smallest but most populous colonies, and the only one beside Pennsylvania that operated under a proprietary charter. The Assembly of Maryland held an outstanding position in the long struggle for American sovereignty, and by 1756 had already shown sharp resistance to the application of English pressure. Sharpe himself had been the second commander-in-chief, just preceding Edward Braddock. He represented an attitude part way between the feeling for colonial independence and the rigid belief in obedience to England held by such a man as Loudoun. He was a member of the British ruling class, and believed with it in the principles of prerogative and patronage. This belief was tempered, however, by his experience on the frontier, and he tried to uphold what he honestly thought were the rights of the colonists. In the matters of recruiting and quartering he stood between the people of Maryland and the imperious behavior of the British commander.

The relationship among the Assembly, Sharpe, and Loudoun serves to illustrate in a new way the growth of British policy that came into being in 1759, and which has usually been attributed to forces at the English end. Maryland very definitely had a part in the process, as did the Englishmen in the field during the "years of defeat."

* * *

Sharpe met his Assembly in April, 1757, and reported to the ministry that since ". . . there was enough Money already raised & in the Treasury to support 500 Men during the Summer the Assembly was prevailed on without much Difficulty to pass a Vote for supporting that Number."⁴ At a meeting in Philadelphia, March 14, 1757, Lord Loudoun and the governors of four southern colonies decided the quotas of men from each and their general distribution for the next year. The total number was to be 3,800, and they were to be spread along the frontier from Georgia to Pennsylvania.⁵ Sharpe agreed to furnish 500 from Maryland to be under the general command of Colonel John Stanwix of the

The earl's personal copy is in Loudoun Papers, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, L05317.

⁴ Sharpe to Pitt, May 26, 1757, *Archives of Maryland*, "Correspondence of Horatio Sharpe," edited by William Hand Browne, vols. VI, IX, XIV, and first part of XXXI (Baltimore, 1888-1912). (Cited henceforth as *Md. Arch.*, IX, 3.)

⁵ Minutes of a meeting of the governors of North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland,

Royal American regiment stationed in Pennsylvania. There were already 250 Marylanders at their two forts: Frederick, built by the Assembly in 1756 about 150 miles west of the capital, midway between modern Hagerstown and Hancock, near what was considered the frontier at the time; and Cumberland, 75 miles farther west, built by Virginians and Marylanders under Colonel Sharpe in 1754 on what they considered the frontier.⁶ These troops were under the command of Captain John Dagworthy, senior Maryland officer.⁷

In passing the bill authorizing the Governor's commitment the Assembly made it necessary for Sharpe to inform Loudoun ". . . that they have now done it with such a Reservation as prevents the Men's being disposed of exactly in the manner that your Ldp was pleased to propose." The Assembly wanted to give

and Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, March 15, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, LV, 3-5, "Proceedings of the Assembly, 1757," edited by J. Hall Pleasants (Baltimore, 1934). *Ibid.*, 46, 49, 61, 62, 77, 82, 119-129. The bill needed for the support of the troops was rejected April 29, 1757 (82), and finally passed May 6, 1757 (129), although no actual record of the vote is now available. *Ibid.*, xxiii (preface), gives an account of the four sessions of the assembly held during the period covered here. See Pargellis, *op. cit.*, 219, for comparison of old and new quotas and how they were determined. Sharpe's opinion was followed.

⁶ The Ohio Company of Virginia had constructed in 1749, some buildings on the site of Fort Cumberland at the juncture of Wills' Creek and the Potomac, for storehouses and a base of operations in the Ohio country to the west. Sharpe, while he was commander-in-chief in 1754 strengthened the site, and prepared barracks for the reception of Braddock's troops the following year. Lieutenant Colonel Sir John St. Clair visited the place just before Braddock arrived, and found it quite unsuited to defense. It was commanded by high ground, and its lines of communication were very poor. St. Clair and Sharpe traveled down the Potomac in a canoe as far as the Falls (near the present day Washington), hoping to establish the feasibility of water transport as a mode of supplying this advanced base. They decided it could not be done. Dinwiddie had already formed that opinion.

⁷ Sharpe to Dinwiddie, May 5, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, VI, 548. John Dagworthy, "a Gentleman who formerly resided in New Jersey" had been a half-pay captain in the British service. He had accompanied Lawrence Washington to Carthagenia during the last war against France and Spain, The War of the Austrian Succession, or King George's War, 1744-1748. In 1754 he appeared as the commander of the Maryland company at Fort Cumberland. Since he already had a royal commission he considered that of higher rank than his captain's commission from Governor Sharpe. On this basis a great deal of friction was created between him and George Washington whose colone's commission from Governor Dinwiddie was thought to be inferior to any royal commission. In 1756 Washington applied to General Shirley for a clarification of the matter, and Shirley upheld him. Dagworthy continued to command the Maryland troops throughout the war, and finally rose to the provincial rank of lieutenant colonel when Pitt made that possible. He went to Fort Cumberland in May, 1757, and took ". . . Possession of that place with a Detachment of 150 effective Men, . . ." relieving Colonel Washington whose forces retired southward to Fort Loudoun. Sharpe to Stanwix, May 25, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 1 ff., tells of Sharpe's turning over the command of Maryland's 250 men to Loudoun's direct command.

up Fort Cumberland altogether or give it to Virginia. It was even suggested that the place was in Virginia. They had little sympathy with the frontier, so Governor Sharpe, in order to maintain Fort Frederick and the right to raise any troops at all, had to accept the provision that no Maryland men were to leave the province nor be sent to Fort Cumberland except in case of an actual invasion or other emergency. No organized company was to be permanently stationed there, nor any officer above the rank of lieutenant. If any soldiers went there it was to be on a purely temporary basis for no longer than one month at a time.⁸

As soon as the law was passed Brigadier John Stanwix's behavior hardened the resolve of the Maryland Assembly never to grant supplies again to troops at Cumberland. He gave a peremptory order to Dagworthy to march there immediately with 150 men. That officer's pay was thereby jeopardized, but he went, being convinced along with the governor of the need for frontier defense.⁹ Sharpe begged Stanwix to send regular officers and rotate the Maryland troops under their command ". . . as conformable as possible to the Directions of our Act which you know I as Governor must regard & if I can see executed tho you as a Military Officer appointed to command in these parts may not think yourself under any such obligation."¹⁰ Failing in this appeal he reinforced Stanwix's order to Dagworthy, and readied five companies of militia to march to Fort Frederick on call. He could put 600 men in the field in ten days, but it was not to be on English terms. American militiamen would always fight if they could see the reason and need for it.¹¹ Sharpe reported to Pitt that

⁸ Sharpe to Loudoun, May 13, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, VI, 554. Sharpe to Dinwiddie, June 3, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 16 ff. Stanwix made clear his attitude to Sharpe. He directed Dagworthy ". . . to pay no manner of regard to the Resolutions of our Assembly or the Orders of any Person besides himself." Sharpe to Loudoun, November 15, 1757, P R O, W O 34/34 (L. C. Tr.).

⁹ Stanwix to Dagworthy, May 12, 1757, Loudoun Papers, Huntington Library, LO3611. Sharpe to Pitt, October 22, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 93.

¹⁰ Sharpe to Stanwix, June 27, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 31. Dinwiddie to Sharpe, May 18, 1757, *Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1751-1758*, edited by Robert Alonzo Brock, vols. III and IV of the Virginia Historical Society Collections (Richmond, 1883-1884), II, 630. Commonly cited as *Dinwiddie Papers*. Dinwiddie's opinion was that ". . . the Order of the Commander-in-Chief w'ch I think they ought not to dispute . . ." was final, and ". . . When y'r Forces are rais'd I conceive yo. may order 'em wherever yo. please." A month later he wished for an attack on Fort Duquesne with these men, where ". . . the Enemy have only 140 Men. . . ." Dinwiddie to Sharpe, June 14, 1757, *ibid.*, 638. Sharpe to Cecilius Calvert, May 30, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 9.

¹¹ Sharpe to Stanwix, May 25, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 1. Report to Board of

the ". . . Disposition is not quite agreeable to the Earl of Loudoun's plan or my own opinion."¹² Loudoun sailed in June for the campaign against Louisbourg that netted a colossal failure. Major General James Abercrombie, his second in command, marched to defeat at the hands of the Marquis de Montcalm at Fort William Henry on Lake George. These two actions contributed to the recall of Loudoun the following year. Sharpe did the best he could in Maryland, after dissolving the Assembly, to furnish troops and supplies to Stanwix who was charged with holding the frontier.¹³

Maryland has often been accused of failing to support the British cause after 1756, mainly because no provincial units accompanied the expeditions of Loudoun and Abercrombie, as was the case from other colonies.¹⁴ Actually Maryland troops were in excess of the quotas throughout 1757. There were nearly 500 colony-supported men at Forts Frederick and Cumberland, besides the militia that was called out from time to time. Sharpe reported to the Board of Trade that over 2,000 "young men" had been enlisted into the regular service prior to 1762.¹⁵ In 1757 he wrote to Pitt, that the trade of Maryland would be ruined if the sailors of the place continued to enlist in the British navy. He noted that "so many of those that have been usually employed in our Trade have left us to serve on board His Majesty's Ships or Privateers that it is not without the greatest difficulty the Masters of our Vessels homeward bound can engage a few Seamen to navigate them."¹⁶

Sharpe took a gloomy view of the situation in the summer of 1757. He feared an attack from the quarter of Fort Duquesne, and since he had a genuine concern for the frontier settlements, he was especially anxious to forestall any Indian forays. He even wrote to his brother that he would go to the frontier himself, and

Trade, 176, British Museum, King's Manuscripts, 205: 251 (L. C. Tr.), Sharpe said that the colony could support 15,000 militiamen.

¹² Sharpe to Pitt, May 26, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 3.

¹³ *Md. Arch.*, LV, 84, 129.

¹⁴ Pargellis, *op. cit.*, 114. "In the autumn of 1756, when Loudoun urged southern governors to furnish recruits for the Royal Americans, Dinwiddie sent a hundred and twenty and Sharpe a hundred and fifty. These were the last men to be raised for British regiments . . ." until 1762.

¹⁵ Report to Board of Trade, 1762, Br. Mus., King's Mss., 205:251 (L. C. Tr.).

¹⁶ Sharpe to Pitt, October 22, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 95. Report to Board of Trade, 1756, *Md. Arch.*, XXI, 143. Report . . . , 1762, Br. Mus., King's Mss., 205: 250 (L. C. Tr.), shows 1,609 Maryland sailors normally employed.

“. . . support Colonel Stanwix in the best manner that I am able with the Troops & Militia of this Province.”¹⁷

By September the money in the Maryland treasury allocated to the support of the 500 troops authorized in May was gone. Sharpe knew that he would have to call another Assembly, but that it would be fruitless. His opinion expressed to his brother was that “. . . they will follow the Example of the Pensilvanians,” and insist on restrictions impossible of acceptance.¹⁸ They would either try to tax the proprietor's unpatented lands, or curb the utilization of the troops. They attempted both. Maryland's governor was very impatient with the reluctance of Parliament to impose legislation on the colonies. He thought that Great Britain simply by passing a law could force the Americans to adhere to British military policy and practice. He thought of the French and Indian War as a matter of life or death defense against an encroaching enemy, and naturally the people being attacked should be willing to pay at least part of the cost of their own protection. He wrote:

It grieves me to think we should find such Difficulty in obtaining a paultry Sum to support a few hundred Men . . . when we could afford to support a thousand more for the General Service did the Legislature of Great Britain think fit to compel us. there is scarcely a Person of Common Sense among us but laments that no Act of Parliament has yet been made for that purpose, for my own part I am of opinion that nothing else can effectually preserve these Colonies from Ruin.¹⁹

The new Assembly convened September 28, 1757.²⁰ They immediately moved to reduce the Maryland troops to 300, to be confined to Fort Frederick, not to be ordered away from there by any royal officer, and to be supported by a tax on the proprietor's property.²¹ Sharpe condemned the measure “. . . as encroaching on His Majesty's Prerogative.”²² He asked Loudoun to “. . . send

¹⁷ Sharpe to William Sharpe, June 1, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 12. He had an opportunity to call out the militia, and start for Fort Frederick, but the occasion proved to be a false alarm. Some irresponsible Indians told George Washington, commanding at Fort Loudoun, that there was an impending attack. Sharpe had to disband his troops and return to Annapolis, but it did prove to him that when the necessity arose he could get men to fight.

¹⁸ Sharpe to William Sharpe, September 18, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 85-86.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Md. Arch.*, LV, 199.

²¹ Sharpe to Baltimore, October 5, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 87. Sharpe to Calvert, October 6, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 88.

²² Sharpe to Stanwix, October 21, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 92.

Col^o Stanwix some Orders about Fort Cumberland as soon as possible, our Troops will not I am afraid be kept together after the Assembly's Resolution is made known to them, indeed those of them that are at that Fort will unless they receive a speedy supply of Provisions be obliged to abandon it for want of Food." ²³ Sharpe was so concerned over the possible evacuation of the troops from the frontier that he informed Pitt he had ". . . given orders for their being furnished upon my own Account with as much provision as they shall stand in need of," pending Loudoun's action.²⁴

The assembly's real reasons for resisting the royal commands were quite probably constitutional.²⁵ Sharpe recognized this to a certain extent when, in addressing them after nearly two months of dallying while he was paying most of the bills himself, he said that the last session ". . . gave Occasion for an Odious Distinction . . . between . . . *Maryland* and . . . the neighbouring Colonies; and inclined his Majesty's General . . . to entertain a very unfavourable Opinion of the People. . . ." He intimated that Marylanders really wanted to pay their just obligations: it was merely a matter of agreeing on the mode of payment.²⁶ However, there was another potent motivation for the assemblymen. The members actually voting in the Lower House in the fall of 1757, thirty-eight in all, were almost wholly representative of the old counties around Chesapeake Bay. Frederick county, the western section of the province, had only three representatives. Although consisting of nearly half of the colony's territory, this county could only boast about 25,000 inhabitants out of the total of nearly 150,000.²⁷

²³ Sharpe to Loudoun, October 20, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 91.

²⁴ Sharpe to Pitt, October 22, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 95. On August 11, 1757, the intelligence showed that Fort Duquesne's garrison ". . . did not exceed four Hundred Men . . .," and Sharpe wanted to attack it then. He thought with some basis that he could raise enough money by subscriptions to carry out such a campaign. *Md. Arch.*, LV, 777, shows the Assembly quite nonplussed that the governor could successfully equip and put into the field such a large force of militia.

²⁵ Assembly proceedings, October 21, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, LV, 244. The lower house tried to tax "Real and Personal Estates . . . and . . . all Lucrative Offices and Employments, . . ." putting the upper house in the position of having to veto the measure (*ibid.*, December, 16, 1757, LV, 195, 196). Pargellis, *op. cit.*, 220.

²⁶ *Votes and Proceedings of the Lower House of Assembly of the Province of Maryland*, October 23, 1757 (Annapolis, 1757), p. 2.

²⁷ Report to Board of Trade, 1762, Br. Mus., King's Mss., 205: 249 (L. C. Tr.), gives 130,000 (including 36,000 Negroes) inhabitants in 1748; in 1756 there were 107,963 white people and 46,225 "blacks and mulattoes." About 2,000 men were estimated to be out of the province on military duties of one kind or another. *Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church*, ed. by William Stevens Perry (5 vols., Hartford, 1878), IV, 336, gives "5,000 Taxables" in Frederick County in 1775.

The bulk of these 25,000 resided east of Fort Frederick. Since there had been no Indian threat nearer than that, it was hard to realize the terrors of the frontier even though the *Maryland Gazette* carried many tales of horror and atrocity.²⁸

Henry Hooper, the speaker of the Assembly told the Governor:

We understand the most common Track of the Indians in making their Incursions into Virginia, (which have been lately very frequent,) is thro the wild desert Country lying between Fort Cumberland and Fort Frederick, and yet we cannot learn that the Forces at Fort Cumberland, (tho' most of those in our Pay the Summer past, have been stationed there, contrary we humbly conceive, to the Law that raised them) have very rarely, if ever, molested those Savages, in those their Incursions, from whence we wou'd willingly presume their Passage is below the Ranges, which Troops station'd at Fort Cumberland can, with Safety to that Fort, extend themselves to, and consequently that any Security arising from those Troops, even to the Virginians, who are most in the Way of being protected by them, must be very remote, and to us much more so.²⁹

This was undoubtedly an honest opinion from the point of view of the tidewater society of Maryland. Those people felt their allegiance to the sovereign province of their birth and choice, not to Virginia, Pennsylvania, nor to the remote crown of England. They felt that they knew their own best interest, and they were not just obstinate, as Sharpe, Loudoun, and Stanwix were inclined to think.³⁰

The Mutiny Act of 1756 had been extended to America, and Loudoun naturally expected it to apply just as it did in England and Scotland.³¹ The unexpected provision for quartering troops

²⁸ *Notes and Proceedings . . .*, October, 1757, p. [1]. There should have been fifty-eight members in the lower house, but due to illness and death there were only thirty-eight at that time. See Bernard C. Steiner, "Maryland's Religious History," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXI (1926), 1-20. *Maryland Gazette* (published weekly by Jonas Green, Annapolis), April 21, 1757. *Maryland Gazette*, October 7, 1756, gives Adam Long's (prisoner of the French at Fort Duquesne) report of three prisoners being tortured. *Ibid.*, March 24, 1757: A sentry at fort Frederick was fired on one night, and ". . . the next Day they Discovered the Track of Two who had gone across a small Run of Water . . . This looks as if we might expect they will soon visit those Parts again." *Ibid.*, April 21, 1757, reported a man scalped near Fort Frederick. Such accounts appeared in nearly every issue of the *Gazette* throughout 1757. Merely from these stories one would wonder how the frontier population remained during the French and Indian War. The facts show that there were many more people in the west after the war, and that they had pushed the frontier farther from the coast steadily during the struggle.

²⁹ P. R. O., C. O. 5/49: 108-109 (L. C. Tr.).

³⁰ Sharpe to Loudoun, October 21, 1757, P. R. O., C. O. 5/49: 37 (L. C. Tr.).

³¹ Stanley M. Pargellis, ed., *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765* (New York and London, 1936), 43 ff., 29 George II, c. 35, "Act for the better recruiting

at the colonists' expense evoked an outraged response from the colonials, who in their turn surprised the royal officers by their resistance. In Great Britain where inns were numerous and quartering frequent and customary, there had never been much difficulty. However, in America, quartering was not accepted as a normal patriotic duty, for practical as well as constitutional reasons. For instance, Annapolis, a town of possibly 1,000 inhabitants would be sorely cramped to accommodate 500 soldiers in its private houses.³² The Lower House reasonably stated that "there are few Towns that have more than One or Two Inns or Public Houses in them."³³

Sharpe recognized the inconvenience that would attend quartering in Annapolis; and although perfectly amenable to the principle, he nevertheless transmitted the Assembly's request for information to Loudoun. They wanted to find out, partly for the sake of delay and partly for an honest need to know, how many troops Lord Loudoun intended to station in Maryland during the winter of 1757. They even intimated that the colony might reimburse the householders, after the manner of Parliament, if they knew exactly how much money would be involved.³⁴ Loudoun answered quickly and to the point as far as he was concerned:

From your Letter it does appear that the point of Quarters is not well understood: Quarters the Troops have a right to Every where, & at all times; In time of War the number to be Quartered in any place must depend on the Exigencies of the Service, of which the General can be the only Judge.³⁵

His private suggestion of twenty companies for Maryland, four of which would be in the capital could not fail to antagonize the burgesses of Annapolis.³⁶

His Majesty's Forces on the Continent of North America and for the better Regulation of the Army, and preventing Desertion therein." See Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun in North America*, 117-119. See also Eugene I. McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland, 1634-1820*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, XXII, Nos. 3 and 4 (Baltimore, 1904).

³² Daniel Dulany (younger), "Military and Political Affairs in the Middle Colonies in 1755," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, III (1879), 11-31. Pargellis, *op. cit.*, 190, 204.

³³ *Md. Arch.*, LV, 219. At this point the Assembly was willing to quarter one regiment if they could know about it in advance.

³⁴ Sharpe to Loudoun, October 1, 1757, *M. Arch.*, IX, 86.

³⁵ Loudoun to Sharpe, October 16, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 89. Indicative of Loudoun's imperious manner toward the colonials at that time.

³⁶ *Md. Arch.*, LV, 67-68, 212, 171, 177, 181, 285-286, 351-352 include an

At the end of December Sharpe wrote to Cecilius Calvert:

There are now in this City five Companies of the Royal American Regiment in Number near 500 who are quartered on the Inhabitants indiscriminately. As soon as I was advised of their being ordered hither I gave the Corporation Notice & recommended it to them to provide for their Reception. Upon this they presented a Petition to the Assembly for Assistance but having unhappily failed of Success they came to a Resolution among themselves to provide for the Troops in the best manner they could at their own private Expense in Expectation however that the Assembly will some time or other reimburse them.⁸⁷

Loudoun and the assembly would probably have agreed on one thing at this point: that such a measure had a punitive aspect. Tempers ran high, and Maryland refused to give any further aid during 1757 except on a coercive basis.

From the time of the council of war in Philadelphia in March, the Earl of Loudoun insisted publicly on Maryland's furnishing ". . . as large a number of Provincial Troops as may be for the Service of the ensuing Campaign."⁸⁸ He also wanted Sharpe to arm and equip properly the "Militia of your Province." In May he continued:

I must recommend it to you in the most earnest manner that you will immediately in Consequence of his Majesty's Orders, signified to you set about raising and getting in Readiness, a considerable Force to be ready to join and support the Troops already agreed upon to be raised for the public Service.⁸⁹

When Loudoun returned to New York after the unsuccessful adventure in the north, he turned his attention to the reorganization of frontier defense from Georgia to the Great Lakes. He had left Stanwix in command of Maryland and Pennsylvania, and he

extended discussion that ended with the opinion that quartering was an "infringement of the Liberties" of the people. *Ibid.*, 279, 299-300; the corporation of Annapolis took steps to accommodate 500 troops in December, 1757. Barker, *op. cit.*, 209-210, seems to consider the episodes of quartering as entirely indicative of the colonials' attempts to further their sovereignty at the expense of the high-handed royal authorities.

⁸⁷ Sharpe to Calvert, December 26, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 121.

⁸⁸ Loudoun to Sharpe, May 5, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, VI, 546.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Loudoun wrote Sharpe, June 13, 1757, that he had received an ". . . Account of the Resolution of your Assembly, in relation to the Orders they have given to the Troops raised in your Province, if not being Employed in the defence of it; an Order inconsistent in itself, and a direct infringement of the King's undoubted Prerogative: I must desire, that you will shew them the light this must appear in at home . . . As I am sure you will enforce to your Assembly, this Affair, in the strongest manner." *Md. Arch.*, IX, 23.

was undoubtedly irritated at the resistance shown to that officer on the matters of frontier defense and quartering. He became eloquent on hearing from Sharpe that the newly elected Assembly in Maryland had further reduced and restricted its frontier appropriations in the fall of 1757.⁴⁰

Two months before Pitt managed to get enough power in the British ministry to have him recalled, Loudoun wrote:

I must own the Restriction Your Assembly Endeavoured to Lay on the Troops raised by Your Province last Spring Surprized me, as it Interfered with the King's undoubted prerogative of Commanding all His Subjects in Arms, either by Himself or those he appoints under him—

But as the Troops were wise enough to obey His Majesty's orders given them, by those who alone, had power to give them; and as I was Informed by a Gentleman from Maryland that, that Clause of the Act had been Layed before Lawyers, who had all agreed that it was not in the power of the Assembly to Lay such a Restriction, and that of Course the Clause was Null, I was in hopes the Gentlemen that compose the Assembly had Reconsidered that Affair and seen the Error of it.

But your Letter, & their Redress have shewn me that I was mistaken; and yet I cannot help having the Charity for my Fellow Subjects to believe that this Affair has not appeared to them in its true Light, for I Cannot think, that the Assembly of Maryland ever Intended to Invade the King's prerogatives.

Nor can I possibly believe that they Intend to throw the Frontier Garrisons of His Majesty's Dominions, into the Enemy's hands, particularly when those Garrisons are in their own Province, & so Essential to their protection.

. . . I do demand from the Province of Maryland that the 500 men . . . Employed by me this Last Summer, . . . be Continued in the Service this Winter, as absolutely necessary for . . . the Defence of His Majesty's Dominions.

As to their Disposing of the Troops in the Winter I have the King's Commission to Command all men that are or shall be in Arms in North America; I am, on the Spot, and whilst the King does me the Honour to Continue that Commission to me, I will Execute it, and if any Officer or Soldier, presumes to disobey my orders, I will treat him as the Law Directs.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Sharpe to Loudoun, October 20, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 91. Sharpe to Stanwix, October 21, 1757, *Ibid.*, IX, 92-93.

⁴¹ Loudoun to Sharpe, November 3, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 96-97. *Md. Arch.*, LV, 357-360, gives text of an act to raise £20,000 for the support of 300 men, and at the same time placed a tax on Baltimore's property. *Ibid.*, 270 (a few of the supporters went over to the side of R. J. Henry and Dulany), 274 (a few more went over and defeated the measure), 282, 283 (haggled over details of taxation and passed it), 177, 290 (amended it), 195, 196 (Council had to veto).

The same day Loudoun explained to Sharpe that "I Have . . . writ you a Publick Letter in pretty strong Terms, as it appeared to me necessary in the present situation of Your Assembly." He made clear the tactical importance of protecting the "Back Settlements," and the necessity of maintaining Fort Cumberland. At this time he did not depart from his firm belief that the colonists should submit to the authority of the crown in every detail. However, as an expedient, if the Assembly would under no circumstances be persuaded to furnish troops soon enough, he would send regulars to Fort Cumberland, even though taking them from other duties might "probably Cost the Lives of Thousands of His Majesty's Subjects. . . ." He wanted the Americans to realize their position and bear ". . . every reasonable share of the Expence of the War in this Country, of which at present the Provinces bear none of that great Body of Regular Troops that are sent for their protection. . . ." Loudoun was learning what every other British commander was to learn: that the colonists were beginning to think of themselves as Americans. He still thought, however, that feeding some of them would in "some Degree prevent the Disease from spreading."⁴²

On the other hand, it was quite difficult for the people in Annapolis, who had hardly seen an Indian, to understand why 500 regulars had to be quartered on them while they supported an equal number of their own men on a distant frontier primarily for the defense of Virginia. 300 troops at Fort Frederick was the best they would do for Governor Sharpe and the Earl of Loudoun.⁴³

The Assembly on one side and the commander-in-chief on the other left Governor Sharpe in a conciliatory position in the middle. He was by sympathy and training a member of the same ruling class as Loudoun, and he had unwavering loyalty to the crown. Yet he was aware of the problems of the colony, and had exhibited a keen interest in the frontier ever since his arrival in America. He had several friends in the Assembly and not wanting to antagonize his legislature any more than was necessary, he did not show them the earl's threat to take legal action. He informed Loudoun

⁴² Loudoun to Sharpe, November 3, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 98-99, marked "Private."

⁴³ Br. Mus., King's Mss., 205:251 (L. C. Tr.), states that there were one hundred and twenty Indians ". . . in the populous parts of the Province [who] live in good Neighbourhood with the Inhabitants . . .," indicating the attitude near the tidewater.

that his lawyers' opinion ". . . was very different from what Your Ldp seems to apprehend. . . ." The agents provisioning the troops considered themselves ". . . as Servants to the Assembly & . . . that they had nothing else to do but to act agreeable to the [orders] of those by whom they were nominated." They could not be forced to supply food that they knew would never be paid for. They were bonded, and the ultimate result would certainly be that the contractors themselves would have to stand any unauthorized expense. Sharpe realized the futility of trying to force the issue with the legislature, and prepared to send ". . . three or four Companies of Militia . . . to Fort Frederick on the first Notice." After this procedure on the side of conciliation of the assembly, Sharpe expressed his own views to Loudoun:

As I find that all our Troops were a few Days since paid to the 10th of Oct^r & that their Cloathing was not dld [delivered] to them till very lately I believe there is no probability of their deserting at least on this side Christmas, since Col^o Stanwix has upon my Application given the Person that has hitherto victualled them orders to continue to supply them with Provisions, . . . the superiour Class of People in every part of the Province . . . declare publicly that they should be well pleased if the Legislature of great Britain, would ease the Assembly of the trouble of framing Supply Bills by Compelling us by an Act of Parliament to raise £ 20,000 annually by a Poll Tax as the Quota of this Province towards carrying on the War.⁴⁴

Loudoun intended to come to Maryland to settle the matter of Maryland's participation in person.⁴⁵ As it turned out he never came, and during December his thinking seemed to undergo a change that was to place an entirely different emphasis on the relationship of Maryland with the British army. Sharpe's last letter in November, 1757, continued on the basis of the old relationship: the monotonous reiteration of position by either side. He explained again his difficulties, enclosing a ". . . Copy of the Military Part as it is called of the Bill which our Assembly have been so long employed about . . . The Bill will be returned to them to morrow with a Negative upon which they will very probably desire to be dismissed but I shall not . . . comply . . . untill your Ldp's Business will permit you to undertake your intended

⁴⁴ Sharpe to Loudoun, November 15, 1757, P. R. O., W. O. 34/34 (L. C. Tr.); *Md. Arch.*, IX, 104.

⁴⁵ Sharpe to Denny, November 27, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 105. Loudoun to Sharpe, November 3, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 99. Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun . . .*, 221, gives a different interpretation of Loudoun's projected trip to Annapolis.

Journey.”⁴⁶ He reported the latest obstruction to be an attempt to reduce a captain’s pay from “12/6 Currency p Day to 10/ which according to our present Excha. is not more than 6/ stg . . . ,” while the representatives themselves received “14/ a Day each besides Travelling Expences so that the Taxes . . . to pay the Assembly for sitting since the war was first begun in America amounts to at least a fifth part of the Money that has been granted here for His Majesty’s Service.”⁴⁷ The Assembly deliberated about two weeks longer, and was finally prorogued on December 16, without any kind of settlement having been reached.⁴⁸

It was fully evident that some other expedient would have to be used if Fort Cumberland was to be kept manned until the 1758 offensive against Fort Duquesne. Sharpe took the responsibility of turning the Maryland troops over to Colonel Stanwix, “. . . to do . . . as you shall think fit.” There were

about 430 effective Men; of these 250 or 300 are Good Men and Engaged for Life or a long Term, most of the Soldiers in Captain Dagworthy’s Comp^y and some of the others were Enlisted for His Majesty’s Service in General, . . . they are all Paid to the 10th of October and are pretty well Cloathed. . . .⁴⁹

At this point Colonel Sharpe, as a royal officer himself, determined to establish his own future security in the event of any subsequent questioning of his motives and actions. He wrote a résumé of the happenings of the last six months of 1757 to Lord Baltimore, and sent a copy to the Board of Trade. He explained that the Maryland troops were being disbanded or drafted into the Royal Americans as a last resort, and disavowed any further responsibility for them.⁵⁰ To turn censure from his personal performance he noted that “I am to have the honour of defending Fort Frederick & protecting our Frontier Inhabitants with Militia till we can fall on some better Scheme.”⁵¹

⁴⁶ Sharpe to Loudoun, November 29, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 106.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁴⁸ Sharpe to Stanwix, December 17, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 109. Sharpe to Dinwiddie, December 4, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 107, promised his old friend, Dinwiddie, who was going back to England, a “. . . particular account of our Transactions & Correspondence since we met . . . it might possibly afford you some little Amusement after you shall have turned your Back on us poor Governors & all American Assemblies.”

⁴⁹ Sharpe to Stanwix, December 17, 1757, R. R. O., C. O. 5/49: 139-142 (L. C. Tr.).

⁵⁰ Sharpe to Baltimore, December 21, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 110-112.

⁵¹ Sharpe to Dinwiddie, December 21, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 112.

Sharpe hoped to see Loudoun's arrival in Maryland as soon as possible, since the Assembly was to meet again January 17, 1758. He wanted the general to take personal responsibility for trying to induce the colony to appropriate more money, and for quartering five hundred troops on a town of less than one hundred families, "obliged to receive or provide Lodging Fire & necessaries for 15 or 20 men each."⁵²

The war seemed to have stopped for everybody except Sharpe, the Indians on the frontier and the Maryland troops opposing them. Baltimore sent his routine instructions in October, giving belated assent to the supply bill of 1756.⁵³ That £40,000 had long since been spent. Lord Loudoun disregarded Sharpe's letters until the last days of December. He made no mention of quartering, but again expostulated on the rights of king and commander over the colonists: "I have shewed you . . . that the King has the undisputed Right, that he has, by his Commission put the Execution of it into my hands."⁵⁴ He was unable to come to Maryland, and seemed to have lost interest in the affairs of that colony. He said he was sure that the Assembly, when they knew the true situation, would willingly remain good and loyal subjects of the crown.

The governor of Maryland, thus deserted on all sides, was prepared to meet the Assembly again, and at the risk of proprietary displeasure might have acceded to the demands of the provincials. The next day he received by special express a private letter from Lord Loudoun. This letter seems to have escaped general notice in spite of its significance.⁵⁵ It certainly reveals a deeper understanding and warmer personality than has hitherto been attributed to the earl. It shows that he could be more flexible and practical than his cold official correspondence with Sharpe had indicated up to this time. Since it is not printed anywhere it is worth quoting at length:

I have writ you a publick Letter in the Stile that appears to me the most proper in the present Situation of affairs with your Assembly. But as it is necessary on all Such Occasions to make the best of the Situation, and as it

⁵² Sharpe to Loudoun, December 22, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 113-114.

⁵³ Instructions to the governor from Lord Baltimore, October 23, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, LV, 751-753.

⁵⁴ Loudoun to Sharpe, December 30, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 123.

⁵⁵ Loudoun to Sharpe, January 2, 1758, P. R. O., C. O. 5/50: 37-38 (L. C. Tr.).

is extremely inconvenient to Move the Troops at Such a Distance at this Season of the Year, I must here make you a proposal of a new plan in Case you think it prudent for you to go into it, Which is this, That Notwithstanding that your Assembly have broke up without making any Provision for Your Troops that you should give them orders still to remain at least a necessary proportion of them, and that you will promise to find pay and provisions for them in hopes of the Assembly's making it good at their next Meeting. That this should be the declared Plan, but I do engage that in case The Assembly do not indemnify you that I will pay you out of the Contingencies of the Army.

It will at once occur to you that the reason that makes me desire not to be known to have in any Shape engaged to pay this money for fear of Setting a Precedent for the other Provinces to make demands for the Pay of their Troops; and yet in the present Situation I do think it necessary that at least a proper Garrison of those Men that are acquainted with the Country should be kept in fort Cumberland for its security [*sic*], & I should be extremely happy if this Measure could be brought about. You will communicate with Colonel Stanwix to whom I shall send copies of the Letters to you; My orders to him is to cooperate with you & follow the orders he received of Nov^r 3^d of which I transmitted you a Copy.

The Boston People have made a Disturbance about quarters which I have at last got Settled, but not time enough to permit to come to you. Wishing you the Com^{ts} of the Season I am

Sir Your M h Serv^t

Loudoun ⁵⁶

Sharpe seized the offer with alacrity, extended the period of the Assembly's prorogation, and wrote to Loudoun:

. . . soon after I had the Pleasure . . . to receive Your Lordship's Letters, I wrote to Captain Dagworthy & other Officers of the Maryland Forces and gave them room to expect that both they and the Men under their Command will receive all the Pay that might be due them when the Assembly shall have again met, . . . I have likewise wrote to the person that has hitherto Victualled our Troops and desired him to continue to supply them . . . being convinced by Your Lordships Letter of the 2^d Instant: that You will not let him be a sufferer. . . ⁵⁷

His exuberance was short-lived, however, because he learned in March ". . . from M^r Pitt . . ." that ". . . the Earl of Loudoun . . .

⁵⁶ The greeting and signature in this form were not usual for the earl. He was usually more formal.

⁵⁷ Sharpe to Loudoun, January 22, 1758, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 135. Both this letter and its antecedent above have copies in the Loudoun Papers, catalogued as LO5439 and LO5317 respectively. Cited in Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun . . .*, 221 n. 14. Sharpe to Stanwix, January 22, 1758, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 138.

has no longer the Chief Command in America." ⁵⁸ Major General James Abercrombie commanded in America for the next two months. ⁵⁹ His command dated in England prior to Lord Loudoun's offer to support the Maryland troops, and he did not at first feel obligated to carry out his predecessor's commitments. However, since the next campaign to the west was to be under the independent command of Brigadier John Forbes, he finally added his recommendation to those of Loudoun, Stanwix, and Forbes; and at last in 1761 the whole claim was paid by the British treasury. ⁶⁰

The design for conquering the French founded on the thinking of the Duke of Cumberland, and embodied in the instructions given to General Braddock in 1755, was finally abandoned in 1758. ⁶¹ Forbes' troops took Fort Duquesne in November and renamed it Fort Pitt, and with that action Maryland's direct participation in the war ended. She still sent men to the British

⁵⁸ Sharpe to Stanwix, March 12, 1758, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 150. Calvert to Sharpe, January 12, 1758, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 130, "Lord Loudoun is recall'd giving no content Maj: Gen^l Abercrombie in his stead & Col^o Amherst to Com^d the Expedition to Louisbourg. Gen^l Webb ordered home disliked, & speak of Brigadier Gen^l to be made who are to Com^d seperately in America the Force w^h is s^d will be greatly augm^{td} by Provincial Forces, raised on a new Plan; 'tis hoped to better End, then the Force has yielded hence w^h like Beef stake has been sent hot & hot but to little purpose. English Beef having greatly falen as to Substance & Hart." Sharpe to Lloyd, January 25, 1758, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 136, 143. Richard Lloyd, the new commissary, wanted to resign in less than three months.

⁵⁹ He was succeeded by Sir Jeffery Amherst whose brilliance dominated the remainder of the war.

⁶⁰ This claim is not to be confused with the money advanced by Forbes to the Marylanders serving under him as scouts in the fall of 1758. See "Account of Sharpe," June, 1758 to March, 1259, "expended by order of Brigadier-General John Forbes, Colonel Henry Bouquet, and Sir John St. Clair," *Md. Arch.*, LV, 773-776 (appendix VI). The total of £ 601 9 3 currency was paid to Sharpe in instalments up to March 24, 1759 for the service with Forbes. Amherst to Sharpe, February 12, 1762, P. R. O., W. O. 34/34; 323 (L. C. Tr.), informed Sharpe that the Lords of the Treasury authorized Maryland's claims, or ". . . Such part thereof, as shall Appear to be Justly due. . . ." Amherst to Sharpe, April 17, 1762, P. R. O., W. O. 34/34; 329, Lt. Col. Dagworthy was granted £ 4,205 19 10 sterling, and Dr. David Ross was given £ 1,153 12 0 sterling. Sharpe was refused payment at this time. Amherst to Sharpe, May 23, 1762, P. R. O., W. O. 34/34; 333, said it was "bad precedent" to pay a governor out of army funds. He must apply in England. Robert Wood to James West, November 27, 1760, *Calendar Home Office Papers, 1760-1765*, edited by Richard Arthur Roberts (London, 1881), p. 6. The total amount of the claim had been £ 5,677 11 6 sterling. In addition Sharpe's personal claim was £ 719 15 6 sterling.

⁶¹ Winthrop Sargent, *The History of the Expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1755 under Major-General Braddock*, vol. V of *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1855), appendix I, 393, for Braddock's instructions. Cf. Gipson, *op. cit.*, 58-59, 177.

army.⁶² Forbes had with him four hundred of Sharpe's rangers, whom he praised very highly before he died on the eve of the conquest of Fort Duquesne.⁶³ Pitt was at last able to impose his will on the British ministry, and there was no longer any question that Parliament would pay most of the bill.

⁶² Instructions to Sharpe, November 27, 1758, *Md. Arch.*, LV, 756. Baltimore approved a bill to raise £45,000 to enlist men and pay their transportation to the regular army.

⁶³ Forbes to Pitt, September 6, 1758, *Correspondence of William Pitt when Secretary of State with Colonial Governors and Military and Naval Commanders in America*, 2 vols., edited by Gertrude Selwyn Kimball (New York, 1906), II, 341. Forbes wrote: "The Governor of Maryland I am greatly obliged to . . . As he stands bound for the pay and the keeping together the Maryland Troops at Fort Cumberland . . . by order of Loudoun & Stanwix. . . ."

PERRY HALL: COUNTRY SEAT OF THE GOUGH AND CARROLL FAMILIES

By EDITH ROSSITER BEVAN

A historic marker erected by the State Roads Commission on the Bel Air Road slightly north of the village of Perry Hall, marks the entrance lane to Perry Hall, once the home of Harry Dorsey Gough. It informs those who stop to read that the mansion, one of the largest houses in Maryland, was burned in 1824 and one-half of it "rebuilt."

No account of the fire which only partially destroyed Perry Hall has been found though the files of the *Baltimore American* have been carefully searched from 1824 through 1826 when the house was repaired. Fortunately surviving today are three oil paintings of Perry Hall done in the first decade of the eighteenth century by Francis Guy, an English landscape painter who settled in Baltimore shortly before 1800. These paintings are of great historical interest today for they show Perry Hall as it was when the Goughs lived there.¹ They give the front view of an imposing two story red brick Georgian house with one story balancing wings. Attached to the wings by passage ways are square brick pavilions, with roofs surmounted by steeple-like finials or cupolas, making a noble frontage of a hundred and fifty feet or more. Projecting from the center of the main house is an entrance porch with gable roof, supported by four white columns; a triple window in the second story is centered over the peak of the gable. Three dormer windows are shown in the red tile roof of the high attic.

Gough (1745-1808), the owner of this magnificent country seat, was a prominent merchant in Baltimore where a street today bears his name. He was active in various organizations. He was an early and influential member of the Methodist Church and Perry Hall is often mentioned in early chronicles of that church as the scene of the historic meeting of preachers who founded the

¹ J. Hall Pleasants, *Four Late Anglo-American Landscape Painters* (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1945), pp. 55-80, 107-108.

Methodist Church of America in 1784. As the first president of the Maryland Agricultural Society he made a study of advanced methods of farming and Perry Hall, with its imported cattle and sheep was famous in its day.

Harry Dorsey Gough was born in Anne Arundel County, the son of Thomas Gough, a church warden of St. Anne's Church, Annapolis. His mother was Sophia, daughter of Caleb Dorsey of Hockley, Anne Arundel County. Her brother, Caleb Dorsey, Jr., was known as the rich iron merchant of Elkridge. He built and lived at Belmont, the present home of Mr. and Mrs. Howard Bruce in Howard County. Two of Caleb, Jr.'s daughters became mistresses of Hampton, the Ridgely estate in Baltimore County. Rebecca and Priscilla (Dorsey) Ridgely were Harry Dorsey Gough's first cousins. General Charles Ridgely of Hampton was his wife's brother.²

Shortly after Harry Dorsey Gough came of age he was named residuary legatee and executor of the large and intricate estate of a relative in England—Isaac Burgess, a woolen draper of Bristol, whose assets amounted to nearly £ 70,000. Young Harry Gough went to England to claim his estate.³ He returned to Maryland in 1768 and settled in Baltimore where he became a successful merchant. On May 2, 1771, he married Prudence Carnan, sixteen year old daughter of the late John Carnan, a Baltimore merchant.⁴ The mother of the bride was Mrs. Achsah (Ridgely) Chamier, an elder sister of Captain Charles Ridgely, the builder of Hampton in Baltimore County. By her first marriage to Dr. Robert Holliday, she had one son, John Robert Holliday, whose estate, Epsom, lay south of Hampton. By John Carnan, her second husband, she had Eliza who married Thomas Bond Onion, Prudence, the wife of Harry Dorsey Gough, and Charles Ridgely Carnan (1762-

² J. D. Warfield, *Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties* (Baltimore: Kohn & Pollock, 1905), pp. 63-65.

³ Letter Book of Harry Dorsey Gough, 1790, at Maryland Historical Society.

⁴ Family Bible of Harry Dorsey Gough Carroll, Maryland Historical Society, records therein printed in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXII (Dec., 1927), 377-380; *Letters to Washington*, edited by Stanislaus M. Hamilton (Boston, 1901), IV, 58. George Washington's step-son, Jackie Custis, attended the wedding. The lad, a student at the Rev. Mr. Jonathan Boucher's school in Annapolis, had been sent by Mr. Boucher to Dr. Henry Stevenson's hospital in Baltimore for a smallpox inoculation. There he played truant—an infraction Mr. Boucher reported to Col. Washington when he wrote on May 3rd to inform him that Jackie had completely recovered from the inoculation.

1829) who was an infant when his father died.⁵ As no children were born to Charles and Rebecca (Dorsey) Ridgely, Charles Ridgely Carnan at his uncle's request and by act of the Legislature changed his name to Charles Carnan Ridgely and inherited Hampton under his uncle's will. He married Priscilla Dorsey, a much younger sister of Rebecca, his uncle's wife, making the relationship between the families still closer and more complicated.

Mrs. Carnan married for the third time Daniel Chamier (1720-1778), merchant and High Sheriff of Baltimore County, from 1767 to 1770. He was a Tory and left Baltimore on the eve of the Revolutionary War "to enjoy an important office under the British Government in New York City." He died there and Mrs. Chamier probably made her home with the Goughs.⁶ She died at Perry Hall in 1785 and was buried there in the family burial ground. Mentioned in her will are her five Holliday grandchildren. Her shares in the Northampton Iron Works, later known as Ridgely's Forge, she left to her three Carnan children—Eliza, Prudence and Charles. To Prudence Gough she left her gold watch with chain and seals; four silver goblets and her carriage and horses and any article of household furniture at Perry Hall. Prudence also was given £ 500 and little Sophia, the only child of the Goughs, received a like amount.⁷

For over ten years Harry Dorsey Gough corresponded with his London agents, James Russell and Hugh Hamersly, Esqrs., urging them to convert his estate into cash. In 1774 he wrote his agents that he had made a very considerable purchase of land which he would have to pay for in six months and would draw on them for £ 3,000 and £ 500 in favor of Mr. Archibald Buchanan.⁸ Land records show that he became the owner of The Adventure, a thousand acre estate which he purchased from Mr. Buchanan who had brought it a few months before from Addison and John Murdock.⁹

The Adventure was originally granted to George Lingan of Calvert County in 1684. It became the property of Corbin Lee,

⁵ Ridgely genealogical charts, Maryland Historical Society; Baltimore City Court House, Wills, #4, f. 96.

⁶ *Maryland Journal*, Baltimore, December 15, 1778.

⁷ Wills, #4, f. 96, Baltimore City Court House.

⁸ Letter book of Harry Dorsey Gough, 1768, at Maryland Historical Society.

⁹ Deeds, Liber A L No. L (1775) f. 123 and L. W. G., f. 113 (1774), Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Esq., who died in December, 1773. He was a son of Philip Lee and represented Baltimore County in the Lower House of Assembly in 1761-62. Mr. Lee died intestate and left no issue. Addison and John Murdock of Prince George's County were relatives of Mrs. Lee, probably appointed by the court to settle the estate. Mr. Buchanan undoubtedly bought the property as a speculation for on April 16, 1774, he advertised *The Adventure* for sale in Goddard's *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*.

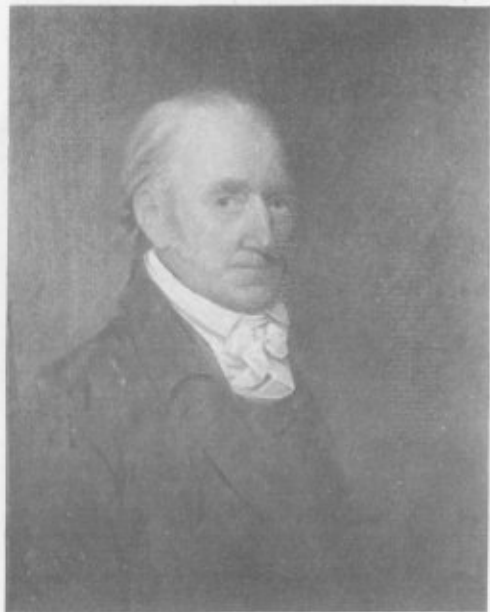
He described the property as lying on both sides of the Great Falls of the Gunpowder River, some six miles from Joppa, about thirteen miles from Baltimore Town and two and a half miles from the Nottingham Forges. White oak, black walnut, hickory, locust and poplar grew in abundance and the wood could be readily sold to the Iron works. Gough was not dependent on selling wood to the Nottingham Forges which was a British owned company and was confiscated during the Revolutionary War. About 350 acres of *The Adventure* were cleared and under good fence; 70 acres were planted in wheat. The property was well watered and good meadow could be made at small expense.

The property was improved by a two story brick dwelling house which Mr. Buchanan considered large and elegant. It was 65 x 45 feet with four rooms on a floor and a large passage. The cellar was good and dry. The inside work of the house was not finished, but a two story frame house, 25 x 22 feet with a piazza was completed as was a two story stone kitchen, 40 x 30 feet, and a two story store house. Underneath the large frame barn were brick stables and there were "sundry other eminent out houses." The garden covered three acres and near it was a pleasant summer house.

Mr. Gough lost no time in changing the name of his purchase to Perry Hall for that autumn, 1774, "Garrick, owned by Harry Dorsey Gough of Perry Hall" won a purse of £ 30 at the race track at Baltimore.¹⁰ Perry Hall was the name of the family seat of Sir Henry Gough of County Staffordshire, England, who died in 1724 and presumably was a connection of the Goughs of Anne Arundel County.¹¹ The Gough coat of arms is engraved on a

¹⁰ Francis Barnum Culver, *Blooded Horses of Colonial Days* (Baltimore: author, 1922) footnote p. 68.

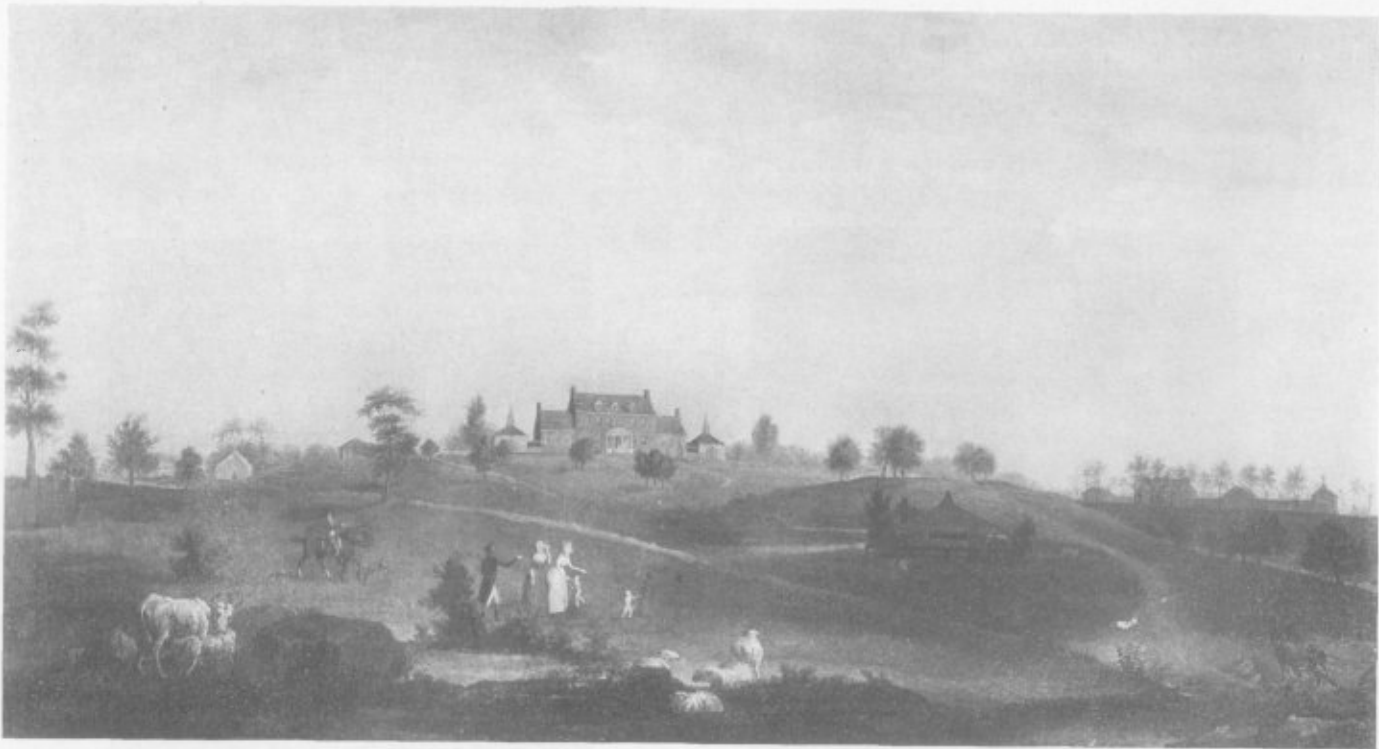
¹¹ John Burke, *Dictionary of Landed Gentry in Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1846), I, 484.



HARRY DORSEY GOUGH, 1745-1808
Artist Unknown



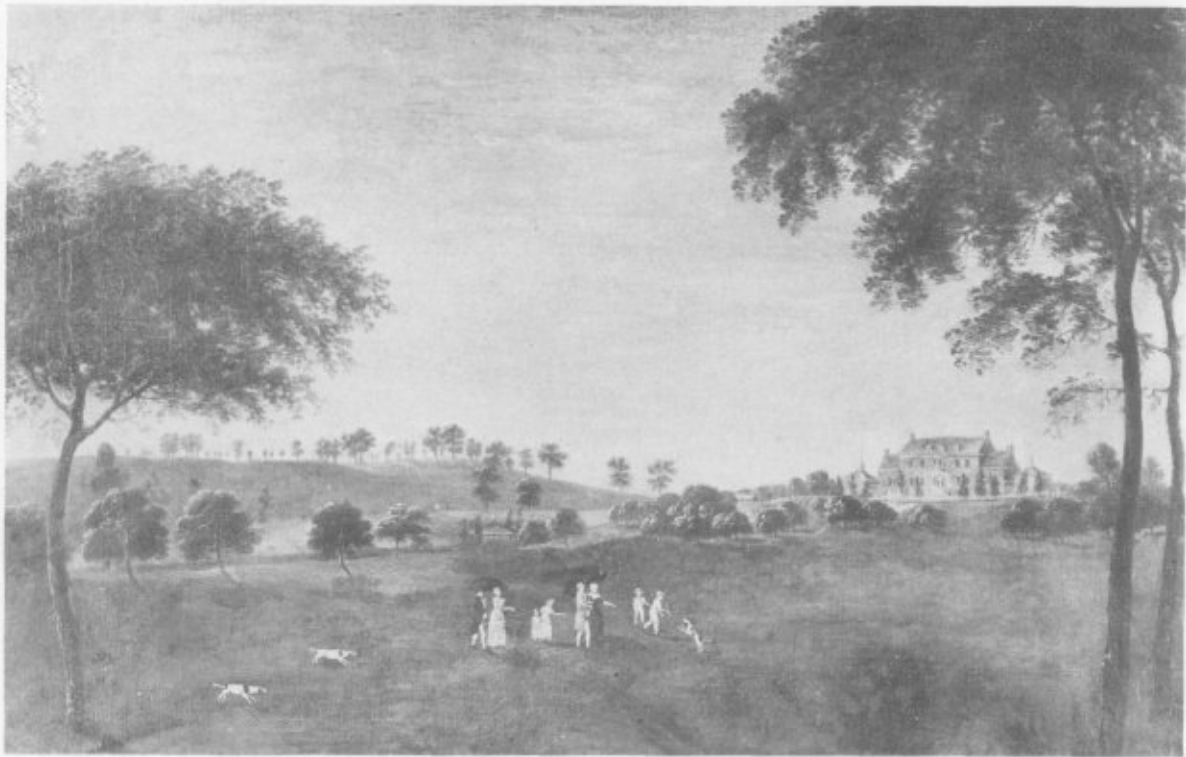
MRS. HARRY DORSEY GOUGH, 1755-1822
(PRUDENCE CARNAN)
By John Wesley Jarvis
Courtesy Mrs. Bartow Van Ness



PERRY HALL SHORTLY AFTER 1800

Shown in the foreground are Mr. Gough (on horseback), his son-in-law, James Carroll, Mrs. Gough, Mrs. Carroll, two Carroll children, and colored nurse.

Photograph, Frick Art Reference Library. Courtesy of Mr. Harry duPont.



PERRY HALL, A LATER VIEW BY GUY

Showing Mr. and Mrs. Gough with Mr. and Mrs. James Carroll and Their Four Children.

Photograph, Frick Art Reference Library. Courtesy of Mrs. F. Nelson Bolton.



PERRY HALL TODAY

As restored in 1826. The chimney at right is not shown in early views.

handsome set of pewter platters and dishes on display at Mount Clare. (Mr. Gough's only child, Sophia, married James Carroll of Mount Clare.)

A plat of Perry Hall estate drawn to scale by George Gouldsmith Presbury, surveyor, dated December 12, 1774, gives the acreage then as 1129 acres.¹² A small pen and ink drawing of the house which accompanies the plat, shows Perry Hall without balancing wings. These wings may have been added when the inside work of the house was being completed, but probably were not built until the end of the Revolutionary War, when the two terminal buildings were presumably put up. The west terminal building was a bath house and like the old Roman baths was lined with marble and contained a pool, a hot room and a steam room.¹³ The east terminal building was a chapel which could accommodate as many as seventy-five earnest Methodists for Mr. Gough was a zealous member and exhorter in the Methodist church.

Rev. Thomas Coke who stayed at Perry Hall in December, 1784, recorded in his journal that he had a noble room to himself in the elegant mansion house Mr. Gough had lately built, and that Mr. Gough expected to go to Europe in the spring to buy furniture for the house.¹⁴ This probably refers to the recently completed wings to Perry Hall for the house, we know, was built in 1773. Corroborating this are many items recorded for building materials in Gough's account book, 1782-83, at the Maryland Historical Society. Large quantities of brick appear in the ledger and also lime, planks, lathes, nails and 25,000 tiles—the red tile roof for the house no doubt. He employed a number of men at day's wages who were probably skilled artisans in their trades. John Rawlins was paid £ 394. 10. 11 for ornamenting and plastering the ceiling at Perry Hall—a sum equivalent to at least \$4,000 today.

In 1785 George Washington wrote to his friend Col. Tench Tilghman of Baltimore that he had engaged Mr. Rawlins, who had done much work for Mr. Gough, to make a design for the decoration of the banquet hall at Mount Vernon.¹⁵ Washington

¹² On view at Mount Clare.

¹³ The bath house, later used as an office, remained until 1916. Seen and described by J. Alexis Shriver, Esq.

¹⁴ Quoted in *Baltimore Methodism and the General Conference of 1908* (Baltimore: Baltimore City Missionary and Church Extension Society, 1908) p. 39.

¹⁵ *Writings of George Washington* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938), edited by John C. Fitzpatrick, XXVIII, 330-35, 369.

later sent Rawlins' plan and estimate to Col. Tilghman and asked him to compare it with the work done for Mr. Gough and to ask Gough's opinion of the charge which Washington considered high, as "most of the work is cast and as easily done as lead run into a mould." Rawlins received the contract and employed Richard Tharpe to execute the work. The banquet hall at Mount Vernon with its elaborate ceiling and fine frieze in Adam style is considered one of the handsomest rooms of that period remaining today.

Although Methodism was brought to Maryland by Robert Strawbridge in the early 1760's it was not until 1773 that services were held in Baltimore. That year Francis Asbury was appointed to the Baltimore circuit and preached to ever-growing congregations and made many converts—Mrs. Gough among them. A quaint narrative records: "She came into the congregation as gay as a butterfly, but after hearing Mr. Asbury preach, left with the great deep of her heart broken up."¹⁶ Mr. Gough was converted a few years later and for over thirty years Perry Hall was a notable center for Methodist gatherings and a favorite stopping place for Bishop Asbury and many itinerant preachers. It was under the friendly roof of Perry Hall that a number of preachers assembled in December, 1784, before they rode to Baltimore to attend the Christmas Conference at Lovely Lane Meeting House, where the Methodist Church in America was organized and Francis Asbury chosen first Bishop.¹⁷ An engraving of the ordination of Bishop Asbury is at the Maryland Historical Society. The accompanying key identifies Mr. and Mrs. Gough seated prominently in the front row at the Meeting House.

From the carefully kept diary of Bishop Asbury who stayed at Perry Hall many times and from the writings of other preachers who stopped there we catch glimpses of everyday life at Perry Hall.¹⁸ The Rev. Henry Smith who visited Perry Hall in 1806 tells of the bell in the chapel which was rung for morning and evening prayers.¹⁹ These services were attended by all the members

¹⁶ John Lednum, *History of the Rise of Methodism in America* (Philadelphia, 1862) p. 156.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 412.

¹⁸ *Journal of Francis Asbury*, 3 vols. (New York: Eaton & Mains, n. d.).

¹⁹ Towson, *Jeffersonian*, August 22, 1931. Article on Perry Hall largely taken from a manuscript history of Camp Chapel by Robert Hooper which quotes from Rev. Henry Smith, *Recollections and Reflections of an Old Itinerant*, edited by

of the household, the manager of the estate and the many servants on the place. The Methodist church did not approve of slavery and though at one time Mr. Gough is said to have owned 300 slaves a tax assessment book of Baltimore County, 1798, credits him with only eleven. Slaves between the ages of 12 and 50 were taxable at that date. Manumission records at the Hall of Records, Annapolis, show that Mr. Gough manumitted "sundry slaves" in 1780.

From Mr. Smith's reminiscences we learn of the coach drawn by four splendid white horses which was used by the ladies of the household. Bishop Asbury tells of visiting the Goughs in the summer of 1776 on their excursion to Warm Springs, Va. He stayed there more than a month as their guest, but it was not an entirely happy month for Asbury felt the place was too worldly, but admitted he was greatly benefited by his stay.

We are told by John Lednum that little Sophia Gough was brought up so strictly she had never seen a pack of playing cards till she visited a friend's home. Eager to be helpful when asked to cut the cards she looked for a pair of scissors. She was educated at home by a governess who instructed her in "every useful and ornamental Branch of Education, except Dancing." "Religion" is said to have come to the young girl as she played the piano and sang "Come Thou Fount of Every Blessing."²⁰ As no musical instrument is listed in the inventory of the "Music Room" at Perry Hall, made after Mr. Gough's death, we conclude the piano was sent to Mount Clare after her marriage to James Carroll.

Her rare bookplate, "Sophia Gough, Perry-Hall, 1786," may be seen in a book now at Mount Clare—*Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality*, by Dr. Young.²¹ The printed date proves the bookplate was made the year before her marriage to James Carroll which took place at Perry Hall on December 20, 1787, a few months after the bride had passed her fifteenth birthday.²² The ceremony was performed by the Rev. Levi Heath of the

George Peck (New York, 1848). Mr. Smith, long a resident of Maryland, died at his home at Hookstown, near Baltimore, December 9, 1862.

²⁰ Lednum, *A History of Methodism in America*, p. 157, quotes from *Recollections and Reflections of an Old Itinerant*.

²¹ The bookplates of Sophia and Prudence Gough, James Carroll and four varieties of bookplates used by Harry Gough Carroll are in the bookplate collection of the Maryland Historical Society.

²² St. Paul's P. E. Church, Baltimore, Records.

Protestant Episcopal Church at Joppa. Mr. Gough was at one time known as a "backslider" in the Methodist church and was expelled from the church for a while. Possibly he was not in good standing at this time which would account for the rector of an Episcopal church officiating. Mr. Gough was "re-converted" to the Methodist Church in the great revival of 1800-01 and was a prominent member of that Church till his death.²³

After Mr. Gough's first conversion to Methodism we hear no more about his interest in the race track or his race horses. "Sterling," a fine black stallion which he advertised several times as standing at Perry Hall, was a coach horse of superior breed.²⁴ As the Methodist church forbade gambling, card playing and dancing, the usual pastimes of that day, Mr. Gough's interest turned to horticultural and agricultural pursuits. In April, 1788, he advertised in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* for a gardener.

I want to employ a complete gardener at Perry Hall, near Baltimore Town to undertake the management of a spacious, elegant garden and orchard. To such a person I could give generous wages. I desire that no person apply but those that are masters of their profession.

It is no surprise to find that in 1786, Mr. Gough was elected the first president of the Society for the Encouragement and Improvement of Agriculture in Maryland, formed that year.²⁵ He was one of the few people in Maryland who were interested in improving their live stock by the importation of foreign strains. On October 21, 1788, he advertised in the *Maryland Journal* a sale at Perry Hall of several fine young bulls from his imported English cattle and some fine half bloods with sundry mares and colts of the blooded and dray breed. The stock was to be sold for "Cash only." The day following the sale he announced in the newspaper that two of his bull calves had been weighed—one which was fourteen weeks and four days old weighed 420 lbs., the other, 2 weeks older, weighed 432 lbs. Richard Parkinson, an English agriculturist, who from 1798 to 1800 rented Orange Hill, a farm on the Philadelphia Road near Baltimore, visited a number of country estates during his sojourn in Maryland—Perry

²³ Lednum, *History of Methodism in America*, p. 155.

²⁴ *Maryland Journal*, Feb. 27, 1775.

²⁵ *Maryland Journal*, March 28, 1786, p. 2, col. 2-3.

Hall among them.²⁶ He wrote that everything there was done very well and intelligently but he did not consider Gough a good judge of cattle as he laid too much stress on size.

Mr. Gough also imported broad-tailed Persian sheep and the Cape variety which were considered better for mutton than wool. From a letter written in 1792 by President Washington, then in residence in Philadelphia, we learn that he had received a present of some very superior mutton from Mr. Gough.²⁷ Evidently the President remembered it with pleasure, for after his return to Mount Vernon in 1797 he tried to purchase a ram and a couple of ewes as well as a young bull of Mr. Gough's imported stock. Mr. Washington thought Gough's charges very high—\$200 for a bull calf—but the following year accepted one as a present.²⁸

The foreground of one of Francis Guy's paintings of Perry Hall is a pastoral scene. South of the house is a vast meadow; sheep and cattle are grazing near a little pond; plough horses are at work near by. Two ladies, presumably Mrs. Gough and her daughter, Mrs. Carroll, converse with a gentleman, probably James Carroll, who waves his hand to Mr. Gough, mounted on a spirited horse. Two little boys with their colored nurse completed the group.

Another of Guy's landscape views of Perry Hall was obviously painted at a later date, for much planting has been done. A low white picket fence with an elaborate gate encloses a wide terrace in front of the house. Below the steep bank of the terrace are grouped plantings of trees. Strolling in the meadow foreground are four fashionably attired adults; the two gentlemen hold parasols over the ladies' heads. Two young lads are playing with a dog and a little girl holds a younger child by the hand. Presumably the Carrolls were again visiting at Perry Hall. They had four sons and a daughter who often stayed with their grandparents.

In the foreground of the third picture of Perry Hall by Guy, the master of the estate with his two older grandsons and Negro servant are all mounted on horseback. The owner, Mr. Walter M. Jeffords, of Media, Pennsylvania, states that the painting shows the party out rabbit shooting.

Land records show that Mr. Gough added to his original purchase until he owned about 2,000 acres. The tax return for Bal-

²⁶ Richard Parkinson, *A Tour in America, 1798-1800* (London, 1805), II, 287-90.

²⁷ Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), XXXI, 47.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, XXXV, 254, 377, 467.

timore County, 1798, assesses Perry Hall, the house and six out-buildings at \$9,000, an outstanding valuation for those days when many houses were assessed at \$1,000 and houses of consequence at \$3,000.²⁹ The acreage of the estate and the value of the land is not included in this assessment. Hampton, the home of the Ridgely family, and "three inferior houses" on the estate, were assessed at \$12,000 that year. The comparative valuation of these two fine country seats aids somewhat in trying to visualize Perry Hall in its prime.

Bishop Asbury's last visit to Perry Hall was in the spring of 1805. ". . . the house newly painted and the little grandchildren gay and playful but I and the elders of the household felt it was evening with us." The good bishop was with his old friend when the latter died at his city residence in May, 1808, and he preached the sermon at Harry Gough's funeral. One account says the funeral was attended by nearly two thousand people and that many followed the funeral procession to the edge of the city. Mr. Gough was buried in the family burial ground at Perry Hall, of which no trace is found today.

By his will Perry Hall was left to his wife for her life time, then to their daughter, Mrs. James Carroll, in trust for her second son, Harry Dorsey Gough Carroll (1795-1866).³⁰ Mrs. Carroll died in 1816. Mrs. Gough continued to live at Perry Hall during the summer months until her death in 1822.

In the inventory of the contents of Mr. Gough's city residence in Front Street, Old Town, made after his death "6 Oyle landscape paintings" are listed. Five paintings were valued at \$5 each and one at \$10. Undoubtedly three of these were the views of Perry Hall painted by Francis Guy.³¹

The inventory of Perry Hall made in 1808-11 lists the contents of each room in the house: on the first floor the Drawing Room, Dining Room, Music Room, Best Lodging Room, Hall, Office and Chapel; on the second floor the Portico Chamber, Mrs. Gough's Room, the Red Room and the Preacher's Room. The contents of "Miss Anna's Room and Miss Hannah's Room" are listed as well as "Mollie's Room and Pantry." The garret was evidently used

²⁹ Tax Assessments, Baltimore Co., Maryland Historical Society; duplicate at City Hall Archives, #585 (1798).

³⁰ Wills, #8, f. 315, Baltimore City Court House.

³¹ Gough Administration Book II, Maryland Historical Society.

as a vast storage place for linen, quilts, sheets, etc., including a tin bathing machine. In the cellar were 93 empty hogsheads and 5 hogsheads of apple brandy valued at \$200. The outbuildings consisted of the kitchen, wash house, paint shop, blacksmith shop, cooper's shop and the house of the overseer, the stable with "coachee and chariott." Innumerable "servants" were listed and 9 slaves. Included in the inventory were horses, cattle, oxen, sheep, sows and shoats. The total valuation of the goods and chattels at Perry Hall amounted to \$10,732.³²

The wedding of Mrs. Gough's nephew, John Ridgely, to her granddaughter, Prudence Gough Carroll, took place at Perry Hall in the summer of 1812. Mrs. Ridgely died in 1822 before her husband inherited Hampton. The previous year James Carroll, Jr. the eldest of the Carroll children, married his cousin Achsah Ridgely and in 1815 Harry Dorsey Gough Carroll married Eliza Ridgely, a younger sister—three marriages, we surmise, that were very satisfying to Grandmother Gough and her brother Gen. Charles Ridgely, for they kept Hampton, Mount Clare, and Perry Hall in the family. Eighteen children were born of these three marriages between the Carroll and Ridgely families but fourteen children died "young." Infant mortality ran high in those unenlightened days.

After Mrs. Gough's death Perry Hall became the summer home of her grandson, Harry Dorsey Gough Carroll. From his carefully kept expense accounts, 1819-26, we judge life for the young Harry Carrolls was very similar to that of many young married people today. He gave Mrs. Carroll cash for marketing—but what a difference in prices—paid for her new hats and dresses and the childrens' clothes; bought Christmas gifts and toys for his children. Their nurse was paid \$5 a month but at Mrs. Carroll's request her wages were raised to \$6. They went to the circus, to the theater and to concerts and one summer they took a trip to Cape May.

One page marked Cash Account, Perry Hall, November, 1826, is of special interest for listed are 2530 feet of plank, laths, nails, window glass, 500 shingles; a lock for the front door and for painting the dwelling.³³ Undoubtedly these were for repairs made after the fire which destroyed a portion of the house.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Ledger on deposit at Mount Clare.

The Carrolls had six children, five of whom died in childhood. The death of an infant daughter at Perry Hall in August, 1826, is recorded in the family Bible of Harry D. G. Carroll now at the Maryland Historical Society. The sole survivor was the second son, Harry Dorsey Gough Carroll, Jr. (1819-1882) Mrs. Carroll died in 1828 and whether Mr. Carroll continued to live at Perry Hall after her death is not known. Dennis A. Smith was "manager" at Perry Hall in 1822 and was still managing the estate in 1833, for he is mentioned as such in the will of Mrs. Eliza (Carnan) Onion, great-aunt to Harry D. G. Carroll, who left Mrs. Hannah Smith a feather bed and six chairs. Mr. Carroll received the residue of her estate and was named executor.³⁴

A resurvey of Perry Hall made for Harry Carroll in 1847 shows that he owned 1,314 acres at that time.³⁵ In 1852 he sold nearly 900 acres and the house to William M. Meredith of Philadelphia for \$22,000. The property has changed hands several times since and much of the land has been sold off in small portions. Perry Hall estate today contains slightly over 200 acres.³⁶

If curiosity impels one to visit Perry Hall one finds the house at the end of a narrow winding road a third of a mile or so west of the road to Bel Air. It stands on a wide plateau where there is a rewarding view to the south and east. The house which faces south is large but lacks distinction. It is yellow stucco, two stories high with two dormer windows in both fronts of the high attic. Attached to the west end of the house is a two story wing, almost as large as the house.

The wooden entrance porch, at the east end of the front of the house, is reached by thirteen steps, so high is the house above the ground. Over the wide entrance doorway with double doors is a large fanlight; tall windows on either side of the door give light to a great hall which runs the depth of the house from the front door to an identical door on the north side of the house. This hall measures 20 feet wide by 40 feet long with a ceiling about 12 feet high. Opening on the west side of the hall are two large parlors with lofty ceilings. The dining room is in the wing. The present trim and cornices of these rooms are in Greek Revival style. The

³⁴ Wills, #14, f. 490, Baltimore City Court House.

³⁵ Deeds, #2, f. 181, Baltimore County Court House, Towson.

³⁶ Owned today by Mr. G. R. Bryson. The house is not open to sightseers.

stair case is in a small hall which opens off the great hall near the north door. All told there are sixteen rooms in Perry Hall today.

Perry Hall is not a proud house today. Steps and columns are missing from the long piazza (modern) which runs the length of the north side of the house and across the east end. Here and there where stucco has fallen brick walls are exposed. These walls are unmistakably the original walls of the house which Harry Dorsey Gough purchased in 1774.

The fire which is said to have demolished the house actually destroyed all of the east wing and part of the main house. The major portion of the house remained standing. The interior of the house was undoubtedly destroyed but the brick partition walls were used again to restore this part of it. Perry Hall of today lacks the beautiful balance and perfect symmetry of the old house for the east wing and the large rooms east of the wide hall which formerly ran through the center of the house were not rebuilt.

From the attic of the wing one can plainly see the original west wall of the old house, finely laid in Flemish bond. Visible too on this wall is the low roof line of the original wing of one story. A second story was added to this wing after the fire to offset the rooms which were destroyed. The old kitchen in the basement of the wing is no longer used but the huge fireplace with swinging crane gives evidence of its age. At the south side of the basement is a vaulted brick stairway of seven or more steps which leads to the cellar under the main house. The steps are so wide that legend says an ox cart laden with casks of wine could be driven down them for unloading. Legend also tells of a well in a sub-cellar which was used for cooling wines and melons.

The sturdily built cellar which measures approximately 45 x 45 feet is as "good and dry" today as when it was built by Corbin Lee. The walls of the cellar are stone. Windows set well above the ground level give ample light to the three rooms in the cellar. The brick partition walls of these rooms are carried up through the house to the attic. The ceiling of the cellar is about twelve feet high with hand hewn beams. Between the ceiling of the cellar and the floor of the first story hall is a layer of plaster, known to architects as a counterseal. When it was laid or why is not known.

Since the present east chimney does not appear in the Guy

paintings, we must conclude that the great hall was without heat in winter. The chimney probably was added during the 1826 reconstruction. If this was the case, the central apartment or rooms on the second floor would also have been unheated.

The mantel of the fireplace in the hall is carved in the style of Adam. It is contemporary with the period when the house was built, but whether it and duplicate mantel in the present dining room were salvaged after the fire it is impossible to guess. The large locks on the doors of the bedrooms bear the maker's name—Carpenter—on a small metal disk attached to each lock. These are known to date from the 1820's. Apparently all that survives of the eighteenth century Perry Hall are the original brick walls now hidden by a camouflage of stucco.

JOSEPH NICHOLS AND THE NICHOLITES OF CAROLINE COUNTY, MARYLAND

By KENNETH CARROLL

In the latter half of the eighteenth century there existed a religious sect called the Nicholites who professed much the same principles as Friends and ultimately were incorporated with them. For the most part this people lived in Caroline County, Maryland, although there were a few others along the Delaware border and in North Carolina.¹

Joseph Nichols, the first preacher of this society, and the chief instrument in founding it, was born near Dover, Delaware, in 1730 and engaged in husbandry in Kent County, Delaware. He was "endowed with strong powers of mind and a remarkable flow of spirits" but received very little formal education. His vivacity and humor caused his company to be much sought after, and on the First-day of the week and at other times of leisure many of his companions collected to share in his entertaining pastime.²

At one of these gatherings for pleasure, a close friend, who accompanied him, was taken ill and died suddenly at the place where they were assembled. The shock of this event is credited with awakening the attention of Joseph Nichols, "showing him the uncertainty of life" and bringing about a radical change in his character. "His mind became enlightened and imbued with heavenly truth, and being called to a holy life, he yielded obedience to the impression of divine grace."³

When his neighbors gathered around him as was their custom, seeking entertainment, he proposed that they should start spending their time more rationally than they had done before and that

¹ Amelia Mott Gummere, *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman* (Philadelphia, 1922), p. 554.

² Samuel M. Janney, *History of the Religious Society of Friends, from its Rise to the Year 1828* (Philadelphia, 1867), III, 493. John M'Clintock ed., *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature* (New York, 1891), III, 67-68 contains this same article.

³ Janney, *op. cit.*, III, 493.

a portion of the Scripture should be read. Their meetings were gradually transformed from "scenes of mirth to seasons of serious thoughtfulness"—until at length he appeared among them as a preacher of righteousness.⁴

Although Nichols' home was in Delaware, the Eastern Shore of Maryland was his "stamping ground." He was the first man in his neighborhood to preach against slave-holding. Two members of the Nicholites, William Dawson and James Harris, were the first to emancipate their slaves. This was accomplished despite the assurance of Dawson and Harris by the public authorities of Maryland that the law of Maryland or of Delaware had no provisions for such emancipation.⁵ The examples of these two made such an impression on their fellow-members that the testimony against slavery was incorporated in their Discipline; it became a disownable offence even to employ a slave.⁶ Some of them, among whom was James Horney, were even more zealous and refused to eat with slave holders or to partake of the produce raised by slave labor.⁷

In his meetings Nichols sat in silence, as did the Friends or Quakers, until he believed himself called to preach. His meetings sometime ended in silence when he felt no such impulse. Often they were held under the shade of trees, sometimes in private houses, and occasionally in the meeting-houses of Friends. The testimony of the two groups against war, oaths, and a hireling ministry was identical. William Dawson was confined in the Cambridge jail, thirty miles from his place of residence, because of his testimony against a stipendiary ministry.⁸

Appealing to the Maryland Legislature, the Nicholites received permission to solemnize their marriages according to their own order and without the aid of a priest; also in judicial cases they were allowed the privilege of affirming instead of taking an oath. In this act they are termed "Nicholites or New Quakers," but the name they gave themselves was "Friends."⁹

The Quakers were in full sympathy, with one exception, with Joseph Nichols and frequently invited him to attend their meetings. Yet, at this time, they refused to accept his teaching condemning the holding of slaves. The matter had reached a

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 494.

⁵ Gummere, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁷ Janney, *op. cit.*, III, 495.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*

⁹ *Loc. cit.*

critical point in 1766 when John Woolman, accompanied by John Sleeper, made a visit to Maryland—going on foot through the Eastern Shore region (Woolman's decision to travel on foot had been brought about by his desire to come into closer sympathy with the slave in his life of labor). The Quakers, who earlier had refused to listen to Nichols, received the testimony of the two Quakers from New Jersey. The public records of this time in Maryland show a large number of resulting emancipations.¹⁰

As Nichols continued to hold meetings for worship, there occurred a noticeable change in the clothes and appearance of the people who were his followers. He insisted on the doctrine of self-denial—and the subjugation of every appetite or desire that would lead the soul away from God. Thus, in addition to their decided testimony against war, slavery oaths, and a stipendiary ministry, the Nicholites were remarkably plain in their dress and in their house-hold furniture. The women wore bonnets and the men hats, of undyed or natural, white wool. Their clothing was of the natural color, for they objected to dyeing cloth—"esteeming it a superfluous expense, calculated more for ostentation than true usefulness."¹¹

Joseph Nichols was not permitted long to continue with the flock he had gathered. Isaac Martin, travelling among the Nicholites in 1794, wrote in his Journal that Joseph Nichols, the "first of this society," had been dead about twenty years.¹² "Having given evidence of his sincere piety by the practice of all the Christian virtues, he left a pure example that was encouraging to his survivors." Feeling the necessity of some organization, those who were convinced and proselyted by his ministry concluded to establish a regular order of Church discipline, which was brought into being about 1780. Even earlier, in 1774, the Nicholites had seen it advisable to collect and record the birth records of their children.¹³ About this time several persons among them appeared

¹⁰ Gummere, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.

¹¹ Isaac Martin, *A Journal of the Life, Travels, Labours, and Religious Exercises of Isaac Martin, Late of Rahway, in East Jersey Deceased* (Philadelphia, 1834), p. 53. See also Gummere, *op. cit.*, p. 96; Elias Hicks, *Journal of the Life and Religious Labours of Elias Hicks* (New York, 1832), p. 62.

¹² Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹³ The volume containing the birth records, and also the sales of the Center and Northwest Fork meeting-houses, is in the vault of the Talbot County Register of Wills Office with other records of the Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends—placed there for safe keeping.

in the ministry. Ground was purchased and held by trustees for the use of the Society, and three meeting houses were built—all in Caroline County, Maryland. Here were held meetings for divine worship on First-days and in the middle of the week. In addition, they also held meetings for discipline once a month, adopting rules for government similar to those established in the Society of Friends.¹⁴

After an existence of some twenty years, some of the more discerning members of the Nicholite society thought that it would be of mutual advantage if a juncture with the Society of Friends could be effected. Many travelling Friends had visited them and had been received very warmly. Martin in 1794, Martha Routh in 1796, Jordan in 1797, Hicks in 1798, and others travelled and preached among the Nicholites.¹⁵ The Nicholites read Friends' books, held social intercourse with them, and found that the two societies were one in the vital fundamental principles of their profession. Some of the members, especially the young, felt that the strict discipline adopted by the Nicholites was too strait; they longed for greater freedom and indulged themselves in wearing garments of dyed materials. James Harris, one of the oldest and most valued members of the Nicholites, and a minister among them, was among those who desired a union with the Society of Friends. His suggestions at first were met by general opposition—particularly from those who were the most strict in observing the rule of plainness in dress. A proposition was made at their yearly meeting to unite themselves with the Friends but was defeated. More than a year later it was brought forth again. After several more attempts, with the opposition becoming less each time, it was proposed that those who were prepared to unite with the Society of Friends should do so; the others were to continue as they were.

When the proposition was laid before the Monthly Meeting at Third Haven (Easton), a committee was appointed to meet with the applicants collectively and "treat the matter with them as way may open, as to the grounds of their request; and report of their

¹⁴ Janney, *op. cit.*, III, 496.

¹⁵ See Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-55; Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 62; Martha Routh, *Memoirs of the Life, Travels and Religious Experience of Martha Routh, Written by Herself or Compiled From Her Own Narrative* (York, 1824), p. 174; Richard Jordan, *A Journal of the Life and Religious Labours of Richard Jordan, A Minister of the Gospel in the Society of Friends, Late of Newton, In Gloucester County, New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1829), p. 30.

situation and state of unity in regard thereof to our next meeting." ¹⁶ The result was that nearly all who made application, about four hundred including the children, were received into membership.

Those who left the Society of Nicholites felt that they had surrendered all right to their meeting houses, but those who were left felt otherwise. They wished that they should all continue to worship together as they had done previously. Thus they continued to worship together on First-days, in perfect harmony and love, but the mid-week meetings were held on different days because of their separate meetings for discipline. After a period of time, which allowed the remaining Nicholites to see the effect of the union, finding that their apprehensions were not realized, and that those had had united themselves with Friends continued to be "plain, self-denying, and upright in conduct," the others concluded to follow their example, and were received into membership with Friends.¹⁷ In 1799 and 1802, prior to the dissolution of their society, the three meeting-houses in Caroline County—Centre, Tuckahoe Neck, and Northwest Fork—were transferred by the Nicholites to the Society of Friends. Among the Nicholites who joined the Society of Friends was Elisha Dawson, afterwards extensively known, and highly esteemed among the Friends as a minister of the Gospel.¹⁸

NICHOLITE BIRTH RECORDS.

Aaron Bishop	son of Robert and Elendor	b. 11/23/1769
James "	" " " " "	b. 8/14/1771
John "	" " " " "	b. 11/18/1773
Ann Harris	dau. of James and Mary	b. 12/ 9/1760
Esther "	" " " " "	b. 1/ 1/1763
Lydia "	" " " " "	b. 2/ 6/1765
Sarah "	" " " " "	b. 8/21/1767
Rhoda "	" " " " "	b. 4/ 4/1772
Peter "	son " " " "	b. 4/ 5/1774

¹⁶ Janney, *op. cit.*, III, 498.

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁸ In all printed references to Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites the name is spelled NICHOLS, but the records of the society spell it NICOLS.

Alice Holbrook	dau. of Alexander and Sarah	b. 10/ 4/1761
William "	son " " " " "	b. 11/27/1763
Frederick "	" " " " " "	b. 3/27/1766
Daniel "	" " " " " "	b. 7/ 6/1770
Ann Covey	dau. of Noble and Rachel	b. 3/10/1764
Rebeca "	" " " " " "	b. 4/10/1766
Sarah "	" " " " " "	b. 11/11/1771
Rachel "	" " " " " "	b. 11/ 5/1774
Solomon Richardson	son of John and Elizabeth	b. 3/ 4/1772
John "	" " " " " "	b. 12/18/1773
Joseph Sulivane	son of Daniel and Margaret	b. 1/13/1771
Owen "	" " " " " "	b. 3/ 4/1772
Daniel "	" " " " " "	b. 11/11/1773
Mary Linager	dau. of Isaac and Rosanna	b. 10/ 1/1769
Elizabeth "	" " " " " "	b. 4/10/1771
James "	son " " " " "	b. 12/26/1773
Daniel Leverton	son of Moses and Ann	b. 3/29/1770
Isaac "	" " " " " "	b. 2/ 7/1772
Jacob "	" " " " " "	b. 3/10/1774
Rhoda Nicols ¹⁸	dau. of Joseph and Mary	b. 3/ 8/1756
Isaac "	son " " " " "	b. 1/22/1758
Rachel "	dau. " " " " "	b. 9/ 5/1763
Daniel Goslin	son of Ezekiel and Marget	b. 6/22/1769
Esther "	dau. " " " " "	b. 11/22/1772
Sarah Morriston	dau. of John and Comfort	b. 10/28/1756
Mary "	" " " " " "	b. 3/31/1758
Temperance "	" " " " " "	b. 7/25/1760
George "	son " " " " "	b. 7/25/1763
Comfort "	dau. " " " " "	b. 5/ 6/1765
Robinson "	son " " " " "	b. 6/25/1770
Elizabeth "	dau. " " " " "	b. 10/20/1771
John "	son " " " " "	b. 7/ 1/1773
Thomas Foster	son of Joseph and Mary	b. 9/23/1757
Elizabeth "	dau. " " " " "	b. 8/22/1763
Anna "	" " " " " "	b. 1/19/1769
Peter "	son " " " " "	b. 9/ 1/1773
Isaac Linagear	son of Elizabeth	b. 4/10/1759
Milby Willis	son of Thomas and Sina	b. 8/ 7/1768
Anne "	dau. " " " " "	b. 12/ 5/1770
William "	son " " " " "	b. 9/20/1771
Jesse "	" " " " " "	b. 2/15/1773
Joshua "	" " " " " "	b. 12/15/1774

Rhoda Willis	dau. of Andrew and Sarah	b. 5/18/1766
Roger "	son " " " "	b. 5/14/1768
Mary "	dau. " " " "	b. 12/ 5/1770
Shadrick "	son " " " "	b. 5/15/1772
Andrew "	" " " " "	b. 11/ 3/1774
Mary Chilcut	dau. of Joshua and Esther	b. 12/ 8/1764
Cloe "	" " " " "	b. 11/16/1766
Rhoda "	" " " " "	b. 10/14/1770
Celia "	" " " " "	b. 9/23/1772
Esther "	" " " " "	b. 7/30/1774
Leven Wright	son of Roger and Mary	b. 12/27/1757
James "	" " " " "	b. 12/ 3/1760
Selah "	dau. " " " "	b. 5/17/1766
Hatfield "	son " " " "	b. 3/11/1769
Mary "	dau. " " " "	b. 5/31/1773
Lovey Charles	dau. of Solomon and Sarah	b. 5/ 2/1762
John "	son " " " "	b. 11/ 8/1763
Levin "	" " " " "	b. 1/ 1/1766
Nuton "	" " " " "	b. 3/24/1768
Solomon "	" " " " "	b. 10/22/1770
Esther Addams	dau. of Daniel and Sarah	b. 8/ /1766
Jacob Charles	son of Isaac and Ann	b. 7/ 1/1768
Daniel "	" " " " "	b. 9/17/1773
Levin Frampton	son of Thomas and Ann	b. 7/ 1/1765
Hubird "	" " " " "	b. 8/ 4/1768
Thomas Cromeen	son of Elijah and Sarah	b. 4/11/1768
Levin "	" " " " "	b. 10/29/1769
Elijah "	" " " " "	b. 9/ 2/1771
Lovey "	dau. " " " "	b. 4/20/1773
James "	son " " " "	b. 12/27/1775
Ruben Charles	son of William and Leah	b. 4/20/1771
Isaac "	" " " " "	b. 11/15/1773
Mary Richardson	dau. of John and Elizabeth	b. 11/17/1775
Littelton Berry	son of William and Naomi	b. 1/18/1758
Delilah "	dau. " " " "	b. 7/21/1759
Adar "	" " " " "	b. 5/30/1762
Liddy Batchelder	dau. of John and Eleanor	b. 2/10/1773
William "	son " " " "	b. 7/27/1775
Sarah Eccles	dau. of Richard and Ann	b. 11/ 3/1758
Mary "	" " " " "	b. 4/16/1761
John "	son " " " "	b. 6/21/1763
Anthony "	" " " " "	b. 12/ 7/1765
Anna "	dau. " " " "	b. 5/20/1771

Richard "	son of Richard and Ann	b. 3/ 5/1773
Lydda "	dau. " " " "	b. 2/18/1776
Sarah Wright	dau. of Lemuel and Elizabeth	b. 11/18/1762
Daniel "	son " " " "	b. 6/24/1764
Rachel "	dau. " " " "	b. 10/ 2/1767
Jacob "	son " " " "	b. 9/22/1770
Ann "	dau. " " " "	b. 1/22/1772
Mary Sulivane	dau. of Daniel and Marget	b. 12/27/1775
Mary Foster	dau. of Joseph and Mary	b. 5/14/1776
Thomas Willis	son of Thomas and Sina	b. 10/28/1776
Ann Kelley	dau. of William and Mary	b. 3/22/1762
Dennis "	son " " " "	b. 2/ 6/1764
William "	" " " " "	b. 1/20/1766
John "	" " " " "	b. 9/12/1768
Mary "	dau. " " " "	b. 11/14/1770
Elizabeth "	" " " " "	b. 8/21/1774
Hix "	son " " " "	b. 6/14/1776
Jacob Charles	son of William and Leah	b. 5/17/1776
Rachel Bishop	dau. of Robert and Elenor	b. 1/31/1776
Aron Carner	son of Joshua and Marget	b. 4/22/1761
Phebe Chilcutt	dau. of Joshua and Esther	b. 2/ 1/1778
Peter Richardson	son of John and Elizabeth	b. 12/ 8/1777
Mary Bishop	dau. of Robert and Eleanor	b. 5/31/1778
John Warren	son of William and Prisilla	b. 1/ 5/1759
Elizabeth "	dau. " " " Marget	b. 11/ 3/1765
Johnson "	son " " " "	b. 9/26/1767
Lidy "	dau. " " " "	b. 2/21/1769
Amos "	son " " " "	b. 4/ 3/1771
Baly "	" " " " "	b. 4/14/1773
William "	" " " " "	b. 4/22/1776
Lily "	dau. " " " "	b. 5/25/1777
James Stanton	son of Thomas and Mary	b. 7/14/1778
Robinson Stevens	son of Azel and Rebekah	b. 9/22/1773
Daniel "	" " " " "	b. 2/ 5/1775
William "	" " " " "	b. 2/13/1777
Esther Eccles	dau. of Richard and Ann	b. 8/ 5/1778
John Jester	son of Ebenezer and Sarah	b. 1/18/1776
Jehu "	" " " " "	b. 4/20/1777

Lavisa Williams	dau. of John and Sarah	b. 6/ 1/1765
Bartholomew "	son " " " "	b. 10/ 5/1767
Rachael "	dau. " " " "	b. 10/17/1770
John "	son " " " "	b. 1/ 3/1774
Newell "	" " " " "	b. 9/28/1776
Isaac Charles	son of Isaac and Ann	b. 10/ 4/1775
Rhoda Leverton	dau. of Moses and Ann	b. 2/ 9/1779
Joseph Cromeen	son of Elijah and Sarah	b. 11/26/1778
Sarah Sulavane	dau. of Daniel and Marget	b. 1/ 7/1777
Joshua Jester	son of Ebenezer and Sarah	b. 3/ 4/1780
Peter Chilcutt	son of Joshua and Esther	b. 4/12/1780
Ann Stevens	dau. of William and Mary	b. 10/ 1/1765
Jonathan "	son " " " " "	b. 3/21/1768
James "	" " " " "	b. 9/24/1770
Sarah "	dau. " " " "	b. 4/ 5/1773
Mary "	" " " " "	b. 9/ 8/1775
Rachael "	" " " " "	b. 2/18/1778
James Richardson	son of John and Elizabeth	b. 2/28/1780
Joseph Man	son of William and Elizabeth	b. 5/17/1779
Peter Kelley	son of William and Mary	b. 6/ 1/1779
Naomi Mason	dau. of Abraham and Sarah	b. 7/29/1770
Sarah "	" " " " "	b. 11/21/1771
Reubin "	son " " " "	b. 5/27/1773
Rhoda "	dau. " " " "	b. 8/ 6/1775
Lydia "	" " " " "	b. 6/16/1779
Arminta Russel	dau. of Elijah and Esther	b. 2/14/1781
Joshua Smith	son of Joshua and Ann	b. 10/10/1769
Ann "	dau. " " " "	b. 11/31/1771
Daniel "	son " " " "	b. 3/22/1777
Caleb "	" " " " "	b. 5/ 3/1780
Jesse Leverton	son of Moses and Ann	b. 1/24/1781
Caleb Charles	son of Isaac and Saphier	b. 4/12/1780
Mary Vichers	dau. of John and Mary	b. 10/14/1766
Richard "	son " " " "	b. 4/13/1768
Joseph "	" " " " "	b. 4/12/1773
Nathan "	" " " " "	b. 8/12/1775
John "	" " " " "	b. 11/12/1770
William Bishop	son of Robert and Elenor	b. 12/17/1780
Sarah Evitts	dau. of Seth Hill and Naomi	b. 6/13/1779
Sarah Richardson	dau. of John and Elizabeth	b. 5/26/1782

John Chilcutt	son of Joshua and Esther	b. 4/29/1782
John Batchelor	son of John and Elenor	b. 12/16/1781
Mary Harris	dau. of William and Ann	b. 10/27/1756
Sarah	" " " " " "	b. 11/17/1758
James	son " " " " " "	b. 11/15/1761
Elizabeth	dau. " " " " " "	b. 6/6/1764
Rachael	" " " " " "	b. 3/27/1767
Ann	" " " " " "	b. 3/4/1769
Lydia	" " " " " "	b. 1/4/1771
Jeanne	" " " " " "	b. 2/5/1775
William	son " " " " " "	b. 5/29/1777
Isaac	" " " " " "	b. 11/26/1779
John	" " " " " "	b. 11/1/1781
Lydia Jester	dau. of Ebenezar and Sarah	b. 7/24/1782
Julna Eccles	dau. of Richard and Ann	b. 3/14/1781
Mary Warren	dau. of William and Margaret	b. 2/20/1782
Isaac Frampton	son of William and Margaret	b. 7/28/1782
Margaret Hubbert	dau. of Jesse and Priscilla	b. 6/6/1770
Edward	son " " " " " "	b. 3/1/1773
Nicee	dau. " " " " " "	b. 10/20/1776
Peter	son " " " " " "	b. 10/21/1778
Tilghman	" " " " " "	b. 7/12/1781
Sarah	dau. " " " " " "	b. 2/16/1783
Anne Ward	dau. of Henry and Mary	b. 7/11/1768
Daniel	son " " " " " "	b. 4/19/1770
Henry	" " " " " "	b. 7/20/1772
James	" " " " " "	b. 2/18/1774
Richard	" " " " " "	b. 6/1/1776
Mary	dau. " " " " " "	b. 6/8/1778
Sarah	" " " " " "	b. 11/22/1781
Rachel Russell	dau. of Elijah and Esther	b. 2/16/1776
Nathan	son " " " " " "	b. 6/13/1778
James Walker	son of John and Ariminta	b. 8/4/1775
John	" " " " " "	b. 3/24/1779
Mary Harvey	dau. of John and Sophia	b. 5/4/1774
Samuel	son " " " " " "	b. 1/15/1777
John	" " " " " "	b. 12/4/1779
Celia	dau. " " " " " "	b. 6/5/1782
Rhoda	" " " " " "	b. 11/2/1783
Rhoda Warren	dau. of William and Margaret	b. 11/2/1783
Ann Ewitts	dau. of Seth Hill and Naomi	b. 11/9/1783
Mary Mason	dau. of Abraham and Sarah	b. 12/20/1782

Peter Jinkens	son of Richard and Ann	b. 5/28/1781
Mary "	dau. " " " "	b. 4/15/1784
Ann Barton	dau. of William and Elizabeth	b. 1/12/1783
Arimenta Bishop	dau. of Robert and Elenor	b. 5/ 2/1783
Joseph Richardson	son of John and Elizabeth	b. 7/ 7/1784
Milley Willis	dau. of Thomas and Sinai	b. 2/ 3/1784
Willis Charles	son of Jacob and Euphama	b. 3/13/1766
Henry "	" " " "	b. 7/ 9/1768
Eufama "	dau. " " " "	b. 3/26/1773
Sarah "	" " " "	b. 4/25/1775
Jacob "	son " " " "	b. 7/15/1780
Elijah "	" " " "	b. 8/28/1770
Martin Kelley	son of William and Mary	b. 5 /11/1784
Anna Chilcutt	dau. of Joshua and Esther	b. 6/23/1784
Rhoda Stevens	dau. of William and Mary	b. 7/ 4/1784
William Charles	son of Isaac and Sophia	b. 5/17/1783
Nathan Jester	son of Ebenezar and Sarah	b. 7/20/1784
Levin Pool	son of John and Anna	b. 8/ 4/1776
Sarah "	dau. " " " "	b. 2/26/1778
Isaac "	son " " " "	b. 8/ 2/1779
Noddy "	" " " " "	b. 3/15/1782
John "	" " " " "	b. 7/22/1784
Margaret Sullivan	dau. of Daniel and Margaret	b. 11/24/1779
Isaac "	son " " " "	b. 10/29/1781
John "	" " " " "	b. 12/24/1783
John Wright	son of William and Sarah	b. 3/ 9/1763
Anna Gray	dau. of William and Elisabeth	b. 3/13/1772
Lovey "	" " " " "	b. 8/ 1/1774
Perry "	son " " " "	b. 11/29/1777
Joseph "	" " " " "	b. 11/15/1779
Esther "	dau. " " " "	b. 9/23/1781
Elisabeth "	" " " " "	b. 7/13/1784
Elic Eccles	son of Richard and Ann	b. 11/20/1783
Sarah Poits	dau. of William and Henrietta	b. 11/28/1779
William "	son " " " "	b. 3/16/1781
Isaac "	" " " " "	b. 5/ 4/1782
Sarah Jenkins	dau. of Richard and Ann	b. 3/ 3/1785

Thomas Townsend	son of Benjamin and Elizabeth	b. 6/11/1772
Henry	" " " " "	b. 9/ 4/1775
Sarah	" " " " "	b. 2/19/1778
Celia	dau. " " " "	b. 5/13/1780
James Anderson	son of James and Ann	b. 8/16/1765
Isaac	" " " " "	b. 8/ 6/1769
Daniel	" " " " "	b. 10/ 3/1771
Elijah	" " " " "	b. 8/29/1773
Mary	dau. " " " "	b. 1/ 6/1775
Major	son " " " "	b. 11/27/1777
Elic	" " " " "	b. 11/ 4/1783
Sarah Wright	dau. of John and Esther	b. 9/ 2/1785
James Barton	son of William and Elizabeth	b. 5/20/1785
Elic Willis	son of Thomas and Sinai	b. 2/ 1/1785
Sarah Leverton	dau. of Moses and Rachel	b. 1/25/1786
William Richardson	son of John and Elizabeth	b. 6/ 9/1786
Levin Harris	son of William and Ann	b. 2/21/1784
Lydia Gray	dau. of William and Eliz ^a	b. 7/11/1786
Levin Bishop	son of Robert and Eleanor	b. 8/22/1786
James Wright	son of John and Esther	b. 9/ 5/1786
Richard Jenkins	son of Richard and Ann	b. 4/ 4/1787
Eleanor Bishop	dau. of William and Sarah	b. 12/16/1773
Nathan	son " " " "	b. 9/22/1775
Frances	dau. " " " "	b. 3/ 3/1778
Sarah	" " " " "	b. 3/15/1780
Mary	" " " " "	b. 11/ 4/1783
William	son " " " "	b. 9/15/1784
Lydia	dau. " " " "	b. 1/15/1787
Mary Stanton	dau. of Thomas and Mary	b. 10/19/1781
John Barton	son of James and Mary Ann	b. 1/27/1783
Sarah	dau. " " " " "	b. 7/23/1784
William	son " " " " "	b. 10/ 1/1787
Mary Tumbleston	dau. of Ebenezar and Jane	b. 7/27/1776
Henry	son " " " "	b. 9/25/1778
Peter Barton	son of William and Elizabeth	b. 4/29/1788
William Wright	son of John and Esther	b. 5/13/1788

Esther Ward	dau. of Henry and Mary	b. 9/18/1788
Lydia Stanton	dau. of Beachamp and Cloe	b. 9/17/1788
John Leverton	son of Moses and Rachel	b. 12/16/1787
Elizabeth Richardson	dau. of John and Elizabeth	b. 2/18/1789
William Gray	son of William and Elizabeth	b. 5/26/1789
Robert Bishop	son of William and Sarah	b. 12/12/1788
Thomas Barton	son of James and Mary	b. 11/18/1789
Mary Wilson	dau. of William and Hannah	b. 10/25/1768
Hannah "	" " " "	b. 12/ 7/1772
John "	son " " " "	b. 5/ 1/1775
Ann "	dau. " " " "	b. 2/11/1778
William "	son " " " "	b. 2/25/1780
Rachel "	dau. " " " "	b. 4/24/1782
James "	son " " " "	b. 4/22/1770
Lemuel Leverton	son of Moses and Rachel	b. 2/ 5/1790
William Wheatley	son of Anthony and Sophia	b. 5/ 3/1781
Elizabeth "	dau. " " " "	b. 12/19/1784
Euphama "	" " " " "	b. 1/11/1786
Anthony "	son " " " "	b. 1/22/1791
Daniel "	" " " " "	b. 9/24/1788
Byng Wheatley	son of William and Talitha	b. 6/18/1781
Thomas Richardson	son of John and Elizabeth	b. 11/28/1791
Rhoda Barton	dau. of William and Eliz ^a	b. 6/26/1791
Peter Wright	son of John and Esther	b. 2/27/1791
Sarah Gray	dau. of William and Eliz ^a	b. 3/10/1792
Rachel Ward	dau. of Henry and Mary	b. 11/6 /1790
Charles Leverton	son of Moses and Rachel	b. 2/12/1792
Frances Fisher	dau. of George H. and Rachel	b. 10/20/1765
John "	son " " " "	b. 2/17/1768
Levicey "	dau. " " " "	b. 4/22/1769
Daniel "	son " " " "	b. 6/21/1772
Sarah "	dau. " " " "	b. 8/19/1774
Allifare "	" " " " "	b. 7/ 1/1779
George "	son " " " "	b. 4/ 4/1782
Robert "	" " " " "	b. 4/17/1784
Alexander "	" " " " "	b. 5/11/1786

Jane Barton	dau. of James and Mary Ann	b. 8/23/1792
Elizabeth "	" " " " " "	b. 8/23/1792
Lydia Barton	dau. of Edward and Ann	b. 12/29/1787
Andrew "	son " " " " "	b. 12/ 2/1789
Levin "	" " " " " "	b. 9/ 4/1791
Anna "	dau. " " " " "	b. 4/11/1793
John Bishop	son of William and Sarah	b. 5/10/1791
James "	" " " " " "	b. 9/ 4/1793
William Kelley	son of Dennis and Ann	b. 4/28/1791
Willis Wright	son of John and Esther	b. 5/13/1793
Rhoda Swiggett	dau. of Henry and Sarah	b. 8/14/1775
Levin	son " " " " "	b. 8/11/1777
Jacob Gray	son of William and Elizabeth	b. 6/21/1794
William Pool	son of John and Aney	b. 8/31/1794
Arthur Wheatley	son of Anthony and Sophia	b. 2/ 7/1794
Elizabeth Leverton	dau. of Moses and Rachel	b. 5/ 7/1794
Tristram Cromean	son of Elijah and Sarah	b. 11/26/1780
Beachamp "	" " " " " "	b. 1/28/1782
Andrew "	" " " " " "	b. 9/ 2/1783
Rhoda "	dau. " " " " "	b. 1/ 3/1786
Blades "	son " " " " "	b. 3/ 2/1788
Dorcas "	dau. " " " " "	b. 3/ 2/1790
Isaac Wheatley	son of Anthony and Sophia	b. 6/21/1797
Rachel Leverton	dau. of Moses and Rachel	b. 11/ 2/1796
Sarah Stanton	dau. of Beauchamp and Deborah	b. 9/19/1792
Peter "	son " " " " "	b. 8/30/1794
Mary "	dau. " " " " "	b. 3/28/1797
Anna "	" " " " " "	b. 7/12/1799
Charles Noble	son of Joshua and Sarah	b. 8/12/1798
Daniel "	" " " " " "	b. 12/26/1799
John "	" " " " " "	b. 10/26/1801
John Swiggett	son of Johnson and Mary	b. 9/17/1781
Henry "	" " " " " "	b. 3/11/1783
Sarah "	dau. " " " " "	b. 9/24/1785
Esther "	" " " " " "	b. 4/11/1788
Mynta "	" " " " " "	b. 4/13/1790
Solomon "	son " " " " "	b. 1/30/1794
Adah "	dau. " " " " "	b. 5/ 8/1797

Wright Charles	son of Willis and Sarah	b. 8/18/1788
Esther	dau. " " " "	b. 12/14/1793
Daniel Dawson	son of Elisha and Lydia	b. 11/ 9/1786
Deborah	dau. " " " "	b. 9/22/1789
William	son " " " "	b. 3/29/1796

Following this apparent close of the Nicholite records, there is continued the listing of the children of Joshua and Sarah Noble:

Archabald Noble	b. 3/15/1803	d. 8/29/1804
Elizabeth	b. 2/ 8/1807	
Lovy	b. 7/13/1805	d. 5/28/1808
Solomon	b. 5/ 3/1809	
Esther	b. 5/ 3/1809	
James	b. 4/30/1811	
Alexander	b. 10/25/1812	
William	b. 4/ 6/1815	d. 11/ 6/1817
Amelia	b. 11/30/1816	
William	b. 10/24/1818	
Twyfords	b. 5/25/1820	

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Potomac. By FREDERICK GUTHEIM. Illustrated by Mitchell Jamieson. New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1949. 436 pp. \$4.00.

Those familiar with the "Rivers of America" series, of which Messrs. Hervey Allen and Carl Carmer are the general editors, do not have to be told that we have here one of the most ambitious efforts at collating local history yet undertaken by American publishers. The only comparable undertaking is the "Ports of America" series, sponsored by Doubleday, Doran in the late thirties.

The authors of the Rivers have incomparably the more difficult assignment, for they must concern themselves not with the flow of history alone, for which material is available in plenty, but also with complex matters of geography. This science has of late years become almost as inclusive as biology. Indeed, there are some of its practitioners who insist that it must include even biology.

Mr. Gutheim, perhaps because he has certain affiliations with journalism, has not shrunk from his assignment, difficult as it is. Here is the river which (*pace* the shades of our southern forebears) was fated to divide the agrarian, not to say feudal, civilization of the South from that of the expanding industrialism of the North. Even the circumstance that the gracious manorial system leapt across the estuarial reaches of the river into Maryland did not prevent the hard-bitten wheat, coal and iron system of the north from making the counter leap above the Great Falls. If the Potomac had been truly navigable above Washington, its story would have been vastly different. Indeed, if the Susquehanna at the same time had been navigable above Port Deposit, the history of the whole United States would have to be rewritten.

Such considerations as these were never absent from Mr. Gutheim's mind as he threaded his fascinating way through the convolutions of his historio-geographical material. His sense of advancing evil when, even before the adoption of the Federal constitution, the economic differences between Maryland and Virginia began to manifest themselves will be poignantly shared by every perceptive citizen of both States. The narrative of the gradual fading of the spirit—whatever it was—that made the Northern Neck of Virginia give birth to one of the noblest conceptions of human dignity which the mind of man has ever produced, will be as painful to every thoughtful Marylander as it clearly is to him. The Mount Vernon compact, on which we of late have been laying so much stress, was but the outward manifestation of a schism which may have begun when Baltimore ceased to be just another tobacco port on tide-

water and began that integration with the harsher northern culture which today dominates most of the nation.

Thus there is tragedy, in the Greek sense, in the tale which this sensitive and understanding author tells. The way of life from which George Mason distilled the ideas which Thomas Jefferson wrote into the Declaration of Independence and which found their finest expression in the Bill of Rights, was after all an ephemeral product of the human soul. It could not have come into being in a different climate, or from a different soil than that of tidewater Virginia and Maryland. When the soil failed and the men who thrived on it moved into the hill country to enter into competition with the more uncouth frontiersmen marching down the valleys from the north, they abandoned perforce their more delicate notions of human dignity and so were able to affect only slightly the newer culture.

It may be that in describing the theme of Mr. Gutheim's book in such sweeping terms, I am doing him an injustice. He is, after all, careful to keep his description of the human tides of the Potomac in carefully objective language. Like any other conscientious historian, he keeps himself out of it as far as may be. The beginning of wheat growing in the Piedmont—along the banks of the Monocacy, the Conococheague and even the Shenandoah—is carefully if not lovingly recounted. The interminable experimentations with seed, with manures and with the ever-improving plow are told in detail that denotes long and painful research.

But it all comes to a climax, a tragic and bloody climax, in his description of the War Between the States, that futile effort of the civilization which only the Potomac could have produced, to hold out a little longer against its more vigorous and less sensitive rival. Even in his account of the growth of his own town, Washington, from its very beginnings, Mr. Gutheim never ignores the struggle with which his book so largely concerns itself. He obviously loves the capital and understands how it came to be what it is. But one senses that he, like most of us, wishes that the standards of tidewater Potomac could have been a little more vigorous, a little more persuasive to a material-minded world than they have turned out to be.

This is more an impression than a review of a shrewd and understanding book. I hope it will persuade a few Marylanders to read it and think about it.

HAMILTON OWENS.

Your Most Humble Servant. By SHIRLEY GRAHAM. New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1949. 235 pp. \$3.00.

In this biography, Miss Graham, writing in a semi-fictional style, tells the story of Maryland's Benjamin Banneker—the Free Negro who thrived in the middle and latter years of the 18th century as clockmaker, astronomer, surveyor, almanac-compiler, author and landowner.

The Negro schools of Baltimore have paid some attention to this amazing man. But few citizens, Marylanders or otherwise, have ever heard

of him; to all but the most serious and thorough historians, his is a fleeting name. This, certainly, is due to the fact that information about him is scattered. In this book, Miss Graham brings it all together.

Banneker was freeborn, because one of his parents was free. His grandmother, an English dairy maid who served a period of indenture in the colony, carved out a farm near what is now Ellicott City, with the help of two slaves. One of them turned out to be an African prince named Bannaky; the dairy maid married him. The couple raised a daughter, and when the daughter came of age, they bought a slave for her to marry. Benjamin Banneker was the child of this marriage.

Through the good offices of a local Quaker named Peter Heinrich—who, confused by the boy's African surname, changed it to Banneker—Benjamin acquired more than the basis of an education. The Quaker saw that he had a student on his hands, and encouraged his pupil to think and study. Benjamin had a bent for mathematics and science; after seeing a clock, he set to work and made one. It was the first clock to be made in Maryland, Miss Graham holds, and perhaps in America.

Banneker's early manhood was spent in farming and in repairing clocks. The full flowering of his talents, the author tells us, was slowed by a disastrous love affair. It was not until he reached his forties that he began to move forward.

He received recognition in Europe for his work in mathematics and astronomy, and recognition in his native land—the people for miles around Ellicott's Mills looked upon him as a genius for helping Andrew Ellicott and Major L'Enfant survey and plan Washington. When L'Enfant quit in a huff, the story goes, he took the plans along. But Banneker had them all in his head.

Banneker's real fame came in his lifetime from the almanacs he published yearly from 1792 to 1802. The few excerpts which Miss Graham has unearthed show that he must have been a man of gentle humour and keen intellect. His letters to Thomas Jefferson show that he was a man of dignity and horse sense. Some of these letters, plus those Jefferson wrote in return, are well worth the price of this book: every citizen interested in the theory and practice of democracy will enjoy them.

Although Miss Graham's book is occasionally reminiscent of a novel for high-schoolers, thereby rendering the reader a little suspicious of her facts, the drama of the man's life and accomplishments cannot help but make her book a stimulating one. As for the facts, though, she supplies a chapter of notes; her research appears to have been exhaustive, and the laymen, at least, can forgive that "certain gaps are filled with incidents of whose probability I am convinced . . . [they] illustrate character, reveal trends or bring actual facts into juxtaposition so as to emphasize them."

Benjamin Banneker has been nominated to New York University's Hall of Fame for Great Americans. After reading this book, those formerly unfamiliar with this important Marylander will wonder why the nomination has been so tardy.

WILLIAM STUMP

Richmond Portraits, In an Exhibition of Makers of Richmond 1737-1860.

Introduction by LOUISE F. CATTERALL. Richmond, Va.: The Valentine Museum, 1949. 286 pp. \$6.00.

This handsome book was the natural result of an exhibition of local portraits held at the Valentine Museum in November 1948. Stimulated by the success of Mr. Alexander W. Weddell's biographical history of Virginia carried out by a portrait exhibition in 1929, the Valentine Museum determined to duplicate the effort for the city of Richmond. While few of the subjects are nationally known, the collection traces the history of a prosperous town for nearly 150 years and creates a reference book that local historians and art critics will take pride in owning.

Richmond is one of the three or four older state capitals which has continued its earlier importance. It enjoyed a peaceful life granted to few of our ancient cities on the East coast. Unharmed by Indians, Red-coats, "bombs bursting in air," it was serene until that most tragic of all wars almost annihilated it. In its first hundred years business and politics progressed side by side. Eminent lawyers and law makers had no less eminent brothers in some of the great industries of the South. Tobacco, flour mills, the Tredegar Iron Works, factories and warehouses made wealthy families and wealthy families were prone to sit for their portraits.

From William Byrd, that cultivated and eccentric Colonel, the founder of Richmond, to Joseph Reid Anderson who did not die until 1892 is a long stretch of history and it is no wonder that there are definite gaps in subjects and portrait painters in the earlier period. Most of them fall into that golden age when individual effort and the pioneer spirit were crowned rapidly with success; when there were excellent itinerant artists and when Virginia could boast of peace, plenty and pulchritude; the first decades of the 19th century. Then it was that Richmond was the focal point for Society. County families came to town to introduce and marry their daughters. Sons from county plantations came to establish themselves in professions and business, or, perhaps, to serve a term or two in the legislature. The Governors and their entourages, the smart militia companies, the Music Society, the Jockey Club, the men and women who made conversation an art, all added glamor to city life.

As one reads the short biographies of these bestocked gentlemen and kerchiefed dames, two or three events stand out. The Burr trial brought together the greatest legal talent the young nation could muster. This was the first major operation on the body patriotic and Richmond was divided in its feeling for the accused but acquitted Aaron Burr. The second important event was the Theatre Fire of December 26, 1811 when the Governor and hundreds of leading citizens lost their lives. We feel the importance of being a vestryman, or even a pew holder, in the old Episcopal churches, of belonging to the Howitzers or the Blues and of having a speaking acquaintance with the venerable Marshall or the youthful Poe.

Aside from the charm of intimate history there is a practical value to this book as a check list and reference book of American portraiture. Well arranged, well illustrated and well indexed, it does great credit to its collaborators.

ROSAMOND R. BEIRNE.

The Department of State: a History of Its Organization, Procedure and Personnel. By GRAHAM H. STUART. Drawings by Gloria E. Anderson. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1949. x, 517 pp. \$7.50.

With the publication of *Department of State*, Professor Stuart has rendered a distinguished and valuable service to students of political science, government, history, diplomacy, and international affairs. There is no other book on the subject that is as thorough and reliable, and so well written as the present volume by Professor Stuart. His ripe scholarship, extensive training, and wide experience in foreign relations have all been put into the preparation of this study. Within the compass of a little more than 450 pages, the author skillfully presents a comprehensive history of American foreign relations beginning with 1781, when the bureau in charge of these matters was known as the Department of Foreign Affairs, with a secretary and two clerks, to the resignation of Secretary Marshall in January, 1949, when the complicated machinery and organization of the Department of State numbered a staff of about six thousand employees. The history of that growth and the thread of continuity in America's foreign relations are traced, analyzed, and discussed with great skill and acumen. In the first two hundred pages, that is, in less than half of the book, the author has condensed the history of the Department from the beginning to the year 1900 (covering a period of about 120 years); about one-fifth of the book (from pages 200 to page 309) is devoted to the work of the Department from 1900 to 1940 (a period of about forty years); about 150 pages deal with the incumbencies of Cordell Hull, James Byrnes, and George Marshall, that is, the period beginning with the Second World War. In other words, more than half of the volume is devoted to the last fifty years of the State Department. This arrangement seems satisfactory and quite logical, for the duties of the State Department have grown more and more complex and involved, and have quickened with the tempo of our civilization. Every phase of the work of the State Department is reviewed, e. g., the introduction and development of the filing system; the tasks and duties of the copyists and clerks; the several procedural improvements; the Louisiana purchase; the war of 1812; the Florida purchase and the Monroe doctrine; the census-taking; neutral rights; the establishment of the consular, diplomatic, and passport bureaus; the numerous extraneous activities of the Department, such as the Senate resolution directing the Secretary of State to ascertain and report the number of suits on the trial docket of each of the circuit courts of the United States; the new set of problems arising out of the Civil War; Webster's negotiations with Eng-

land over the *Caroline* affairs; the rôle of the Department in war and peace, including the part it played in the North African invasion; post war planning; the several reorganizations of the Department; the establishment of the office of foreign relations and rehabilitation operations; informational activities of the Department; the Foreign Relations Institute; the more recent problems including the question of Palestine and the Marshall plan. The author also gives the structure of the State Department at every stage of American history; he describes the duties performed by the various officers; he analyzes each of the secretaries, his personality, his policies, his principal acts, his relations with the Chief Executive and other government officers and how they agreed or disagreed; he summarizes briefly the contribution made by several secretaries to international law.

The notes are full and most helpful. An Appendix contains the presidents and the secretaries of state. The Index is adequate but not as full as it could be in a book that could also be used as a reference work.

HOWARD R. MARRARO.

Columbia University.

Virginia's State Government during the Second World War. By FRANCIS HOWARD HELLER. Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1949. xvii, 203 pp.

This monograph is a skillful analysis of the problems which occurred when a state government with a long tradition of diversified governmental powers, a steadfast regard for the letter of the law, and a rather rigid Constitution participated in the nation's closest approach to total war. Under three broad headings—Constitutional Amendment, Legislative Enactments and Administrative Adjustments—the author shows that such emergency measures as suffrage for servicemen, restrictions on vehicular speeds, permission for dual officeholding, precautions against air raids, and adjustments in insurance laws, were, as a whole, handled little differently from the legislation of normal times. Delay and dispatch, ambiguity and clarity, politics and patriotism, all marked the functioning of Virginia's state government during the war period as, doubtlessly, they did in other states. The author's presentation of the methods by which Virginia adjusted to the emergency constitutes a valuable commentary on state government, and the fact that the discussion has applications to other states enhances its value. Despite the realization that some of Virginia's adjustments were not made without difficulty, one leaves the book with a renewed gratitude for the processes of democracy for, during the entire period, the federal government possessed sweeping emergency powers which, if applied in their entirety, might well have made state governments little more than agents for an all-embracing national government. One also must regard with anxiety the possibility that a truly total war might, in the uncertain future, actually reach the

shores of the United States with disastrous effect to the federal system. Mr. Heller closes his discussion with the statement that "if . . . Virginians desire to retain a democratic government, then it needs to be fashioned into an instrument of such vitality and resilience that it can withstand the stresses of war. Every minute devoted to the attainment of such a goal is a worthwhile investment and a contribution toward the security of free government." The point is obvious and the publication of such books as this one—well written in a popular style, devoid of the technical terminology of political science, and thoroughly documented—can only facilitate the task, if it is to be undertaken in fact.

HAROLD RANDALL MANAKEE.

Old Cahokia. A Narrative and Documents Illustrating the First Century of its History. Edited by JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT and others. St. Louis: The St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1949. 355 pp. \$4.50 (cloth) and \$3.00 (paper).

The motto of The St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation is "To make available the source materials from which the history of St. Louis and the West will be written." This first publication of the Joseph Deslogue Fund is an auspicious beginning of the enterprise. The volume is intended to focus attention on Cahokia in commemoration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its founding in 1699 when priests from Quebec built a chapel on the east bank of the Mississippi. For many decades Cahokia was the northernmost of the five French villages which formed an island of civilization in a vast wilderness, so that the printing of source materials on the settlement is a commendable service to students of the history of the region.

An introductory chapter traces the growth of "Cahokia and Its People" from the earliest days to the end of the eighteenth century, providing the broad picture into which the manuscripts may be placed. Then comes "The Founding of the Holy Family Mission and Its History in the Eighteenth Century," reproducing thirteen pertinent papers in chronological order. This is followed by "Life in Cahokia as Illustrated by Legal Documents, 1772-1821," including land records and inventories. "A Business Venture at Cahokia: The Letters of Charles Gratiot, 1778-1779" sheds light on the activities of the French merchant who aided the American cause. "Affairs at Fort Bowman, 1778-1780: Accounts and Letters" relates largely to George Rogers Clark's efforts to annex the Illinois country to the United States. The remaining chapters set forth the Cahokia burial records for 1784-94, the correspondence of Dom Urban Guillet with the Bishop of Quebec, and two nineteenth century law cases which go back into the previous period in their subject matter.

The volume does not pretend to do more than to present source materials for the use of historians, and to this extent it accomplishes its

purpose. There is little cohesion in the papers selected and no single impression emerges from perusal of the varied materials. One hopes that these documents, and others which may be published subsequently, may be utilized in the writing of a full history of the Cahokia area. This is only a start in the exploration of a frontier section which has not yet received adequate attention.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Loyola College.

Records of Colonial Gloucester County, Virginia, Volume II. Compiled by POLLY CARY MASON. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Lithoprinted by Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1948. 150 pp. \$5.00.

This volume is a posthumous publication presented to the public by the deceased author's husband, Mr. George C. Mason of Newport News, Virginia who has loyally collated and edited the great amount of material which his wife had assembled and which she was actively engaged in arranging for the printer prior to her untimely demise on January 25, 1948.

The book is a collection of abstracts from original documents concerning the lands and people of Colonial Gloucester County which includes Mathews County. The subject matter of this volume is to a certain degree similar to that in volume one, also by the same author, but new features have been introduced in the present volume; notably for example, the floor plans of well known Gloucester (including Mathews) County houses of the early nineteenth century taken from the insurance records of the Mutual Assurance Society. With very few exceptions, the occupants of these houses were also the owners.

In this volume we are presented with copies of, or abstracts from family papers of such Virginia citizens as are representative of Gloucester County: Berkeley, Thruston, Lilly, Billups, Stoakes, Booth, Taliaferro and others. There are abstracts from pertinent records of certain other Virginia counties such as Old Rappahannock, Essex, York, Lancaster, Middlesex, Westmoreland and Richmond.

Gloucester County has been doubly unfortunate with respect to its public records. In 1820 the County Clerk's Office, with its contents, was destroyed by fire. In 1865 the later county records were destroyed at the burning of Richmond, to which place they had been transferred for preservation during the Civil War.

Volume two has some interesting illustrations: Facing the title page, by way of a frontis-piece, is a survey plat of "Paradise," Gloucester County plantation of the first Richard Lee, 1672. This is followed by a map of Colonial Gloucester County, showing parish lines and some of the earliest geographical names as found in the land grants. There is also a plat of Gloucester Town (1707), giving names of some of the lot-holders. This volume concludes with a supplementary list of Civil Officers whose combined terms of service ranged from 1656 to 1802. A copious index enhances the value of this work. In its compilation and redaction, the book is truly a labor of love, of which no one can say: "Love's labour's lost."

FRANCIS B. CULVER.

A Treasury of Southern Folklore: Stories, Ballads, Traditions, and Folkways of the People of the South. Edited by B. A. BOTKIN. New York: Crown Publishers, 1949. 776 pp. \$4.00.

One of a series of regional anthologies, this book is chiefly a collection of anecdotes gathered from the great body of Southern literature. Though familiar, many of them are well worth repeating; but it is inevitable that they were more amusing in context, in the various books—from John Bernard's to Huey Long's—from which Mr. Botkin has quoted. Strung together here they became a joke-book, which is the grimmest consecutive reading known to man.

Read even a little at a time as it should be, *A Treasury of Southern Folklore* is below standard for the serious student either of history or sociology; and for the reader who thinks wishfully, at least, on the Brave New South the reactionary implications are distressing. It is, however, a book which will prove invaluable to the after-dinner speaker, the comedian whether social or professional, and the backwoods preacher whether geographically urban or rural. As for professional Southerners everywhere, they will hail it with delight.

ELLEN HART SMITH.

Readings in New Canaan History. The New Canaan Historical Society. Mount Vernon, N. Y.: The Golden Eagle Press, 1949. 281 pp. \$5.00.

In presenting this series of reprints on the early history of Canaan Parish and the growth of the town of New Canaan, the Historical Society of New Canaan (Connecticut) has fulfilled its function as custodian of records. It is to be congratulated on commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Society in this manner. These records will grow in historic value with the passing years. Already great changes have come to the once rural community of New Canaan. The coming of the railroad marked the advent of the summer colony there. Each year the magnet of New York draws more commuters to the great city. Many will read with pleasure this record of past days. Maps, old prints and illustrations in black and white add interest to the book which is well printed and adequately indexed.

E. R. B.

Essays in Southern History, Presented to Joseph Gregoire deRoulhac Hamilton, Edited by FLETCHER MELVIN GREEN. The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, vol. 31. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949. vii, 156 pp. \$1.25 paper.

This small volume of essays dedicated to Professor Joseph G. deR. Hamilton was written entirely by eight of his former students at the University of North Carolina. No criteria governed the selection of the

essays used in this volume since they possess no unity of theme. Their only common bond is their representation of the interests of Professor Hamilton in various phases of Southern history, namely, Thomas Jefferson, the Old South, the Civil War, Reconstruction, and North Carolina state history.

All of the essays make a distinct contribution to a better understanding of Southern history. The essay on Lewis Thompson, for instance, is a study in absentee ownership between 1848 and 1888. Dealing entirely with the supervision of a distant plantation, the article reveals the operations of a typical representative of the planter society. This article could well serve as a model for a similar study of the planter society in Maryland more particularly of such families as the Lloyds and the Ridgelys.

The primary purpose of these essays was the stimulation of further interest and enthusiasm in the field of Southern history. The samples given here only serve to reveal some of the more significant contributions which are possible in the future. However, the book has several drawbacks. First of all, it has no index. In addition, the quality of the paper used was very poor. But these are only minor faults. Otherwise, the book stands as a suitable memorial to the efforts of Professor Hamilton who did so much to stimulate the knowledge of and the enthusiasm for study of Southern history.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Pennsylvania: Titan of Industry. By SYLVESTER K. STEVENS. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1948. 3 Volumes. \$27.50.

In the preface to this three volume work Dr. Stevens states that the industrial development of Pennsylvania "has been the most important single factor in its growth as a leading state in terms of its power and influence in the American Republic." He also says that he has undertaken this pioneer synthesis of the state's industrial history because no phase of the history of Pennsylvania has been more neglected. The reasons he gives for undertaking the task at the present time are: (1) the need of Pennsylvania schools and colleges for such a study; (2) the loss of materials that might result from further delay; and (3) the need to place before our citizens in this time of unrest "the full story of what free enterprise has accomplished in Pennsylvania in building a great industrial empire."

The result is an interesting and factual volume covering the state's industrial development from the seventeenth century to the present. The tone is conservative and uncritical. Since less than 12 pages of 421 in the first volume relate to labor, the need of our schools and of our citizens for an appreciation of the role of the working man in creating a great industrial empire will have to be met elsewhere.

The second and third volumes consist of brief individual accounts of

some three hundred industrial firms existing today. They were largely written from material contributed by the firms for that purpose, and were submitted to the firms for review prior to publication. Too often they read like advertising copy rather than history, but there is much in them that could be of value to the student of social and industrial development.

One deficiency of the work is its lack of integration and critical analysis. Pennsylvania's position today as a "Titan of Industry" has been brought about by a highly successful integration of many phases of industrial activity, but Dr. Stevens has dealt lightly with this aspect. The book also lacks a comprehensive study of the position of labor in relation to the industrial might of the state, and as a result it detracts rather than adds to the value of the work. The sections on colonial industry are excellent, the bibliography is exhaustive and critical, and the work covers an extensive variety of industries.

JAMES MILHOLLAND, JR.

The Johns Hopkins University.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Beginning with the present number, the *Maryland Historical Magazine* will come to its readers under the editorship of Dr. Harry Ammon. Dr. Ammon joined the staff of the Historical Society as Librarian in August 1948. Since that time he has familiarized himself thoroughly with the members of the society, and its activities.

Dr. Ammon, whose home was in Washington, D. C. is a graduate of Georgetown University, and holds a degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Virginia, his thesis being a study of the Republican Party in Virginia down to 1824. His training and scholarly equipment assure for the Magazine an easy transition from the editorship of Mr. James W. Foster, the Director, who will be set free to further the Society's services to the community in other directions, to give closer attention to its plans for expansion and to devote himself to the collection of needed materials of all kinds. Dr. Ammon contemplates no changes in the make-up of the Magazine, which, under Mr. Foster's able guidance, has moved forward to a commanding position among the historical periodicals of the country.

RATCLIFFE MANOR

By JAMES BORDLEY, JR.

So much speculation has been indulged in determining the time of the building of most Colonial homes that it is refreshing to discover first hand information concerning the building of one of the finest, Ratcliffe Manor, on the Tred Avon river in Talbot County.¹

In 1725 Henry Hollyday, the owner and builder, was born at Wye House, the home of his parents, Colonel and Mrs. James Hollyday. In 1732 he moved with his family to their new home, Readbourne Rectified, in Queen Anne's County. On December 9, 1748 he married Anna Maria, the daughter of George Robins of Peach Blossom, Talbot County.² By the will ³ of her father this lady was given a large tract of land on Tred Avon Creek, described in the deed as a portion of Tilghmans Fortune conveyed by John Stanton and Susannah his wife to George Robins, 75 acres; another part of the same tract conveyed by Ralph Homes and Frances, his wife to George Robins, 45 acres; also all of that part of a tract called Ratcliffe Mannour conveyed by John Bartlett and Mary his wife, 50 acres; and all of that part of the same tract conveyed by Thomas Bartlett and Margaret his wife, 100 acres; and Discovery in Talbot from Francis Armstrong, 60 acres, Turkey Park from Robert Hopkins 329 acres, patented 1713.⁴

In this deed should have been (and later was) included in the gift a tract of 50 acres of Ratcliffe Manor purchased by George Robins not long before his death from Thomas Bartlett. In 1752 Henry Hollyday added to this body of land 100 acres on Cool Spring Cove, Ratcliffe Manor, purchased from Samuel Bartlett.⁵

Mr. Hollyday and his wife lived in Queen Ann's County until the expiration of his term as High Sheriff, October 1751,⁶ and then moved to his wife's property to fulfill his new duties as Deputy Commissary General for Talbot County.⁷ Just where he first lived on this property is conjectural, probably in the house vacated by his father-in-law when he moved to Peach Blossom. It is quite definite however that when he built

¹ The letters referred to in the text are among the Hollyday papers presented the Maryland Historical Society by the family of the late Richard Hollyday of Readbourne.

² In St. Peters Parish records-Talbot Co. The date of the wedding is Dec. 9, 1749. In the will of Mrs. James Hollyday written March 4, 1749 there is this item: "I give to my Daughters in-Law Anna Lloyd and Anna Maria Hollyday to each of them a Mourning Ring." Queen Ann Co. Wills.

³ Talbot Co., H. B. 2, p. 272.

⁴ Land Records Talbot Co., J. L., p. 283-4. Turkey Park was part of the original grant to Capt. Robert Morris in 1659 which he called Ratcliffe Mannour.

⁵ Land Records Talbot Co., Vol. XV, p. 126.

⁶ Commission Book, Md. Hist. Society.

⁷ Appointed 1752 by Daniel Dulany, Commissary General records, Hall of Records.

his home it was upon the land purchased by him from Samuel Bartlett, on Cool Spring Cove.⁸

When Colonel James Hollyday died in 1747 he left his son Henry certain valuable assets which were to be his after his mother's death, she dying on April 9, 1755, Mr. Hollyday immediately started collecting material with which to build. It appears evident he had a definite plan either conceived or drafted as he knew the materials needed and the amount of each, this idea is further emphasized by the fact that on May 30, 1755 he ordered from London his house furnishings. It is to be regretted that in neither his letters, nor, ledger is mention made of either the designer or builder. In a letter to his brother James in London on Sept. 30, 1755 he wrote: "[I] have made this summer 80 or 90 thousand Bricks in order to build [torn] Summer. I shall therefore have occasion for a Joyner; if upon [con]sulting Capt. Anderson it is thought practicable to gett a Workman upon moderate terms, & those I leave to you to judge of, please . . . send me one in the Spring. I would rather have one indented to me without Wages. . . ."

On June 10, 1756 he wrote: "I . . . continue my Resolution of Build[ing] . . . it being agreeable to Nancy and her Friends that She [ma]ke me such Deed of her Lands as will leave it with me to give to any Child I have by her. I have sawd my Scantling, contracted for my Planks and Shingles and made the greatest part of my Bricks in order to go to work early next Spring but shall notwithstanding be well enough pleasd if you should not send me a Joyner, the Officers of the regular Troops having the last Winter encouraged Indented Servants to enlist; if therefore you have not engaged one before this gets to hand I retract my request to you. . . . I have two Cropps [of tobacco] to carry in this year making in all 10000 wt. wch. after payment of my Debts I propose to sell here to raise Money for my building. . . . On Nov. 4, 1756 he wrote: "There being little or nothing for your Boy Hector to do at the Manor I ventured to bring him down in the Spring and have employed him this Summer in bearing off Bricks, and purpose to keep him for making one Kiln more early in the Spring. Mr. Goldsborough was so kind to lend me a Boy for that purpose last year."

Hoxton Family—An article by me will be published in the *Virginia Magazine* on the English ancestry of the Hoxton family of Maryland and Virginia. This has been traced for eight generations in England, Hyde Hoxton, the emigrant to Maryland being of the nineth. His connection with the English family is established. He mar. Susannah (Brooke) Smith. His son, Walter, mar., second, Susannah Harrison. They had issue; Susannah mar. ————— Curry, Rachel mar. Oswald Brooke, Julianna mar. Theodore Middleton, Ann Mary mar. ————— Neale,

⁸ Information given by Mrs. Wm. Murray Hollyday of Glenwood—who spent her married life on the property.

Stanislaus mar. Mary Hawkins Semmes, and had issue John Thomas said to have mar. Margaretta Gover, of Harford Co., Mary mar. William Tolson, and William mar. Eliza Llewellyn Griffith. From the last marriage comes the Virginia line, about which I have full data, but, of descendants of the other children, I have little data, in the cases of Susannah and Ann Mary none. I wish to correspond with descendants of these children with a view to including their lines in a second article. Information especially wanted as to John Thomas Hoxton and T. Semmes Hoxton, who was a student in School of Medicine of University of Maryland in 1852.

Lekh W. Reid, Box 151
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Lucy Holmes—I am trying to locate the family album which belonged to Lucy Holmes, wife of Isaiah Balderston, one time Chief Judge of the Orphans' Court of Baltimore. In this album Edgar Allan Poe, according to Eugene L. Didier, wrote a short poem which was given the title "Alone." The poem was reproduced in "fac-simile" in 1875 in *Scribner's Magazine* after having been photographed at Peabody Institute Library. Unfortunately, the album containing the original has not been located by recent Poe researchers.

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Porter—Information is wanted on the *parents* of SUSANNAH PORTER, born Aug. 11, 1770, near Baltimore, in Baltimore or Anne Arundel Counties. She was married Feb. 14th or 21st, 1795, by Rev. J. G. S. Bend, Rector, St. Pauls Parish, to Brice Chew Randall, born Aug. 6, 1771, son of Aquilla, Sr., and Margaret (Browne) Randall, who lived in the Randallstown area, later returning to the original family lands in northern Anne Arundel, south of Baltimore.

The Will of Susannah (Gassaway) Mansell Welsh (Anne Arundel Co. Bk. "TG-1," p. 200; Pro. 8/11/1784) mentioned her grand daughter Susannah Porter. Her daughter (the mother of Susannah Porter) evidently died sometime after Aug. 11, 1770, and before the Will was dated 7/19/1784.

Susannah Gassaway m-1st, Samuel Mansell, who d-June 6, 1779. Shortly thereafter, she m-2nd, John Welsh.

Susannah Gassaway was the daughter of Nicholas Gassaway (son of John) whose Will (A. A. Co., Bk. 30; p. 298; Pro., 2/18/1757) shows Susannah's sister, Hannah Porter (who m-1761, Philip PORTER).

Susannah Porter may have been the niece of Susannah (Gassaway) Mansell Welsh. However other records indicate Susannah Porter might

have been the daughter of Richard or Sylvanus Porter and Ruth Mansell (daughter of Susannah (Gassaway) Mansell Welsh).

The writer has considerable additional data on the above family lines, which will be furnished to those interested.

James—Information is wanted on the first wife; and also the parents of THOMAS JAMES, b-1756 (place unknown); and d-Sept. 12, 1842 in Rush Co., Ind.

According to his affidavit (for Revolutionary Pension, Md. # S16,423) at Rush Co., Ind. Court, Nov. 14, 1832, he was a resident of Harford Co., Md., when he enrolled in Capt. Bennett Bussey's Co., Harford Co. Militia, July 25, 1776.

He married 1st (wanted: her name, and those of her parents) during 1776-80, presumably in Harford Co. Apparently she died in 1781, at the birth of twin children, Elizabeth and Elisha. With these circumstances in mind, he married 2nd, Nov. 11, 1781 (in Hartford Co., marriage records) Mary (————) Eagan, widow of his former neighbor, Sampson Eagan, who had sons, Sampson, Jr., and Henry. During 1784-90, they moved to Culpeper Co., Va.; and thence to Staunton, Va., in 1799.

James Wade Emison,
Citizens Trust Bldg., Vincennes, Ind.

Elliott-Clarvoe—James Elliott of Maryland (b when) married Washington Co., Ky. 5-3-1799 Mrs. Eleanor (Leake?) Mudd (widow of Francis Mudd). James Elliott apparently had a brother Raphael and a sister Eleanor. Parentage of James, Raphael, and Eleanor Elliott asked; also of wife and children of Raphael.

A Wm. Henry Clarvoe was born in or near Georgetown, D. C., then Maryland about 1750. A Henry Clarvoe died in Scott Co., Ky. in 1808 age about 33 or 36. Are these two related or even possibly the same person. Would like to hear from any one who is interested in the Clarvoe family.

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CONTRIBUTORS

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