

# MARYLAND

## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



"Wades Point," Bay Hundred, Talbot County  
*From a Watercolor*

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BALTIMORE

*December* · 1954

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## MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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FRED SHELLEY, *Editor*

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

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## THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, President; JAMES W. FOSTER, Director

The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, was organized to collect, preserve and spread information relating to the history of Maryland and of the United States. Its threefold program includes

1. Collection of manuscript and printed materials, maps, prints, paintings, furniture, silver, fabrics, maritime items, and other objects of interest;
2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items, the *Archives of Maryland* and the record of Maryland in World War II under the authority of the State and other serial and special publications.

The annual dues of the Society are \$5.00, life membership \$100.00. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 4. *June 15 to Sept. 15*, daily 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 2.

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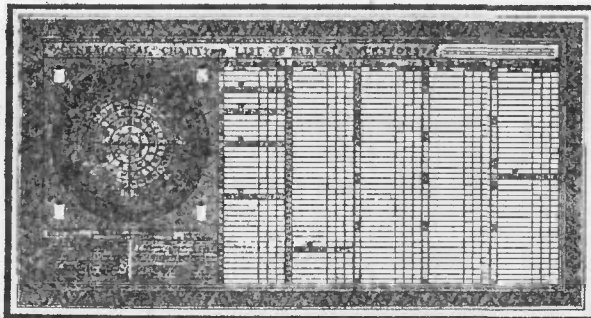
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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

*A Quarterly*

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Volume XLIX

DECEMBER, 1954

Number 4

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## THE UNVEILING OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF THE STAR- SPANGLED BANNER

**I**N the Main Gallery and adjoining Library of the Keyser Memorial, headquarters of the Maryland Historical Society, a large audience assembled for the unveiling of the original manuscript of The Star-Spangled Banner. President George L. Radcliffe opened the meeting at 8:20 p. m. on September 14, 1954.

MR. RADCLIFFE:

Ladies and Gentlemen: You are present tonight to witness an outstanding event in the history of the Society.

Before proceeding with the program I shall ask Father Driscoll to offer the invocation.

REV. WILLIAM M. J. DRISCOLL, S. J.:

This historical manuscript is the first draft of the most famous expression of praise and devotion to our flag. It is our traditional salute to America.

We make to God this prayer today.

Lord of Hosts, let us do for our country something even finer than the thing that was done by Francis Scott Key. He paid to America a superb tribute in words. Help us to give her the great and more sublime salute of deeds and actions—the living of our lives as true Americans.

Yet more, O Lord: this Star-Spangled Banner and all it stands for we love with our whole hearts. Protect it with Thy omnipotent power, cherish it with Thy infinite love; give peace and security to this land so precious to us.

Said Thomas Jefferson: "The last hope of human liberty in this world rests on us." His words were never truer than they are today. Let us take our stand beneath this Star-Spangled Banner and let us be firm in hope and grounded in courage. The bombs are still bursting in air; there is, across the world, the cannons' red glare; may our flag, always, imperishably, serenely, victoriously, be there—even as it was that night 140 years ago tonight, when Francis Scott Key saw it continuously flying—through the night—until the dawn—until peace.

This, O Lord, is our prayer. Offered at Baltimore, the birthplace of this glorious anthem, in Maryland, fair elder daughter of American freedom.

#### MR. RADCLIFFE:

The eloquent prayer that you have just heard reflects the feelings of all of us here for the unveiling of a manuscript, one of the most valuable documents in American history. Good fortune has been kind to our Society. When the fate of that manuscript was uncertain and a great library in another city was opening negotiations to obtain it, Mrs. Thomas C. Jenkins gave us all the money needed for its purchase.

You are all aware that two years ago Mrs. Jenkins presented to the Society a splendid collection of portraits of the Key family, including one of Francis Scott Key, and also paid for all the expenses of fitting up the Key Room in the Society's building.

Now Mrs. Jenkins has made it possible for the Society to own this first complete draft of The Star-Spangled Banner and has provided a lovely setting for it which you will see in a few moments. The gift of the manuscript and the marble niche containing it are a memorial to the late Mrs. George C. Jenkins, born Catherine Key, a cousin of Francis Scott Key. Mrs. George Jenkins was the mother of the late Thomas C. Jenkins, husband of our benefactress. The debt of the Society and of the community at large to Mrs. Jenkins is, indeed, beyond computation.

There are present, I believe, many who are allied to Francis Scott Key by descent or other close ties. His numerous descendants are living in various parts of the Country. We also have with us several persons who have devoted much study to the life of Francis Scott Key and to the Battle of Baltimore which called into being our National Anthem. Among them is the Honorable Edward S. Delaplaine, Judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals, who wrote an able biography of Francis Scott Key. We regret

that Mr. Neil Swanson, author of the book *The Perilous Fight*, the story of Maryland's participation in the War of 1812, could not be present.

Our guest speakers will emphasize how this invaluable manuscript which originated in Baltimore has always been preserved and cherished in this city. In fact for many years it was in a house only a few feet from us, which has lately been acquired by the Society. The manuscript now finds a fitting and permanent home in the beautiful marble niche built for it by our benefactress, Mrs. Jenkins.

I now wish to introduce the distinguished Governor of Maryland, a member of the Maryland Historical Society and a devoted student of history, the Honorable Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin.

#### GOVERNOR MCKELDIN:

Senator Radcliffe, Mrs. Jenkins, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a great pleasure to be here on this important occasion when the Society dedicates the original manuscript of The Star-Spangled Banner in the handwriting of Francis Scott Key. I wish to congratulate Mrs. Jenkins for making this wonderful gift to the Society and to the people of the State of Maryland.

The motto of our State is usually expressed as "Womanly words, manly deeds." It has remained for Mrs. Jenkins to turn this motto around. We can all agree that this is an occasion of "Manly words, womanly deeds." (Applause)

The permanent preservation of this manuscript here in Baltimore where it was written is ground for the most sincere congratulations to all concerned. I am very happy that this wonderful document will be kept in Maryland and that it will be an inspiration to young and old of our State. I wish to express to you, Mrs. Jenkins, on behalf of the people of Maryland, our congratulations and our thanks for making it possible for this precious document to remain in our midst.

#### MR. RADCLIFFE:

Our Governor recently made an address in Philadelphia on the subject of The Star-Spangled Banner which won well deserved praise.

We have the pleasure also tonight of having with us the chief executive of Baltimore City, likewise a member of this Society. It is my privilege to present the Honorable Thomas D'Alesandro, Mayor of Baltimore.

#### MAYOR D'ALE SANDRO:

Mr. President, Governor McKeldin, Mrs. Jenkins, Fellow Citizens: It is entirely fitting and proper that this original manuscript of our National Anthem should be here in Baltimore where it rightfully belongs.

Everyone who visits Fort McHenry must feel the same emotions experienced by Francis Scott Key, as he witnessed the attack on the fort.

The City of Baltimore and the State of Maryland owe a great debt of gratitude to Mrs. Thomas Courtney Jenkins, whose civic-minded generosity has made this historic gift to the Maryland Historical Society possible.

The gift constitutes a memorial to Catherine Key Jenkins, a cousin of Francis Scott Key, and will forever remain a memorial, both to Francis Scott Key and his cousin.

On behalf of the citizens of Baltimore, I desire to express my official and personal thanks to the donor of this priceless document, Mrs. Thomas Courtney Jenkins.

In these days, when patriotism is so sorely needed, just a look at this manuscript should make better Americans of all who behold it. May it ever be a reminder of the heroism and patriotism of the defenders of Fort McHenry in 1814.

#### MR. RADCLIFFE:

Thank you, Mr. Mayor, for your very instructive and appropriate remarks. All of us echo the sentiments you have expressed so eloquently.

When this occasion was being planned we felt that in addition to Admiral Hill, and the gentlemen you have just heard, there should be an authoritative voice to describe the events that led up to the writing of *The Star-Spangled Banner* by Francis Scott Key—to tell us just how it happened. No one could do this so well, we believed, as Dr. Gerald W. Johnson, author of many works of biography and history, and an able and popular television commentator. I take pleasure in presenting Dr. Johnson.

#### DR. JOHNSON:

Mr. President, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: *The Star-Spangled Banner* is unique among national anthems in several respects. It is the only one inspired by a single military action. It is the only one written by a poet who stood on the wrong side of the battle line. It is the only one whose mood passes from anxiety, through exultation, to end in dedication. Like the *Marseillaise* its eyes are fixed on the glories of the future, rather than those of the past. Like *God Save the King* it has a religious overtone. Like *The Watch on the Rhine* it is grimly resolute. But in combining these qualities it becomes unique, and this singularity is easily traceable to the circumstances of its composition.

To a man of the 20th century those circumstances seem odd to the verge of the fantastic. Here we find a lawyer allowed to appear before the admiral commanding a hostile fleet, to argue the law of nations in behalf of a civilian prisoner charged with hostile acts against an invading army. Not only was he heard, but the admiral, his second in command, and the commander of the troops in the landing force, after due deliberation agreed that his argument was sound and ordered the release of the prisoner. All concerned took it for granted that every military force, even an invading army, is bound by the rules of civilized warfare.

This seems strange today because since 1814 both Americans and British have had a fearfully thorough education in the military policies of savagery. Nurse Cavell and Louvain began to teach us in the first World War, and in the second the Death March on Bataan, Malmédy, Lidice, and the Polish officers in the dreadful forest completed our education.



We have been instructed out of all comprehension of the relatively civilized 19th century.

It is necessary to try to recapture the spirit of that time in order to understand the series of events that produced our National Anthem. As the British army under General Robert Ross withdrew after its raid on Washington, some drunken soldiers straggled away from their outfits and trespassed upon the property of Dr. William Beanes in Upper Marlboro, and the indignant doctor demanded their arrest by local peace officers which seems to have been effected. If anything like that occurred today, the subsequent proceedings would have been quite simple. The officer commanding the next detachment would release the soldiers and have the doctor shot along with the officers making the arrest. But the civilized invader of 1814 merely took the doctor into custody and apparently did not molest the constables at all.

Even so, it was felt that he had exceeded his authority, and Dr. Beanes' friends promptly retained a lawyer to get him out of the jam. That is why Attorney Key, of Georgetown, having secured authorization from President Madison, came to Baltimore to pick up John S. Skinner, American agent for the exchange of prisoners, whose presence would make things regular, and took a small ship down the Bay right into the midst of the enemy fleet. Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, commanding, respected Key's flag of truce, and with Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn and General Ross, heard the case, decided that the doctor had not, in fact, committed an act of war, and ordered his release.

But even in 1814 there was a limit to courtesies in an active theater of war. Cochrane was about to attack Baltimore, and he could not allow news of his preparations to be carried back to the city; so he put the three Americans in their own ship under guard of a squad of Marines, and when the attack began put the ship in a safe place and held it until the affair should be finished. That is how Key came to watch the battle from the wrong side of the lines.

He saw nothing of the bloodiest and really decisive part of the fighting. That occurred on the 12th, when Ross landed his army and attempted to take the city from the land side. General Samuel Smith with the main army waited for him in entrenchments thrown up on the hill of which Patterson Park is now a part; but he screened his position with three thousand militia under General John Stricker, who were posted across the neck of land known as North Point. This screening force Ross struck and drove back upon the main body, which was what General Smith had expected. What he had little reason to expect was that Stricker fought a delaying action so furious that Ross was killed and his army badly mauled before the main position was uncovered. Colonel Brooke, Ross' successor, realized that he had not strength enough left to carry the works by assault, so he called on the fleet to move up and blast Smith out of his entrenchments.

This was the operation that Key observed from his position down the harbor. To carry it out Cochrane had first to reduce the fort on Whetstone Point and the shore batteries on either side; so he moved up and

for twenty-five hours bombarded the fort with everything he could bring to bear. The fort could make no effective reply because the range of its guns was too short, so Colonel Armistead, commanding, simply stood and took it.

From the morning of the 13th until midnight the cannonading was incessant; then it paused long enough for a landing party in small boats to make a dash for the shore behind the fort, but the small boats ran into fire from batteries at what is now Port Covington and were beaten back with loss. So the bombardment was resumed and continued the rest of the night.

That is what the three Americans were watching from behind the British line. For Skinner and Dr. Beanes it must have been an unforgettable day and night, but for Francis Scott Key it was terrific. In the first place, he was a high-strung romantic young man who felt everything intensely and was fond of expressing his feelings in verse, usually very flowery and fanciful. In the second place, he alone of the three had witnessed what happened to Washington when the British struck and he must have believed that one more such blow would just about finish the Americans.

But for twenty-five hours he could hear plenty but could do nothing and could see little. His heart almost failed him about midnight, when the firing suddenly stopped; it actually meant that the landing party was trying to get ashore, but it might have meant that the flag had been hauled down. But when a hellish din broke loose behind the fort, where the shore batteries were working on the boats, it became clear that the fight was not over.

But in the cold, gray dawn everything stopped again and this time there was no resumption. The battle was finished, but who had won? As the light strengthened and the morning mist thinned, the outlines of the fort slowly appeared. The tall flagstaff carried a flag, but it hung limp in the windless air and no one could identify it. A puff stirred it, and another, but not enough to show its design; at last though, the real morning breeze came, caught it, lifted it, flung it wide—and Key's straining eyes were staring at "broad stripes and bright stars."

That explains why the American national anthem begins in suspense, torn between hope and fear, proceeds into stern defiance, bursts into wild exultation and then, as the smoke of battle drifts away, ends in a prayer:

Oh! thus be it ever when freemen shall stand

Between their loved homes and the war's desolation!

Blest with victory and peace, may the heaven-rescued land

Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a nation.

Within twenty-four hours all Baltimore was singing the words to the popular tune of *Anacreon in Heaven*, and the song swept the country. It has been resounding ever since. In the generations since many other patriotic songs have risen and fallen in popular favor but none has displaced this one, for no other so perfectly represents the hopes and fears, the resolution and the aspiration that have characterized our people and

that, under the Power that Key acknowledged, created the spirit "that hath made and preserved us a nation."

MR. RADCLIFFE:

Mr. Johnson has given us a vivid picture of the events that inspired Key to compose The Star-Spangled Banner. Thanks to his brilliant interpretation, we can all better realize the emotions that Key expressed in his immortal words.

It is now my pleasant duty and great privilege to introduce our principal speaker who will tell us something of the meaning of The Star-Spangled Banner in the lives of people living today. He is one of the outstanding men of the last war and a man who has shown his devotion to Maryland by writing a book about important events in our history, as you all know. He has just returned to Maryland to live here after a distinguished career that began when he entered the Naval Academy. He once served as a junior officer on the old battleship *Maryland*, and her successor of the same name was his flagship in the Pacific Theatre. He had an outstanding record in World War II—I need only mention the engagements at Tarawa, Eniwetok, Saipan, Tinian, and Okinawa. He received the Distinguished Service Medal no less than three times. He has been superintendent of the Naval Academy and commandant of the National War College. I have the honor to present Admiral Harry W. Hill.

ADMIRAL HILL:

Senator Radcliffe, Governor McKeldin, Mrs. Jenkins, Ladies and Gentlemen: I consider it a great privilege and honor to be present on this memorable occasion and to join with you in dedicating an evening of our lives to the appreciation of this glorious anthem and the flag for which it stands.

How many times have you, as individuals, asked yourselves what The Star-Spangled Banner means to you? We celebrate a Flag Day, but for most of us I am afraid that is like Thanksgiving Day—one day in the year in which we think of, and give thanks for, the many blessings America has bestowed upon us—and then we go blissfully through 364 more days taking everything for granted.

I am sure that most of you have experienced the thrill of seeing the stars and stripes in a foreign port—and have felt that tingling of the spine at the sound of our National Anthem's stirring music and its inspiring words. To us, in this present day, they bring a sense of security, and freedom, and a guarantee of our way of life.

But at the time they came into existence, both the flag and the anthem symbolized a desperate struggle, against enormous odds, for survival as a nation, and for protection of the freedoms with which we are now so richly endowed. Hence the theme of joy, thankfulness, and exaltation at the occasional glimpses of the flag during the bombardment.

In the last stanza of this immortal song, Francis Scott Key defines this as a struggle by freemen for defense of their homes and loved ones.

He expresses his concern over this struggle, and gives acknowledgment to Divine guidance for national victory "when our cause it is just." He also asks that we "praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a nation."

And so this anthem, and our beloved flag, become the symbols of everything we Americans hold dear—our nation, our homes and loved ones, our freedoms, and our way of life. They represent the glorious traditions of our forefathers and the hopes for the continued greatness of America in the future. They are reminders of the fact that, both as individuals and as a nation, we should seek Divine guidance in our daily lives. Every rendition of *The Star-Spangled Banner*, or sight of the flag, should stir our national pride, and inspire us to be better Americans.

Never in the history of the world has a nation been so endowed with those things which insure security, prosperity, and the five freedoms, to all its citizens. We are indeed a fortunate people, and should be humbly grateful.

In return, our country asks only that we be good citizens. Of the great variety of ways open to us for accomplishment of that task, I wish to tell you briefly of two impressive examples I have encountered.

During the war I had as a member on my staff a man who had been born in Sweden, and who as a young man had come to America. He was quite poor and eventually settled in Alaska, where during the years he did well and became one of the prominent citizens of that territory. He had been a member of the Naval Reserve, and immediately when war was declared, applied for active duty. I have never talked to a person who was so proud and appreciative of being an American as he was. I used to delight in talking to him about it because he was so sincere and honest in his feelings in the matter. America had taken him in as a poor boy and had befriended him. From his point of view there was nothing too much to give America in return—his home, his property, his very life—all these he would willingly have laid on the altar of appreciation for the privilege of being an American citizen.

I want to tell you about another man with whom I came in contact during my recent experience as Governor of the U. S. Naval Home in Philadelphia. This man was a man who had served for thirty years as an enlisted man in the Navy, commencing with the Spanish War. I was talking to him in my office one day and was inquiring about his family connections. He had no family—all his kinfolk were dead. I happened to know that he had about \$2,000 to his credit on the books, and during the course of the conversation I asked him what he was going to do with that when he died. He said, "Well, Admiral, not long ago I saw some statement to the effect that the individual share of the national debt was about \$1,700 or \$1,800. You know, Uncle Sam has been awful good to me in my life and all the years I spent in the Navy. I have always wondered how I could pay that back in some way. So I have written into my will that on my death this money that I have is to be paid to the Treasurer of the United States in settlement of my share of the national debt." Now that man certainly showed me a tremendous sense of appre-

ciation for the privilege of being an American, and I can't imagine any better lesson in how to be a good citizen than the one he provides.

Maryland produced a national hero who gave us an example of good citizenship which should be more generally applied today. I refer to Stephen Decatur. He was a man well experienced in international affairs—a statesman as well as a naval officer. His philosophy of good citizenship was summed up briefly in his famous toast in 1815—"Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right! But right or wrong, our country!"

This is a free country and individual opinion is not only allowed, but encouraged. In the Navy, before a decision is reached by the Commander, a frank and open discussion has been had with appropriate members of his staff. But when he has made his decision—we demand that everyone give full loyalty to that decision, just as if it were his own.

That is something we need more of in this country today. Although not so evident as it was in those days 140 years ago—our nation is again in a terrific struggle. This time it is a cold war—a struggle against an ideology which does not believe in Divine guidance and which would destroy all that The Star-Spangled Banner stands for. Many years of this struggle lie ahead, and it is essential that we, as citizens, acquaint ourselves with the problem, and if we have opinions, present them through the normal channels provided. But once a decision is reached, let us all adopt Decatur's philosophy, and throw our strong and unqualified support to our President and his advisors in their conduct of our foreign policy. A unified opinion at home is essential if our diplomats on the front lines of this struggle are to succeed.

One other very important function for us as citizens is in the home, and involves the training of the younger generations in the high ideals I am sure all of this audience believe in. We hear much these days of juvenile delinquency, and other problems of youth. These things stem directly from the home, and the lack of home training. It is a serious problem facing every community, but a solution for it must be found.

From the long range point of view, I believe that one of the important keys to its solution lies in the very thing to which we are paying homage tonight—The Star Spangled Banner and the flag for which it stands.

Require that our National Anthem be played at all public gatherings.

Conduct a drive from the pulpit, press, and particularly in the schools, with a view to instilling in our people a greater appreciation of their privilege of being Americans. Inspire them with a strong spirit of nationalism, and a fierce pride in their flag and all it stands for. Train them to have respect for our President, and those in Washington who are responsible for the conduct of our foreign affairs; and teach them the philosophy of Stephen Decatur.

I am a great believer in these younger generations. You will recall, in the days before World War II, our youth was being derided by the Axis Powers as softies, mollycoddles, degenerates, etc.

During the war it was my privilege to command a great many of these "softies" and "mollycoddles." I will never forget the wonderful job

they did. They devoted their entire thoughts to that of a service to their country, regardless of self. Cheerful, courageous, and efficient, they taught a lesson to all mankind that American youth can be depended upon always when the chips are down.

That was the young generation in the last war—the “softies”? I'll take them on my team any time!

Instill into them, in time of peace, the ideals for which their forefathers fought and died, and a sincere love and devotion to our flag and the country for which it stands.

Do those, my fellow citizens, and you need never worry about the future of this beloved land.

#### MR. RADCLIFFE:

Thank you very heartily for your inspiring address, Admiral Hill. Your apt illustrations provide fresh insight into familiar matters to which enough thought is rarely given. I know everyone here was moved by your thoughtful and stirring address.

When the Society began to plan the installation of The Star-Spangled Banner, we turned of course to the Chairman of the Gallery Committee, Mr. Scarff, and of the Committee on the Building, Mr. White. These two gentlemen, with Mr. Fowler, all architects, have had charge of the matter. As spokesman for this group, I ask Mr. Scarff to give us an account, telling us of the design and technical features of the niche. I take pleasure in introducing Mr. John H. Scarff, the distinguished architect of Baltimore, who has been tireless in his attention to this work.

#### MR. SCARFF:

President Radcliffe, Ladies and Gentlemen: Mrs. Jenkins made but two suggestions for the installation of the famous manuscript—first that it be appropriately *handsome* and second that it be *safe*.

Our President requested the three architect members of the Council to advise him on appropriate measures to carry out Mrs. Jenkins' suggestions. They are: Mr. Lucius White, Mr. Laurence Hall Fowler, and myself. The installation is the result of our collaboration. The builders who translated our design to actual building materials were the Messrs. Russell Hicks of the firm of Thomas Hicks & Sons, who throughout a year of effort, exercised an ingenuity and patience beyond the line of duty.

For the installation we selected a location in the fire-proof part of our building at the head of the circular stair leading from the Park Avenue entrance. This had formerly been a semi-circular headed window. At this location we constructed a masonry niche and lined it with a warm reddish Tennessee marble known by the trade name “Fleuri.” The semi-dome we asked Mr. McGill Mackall, the mural painter, to decorate to show the paling sky at dawn with the proper constellations for this latitude in mid-September. In this we were advised by Mr. Paul C. Watson, Curator of Astronomy at the Maryland Academy of Science. With his planetarium he gave us an exhibition of exactly what the heavens looked like on that morning one hundred and forty years ago.

I asked Dr. Watson a question which I am sure occurs to some here tonight. It was: "Is the sky always the same each September 14"? The reply was no, because of the "wobble" of the earth's axis, there is a cycle of change of about 25,000 years. Now we had no way of knowing if on this morning 140 years ago we were at the beginning of the "wobble" or at the end or in the middle. So all I can now say is that at least once every 25,000 years the firmament depicted by Mr. Mackall is exactly correct.

So now the half dome above the niche shows the heavens that Francis Scott Key might have seen from the deck of his ship to the northwest above Fort McHenry when by dawn's early light, during a lull in the battle the smoke of bursting bombs cleared away. The gilded inscription cut into the marble was composed by the Director. The manuscript is enclosed in a dust-proof metal box lined with an accenting wine-red velvet which harmonizes with the marble and focuses attention on the lighted manuscript. At the back of the niche is a low step for the convenience of children who will certainly constitute a large proportion of the visitors. So much for the visual aspect of the installation. A few words as to its safety.

There is a reinforced concrete slab below and above the niche of which the actual shell is brick and mortar. Air spaces are immediately next to the cavity as insulation to protect it from sudden changes of temperature. It is lined with copper to prevent penetration of any moisture. In the more scientific problems involved we were advised by the faculty of the Department of Physics at Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Richard Cox, Dean of Arts and Sciences, introduced us to Dr. John Strong, Professor of Meteorology and Astrophysics, who undertook the actual construction of what we call the "capsule container" of the manuscript. Dr. Strong is also consultant for the Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Company, who presented the specially prepared glass of the "capsule." It is filled with inert helium gas to prevent foxing or discoloration of the paper which might occur if oxygen or moisture were present. In front of the "capsule" is a filter film to stop ultra-violet rays present in daylight and artificial light, which would fade the ink with which the poem is written. This was the gift of the Eastman Kodak Company. And last of all, the entire installation is protected against unauthorized access by the American District Telegraph Service of Alarm.

After a year of careful collaboration in this complex assemblage, we now submit it to your judgment.

MR. RADCLIFFE:

Thank you very much Mr. Scarff. Your reference to changes that occur every 25,000 years gives us no cause for concern, I take it. I believe that we can safely expect this manuscript to remain here for the next 25,000 years. (Laughter)

I shall now call on the Director of the Society to explain the arrangements for the remainder of our program. You all know Mr. James W. Foster.

MR. FOSTER:

In a few moments Senator Radcliffe will escort Mrs. Jenkins to the niche for the actual unveiling. When the chord is struck on the piano the audience will please rise. At the moment of the unveiling *The Star-Spangled Banner* will be sung by Millicent Kelly; the accompanist will be Crawford Smith. We are indebted to both of them for their participation in this program.

We must ask those in the audience to keep their places till the official party, the officers of the Society and friends of Mrs. Jenkins, and distinguished guests pass through the door and have the opportunity first to view the completed installation. Those in this room will then form a line and pass before the niche, followed by those in the adjoining room. Owing to the limited space we shall have to be patient and allow time for those in the lead to see the manuscript and the other features of the installation.

Mrs. Jenkins will be in the parlor of the Pratt mansion where her friends, members of the Society, and guests may greet her and congratulate her on her great gift.

We have arranged exhibitions for this event in the cases adjacent to the niche where you will see the first printing of *The Star-Spangled Banner*, one of only two copies extant; the first newspaper printing; the first printing as sheet music, the only known copy; together with portraits and pictures relating to Francis Scott Key. In the Leakin Room we have arranged an exhibition of the silver service presented by the people of Baltimore to Commodore John Rodgers for his part in the defense of Baltimore, and, in compliment to Admiral Hill, a showing of part of the Battleship *Maryland* silver service given by the people of the State. On the second floor in the Key Room you will find the ten portraits of the Key family given two years ago by Mrs. Jenkins. The beautiful flowers which you will enjoy throughout the building are also the gift of Mrs. Jenkins.

The Society has two publications in honor of this event—one which I show you is a facsimile of the National Anthem contained in a folder with a description of the events leading to its writing. Each of these folders is numbered. I take pleasure in presenting Number One to Mrs. Jenkins. (Applause) Others are presented with the Society's compliments to members of the official party. We have also prepared a 32-page pamphlet with a full description of the writing of *The Star-Spangled Banner*. These publications are available at a modest cost to all who may wish copies.

Senator Radcliffe then escorted Mrs. Jenkins through the standing audience. They were followed by the officers of the Society and invited guests. Proceeding to the adjoining hall, Mrs. Jenkins unveiled the niche while the first stanza of *The Star-Spangled Banner* was sung. The audience then filed past the niche, and many visited the Key Room and other parts of the building.



## THOMAS KEMP, SHIPBUILDER, AND HIS HOME, WADES POINT \*

By M. FLORENCE BOURNE

SET in a scene of picturesque beauty for which the Eastern Shore is famous, "Wades Point Farm," Talbot County, as viewed from the approach to Claiborne on the Eastern Bay, is a landmark which will be remembered by many who have made the trip from Kent Island in the days of the ferry. At a distance it can be distinguished by its setting in the midst of the tallest trees in that vicinity.<sup>1</sup>

Built of brick in the Georgian style, its high gabled roof and chimneys on either end are reminiscent of much older houses in spite of its wing of Victorian origin which boasts a captain's walk. And well it might have a captain's walk, for this dwelling was built by a master shipbuilder, Thomas Kemp, who designed and built at Fells Point, Baltimore, some of the most famous ships in the War of 1812. It was later enlarged by his son John W. Kemp, who inherited the property and continued the work of his father.

The double deck porches which run the length of the main façade, facing the roadway, have a bracketed cornice supported by four square columns. No doubt the original entrance was a portico similar to that of Compton.<sup>2</sup> Were it stripped of its porches, the lines of Wades Point would be almost identical with the Brice house in Annapolis. However, the first floor windows of Wades Point each contain twenty-four lights, the second floor windows each twenty lights, twelve on the upper sash and eight on the lower, whereas those of the Brice house are fewer in

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<sup>1</sup> The author acknowledges with gratitude assistance received in the writing of this article from the Kemp family at Wades Point, John T. Bayard and Miss Dorothy R. Warner, of the Clerk's Office, Talbot County Court, Easton, Rear Adm. John B. Heffernan (retired), Pastor Leopold W. Bernhard, of Zion Church, and the staffs of the Hall of Records, Enoch Pratt Free Library, and Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>2</sup> See Charles F. C. and James M. Arensberg, "Compton, Talbot County," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVIII (Sept., 1953), 215-226.

number. It would have been a simple matter for a man of Kemp's ability in draftsmanship to adapt any architectural design which pleased his fancy. The double dormer window in the center of the roof was originally single and matched the dormers on either side. Almost unnoticed against the chimney on the west side is a look-out which was used by Kemp to watch, through a telescope, his many ships going up and down the Bay. Kent Point is directly opposite and to the south is Chesapeake Bay. Then, too, many ships came into Eastern Bay on their way to the town of St. Michaels which in those days was a port of call. This little retreat is accessible through a trap door hidden behind a chest in a third floor bedroom.

The central hallway has a door on either end, the far one opening onto an L-shaped porch which, before the wing was added, stretched across the back. The doors to the living room on the left and the dining room on the right are eight-panelled and were made by skilled carpenters as was the trim around the mantel and windows, two on either end, of Greek Revival design so fashionable in 1820. The wide random width floors are of hand pegged yellow pine and are two inches thick. The stair rail is mahogany, the balusters are square, and two cupboards are built under the stairway. Beyond the dining room at a lower level and built of older bricks of a different size is the kitchen which measured eighteen by twenty feet. It was once paved with brick in which there was a huge potato pit. There are two rooms above the kitchen which connect with the second floor of the main house. A small frame extension to the kitchen was added later but is said to have been moved from another location and was possibly originally used as a counting house. It may have been the kitchen of the one and a half story house built by John Leeds, the noted mathematician and astronomer, during the Revolutionary period, which was torn down due to encroaching tides.<sup>3</sup> The foundation of the old house may be seen far out beneath the waters along the shore line, and still further out is the location of the once huge apple and cherry orchards planted by Leeds.

In the hallway of the present house, which Thomas Kemp built after the War of 1812, hangs a copy of the family chart, the original of which has crumbled to bits. The chart dates back to

<sup>3</sup> Johns Leeds (1705-1790); see *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI, 136-137.

the Quaker Robert Kemp who came from Yorkshire, England, and his wife Elizabeth Webb. They married in 1678, resided at "Boulton" in Bay Hundred, Talbot County, and gave the land for the old Bayside Meeting House. They were the great great grandparents of Thomas Kemp, shipbuilder, who was born on February 28, 1779, the first son and fifth child of Thomas Kemp and Rachel Denny,<sup>4</sup> and the grandson of John Kemp and Magdalen Stevens, great aunt of Governor Samuel Stevens. His father signed the "Oath of Fidelity" in 1778, as was required of Quakers at that time.<sup>5</sup>

Thomas Kemp probably came to Baltimore in 1803. In any case we find the first land recorded for him in Baltimore was the north-east corner of Market Street (Broadway) and Lancaster Street, Fells Point,<sup>6</sup> which he purchased on December 7, 1803, from his father-in-law John Horstman, who was formerly of Anne Arundel County. He had married on August 18, 1803, Sophia Horstman,<sup>7</sup> eldest daughter of John Horstman and Elizabeth Riddle.<sup>8</sup> A sampler done by Sophia at the age of twelve, inherited by the writer's family, gives her birth as December 18, 1787. This date coincides with the original records of the Zion Lutheran Church, Baltimore. There were three children by this marriage, Thomas H., Elizabeth, and Sophia, the maternal great grandmother of the writer, who married William Haddaway Dawson.

On March 22, 1809, five weeks after the birth of her third child, Sophia, his wife, passed away at the age of "twenty-one years, three months, and four days."<sup>9</sup> One of the verses which she had embroidered on her sampler had been, "Remember Time Will Come When We Must Give Account To God How We On Earth Did Live." Kemp remarried on November 16, 1809, Eliza (Fisher) Doyle, age 21, widow of Thomas Doyle, and daughter

<sup>4</sup> Emerson B. Roberts, "Among the 'Meeters at the Bayside,'" *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIX (1944), 335-344. Talbot Co. Wills. J. P. No. 6, f. 81-84, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Kemp's father left him a slave named James, stipulating that the slave be freed at age 27. On January 14, 1806, Kemp renounced executorship of his father's will because of the inconvenience of travelling to and from Talbot County.

<sup>6</sup> Baltimore Land Records, W. G. No. 80, ff. 63, Court House, Baltimore.

<sup>7</sup> Zion Lutheran Church original records, Baltimore.

<sup>8</sup> Horstman has been erroneously spelled Hartsman and Hauptman. The marriage of Sophia's parents is recorded in "Maryland Marriages, 1777-1804," p. 84, *Md. Hist. Soc.*, and Zion Church Records, p. 387.

<sup>9</sup> Kemp Family Bible, in possession of the family.

of Daniel and Susanna Fischer, members of the Zion Church.<sup>10</sup> The children by this marriage were John W., Louisa, Margaret who died in infancy, Joseph F., Sally Ann, and William Pinkney.<sup>11</sup>

It is not known where Thomas Kemp learned the art of ship-building, but it is probable that it was from Impey Dawson in St. Michaels. On coming to Baltimore he may have worked in the shipyard of Joseph Sterett. According to the manuscripts of Thomas Kemp, which are owned by the present Kemps at Wades Point, he went into business for himself about 1803-1804. These consist of journals, ledgers, and diaries and are in his own handwriting. The earliest record which has not been cut or torn from his books begins with June, 1804, "to 200 lb of Spikes left of the *Chesapeake* at 11½ \$25.00." He was then twenty-five years old, had been married almost a year, and was living in Baltimore. He was in the process of building the schooner *Thomas and Joseph*<sup>12</sup> with his brother Joseph. In the expenses for this ship he included wharf rent for three months \$62.50 and rum for the launch \$1.75.

His business in the years 1804-1805 consisted chiefly in making repairs to ships. Captain Thomas Tenant and Isaac McKim were billed \$16.35 for a bowsprit for the schooner *Maryland*. Work done on the brig *Samuel* and a squaresail yard for the *Chesapeake* for Isaac McKim cost \$6.74. His joiner bill for the schooner *Baltimore* was \$8.75. To Henry Craig who later became his biggest customer he charged \$3.50 for an anchor for the *Vigilante*, two masts for the schooner *Eclipse* \$131.30. Sundry work on the schooner *Nonsuch* for John Conway \$31.81. One large cleat and four small ones for the schooner *Ohio* and caulking down hatches of same \$1.25.

On July 6, 1805, Kemp purchased property bounded by Fountain, Fleet, and Washington Streets, Fells Point.<sup>13</sup> It was here that he established his shipyards. He purchased his timber from Benjamin Bowen, Josiah Hall, and Henry Hollbrook; his spar work was done by James Cordery and Joseph Robson of Anne Arundel County; beams and carlings were made by Lloyd Johnson; his iron work by Philip Cronmiller; copper spikes and rivets

<sup>10</sup> Zion Lutheran Church Records (copies), Md. Hist. Soc., pp. 15, 423, 426.

<sup>11</sup> Kemp chart, Md. Hist. Soc.

<sup>12</sup> This ship was probably the *Joseph* in 1812, later the *Joseph and Mary*.

<sup>13</sup> Baltimore Land Records W. G. No. 172, ff, 726, Court House, Baltimore.

by John S. Young. Rosin and pitch were purchased from John Stickney.

His ledger of 1805-1807 shows that he built several ships which have been attributed to other builders, and that they were in existence earlier than has been supposed. One was the schooner *Lynx*<sup>14</sup> measuring 99 tons which has been described as having the extreme sharp lines of a Baltimore clipper, in 1806, and the other an "Eastern Shore schooner" which took the name *Maria*, both built for Henry Craig, as was the *Hawk*<sup>15</sup> (Mohawk) measuring 124 $\frac{1}{3}$  tons carpenter's measure at \$22 per ton in 1807. The *Eidue*, a brig of 190 tons was built in 1806 for Captain Christopher Deshon, as well as another schooner of 114 $\frac{1}{3}$  tons, no name recorded, which may have been the *Breezio*. Kemp's measurements of tonnage are carpenter's measure and not registered tonnage, therefore many of them are at variance with most reference books. In 1806 Deshon had him remast and reboom the *Cora*, which was reputed to be an extremely fast sailing schooner.

In addition to building Baltimore clippers Kemp made a specialty of making ships faster by adding topmasts, topsail yards, and topgallant yards to catch the wind higher up. In many cases, judging by the amount of lumber used, changes were made in the hulls. No doubt some were converted from one type to another, having extra swinging booms and flying jib booms installed to take every possible advantage of the wind, for speed was a primary factor. In 1806 he rebuilt the stern of the brig *Newton* for Joseph Sterett. Changes were made to the *Enterprise* and the brig *Ida* for Michael McBlair; the *Union* and the schooner *Fanny* for Deshon; and the *Tickler* for James Biays. The *Ida* and the *Fanny* were famous for very fast runs according to Carl Cutler.<sup>16</sup>

By this time he had some two dozen employees who were for the most part carpenters and caulkers. Many were trained to copper sheathe ships' hulls to keep them clean, a practice which had been much used by the English. His most reliable workmen seem to have been Thomas Ashcroft, William Beswick, Johnathan Townsend, Thomas Keithley, Isaac Hooper, Daniel Anthony, Richard Eagon, Joseph Robson, Henry Conley, Richard Miller,

<sup>14</sup> Howard I. Chapelle, *History of the American Sailing Navy* (New York, 1949), pp. 290-291.

<sup>15</sup> He referred to this schooner as the *Mowhawk* on another page.

<sup>16</sup> Carl Cutler, *Greybonds of the Sea* (New York, 1930), p. 36.

Edward Mitchel, Toby Williams or Williamson, Benjamin Forenoon, John Bird, Stephen Gott, Perry Barnet, Russell Davis, Henry Neighbors, Basil Mullican, John Fisher, Michael Dawson, and Levin Lavender.

In 1807 Kemp built the brig *Leo*, measuring 244¼ tons for Henry Wilson at \$28 per ton, its main distinction being that it was later commanded by George Coggeshall.<sup>17</sup> He also built a pilot boat for William Harrow for \$1,000. Five ships with names not mentioned were built for Isaac McKim, Henry Wilson, James Barry, John McKee, and Henry Craig. In the same year he made alterations or repairs to the *Rossie*,<sup>18</sup> *Valona*, *Chesapeak*, *David*, *Spencer*, and *Nimble* for Isaac McKim; to the *Superb*, *Blanchy*, and *Maria* for Henry Craig; and to the *Antoinette*, and the Swedish brig *Experiment* for Henry Wilson.

An interesting feature of his ledger of 1808-1812 is that it is dated backwards; the first part was used as a payroll record book. In February of 1808, after completing a schooner of 146½ tons for John McFadon, Kemp received an order for two gunboats for the United States from John Stricker. They cost \$1800 each, plus alterations at \$120 each, and copper sheathing at \$190 each. Dimensions for these boats were found on the back cover of another ledger, as well as a memorandum of the setting of the schooner *Rossie*.<sup>19</sup> The gunboats were finished in July, and Captain Christopher Deshon ordered a new schooner *Experiment* measuring 108 tons at \$22 per ton, which was completed in September. In addition there was a new "schooner brig" of 178½ tons for Henry Wilson, and another of 162 tons for John McKee. In general, substantial payments were made before ships were begun. Repairs or alterations were made to the *Ebo*, *Spirit*, *Lona*, and *Africa* for Henry Wilson; the *Blanchy* received a new mast and boom for Henry Craig; Captain Thomas Tenant had the *Lynx* and *Pocahuntas* in for caulking; while James Bozley, Levi Hollingsworth, and John Skinner each had unidentified ships in for alterations or repairs. Ships which Kemp built usually returned for caulking within six months.

In trying to compare Kemp's records with many reference books

<sup>17</sup> An account of the *Leo's* adventures can be found in E. S. Maclay, *History of American Privateers* (New York, 1899), pp. 350-358.

<sup>18</sup> The *Rossie* captured 20 prizes under the command of Joshua Barney.

<sup>19</sup> See J. P. Cranwell and W. B. Crane, "The Log of the *Rossie*," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXV (1940), 287-291.

the writer found innumerable contradictions in the latter as to dates built, places built, dimensions, and owners, which in themselves would require a book, and make the identification of his unnamed ships an almost impossible task. The newspapers of that period were of little help because Thomas Kemp never advertised his own ships, no doubt because it was against Quaker principles to have one's name published; whereas other shipbuilders readily advertised their ships as they were built.

In the beginning of 1809 Kemp had completed the schooner *Aut* for Charles Kalkman; the new brig *Female* had received a new mast, steering sail, and swinging booms and yards for James Reed; Isaac McKim had brought the *Nimble* in for repairs; there had been a months work on a Spanish brig for Thomas Tenant; and Deshon had brought in the Swedish schooner *Blossom* for a new mast and caulking. A lull in his shipbuilding for several months of 1809 can perhaps be attributed to the death of his first wife. In August James Taylor and Curtis purchased for \$900 a pilot boat schooner which might have been the *Wasp*, Taylor having commanded that vessel and Curtis having been one of the owners. In October they purchased another vessel of 100 tons at \$19 per ton which may have been the sister ship *Hornet*. H. Craig and Hudson had the schooner *Myrton* in for a new mast and caulking.

One of the most exciting records found was his building of the famous privateer schooner *Comet*.<sup>20</sup> He recorded "68 ft. keel, 23 ft. beam, 10 ft. hold, measuring 164 60/95 tons at \$22 per ton." She was built for Captain William Furlong who made payments of \$1,505, but Captain Thorndike Chase paid for the balance in 1810, his share being a little more than half. During the War of 1812, on her third voyage, she captured twenty enemy vessels under the command of Captain Thomas Boyle, who was described by the English as a "crazy American privateersman who wouldn't take no for an answer."<sup>21</sup>

This was followed by a schooner of 189 91/95 tons for Hollins & McBlair, and another of 79 50/95 tons [*Leopard?*] for P. A. G[ue]stier. In October, 1810, he began the brig *Milo* measuring

<sup>20</sup> A MSS journal of the *Comet* for the years 1812-1813 is in the Md. Hist. Soc. Library.

<sup>21</sup> J. P. Cranwell and W. B. Crane, *Men of Marque* (New York, 1940), pp. 132, 150.

230 34/95 tons at \$29 per ton for James Williams, extreme length 91 feet 1½ inches, beam 25 feet, hold 11½ feet.<sup>22</sup> In November the ship *Wabash* was built measuring 262½ tons at \$30 per ton for Smith & Buchanan, and a pilot boat for William Pitt for \$1200. His records of 1811 show that Captain Deal commanded the *Wabash*. On March 2, 1810, Kemp purchased a schooner from Impey Dawson of St. Michaels, and in October a new brig built by Dawson measuring 230 tons to which Kemp added the masts and spars, and named it the *Dawson & Kemp*. These were extremely elaborate, both main and fore masts carrying royal yards. Kemp had previously masted another schooner built by Impey Dawson which he bought in 1807 [*Brutus?*].<sup>23</sup> Kemp is known to have owned or partly owned the *Brutus*, *Chasseur*, *Flight*, *Manleus*, and *Wasp*. Repairs to ships in 1810 were numerous although the only name given was the *Minerva* for the merchant firm of Hollins & McBlair. There were two new customers, John Bouldin and Joshua Willis.

Thus far the hold of Kemp's ships had not exceeded ten feet two inches, except in the *Milo*, showing that he sacrificed depth for speed. In 1811 he built the schooner *Extreme* for Captain Robert Hambleton, no doubt named for its dimensions, length of keel 65' 6", beam 22' 3", hold 10 feet, measuring 122½ tons at \$24 per ton. For [Samuel] Smith & Buchanan he built the *Marmion* measuring 244 tons, a pilot boat for William Pitt at \$900. and a small one for Joseph Butler at \$600. The schooner *Arrow* measuring 180 74/95 tons was built for Hollins & McBlair at \$25 per ton. This schooner had very long spars and a very sharp hull. His largest ship was the *Emporer of Russia* for Charles F. Kalkman, which measured 430 tons at \$30 per ton. In the same year changes were made in the masts and spars of the *Rossie* for Isaac McKim, the *Leopard* for Mr. G[ue]stier, and to the *Susana*, *Adriana*, *Kemp*, and *Milo* in 1811. This being the first mention of the *Kemp* the writer wonders if this is the former *Dawson & Kemp* after remodelling. In 1811 the *Kemp* was owned by Hollins & McBlair.

Another ship which has been credited elsewhere is the *Grecian*

<sup>22</sup> After the War of 1812 the *Milo* was the first ship to sail for and return from England. Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>23</sup> The *Brutus* was for sale in April, 1807. See *Federal Gazette*, Apr. 23, 1807, p. 3, col. 4. Cranwell and Crane, *op. cit.*, Appendix A.



(a name possibly inspired by the Greek revival), which Kemp built in 1812 for Isaac McKim, measuring 71 ft. keel, 23½ ft. beam, 10 ft. 8 inch hold, measuring 187¼ tons at \$23 per ton. In addition changes were made to the masts and spars of the *Marmion* and the *Rolla* for William Hollins, and to the *Express*.

The *Chasseur*, popularly nicknamed the "pride of Baltimore," was designed by Kemp himself and launched on December 12, 1812.<sup>24</sup> Undoubtedly his masterpiece, she was one of the fastest sailing ships of all time and one of the most renowned privateers in history.<sup>25</sup> Under the command of Captain William Wade she captured eleven enemy vessels, and under Thomas Boyle, her next commander, twenty-three.<sup>26</sup> It was from this ship that Boyle proclaimed a blockade of Great Britain, sending a proclamation to that effect to Lloyd's (of London) Coffee House, where it was posted. Boyle and the *Comet* had been considered the epitome of privateering, but Boyle and the *Chasseur* were its apotheosis. One can imagine Kemp's pride when at the close of the war thousands of citizens turned out to cheer the *Chasseur* as Boyle brought her past Fort McHenry.<sup>27</sup>

The U. S. S. *Erie* and U. S. S. *Ontario* were built under contract with the United States Navy Department as sloops of war, by government specifications, one to be delivered by August 15, 1813, at Baltimore, and the other by October 25, 1813, at Baltimore, "to be built of the best Chesapeake Bay materials, cut when the sap was down." The mould for the latter, a little different in form, was furnished by the Navy Yard to "save [Mr. Kemp] much trouble and labor." These ships cost \$25,461.05 apiece. The United States furnished sufficient guard for the protection of the shipyard during their construction. The figureheads for these two vessels were carved by William Garnds for \$80. During this time Kemp's payroll exceeded \$1,000 a week.

Anticipating a return to the Eastern Shore after the war, Kemp purchased on December 15, 1813, "Wades Point"<sup>28</sup> and "Hat-

<sup>24</sup> See *Federal Gazette*, Dec. 17, 1812.

<sup>25</sup> Hamilton Owens, *Baltimore on the Chesapeake* (Garden City, N. Y., 1941), p. 177, and Cranwell and Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 226. The log of a voyage of the *Chasseur* in 1814-1815 was printed in *Md. Hist. Mag.*, I (1906), 168-180, 218-240.

<sup>26</sup> Cranwell and Crane, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-241.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 226, 259. It is interesting to note that Boyle was married in Zion Church and his children were christened there. Perhaps this is where Kemp and Boyle first met.

<sup>28</sup> Talbot County Land Records, Liber J. L. No. 36, ff. 180.

ton" from Colonel Hugh Auld, Jr., for \$7,000. At the time of purchase Kemp billed Colonel Auld:

To Ferryage from Haddaways [wharf] to Annapolis....	\$1.75
To Tavern Bill at Annapolis.....	.90
To passage in Stage from Annapolis to Baltimore.....	3.00

This was four months after the British attack upon the fort at the mouth of the St. Michaels River<sup>29</sup> and the landing of the British from barges at Wades Point (temporarily known as Colonel Auld's Point) in their attempted invasion of St. Michaels.<sup>30</sup> One of the objects of this invasion was to clean out the numerous shipyards in that vicinity.<sup>31</sup> Several houses including Wades Point had been riddled with bullets, and there was much blood along the shore line, where now videttes or sentries were stationed. Despite the blockade of the Chesapeake Bay there was a certain amount of travel back and forth. Colonel Auld, who was in command of the troops in Bay Hundred, used the turret of Wades Point, which had been built by John Leeds the astronomer, as a spy-tower. Auld had inherited the property from his grandparents, Edward and Sarah Auld, who had purchased it from John Leeds Bozman, grandson of John Leeds. Wades Point had been originally patented to Zachary Wade in 1658 for 400 acres.<sup>32</sup> Hatton, which adjoined Wades Point to the south, had been originally patented to William Hatton in the same year for 500 acres.<sup>33</sup> The two tracts, when purchased by Thomas Kemp, amounted to 236 $\frac{5}{8}$  acres more or less, showing to what extent the land had been sold or washed away.

Although Wades Point was in Kemp's possession at the end of 1813, we find him at the beginning of the new year under contract to the United States Government to furnish the masts and spars of the frigate *Java*. This vessel was later commanded by Oliver H. Perry.<sup>34</sup> Specifications were furnished by the government, and payments were made by James Beatty, Navy Agent,

<sup>29</sup> Map of Talbot County (1858), shows the location of this fort.

<sup>30</sup> Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County* (Baltimore, 1915), II, 169, 173. An interesting account of the escape of English sailors from one of the barges and an amusing encounter of Admiral Cockburn with one of the Kemp children is given in *ibid.*, II, 174-175.

<sup>31</sup> B. J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812* (New York, 1868), p. 944.

<sup>32</sup> Talbot Co. Rent Rolls, p. 1, Calvert Papers No. 881, Md. Hist. Soc.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 57.

<sup>34</sup> Lossing, *op. cit.*, p. 521 n.; *D. A. B.*, XIV, 490-492.

to the amount of \$4,953.86, according to Kemp's journal of 1814-1815. This journal shows also that he built for the United States Flotilla commanded by Captain Joshua Barney one 50-foot barge and two 75-foot barges. Pumps for the barges were made by Robert Milholland and cost \$4.25 each. The 75-foot barges cost \$2350 each, and the government was still paying for them in 1815, long after Barney had ordered them sunk in order to prevent their being captured by the British prior to the battle of Bladensburg and their invasion of Washington.<sup>85</sup>

Another entry in this journal reveals that Kemp built the sloop *David Porter* measuring 18½ tons at \$24 per ton early in 1814. The sails for this sloop were made by James Corner, and she was sold to Richard Jones on June 21, 1814, for \$1,050 plus interest on Jones' note. Kemp paid \$3.50 for a compass for this sloop. On March 15, 1814, Kemp paid William Denny \$50 for finishing outside Joiners work on the schooner *Perry*. This would signify that the *Perry* was built in Kemp's shipyard.

On April 27 a new schooner for Fulford and Clopper measuring 122½ tons at \$25 per ton was recorded. On May 26 a new schooner measuring 124 63/95 tons at \$23.50 per ton was recorded for Pearl Durkee, who had commanded the *Chasseur* prior to Wade and Boyle. On the same day Lemuel Taylor paid a bill on the schooner *Surprise* which had been rendered in March amounting to \$115.37.<sup>86</sup> Because a ledger is missing the previous transactions concerning this and other ships are not available.

Recorded in the journal with the ship transactions are innumerable improvements to an estate of 170 acres in Baltimore called "Lovely Green" which Kemp purchased on May 10, 1814, from the estate of Nicholas Hopkins.<sup>87</sup>

On August 9 Smith & Buchanan were billed for outfits for the ship *Adriana*, amounting to \$1448.99. On September 2 Andrew Clopper, one of the biggest ship owners, borrowed Kemp's carpenters "for three days cutting apart two ships and one brig for the purpose of sinking." All Baltimore was preparing for a big onslaught from the British, and Kemp lent carpenters to

<sup>85</sup> A picture of the barges may be seen in Hulbert Footner, *Sailor of Fortune* (New York, 1940), opp. p. 265.

<sup>86</sup> A watercolor of the *Surprise* hangs in the Maritime Museum of the Maryland Historical Society; a reproduction is in Cranwell and Crane, *op. cit.*, opp. p. 257. The rigging is typical of Kemp's work.

<sup>87</sup> Kemp's MSS; also Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. 142.

work on the batteries. In addition he had a stone wall built around his barn at Lovely Green. On September 29 John Darnell was billed for outfits of the ships *Chesapeake* and *Thomas Wilson*, \$868.86. It was on the ship *Chesapeake* that Captain James Lawrence had died, crying, "Don't give up the ship!"<sup>38</sup> This may account for the six stanza poem entitled, "Lawrence the Brave" in the back of one of Kemp's ledgers, which appears to be a manuscript, but may have been copied by him.

On October 26 Richard Jones was billed \$218.76 for cordage, paint, outfits, and sails for the sloop *Caroline* which was formerly owned by Kemp's brother-in-law Greenberry Griffin.<sup>39</sup> On November 21 Kemp sold to Russell Killburn from the "Estate of Impey Dawson," the hull of a new schooner which had been moored to the wharf of James and Joseph Biays for over a year for \$4,000. This he refers to as "Eastern Shore Schooner." Kemp received a commission of \$60 and had hired a vendue crier for \$10 to advertise the schooner.

Kemp's banking transactions were conducted with the Marine Bank and the Mechanics Bank. During the war, in addition to previous sources of supply he bought lumber from Hall & White, Brown & Biays, William Flannigan, and the A. & J. Cross Company; cordage from Christopher Chapman, bolt iron from William Matthews & Co., and blacksmith work by Phillips & Winslow, and Smith & Ramsay, although Cronmiller did the work for the *Erie* and *Ontario*. These vessels are recorded as having had a composition metal substituted for iron, and a large amount of mahogany in place of oak. Alterations were made to both ships over and above the original contract. Whereas these large warships could not pass the British blockade, the small privateers were able to slip past under cover of darkness, or waited for bad weather to shield them.

On December 8 William McDonald & Son were billed \$1,797.33 for repairs of the sloop *Sarah*. Benjamin Baker was billed for work on the schooner *Eagle*. The *Patapsco*, which had been loaned to the government by Fulford and Clopper, was used for a time by the Navy Agent, James Beatty. For this reason Kemp made a small deduction in her bill. Fulford & Clopper

<sup>38</sup> Francis F. Beirne, *The War of 1812* (New York, 1949), pp. 183-189.

<sup>39</sup> His records do not state whether or not he built her. The missing book is dated from 1812 to 1814.

also owned the ship *Henry Clay*; her caulking bill amounted to \$254.29.

In January, 1815, Kemp made alterations to the U. S. S. *Erie*. On February 25 Lemuel Taylor was billed \$126.34 for outfits for the schooner *Saranac*. She was the last of the privateers to sail from Baltimore during the war. On March 25 John Craig was billed \$3,775 for hull, masts, and spars of a new schooner of the following dimensions: 65 ft. keel, 22 ft. 10 inch beam, 9 ft. 8 inch hold, measuring 151 tons at \$25 per ton.<sup>40</sup>

The method by which Kemp arrived at tonnage (carpenter's measure) may be seen in the following dimensions of the U. S. S. *Erie*:

One hundred and Seventeen feet eleven inches upon the Gun Deck, Ninety seven feet six inches Keel for Tonnage measuring from one foot before the forward perpendicular, and along the base line to the front of the rabbit of the part, deducting three fifths of the moulded breadth of beam, which is thirty one feet six inches, then the moulded breadth multiplied into the length of Keel for Tonnage, that product multiplied by half the moulded breadth of beam, and that product divided by ninety five will give Five Hundred and nine Tons 21/95 Carpenters measure, by which said Builder is to be paid Fifty Dollars per ton.

After the close of the war, Kemp arranged to have his brother-in-law John Bruff of Talbott County to see to the repairs of Wades Point and to raise the barn. The damages must have been considerable as his accounts show that scantling, 6,000 feet of plank, 6,000 shingles, and 150 lbs. of nails were shipped down from Baltimore. Kemp sent down a crew of his own workmen, paying their board with Bruff. Also he sent down flour, pork, oats, sugar, and coffee for the workmen, and shovels and spades to work the farm. Fences were rebuilt, a new well was sunk, and the harvest gathered in before he and his family were ready to move. After settling his affairs and renting his several properties,<sup>41</sup> he employed Captain James Martin to move his family and

<sup>40</sup> See W. D. Hoyt, Jr., "Logs and Papers of Baltimore Privateers," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIV (1939), 165-174, for a description of logs of privateers in the Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>41</sup> Two houses on the west side of Pratt Street Bridge known as "The Liffey." Baltimore land records W. G. No. 137, ff. 51-54. Rented to Benjamin Blackiston and Salvatore Lowry. Another property owned by Kemp was "Friends Discovery," 170 acres, which he purchased on June 13, 1815, Baltimore Land Records W. G. 132, f. 408, and sold to Isaac McCoy and Andrew McCoy on May 27, 1817, W. G. 146, ff. 68.

furnishings down on the sloop *Seagull*, which Kemp had built for Martin after the war. The moving required five weeks, from November 5 to December 15, 1816, for which Martin was credited \$50 as part payment on the sloop. Kemp had several business transactions with Johns Hopkins when the latter, at 21, was getting a start in business in Baltimore. Two days (December 13) before the move was completed, Hopkins paid \$30 for a "fodder house."

Thus returned Thomas Kemp to Bay Hundred, Talbot County, where he lived for three years in the house built by Leeds before starting his new house which still stands and in which his descendants now live. Within two weeks of moving down, his first project had been the schooling of his children, rounding up the children of his neighbors, many of whom were his relatives, and engaging John M. Needles to teach them, paying for Needles' board with Captain Thomas Frazier, which was \$12 a month when well and \$16 a month while sick. Kemp had Needles make his children two writing benches which leads the writer to believe that he was the well educated Baltimore cabinet maker who was probably temporarily in one of his many unfortunate circumstances.<sup>42</sup> Also, the writer observed some original pieces of Needles' furniture still in use at Wades Point, no doubt some which were brought down on the sloop *Seagull*. Apparently Needles went back to the furniture business before long, because two years later Kemp sent his three oldest children to Dr. Slater's School for six months and boarded Dr. Slater himself.

In addition to the orchards of cherries, apples, and pears already there, he started a new orchard of 120 apple trees at twenty cents each, which he purchased from Captain Frazier for the lower farm (Hatton). He and his colored man Jim, whom he paid fifty cents a day, replanted young apple and cherry tree seedlings which had sprung up when the farm was unoccupied. He paid his bills and wages with the products of his farm, supplemented by cash. He bartered frequently, as shown by his exchange of cypress shingles for locust posts. His laborers manufactured bricks which sold for five to nine dollars per thousand, depending on the quality. His ledger of 1815-1824 shows that William Hambleton purchased 10,000 bricks in 1817. These were made from

<sup>42</sup> Lecture, February 23, 1954, at Maryland Historical Society by Charles F. Montgomery, entitled "John Needles, Baltimore Cabinetmaker, and Some Examples of His Work."

clay on the Kemp property. His shoemaker, Robert Cummings, accepted hides in exchange for shoes. He sold innumerable adzes and axes of the Willard and Cooper type, buying his iron from Isaac Brooks at four cents a pound. He had brought down from Baltimore for John Kemp, Sr., "one tin plate stove for the friend's meeting house \$15."

Owing to the responsibilities of running a farm and to a decreased demand for new vessels, his shipbuilding amounted to very little. The *Seagull* was reclaimed and resold to James Davis, Jr., in 1817, and again to Benjamin Horney in 1819. A schooner for George Williams in 1818, and another for Henry Payson & Company in 1819, for which he had trouble obtaining copper spikes, were all he could handle. Other orders he turned over to his brother Joseph. On February 1, 1819, he wrote "This day agreed with Benjamin Lowry to act overseer on my farm at home for which I am to pay him Eighty Dollars for the year and one Dollar per month to get his working and mending done."

On December 31, 1818, he wrote to his auctioneers in Baltimore:

Since I was in Baltimore I have determined to sell my house on Fountain Street Fells Point and now occupied by Mr. George Gardner shipwright at about 12 Dollars per month Rent. You will find by Referring to the Deed accompanying this letter that the lot fronts thirty two feet on two Streets that is fountain and Fleet Streets, subject to 10 shillings Ground Rent on each Street. It has erected on it a Very Comfortable and Roomy two story frame Dwelling house, a good brick Kitchen and Smoke house, A large work shop and very good counting house. It is my wish Gentlemen that you sell it—advertising it in the Patriot and Federal Gazette papers . . . and Oblige your Humble Servant

Thos. Kemp

He determined to build another house, not only because of his growing family, but because the ever encroaching tides were sweeping away many acres of his property. He made a trip to Annapolis via Haddaway's ferry to study the architecture there. On January 1, 1820, he began a diary, recording the daily weather and the preparations for beginning the new house, and other events in much the style of a ship's captain writing his log, usually ending each day with "No other remarkable occurrence." As he wanted his timber to be well seasoned the early part of the year was spent in preparation. He described the "hands cutting

pine cord wood for the purpose of burning bricks," " felling a cedar for door and window sills," and " sawyers cutting planks." The scantlings and laths were all hand hewn by his Negro man Jim, who also turned up clay for the brickmakers. While awaiting suitable weather Kemp collected twigs from his various fruit trees, grafting pears, cherries, and apples, so they would grow on the same trees. Jim planted "cotton apples" along the Negro burying ground fence. Kemp was fond of duck shooting, and he recorded the number of ducks and geese shot each day. Often he went seine hauling with his men, who sold the fish at fifty cents a bushel. Among the products of his farm were flax, rye, wheat, corn, sheep's wool, feathers, flour, potatoes, and apple brandy, and cider. In one year 5,500 gallons of cider were made, much of which was sold.

As soon as there was "fine growing weather" the hands commenced brick-making. A brick shed was built, and "all hands helped to set the lime kiln," which was kept burning night and day, the hands attending it and hauling firewood, until a total of 100,000 bricks were made. Kemp chose a site much further removed from the shore. The lime kiln was slacked and hauled back to the barn, the cellar was dug and mortar was mixed. The bricklayers and their crew laid the foundation and walls in record time; Mark Sewell who had helped with Kemp's house in Baltimore, laying half the bricks and Daniel Kenny the other half.<sup>43</sup> The sawyer's work was divided between James Fairbank and Thomas Cooper. William Skinner was engaged to make window sashes, carve the wood-work and trim, and help lay the floors of hand pegged yellow pine. The roof shingles were "two feet long and uncommonly wide." Skinner helped glaze the windows, and Jim helped with the painting.

Before the house was completed Kemp made plans for a new school house. He mentions having gone to Oxford "to see the Lancasterian school house in that neighborhood." After preparing the lumber and joists the land was surveyed. The school house grounds were laid out February 20, 1821. The deed was executed by Kemp August 18, 1821, at the school house.

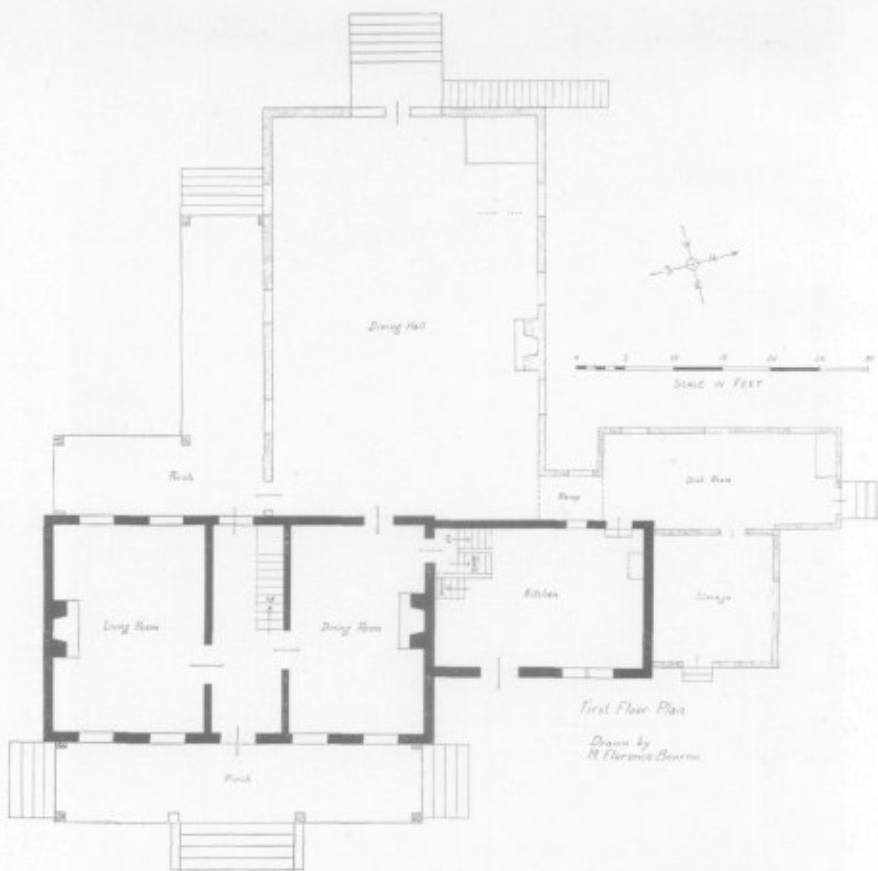
Kemp's family had begun moving into the new house the day before. As soon as the old house had been emptied of its con-

<sup>43</sup> In 1811 Mark Sewell had made 130,000 bricks at \$3 per thousand for Kemp's house in Baltimore.





"WAIDES POINT" FROM THE AIR.



FIRST FLOOR PLAN. ORIGINAL HOUSE IN BLACK.

tents, all hands were employed pulling down the old house and cleaning the bricks which were to be used to build the kitchen of the new home. No doubt Kemp would have had more bricks manufactured except for the fact that his kiln was destroyed in a fire when the barn in which it was stored was ignited by "Daniel Haddaway's son shooting at rats." This explains why the bricks of the kitchen are older than those of the main house. The old foundation was filled in.

Kemp lost no time getting scholars for the new school and succeeded in obtaining the following subscribers beside himself: Francis Wrightson, Wrightson Lowe, Captain James Dawson, James McDaniel, William Hambleton, James M. Hopkins, John Bruff, William Wrightson, Joseph Bruff, Francis Kersey, James Caulk, and Thomas Bridges. The school opened September 12, 1821. On the following Sunday Kemp recorded that Parson Spencer preached at the school house. During the building of the house Kemp's daughter Sophia had been sent to school in Baltimore for several months, Mrs. Kemp going up to fetch her herself.

On March 13, 1821, he wrote in his diary that he had qualified as magistrate, which so pleased him that his handwriting became noticeably larger and heavier. Not since his barn burned down had his excitement so affected his handwriting.

Probably the last schooner built by Kemp was the one he and Joseph Robson built together in 1822 which they named the *K & R*. Kemp recorded having drawn a draft for a sloop for Edward Lloyd, but this was turned over to his brother Joseph to build. He discontinued keeping his diary on November 26, 1821, and his last ledger entry was February 27, 1824. In his will of January 19, 1824, he bequeathed to his son Thomas H. Kemp his plantation in Bay Hundred known as "Miles End," "Bolton's Addition," and "Wolfs Harbour," adjoining the land of John Kemp, Robert Lambdin, and others.<sup>44</sup> He gave "unto my son John Kemp my plantation where I now reside called by the name Wades Point and Hatton . . .," and he provided for his widow and his other children.

He died on March 3, 1824, at the age of forty-five and was buried on the highest knoll of Wades Point beside Colonel Hugh

<sup>44</sup> Talbot County Will J. P. No. 8, ff. 213-218, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Auld who had been buried there during the building of the house. Colonel Auld's remains have since been removed to the Arlington Cemetery in Washington.

The house built by Thomas Kemp, as inherited by his son John W. Kemp was a two story house, according to the diary of John in 1841. On January 1 of that year he wrote:

My family consists of myself, wife & daughter, brother William, and Mr. Adams, Teacher, whites;—and eight head of blacks—my stock consists of 6 head of Horses, 2 Mules, 15 head of Cattle, 30 head of Hogs, and 19 head of Sheep, of Poultry, 2 Peafowls, 5 Turkeys, 60 Chickens, 18 Geese, and 16 Ducks—Farming Implements of various numbers—Improvements, as it respects buildings, a two story brick dwelling house, a brick kitchen, a small frame office,<sup>45</sup> a meat house, a turkey house, a hen house, a quarter, a carriage house, a tool house, a large corn house, and a very large barn and stables underneath, my farm is laid off in four fields of about 65,000 corn hills, and 3 lots of about 8,000 hills apiece, one an orchard of about 250 trees—

It was John who added the wing on the bay side and the porches. To distinguish himself from other John Kemps, he had the letter W. inserted into his name. As both he and his cousin John had wives named Sarah, and both attended the Bayside Meeting House, it is difficult to know which Sarah it was who "sat meeting alone" after all others had abandoned the Bayside.<sup>46</sup> John's account of the fire at the Bayside Meeting House in 1844, its repair, and the building of the new meeting house which was named Asbury Chapel, are all in his diary, which also contains daily accounts of the weather. His son Joseph Oliver Kemp who inherited the house in 1876, enlarged the wing in 1898, and made it into a three story house. The roof of the wing boasts a captain's walk and is accessible by a stairway from the third floor hall. This was a favorite spot on a summer's evening and many a fair lady has been courted there. Until 1918 a cupola encircled by benches afforded a place to sit and enjoy the view. At present Wades Point is operated as a summer resort.

For decades the story of Wades Point and its builder was largely forgotten except by the family.<sup>47</sup> Mrs. N. J. (Louise

<sup>45</sup> It is family tradition that the frame office was moved from Baltimore on a barge and was the one used by Thomas Kemp in his shipyard.

<sup>46</sup> Roberts, *op. cit.*, 335.

<sup>47</sup> See, however, Emma Price, "Chronicle of Wades Point, McDaniel," in the *Easton Star-Democrat*, June 7, 1946.

Kemp) Wyeth when a little girl found hidden under the porch the manuscript records which provided the basis for this article. The present owners are Kemp's great-grandchildren, D. Earle Kemp, Miss Helen Dawson Kemp, Mrs. Eleanor Kemp Mowbray, Mrs. Kathryn Kemp Brittingham, and Mrs. Wyeth. The house continues to serve and delight not only the owners but their children and grandchildren, the fifth and sixth Kemp generations at Wades Point.

## LAFAYETTE'S VISIT IN FREDERICK, 1824 \*

By DOROTHY MACKAY QUINN

THE public library of Frederick possesses a letter written by the Marquis de Lafayette, accepting an invitation to visit Frederick, and confirming the date of his arrival. It was written from Baltimore on December 24, 1824. On the opposite side of the page someone has copied the text of the invitation to which this was a reply. The time of the Marquis' arrival had been uncertain for some weeks, but he finally appeared on December 29 and remained until the morning of December 31. These two days form a chapter in Frederick history which was very vivid in the minds of the older inhabitants some forty or fifty years ago, when there were still living, people who remembered the visit or participated in the celebrations themselves.

In response to an official invitation that he be the guest of the nation whose independence he had helped to win, the Marquis landed in New York on August 15, 1824. From the moment of his arrival the country went wild with enthusiasm. Everyone wanted to entertain him, and many of them succeeded in doing so. The Frederick papers kept in touch with his travels from the day he landed. On August 28 a paper published an elaborate description of his uniforms.<sup>1</sup> On September 25 an article appeared telling of his naturalization, years before, as a citizen of Maryland, and discussing some of the plans for welcoming him when he should arrive within the limits of the state.<sup>2</sup> On October 9 there was a story<sup>3</sup> about the children in a New Jersey town who were collect-

\* Paper read before the Frederick County Historical Society, Jan. 20, 1953. While this paper is based on original material, it should be noted that the following two secondary accounts are available: J. T. Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), II, 554-555, and T. J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County* (Hagerstown, 1910), I, 182-185.

<sup>1</sup> *Political Intelligencer or Republican Gazette*, Aug. 28, 1824.

<sup>2</sup> *Pol. Int.*, Sept. 25, 1824. (Lafayette was naturalized by *Laws of Md.*, 1784, Chap. XII.)

<sup>3</sup> *Pol. Int.*, Oct. 9, 1824.

ing money to present to the Marquis a membership in the American Bible Society, unaware, we may assume, of the strong Protestant flavor of this organization, and ignoring the fact that Lafayette, nominally a Roman Catholic, was actually indifferent to religion.

On September 18 about sixty persons gathered at Talbott's Tavern to plan for his reception.<sup>4</sup> Committees were appointed and general plans decided upon. During the next weeks there were reports of many meetings, and about the first of December, as the great day approached, various neighborhoods talked of local displays. On December 4 this notice appeared:<sup>5</sup>

HUZZA! for Paris.

All those citizens residing in the part of Frederick City called Paris, favorable to erecting an Arch at the corner of Gay and Market Streets in honor of General Lafayette, are requested to meet at the tavern of M. E. Bartgis this evening at 7 o'clock, for the purpose of appointing a committee to superintend the erecting of said Arch. (signed) A citizen of Paris.

On December 1 a notice had appeared in the *Fredericktown Herald*:

#### BUNKER'S HILL.

As all other sections of our city are doing something to honor General Lafayette, the people of the hill, though at the eleventh hour, have determined to manifest their respect for the Nation's Guest by a grand elevated transparency. Our apology for not doing more is that the hill abounds in widows and consequently our means are small.

Although tradition<sup>6</sup> describes the city in a state of feverish preparation, "enamelled with triumphal arches," the streets and housetops crowded with ladies bearing wreaths, garlands, roses, and flags, we have no authentic contemporary account which gives much detail. The diary of Jacob Engelbrecht<sup>7</sup> reports the con-

<sup>4</sup> *Pol. Int.*, Sept. 18, 1824.

<sup>5</sup> *Pol. Int.*, Dec. 4, 1824.

<sup>6</sup> A supposed eye-witness account which survives some tests of authenticity, is in the possession of a descendant of the McPherson family, Barbara Dennis Avirett, of Baltimore. This is a newspaper clipping, unfortunately without date. It gives a detailed description of the decoration of the town and of some of the events. We are grateful to Mrs. Avirett for sending us notes from it.

<sup>7</sup> Jacob Engelbrecht's diary, which consists of seven volumes of manuscript entries, is the only contemporary account of any phase of the visit which we have found outside the newspapers. We are greatly indebted to his grandson, Jacob Engelbrecht, and the latter's daughter and son for allowing us to consult this invaluable family treasure. Engelbrecht wrote in his diary on the morning of Dec. 30, and again on the following morning. On both occasions he mentioned the events he described as having

struction of two arches, one at the corner of Market and Patrick, and one at Fifth and Market streets. This is confirmed by a newspaper reference<sup>8</sup> to the "two beautiful arches erected by the voluntary exertions of the respectable body of mechanics whose alacrity and patriotism entitle them to much praise." There was a reviewing stand, apparently on Market street near Fifth, and there was something of this sort at the Court House where ceremonies were scheduled. The center for the social functions was to be Talbott's Tavern in Patrick street.<sup>9</sup> This was considered the most impressive of the local hostelrys. It was called the "Sign of the Golden Fleece" and had just been renovated. An announcement of November 13,<sup>10</sup> which speaks of it as the stage office, reports that Talbott had "greatly improved his establishment. His bar shall at all times be supplied with licquors carefully selected by the most approved judges, his table shall be spread with whatever of delicacies the market may afford," He had opened a second building as a "Beer and port cellar." The Marquis was not to stay at Talbott's. He was to be put up by Colonel John McPherson, at whose "mansion . . . every preparation of elegant and generous hospitality awaited his enjoyment."<sup>11</sup>

Tradition says that Lafayette entered Frederick by way of the Jug Bridge. It cannot be ignored, in view of the fact that within the lifetime of many middle-aged citizens of Frederick, there were living, at the turn of the century, older relatives and friends who had seen Lafayette in their childhood. These people always said that he came by the Jug Bridge. On the other hand, several newspapers say that he entered from the south end of Market street.<sup>12</sup> One paper,<sup>13</sup> published four days before his arrival and giving the program for his visit, says that he was to arrive at the Bridge, and proceed along Patrick street to Market. This confusion will be discussed below. Suffice it to say here that the Jug Bridge theory is

happened a few moments previously. (A microfilm copy of the diary is now in library of Md. Hist. Soc.)

<sup>8</sup> *Fredericktown Herald*, Jan. 1, 1825; *Reservoir and Public Reflector*, Jan. 3, 1825; *Pol. Int.*, Nov. 27, 1814.

<sup>9</sup> *Engelbrecht Diary*, Dec. 30, 1824; *Pol. Int.*, Oct. 13, 30; *Fred. Her.*, Oct. 30, Dec. 13, 25, and Jan. 1, 1925.

<sup>10</sup> *Pol. Int.*, Nov. 13; *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, Jan. 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825. (For a description of the McPherson house, see Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., "Court Square, Frederick," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII [June, 1952], 113 ff.)

<sup>12</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.

<sup>13</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, 1824.



confirmed by the fact that the Board of Managers of the Baltimore Turnpike had to be approached in order to allow the military and officials to use it free of tolls on this occasion.<sup>14</sup> The party must therefore have come by the Baltimore Turnpike and the Jug Bridge.

A deputation went to the county line to meet the Marquis. It included "Judge Shriver, William Goldsborough, Colonel John Ritchie, Captain Henry Steiner, and Major Henry Kuhn."<sup>15</sup> Lafayette's party included his son, George Washington Lafayette, his secretary, Auguste Levasseur, Captain Jesse D. Elliot, an American naval officer, and John Barney,<sup>16</sup> brother of Joshua Barney and proprietor of the tavern where Lafayette had stopped in Baltimore. They arrived quite late, possibly because of a change of plans. Instead of coming from Annapolis to Frederick, they had returned to Baltimore December 26 to December 29, in order to participate in a Masonic celebration.<sup>17</sup> I have been unable to discover how they travelled. Tradition says they came by stage to the station near the Monocacy bridge.<sup>18</sup>

Ceremonies of welcome took place at the bridge. The Marquis had been expected about noon, and various military organizations had been ordered to be at their stations at eleven A. M.<sup>19</sup> He actually turned up between three and four in the afternoon and was met at the bridge by a delegation which included the local Member of Congress, the local members of the House of Delegates, the Mayor of Frederick, and other officials.<sup>20</sup> Lafayette replied to "several addresses of congratulation"<sup>21</sup> after which the party were hurried into the carriages which had been sent to bring them into Frederick. It was reported that,<sup>22</sup>

The general ascended an elegant barouche (for which the committee are indebted to the polite attention of Mr John Cockey) drawn by four beautiful black horses, richly harnassed, and attended by two postillions

<sup>14</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 13, 1824.

<sup>15</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, 1824.

<sup>16</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.

<sup>17</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, 1824. (The Congressman was Henry R. Warfield; the delegates Henry Kemp, Joseph M. Cromwell, Samuel Barnes, and William P. Farquhar; and the mayor John L. Harding.)

<sup>21</sup> There are extant in Frederick later copies of several speeches of welcome said to have been delivered at the Jug Bridge, including one by Judge Shriver and one by George Baer. There is no authentic record of such speeches. Both gentlemen may have come with speeches in their pockets which they were unable to deliver because of the lateness of the hour.

<sup>22</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.

<sup>17</sup> *Niles Register*, Jan. 1, 1825.

<sup>18</sup> Avirett notes.

<sup>19</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, 1824.

and four grooms, in white dress with blue sashes. His son and secretary were conducted to a barouche and two, and the procession under the direction of Col. Steiner, chief marshal, with five assistants, marshals, with blue sashes and maces, moved in handsome style to the city of Frederick. The escort of the general consisted of several companies of horse, finely mounted and equipped, a band of revolutionary soldiers. . . . It was remarked with great propriety that this was the finest squadron of horse which had attended him in this state.

It had been arranged that a detachment of artillery<sup>23</sup> be stationed at the bridge to fire three guns to announce the approach of the party. The rest of the corps was to be on Barracks Hill, now occupied by the State School for the Deaf. Upon hearing the first guns, they were to fire "thirteen rounds from the large gun and take their stations in the line." The vestries of the churches had all been asked to arrange to have the church bells rung from the time the first gun was heard until the general had entered the town.<sup>24</sup>

Whether or not it was a last-minute arrangement, the route taken by the procession seems to have been from the Jug Bridge to the Barracks Hill, and then down South Market street into the town. This is confirmed by the order mentioned above, that the artillery on the Barracks Hill should join the procession after firing thirteen shots. It is likewise confirmed by two newspaper accounts both of which speak of his entering at the south end of Market street, to pass down to the north end of the same street.<sup>25</sup> If the original plan was to proceed directly along Patrick street, why was the change made, and how did the procession get to the Barracks Hill?

The change may have been due to the need for lengthening the line of march to permit more spectators. Engelbrecht reported six to eight thousand visitors<sup>26</sup> in this little town of three thousand inhabitants. It may also have been true that they wanted the

<sup>23</sup> Among the newspaper notices was one for the Frederick Artillery Company: "Attention Artillerists! You are hereby notified to attend a meeting of the Frederick Artillery Company on Wednesday next the 29th instant, at eight o'clock A. M., at the house of Aquila Tully, completely equipped, as Gen. Lafayette will make his entry into Frederick between twelve and one. It is expected that every man will be at his post." (*Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, 1824.) There were four such notices published in that paper that day.

<sup>24</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 13, 1824.

<sup>25</sup> *Reservoir*, Dec. 27, 1824; *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.

<sup>26</sup> Entry of Dec. 30, 1824.

general to view their artistic achievements to the best advantage.<sup>27</sup> This is the traditional reason, and it is suggested also by the newspaper account:<sup>28</sup>

The general arrived at the south end of Market street about four o'clock, and from the elevation of the place of entry, the two beautiful arches . . . burst upon his view, with all the pleasing emotions of a heart which nature seems to have selected for the culture and display of the best affections.

The procession evidently went to Barracks Hill by leaving the Baltimore pike at a fork in the road near the present Fair Grounds. This may have seemed less of a round-about route than it does today, accustomed as we are to an important highway with no obvious alternative. The Barracks Hill may have looked nearer at that time, too, when one had a view from it down towards the Baltimore pike over fields as yet unencumbered by industrial buildings. Tradition says<sup>29</sup> that they went up a path over private property to reach the hill, where the procession was really to begin.

All the military, except those in the procession, were to be drawn up on North Market street, on the west side, between Patrick and Fifth streets, and facing east, with their officers to the right of their commands. An interesting note is added to the effect that "As a mark of respect peculiar to Frederick, the military are requested to appear on parade with powdered heads."<sup>30</sup> Several visiting companies were present, for they are mentioned as taking place in the line according to the distance of their march.<sup>31</sup> We have no information as to where the school-children were stationed, but we know that they had been assigned a definite place in the demonstrations.<sup>32</sup>

Preceded by a part of his escort of cavalry, and followed by the rest of it, and by the carriages containing his suite and the officials, the Marquis proceeded in his barouche from the Barracks Hill down

<sup>27</sup> This is supported by the Avirett notes.

<sup>28</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.

<sup>29</sup> Avirett notes.

<sup>30</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, 1824. During the Revolution powdered hair had been considered uniform for parades and guard duty, but the practice had been discontinued in America at the turn of the century. Presumably it was still in vogue in France, hence this gesture. Cf. Frederick Todd, "The ins and outs of military hair," *Infantry Journal*, XL (1940), 165-166.

<sup>31</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, 1824.

<sup>32</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 13, 1824.

to the corner of Patrick and Market streets, where trumpets were to herald his arrival.<sup>83</sup>

A flourish of cavalry trumpets on the right will announce the arrival of General Lafayette there; which signal shall be passed along the line by a ruffle of drums from right to left. As General Lafayette passes the line he will be saluted by the different regiments in succession . . . with music playing and standards displayed, paying him the highest military honors until he shall have passed the left, resting near the triumphal arch, at the intersection of Market and Fifth streets.

He thus passed all the troops lined up between the two arches, after which he took the salute as they marched past him at the reviewing stand near the northern arch. After a series of complicated manœuvres, the Marquis was escorted from the stand on North Market street, along Fifth street to what is now East street, then known as Love Lane. They marched south in Love Lane to Patrick, and from the east to the west end of Patrick street, ending up near the Court House, where the town officials were to greet him, and where the official address of welcome was to be made by William Ross. This is the only speech quoted in the press, and it was quoted in full.<sup>84</sup>

It is unfortunate that for our information concerning the festivities in honor of Lafayette, we are limited to official accounts based on programs, and that we have no diary or other personal accounts of what happened. The two principal events were the banquet on Wednesday, the day of his arrival, and the ball on Thursday night. There were two smaller receptions on Thursday morning.

The dinner was scheduled at the Golden Fleece for five o'clock on Wednesday, and tickets at four dollars each were on sale in stores from Monday on. The delay of several hours in arrival in Frederick brought about complications, and it did not seem advisable to cut short the military program. The result was that the dinner was an hour late, and according to the newspaper accounts, the hunger of some of the prospective participants provided a stronger incentive than either their curiosity about the guests or the price they had paid for their tickets. As the paper put it,<sup>85</sup>

Although the day had already been succeeded by the shades of evening, the General, unwilling that his personal fatigue should deprive his fellow

<sup>83</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, 1824.

<sup>84</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, 1824, Jan. 1, 1825.

<sup>85</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.

citizens of the honors which they were anxious to award, or the pleasure they were solicitous to enjoy, repaired to the pavillion to receive the salute. . . . The exercises of the day having deferred the banquet until after six o'clock, the company was not so large as an earlier hour would have insured.

The newspaper accounts which I have been able to see, give no information about the menu at the banquet.<sup>86</sup> We are told simply<sup>87</sup> that the dinner was "sumptuous" and that there was pleasure at the "festal board." Then they got on with the really important part, the toasts. There were thirteen scheduled toasts and an unrecorded number of so-called "volunteer" toasts. They started off with one to the memory of Washington and then drank to the President of the United States with the words, "May the evening of his life be spread with the sweetest shades of dignified retirement." The eleventh toast was to the new Chesapeake and Ohio Canal,— "The first great council of waters will be the healing of all sectional complaints in the body politic." The twelfth was to "Agriculture, the Nursery of Virtue," while the thirteenth saluted "The American Fair, their sensibilities always alive to the merit of the brave." Their sentiments grew more extravagant as volunteers called for toasts. Several gentlemen toasted the ladies, who were apparently not there, and Lafayette's son asked the guests to drink to "A country where men are gallant and free, where ladies are handsome and good, the United States of America."<sup>88</sup> An officer from Hagerstown invoked the ever-present sentiment for Greek independence with the toast "The suffering Greeks, may they meet with a Lafayette." General Thomas C. Worthington, in the midst of this army show, thought he must risk a kind word for the navy, and toasted it in the person of Captain Elliot, who had come with Lafayette from Baltimore.<sup>89</sup> Lafayette himself bowed out with the salute to "The old Maryland Line and the young Frederick volunteers." Levasseur, the secretary, had been at the banquet and had volunteered a toast, but in his journal of Lafayette's visit, he recorded only one thing about the banquet. He was impressed by the magnificent candelabra which lighted the

<sup>86</sup> Williams, *ibid.*, writing in 1910, says much about the contribution of delicacies by local citizens, especially the game brought in by hunters, the apples from nearby farms, and the whiskey and wine from the cellars of the well-to-do.

<sup>87</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.

<sup>88</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.

<sup>89</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.

table. It contained, he said, "an immense quantity of candles," and the base consisted of an enormous bomb-shell brought from the siege of Yorktown.<sup>40</sup>

The following day there were two receptions. From ten to twelve in the morning the Marquis received at Talbott's Tavern any citizens who wished to be introduced.<sup>41</sup> Jacob Engelbrecht, that tireless recorder of the minutiae of life in Frederick, wrote that Lafayette was at that moment receiving the citizens and said that he himself had just returned from the party where he had been introduced by Colonel John Ritchie.<sup>42</sup> Some time later in the day, another reception took place at Colonel McPherson's house, where he received first "the ladies" and later the military and Masonic delegations.<sup>43</sup> There is a tradition in Frederick that there was a meeting of the local Masonic Lodge that day, but no contemporary record has been found and there is no mention of it in Masonic records.<sup>44</sup> It is possible that the relics which have been preserved because of a supposed connection with this supposed Masonic meeting, were in reality identified in some way with the attendance at this reception by the Masons, possibly in a body.

The second night of the Marquis' visit was devoted to the Ball. This, like the banquet, was held at Talbott's "Golden Fleece." Cards of invitation were given to the ladies by the committee, but the gentlemen paid for their tickets, at five dollars each, with only two hundred being available. The newspapers carried the startling request that gentlemen not in uniform wear shoes—startling until we read further on that the military would be permitted to wear boots.<sup>45</sup> No contemporary description of the ball appears to have survived.

It is again upon the newspapers that we must depend for a record of his departure: "Our distinguished guest set out for the city of Washington in a coach and four, provided for his comfortable conveyance, attended by Colonel John McPherson, Dr. William B. Tyler, and the Hon. John Lee."<sup>46</sup> But Jacob Engelbrecht, whose uncanny ability of being at his window when anything hap-

<sup>40</sup> A. Levasseur, *Lafayette en Amérique en 1824-1825*, II (Paris, 1829), p. 34-35.

<sup>41</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1824.

<sup>42</sup> Entry for Dec. 30, 1824.

<sup>43</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825; *Engelbrecht diary*, Dec. 30, 1824.

<sup>44</sup> These records were kindly searched for me by Mr. Charles McC. Mathias.

<sup>45</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, 1824.

<sup>46</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.

pened in Frederick during a period of over fifty years, was there when the general left. At eight-thirty on the morning of December 31, he wrote in his diary that the Marquis had been gone ten minutes.<sup>47</sup>

Both before and after the visit of the Marquis, full advantage was taken of his name for advertising purposes. Here are some samples. The "Fountain Inn," operated by Bartgis in Market street, advertised as the "Fountain Inn à la mode de La Fayette," with this note, "While our noddles are addled with Lafayette notions, the public, (I beg their pardon for this intrusion on their cogitations) may rest assured that I have rented that large and commodious tavern stand in Market street on the road to Baltimore and Philadelphia."<sup>48</sup> Another man announced that he had opened next to the tavern of Aquila Tully, a "Lafayette Billiard Table."<sup>49</sup> In a book describing the tour immediately after it took place, the author wrote,

It is not enough, it would seem, that we as men have exhibited every manifestation of joy and pleasure on this glorious occasion, but our very children have caught the patriotic mania. We have our Lafayette boots, Lafayette hats, Lafayette wines, and Lafayette everything,—but I think our boys have beat us when they draw from the silver flood, Lafayette fish.<sup>50</sup>

I have found no other reference to Lafayette fish, but there are numerous advertisements of a "Lafayette Winter Establishment" where "Oysters Lafayette" were served.<sup>51</sup>

Since Lafayette (fair Freedom's boast)  
Throughout the land is all the toast  
And all around—inland—on coast  
Are striving which shall please the most  
Why may not I, a willing host  
My OYSTERS à la Fayette roast.

The reception of the Marquis in Frederick reproduced to a great extent the welcome which he received everywhere he went in this

<sup>47</sup> Engelbrecht diary, Dec. 31, 1824.

<sup>48</sup> *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.

<sup>49</sup> *Pol. Int.*, Jan. 15, 1825.

<sup>50</sup> Gilbert Hunt, *Tour of General Lafayette through the United States* (New York, 1825), p. 6.

<sup>51</sup> *Reservoir*, II, Nov. 29, 1824; *Pol. Int.*, Oct. 27, 1824.

country.<sup>52</sup> Triumphal arches, fireworks, parades and balls were held everywhere. It was a great moment in the life of an old man who had been living for some years in comparative retirement in his own country. But a man who had been a major general at nineteen could scarcely hope to live all his days in the excitement and glory he had first known forty-seven years before.

<sup>52</sup> See "The Nation's Guest," *Virginia Cavalcade*, IV (Autumn, 1954), 39-42.—*Ed.*



## THE MONDAY CLUB

By WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

THE Monday Club, which first met on Wednesdays, flourished in Baltimore from 1835 to 1841.\* Its membership was small, averaging about twenty-five, and if the dearth of information about the group is any indication, its importance was slight. Yet it numbered among its members the most influential leaders of Baltimore's social, business, and professional circles. In all, thirty-seven men belonged to the Club during the six years of its existence. The only knowledge we have concerning the organization is to be found in a small manuscript volume, measuring about four by six inches and bound in red leather, which consists of fragmentary notes made by John Pendleton Kennedy, one of the founders of the Club.<sup>1</sup>

The whole point of the group, as stated by Kennedy, was "to set on foot a little weekly meeting or *reunion* of the gentlemen of Baltimore." Furthermore, it was desired "that there should be as little of the appearance of formal organization as possible. That there should be neither President, Secretary nor other officers, nor should there be written notes . . ."—which may help to explain the lack of knowledge of the Club.

Unfortunately, Kennedy's notes give little more than a skeleton outline of the organization, recording where the meetings were held, who were members, and who wanted to join; but nothing at all of the gatherings themselves. It is apparent, however, that the desired keynote of informality was maintained; the group met casually and unpunctually, and after a

\* The present writer is indebted to Mr. Harris H. Williams, formerly Reference Librarian at the Peabody Institute Library, who made the transcription of Kennedy's "Journal" and prepared some comments on it. On his departure from Baltimore to enter the Foreign Service, he generously sent his memoranda to the writer with the request that he expand them for publication.

<sup>1</sup> Kennedy Papers, Peabody Institute Library. Since the first meeting was held on a Wednesday, yet the 'titlepage' of the manuscript is labeled "The Monday Club," there is reason to believe that Kennedy started the "Journal" at the opening of the second season, October 12, 1835, and from that date kept almost contemporary minutes.

round or so of whiskey punch ("the staple"), a light supper was served. Presumably, the conversation was light and friendly, and out-of-town guests were welcome.<sup>2</sup>

Of the thirty-seven men who were at one time or another affiliated, ten were lawyers, eight were physicians, and six were merchants or bankers. The Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church, the postmaster, the judge of the Orphans' Court, the editor of the *Baltimore American*, a professor of chemistry at the University of Maryland, and several gentlemen of leisure completed the group. Four of the members had nation-wide reputations, and the fact of their membership elevates the Club to a position of respectability and even to one of importance. These four men were George H. Calvert, Dr. Robley Dunglison, John H. B. Latrobe, and John P. Kennedy.

George Henry Calvert (1803-1889) was then editor of the *Baltimore American*; he was a widely traveled young man and gave promise of a bright literary future. At this time he was probably writing his first book, *Cabiro, a Poem*, which he published in 1840. His background of study and travel abroad, his family connections, his literary inclinations, his position on the local newspaper—these would indicate a man of culture and learning, an ornament to the Monday Club.

Dr. Robley Dunglison (1798-1869) was a member for only one season because in the autumn of 1836 he left his post at the University of Maryland for a chair at the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia. He was an English physician enticed to America in 1825 by Thomas Jefferson to help form the first faculty at the University of Virginia. He stayed in Charlottesville until 1833 and then moved to Baltimore. The doctor had already published his *Human Physiology* (1832) and the famous *Dictionary of Medical Science and Literature* (1833), both of which went through many editions. His *Elements of Hygiene* (1835) and *Principles of Medical Practice* (1836) were

<sup>2</sup> Students of Maryland history will inevitably find themselves comparing this Monday Club with the 18th century Tuesday Club of Annapolis. The membership of both groups was similar, and the same informality of victuals and discussion was employed. It is a matter of regret that there is no record of the Monday Club like Dr. Alexander Hamilton's extensive manuscript journal of the proceedings of the Tuesday Club. For the latter, see "The Tuesday Club of Annapolis," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, I (1906), 59-65, and Joseph T. Wheeler, "Reading and Other Recreations of Marylanders, 1700-1776," *ibid.*, XXXVIII (1943), 43-55.

published while he lived in Baltimore. Kennedy's remarks on Duglison's departure show the respect and affection in which the doctor was held.

The amazingly talented John H. B. Latrobe (1803-1891) must have been a real addition to the group. By 1835 he had already written *The Justices' Practice under the Laws of Maryland* (1826); and, using the pseudonym of Godfrey Wallance, he contributed to the *Atlantic Souvenir*, a gift annual issued by Matthew Carey of Philadelphia. Latrobe was immersed in his work as attorney for the young Baltimore and Ohio Railroad during the Monday Club years. He was, altogether, a many-sided, vigorous, intelligent young man.

John Pendleton Kennedy (1795-1870) was probably the most widely known member of the group. His *Swallow Barn* (1832) had recently attracted considerable attention; and during the life of the Club he wrote and published *Horse-Shoe Robinson* (1835) and *Rob of the Bowl* (1838), both of which were instantaneously popular. In 1838 he was elected to Congress on the Whig ticket, which was regarded as a brilliant personal political victory. Kennedy was just forty years old when the Monday Club began and was at the very peak of his career: a rare and curious, yet successful, combination of novelist, politician, and businessman.

It would be overemphasis to rank the Monday Club with its worthy predecessor, the Delphian Club, but its membership was select and prominent enough to deserve comment. It does help, in some measure, to indicate the interests and pleasant mode of recreation of this group of Baltimoreans during the late 1830's. The complete membership is listed in an appendix.

The following is an exact transcript of the manuscript volume kept by Kennedy:

#### MONDAY CLUB

Private Journal of certain public events. ~~Written without Authority.~~  
[sic].

On Wednesday the 18th of March 1835 a few gentlemen met by invitation at my house, Mount Vernon Place,<sup>3</sup> to set on foot a little weekly meeting or *reunion* of the gentlemen of Baltimore. The object proposed was, by this periodical concourse, not only to cultivate intimate acquaintance and friendship amongst the members, but also to afford strangers who

<sup>3</sup> Kennedy's home was on the southeast corner of Mount Vernon Place, where the Peabody Conservatory of Music is now located.

might casually be in the city an opportunity to gain some knowledge of our Society.

In the accomplishment of the purpose of the meeting it was determined, First that there should be as little of the appearance of formal organization as possible. That there should be neither President, Secretary nor other officers, nor should there be written notes, nor indeed any thing that should be a symbol of previous design—if that could be avoided.

Second, it should be understood that the meetings were to be held once a week, on Wednesday evenings about 8 o'clock.

Third That there should be a very slight supper, which in no case should exceed two dishes—with but little wine,—relying upon whiskey punch as the staple.

Fourth, That the Society or Club should consist eventually of such gentlemen as should proffer themselves ready in succession to give the required entertainment, until the number of Twenty Six should present themselves in the regular succession. As soon however as an evening should arrive on which no gentlemen should offer himself ready to take the next meeting, then the circle was to be considered as complete, the day was to come back to one, and from that time forth no person was to be admitted into the club but upon occasion of a vacancy and consent of all the members.

Fifth, It was also to be understood that the gentleman who gave the party was to be privileged to invite whomsoever he pleased for the night. That the members of the Club were to attend always without invitation, and that every member should be privileged to bring to the meeting any strangers who might be in the City.

These were the *understandings* which for my own satisfaction, (since it is contrary to the spirit of our design that they should be recorded as matter of public proceeding) I have written down in this book. The same in no wise to be regarded as a thing authorized by the Club. From this it will be seen that whatever philosophers may say to the contrary, it is quite practicable to establish a body politic with such instincts as shall supersede conventional stipulation, and with such *understanding*, as shall stand for laws.

As it is a matter of importance to commemorate the establishment of the club by a full notice of the event, I have thought it further worth while to say that at this meeting at my house on the 18th March, there were present the following gentlemen:

Robley Dunglison, M. D.  
George Calvert  
H. H. Hayden  
Gorham Brooks

Charles Howard  
Josias Pennington  
John S. Skinner  
Pendleton Kennedy

J. P. Kennedy.

Upon reflection I find I am mistaken in saying Dunglison was there. He got only half way, where, (the night being dark and tempestuous) he stuck fast in the mud, and when he extricated himself, for fear of further

mishap he went home. There were many more invited, but the foulness of the weather kept them back.

At nine o'clock we had a Tureen of stewed oysters, and some turkey salad, to which my wife added ice cream, an indiscretion that nearly proved fatal to the enterprise. It was understood that that was on no account to occur again.

Pennington offered to take the next meeting (the 25th) which he did with visible manifestations of the popularity of the scheme.<sup>4</sup> He was followed by Dungleison;<sup>5</sup> and the club moved forward with increasing vivacity through the following succession.

John P. Kennedy, First night, Mar. 18  
 J. Pennington, 2nd. Mar. 25  
 R. Dungleison 3. Ap. 1  
 Robert Gilmor 4. Ap. 8  
 Charles Howard 5. April 15  
 J. Meredith, 6. " 22  
 G. Brooks, 7 " 29  
 Natl. Williams, 8 May 6.

At the meeting at Williams' it was *understood* that the season was advancing too near to the summer to keep up the meetings without intermission and therefore that they would not be resumed until the autumn. The successor was to be Col. Saml. Moore who promised to be ready when the proper time should come.

*Monday October 12th 1835.*

We had a little preliminary meeting this evening at Dungleison's to have *some understandings* as to the course of proceeding for the winter. Besides Dungleison, there were Meredith, Pennington, Sam Moore and myself. Robert Gilmor was invited but could not come. The result of this convocation was as follows—

*Understood* that the Club commence operations again on Monday the second of November, and the meetings take place henceforth on Monday instead of Wednesday nights. That the rule of two dishes and whiskey punch be adhered to, as an indispensable sumptuary understanding. And that we here present do what we please this winter for the good of the club.

*Monday Nov. 2, 1835.*

Meeting at Col. Moore's.

*Nov. 9.* Dr. Alexander's.—At this meeting it was understood that the club henceforth assemble, at the latest, by half past 7 o'clock, and that supper be laid at 9.

<sup>4</sup> Pennington lived on Mount Vernon Place, next to Kennedy, where the Peabody Institute Library now stands.

<sup>5</sup> 16 Hanover Street.

- Nov. 16. Dr. Hall's.  
 Nov. 23. Hu. Birckhead's  
 Nov. 30. Saml. Hoffman's.  
 Dec. 7th. Hu. W. Evans  
 " 15. G. Lurman's  
 Dec. 21. John M. Gordon's  
 " 28 Dr. Gibson

1836

- Jany. 4 ArchBh. Eccleston  
 11 Dr. Hayden  
 18 J. Harwood  
 25. S. O. Hoffman  
 Feby. 1. Dr. Maccaulay  
 8 J. H. B. Latrobe  
 15 J. G. Davies

On this night, twenty four parties having been given, and at the request of Ben. C. Howard and Jeremiah Hoffman places having been kept open for them with a view to give them a favorable season of the year, the circle of Twenty six, with these two reservations, has been accomplished, and according to the original design it now returns to me. I have consequently invited the gentlemen to meet (under the name of 'The Monday Club') at my house on Monday next the 22nd. It will be a subject for consideration then whether the members may be enlarged, there being several applicants for membership. The twenty six nights will fill up the interval from the 1st Monday of November to the 1st Monday of May. The question for consideration will be can the season be extended, by commencing earlier in the autumn and extending later in the Spring? Another purpose of this meeting is to card the club by recording the names of the members and by assigning to each his night in the season and having a printed card issued, so as to make a permanent advertisement of the different meetings of the year, and of course, an invitation to the members in advance. The gentlemen who have heretofore expressed a wish to have an evening assigned to them, and who have not yet been afforded an opportunity of receiving the Club, are

John Hoffman  
 J. Spear Nicholas  
 Richard Stewart

Francis H. Davidge  
 Wm. G. Read

Monday Feby 22. 1836

In consequence of an obstacle of a private nature, the meeting of this evening was transferred from my house to Pennington's where I understand there was a full attendance. Pennington the next day reported to me that the Club had determined that the members ought not to exceed the original limit of Twenty six, and accordingly it was resolved to close with that number.

Ben. C. Howard who was present declined in consequence of his public

engagement to become a member; \* by this withdrawal, John Hoffman proceeds to the original list of Twenty six.

Several gentlemen of the Club were invited to meet on the morning of the 23rd at R. Gilmor's to make up the yearly card. I went with Pennington and no one else attending, Gilmor, Pennington and myself made out the card for 1836-37, beginning on the 4th Monday of October, and arranging the meetings in the following procession, viz.

Monday Club																																	
Card for 1836. 37																																	
1836	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%;"></th> <th style="text-align: right; vertical-align: bottom;">Monday</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>J. P. Kennedy</td><td style="text-align: right;">Oct. 24</td></tr> <tr><td>J. Pennington</td><td style="text-align: right;">31</td></tr> <tr><td>J. Owings Hoffman</td><td style="text-align: right;">Nov. 7</td></tr> <tr><td>Archbishop Eccleston</td><td style="text-align: right;">14</td></tr> <tr><td>R. Gilmor</td><td style="text-align: right;">21</td></tr> <tr><td>Dr. Alexander</td><td style="text-align: right;">28</td></tr> <tr><td>Dr. Macaulay</td><td style="text-align: right;">Dec. 5</td></tr> <tr><td>John Hoffman</td><td style="text-align: right;">12</td></tr> <tr><td>G. W. Lurman</td><td style="text-align: right;">19</td></tr> <tr><td>Dr. Gibson</td><td style="text-align: right;">26</td></tr> </tbody> </table>		Monday	J. P. Kennedy	Oct. 24	J. Pennington	31	J. Owings Hoffman	Nov. 7	Archbishop Eccleston	14	R. Gilmor	21	Dr. Alexander	28	Dr. Macaulay	Dec. 5	John Hoffman	12	G. W. Lurman	19	Dr. Gibson	26										
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This card was printed with a summary of the rules of the club at the foot of it. It was determined that for the residue of the present term the succession should be as follows.

Feby. 29	at Dr. Dunglison's
Mar. 7	N. Williams
" 14	J. Meredith

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\* Howard was a member of Congress and Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

"	21	Hu Brickhead
	28	G. Brooks
Ap.	4	Ch. Howard
	11	Sam. Moore
	18	Dr. Hall
Ap.	25.	H. W. Evans
May	2.	Jer. Hoffman.

*Monday Feby 29.* The meeting was accordingly held at Dungleison's.

*March 7.* In consequence of a family affliction Williams exchanged with Brooks who received the Club at his house. The next night is set down for Meredith but he being unwell has made an exchange with Charles Howard.

It was arranged at Brooks's that invitations should be sent to those gentlemen who have heretofore applied for an evening but were left out in consequence of the limitations. They are to be invited to consider themselves in all respects as members with all the privileges of membership, and to be entitled according to this priority of application to have an evening assigned to them, as opportunity may occur.

Dr. Richard Stewart has declined to be considered an applicant for membership, or to accept the invitation. The invitation therefore applies to

J. Spear Nicholas  
F. H. Davidge  
W. G. Read and  
Dr. Rogers Hoffman who

on this evening expressed his wish to be considered a member. I have accordingly issued cards to these gentlemen. Dr. Ducatel has also applied to be enrolled as a member, I have in consequence sent him a card.

May 2 1836

This was the last meeting of the season, and the meeting was held at Mr. Jer. Hoffman's under the most favorable and agreeable circumstances. The previous meetings from the 7th of March through this interval were held according to the regular procession herein before set down. And the Club has thus far proceeded under the most encouraging auspices.

*Monday Oct. 24 1836*

The new season opened according to the card, at my house, where there were nearly 100 persons present. Dungleison, a most valued and admirable member has been called to a Chair in the Jefferson Medical College at Philadelphia, and has consequently been obliged to leave us. The regret of the society of Baltimore, to whom he was affixed by the many endearments which his highly cultivated mind and amiable manners created, has been expressed in every circle and felt in every bosom. It is but a just tribute to his worth to say that amongst the Club every member is conscious that in Dr. Dungleison's removal we have lost the individual whose name is now farthest spread abroad over our country and is like to be longest remembered hereafter, as associated with the cause of science and letters. As the Doctor has greatly profited in his pecuniary relations by this removal and



has obtained a foothold upon a most conspicuous theatre, our interest in his success in life is the only argument which reconciles us (I speak at least for myself) to the privation which has made us so much the loser.

Spear Nicholas, being the eldest applicant upon the list, takes Dunglison's place upon the card. He has been apprised of this and the card will be altered accordingly.

Monday Oct. 31.

At Pennington's.—A good attendance.

John Hoffman has sent in his resignation, finding himself not in sufficient health to attend the meetings.

This vacancy entitles Ben. C. Howard to a place on the card. Howard had formerly been on it, and has lately informed me that he declined last winter only because he was occupied in Congress, and supposed that others were waiting for his place. It was accordingly then given to John Hoffman. Howard has since said that he was not aware that in thus declining for the winter he was losing his permanent position on the card, and to correct this misapprehension desired to be restored as soon as a vacancy occurred: in consideration of which it has been thought right that he should regain his original position upon Hoffman's withdrawal. He therefore would be entitled to the 12th Dec. but as he prefers in consequence of the distance of Belvidere from town,<sup>7</sup> and also on account of his congressional occupations to have an evening in Spring, we have effected an exchange between him and H. W. Evans, giving Evans the 12th of December and Howard the 17th of Apl.

Morgan Gibbes has applied to become a member and is accordingly so enrolled, and a card of invitation will be sent to him.

Francis H. Davidge has declined having any association with the Club, and will accordingly not be continued on the list of applicants. The applicants now stand as follows:

W. G. Read  
Rogers Hoffman  
Dr. Ducatel  
R. M. Gibbes.

Monday Nov. 7

At Owings Hoffman's. I was absent from Baltimore on this evening but have heard the attendance was good. Mr. Chanche President of St. Mary's College,<sup>8</sup> having always been invited to the Club, and being anxious to make a return for these attentions, entertained the whole club at dinner, at the College on Thursday the 10th. Every one speaks of the festivity of the occasion in the most joyful terms.

<sup>7</sup> "Belvidere," the Howard home was located about where Calvert and Chase streets now intersect. It is amusing to think of this spot as being considered a "distance from town."

<sup>8</sup> The Rev. John J. Chanche (1795-1852), a Baltimorean, was president of St. Mary's College from 1834 to 1840. St. Mary's was the only institution of higher learning in Baltimore and many of the city's leading families (of all creeds) sent sons there. Chanche became the first Bishop of Natchez in 1841.

Monday Nov. 14.

At the Archbishop's.

Monday Nov. 21. At R. Gilmor's.

Monday Nov. 28th.

At Dr. Alexander's. On this evening the Doctor has fallen under the censure of the law of the Society for having given a supper set out with a variety of dishes altogether in violation of the sumptuary law which restricts the supper to two dishes, or kinds of meat. An imitation of this excess will inevitably break up the club by leading to a rivalry which will become at last too expensive to be borne by many of the members.

Monday December 5

This was Macaulay's night, but some of his family being indisposed, he gave the evening over to Gibbes, at whose house the Club accordingly assembled.

John S. Skinner has requested to become a member. I have therefore enrolled his name on the list and sent him a card.

A new set of cards of the season with the promotions and changes are now in the hands of the printer and will be issued this week.

Monday Dec. 12 H. W. Evans.

Dec. 19. G. W. Lurman's. The hour of the meeting is appointed on the card for seven o'clock, in the hope that members will assemble at half past seven. But the habit of a late hour is gradually gaining ground. None come before 8, and many much later. This requires correction.

Monday Dec. 26

At Dr. Gibson's. Mr. E. M. Greenway having applied to be put upon the list of members, he was enrolled accordingly and a card was sent to him on the 24th.

1837

Jany 2. At Samuel Hoffman's.

Jany. 9. Dr. Hayden

" 16. J. M. Gordon

" 23. J. Harwood

30 J. H. B. Latrobe

Feby 6 J. G. Davies. David Hoffman having applied to become a member, I have accordingly sent him a ticket of invitation to the regular meetings and reported him as a regular of the club to take his turn on the card whenever the proper vacancy occurs.

The outside members now stand as follows:

W. G. Read

Rogers Hoffman

Dr. Ducatel

R. M. Gibbes

J. S. Skinner  
E. M. Greenway  
David Hoffman

Feby. 13. At J. S. Nicholas's

20 N. Williams

27 J. Meredith

March 6. This was H. Birkhead's evening, but owing to some mistake no meeting was held.

Mar. 13. G. Brooks

20 Rogers Hoffman takes it tonight for Charles Howard who could not receive the Club.

Mar. 27. S. Moore

April 3. Dr. Hall

April 10. B. C. Howard's night but he not being able to meet the Club, J. S. Skinner takes his place.

April 17. Jeremiah Hoffman closes the season.

1837-38

The Club was resumed at the appointed time, a card for the season made out, and the meetings held through the winter with great regularity.

1838-39

On Monday the 22nd of October the club met at Mr. Gilmor's. It was now found that the whole list of outside members had been brought upon the card, and that no new applications for membership were made. This was thought to furnish a fit occasion for organizing the club by written laws. This was accordingly brought into discussion and the result was the following tabs or by laws which were unanimously adopted.

#### The Monday Club

1. The Club shall commence its meetings on the 4th Monday of October, and end them on the last Monday of April in each year.
2. The suppers of the Club shall be confined to three dishes as already established by custom.
3. A committee of three shall be elected every year at the first meeting in October by such as may be present at 8 o'clock on that evening, which Committee shall remain in office until their successors are elected. They shall appoint a President and Secretary of the Club who shall serve for the year and until their successors are appointed. And the President and Secretary together with the Committee of three shall have full power to make all regulations which they may deem necessary for the ordering of the Club, and maintaining it according to the object for which it was originally instituted. This Board shall regulate the yearly ticket, fill

vacancies therein and admit to membership in the club such applicants as they may think entitled to the same.

4. When the yearly ticket is full the Board shall have power to put upon the back thereof the names of such persons applying to become members, as they may think proper to be admitted, which outside members shall have all the privileges of the Club and be entitled, according to seniority of application, to be brought upon the card as vacancies may occur.

5. The Committee for the time being shall have the privilege of filling any vacancies in its own number which may occur.

6. The President or the Committee may call extra meetings of the Club whenever deemed necessary.

These by laws having been adopted the meeting proceeded to the election of the Committee for the ensuing year, when wherewith Pennington and Dr. Alexander were unanimously chosen.

The Committee then appointed Robert Gilmor President and John P. Kennedy Secretary for the year.

Under this organization the ticket was made out and the meetings were regularly held in accordance therewith during the season.

#### 1839-40

Monday Oct. 28th. The meetings resumed this evening at Mr. Gilmor's where the new card for the season was adjusted and ordered to be put in the hands of the Printer.

Nov. 4. At H. W. Evans'.

The Club went into an election of officers, when Mr. Gilmor was reelected President and J. P. Kennedy Secy.

Messrs. Meredith, Pennington and Saml. Hoffman, Committee.

#### 1840-41

October 26. The meetings for this year were resumed commencing with G. W. Lurman.

The card for the season was directed to be made, which was accordingly done in the interval between this and the next meeting, which was directed to be held on Monday the 9th of November. The 2nd of November being passed by on account of the Presidential Election which was to take place on that day.

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## APPENDIX

A list of the members, arranged alphabetically, is appended to Kennedy's account in order to provide pertinent data on ages and occupations during the period of the Monday Club.

- Ashton Alexander (1772-1855), physician  
 Hugh Birckhead (1788-1858), merchant  
 Gorham (Graham) Brooks, merchant  
 George H. Calvert (1803-1889), newspaper editor  
 Francis H. Davidge (1796-1861), lawyer  
 Jacob G. Davies (1796-1857), mill owner  
 Julius T. Ducatel (1796-1849), professor at Univ. of Md. and St. John's, State Geologist  
 Robley Dunglison (1798-1869), professor at Univ. of Md.  
 Samuel Eccleston (1801-1851), archbishop  
 Hugh W. Evans (d. 1863), lawyer, bank president  
 Robert Morgan Gibbes<sup>9</sup>  
 George S. Gibson (1800-1872), physician  
 Robert Gilmor, Jr. (1774-1848), merchant  
 John M. Gordon (1810-1884), lawyer  
 Edward M. Greenway (d. 1880), banker  
 Richard W. Hall (1785-1847), physician  
 James Harwood (1791-1847), judge of Orphans' Court  
 Horace H. H. Hayden (1769-1844), dental surgeon and teacher  
 David Hoffman (1784-1854), lawyer  
 Jeremiah Hoffman (1777-1845), merchant  
 John Hoffman (1796-1846), merchant  
 Philip Rogers Hoffman (d. 1873), physician  
 Samuel Owings Hoffman (1801-1860), merchant  
 Benjamin Chew Howard (1791-1872), lawyer, member of Congress  
 Charles Howard (1802-1869), president Baltimore and Susquehanna Ry.  
 John Pendleton Kennedy (1795-1870), writer, member of Congress  
 John H. B. Latrobe (1803-1891), lawyer  
 Gustav W. Lurman (d. 1866), merchant  
 Patrick Macaulay (1792-1849), physician  
 Jonathan Meredith (1784-1872), lawyer  
 Samuel Moore (d. 1845), merchant  
 John Spear Nicholas (1802-1887), lawyer  
 Josias Pennington (1797-1874), lawyer  
 William G. Read (1800-1846), lawyer  
 John S. Skinner (d. 1851), postmaster  
 Richard S. Steuart (1797-1876), physician  
 Nathaniel Williams (d. 1864), lawyer, U. S. district attorney

<sup>9</sup> *Matchett's Baltimore Director . . . for 1837-8*, p. 140, lists South Gay Street near Baltimore Street as residence of Robert M. Gibbes.

# REVOLUTIONARY MAIL BAG: GOVERNOR THOMAS SIM LEE'S CORRESPONDENCE

## PART IV

Edited by HELEN LEE PEABODY

(Continued from Vol. XLIX, No. 3, September, 1954, p. 237)

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>1</sup>  
(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

June 7th 1781

Sir—

By a Resolve of Congress of the 31st. of May two Battalions of Infantry and a Corps of Horse consisting of Sixty four Dragoons are required of the State of Maryland to serve for three Months from the Time of their respectively rendevousing at the Place or Places directed by me.

Your Excellency has, no Doubt, been made acquainted that the foregoing Requisition is founded upon alarming Progress which the Enemy are making in Virginia.

You will be pleased therefore to give orders to the officers commanding the respective Corps to march by Detachment as they are raised and equipped to whatever Place may be the Head Quarters of the American Army in Virginia or in Maryland (should the enemy have advanced into that State) and take their further Commands from the General or other commanding Officer.

I need but refer Your Excellency to the Circular Letter of the President of Congress of the 1<sup>st</sup>. inst., for the Reasons which ought to influence the Exertions of Your State most particularly at this Moment.<sup>2</sup>

I have the honour to be, etc.

Go. Washington

The following is the first of the series of 49 letters written by James McHenry to Governor Lee in great part from the Yorktown front, inherited by the Lee family and at present in their posses-

<sup>1</sup> Referred to in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XXII, 171-172, and printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 275.

<sup>2</sup> See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XX, 585-587.

sion, referred to in the September issue (p. 226). The letters were privately printed in Southampton, N. Y., in 1931 under the title, *A Sidelight on History, Being the Letters of James McHenry, Aide-de-Camp of the Marquis de Lafayette, to Thomas Sim Lee, Governor of Maryland, written during the Yorktown Campaign, 1781.*

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Bal. 9 June 1781.

My dear Sir:

When I have joined the Southern army (for which purpose I set out in less than two hours) I hope you will not forget that there is in it, one, who has the most sincere esteem for your Excellency. I know not any thing I have done to deserve the attentions you have shown me; but if I did not regard good men, I should cease to respect myself. This must always insure you my warmest attachment.

I cannot at this moment say whether I shall make the campaign with the Marquiss [de Lafayette] or Gen. Greene. It is most likely, however, that it will be with the latter, as he has written to General Washington and to myself very pressingly on this head. He will also, I suppose, have the most difficulties to encounter; and if so, this will determine me.

Let me beg your Excellency to present my compliments of leave to Mrs. Lee; and to believe me, your sincerely and with the greatest regard and attachment,

James McHenry

His Excellency,  
Governor Lee.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>4</sup>  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Headquarters, Col. Dandridges House,  
23 Miles from Richmond.

19 June 1781.

Dear Sir:

I am not sure that the Marquiss writes you, and therefore I do. When the Marquiss was obliged to move, Cornwallis took a position at Cook's fork, which enabled him either to return to James river or to gain our northern communication. To prevent him from destroying the stores arriving from Philadelphia was a necessary attempt on the part of the

<sup>3</sup> Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>5</sup> Apparently Baron von Steuben.

Marquiss. The Baron,<sup>5</sup> with about 500 Virginia levies and some militia, covered the stores at the fork of the James river.

Tarleton's<sup>6</sup> legion penetrated to Charlotteville, dissipated the Assembly, and destroyed about 150 stand of arms and some powder. Simcoe, with his corps, proceeded to the point of fork and destroyed the stores which the Baron deserted. In the meantime, Cornwallis approached the point of fork with intention to strike our magazines at Albemarle Old Court House. But before he could reach them the Marquiss effected his junction with the Pennsylvanians, and by opening a march through a road deemed impassible, gained a position on Michunk Creek between the enemy and our magazines, where he was joined by some riflemen. The day following, Cornwallis retired towards Richmond, where he now is. We are in this neighborhood. In this war of marches, the Marquiss is the victor, because he obliged by a very happy manœuvre his Lordship to return without completing his principal object. Commodore Baron<sup>7</sup> writes that on the 17th, in the afternoon, 35 sail of the enemy's vessels anchored in Hampton Road from sea. He supposes them the same that sailed from thence thirteen days ago. Four, he says, appeared to have troops on board.

With the greatest respect and attachment, I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your Excellency's

Most obst. [*sic*]

James McHenry.

His Excellency  
Governor Lee

LAFAYETTE TO THOMAS SIM LEE<sup>8</sup>

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Mr. Savages house 13 Miles from

New Kent Court House [Va.]. 25th June 1781

Dr Sir.

Yesterday morning the enemy renewed their March from Kent Court house to Williamsburg. This morning a light corps, that was in advance, and the Pennsylvania line moved after them. Lord Cornwallis has not, as yet, explained himself clearly enough, for one to determine upon his immediate objects. I would suppose however, that a post at Williamsburg, and a small one, perhaps, at York, may be intended. Heretofore his cavalry have covered his manœuvres, and rendered him almost impenetrable.

I have been for some time past flattered with accounts of an approaching succour in cavalry from your State; but their not joining me, makes me fear lest they should be prevented by some obstacle that had not been foreseen. If it is to be removed by the Executive, I pray your Excellency to give such orders for this purpose as may effect it with as much expedition as possible.—Where an army consists chiefly in militia, a large and

<sup>5</sup> Sir Banastre Tarleton (1754-1833).

<sup>7</sup> James Barron, who commanded part of the naval forces of Virginia.

<sup>8</sup> Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 315.



good cavalry is of the last importance. It is our misfortune that our is chiefly in militia, and that the enemy's cavalry renders every effort of ours that may produce an equality, a primary object. With an Army of this description and without cavalry to oppose to the enemy, you can easily conceive his advantages. But notwithstanding these, his Lordship has the credit of having moved with great caution.

I have the honor to be with the utmost respect, D. Sir  
Your Excellency's most obt. Servt.  
Lafayette

His Excellency  
Governor Lee

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>9</sup>  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

7th July 1781.  
10 o'clock P. M.

Dear Sir:

We have received certain advice that the rear of the British army crossed from James Town to the Cobham side at noon. Part of the army is in motion to take possession of the place.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obst.  
James McHenry.

Governor Lee.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>10</sup>  
(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

July 10, 1781

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the Receipt of Your Excellency's favor of the 29th of June.<sup>11</sup>

It is with very great satisfaction that I observe the proceedings of the General Assembly of your state which you have been pleased to communicate to me.

The exertions of that Legislature have heretofore been laudable, and I am exceedingly glad to see the same spirit still prevailing.

For my part I have not a doubt but that if the States were to exert themselves with that spirit and vigor which might be reasonably be expected at this favorable period, they might not only drive from the Con-

<sup>9</sup> Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>10</sup> Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XXII, 350-351, and *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 342. ("In the writing of Peregrine Fitzhugh."—Fitzpatrick.)

<sup>11</sup> See *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 491. This letter was in answer to the General's letter of June 7, q. v.

tain the remains of the british force now among us, but obtain to themselves their independence, with the enjoyment of Peace Liberty and happiness to their numerous Inhabitants, an event which you will be assured I most ardently wish.

I have the honor to be  
Your Excellency's Mo. Ob. Ser.  
Go. Washington

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>12</sup>  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Holt's forge, 11th July 1781  
11 o'clock P. M.

My dear Sir:

The express does not go off till morning, and we have received a dispatch from General Greene dated Little River in the district of 96, June 23. The General writes me, "Fortune is my enemy, or at least not much my friend. We were contemplating the reduction of all the enemy's posts in South Carolina and Georgia, except Charlestown and Savannah, when the enemy received a reinforcement at Charlestown, which enabled them to raise the siege of 96. It was mortifying, indeed, to be obliged to leave a place which we had labored so much to reduce, and which we were within four days of effecting, and to be in possession of one of the enemy's works, when Lord Rawdon <sup>13</sup> arrived and obliged us to retreat. Could I have collected a large body of militia, I would have fought him, but our numbers were too small to hazard an action, especially as this little army is all we have to depend upon. We prosecute the war upon such unequal terms in this country that I have nothing better to expect than disgrace and ruin, and unless a few of my friends can convince the sensible part of mankind that it is not the misapplication, but the want of means which is the cause of our misfortunes, I am sure that will be the case. Greater abilities might improve our force to greater advantage; but as for men, I can do no more than I have done. If my conduct is not satisfactory, I shall submit with pleasure to public censure."

He attacked two of the out works, one of which he carried. His loss was between 40 and 50. He retired on the 19th, when the enemy were within a few miles of 96.

The act of our late session of Assembly to raise a body of horse is one of the wisest measures which could have been adopted. It remains to prosecute its execution with vigor. Under our present circumstances, they are the most serviceable army we can raise. The enemy, sensible of this, have turned all their attention to it in South Carolina, and from their superior means must exceed us in cavalry. Among your exertions, my dear Governor, for our country, let this be a principal one. I believe we

<sup>12</sup> Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 27-29.

<sup>13</sup> Lt. Col. Francis Rawdon.

must risque everything here in order to succour Greene. Should no new charges arise, I shall urge the step.

I am, most respectfully, my dear Sir,

Yours,

James McHenry

His Excellency,  
Governor Lee.

12th July

10 o'clock morning.

We have a dispatch from General Greene just now, dated 29th ult., by which we find he was rather intending opposition than a retreat.

J. McH.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>14</sup>  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Malvern Hill

29 the July 1781

Dear Sir:

It is not easy to make anything out of Lord Cornwallis' present movements. The fleet with about thirteen hundred troops on board (and some say 2000) were by our latest advices still in Hampton road. Since taking this position, there have been winds that would have carried them out of the Capes or up the Bay. They have pilots on board acquainted with the navigation of the upper parts of the Chesapeak. The fleet is watered; and the enemy give out that Baltimore is the place of destination. I know not well what to say in this case. To deceive more effectively, generals sometimes announce their real intentions. Lord Cornwallis has done this in some instances. Going up the Bay is also agreeable to the ministerial system. The composition of the troops is likewise calculated for such service, comprehending the light infantry or a regiment of cavalry or the Queen's rangers. On the other hand, New York seems to call for their assistance. And they may be waiting for a convoy or a second embarkation. In fine, if I dared to conclude any thing, it would be that they are destined for New York. Nevertheless, precautions might not be improper in your quarter. But I state the intelligence, and you will be the best judge of the measure. It appears to me that this State will not be evacuated, nor their design of penetrating Maryland even suspended at this moment unless the French have obtained such a naval superiority as to place New York and Charlestown in the last degree of danger. Such an event only, or a certainly that the enemy here will be too exposed to capture from such a superiority, can, or will, force them from this State. The Maryland dragoons have been ordered to return, and I suppose have commenced their march this morning.

<sup>14</sup> Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 38-39.

With the most perfect respect, I have the honor to be, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obt. Serv.

James McHenry.

His Excellency  
Governor Lee

LAFAYETTE TO THOMAS SIM LEE  
(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Malvern Hill 30th July 1781

Sir:

As I have had no advice of the March of the Maryland levies, I take the liberty of informing myself, through Your Excellency, whether it has yet taken place. Circumstanced as we are, a very small reinforcement is very sensibly felt. The enemy too, appearing to waver in their movements, makes additions more consequential; not only to this State, but to Maryland. I have long been of opinion, that, if we can but collect a respectable army in this quarter, we have little to fear, for yours. It is, therefore, I hope, that the calling out, or arranging the select body of militia, to act in Virginia, is still vigorously persued. Langour in our public exertions for this campaign, may not, perhaps, be balanced by the most strenuous in future.

It is some time since an embarkation was made at Portsmouth, and since the vessels fell down to Hampton road. The troops on board may amount to about 12 or 1300. My last accounts are of the 28th. It is said, pliets have been taken on board, acquainted with the upper part of Chesapeake; and, they give out, the armament is destined for Baltimore. It has for several days, had the most favorable winds to proceed up the Bay. But, as it seems to be complete, its not going, is one proof, that, its destination is elsewhere.

Were I to conjecture on this occasion, it would be, that it is designed for New-York; but, that some recent circumstance, has suspended its sailing. It is true, however, that the plan of the British ministry is to carry their arms into Maryland; and without great exertions here, and further Southward, or a naval superiority, I do not see how it is to be prevented.

Permit me again, therefore, to suggest to your Excellency, the vast importance of preparing the powers of your State, for the support of this. It is true, the uncertainty which appears in the enemy's movements, may be construed differently. If we suppose that, in order to secure their two principal posts, they mean only to leave a garrison at Portsmouth, it may present us with an opportunity of acting against it. In such a case, we should not have our succours to collect, lest we should lose the moment. And, if their whole force remains, we shall have a yet stronger call for reinforcements. The only event which can render this unnecessary, is their

<sup>16</sup> Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, pp. 374-375.

evacuating the State. But we know of no facts upon which to build this conclusion.

I beg you to direct the levies to join this Army.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's

Most ob<sup>t</sup>. Serv<sup>t</sup>.

Lafayette

His Excellency  
Governor Lee

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>16</sup>  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Malvern Hill 30 July 1781

My Dear Sir

The intelligence which remains after the Generals letter is fit only to excite conjecture.

On the 27th Nineteen flat bottomed boats with horse and foot crossed from Portsmouth to Norfolk. The Troops there marched towards Kemps Landing. The day after, two Companies of Hessians took the same rout. This, one would say, looks to the Southward.

We have nothing official from General Greene, but it is reported that affairs are again in his favor. His fortune is a perfect resemblance of life.

General Wayne and General Morgan <sup>17</sup> are at Goodbridge on the South side of James River. Col. Moylan and one Regiment of Light infantry will cross to day to take a Post in front. The Militia and the remainder of the infantry on this side.

With the most sincere respect and attachment I have the honor to be  
Dr. Sir:

Your Excellencys

Most obedient serv<sup>t</sup>.

James McHenry

His Excellency  
Governor Lee.

THOMAS SIM LEE TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS <sup>18</sup>  
(Papers of the Continental Congress, National Archives)

Annapolis 4th Aug<sup>t</sup>. 1781

Sir

The enclosed copies of letters <sup>19</sup> this Moment received from the Marquis de la Fayette and Doctor McHenry communicate the designs and movement

<sup>16</sup> Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 39-50.

<sup>17</sup> Daniel Morgan (1736-1802).

<sup>18</sup> Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 541-542.

<sup>19</sup> Enclosures are the two preceding letters.

of the enemy. The state is making every exertion to collect such a force as with the regulars here amounting to about 600 under skilfull and experienced officers will enable us to confine them within very narrow limits. Our people are resolute and determined; they feel that animating spirit which diffused itself through all ranks at the commencement of this Contest. The Approach of the Enemy has apparently banished every sordid, avaricious and selfish View, and we trust our People will act like Men sensible of the Blessings they are struggling for and the miseries which by an abject and dastardly conduct they most deservedly will feel.

If our militia could be well armed and accoutred they would acquire a confidence which would stimulate them to a conduct which would not disgrace regulars and on Congress we rely for that aid and most earnestly solicit your Excellency to supply us immediately with what can be spared and forward them: The field pieces intended for us, would be very serviceable.

Congress has not often been troubled with applications from this state and we flatter ourselves the Exertions of our people upon all occasions merit every assistance that can be afforded, especially at this Crisis.

We have taken every possible precaution to prevent the stores provisions and valuable property belonging to the continent and state falling into their Hands.

We have the honor to be with  
the most respectful attachment  
Your Excellencys most Obedt Servt.  
Tho: S: Lee

THOMAS SIM LEE TO PRESIDENT OF THE SPECIAL COUNCIL <sup>20</sup>  
(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Annapolis, 4 August, 1781

In Council

Gent<sup>men</sup>

With Enclosure

We have this Moment received the enclosed intelligence, so that the destination of the Enemy against this State no longer remains doubtful.

We are taking every possible measure for defense.

We have about 600 Regulars at this City and have advised all the select Militia and all the Companies of Light Horse at the Shore, and all the Draughts and Recruits, to rendez-vous at this Post and Baltimore Town, and shall order out the Militia in the Vicinity of those Posts.

You will observe that the Marquis' Pieces are marching to enlist to assist us. We think there is a Strong probability that this Movement is a Consequence of the Ministerial plan mentioned in Lord George Germain's <sup>21</sup> Letter and after ravaging our Coasts and Towns they will attempt to establish themselves at Elk.

<sup>20</sup> Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 542-543.

<sup>21</sup> Intercepted letter from Lord George Germain to Sir Henry Clinton, dated Feb. 7, 1781. See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XXI, 821.

We have the Honor to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. [Tench] Tilghman's Letter of the 1st Instant and thinking it absolutely necessary your Honor should be immediately informed of the Movements and Designs of the Enemy, I have taken the Liberty to direct the Commodore to return without Delay with this Letter. Your assistance in having the Draught forwarded from the several Counties of your Shore, will oblige us.

We have the honor to be with the most respectful  
Attachment, Gentlemen,

Your Most Obed. & Hum<sup>ble</sup> Servant  
Thos. S. Lee

LAFAYETTE TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>22</sup>

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

New Castle [Va.] 6th Augt. 1781.

Sir:

In my last dispatch to your Excellency I inclosed you a report from Commodore Barras <sup>23</sup> of the naval movement of the enemy, of which Baltimore was supposed to be the object. But instead of proceeding up the Bay the fleet stood into York river. The troops have been landed and are fortifying on the Glouster side. York town is made a place of arms. Lord Cornwallis is present, and has with him his whole force, except the garrison of Portsmouth.

From my intelligence it appears that a principal part of this fleet, was originally intended for New York; but in consequence of the arrival of a vessel with letters from Gen. Clinton, its sailing was suspended, and the present arrangement on the whole succeeded.

Maryland being thus relieved, I have to request your Excellency to give the most instant orders for the March of the levies. I need not mention to you the small force we have to oppose to Lord Cornwallis's command; or what may be the consequences should we not be reinforced.—That I may be enabled to regulate my motions upon certainties, I pray your Excellency to inform me, what number of levies you expect to have together in a given time; and when and where the select body of militia is to rendezvous. I wish also to be acquainted with the progress made in the collection of cavalry and draught horses, and whether you have agreed upon their appropriation.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's Most obt. Ser.

Lafayette

His Excellency  
Governor Lee

<sup>22</sup> Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 393.

<sup>23</sup> Count Jacques Melchoir Barras St. Laurent, French naval officer.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>24</sup>

(T. S. Lee Collection)

New Castle [Va.], 6th Augt. 1781.

My dear Sir:

Maryland is relieved by the enemy's establishing themselves in York river. But as this is a movement not of choice, there is no saying how long you will be safe. The measure, there is good reason to believe, is in consequence of advice of a superior naval power expected on this coast. So you see upon what you have to depend. Under these circumstances, your military preparations are as necessary as ever. You will either want them for your own defense or to assist us. Believe one who is not apt to judge rashly, who has long since told you of what has been so near taking place, that relaxation may involve evil to the State of the most permanent nature. There was a time when we could blunder with impunity, but a blunder now may prove fatal. I need not be more explicit to your Excellency. You must be aware of the very critical situation of affairs, both in America and Europe.

You are filling up the Continental line, but something might also be attempted for internal security. The enemy do not lose sight of Baltimore, and that place may not be unworthy a little attention. I will give you my sentiments in a few words. If the works for the defense of the harbor cannot be repaired, they should be levelled. If at least one gally, and a boom, cannot be provided, nothing of value should remain in the town. But if the works can be put in a state of defense, a gally completed, and a boom established with a proper militia garrison, the place will be secure from any small detachment; and with an equal army in their neighborhood the enemy will not venture to send a large one. At this moment, measures of this nature would have the most happy effect.

With the sincerest regard and the most perfect respect and attachment I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry.

His Excellency

Gov. Lee

(Marked private.)

Daniel Carroll (1730-1796), brother of Archbishop John Carroll, was one of the delegates in Congress from Maryland. Among other duties, he apprised the Governor of what was happening in Congress. Carroll signed the Constitution in 1787, served in the House of Representatives, and was a Commissioner of the District of Columbia.

<sup>24</sup> Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 394, and *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 43-45.



DANIEL CARROLL TO THOMAS SIM LEE  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia, August 7. 1781.

Sir,

The express delivered me your Favour of the 3d & 4th of Aug<sup>st</sup>. The movement of the Enemy up the Bay is contrary to the judgment of the Learned in War at this place; but I have thought it probable his gallant Lordship would not leave our State unvisited in his tour, if New York does not appear to him to be in such imminent danger, as to make a reinforcement immediately necessary.

Our affairs in the South must fret his Lordship severely. Several flags have arrived here from Augustine & Charles Town within these few days.

The Gentlemen by these Vessels inform us that "96" has been evacuated, (this acknowledged by Rivington)—that a Body of the Enemy have been attacked and driven from Monk's Corner with considerable loss of men & all their baggage, which they were obliged to destroy, (the Charles-town Gazette says almost as much,) that our parties are almost every day within 5 or 6 miles of Charlestown, & have cut off several small parties of the Enemy. That the body of troops left at Orangeburgh (the remainder of Lord Rawdon's force that relieved "96") were surrounded & likely to fall into our hands.

If this last be true, what will prevent Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene from making a triumphant entry into Charles Town, unless Cornwallis turn his face that way immediately?

The Gentlemen, by these flags, many of them of character, say that intelligence was received at Charles Town, (I believe by a Packet), that a considerable part of the homeward bound fleet have been taken, and carried into France by La Motte Piquet, and that Commodore Johnson has been severely beat by some French Squardon, supposed to be near the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>25</sup>

They speak of this with much confidence.

I seldom trouble you with reports—these are so important & come in such a manner, I could not avoid mentioning them. It gives me much pleasure to find such a spirit prevailing among my Countrymen, as you mention.

Mr. Ridgate took charge of your hat & of Mrs. Digges' stays & shoes. Pray let her know this,—I will write her in a day or two.<sup>26</sup>

I have heard only once from Mullahon, not more than 39 hogsheads came to hand,—the sale is dull for ready money. We have advised him to take some measures to secure the Tobacco at Elk.

Present my Compliments to yr. Lady & believe me

Yours with the greatest regard

Dan<sup>l</sup> Carroll

<sup>25</sup> Piquet and Johnson not further identified.

<sup>26</sup> Probably Thomas H. Ridgate (d. 1790), merchant, of Port Tobacco; Mary Carroll Digges, second wife of Ignatius Digges.

N. B. Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington writes that the account he sent of the arrival of some troops at the Hook proved not true.<sup>27</sup>

LAFAYETTE TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>28</sup>  
(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Camp Pamonkey Aug 10, 1781

Sir:

The Enemy are fortifying York, in such a manner as if it was their intention to make it a place of Arms. I beg leave again to mention that the State of the troops makes your levies of great consequence as a reinforcement. I hope they have started, but in case they have not, let me request that they may proceed to Fredericksburg and there wait further orders. This is an intermediary post.

I begin to fear when we can Augment our army to a number to give us consideration, that we shall not be able to supply it from this State. To obviate this evil and to enable me to continue the force which I may call on I must entreat Your Excellency to inform me what provisions I am to expect from Mayriland. I mean both Kind and Quantity.

You will see by the inclosed letter to Colonel Temple <sup>29</sup> (which I beg you to forward) that He is ordered to Fredericksburg with His dismounted Dragoons to wait for one hundred Horses from Your Excellency of those collected for such service. I need not add anything on this head as you must be fully sensible how little can be done without cavalry. General Greene writes me to complete Col<sup>o</sup>. Moylans Regiment from the Mayriland Horses.

I know not for my part How we are to be furnished accoutrements for the Horses unless individual States will give us this help. If Your Excellency has any under your orders, or could find means to provide them it would be a most essential piece of Service.

I have the honor to be Sir Excellency's Obt Ser.

Lafayette

His Excellency  
Gov. Lee

<sup>28</sup> Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 406.

<sup>27</sup> See Washington to the President of Congress, July 30 and Aug. 2, 1781, Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, 428, 450.

<sup>29</sup> Letter, not located, was probably addressed to Col. Benjamin Temple (d. 1802), of Virginia.

WILLIAM FITZHUGH TO THOMAS SIM LEE  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Calvert County, Aug. 20, 1781

Monday afternoon

Dear Governor,

I had this Moment the Honor to receive your very acceptable fav<sup>r</sup> of the 17th Inst. and cannot too gratefully acknowledge my obligations for your friendly recomendations to my Son William, who, I hope will retain a due sense of Your Excellancy's kindness, and endeavor to merit it.

The Letter from my son Perry is of the 5th Inst.<sup>30</sup> He presents his respectful Compliments, is thankful for your Conveyance of his letters which I communicated to him, and promises to address you, so soon as any Events occur worth your Notice. I hope it will be by the next packet or mail. He says he is not at Liberty to say anything of the Intended Operations or Prospects, but let it suffice to say they are very flattering.

I have a letter from General Washington of the 8th Inst. inclosing letters of Recomendation of my son to General Greene, & Governor Nelson.<sup>31</sup>

The General complains of not being properly supported. He says that levies which he expected in January last, are not yet arrived, & deplores with Great Justice, in my oppinion, the raising of men for a short Term.

His Lady is at Philadelphia waiting for advices, when she may return to Mount Vernon with safety.

General Clinton is recalled, & Lord Cornwallis daily expected to Command at New York, where no reinforcement had arrived from Virginia on the 8th Inst.

I am much obliged to your Excellency for the Current Intelligence. I believe the Enemy are Embarrassed in every Quarter & know not well to what Particular Point to bend their Divided & shattered Force.

I think it probable that a Post will be Fix'd at York in Virg'a & the Remainder of Lord Cornwallis's Force, proceed with Him to New York; leaving the Southern States to the *Chance of Accidents*, which I hope will possess Our Great General Greene with the whole of them before Xmas Day.

My Son William will take leave of Us Early Tomorrow Morning, & will have the Honor to wait on you on His way to Baltimore, from whence He is to march with Gen. Gist.

Mrs. Fitzhugh joins with me in respectful Complts & Affec<sup>te</sup> wishes to you, your Lady, and Family.

I have Honor to be  
with Perfect respect & Esteem

Your Excellancy's  
Affec<sup>te</sup> & Obliged H<sup>ble</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>

William Fitzhugh

<sup>30</sup> Peregrine Fitzhugh.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Nelson, Jr. (1738-1789), Governor of Virginia in 1781.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>32</sup>  
 (T. S. Lee Collection)

Mrs. Ruffins, 25 Augt. 1781

My dear Sir:

The garrison, baggage, cannon, refugees, and negroes from Portsmouth have been landed at York, and his Lordship begins to look as if he wished to do something.—'Tis a maxim with him that ruin to Great Britain or a loss of the Southern conquests must be the consequence of defensive measures. Be assured, Cornwallis is a modern Hannibal. A few days since, Tarleton struck at a small body of our militia on the York side, and took ten or twelve. He is now on the Gloster side, where the whole horse of the enemy are collected.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully and with the greatest attachment,

Your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry.

His Excellency

Gov. Lee.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE <sup>32a</sup>  
 (Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Head Quarters, Chatham [N. J.] 27th August 1781

Sir—

Official Accounts which I have received, giving me reason to expect the Arrival of a powerful Fleet of our Allies very soon in the Chesapeak, if not already Arrived; this Expectation, together with some other Circumstances not necessary at present to detail to you, have induced me to make a total Alteration in the concerted operations of this Campaign. In consequence, I am now marchg. a very considerable Detachment from the American Army, with the whole of the French Troops, immediately to Virginia.

As our Hopes of Success against Ld Cornwallis in a great Measure depend on the Dispatch and Celerity of our Movements, I have to request in the most earnest Manner all the Aid and Assistance from your Excellency that we may have Occasion for and have Reason to expect from your State; among these the Means of Transportation from the Head of Elk to the Point of our operations, will be among the most Essential; all the Water Craft, that can be procured suitable for the Carriage of an Army, with their Artillery, Baggage, etc., will be needed, and should be ready at the Head of Elk by the 8th of Sept. A quantity of Forage will also be necessary for the Cattle which will unavoidably attend the Army. As I shall probably be disappointed of a Quantity of salted Provisions, which

<sup>32</sup> Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 54-55.

<sup>32a</sup> Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XXIII, 57-58.

cannot with safety be conveyed from the Eastern States, I must beg your Excellency to pay particular Attention to that Article, if any is to be obtained in your State. Other Aids as well in Provisions as other Articles, will probably be needed, which cannot at this moment be particularly specified.

I communicate My Intentions to you, and have Confidence, that I shall receive every Aid and Assistance that is in your Power, towards their Execution.

I expect to have no Occasion to call on you for the Aid of Men, further than your State Troops which are ordered to be raised, and which I hope you have already compleated.

Mr. Robert Morriss<sup>33</sup> will have the principal Agency in procuring the Water Transportation mentioned in this Letter; perhaps nothing more will be expected from your Excellency in that Article, than to afford Mr. Morriss every Aid which he may stand in need of in their Procurement of the Craft, which I am persuaded you will do with Readiness and Decision.

The Moment is critical, the Opportunity is precious, the prospect is most happily favorable. I hope that no Supineness, or Want of Exertions on our own part may prove the Means of a fatal Disappointment.

I have the honour to be, with great sincerity of esteem and regard, Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

Geo. Washington

P. S. Our Forage will be principally wanted at the Head of Elk, and from thence on the Route to George Town.

To his Excellency Governor Lee, of Maryland

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE<sup>34</sup>  
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Ruffins Ferry,  
28 Augt. 1781.

My dear Sir:

If you will keep a secret, I will tell you one; but if you do not choose to keep it, read no further. The 30th of this month, the Count de Grasse was to sail from the West Indies with a large fleet and troops *for the Chesapeak*. You know that he is superior to Rodney. He may not, however, have sailed on the day fixed. His arrival is very important to Maryland. But there must be a race between him and his antagonist. If the latter gains Chesapeak first and the British squadron now at New York should remain there, Clinton and Cornwallis may be both out of our power. For I do not conceive that the French can effect an entrance in the harbor of New York or lay long enough before it to reduce the place by blockade, while Rodney in the Chesapeak may hold out against

<sup>33</sup> Robert Morris (1734-1806), Superintendent of Finance, 1781-1784.

<sup>34</sup> Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 55-56.

any possible force. In this case, the experiment may fall upon Charlestown. You see, my dear Governor, upon what a thread great good or great evil to our country is suspended.

As this is a communication of the most confidential nature and of the utmost importance to be kept secret, I am well assured it will be sacredly preserved.

The enemy appear to be apprized with respect to their danger, and even to be waivering with respect to their conduct. But they are making York very strong, and we are taking measures to prevent his Lordship from retreating by land to Carolina. This would be a daring attempt; and circumstanced as he is, and delighting in difficulties as much as a Hannibal, a Scipio, or a Caesar, he may not think it too hazardous to put in practice. However, I do not believe he will rest his safety on such an issue; but that he will rely upon his troops where he is, the arrival of Rodney, or a relief, should the Count de Grasse gain the Chesapeake.

Adieu, my dear Sir.

Most affectionately and respectfully,  
James McHenry

A propos, should the State make me a civil man, I must beg a week or two's indulgence in this quarter, but this will be a hereafter consideration.

THOMAS SIM LEE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON <sup>35</sup>  
(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Aug. 30, 1781  
In Council

Sir:

We are honored by your Excellency's letter of the 27th and we receive with the greatest Satisfaction the Intelligence of the Approach of the Fleet of our generous Ally.

You may rely Sir, on every Exertion that is possible for us to make to accelerate the Movements of the Army on an Expedition, the Success of which must hasten the Establishment of the Independence of America, and relieve us from many of the Calamities of war.

Orders have been issued to impress every Vessel belonging to the State, and forwarding them without delay to the Head of Elk.

But we are sorry to inform your Excellency, that since the Enemy has had Possession of the Bay, our Number of sea Vessels and Craft, has been so reduced by Captures, that we are apprehensive what remains will not transport so considerable a Detachment.

We have directed the State officers to procure immediately by Purchase or Seizure, five thousand Head of Cattle and a large Quantity of Flour.

There is very little salt Provision in the State, [what] can be obtained, we trust will be collected.

Part of the Provision will be deposited at the Head of Elk, Baltimore Town, and George Town.

<sup>35</sup> Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 588.

Most of the Cattle will be kept in good Pastures, not far distant from the Bay and Rivers, so that they may with Ease be forwarded to any Point where they may be required.

We have directed sufficient Quantities of Forage to be laid in, at the Head of Elk, Baltimore Town and George Town for the use of the Army.

The third regiment consisting of about six hundred Men under the command of Colo Adams<sup>80</sup> marched from this City last Tuesday; and about seven hundred of the new Levies will move in a few Days.

Every Aid that can be given Mr. Morris will be afforded with the utmost Chearfulness and Alacrity.

I have the honor to be. . .

Thos. S. Lee

<sup>80</sup> Lt. Col. Peter Adams, of Maryland, who commanded the 3rd Md. Regt. from Jan. 1781, to Apr. 1783.

## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*Chesapeake Bay and Tidewater.* By A. AUBREY BODINE. Baltimore: Bodine and Associates, Inc., 1954. Distributed by Hastings House, New York. 144 pp. \$10.

Since the earliest years of photography the camera's lens has been a useful complement to the historian's eye. In some important instances (as in Brady's Civil War coverage and, later, in certain still and motion-picture documentaries) the camera itself is the historian. Yet behind even the most perfect camera there must be human intelligence and integrity. When there is also great artistry, the result can be breathtakingly beautiful. A. Aubrey Bodine's *Chesapeake Bay and Tidewater* is the product of photographic artistry and integrity unsurpassed anywhere in the world. Wider in scope than his earlier book, *My Maryland*, this documentation of tidewater Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia records the happier or more photogenic aspects of the Chesapeake country in scenes reflecting the past and the present—from the Virginia capes to the Susquehanna Flats, from the Norfolk Naval Base to Aberdeen Proving Grounds, from the Cliffs of Calvert to the National Capitol. The sociologist might complain that *Chesapeake Bay and Tidewater*, by omitting scenes revealing the harsher aspects of tidewater life, does not present a full, well-rounded documentation. To this Mr. Bodine might reply that such matters are best left to the sociologist. In any case, his book achieves a sustained note of serenity and grace. It is, indeed, a work of rare and compelling beauty.

A sense of history runs through these pages. It is manifest in such photographs as those of St. Clements Island, where Lord Baltimore's colonists landed; of the last of the Bay country's tide mills that stands on an estuary of Mobjack Bay, where "grain was ground for Washington's army during the siege of Yorktown"; of gallant old sailing ships rotting at their wharves or, as in the case of the three-masted ram *Levin J. Marvel*, still anachronistically plying the Bay. It comes still closer to the present day in the photograph of the B. & O.'s last double-header steam-engine train streaking across the Susquehanna River Bridge, and in one of Baltimore's Long Dock crowded with melon boats—a scene that disappeared within the last decade as motor-truck hauling took the melon trade away from the skipjacks, bugeyes, and other small sailing vessels.

The pictures speak with superb eloquence, but the accompanying text is excellent, too. The introduction by Mark S. Watson is gracefully informative, providing certain biographical facts about Mr. Bodine that might otherwise have remained unknown. The photographer's own viewpoint is



very winningly put forward in a few pages of explanatory notes which have something of the quality of a familiar essay. The introductory pages headed "Bay of Yesterday," "Bay Today," "Capes to Canal," and "Resources of the Bay" are skillfully handled and the picture captions show evidence of painstaking care as to factual details. There are pleasing endpapers by Yardley and a good index, which the earlier book lacked. It should be a matter of local pride that both of Mr. Bodine's books have been printed in Baltimore by a new and marvelously successful process that has set a new standard for photographic reproduction.

R. P. HARRISS

*Thomas Bray.* By H. F. THOMPSON. London: S. P. C. K. (distributed in U. S. A. by Macmillan), 1954. 119 pp. \$2.50.

The Reverend Doctor Thomas Bray was one of the outstanding ecclesiastics of 18th century Anglicanism. Prior to 1700 Anglicanism was limited to the British Isles and to a few scattered chaplaincies in those parts of the world where British traders had settled. The beginning of the 19th century saw the Church of England well established throughout the British Empire and the United States. If the praise for this accomplishment could be given to one man only, Thomas Bray should receive such praise. He was the principal founder for the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge which is still one of the outstanding publishers of Anglican literature. He founded the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts which continues to this day as the chief missionary support of Anglicanism throughout the world. He founded the Bray Associates, a trusteeship whose financial support has been the cause of many educational and religious activities outside the British Isles. Not only Episcopalians, but all Americans should be grateful for his efforts in founding lending libraries throughout the British colonies in America. In many cases these libraries provided the only educational stimulation for many isolated Americans. Marylanders will be especially interested in Dr. Bray because his efforts brought about the establishment of the Episcopal Church as the State Church of Maryland from 1704 to 1776. Bray spent only about six months in the Maryland province as deputy for the Bishop of London, but without him it is doubtful if many of our colonial churches would ever have been built.

Other writers have dealt with Bray previously. Maryland's own Dr. Steiner was the author of the Maryland Historical Society's publication on Bray. The *Historical Magazine* and the *Church Historical Society* of the Episcopal Church have had articles and booklets about Bray. J. W. Lydecker published a biography of him, and Mr. Thompson acknowledges his dependence upon these works, but he has added considerable material from the Bray MSS in Sion College, London, which has not been previously published. Bray bequeathed his manuscripts to Sion College, and they have never been worked through completely. These manuscripts

contain a wealth of material about colonial America, and we are in Mr Thompson's debt for the insights he has given us from these records.

English writers and publishers have a happy faculty of producing "little books" with a wealth of factual material about important subjects, and *Thomas Bray* is such a "little book"—easy to read quickly, yet capable of giving a well rounded picture of a great man.

Small errors creep in easily when one is not familiar with the scene. Thus Annapolis is misspelled (pp. 51, 52, *et seq.*); the original act for establishing the church in Maryland provided for thirty, not twenty-five, parishes (p. 14), but these are minor discrepancies which in no way mar an essentially fine book.

NELSON WAITE RIGHTMYER

*Baltimore, City of Promise.* Edited by ALBERT J. SILVERMAN. Baltimore: Department of Education, [1953]. xiii, 375 pp.

This broad canvas of the City of Baltimore, a cooperative enterprise undertaken by pupils of the Senior High Schools, is a remarkable piece of work. The story of Baltimore, past and present, is divided into two parts, "Taking Stock of Our Resources" and "Meeting Our Needs," each split into six chapters. Students of twelve schools are responsible for the material in the individual chapters. Three features are immediately apparent: the coverage of every aspect of the Baltimore scene, the existence of very little overlapping, and the presence of an historical thread throughout the volume.

Logically, the initial chapter, "A Goodly Heritage," deals with Baltimore's historical background and its principal events. One might quarrel with the amount of space devoted to the Patterson-Bonaparte romance—but this is understandable when one notes that the section was penned by the girls of Eastern. More important is the omission of any except incidental mention of such figures as Charles Carroll of Carrollton, John Eager Howard, and John Pendleton Kennedy. Also missing is reference to Baltimore as the scene of the first three presidential nominating conventions in 1831-32, though every other conceivable "first" is covered adequately.

Chapters on the people, geography, government, economic resources, housing, education, protection, health, etc., mesh smoothly; and many agencies currently active are described fully and clearly. In only one place—the Forest Park section on resources—does the machinery of compilation appear baldly in view. The chapter on the schools has more than a smattering of the jargon peddled by the progressive "educationists," but one gathers that this is merely a reflection of what actually exists today. Each chapter has at its end a list of references "for further reading and study"; and one fails to find anywhere mention of Hamilton Owens' admirable *Baltimore on the Chesapeake*.

The pictures, plans, and charts are well chosen and numerous, and the

superior printing is a tribute to the excellent work of H. G. Roebuck & Son. Errors are few, but even those should have been caught in a book with the auspices of this one. There is no doubt, however, that the volume will serve as a most useful text in the school system; and there is a promise of revision "from time to time."

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

*Loyola College*

*Maryland Today*. By HARRY BARD. New York: Oxford Book Co., 1954.  
iii, 188 pp. \$1.50.

Though *Maryland Today* is primarily a text for secondary school use, college students, teachers, librarians, writers on local topics, and even officeholders may consult it frequently and with profit, for it is an excellent summary of the structures, services, and problems of local and state governments.

In his first chapter the author furnishes a background for his book with brief summaries of Maryland's people, its geography, and its history. He follows with discussions of the constitution and of the structures and functions of state, county, and municipal governments. By organizing his later material under such broad headings as Education, Health and Recreation, Public Welfare, and Protecting Life and Property, he brings together the work of all agencies operating in each field. Clearly and concisely presented, the facts are backed by statistics which, in most cases, are as recent as 1953. Governmental changes made by the 1954 Legislature are included. The book is illustrated with charts, tables, and graphs and is well indexed. Each chapter ends with review and discussion questions for school use.

Dr. Bard's book is a complete rewrite of a former work, *Maryland: The State and Its Government*, which appeared in 1943 and went through two successful editions. Its appearance is timely, for modern pressures are creating increasing problems for state and local governments, the governments with which citizens come into closest and most direct contact. It comes at a time, too, when schools are giving increasing emphasis to training young people at the local level for active citizenship. Long a pioneer in this field, Dr. Bard—and, incidentally, the publisher—merits commendation for putting so much time and effort into a book with such a limited field. Soaring production costs make such ventures risky for publishers and largely a labor of love for authors, especially in a state with as small a school population as Maryland. Yet such books are necessary, valuable, and welcome. A library which does not provide several reference copies of *Maryland Today* or a secondary school which fails to provide at least a class-sized set will be failing its patrons or students.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE

*The History of the 110th Field Artillery.* By JOHN P. COOPER, JR. Baltimore: War Records Div., Md. Hist. Soc., 1953. viii, 318 pp. \$5.

The artilleryman has his woes. While his colleagues in arms are deciphering secret codes, or inventing new explosives, or engaging the enemy hand-to-hand, he sits in a mudhole working a slide rule. His ears ring. He hasn't even seen the troops he is trying to obliterate; he'll never see the shells they send his way. He is, at last, spared the care and feeding of the infernal mules; instead, he is the servant of a wheeled monster that will mire down in a heavy dew. When after sweaty grubbing and laborious calculations he has his gun in place and nearly ready to fire, someone sights a winged speck overhead, a hostile observation plane: the command comes down to roll his caisson to another location, to do it all over again.

John P. Cooper, Jr., of the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Company of Baltimore, has been an artilleryman since joining the National Guard as a private a full quarter of a century ago. During more than four years on active duty in World War II, he was a lieutenant colonel and the commanding officer of the 110th Field Artillery Battalion (105 mm howitzer). He was, in fact, the only C. O. the 110th had from its activation through V-E Day. He has now written an official history of the 110th, and his old battalion comrades may well want to exercise one prerogative that is the artilleryman's alone, whatever his other frustrations: the firing of a salute.

For a Maryland institution, the 110th has a remarkably short history. No artillery existed in the Maryland National Guard until late in 1915, when socialites aroused by the proceedings in Europe formed a battery and practiced close order drill above Richmond Market. In 1917, this nucleus was twice expanded, to battalion and then regiment, and twice rechristened, ending up at Fort McClellan, Ala., as the 110th F. A. Regt., a component of the 29th Division. It sailed for France in June, 1918, but when the Armistice came the 110th still hadn't quite reached the front.

The 110th was reactivated in the '20s as Maryland's National Guard artillery unit. Beverly Ober was long its colonel. In 1935 it traded its horseflesh in for trucks. Henry C. Evans was its commanding officer and the Pikesville Armory its headquarters when another Federal call to active duty came, in 1941.

Colonel Cooper's summary of these events starts even farther back, with a résumé of Marylanders' artillery activities in all the nation's wars (save only that with Spain); it includes two paragraphs on the Korean War. But his story proper begins with the arrival of the 110th at cold, rutty, desolate Fort Meade in February, 1941, and reaches its climax in April, 1945, with his cannoneers swimming in the Elbe River, out of contact with either Germans or Russians.

Many vicissitudes lay between. In March, 1942, the 29th Division was reconstructed in the new triangular pattern, which meant four battalions of artillery but no regiment. The 110th abruptly shrank from several thousand men to less than 1,000. (Colonel Cooper appends a detailed chapter on the 224th Battalion, which also saw the war through as a unit

of the 29th.) Similarly, the original Marylanders were gradually replaced in almost every instance.

Throughout, the activities of the 110th corresponded with those of the parent 29th Division, the history of which has previously been sketched more than once. In fact, although the 29th hit the Normandy beaches on D-day, most of the 110th had to wait until D-plus-one. The 29th had a far higher ratio of wartime casualties. Neither of its Medal of Honor winners was from the 110th. But the artilleryman learns early to subsist on short rations even of glory.

What Colonel Cooper has done is to reconstruct, from after-action reports and several diaries, a restrained, factual but deeply prideful narrative of the training and the combat, the sorrows and the occasional joys, of what stands forth as a typical artillery outfit. His book is of especial interest locally for the Maryland past (and future) of the 110th, and the Maryland Historical Society's War Records Division is to be commended for its help in assuring the book's publication; even as Colonel Cooper is to be praised for his foresight in starting early to preserve the battalion's history, and for his diligence in preparing the text.

*The History of the 110th Field Artillery* is perhaps not completely evocative of artillery life—certainly, not of typical artillery speech—and where space required a choice between a headquarters staff view of events and that of the lowly ammo handler, Colonel Cooper has generally chosen the former, with its wider, clearer overall focus. A sharp contrast between the two approaches is provided in his quotations from several diaries kept by enlisted members of the World War I 110th, particularly Russell Lord, which better bring back the feeling of everyday life.

There is anecdotal material in Colonel Cooper's book, however, and a series of good photographs, and lists of personnel. It will long be useful both as a work of reference and as an account of some phases of the greatest of this nation's wars.

Beyond that? The histories of military units—those that qualify for publication—can perhaps be rated three ways: as of interest to members of the unit concerned, to old soldiers generally, or to the reading public as a whole. This last form of expertness occurs seldom, and usually requires the help of stirring events and nationally famous authors. Colonel Cooper has scored, perhaps, somewhere between expert and sharpshooter.

JAMES H. BREADY

*Cotton Mather, First Significant Figure in American Medicine.* By OTHO T. BEALL, JR., & RICHARD H. SHRYOCK. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1954. ix, 241 pp. \$4.

Cotton Mather has so often been singled out as the embodiment of all that was bad in New England Puritanism that he has not become a popular American figure. Condemned as a pompous old theocrat, a re-

actionary, a meddlesome fool, and a participant in the witchcraft trials, Mather has paid the price of being a leading figure in a culture which has gone out of fashion. Attempts have been made to rescue Mather's reputation, but none have been more successful than this account of him as a man of medicine. The specialized knowledge of the authors in the history of medicine has enabled them to recognize a new dimension in the work of the old theocrat, and, surprisingly enough, Mather turns out to be more progressive than most of his contemporaries, including physicians, regarding mental illness, a germ (animalculae) theory of disease, and the effectiveness of inoculation for small-pox. Chapter VII, which deals with the role of Mather in the Boston small-pox epidemic of 1721, is not only an important story in preventive medicine, but a fascinating episode as well.

This work places Mather in the medical background of his own age and serves as a general introduction to the medical knowledge of the period, but the main emphasis is on Mather's hitherto unpublished medical treatise, *The Angel of Bethesda*. Almost half of the volume is devoted to selected sections from the *Angel*, whose vigorous prose, colorful figures of speech and weird cures convey the tone of Mather's thought as no amount of description could do. The analysis and evaluation of the *Angel* and Mather's place in the history of medicine, along with the light thrown on the relation of theology to science in Colonial America, makes this study of Mather a fundamental contribution to early American history.

FRANCIS C. HABER

*Peabody Institute Library*

*George Washington*. (Vol. VI: Patriot and President). By DOUGLAS SOUTHALL FREEMAN. New York: Scribner's, 1954. xlv, 529 pp. \$7.50.

Those readers who have valued Dr. Freeman's contributions to historiography will find in these pages his last written words. The final paragraph of the last chapter, carefully reworked, lay on his writing board on the day of his death. His was a pen devoted to the imposing task set before it. Dumas Malone, in an inspiring introductory essay, pays tribute to this heroic man of letters. "He took nothing on secondary authority, and at times he carried almost to the degree of fault his independence of the conclusions of others."

The sixth and final volume covers the period from December 23, 1783, when Washington resigned his commission as Commander-in-Chief of the American Army, to March 4, 1793, at the eve of the second administration. Six years of his life are beyond the pen of his distinguished biographer. Circumstance has prevented what would have been an unbroken narrative (with a planned seventh volume) of the returned planter, the Presidential period, and the last Mount Vernon years.

As in the five previous volumes, the style is meticulous, detailed, and authoritative. (There are 2,264 footnotes in the sixteen chapters.) Dr.

Freeman's account of events is the result of painstakingly careful research and synthesis. Professor Malone writes, "If Freeman did not know precisely where Washington was and what Washington was doing every day of his adult life, as he did in the case of Lee, he came as near to it as is humanly possible. . . ." The author and his subject are as one. He lives with Washington in Mount Vernon and feels with him a growing concern for the Confederation. ("We are fast verging to anarchy and confusion.") With ratification of the Constitution, Washington is called to head the new nation. Through the turbulence of that first administration, which Dr. Freeman describes in some detail, Washington is pictured as the nucleus of national unity. "His was the only voice heeded above the noise of friction in the tension and dissension that prevailed. . . . Wherever he was there was strength simply in his nearness." Unfortunate it is that we do not have the final overall interpretation and analysis of the character of Washington that was planned in the final volume.

What conclusion did his researches bring Dr. Freeman? He wrote to his editor, "The more I study Washington, the more I am convinced that the great reputation he enjoyed with his contemporaries and with men of the next generation was entirely justified. He was greater than any of us believed he was."

LOUIS M. VANARIA

*Teachers College,  
Columbia University*

*The South in American Literature: 1607-1900.* By JAY B. HUBBELL.  
Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1954. xix, 987 pp. \$10.

This chunky volume is massive to the touch and impressive to the sight; in other words, it is a landmark. For anyone concerned with the study of American civilization it will be, as General Albert Pike observed of a rare book in early Arkansas, "like the coming into port of a rich argosy to its owner. . . ." The only earlier attempt in the field was Montrose J. Moses' 1910 work, which is barely comparable. Dr. Hubbell, a Duke scholar who is a native of western Virginia and a former Vice President of the Modern Language Association, points out that articles on Southern literature "published before 1900, whatever their biographical value, are practically worthless as criticism" and that most articles on Southern history "written before 1910 [are] prejudiced or otherwise inaccurate" (pp. 883, 889). He has perforce had to allot an appreciable amount of space to biographical and historical data in order to establish that readjusted criterion mandatory for taking the true measure of his subject. This subject he divides into six sections.

The first, on the Colonial Period: 1607-1765, requires 83 pages; the second, on the Revolution, 77 pages; the third, "The Era of Good Feeling": 1789-1830, 154 pages; the fourth, "The Road to Disunion": 1830-65, which Hubbell deems "the high-water mark of American literary achievement" (p. 602), 365 pages; the fifth, "The New South":

1865-1900. 141 pages; and the fifth, an Epilogue: "The Twentieth Century," 40 pages. The Colonial and Revolutionary authors are discussed by Colonies, those in sections III and IV largely by individuals, and those in sections V and VI by individuals and general topics. Then follows the 91-page Bibliography, which in itself is worth the price of admission. This is subdivided into "General Studies," "Important Topics," and "Individual Writers" from Allston to Zubly—all as up to date as December, 1953.

The author concedes that there are several approaches to so huge a problem. He admits that he has scanted "the orators, scientists, historians, and playwrights" and the French literature of Louisiana (p. xiii) and, in a private letter, adds that he was unable to "trace in detail the development of the Southern novel." The cause was economic: his manuscript was originally scaled for two largish volumes. This reviewer has read every word of the resultant single volume. In so doing he finds only one significant fault: an adequate, but by no means complete, index—which, in a reference work of this scope, is deplorable. He has detected only five misprints (pp. 97, 150, 565, 623, 946) and two cases of repetition (pp. 244 n. and 463 n. are also in the back). The following minor errors have been noted. . . . Page 169: George C. Dangerfield has shown that this was "The Era of Good Feelings." Page 198: John Adams was conversing not with Major "Langhorne" but with Major William Langborn [1756-1814]. Pages 249, 296: from the *Va. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.* (April, 1954) we now know that the author of *Letters by a South-Carolinian* was in fact H. B. Grigsby. Page 496: the "exact date" of novelist Caruthers' marriage is known; he was in Manhattan during 1829-35 (not 1830-36). and, as I tried to indicate in *Chronicler of the Cavaliers*, he did indeed work with a New York writer (J. K. Paulding). Page 923: there are three, not two, biographies of Charles Carroll, the third being Ellen Hart Smith's (Harvard, 1942). Page 961: the best biography of Captain John Smith is not J. G. Fletcher's but Bradford Smith's (Philadelphia, 1953).

This book's central theses and its revisions of tradition are several and convincing, its aid to serious researcher or casual inquirer admirable, and its occasional *curiosa* diverting (George Tucker owned a dog named "Metaphysics"). But its principal virtue lies in its honest absence of bias and its informed integration of "Southern" with "American" literary history. One conclusion—that the South generated only two major authors, Poe and Clemens—is dismaying. Another—that Southern literature "is hardly the best index to Southern achievements" and that the South's finest product "was not its cotton or tobacco or its literature but its men and women" (pp. xiii, 691)—is less than electrifying. But Prof. Hubbell has also concluded that "there was more and rather better writing in the Old South than is generally supposed"; and, in demonstrating this conclusion, he has enormously benefited the historiography of American culture.

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS



*County Court Records of Accomack-Northampton, Virginia, 1632-1640.*

Edited by SUSIE M. AMES. Washington: American Historical Assn., 1954. Ixix, 189 pp.

By presenting a clear printed text of the first volume of the Accomack-Northampton county court records, Miss Susie M. Ames has continued her significant contributions to a better understanding of the Virginia Eastern Shore in the 17th century. Miss Ames wrote the Introduction, and Professor Francis S. Philbrick added a brief Prefatory Note and prepared the Subject Index, which unfortunately covers only the Introduction and the Prefatory Note.

Miss Ames' Introduction points out the key role of the county court in early Virginia. Her analysis of the business of the court, biographical sketches of its personnel, and description of the court record itself are excellent. The transcription and editing of the record text by the "expanded method" inspires confidence in its fidelity. This reviewer, however, feels that other editorial decisions were less wise. The failure to make a subject index for the text means that subjects not discussed by Miss Ames may be found only by a page-by-page search of the record. Hening's *Statutes*, known to students of Virginia history by the short title, are cited in full in the Prefatory Note, the Introduction, and the text—and in each instance, the words "Hereafter cited as Hening" follow.

Every student of Virginia's colonial history will find the Introduction and text of this volume of interest for their own reasons. This reviewer was especially interested in the specifications for the parsonage given on pages 43-44 and in the "box of tooles" and "silver forge" listed on page 143. The data on William Stone, a Commissioner of the Accomack-Northampton county court who later became the third proprietary governor, will interest students of Maryland's early years.

JOHN M. HEMPHILL, II

*Colonial Williamsburg*

*A Traveler's Guide to Historic Western Pennsylvania.* By LOIS MULKEARN and EDWIN V. PUGH. Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1954. xxiii, 425 pp. \$3.

This attractive and remarkably inexpensive guide-book, based to a large extent upon original research, should attain a great demand among the Sunday-afternoon motorists of western Pennsylvania and among all other persons who take delight in the history of that region. Western Marylanders with corresponding tastes will find the book useful in rounding out many a Maryland story of the days of Fort Cumberland or of the National Road.

The volume is concerned solely with the historical interests of the twenty-seven counties which occupy the western half of the state. (The eastern line of these is formed by Potter, Cameron, Clearfield, Blair, and

Bedford.) Begun as a revision of a similar guide which appeared in 1938, the *Traveler's Guide* has grown from 186 to 425 pages. The descriptions of the individual sites and remains—more than six hundred are listed—are organized loosely by county, and each county chapter is headed by a well-drawn road map and a brief and general historical statement. At the end of the work appear a thirteen-page bibliography and thirty-three pages of index, while a pocket contains a road map, adequate yet of manageable size, of the whole region.

Any guide-book presents itself as a broad target for criticism. The organization of the text by counties seems an excellent idea, though it scarcely justifies printing the twenty-five line article on the Pennsylvania Purchase Monument in three different chapters. It might have been well to end each county chapter with a very brief select bibliography of secondary works; this procedure would have necessitated a little repetition, but it would have cut the final bibliography down to manageable size. Pittsburgh landmarks are treated with perhaps an excess of minute detail, yet no map is provided to show the modern street relations of the principal historical spots within the city. (Twenty-eight maps, alas, demand another.) The distinction between sites and historic remains, often important to purposeful travelers, is usually but not always manifest. Misspellings, though deceptively uniform, are few. The Quaker term "laid down" (disbanded, p. 327) when properly used is transitive. The occasional weakness of style is relieved, even redeemed, by lively quotations from the source materials. The index, full though it is, unfortunately excludes the names of the historic spots themselves; the reader who does not know his counties may therefore face a long search through the table of contents. But when all is said and done, as a guide-book this remains an impressive and a very useful work.

HENRY J. YOUNG

*Pennsylvania Historical and  
Museum Commission*

*A History of The York County Academy.* York: Hist. Soc. of York Co., 1952. 270 pp.

The York Academy was founded in 1787 and existed as a secondary school until 1948, when it entered the junior college field. This book, then, is the record of 161 years of educational activity and philosophy. Organized as a classical, college preparatory school, the academy for years was the leading educational institution in the county on the secondary level. As such it also became the community's cultural center, and within its walls were held the county's first theatrical performances, the early teacher training classes, and the first Sunday School. For nearly a century and a half the Academy never *graduated* a student, but passed him on to life thoroughly imbued with a belief that always there would be more to learn. The value of this history lies in the fact that such institutions have

practically disappeared from the American scene. Careful research has unearthed the names of many trustees and teachers and of a far lesser listing of pupils. Not a few people in all three categories have Mayland connections. There are interesting discussions of such widely divergent subjects as courses of study, tuitions, texts, scientific apparatus, sports and societies—and even of janitors—at different periods of the Academy's existence. *The York Academy* might have been a dull work, but casual readers will find it colorful and interesting while educators and historians will find it fascinating.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE

*Pioneer's Mission: The Story of Lyman Copeland Draper.* By WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE. Madison: State Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, 1954. xiv, 384 pp. \$4.

There are now three monuments to the memory of Lyman C. Draper: the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, the Draper Collection, and this excellent biography by William B. Hesseltine. As its chief founder and guardian angel for many years Draper was largely responsible for the State Historical Society of Wisconsin becoming one of the foremost of its kind. His collection, containing 478 volumes of manuscripts, is still indispensable to the study of the early history of the Old West. *Pioneer's Mission* is an intimate account of his personal life, ill-health, financial difficulties, long journeys, and sacrifices during the building of the first two monuments. In the period from 1840 to 1864, for instance, he traveled more than 41,000 miles, often under the most difficult conditions imaginable, in quest of historical facts and documents.

Though Draper collected his information to write the *Lives of Pioneers* and loved to be called the "Plutarch of Western History," he never published any biographies of much historical value. Lacking literary ability, he procrastinated and excused himself from writing by pleading ill-health and by going in search of additional information. In a sense this was fortunate, for otherwise many valuable manuscripts might have been lost or destroyed.

Perhaps Dr. Hesseltine would have written a more useful book if he had described and evaluated more fully the historical importance of the material in the Draper Collection. In a general way he makes it evident that Draper had a flair for the collecting of heroic and dramatic episodes and the recording of the verbal accounts of the descendants and acquaintances of the early pioneers. It seems that Draper gathered his information without much discrimination and that he neglected social, economic, and political data.

Dr. Hesseltine documents this volume in his thoroughly scholarly way. In it he makes incidental contributions to the general cultural and political history of the period, for Draper was a state superintendent of

schools in Wisconsin, a northern anti-abolitionist who felt the full scorn of the abolitionists, a devout Baptist who was converted to Spiritualism, and a Democratic politician who became involved in a political scandal.

ROBERT LEROY HILDRUP

*Mary Washington College of the  
University of Virginia*

*The Tilghman's Island Story, 1659-1954.* By RAYMOND R. SINCLAIR.  
[Easton?] 1954. 150 pp. \$3.25.

In reading *The Tilghman's Island Story*, one can almost hear a long time resident, a waterman, perhaps, telling stories in his own words of that Talbot County island in the Chesapeake. Using records and reminiscences, the author has produced a collection of facts and anecdotes about the people and the island that makes a useful addition to Maryland's local histories.

*Ensign on a Hill.* By JUDITH ROBINSON. Baltimore, 1954. 162 pp.

The one-hundredth anniversary of the Church Home and Hospital and the fiftieth anniversary of the Alumnae Association of its School of Nursing are commemorated in this little volume. The beginnings and development of that institution, its difficulties, financial and otherwise, its successes and stories of the people who made them are recounted. The author tells the story with touches of humor, but also with respect and love. While the book will interest primarily those connected with the institution, it is interesting to the layman to note, through it, how recent are many of the hospital and nursing practices now taken for granted. The book reveals yet another facet of Baltimore's history.

*Index, Volumes 1-75 (1877-1951), The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.* Edited by EUGENE E. DOLL. Philadelphia: The Society, 1954. xv, 1170 pp. \$60.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania deserves the thanks and congratulations of all of us for this handsome, invaluable index. In scope and execution it stands alone beside Swem's *Virginia Historical Index*. Twelve years of effort by a large and devoted staff and a very substantial subsidy have produced this volume which unlocks the historical treasures in the first 75 volumes of *The Pennsylvania Magazine*.

One must wish that a list of the editors of the *Magazine* and the volumes for which they were responsible had been included. The unwary user who neglects to read the introduction should be warned that the *Index* is not

complete. The historian attempting to identify an obscure person, for instance, as well as the genealogist, ought to consult "Lists, unindexed or partially indexed" (ten full columns, pp. 613-618) and "Genealogical materials incompletely indexed" (five full columns, pp. 385-387) before concluding that the person he seeks is not in some way identified in the *Magazine*. Though it seems necessary to note these facts, our praise and our enthusiasm for the *Index* remain unbounded.

F. S.

*Emigrants from the Palatinate to the American Colonies in the 18th Century.* By FRIEDRICH KREBS and MILTON RUBINCAM. NORRISTOWN: Pennsylvania German Soc., 1953. 32 pp. \$1.

This list of emigrants with German state of origin indicated is the result of the collaboration of a German archivist and an American genealogist. Tracing a German family farther back than the immigrant is nearly always a difficult genealogical problem. The compilers of this pamphlet provide the genealogist a useful list of persons who, according to records in Germany, emigrated to the American colonies in the 18th century. More than 100 family names are given. The Pennsylvania German Society promises that other lists of this sort will be published in the future.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### CECIL COUNTY IN 1749

Joshua Hempstead (1678-1758), of New London, Connecticut, was a versatile New Englander—"farmer, surveyor, house and ship carpenter, attorney, stone-cutter, sailor, and trader," and he held numerous local offices. He kept an extensive diary, dating from 1711 to 1758, an important source of Connecticut local history, which was published as Volume I of the *Collections of the New London County Historical Society* (Providence, 1901).

In 1749 Hempstead visited his sister, Lucy H. Hartshorne, who lived in Cecil County, Maryland. He went to see Governor Belcher at Burlington, New Jersey, apparently on official business, before proceeding to the Free State. Hempstead's account of the days he spent in Cecil County is full of interest. He described the countryside, visited the Principio Furnace, met with one "J. Chandlee" a member of the family of clock-makers, and, withal, gives us a welcome insight into the County and State more than 200 years ago.

Since the whereabouts of the original diary are not now known, it has been necessary to rely on the text as printed in 1901. Identifications of persons and places when necessary and as possible are provided. In a few cases words or parts of words are supplied in brackets. The generous assistance of Mrs. Henry S. Young, of Elkton, in preparing this note for publication is gratefully acknowledged. The pertinent sections taken from *Collections*, I, 520, 522-525, follow:

"Mond June 12h [1749]. I am preparing for my Intended Journey for Mr Winthrop<sup>1</sup> to Gov Belcher<sup>2</sup> att Burlington. & if plesse God I gett well there then for Maryland to Seek my youngest Sister Lucy.<sup>3</sup> . . .

"Mond [June] 26 fair till late in ye aftern a Smart Thunder Showre p[er]haps an hour or 2. I Set out Early in the morning & Traveled through Chester County [Penn.] uneven Land & Rocky about 10 or 12 mile to wilmington [Del.] to breakfast having Crossed Brandywine Bridge over a Small River that Runs 100 mile into the Country about a mile from Willmington & as much from Christeen ferry.<sup>4</sup> here is a fine

<sup>1</sup> Probably John Winthrop, of New London, Conn.

<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Belcher (1681/2-1757), Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, 1729-41, and Governor of New Jersey, 1746-57.

<sup>3</sup> Lucy Hempstead married John Hartshorne. See *Collections*, I, x.

<sup>4</sup> Christiana, Del.

Town a Market-house & Several Topsail vessels at ye wharffs fine Br[ick] houses & above all abounds with Intervall me[a]dow on both Sides of the River Christians they Say 2 or 3000 Acres & on the South Side over against ye Town they keep the water out of it by Damms & Raise Indian corn oats hemp flax & Barly as well as Grass Exceeding Rich. here I met with J Chandlee<sup>5</sup> a clock maker a man belonging to Notingham & was going home (after a little Stay.) he lives within about 5 mile of Harts-horns.<sup>6</sup> I gladly Joyned his Company & wee Traveled together & aftern got to Ogle Town [Del.] & Rid through a Scatering Town called Newport & Sometimes left ye P[ ]<sup>7</sup> at Ogle Town. I went to the house of ye old Widow Lucas where Lives the Young Widow Daughter of Solomon Coit<sup>8</sup> for whom I Carried a Letter & d[elivere]d it &c & whilst I was there came along Peter Douglass Son of Cuzn Wm Douglass Decd but he would not know me altho I told him who I was & the Relation yt was between us & also that married him to Lydia ye Daughter of Cuz. Ben fox Decd. he acknowledged that he was Son of William Doughlass & yt he lived at Colchester near ye grt Pond & had a Brother John & Joshua, but having a wife & children here would not own he had one & children at New London [Conn.] & So wee parted & I rid along with my companion a Clockmaker & late in the aftern came up a Smart T[h]under Showre & wee put in to a Irish cribb house & pulld of our Saddles & Staid the Showre over. much Rain. the Rain drove the men & weomen (10 or dozn of them) out of ye field where they were Reaping into the house & being wet within Side as well as without their Tonges Run like mill clocks. & haveing an Irish brogue on their Tongue I could understand but little they Said & after the Rain was over wee Stood along to clockmakers house in Notingham in the Evening by daylight & no body being at home he told me he would go with me but bid me Stand along a plain Road. & Soon a young man whome he Sent overtook me & went with me to my kinsman wher I arived about 8 a Clock & found my Sister & her 2 Sons Jonathan & Thomas & her Daughter Lucy all well to my great Comfort in Every Respect both of a Temporate & Spiritual Nature (Excepting that my Sister hath lost her memory is Something disordered in her Reason but is Quiet & orderly & takes a little Care of Some perticular things but her Daughter orders the family and very prudently).

"Tuesd [June] 27 fair. I Taryed at my kinsmans a week & was one Day of it Invited to a Reaping & both my kinsmen with me at Mr James Denorritees an Irish[man] that formerly was at my house & brot Letters & Carried one to whom I Sold a Horse &c. very well Entertained after

<sup>5</sup> A member of the Chandlee family of clockmakers. The immigrant, Benjamin, had died in 1743. Benjamin, Jr., (1723-91) founded the firm of Chandlee & Sons, of Nottingham.

<sup>6</sup> The Hartshorne place called "New Connaught Manor" is about a mile east of West Nottingham Presbyterian Church, near Colora.

<sup>7</sup> Apparently the name of a tavern in Ogletown.

<sup>8</sup> Solomon Coit was a merchant in New London, Conn.

the Country manner in Cribb houses a Dozen or more all Irish but wee. one Day this week Cuzn Jonathan Rid with mee to the ferry<sup>9</sup> over Susquahannah River about 6 mile S W nearest. about 2 mile from the mouth of ye River is the ferry & the River Seems to be about as wide as N. L. River is at the harbours mouth by Harris's & it Runs a long way into the County but is not navigable but about a mile further by Reason of Rocky Caled falls. afterward wee went to See the Iron works where they Runn Piggs for To make barr Iron off.<sup>10</sup> A great old building. it goes by a River that Runs into the Bay.<sup>11</sup> a Coave comes up here about 2 or 3 mile N E of the mouth of the River. there is 30 piggs now Cast yt Ly hot in the Sand as they Run out of a hole in the bottom or Lower End of the furnace in this form |—|—|—|—|—|—| the Large Bellows 2 pr go by water & the fire goes not out after it is once blown up untill the Season of ye year comes about. the furnace I suppose is 20 foot high or more & is fed with oar [ore] & coal & at the Top as if it were the Top of a Chimney all put in there. there they bring in Horse Carts the oar the Coal & oyster Shels & there Stayd two men Day & night. the Top of ye furnace is about breast high from the floor where they Stand to Tend it & ye flame Jets out Continually 15 Extinguisher by the oar Coal & Shels as they feed it. Each Couple Tend 24 hours in which time they Run or Cast twice. they have Small Baskets that hold about a peck & half & they put in a Cart in number of Baskets full of oar [ore] & a Certain Number of Baskets of Coal and a Certain Number of Baskets of oyster Shels. all in Exact Proportion and as the materials Consume below in the furnace they filled up at the Top & out of the Bottom beside the Iron yt is drawn off near a Day there is vast Quantities of Glass that Runs out Every now & then & is Tough & hangs together like an ox Hide & they dray it away with such a hook as the Tanner pull up hides with & when it is Cool is as Brittle as any other Glass & they Cart it away & bestow it in waste places to mend the Cartways & Dams Even as Small Stones. (there is one man besides the 4 that Tend by Course that is Constantly breaking the Rock oar [ore] Small with a Large Hamer or Sledge) which lyes like a little hill near the Coave where it is Landed out of the Large Boats Something bigger than our ferry Boat. the Storehouse is Strong & good. The Cole house large & poor & old, as also the Barn & Stable & most of the buildings Especially over the furnace. from hence wee went to Charles Town which Lyes on ye Bay Northwest about a mile S W from the head of Sd Bay at which there is a village that wee did not go to at the head of Northeast but Stayed a good while at Charles Town.<sup>12</sup> here is a New Town & Lyes

<sup>9</sup> Probably the Susquehanna Lower Ferry which crossed between present Havre de Grace and Perryville.

<sup>10</sup> Principio Furnace, established in 1715.

<sup>11</sup> Principio Creek.

<sup>12</sup> They stayed at Charlestown but did not go to Northeast, two towns on Northeast River, Cecil Co.



well on ye Bay for Trade but the water is Shallow not more than two fatham at highwater. quite a Cross a mile or 2 over & up to ye head here is one Long wharff well builded & a good Storehouse for goods & Weights & Scales for Tobacco & Press for it also, & Some few Pretty good buildings of Brick but most of wood & mean. I went to the house of Mr Bellamie & d[elivere]d a Letter to his wife which I brought from Horse Neck in Connecticut from her father Justice Lockwood,<sup>13</sup> it is about 6 or 7 mile from hence to Cuzn Hartshorne Triangular More S[outh]ward & Eastward. very poor soil most of what I have seen today. the Bay Called here at Charlestown Northeast is an arm of the Sea.

" July 2d Sunday I went to meeting with my 2 Nephews & Thomas to Notingham old Presbyterian meeting house where Brother Hartshorn & his Sons were buryed. about 5 mile. the ministers name is John Steel a Irishman & So are the greater part of the people.<sup>14</sup> a Large old house. no workmanship no gallarrys. the New Light party have an other house they go to where mr Samuel finly<sup>15</sup> preacheth & is less yn a mile further they Say, but he is gone to preach to day to a village<sup>16</sup> 4 or 5 mile further that he preaches to every 3d Sabath. the minister & people here are very modist in their apparel & in their houses mostly Log houses Cribb fashion. the Soil is mostly good & good fields of wheat. the Timer Large & good.

" Mond [July] 3d Rain in the afternoon. a Smart Showre. I was fitting up for my Journey home. I went with Cuzn Thomas to view his plantation a little above a mile of 100 & odd acres. but late bo[ugh]t it & dont Improve it yet. ye old Tennant is Still there where I was last week at Charlestown in the Northerly Side of Maryland. the head of the Bay called Northeast [River] Comes by it. this Bay is an arm of the Salt Sea that comes in by virginia 300 Mile S W from hence Several Leagues over in most places, it Lyes N E & S W nearest & leaves a great arm of Neck of Land on the S E Side Near the Sea & Many large Towns. the whole breadth of Maryland Crosseth this bay by an East and west line & virginia also att the Southerly End of this Neck. the great Rivers of Susuahannah near the head of it Emptys it Self on to this Bay, as also Potomek James's River & Charles River & All on the N W Side of S[ai]d Bay & there is the post Road to anopolis & virginia & North Carolina &c.

" Tues [July] 4 fair. I Set out for home between 9 & 10 having taken my Last farewell of my Sister Lucy. her 2 Sons & Daughters all Came with me to a Tavern<sup>17</sup> about 5 miles a fine Brick house Mr Mitchels

<sup>13</sup> James Lockwood was appointed a Justice of the Peace for Fairfield Co., Conn., in May, 1744.

<sup>14</sup> John Steel, minister of "Old Side" church, 1745-ca. 1753.

<sup>15</sup> Samuel Finley, minister of the "New Side" church, 1744-61, founder of West Notingham Academy, and President of the College of New Jersey, 1761-66.

<sup>16</sup> Probably the town of Oclararo.

<sup>17</sup> Possibly X Keys Tavern established by John White in 1717 near the Brick Meeting House. Later his grandson, Abner White, built a brick house on the site.

hard by Nottingham Quaker meeting house, which hath been lately burnt down & now Enlarged.<sup>18</sup> the Bottom of Stone is Laid. I left Lucy here & Stop at Ms Mitchels fathers Justice Galchel a New England man from Marvelhead a friend but he was from home & I did not Stop, & took leave of my 2 Nephews also & So Journeyed alone to Ogletown and got there about 4 in the aftern & Dined there with Ms Lucas & her Daughter the widow of Ivory Lucas Decd. they Entertained me very Bountifully. I oated my horse at ye Tavern close by. I Stayed here till after 6 & Recd a Letter &c for Mr Sol Coit. here are mostly wooden houses Cribb fashion & old, those that are newly built the logs are hewed & as thick as hog neck or thereabouts. after 6 in the afternoon I Set out from Ogletown for New Castle & having Rid about 2 mile in a very fine Level Road, I came to a Clump of very fine brick houses a Dozen or more & Several Taverns & is a place I Suppose of much Business at times.<sup>19</sup> it is ye head of Christeen Creek ye End of Water Carryage from Delawar River. here are 2 Sloops Lying dry at lowwater. a River Runs in a Bridge over it. a plain Road many fields first & then a Wood & the land thin & I got into New Castle by 8 & put by the ferry at Ezekiel Bags. . . .

" [On July 5, enroute to Philadelphia, Hempstead] Joyned Mr Rule & Johnstone both from Maryland to Philadelphia. the Sd Johnston is a Sterch Merchant & Says he made 1600 bushels of wheat into Sterch ye last year."

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*Port Tobacco*—The Society for Restoration of Port Tobacco, Inc., has searched everywhere for a photograph or plans of the Court House that stood at Port Tobacco until 1892. Any one knowing the whereabouts of a picture or plan of this building will confer a great favor by writing the undersigned. A reward of \$50 has been offered for an authentic photograph.

MRS. EDWARD J. EDELEN, Historian  
Port Tobacco, Md.

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*Carolina Backcountry*—The author of the volume reviewed in the June issue, pp. 159-160, is Charles Woodmason, not Woodman.

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*Chase Home*—Author and editor regret the erroneous statement in the article on the Chase-Lloyd house (Sept. issue, p. 195) that the Chase

<sup>18</sup> The Brick Meeting House, built some years earlier. Apparently the fire occurred earlier than George Johnston, *History of Cecil County* (Elkton, 1881), p. 153, thought.

<sup>19</sup> Head of Christiana.

Home is or ever has been owned by the (Episcopal) Diocese of Maryland. The ownership is vested in an independent, self-perpetuating Board of Trustees.

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*Dudley*—Would like to exchange data on Dudley family of Talbot Co. Will of earliest known ancestor dated 1702. Where was family before coming to Md.?

MRS. JULIUS W. MELTON  
Box 244, Clinton, Miss.

---

*Mudd-Matthews-Cockshutt*—Need data from private or professional sources regarding English origin, background, or antecedents of Thos. Mudd (1647-1696) who came to St. Mary's Co. ca. 1655 from Eng. Dr. Thos. Matthews (d. 1676) who came to St. Mary's Co. ca. 1635 from Eng. John Cockshutt, who came to St. Mary's Co. ca. 1635.

EDGAR PETERSON  
485 Madison Ave., New York 22.

---

*Nelson*—Need additional data on John L. Nelson (ca. 1791-1860), the diplomat, especially date of birth, whom he married, dates of birth and names of his two children, etc.

COLEMAN McCAMPBELL  
238 Madison Ave., New York 16.

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*Seabrook*—Will appreciate any information about Seabrook family of Md. and Adams Co., Pa., whose immigrant ancestor, Wm., is supposed to have settled at Reisterstown ca. 1740. His son Moses had son Jesse whose son Wm. Johnston had son Wm. Luther Wesley (1833-1916).

RICHARD S. WHEELER  
Institute of East Asiatic Studies, Univ. of California,  
Berkeley 4, Calif.

---

*Streett*—Would like record of service of any Maryland Streett who served in the Confederacy.

ANN WILEY DAY  
933 Argonne Drive, Baltimore 18.

---

*Turner*—Wish to learn names of parents of Wm. Pinkston Turner, b. 3-31-1753, near New Market, Frederick Co., of whom there are records in later years in N. C. and Ky.

MRS. W. HARVEY JOHNSON  
6208 North Fairhill St., Philadelphia 26.

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*Benedict Calvert*—A study of Benedict Calvert (ca. 1722-1788), of "Mount Airy," Prince George's Co., is in preparation. Information about letters or documents of or concerning Calvert will be appreciated and will be transmitted by the Editor.

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#### CONTRIBUTORS

Mrs. KENNETH A. BOURNE, a descendant of Thomas Kemp, has used his copious manuscript records in preparing her study of his house and career. ☆ Mrs. (Dr.) WILLIAM R. QUINN is presently engaged in the preparation of a life of Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte. ☆ Dr. HOYT, who teaches at Loyola College, has previously contributed to the *Magazine*. ☆ This issue contains the fourth of six installments of Governor Lee's letters, edited by Mrs. ROBERT S. PEABODY, a descendant.

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