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THE COLLEGE GREEN BARRACKS: ST. JOHN'S DURING THE CIVIL WAR

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THE fateful spring of 1861 found St. John's College in Annapolis quite genuinely meriting the epithet of "venerable" which was, with increasing frequency, being applied to it. No longer the "infant seminary" of Washington's visit in 1791, it had behind it a history of nearly seventy-five years, during which time it had experienced almost every vicissitude that can befall an educational institution, even having been forced to close, from January to September of 1818, because of the withdrawal of state support. But under the long reign of Hector Humphreys, Principal from 1831 to 1857, the college had achieved a measure of stability and even a modest prosperity. Its future seemed brighter than at any time since the 1790's. But it was the misfortune of the college to be situated in a border state where opinions were sharply divided; and, even worse, in the capital of that state where all the

conflicting forces were drawn into a focus. Had St. John's been located in almost any other town in Maryland, it might easily have continued its work with only slight disarrangement during the war. But Annapolis became suddenly important, from a military point of view, as the state capital, as the seat of the United States Naval Academy, and as a means of communication with Washington.

The death of Dr. Humphreys in 1857 must have seemed like the end of an age, so long had he been at the college. A whole generation had been born, grown up, and graduated from St. John's since his arrival in Annapolis. How much a part of the college he was, is well illustrated by the difficulty the Board of Visitors and Governors encountered in finding a successor and by the curious situation that followed, for St. John's went through the odd experience of having four Principals in eight months. Humphreys died in late January. On March 17 the faculty was informed that the Rev. Dr. James Ellison Van Bokkelen had been appointed by the Board to take Humphreys' place; and the news soon became common property, for on March 22 a student wrote to a friend that he had heard that the Trustees had selected "Mr. Van Boclan" of St. Timothy's Hall, and that it was generally believed he would "except" the offer.[1] On March 23 the Principal-elect attended a faculty meeting, and the usual business was transacted. Then trouble must have developed: on April 20 the faculty sent a resolution to the Board urging the appointment on the grounds of Van Bokkelen's "well-known energy and ability" and of the likelihood of his bringing a number of students with him. It appears, from the resolution, that a hitch had been caused by financial disagreements: the Principal-elect wanted $2,000 a year, and the Board was reluctant to pay so much. The argument ended with Dr. Van Bokkelen retiring from the scene.[2] Then in June, Chapman—who seemed to know everything that was going on—wrote again that he understood the position had been offered to Dr. Lewis P. W. Balch of Christ Church, Baltimore.[3] The faculty minutes show that Balch was appointed on June 23, and so definite and complete was the appointment that the American Almanac for 1858 lists L. P. W. Balch as Principal of St. John's. But he

[1] Andrew Grant Chapman to William A. Stewart, St. John's College Library. Mr. Chapman, though a Junior, was a little weak in spelling. Still, the Principal-elect's name is spelled three different ways in the college records.

[2] Faculty Minutes, St. John's College Library, March 17 and 23, April 20, 1857.

[3] Chapman Letters, St. John's College Library, June 14, 1857.

eventually backed out, presumably for the same reason as Van Bokkelen. And so, in desperation, the Board reverted to an old custom by offering the Principalship to Dr. Nelson, the Rector of St. Anne's Church in Annapolis. Just when he was appointed is not quite clear, but an advertisement for the college on August 27 mentions him as Principal, and he attended his first faculty meeting on August 29.[4]

Cleland K. Nelson, who restored the St. Anne's dynasty to the Principal's chair, was born in Albemarle Co., Virginia, in 1814, a member of a very distinguished family of that state. A graduate of Dickinson College, he had been appointed Rector of St. Anne's in 1847.[5] Of the early years of his Principalship little need be said. He obviously took Humphreys as a model, and as the latter had been a famous martinet, endeavored to carry on his tradition. Chapman wrote gloomily that he was trying hard to " comply with Father Nelson's various regulations." Another student told his grandmother that she must not blame him if his letters to her were late, because the Principal would not allow him to walk as far as the post-office.[6] Either Nelson was not a good disciplinarian or the restless condition of the whole country was reflected in the students' behavior, for more boys were expelled during this short period than during the entire twenty-six years of Humphreys' reign. And thus, with an outward show of almost monastic discipline and an inward unrest, the few brief years of Nelson's administration drew towards their end. Then, in the spring of 1861, the storm broke. In April Northern troops began to disembark at Annapolis, and for the second time St. John's closed its doors.

Most of the movements of troops in and out of Annapolis during the first months of the war belong to the larger military history of the period and have no place here. Nor are we concerned with the question of the part played by the state of Maryland in the secession problem. These matters, however, must be touched on somewhat in so far as they affected the college, as they

[4] Annapolis, *Maryland Gazette*, August 27, 1857.

[5] Thomas Fell, *Some Historical Accounts of the Founding of King William's School and St. John's College* (Annapolis, 1894), p. 65; Walter B. Norris, *Illustrated History and Guide Book to St. Anne's Parish, Annapolis* (Annapolis, 1935), p. 9. The first Vice Principal, Higginbotham, and Principals Judd and Davis had all been Rectors of this church.

[6] Chapman Letters, Oct. 13, 1857; William Stone Abert to Mrs. W. J. Stone, May 5, 1859, Abert Letters, St. John's College Library.

unquestionably did. The recital of a few essential facts will suffice to set the stage.

The situation in Annapolis was precipitated by the Baltimore riots of April 19 occasioned by the passage of Massachusetts regiments through that city on their way to Washington. This meant that Baltimore was no longer a completely safe route to the national capital. In addition, the pro-Southern sentiment throughout large sections of Maryland endangered the Naval Academy which, with the supplies stored there and the frigate Constitution lying in the river, would have made a neat prize for the Confederates. It was to ward off this danger that the notorious "Teaspoon" Butler set out for Annapolis by water, the day after the fighting in Baltimore, and began to land his troops on April 21. Many years afterwards he recounted, with a certain grim humor, the story of his occupation of Annapolis.[7] From a military point of view, it was an operation of considerable importance at that stage of the war, for, by seizing the railroad, he kept open an alternate route to Washington in case Baltimore should become untenable. The Naval Academy scurried off to the safety of Newport, Governor Hicks took the Legislature to Frederick, and Butler was left in command of the scene.

It was not Butler, however, who was directly responsible for the capture of St. John's, although his unenviable nickname was the result of his reputation for taking the property of others. His official papers show that, when he was relieved of the command of the Annapolis district about the middle of May, he had not touched the college, although he had occupied every other point, from Fort Madison to Round Bay, that might be strategically useful in holding the town.[8] And he foresaw how important Annapolis might later become as a base for camps and hospitals.[9] With the assistance of Dr. Gilman Kimball he established, before he left, a hospital in the grounds abandoned by the Naval Academy. It was Butler's foresight, rather than his actions, that was the undoing of St. John's.

The night that descended on the college that spring is pierced by

[7] Benjamin F. Butler, *Autobiography and Personal Reminiscences* (Boston, 1892), p. 193 ff.

[8] *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benj. F. Butler* (Privately printed, 1917), I, 87.

[9] Butler, *Autobiography*, p. 892.

only a few brief gleams.[10] It is quite obvious that, under the impact of war, the institution simply disintegrated. The last faculty meeting took place on some unspecified day in April. The minutes are written at the bottom of a page otherwise blank, as if previous meetings had occurred but no one had had time to make a note of the proceedings. The faculty then consisted of the Principal, Dr. Nelson; the Vice Principal, David Stewart, who had come under Humphreys in 1855; David J. Capron, 1840; the Rev. Russell Trevett; William H. Thompson, who had graduated from the college in 1838 and had joined the faculty a year later; and a young tutor, William H. Hopkins, of the class of 1859. Rudolph L. Tafel had resigned the preceding September, and his place was being temporarily filled by Arsene N. Girault of the staff of the Naval Academy. Hopkins was not present that day; and although the academic term was not scheduled to end until the first of August, the faculty seems not to have had another meeting. Of the whole group, only Nelson and Hopkins were ever to see St. John's again. Of course, no class was graduated that year. What happened was tersely summed up in a report submitted by the Principal to the Board on July 3: " All the Students of the Boarding Department, in number eighteen, and twenty-one Day-Scholars have been withdrawn from College. Our present number is forty-three, of which nineteen are pay and twenty-four free Scholars." [11] The college had begun the year with seventy-eight names on the books. All spring they had been drifting away as the war began in grim earnest. The older boys joined either the Union or Confederate forces; the younger ones were doubtless taken home by parents who considered it dangerous to leave their sons in a town occupied by what was, to most of them, a hostile army.

Nor was St. John's, at this time, in a condition to withstand any very violent shocks, for its affairs were not in good shape. Even a year before the outbreak of the war the enrollment had fallen off. In April of 1860 Dr. Nelson had tried to resign, on the plea

[10] It is necessary to insert here a brief note on the college records. The official Minute Books of the Board for the years 1843 to 1878 have been lost or destroyed. The author found, however, in the college library several bundles of manuscripts from this period. The condition of these documents—written in obvious haste on pieces of paper of various sizes—indicates that they are the rough notes taken by the Secretary during the actual progress of the meetings and, for some reason, kept after having been copied into the official books. They are naturally fragmentary, but some of them are from the Civil War period.

[11] St. John's College Library.

that he wished to return to his work in the ministry where his true interest lay.[12] Only at the earnest solicitation of the Board had he consented to remain for another session. He realized himself that his administration had not been successful. "I had hoped," he said in his letter of resignation, "in the course of a few years to have put the College in such a condition that it would have commanded the very highest abilities of the country for the place of Principal. I mentioned to the Faculty when I took charge of the College that I thought that three years would determine the question as to what I could make of the Institution. I have done my best to elevate our School to a higher position among the Seminaries of Learning of our Land, but am obliged to confess that my expectations have been greatly disappointed." [13] And now, with the very walls of the college crumbling, there broke out one of those bitter internal feuds, for which St. John's has been eminently celebrated, to rob the catastrophe of much of its dignity. Because of the loss of the records we cannot follow too clearly the progress of this private little civil war. It appears that the battle was between the Principal on the one side and the faculty on the other, with the Board cast in the role of a rather dazed umpire. For a year or more, Dr. Nelson had been in charge of the college commons, and, when the students suddenly began to withdraw, he found himself left with a debt of some $1,800 from unpaid accounts. He asked and secured the permission of the Board to sell the furniture of the boarding-house (Humphreys Hall) so that he might repay himself and, as he put it, have enough money to get himself and his family out of Annapolis. This he did. Then the faculty came into the picture with a long series of charges against the Principal. Since the professors got a large part of their salaries directly from the tuition fees, the students, by so hurriedly decamping, had deprived them of any chance of getting paid while Dr. Nelson, by selling the furniture, had disposed of the college's only negotiable assets, so the faculty were completely stranded. Should he, they asked, be permitted to sell the common property to settle his private debts? Also, they accused him of defeatism, as it would be called today, for having hinted darkly to the students of the impending disruption of the

[12] Minutes of the Board of Visitors and Governors, April 4, 1860. Hereinafter abbreviated to MBVG.

[13] Nelson to Board, April 4, 1860, St. John's College Library.

college and even of having tried to close it in April just after the landing of Butler's troops. Finally, they added a touch of comedy by accusing him of having turned the college green into a pasture, charging two dollars per month per cow, in order to pay off his smaller obligations. To all of this Nelson submitted a long and involved reply in which he endeavored to explain his financial transactions. As to closing the college, it had seemed to him the most natural thing in the world to do, when the streets of Annapolis were swarming with soldiers and almost every prominent citizen was trying to move his family out of town as quickly as possible.[14] In the end, the Board sided with Nelson and in October sent him a resolution of esteem.

All during the summer the disintegration continued. On July 20, Thomas S. Iglehart, of the Vestry of All Hallows Church, was authorized to " wait on Rev. Mr. Nelson of Annapolis; and invite him to accept of the rectorship of this parish." [15] Ten days later word came that Dr. Nelson would accept the offer and was prepared to enter upon his duties on the third Sunday in September. On August 6 Trevett resigned. But in spite of the lowering clouds, the college made a brave effort to open in October with—according to the grade-book—twenty-two students under the charge of Thompson and Hopkins. There was even talk of getting a new Principal: several letters to Alexander Randall of the Board urged the claims of Rev. William Barton, and Dr. Van Bokkelen appeared again and expressed his willingness to attempt the job. But the tension created by the war proved too great; and, at a Board meeting held early in October, the college blew up. A dispatch printed at Chestertown in the *Kent News* for the 19th of that month told the story:

> The trustees of St. John's College, Annapolis, virtually destroyed that venerable institution last week by declaring the seats of all the professors, save one, vacant, for no other reason than that they were union men. They immediately elected the one secession professor to fill the chair from which they had deposed him. Thus the college is left without a president or Faculty, and is virtually broken up; the only mark left of its former venerable name being a Grammar School, under the special guardianship of a select committee.

At the meeting there were fourteen present of whom nine voted to

[14] MBVG, July 3, 1861.
[15] Vestry Records of All Hallows Church, July 20 and 30, 1861.

destroy the College in the manner indicated, namely Judge Legrand and Bartol, of the Court of Appeals, ex-Governor Pratt, George Wells, Nicholas Hammond, Daniel M. Thomas, James Murray, Joseph H. Nicholson, and Edwin Boyle. The trustees who voted against the proposition were Gov. Hicks, Alexander Hicks, Judge Tuck, Frank H. Stockett, and John Ridout, Sr. The Annapolis Gazette from which we gather the facts, says that the majority of the trustees are secessionists, and they have thus vented their spleen against the Union professors of the College.

In the absence of the official minutes of this meeting, which have been lost, the account printed in the Chestertown newspaper should be taken with several grains of salt. The terrible bitterness of those years made it very easy for journalists to impute to men motives that they never possessed: the Annapolis editor may have been giving merely his own interpretation of the situation. There is, of course, no evidence for either case, but it seems just as probable that a majority of the Board, as they saw the student-body and the faculty melt away, thought it impossible to keep the college going any longer, and so voted for its dissolution, without any thought of venting their spleen against anyone. The newspaper version really conveyed a false impression, because it implied a wholesale slaughter of the faculty, whereas, as a matter of fact, two of them had already resigned. Four were left, Stewart, Capron, Thompson, and Hopkins. Thompson, an Annapolitan, was the one who eventually remained to take charge of the Grammar School.

According to the college's own statement, made just after the war when the memory must still have been fresh, the grounds and some of the buildings were taken by the Northern Army that same October, though whether before or after the meeting described above we cannot say.[16] The first purpose to which they were put was that of a parole camp. Under the military usage prevailing at that time, a camp of this sort was one to which exchanged prisoners were brought and kept until they could be given the pay that had accrued to them during the time of their imprisonment, the amount of this pay being the same as if they had been serving in the field. As the war dragged on and the great battles were fought, the number of such exchanged prisoners increased enormously, and Annapolis eventually became the most important depot in the East for this particular service. The usual procedure

[16] *Laws of Maryland, Extra Session, 1866* (Annapolis, 1866), Chapter 101.

was for the paroled Federals to be taken first to Fortress Monroe and then brought on the steamer New York up the Bay to Annapolis. There are records of these men arriving in groups as large as six thousand at a time.[17]

Naturally, the college grounds were far too small to accommodate such large numbers; and the main camp was established at what is known today—because of this war history—as Camp Parole.[18] The function of the College Green Barracks, which was the official name given to St. John's, was as a sort of receiving station to which the newly-landed men were brought and given fresh clothing and such medical attention as they might need. They were then moved to the larger camp outside of town, which had the additional advantage of affording fewer opportunities for trouble with civilians. Thus Lt. Col. George E. Sangster, of the 47th New York Militia, who was in command at the college, notified his superior that he could have the men in barracks half an hour after they had disembarked.[19] A somewhat more detailed account of the college as it was in the winter of 1863 was given by Capt. H. M. Lazelle in a report to Col. William Hoffman.[20] On the back campus there had been erected eight wooden barracks, each ninety by twenty feet in size and each to hold 150 men. There were also such cook-houses as were necessary, and, eventually, there were added bath-houses and a chapel. The Quartermaster's Corps maintained at all times a vast store of supplies: 2,000 suits, 2,000 overcoats, as well as shoes and blankets and whatever else the men might want. Lazelle reported that, as soon as the men had landed and been brought to the college, they were compelled to wash thoroughly and to throw their old clothes and shoes into the creek, after which they were reoutfitted. This was necessary to check the spread of disease from the ragged, filthy uniforms that had been worn for months in Southern prisons. Thirty years after the war, according to older alumni, it was still possible to dig these army shoes out of the mud of the creek bank; the uniforms of course, had long since rotted away.

During this winter of 1863, again according to Lazelle, the

[17] *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.* Series 2, VII, 1160. (Hereinafter abbreviated to O. R.)

[18] Louis H. Bolander, "When Annapolis Was an Army Town," Baltimore *Sun*, Magazine Section, November 8, 1931.

[19] O. R., Series 2, V, 255, Sangster, Feb. 8, 1863.

[20] O. R., Series 2, V, 328, Lazelle, March 8, 1863.

troops on guard duty at the college consisted of the Potomac Home Brigade and the Purnell Legion of cavalry.

By the middle of May of that year, however, it had been decided to abandon the College Green Barracks and to move all the soldiers permanently to Camp Parole.[21] Probably it was thought too dangerous to keep so many idle men in the midst of a rather unfriendly town. So St. John's entered upon another phase of its military history. At first it seemed destined to become a prison, for C. A. Waite wrote to Col. Hoffman that " we have buildings in rear of the College that will hold 3,000 rebel prisoners and accommodate a guard of 250 men." [22] A few days later, apparently touched with compassion, he wrote that, because of the intense heat, it would be better to send only 2,000. Since the barracks had been built to hold only 1,200, one can imagine what they would have been like in an Annapolis summer had even two thousand men been jammed into them.

But it was the Medical Corps that eventually got the college. A year before this time the Board noted a " communication from B. Randall, Surgeon, U. S. Army . . . inquiring whether the Government of the United States can immediately occupy for sick and wounded officers and soldiers the Buildings on the College Green —and on what terms they can be so occupied." [23] The Board was divided on the proper answer. One group offered a resolution: " As [it is] the sense of this Board that they have no authority under the Charter and laws governing the College to assent to the use or occupation of the buildings on the College grounds or the grounds themselves for other purposes than those of a College Institution, but if the exigencies of the United States Government require "—why, then, they might give way if proper compensation were offered. The other group, headed by Judge Mason, were all for handing the matter over to the Executive Committee " who are authorized to make the most advantageous arrangements with the Government." The second group won, and consequently, when the Medical Corps finally took over the greater part of the college in the summer of 1863, we find that Col. Joseph H. Nicholson, acting for the Board, had arranged with the Surgeon General and the Quartermaster General for the college to be paid $500 a month

[21] O. R., Series 2, V, 613, May 14, 1863.
[22] O. R., Series 2, V, 557, C. A. Waite, May 5 and 9, 1863.
[23] MBVG, June 3, 1862.

for the use of the buildings, exclusive of McDowell Hall.[24] Accordingly, St. John's was re-christened as Division No. 2 of the Military General Hospital at Annapolis. The transition from parole camp to hospital was a natural one: because of the appalling conditions in the prisons of both sides all during the war, many of the exchanged prisoners were in immediate need of hospitalization. This was particularly true of the released Northern soldiers, whose Southern captors, hard pressed to find enough medical supplies for their own troops, could do very little for prisoners. Thus the hospital that Butler had established at the Naval Academy was expanded to include the second unit at the college.

It is quite evident that, even during the parole camp phase, the college Board had clung tenaciously to what parts of the buildings and grounds they could, and had retreated only step by step before the demands of the Army. Just after the close of the war they testified to the Legislature that " shortly after the rebellion broke out their buildings, grounds & were taken by the Government of the United States as a military hospital and for other military purposes," and that the scholarship students had been educated " in one of the College buildings, and when that could no longer be retained, in a building rented for that purpose in the city." [25] So the small group of scholarship boys was kept together during very nearly all the war years; and it may even be claimed that the college, though shoved around pretty roughly, did not actually close. The reason for the Board's struggle to continue some sort of educational programme for the holders of State scholarships was to avoid a technical violation of the college charter which required that at least five boys be educated free of charge. Wise in their experience of the Legislature and its attitude towards the college, the Board knew that any deviation from the terms of the charter might very well be seized upon later as an excuse for revoking even the tiny income that St. John's had, with such effort, wrung from the unwilling State.

We can see the Board making their last stand to hold the remnant of the campus in the summer of 1863. On July 20, Assistant Surgeon George B. Parker, in charge of Division No. 2, wrote to the Surgeon General to ask if he might occupy any part of the " old central building " of the college, so McDowell Hall

[24] MBVG, June 13, 1863.
[25] *House Journal and Documents: Extra Session, 1866*, pp. 178 ff.

was evidently the last line of defense. He wrote that " in a recent interview with one of the Ex. Committee of St. John's College it was stated that, ' the buildings in present occupancy, and the outer grounds, and commons of the College, were rented to the Medl. Dept. and for its use.' " The Board wanted to retain McDowell Hall because it contained " Philosophical Apparatus, a Laboratory, Mineralogical & Geological Specimens, Cabinets, Library, and the standard weights and measures property of the state of Maryland deposited in the care of the College." The weights and measures had been secured by Humphreys in 1850. The library had evidently been moved from Humphreys Hall when that building had been occupied by the Army.

As a result of this request by Parker, Medical Inspector Joseph K. Barnes was directed to examine McDowell Hall and to report on the advisability of its use by the Medical Department. He obviously looked on the building with a covetous eye, for on August 4 his report was forwarded to Surgeon Josiah Simpson, Medical Director of Baltimore, who was ordered to take the building. St. John's was, quite literally, ejected from its own campus.[26]

What happened, during all these alarms and excursions, to the small band of students who remained, is best told in the words of Prof. Thompson, reviewing the history of affairs for the benefit of the Board two years later:

Annapolis, May 18, 1865

To the Hon. Visitors and Governors of St. John's College.

Gentlemen:

When the Faculty was disbanded in October 1861, twenty-six students were committed to my charge, whom I instructed in the Latin and Greek Languages, Algebra, and such English Branches as are usually taught in Institutions of learning. This number steadily increased, until it ammounted to forty-one, which number I instructed up to October 1863, when the Government took possession of the Recitation Hall, and my school operations, for the time being, were suspended, and the students were scattered about in different institutions in the neighborhood. The Foundation Scholars were included in this number.

In January 1864 the Executive Committee of the Board of Visitors and Governors held a consultation with me, and it was determined to resume instruction, provided a room could be procured in the city, for that purpose. The Mayor and City Council offered me their Hall, and I promised

[26] Information furnished by the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

to teach five boys to be appointed by the Mayor, in consideration of their kindness, who, together with the ten appointed by your Hon. Body, and fifteen pay students constitute at present my school. Owing to the deranged state of affairs, the appointments were confined to Annapolis and of course, as there was no school of a high order in the city, the attainments of the pupils were meagre. Of the thirty whom I at present instruct, two are reading Caesar's Commentaries, and Equations involving three unknown quantities; ten are studying the Latin Grammar, and the residue receive instruction in English, Grammar, Geography, History, Arithmetic, Orthography, Reading and Penmanship. The more advanced write Compositions and Declaim.

It may be proper for me to state that I receive five hundred dollars, as per agreement with the Executive Committee, for teaching the ten Foundation Students.

Which is respectfully submitted.

Wm. H. Thompson Prof: Prep. Dep.
St. John's College [27]

Poor man! in 1888 he still had not been able to collect the money owed him by the college for teaching during the crisis.

There was, however, still some intellectual life on the campus. In the spring of 1864 *The Crutch*, a four-page weekly magazine published by the convalescent soldiers in the hospital in the Naval Academy, announced that "On Wednesday (June 22) quite a stir was created in the literary world by the appearance of a new paper published in St. John's College Hospital called the Haversack. It is stored with rich mental food adapted to all tastes, and if its future career is as brilliant as its debut, we predict for it unbounded success, popularity, and patronage." [28] Through some odd accident, four numbers of this little paper have survived the ravages of the years and are in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Some Northern soldier, cured of his wounds and returning home from the wars, probably put them in his pocket as a souvenir of dreary months in a military hospital.

Like its prototype at the Naval Academy Hospital, *The Haversack* was published by the soldiers to amuse themselves while awaiting discharge; and it is curious that the first literary afforts, except for orations, made at St. John's should have been under these circumstances. It was of four pages; the extant numbers

[27] St. John's College Library.
[28] Quoted by Louis H. Bolander, "Civil War Annapolis," *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, LXIII, 1612 ff.

are those of December 14 and 21, 1864, and January 4 and February 9, 1865—numbers 26, 27, 29, and 34. It appeared once a week. The editor was the Rev. J. Pinkney Hammond, Chaplain of the Hospital. Some information about him can be gathered out of the darkness of time: he was an Annapolitan and had graduated from St. John's in 1842; in 1849 he had been Rector of Trinity, Upper Marlboro, and this had been followed by charges in New York and Pennsylvania.[29] At this period he was an army chaplain, and after the war he was Rector of St. Anne's in Annapolis for several years. A vaguely dated letter of 1862 announced to the Board his presence in Annapolis:

Annapolis. 29th 1862

To the Trustees of St. John's College

Gentlemen

I expect to return here in a week or two to enter upon my duties as Chaplain to the U. S. Hospital located on the College Green; and I shall esteem it a great favor if you will allow me the use of the hall in the old College building for the purpose of holding religious service, and for the delivery of lectures to the men during the week, on useful and interesting subjects.

If you can comply with my request I pledge myself as an alumnus of the institution, and as one who loves every stone in the venerable building, to see that no damage be done to the property, and that the hall be kept at all times in perfect order and cleanliness.

Hoping to receive a favorable answer to my petition I remain

Yours respectfully

J. P. Hammond

Chaplain U. S. Army[30]

This letter was written at a time when the Board still had the power to control the use of McDowell Hall, but their reply to Mr. Hammond has been lost. Later, however, a wooden chapel was built between McDowell and Humphreys Halls, probably at his request.

The Rev. Mr. Hammond must have found his alma mater sadly changed since he had known it as a student, but his heart was certainly in his duties, for his strong Union partisanship appears clearly in the paper. An advertisement informs us that he was

[29] Rev. Ethen Allen, *Clergy in Maryland of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (Baltimore, 1860), p. 73.

[30] St. John's College Library.

the author of both the words and music of a song entitled "Stand by the Flag, Boys," and in his editorials he was fond of referring to "our misguided brethren of the South." Notices called attention to services in the College Chapel—that is, the temporary wooden one—to which "loyal citizens" were cordially invited: Mr. Hammond had pronounced a kind of private excommunication of Confederate sympathizers. Only once did he descend from his rather lofty style, and that was to complain with some humor of the condition of the Annapolis streets. There was, he maintained, a mud-hole on West St. opposite the hay scales that required a chart and channel-markers for its safe navigation.

Anyone reading today the poems and stories that appeared in *The Haversack* would probably disagree with the high opinion of its literary merits expressed by *The Crutch*. The contents were all written by the editor or by the invalid soldiers, except for one reprint of an article on Vice-President Johnson by Harriet Beecher Stowe. The poems had such titles as "The Dying Soldier"; the stories were, for the most part, of war experiences. In them the Confederate government and people are usually spoken of as "Jeff. Davis and his minions," and a Southern leader is depicted as "savage and brutal-looking." But the military activities of Jeff. Davis and his minions were sufficiently effective to keep a good-sized staff busily working at the hospital. The paper lists G. B. Palmer and W. S. Tremaine as surgeon and assistant surgeon, as well as L. Smith, B. M. McCleary, Jas. M. Deale, W. H. Eldridge, J. H. Bolton, John Moore, L. S. Pridham, L. A. Campbell, Alonzo Caldwell, and George W. Ransom as assistants, medical cadets, stewards, and clerks. The death-lists published weekly are by no means negligible; three of the papers give 7, 9, and 10 deaths respectively, while during the week ending January 4, 23 men had died.

Some local business firms advertised in the little paper, and there is a notice of a sutler's store kept in one of the college buildings where the soldiers could buy various small articles and extra food. The population of the hospital must have been considerable. All the buildings were occupied, and there were at least eight barracks on the back campus. Older Annapolitans, who remembered the last year of the war, used to speak of rows of tents pitched on the green in front of the buildings.

But the long war finally ended, and the Board—who appear to

have been meeting fairly regularly, usually in the Court of Appeals chamber but at least once in the railroad office—addressed themselves to the problem of evicting their unwelcome tenants. They soon found out, however, that it is much easier to allow an army to camp on your property than it is to get that same army off it. The military were in no hurry to move. By July, 1865, the most that Col. Nicholson had been able to extract from the Quartermaster of the post was the negligent remark that he *might* be willing to vacate by the first of October but that he would probably keep the grounds for several months after he had returned the buildings. Meanwhile, the Board received this very polite sales-letter from the surgeon in charge:

St. John's College General Hospital
Annapolis, Md. July 6th 1865

To the Hon. Trustees
of St. John's College
Annapolis, Md.

Gentlemen,

I have the honor to inform you that the new Chapel lately erected on these premises is about to be transferred to the Hicks Hospital in Baltimore. As this will involve considerable waste and thinking you may need the building as it is, I now write to suggest that you can probably purchase the Chapel as it now stands for the cost of the material and I will be happy to assist in the negotiation. If anything is to be done, early action is necessary.

I am Gentlemen,
Very Respectfully
Your Obdt Servt

G. S. Palmer
Surgeon U. S. Volunteers
in charge [31]

The harassed Board were in no mood to purchase a slightly-used chapel just at that moment, but they did do some shopping around the campus in search of really nice bargains. They finally invested $695.50 in second-hand buildings, for which sum they got " 1 store house 1 office 3 sinks 1 pump 1 mess hall, kitchen, and bath house 1 dead house 2 store houses." The " dead house " sounds a bit ghastly; the other items could be put to good use.

And now, just as the Army seemed about to withdraw, the

[31] MBVG, July 11, 1865.

Navy, across the street, began to glance hungrily at the college. In August, Admiral Porter took command, and immediately began to send strong hints, through his emissary Capt. Lewis, that he would like a bit of the grounds to add to the expanding Naval Academy. His modest proposal was to draw a line from College Ave. to the creek, midway between McDowell and Pinkney Halls. The Navy would then take all ground and buildings northeast of this line and generously leave to the college everything on the southwest.[32] The Board stood up to such a formidable antagonist quite bravely and denied his right to take their property. They were, however, in a mood to sell, because the college was in really desperate financial straits. To be sure, Mrs. Sarah F. Law had just bequeathed to St. John's " a most beautiful collection of shells," but cash, not the marvels of nature's handiwork, was needed. As a matter of fact, the idea of selling some of the excess college acreage had been meditated for a number of years. At the risk of being tedious, it might be well to describe the college grounds as they then were, so that the project will be more clearly understood. It must be remembered that, at this period, King George St. did not extend beyond its intersection with College Ave.; the continuation to the creek was not made until 1889. The term " college green," formerly used to describe the original four acres of land granted to the college at its founding, had, by the time of the Civil War, been enlarged to include the campus as it is today, and this area was surrounded by a fence. But adjoining the campus on the northeast was a large unfenced area, triangular in shape, its apex at the intersection of King George St. and College Ave. and its base running along College Creek to the mouth. Next to it was the property of Prof. Lockwood. The line had originally been marked by three boundary stones; as late as the 1850's the two at the ends of the line were still in existence. The whole tract had never been of much use to the college, and this seemed an appropriate time to dispose of it. But there was considerable wrangling over the price, and it was not until 1868 that the deal went through, transferring the greater part of the land to the Navy. The city got a slice, through which the extension of King George St. was later run.[33]

[32] MBVG, August 14, 1865.

[33] Liber S. H. No. 2, Folio 147, A. A. Land Records; MBVG, Aug. 14, 1865. Jan. 16, 1866, and April 3, 1867.

So gradually the college was able to get itself together again. It was not until early in the following December, however, that a notice, full of enthusiasm and bad grammar, appeared in one of the local papers:

St. John's College

We are informed that the Trustees of this venerable College, elected a President at its meeting on Thursday last, Henry Barnard, L. L. D. of Hartford, Conn.

The meeting, we learn, was more largely attended than usual, and that the election was made with great unanimity.

Dr. Barnard is a gentleman of national reputation as a scholar and educator, and equally distinguished as a man of liberal and enlarged sentiments. If he should accept the appointment, as we have reason to believe he will, we will endeavor to furnish a more extended notice of him in our next issue.[34]

Although it would be somewhat difficult to visualize a man who was distinguished for his " enlarged sentiments," this portrait of the new Principal struck a very hopeful note.[35] Four weeks later the same paper carried the brief announcement: " we understand that Henry Barnard, L. L. D., of Connecticutt, has accepted the Presidency of St. John's College." As the Board had a habit of saying on all too numerous occasions, St. John's was about to be restored to its ancient reputation and dignity.

[34] Annapolis, *Maryland Republican*, December 2, 30, 1865. The " Thursday last " on which the election took place was November 30.

[35] Barnard came to St. John's with a greater reputation and professional prestige than, perhaps, any other of its Principals. He remained at the college only until the spring of 1867, resigning the Principalship to become Commissioner of the Department of Education of the United States. *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 621 ff.

READBOURNE, QUEEN ANNE'S COUNTY

By Thomas T. Waterman

Editor's Note.—Long celebrated as one of the distinguished mansions of Maryland, Readbourne has recently undergone a complete rehabilitation under the supervision of the author of this article. The original house, now the central block of the enlarged structure, was built in the 1730's on a tract of 1440 acres, which was patented in 1659 by George Read, whence the name.[1] After Read's death it passed through the hands of various owners and in 1731 was purchased by Colonel James Hollyday (1695-1747), son of Colonel Thomas Hollyday, of Prince George's County. The wife of James Hollyday was Sarah Covington Lloyd, widow of Major General Edward Lloyd, acting Governor of Maryland 1709-1713, of Wye House. Upon their marriage in 1721 the couple made Wye House their home until Mrs. Hollyday's son, Edward Lloyd, came of age in 1732. They then moved to the Readbourne estate and began the building of the mansion. In addition to the Readbourne plantation, James Hollyday was master of over 30,000 acres as guardian of his wife's Lloyd children. As befitted his position as the controller of one of the most substantial fortunes in the colony, he held many prominent offices in the government. He was a member of the House of Burgesses, Judge of the Talbot County Court, Justice of the Maryland Provincial Court, and a member of the Governor's Council from 1735 until his death in 1747. He was also Treasurer of the Eastern Shore and Naval Officer of the Port of Oxford.[2]

Readbourne remained in the possession of the Hollydays until 1903. After ownership by various families, it was purchased a decade ago by Mr. William Fahnestock, Jr., of New York. Mr. Waterman's sympathetic restoration was completed in 1949.

The house is delightfully situated on a gentle slope above the Chester River. The highway approach leads to the east front, or what was originally the land side of the house. The main entrance, as was usual in the 18th century, faced the river to the west.

For assistance in the preparation of this paper the Magazine is indebted

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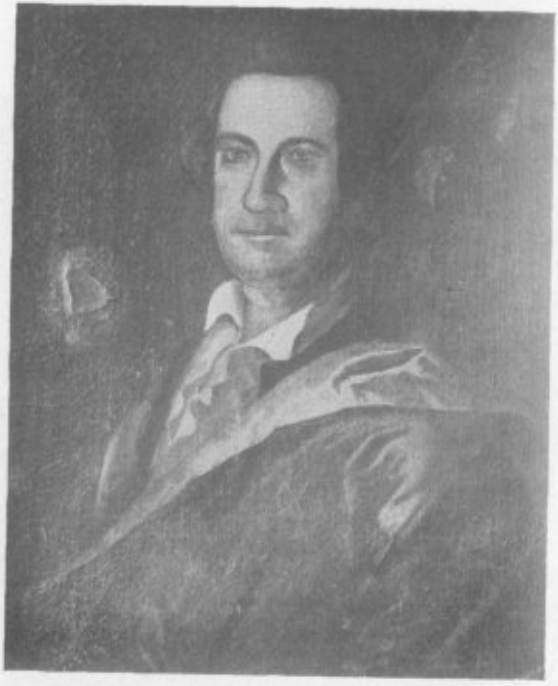
[1] Also spelt *Reid* in various papers of the Hollyday family at the Maryland Historical Society. The patent calls for 1000 acres but upon resurvey in 1731 the tract was found to contain within the original bounds a total of 1440 acres.

[2] *Archives of Maryland*, XXVIII, 110. Oswald Tilghman, comp., *History of Talbot County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1915), I, 46-47; Papers of the Hollyday family, Maryland Historical Society. These papers revise certain statements in the genealogy of the family published by the late Henry Hollyday in this magazine, XXVI, 159-171 (June, 1931) and reprinted the same year.

to Mr. Fahnestock, Dr. James Bordley, Jr., authority on the Hollyday family, and Mr. William B. Marye.

In Maryland, as in the colonies further south, the earliest mansions date from the beginning of the second quarter of the eighteenth century when the effects of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) were becoming manifest. For the first time since the settlement enough slave labor was available to produce the vast quantities of tobacco that were required to finance the building of the great houses that have come to symbolize the plantation life of the South. Readbourne, built by James Hollyday in the 1730's, alone of the major houses of Maryland is contemporary with the first of the Virginia mansions. These, Rosewell, Stratford, and Sabine Hall, were all probably completed simultaneously with Readbourne. However, though the Hollydays were a wealthy family as wealth at that time was rated, their resources did not compare with those of the Carters, Pages, or Lees, builders of the Virginia houses. So Readbourne became a fine house of moderate size, and of livable qualities that certainly the first two of the Virginia houses could not have possessed. Also, instead of being a product of a trained architect working from design books, it was the product of a master-builder inspired by the new style but steeped in traditional English house building. Thus in Readbourne can be seen blending of the two types and the resulting charm that such a blending imparts.

If it may be said that the characteristics of the architecture of Readbourne are perhaps more those of contemporary houses in Virginia than Maryland, it should be remembered that Virginia led the American colonies at that time in architectural development. Its fine public buildings in Williamsburg and its rapidly rising mansions, churches, and court houses in the new style forced the builders of adjacent colonies to turn to it for architectural leadership. Then the Chesapeake Bay and the rivers, great and small, were not barriers, as they are now, only crossed by bridge or ferry, but they were the arteries of transportation and brought Maryland and north-eastern Virginia closer, rather than divided them. So John Ariss, the architect of Westmoreland County, Virginia, advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* for commissions in 1751, rather than in the *Virginia Gazette* of Williamsburg, and it seems possible that as many of his houses stand in

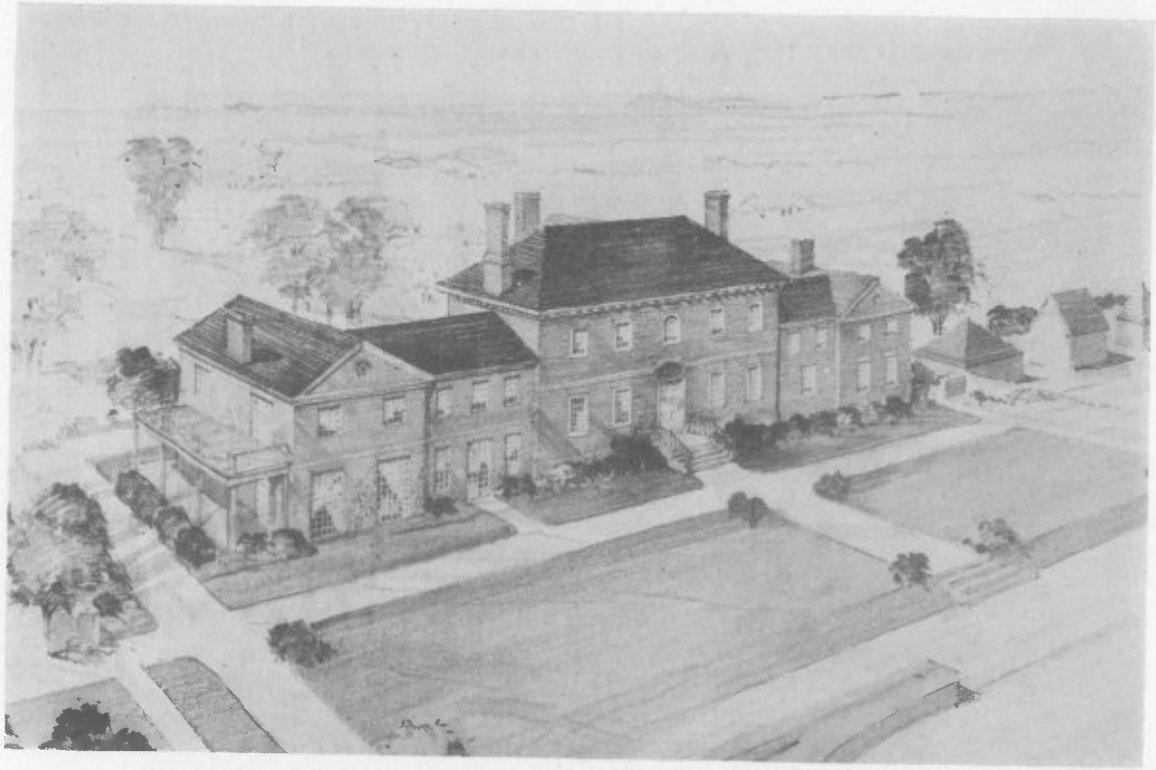


COLONEL JAMES HOLLYDAY, 1695–1747
Artist Unknown
Collection Dr. and Mrs. James Bordley

MRS. JAMES HOLLYDAY, 1683–1755
(SARAH COVINGTON LLOYD)
By Gustavus Hesselius
Collection Dr. and Mrs. James Bordley

WEST OR RIVER FRONT OF READBOURNE

This and the cover photograph are by Laird Wise, Easton



ARCHITECT'S DRAWING OF READBOURNE GROUP

ENTRANCE HALL, LOOKING EAST TOWARD STONE STEP ROOM

Photo, Laird Wise, Easton

Maryland on the Eastern Shore and in and near Annapolis as in Virginia.

In Readbourne, built many years earlier, the exterior and interior trim has much in common with houses on the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers and certainly in them the interchange of ideas can be seen. For instance the use of the new "bisection" panel mould advocated in William Salmon's *Palladio Londinensis* is perhaps first seen in Virginia in Stratford and Sabine Hall and in Maryland at Readbourne, and the curious and interesting interior window trim of Readbourne is a reflection of that of earlier Indian Banks on the Rappahannock. The latter is indeed in many ways suggestive as a prototype for Readbourne both in form and detail. It is easy to see, however, that the plan of Readbourne is an adaptation of neighboring Maryland plans, as exemplified by Clover Field. Here, in another Queen Anne's County house, is much the same plan at smaller scale, and it is a plan that evolved from those of the ancient English farm and manor houses.

In both of these the house was entered at the center, the door leading into the end of a long room called the hall, or great room. A smaller room occupied the end of the house and was entered from the hall. It should be noted that this produced a building one room in depth which was characteristic of traditional house-building in England and the Southern colonies. In simpler houses, both in Maryland and Virginia, the stair was in the great room, but in finer houses, as in Bond Castle (now destroyed), the stair was in a separate space, often called a stair tower and attached to the rear of the building. In Clover Field a significant development took place in that a central hall was partitioned off from the great room, thus producing two equal rooms, one on either side of a narrow hall or corridor that led to the stair tower. In this way privacy was provided for both the rooms and stair hall, such as John Thorpe had first brought to the great English houses in the closing years of the sixteenth century. This lapse of time shows how long the dissemination of ideas took in traditional architecture while in academic architecture a new idea might find immediate adoption by publication in style or design books.

In Readbourne, then, there is the ancient English arrangement of a single depth of rooms with a stair tower projecting from the

rear (now entrance) wall. The center corridor of Clover Field here becomes a spacious entrance salon, and the stair tower, developed to unusual size, is divided by a transverse wall to provide not only a stair hall but a small reception hall below, called the Stone Step Room. Originally there were two large chambers on the second floor, one over each large room below, a small room over the Stone Step Room and a small center room and a hall over the entrance hall. This arrangement was modified in the changes of 1791 and 1928. The great stair rises to the attic in two successive flights corresponding to those below. The attic is unfinished and once led to a cupola on the roof. This feature is shown on an old survey and referred to in a plantation document, but there is no knowledge of when it was removed; perhaps it was in the 1791 alterations. The basement was also unfinished, showing the inside face of the exterior brick walls (there were no brick partition walls), the foundation of the south chimney and the timbers of the first floor framing. The base of the north chimney is within a vaulted wine cellar, a pair of which occupy the north end of the basement.

The main house at Readbourne stood little changed from the date of building for two hundred years. Then the entire interior woodwork was removed, except for minor fragments. This was, indeed, unfortunate as Readbourne was the earliest and finest of Maryland's mansions and should have been preserved intact as a monument. When Mr. William Fahnestock, Jr., purchased the property in 1940 the house had lost much of its original character and finish both outside and in. However, in the last nine years he and Mrs. Fahnestock have made amends for the mistakes of the past and preserve Readbourne with its landscape setting, structure, and decorations in complete and harmonious accord.

The exterior of the house was originally like that of the center section of the house as now restored except that the south end was covered in the extensions of 1791 and the north end by those of 1948. The façade of the mansion is toward the west and the river. It is symmetrical in design with a center doorway flanked by a pair of windows on either side and above is a range of five windows. The present limestone steps to the front door are a restoration based on the original foundation, and take the place of a large wood verandah built about the middle of the nineteenth century. The house is entirely built of large pink sandstruck

brick laid in Flemish bond, and the buff mortar joints are of yellow river sand and oyster shell lime. It is interesting to note that the west front of the main house is built of brick carefully selected for even color and for lack of glazed headers. On the sides and east front, however, there is a wide range of color and many glazed headers show in the masonry. Not only the careful selection of the brick shows that the west front was the important one, but the trimming of the window openings and corners of the house with rubbed vermillion brick and the use of gauged brick arches over the openings. The windows here have richly jointed flat arches, while those of the east front have segmental arches of common brick.

When the west verandah was added in the nineteenth century the original doorway was widened. Fortunately, however, the upper part of the old semicircular arched head was left in position and from this the opening was restored. This is the earliest of arched doorways in American domestic architecture, according to the distinguished authority, Fiske Kimball. The woodwork of the doorway is a restoration based on contemporary examples. To mark the line of the second floor there is a projecting belt course, but on account of the height of the doorway arch the belt course had to be raised here, much as a label or drip mould was treated in Gothic and Jacobean architecture. At Clover Field a reminiscent treatment occurs on the gable ends. The window above the doorway at Readbourne is also arched and has also a "keystone" of brick, carved with three convex channels or flutes. All of the windows have broad moulded frames hewn out of solid timbers, but those on the river front were so deeply weathered by the storms that sweep across the Chester River that they had to be replaced. The original sashes of the 1731 house had been replaced by new ones in the nineteenth century. The large lights of glass and the narrow muntins, or glazing bars, detracted from the scale and character of the house and new sashes were installed, designed after old examples. These have twelve lights in each sash instead of six and have muntins 1¼ inches wide instead of ¾ inches. On the end of the T on the land side were three narrow windows, one in the Stone Step Room, one on the first flight of the stair, and one on the second. As the upper one was useless for providing light and was curiously assymmetric in location, it was removed and the opening bricked up. It might be noted that the

lower window shed no light on the stair until the paneling was removed about 1928. Now this is covered by a grille, level with the first landing, of balusters as at, for example, Shirley in Virginia.

The entrance door to the Stone Step Room, in the south court, had been trimmed (recently) with Doric pilasters. These were removed and a door and frame consonant with the old work installed.

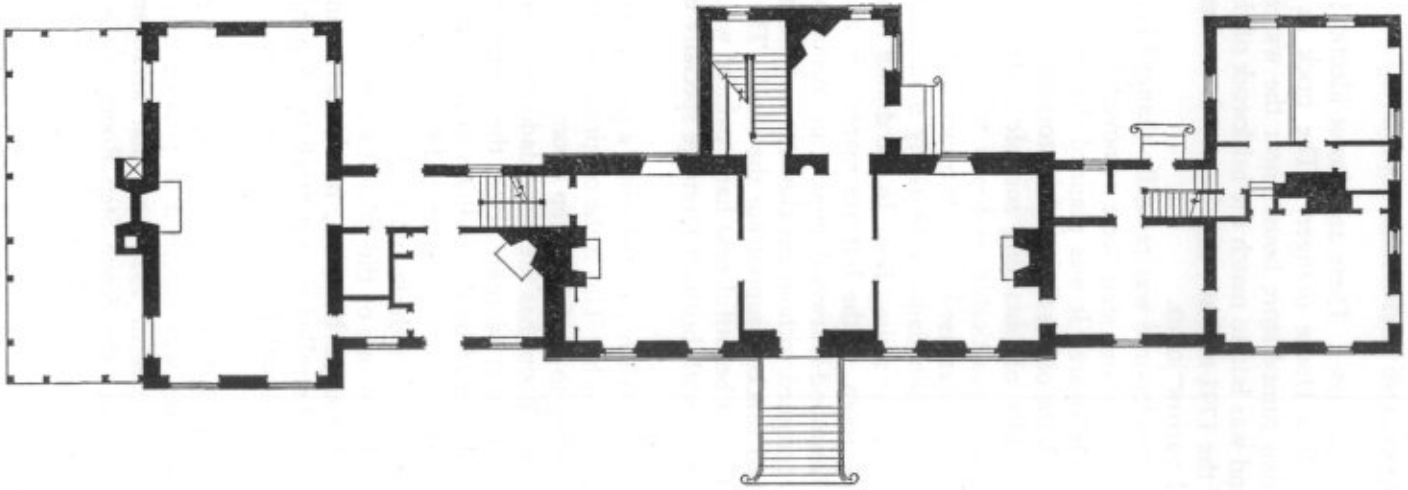
A notable feature of the exterior is the fine main cornice. This is unusually heavy and has large, closely spaced modillions. The crown and bed moulds of the cornice are characteristic of the period.

The south wing and connection built about 1791 are in the style of that period. The roof is lower in pitch than the old one and terminates on the east and west faces of the wing as a pediment. On the river side, in order to get larger windows, the horizontal cornice across the pediment was omitted, but in order to restore the architectural character to this elevation, the windows were cut down and the cornice carried across in the recent work. The fenestration of the river front of the wing has obviously been changed and this apparently was due to a shifting of the floor levels. The exterior of the wing has trim characteristic of the period with narrower window frames and lighter muntins, and the cornice is enriched with a rope moulding. The interior has some doors and trim and a mantel of the 1791 period and while agreeable and interesting they are not important.

In the 1947-48 work a modern addition in the form of an arcaded loggia to the south wing was removed. A passage was rebuilt here as nearly as possible to match the 1791 wall, still in place some five feet further west. It might be noted that the south connection covered two narrow closet windows on each floor in the main house, and a cellar entrance in the southwest corner.

A north wing and connection were built to recall the south wing of 1791 but as the latter was too small for the accommodations required, the connection was lengthened and the wing widened, but so little that the asymmetry is hardly noticeable. The fenestration recalls that of 1791 but the windows are larger and more numerous. In the first floor of the wing, exceptionally large windows were used in the east and west fronts to take

East Front



FLOOR PLAN OF READBOURNE, 1948

The length of the house, including the north porch, is 162 feet, width of central part, 41 feet.
The land entrance in the east front opens directly into the Stone Step Room.

advantage of the fine views. These are almost identical with the windows in the Wye House orangery. The brick in the new building came from ruined store houses near the water front at Harper's Ferry and was laid to match the brickwork of the 1730's. The variation of the 1791 masonry may be noted: smaller brick of redder color and narrow joints.

The interior of Readbourne was radically changed before 1928 when the old panelling and stair were removed for installation at Winterthur in Delaware. It was planned that new panelling be installed to match the old in the recent restoration of the house. However, the difficulty of obtaining suitable materials for the panelling made this impracticable, and new trim in the style of the eighteenth century was used. The entrance hall and the two flanking rooms have plain dados with richly moulded caps and bases, and cornices at the ceiling line. In the dining room, at the right and drawing room, at the left are mantels in the style of those in the Hammond-Harwood house in Annapolis. The former mantel is designed without enrichments and the latter with scrolled and carved brackets supporting the shelf. The drawing room is notable for its beautiful new hand painted wallpaper of floral plants and birds with brilliant plumage specially painted in China for the house.

The east end of the hall is paneled, with a pair of wide arches flanking an arched top niche. This is the original arrangement, the right hand arch leading to the Stone Step Room and the left to the stair. The Stone Step Room has the same dado treatment but the chimney-breast, which is at an angle across the corner, is paneled, and the cornice is deepened by the addition of a frieze and architrave. The stair from the first to the second floor is a copy of the original, made in 1928, though the old stair to the attic remains in place. This is notable as one of the earliest of the fine Maryland stairs, with turned walnut balusters, handsomely ramped and moulded hand-rail and scrolled walnut brackets. Around the attic stair-well is a very unusual railing with flat balusters cut to a profile.

Off of the upper hall there was once a good sized room over the front door, but this was modified to provide for two bath rooms and a linen closet in 1928 and that arrangement substantially remains. Over the Stone Step Room is the Morning Room, from which all trim had been removed except the north

wall panelling. This was removed to complete the east wall of the bedroom over the dining room, which had been altered when a passage to the wing was introduced in 1791. This room has one of the chimney closets, enclosed by panelling, and an excellent bolection (or roll moulding) fireplace surround. The balancing bedroom has a delicate pine mantel, with mahogany insets, which was installed about the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The trim of the new wing consists of characteristic moulded work corresponding to that in the main house, but the stair, with its Chinese trellis balustrade, is particularly interesting. The design of the trellis was inspired by that at Bushwood, destroyed by fire in 1934. The mahogany brackets at the end of each step are carved and pierced. Mounted on a white painted stringer, they are a novelty to Maryland and are adaptations of similar brackets in the beautiful Stanley house in New Bern, North Carolina.

The whole of the first floor of the wing is occupied by the Great Room which was designed for entertaining and to contain a superb set of painted wall panels by Joseph Vernet. These, dating from the eighteenth century and formerly in Mr. Fahnestock's house in New York, portray idyllic scenes on the Mediterranean and are notable for their beautiful color and composition. A set of four large panels, seven feet wide and nine feet high, flank the entrance door and mantel, and two narrow ones are set between the end windows, one at either end. This room has trim in the Palladian style with the entrance door and mantel crowned by pediments and the other openings with entablatures.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN DORCHESTER COUNTY, 1692-1860

By WILLIAM H. WROTEN, JR.

IT IS doubtful whether any section of the country in the colonial period was as well-equipped to be self-sustaining as the area around Chesapeake Bay. Especially on the Eastern Shore, away from the centers of commerce, the inhabitants lived with independence and economic self-sufficiency. In Dorchester County [1] the farm lands were fertile, and the growing season entirely adequate; the waterways abounded with fish, the marshlands were ideal refuge for muskrat, wild ducks, swan and geese, and the woods and fields were rich with both edible and fur-bearing game. The people, being supplied with the necessary raw materials for life, worked hard, earned independence, and though kind and generous, tolerated little meddling in their affairs. Most of the county's early settlers came from Virginia, the Western Shore and Kent Island. They were chiefly English, with a slight sprinkling of Irish, Welsh and Scotch.

As in other American colonies, religion played an important role in the lives of these early Maryland settlers, and the building of churches was of primary concern to them. In 1676, Lord Baltimore informed the Archbishop of Canterbury:

> In every county in the Province of Maryland there are sufficient number of Churches and Houses called Meeting Houses for the people . . . these have been built and are still kept in good repair by a free and voluntary contribution of all such as frequent the said Churches and Meeting Houses.[2]

One of these churches was located in Dorchester County.

[1] The exact date of the creation of Dorchester County is not known. Dorchester was represented in the Assembly for the first time in 1668. *Archives of Maryland*, XXIII, 80.

[2] *Ibid.*, V, 133-134.

However, it was not until the Religious Act of 1692 that the Anglican Church was formally established in the Province of Maryland. " For the Service of Almighty God and the Establishment of the Protestant Religion within This Province " [3] all commissioners and justices of each county were called to a meeting, and all freeholders were given a ten day notice to attend.[4] Together, they were to divide the county into districts and parishes, " so many as the conveniency of each respective county and the situation of the same will afford and allow of." The justices and freeholders divided Dorchester County into five hundreds and into two parishes.[5] The divisional line between the two parishes was drawn from the ". . . mouth of the Little Choptank River binding therewith to the head of the North branch of the Black Water River to a plantation now in the tenure or occupation of Benjamin Hurst . . . thence running down the said river on its several courses to the mouth of same." [6] The easternmost part of the division was known as Dorchester Parish; the western part as Great Choptank Parish. The latter was by far the larger of the two as it included part of what is Caroline County today.

Within two months after the parishes were laid out, a second meeting was called by the freeholders, in accordance with the Act of Religion. At this meeting, six of the most able men of each parish were chosen as vestrymen, and were required to take care of all " tobacco, wares, goods, and merchandizes " given to the parish. With the first taxes and donations, the vestrymen were to build a church or chapel in the most convenient place in the parish. The dimensions and proportions of the buildings were left to their decision.[7]

[3] *Ibid.*, XIII, 424-430.

[4] *Ibid.*, XXVII, 353. An act of the General Assembly said that a freeholder " entitled to vote or to represent county in General Assembly must have a freehold of 50 acres of land or a visible estate of 40 pounds sterling at the least."

[5] *Ibid.*, XXIII, 24. The hundreds were called Hermitage, Great Choptank, Fishing Creek, Nanticoke, and Little Choptank.

[6] *Ibid.*, XX, 66-67. The Dorchester Parish Vestry Records, 1818-1892, in the National Bank, Cambridge, Maryland, give a slightly different definition of the divisional line: " Beginning at the mouth of Little Choptank River and thence running and binding with said river to its head at Winsmore's Bridge; thence in a straight line to the bridge on the county road between the ' S———— House ' Farm and the farm of Joseph Snow at the head of the north branch of Blackwater River; thence in a straight line across the waters of Fishing Bay to the mouth of Island Creek; thence running and binding with said Creek to the head thereof and onward in a due east course to the Nanticoke River, thence with the divisional line between Dorchester and Wicomico and Somerset Counties to Chesapeake Bay, and thence with the waters of said Bay to the beginning."

[7] *Ibid.*, XIII, 424-430.

At the time of the passage of the Religious Act of 1692 in Maryland, there was only one church in the county, that being "The Church in Dorchester Parish," later named Trinity. It is still standing in its beautiful setting along the banks of a small stream to which it has given the name of Church Creek. The building was originally cruciform, and the old English high-backed pews with doors, the high pulpit with its sounding board, and the slave gallery over the front door could be seen within.[8] The arch in which the chancel was placed has been considered to be one of the most beautiful specimens of colonial architecture. Its marvelous acoustic properties have been commented upon by all who have spoken from the pulpit.

Little is known of its history before 1692, except that it definitely was built before that date and that Reverend John Hewitt was rector from 1686 to 1692. A Mr. Leech was mentioned as having preached there in 1692. In 1693, the vestry of Dorchester Parish was ordered by the Governor and Council to build a chapel of ease, and as these were built only when a church already existed in the same parish, it would seem that the church had already been erected.[9]

At one time, Trinity Church had many valuable possessions, but only two have survived the years. Queen Anne of England, "the patron saint of the churches in the colonies," sent a cushion traditionally said to have been used at her coronation.[10] In the early 1800's, a communion service, bearing an eighteenth century hallmark, vanished from the church. One chalice remains, bearing the inscription "For the Church in Dorchester Parish." The altar, a beautiful Jacobean table, once narrowly escaped destruction when it was found in a pile of lumber in the churchyard, and restored to its rightful place. This table with the fine old mahogany chairs, furnished the chancel in rigid simplicity.

In Great Choptank Parish, the first services were held in the courthouse at Cambridge. This was an exception to the Council's order of 1695 requiring the vestrymen of the Maryland parishes

[8] *The First Parishes of the Province of Maryland, Commemorating the 250th Anniversary of the Establishment of the Thirty Original Parishes in the Province of Maryland in 1692* (n. d.), p. 29.

[9] Ethan Allen Papers, William A. Stewart Ms. Collection, Maryland Historical Society.

[10] The cushion, made of royal purple velvet on white kid, was destroyed in 1939 in a fire at the home of Miss Nettie Carroll of Church Creek, Maryland.

to build churches, where wanting, as fast as possible. Great Choptank Parish was given special permission to use the courthouse for the performance of " Divine Duty and Service," and the vestrymen were authorized to build a chapel of ease in some other convenient place within the parish.[11] This arrangement was not carried into execution, for on May 9, 1696, the House of Burgesses acted on a petition from the vestrymen of Great Choptank, granting them permission to build a church at their convenience.[12] The first house of worship in Cambridge, crudely build of wood, occupied approximately the center of the churchyard, directly facing the courthouse which stood, then as now, across the street.[13]

In both parishes regular attendance at worship was difficult, for few had the constancy or the means to make their way many miles to services through marshes and woods and across streams and inlets. The same obstacles made it difficult for a minister to gain the friendship of the people. In order to attend his parish properly, he needed to be both a good horseman and sailor, and even more, he needed courage and faith to qualify him for the hardships of serving this frontier community.

As the governor usually appointed ministers to the parishes from a list of nominees made by the Bishop of London, and the vestry had to accept his choice, the clergymen at times lacked the proper qualifications.[14] Their conduct at times brought contempt upon the Anglican Church and its officials, a chief failing being drunkenness.[15] Hardly a State or Eastern Shore meeting of the clergy was held that did not mention the need for action on this problem.

Reverend Christopher Wilkinson, commissary of the Eastern Shore, was forced to write to the Bishop of London in 1720 about one of the rectors in the county:

I am sorry to acquaint your Lordship that Mr. Howell has been generally of such irregularity as not only opened the mouths of his enemies, but

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[11] *Md. Arch.*, XIX, 234 and XX, 283.

[12] *Ibid.*, XIX, 359.

[13] Sermon preached by Reverend Frank Lambert on the 250th Anniversary of the building of Christ Church. Reprinted in the Cambridge, Maryland, *Democrat and News*, June 17, 1943.

[14] Matthew P. Andrews, *History of Maryland: Province and State* (New York, 1929), p. 267.

[15] Edward Ingle, *Parish Institutions of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883), p. 12.

silenced his very friends, nay, moved them to complain of him, for which he has been admonished by me and some of my Brethren.[16]

Later, Reverend Neil McCullum, rector of Dorchester Parish from 1740 to 1772, was compelled to resign because he was "an unworthy minister."[17] Governor Shape, in a letter of June 1768, referred to him in highly unfavorable terms:

The truth is that there are among the clergy of this Province some very immoral men in particular a Mr. McCullum in Dorchester County who by reason of his Sottishness has for many years been absolutely unable to officiate in the Church or to discharge any part of his duty.[18]

Naturally, all of this tended to reduce the influence of the Anglican Church. To some observers vice and immorality seemed to be rampant in many sections of the county.[19] Both Church and State made constant efforts to correct these evils. At a Visitation of the Clergy in Annapolis in 1700, the clergy stated that it would endeavor to have the vestrymen assist "as a Religous Society, in suppressing Prophaness and Immorality" within the parishes.[20] In 1703, the rectors in Dorchester County, along with other clergymen of Maryland, tried to get the General Assembly to pass an act saying, in part, that no unbaptized person would be admitted to any office of trust in the government.[21] In June, 1714, Reverend Thomas Thomson of Dorchester Parish, reported that the parish had tables of marriages and that there was a severe law to prevent incestuous marriages. He also stated that he was doing his part to discountenance the sins of drunkeness, swearing, and blasphemy in the parish.[22]

The Maryland Assembly participated in the effort to control the morals of the people by enacting a series of laws which were undoubtedly as unenforceable as they were harsh. For the use of

[16] *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Episcopal Church*, edited by W. S. Perry (Hartford, 5 vols., 1870-1878), IV, 117.
[17] Ethan Allen Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.
[18] *Md. Arch.*, XIV, 50.
[19] Elias Jones, *Revised History of Dorchester County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1925), p. 44.
[20] Transcripts of the Fulham Palace Records, Maryland Acts of Bray's Visitation, Library of Congress, No. 2, 8.
[21] *Md. Arch.*, XXV, 160-161.
[22] *Synodalia or Records of Clergy Meetings in Maryland between 1695 and 1773*, compiled by Reverend Ethan Allen (Baltimore, 1864), p. 56.

profane language a fine of two shillings, sixpence was imposed for the first offense and of five shillings for the second. In 1732, profanity in the presence of a vestryman or churchwarden was made especially punishable. For drunkards the early punishments were at first notably severe—for the first offense, " boring through the tongue " and a fine of twenty pounds sterling or six months imprisonment; for the second offense, branding on the forehead with the letter B and forty pounds sterling or twelve months; for the third offense, death. Later, the punishment for drunkenness, if the guilty person was not a freeholder or other respectable person, was reduced to confinement in the stocks or public flogging.[23] Fines and whipping seem also to have been the standard retribution for having illegitimate children. One woman was fined 500 pounds of tobacco for having an illegitimate child, while another received fifteen lashes on her bare back for " having born of her body a bastard child." [24]

The observance of Sunday was strictly required by law. Working, gaming, fishing, fowling, hunting or other forms of diversion were forbidden. Even slaves were not allowed to labor. Innkeepers, who sold liquor on Sunday, except in cases of necessity, or who permitted tippling on their premises were liable to a fine of 200 pounds of tobacco. These provisions had to be read publicly by the clergy four times a year. If they failed to perform this duty they could be fined. The clergy at one time asked the General Assembly to pass a new act of religion which would penalize " those professing themselves Protestants, but never attending the worship of God." [25]

The Anglican Church constantly attempted to solve these problems. At Visitations of the Clergy, many lectures were delivered on the bad behavior of the clergymen and also on how to improve the morals of the parishioners. The vestry in each parish was required to set up a table of marriage laws, and to do all that was possible to prevent infringements of such. In 1700, a fine of 5000 pounds of tobacco was placed on all priests, magistrates, and parties involved in forbidden marriages. Anyone failing to notify the vestry of any birth, marriage or death in his family

[23] Theodore C. Gambrall, *Church Life in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1885), p. 113, found no record of the reason for using B instead of D or some other letter.
[24] Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
[25] *Md. Arch.*, XIII, 426; Gambrall, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Allen, *Synodalia*, p. 49.

was liable to fine. The vestrymen were to act as censors of the parish morals and were to judge what was right or wrong.[26] They had the power to set up a moral code for the whole parish.

The governing body for the Anglican Church in each parish was the vestry. Within two months after the parishes were laid out, all the freeholders met and elected six men to fill the positions. An act at the beginning of the eighteenth century stated that there were to be two new vestrymen chosen each year.[27] On Easter Monday, all freeholders gathered at the church for the election of new vestrymen, and any man who refused to serve without good reason was fined 1000 pounds of tobacco. If for any reason a vacancy occurred during the year, the remaining vestrymen had the right to choose a new man.

All vestrymen had to subscribe to a special oath of office and the general oath of allegiance. During the reign of Queen Anne, they had to proclaim their allegiance to her and not to the pretender to the throne.[28] The oaths, at first, were administered by the principal vestryman. The vestrymen were not usually chosen because they openly professed religion, but because they were well-known men of good character, for it was believed that such men would not abuse the confidence placed in them.

It was the duty of the minister to summon the vestrymen for meetings, which were usually held about once a month. Three members plus the minister constituted a quorum, and sometimes absent members were fined unless they could present an adequate excuse. Even under these conditions many vestry meetings had to be postponed because not enough were present to conduct a meeting. In some years the vestry met only two or three times, yet in other years they met as often as twenty or twenty-five times. This was usually the case when funds were needed or there were plans to be discussed concerning repairs for the church, or building of a new chapel.

The vestry was a corporate body and acted as custodian for the church, its lands and funds, with authorization to accept donations for the church and to sue, if need be, for things belonging to the church. They were required by law to appoint a registrar to make entries of births, deaths, marriages and baptisms

[26] Perry, *op. cit.*, IV, 295; Ingle, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-18; *Md. Arch.*, XXIV, 91.
[27] *Md. Arch.*, XXIV, 265.
[28] *Ibid.*, XXIV, 418.

in the books.[29] The proceedings of the vestry also were to be recorded by a clerk or registrar, who received his pay from the vestrymen. These records were to be sent to Annapolis, but the Province had trouble getting the two parishes to comply, and repeatedly the Council had to call on them to send in their records, and had to prosecute persons responsible.

The churchwardens were appointed by the vestrymen each year. It was their duty to care for the church and grounds, the church linens and plates, and to provide bread and wine for the communion service.[30] The rector sometimes relieved the warden of the latter duty. The expenses involved in such duties were paid for out of parish funds. For the purpose of income, the vestry was required to obtain and keep a list of all the taxables in each parish. This was one of the most important functions of the vestry, for church revenue came from a tax of forty pounds of tobacco which was levied on each taxable person and collected by the sheriff for a fee not exceeding five percent.[31]

The vestry turned over to the minister the tobacco from taxes in payment of his salary, or if there was no minister in the parish, the income was used for repairing the church and purchasing needed equipment. Where the church was old and not fit for use, or beyond repair, the tobacco could be used to buy a plantation or land for a glebe, and if enough tobacco remained, the glebe was to be stocked and improved. The vestry was authorized to build chapels, if they thought there was a need and providing they had the funds.[32] In case funds were lacking to repair the church the vestry was authorized to petition the county court to levy a special tax not to exceed ten pounds of tobacco per year.

With little to offer, it became a matter of great difficulty to secure able, pious ministers. The insufficient salaries, the hardships of a frontier, and the questionable tenure that the county offered were not tempting to many clergymen. At times, the vestry had to resort to placing advertisements in the newspapers in hopes of getting a minister:

[29] *Ibid.*, XIII, 424-430, XXIV, 91.
[30] *Md. Arch.*, XXIV, 91.
[31] *Ibid.*, XIII, 424-430; XIII, 538, states that taxables were all males from sixteen years and over except clergymen and " such poor and impotent " persons that received alms from the county; and all slaves both male and female; *ibid.*, XXIV, 91.
[32] *Ibid.*, XXIV, 420, XII, 424-440.

Wanted—in Dorchester Parish, in Dorchester County a CURATE. Anyone properly qualified, will meet with good encouragement, by applying to the Vestry of the said Parish.

Signed per order
Roger Jones, Register [33]

The clergy, if they did their work properly, were poorly compensated for the labor and trouble they were compelled to undergo. According to law, the ministers were to receive, after the sheriff's fee was deducted, the forty pounds of tobacco collected from the taxables, but the tobacco received was not usually of a superior grade. The rector of Dorchester Parish once reported that the yearly value of his living was about thirty-five pounds sterling " which is a small salary for the trouble and pains I take in my parish." The rector of Great Choptank Parish was more fortunate for he received 150 pounds sterling yearly, but he claimed the emergencies of his family made it necessary for him to spend it too soon in the year, and that he was unable to make the best advantage of this fund because of the distresses of the needy in his parish.[34]

The clergy always feared passage of acts which might reduce their income. Even though the parishes were too large for one man to tend properly, Thomas Howell and Thomas Thomson in 1717 called on the Bishop of London to use his influence to keep the General Assembly from reducing the size of the parishes " for it would cause economic hardships on the clergy." [35] The tax of forty pounds of tobacco met with bitter opposition, for there were many who thought it unfair to contribute toward a church which they could not attend either because of location or beliefs. Efforts to repeal the act were resisted by the clergy on the grounds that, without this income, the parishes would be unable to pay a tolerable subsistence for even " a single man and his horse." [36] Petitions were sent to the king, the Bishop of London, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel asking their help when there was talk of regulating the value of tobacco or cutting down the church's share. The ministers attempted to influence the government to limit the amount of tobacco which could be raised

[33] *The Maryland Gazette*, May 19, 1768.
[34] Perry, *op. cit.*, IV, 219, 230.
[35] Allen, *Synodalia*, p. 64.
[36] Fulham Palace, Md., No. 145, 3.

in the colony, thus insuring them a high price. Further, in 1724, they addressed a letter to the king asking permission to ship to England a ton or two of their tobacco duty free.[37]

The minister was often able to make small additions to his income by teaching school, and from fees for performing marriages. An act of 1700 allowed ministers to collect five shillings for each marriage.[38] It was not unusual for the minister to receive a fee for delivering a sermon at the funeral of a wealthy parishioner. It is doubtful, however, whether the clergy netted much from these fees, for they were required to hire a clerk and pay him 1000 pounds of tobacco yearly to prevent illegal marriages. Among the other privileges of the clergy were exemption from taxes and from service in the militia.

Neither of the parishes in Dorchester provided a house or glebe for the rector. In this respect the parishes had less to offer than many of their sister parishes of the Province. The rectors were forced to find their own living quarters or pay someone to build for them. Often, they grew food and raised meat to save some expense. In 1750 the vestry of Great Choptank Parish was permitted to lease some of the parish lands in order to supplement the rector's income.[39]

The Acts of Religion in Maryland required that the ministers use the Book of Common Prayer and administer the Sacraments and other ceremonies of the church according to the "use of the Church of England." It was necessary at times in the county to administer the sacraments without the prescribed vestments and without proper ornaments and vessels. Reverend Mr. Howell of Great Choptank Parish in 1724 reported to the Bishop that:

> For want of a competent number of communicants and necessaries for he decent administration of the Lord's Supper, the same is not yet so frequently administered as I could desire, but however not less than four times in the year.

He ended on a more hopeful note, observing that ". . . there is of late something of a fund beginning for these holy uses."[40] In the same year Reverend Mr. Thomson of Dorchester Parish reported a much more unsatisfactory situation in his parish:

[37] Allen, *Synodalia*, pp. 104, 133, 135, 137.
[38] *Md. Arch.*, XXIV, 91.
[39] Thomas Bacon, *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1765), Ch. 19, 1750.
[40] Perry, *op. cit.*, IV, 219.

With great regret of mind I declare that as yet my parishioners have not been prevailed with to provide the necessaries for the decent performance of Divine Services, having neither surplice, pulpit cloth, nor linen, or vessel for the communion table, nor any prospect of any as I can perceive by the inclination of my parishioners to provide such.[41]

Until 1692, the people worshipped according to the English Book of Common Prayer, and services were conducted with this and with the Psalms of David. The minister was required to read solemnly the morning and evening prayers. In 1700, it was agreed to preach a "scheme of Divinity" to the people and to impress on them the "Doctrines of Christianity." Special effort was made to emphasize the importance of the 'festivals of the Church." [42]

Besides the public services, the ministers gave private "admonitions and exhortations," and administered to the sick and needy. It was also their duty to read the King's Proclamations, Acts of the State (concerning religion), and to preach upon the duties of the magistrates against profanity and immorality. This was to be done during the days specified for church services.

Because the number of ordained ministers was insufficient for the needs of the people, lay readers had to be used at times. Although this practice prevented the administration of the sacraments, there was little else to do unless the people were to be denied services of any kind for long periods. When there was no minister available, the vestry provided some "sober and discreet" person to read prayers for the congregation. In all services conducted by lay readers the law ordered that the first and second lessons be read and that the people stand and kneel as directed by the "Rubrick." [43]

It seems that there were many in the parishes who abstained from baptism—not only children but adults. The ministers frequently preached upon the nature and necessity of this sacrament. However, opposition and prejudice of the people seemed stronger against the practice of designating godparents than any other institution of the church. The minister did what he could to have the congregation understand the reasons and uses of such "securities" to the church.[44]

[41] *Ibid.*, IV, 230.
[42] Visitation of Dr. Bray, Fulham Palace, Md., No. 1, 6.
[43] *Md. Arch.*, XX, 283.
[44] Fulham Palace, Md., No. 1, 7.

Little was done for the conversion of the " infidels "—negroes, mulattoes, and Indians. Some early reports show that many negroes and mulattoes were baptized, with new candidates every day. Yet, in 1731, the rectors of the two Dorchester parishes reported that they had " taken pains to convince " the people of the necessity of having their negroes instructed, but the people, although inclined to agree, would not usually take the trouble to have it done.[45] Little seems to have been done for the Indians. In 1724 the rectors reported that the Indians were living " under the free government of their own petty princes, of whose conversion there has as yet no public means been used, but provisions now are resolved upon."

As the population in the county increased and expanded chapels of ease were needed to give partial relief to the people at great distances from Church Creek and Cambridge.[46] In 1696, the Governor had given the vestrymen of Dorchester County permission to erect two chapels, one in each parish, provided there was enough " tobacco lying in Banck." [47] They were to be located where the major part of the people would receive the benefits. Thirteen years passed before the first partial relief came, for it was not until 1709 that the first chapel of ease was built in Vienna. Soon afterwards, chapels were established at East New Market, near Feredalsburg on Hunting Creek, at Taylor's Island, and at Cornersville.

The people in the districts around Williamsburg, Federalsburg, and bordering on the Province of Delaware were dissatisfied with this arrangement. In 1724, they petitioned the Province of Maryland to divide Great Choptank Parish, and the Assembly granted their petition the next year when Great Choptank was divided into two parishes.[48] The new parish was given the name of St. Mary's White Chapel. For only a few more years did it remain as part of Dorchester County, and then shortly before the Revolution it was incorporated into the newly erected county of Caroline.

[45] Perry, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 218-219, 304-305. It should be noted that in early times the mulattoes were made property of the Church. They acted as servants for the ministers. When this old system was abolished, a petition was sent to the King in 1724 asking that it be restored. Allen, *Synodalia*, p. 104.

[46] Some of the people lived as far as twenty-five or thirty miles from either church.

[47] *Md. Arch.*, XX, 451.

[48] *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 580-581. For boundaries of the new parish, see Bacon, *op cit.*, Ch. 10, 1725.

Even though some of these chapels had larger congregations or more members than the parish church, they were usually without a legal vestry and had no delegates to represent them in the conventions. Their funds, records, and business were managed by the parish vestry, and relations between them were not always friendly. The parishioners of Vienna Chapel protested to the Council in 1730 when it was planned to build another chapel within five miles of the old one. The vestry of Great Choptank Parish was called before the Assembly in Annapolis to answer the complaint, and although the new chapel would have been built by voluntary contributions, the Assembly ruled that the vestry had no right to build a new chapel without proper application.[49]

Until the beginning of the Revolution services were held every Sunday in Great Choptank Parish, but not at the same church or chapel. Two Sundays, usually the second and fourth, were reserved for the church in Cambridge, while the chapels in East New Market and Vienna had services only once a month, the first and third Sundays, respectively. If there were a fifth Sunday in the month, services were held at the chapel on Hunting Creek. During the months when there were not five Sundays, a week day was appointed for this latter service.

In Dorchester Parish, whenever the people had a rector of their own, services were held in the old church two Sundays each month. In a month having five Sundays, a third service was held there. The other two services were at the chapel of ease or at Taylor's Island. Week day appointments were made for services on the lower islands.

The clergy soon recognized the importance of instructing the youth of the church.[50] All children under nine were encouraged to learn by heart the church catechism and the morning and evening prayers. The same interest was taken in the group aged from nine to thirteen. Parents were persuaded to bring the children to church for public examination. The ministers visited the homes for the examination when it was possible, if the families lived a long distance from the church. The young people over thirteen were expected to read such books on religion as would be instructive to them, especially those that would teach them the " Nature,

[49] *Md. Arch.*, XXV, 527-529.
[50] Fulham Palace, Md., No. 1, 4.

Terms and Conditions of the Convenant Grace . . . in order to introduce them to the Lord's Supper and in order they may lead a good life." On Sundays the ministers frequently met with this group to discuss their latest readings. Sometimes special meetings were called to teach the children the new " Versions of the Psalms " according to the best tunes.

To assist them in their educational efforts the ministers asked the stewards of the religious societies in London to try to provide each parish with a servant capable of singing the Psalms. Of course, there were other requirements that the man had to fill before the job was his. He had to be able to write, for he would act also as clerk of the parish. And since it was almost impossible to find good workmen to help build the churches or chapels, they wished him to be acquainted with one of the crafts. In 1700 Mr. Howell, who was at this time the rector of both parishes, specifically asked for a bricklayer. The applicant was to be allowed £10 for his passage, and would receive lodging and ten pounds per year during the four years he would be bound to the church.[51]

The chief drawback to the plan of letting the older children read to improve their understanding of the Anglican Church and the sacraments was the scarcity of such works. Each parish was expected to maintain a library of classical and theological works for the use of the minister. Any damage to the books brought a fine of triple the cost, and when the minister moved he had to turn over the library in as good condition as possible. The vestry of Great Choptank Parish did its job well, and the parochial library was preserved and kept in good condition. In Dorchester Parish, however, the vestry neglected its duty, and the parish had no parochial library. This caused Rev. Mr. Thomson to write in 1724 that " this has been and still is a great discouragement and detriment to myself and several others of my well-disposed people who are addicted to reading." [52]

Even though there was much opposition to the Acts of Religion passed by the Province, and notwithstanding the hardships under which the ministers and people had to work, most of the people belonged to the Anglican Church. It made progress and was prospering, especially in the decade just before the Revolutionary

[51] *Ibid.*, No. 1, 5.
[52] Perry, *op. cit.*, IV, 230.

War; the churches and chapels were crowded, contention on religion was hardly known and there was great harmony in the parishes. This was to be expected for there was little competition from other sects during these years.[53]

The Revolution terminated the placid calm that had settled over the Anglican Church in Maryland. With its English affiliations it was inevitable that it suffer from the Tory stigma. Most of the clergymen were not natives of the colonies, and in many cases had arrived only a few years before from the British Isles. For the most part they remained loyal both by oath and action to the mother country. When offered the chance to become citizens of Maryland, they refused to take the necessary oath. Except for a few (mainly in the lower part of the county), the people of Dorchester County supported the Revolutionary cause, producing a real conflict between the ministers and their congregations. As this feeling became more intense, the clergymen were removed from their parishes.[54] As ministers were educated and ordained in England and sent to the parishes by the Bishop of London, replacements were not available and the congregations dispersed.

Apart from the political dissensions which operated to split the Anglican church apart, it suffered from another and even more serious danger—that of Methodism. From 1692 to 1779, except for a few Catholics and Quaker families in the outlying districts, the Protestant Episcopal Church had had almost complete authority over the religious life of Dorchester County. This authority was challenged for the first time by the advent of Methodism in 1779. Itinerant Methodist preachers converted many by their unusual manner of emotional and enthusiastic preaching. Fervor, having been once produced, was maintained and supported by a continued change of preachers, for the Methodist system required very little money. In 1807 Rev. James Kemp of Great Choptank Parish wrote:

> Many well-meaning people were drawn away from her, not considering the crime of which they were guilty, tearing asunder the body of Christ. Others, when they were brought to a sense of their sins, were taught not

[53] *Md. Arch.*, XX, 283.

[54] Phillip Hughes, who became rector of the Great Choptank Parish in 1773, was forced to leave in 1777 because of his opposing political principles. Ethan Allen, *Clergy in Maryland of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (Baltimore, 1860), p. 7.

to consider themselves safe till they had deserted the Church; and while they were endeavouring to escape the wrath of God, for their former iniquities, were cutting themselves off from the blessing of a true gospel-church.[55]

By 1800 the Methodists were so well entrenched that they became the dominant religious sect in the county. As a result of the losses to the Methodists and the deprivation of state support during the Revolution, the Protestant Episcopal Church was left in such a depleted state that almost sixty years elapsed before it was once again on a sound foundation.

During the rectorship of John Bowie in Great Choptank Parish (1786-1790) the first efforts were made to reestablish the Protestant Episcopal Church upon a firm basis since the beginning of the Revolution.[56] In 1788 he laid before the vestry a plan of subscription to raise money for a new church building. The old structure at this time was so wretched that money spent for repairs was actually money thrown away. The church was in such condition " that even the healthy and robust during the winter season hazarded their health by attending Divine Service." Because of the difficulties existing from a scarcity of money, and perhaps from the general indifference prevailing among the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, little was done at this time except to make plans to raise the necessary funds.

Reverend Mr. Bowie gave public notice in 1789 that the vestrymen had decided to introduce a system of donations found to be successful in other churches and societies—a box would be placed in the church to receive donations for the purpose of keeping the old church in decent order. Also, it was agreed to raise a subscription of fifteen hundred pounds to erect the new building, and to give first choice of pews to those donating the money. This decision came from the charge that for the past thirty or forty years, many who never frequented the church or contributed to its support held the best pews.[57]

[55] *Journal of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (Baltimore, 1807), p. 12.

[56] John Bowie, a native of Prince George County, had been such an ardent loyalist during the Revolution that he was imprisoned in 1777 while in Worcester County. Allen, *Clergy in Maryland*, p. 13; Lucy Leigh Bowie, " Reverend John Bowie, Tory," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVIII (1943), 141-161.

[57] Great Choptank Parish Vestry Records, 1788-1886, pp. 4-6. The Anglican Churrh in the colonies became in 1786, the " Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America."

When Reverend Bowie left in 1790, the vestry was fortunate in obtaining the services of Reverend James Kemp.[58] He agreed to preach every other Sunday at Christ Church in Cambridge, and alternate Sundays at Vienna and Castle Haven, if arrangements could be made. A progressive and ambitious minister, he probably did more for the Protestant Episcopal Church in Dorchester County than any of the ministers preceding him. Shortly after he entered the parish in 1791, a subscription was begun for a new churchyard wall; and in order that there be money for upkeep of the old wall, a tax of three shillings and nine pence was levied on every corpse interred within the graveyard.[59]

Later, that year, two plans were drawn up for the new church—one plan for a building to cost 750 pounds, and the other not to exceed 1000 pounds, the plan used to depend upon the amount raised by subscription. As the money from subscription was coming in too slowly, the following year the vestry agreed upon a lottery in order to procure an additional thousand dollars.[60]

In November of 1792, the old church was in such bad condition that in order to make it somewhat more comfortable for another winter, the parishioners were called upon from the pulpit, " to send hands, and planks, and nails . . . to plank up the broken windows."[61] In December, contracts were finally let for the construction of the long-planned new church.

As in other churches, the women of the county parishes did much to raise money for the church. The ladies, in 1810, contributed $78.50 to buy a new stove, which was much needed. A few months earlier they had played a large part in helping to secure a new organ. One of their enterprising plans caused much heated discussion in Cambridge. When money was needed for books and repairs in 1831, the ladies decided to have a fair. Many months in advance, notices were given of the coming event, so even six months before the time, letters were written to the *Cambridge Chronicle* opposing and defending the plan. One man, who signed his name " Civis," wrote that such a thing was

[58] Reverend Mr. Kemp immigrated to Maryland in 1787 and was for two years a private tutor to a family in Dorchester County. He had been " educated " a Presbyterian, but on becoming converted to the Protestant Episcopal Church he took up studies for the ministry under the direction of Reverend Mr. Bowie and was ordained by Bishop White, December 26, 1789.

[59] Great Choptank Parish Vestry Records, p. 38.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

immoral and should not be allowed.[62] He thought it disgraceful for men to be enticed by the charms of church ladies to buy with their hard-earned money, wares they did not really want. The ladies, however, went ahead with their plans and held a very successful fair.

In 1807, there had been one hundred and eighty communicants in Great Choptank Parish, and at that time the Parish had four places of worship, a church and three chapels. The chapel at East New Market, lately built, was still in an unfinished state. The other two, Vienna and Castle Haven, were in a state of decay. During the early years of the nineteenth century, it was the duty of the rector at Christ Church in Cambridge to serve all four places of worship.

Reverend James Kemp, in 1810, thought that the principal obstacle to religion in his parish, was, " a most infatuating rage for dissipation." As a means of combating this state of affairs, a series of weekly lectures was instigated by Mr. Kemp.[63] New members began to join the Protestant Episcopal Church, and by the end of the year, he could report a substantial increase in membership. At Vienna there was a revival of interest, and the entire chapel was repaired.

With the departure of James Kemp in 1812, the Protestant Episcopal Church entered its most critical period since the Revolutionary War.[64] Again, there were serious losses in membership. For two years (1813-1815), the parish did not even have the services of a minister. Between 1815 and 1849 the church in Cambridge had the services of no less than six ministers, each in his own way trying to reestablish the church to its once proud position. In 1820, of the four houses of worship, only the church in Cambridge was in good condition. The one in Vienna was definitely in need of repairs, while the other two chapels were ready to collapse. At this time, the church seemed to have taken on a defeatist attitude. The vestry in May 1820, talked of taking down the two chapels and selling the materials, since they had been neglected for a long time and there was no prospect of congregations

[62] Cambridge, Md., *Chronicle*, January 28, 1832.

[63] *Journal ofthe Convention ofthe Protestant Episcopal Church, 1810*, pp. 23-24.

[64] Reverend Mr. Kemp was called to take over St. Paul's Parish in Baltimore. Not only had Kemp been an important leader in the county, but in the state as well. For many years he had held influential offices with the Diocesan Convention, and within a few years he was to become Bishop of Maryland.

assembling in them. Things were not bright, for the parish was without funds or glebe lands, and only about forty families attended services in the two churches still in use.

Although conditions were in such a state at the beginning of this period, certain positive gains were made for the good of the church and community. Attempts were made to revive interest in religion by establishing two separate Sunday schools, one for the whites and one for the negroes. A few years later, the minister began instructing small catechetical and Bible classes, and organized a society for the distribution of religious books and tracts in the parish. Both showed favorable promise. By 1839 the church was opened on Wednesdays for morning prayer and a series of lectures, and in the following year, the minister was able to report that the congregation was larger than it had been for many years. The membership increased, and the responses to the needs of the church and parish improved, so that the parish had fewer financial difficulties during this period. By 1848 it was free of all debt, probably for the first time in the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Dorchester County. Since the Revolution Christ Church in Cambridge had not been in a more prosperous state. These achievements can be attributed to the work of two men more than any others. Reverend Jonathan Judd (1823-1837) who laid the foundation, and Reverend James McKenney (1838-1846) who carried on the work.[65]

For approximately the next fifty years, this church in Cambridge was dominated by the personality and work of Reverend Theodore Barber, who was elected rector in July 1849. He was frequently the only Episcopal minister in the county. Through his efforts, occasional Sunday afternoon services were held at East New Market, Vienna, Church Creek, Taylor's Island, and the Neck District, and a new chapel was built at Cornersville. The new building known as St. John's Chapel, was consecrated in April 1853 by the Right Reverend Henry John Whitehouse, Bishop of Illinois, and for the next few years was regularly attended by nearly 130 worshippers.

The rector then turned his attention to increasing the congregation of Christ Church, and giving it better religious guidance.

[65] Besides the two mentioned above, the following ministers served between 1815 and 1849: James Laird (1815-1816), George Weller (1818-1823), Willie Peck (1838), Thomas J. Wyatt (1846-1849).

In 1854, a large select library was obtained for the Sunday School, and realizing the importance of children to a growing church, Barber chose and trained teachers for their classes. Having started the membership drive on its way, Barber made plans to improve the church building. He convinced the vestry in 1859 that the church needed room for at least one hundred more worshippers. The vestry pledged one thousand dollars for the enlargement, and with it, as Barber predicted, came bigger congregations. To call them to worship and prayer, a fine-toned bell weighing 724 pounds was erected in the tower and was first rung on Christmas morning 1860.

After waiting for more than one hundred and fifty years, Christ Church built a rectory in 1849, using land donated by Governor Goldsborough's heirs.[66] The vestry rented the property until the debt on it was paid. Reverend Barber and his family took possession when the mortgage was paid in 1858.

During these years of gain and recession in Great Choptank Parish, Trinity Church in Dorchester Parish was undergoing an even harder struggle. After the Revolution, with its main source of income gone, and the area now a Methodist stronghold, the church found itself bordering on extinction. Even as late as 1805, the parish had not complied with the new vestry act of January 1799 by choosing a new vestry.[67] There had been no minister for many years, and it was said by Reverend Mr. Kemp that there was no attention whatsoever paid to the condition of the parish. Still, a good many persons were well-disposed toward the old church, and services conducted by visiting ministers were generally attended by a considerable congregation. After studying parish conditions, Kemp reported to the Bishop in 1805: "I have little doubt an industrious and popular clergyman would be able to retrieve its affairs and probably obtain a tolerable salary." However, the people continued, for many years, to depend upon visiting rectors.

Trinity Church had its own minister for only one year between the Revolution and 1808. Reverend Mr. Kemp agreed to give half of his time to the parish between 1808 and 1812, but his efforts were directed mainly toward trying to convince the Bishop of

[66] Dorchester County Court House Records, F. J. H., No. 1, folio 368.
[67] George B. Utley, *The Life and Times of Thomas John Claggett* (Chicago, 1913), p. 104.

the need for a full-time minister, and in building up a large congregation to support the plan. When Kemp left, the parish was vacant again until 1820. Not until 1838 was the parish able to secure the services of a minister, when Thomas Bayne, who served until 1842, agreed to commute from Talbot County across the Choptank River.

Reverend Mr. Harris (1842-1844) believed that when he gave the April sacrament of the Lord's Supper in 1842, it was the first time since Mr. Kemp's services. Besides Trinity Church, Harris also preached at Taylor's Island, held afternoon services at the home of a Mr. Colster about six miles from the parish church, and went to Tobacco Stick which was without a church or chapel. The chapel at Taylor's Island, in this period, was making more progress than the church, for it was in good repair and had lately added a gallery.

In 1836, St. Stephen's and St. Paul's in East New Market and Vienna respectively, were made parishes.[68] But it was many years before they were above mission status. All during this period, they were dependent upon outside help for ministers and money. The cornerstone was laid for a new church at East New Market in 1839, and the church was completed by 1851. However, the congregation which had been large and attentive, had waned by 1854, and only a handful of churchmen was left to assist the minister. In the winter of 1856, services were not held regularly because the vestry could not pay for proper heating of the church building.

The condition of the Vienna parish was well summarized by Meyer Lewin, a missionary to the county in 1844, when he wrote:

> I officiated at Vienna by appointment of the Bishop, every other Sunday, from June 1844 to January 1845. There are not more than 10 or 12 who call themselves churchmen, who provide a room for the Missionary to hold services in. This parish has been almost entirely neglected for the last twenty years; of the few church people that remain, 4 are communicants. Good might be done here by a missionary, though he will have to encounter much opposition from 'ignorance and prejudice'; the services are always better attended than could have been expected, and sometimes the congregations were very large. I resigned this station with very great reluctance.[69]

From 1850 on, Vienna usually had to share a minister with

[68] Allen, *Clergy in Maryland*, pp. 99-100.
[69] *Journal of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1845*, p. 98.

East New Market, or to depend on the help of Mr. Barber of Christ Church. The clergy believed that progress of the church was impeded by lack of a suitable place of worship, services being held at this time in a private room. To remedy this, arrangements were made for the construction of a church building which was finished externally in 1852. The parish was emphatically missionary ground, and as such needed to be sustained and strengthened by the efforts of the missionary society. One minister during this period wrote that the "Zion of God languishes," and other parishes in the state were called on for help with both money and Sunday School books, which were sorely needed.[70] Friends came to the rescue, for in 1855 the church debt was paid off. As late as 1860 conditions in Vienna remained much the same, and it was not until after the appointment of Rev. Mr. Barber to the rectorship that the parish began to grow stronger.

[70] *Ibid.*, 1854, p. 67.

A LONDON SHOPKEEPER'S STRUGGLE TO RECOVER A COLONIAL DEBT, 1763-1769

Edited by WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

"Seven Months after Date I Promise to Pay to Thos. Wagstaffe or Order Sixty four Pounds Eighteen Shillings & 6d Value Recd.

London ye 25th April 1763

£64.18.6 Charles Ridgely."

This note, given in payment for silverware bought during Capt. Charles Ridgely's last trip to London before he settled down in Maryland as merchant and ironmaster, was the cause for a lengthy series of letters from Thomas Wagstaffe to Capt. Ridgely during the next six years.[1] The correspondence is interesting because it illustrates clearly the difficulties faced by English shopkeepers in their efforts to recover debts from Colonials many miles across the ocean.[2]

Capt. Ridgely purchased Wagstaffe's silver, as he had done in the past, gave the note promising payment in seven months, and then sailed away to Maryland.[3] When the note fell due, no money was forthcoming, and so, after an interval of two more months, the London shopkeeper wrote about it:

London ye 2d Februa 1764

Cha: Ridgely

Esteemd Frd

I have Expected agreable to thine P[er] Capt Walker a line from

[1] See William D. Hoyt, Jr., "Captain Ridgely's London Commerce, 1757 to 1774," *Americana*, XXXVII (1943), 326-70.

[2] The original letters from Wagstaffe to Ridgely are among the Ridgely Papers in The Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

[3] For example, there is a bill for £13.3.6, dated in London, September 28. 1758, for a watch, a seal, and a pair of buckles. This bill apparently was paid on the same day it was presented.

thee from some time butt have not receivd any butt suppose thou will not be long & hope so as Cash in this City is Extreamly Scarce.

Butt one very Material point in writing this Letter is to Enquire after my Brother Richard I hear he has been in Prison perhaps he may be in want do give me a line as speedily as possable & lett me know his Situation I should be willing to help him & will lend him a little Matter if he stands in need & if a Guinea will be of use to him please to Give him it on my acct & I will be answerable to thee—

I shall hope thou will as speedily as possible answer this & it will oblige who am with very kind respect

Thy Assured Frd
Thos Wagstaffe

Seven weeks later, there was another reminder:

London ye 26th March 1764

Cha: Ridgely

Esteemd Frd

Inclosed is Copy of my former since which I have heard nothing from thee. Thy Note has been due a good while butt I am ready to Conclude thou must have remitted tho' not Come to My hands if there fore hast not remitted I should be Glad of an Answer P[er] Capt Walker & if further Orders, should be quite ready to Serve thee—

I request thee to be particular in thy answer thereto—

Pray give me a particular Acct what Situation my Brother Richr is in it will be quite acceptable—

I am with real respect
Thy real & assured Frd
Thos Wagstaffe

Still Ridgely sent no payment, and when a year had elapsed after the original due date, Wagstaffe wrote more forcefully about his disappointment and the inconvenience. He also directed Capt. Ridgely to deduct £5 and give it to Richard Wagstaffe:[4]

London 4th Decmb 1764

Cha: Ridgely

Esteemd Frd

Thine p[er] Capt Frost I duly recvd & was indeed much disappointed as I did not doubt butt he would have brot the Money for thy Note it putts me to Inconvenience & Especially as I sold the goods only for 7 mos & thy Note has now been due one Year the 28th last Month—

[4] A note from Richard Wagstaffe to Capt. Ridgely, dated March 25, 1765, says: "Capt: Burden Chase has waited on me three times & says [he] will wait on me about Sun Sett for he Sails in the Morning by Break of Day I know thy goodness need say no more than 5£ will serve me who am with respect Richd Wagstaffe."

I should be glad thou would send it as soon as possable its not that I have any doubt of my Frd Cha: Ridgely in that respect if it was much more I Should be Satisfied butt the dissappointment of the Money which is very Inconvenient to me—

I should be glad if thou Could send it Either p New York Packett or by some Vessell from Philada thou wilt indeed Serve me in it—

Please to pay my Brother Richd £5 Sterlg being a present from my Mother to him in his present distress & deduct it out of it

I am Extreamly ready to Serve thee in any thing in my power & am with real Respect

Thy Assured Frd
Thos Wagstaffe

Another year passed and apparently Ridgely did write on the subject of his debt. He proposed to pay interest, but Wagstaffe, in his reply, commented that interest would not make up for the inability to use the actual money:

mo
London the 8th 11 Novr 1765

My old Frd
Charles Ridgely

I recvd thine p Capt Frost yesterday & observed the Contents I cannot forbear replying to thee in doing which shall Chiefly remind thee of our contract, when thou gave me the orders for the goods thou told me respecting the Purchase & also order'd me to Charge at a Profitt Equal to the time thou took which was 7 Mos & gave me a Note payable at Seven Months which became due the 28th Novr 1763 2 years since I rather Chose thou knows thy own Security than to Carry a Bill to James Russell from whom I might long since have recvd the Money—the year the bill came due thou could not remitt having been at home butt about 2 Mos & had not Collected the Money from the Person the goods were for, last year thou proposd to pay me Interest & to send the Money this year with an addition for further goods butt now thou seems angry at my letter requesting it I appeal to thee as a Judge respecting Money Affairs if its not Circulated Interest is no Equivalent in trade—I will not say much I am Disposed to preserve thy Friendship & Esteem. thou has mine & its not a fear of my Frd Cha: Ridgely that I Solicit the remittance butt because having been disappointed of that & some onther sums I have been Obliged to borrow to preserve my own Creditt here as I am even Obliged to pay for goods before they are out of my hands very frequently—

The State of your trade & of the Provinces in general plead an Excuse butt I Should be Glad thou would send some Iron I have the opportunity of Selling it to advantage by some Connection with a Consumer & if its fine I believe the advantage would be Considerable

This letter comes not in a Discontented Humor butt with a View to

Conciliate Matters between us to Increase our Friendship & to make our Intercourse mutually Beneficiall—

I am with due respect
Thy Assured Frd
Thos Wagstaffe

I beg thou will
give me an answer

Only a week after this letter, Wagstaffe filled a new order from Ridgely, but this time the transaction was conducted through the firm of Russell & Molleson, Ridgely's London agents, who, presumably added the £8.6.10 for castors, cruets, salts, shovels, and glasses to their own account with the Maryland merchant.

The next letter directly to Capt. Ridgely came early in 1776, and Wagstaffe, after recalling the long time since the note fell due, again urged payment in iron:

London the 25th Feb 1766

Esteem'd Frd
Cha: Ridgly

On the Arrival of Capt Frost I wrote thee p Packett a Copy of which is Inclosed I refer thee to him for a Testimony I bear thee a real & unfeign'd respect. Butt should be much Obliged to thee remember the Length of time Thy Note has been over due being dated 25th April 1763 & become due on the 28th Novr 1763 being for 7 mos Thy proposal to pay Interest I regarded as the Effect of thy Disposition to do Justice butt my wants Oblige me to request the principal I have recd Iron from Philada & I dare say thou knows its a good remittance do Oblige me with a Cargo of it & thou will much Serve

Thy respectfull & real Frd
Thos Wagstaffe

Wagstaffe's patience was now wearing thin, and when Ridgely protested the price of the castors on the latest order, threatening that if there was no abatement, he would give the silversmith no further orders, Wagstaffe remarked—very mildly, under the circumstances—" that might have been spared till thy Note in my hands is paid now near *THREE YEARS* over due." He said that he would have to send the note to America for forcible collection:

London the 11th Sept 1766

Frd Cha: Ridgely

Being sent for p J Russell to be acquainted with thy orders Vizt " to acquaint me I had charged the Sett of Castors 37/6 that thou had seen a Sett a 19/ & if I did not Make an Abatement to give me no more orders of thine &c "

In the 1st place for my own Justification I will tell thee truly they Cost 29/6 are the same sort thou had thy self for 1.11.6 without the 2 additional Castors Judge thy self is its unreasonable to Charge as above I must & did pay before they were delivered & then must give 12 Mos at least—

As to giving me no more orders that might have been spared till thy Note in my hands is paid now near *THREE YEARS* over due—

I tell thee truly I did not Expect it from Capt Charles Ridgely I thought he had more honor than to act in this Manner however I shall send thy Note over with thy Letter offering me Interest if I do not receive a remittance for it p Capt Frost & Expect thy punctual payment of it this is James Russells Advice & if I was to Give way to resentment might Carry further, butt I am Obliged to thee for such favours & recommendations I have received I think this acknowledgement thy due £64.18.6 beside what Interest is further due after deducting for money pd my Br Rich[d]: is my due & when paid as I am to have no more Orders I wish thee Health & Prosperity & am

Thy *Assured* Frd
Thos Wagstaffe

In March, 1767, Wagstaffe wrote to say that he was postponing sending the note for collection because he did not want to prejudice Capt. Ridgely:

My old Frd — London the 14th March 1767

Above is Copy of mine p Packett since which I have recd none from thee altho time would have admitted it—

In point of respect to thee I have not sent thy Note over butt reserve it rather than Expose it to thy Prejudice for the present that thou may remitt the Principle & Interest now 3 years & half since it was due—

I have Considered it may prejudice thee & therefore if not sent please to pay the Whole to Capt Frost & his receipt shall [be] thy discharge or remitt me a Parcell of Iron—

Consider with thy self that both Justice & honour call for it & I cannot butt Entertain a belief thou art Sencible I have waited to my great Prejudice

I am with real respect tho' cannot butt Complain

Thy assured Frd
Thos Wagstaffe

Principal	64.18.6
Interest for 3½ years	11. 7.6
	76. 6.0
deduct for Richd Wagstaffe pd him..	7. 2
due to me	64. 9.0

November rolled around and still Wagstaffe was out his money, yet once more he wrote. "I cannot think my self well used to take away thy Bussiness & withold the Money for thy note," he said. He stated that he would wait four more months—time enough for the packet to make a round trip—and then send the note:

London the 7t Nov. 1766

Old Frd

Cha: Ridgely

Thine p Capt Frost I recvd a few days ago & to my great disappointment recvd no remittance for thy Note *now three Years over due* thy paying me Interest is no Equivalent for the use of the Money—I wrote to thee I should send thy note over and John Hammond Dorsey was the Person named to me as a Proper Man to be sent to, Butt hearing a respect I thought I would write once more & to request thou will by Way of Philada or Packett remitt Immediately

I cannot think my self well used to take thy Bussiness & withhold the Money for thy note, I know thou Neglected some others & I have heard thy Letter was Exposed on the Exchange, Butt I have kept my Complaint butt tell thee my Mind that my Frd Cha: Ridgely hurts his Creditt in this City—

I bear thee a real respect butt cannot avoid this Plain dealing, Capt Cha: Ridgely had not used to do so & as thou has ordered thy business elsewhere I have certainly a right to ask for my due—

I shall wait 4 Mos from this time before I send the note over as in that time the Packett goes & Comes & rest my self with a hope thou has more regard for thy Creditt Reputation & Honour than to delay a Remittance after this comes to hand—

I am with real respect to my Frd Charles Ridgely Butt thy Injured yett Real Frd

Thos Wagstaffe

The next month Wagstaffe advised Ridgely that, provisions being scarce in London, he had ordered from Joshua Fisher & Sons, of Philadelphia, a cargo of wheat and flour, and had sent the note —now four years over due—as payment:

London the 12 Dec 1767

Cha: Ridgely Junr

Esteemd Frd

I Expected thy remittance for the Note now upwards of 4 Years over due by the Tobacco Ships butt thou has faild me Butt Provisions being scarce here & an Importation of Wheat & flower allow'd I have sent to Joshua Fisher & Sons of Philadelphia for a Cargo of it & have remitted them thy Note of hand Value £64.18.6 & 3 years & 8 mos Interest due thereon amounting to £11.18.0 which after deducting £7.2.0 paid my Br

Richd Wagstaffe makes a Ballance of £69.14.6 & which they are to lay out in flower immediatly

I request thou will pay them that I may not be disappointed of the goods ordered by the very first opportunity—I charge thee butt 3 year 8 mos Interest tho' thy note has been due now upwards 4 years & the goods was chiefly plate an article as will bear no Creditt & Interest for the Money is not an Equivalent they have also with the Note thy letter proposing Interest—

I am very sorry to be obliged to take this Measure I had a belief my Frd Cha: Ridgely had more regard to his reputation & Carracter than [to] have delay'd a payment so long I wish to preserve a Friendship with thee & shall be very glad to see all Obstructions removed

I am respectfully Thy assured Frd

Thos Wagstaffe

The scene shifted across the Atlantic, and apparently Capt. Ridgely replied to the Fishers' request for the payment of the note by raising a point as to the rate of exchange—which sounds like so much quibbling:

Philada. April 13th 1768

Respected Friend

We Rece'd thy Letter of the 22d Ulto. & are oblig'd for thy intention of paying T. Wagstaffe's Ballce:—& in answer to thy request the general practice in Receiving Sterling Monies here is at the rate of Exchange at the time of payment & at wch. we shall receive this—for thy Governmt. Exche. is now 66 to 67½

We are with Respect Thy Assur'd Friends

Joshua Fisher & Sons

Eleven months later, the matter was still unsettled, and the Fishers notified Ridgely that the note was being sent to the Baltimore firm of William Lux & Bowly for immediate collection:

Philada. 3d Mo: 2d 1769—

Respected Friend

Agreeable to thy Request we now send thy Note, to Wm. Lux & Bowley, who we have Requested to settle with thee, & Receive the amount which we doubt not will be readily adjusted

We observe the Bill thee mentions to be ready is for the Ballc. due 12th Mo. (Decr.) 28th 1767, the Interest accrued thereon since we expect thee will likewise settle at the same time

Thou mentions in thy Letter, thy paying a large Sum for postage, in which we are rather apprehensive thou must be mistaken, however as

the Money has been long due, thou cannot Censure us nor our Frd. Wagstaffe, as being the occasion of it—

We are with Respect

Thy Assur'd Friends
Joshua Fisher & Sons

Wagstaffe's final letter, dated March 22,1769—within a month of six years after the original transaction—is a masterpiece of restraint. The conclusion is almost touching in its appeal: "Prithy old acquaintance do pay it immediately I really am in want of it." Surely this exemplifies in the highest degree the Quaker quality of patience:

London 22d March 1769

My old Frd
Cha: Ridgely

By the last Letters from Philada from J Fisher & Sons I am informd thou had not pd thy note—The Length of time since thou gave that note being almost 6 years & a Man of thy Property to neglect the Payment is unaccountable the Loss it is to Me in the Money being locked up the Injury it is to thy reputation both as a Man & a Merchant I think would Induce thee to gett rid of such a Burthen Prithy old acquaintance do pay it immediately I realy am in want of it & I shall think my self obliged by it

I am respectfully
Thy Assur'd Frd
Thos Wagstaffe

Before this appeal could have got out of sight of England the entire business was concluded. The note, having been sent to Joshua Fisher & Sons, of Philadelphia, was in turn endorsed by them to William Lux & Bowly, of Baltimore; and the final word is seen in the notation on the back: "Received 25 March 1769 The within Note with interest, being £0.69.14.6. [*sic*] for the use and by order of Joshua Fisher & Sons. Wm. Lux & Bowly."

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Cecil County, Maryland: a Study in Local History. By ALICE ETTA MILLER. Elkton, Maryland: C. & L. Printing & Specialty Co., 1949. 173 pp. $3.50.

A new county history is sure to arouse the interest of those concerned with the study of Maryland's past. The long-awaited publication of the late Miss Miller's work on Cecil County inevitably attracts attention, both within the county itself and in wider fields, especially since the only other Cecil County history, that by George Johnston published in 1881, is less interesting to the modern reader than one would wish. The foreword of this new work states that it was never intended to be an exhaustive history and the subtitle emphasizes this fact. It is not a formal history of the county, but it does contain much of the history of its various towns and regions. As supervisor of the elementary schools in Cecil County, the author felt the need of information on their own history for use in the schools and she has gathered together here material that might be so used. After some background of the early years of the county, she devotes attention to its several parts. Much of this regional material is in the nature of a guide-book to places of interest there: old houses, churches, schools, and inns. In the course of it, outstanding citizens are portrayed. It is gratifying to find early industrial activities, such as lumber transportation on the Susquehanna and fishing, recounted in some detail.

There is evidence here and there of some original research, but one would hardly expect to find much of this in a work of the kind this is intended to be. References to secondary sources are naturally frequent. In one of these, James Truslow Adams' *Provincial Society*, which is listed several times in the chapter on manners and customs, the material referred to is concerned with the early colonies in general or, perhaps in several instances, the Southern colonies as a whole, but it is likely that the absence of details on these aspects of the social history of Cecil County itself accounts for the application of these general descriptions.

Although the book was nearly finished at the time of the author's death in 1947, her sisters had the difficult task of completing the work of another, checking references, getting additional illustrations, and seeing the book through the press. It would be almost impossible to avoid all errors in such a case and a few occur in the footnotes. The book concludes with a brief bibliography and an index of proper names.

ELIZABETH C. LITSINGER.

Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library.

The Natural Bent. By PAUL B. BARRINGER. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949. viii, 280 pp. $3.50.

One who as a small boy bestrode Little Sorrel by permission of his aunt, owner of that famous warhorse because she was the widow of Stonewall Jackson; and who frequently visited the home of another aunt, whose husband's name was D. H. Hill, is certainly one whose roots strike deep into the history of the South. Add then that this small boy, growing up, became and for many years remained the most powerful force in the first modern medical school in Virginia, and it is needless to point out that his life was of the very stuff of Southern history.

The autobiography of Dr. Paul Barringer is thus a document of no small historical importance by reason of its matter; but its manner adds delight to importance. Dr. Barringer did not write this book for publication and he had been dead nearly ten years before it appeared; he set down his recollections for the information of his grandchildren. What he regarded as his important work is comprised in the scientific papers he contributed to learned journals as one of the leaders of his profession; this is merely what he thought the younger generation of Barringers ought to know about him and his times.

But the result is a luminous picture of the Old South seen through the eyes of one who richly merited the old-fashioned title of a gentleman and a scholar. For the mere succession of events one should consult the professional historians; Dr. Barringer pays small attention to chronology, jumping back and forth through the years to narrate what came to his mind in the order, not that it happened, but that it occurred to him; and he pays no attention at all to the great political and economic controversies of the period.

But as a picture of how Southerners of breeding and intelligence lived and thought and acted in the half-century following the Civil war it is superb. They were hard days, harder that the present generation can imagine, and life had an enforced simplicity due to financial poverty. But this book demonstrates that for all the lack of material things, that life held light and healing; so call it poverty-stricken is to apply a stupidly narrow definition to the term.

This is certainly as well worth knowing as how General Hoke manoeuvred at Cold Harbor, and which Governor succeeded which in the State of Virginia. Some indeed, think it better worth knowing, and to them "The Natural Bent" is not merely history, but history of a superior kind.

GERALD W. JOHNSON.

Pillars of Maryland. By FRANCIS SIMS MCGRATH. Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, Inc., 1950. xx, 580 pp. $5.00.

The author begins his work by picturing the political background and conditions in England and on the Continent which led to the settlement and development of our land. From this he proceeds to a vivid portrayal of the lives and manners of a particular group of personages who resided in Colonial Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York, and who, for the most part, were connected by ties of blood or intermarriage with one another. They were mostly representative of the highest class of citizen, by right of birth, breeding and intellectual qualifications. However, the author is free from prejudice, not only portraying cases where good breeding develops better people, but also showing an area in which good families intermarried and went to seed.

This volume is not intended to serve as a genealogical reference work; but a chart or two of some of the interrelated families would, perhaps, have been helpful in guiding the reader through the labyrinth of names, just as a blackboard demonstration assists in elucidating a lecture.

It was not the author's purpose to document his statements from original sources but, rather, to depend upon an extensive bibliography which, as he himself confesses, proved at times to be confusing and contradictory. If memory serves me, I believe it was the famous philosopher, Lord Bacon (Baron Verulam) who said: "Read not to cavil, nor yet to take for granted." It is a wise precept which should be followed not only by critical reviewers but also by the general reader.

Of course, there are errors in this book, such as when (p. 68) the author assures us "there was never a '*bar sinister*' in my family." There was never a "bar sinister" in any family, for the reason there is no such thing as "bar sinister" in heraldic terminalogy. If any squeamish expert of the English Heralds' College should see this debasement of the perfectly respectable and time-honored *bar* to the level of the *baton sinister*, he would probably experience a revulsion of feeling that might bring on an attack of—the Greeks had a word for it—*oxyrhegmia*, which is a dreadful thing.

The author tells us (p. 94) that Governor Leonard Calvert married a sister of Margaret Brent. This, at best, is only an inference. Whosoever was Leonard Calvert's wife and wheresoever Leonard was buried are two mysteries, the key to which was doubtless buried with Mistress Margaret Brent in her final resting-place in Virginia.

Again, the author repeats the romantic story (p. 316) that "Belair," the final home of Governor Samuel Ogle, near the present Bowie Station in Prince George's County, Md., was built by Benjamin Tasker, Sr., as a wedding gift for his young daughter, Anne, who became the bride of the Governor, a man who was twenty-nine years older than his bride, and only four years younger than his father-in-law. There is *documentary* evidence, in the files of the old Chancery Court at Annapolis, showing that Ogle became sole owner of "Belair" a few months prior to his mar-

riage to Anne Tasker, took his bride on a wedding trip to England and from there forwarded to his father-in-law written instructions about having a mansion built for him (Ogle) on the latter's property, the same to be completed and ready for occupancy by himself and wife against their contemplated return to Maryland in March, 1747. (See Culver, *Blooded Horses of Colonial Days*," pp. 36-40).

Your reviewer feels that while straining out these "gnats," he may have swallowed a "camel" or two while engrossed by the author's fascinating narrative. When all has been said, Mr. McGrath's work presents a lively and charming picture of a segment of Colonial Maryland life and culture in the golden period of her provincial existence. The book is very instructive and merits a high place among the sidelights on Maryland history. Its value is enhanced by splendid illustrations and reproductions of portraits and miniatures by famous artists; it contains seventeen pages of bibliography, a general index and a separate index of proper names.

FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER.

Andrew Bradford, Colonial Journalist. By ANNA JANNEY DEARMOND. Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 1949. vii, 272 pp.

Like other printers of the colonial period, Andrew Bradford kept a store and a post office and dealt in real estate, but he was primarily a printer, and is remembered as the major printer in Philadelphia before the era of Benjamin Franklin. In 1719 he established the *American Weekly Mercury*, the first newspaper published south of Boston, and in 1741 the *American Magazine*, a short-lived periodical, but withal the first magazine in America.

After gathering all the available information about the life of Andrew Bradford, Miss DeArmond devotes the major portion of her work to a thorough and detailed scrutiny of the contents of the *American Weekly Mercury*. In successive chapters she discusses the history of the newspaper, its treatment of foreign and colonial affairs, politics, social life, editorials and features, literature; and finally the popularity and influence of the *Mercury*. The book concludes with an analysis of the *American Magazine*.

For the first time a colonial journal, its advertisements as well as text, has been subjected to searching examination. And since the *Mercury's* influence extended beyond Philadelphia, the reader will find reflected in its pages a panorama of life in the Middle Colonies between 1719 and 1746. The mass of detail does not make for easy reading, but serious students will be rewarded by an increased knowledge of the thought processes and practical activities of an early society. The usefulness of this book is enhanced by complete, accurate documentation and an excellent index.

ROLLO G. SILVER.

Peabody Institute Library.

Backwoods Utopias. The Sectarium and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America: 1633-1829. By ARTHUR EUGENE BESTOR, JR. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950. 288 pp. $3.50.

Dr. Bestor's study of the socialistic communities sponsored by religious and Owenite groups from the decade just before the Revolution to the Jacksonian era combines such a high standard of scholarship with such excellent exposition that the reader wishes it were longer. Historians have tended to dismiss these experiments (and it is important to remember that the sponsors looked upon them as experiments also) as products of idealists while centering attention upon "practical" reforms. They have done so partly because of the general impression that such experiments failed; partly from their certainty that today's social and economic problems cannot be solved by such methods. Dr. Bestor shows that while the movement failed to gather the momentum its faithful anticipated, many communities, albeit those with a sectarian base, were distinct successes, and indeed it was their very success which encouraged secular reformers. Dr. Bestor's study also tends to correct a more dangerous historical attitude. He tells the reader he is going to view these utopias through the eyes of contemporaries who regarded them as serious and reasonable attempts at reform. Such an approach could be profitably adopted by those historians who, feeling compelled to discover a stream of development from the past to the present, have been led into dubious similarities and comparisons.

Dr. Bestor prefers the word "communitarian" to the usual "communistic" to describe this type of socialism, "a system of social reform based on small communities," and the word has the virtue of accuracy if not beauty. He proceeds to trace the origins of sectarian communitarianism from Europe to the United States where the Shakers, the Rappites, and the Moravians developed their equalitarian ideas "to fullest flower." It is here particularly that the reader would appreciate longer treatment. Although the book's subtitle leads one to expect at least an equally detailed discussion of the sectarian aspects of the movement with that of the Owenite phase, only one of eight chapters is devoted to these groups where success was most marked. If anything had to be sacrificed to space the account of European observers' comments on communitarian experiments might have been, particularly since many were made after 1829 when the study is supposed to end. Most of the book is devoted to Owen's experiment at New Harmony. Particularly satisfactory is the appraisal of Owen's personality—sincere even as a publicist and dogmatist—but failing in the practical matters of economic reality and democratic government. While his son was struggling with these matters, Owen was away making more friends for New Harmony. He made many—one is tempted to say too many. It was imperative that the community contain a balance of trades so that it could become self-sustaining; instead, persons were allowed to enter indiscriminately.

The fine study which Dr. Bestor has produced should lead us to anticipate an equally important contribution in the volume on the forties and fifties which he has projected.

BLANCHE D. COLL.

Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 2nd edition. Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1949.

Although described on its title page as a second edition, this handbook to one of the great historical collections of America is in large part a new compilation, superseding and replacing the *Guide* prepared ten years ago by the Historical Records Survey. The new *Guide*, published on the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the Society's founding, contains 1,611 numbered entries covering 4,000,000 manuscripts, as compared with 1940's 1,141 collections of 2,500,000 items. Early in the volume, collections are described in alphabetical order; thereafter the order appears to be that of acquisition. Except for 200,000 items pertaining to foreign countries, the manuscripts are largely of Pennsylvania interest, many of the collections being, as Richard N. Williams' introduction points out, important sources for national history.

Indexing is greatly improved. Under numerous headings, such as Diaries, Travels, and Letter Books, there is a helpful chronological breakdown by decades. Under other headings, the reader is guided through a wilderness of references by the use of bold face numerals for the major collections. Index references are to the number of the individual collection, and this reviewer has not attempted to count the unnumbered pages of text and index. Such inevitable words as "miscellaneous" appear to have been used too often in descriptions where other expressions might have been employed to introduce more subject references for indexing. In such matters, however, the first stone should be cast by those who have done better with similar masses of material. Admirably free of unnecessary scholarly paraphernalia, such as excessive use of square brackets, the volume is typographically clear and readable. Other compilations have attained greater economy in printing without loss of clarity.

FRANCIS L. BERKELEY, JR.

University of Virginia Library.

Early Connecticut Meetinghouses. By J. FREDERICK KELLY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. 2 vols. $40.00.

This two-volume compendium about the early religious architecture of Connecticut was written by the authority on the architecture of that state. Its purpose was "to make as complete a record as possible of every existing edifice in Connecticut before 1830 which has architectural interest and to

present in readily available form all that is known or can be learned regarding the earlier, now-vanished structures that preceded them."

In the early days of this section of New England the churches were called "meetinghouses," whereas "church" meant the local assembly of worshippers. The meetinghouses were used for both religious and civil matters pertaining to the colony. At first, some meetings armed themselves against the Indians. Also you could not cut a church service, because attendance was required by law. People were seated in the meetinghouse according to "age; dignity of descent; place of public trust; pious disposition; estate; peculiar serviceableness of any kind." This system of priority was called "dignifying the seats." Men and women were usually separated, and the tithing-man took care of the children.

In appearance the Connecticut meetinghouses never had "an intimate and moving charm; austerity and reserve ever indicate their Puritan origin." At any rate, the earliest type of structure, according to Kelly, was probably of log and possessed a thatch roof. The second type is represented by the timber-framed, square, edifice with pyramid roof. It is unfortunate that examples of these first two classes have "all vanished generations ago without description or adequate record." The third kind, flourishing "well into the 18th century," was of the Sir Christopher Wren type, with tower and steeple on the front, and with main entrance on the long side. But the fourth type, called Post Colonial in style, marked the climax of church development in Connecticut. Examples were marked usually by a tower on the roof and a columned portico or entrance bay on the front, in the approved James Gibbs' manner. Palladian windows—at that time called "Venetian windows"—appeared; and orange, blue, and other gay paints were employed on the walls. Kelly believed that the fourth type of meetinghouse was largely due to Bulfinch's church of 1789 at Pittsfield, Massachusetts. In Connecticut there were at least two noted designers of the Gibbsonian church: David Hoadley and Ithiel Town.

Most of Kelly's handsome well-illustrated study comprises a descriptive catalogue of examples ranging from "Abington" to "Woodstock." Each meetinghouse is presented usually in the following manner: history, technical remarks, exterior and interior photographs, photographic details such as pulpit or main doorway, measured floor plan, and roof truss drawing. Occasionally the photographs of churches are varied by others, such as an "Old Diagram of Seating Arrangement," or "Decon Hart's Barn." At one meetinghouse it was fortunate that Kelly made permanent records, because the structure was already on its last legs and the sash were literally hanging out the windows.

This book marks the *opus magnum* of the author's life studies. It is to be regretted that there is one important error, that of describing the earliest meetinghouses of Connecticut as constructions of horizontal logs. According to Kelly, "the tradition of log construction is persistent in Connecticut, appearing in all parts of the state and often vouched for by descendants of the original settlers. Furthermore, some historical writers of position and authority have upheld it, and actually in three towns the

records specifically mention this form of construction in votes to build meetinghouses." The author illustrates the first meetinghouse at Middletown and the first meetinghouse (1635) in Connecticut at Hartford as log structures. Yet the source of the first is a book published in 1853 and of the second a book printed in 1837. The latter, Barber's *Connecticut Historical Collection*, is even quoted to reveal to us that the drawing of the log meetinghouse at Hartford "was obtained from a gentleman now deceased." (!)

When the town records of Connecticut specify log construction, the records are late. For instance, the Washington First Congregational Church of 1742 "might have been built of logs," according to Kelly, because Turner's *Church of Judea*, published in 1892, "had all his information 'from the earliest records.'"

At any rate there were no log churches or log houses built in Connecticut in the first half of the seventeenth century. In colony after colony from Maine to Carolina Harold R. Shurtleff has disproved the *log cabin myth* in his book of that title published in 1939 by the Harvard University Press. For all its falling into the log cabin "trap," Kelly's is a praiseworthy work and a remarkable accomplishment for one individual. Maryland, or any other state, would be fortunate to have its churches treated and recorded in as complete and authoritative a manner.

HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN.

Agnes Scott College.

The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor. By HENRY J. BROWNE, Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1949. xxxviii, 415 pp. $5.00.

Father Browne has written an important study of the late nineteenth century relations between the Catholic Church and Labor in the United States. It will be most welcome to those who desire to probe for an understanding of the broad factors in history which underlie the association of the clergy with labor in their combined efforts to find a solution to the social question. Of particular interest to Marylanders is the author's account of Cardinal Gibbons' attitude towards the labor movement. For it was he who prevented higher authority in Rome from condemning the Knights of Labor in the United States, although a precedent had been set for such action by a decree forwarded in August 1884 to the Archbishop of Quebec from the Congregation of the Holy Office (Inquisition) allowing the latter to place the Knights under the ban in Canada. That the Baltimore Cardinal could not quietly abide the consequences of such a decision in the United States goes almost without saying. To have condemned the Knights of Labor would have alienated the Catholic worker from the Church and drive him headlong into the waiting arms of the Socialists. It is to Gibbons' credit that, in obtaining a reconsideration of Labor's

cause in Rome in 1887, he served the interests of the State to no less extent than he served the interests of the Church. Indeed in no better way could the Cardinal exemplify his unique function as a tempering balance wheel between a " foreign Church " and an America in which Catholicism was frankly suspect.

If, however, neither His Eminence nor the bulk of the Catholic Hierarchy appreciated the full import of the problem with which they were wrestling, or, if they failed to seize the extraordinary opportunity thus fortuitously thrust on them at that moment, they cannot be blamed otherwise except that they were lacking in political foresight. Father Browne wisely refrains from taking the Bishops to task. On the other hand, he does not excuse nor does he minimize their culpable shortcomings no more than he tries to find evidence of social prescience, among Catholics generally, where none in fact exists. No doubt, when Dr. John Tracy Ellis publishes his forthcoming life of Cardinal Gibbons, he will advance the full picture of the interplay of material and spiritual forces which marked Labor's success in preventing the Catholic Church from thwarting their attempted rise to power in the noontide of Populism in the United States.

Nevertheless, that is not to take away from Father Browne's accomplishment, which is most noteworthy. For whether the reader be Catholic or non-Catholic, he will be grateful that the author of this study has been fit to gather together and correlate so many and so diverse views on such significant labor questions; that he has presented so sober and sympathetic an appreciation of a great American Labor leader, Terence V. Powderly; and that he has appended to the work so admirable an essay on sources for the enlightened guidance of both casual reader and conscientious scholar.

HARRY W. KIRWIN.

Loyola College.

Alexander Pope's Prestige in America, 1725-1835. By AGNES MARIE SIBLEY. King's Crown Press. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. 158 pp. $2.50 (paper).

This volume, a Columbia University dissertation, is a comprehensive survey-study of the fact and significance of Pope's great vogue in America during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Miss Sibley has very wisely " taken only a sampling " from what she believes to be " representative newspapers and periodicals in various parts of the country." She has verified for the permanent record certain already well-known assumptions about Pope's popularity as a literary artist, both in mastery of technical craftsmanship and depth of inspiration, as moral and ethical guide, and as a text in persuasive rhetoric. She quotes with discrimination actual criticism of his works in this country, and utilizing a great number of available documents—newspapers, periodicals, booksellers' lists, library catalogues, and poetical miscellanies—she indicates convincingly the great extent to

which his poetry was read and his ideas circulated in every colony-state. Since the work does not attempt to treat purely aesthetic considerations of Pope's influence on early American poetry, one wishes that Miss Sibley had relegated to appendices even more of her factual data and had treated at length a subject she writes about competently, Pope's effect on what we have come to call the " American mind." This is a careful study, well-organized, fully documented and indexed.

PHILIP MAHONE GRIFFITH.

The Johns Hopkins University.

Map Makers & Indian Traders. An Account of John Paten Trader, Arctic Explorer, and Map Maker; Charles Swaine Author, Trader, Public Official, and Arctic Explorer; Theodorus Swaine Drage Clerk, Trader, and Anglican Priest. By HOWARD N. EAVENSON. University of Pittsburgh Press, 1949. $10.00.

The positive identification of an anonymous old map is only slightly less difficult than the identification of a manuscript containing nothing but words. This is especially true of maps made during the 18th century, when handwriting as well as map drafting were frequently stylized. And whereas a manuscript may be identified and even dated by the statements and ideas it contains, there is often a sad dearth of internal evidence to identify the maker of a map or the year in which it was drawn. There is also the possibility that a map is a tracing or fair copy of an original made some years earlier by another hand.

Mr. Eavenson spent fifteen years in search of documents which would positively identify an anonymous manuscript map in the Library of Congress known only as " The Trader's Map," perhaps the earliest to locate and identify the presence of bituminous coal " Sea Coal " in the region depicted. The map is bounded on the north by the 44th parallel, on the south by the 38th parallel, on the west by the Ohio below the mouth of the Wabash River, and on the east by the town of Juniata. An interesting colonial document, this map has been identified by Mr. Eavenson, " as certainly as it can be shown without finding a signed copy," as the work of John Patten, a trader and sometime arctic explorer who made a voyage along the coast of Labrador on the " Argo," Captain Charles Swaine.

The size and contents of this study attests the years of patient and painstaking research that went into it; and the fact that Mr. Eavenson failed to locate a signed copy of the map does not detract from the value or quality of his labors. His evidence is circumstantial, he states, but no pains were spared to remove all elements of doubt as to the author of the map or the date, which he establishes as 1752. In support of his claim, Mr. Eavenson presents an abundance of primary source material, including notes on Captain Swaine and Theodorus Swaine Drage, " Clerk, trader and Anglican priest," and on the background and colorful life of John Patten

himself. He also presents in evidence thirty-four "Appendices" in the form of letters, depositions, excerpts from account books and notes on other Patten maps.

This monograph, produced in a very attractive format by the University of Pittsburgh Press, is well printed and bound. The bibliography and index add greatly to its value as a research tool, and the full-scale collotype reproduction of "The Trader's Map" folded and bound in, will enable anyone who so desires to continue the search where Mr. Eavenson decided to call a halt.

LLOYD A. BROWN.

Peabody Institute Library.

A History of Printing in Maryland, 1791-1800; with a Bibliography of Works Printed in the State during the Period. By A. RACHEL MINNICK. Baltimore: Enoch Pratt Free Library, 1949. Mimeographed. 603 pp. $3.50.

A History of Printing in Maryland, 1791-1800 completes the list of Maryland imprints from 1685 to 1800 which was begun by Lawrence C. Wroth in his *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland* and continued by Joseph T. Wheeler in his *Maryland Imprints, 1777-1790.* Maryland is indeed fortunate in having so complete a record of its early printing, for in these originals the historian and bibliographer finds the true picture of the state and its people, and its importance in the founding and building of America. This work, covering the last decade of the 18th Century, reflects the changes caused by the rapid expansion of the new nation. The number of newspapers and magazines alone, published in these years, shows the demand for news by the swiftly increasing population both in the established centers of the East and the newer settlements in the Western parts of the state, and the demands of the new commercial and industrial activity of Baltimore. It was an era of relative national peace and prosperity and the result is clearly demonstrated by the printing of the time.

Miss Minnick's work contains a text of 220 pages, in which she presents "a picture of Maryland's printing activities . . . through the lives of the men who operated the presses." She gives a succinct account of each of the forty-five printers in the state, thirty-two of whom worked in Baltimore, and of their important works in the field of printing. Though classified by the type of work they did, the text is more a chronological account of the lives of these men and women, than an historical narrative of the time. Dr. Wroth said, in the conclusion to his *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, page 146, speaking of the work still to be done in the field: "After them [the Goddards] and indeed in later years, came so many printers, such a flood of pamphlets, books and newspapers that the problem of keeping clear the record becomes one to be solved by catalogue making rather than by historical narrative." And in comparing this work with Dr. Wroth's and Dr. Wheeler's volumes one can see the enormous task confronting Miss Minnick and can realize how well she has

handled and presented the material. Dr. Wroth, for a period of about 90 years (1685-1776) found 21 printers and 393 items; Dr. Wheeler, for 13 years, lists 18 printers and 550 items; Miss Minnick, for 10 years, has 45 printers and 637 items. The 281-page "Imprint Bibliography" includes books, pamphlets, broadsides, music and newspapers. It is arranged chronologically, each entry containing a transcript of the title-page, collation and bibliographical notes, location of known copies and sources of information, and Evans reference numbers. The "Appendices" consisting of graphs and full "Bibliography of Works Consulted" are a valuable addition for the scholar wishing to pursue studies in this field. The index is full and complete and makes easy use of the volume.

It seems unfortunate that such an important work could not have been issued in printed and lasting form. The very size alone, necessitated by mimeographing, makes it unwieldy and difficult to use. The lack of contrast in size of type and spacing, possible with printed type, makes it monotonous and confusing reading at times. Perhaps the difficulty of proof reading from mimeograph stencils can account for the errors discovered, rather than to careless work on the part of Miss Minnick. Out of nine originals in the John Work Garrett Library, checked against the entries, seven were found to contain errors in the transcription of the title-pages. Several errors also were noted in the footnotes in the text where reference is made to the items in the imprint Bibliography. These are serious faults and should be borne in mind by those using the bibliography for accurate comparison of issues and copies.

A History of Printing in Maryland, 1791-1800 is a fine and useful work, and one that will be wanted by all libraries, bibliographers and book collectors of early Maryland material. With its publication Maryland can boast as complete a bibliography of its printing history as any state, and it makes available to all, these valuable sources of our history.

ELIZABETH BAER.

John Work Garrett Library.

Artists in the Life of Charleston: Through Colony and State From Restoration to Reconstruction. By ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 39, Part 2,) Philadelphia: The Society, 1949. Pp. [99]-260.

Everything from the pen of Anna Wells Rutledge relating to early American painting is worth while, and as might be expected her latest publication on artists in Charleston, her native city, has not only great local interest but is also a valuable contribution to the history of art in the United States in general. The story she tells embraces more than a century and a half, from the early settlement of that city to the close of the War Between the States. In covering thoroughly the art history of an important cultural centre like Charleston, the author has traced for us the activities not only of the local artists, but also of many well known visiting painters

of national prominence. We also encounter here the names of numbers of lesser artists, who, because of Charleston's early geographic isolation, are assumed to have confined their work to this neighborhood, but with these names now before us in a convenient form for reference, we will doubtless be able to trace certain of them to other centres where their significance has not been suspected.

All possible source material for this study has been thoroughly searched: newspaper files beginning with the *South Carolina Gazette* in 1732, old letters and diaries, wills and inventories, family traditions, and the evidence presented by the paintings themselves. There unfolds for us in these pages a procession of painters, both men and women, of portraits, miniatures, and landscapes, of silhouettists, wax miniaturists, teachers of art, engravers, art exhibitions, as well as the drawings by noted naturalist-artists of the fauna and flora of South Carolina.

Although one suspects that she may have had a predecessor, Henrietta Johnston, the wife of the Anglican rector of St. Phillip's, Charleston, with her attractive pastels, is to be considered as having laid the foundation stone of painting in Charleston in 1708, which she continued to build upon for twenty years. Jeremiah Theus, probably from the Continent, was the court limner of aristocratic South Carolina from 1740 until his death in 1774. John Wollaston, the English portrait painter who painted in nearly all the American cities about this time, spent some two years in Charleston in the mid-sixties. Henry Benbridge and his wife, best known for their miniatures, paid several visits to South Carolina in the seventies, eighties, and nineties of the eighteenth century. Mark Catesby in the twenties, and John Bartram in the sixties, did sketches and paintings in South Carolina of its fauna and flora, which were later to appear in sumptuous form in Catesby's *Natural History* and Bartram's *Travels*, both landmarks in the natural history of America.

During the Revolutionary period art and artists were relatively quiescent in the South as elsewhere in the colonies, but were to be revived in the nineties of the Federal period. James Earl from Massachusetts was a resident of Charleston from 1794 until his death there in 1796; in the winter of 1795-1796, the two brothers, Raphaelle Peale and Rembrandt Peale, sons of Charles Willson Peale, showed their "Collection of Portraits" in Charleston, where Raphaelle doubtless secured sufficient orders for his miniatures to induce him to return later, and Rembrandt, just embarking on his painting career, may have received orders for his then rather immature oils. In 1796 Charles Fraser, of the socially élite of Charleston, began his notable career as a miniaturist and landscapist, a career which was to continue for more than half a century. Washington Allston, another native South Carolinian of the same social group, who painted in an exaggerated romantic style, left in early life to follow a painting career in France, Italy, and New England, but returned to Charleston in his latter years. Edward Greene Malbone from Newport, the justly noted painter, made frequent visits and painted numerous beautiful miniatures in South Carolina between 1800 and 1812.

The seventeen nineties brought to the United States a number of French painters, either émigrés from France at the time of the Revolution or later from the French West Indies, especially from Santo Domingo, as a result of the 1793-1794 Negro insurrection there. These came to the various American seaport cities, especially Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston, of which the last city got its full share. Many of these were itinerant miniature painters. Some, such as St. Memin, did notable work, but it is of interest that this French inundation made little permanent impression upon American painting, which continued to follow the English tradition. Among these French painters who were in Charleston, in addition to St. Memin, were the Boudets, father and son, the deMillieres, Henri, Yallee, de Clorivière (Picot), and others now remembered only by their French names.

American painters of national reputation who visited Charleston in the first half of the nineteenth century were Cephas Thompson of Connecticut, who first visited Charleston in 1804, returning again in 1818 and 1822; Samuel F. B. Morse in 1818; J. W. Jarvis in 1820; John Vanderlyn in 1822; Samuel Osgood in 1830. Visiting miniature painters at this time were Anson Dickinson, 1812; Louis Collas, 1816; and Benjamin Trott, 1819. Thomas Sully first appears in 1840 and again in 1842; and George L. Saunders, the English miniaturist in 1848. The Bogle brothers were painting in Charleston from 1840 to 1850, and occasionally even later. John James Audubon first appeared in 1830, and in 1834 exhibited his celebrated water color drawings of birds and flowers as the advance salesman of his *Birds of America.* A few years before Titian Peale, in 1824, had been making drawings at the Museum, doubtless to be used as illustrations for Charles Lucian Bonaparte's *American Ornithology,* which was published in 1828. Of local painters of this period, the miniaturists Henry B. Bounetheau and his wife Junia Clarkson Dupré are perhaps the best known.

Miss Rutledge lists nearly 400 artists as working in Charleston during the period she covers. These she groups in an appendix under portrait painters, miniature painters, pastelists, profilists, landscape painters, fancy painters, and scene painters, and also under drawing schools, restorers, sculptors and carvers. It is only possible here to refer to a few conspicuous painters. It is to be regretted that it was not possible to tell us more about the architects who were responsible for Charleston's noted buildings, although there is brief mention of Robert Mills, a native of South Carolina, perhaps the first really notable American-born architect.

It is gratifying to those interested in the early history of American painters and painting that a learned society such as the venerable American Philosophical Society, realizing the importance of art in the cultural tradition of the country, is now beginning to publish under its sponsorship, important studies on this subject. This contribution by Miss Rutledge is soon to be followed by a volume, under the same aegis, on the paintings of Charles Willson Peale, sometimes referred to as the Painter of the American Revolution, written by Peale's scholarly great-great-grandson, Charles Coleman Sellers.

J. HALL PLEASANTS.

James Madison: Father of the Constitution: 1787-1800. By IRVING BRANT. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1950. 520 pp. $6.00.

What's past is prologue. In this third volume of his projected four-volume—and, as it now appears, definitive—study of Madison, Mr. Brant comes to grips with the most important part of an important career, the period for which the first two volumes, and the first thirty-six years of life, carefully prepared. *James Madison: Father of the Constitution* covers only the years 1787-1800, and it is easy to see why Mr. Brant, who when he began to write intended this third volume to include the presidential years and be the last, had to extend his plan. It would take a stronger character than a rapt biographer to omit any of the material used here.

Some of the material is new. Throughout, the treatment of it most certainly is, so that we see into crevices of Madison's mind and political character never illuminated before. I, who have gone twice carefully straight through the Madison Papers in the Library of Congress have felt baffled on many points which Mr. Brant is now interpreting to my satisfaction. He has an increasingly apparent talent for political interpretation. This is added to the kind of scholarship we used to mean when the word was less loosely used, to a painstaking attention to detail, to a dominant idea the detail never obscures, and to a light touch that certainly does no harm.

The virtues of the detailed approach to biography appear in this volume more clearly than in the earlier ones. I remember tiring, for example, in Volume One while the author labored the exquisitely unimportant question of whether Madison's mother were named Nelly or Eleanor Conway. There being, almost literally, no unimportant questions which present themselves now, the exhaustive treatment is always constructive and welcome in Volume Three.

Its highlight is the beginning from which it takes its name, the Federal Convention in Philadelphia. Madison was the first delegate to get there, and the symbolism may not be overlooked. He was, indeed, the Father of the Constitution that convention made. Mr. Brant, who is at his best in day-by-day political analysis, excels himself in these chapters; and his untangling of Madison's relationships with the other great men of his time—Jefferson, Hamilton, Patrick Henry—increases our knowledge of them all. To review his book in the sense of recapitulating the material it covers would be an oversimplification which seems a shame, since oversimplification of Madison and his times and his politics is just what Mr. Brant is writing to rectify. To review it in the critical sense is more reasonable but hard. There is so little to say but praise; and those little things that any reviewer can ferret out in any book—tastes being notoriously different and reviewers notoriously mean—are better left unsaid. *James Madison: Father of the Constitution* is the high point of a work of the first rank, biography as more people ought to write it but as very few people can.

ELLEN HART SMITH

NOTES AND QUERIES

PAUL HAMILTON HAYNE AND THE POE WESTMINSTER MEMORIAL

By FRANCIS B. DEDMOND

Before the Civil War, Paul Hamilton Hayne had established himself as an editor and as a poet. At the age of twenty-three, he became the first editor of *Russell's Magazine*, the literary outlet for the antebellum literati of Charleston, South Carolina. By 1860, Hayne had published three volumes of poems which were so successful that he was encouraged to make literature his vocation. Even "the established poets of the North, Bryant, Whittier, Longfellow, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and others accepted him as one of the literary guild, and held out to him a hand of kindly welcome." [1]

During the bombardment of Charleston, in the early stages of the Civil War, Hayne's beautiful home and his large library were completely destroyed, and he moved to Copse Hill, near Augusta, Georgia, where he continued his literary labors. In 1872, his volume of poems, *Legends and Lyrics*, appeared, followed in 1875 by *The Mountain of the Lovers*. In addition to his writing, he carried on an extensive correspondence with the leading literary figures of both England and America. However, he never forgot the South and its literature. One of the compelling desires of Hayne's life after the Civil War was that Southern literature should once again flourish. But with the renaissance of literature in the South, eminent Southern men of letters of the past must not be forgotten.

One of the projects which lay nearest to the heart of Paul Hamilton Hayne was the erection of a suitable monument at "Poe's neglected grave;" [2] yet few people in his own day knew of his efforts; and were it not for the fact that Hayne carefully preserved his correspondence, his part in the securing of funds for the Poe Westminster Memorial may have been completely forgotten.

Hayne probably was not fully aware of the activities of the Poe Memorial Fund Committee, composed principally of citizens of Baltimore; conse-

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[1] Margaret J. Preston, "Paul Hamilton Hayne," *The Southern Bivouac*, N. S., II (1886-1887), 223.

[2] See the address of William Elliott, Jr., President of Baltimore City College, on the occasion of the dedication of the memorial, November 17, 1875, in William F. Gill, *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1877), p. 276 ff. in which he points out that "'Poe's neglected grave' was the stereotyped expression of those modern Jeremiahs" who had written innumerable articles deploring the condition of Poe's grave. Hayne may have been one of those whom Elliott had in mind.

quently, he was not correct, it seems, in his claim, made in a letter to the poet Swinburne, that he had begun the first project to secure a Poe monument, unless he had begun such a project prior to the Civil War.[3] However, in his very warm reply to Hayne's letter, dated June 22, 1875, Swinburne wrote:

> I received your letter with pleasure, and am sincerely obligated by your kind offer of Poe's autograph, which I should much value. Let me heartily congratulate you on the honour of having been the first to set on foot the project of a monument to that wonderful and exquisite poet. It was time that America should do something to shew public reverence for the only one (as yet) among her men of genius who have won not merely English but European fame.[4]

The Poe Memorial Fund Committee, nine years after the initial efforts to secure funds for the proposed memorial, had less than $900 on hand.[5] Probably about the last of November, 1874, Hayne wrote to George W. Childs, publisher of the *Public Ledger* of Philadelphia, obviously enclosing a clipping of an article he had written concerning "poor Poe's grave." About the same time, the chairman of the Poe Memorial Fund Committee wrote to Mr. Childs and "within twenty-four hours, a reply was received from that gentleman, expressive of his willingness to make up the estimated deficiency of $650." [6] It seems a coincidence that Hayne from Georgia and the chairman of the Poe Memorial Fund Committee from Baltimore should have written to Mr. Childs almost simultaneously about the same matter since there seems to be no evidence of any direct connection between the efforts of the two. Hayne's letter, however, reached Childs first; and the promptness of Child's reply to the Baltimore request is explained by the fact that he had already determined to make the gift. Childs wrote the following letter to Hayne to explain his gift to the Baltimore group:

> Phil. Dec 1st, 1874
>
> My dear Sir:
>
> I am in receipt of your polite favor.
>
> It was through the reading of your article on poor Poe's Grave that I offered to pay all the expenses of putting a suitable monument over his remains.
>
> In the meantime parties who had already started on the matter wrote to me on the subject, and I enclose copies of the correspondence showing the present state of the case.
>
> With high esteem
>
> Very truly yours,
> Geo. W. Childs [7]

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[3] See *ibid.*, in which Elliott claims that the first step toward erection of a Poe monument was taken at a regular meeting of the Public School Teachers' Association on October 7, 1865, at which time a committee was appointed to devise a method of raising money for the monument.

[4] A. C. Swinburne to Paul Hamilton Hayne, June 22, 1875, in the Paul Hamilton Hayne Collection of Duke University. Permission to quote from this and other letters in the Paul Hamilton Hayne Collection was graciously given by the Duke University Library.

[5] Gill, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-280.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 280.

[7] George W. Childs to Paul Hamilton Hayne, December 1, 1874, in the Paul Hamilton Hayne Collection of Duke University. John H. B. Latrobe was also in

Whether Childs informed the Poe Memorial Fund Committee of Hayne's part in the securing of the final $650 is not known. Hayne, however, was not invited to participate in the dedication ceremonies of the Poe Westminster Memorial, but his interest in Poe's final resting place never ceased. Two years later, he wrote to Frances Christine Fisher,[8] Southern novelist and warm friend of his, asking that on her trip to Baltimore she pluck a flower for him from Poe's grave.[9]

Descendants of Robert Brooke—On Saturday, July first, it is planned to hold exercises to celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of Robert Brooke at his newly acquired manor, "De lè Brooke," on the Patuxent River, St. Mary's County.

As the owner of the present Manorhouse, I shall be more than happy to send invitations for the occasion to all actual descendants of Robert Brooke who feel disposed to get in touch with me.

L. McCormick-Goodhart,
Box 186, R. F. D. 1, Alexandria, Virginia.

Semmes Bible—The whereabouts of a Semmes family Bible, owned successively by Major Benedict Joseph Semmes, of Memphis, Tenn., Mrs. Matilda (Jenkins) Semmes, wife of Raphael Semmes of Georgetown, Mrs. Dr. Payne of Warrenton, Va., Father A. J. Semmes, of Sharon, Ga., and the late Raphael T. Semmes, the genealogist, is being sought by Mr. Clayton Torrence, c/o Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Va. Anyone knowing where this Bible containing Semmes family entries can be found is asked to communicate with Mr. Torrence.

Griffin–Camphor—Information is wanted regarding the parentage of Philip Griffin of Baltimore and Baltimore County, miller, born 1782-87; died August 2, 1854; married about 1808 (where?) Rachel Camphor, born about 1791 and died about Oct.-Dec. 1825. Among children were: Mary; Robert Burns; George, James E.; John H.; Edward Burns. Parentage of Rachel Camphor especially wanted. Her mother Susanna (?) Camphor is known to have died at Baltimore about 1833-34 (also spelled Campford-Campher-Camper-Kampfer etc.) Phillip Griffin m. 2nd, Elizaberth Martin; recorded Dec. 11, 1826 and also Aug. 31, 1837 at Methodist E. Church. Children were: Andrew, Joseph, and Amanda.

R. G. Smith,
2904 13th St. South, Arlington, Va.

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correspondence with Mr. Childs about the Poe monument at the same time that Hayne wrote him. See, John E. Semmes, *John H. B. Latrobe and His Times, 1803-1891* (Baltimore, 1917), pp. 564-66.

[8] She wrote under the pseudonym of Christian Reid.

[9] Frances Christine Fisher to Paul Hamilton Hayne, November 12, 1877, in the Paul Hamilton Hayne Collection of Duke University. This letter is in reply to Hayne's letter in which he made the request.

Uniforms—A study of Baltimore Militia Uniforms (1800-1820) is being undertaken by an interested group of military historians and artists. Any information on these uniforms (sketches, drawings, descriptions, parts of uniforms, hats, buttons, etc.) will be most gratefully accepted by the undersigned.

Harry D. Berry, Jr.,
37 Alleghany Ave., Towson 4, Md.

Coombes—Information is wanted on parents of Amelia Coombs. Harford Co. marriage records show she married Aug. 10, 1791, Philip (Ruley) Reiley. Shortly thereafter they moved to Winchester, Va., circa the death of his father, Martin Reyle.

Possible parents of Amelia Coombs, then living in Harford Co., Md. were:—

Colman Combes, formerly of Harford Co. See Md. Testamentary Bk. 47, p. 44, Washington Co., Md.

Jacob Combes(t) Sr., who died 1767-69. See Md. Testamentary Bks. 42, 43, 44, Harford Co.

Utery Combes, U. S. Census, 1790, Harford Co.

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

Gartrell—Information is wanted regarding ancestry and Revolutionary War record of Joseph Gartrell, born in either Anne Arundel, Frederick or Montgomery County twenty years or more prior to the Revolution. He and his brothers Francis and John were Maryland State Militiamen and were given land grants for this service in Georgia, where they moved shortly after the war. Data wanted as to births, marriages, etc.

Joseph Baird Magnus
16 Desbrosses St., New York 13, N. Y.

CONTRIBUTORS

DR. TILGHMAN, formerly a member of the faculty of St. John's College, has previously contributed several articles on the history of the College ☆ A prominent architect, MR. WATERMAN is wel lknown for his researches in the history of American colonial architecture. ☆ MR. WROTEN, a native of Dorchester County, is at present a Ph. D. candidate at the University of Colorado. ☆ A lineal descendant of Captain Ridgely, DR. HOYT formerly was Librarian of the Maryland Historical Society and is now on the faculty of Loyola College, Baltimore.
