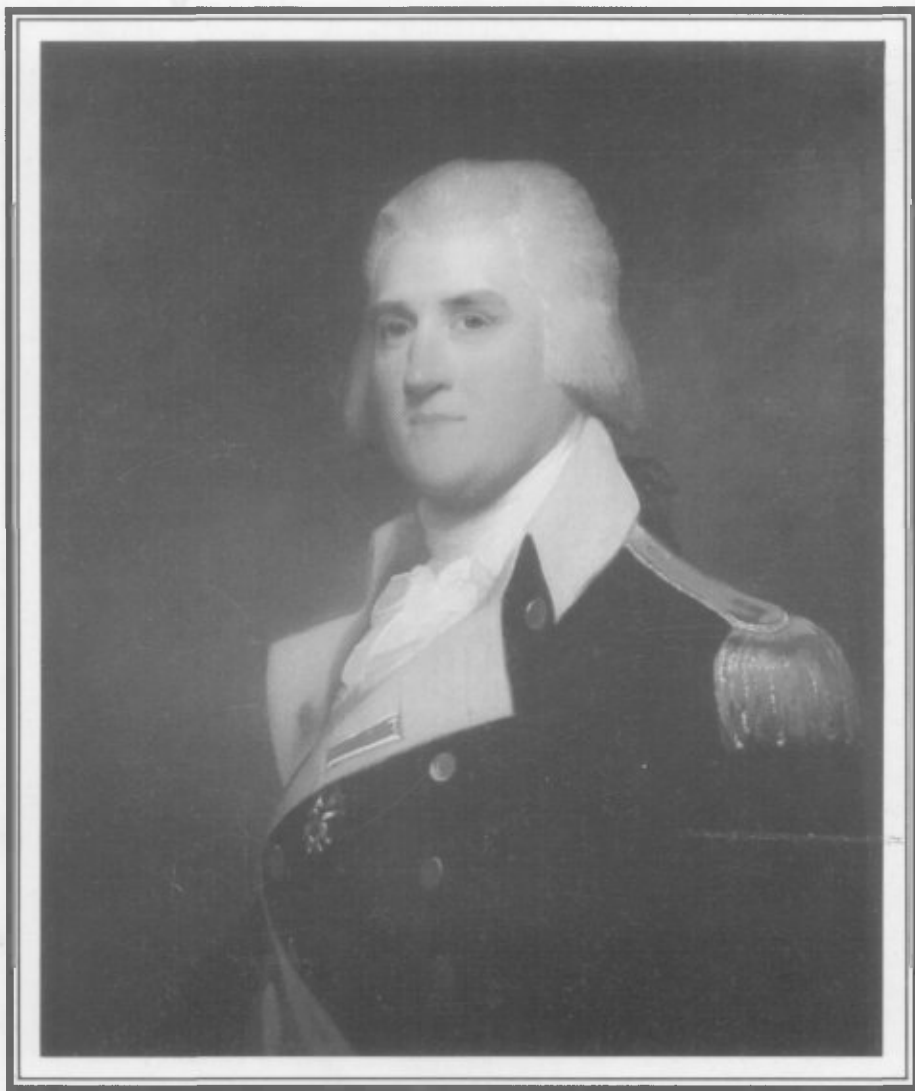


# Maryland Historical Magazine



Published Quarterly by The Museum and Library of Maryland History  
The Maryland Historical Society  
Fall 1983

---

# THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

## OFFICERS, 1982-1983

J. Fife Symington, Jr., *Chairman\**  
Robert G. Merrick, Sr., *Honorary Chairman*  
Leonard C. Crewe, Jr., *Vice Chairman\**  
Frank H. Weller, Jr., *President\**

Mrs. Charles W. Cole, Jr., *Vice President\** Richard P. Moran, *Secretary\**  
E. Phillips Hathaway, *Vice President\** Mrs. Frederick W. Lafferty, *Treasurer\**  
Truman T. Semans, , *Vice President\** Samuel Hopkins, *Past President\**  
William C. Whitridge, *Vice President\** Bryson L. Cook, *Counsel\**

\* *The officers listed above constitute the Society's Executive Committee.*

---

## BOARD OF TRUSTEES, 1982-1983

H. Furlong Baldwin	Calvert C. McCabe, Jr.
Mrs. Emory J. Barber, <i>St. Mary's Co.</i>	Robert G. Merrick, Jr.
Gary Black, Jr.	Michael Middleton, <i>Charles Co.</i>
John E. Boulais, <i>Caroline Co.</i>	J. Jefferson Miller, II
Thomas W. Burdette	W. Griffin Morrel
Mrs. James Frederick Colwill ( <i>Honorary</i> )	Jack Moseley
Owen Daly, II	Thomas S. Nichols ( <i>Honorary</i> )
Donald L. DeVries	Mrs. Brice Phillips, <i>Worcester Co.</i>
Leslie B. Disharoon	Walter D. Pinkard
Deborah B. English	J. Hurst Purnell, Jr., <i>Kent Co.</i>
Charles O. Fisher, <i>Carroll Co.</i>	George M. Radcliffe
Louis L. Goldstein, <i>Calvert Co.</i>	Adrian P. Reed, <i>Queen Anne's Co.</i>
Anne L. Gormer, <i>Allegany Co.</i>	Richard C. Riggs, Jr.
Kingdon Gould, Jr., <i>Howard Co.</i>	Mrs. Timothy Rodgers
William Grant, <i>Garrett Co.</i>	David Rogers, <i>Wicomico Co.</i>
Benjamin H. Griswold, III	Terry M. Rubenstein
R. Patrick Hayman, <i>Somerset Co.</i>	John D. Shapiro
Louis G. Hecht	Jacques T. Schlenger
Edwin Mason Hendrickson, <i>Washington Co.</i>	T. Rowland Slingluff, Jr.
T. Hughlett Henry, Jr., <i>Talbot Co.</i>	Jess Joseph Smith, Jr., <i>Prince George's Co.</i>
Michael Hoffberger	John T. Stinson
E. Ralph Hostetter, <i>Cecil Co.</i>	Bernard C. Trueschler
Elmer M. Jackson, Jr., <i>Anne Arundel Co.</i>	Thomas D. Washburne
H. Irvine Keyser, II ( <i>Honorary</i> )	Jeffrey P. Williamson, <i>Dorchester Co.</i>
Richard R. Kline, <i>Frederick Co.</i>	James T. Wollon, Jr. <i>Harford Co.</i>
John S. Lalley	

---

## COUNCIL, 1982-1983

Mrs. Howard Baetjer, II	Arthur J. Gutman
Thomas W. Burdette	Jon Harlan Livezey
Mary E. Busch	Calvert C. McCabe, Jr.
Mrs. James E. Cantler	Walter D. Pinkard
Thomas M. Caplan	George M. Radcliffe
Mrs. Dudley I. Catzen	W. Cameron Slack
Walter Fisher	John T. Stinson
Arthur L. Flinger	Mrs. Vernon H. Wiesand

---

Romaine Stec Somerville, *Director*  
William B. Keller, *Head Librarian*  
Stiles Tuttle Colwill, *Curator of the Gallery*

---

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE (ISSN 0025-4258) is published quarterly by The Museum and Library of Maryland History, The Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. Second class postage paid at Baltimore, Md. and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER please send address changes to the MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201.

Composed and printed by Waverly Press, Inc., Baltimore, Md. 21202. © Copyright 1983, The Museum and Library of Maryland History, The Maryland Historical Society.

# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Volume 78  
Number 3  
Fall 1983  
ISSN-0025-4258

## CONTENTS

<i>John D. Kilbourne</i>	The Society of the Cincinnati in Maryland: Its First One Hundred Years, 1783-1883 .....	169
<i>Sister Bridget Marie Engelmeyer</i>	A Maryland First .....	186
<i>Richard J. Cox</i>	A Bibliography of Articles, Books, and Dissertations on Maryland History, 1982 .....	205
<b>Book Reviews</b>		
<i>Jones, Lost Baltimore Landmarks: A Portfolio of Vanished Buildings</i> , by Douglas Gordon • <b>Myers</b> , <i>Liberty Without Anarchy: A History of the Society of the Cincinnati</i> , by Bryden Bordley Hyde • <b>West, comp.</b> , <i>The Papers of M. Carey Thomas in the Bryn Mawr College Archives: Reel Guide and Index to the Microfilm Collection</i> , by Fred Shelley .....		214

## MARYLAND MAGAZINE OF GENEALOGY

<i>'cottie Fitzgerald Smith</i>	The Maryland Ancestors of Zelda Sayre Fitzgerald .....	217
---------------------------------	--	-----

### Book Notes

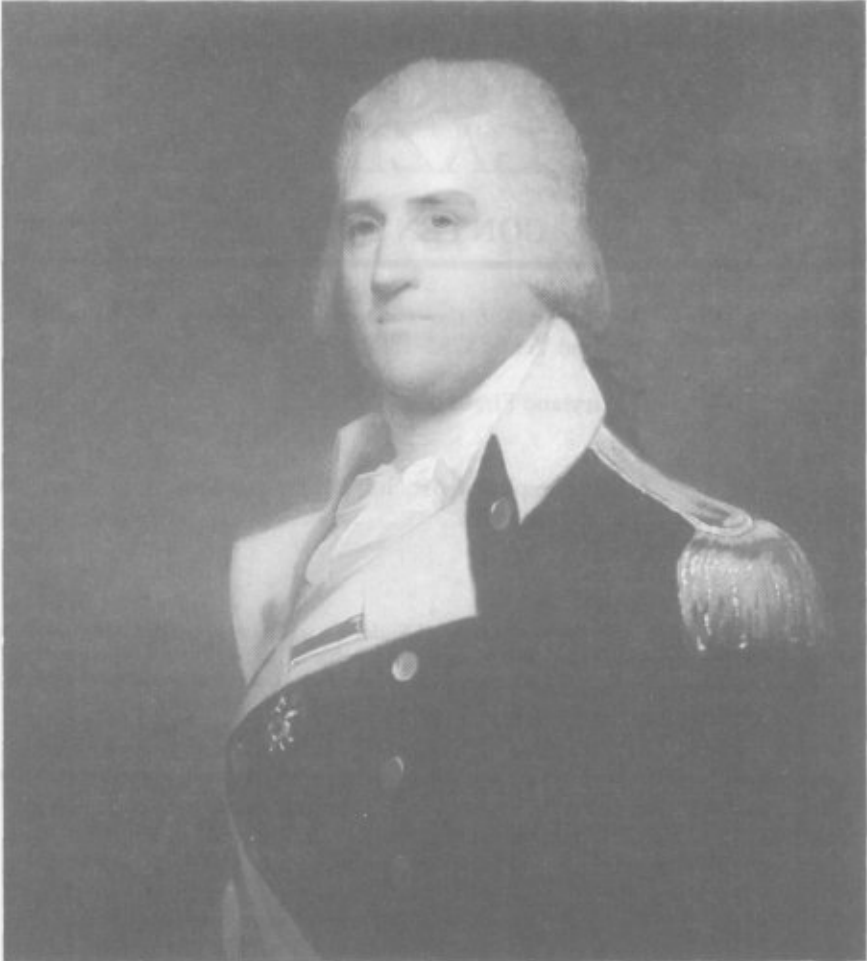
<i>resco, Marriages and Deaths, St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1634-1900</i> , by Robert Barnes • <b>Coldham</b> , <i>Condensed Passengers to America</i> , by P. William Filby • <b>Mayhew &amp; Towle</b> , <i>Genealogical Periodical Annual Index: key to the genealogical literature</i> , by Thomas L. Hollowak .....		229
---	--	-----

<b>NEWS AND NOTICES</b> .....	230
<b>MARYLAND PICTURE PUZZLE</b> .....	231

Beginning with this issue the *Maryland Historical Magazine* incorporates the *Maryland Magazine of Genealogy*. Merging the two publications should better suit the broadest interest of our readers.

HALL OF RECORDS LIBRARY  
20184  
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND





General Samuel Smith (1752-1839)

by William Edward West after Gilbert Stuart

c. 1839-41, oil on canvas, 29 inches x 24 inches

Gift of Mrs. Andrew Robeson 59.118.46

Samuel Smith (1772-1839), distinguished soldier and statesman, was born in Pennsylvania, but moved to Maryland at an early age. Smith raised a company of volunteers to fight in the American Revolution, and saw service at Long Island, Valley Forge, Monmouth, and Fort Mifflin. He later served as commander-in-chief of the American forces defending Fort McHenry in the War of 1812. Smith was elected to Congress, serving a combined total of 40 years in the House and Senate. He was Mayor of Baltimore from 1835-1838.

Smith was an early member of the Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland. In this portrait, he wears the "order," or insignia, of the Society.

HALL OF RECORDS LIBRARY

20184

ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND

# The Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland: Its First One Hundred Years, 1783–1883

JOHN D. KILBOURNE

**T**HE CONDITIONS INCUBATING THE SOCIETY of the Cincinnati are well-described by C. Edward Skeen in his article "The Newburgh Conspiracy Reconsidered."<sup>1</sup>

Briefly, the scene he sets was as follows: The Northern Army was bivouaced in and around Newburgh, New York. After Yorktown sporadic military action in the South was punctuated by a few sensational events, such as the proclamation of the treaty of peace. Farther north, "There is general agreement that the army had legitimate grievances and ample time to discuss and grumble about them. . . ." By October, 1782, Washington was warning the Congress that the patience of the army was exhausted. The warning was occasioned by the fact that "the troops were not being paid; Congress showed no disposition to meet its promise in 1780 of half-pay pensions for the army; promotions had been frozen; there were numerous other minor grievances."<sup>2</sup>

The officers felt that the army was likely to be disbanded without satisfaction for any of these problems. As was their custom, the army petitioned Congress, hoping to bring these difficulties to the forefront of political debate, but response came primarily from Alexander Hamilton, Robert Morris and Gouverneur Morris. (These men all were, later, members of the Society of the Cincinnati, Hamilton succeeding Washington as its President-General). "These men attempted to combine the army's grievances with the pressures from civilian creditors to compel the reluctant congressmen to give up their opposition to a provision for a permanent income from the govern-

ment . . . , nothing came of these nationalist activities. When the crucial issue of commutation pay for the army in lieu of half-pay was defeated by the Congress for the second time on February 4, the nationalists sought very delicately to orchestrate another remonstrance from the army 'menacing' Congress. They were quite aware of the dangers inherent in this move, but they believed that the ends justified the means. To carry out the task they apparently first approached General Henry Knox, who they considered 'safe' but he rebuffed them."<sup>3</sup>

There is general agreement on what was occurring up until this point. Proponents of the idea of a developing conspiracy harp upon the relationships existing among Horatio Gates, John Armstrong, Jr., Walter Stewart, William Eustis, Nicholas Fish, and, perhaps, Timothy Pickering. All this group were later members of the Society of the Cincinnati, Gates being the first Vice President General; all had creditable service careers and most went on to distinguish themselves in civil life. None led a life lacking in controversy, and none was a tranquil, passive individual, either in public or private. Did they conspire at sedition? Washington felt that the "old leaven," as he termed it, at the very least was contributing to the Army's unrest, and that it was encouraged and abetted by politicians in Philadelphia who were not fully considering the welfare of the country. He issued more than one warning that the army "is a dangerous instrument to play with," and "a dangerous Engine to work with, as it might be made to cut both ways. . . ."

The "Newburgh Addresses," almost certainly written by Armstrong, with what contributions from others we cannot be certain, shielded motives uncertain to this

Mr. Kilbourne is Director of the Library and Museum of the Society of the Cincinnati.

day. Richard H. Kohn believes that they advocated mutiny, a position that Skeen considers extreme.<sup>4</sup>

On March 10 Washington was informed of a call for a meeting of general and field officers, and about the same time was handed a copy of the first Newburgh Address. On the next day, Washington's general orders characterized the action as "an irregular invitation" and "disorderly proceedings" but directed that regimental representatives meet under the senior officer (Gates), on March 15, to discuss the grievances that agitated his officers. A second Newburgh Address appeared on March 12, and its intent was overtly to implicate Washington in the thickening atmosphere of complaint and suspicion. Washington, writing to Hamilton on that day, expressed surprise and dismay at what had occurred in camp and expressed suspicions of the political maneuvering of the day;

Dear Sir, When I wrote to you last we were in a state of tranquility, but after the arrival of a certain Gentleman,<sup>5</sup> who shall be nameless at present, from Philadelphia, a storm very suddenly arose with unfavourable prognostics; which tho' diverted for a moment is not yet blown over, nor is it in my power to point to the issue.

The Papers which I send officially to Congress, will supercede the necessity of my remarking on the tendency of them. The notification and address, both appeared at the same instant, on the day preceding the intended meeting. The first of these I got hold of the same afternoon; the other, not till next morning.

There is something very misterious in this business. It appears, reports have been propagated in Philadelphia, that dangerous combinations were forming in the Army; and this at a time when there was not a syllable of the kind in agitation in Camp. It also appears, that upon the arrival in Camp of the Gentleman above alluded to such sentiments as these were immediately circulated: That it was universally expected the army would not disband untill they had obtained justice; That the public creditors look up to them for Redress of their own grievances, wd afford them every aid, and even join them in the Field if necessary; That some mem[bers] of Congress wished the measure might take effect, in order to compel the public, particularly the delin-

quent States, to do justice; with many other suggestions of a similar nature.

From this, and a variety of other considerations, it is firmly believed, by some, the scheme was not only planned but also digested and matured in Philadelphia; but in my opinion shall be suspended till I have a better ground to found one on. The matter was managed with great art; for as soon as the Minds of the Officers were thought to be prepared for the transaction, the anonymous invitations and address to the Officers were put in circulation, through every state line in the army. I was obliged therefore, in order to arrest on the spot, the foot that stood wavering on a tremendous precipice, to prevent the Officers from being taken by surprise while the passions were all inflamed, and to rescue them from plunging themselves into a gulph of Civil horror from which there might be no receding, to issue the order of the 11th. This was done upon the principle that it is easier to divert from a wrong, and point to a right path, than it is to recall the hasty and fatal steps which have been already taken.

It is commonly supposed if the Officers had met agreeably to the anonymous summons, with their feelings all alive, Resolutions might have been formed, the consequences of which may be more easily conceived than described. Now they will have leisure to view the matter more calmly, and will act more seriously. It is hoped they will be induced to adopt more rational measures, and wait a while longer for a settlement of their accts., the postponing of which, appears to be the most plausible and almost the only article of which designing men can make an improper use, by insinuating (which they really do) that it is done with design that Peace may take place and prevent any adjustment of accts. which say they would inevitably be the case if the war was to cease tomorrow. Or supposing the best, you would have to dance attendance at public Offices at great distances perhaps, and equally great expences to obtain a settlement, which would be highly injurious, nay ruinous to you. This is their language.

Let me beseech you therefore, my good Sir, to urge this matter earnestly, and without further delay. The situation of these Gentlemen I do verily believe, is distressing beyond description. It is affirmed to me, that a large part of them have no better prospect before them than a Gaol, if they are turned loose without liquidation of accts. and an assurance of that justice to

which they are so worthily entitled. To prevail on the Delegates of those States through whose means these difficulties occur, it may, in my opinion, with propriety be suggested to them, if any disastrous consequences should follow, by reason of their delinquency, that they must be answerable to God & their Country for the ineffable horrors which may be occasioned thereby.

I am Dear Sir Yr. Most Obedt. Serv

P.S. I have received your letter of the 5th. & have put that matter in train which was mentioned in it.

I am this instant informed, that a second address to the Officers, distinguished No. 2, is thrown into circulation. The Contents, evidently prove that the Author is in, or near Camp; and that the following words, erased in the second page of this Letter, ought not to have met with this treatment. viz: "By others, that it is the illegitimate offspring of a person in the army."<sup>6</sup>

It was obvious to Washington that he himself would have to attend the meeting of March 15, and the story of his (probably, unexpected) appearance has been repeated again and again by American historians. Complimenting the author of the Address on his ability of expression, Washington nevertheless criticized the implication that the injustices perceived by the officers were calculated slights on the part of Congress. Washington set about to blunt the effect of the Addresses and return the officers to a course of patient waiting by saying "... you will, by the dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind, 'had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last state of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining.'" Then Washington, acting with deliberate premeditation, drew from his pocket a letter from Joseph Jones, a fellow Virginian, and prepared to read of the financial problems, both civil and military, with which Congress was trying to deal. Finding difficulty in his reading, Washington is said to have stopped, brought out a pair of spectacles which most of the officers had never before seen, and to have said something like, "Gentlemen, you must pardon me. I have grown gray in your service and now find myself growing

blind." Leaving the meeting a few minutes later, Washington left behind him a well-rehearsed group of officers who quickly obtained an expression of confidence in Congress' action and repudiated the "infamous proposition... in a late anonymous address."<sup>7</sup> So ended the affair of the Newburgh Addresses. Insofar as the record tells anything, no further efforts along these lines were attempted by any of the suspected officers, thus greatly weakening the theory of an organized conspiracy.

This discussion has been meant to convey some notion of the contemporary atmosphere of the New Windsor Encampment. Both Knox and his aide-de-camp, Samuel Shaw, figured to some extent in the excitement of March. Somewhat earlier, on February 13, Hamilton had written to Washington to indicate that something was stirring in the ranks of Congress; very possibly positive news of the army's unrest had for the first time been confirmed in Philadelphia. Congress had cause to be uneasy. News had reached the army of Congress' rejection of commutation pay for the army. Hamilton's letter concludes with the postscript, "General Knox has the confidence of the army, is a man of sense. I think he may be safely made use of. Situated as I am Your Excellency will feel the confidential nature of these objectives."<sup>8</sup>

The earliest documentary evidence for the Society of the Cincinnati is a draft proposal for the establishment of the Society, dated at West Point, 15 April 1783.<sup>9</sup> It is possible that the idea was new to Knox, if an often-quoted extract from the diary of Thomas Jefferson be accepted:

March 16, 1788.—Baron Steuben has been generally suspected of having first suggested the idea of the self-styled Order of Cincinnati. But, Mr. Adams tells me that in the year 1776 he had called at a tavern in New York to dine just at the moment when the British army was landing at Frog's Neck. Washington, Lee, Knox, and Parsons came to the same tavern. He got into conversation with Knox. They talked of ancient history; of Fabius, who used to raise the Romans from the dust; of the present contest, &c.; and Knox, in the course of conversation, said he should wish for some ribbon to wear in his hat or in his

button-hole, to be transmitted to his descendants as a badge and a proof that he had fought in defense of their liberties. He spoke of it in such precise terms as showed he had revolved it in his mind before.<sup>10</sup>

Exactly what, in regard to the proposed Society, may have transpired between 15 April and 10 May can only be conjectured, but on the letter date a meeting of the army's general officers and one Continental officer from each regiment was called at the cantonment on the Hudson River. Baron Steuben presided and proposals for establishing the Society were considered. The proposals were referred to a committee consisting of Major General Knox, Brigadier General Hand, Brigadier General Jedediah Huntington, and Captain Samuel Shaw. The committee reported on May 13. The report took the form of an "Institution" little different from Knox's preliminary draft of April 15. The report was unanimously accepted, and May 13, 1783, has always been regarded as the founding date of the Society of the Cincinnati, and Steuben's headquarters, Mt. Gulian (the Verplanck House) at Fishkill, N.Y., the place of foundation.

What sort of organization did the officers bring into being? Although it is doubtful if all of the members through the years have read "The Institution" from start to finish, there are three paragraphs with which every member is familiar. These are known as "The Immutable Principles," as follows:

An incessant attention to preserve inviolate those exalted rights and liberties of human nature, for which they have fought and bled, and without which the high rank of a rational being is a curse instead of a blessing.

An unalterable determination to promote and cherish, between the respective States, that union and national honor so essentially necessary to their happiness, and the future dignity of the American empire.

To render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the officers. This spirit will dictate brotherly kindness in all things, and particularly extend to the most substantial acts of beneficence, according to the ability of the Society, towards those officers and their families, who unfortunately may be under the necessity of receiving it.

The Institution provided a rudimentary organization for the Society, together with a skeleton agenda designed to indicate to members subjects with which they were to concern themselves, and also how meetings were to be conducted. The definition of membership established in 1783, is still, by and large, the criterion:

All the officers of the American army, as well as those who have resigned with honor, after three years' service in the capacity of officers, or who have been deranged by the resolution of Congress upon the several reforms of the army, as those who shall have continued to the end of the war, have the right to become parties to this institution; provided that they subscribe one month's pay, and sign their names to the general rules, in their respective State Societies, those who are present with the Army immediately; and others within six months after the Army shall be disbanded, extraordinary cases excepted; the rank, time of service, resolution of Congress by which any have been deranged, and place of residence must be added to each name—and as a testimony of affection to the memory and the offspring of such officers as have died in the service, their eldest male branches shall have the same right of becoming members, as the children of the actual members of the Society.

Those officers who are foreigners, not resident in any of the States, will have their names enrolled by the Secretary-General, and are to be considered as members in the Societies of any of the States in which they may happen to be.

And as there are, and will at all times be, men in the respective States eminent for their abilities and patriotism, whose views may be directed to the same laudable objects with those of the Cincinnati, it shall be a rule to admit such characters, as Honorary Members of the Society, for their own lives only: Provided always, That the number of Honorary Members, in each State, does not exceed a ratio of one to four of the officers or their descendants.<sup>11</sup>

An insignia of membership, then called an "Order," and a certificate of membership, designated a "Diploma," were specified in the Institution. The provision of these articles later became the special interest of Major Charles-Pierre L'Enfant. Using the established and internal lines of communication the Institution was trans-



mitted to every branch of the Continental Army for consideration by officers eligible under its terms. Although no mention was made of the Continental Navy in the Institution, officers of that branch of service were, from the beginning, considered eligible for membership. All in all, of the estimated 5,795 eligible officers, something less than half, some 2,403, actually joined The Society of the Cincinnati. Of these members, about 10 percent or 243 were French.

The Institution made the state society the basic organizational unit, envisioning 14 of them, the fourteenth, of course, being France. It was originally planned that each state society would in turn be divided into "such districts as shall be directed..." probably corresponding with county boundaries. Except for some dubious evidence from New York, where some meetings for business may have taken place in the western part of the state, it is probable that district meetings were never established. To keep this wide-spread organization in touch, the Institution provided that "each State meeting shall write annually, or oftener, if necessary, a circular letter, to the State Societies, noting whatever they may think worthy of observation, respecting the good of the Society, or the general union of the States,..." The custom of circular letters, widely practiced during the early years of the Society's history, continued until relatively recent years on the part of some states but has now fallen completely into oblivion.

The organization of the respective State Societies took place at various times and places. Connecticut and Massachusetts, for example, have always considered that their state societies were organized on the banks of the Hudson. Maryland's Society was not organized until November 1783, and other state organizations were effected before the end of the year. The French Society, whose Institution was formally sanctioned by Louis XVI in Council at Versailles on 17 December 1783, had the King himself as Patron of the Order. That society was not permanently organized, however, until July 4, 1784, when the French officers holding Continental commissions ("les Américains") went to procession to the Hôtel de Rochambeau in Paris, where the Institution was signed by the members present,

and the Comte d'Estaing was installed as first President.

It will be instructive to consider the situation of the Maryland Line to and at the conclusion of the war: after valiant service in the Monmouth Campaign in 1778, the seven regiments comprising the Maryland Line were then moved, as were most of the troops belonging to the Southern states, to the Southern Department. They served throughout the campaigns in the Carolinas, and during the southern campaigns of Greene. All of the Maryland regiments suffered disastrous casualties at Camden (16 August 1780) and the remaining troops were consolidated by Smallwood and Gates into the "Maryland Regiment" September-October 1780. With the arrival of new recruits in the early months of 1781, five new Maryland regiments were constituted, but it is likely that only the 1st, 2nd and 3rd had any real existence. The First Regiment was furloughed at Baltimore 27 July 1783 and was disbanded 15 November 1783; the Second Regiment was furloughed 1 January 1783 at Charleston, South Carolina and disbanded 15 November 1783; the Third Regiment was disbanded 1 January 1783 at Charleston; as was the Fourth. The Fifth Maryland Regiment was furloughed 1 January 1782 at Round O, South Carolina and disbanded 1 January 1783. The Sixth and Seventh Regiments (which may have had only a paper existence after 1780) were both disbanded 1 January 1783 at Annapolis.<sup>12</sup> Thus, at the time of the founding of the Society in May, 1783, many Maryland troops were still far away in the South.

The Institution had directed Generals Heath and Steuben to communicate the news of the founding of the Society to the senior officers of each of the thirteen states, and to those troops stationed farther afield, and this was done. Heath's letter to General Smallwood is known by inference, but is unlocated at this writing. Steuben wrote to Smallwood in 1783 as follows:

Sir:

The plan for the formation and institution of the Society of the Cincinnati, I hope you have received, as by a resolution of the Convention, Major General Heath was desired to forward, and request your approbation of it. I have now the honor to enclose the proceedings of the Convention since

that time, by which you will see that the members of the Society, who were present at the last meeting have made choice of officers to fill the different departments until the general meeting in May next.

This step, dictated by necessity, I hope will be agreeable to you, and that you will give your assistance in perfecting this infant institution, which is founded in principles the most virtuous and honorable.

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

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

STEUBEN

Majo. Gen.<sup>13</sup>

No doubt because so many of the Maryland troops were still abroad, nothing was immediately done to effect a Maryland organization and on 24 October 1783 Washington wrote to the senior officers of all of the Southern troops inquiring as to the state of the establishment of the Society in Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia.<sup>14</sup> Smallwood answered this letter from Annapolis on 29 November 1783 as follows:

Dear Sir,

Your Letter dated the 24th of October miscarried—I did not receive it until the 27th. Inst.—as you will observe by the inclosed Letter from Genl. Gist—I have now the Honour of embracing the earliest Opportunity by Capt. Howe of transmitting the Proceedings of the Society of the Cincinnati of this State.—

I received Letters from General Heath and the Baron de Steuben on the Subject Matter of the Institution, which were communicated and the sense of all the Officers who were assembled here in July last taken—but the Meeting not having been so general as might have been wished it was thought most eligible (from the remote and distressed situation of the Officers, and the Expences which might accrue upon drawing them to a Point on that single Object) to suspend all further Process therein until the 20th. of November following, when we might also address the General Assembly upon the Subject of the Lands which have been pledged, the Redemption of our Depreciation Certificates, and Arrears of Pay &c—The Meeting on the 20th Inst. was not so full as was expected, but Numbers have fallen in since and subscribed the Institution—a list of whom is inclosed—

I have the Honor to be etc.<sup>15</sup>

Nothing whatsoever is known of the July meeting mentioned by Smallwood, and presumably the assembly at that time was more or less in the nature of a Fourth of July celebration. The Minutes of the Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland commenced on 21 November 1783 with a statement that the meeting had first been called in Annapolis for the previous day, but that Generals Gist and Smallwood were not yet present. The meeting was adjourned until the next day to meet at the public house of William Mann, and when the meeting finally convened, the senior officers present were Brigadier General Otho Holland Williams, Lieutenant Colonel Nathaniel Ramsey and Lieutenant Colonel John Eccleston. There were 62 other officers of lesser rank. The Institution was read to them with the officers' "heartly and entire approbation . . . cheerfully concurring in the establishment of the said Order." By the next day, 22 November, Smallwood and Gist had still not appeared; nevertheless, they were elected President and Vice President respectively with Colonel Ramsey as Treasurer, and Lieutenant Colonel Eccleston as Assistant Treasurer. This presented the technical anomaly of the two chief officers being elected to office before they actually became members of the Society. Acting as a committee of the whole under the chairmanship of General Williams, the officers " . . . consider it their indispensable duty to offer to almighty God their most grateful thanks for his gracious dispensation in the order of human events, which they are permitted to facilitate each other on the fortunate and glorious conclusion of an unequal, precarious and bloody War and to return with Joy to their Country and possess the invaluable rights of Citizens, in peace and natural Independence.

"As a testimony of the satisfaction which we feel in the opportunity we enjoy of returning to our respective Stations in the general class of the Community, and of recommencing our civil occupations under a government which we have aided to establish, and which we all approve and will endeavor to maintain; And in consideration of the abilities, merit, and patriotism of his Excellency Governor Paca, this Society direct that the Secretary [,] General Williams wait on his Excellency and inform



FIGURE 1.

City Hotel, formerly Mann's Tavern, Annapolis.

Site of the first meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland.

GPVF, Prints and Photographs Division, Maryland Historical Society Library.

him that this Society do themselves the honor to consider him as an honorary Member of their Body." Finally, Williams, Paca, Smallwood and Ramsey were selected to be the Maryland delegates at the general meeting to be held in Philadelphia in 1784<sup>16</sup>

It was this meeting which was reported to Washington by Smallwood on 29 November, but neither the Minutes nor Williams' notes on the proceedings give any indication of an attempt to address the Maryland General Assembly on the matter of the officers' pay and other benefits. The list of the members which Smallwood sent to Washington includes 14 more names than appear on Williams' list.<sup>17</sup>

Because the Society's founders used the army's system of communication, news of the founding of the Society quickly spread to all parts of the United States. Initially, there does not appear to have been any particular reaction to the news. On 1 Oc-

tober 1783, however, the *Gazette of the State of South Carolina*, Charleston, published in two parts the Institution of the Society. That news brought a swift response, for in the issue of October 8 appeared the announcement of the publication of *Considerations on the Society or Order of Cincinnati* by "Cassius," the pseudonym adopted by Judge Aedanus Burke of South Carolina. Here was the beginning of international criticism of the Society that was to continue for some four years or more. Burke's pamphlet perfectly enunciated the thoughts of a class of civilians who felt they saw in the establishment of the Society an effort to found a military aristocracy in this country. After his initial salvo, little more is heard from Burke, but his book was the inspiration for a similar attack in France by the Comte de Mirabeau who translated Burke's pamphlet, added considerably to it, and saw it published in French, English and Ger-

man. The Burke–Mirabeau pamphlet was the standard under which rallied Thomas Jefferson, John and Samuel Adams, Elbridge Gerry, John Jay, and others of less fame. Benjamin Franklin at first seemed inclined to join the attack, but later accepted honorary membership in the Pennsylvania Society.

Criticism of the Society and hostility to it in this country escalated to the point where some state legislatures, professing to see a real threat to the republic, began debating actions directed at the Cincinnati. In North Carolina, for example, a bill was introduced “to render incapable all such persons that are now, or hereafter may be of, or belong to, The Society of the Cincinnati of having a seat in either House of the General Assembly of this State.” In New England, opposition was strong in Connecticut and Rhode Island. There is no evidence of any particular opposition in Maryland. It is evident from the reactions of Washington, Knox and others that they had been taken by surprise by the developing public debate. It was evident that something must be done to answer criticism and the first General Meeting of the Society, called to convene in Philadelphia in May 1784, was to cope with the matter.

That the opposition to the Society was being discussed in Maryland is evidenced by correspondence between Otho Holland Williams, Dr. Philip Thomas and Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Smith. Writing to Thomas, Williams mentions that he first saw the Burke pamphlet when visiting his friend Charles Alexander in March. Williams’ opinion was that “Mr. Burk’s piece is replete with art, but his premises are often false and his cases usually inapplicable.”<sup>18</sup> Samuel Smith writing to Williams on 17 May 1784 (while the General Meeting was still in session) gave Williams as his opinion that “the Cincinnati would have expired at once, but for the French members; at present it is important only to those who travel [in Europe]; possibly when the states are more at ease, ‘our heirs may revive it in its original beauty’”<sup>19</sup>

When the General Meeting met in Philadelphia on 4 May 1784, of Maryland’s four delegates, Smallwood, Williams, Paca and Ramsey, at least three were present (Gov-

ernor’s Paca’s name does not appear in the minutes.) Projected changes in the Institution were debated for two weeks before an agreement could be reached on a method of placating civilian criticism of the Society. Washington was outspoken in demanding that the hereditary feature of the Institution be abandoned and that strict controls be placed on the management of the Society’s funds and the admission of honorary members. The official minutes of the Society, while clearly showing the business transacted at this meeting, are not very explicit in showing how the compromises and changes were accomplished.<sup>20</sup> However, we are fortunate in that Winthrop Sargent, a delegate from Massachusetts, kept a journal of the transactions in a shorthand untranscribed until 1853, which has caused it to be referred to in the literature of the Society as the “secret journal.”<sup>21</sup> From both the minutes and the secret journal it seems evident that none of the delegates to the meeting, with the possible exception of those from Virginia, were strongly in favor of the changes, but the records tell nothing about any contribution to the debates on the part of the Maryland delegates. The Institution was amended in accord with Washington’s wishes.

On 5 July 1784 the Maryland Society convened for its annual meeting, Smallwood and Paca presiding and 69 members present. The chief business was the reading of the Amended Institution, and on 6 July the Society ratified the new constitution and provided for the members’ signing the new document as soon as an engrossed copy should be prepared. A resolution stated “that the subscribers to the original Institution be at liberty at any time, to subscribe the Institution as altered and amended, and that none of them be permitted to subscribe the same, but such as shall be judged eligible by this or a future State Meeting.” At the time it was decided that an address from the Society be presented to the Maryland General Assembly asking it to accept responsibility for administering the funds of the Society, and to confirm the Institution by a charter. All of this was in the spirit and the letter of the Amended Institution. The Society also discussed the business of settling with the State the accounts

of the Maryland Line and the Maryland Artillery, a subject of vital and continuing interest throughout this period.<sup>22</sup>

In time of course, but not during the lifetime of Washington, the Amended Institution would be abrogated by the Society. The state societies had accepted the changes unwillingly and largely out of deference to Washington's wishes. An instruction adopted by the Maryland Society in 1785 clearly shows the sentiments prevailing among the members: the delegates to the Triennial meeting were instructed "to agree to the Amended Institution, but the earnest wish of this Meeting, [is] that the original Institution of the Society be adhered to as nearly as possible . . . and that some mode may be established for perpetuating the Society instead of the right of Primogeniture as laid down in the said Institution."<sup>23</sup> This instruction was renewed periodically by the Maryland Society until the Amended Institution was abandoned in 1800.

By 1785 the Maryland Society was beginning to feel a malaise which was to become progressively more apparent over the next 100 years: a decrease of interest in the Society and its works. When the annual meeting met by adjournment on 17 October at Annapolis only 25 members, Smallwood, and Paca attended. It is hard not to relate this falling-off of attendance to the change in the Institution, which must have been seen by many members as an abandonment of the high purposes of two years previously. As if to underline this fact, the new Institution had been engrossed and was signed by the members present at this meeting. This was the third parchment roll signed by the Maryland officers, the first, having been damaged at some time in its history, was replaced by a new copy presumably in 1784.<sup>24</sup> The members present in 1785 attempted to counter the cooling of sentiment by entering on their minutes, "It being too apparent that the warm spirit of friendship with [which] the Officers of the late Maryland Line were actuated in the Infancy of this Institution is suffering a rapid declination; and it appearing to the Members present in this meeting that (besides the grand fraternal motive which prompts them to lament the Indifference

seemingly shewn to a league of friendship embraced at first with such ardour) many matters of the greatest importance warrant discussion, which ought not to be decided on but in a full Meeting. Resolved, that the President be requested to call on the Members of the Society in this State to give their punctual attendance on the Fourth of July next."<sup>25</sup> However, at the next meeting only the same number of members were present and Smallwood himself was absent. The meeting of 1786 made the interesting provision that the secretary was to transmit "to the Members in the vicinity of Talbot, Frederick Town, and Piscatoway who are authorized to hold meetings at each of these places on the 8th day of September next for the purpose of considering [by-] laws and prepare such amendments as they may think proper to offer."<sup>26</sup> If such local meetings were held no trace of them remains in the minutes today. However, the most vital concern of the Society still remained the settling of the matters of the officers' pay. On 27 December 1786 Otho Holland Williams wrote to Samuel Chase about the distribution of lands west of Fort Cumberland, Maryland, which had been promised to the officers and soldiers in settlement of their claims on the State. Williams suggested the forming of a corporation to represent those to whom the lands were promised. The corporation was to hold the lands, distribute them to the members, and in the event of a dispute between the grantee and a prior occupier of the land, the corporation would settle the matter by arbitration. Providing for what he evidently felt was a possible difficulty, Williams suggested that, if Chase shared the feeling against the Society of the Cincinnati, he hoped it would not lead him to oppose the plan, "for so long as they got the land, they do not care by what name they are called."<sup>27</sup> Apparently the corporation was never formed, but the officers eventually were granted their lands, probably with no involvement of the Society of the Cincinnati.

It cannot be denied that, in the years following, the interests of the Maryland Society became more and more parochial and at the same time, more modest than in the enthusiastic founding-years. An ever-decreasing number of members attending

the annual meeting gives evidence of this. Thus, in 1795 there were only eight members present, and as the Nineteenth-Century progressed such small numbers came to be the rule rather than the exception. Nevertheless the Society was faithful to the purposes for which it had been formed, particularly in regard to financial relief "towards those officers and their families, who unfortunately may be under the necessity of receiving it." The first charity was granted in 1790 to the widow of Captain Jacob Brice, an officer who had joined Smallwood's Battalion as early as March 1776, and who remained with the Maryland Line until its dissolution in November 1783. He had been wounded in the disaster at Camden in August 1780 and his career typifies the devoted service of the officers of the Maryland Line. Certainly no family was more entitled to financial assistance. By 1792 there were additional pensioners, all of them the widows or children of deceased officers who, in nearly every case, had service extending from 1776 to 1783.<sup>28</sup>

It is worth noticing that the Maryland Society from an early date had peculiar relationships with European members and their families. In 1785 Captain Frederick Paschke, who had been Deputy Quartermaster General in the Southern Department, asked the Maryland Society to admit as members Dr. John Felix Texier and Lieutenant François Charles Roth, both formerly of Pulaski's Legion, and the Maryland Society was glad to welcome these foreign officers, then living in Maryland.<sup>29</sup> Again, the Society, meeting for the first time in Baltimore on 4 July 1796, at the famous Indian Queen Tavern, was petitioned for relief for the widow of Pierre-Marie-François, Vicomte de Pagès. De Pagès had served as Captain of the 74-gun French vessel *Magnifique* under d'Estaing, and at the conclusion of the war he retired to Santo Domingo where he was massacred in the slave uprising of 1793. Like many other refugees from that tragedy, the Vicomtesse de Pagès had fled to the mainland, and had found refuge in Baltimore. The Maryland Society granted her a pension of \$100 per year which by 1798 was being paid to her children.<sup>30</sup> Still later, in 1817, the minutes show that "the sum of sixty dollars,

advanced to M. de Montlezun, an officer of the French army in the American war, was admitted unanimously to be charged in the accounts of the Society."<sup>31</sup> This was undoubtedly Sernin-Barthélemy du Moulin de la Barthète de Montlezun, as his father Jean-François had died in 1786. The father, known as the Chevalier de Montlezun, was Lieutenant Colonel in the Regiment de Touraine, made the American campaign of 1778-1782, and was present at Yorktown. The son served in his father's Regiment as a volunteer in a detachment of *Chasseurs* and was with his father at Yorktown. Sernin-Barthélemy continued as a soldier and was with his Regiment at Perpignan when the French Revolution broke out. He was an *émigré* and his presence in Baltimore in 1817 may have been due to this fact.<sup>32</sup> In 1789 the younger Montlezun petitioned Washington for membership in the Society of the Cincinnati. His letters constitute one of the more interesting groups of papers in the Archives of the General Society as he sent to Washington the order of King Louis XVI, dated 15 May 1785, appointing Montlezun First Lieutenant in the Tursan Regiment, as well as a certificate from the *Juge d'Armes*, dated 8 September 1770, as to the nobility of the Montlezun family.<sup>33</sup> Although the evidence indicates that Montlezun had a perfect right to membership in the Society, it does not appear that he was ever admitted, and his branch of the family became extinct in 1876.<sup>34</sup> It is of interest to note, however, that when a Colonel Laval wrote the Maryland Society in 1821 about admittance to membership, "The President was requested to return for answer that under the original Constitution the Generals and Colonels of the army of Count Rochambeau were admitted to the Society—and that this Society does not properly admit any but citizens of Maryland."<sup>35</sup> Probably the Society did not intend the snobbery evident in this reply; if it were indeed a rule of the Maryland Society to admit only citizens of Maryland, this in itself would amply explain the ever-decreasing numbers of members with which the Society in Maryland had been concerned from its first days, evidenced by frequent admonitions to the officers to sign the Roll and to pay into the Treasury their

proper fees. At the annual meeting in 1803 a committee was appointed to consider and report the best and most eligible mode of perpetuating the Society.<sup>36</sup> The next year this committee reported that they "have not been able to consider such a great matter and suggest calling a full meeting of the Society to consider it collectively."<sup>37</sup> In 1807, although no concrete proposals on membership were forthcoming, the Society established rules dealing with the theoretical application for membership of a son or a collateral descendant from another state.<sup>38</sup> Although the record is somewhat confusing, it is probable that the first hereditary member admitted by the Maryland Society was Benedict W. Hall who became a member in 1810 during the lifetime of his father.<sup>39</sup> For twenty more years the Society maintained only a minimum membership, six to eight members attending the annual meetings. In 1839 a rather feeble attempt was made to enlarge the membership when "It was resolved that the Secretary cause a list of the officers of the Society to be published and give notice to persons who are eligible to make application for admission as members."<sup>40</sup>

The Revolutionary era in Maryland can be said to have reached its close with the death in April 1840 of Colonel Gassaway Watkins, the last surviving officer of the Maryland Line. Colonel Watkins had served as Vice President of the Maryland Society from 1831 and was succeeded in 1839 by John Spear Smith, the son of Samuel Smith, who was to have a definitive effect on his generation. By now, not only Maryland but the entire Society of the Cincinnati was concerned with decreasing numbers. The Revolutionary generation had almost entirely disappeared from the United States, although the last original member of the Society, Robert Burnet, Jr., of New York lived until 1854.

How far Maryland confined itself to its own interests is illustrated by the fact that, with the exception of the general meetings of 1791, 1793 and 1800, no delegate of the Maryland Society attended any of the Triennial meetings of the General Society from 1784 to 1854. In 1851 the General Society received a long report from a special committee as to whether it was expedient

to suspend, alter or abrogate the limitation with regard to the admission of members and the committee indeed recommended sweeping changes in the membership rules. Maryland was not slow in rejecting these recommendations, for at the annual meeting on 4 July 1852 at Guy's Hotel in Baltimore (at which seven members were present) it was resolved that the ordinance be *not concurred in* [original emphasis] and that the Secretary General be so notified.<sup>41</sup>

Events in 1854 were to affect not only the Maryland Society but the entire Society of the Cincinnati. The Maryland Society, probably to its surprise, was notified by the Honorable Hamilton Fish, Vice President General, that the Triennial meeting of the Society would be held in Baltimore. The General meeting convened on the 7th of May in 1854 at Barnum's Hotel; yet, of the eight delegates appointed by Maryland only five attended. Nevertheless, the unaccustomed fraternizing with members of the Society from Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and South Carolina probably did something to awaken reflections on the original spirit of 1783 and to cause the Maryland Society once again to remember it was part of the "One Society of Friends." For the rest of the century (except for 1855, 1863 and 1878) Maryland would be regularly represented at the Triennial meetings.

Insofar as the society at large was concerned, the most important action taken was the adoption of the so-called "Rule of 1854," permitting "the male descendants of such officers of the army or navy as may have been entitled to admission, but who failed to avail themselves thereof," to claim membership in the Society. Although Maryland's delegates unanimously concurred in the adoption of the resolution, the Maryland Society at its annual meeting in 1854 specifically rejected this provision, thus, in effect, leaving the Maryland membership rules substantially as they had always been. Not until 1873 would Maryland finally agree to abide by the full provisions of the "Rule of 1854."<sup>42</sup> In the meantime Maryland experimented with a number of rules of its own, including a rather complicated provision whereby "existing members who were such by the rules of the Society

in 1865 and their successors, according to the same rules, shall each have the power to nominate any one gentleman of the blood of an original member." But members so elected were not given voting privileges.<sup>43</sup> A number of members were chosen under this rule, and in 1868 members "of the blood of an original member" were finally given the franchise.<sup>44</sup> In yet another attempt to enlarge the membership, the Maryland Society in 1870 adopted a rule extending to each member the right to nominate two gentlemen descendants of original members, who might become members by paying dues of \$5 annually.<sup>45</sup> With the acceptance of the "Rule of 1854," these struggles finally came to an end. With the appointment in 1874 of a committee "to examine the rules of this and the sister societies for admission of members" the Maryland Society at last came into general agreement with its sister societies as to the admission of members.<sup>46</sup>

A half century before the resolution of this matter, the Maryland Society staged one of the most brilliant social occasions in its history. At its annual meeting on 5 July 1824 at the Wayne Inn in Baltimore, the Society (with eight members present!) received the news that Lafayette would visit Baltimore in October of that year, and that he would accept an invitation from the Society to be their guest.<sup>47</sup> A letter from George Washington Parke Custis was read, in which he offered the loan of "the venerable tent" of George Washington, for the reception of "The Nation's Guest." The offer was accepted, and the Society gave instructions for the tent to be erected "at the star fort of Fort McHenry."<sup>48</sup> General Samuel Smith and Mr. Paul Bentalou were appointed a reception committee to meet Lafayette at Frenchtown, on the Elk River, and conduct him to Baltimore where it was "Resolved," that the Society would assemble under the tent of Washington on the day of the arrival of General Lafayette, there to receive and welcome him."<sup>49</sup> An invitation was extended to Lafayette to dine with the Society on the day after his arrival in Baltimore. All of this came to pass.<sup>50</sup> To cover the expense of the occasion the Society had to sell two shares of its stock in the Bank of Baltimore.

The dinner tendered by the Society was a brilliant success and was extensively re-

ported in the newspapers of the time. Because the account tells so much of the state of society in Baltimore, it is quoted at length:

Agreeably to previous arrangements, General La Fayette devoted Saturday afternoon to the Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland. Upon this occasion a splendid Dinner was given by the society, at the spacious mansion of James A. Buchanan, Esq.<sup>51</sup> in Monument Square. The decorations of the elegant suit of rooms which were thrown open for the reception of the society, were of the most tasteful and appropriate character, and deserve a special notice.

Passing through the fine marble portico adorning the principle entrance, the columns of which were entwined with wreaths of evergreen and flowers, the eye was arrested on entering the spacious hall by an elegant transparent painting, representing Fame standing on the shield of the arms of the Union—in her right hand she holds a trumpet, upon the flag of which is inscribed these lines:—

Where e'er the light of Freedom spreads  
Its bland and hallowed glory;  
His name, wherever FREE MAN treads,  
Shall live in song and story.

The left arm is extended, and in her hand she bears a wreath, beneath which an eagle is seen with extended beak ready to receive it.

On the left of the hall, surmounted with a wreath, was hung a banner, upon the blue ground of which, in letters of gold was the following inscription.

Long—long, may grateful freeman spread,  
Perpetual blessings on his head,  
When e'er they light the cheering blaze,  
And crowd around its festive rays;  
When sportive dance and lightsome choir,  
When graces greet the joyous hour;  
Oh, none so true will e'er forget  
The young, the gallant, brave FAYETTE.

On the right of the hall was hung a similar banner, also surmounted by a wreath. The inscription ran thus:—

Around the living victor's brow,  
Let the proud badge of conquest glow!  
Let every banner wave on high—  
Let every father's martial son,  
And every freeman join the cry—  
Welcome the friend of WASHINGTON.



In the recess beneath each banner were placed exquisite statues executed by the best artists of Italy.—The arch of the hall beneath which the transparent painting was placed, as also the entrance, was festooned with national flags tastefully displayed. At corresponding stations on each side, were stacks of arms, bearing crossed flags which had been borne at the battle of Baltimore [12–14 September 1814] and were perforated with hostile balls in that engagement.

The furniture and decorations of the drawing room were truly magnificent and brilliant. On the side opposite the entrance of this room upon pedestals of bronze and gold, were large marble busts of Washington and Hamilton, of the finest execution. Above them were suspended superb girandoles enriched with wreaths of laurel and roses. On the opposite side of the room, was a valuable and interesting painting executed by C. W. Peale in 1784; to commemorate the surrender of Yorktown.

In the foreground are full length and striking portraits of Washington and La Fayette, and his aid Col. Tench Tilghman, standing in front of the tent. Col. T. is represented holding in his hand the treaty of capitulation of York, bearing date '19th of October, 1781' In the background are seen displayed the American and French standards, and officers bearing the British standards cased. On each side of the painting were placed splendid candelabras of gold and bronze, ornamented with evergreens and roses.<sup>52</sup>

Over the entrance leading to the dining room, was suspended a portrait of a former Mayor of the city, who was among the foremost and most constant to aid Gen. La Fayette at the period mentioned by him in his affectionate address to the corporation on Thursday last.

In a corresponding style of magnificence were the arrangements of the dining room. Directly opposite the entrance was seen a transparent painting representing the shaft of a Corinthian column, around which was a band inscribed with the names of Washington, Montgomery and Mercer. At the base of the column was a marble tablet upon which we read the following lines:

Peace to the brave and Patriot dead—  
To them be wreaths of laurel twined!  
To them who sleep on honour's bed.  
In freemen's hearts their memory shrin'd.  
To every soul that brave'd the fight,  
When pledged was honor, life and fame;

Our hearts shall keep the record bright,  
And tell to future sons each name,  
And ever when in flowing bowls,  
They hail "the days that tried men's souls;"  
Oh, who so base will then forget  
The young, the gallant, brave Fayette.

At the side of the tablet, pointing to the inscription, was a rifleman in the uniform of '76, bearing on his breast a badge of the Society of the Cincinnati. On the pedestal of this column was an urn from which issued a bright flame, to denote that the flame of Patriotism glowed with undiminished brightness.

From the wall, immediately behind the guest, was suspended a banner, bearing this inscription:

See the proud Eagle now with folded plume,  
The form and temper of the Dove assume;  
Now free to soar through his own native skies  
Nor vengeful beak, nor toiling wing he plies,  
But all his struggles o'er, his wrongs redress'd,  
He bends to greet a friend, his country's Guest!

Surmounting the banner was an Eagle with 'folded plume,' bearing in his beak a genuine wreath of *Laurus Nobilis*, or Roman laurel. He is in the attitude of bending downwards to place the wreath on the brow of the guest.

Beneath this banner were placed two crossed swords, the honorable and merited rewards of patriotism and devotion to the cause of liberty. One of these swords was presented by Congress to General (then Colonel) Samuel Smith, and bears upon the hilt, on a gold ground, the following simple but expressive record.

CONGRESS TO COLONEL SMITH  
Nov. 4, 1777.<sup>53</sup>

Upon the blade of the other sword was engraved this inscription:—

'In testimony of the intrepidity and valour of Commodore Joshua Barney, and the handful of men under his immediate command, in defence of the city of Washington; the Corporation of Washington have bestowed on him this sword.'

From the point where the swords crossed each other, were suspended two precious revolutionary relics, the high rewards, also, of a grateful country to one of her best and

bravest sons. They were two silver medals which the Revolutionary Congress has presented to Col. John Eager Howard—Upon the first was the device of an officer on horseback, striking at the enemy—whilst Fame with one hand crowns him with a wreath, and in the other holds a pen to record the event. . . .

The other medal has the device of an officer pointing with his sword to a retreating enemy, and beckoning to his men to advance—whilst hovering in the air is the figure of Justice, with her scales. . . .

On the reverse is the figure of an officer treading upon the British Lion and Flag—with one hand piercing him with a spear, and with the other holding the end of a chain passing around the body of the animal. . . .

Around the walls of the Dining Room were suspended portraits of the signers of the Declaration of Independence from the State of Maryland—beneath each of which was a beautiful wreath of laurel and roses.

Under the direction of the ladies who had assumed the pleasing duty, the table was set out and decorated with all the taste and elegance which female gratitude can so well accomplish. It presented a continued and brilliant line of the richest plate and glass; and the characteristic hospitality of Baltimore had left unprovided nothing which would delight the palate or please the eye.

At five o'clock, the General and his family arrived, accompanied by a committee of the Cincinnati—as he entered the portico, the trumpet of Fame sounded its fullest [note], and when the General arrived in the Hall in front of the Painting, Fame addressed him in the following lines:

Not for your brows the laurel wreath I bind,  
Chiefs, Conquerors, Kings, long foes of  
humankind.

But 'lo, where sits in venerable age,  
The man of freedom fired with holy rage;  
Who grasp'd her glittering steel in early  
youth,  
And dared in chains to suffer for her truth;  
The friend at once of liberty and law,  
Whom monarches could not bribe, nor fac-  
tions awe;

Be on his brow the living chaple set,  
And, Eagle, bear the wreath to LA FAY-  
ETTE.

As the last was uttered, the wreath in the painting was dropped from the hand of

Fame—caught by the eagle beneath and borne off.

The company sat down to a dinner soon after five o'clock, during which a band of music played a variety of national and favorite airs.—[After dinner twenty-five toasts were "drank." ]

About nine o'clock the General retired from this scene, where the dearest recollections mingled with an elegant hospitality.<sup>64</sup>

Inspired no doubt by a vision of the glory of history by La Fayette's visit, but perhaps also by the expected death of Colonel Gasaway Watkins, the society at its annual meeting on 4 July 1840 appointed a committee consisting of John Nelson, Dr. R. W. Hall and John Spear Smith to prepare a suitable plan for the collection and preservation of documents and facts relating to the war of independence.<sup>55</sup> The next year, the historical committee presented four recommendations: (1) that members communicate to the President or Secretary any papers relating to the Revolution left in their possession and also biographical sketches; (2) all such collections to be placed in a safe depository; (3) when sufficient material had accumulated, "an application be made to the Citizens of the State to unite with us in forming an Historical Society;" (4) if no historical Society should be formed and should the Cincinnati be dissolved, such collections to be placed in the Library of the State.<sup>56</sup> At the same time John Spear Smith became President of the Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland and by 1844 the Maryland Historical Society had come into existence. Smith became the first President of that Society and it seems evident that the Maryland Historical Society can clearly be seen to have been a result of the Cincinnati's action of four years previously. One of the resolutions passed at the Cincinnati's annual meeting on 4 July 1844 was to authorize Mr. Smith to deposit two of the parchment rolls containing the autographs of the original members of the Society with the Maryland Historical Society, and that access be granted for the purpose of transcribing any papers belonging to the Cincinnati Society of Maryland.<sup>57</sup> This forward-looking policy of unrestricted access to the historical records of the Cincinnati is in contrast to the more

general practice of the time which frequently hedged-about private collections with rules and in effect made them inaccessible.

The years preceeding the American Civil War were another period of apparent inactivity.<sup>58</sup> Like much of the Society of the Cincinnati throughout the nation, the Maryland Society held no meetings during the Civil War period. No doubt sentiment within the Maryland Society was as divided over the issues of the war as was that of the general population of the State. A meeting concerning charities was held 14 December 1864 with only two members present,<sup>59</sup> and it was not until 4 July 1866 that the Annual Meetings resumed with renewed action in attempting to rejuvenate its membership, as has been described above. A surviving list of members from 1872 indicates such action was but feebly succeeding, with the Maryland Society having only 14 members.<sup>60</sup>

As the end of the Maryland Society's first century came into view it can be seen that their chief concern was simply to stay alive. Insofar as can be learned from the minutes, the Society participated in no way in the Centennial celebration of 1876. The constant struggles with the membership rules probably indicate a disagreement between factions, "conservative" versus "liberal," which continues to the present time. The acceptance of the "Rule of 1854" was obviously never popular with the older members of the Society and admissions under its provisions were but few in this period. Nevertheless, the views of a more liberal "party" began to prevail as the Society ended its century.

A sense of social (or historical?) consciousness is evident in the Society's calling a special meeting on 8 October 1880 to discuss plans for participating in the 150th anniversary of the founding of Baltimore. Encouraged by their success in this venture, at another special meeting on 15 September 1881 the Society discussed sending a delegation to participate in the Yorktown Centennial celebration.<sup>61</sup> We find mention of the presence at Yorktown of at least one Marylander in Julius G. Rathbun's history of the trip of the First Regiment, Connecticut National Guard to Yorktown in Octo-

ber, 1881: "Governor Hamilton of Maryland, who was in Congress with me, introduced to us among others of his staff a great-grandson<sup>62</sup> of the Colonel Tighleman [sic, Tench Tilghman] who was one of Washington's aids, and was commissioned by him to carry the tidings of Cornwallis's surrender to the Continental Congress then sitting in Philadelphia, on horseback through the wilderness.<sup>63</sup> There was no city of Washington then. The great-grandson wore the sword now that Congress voted his great-grandfather for his zeal and rapidity in getting through the woods in four days from Yorktown to Philadelphia. . . . He showed us also the badge which Washington had presented to his great-grandfather, of the ancient order of the Cincinnati, which was formed by the surviving officers of the Revolution after the close of the war; and an autograph letter from Washington which was sent with it at the time."<sup>64</sup>

So ended the first century of the Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland. It was a period of lessening strength and expectations, but not of accomplishments. The Cincinnati's hour of glory was undoubtedly the reception given to La Fayette, but their greatest and most lasting accomplishment was participation in, and even furnishing the inspiration for, the founding of the Maryland Historical Society.

#### REFERENCES

1. *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, Vol. XXXI, (1974), 273.
2. Skeen "Newburgh Conspiracy Reconsidered," 274.
3. *Ibid.*
4. cf., Kohn, Richard H., "The Inside History of the Newburgh Conspiracy." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, XXVII, (1970); Skeen, *op. cit.*
5. Col. Walter Stewart, according to John C. Fitzpatrick.
6. John C. Fitzpatrick, *The Writings of George Washington*. . . (Wash., n.d.), Vol. XXVI, 216 *et seq.*
7. Josiah Quincy, *The Journal of Major Samuel Shaw*. . . (Boston, 1847), 101-105.
8. Harold C. Syrett, *The Paper of Alexander Hamilton* (N.Y., 1962) Vol. III, 253 *ff.*
9. E. E. Hume, *Sesquicentennial History and Roster of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia, 1783-1933*. (Richmond, 1938), pp 26-41; Francis S. Drake, *Memorials of the Society of the Cincinnati of Massachusetts*. (Boston, 1873), betw. pp 6 & 7.
10. H. A. Washington, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*. . . (Washington, 1854), IX, 376.

11. "The Institution" has been widely published. See, for instance, Edgar E. Hume, *George Washington's Correspondence concerning the The Society of the Cincinnati*. (Baltimore, 1941), pp 1 *et seq.*
12. Robert K. Wright, Jr., *The Continental Army* (Washington, 1983) pp. 277-280; Fred Anderson Berg. *Encyclopedia of Continental Army Units* (Harrisburg, 1972) pp. 64-67.
13. Thomas Balch, ed., *Papers Relating Chiefly to the Maryland Line during the Revolution*. (Philadelphia, 1857), pp. 210-211.
14. Hume, *George Washington's Correspondence*, pp. 24-25.
15. Hume, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.
16. Manuscript, "Minutes of the Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland, 1783-1880," Hereafter cited as "Minutes," pp. 1-5. See also: Maryland Historical Records Survey Project. *A Calendar of the General Otho Holland Williams Papers in the Maryland Historical Society*. (Baltimore, 1940), No. 228, which lists the 66 officers present. Hereafter cited as "Williams Papers."
17. Hume, *George Washington's Correspondence*, The original letter, with the return of members, is in the archives of the General Society of the Cincinnati (hereafter cited as "Archives") Box XIII, Folders 3A, 3B. See appendix for this list.
18. Williams Papers, No. 241.
19. Williams Papers, No. 257.
20. John C. Daves, ed. *Proceedings of the General Society of the Cincinnati*. Vol. 1 (Washington, 1925) pp. 3-20.
21. "Journal of the General Meeting of the Cincinnati in 1784. By Major Winthrop Sargent, a delegate from Massachusetts. Now first Printed," in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*. Vol. VI (Philadelphia, 1858) pp. 3-59. The original manuscript journal is owned by the General Society of the Cincinnati, Archives, Box 1.
22. Minutes, pp. 7, 26-28.
23. Minutes, p. 41.
24. All three "parchment rolls" are in the possession of the Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland.
25. Minutes. pp. 34-36.
26. Minutes. p. 38.
27. Williams Papers, No. 375.
28. Minutes. pp. 55, 56.
29. Minutes. p. 32.
30. Minutes. pp. 66-70.
31. Minutes. p. 116.
32. Minutes. p. 116; Henry du Moulin de Labarthe, *La Vie en Armagnac et en Tursan*. (s.l., c. 1942) pp. 59-61.
33. Hume, *George Washington's Correspondence*, pp. 112, 345 *et seq.*, 375; Archives, box XV, Folders 1D-H.
34. Hubert Lamant and F. de Saint Simon, *Armorial des Cincinnati de France*. (Paris, 1980) pp. 468 ff.
35. Minutes. p. 122.
36. Minutes. p. 85.
37. Minutes. p. 88.
38. Minutes. p. 96.
39. Minutes. p. 105.
40. Minutes. p. 165.
41. Minutes. p. 196.
42. Minutes. pp. 203, 256.
43. Minutes. p. 227.
44. Minutes. p. 236.
45. Minutes. p. 243.
46. Minutes. p. 261.
47. Minutes. p. 127-129.
48. Minutes. p. 130-131. In 1828 Custis applied to the Maryland Society for membership in the right of his father's (John Parke Custis') service, but was rejected. Minutes. pp. 139, 141.
49. Minutes. p. 131.
50. Minutes. p. 135.
51. For the Buchanan Family, see Amy Hutton, "Buchanan Family Reminiscences," *Maryland Historical Magazine*. Vol. XXXV (1940) p. 226 *et seq.* James A. Buchanan was not a member of the Society.
52. The portrait described is certainly that painted by Peale for the State of Maryland in 1784 and still to be seen in the State House, Annapolis.
53. Sword in the possession of Dr. B. Noland Carter of Richmond, Va., great, great, great-grandson of Samuel Smith.
54. From the Baltimore "Federal Gazette," of 12 October as quoted in the Philadelphia "United States Gazette," 15 October 1824.
55. Minutes. p. 167.
56. Minutes. p. 170.
57. Minutes. p. 178.
58. Minutes. pp. 203, 218.
59. Minutes. p. 224.
60. Archives, Box XIII, Folder 3Q.
61. Minutes. Vol. 2, pp. 6, 13.
62. Oswald Tilghman.
63. Tilghman actually sailed up the Chesapeake Bay from Yorktown to Rock Hall and took horse there for Philadelphia.
64. Julius B. Rathbun. *Trip of the First Regiment C.N.G., to Yorktown, Va., and Charleston, South Carolina, October 17-28, 1881*. (Hartford, Connecticut, 1882) pp. 68-69. Both the sword and the Eagle insignia are now owned by the Anderson House Museum of the Society of the Cincinnati. The Washington letter has disappeared, although the cover, addressed to Tench Tilghman, has survived and is at Anderson House. These were the gifts and bequests of Harrison Tilghman in 1965.

## APPENDIX

On 29 November 1783, Smallwood wrote Washington of the organization of the Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland, sending to the President General the list of members which follows. The manuscript remains in the Archives of the General Society of the Cincinnati.

William Smallwood	M. Genl.
O. H. Williams	B. Genl.
Nathl. Ramsey	Colonel
John Eccleston	Lt. Colo.
H. Hardman	Major
John Davidson	ditto
William D. Beall	do.
William Brown	do.

Jacob Brice	Capt.	Tauney Hill	do.
Richard Dorsey	do.	[Adamson Tannehill]	
Jonathan Morriss	do.	James D. Cary	Lieut
N. Ricketts	Lieut.	John J. Jacobs	Lieut.
Isaac Rawlins	do.	Samuel Edmiston	Lieutenant
Edward Oldham	Capt.	John T. Lowe	do.
John Kelty	do.	William Smoote	do.
William Ryley	do.	Malchia Bonam	do.
Perry Benson	do.	[Malakiah Bonham]	
Lloyd Beale	do.	Gerard Wood	Surgeon's Mate
William Lamar	do.	Hezekiah Foard	Lieut.
Michael Bayer	do	Henry Chapman	do.
[Boyer]		Benjm. Fichle	do.
James Crach	Physn to Army	[Fickle]	
[Craik]		Thomas Beaty	do.
Edward Dyer	Captain	Mark M'Pherson	do.
Philip Read	do.	Henry Guither	Capt.
Samuel Hanson	Lieutenant	[Gaither]	
Samuel B. Beall	do.	John Sears	Lieut.
Edward Spurrier	Captain	Christopher Richmond	Capt.
J. Brevett	Lieut.	Richard Anderson	Capt.
William Pendergast	do.	Edmond Crumpton	Lt.
Thomas Rouse	do.	John Smith	Capt.
William Kelty	Surgeon	Elihu Hall	Lt.
Ezekiel Haney	do.	James Woolford Gray	Capt.
[Haynie]		John Mitchell	do.
Thos. Boyce	Lieutenant	John Gassaway	do.
Thomas Mason	Capt.	Arthur Harriss	Lieut.
Samuel M'Pherson	do.	Thomas A. Dyson	do.
Henry Baldwin	Lt.	Henry Clements	do.
J. Hamilton	Capt.	Clement Skerret	Lieut.
John L. Elbert	Asst. Surgeon	John Sprigg Belt	Capt.
George Hamilton	Captain	Henry Gassaway	Lieut.
Bazel Burgess	Lieut.	Nathan Wright	Lt.
Thomas Price Junr.	Lieut.	William Goldsborough	Lt.
James Smith	Capt. Artillery	Walker Muse	Capt.
Francis Revelly	do.	John H. Stone	Capt.
Benjamin Price	Capt.	Samuel Y. Keene	Asst. Surgeon
James Bruff	do.	Jaquis Baquas	Lieut.
William Bruce	do.	[Jacques Bacques]	

# A Maryland First

SISTER BRIDGET MARIE ENGELMEYER

**I**N THE HISTORY OF MARYLAND PUBLISHED by the Maryland Historical Society in 1974, William Lloyd Fox refers to the College of Notre Dame of Maryland as "the first Roman Catholic College for women in the United States."<sup>1</sup> This distinction, together with some geographical and architectural circumstances, give the institution historical significance. The seventeenth-century origins of the property and its location in nineteenth century Govanstown give it geographical interest. The style of its early buildings and the professional stature of their designers give it architectural interest. Its pioneering in the movement of nineteenth-century women for educational opportunities equal to those of men, and its survival in character as a liberal arts college in the twentieth-century economic crisis that closed so many of its sister colleges, give it educational interest.

The geographical setting of the College originates, in title, in colonial grants. On April 17, 1696 Job Evans assigned to James Butler two hundred twenty-five acres of "woodful" land "not patented known by the Name of Job's Addition." On April 18, 1696 James Butler received the patent for this tract "in the . . . County of Baltimore above the Flodd of Patapsco River in the woods."<sup>2</sup> William B. Marye places Notre Dame on this tract.<sup>3</sup>

When the School Sisters of Notre Dame bought their first thirty-three acres from David Perine and Joseph Reynolds on April 17, 1871 for \$800 an acre,<sup>4</sup> it was still the "woodful" land of the Evans assignment to Butler; but land in the area had been developed into the estates of William T. Walters, Enoch Pratt and A. S. Abell and old St. Mary's Church was neighbor.

In the chain of title is a reference to a lane through the land of the Orphans Home founded by Reverend James Dolan. Both the Home and land have relevance here. Father Dolan's church, St. Patrick's, was near the foot of Broadway where ships docked, often carrying immigrants from Ireland's potato famine, some having died in passage leaving orphaned children. The Home was the priest's haven for these children.<sup>5</sup> In the Archdiocesan archives there is a letter from the School Sisters of Notre Dame to the Archbishop of Baltimore, asking approval for the acquisition of a lane leading to York Road and belonging "to the late Father Dolan of St. Patrick's." The letter, dated March 7, 1878, explains: "We are desirous of securing this lane as a private entrance to our Institution in order to prevent strangers from encroaching on our grounds . . ." Today this thoroughfare, called Notre Dame Lane, is a cul de sac ending at the Notre Dame property line.

The 1873 catalogue of the Notre Dame Collegiate Institute for Young Ladies, forerunner of the College, describes the setting of its first building. It is

about three miles north of the Washington Monument of Baltimore city.

The surrounding country is well known for its beauty and healthfulness. It is three hundred and fifty feet above tide, or about two hundred and fifty above the more elevated parts of Baltimore.

In former times [the area] was selected by the few wealthy who occupied country seats near Baltimore for the site of their dwellings; and, since it has been opened to general access by the various new roads, especially by Charles Street Avenue, it has been the favorite location for the handsomest suburban residences. The knoll occupied by the Institution rises gently forty or fifty feet above the surrounding country and affords magnificent views of the distant city and Chesapeake Bay.<sup>6</sup>

Sister Bridget Marie Engelmeyer is Archivist and Associate Professor of English of the College of Notre Dame of Maryland.

The view of the distant city was a frightening sight when on February 8, 1904 students and faculty watched the Baltimore fire and all night "could see the flames leaping up to the skies."<sup>7</sup>

Access, the catalogue continues, is "pleasant and varied. Charles Street Avenue, on which the Institution fronts, is the most beautiful drive out of Baltimore." The York Road Passenger Railway is a third of a mile east and "on the west Wyndhurst Avenue leads from Charles Street Avenue, one quarter of a mile, to the station of Steam Railway Company."<sup>8</sup> By 1882 this company had become "the recently completed Baltimore and Delta Railway" on which trains pass every hour, and their Wyndhurst Avenue stop is called Notre Dame Station. Until 1954, the last year the trains operated, Notre Dame Station was listed on the time table. The Maryland and Pennsylvania Railroad was then the owner.<sup>9</sup> The ride to Notre Dame Station from the School Sisters of Notre Dame farm in Glen Arm was an adventure in courtesy. A wave of the hand to the engineer slowed the on-coming train to a halt for boarding. The conductor was host as well as ticket-taker and shortened the way with entertaining conversations upon men and matters as they flowed out of his daily travels.

In 1873 the sisters bought an adjoining six and two-thirds acres from Lewis Turner "for the purpose of securing a spring of excellent drinking water which we wished to use in the new building," they write; and add that it "was considered very valuable on account of this spring." They paid \$1500 an acre for it—almost double the price of the Perine purchase.<sup>10</sup> Frederick F. Benzinger, a lawyer of some prominence,<sup>11</sup> represented them and is mentioned in the conveyance.<sup>12</sup>

That same year circumstances arose that made necessary an additional purchase of twenty-two and a fraction acres from the estate of Thomas Troxell. This brought the total acreage to sixty-two. The sisters record the circumstances:

Bought Montrose from Mrs. Troxell for forty-five thousand dollars. This property adjoins our property on the east. The boundary line was very near the house and at this time it was reported that a club

designed to buy the place and arrange it for the accommodation of the fast drivers on Charles St. Avenue. As such would have been most objectionable for the school and convent and as minor considerations had already led us to think of buying Montrose at some later date, it was concluded to prevent a club house being so near the convent we had better make an arrangement to secure Montrose for our own purpose and buy it at once. For this purpose we applied to the Balto. Equitable Society for the loan of \$50,000.<sup>13</sup>

A Notre Dame account book entry for June 19, 1873 gives another reason for the purchase of Montrose: "This purchase was unavoidable on account of the connection of the water supply of the two places. The improvements necessary to obtain water for the new building would have encroached upon the water supply at Montrose, and thus have given rise to continued controversy between the owners of that property and the sisters."<sup>14</sup> The Montrose property had the use of a spring on adjoining property of Benjamin W. Woods. The sisters had already bought the Turner land with the expensive spring on it. The finding of these springs by an early owner of the tract had given it its name, "Sheredine's Discovery."

A pure water source was a constant concern. In May 1903 the students were sent home because of an outbreak of typhoid fever. The infection had come from an artesian well in Embla Park which supplied the water to the school; a workman had "flushed out the wells with a spring water that had surface drainage."<sup>15</sup> The experience resulted in the installation of an artesian well at Notre Dame.<sup>16</sup>

The Baltimore Equitable Society granted the loan requested for Montrose, with an encumbrance on the first property as security.<sup>17</sup> The purchase price in the June 19, 1873 deed of conveyance to the School Sisters was \$25,534.50 with a \$10,000 mortgage to be paid off and two ground rents to be redeemed at \$7,937.50 and \$1,528.<sup>18</sup>

The architectural descriptions that follow<sup>19</sup> are for the nineteenth century buildings, and for one of the early twentieth century because it was, in effect, part of the original building plan.

The first building was completed in 1873.

It is in the French Second Empire style, is composed of red brick and is five stories high. It has these details: a mansard roof, circular dormers, a boxed cornice, decorative frieze roof trim; flat-topped windows on the first story, round arched on the second, third and fourth stories, all double hung with four-over-four lights. Decorative spring courses are on all exterior walls; a slightly projecting pedimented section breaks the repetitive elements on the eastern and western elevations. At the top is a bell tower with a cross.

Over the years two side entrances have been shifted but only the front entrance has been radically changed. Stone steps originally led directly to a heavy wood-panelled double door.

The architect's drawing, reproduced in early catalogues, projected two wings, making a cross formation—the vision of Sister Ildephonsa Wegman, an artist and the first Directress of the school. One wing, the Annex, was built twenty-four years later as planned. A newspaper account of its dedication refers to the original building and says that Sister Ildephonsa “made a special visit through the country to secure plans from other institutions of the kind.”<sup>20</sup> The other wing materialized as a detached building in 1910.

J. Crawford Neilson, an associate of J. Rudolph Niernsee, was the architect. He had had previous civil engineering training in Europe. Among his designs were Latrobe House, Greenmount Cemetery chapel, Calvert, Camden and Hillen Stations, the Academy of Music<sup>21</sup> and St. John Evangelist Church.<sup>22</sup>

Samuel Adams was the builder. He and his brother John were owners of an adjoining estate which they had called “Evergreen.” Samuel was an early friend and adviser of the sisters. He had “found” the land for them and when the real estate broker, William Scharf, gave him \$315 as half of the sales commission, he donated it to the convent. Having confidence in Mr. Adams, the sisters gave him the work of constructing the new building.<sup>23</sup> The agreement was by commission rather than by contract—an arrangement they came to regret.<sup>24</sup> When the cost rose from \$80,000 to \$150,000 through Mr. Adams' acknowledged miscalculations,<sup>25</sup> a law suit threat-

ened and arbitration proceedings followed through 1876.<sup>26</sup> A. Leo Knott, noted lawyer and political figure, represented the sisters in the settlement.<sup>27</sup>

Following is a comment on the architecture from a European point of view. Sister Ildephonsa had been criticized for wide corridors and many windows in the building. In a letter to Mother Caroline, the American superior, dated May 31, 1873, Mother Theresa, the international superior, wrote from Munich, Germany: “The many windows and broad corridors should not frighten you. We build that way here, also, so that in school institutions and the generalate there is one window after another like a bird house.”<sup>28</sup>

Neither the date nor the architect of Montrose is recorded. Some reasoned conjectures, thought inconclusive, expand the history of this part of the campus. They may provide clues.

As Baltimore stretched north in the second half of the nineteenth century, it established perimeters not only of space but of time. Structures have been dated according to the position of their front doors—those facing east, before Charles Street extended, c. 1850, those facing west, after the extension. Montrose faces west.

Montrose architecture tends toward Greek classicism. It has fluted Corinthian columns; blocks topped by urns on either side of the steps leading to the portico. Windows of the first and second stories are double hung six over six with marble lintels and sills, simple frames, and a bracketed slab serving as a cornice. The third story windows are smaller, the roof is dominated by two chimneys which flank a cupola. The lower first floor windows have decorative iron grill work protection. There is a back portico similar to but not as formal as the front. The red brick and marble trim is typical of Baltimore architecture. The City was rich in such resources: the clay soil provided material for the bricks and the quarries provided the marble.<sup>29</sup>

The writer is indebted to Sister Ian Stewart, who lived for a time at Montrose, for the observation that Montrose and Evergreen House are alike in design. Montrose is Evergreen in miniature. It is less pretentious and without additions. Before 1957 the exterior was painted yellow, as Ever-



green House still is; possibly in the tradition of early Baltimore exteriors. The wall that separates the two properties is still the same yellow. The paint was removed from Montrose brick at the recommendation of the architect of adjacent Doyle Hall when that building was erected in 1959.

The side door opens to a small entrance hall in which there is a staircase leading to the upper stories and brightened by a skylight. On the first floor it meets a corridor the length of the building. To the left of this corridor are two rooms separated by the side entrance hall and to the right one large room. The second floor has the same plan. The third floor has been changed by some partitions. Ceilings have plaster designs and there are marble mantles over fireplaces throughout.

It has been taken for granted that James Malcolm was the owner who had the mansion built.<sup>30</sup> In 1854 he acquired the first nineteen and a fraction acres from Benjamin W. Woods who "demised, granted, leased and to form let to him all that piece or parcel of ground set and lying in Baltimore County . . . being part of the Land known as "Sheridine's Discovery" together with all the improvements thereon made" for the yearly rent of \$476.25, redeemable for \$7937.60. In 1859 he acquired another three and a fraction acres for the yearly rent of \$91.68, redeemable for \$1528.<sup>31</sup> Apparently there is no residence on the property; in the next conveyance improvements are distinguished from buildings.

Malcolm was a young lawyer at the time. He had read law in the office of J. Mason Campbell and, according to the *Polk Matchett Directory* for 1853-54, was practicing at 27 Lexington Street and living at 928 Baltimore Street. The next year no dwelling is listed, but in 1856-57 his residence became Baltimore County and remained so until his death in 1864 "at his home on Charles St., Baltimore." His professional reputation may be judged by the report that at the announcement of his death the Superior, Common Pleas and City Circuit Courts closed.<sup>32</sup>

It is reasonable to suppose that it was Malcolm who had the mansion built and that it was built after 1854 when he bought the property and before 1856 when his address becomes Baltimore County.

The name "Montrose" also associates Malcolm with its origins. Malcolm was the name of four kings of Scotland during the tenth to twelfth centuries. One of them was the grandson of David I who gave the charter to a burgh on the North Sea, called Montrose. Malcolm's religious affiliations were also Scotch. He was trustee of the Central Presbyterian Church.<sup>33</sup> Here a deceptive guide beckons. Malcolm had married Rachel Cole in 1846.<sup>34</sup> Her grandfather, George Milleman was the architect of the Second Presbyterian Church.<sup>35</sup> According to early accounts Milleman was respected as "a self-instructed architect but a man of taste and judgment."<sup>36</sup> and the designer of important buildings. Among them were the Court House of 1805 and of 1832.<sup>37</sup> The chapter on "Old Court Houses of Maryland" in an 1899 monograph describes a court house authorized by the 1805 legislature, to be built on Calvert and Lee Streets:

The plans, which were drawn by George Milliman, provided for a building of the colonial style, two lofty stories in height fronting 145 feet on Lexington St. (then called Church Street) with a depth of 65 feet. It was to be raised upon an elevation of about 20 feet above the present grade of Calvert Street, so as to minimize the difficulties of the steep hill, and was to be surmounted by a graceful cupola. These plans were carried out in every important detail . . . and in conception and execution it was a good example of the simple, dignified architecture of the early part of the century."<sup>38</sup>

Milliman's death in 1850 and Malcolm's purchase of the Montrose property in 1854 remove the former ostensibly from the list of possible Montrose architects; but the impression persists that Malcolm and his wife would have used the advice if not the plans of Rachel's grandfather in building their new home. He was buried from her father's house.<sup>39</sup>

At Malcolm's death his administrators placed the following advertisement in the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* of April 19, 1865:

Country Residence for Sale  
That desirable property known as Montrose the residence of the late James Mal-

colm, beautifully situated on the Charles Street avenue, about three miles from the city. The property embraces TWENTY-THREE [sic] ACRES, is located between the avenue and York road and can be reached by the cars of the Towsontown Railway. The Mansion is approached by a Carriage Drive from the avenue. The grounds are tastefully laid out and the Premises and Walks completely shaded by Trees, Shrubbery &c. The place is well stocked with Choice Fruits, an abundance of Flowers and a vegetable garden of capacity sufficient for the wants of the family. The improvements consist of a substantial modern two story and a half DOUBLE BRICK DWELLING embracing an elegant Library, Drawing Room and Dining Room on the first floor. The entire premises are supplied throughout with Gas and Spring Water. An ICE HOUSE, recently built on the most approved plan, STABLES accommodating 8 Horses, GAS HOUSE &c. The situation is one of the most healthy and attractive in the vicinity of Baltimore.

Thomas F. Troxell bought the property subject to two ground rents.<sup>40</sup>

The next change of ownership brings Montrose into the hands of the School Sisters of Notre Dame. This suggest another possible architect: J. Crawford Neilson, the designer of the Notre Dame building then being completed.<sup>41</sup> Dates do not preclude him; he would have been in his early thirties in 1850 and was a practicing architect in Baltimore. On the deed which conveyed Montrose to the School Sisters of Notre Dame, he witnessed the signature of Mother Mary Barbara, their representative.<sup>42</sup>

Ground was broken for the south wing of the building March 19, 1895.<sup>43</sup> The wing was completed in 1896<sup>44</sup> and was known as the Annex. It is four stories high, is constructed of red brick, has a mansard roof and a cornice less elaborate than that of the main building. Its dormers are pedimented; the first story windows are flat topped, the second and third stories, round arched. The stained glass windows of the chapel are on two elevations. A small balcony rests on the pillared entrance to the sisters' apartments. Gold script on the transom announces that it is the Notre Dame Convent. It has a tower with a Celtic cross.

Baldwin and Pennington were the architects and their specifications are recognizable as accomplished details:

The front entrance portico will be constructed with two cast iron columns and two half pilasters against walls with fluted shafts, moulded bases and Tuscan capitals, with egg mould and enrichments, set upon granite plinth blocks, well anchored; and with moulded cornice and architraves of the same order finished with a balustrade with pedestals and turned balusters and a moulded panelled ceiling, all of galvanized iron of best quality, secured and constructed upon a strong framework of wood upon the columns.

About the cross the specifications say it "will be made of copper, gilt with gold leaf, secured by an 1¼" rod let down into the centre post of roof." The bricks for the building, the specifications provide "must be well burnt hand made;" but if "the Contractor proposes to use machine made bricks, only those made from tempered clay will be allowed. . . ."<sup>45</sup>

Neilson was near retirement at the time; whether for that reason or another, the architects chosen were Francis E. Baldwin and Josiah Pennington and they treated Neilson's design of the main building with respect and sensitivity. The firm of E. Brady & Sons was the builder.<sup>46</sup> Other Baldwin and Pennington designs were the old City College, Mount Royal Station (now the Maryland Institute of Art), the Maryland Club and Mercy Hospital.<sup>47</sup> History came full circle in 1968 when the Annex chapel was renovated and windows needed to match the memorial stained glass. They were found in old St. John's Church on Valley Street—architect, J. Crawford Neilson,<sup>48</sup> builder, Samuel Adams.<sup>49</sup>

Economy Hall was built in 1901 to serve as laundry, kitchen and bakery.<sup>50</sup> George Archer was the architect, John Walters, the builder.<sup>51</sup> In the Baltimore City directories of the time, George Archer is listed in bold letters as architect with offices in the Central Bank Building, 3 E. Lexington St. In his plans Mr. Archer included a "subway" from the main building; "a desirable feature for it will keep the sisters from being exposed to the inclemency of the weather,"<sup>52</sup> they said. Then they were the cooks, the bakers and the laundresses.

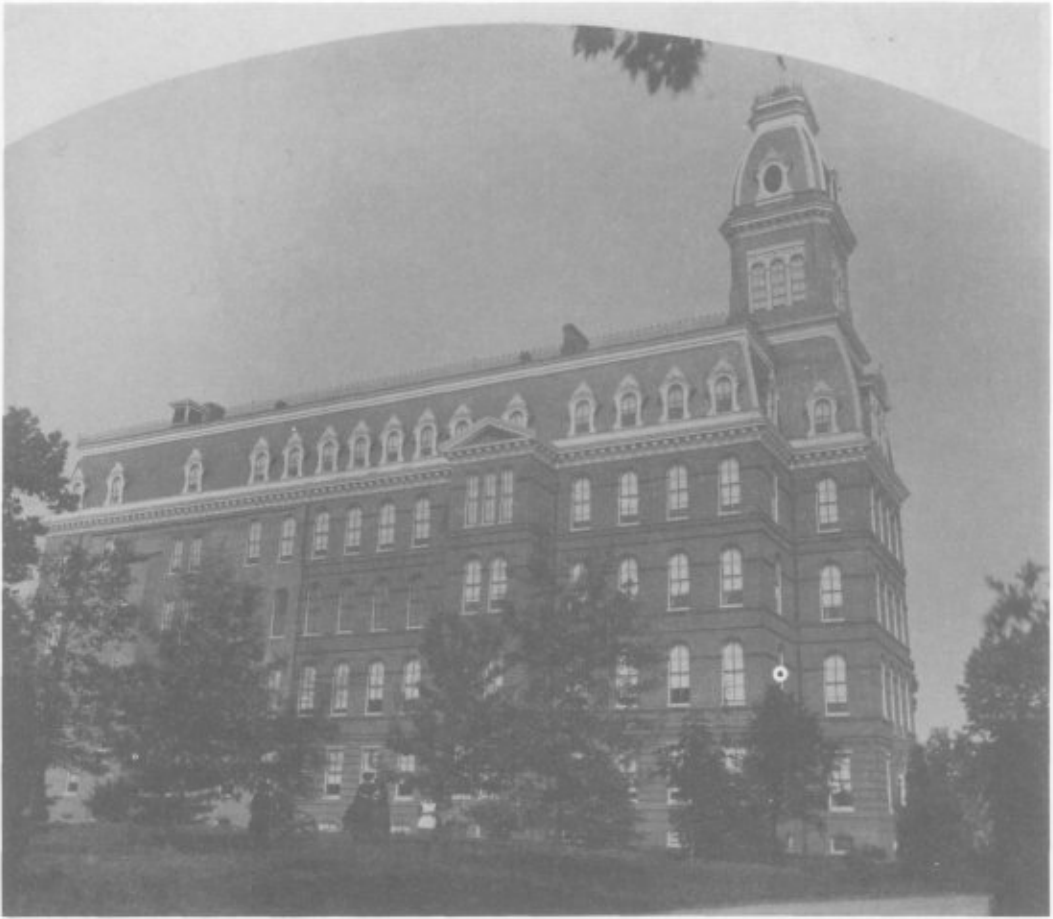


FIGURE 1.

Bachrach & Bro. view of side of Administration Building, the original building, later Gibbons Hall. Around 1880.

The building is constructed of red brick, has a round arched entrance, tall smoke stack, stone lintels with flaring head and end stones and is connected to what was originally the workmen's residence and the gas house. The residence is a square building with a large pyramidal roof capped with a cupola. The gas house, now a garage, has a brick arched entrance infilled with stucco; a statue of St. Joseph in an alcove under the roof, having the inscribed date 1884.

The wooden gazebo, probably erected with the main building around 1873<sup>53</sup> has an elevator and steps descending to the underground store room where vegetables were kept. At the side is a trap door leading to what was the ice house, i.e., the place where ice, chopped from the lake, was stored for refrigeration purposes.<sup>54</sup> The lake had been made by the sisters at the south-

east end of the property. There are many photographs, some showing the "Lady of the Lake," the boat which Father Griffin, their teacher,<sup>55</sup> had given the students. One photograph, showing students at the rustic fence, has the title "Lake Pius IX," no doubt in honor of the reigning Pope.<sup>56</sup> Elsewhere it is called Lake of the Lindens.

On the Homeland Avenue boundary of the property a wilderness was cleared in 1888 for a burial ground for the sisters. The fence, still there, was procured from the old Cathedral Cemetery.<sup>57</sup> A mortuary chapel of grey stone and octagonal shape, was built to receive the remains of Mother Mary Theophila, an early administrator at the college, who died in 1904.<sup>58</sup> The chapel has a conical roof with a wrought iron cross at the peak. Sister Meletia and other pioneers are in the surrounding cemetery.



FIGURE 2.

Original building before it became Gibbons Hall. College Hall, now Mary Meletia Hall, is to the left. About 1920.

College Hall, later named Mary Meletia Hall, was built in 1910.<sup>59</sup> It was the replacement in the original architect's drawing for the north wing of the cruciform complex intended by Sister Ildephonsa. By this time education developments required a separate building. It is a three story U-shaped structure of tapestry brick, with Renaissance Revival details. Fronting directly on Charles Street, its entrance is separated from the rising lawn by a stone balustrade. Brick arcading distinguishes the first floor; six Corinthian columns and a stone balcony, each of the second and third floors. Red tiles cover the sloping roof.

Thomas C. Kennedy was the architect and Brady and Frainie, the builders.<sup>60</sup> Other Kennedy designs were the Hawley-Hutzler House, Calvert Hall (now replaced by the Catholic Center) and St. Paul's Catholic Church, now called St. Francis Xavier.<sup>61</sup>

In his specifications for the excavation,

Kennedy displayed his understanding of convent amenities: "The proximity of this undertaking to the present building, will make it specially incumbent on the contractor to prohibit unseemly conduct or boisterous or improper language on the part of his employees. No one so misbehaving to be retained. No use of the front road or the road between present building and new building will be permitted. Horses must not be tied to trees, nor is any use to be made of the grounds beyond where fills or cuts will occur."<sup>62</sup>

James Cardinal Gibbons officiated at the cornerstone laying May 1, 1910. He was assisted by a number of dignitaries, among them the Rector of Catholic University, Dr. Thomas Shahan.<sup>63</sup> The *Baltimore Sun* for May 2, 1910 reported that the students wore black dresses and white veils and sang the Magnificat and the Cardinal's favorite hymn, "Lead Kindly Light."

The history of the College in education

takes us back to 1847 when the School Sisters of Notre Dame came to Baltimore from Munich, Germany. At the invitation of Rev. John N. Neumann, then Vice Provincial of the Redemptorist Congregation, they settled on Aisquith Street in a house offered them for purchase by the Redemptorists. (This is the same Father Neumann, later Bishop, who was placed in the canon of saints by the Catholic Church in 1977). The same year they opened three parochial schools in Baltimore: St. James, St. Alphonsus, St. Michael; and in the years that followed, many others in Maryland and other States.<sup>64</sup> St. Mary's in Annapolis, for example, was staffed in 1867 and the "colored" school there taken over from public administration in 1880.<sup>65</sup> By 1852 the sisters were conducting a private school on Aisquith Street and by 1863 had opened an academy in a new building there, the present Institute of Notre Dame. The Civil War curtailed enrollment at the academy but twenty day students and six boarders came and the numbers increased.<sup>66</sup>

By 1871 the first thirty-three acres of the Charles Street Avenue property were purchased for the expansion of the Aisquith Street school. On September 22, 1873 the new campus opened, although news of a national calamity again threatened success: the night before, as the sisters were lighting up the hillside by testing all the gas lights at once, they heard of the money panic of 1873, of New York's Black Friday and of the closing of banks and stock exchanges. Despite lost fortunes, sixty-three students came and the school thrived.<sup>67</sup>

Although intended as a part of the Aisquith Street Institute, the new school quickly became independent. Adding to its academic program it adopted the name Notre Dame of Maryland Collegiate Institute for Young Ladies, offered a year of post-graduate studies and awarded the "degrees" of Mistress of English Literature, and of Liberal Arts, Major and Minor.

The 1873 catalogue announced that literature, philosophy, mathematics, history, science, the German and French languages, music and art were taught. One utilitarian study was admitted: book-keeping; probably for the better ordering of household accounts. In summary, "The system offers every advantage for the acquisition of a

refined and solid education." By 1876 the aims are related to the outcomes: "The system of education is designed to develop the mental, moral and physical powers of the pupils; to make them refined, accomplished and useful members of society."

At the commencement of 1879 Daniel Coit Gilman gave the address. It was three years after he became the first President of Johns Hopkins University. As reported in the Baltimore *Sun*, he remarked that "here in Notre Dame the young ladies were taught to know the true, the beautiful and the good."<sup>68</sup> In this classic capsulation of the province of liberal education he had identified the character of the Notre Dame curriculum. He touched also on the prevailing philosophy that education for women must be distinct from that of men. Comparing the studies of the Hopkins student with those of the Notre Dame student, he said that "the whole duties [sic] of women were in a different sphere from that of men, although many ladies, by means of their pen, had acquired fame, and examples were not wanting where females had governed kingdoms with marked ability."<sup>69</sup> The *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* added that he recalled the "work of religious women under St. Hilda, at Whitby, in Yorkshire, who discovered and developed the talents of Kaedmon, then a tender of cattle, now honored as the precursor of Milton in sacred poetry."<sup>70</sup>

Six years later Frances Benjamin Johnston graduated from Notre Dame, Major Mistress of English Literature, to join the company of St. Hilda *et al.* She continued her art studies at the Julien Art Academy in Paris and began a career as a journalist writing interviews illustrated by her own sketches. Her discovery of some latent artistic possibilities of photography and her career as pioneer in that field are chronicled in her papers in the Library of Congress and in published biographical works.<sup>71</sup>

In the file at the Library of Congress are her Notre Dame examinations, an address book with the names of three of the sister-faculty recorded, correspondence with families of other Notre Dame students, and a Bachrach photograph of a Notre Dame campus scene. She had graduated before Father Griffin came to Notre Dame but it is possible that as an alumna she enjoyed

his photography exhibitions. He was fond of entertaining with photographic jokes: Father Griffin talking to Father Griffin, for instance.<sup>72</sup>

At Notre Dame Frances twice received first honors for distinguished conduct and observance of the rules. In the Daniel-Smock book there is a photograph of her, still a very young woman, in her Washington studio. She is seated on a stiff-backed chair, her long full skirt decorously raised over her crossed 'limbs.' Her poised hand holds a cigarette, authentically, but with the grace of a flower on a stem. It is the portrait of a lady who keeps the rules but knows that another day is coming.

Some measure of the prestige of the school may be judged by the account of the commencement of 1876. It was the centennial year of the United States. Miss Bessie Sharp, niece of President and Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant, was a student at the school and took the role of Patriotism in "Columbia's Fete," a commemorative musical part of the program.<sup>73</sup> The Chronicle records that

The exercises were arranged to celebrate the Centennial in a patriotic spirit. The presence of General Grant, President of the United States, Mrs. Grant, his wife, Most Rev. J. R. Bayley, Archbishop of Baltimore, U. S. Marshal Sharp and wife, Mrs. Dent, relatives of the President, Mr. John Lee Carroll, Governor of Maryland, Mr. Latrobe, Mayor of Baltimore, Commodore Ammon & wife of the U. S. Navy and a number of other distinguished guests made the 13th Commencement a most memorable and interesting one in the history of the school. These distinguished guests partook of dinner at 4 P.M., Mrs. Cumberland Dugan presiding. At 7 P.M. all proceeded to the Commencement Hall to witness the Exercises . . .

*The Sun* and the *Baltimore American* name some of the other distinguished guests; Mr. Dent Sharp, Dr. and Miss Ward, Mrs. Charles Taney, W. J. Albert Esq. (the *Sun* prints "Mrs. Wm. J. Albert), Mr. and Mrs. William Hutton, Mr. and Mrs. Cumberland Dugan and Miss Dugan, Col. William Boone and wife, Father Litz, Father Lyman, Judge Gilmor, States Attorney A. Leo Knott and wife. The *American* reports that Sister Ildephonsa received the guests and that Mr. and Mrs. Cumberland Dugan

acted as hosts. (The sisters did not then attend social functions). The *American* further reports that the President took Mrs. Dugan in to dinner, while Mrs. Grant went in on the arm of Archbishop Bayley; and that the dinner was catered by Jaques.

The exercises took place in the "Commencement Hall" on the fourth floor of the original building. The entertainment included the performance of a student arrangement of "Yankee Doodle" for pianos, organs, harps, cithern and violin cithern. It was one of the few airs Grant was said to recognize. The President conferred the honors and an unnamed wit remarked that his conquest in crowning the young ladies vied with his conquest at Vicksburg. The *American* account concludes: "All of the visitors before leaving took occasion to congratulate Sister Ildephonsa on the success of the commencement exercises and of the evidence adduced of the worth of Notre Dame as an educational institution."<sup>74</sup>

The diary of Archbishop Bayley for June 13, 1876 records the occasion inauspiciously: "Dined with President Grant, Mrs. Grant, Commodore Amman &c. at Notre Dame. Remained to much of the Exhibition and then came home."<sup>75</sup> (The Archbishop was the nephew of Elizabeth Ann Seton, the first canonized American saint).

Two years later Bettie Dent, another Grant niece, came to the school as a "Little Miss." Her mother was probably Anna Elizabeth Baine, the widow of Mrs. Grant's brother, Louis Dent, and the Mrs. Dent mentioned as guest at the 1876 commencement. By 1889 Bessie Sharp was Mrs. J. Sumner Pettit (sometimes spelled Pettie) and in 1900 was one of the incorporators and directors of *The Alumnae of Notre Dame College of Baltimore County*. J. Sumner and Elizabeth Pettit on the student list for 1902 may be her children. The *Baltimore American* for June 15, 1899, after an account of the Notre Dame commencement, speaks of her presence at the Alumnae Association meeting which followed: "Mrs. James Pettit, wife of Colonel James Pettit, last military governor of Matanzas, who is an alumnae of Notre Dame, will be present at the meeting."<sup>76</sup>

During 1892 exhibits were prepared for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, commemorating the anniversary of



FIGURE 3.

Class of 1878. Identified thus on original: 1-Nettie Eppley 2-Amy Johnson 2d row-Bessie Sharp No. 2-Agnes Ryan. Bessie Sharp was the niece of President and Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant. She played the part of Patriotism in the 1876 Commencement, attended by the Grants.

the discovery of America. They included pupil examinations bound in Baltimore black and orange, a herbarium, and glass slides showing campus views photographed by Father Griffin.

Cardinal Gibbons and many educators came for an admiring preview<sup>77</sup> and the Catholic Educational Executive Committee of the Fair afterwards awarded the exhibit a Certificate of Merit.<sup>78</sup>

The Cardinal's name appears frequently in the annals of the school in ways that color its history. He had known it in its Aisquith Street roots; his own roots had an affinity with the location: he had been born on nearby Gay Street. His first visit to the Charles Street campus was paid in 1877 shortly after his appointment to the archbishopric of Baltimore. In the next forty-four years many formal and informal visits succeeded.<sup>79</sup>

In 1886 the house was illuminated to celebrate his reception of the Cardinal's

biretta<sup>80</sup> and at the commencement that year students wore red sashes in his honor.<sup>81</sup> He dedicated the Annex when it was added in 1896<sup>82</sup> and presided at the commencement of 1899 when the first baccalaureate degrees were given.<sup>83</sup> He blessed the cornerstone of College Hall when it was laid in 1910 and on this occasion spoke of his "paternal interest in this admirable institution of learning," recalled "the foundation of it in my own age as a priest" and made this prophecy: "If we are to gauge the future of Notre Dame by its past, we cannot adequately estimate what it confers on the family, the nation and society at large."<sup>84</sup>

The Cardinal was fond of showing the school to his visitors and of having them entertained by the sisters and students. In 1884 many delegates to the Third Plenary Council, over which as Archbishop of Baltimore he presided, came.<sup>85</sup> In the fall of 1919 he brought his guest Desiré Joseph, Cardinal Mercier, Archbishop of Malines,

Belgium.<sup>86</sup> The resistance of that country to the German invasion of World War I, was still fresh in the mind of an admiring world.

Not all of the Cardinal's visits were formal. The daughters of his friends and his own two nieces were students at Notre Dame and he often came to spend a pleasant evening with them and the other students and the sisters; remained overnight and offered Mass in the chapel in the morning. He had his own rooms in the convent and wrote many of his works there, with the services of the sisters, especially Sisters Meletia and Florentine as literary critics.<sup>87</sup> On December 6, 1896 he autographed his picture for the new library on the third floor where the original chapel had been.<sup>88</sup>

As a frail eighty-seven years old Cardinal he paid his last call, leaning on the arm of his secretary, Father Albert E. Smith.<sup>89</sup> It was February 18, 1921 and a month or so later his long episcopate was over. The Cardinal was dead.<sup>90</sup>

Sister Mary Meletia Foley had come to the campus with the first faculty and in 1877 had succeeded Sister Ildephonsa as Directress. The weakening of prejudice against the higher education of women had been dramatized by the opening of Vassar in 1861. In Maryland, Goucher opened in 1883 and Hood in 1893. The University of London had admitted women in 1878, Oxford University had established a college for women and Cambridge permitted women to take the examinations in 1879. Notre Dame's curriculum had been developing toward a full college program under Sister Meletia's leadership. In 1895 she applied to the General Assembly of Maryland for an amendment to the 1864 charter, to authorize the awarding of baccalaureate and higher degrees. The authorization was given on April 2, 1896, signed by Lloyd Lowndes, Governor, William Cabell Bruce, President of the Senate, and Sidney E. Mudd, Speaker of the House of Delegates.<sup>91</sup>

On June 14, 1899 the College gave the bachelor degree to six graduates: Helen Burr of Lincoln, Nebraska, Catherine Walsh Coll and Eileen Regina Coll of Baltimore, Maryland, Dorothea Terice Kilkoff of Delaware, Florida, Mary Teresa Curran of Andover, Massachusetts and Louise



FIGURE 4.

(l. to r.) Sister Meletia Foley and Sister Florentine Reilly. Sister Florentine was religious superior and ex officio president of the college 1904-1919. Sister Meletia was Directress of the school from 1877 to 1895 and Dean of college from 1895 to 1917.

Eleanor Power of San Francisco, California. It was the first time in the United States that a Catholic college for women had awarded the baccalaureate degree. Cardinal Gibbons presided at the commencement and Charles Bonaparte, later Secretary of the Navy (grandson of Betsy Patterson Bonaparte and grandnephew of Napoleon) gave the address. He complimented the School Sisters of Notre Dame for advancing the higher education of women and said: "Notre Dame of Maryland since its foundation has held a high rank among Educational Institutions, and we are confident the College of Notre Dame will advance steadily and thoroughly."<sup>92</sup> He spoke of the values of liberal education and then these momentous words: "Here for the first time in America a Catholic college for the education of young ladies bestows the bachelor's degree."<sup>93</sup>

By 1905 four other Catholic colleges for women had followed Notre Dame's lead: St. Elizabeth's of Convent Station, New Jer-





FIGURE 5.

A group of students from the 1902 and 1903 classes. Front row, l. to r.: Mary Fitzgerald, Mary Dugan. Second row: Helen Shriver, Vertalee Stanton (Cardinal Gibbons' niece). Back row: Maud McHale, Kitty Koss, Mary Byrd Rouse, Florence Sears, Annie McWilliams, Eleanor Jenkins.

sey; Trinity in Washington, D.C.; St. Joseph's in Emmitsburg and St. Angela's (later called New Rochelle) of New Rochelle New York.<sup>94</sup>

In October of 1899 Sister Meletia applied to the Catholic University of America, then undergoing controversial development which would permit its enrollment of women, for "the same measure of recognition accorded to Colleges for men that have fulfilled such conditions as are prescribed for affiliation." Her letter states that "in 1895 we re-arranged and added to the Curriculum of Studies then pursued in our Collegiate Institute of Notre Dame of Maryland. This was done in an effort to place our Institution on an equal plane of efficiency with the best Catholic Colleges for men, and inferior to none of the existing Colleges for women."<sup>95</sup> The affiliation was granted.

Implicit in Sister Meletia's letter is Notre Dame's answer to the relationship of the

higher education of women to that of men: distinct but equal. The dialectic is clear: each by nature prepares for a life work that is distinct but equal. So President Gilman had explained it at the 1879 commencement. So Charles Bonaparte had implied at the 1899 commencement:

If [the bachelor degree] assures the world that men are trained to be gentlemen, must it not also give assurance that you are trained to be ladies? Remember, I do not say to behave in public like ladies; to be taught that is well enough, it is a desirable thing, but, after all, it is a small thing. I interpret your diploma as meaning a great thing, as warranting that you are ladies, in truth and fact, and not in mere name and semblance—that is to say, it warrants that you are worthy specimens of the best and highest product of Christian civilization. This is what your alma mater says of and to each one of you today—the life of each must show whether, as to her, this is said truly.<sup>96</sup>

Teaching as a career was no great departure from the sphere of woman's work. The school room was a surrogate for the home where young minds and hearts could be molded not only by an educated woman's knowledge but by the nobility of her nature. The student of 1893 is offered this option: "Advanced pupils who desire to fit themselves for the profession of teacher may pursue an elective course adapted to fit them to teach successfully."<sup>97</sup> Of a graduate of 1901 the record says: "she will teach in public schools."<sup>98</sup> (She was Louise Balls and one of the current Notre Dame faculty was her student at the Towson public high school). The classes of 1903, 1904 and 1905 each had an aspiring teacher: one "scored a first on the highest grade teacher" examination;<sup>99</sup> the second "expects to teach in a high school;"<sup>100</sup> the third "will have to teach as her father is an invalid and unable to support her; but she is well prepared in her life work."<sup>101</sup>

At the laying of the cornerstone of College Hall May 1, 1910, the speaker was Father Griffin. He was still on the chemistry faculty at Notre Dame but had become the Dean of the Science Department at Catholic University. College Hall was the substitute for the unbuilt second wing of the original building. As reported in the *Baltimore Sun*, Dr. Griffin deplored changes in education which had replaced "culture studies" with "more utilitarian ones." "Women colleges," he said, "are not exempt. Some of those who manage them think they should be the same as those for men;" hence "the growing unrest among women."

Pursuing the theme of developments adversely affecting the education of both men and women, Dr. Griffin said: "Deep changes have occurred in our system of education in the last three decades. Then the courses were founded almost entirely on culture studies. . . . Now these studies have been displaced by more restricted studies leading to an absolute profession. Once it was the aim to turn out wise men, now efforts are directed to turn out smart men."<sup>102</sup>

The 1912 catalogue echoes these anxieties "that general culture courses" are giving way "to more utilitarian subjects of study which while imparting culture to

some extent, have their chief importance in preparing students for their prospective life avocation." It grants that "this departure from traditional studies may be justified in the case of colleges for men," but "no similar reason avails for a change in our schools for women, where culture in its broadest sense must remain the predominant aim."<sup>103</sup>

The statement has within it the eventual resolution of its major concern—the threat to the integrity of the liberal arts: Though "utilitarian subjects" have their "chief importance" in career preparation, they impart "culture to some extent." Without compromising their character, Notre Dame and other liberal arts institutions found that utilitarian subjects could be admitted if the focus were changed from enrichment of the pocketbook to enrichment of the mind and heart. There is a rhythm in the recurrence of the idea and the concern. In 1960 at the meeting of the Association of American Colleges, Louis Benezet gave the dinner speech. He called it "Once More Unto the Breach," and in it he said: "To some of us there comes a conviction that what we seek is more a spirit and attitude toward knowledge than a coverage of certain subjects." "An engineering course might be a liberal experience to a humanist . . . if taught towards that end. It is what the student is moved to think and do about knowledge that reveals the liberal element."<sup>104</sup>

But in 1912 there was still a distrust of "utilitarian" studies for women. The catalogue went on to say: "And as in the training of men the subjects of instruction are selected with a view to their adaptation to modern conditions, an equally effective specialization may be obtained in the education of women, by adhering to the older and long tried curriculum of culture studies which, properly conducted, meet all the requirements of true womanhood."<sup>105</sup>

Over the years the ideal that a young lady's education should be distinguished by her womanhood, is unchanging. What changes is the texture of life into which her womanhood is woven. The pattern shifts and with no loss of their endowed nature women become doctors, lawyers, engineers, as well as teachers; and the curriculum

shifts appropriately. A communications arts major, e.g., is a response to television.

The 1912 summing up of the attractions of a college for women, might need only an expanding curriculum addition for a 1982 setting: "It is the endeavor of Notre Dame of Maryland to impart a training which affects the life of woman in all her aspects, sending her forth into the world with the ability to see, feel and act for herself and for others, in the fullness of distinctively feminine power that is not an imitation of masculine force. This is accomplished by a suitable curriculum of which letters, history, mathematics, science and philosophy are the fundamentals . . . in an environment thoroughly feminine in its mental, social and physical activities."<sup>106</sup>

Typically, nineteenth century students were economically privileged young ladies, placed at Notre Dame for an education in the best cultural and intellectual tradition. They came from socially and professionally prominent families. Old Maryland names thread the college record: MacSherry, Shriver, Dugan, Cooper, Ritchie, Bokel, Albert, Gilmore, Van Bibber, Cromwell, Worthington, Evans, Gibson, Mudd, Carroll, Jenkins, Edelen, Neal, Merrick among them. Most were residents, even when they had Baltimore homes. The Chronicle notes that on October 9, 1880 the Baltimore pupils went home for the city's one hundred and fiftieth anniversary. Martha Cunningham was the daughter of Albert B. Cunningham, managing editor of the Baltimore Morning Herald and an associate of Henry L. Mencken who reminisces about him in *Newspaper Days*.<sup>107</sup>

Spanish-American families frequently sent their daughters. On November 29, 1903 three Commissioners from Panama-Pablo Arosemena, Frederick Boyd and Manuel Amador—in this country to confer with President Theodore Roosevelt about

the canal treaty, paid a visit to Notre Dame because of their family connections with alumnae and students.<sup>108</sup>

As the city grew northward the campus became more accessible and more middle class students came; as financial help programs evolved, students from more varied economic backgrounds came. In 1979–80 sixty-five percent of the students received some form of financial aid.

Enrollment characteristics are, in general, related to the characteristics of the times, e.g., the stock market crash of 1929 and the depression of the thirties slowed without halting increases in enrollment; the growth of public education, the establishment of community colleges created the competition of lower cost education; the college age population explosive rise and then decline expanded and then contracted enrollment; racial integration brought the first black student in 1951; inter-institutional cooperation put men on the campus through student exchanges; coeducation established in men's colleges challenged enrollment in all women's colleges; increased leisure, the woman's liberation movement, the "senior citizen" population rise, created a market of older-than-usual students and to serve them two programs came into existence; Continuing Education and the Weekend College. This adult enrollment, mostly part time, is a new dimension on the campus. In the fall of 1981 the Registrar reported 560 full time students and 1072 part time students, all but a few of the latter in the adult program; 41 were men.<sup>109</sup>

The geographical distribution of students has this interesting constant: until the late nineteen seventies, regardless of numbers, the proportion of students from Maryland in each year was about 50 percent. Here are sample years. The first year includes lower level students; the last two, college only.<sup>110</sup>

Year	Geographical Percentages					Number of Other States
	Total Enrollment	Md.	D.C.	Other States	Other Countries	
1875–76	125	48%	12%	33%	7%	16
1925–26	117	48%	—	52%	—	21
1970–71	617	51%	2%	45%	2%	21

In the later nineteen seventies enrollment patterns changed. By 1980 there were 530 full time students of whom 381 or 70 percent were from Maryland. Part time students, virtually all in the Continuing Education and Weekend College programs, reached 914, predominantly also from Maryland.<sup>111</sup>

The first faculty was composed of twenty-two sisters who were both teachers and administrators, a lay woman who taught French and a lay man, Spanish.<sup>112</sup> In 1925-26 the college faculty was more sharply differentiated from the teachers of the lower level. There were seven School Sisters of Notre Dame, four priests, five lay women and four lay men—a total of twenty.<sup>113</sup> In 1979-80 there were twenty-four sisters, one priest, twenty-three lay women and nine lay men on the full time faculty—a total of fifty-seven.<sup>114</sup> There were fourteen part time faculty.

The first catalogue listing of faculty is in the 1913-14 issue; before that, information comes from the *Chronicle*. The statement about faculty given for the first time in the 1912-13 catalogue, is a general description of the *Chronicle* specific listings: "The teaching staff of the College consists primarily of members of the religious order of School Sisters of Notre Dame whose training and experience have determined their efficiency in college work. . . . Associated with the regular staff is a number of instructors and lecturers. . . . All of these instructors are university men specializing in the topics which make their professional reputation as teachers and investigators." Among those associated members were Professor Lucien Odend'hal who taught vocal music at Notre Dame from 1876 to 1934; the 1913 catalogue gives his credentials: "Pupil of Chev , Delsarte, Bataille of the Paris Conservatory." Reverend Edmund Shanahan from The Catholic University of America is on the 1897 faculty list as teacher of theology. (*Chronicle*, September 14, 1897). Hans Froelicher from Johns Hopkins University is in the first catalogue listing, 1913, for German. Among those who gave series of lectures were Richard Malcolm Johnston, founder of the Pen Lucy School in Baltimore, and Professor R. Dorsey Coale from the University of Maryland; their programs on literature and the phys-

ical sciences, respectively, are in the 1887 catalogue. Reverend John J. Griffin gave a number of lecture series; one on the physical sciences, included photography and is in the 1891 catalogue. When Father Griffin was named "supervisor" of chemistry (*Chronicle*, 1897) he was also on the faculty of the Catholic University.

Professional recognition of its educational vitality was an early aim of the college. As accrediting agencies evolved the college sought their approval. It came in the following order: 1902 from the University of New York; 1904 from the National Catholic Educational Association; 1924 from the Middle States Association. It has been on the Middle States accredited list ever since; this is the highest recognition possible. Its 1950 evaluation indicates the fidelity of the curriculum to the ideal:

From the beginning the aims of the College have been in general those common to all Catholic colleges. Special mention, however, should be made of the fact that the attainment of these aims has been achieved, largely through the instrument of a program in the liberal arts. The only degree granted is the Bachelor of Arts and this represents very well the nature of the training given. Very little indeed of an applied, or semi-professional, or vocational nature had been permitted to enter the regular program. While the original conception of a liberal education has been modified slightly in keeping with the educational thinking of modern times, the College has persisted from the beginning in its avowed purpose of imparting a good liberal education in the best sense of the term.<sup>115</sup>

This report of the 1980 evaluation visitors is typical: "The College presents a program of high quality in the liberal arts within a setting of physical plant and grounds that is attractive, spacious and well maintained and provides a valuable combination of privacy for reflection and proximity to urban variety." "The team concurs with the judgment of all the constituencies of Notre Dame that the College indeed is a 'special place' and that its role in higher education deserves the best efforts of the community."<sup>116</sup>

From Notre Dame's origin as a liberal arts college for women, we come to its survival. It had a compelling mandate. In the

early days when their courage was flagging, the sisters received this word from the international head of their congregation in Germany: Because of obstacles "we cannot hang God's work upon a nail."<sup>117</sup>

Each of the two prerogatives considered has at one time or another been challenged and each has found preservatives in its own resources. When job training threatened to overwhelm the liberal arts, Notre Dame turned the tables by having the liberal arts enrich job training—most recently by inaugurating a program in the Weekend College permitting nurses to build a baccalaureate degree with liberal arts requirements, on their R.N. certification.<sup>118</sup> When coeducation threatened to engulf women's colleges, Notre Dame offered inter-institutional cooperation, exchanging students with other colleges, including men's;<sup>119</sup> and embarking on a cooperative library that was a joint creation of Notre Dame and a nearby men's college, Loyola. (The library is the first such joint library in Maryland and one of the first in the United States. It has a separate charter and Board of Trustees with at-large members as well as college representatives).<sup>120</sup> When the building of a science center was begun to supply curriculum needs and the expected cost-matching grant from the State was challenged in the courts and lost,<sup>121</sup> Notre Dame completed the building with funds contributed by College constituents. When Mt. St. Agnes, a woman's college, merged with Loyola and the renewed competition of coeducation urged Notre Dame toward similar action, the College instead found new supports in an expansion of recruitment and public relations and in the development of the Continuing Education and Weekend College programs.

The tower designed by Crawford Neilson and Sister Ildephonsa in 1871 still overlooks the city and on a clear winter day offers a view of another landmark—the Baltimore harbor, "above the Flodd of Patapsco River." The tower bells are sounds of celebration for a college with deep roots in the city and the state wherein it continues to grow.

#### REFERENCES

1. William Lloyd Fox, "Social-Cultural Developments from the Civil War to 1920" in *Maryland:*

*A History 1632-1974*, Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, ed. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1974), p. 530. Among other publications making the statement are the following: Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, *The Academic Revolution*, (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1968), p. 376. Edward J. Power, *A History of Catholic Higher Education in the United States* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1959), p. 186. John Tracy Ellis, Preface to *The College of Notre Dame of Maryland, 1895-1945*, by Sister Mary David Cameron (Baltimore: The Declan X. McMullen Company, Inc., 1947) p. viii. The relationship between the last mentioned work and the present paper is bibliographic but not documentary except as noted.

2. *Maryland Hall of Records*, Record Series: Patent, C#3, f. 415-17.
3. William B. Marye, "Some Baltimore City Place Names," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 58 (1963), p. 375.
4. *Baltimore County Land Records*, EHA 70, f.167, Towson Record Office. The purchase price in the deed is \$16,400 and a \$10,000 mortgage to be paid.
5. Rev. Paul E. Meyer, *History of Saint Mary's Church 1850-1942*, pp. 15-19. Date of publication is not given. A later abridgement dates the original 1942.
6. *Catalogue of the Notre Dame of Maryland Collegiate Institute for Young Ladies*, 1873, p. 3. Subsequent references are to *Catalogue*, though the title may vary.
7. *Annals of Notre Dame of Maryland*, Feb. 8, 1904, p. 177. Pages 177-78 have other observations about the fire. Subsequent records of this house history will be called *Chronicle*, *Chron.* abbreviated. The actual title varies. The writer is not named but handwriting and internal evidence can usually identify her as the head of the school.
8. *Catalogue*, p. 3.
9. George H. Hilton, *A History of the Maryland & Pennsylvania Railroad* (Berkeley, Calif.: Howell-North, 1963). Page 149 reproduces the last time table.
10. *Chron.*, April 5, 1873, p. 76.
11. *Enoch Pratt Free Library, Md. Department*, Biographical card file. *Correspondence* with Sister Ruth Marie May, his great grand niece.
12. *Baltimore County Land Records*, EHA 81, f. 465.
13. *Chron.*, June 16, 1873, p. 77.
14. *Archives of College of Notre Dame of Maryland*, RG FB1, last of unnumbered pages. Subsequent references are to *Archives*.
15. *Chron.*, April, May 1903, pp. 164-65, 169.
16. *Chron.*, Sept. 4, 1904, p. 194.
17. *Chron.*, June 14, 1873, p. 77. These encumbrances were removed by deed of March 22, 1892 from the Baltimore Equitable Society to the School Sisters of Notre Dame, LMB 191, f. 380. The *Chronicle* of March 24, 1892 p. 49 records: "The property Notre Dame of Maryland is now free from mortgages."
18. *Baltimore County Land Records*, EHA 81, f. 378.
19. The architectural descriptions are based on those supplied by the staff of CHAP and the Maryland Historic Trust for an application that was with-

- drawn.
20. *Sun*, July 6, 1896.
  21. *Industries of Maryland*, (Baltimore, Historical Publishing Co.: 1882) p. 334.
  22. Wilbur Hunter Jr. and Charles H. Elam, *A Century of Baltimore Architecture* (Baltimore, The Peale Museum; 1957) p. 379.
  23. *Chron.*, Dec. 29, 1872, p. 74.
  24. *Chron.*, Feb. 21, 1873, p. 75.
  25. *Chron.*, Feb. 1–Apr. 26, 1876, p. 90.
  26. *Chron.*, Sept. 1876, p. 96.
  27. *Chron.*, Dec. 24, 1872, p. 73. *Archives* RGB2. Sister Ildephonsa correspondence. A. Leo Knott's biography appears in *Geneological and Memorial Encyclopedia of the State of Maryland*, ed. Richard Henry Spencer (N.Y., American Historical Society: 1919), ii, 519–37. The Archives has newspaper accounts of his Maryland Day address at Polytechnic Institute March 25, 1905. (*Sun* and *Catholic Mirror*) A letter to Sister Jeannette of December 13, 1877 refers to the satisfactory settlement of another claim and illustrates Mr. Knott's sound business practice. He writes: "I take the liberty of calling your attention to the fact that the balance of my fee \$250 is still due me. See my last receipt. . . ." *Archives*, RG BL3.
  28. Sister M. Hester Valentine, SSND, ed., *Letters of Mother M. Theresa Gerhardinger*, (Printed at Winona, Minn., St. Mary's Press: 1977), vol. *The North American Foundations*, p. 157. There are three unnumbered volumes, each with a different subject title.
  29. Wilbur Hunter, ed., *The Architecture of Baltimore: a Pictorial History* (Baltimore, JHU Press: 1953), p. 5.
  30. Marye, *MHM* 58, 1963, p. 377.
  31. *Baltimore County Land Records*, HMF 10, f. 32; GHC 26, f. 429.
  32. Spencer, *Encyclopedia of Maryland*, ii, 403–05.
  33. Spencer, *Encyclopedia of Maryland*, ii, 403–05.
  34. *Maryland Hall of Records*, Marriage Licenses 83–107.
  35. Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore: 1833), p. 135. The second Presbyterian Church office could offer no new information. Early printers are casual about the spelling of names. In the Baltimore directories from 1799 to 1851 Milleman's name is spelled Millamon, Millerman, Milliman, Millemon, Milleman; but the address identifies him. He is listed as carpenter (so was Samuel Adams, the builder), nightman, constable and once in later years as undertaker.
  36. Latrobe, *Pictures of Baltimore: A description of all objects of interest in the city and embellished with Views of the Principal Public Buildings*, (F. Lucas Jr., printer: 1832), p. 81.
  37. Griffith, *Annals*, pp. 180–81.
  38. Frank D. Thomas, *A Monograph of the New Baltimore Court House*, (Baltimore, Press of A. Hoen & Co.: 1899).
  39. *Sun*, Dec. 9, 1850. "His male friends and acquaintances are invited to attend his funeral . . . from the residence of his son-in-law H. H. Cole, No. 96 East Baltimore St."
  40. *Baltimore County Land Records*, JHL 49, f. 102; reference in deed from Troxell to School Sisters of Notre Dame, EHA 81, f. 378.
  41. William Tambourina of CHAP also has made this conjecture but for the firm.
  42. *Baltimore County Land Records*, EHA 81, f. 378–82.
  43. *Chron.*, March 19, 1895, p. 101.
  44. *Sun*, July 6, 1896.
  45. *Archives*, RG B.
  46. *Sun*, July 6, 1896.
  47. Hunter and Elam, *Century of Baltimore Arch.*, p. 43.
  48. Hunter and Elam, *Century of Baltimore Arch.*, p. 379.
  49. *Biographical Cyclopedia: Representative Men of Maryland and District of Columbia*, (Baltimore: 1879), p. 673.
  50. *Chron.*, s. 1900, p. 143.
  51. *Chron.*, Sept. 24, 1900, p. 144.
  52. *Chron.*, Sept. 1901, p. 151.
  53. In Archives RG PSG there is a photograph of students in front of the gazebo in dress which dates the picture.
  54. Conversations with Joseph Happel who lives with his wife, Catherine, in a cottage on the grounds; both were long time employees of the College.
  55. *Chron.*, Sept 14, 1895, p. 103. *Archives*, RG PCp. *Archives*, RG FF. Father John J. Griffin began to teach at Notre Dame while studying for his doctorate in chemistry at Johns Hopkins University under Ira Remsen. He remained on the faculty until his death on Nov. 16, 1921. He is buried in the mortuary chapel on the campus.
  56. *Archives*, RG PCp. Pius IX had given final approval to the Constitutions of the School Sisters of Notre Dame in 1865.
  57. *Chron.*, June 1888, p. 256.
  58. *Chron.*, July 14, 1904, p. 193.
  59. The Notre Dame of Maryland *Chronicle* for this period has been lost. Sister David Cameron's notes from a verbal translation from the German of the *Motherhouse Chronicle* give an account of the cornerstone laying May 10, 1910. A Notre Dame *Journal* refers to the ground breaking in entries for Jan. 5, 1910 and Jan. 8, 1910, p. 2.
  60. *Journal*, March 10, 1910, p. 2.
  61. Hunter and Elam, *Century of Baltimore Arch.*, p. 45.
  62. *Archives*, RG B.
  63. *Motherhouse Chronicle*, May 1910, pp. 310–11.
  64. Sister M. Dympna Flynn, *Mother Caroline and the School of Sisters of Notre Dame in North America*, (St. Louis, Woodward & Tiernan: 1928) i, 31–32. A photograph of the Aisquith Street house faces p. 32.
  65. Sister Mary Aurelian Walter, SSND, *Contributions of the School of Sisters of Notre Dame to Catholic Education in the State of Maryland*, M.A. thesis, Catholic University of America, 1943, p. 20.
  66. *Chron.*, Sept. 14, 1863, p. 3. Walter, pp. 49–50.
  67. *Chron.*, Sept. 20, 1873, p. 80; Sept. 22, 1873, p. 81.
  68. *Sun*, June 26, 1879.
  69. *Sun*, June 26, 1879.
  70. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 26, 1879. This account adds that it was "the

- first time known in which anyone but a Catholic clergyman has been invited to speak at this or any kindred institution in charge of a religious society of that faith."
71. Pete Daniel and Raymond Smock, *A Talent for Detail* (Harmony Books, 1974). Also Conversations with Anne E. Peterson, Consultant to the Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection at the Library of Congress and with Peter Liebhold, her assistant; and examination of some of the photographs and papers in the collection in the Prints and Photography Division and Manuscript Division respectively.
  72. *Archives*, RG PGI.
  73. *Archives*, PG PPC. John Y. Simon, ed. *The Personal Memoirs of Julia Dent Grant* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons: 1975), family chart p. 30; n. p. 199.
  74. *Chron.*, June 15, 1876, p. 92. *Baltimore American*, June 14, 1876. *Sun*, June 14, 1876. Identifying notes on the guests: Dr. Robert Ward was attending physician at Notre Dame. (*Chron.*, September 22, 1873, p. 82). The *Baltimore Evening Sun*, Dec. 11, 1940 has a photograph of his York Road home. The Charles Taney name is unknown to the historian, newspapers or cemetery superintendents of Frederick where Roger Brooke Taney is buried; nor is the name in the Baltimore directories of the time. W. J. Albert was Maryland Representative to the forty-third Congress and a wealthy dealer in hardware. (*Biographical Cyclopedia of Maryland*, pp. 47-49). A 1908 *Sun* clipping speaks of his Govanstown country estate as "Cedar Lawn." (*Archives* RG C1). Mr. and Mrs. William Hutton of Montgomery County, were the parents of Augusta, one of the graduates. (*Chron.*, June 15, 1876, p. 92). Mr. Hutton was an adviser to the sisters. In a March 31, 1875 letter, Sister Ildephonsa refers to him as "a practical engineer." (*Archives*, RG BL2). Cumberland Dugan was a merchant dealing in hardware and machines. (Spencer, *Encyclopedia of Maryland*, ii, 668-69). Miss Dugan, his daughter Emily, was a graduate of 1895. An account of her death in 1946 says she lived in Ilchester at "The Wilderness," the family home for a hundred and forty years. (*Biographical Card File*, Pratt Library). Colonel William Marshall Boone had settled in Baltimore after the Civil War in which his bravery won him the title Lieutenant Colonel. Mrs. Boone was the daughter of William Kennedy who built St. Ann's Catholic Church (*Biographical Cyclopedia of Maryland*, pp. 253-54) and is buried under its aisle. Fathers Ferdinand C. Litz, C.S.S.R. as chaplain and Dwight Lyman as teacher of religion, were on the first faculty-administration list of the school, 1873. (*Chron.*, Sept. 22, 1873, pp. 82-83). Robert Gilmor was Judge of the Circuit Court. (*Woods Directory*, 1876). A. Leo Knott, legal adviser to the sisters, had three terms as States Attorney from 1867. He was active in state and national politics, a member of the constitutional convention for the Maryland constitution ratified in 1867. (Spencer, *Encyclopedia of Maryland*, ii, 519-37). Mrs. Knott (Regina M. Keenan), was a founder of the Daughters of American Revolution 1890 and established the Maryland chapter. Jacques, the caterer, in this or variant spellings is not found in the Baltimore directories of the time, nor in the advertisements in the Hopkins *Baltimore County 1877 Atlas* reprinted by the Baltimore County Archives 1971-75. The *Sun* calls him Henry Jakes.
  75. *Archdiocesan Archives*. The Notre Dame Archives has a photostat copy. RG CGrt.
  76. Simon, *Memoirs, Julia Dent Grant*, p. 30. *Archives* RG A1. Bettie is on the Alumnae Reunion Program for 1900. The 1919 alumnae membership list identifies Mrs. J. Gerrish-Smith as the former Betty Baine Dent. The 1902 alumnae membership list identifies Mrs. J. Sumner Pettit as Bessie Sharp. She is Bessie S. Pettit on the charter which is filed in the *Incorporation Records of Baltimore County*, LMB No. 3, f. 577 &c.
  77. *Chron.*, April 4, 5, 1892, pp. 66, 67.
  78. The Certificate is in the *Archives*-RG Cft.
  79. *Chron.*, Dec. 10, 1877, p. 104 and following years to 1921.
  80. *Chron.*, June 30, 1886, p. 215.
  81. *Chron.*, June 16, 1887, pp. 230-32.
  82. *Sun*, July 6, 1896.
  83. *Chron.*, June 14, 1899, pp. 134-35. *Baltimore American* June 15, 1899.
  84. *Baltimore American*, May 2, 1910.
  85. *Chron.*, Nov. 9-30, 1884, pp. 186-89.
  86. *Chron.*, Sept. 21, 1919, p. 49.
  87. *Chron.*, June 25, 1883, p. 151. Sept. 12, 1890, p. 12. April 15, 1896, p. 107. Feb. 16, 1902, p. 154. Mar. 8, 1906, p. 215, April 9, 1906, p. 216. May 15, 1907, p. 237. July and August 1907, pp. 236-7. The entries continue to the time of his death.
  88. *Chron.*, Dec. 6, 1896, p. 112. It is in the Archives.
  89. *Chron.*, Feb. 18, 1921, p. 57.
  90. A portrait of the Cardinal by Marie de Ford Keller was exhibited by the National Portrait Gallery in 1974. Marie de Ford Keller had been Sister Maurelian, a member of the college art faculty until 1911 when she left at the expiration of the time before her final commitment to religious life. This is one of four Keller portraits of the Cardinal mentioned by John Tracey Ellis in his Life. Monsignor William Kailer Dunn, who was on the college faculty at the time, arranged for an exhibit of her works at the college in November of 1962.
  91. *Acts of General Assembly of Maryland*, Chap. 124, April 2, 1896.
  92. *Chron.*, June 14, 1899, pp. 134-35.
  93. *Baltimore American*, June 15, 1899. The *Dictionary of American Biography* includes this information about Charles Bonaparte: he was a brilliant scholar; graduate of Harvard College and Harvard Law School; became Attorney General in 1906 and argued more than fifty cases before the Supreme Court.
  94. James A. Burns and Bernard J. Kohlbrunner, *A History of Catholic Education in the U.S.* (New York, Benziger Bros.: 1937), p. 280.
  95. The correspondence is in *Archives*, RG AC.
  96. *Baltimore American*, June 15, 1899.
  97. *Catalogue*, 1893, p. 16 and following years.
  98. *Chron.*, June 10, 1901, p. 150.
  99. *Chron.*, May 27, 1903, p. 168.

100. *Chron.*, June 10, 1904, p. 185.
101. *Chron.*, June 9, 1905, p. 204.
102. *Sun*, May 2, 1910. The *Baltimore American* account, May 2, 1910, is captioned: "Save Society from its Fads."
103. *Catalogue*, 1912-13, p. 5.
104. *Proceedings* of the Association of American Colleges, 1960 meeting.
105. *Catalogue* 1912-13, p. 6.
106. *Catalogue*, 1912-13, p. 6.
107. *Chron.*, June 17, 1889, pp. 16-17. Henry L. Mencken, *Newspaper Days*, Chap. IX.
108. *Baltimore Evening Herald*, Nov. 24, 1903. *Baltimore Morning Herald*, Nov. 24, 1903. *Chron.*, Nov. 29, 1903, p. 171-2. The newspaper notes their mission, the *Chronicle* records their Notre Dame visit.
109. *Higher Education General Information Survey, 1981*. Hereinafter called *Hegis*.
110. *Archives*, RG St.
111. *Hegis*, 1980.
112. *Chron.*, Sept. 22, 1873, p. 81.
113. *Catalogue*, 1925-26, pp. 7-8.
114. *Catalogue*, 1979-80, pp. 90-94.
115. *Report of Inspection of College of Notre Dame of Maryland . . . for the Middle States Association* . . . 1950, p. 1.
116. *Report by an Evaluating Team representing the Commission on Higher Education of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools March 1980*, p. 1.
117. Valentine, *Letters of Mother M. Theresa Gerhardinger*, volume on *The North American Foundation*, p. 167, letter 5025.
118. *Weekend College prospectus*, 1981.
119. *Archives*, RG IC.
120. *Archives*, RG L/ND. The Articles of Incorporation are filed in the *Maryland State Department of Taxation*, F-645 f. 143.
121. Horace Mann League of the United States of America Inc., et al. v. Board of Public Works of Maryland et al. *Court of Appeals of Maryland* September term 1965, No. 356. When another grant from the state to help private colleges narrow the gap between education costs and student tuition, was disputed in a law suit, the College again defended its position and the grant was affirmed by both the District and the Supreme Courts. John C. Roemer, III, et al. v. Board of Public Works of the State of Maryland et al., in the *U.S. District Court of Maryland*, 72-307; *Supreme Court*, 74-730.



# A Bibliography of Articles, Books, and Dissertations on Maryland History, 1982

RICHARD J. COX

## Archaeology and Anthropology

- Porter, Frank W., III. "The Foundations of Archeology and Anthropology in Maryland: A Summary Essay." *Man in the Northeast* 21 (Spring 1981): 1-13.
- Thomas, Ronald A. "Intensive Archeological Excavations at the Hollingsworth Farm Site, Elkton, Maryland." *Maryland Archeology* 18 (March 1982): 9-28.
- Wall, Robert D. "Archeological Sites Preserved in [the Garrett County] Region." *Glades Star* 5 (December 1982): 461-66.
- Wesler, Kit W. "Towards a Synthetic Approach to the Chesapeake Tidewater: Historic Site Patterning in Temporal Perspectives." Ph.D., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1982.
- See entries under Indian History

## Archives, Libraries, and Bibliography

- Cox, Richard J. "A Bibliography of Articles, Books, and Dissertations on Maryland History, 1981." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (Fall 1982): 279-90.
- Cox, Richard J. "Understanding the Monumental City: A Bibliographical Essay on Baltimore History." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (Spring 1982): 70-111.
- Gordon, Douglas H. "The Chew Auction." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (December 1982): 358-61.
- Jacklin, Thomas M. "Essays from the Baltimore Neighborhood Heritage Project: An Introduction." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (Spring 1982): 1-5.

Mr. Cox, formerly Baltimore City Archivist and Records Management Officer, has recently joined the Alabama Department of Archives and History.

- Key, Betty McKeever. "Oral History: A Challenge to the Genealogist." *Maryland Magazine of Genealogy* 5 (Fall 1982): 74-80.
- McCall, Nancy and Kanarek, Harold. "The Alan Mason Chesney Medical Archives of the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 56 (Spring 1982): 88-92.
- Nitzberg, Gertrude Singer. "The Music Library of the Jewish Historical Society of Maryland, Inc." *Generations* 3 (December 1982): 37-38.
- Polites, Angeline, comp. and ed. *Maryland 350th Anniversary Speakers Guide and Directory*. Annapolis: Maryland Commission on Ethnic Affairs, 1982.
- Walins, Cynthia. "The Enoch Pratt Free Library." *Baltimore Journal* 4 (June 1982): 4-6.
- Weiser, Frederick S., ed. "Eighteenth Century German Church Records from Maryland: A Checklist." *The Report: A Journal of German-American History* 38 (1982): 5-14.

## Art and Architectural History

- Beck, Tom. *Edward L. Bafford 1902-1981: A Life in Photography*. [Baltimore]: University Library of the University of Maryland Baltimore County, 1981.
- Beck, Tom and Manns, Adrienne. *Building a New World: Black Labor Photographs*. Baltimore: University of Maryland Baltimore County Library, 1982.
- Forman, H. Chandlee. *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland*, 2nd rev. ed. Baltimore: Bodine & Associates, Inc., 1982.

- Giza, Joanne and Black, Catherine F. *Great Baltimore Houses: An Architectural and Social History*. Baltimore: Maclay & Associates, 1982.
- Hendricks, Theodore. "The Walters: Businessmen With a Taste for Art." *Baltimore Journal* 4 (February 1982): 8-10.
- Jones, Carleton. *Lost Baltimore Landmarks: A Portfolio of Vanished Buildings*. Baltimore: Maclay & Associates, 1982.
- Lippman, Joan Iris. "Reuben Kramer." *Generations* 3 (December 1982): 39-53.
- McCall, Nancy. "The Statue of the Christus Consolator at The Johns Hopkins Hospital: Its Acquisition and Historic Origins." *Johns Hopkins Medical Journal* 151 (1982): 11-19.
- Rosen, Israel. "The Cone Sisters." *Generations* 3 (December 1982): 3-14.
- Shipe, Bess Paterson. "Eliza Eichelberger Ridgely, the 'Lady with a Harp.'" *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (Fall 1982): 230-37.
- Kahl, Martha W. "Execution in Garrett County." *Glades Star* 5 (September 1982): 435-37. [Execution of John Smith in 1883].
- Love, Mary I. "'The Mountain Chautauqua': Mountain Lake Park 1881-1941." *Glades Star* 5 (March 1982): 385-401; (September 1982): 434-35.
- McCoy, Frederick L. "Maryland and St. Mary's County Men in the Revolution." *Chronicles of St. Mary's* 30 (September 1982): 481-86.
- Martin, Percy E. "Sam Arnold and Hookstown." *History Trails* 16 (Summer 1982): 13-16. [One of the co-conspirators in the Lincoln assassination].
- Murphy, Jeanne Payne. "The Letters of Lafayette Buckler from 1859 to 1884." *Chronicles of St. Mary's* 30 (March 1982): 421-32; (April 1982): 433-44; (May 1982): 445-54.
- Robinson, Ophelia McKay. "Richard McKay of Maryland and Kentucky." *Chronicles of St. Mary's* 30 (June 1982): 457-63.

### Black History

- See Beck, Tom and Manns, Adrienne under Art and Architectural History
- See Behrendt, Carolyn under Genealogy and Family History
- See Besch, Clyde under Education
- See Dunn, Richard S. under Labor History
- Graham, Leroy. *Baltimore: The Nineteenth Century Black Capital*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, Inc., 1982.
- See Graham, Leroy, under Genealogy and Family History

### County and Local History

- Frank, Beryl. "Lexington on the Hookstown Road." *History Trails* 17 (Autumn 1982): 1-3.
- Frank, Beryl. *A Pictorial History of Pikesville, Maryland*. Towson, Md.: Baltimore County Public Library, 1982.
- Hollifield, William. "Caroline Felix—Part II; The Later Chapmans." *History Trails* 16 (Spring 1982): 9-12; 17 (Autumn 1982): 4.

- Sword, Gerald J. "Who Goes There? (Ghostly Manifestations at Point Lookout)." *Chronicles of St. Mary's* 30 (July 1982): 465-71.
- Tull, Willis Clayton, Jr. "An Every Name Index to R.V. Truitt & M.G. Les Callette's 'Worcester County, Maryland's Arcadia.'" *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 23 (Spring 1982): 39-41.
- Wennersten, Jack. "Behind the Wire: When the Afrika Korps Came to Somerset County." *Maryland Magazine* 14 (Autumn 1982): 6-7.
- Whitmore, Nancy F. and Cannon, Timothy L. *Frederick: A Pictorial History*. Norfolk/Virginia Beach, Va.: Donning Co., 1981.

### Economic and Business History

- Adams, Donald R., Jr. "One Hundred Years of Prices and Wages: Maryland, 1750-1850." *Working Papers from the Regional Economic History Research Center* 5 (no. 4, 1982): 90-129.

See Main, Gloria L. under Social History  
Sharrer, G. Terry. "The Merchant-Millers:  
Baltimore's Flour Milling Industry,  
1783-1860." *Agricultural History* 56  
(January 1982): 138-50.

Sollins, Helen B. and Aberbach, Moses.  
"The Baltimore Spice Company." *Gen-  
erations* 3 (June 1982): 10-22. [Interview  
with Mr. and Mrs. Gustav Brunn and  
Mr. and Mrs. Ralph A. Brunn].

Whitehill, Milford H. and Weinberg, Rob-  
ert L. "Greif—One of Baltimore's Great  
Names in the Clothing Industry." *Gen-  
erations* 3 (June 1982): 47-51.

### Education

Beschy, Clyde. "The Negro Mountain  
School." *Glades Star* 5 (December 1982):  
467-70.

See Kessel, Elizabeth A. under Ethnic His-  
tory

McCully, Bruce T. "Governor Francis Ni-  
cholson, Patron *Par Excellence* of Reli-  
gion and Learning in Colonial America."  
*William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series,  
39 (April 1982): 310-33.

Sheller, Tina H. "The Origins of Public  
Education in Baltimore, 1825-1829."  
*History of Education Quarterly* 22  
(Spring 1982): 23-42.

Stakem, Karen A. "Hans Froelicher Jr.:  
Civic Educator." *Maryland Historical  
Magazine* 77 (Summer 1982): 193-201.

### Ethnic History

See Cholochwost, Thomas under Geneal-  
ogy and Family History

See Fraser, Peter under Genealogy and  
Family History

Hendricks, Theodore W. "Baltimore's  
Growth: The Role of the Russian Jews."  
*Generations* 3 (June 1982): 3-9.

Kessel, Elizabeth A. "'A Mighty Fortress  
is Our God': German Religious and Ed-  
ucational Organizations on the Maryland  
Frontier, 1734-1800." *Maryland Histori-  
cal Magazine* 77 (Winter 1982): 370-87.

Levin, Alexander Lee. "History of Mary-  
land Jews in Journalism." *Generations* 3

(June 1982): 45-47. [Reprinted from  
1980 Baltimore *Evening Sun*].

Merrill, Yale. "Maryland Jews in Journal-  
ism and Non-Jewish Journalists' Inter-  
ests in Jewish Matters." *Generations* 3  
(June 1982): 31-44.

See Pritchett, Morgan H. and Wust, Klaus  
under Genealogy and Family History

Scarpaci, J. Vincenza. "Louis H. Levin of  
Baltimore: A Pioneer in Cultural Plural-  
ism." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77  
(Summer 1982): 183-92.

See Slezak, Eva under Genealogy and Fam-  
ily History

See Sullivan, Larry E. under Genealogy and  
Family History

See Weiser, Frederick under Archives, Li-  
braries, and Bibliography

### Genealogy and Family History

Adkins, J. Howard and Louise Hammond.  
"Records of Buckingham Presbyterian  
Church, Berlin, Md." *Maryland and Del-  
aware Genealogist* 23 (January-March  
1982): 16-17.

Barnes, Robert W. "Baltimore County  
Births Through 1777 from St. Paul's  
Parish." *Maryland and Delaware Geneal-  
ogist* 23 (January-March 1982): 6-7;  
(Spring 1982): 34-35.

Barnes, Robert W. "West Family of Balti-  
more County, Maryland." *Maryland and  
Delaware Genealogist* 23 (Summer 1982):  
84-85.

Behrendt, Carolyn, "Charles Carroll of  
Carrollton Inventory of Property Slave  
List." *Maryland Genealogical Society  
Bulletin* 23 (Fall 1982): 328-39.

Brengle, Frances E. and Brengle-Poole,  
Bette. "A Private Cemetery of the Wor-  
thington Family." *Maryland Genealogical  
Society Bulletin* 23 (Summer 1982): 226-  
39.

"Calvert County, 1800 Census." *Maryland  
Genealogical Society Bulletin* 23 (Winter  
1982): 2-19.

Cholochwost, Thomas. "Baltimore's Polish  
Pioneers." *Maryland Magazine of Ge-  
nealogy* 5 (Spring 1982): 3-7.

- Cholochwost, Tomasz L. "Ignacy Woliński and the Origin of Baltimore Polonia." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 23 (Spring 1982): 156-64.
- Cholochwost, Tomasz L. "List of Volunteers in the Polish Army from Baltimore, Md." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 23 (Winter 1982): 68-70.
- Fenwick, Charles E., Sr. "A List of Alienations and Transfers in St. Mary's County from the Sixth day of June 1786 to the Seventh day of March 1829." *Chronicles of St. Mary's* 30 (May 1982): 435-36; (June 1982): 464; (July 1982): 471-72; (August 1982): 473-80; (September 1982): 487-88; (October 1982): 491-96; (December 1982): 515-16.
- Fraser, Peter. "Wolfgang Etchberger: Immigrant and Patriot Soldier in the German Regiment." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 23 (Fall 1982): 320-27.
- Fresco, Margaret K. "Births, Marriages and Deaths in St. Mary's County 1830-1834." *Chronicles of St. Mary's* 30 (December 1982): 505-07.
- Fresco, Margaret K. *Marriages and Deaths, St. Mary's County, Maryland 1634-1900*. Ridge, Md.: Privately published, 1982.
- Graham, Leroy. "Manumitted Free Blacks in Baltimore, 1806-1816." *Maryland Magazine of Genealogy* 5 (Spring 1982): 8-22.
- Hollifield, William and Winterbottom, John. "St. John's Episcopal Church, Huntingdon Waverly, Baltimore Cemetery and Memorial Inscriptions." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 23: (Winter 1982): 30-67.
- Hollowak, Thomas L. "Carroll County Cemeteries." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 23 (Summer 1982): 202-26; (Fall 1982): 276-319.
- Hopkins, Joseph Carroll. "Charles Worthington (1701-1774) Gentleman Planter of Anne Arundel and Harford County, Maryland." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 23 (Winter 1982): 71-82.
- Hopkins, Joseph Carroll. "Colonel Henry Chew of Maryland and North Carolina." *Maryland Magazine of Genealogy* 5 (Fall 1982): 51-65.
- Hutchins, Ailene W. *Calvert County, Maryland Early Land Records*. Prince Frederick, Md: Published by the author, 1982.
- Jorgensen, Paul F. "The Von Degen Family History." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 23 (Spring 1982): 150-53.
- Knight, Betsey. "Colonel Thomas Woolford: A Tentative New Identity." *Maryland Magazine of Genealogy* 5 (Fall 1982): 66-73.
- Major, Nettie Leitch. "Capt. Edward Brock of Calvert & Prince George's Co's., Md." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 23 (Fall 1982): 108-11.
- Major, Nettie Leitch. "The Tolson Family of Maryland and Their Connections." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 23 (Summer 1982): 78-81.
- Mayfield, Anna. "St. Paul's Cemetery, Baltimore, Md." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 23 (Summer 1982): 244-46.
- Mihalyka, Jean M. "Index Marriage Licenses, Worcester County, Maryland, April 14, 1795-July 1, 1865." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 23 (Summer 1982): 68-69; (Fall 1982): 102-03.
- Mitchell, Carol. "Catholic Marriages Saint Louis, Missouri 1811-1837." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 23 (Winter 1982): 20-21.
- Mowbray, Calvin W. and Mary I. *The Early Settlers of Dorchester County and Their Lands*, 2 vols. N.p.: Privately printed, 1981.
- Murphy, Jeanne Payne. "A Legacy From Laurel Grove." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 23 (Winter 1982): 22-38.
- Myer-Bruggey, Gary E. and Mary K. Meyer. "Passengers on Board the Ship, *Lucilla*, From Bremen to Baltimore, 3 August 1840." *Maryland Magazine of Genealogy* 5 (Fall 1982): 89-95.
- Pagan, Margaret D. "Miss Nellie Was A Fine Woman." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 23 (Summer 1982): 240-43.
- Parks, Gary W. and Scott, Brian J. "Price Family Cemetery Nanjemoy, Maryland."

- Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 23 (Spring 1982): 165.
- Partrick, William D. "A Dear Old Woman Called 'Mother Davis': Notes on the Family of Martha Davis (d.1783) of Worcester County, Maryland." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 23 (January-March 1982): 18-19; (Spring 1982): 46-48.
- Patrick, William D. "Worcester County, Maryland, 1796-1802, Liber A, Petitions, Commissions, and Depositions." *Maryland Magazine of Genealogy* 5 (Fall 1982): 81-82.
- Pritchett, Morgan H. and Wust Klaus, eds. "German Immigrants to Baltimore: The Passenger Lists of 1854." *The Report: A Journal of German-American History* 38 (1982): 52-109.
- Reightler, Shirley L. "Carrick Family." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 23 (Spring 1982): 154-55.
- "Rev. Frank Markey Gibson's Private Records Part III." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 23 (Spring 1982): 104-49.
- Richards, Mary Fallon. "Debtors of the Estate of William Henry, 1787, Kent County, Maryland." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 23 (January-March 1982): 23; (Spring 1982): 53.
- Schmidt, Richard G. "Biography of Emanuel Easter." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 23 (Fall 1982): 340-45.
- Seubold, Helen W. "Frederick County, Maryland, Births Between 1865 and 1879." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 23 (January-March 1982): 10-12; (Spring 1982): 38.
- Shingleton, P. D. "Abstracts of Minutes of the Orphan's Court, Washington Co., Md." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 23 (Spring 1982): 36-37; (Summer 1982): 66-67.
- Slezak, Eva. "A Cache of Czechs." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 23 (Spring 1982): 166-67.
- Social Studies Seminar, Chopticon High School, Morganza, St. Mary's County, Maryland. "St. Mary's County, Maryland, Cemetery Indexes." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 23 (January-March 1982): 4-5; (Spring 1982): 32-33; (Summer 1982): 64-65; (Fall 1982): 99-101.
- Sullivan, Larry E. "The Records of the Ethnic Political Association as a Genealogical Source: The Associated Friends of Ireland in the City of Baltimore." *Maryland Magazine of Genealogy* 5 (Spring 1982): 23-33.
- Switzer, Laura. "A List of French Letters Remaining in the Post Office, Baltimore, Maryland, January 13, 1794." *Maryland Magazine of Genealogy* 5 (Spring 1982): 34-39.
- Tepper, Lamonte Leverage. "Lewis Clothier (c.1640-1684) and Some Descendants on the Eastern Shore of Maryland." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 23 (Summer 1982): 190-201.
- Tull, Willis Clayton, Jr. "Maryland Soldiers in Colonial Wars, 1740-1767; Gleanings from the Card Index at the Maryland Hall of Records." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 23 (Fall 1982): 96-98.
- Tull, Willis Clayton, Jr. "Militia Appointments, 1794-1817, Ninth Regiment, Worcester County." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 23 (January-March 1982): 8-9.
- Tull, Willis Clayton, Jr. "Militia Appointments, 1794-1817, 23rd Regiment, Somerset County, Md." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 23 (Summer 1982): 70-71.
- Viridin, Donald Odell. "The Broadways: One of the First Maryland and Delaware Families." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 23 (Spring 1982): 50-51.
- Wright, F. Edward. *Caroline County Marriages—Births—Deaths, 1850-1880*. Decorah, Iowa: Anundsen Publishing Co., 1981.

### Geography and Cartography

- Cumming, William P. "Early Maps of the Chesapeake Bay Area: Their Relation to Settlement and Society." *Early Maryland in a Wider World*, ed. David B. Quinn.

- Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982, pp. 267-310.
- Marks, Bayly Ellen. "Rural Response to Urban Penetration: Baltimore and St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1790-1840." *Journal of Historical Geography* 8 (April 1982): 113-27.
- Maryland Historical Society. *The Mapping of Maryland 1590-1914: An Overview*. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1982.
- Papenfuse, Edward C. and Coale, Joseph M., III. *The Hammond-Harwood House Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland, 1608-1908*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982.
- Vill, Martha J. "Residential Development on a Landed Estate: The Case of Baltimore's 'Harlem.'" *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (Fall 1982): 266-78.
- Indian History**
- Brennan, Louis A., comp. "A Compilation of Fluted Points of Eastern North American by Count and Distribution: An AENA Project." *Archaeology of Eastern North American* 10 (1982): 27-46.
- Cresthull, Paul. "A George Webb Pipe from Chard." *Maryland Archeology* 18 (no. 2, 1982): 28-32.
- Curry, Dennis C. and Jay F. Custer. "Holocene Climatic Change in the Middle Atlantic Area: Preliminary Observations from Archaeological Sites." *North American Archaeologist* 3 (no. 4, 1982): 275-85.
- Davidson, Thomas E. "Historically Attested Indian Villages of the Lower Delmarva." *Maryland Archeology* 18 (March 1982): 1-8.
- Jennings, Francis. "Indians and Frontiers in Seventeenth-Century Maryland." *Early Maryland in a Wider World*, ed. David B. Quinn. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982, pp. 216-41.
- McNamara, Joseph M. "Excavations at Baldwin: A Late Archaic Site in the Maryland Coastal Plain." *Maryland Archeology* 18 (no. 2, 1982): 1-27.
- Porter, Frank W., III. "Backyard Ethnohistory: Understanding Indian Survivals in the Middle Atlantic Region." *Virginia Social Science Journal* 17 (November 1982): 41-48.
- Porter, Frank W., III. "Salvaging the Past: Excerpt on the Salvaging of the Susquehanna River Petroglyphs." *Newsletter of the American Committee to Advance the Study of Petroglyphs and Pictographs* 3 (1982): 12-17.
- Smith, Grafton, V.; Boyce, Tom; and Stewart, R. Michael. "Two Stone Pipes from Martin's Meadow: 18WA23." *Maryland Archeology* 18 (March 1982): 29-31.
- Stewart, R. Michael. "Prehistoric Ceramics of the Great Valley of Maryland." *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 10 (1982): 69-94.
- Labor History**
- Argersinger, Jo Ann E. "Assisting the 'Loafers': Transient Relief in Baltimore, 1933-1937." *Labor History* 23 (Spring 1982): 226-45.
- Dunn, Richard S. "Masters, Servants, and Slaves in the Colonial Chesapeake and the Caribbean." *Early Maryland in a Wider World*, ed. David B. Quinn. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982, pp. 242-66.
- Linguistics**
- "A Dialect Study of St. Mary's County, Maryland." *Chronicles of St. Mary's* 30 (November 1982): 497-504; (December 1982): 507-15.
- Literary History**
- Beauchamp, Virginia Walcott. "Letters as Literature: The Prestons of Baltimore." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (Fall 1982): 213-21.
- Hobson, Fred. "Gerald W. Johnson: The Southerner as Realist." *Virginia Quarterly Review* 58 (Winter 1982): 1-25.
- Maritime History**
- Jackson, Melvin H. "Ships and the Sea: Voyaging to the Chesapeake." *Early Maryland in a Wider World*, ed. David B.

- Quinn. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982, pp. 33-57.
- Keith, Robert C. *Baltimore Harbor: A Picture History*. Baltimore: Ocean World Publishing Co., Inc., 1982.
- Ross, William Lloyd. "Oyster Dredging." *Chronicles of St. Mary's* 30 (January 1982): 397-408; (February 1982): 409-16. [Includes diary of John Timothy, 1864].
- Rukert, Norman G. *The Port: Pride of Baltimore*. Baltimore: Bodine & Associates, Inc., 1982.
- Shomette, Donald G. *Shipwrecks on the Chesapeake: Maritime Disasters on Chesapeake Bay and Its Tributaries, 1608-1978*. Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1982.
- Military History**
- Calderhead, William. "Prelude to Yorktown: A Critical Week in a Major Campaign." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (June 1982): 123-35.
- Loeffelbein, Robert L. "Point Lookout Prison: The Truth Beneath the Ruins." *Maryland Magazine* 14 (Spring 1982): 12-14.
- Shreve, L. G. *Tench Tilghman: The Life and Times of Washington's Aide-de-Camp*. Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1982.
- Stenger, W. Jackson, Jr. "Tench Tilghman—George Washington's Aide." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (Summer 1982): 136-53.
- Music and Theatre**
- Ponselle, Rosa and Drake, James A. *Ponselle: A Singer's Life*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1982.
- Ritchey, David, comp. and ed. *A Guide to the Baltimore Stage in the Eighteenth Century: A History and Day Book Calendar*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1982.
- Political History**
- Jordan, David W. "Elections and Voting in Early Colonial Maryland." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (Fall 1982): 238-65.
- Jordan, David W. "'Gods Candle' Within Government: Quakers and Politics in Early Maryland." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 39 (October 1982): 628-54.
- Menard, Russell R. and Carr, Lois Green. "The Lords Baltimore and the Colonization of Maryland." *Early Maryland in a Wider World*, ed. David B. Quinn. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982, pp. 167-215.
- Religious History**
- Beitzell, Edwin W. "St. Mary's County, Maryland, the 'Cradle of Catholicity.'" *Chronicles of St. Mary's* 30 (October 1982): 489-90.
- Boles, John B. "Religion in the South: A Tradition Recovered." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (Winter 1982): 388-401.
- Bossy, John. "Reluctant Colonists: The English Catholics Confront the Atlantic." *Early Maryland in a Wider World*, ed. David B. Quinn. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982, pp. 149-64.
- Elliott, J. H. "Spain and Its Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." *Early Maryland in a Wider World*, ed. David B. Quinn. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982, pp. 58-83.
- See Jordan, David W. under Political History
- See Kessel, Elizabeth A. under Ethnic History
- See McCully, Bruce T. under Education
- Parry, J. H. "The Spaniards in Eastern North America." *Early Maryland in a Wider World*, ed. David B. Quinn. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982, pp. 84-102.
- Prevas, Nicholas M. *History of the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of the Annunciation Baltimore, Maryland*. Baltimore: John D. Lucas Printing Co., 1982.
- Strauss, Mary Miller. "St. Paul's Lutheran Church, Deer Park." *Glades Star* 5 (December 1982): 456-60.
- Sutherland, Hunter C. "A Brief History of

the Bush River Friends Meeting of Harford County, Maryland." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (Winter 1982): 365-69.

Thomas, J. Moulton. *St. Thomas Church, Hancock The Emery Parish of the Diocese of Maryland or Reflections on the Potomac 1929-34*. N.p.: Private printing, 1982.

See Weiser, Frederick under Archives, Libraries, and Bibliography

Whitney, Alethea Helen. *A History of the Manokin Presbyterian Church: Princess Anne, Maryland 1672-1980*. Denton, Md.: Baker Printing Co., 1981.

### Science and Technology

Hollander, Walter, Jr. *Abel Wolman: His Life and Philosophy; An Oral History*, 2 vols. Chapel Hill, N.C.: Universal Printing & Publishing Co., 1981.

McGrain, John W. "'Good Bye Old Burr': The Roller Mill Revolution in Maryland, 1882." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (Summer 1982): 154-71.

### Social History

See Dürr, W. Theodore under Urban History

Elton, G. R. "Contentment and Discontent on the Eve of Colonization." *Early Maryland in a Wider World*, ed. David B. Quinn. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982, pp. 105-18.

Main, Gloria L. *Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650-1720*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.

Preston, Robert M. "The Great Fire of Emmitsburg, Maryland: Does a Catastrophic Event Cause Mobility?" *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (Summer 1982): 172-82.

Quinn, David B. "Why They Came." *Early Maryland in a Wider World*, ed. David B. Quinn. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982, pp. 119-48.

See Ryon, Roderick N. under Urban History

### Sports History

Cahn, Louis F. "Baltimore Jews and Baltimore Horses." *Generations* 3 (June 1982): 23-30.

Weaver, Earl, with Berry Stainback. *It's What You Learn After You Know It All That Counts*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1982.

### Urban History

See Argersinger, Jo Ann E., under Labor History

Beirne, Francis F. and Jones, Carleton. *Baltimore: A Picture History*. Baltimore: Bodine & Associates, Inc. and Maclay & Associates, Inc., 1982.

Beirne, D. Randall. "Hampden-Woodberry: The Mill Village in an Urban Setting." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (Spring 1982): 6-26.

See Cox, Richard J. under Archives and Bibliography

Dürr, W. Theodore. "People of the Peninsula." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (Spring 1982): 27-53.

See Hendricks, Theodore, under Ethnic History

See Graham, Leroy under Black History

Jenkins, B. Wheeler. "The Shots That Saved Baltimore." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (Winter 1982): 362-64.

See Jones, Carleton, under Art and Architectural History

See Keith, Robert C. under Maritime History

Kelly, Jacques. *Bygone Baltimore: A Historical Portrait*. Norfolk, Va.: Donning Co., 1982.

See Marks, Bayly Ellen under Geography and Cartography

Nast, Leonara Heilig; Krause, Laurence N.; Monk, R. C., eds. *Baltimore: A Living Renaissance*. Baltimore: Historic Baltimore Society, Inc., 1982.

See Rukert, Norman G. under Maritime History

Ryon, Roderick N. "Old West Baltimore."



*Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (Spring 1982): 54-69. **Women's History**

See Scarpaci, J. Vincenza under Ethnic History

See Sharrer, G. Terry under Economic and Business History

See Sheller, Tina H. under Education

See Vill, Martha J. under Geography and Cartography

Baldwin, Hélène L. " 'Down street' in Cumberland: The Diaries of Two Nineteenth-Century Ladies." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (Fall 1982): 222-29.

Neal, Harry Edward. "Margaret Brent, Gentleman." *Maryland Magazine* 14 (Winter 1982): 31-32.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Lost Baltimore Landmarks: A Portfolio of Vanished Buildings.* By Carleton Jones. (Baltimore: Mackay Associates, 1982. Pp. 64. \$7.95.)

In 1953 "The Architecture of Baltimore" by Professors Richard Howland and Eleanor Spencer of Hopkins and Goucher respectively, awakened many Baltimoreans to the architectural heritage of their city. But of the approximately one hundred buildings illustrated, twenty had already perished and six important ones have disappeared since.

In 1957, a "Century of Baltimore Architecture" by Wilbur Hunter and Charles Elam celebrated the one-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the American Institute of Architects. Its most useful feature is an index of Baltimore buildings and architects who practised here. Seventy-one of approximately eighty buildings illustrated are still standing.

In 1964 the Commission on Historical and Architectural Preservation was created, with extensive power over the exteriors of buildings. Its original jurisdiction covered Mount Vernon Place and a few blocks to the north, and a limited part of Mount Royal. These small areas have expanded greatly and new ones have been added. This political recognition of the need of preserving on a large scale is greatly benefiting the City, and will continue to do so as long as competent commissioners are appointed.

In 1973 appeared "A Guide to Baltimore Architecture" by John Dorsey and James Dilts. This illustrates one hundred and seventy two buildings, nearly all still standing. Its glossary and index of buildings are useful. Its two introductions by Wilbur Hunter and Alexander Cochran are outstanding. A second edition in 1981 added thirty-six buildings and subtracted six. Also added was a series of condensed but admirable biographies of deceased architects whose works adorn the City.

The increasing interest in local architecture will be enhanced by "Lost Baltimore Landmarks" by Carleton Jones. In an easy style with only occasional bitterness at senseless destruction, he chronicles the losses the City has suffered. Like Professors Howland and Spencer and many others who appreciate local architecture, he is not a native. He is the grandson of a president of the University of Missouri in Columbia where he was born. He began his journalistic career in another Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, of which state his mother

was a native. His civilized background is responsible for the excellence of his many special articles in the Sun and qualifies him to appreciate and mourn Baltimore's losses.

Of the earliest Baltimore Buildings, most of them small, clapboard constructions, not one remains. Yet a few are known by artists's renderings or survived long enough to be photographed. They, with the original St. Paul's Church, the first Court House, both razed, and historic Congress Hall, burnt, serve as an introduction to the study of those built later. Great losses of this period were the German Reformed Church on Redwood Street between South and Gay, the first Presbyterian Church at Fayette Street and Guilford Avenue, both razed when seventy years old, and St. Patrick's Church on Broadway which survived from 1806 to 1896, Robert Mills' handsome First Baptist Church, which lasted only sixty years, the English Evangelical Lutheran Church at Lexington Street, a victim of the great fire of 1873 and the Charles Street Methodist Church, sacrificed to widen Fayette Street. All of these ranked with the best church architecture of their time in London.

Among non-ecclesiastical buildings, the Union Bank Building at the south-east corner of Charles and Fayette Streets, stood out, and such splendid residences as John Eager Howard's "Belvidere" where the 1000 block of Calvert Street is today, George Grundy's "Bolton", replaced by the Fifth Regiment Armory, General Samuel Smith's "Montebello", torn down at the whim of Mary Garrett, Mayor Thorowgood Smith's "Willowbrook", razed as recently as 1965, and the Howard house (later the Athenaeum Club) at Charles and Franklin Streets, which for eighty years, with the Unitarian Church across the street, made an attractive frame for the Washington Monument.

Three of Charles Street's handsomest buildings, the Sun, the Metropolitan Savings Bank and Colonial Trust Buildings, were recently destroyed, the last two quite pointlessly, the first to provide a site for the most hideous building of the City.

Probably the two outstandingly important buildings of their days, and the City's greatest losses were the Baltimore Exchange, designed by Benjamin Latrobe and Maximilien Godefroy and replaced by the huge but not attractive Beaux-Arts Custom House, and the picturesque Post Office with its splendid masses, replaced by a boring box.

"Lost Baltimore Landmarks" should be required reading for architects and city planners. Much tragic destruction could be avoided by a careful study of its illustrations and text, and by noting that buildings are least appreciated when they are about seventy years old. For Baltimoreans in general, this work will not only increase the growing realization of the importance of architectural preservation but will at the same time provide reading matter of great interest and nostalgic charm.

DOUGLAS GORDON  
Baltimore, Maryland

*Liberty without Anarchy: A History of the Society of the Cincinnati.* By Minor Myers, Jr. (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1983. Pp. xiii, 280. Illustrations, index. \$20.00.)

*Liberty without Anarchy* is the most recent and most complete history of a little known and less understood organization, the Society of the Cincinnati.

The author, Minor Myers, Jr., Professor of Government at Connecticut College, acknowledges the help of Stephen C. Millett (whose knowledge of the Society of the Cincinnati and its history is encyclopedic), of Clifford Lewis III and others, of the New Hampshire Society's excellent bibliography which has been collected over many years.

Professor Myers has done a great service to the Society and to the officers, naval and military, who in spite of great privation and with tremendous sacrifice carried the eight year Revolution to a successful conclusion. This book should be required reading for all present and future members of the Society. His careful, thorough, and well-documented story unfolds in a logical sequence from the main causes for organizing the society: threatened and actual mutinies among officers unpaid by Congress for four years. They hoped by banding together in May 1783, before dissolution of the Army, to continue their efforts for restitution, later half-pay for life and/or commutation (a lump sum in lieu thereof). General Henry Knox had in 1776 conceived of a ribbon or badge to be worn with pride by those officers who fought for liberty. He led the organization of the Society at Newburgh, N.Y. in 1783 and wrote "The Institution", including the immutable principles, (see Appendix) which have guided the Society through its surges and declines to the present day. Major General (Baron) von Steuben assisted and presided at the organizational meeting which elected General George Washington as the first President General.

Ineligible civilians including Thomas Jefferson suspected intrigue including organization of an hereditary aristocracy which would seize control of the country. In 1784 he almost persuaded Washington to dissociate himself from the Society, and to amend the institution to remove political or hereditary implications. The Society was only saved because distinguished foreign officers, principally French, had been rewarded with membership, the French king recognized their right to wear the badge, Major L'Enfant arrived from Paris with a present from the French sailors of a diamond encrusted eagle badge for General Washington, and gold eagles for the members. This with the Society's obligations in handling its funds collected for charity to needy officers' families finally persuaded Washington and saved the Society of the Cincinnati.

Maryland troops fought with great credit from the Battle of Long Island to the end of the war. They were the first troops to be disbanded from the Newburgh encampment in June 83. Maryland was the last State Society to organize (21 Nov. 1783) but unlike most of the others its records are continuous from that date to the present.

It is regrettable that there are so many typographical errors, mostly in the early chapters, in so fine a textbook. And at times the going gets heavy with statistics on how many members of the Cincinnati did what, voted how, etc. But only through patient effort could so many facts be accumulated and only through their use could all points be proved.

Professor Minor Myers, Jr. gets the sincere congratulations and thanks of this member, who is grateful for this very revealing document. When you read it you will be shocked by the treatment of the unpaid and underfed military by the Congress living it up in Philadelphia. But you will be proud of others like Prof. Myers who have spent much time and devotion, in preserving the Society of the Cincinnati and its immutable, if variously interpreted, principles.

BRYDEN BORDLEY HYDE  
Baltimore, Maryland

*The Papers of M. Carey Thomas in the Bryn Mawr College Archives. Reel Guide and Index to the Microfilm Collection.* Compiled by Lucy Fisher West. (Woodbridge, Conn., Research Publications, Inc., 1982. viii, 359 p.)

M. Carey Thomas (1857-1935) was born in Baltimore and shared a Friends tradition well known in the Old Line State. For reasons worth careful study and re-study, she did not live a usual or "normal" Quaker woman's life. As a

child of seven she suffered severe burns, and this event together with a long convalescence was a significant factor. She was very bright, and she matured in a family that recognized that mental powers were not reserved for males alone.

There was ferment in Baltimore in the late 19th century: should qualified young women be given the opportunity to expand their intellectual abilities at the college level was one important question. Implied, though scarcely said aloud, was the larger question of whether any limit save intellectual capacity be placed on any woman. These were years in which Mary Garrett, a friend of Thomas', was instrumental in the gift of funds to the Johns Hopkins medical school, conditional on the equality of women as students.

Thomas spent most of her long life demonstrating that a woman could achieve pinnacles in the academic world. After graduation from Cornell University in 1877, she spent three years in Europe and returned with a doctorate earned at the University of Zurich. She was first dean at the new Bryn Mawr College and then served for 28 years as its president. Not long before her death, she participated in the 50th anniversary celebration of the college.

A competent historian who had access to the large body of manuscripts left by Thomas published her early journals and letters under the title, *The Making of a Feminist*. [See *MHM*, 75 (Sept. 1980), 255-56.] The whole body of the personal papers of Thomas, augmented by recently acquired additions and by pertinent documents in the college archives, is now available on 217 reels of microfilm. These are indispensable raw materials of history and biography.

Readers of this *Magazine* will want to note seven reels of the records of Bryn Mawr School, founded in 1885 to provide girls with a first-rate preparatory school in Baltimore.

The volume under review is an essential part of microform publication of the Thomas papers. The *Reel Guide and Index* provides a brief biographical guide to Thomas' life and career, but its main purpose is to lead the user through the intricacies of a large manuscript collection whose publication on microfilm requires expert help.

Bryn Mawr College has earned the thanks of the scholarly world by making these records conveniently available. Ms. West's *Reel Guide* is a superior example of its genre.

FRED SHELLEY  
Kensington, Maryland

# The Maryland Ancestors of Zelda Sayre Fitzgerald

SCOTTIE FITZGERALD SMITH

ONE OF THE QUESTIONS I AM FREQUENTLY asked, mostly by students writing papers about my parents, is how it was that my mother, coming as she did from a most conservative southern background—her father an Alabama Supreme Court Justice, her mother a mainstay of her Episcopal Church choir—became one of the more flamboyant figures of the nineteen twenties, and later, long after her death in 1948, something of a cult figure of the women's liberation movement.

For a long time, I couldn't even try to answer that question. Few clues were to be found in Montgomery, Alabama, a far sleepier, provincial town when she was born in 1900 than it is today. From earliest childhood she was the neighborhood tomboy, the *agent provocateur* who dared the other little girls race down the middle of the street on roller skates, or jump from the rocks into the swimming hole as only boys were supposed to do. By the time she was 19, she had achieved a statewide reputation as a Rebellious Belle, amusing the young and bemusing the adults with her always original and devil-may-care attitude.

Her parents, adoring their youngest, could only remonstrate. "You will have to find a way of conducting yourself more circumspectly," says the father in her autobiographical novel, *Save Me The Waltz*. Surely, then, the answer lay more in heredity than in environment. Aunt Rosalind, my mother's older sister, had left me two large boxes full of genealogical research she had done at the DAR library when her husband was stationed in Washington, and I began to dig.

---

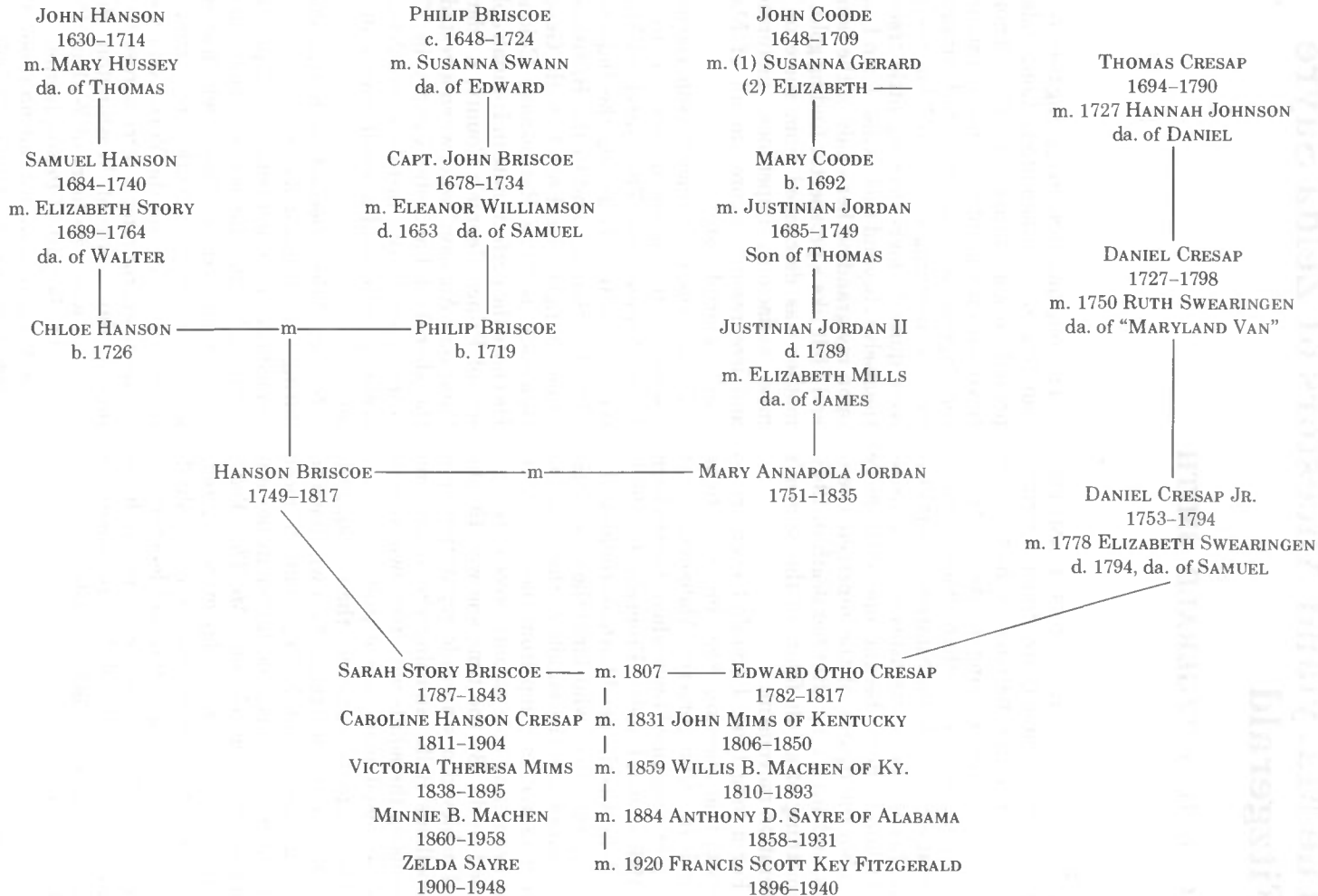
Mrs. Smith's article about her father's ancestors appeared in the Winter 1981 issue of *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

The long line of Sayres, going back to the founding of Southampton, Long Island, proved disappointing: in 1653, Thomas Sayre the immigrant was fined ten shillings for "speaking unseemly and unsavory words concerning the Court," but the rest were quiet farmers, leaving little trace of themselves beyond their wills. Then I came upon my grandmother's side of the family, and I felt like a prospector finding gold: my mother was descended from some of the most audacious, impetuous, picturesque and irrepressible figures in all of Maryland's colorful history.

My favorite is Thomas Cresap, the quintessential frontiersman, known to the Pennsylvanians as "The Maryland Monster," to his friends among the Indians as "The Big Spoon," and to the British who came to fight the French with General Braddock as "The Rattlesnake Colonel." He chose the perfect mate in Hannah Johnson of Prince George's County, a "darkly handsome Amazon" who, when arrested by the sheriff of Lancaster County in 1736, "carried a rifle, two pistols, a tomahawk, a scalping knife, and a small dagger in her boot."<sup>1</sup>

She doubtless needed such equipment during the "Conojacular War," as it was named because the territory in dispute was on the old Indian lands of Conejola, on the Susquehanna River. Cresap, who had emigrated from Skipton, Yorkshire, some years before, was living on the York County side of the river, running a ferry across to the present-day town of Washington Boro, deep into what the heirs of William Penn believed to be part of Pennsylvania.

We have indications, but no proof, that he was a secret agent of Lord Baltimore, whose original charter had given all the land north from Virginia to the fortieth



parallel to Maryland. Why else would Cresap have been granted 500 acres and appointed surveyor, magistrate, and captain of militia, despite the fact that Pennsylvania had its own officials? He proceeded to harass his neighbors, threaten them with dispossession, assert the rights of Lord Baltimore, and make himself so obnoxious to the Pennsylvania authorities that after a few years, they resolved to capture him. He made a deposition from jail describing the assault on his house:

“Those who came first threatened my Life, presenting their Guns and Pistolls at me and Surrounding my house to the great Terror of me and my family Especially my wife who was very big with Child and fell in labor with the fright . . . they then drew off to a small Distance Loaded their Guns, ate some Vitualls and Drank Rum and there continued for about Two Hours still threatening me all the Time, and came a second time and fired a volley and then retired again and drank more Rum.”<sup>2</sup>

When the house was set on fire after a 14-hour siege, the Cresaps escaped, but a few days later he was overwhelmed by a larger force, marched to Philadelphia and led in chains to the courthouse, where much of the population gathered to view the famed “Maryland Monster.” A heckler called from the crowd to ask what he thought of Philadelphia. “’Tis the finest city in my Lord Baltimore’s dominions!”, he shouted in reply.

He stayed in jail nearly a year, refusing to leave until the king himself demanded his release, as George the Second finally did, together with an order to both colonies to cease hostilities. In the end, of course, his efforts were in vain, for the tens of thousands of acres in question were given to Pennsylvania when the Mason-Dixon line was completed in 1767. The Baltimores do not get high marks for their contribution to the outcome, but that is another story.

Once released, Cresap borrowed 500 pounds from Daniel Dulany, Sr. one of the lawyers who had represented him while in jail, to move his family to the western frontier, first to a point near present-day Hagerstown where he tried to establish a fur-trading business, then to Oldtown, an abandoned Indian village near present-day

Cumberland, at the outermost edge of the frontier. He built a stone house as secure as a fort, complete with a stockade, and soon became a central figure in the drama of the wilderness.

As a guide and explorer, Indian agent, trader, surveyor, farmer, road-builder, cartographer, politician, army commissary (for General Braddock’s ill-fated expedition), and relentless fighter when necessary, he played host to everybody who came through Oldtown on their way west to the Ohio Valley or south to the Shenandoah, including Moravian missionaries on their way to convert the Indians and the Indians themselves, who called him “Big Spoon” because he fed them so handsomely. Among his more elegant guests was the young George Washington, who wrote in his first diary, in March of 1748:

“We went over in a canoe and travell’d up Maryland side all y. day in a Continued Rain to Collo Cresaps right against y. mouth of y. South Branch about 40 miles from Polks I believe y. worst road that was ever trod by man or beast.”

[On the third day of his visit, still delayed by the rain, he noted:] “We were agreeably surprised at y. sight of thirty odd Indians coming from war with only one Scalp. We had some liquor with us of which we gave them Part it elevating their Spirits put them in y. Humour of Dauncing . . . they clear a Large Circle and make a great Fire in the Middle . . . y. best Dauncer jumps up as one awakened out of a Sleep and Runs and Jumps about y. Ring in a most comicle manner . . .”<sup>3</sup>

Cresap was one of the original founders of the Ohio Company, with 25,000 acres of paper land along the river to prove it, but the sort of colonization he had in mind would have to wait, as it turned out, until after the Revolution. First, there were the French and Indian wars to be fought; General Braddock and his army went over the trail he had blazed to meet their sad fate at Fort Duquesne. It was an engineer with Braddock’s party who wrote of Oldtown in 1754:

“It is a fine situation, with a good deal of clear ground around it. Here lives one Colonel Cresap a Rattle Snake Colonel, and a vile Rascal: calls himself a Frontier man,

as he thinks he is situated nearest the Ohio of any of the inhabitants of the country, and is one of the Ohio Company . . .”<sup>4</sup>

Then, after the French were defeated, came the Indian uprising, led by different Indians from those he had befriended, when many times his life was saved by those who had. His letter from Oldtown to Governor Horatio Sharpe on July 15, 1763 gives the sanguinary picture:

“May it please your Excellency: I take this opportunity in the highth of Confusion to acquaint you with our unhappy & most wretched situation at this time being in Hourly Expectation of being massacred by our Barberous & Inhumane Enemy the Indians we having been three days successively Attacked by them Viz. the 13, 14 & this Instant on the 13th as 6 men were shocking some wheat in the field 5 Indians fired on them as they came to do it & others running to their assistance. On the 14 5 Indians crep up to & fired on about 16 men who were sitting & walking under a tree at the Entrance of my Lane about 100 yards from my House but on being fired at by the white men who much wounded some of them they Immediately Runn off & were followed by the white men about a mile all which way was great quantity of Blood on the Ground . . . I have inclosed a List of the Desolate men women & Children who have fled to my House which is Inclosed by a small stockade for safety by which you see what a number of poor Souls destitute of Every necessary of Life are here penned up & likely to be Butchered without Immediate Relief & Assistance & can Expect none unless from the Province to which they Belong. I shall submitt to your wiser Judgment the Best & most Effectual method for such Relief & shall conclude with hoping we shall have it in time.

I am Honnourable Sir  
Your most Obedt Servt  
Thos. Cresap

A dozen men were dispatched from Annapolis to lift the siege, and Oldtown survived.<sup>5</sup>

The Revolution was tailor-made for Cresap’s defiant spirit. Somehow—one wonders how he managed it—he was a member of the Lower House of the Assembly from Frederick County from 1757 to 1770, much of the time as chairman of the committee

on arms and ammunition. So it was as a seasoned politician that he founded the “Sons of Liberty” of Frederick County and, in protest against the Stamp Act, hung the Stamp Collector in effigy in front of the Frederick courthouse. After war broke out, he raised money for arms and supplies as a member of the Committee of Safety. A letter from Silas Deane to Mrs. Deane, dated 1775 when Cresap was in his eighties, summarizes his attitude:

“Anecdote. The Riflemen are rising fast. A commission is given to one Mr. Cresap to command [Michael Cresap, Thomas’ youngest son]. He being absent when it arrived, his father, the brave old Colonel Cresap took the command, and determined to join the army at their head, if his son should not arrive in season.”<sup>6</sup>

He had already reached an advanced age when he set out with pack horses, chappers, and chain carriers to determine Maryland’s western boundary, which was being disputed by Virginia. Drawing the first map of the territory, he found the source of the south branch of the Potomac to be west of the source of the north branch, making it the boundary according to the Calverts’ charter. Once again, his efforts eventually proved in vain: in 1910, the U.S. Supreme Court settled the argument in favor of West Virginia, giving Maryland one of the oddest shapes in the union.

Cresap died at Oldtown at the age of 96, 100, or 102, depending on which authority you prefer. One of his sons had been killed by Indians; another, Michael, the captain of the Rifle Regiment, died in 1775 while still with George Washington’s army. The third, his oldest son Daniel, named after his friend Dulany, “acquired great wealth, which he distributed with lavish generosity. In times of scarcity he refused to sell grain to the wealthy that he might give it freely to the poor, and he was as greatly beloved by the Indian tribes as by his white neighbors.”<sup>7</sup>

Daniel Sr. fought in the French and Indian War, and was also on the Committee of Safety during the Revolution. He lived at Rawlings, Maryland, with his wife, Ruth Swearingen, and their ten children, and is buried at the foot of Dan’s Mountain which was named for him. One of his sons, Daniel



Jr., was a first lieutenant in his uncle Michael's rifle company, which in the summer of 1775 marched for three weeks from Frederick to Boston and was the first company from the south to reach George Washington at Cambridge. He was captured by the British Hessians at the battle of Long Island and escaped from a prison ship two years later.

In 1794, four years after his grandfather's death, Daniel Jr. commanded a regiment sent by the Federal government to put down the "Whiskey Rebellion," a revolt of Western Pennsylvania corn growers and distillers against the excise tax on whiskey. The insurrection collapsed without bloodshed, but he died "from hardships endured on this campaign."<sup>8</sup>

Daniel's wife and cousin, Elizabeth Swearingen, was descended, like his mother, from Garrett Van Sweringen, a Dutchman who moved to Maryland in 1664, after the town of New Amstel, Delaware, surrendered to the British. He ran the first inn, catering to the Assembly, at St. Mary's, and became a naturalized citizen in 1669. Accordingly, his son dropped the "Van" (which some of his descendants have reclaimed, I am told) and added an "a" to the name. The branch that reached western Maryland intermarried profusely with the Cresaps.

In 1811, at the ages of 29 and 24 respectively, the last of my mother's Maryland ancestors took off from Cresaptown with their two small daughters and travelled on a flat boat down the Ohio River to Caldwell County, Kentucky. They were Edward Otho Cresap, Daniel Jr.'s eldest son, and Sarah Story Briscoe, daughter of Hanson Briscoe of St. Mary's, who had moved to Cumberland after the Revolution.

Marylanders were moving to Kentucky in droves in those days, and one likes to think of old Thomas waving them on cheerfully from his grave; after all, he had helped pave the way for the western migration. But alas, things did not turn out as projected. Within six years Edward was dead, leaving Sarah with five children under ten years old. Some say he died of pneumonia, but I prefer another family story, that he was killed by Chickasaw Indians.

Because of the strange position in which

his body was found, so goes the tale, he had to be squeezed into his coffin. At his wake, the coffin was opened for family and friends to pay their respects . . . and out sprang the body. It was a severe case of rigor mortis, but it scared the family and servants out of their wits. One cousin claims that it was Daniel Jr. that this happened to, but I favor the other version because I cannot bear to think of such an untoward event taking place in Maryland.

Edward may have had a "Maryland Monster" in his background, but Sarah, too, had a *bête noire*, in the person of her great-great grandfather, a man who is almost always referred to in the early histories as "the infamous John Coode." As leader of the Maryland Revolution of 1689, which deposed the Lords Baltimore and placed the province under royal rule for a quarter of a century, he drew such epithets as "flagitious" (according to Webster: wicked, scandalous, villainous, corrupt) down on his head, as well as others, I'm sure, not quite so mannerly.

He is thought to have arrived in St. Mary's County from his native Penryn, Cornwall, in about 1672 at about 24 years old. After two years at Oxford, he had been ordained as a deacon and possibly as a minister of the Church of England, a matter upon which he was consistently evasive, which was to get him in much trouble later. In a letter to the Bishop of London at the time of the 1689 revolution, a Reverend at St. Mary's called him a "blasphemer and a turbulent citizen" who "sometimes claimed he was a priest and sometimes claimed he wasn't."<sup>9</sup> He was never, at any time, overly devoted to the truth.

His first noteworthy action in Maryland set the stage for the drama to follow: in 1674 he married Susanna Slye, 16 years his senior and a wealthy widow, as she was the daughter of Thomas Gerard, one-time Lord of the Manor of St. Clement's. By this move—to give him the benefit of the doubt, there is no proof that he was not wildly enamoured—he acquired residence at "Bushwood," one of the handsomer plantations of the province, and the social status which was almost essential to advancement in those days. He also acquired two

brothers-in-law, Kenelm Cheseldyne and Nehemiah Blackistone, who had inherited anti-proprietary leanings from their late father-in-law, Gerard, and were to become intimately associated with his revolutionary endeavors.

At first, he appeared to be rapidly on his way up, becoming a delegate to the Lower House of the Assembly in 1676, a naval officer the same year, a County Justice in 1677, and a coroner for St. Mary's in 1678; all but the Assembly seat appointments by the Governor. Then in 1681 he fell from grace, as the result of drunk and disorderly conduct during a county court session at St. Mary's City. He tore the injunction he received to pieces, telling the court justices that they were a "company of fools." Charles Calvert took away his commission and ordered a trial.<sup>10</sup>

Presumably out of spite, Coode began spreading rumors that the Catholics and the Indians, with the connivance of the Proprietor, were conspiring to annihilate the Protestants of the province. He was not the only agitator playing on the fears of the people in this way, but his language was probably the most inflammatory. For example, upon learning of the murders of some Protestants at Point Lookout, he "swore God damn all the Catholick Papist Doggs . . . he would be revenged of them, and spend the best blood in his body."<sup>11</sup>

Furious, Calvert had him arrested, then requested the Assembly, to which he had been reelected, not to seat him at their 1681 session until his trial for sedition and mutiny. The long-time struggle for power between the Governor's Council and the Lower House now caused the latter to refuse the request. In the end he was tried and cleared of the charges, but not before having to swallow the following rebuke from Chancellor Philip Calvert:

"Captain Coode your Country hath quitted you and now lett me give you some advice I would have you for the future to love your quiet better than your Jest . . . you love to amaze the Ignorant and make sport with your witt at most times and therefore tis noe wonder at that time you did not well weigh the circumstances of time and other mens actings that gave the Government just cause to suspect you were of the same tribe with Fendall [another anti-proprie-

tary agitator] . . . Let me tell you mens tongues oftener sett theire feete to work then theire hands doe and therefore keep a Guard upon your Tongue . . ."<sup>12</sup>

A few months later, Chancellor Calvert wrote to a friend in England that Mrs. Susannah Coode had become so upset by the whole affair that she had personally berated the proprietor, adding that "it was doubtful if she would retain her sanity." According to one historian, Susanna had been "subject to fits" since the death of her eldest son in 1659, yet in 1684, Thomas Carville of St. Mary's testified that he placed the responsibility for her death on the Proprietor for his treatment of Coode.<sup>13</sup>

Susanna's death in 1683 removed not only his wife but "Bushwood," which had been left to her son Gerard Slye by his father. This must have given Coode further incentive for his continued backstage rumor-mongering concerning Indian-Papist plots, yet in public, he behaved so circumpectly that it took the Proprietary almost completely by surprise when, in July of 1689, he gathered a force of about 250 men from Charles, Calvert, and St. Mary's County for a march on the courthouse where 80 to 100 militiamen were hastily assembled.

Whether the Revolution would have taken place if there had been no John Coode continues to be an interesting speculation. There was ample discontent with Lord Baltimore's rule, especially in the matter of favoritism in appointments shown to his Catholic friends and relatives.<sup>14</sup> Nor had Baltimore improved things by leaving for England in 1684 to settle a border dispute with William Penn (by the time Thomas Cresap got into the act, this controversy was half a century old), putting the state in the hands of nine deputy governors, of whom seven were his relatives. He had meant to return sooner, but the accession of James II detained him, and he was still in London when the "Orange Revolution" put William and Mary on the throne. The message he sent to proclaim allegiance to the new sovereigns was lost in transit, creating anxiety at home over his long silence.

Still, without Coode's propensity for impetuous action, there might never have

been a seizure of the government. For this was less a popular uprising than a fortunately bloodless coup by Coode, his two brothers-in-law, Henry Jowles who, as the father of Kenelm Cheseldyne's son-in-law, was also a member of the family, and a handful of their cohorts. To reassure the citizenry, they issued a declaration that they were seizing power only in the name of William and Mary and to "protect and shelter the inhabitants from all manner of violence, oppression and destruction that is plotted and designed against them." The force at St. Mary's surrendered, followed by another emplacement of troops at Mat-tapany, and Coode became, surely with some astonishment, in effect the head of the government of Maryland.

The victors called themselves the Associators, short for "The Association for the Defense of the Protestant Religion". They held a convention, gave themselves titles—Coode became Commander-in-Chief—replaced office holders loyal to the Baltimores, prevented the deposed deputy Governors from communicating with London, renewed the French-and-Indian scares, and wrote pleading letters to William and Mary asking to be recognized as the legitimate government.

Basically, they marked time until a letter from the new Sovereigns arrived at last, in late May of 1690, requesting them to stay in office until the situation could be studied further. Elated, Coode and Cheseldyne took off for London in September to plead the case of the Associators against Lord Baltimore. It is suspected that Jowles and Blakiston, the stabler elements, may have wanted their hot-headed colleagues out of the way . . . we shall probably never know for sure.<sup>15</sup>

While Coode and Cheseldyne were in England, the Crown decided to take over the government of the colony, reducing Lord Baltimore to the status of an absentee landlord collecting rent: his charter was suspended "by reason of great neglects and miscarriages." Lionel Copley, a Protestant, was designated Governor; Coode presumably met with him, for seven of his eight original nominees for the Royal Council, including Coode, were high-ranking Associators. But by the time Copley sailed for Maryland in 1692, neither Coode nor Che-

seldyne were on the list; there is evidence that they had not made a favorable impression, and since both men were plagued with drinking problems, we can guess at the reasons why.

The two returned home soon after Copley's arrival, only to find Blakiston in the role of his right-hand man on the council; Coode was soon opposing them, earning his title of "perennial malcontent." In 1694, the new Governor, Francis Nicholson, appointed him Sheriff of St. Mary's, a post he held intermittently until his death in 1709.

The account of his latter years given by McMahon in his *Historical View of The Government of Maryland*, written in 1831 and unabashedly critical, gives a bird's eye view of the troubles which he brought upon himself:

"When we next hear of him, he was . . . asserting that religion was a trick, reviling the apostles, denying the divinity of the christian religion, and alleging that all the morals worth having were contained in Cicero's offices. He had been elected to the Assembly about that period, when the doctrine "that once a priest, always a priest," was applied to him, and he was declared ineligible. His blasphemous expressions were reported to the governor and council; and he was presented by the grand jury of St. Mary's county for atheism and blasphemy . . . he fled to Virginia . . . Nicholson [the Governor] being removed, he came in and surrendered himself in May, 1699 . . . being convicted, Blakiston [the new Governor, not his brother-in-law] . . . in consideration of the services rendered by him at the revolution, suspended his sentence for six months, in hope of his reformation . . . Age, or affliction, or both, seem to have mended his manners and tamed his insurrectionary spirit; for from this period, he is seen no more in the affairs of the province. Sic transit gloria mundi."<sup>16</sup>

Mr. McMahon left out the gory part—perhaps he thought it would have made his readers more sympathetic to his subject. The outcome of the trial in 1699 was that he was sentenced to have his tongue bored with a red hot iron for "excessive and unbridled blasphemy." Fortunately for him, the Governor suspended the sentence, and also absolved him from all past crimes and convictions.

And McMahon was wrong on one point: he was seen again in 1708, when St. Mary's County elected him to the Assembly once again. Another fight, with yet another Governor, ensued. Finally the Lower House declared him once again ineligible to sit, since he had been in Holy Orders. One can not help admiring the tenacity and loyalty of the St. Mary's County voters.

He died three months later, leaving his children moderately well-off. His daughter Mary, by his second wife Elizabeth (last name unknown) married Justinian Jordan, also a member of the Assembly from St. Mary's for many years, and became the great-grandmother of the Sarah Briscoe Cresap who went to Kentucky on the raft.

Sarah's father, Hanson Briscoe, was possessed of a fine name to have in those days, a fine name to have now for that matter, when it is proudly worn by the longtime speaker of the Maryland House of Delegates, John Hanson Briscoe. The origins of both colonial families are shrouded in the sort of myth that gives working on one's family history its serendipitous quality.

For years I thought—because Aunt Rosalind said so, *Ancestral Records and Portraits*, published by the Colonial Dames, said so, and everything I found on the illustrious John Hanson, first President of the Continental Congress, said so in no uncertain terms—that the first Hansons in Maryland were Swedish, descended from King Gustavus Vasa through a young London merchant who met Margaret Vasa, the King's granddaughter, while traveling in Sweden, married her and settled there.

According to this glorious tale the father of the immigrants, John Hanson, was raised at the Swedish court and killed in 1632 at the battle of Lutzen, Germany, while shielding his second cousin, Gustavus Adolphus, who was also slain. His four small sons were made wards of the young Queen Christina, who inherited the throne. They were brought to New Sweden (Delaware) in 1643 under the stewardship of Governor John Prinz, and moved to Maryland when Peter Stuyvesant annexed the Swedish colony in 1655. Their names were Andrew, Randle or Randall, William and John.<sup>17</sup>

It's all so romantic that it was painful to

give it up, but what else can one do when Harry Wright Newman, dean of living Maryland genealogists, tells one that in no way does the story conform with the facts? "The records which have been preserved in Maryland somehow seem to contradict the narrative," he says.<sup>18</sup> According to him, the first American John Hanson was an impetuous Englishman who arrived in Charles County some time prior to 1672.

Other than receiving 830 pounds of tobacco for participating in an expedition against the Nanticoke Indians of the Eastern shore, the first Hanson did little to capture our interest. Mr. Newman, whose predilection for the well-born is charmingly undisguised, is quite impatient with him:

"He was superior to many of his Maryland compatriots by the fact that he could inscribe his name, but the absence of civil positions of trust and prominence and the designation of gentleman somehow lead one to draw the conclusion that it took the stamina of the second generation and their marriages with gentry houses to place the family among the elite of Southern Maryland."<sup>19</sup>

John Hanson married Mary Hussey, the daughter of Thomas Hussey, yet another colonist of a less than docile nature. In March of 1687, the Commissioners of Charles County held that because Hussey refused to keep the ordinary (pub) at the Court House at the price of liquors set by the court, someone else had been licensed to do so. He was ordered to give up the key to the Court House and the acre of land belonging to it, and was accused of trying to obstruct "the passage of people and supplies to the Court House" during the dispute.

At the next meeting of the Provincial Council, Hussey protested that he had only let his license lapse because the price of liquor had been set too low by the Commissioners. He realized, he said, the necessity for an inn to accommodate the county at court time, esteemed the "Public Profit" before his "Private Convenience," and was willing to give up the acre in question. He was cleared of the charges brought against him, but reprimanded for "hindering and molesting" those who were trying to build a kitchen for the Court House.<sup>20</sup>

John and Mary had seven children, all of whom appear to have lived up to Mr. Newman's highest expectations. By the time of the Revolution, there were so many prominent Hansons that even the Hall of Records hasn't got them straight. Apologizing in the introduction to that marvel of scholarship, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635-1789*, the authors complain of the difficulty of telling the Samuel Hansons apart:

"A Samuel Hanson represented Charles County in the second, fourth, and fifth provincial conventions held between 1774 and 1776 and in the House of Delegates from 1777 to 1784. The proceedings of the conventions and the journals of the house cause immediate confusion because the distinguishing titles appended to Samuel's name ("Jr.," "of Samuel," "Major") follow no pattern. Preliminary research into Charles County probate, land, court, and assessment records produced six recognizable Samuel Hansons, with a hint of a seventh. Of the six, three customarily added their father's name . . . after further study it became clear that all three of the other Samuel Hansons were members of the Lower House, and legislative service was assigned."<sup>21</sup>

We are here concerned only with the first Samuel, who died in 1740 and after whom, presumably, all the others were named. He and his wife Elizabeth Story, daughter of Walter Story, who was also a member of the Assembly, built "Mulberry Hill," a handsome plantation house at the head of Port Tobacco Creek. It was struck by lightning and burned to the ground in 1934, and has been painstakingly rebuilt by members of the Edelen family, Hanson descendants. This Samuel was Sheriff, then Clerk, then Deputy Commissary of Charles County and mightily prosperous, bequeathing 23 slaves to the 15 children and grandchildren named in his will.

The youngest of his children was Chloe, who is assumed to have died young because she was a minor when her father made out his will in 1740 and is never heard of again after 1755, when she and her husband, Philip Briscoe, sold some property to his younger brother. Also, she only had four children, unusual in those days. If so, that is sad indeed, for the Hansons were an

exciting family at the hub of an exciting time.

To begin with, there was her celebrated older brother John, who represented Charles County in the Lower House for many years before he moved to Frederick in 1773, presumably as part of a well-orchestrated plan to take the leadership of the opposition to British rule to the outlying areas. Perhaps his greatest personal triumph came in signing, with Daniel Carroll, the Articles of Confederation for Maryland in 1781, a goal he had been working toward for many years. When he returned to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia that November, he was unanimously elected its first President for a definite term of office, thus becoming, some say, technically the first President of the U.S. His statue is one of two representing Maryland in the U.S. Capitol.

Then there were Chloe's brother Samuel, chairman of the Committee of Safety for Charles County, who "presented General Washington with 800 pounds sterling silver to cover the bare feet of his soldiers with shoes;"<sup>22</sup> her grandson Samuel, a surgeon on George Washington's staff; her son Dr. John Hanson Briscoe, also a surgeon in the Continental Army, who was in charge of the Philadelphia military hospitals toward the end of the war; her cousin Thomas Stone, signer of the Declaration of Independence; her cousin Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, signer of the Constitution; and her cousin Robert Hanson Harrison, military secretary to George Washington throughout the Revolution, to name just a few of the stars. If she had lived, what conversations might she have overheard, what brilliant dinners might she have presided over!

The American origins of the Briscoe family are as cloaked in romance as those of the Hansons, and I pray I will not receive a single letter of protest if I state that the first Briscoe may or may not have come over on the *Ark* or the *Dove*. It is a controversy into which I am not qualified to enter.

In brief, a Henry Briscoe was listed as a participant in that historic voyage; land was demanded for his transportation and he was never heard from again. In 1648, the Annapolis land records show a Briscoe getting a subpoena to testify in a court case.

From these and a few other pieces of inconclusive evidence an imposing genealogy has been constructed, based on the assumption that Henry was really John, that John was really a doctor, and that yet another Dr. John was the father of Colonel Philip Briscoe, Justice of St. Mary's County from 1692 to 1696, of Charles County from 1695 to 1709, and delegate to the Lower House of the Assembly in 1699. The theory was lent weight by the following letter, discovered in the desk of a Briscoe descendant in West Virginia late in the last century:

Oldiham  
September 1, 1633

Dr. John Briscoe  
Briksheugh, New Biggin,  
Cumberland County.

Dear Sir:—As the Privy Council have decided that I shall not be disturbed or dispossessed of the Charter granted by His Majesty, the 'Ark' and pinnace 'Dove' will sail from Gravesend about the first of October, and if you are of the same mind as when I conversed with you, I would be glad to have you join the Colony.

With high esteem,  
Your most Ob't servant,  
Cecilius Baltimore.

Hester Dorsey Richardson, writing in the *Baltimore Sun* in 1903, said she believed the letter to be the original until "the Maryland Historical Society, which asked the privilege of examining it, had the unpleasant duty of pronouncing it a copy of the original, and it is hoped that the actual letter will yet be found in some of the papers."

So far, the original has not been found, and the Ark and Dove Society has been reluctant to declare the letter authentic. Those who, like myself, wish to remain on the safe side, will accept the compromise offered in Philip Briscoe's biography in the aforementioned *Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature*. The authors give as his only family background: "*Perhaps* a descendant of Dr. John Briscoe of Cumberland, England, who had come to Maryland with Leonard Calvert in 1634. (Italics mine)"

Philip married Susannah Swann, daughter of an Edward Swann who had come to Maryland from Virginia; their son Captain

John, also a Charles County Justice, married Eleanor Williamson, daughter of Samuel who was yet another member of the legislature. John was *not* in the legislature, and little is known of him beyond the fact that he and his heirs forever were to have the first pew on the left side coming into the side door of All Faith's Church of St. Mary's.

Nor do we know much of Philip, husband of Chloe Hanson, other than the fact that he was on Lord Baltimore's "Honorable Council for Charles County" and, rather endearingly, enlisted in the Army in May of 1778 and was discharged in 1779, at the age of 62. He apparently was fond of the Hanson connection: after naming one son Hanson Briscoe, he named another John Hanson Briscoe (the above-mentioned surgeon).

Hanson Briscoe, father of Sarah Briscoe Cresap, was appointed by the Committee of Safety in 1776 to a committee of three to collect all the gold and silver coins in St. Mary's County, exchanging them for continental paper money; the other members were Col. George Plater and Richard Barnes, chairman. "You are to inform the Council of Safety what Sum you have been able to collect with all convenient Speed that they may transmit the gross Amount of the whole to the Congress," they ordered; no easy task, as this letter from Barnes to the Council attests:

Gentlemen I received yours by Post appointing Col. Plater Mr. Briscoe & self to collect all the gold and silver coin that can be produced in the County On consideration find it impracticable to be done unless we had money in hand to exchange as it must be collected in small quantities, and even in that case its probable no great sum can be obtained, however my endeavors shall not be wanting to procure it.<sup>23</sup>

After the war, Hanson Briscoe was appointed to several terms as a Judge at St. Mary's City, but around 1790, he and his wife, Mary Annapola Jordan, the daughter of Justinian Jordan II and Elizabeth Mills, decided to move to Cumberland. This was the time of the great migration from St. Mary's County, which had been much impoverished by the Revolution, to Baltimore, Washington, and points west; the county

lost nearly 25 percent of its population.<sup>24</sup> In Cumberland, he again became a Judge, sitting on the Orphan's Court in 1791 with one of the Daniel Cresaps. Mary Annapola, called "Nappler" by her family, outlived him by many years; she is the last of my mother's ancestors to be buried in Maryland soil, in 1835.

Though the Maryland part of this history has come to an end, I am worried about my readers who may be suffering unbearable suspense regarding the fate of Sarah Cresap, left in the Kentucky wilderness with her passel of small children. She soon remarried, to a Mr. Cobb; one of her daughters, Caroline Hanson Cresap, married John Mims, a merchant of Eddyville, Kentucky. This lady apparently inherited some of Thomas Cresap's bravado, for during the War Between The States, while residing at the home of her daughter on the Cumberland River, she insisted on flying the Confederate flag over the roof of the plantation in full view of a Yankee gunboat, drawing the inevitable shell-fire and causing considerable damage to the house.

Her daughter's husband, Willis B. Machen, was in Richmond at the time as a delegate to the Confederate Congress, having led an unsuccessful effort to persuade western Kentucky to secede from the Union. He fled to Canada with his family after the war, but was eventually pardoned by President Grant, returned home (I note that his mother-in-law went to live with another daughter!), and was appointed a U.S. Senator to fill out an unexpired term; he took my grandmother, Minnie, with him to Washington for his swearing-in.

Minnie was sent to Montgomery, Alabama, to school. She had some relatives living there, and presumably educational facilities for proper young ladies in Eddyville, Kentucky, were found wanting. There she met my grandfather, Anthony D. Sayre, the Speaker of the Alabama House before his election to the state Supreme Court. When my grandmother turned 96, a reporter for the *Montgomery Advertiser* (mother paper of Ray Jenkins, now the editorial page editor of the *Baltimore Evening Sun*) came to interview her. He asked her in what ways the town had changed

during the eighty-odd years she had lived there.

"I wouldn't know, young man," she replied. "You see, I'm from Maryland and Kentucky."

I know she told my father much of the history she remembered, because he named the principal character of a series of stories about his childhood Basil Duke, a Civil War figure who was a relative of her husband's. But I doubt if she knew much about Coode, Cresap, and the other colonials. Surely my mother and father would have been fascinated to learn that so many of their ancestors not only knew each other through constant intermarriages, but sat together in the Maryland legislature almost continuously for over a hundred years. For a while, I almost had them related through Thomas Gerard, since Susannah Coode and my father's ancestress, Mary Cheseldyne, were sisters. But of course, as the reader will instantly recall, John Coode's children were by his second wife, Susannah having died of injuries sustained by her husband.

Who knows? Instead of wasting time on all that foolishness during the Jazz Age, they might have settled down in Annapolis and spent their evenings poring over the records of the colonial House of Burgesses. I can see the titles now: *The Great Cresap, The Beautiful and Damned John Coode*. Certainly they would have lived longer, as nearly all of their irrepressible ancestors did.

#### REFERENCES

I could never have written this article without the invaluable help of Mr. Theodore Brownyard of Silver Spring, Maryland, a superb genealogist; my cousin Harry Wright Newman of Annapolis; my cousin Waverly Barbe of Tuscaloosa, Alabama; and cousin Bernarr Cresap of Gallatin, Tennessee, historian of the Cresap family.

1. Interview with Henry W. Shoemaker, President of the Pennsylvania Folk Lore Society, in the *Lewistown Sentinel*, May 2, 1950.
2. From the Calvert papers at the Maryland Historical Society, cited by Lawrence C. Wroth, "The Story of Thomas Cresap, a Maryland Pioneer", *Maryland Historical Magazine*, (March, 1914):1-37.
3. Lawrence C. Wroth, "The Story of Thomas Cresap", op. cit., p. 22.

4. *Ibid*, p. 29.
5. Kenneth P. Bailey, *Thomas Cresap, Maryland Frontiersman* (Boston: Christopher Publishing Co., 1944), pp. 208-9.
6. Cited in Bailey, *Thomas Cresap, Maryland Frontiersman*, p. 162.
7. Emily Emerson Lanz, "Cresap Family of Maryland", *Baltimore Sun*, December 16, 1906.
8. J.O. Cresap & Bernarr Cresap, *History of the Cresaps*, privately printed, 1937.
9. Cited in Nelson Waite Rightmeyer, *Maryland's Established Church* (Baltimore: the Church Historical Society for the Diocese of Maryland, 1956), p. 174.
10. Cited in Rev. Columba J. Devlin, T.O.R., *John Coode and the Maryland Revolution of 1689* (Master's Thesis, Catholic University, 1952), p. 31.
11. Cited in Regina Combs Hammet, *History of St. Mary's County* (Privately printed, 1977), p. 37.
12. Cited by Devlin, *John Coode and the Maryland Revolution of 1689*, op. cit., p. 36.
13. *Ibid*, p. 38.
14. Lois Green Carr and David William Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974), p. 37.
15. *Ibid*, p. 130.
16. John V.L. McMahon, *An Historical View of the Government of Maryland*, Baltimore, 1831, Vol. 1., p. 238.
17. The most fanciful account is given in J. Bruce Kremer's *John Hanson of Mulberry Grove* (New York: Albert & Charles Boni, Inc., 1938). Mr. Kremer was the owner of Mulberry Grove at that time.
18. Harry Wright Newman, *Charles County Gentry* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1971), p. 219.
19. *Ibid*, p. 222.
20. Cited in Margaret Brown Klapthor and Paul Dennis Brown, *History of Charles County, Maryland* (La Plata, Maryland, Charles County Tercentenary, Inc., 1958), pp. 20-22.
21. Sponsored by the Hall of Records Commission, published by Johns Hopkins University Press, (Baltimore, 1979), pp. 2-3.
22. George A. Hanson, *Old Kent* (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1967), p. 125.
23. *Archives of Maryland*, II: 176.
24. Hammet, *History of St. Mary's County, Maryland*, p. 83.



## BOOK NOTES

*Marriages and Deaths, St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1634-1900.* By Margaret K. Fresco. (Ridge, MD: the Compiler, 1982. Pp. xiv, 490. Order from Margaret K. Fresco, General Delivery, Ridge, MD 20680).

St. Mary's County is one of the counties where a court house fire has destroyed most county records of the 17th and 18th centuries. As a result, researching the families of the mother county of Maryland has always been difficult. The genealogist's task has been made much easier by Mrs. Fresco's volume of marriage, death, and emigrant notices. Marriage records, marriage licences, and marriage clues are listed in the first 323 pages. Taken from a bibliography of 88 published and unpublished sources they cover the entire period of St. Mary's County history. Death notices, like many of the marriage notices, often give the parents of the individuals, making research much easier. The last section contains notices of St. Mary's County emigrants taken from newspapers from the years 1852-1900. There is no index, but all marriage entries are cross references by names of brides and grooms.

This book is a must for any Maryland genealogist and for any library with a Maryland collection.

ROBERT BARNES  
*Baltimore, Maryland*

*Bonded Passengers to America.* By Peter Wilson Coldham. (Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1982. 9 v. in 3. \$75.00.)

In the 1970s, Peter Coldham compiled two volumes on English convicts in Colonial America, and with other volumes in preparation the Genealogical Publishing Co. decided to issue all such passengers in 9 vols., and publish them in three volumes. The two earlier volumes are included in this set but because there are some changes, the whole set is necessary. Because most of the passengers were forcibly transported as convicts, the names will be seen for the first time in printed form.

In this set, Mr. Coldham shows that between 1615 and 1775 approximately 50,000 men, women and children were transported to the American colonies to work on plantations therefore, a large number of Americans are descended from these convicts; and for the first time they will be able to trace these ancestors. It may be natural for present day genealogists to be unhappy at the knowledge that their ancestors came here as felons, but it should be remembered

that hanging resulted from the theft of a sheep, and upon examination of the reasons for deportation it could have resulted merely from the theft of a handkerchief.

The separate titles are: History of Transportation, 1615-1775; Middlesex, 1617-1775; London, 1656-1775; Home Counties, 1655-1775; Western Circuit, 1664-1775; Oxford Circuit, 1663-1775; Norfolk Circuit; 1663-1775; Northern Circuit, 1665-1775; and Midland Circuit, 1671-1775. Thus almost all of England is covered, and as such the set is essential in any library where genealogists foregather. As usual the work is handsomely produced with binding which will withstand constant use.

P. WILLIAM FILBY  
*Savage, Maryland*

*Genealogical Periodical Annual Index: key to the genealogical literature, Volume 18, 1979.* By Catherine M. Mayhew & Laird C. Towle. (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, Inc., Suite 301, 3602 Maureen. \$15.00.)

The first thing any genealogist does when using secondary sources is turn to the index. Thus the least amount of time is spent getting the most out of the book or periodical. In the case of the latter, an index may not be available, therefore, the *Genealogical Periodical Annual Index* becomes the all-important key to unlock the vast amount of genealogical literature published in journals, magazines, and newsletters during a given year.

The compilers of this work scan each article to identify the true content which they correctly note may not be gleaned from the title on the "Table of Contents". The material then is indexed by surname, locality, and topical categories.

Volume 18 of the GPAI indexes 148 periodicals published in the United States and Canada through the period 1978-79, sent to the compilers for inclusion in the *Index*. Abbreviations are used extensively throughout which allows for a great deal of material in a rather slim volume.

There is one serious flaw (which is surprising since one of the compilers is a woman): the genealogical data, i.e., ancestor charts, family records, etc. are indexed only under the male surname. Females are mentioned in the entry but unfortunately are not cross-referenced which seriously reduces the effectiveness of this work for genealogical research. Hopefully, this will be corrected in future volumes.

THOMAS L. HOLLOWAK  
*Baltimore, Maryland*

# NEWS AND NOTICES

## ST. MARY'S CITY HOSTS THIRD ANNUAL HALL OF RECORDS CONFERENCE ON MARYLAND HISTORY

As part of the festivities celebrating the 350th anniversary of Maryland's founding, St. Mary's City will host the Third Annual Hall of Records Conference on Maryland History, May 18-21, 1984. Sponsored by the Maryland Hall of Records, St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's College, and the Institute for Early American History in Williamsburg, Virginia, the conference, entitled "Maryland: A Product of Two Worlds," will be devoted to 17th-century English settlements along the Chesapeake, with emphasis on the colony of Maryland. The Maryland Humanities Council, the state-based affiliate of the National Endowment for the Humanities, has committed over \$20,000 to the conference which will be the scholarly community's contribution to Maryland's 1984 birthday observance. This award is one of the largest given for a Maryland conference.

The 17th-century has sometimes been referred to as the "Dark Ages" of American history. Over the past decade, historians, geographers, anthropologists and archaeologists, supported by state and federal funds, have turned their attention to the 17th-century Chesapeake to shed light on this little-known period and understand why and how Europeans and Africans settled and developed this part of the New World. The Third Annual Hall of Records Con-

ference will provide an opportunity for scholars from the U.S. and Europe to share with each other and the public the results of their exciting research.

The Third Annual Hall of Records Conference on Maryland History will be held at St. Mary's City, where the State of Maryland is developing a history museum/park at the site of Maryland first settlement and 17th-century capital. For more information regarding this conference, call (301) 994-0779.

## FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION NOTICE OF MEETING & FINAL CALL FOR PAPERS

The fifth biennial Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists will meet in Providence, Rhode Island, from June 15 to June 17, 1984. Proposals for papers and panels on any theme relating to Quaker history and research are welcome.

Deadline for proposals: October 1, 1983

Deadline for completed papers: April 15, 1984  
Please send proposals and requests for information to the program coordinator:

Jo Ann Robinson  
Department of History  
Morgan State University  
Baltimore, Md. 21239

## MARYLAND PICTURE PUZZLE



In each issue of Maryland Picture Puzzle, we show a photograph from the Maryland Historical Society collection. The photograph is, in some way, puzzling. We would like you to test your visual skills and knowledge of Maryland in identifying it. Please send your solution to the Prints and Photos editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

The hotel depicted in the Summer 1983 Puzzle was the Albion Hotel on the corner of Read (then called Richmond) and Cathedral Streets. The photograph was taken in 1910 (see car's license plate).

This spot looks quite different now. Do you know where the fountain, at which the lady is gazing, was located? In your answer, please let us know how you identified the image.