LIFE AND WORK

OF

JOHN McDONOGH

AND

SKETCH OF McDONOGH SCHOOL.

1886

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AND

SKETCH OF THE McDONOGH SCHOOL

BY JOHN JOHNSON, JR.

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PREFACE.

WITHIN the past generation many merchant princes have thrown lustre upon the annals of Baltimore by their spendid gifts or bequests for the benefit of their fellow-citizens. Of this array—an array which contains such names as Peabody, Hopkins, Moses Shepherd, Thomas Wilson, John W. Garrett and Enoch Pratt—John McDonogh was the leader and pioneer. More than a third of a century ago, when millionaires were not to be found upon every exchange, he devoted one of the largest fortunes of that day entirely to the noblest charities.

No biography of Mr. McDonogh has ever been written, and few, meagre and unreliable are the sketches of him to be found. His contemporaries are for the most part gone. It seems improper that oblivion should gradually cover the character and life of a man who devoted the labors of a life-time to the good of his fellow-men, and whose princely benefactions, having survived all the storms of war and litigation, are now beginning to bring forth the fruit for which he toiled, and of which he dreamed.

The materials for the following memoir have been gathered largely from his correspondence preserved among archives of the city of New Orleans. Such information as could be obtained from relatives, from personal friends, and from former slaves, as well as from the records of the suits which grew out of Mr. McDonogh's will, has been used; but this information was found to be meagre and unsatisfactory compared with that gotten from his own letters.

My work has been much facilitated by the kind courtesy of a number of persons in New Orleans. Among these I must specially mention Mayor Guillotte, Col. I. M. Patton, Mrs. E. Forstall, W. O. Rogers, Esq., Col. W. P. Johnston, Julius

Kruttschnitt, Esq., Rev. Jno. F. Girault, Judge Alexander Walker, the late Col. J. B. Walton, and Mrs. Jules Dupeyre.

I have also to return my thanks to Mrs. Eliza Hayne, and to Mr. A. F. Murdoch and Dr. Russell Murdoch, of Baltimore (relatives of Mr. McDonogh), for kind assistance.

My object has been to set forth before the ever-growing numbers of those who owe so much to his philanthropy the true lineaments of their benefactor, as well as to rescue from misconception and oblivion the character of a man against whom the severest criticism which can be brought is that he served subsequent generations better than his own.

McDonogh, *February*, 1886.

LIFE AND WORK OF JOHN McDONOGH.

CHAPTER I.

But little is known of the ancestors of John McDonogh, the philanthropist. His grandfather, Henry McDonogh, resided in York County, Pa. The name, as well as tradition, indicate that he belonged to that sturdy Scotch-Irish race which in the early part of the eighteenth century sent over so many emigrants from the north of Ireland to Pennsylvania and Virginia and the Carolinas. From these emigrants are descended many of the best people of the States just named, and one hundred and fifty years of life on American soil has not weakened the courage, the self-reliance, the tenacity, the devotion to principle, which more than a century of hardship and persecution had woven into the fibre of this race. Whether Henry McDonogh was himself the immigrant is not known, but we find him settled in York County between 1730 and 1740. There were born to him three sons and four daughters, of whom the eldest was John McDonogh, father of the philanthropist.[1] He was born in 1737. Of his early life but one incident is known. At eighteen years of age he became a soldier under Washington in the unfortunate Braddock expedition (A. D. 1755). He accompanied Col. Washington in the retreat after the death of Braddock, and seems to have returned to his native county, and to have remained there for some years. From his family record we learn that he married probably in 1758, and from the fact that his first child was born in Philadelphia in 1759, it is probable that he was living there at that time. He soon returned to York, however, where he continued to reside until about 1774.[2] Between 1764 and 1768 Mr. McDonogh lost his

[1] Ascertained from the family record in the Bible of John McDonogh, Sr., now in possession of the family of Col. J. B. Walton, of New Orleans.

[2] Family record in Bible of Mr. McDonogh, Sr.

first wife and probably the children of this marriage, and in 1768 he married as his second wife Elizabeth Wilkins. Twelve children, six sons and six daughters, were the fruit of this union, of whom John McDonogh, the philanthropist, was the sixth child and eldest son. From the birthplaces of his children given in the record in the family Bible, it is evident that John McDonogh, Sr., removed to Baltimore between 1773 and 1775, and it was in the latter city, on December 29, 1779, that his son John was born.

The plans of the elder John McDonogh in his new home were speedily and rudely interrupted by the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. Belonging to a race noted for its resistance to oppression, and himself a soldier trained in the Braddock campaign, we can readily understand that John McDonogh was not long in joining the standard of the rebels of those days, and in seeking service under his old leader, now Commander-in-Chief of the united forces of the Colonies. He continued a soldier through the greater part of the war, and it was only when peace had risen upon the land that he was able once more to settle down and devote himself to the support and training of his growing family.

For the next twenty years Mr. McDonogh's life was that of an active man of business. He owned and cultivated some land adjoining the city, and was also engaged in the manufacture of bricks. He resided in what is now South Baltimore, having owned from 1794 the land in the vicinity of the intersection of Hill with Goodman (now South Charles street) and Sharp streets. He also owned some nineteen acres in what was then called Timber Neck, in South Baltimore, and there he carried on his brickmaking.

Mr. McDonogh was a man of strict integrity and a good citizen. He prospered in his business, and, besides raising and educating a large family, accumulated a considerable amount of property. He and his wife devoted their best efforts to the training of their children. The best educational advantages within reach were obtained for them, and special care was given to their moral and religious training at home. The household was pervaded by a simple and earnest piety which was felt by all its members, while the warmest affection bound parents and children together.

Through all the years of a long, busy and chequered career, the greater part of it passed far from early home and kindred, the picture of that early home never ceased to be a bright spot on which the younger John McDonogh loved to dwell, and the filial affection which had in youth bound him to his parents continued to the very end the tenderest tie of his life.

The younger John McDonogh speaks thus in one place of his parents:[1] "Of their ancestry I know nothing, having left them in early life (say at the age of twenty years). My father, with a numerous family of sons and daughters, was a man of considerable property and one of the most useful citizens of Baltimore City (in which city it was a proverb, 'as honest as old John McDonogh'). He strove to rear his children in the fear and love of the Most High, and was blessed in his life. All I know of that beloved father is that he was in the Virginia Line under Washington in Braddock's defeat, and retreated with Washington, and that he was with him during the greater part of the Revolutionary War. It is of my knowledge that Gen. Washington held that venerated father in much esteem and regard, for he never visited Baltimore without sending a message to him or being called on by my father. Of my sainted mother how shall I speak? Her bosom was the seat of every virtue. Too pure for this world, she is an angel of light in the kingdom of Him she loved so dearly. Her children were early taught to bend the knee and to love and worship the Almighty."[1] . . .

Again, in the memoranda attached to his will, he says: "If my mind has been virtuously disposed in life, I am indebted for it under the Most High to the education bestowed upon me by virtuous and pious parents (blessed be their memory!), and especially to the care they took in instructing me and having me instructed in music."

And in the same memoranda he says: "Whereas from infancy up it has been the wish of my heart that my ashes should repose and mix in death with those of my earthly parents (as in this life there was nothing so loved by me, so dear to me, as my father and my mother), it is my wish to

[1] See Doc. A., suit of Pena *v.* New Orleans and Baltimore, 1857. Sup. Court of La.

have a family vault of lasting materials and great solidity erected in some one of the new burial-places of said city of Baltimore; to have the remains of my parents raised and placed therein, and my body sent on there, that it may be placed alongside of theirs, in said vault, to crumble and mix with theirs, to await the Resurrection at the last day."

The home influence must have been very strong and sweet which produced a filial affection so tender and lasting in a nature as strong, not to say rugged, as was that of John McDonogh.

Young John McDonogh received a good English education, and was taught by his father to avail himself of every opportunity for acquiring knowledge. At an early age he was placed in the mercantile house of Mr. William Taylor,[1] No. 8 Bank street, Baltimore, then one of the largest merchants of the city, who conducted an extensive trade with Europe and the West Indies and Spanish America. Mr. Taylor's brother John was established in London, and the brothers were associated in trade. Young McDonogh could not have been over seventeen years of age, and may have been a year or two younger, when he thus began life.

[1] Mr. McDonogh's niece, Mrs. Eliza Hayne, of Baltimore, informs me that her uncle, according to the tradition in the family, entered Mr. Taylor's employ at seventeen years of age.

A letter from Mr. William Norris, of Baltimore, to Mr. McDonogh, dated December 17, 1829, in referring to their early association, puts this time back "at least thirty-five years," "when you and myself lived with William Taylor, No. 8 Bank street, who had in his employ, besides us, John Blackford, Holbran, Harwood, John Haslet, William Payne, and Duck John (the porter)." This would make Mr. McDonogh's entrance into Mr. Taylor's house as early as 1794, when he was only fifteen years of age.

A letter from W. M. Watson, Esq., of Washington, D. C., states that Messrs. William and John Taylor were natives of Barnstable, Massachusetts. They came to Baltimore in 1783 and established a house here, with a branch in London, of which John took charge. They did a large business. They met with reverses in 1802, but rapidly recovered. In 1806 they had as many as forty ships engaged in trade, and are said in that year to have cleared $400,000. John Taylor died, and subsequent reverses finally overwhelmed William Taylor in 1816. He then went to New Orleans, where he was for a time a member of the firm of Taylor & Palfrey. He soon retired, however, and lived in retirement until his death. Though married, he left no children.

It would be deeply interesting to know something of McDonogh's life during the next four or five years, while he was mastering his future profession, and while his character was forming and taking definite shape. In this period from fifteen to twenty, which as a rule includes the most important part of every man's growth, must have been securely laid the foundation on which his future career was built. It was then that he began to acquire that extensive information in regard to business and trade which rendered his judgment so good and his operations so successful afterwards. But, far more, he must then have acquired those habits of steady industry, of great accuracy, carefulness, and attention to details, which characterized him through life. Then were confirmed the manners and address which rendered him always respectful and polite in his intercourse with others, and then, too, must have been fixed those principles of honesty and integrity which had been early implanted at home, and which became the rule of his subsequent career. If we could know the history of these years, and of the struggles which marked them, this history, too, would doubtless throw a flood of light on the conception and development of the grand ideas to the realization of which so much of his life and energies was devoted; and it might enable us to trace the beginnings of the process by which he formed an ideal of life exacting, it is true, in its requirements from others, but never more so than in its requirements from himself.

But, unfortunately, this knowledge is in great part denied to us. We have no letters or other memorials which throw any light upon the thoughts, the feelings, the plans, the purposes, the struggles, the trials of John McDonogh while he was passing from boyhood to manhood. We must judge of his growth at this period mainly from the subsequent life which was the result of this growth. One fact, however, speaks for itself, and its significance is great. Before he had reached his majority, he had risen to the highest place in the confidence and esteem of the great mercantile house with which he was connected. He must, while yet very young, have gone out as supercargo with various ships of Mr. Taylor's, for we find that as early as 1800 he was in New Orleans, acting as Mr.

Taylor's representative, and with business interests confided to his care so extensive and valuable as to show beyond question the absolute confidence placed not more in his integrity than in his business capacity and judgment.

We may picture to ourselves the steady and rapid strides by which young McDonogh rose to so responsible a position. The earnestness, the energy, the devotion to business, the indomitable capacity for labor, which characterized his later life, no doubt early manifested themselves, and, conjoined with sound judgment and strict integrity, were the characteristics which pointed him out as one qualified for the highest trusts. Mr. Taylor's business was at this time large, varied and lucrative. The fierce conflicts into which the French Revolution had plunged almost all of Europe, and especially the war between France and England, afforded a fine opportunity for the enterprise of those American merchants who were bold enough and, at the same time, skillful enough to use it. The foreign trade of America at that time involved great risks, but, on the other hand, it offered great profits. Mr. Taylor was, as a merchant, bold and enterprising, and he seems to have soon discovered in his young clerk a capable and trustworthy lieutenant well fitted to carry out his plans.

During these years John McDonogh remained, if not under his father's roof, at least under the control of those home influences which, as we have seen, were so strong and healthful. These must have contributed no little to guide him in safety through the dangers and temptations which always beset youth in a city.

CHAPTER II.

At the beginning of the present century the Gulf of Mexico was virtually an inland sea of that magnificent American empire which still remained attached to the Spanish crown. The splendid domains of Florida and Louisiana bounded the Gulf on the north and east, and placed a barrier in that direction to the expansion of the United States, while the great territory of Louisiana, stretching up the west side of the Mississippi, distinctly marked the limits of our country on the west. The stream of immigration which had broken over the Alleghanies years before the Revolutionary War, had grown rapidly after that event, and the extent, resources and importance of the Mississippi Valley were beginning to be realized. It did not require great foresight to reach the conclusion that the whole of this great valley must soon become, in some way, a part of the United States. The problem of the acquisition of those parts yet under foreign control was engaging the attention of American statesmen. The speedy and peaceful solution of this problem was to be one of the achievements of the great Virginian who had put into language the feelings which moved the popular heart at the beginning of the Revolutionary struggle, and who was destined to impress his views and principles so strongly on the Government he had done so much to create.

While Mr. Jefferson and others were watching with the keenest interest the progress of affairs in Europe, awaiting the opportunity which might place the Louisiana territory within reach of acquisition, enterprising American merchants and traders were already making brave ventures to secure a share of the great and lucrative trade whose principal avenue must be the Mississippi River. The commanding position and importance of New Orleans as the destined entrepôt of this commerce could not fail to strike the mind. At this time, a generation before the invention of railroads, no city on the

continent seemed to have such a future before it as New Orleans. Situated near the mouth of the Mississippi, with no rival for the trade of the great valley, it seemed about to enter upon a career of commercial prosperity and growth such as nature had rendered possible to but few spots on the globe. At that day the only possible ways over which a great commerce could be carried were water-ways; and the navigable waters which made their way past New Orleans to the sea penetrated every part of the finest river-basin in the world—a basin immense in extent and unrivalled in productiveness of soil and salubrity of climate. Hundreds of ambitious young men from the Atlantic States were ready to try their fortunes in the distant city on the lower Mississippi, ready to face the dangers of an almost tropical climate and the impediments of a foreign language and a foreign rule; and not a few great merchants were anxious to reap early of the promised harvest.

Of the latter seems to have been Mr. William Taylor, of Baltimore. We know not what influence young McDonogh may have had in determining Mr. Taylor to enter upon a large business in New Orleans. We may feel sure that the fact of his having in his employ one familiar with his affairs, and so competent and trustworthy, as was John McDonogh, was not without its weight, whatever may have first led Mr. Taylor to think of venturing large sums in the New Orleans trade. Nor can we determine with absolute exactness the time at which John McDonogh was sent to New Orleans. He was certainly there, however, in the autumn of 1800, as the subjoined letter shows, and it is highly probable that October, 1800, is the correct date.[1] At this time John McDonogh was

[1] Judge Alexander Walker, of New Orleans, thinks John McDonogh went to that city in 1799, but he does not fix the date by any documentary reference.

An interesting sketch of McDonogh, published in the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, August 10, 1873, makes the following statement: "He (John McDonogh) gained the unlimited confidence of his employers, who in 1800 sent him as supercargo in one of their ships to Liverpool, with instructions to load her with merchandise suitable for the Louisiana market, and to proceed without delay to New Orleans. He obeyed his instructions, sailed from Liverpool, and arrived at the Balize in the latter part of September, 1800. His ship sailed up the river as fast as winds would

in the twenty-first year of his age. The following is the letter of earliest date from Mr. Taylor found among the correspondence of Mr. McDonogh, and is given not more for the information it affords as to the latter's movements, than for the light it throws on the dangers which beset the commerce of those days:

MR. JOHN MCDONOGH, JR., BALTIMORE, January 14, 1801.
New Orleans.

Dear Sir:—The schooner *Young Montezuma*, Capt. Hopkins, sailed from our capes on the 29th November with a valuable cargo, on my own account, to your address, and in a few days was taken by a privateer into New Providence. The first plea for this was, I am informed, that she had castile soap on board, and it is now to be made a plea of condemnation because I consigned the cargo to you. Unjust as these things are, I fear for the safety of my property.

I bought the schooner *Dolphin*, Capt. McNeill, the moment I heard of this, and sent Billy Payne in her to New Providence. She sailed from here in ballast the 9th inst. If there is any condemnation of my property at Providence, he will appeal, and, finally, if there is good security given for it, I have no doubt but that the decree in England will be reversed, and I shall only lose the use of my money; for the advantage of my having an established house in London with my brother for twelve years past, I expect, will have great weight, and he will have friends there to support my interest and claim.

Should the schooner *Montezuma* not be released, and Mr. Payne not have occasion for the schooner *Dolphin*, she will proceed in ballast to you for the funds I have there and, I hope, in cotton; and you will give her dispatch to me and load her deck well; you may ballast her with logwood and molasses. I don't think I shall make any new expeditions to New Orleans before I know the ultimate fate of this and the *Montezuma*. The fine new ship I have been fitting it may be well to arm, and she is particularly well fitted for the purpose; and if I thought the trade would bear the expense it should be instantly done.

The moment I know the fate of the *Montezuma*, I shall let you hear from me again. I am yours truly,

WM. TAYLOR.

The letter is addressed to the care of Mackey and Brown, New Orleans. It is evident that John McDonogh had gone to New Orleans before November, 1800, as the *Montezuma*

permit, and when about twenty miles below the city, he came ashore, hired a horse and entered the city on the evening of the 3rd of October, 1800. The next day, presenting himself to his consignees ere the ship reached port, he had disposed of the largest portion of the cargo. Renting a store, he stored the balance of the cargo, which was also disposed of in a very short time. . . . ."

had no doubt been loaded in accordance with his suggestions. We know not the fate of this venture of Mr. Taylor's, but John McDonogh continued in New Orleans during the winter of 1800–1, where he was joined by W. O. Payne, whom Mr. Taylor speaks of having sent out to look after the *Montezuma*. In 1801 these two young men, who had grown up in Mr. Taylor's counting-house, formed a co-partnership and carried on business under the style of McDonogh & Payne. They were, however, merely the business agents of Mr. Taylor, and traded on the capital supplied by him. In the spring of 1801 McDonogh went over to England on a trading expedition, taking over a cargo from New Orleans and bringing one back. He was in London in June,[1] and returned to New Orleans later in the summer. We find Mr. John Taylor writing to him from London, October 13, 1801: "I hope you arrived safe at New Orleans after a very short passage, and have sold your cargo well. I also hope you have bought no produce there of any sort, as it will injure Wm. Taylor very much if you have. Peace was absolutely settled between this country and France the 1st inst."[2] He then predicts the rapid fall of cotton in price, and adds: "It (cotton) will be much lower, after a peace, with you also"—that is, after Spain and England should have made peace.

On November 23, 1801, Mr. Wm. Taylor writes in the same strain to J. Shepherd Brown, to whom he had consigned the schooner *Experiment*, in order, no doubt, to avoid the danger referred to in the case of the *Montezuma*, growing out of a consignment directly to John McDonogh.[3] The memoranda in this letter show that the cargo was intended for McDonogh and Payne. Mr. Taylor says: "Peace has placed commerce in a distressing situation already, and I expect half the town will fail." He also notes the loss of the *Dolphin* off Cape Henry, urges the speedy return of his ships, and gives the following directions for return loading: "Lead to ballast, molasses and sugar in the bottom to make her stiff, and then fill up with hides and cotton, a small quantity of indigo for

[1] We find a note dated June 11, 1801, from Mr. John Taylor, introducing Mr. John McDonogh as his friend to Mr. Ben Webb, Melksham, Wilts.

[2] Peace of Amiens. [3] Mr. McDonogh had become a Spanish subject.

trial, and as much specie as you can."[1] He adds: "I should like to see W. O. Payne with $100,000 in specie."

The seizure of the *Montezuma* in 1800 did not long detain Mr. Taylor from continuing his New Orleans trade on a large scale. The extent of the business which was thus entrusted mainly to John McDonogh is plainly shown by a statement of Mr. Taylor to McDonogh and Payne under date of April 30, 1802. From this statement it appears that Mr. Taylor had invested in the five ships and their cargoes, which he was then using in the New Orleans trade, $328,800, and had received and credited McDonogh and Payne with return cargoes to the amount of $94,797.54. He thus had at that date $234,000 worth of property in the hands of his New Orleans agents, and, in the depression of business which followed the peace of Amiens, he naturally became anxious to curtail the extent of his risks. The London house under his brother was more seriously affected by this peace than was he himself, and hence his letters from this time forward urged McDonogh and Payne to speedy sales and quicker remittances. He says on Nov. 5, 1802: "Peace[2] is not yet certain, and it is more than probable that New Orleans will not get into possession of France. My property in a foreign country is too great, and it should be lessened as fast as possible."

John McDonogh's position during this year and a portion of the next must have been a harassing one. He found it impossible to realize as rapidly on the merchandise consigned to him as Mr. Taylor desired and expected. The same business depression which was so severely felt in England and the United States existed also at New Orleans, and delayed cash sales. Urgent letters came to him during the summer of 1802 demanding large and prompt remittances. In the middle of that season Mr. Taylor sent out Rezin D. Shepherd[3]

[1] As a matter of interest we append the Baltimore prices Mr. Taylor gives of the articles he ordered, clear of duty: Molasses, 50c.; sugar, $10 to $11; pig lead, $140 per ton; hides, 12c. per lb.; cotton, 33⅓c. per lb.; indigo, $1; logwood, $160 per ton.

[2] Between Spain and her enemies.

[3] Mr. R. D. Shepherd was from Shepherdstown, West Virginia, and became in after years a prominent and successful merchant of New Orleans and of Boston. He accumulated a large fortune. Like McDonogh, he had been trained by Mr. Wm. Taylor. Mr. Shepherd married a niece of Mr. Taylor.

to hasten the progress of affairs and to assist McDonogh in the settlement of some of the large business on his hands. The partnership between McDonogh and Payne was dissolved about the middle of 1802 by the withdrawal of Mr. Payne, who removed to the North. This change doubled for the time the labor and responsibility that rested on McDonogh. In September, 1802, McDonogh formed a new co-partnership with Shepherd Brown. They formed two firms, which traded under the respective names of J. McDonogh, Jr., & Co. and Shepherd Brown & Co. In November, 1802, Mr. John Taylor, of London, was forced to suspend payment—an event which added to the embarrassments of his brother in Baltimore, and thus increased the pressure on John McDonogh. The latter stood at his post, however, without flinching, and with great self-reliance and indomitable industry he faced and overcame the obstacles which beset his pathway. Though so young, he seems never to have been borne down by the heavy weight of responsibility which rested upon him. The only concern his correspondence betrays was in regard to the troubles of Mr. Taylor, and the danger of the loss of the confidence of that gentleman. The criticisms of others had no effect upon McDonogh. He kept steadily forward. His equipose and fine business judgment enabled him to conduct his affairs successfully through those troubled years when Louisiana was passing first from Spanish to French control, and then to that of the United States, and when war, peace and war between the then two greatest powers of the world, England and France, succeeded each other in less than two years. McDonogh's efforts were in the end satisfactory to Mr. Taylor, and enabled the latter to meet his engagements. Mr. Taylor, during this trying time, repeatedly assured McDonogh of his entire confidence, and proved the assertion by consigning to him merchandise in undiminished quantity.

By the summer of 1803 Mr. Taylor's affairs had gotten into better shape, and John McDonogh had the satisfaction of having contributed effectively to this result, as well as of having made handsome gains for himself. The outbreak of war between England and France, and the sale by the latter of

Louisiana to the United States in the summer of that year, gave a great impulse to trade at New Orleans, and Mr. McDonogh's business career was thenceforward characterized by great success and the rapid accumulation of wealth. During the next two years he rose to a leading position as merchant and man of fortune in the community. At no subsequent period were his gains so rapid. He threw himself into his work with all the vigor and enthusiasm of early manhood, and his energy and industry were most conspicuous. In 1803 Mr. McDonogh began that acquisition of real estate which he so steadily pursued throughout the remainder of his life, and which rendered him at his death perhaps the largest landowner in the world. His first purchase seems to have been large tracts in West Florida from the Spanish Government. The title to these lands, in consequence of the cession of Louisiana to the United States, became subsequently a source of trouble and expense. Through his whole life Mr. McDonogh steadily urged upon the United States Government the confirmation of these titles—an act of justice which was not done until after his death.

Mr. McDonogh says he was first led to invest in unoccupied lands by the advice of his father;[1] and his correspondence shows that up to the death of the latter, in 1809, he was accustomed to look to him for counsel. The letters of the elder McDonogh, many of which are preserved among his son's papers, make plain the strong affection and confidence which bound this household together. The earliest letter of the father that we find is dated December 30, 1801. It was sent by the hands of Joseph McDonogh, the elder McDonogh's second son, then nearly nineteen years old, whom he was sending to New Orleans to be under the care and guidance of his elder brother. He says: "Joseph has been a long time sick, or he would have been with you before. I now depend that you will take great care of him, that you will put him

[1] In a letter of March 25, 1805, the elder McDonogh writes: "You say the principal reason for your making a purchase of land in your country was on account of my writing to you on that head; and as you say that you have always succeeded by following my directions, I hope you will in time find your purchase of this land much to your advantage."

forward and try to improve him in his writing, and I allow that he shall be under you and directed by you in all things. Pray give me some account of your voyage from London to New Orleans, and some account of what you are doing. I would conclude with my earnest prayers to the great God for His blessing for you, and that He will prosper you in all your lawful business." This letter is signed: "From your loving parents, John and Elizabeth McDonogh." Writing again, on October 5, 1802, the elder McDonogh, after mentioning that yellow fever had prevailed that summer in Baltimore, again commends Joseph to his brother's watchful care, urges them both not to neglect the opportunity which they now, no doubt, have of learning both the French and Spanish languages, and adds: "Be strictly honest and punctual in all your dealings, and keep your character as good as it is now, and there is not the least doubt but that you will do well." He asks John's advice as to the course of another younger brother, Harry, then in his sixteenth year.

It is much to be regretted that we have not the answers of John McDonogh, Jr., to these letters; but they are not to be found.

From another letter of the father, of August, 1803, we learn that the younger McDonogh was building warehouses and was prospering, and it was also evident from it that Harry was going to New Orleans for a time, at the elder brother's request. In 1804 we find the father again urging upon John McDonogh the acquisition of the French and Spanish languages, and replying to a request that the youngest brother (William) be sent out to New Orleans to be raised and educated, that William was yet too small to leave home (he was but eight years of age), and that he could not give up all his children. Writing again, in September of the same year, the elder McDonogh sends out his son James (then about fifteen years old) in place of the youngest, William, whom his brother in New Orleans had repeatedly written for. The father urges again, with his accustomed carefulness of the welfare of his family, that James be placed at a good school, and that the utmost care be devoted to his education. The brotherly interest that young McDonogh had manifested in all his brothers no doubt

suggested the following in his father's letter: "It is my sincere wish that you may live in brotherly love and friendship not only with your brothers, but with all sorts of people that you may have any kind of business with. Consider that you are young, and are but just, in a manner, beginning the world, and to have the good wishes of your friends and acquaintances will be worth more than I can mention, and therefore I pray that you will endeavor all in your power to make friends and cultivate friendship."

During the year 1804 there are several allusions to the place of director in the branch of the United States Bank about to be established in New Orleans, and for which his friends had recommended young John McDonogh; but in 1805 he was made a director in the Louisiana Bank, and no longer desired it. In reference to the directorship in the Louisiana Bank, his father says: "I have nothing to say to you on that business, but to pray that you will execute your office with honor and fidelity." In a letter of July, 1805, the father again calls attention to James's education, and says: "I depend upon you to take care of his morals, and to see how he spends his time on Sundays. Pray encourage him to go to church, and to read history and all good books. I am always glad to hear of your great credit and welfare in New Orleans, and I hope your punctuality and strict honesty will merit you always more and more; such is my daily prayer for you. Pray never forget the favors bestowed upon you and your brothers by Mr. William Taylor. He is a worthy man, and it will always give me pleasure to hear of your good deeds done to him. I am at a loss for words to express my good wishes for him."

Sometimes the father's advice took a different direction, as in a letter of February, 1806, when, after an earnest exhortation to a religious life, he adds: "If I should at this time make any other prayer (for you), it is that you may enjoy happiness, to increase which, if you can find no young lady to please you in New Orleans, you may come to Baltimore and get one both rich and beautiful; and I think you had better consider some about it." In this case, however, the young man did not follow the good advice of his honored parent.

In this connection we may mention that an interesting letter

exists from Mr. John Cole in 1806, transmitting about $300 worth of books which he had bought for the younger John McDonogh, and containing a list of the purchases. These volumes, evidently bought for McDonogh's own use, cover a wide range of literature, and were the standard works of that day. We find among them Gibbon, Robertson's *America*, Burns, Pope, Dryden, Young, Plutarch's *Lives*, Life of Washington, of Sir William Jones, of Leo X, select plays, etc., etc.

Mr. McDonogh, during these early years in New Orleans, also acquired a good mastery of the French and Spanish languages, which he used frequently in his subsequent correspondence.

The landed property of Mr. McDonogh increased so rapidly, both in city and country, that about the beginning of 1806 we find him retiring from active business as a merchant, and devoting himself to the care of the several plantations and of the other real estate which he owned.[1] He continued to reside in the city for ten years longer, and at this time, according to tradition, maintained quite a handsome establishment. He entered as largely into the social enjoyments of the gay city as the time at command would admit, and himself entertained in a manner becoming his wealth and position.

It is easy to understand that the attractions of the cultivated society of New Orleans, adorned as it was by many old Spanish and French families, must have been great to the young merchant, and it is not difficult to realize that a young man of high character and fine address, not yet thirty years old, who had been so brilliantly successful in the quest for wealth and position in the business community, was himself a marked figure in that society.

The social life of John McDonogh is, however, a matter of rather vague tradition. The comrades of those younger days have all long since passed away, and few or no traces of this side of his character are to be found in his correspondence.

The stories about Mr. McDonogh's courtships belong to a

[1] In a letter of February 6, 1806, the elder McDonogh says: "As you have quit merchandise, I wish you to consider what it is best to have James brought up to, and let me know your opinion in your next."

somewhat later time. The foundation on which these stories rest is very uncertain, but they have filled so much space in some biographical sketches of him that they deserve to be noticed. It is said that about 1810 or 1811 Mr. McDonogh, who is represented to have maintained at that time a fine establishment at the corner of Chartres and Toulouse streets, became enamored of a beautiful Spanish lady, the daughter of Don Almonastre y Roxas, and sought her hand in marriage. The lady was a catholic, Mr. McDonogh a strict protestant, and he was unsuccessful in his suit. This lady became afterwards the Baroness Pontalba. Again, in 1814, the story goes that Mr. McDonogh fell in love with and addressed a Miss Johnson, then residing in New Orleans, a lady of great beauty, wit, and intellectual accomplishments. His suit is said to have been favored by the lady herself, but again difference of faith (her family were strict catholics) finally prevented the union. Miss Johnson subsequently entered a convent, and long years after became the head of one of the religious institutions of her church in New Orleans. Toward the close of his life McDonogh was in the habit of making a yearly visit, a New Year's call, to this lady. After McDonogh's death there were found among his papers a lady's slipper and a piece of faded ribbon, which it was believed had once been Miss Johnson's. How much of truth there may be in these stories we know not, for McDonogh, with his usual reticence, has left no trace of them in his correspondence, and but the faded slipper remains—a mute witness to the influence which feminine charms may have once exercised over the strong feelings and powerful imagination of John McDonogh.

But, though the data for Mr. McDonogh's social life at this period are meagre, there is no uncertainty or doubt about the motives and principles by which his whole conduct was guided. Few men have ever mapped out in early manhood as distinctly the course of life they desired to pursue, and still fewer have ever followed the course so marked out as faithfully and steadily to the end. This is shown by a very striking paper, which was fortunately preserved, and which throws a flood of light on the whole character and career of John McDonogh. It is a set of rules which he drew up for

himself early in his life at New Orleans. This paper reads as follows:

RULES FOR THE GUIDANCE OF MY LIFE IN 1804.

Remember always that labor is one of the conditions of our existence.

Time is gold: throw not one minute away, but place each one to account.

Do unto all men as you would be done by.

Never put off till to-morrow what you can do to-day.

Never bid another do what you can do yourself.

Never covet what is not your own.

Never think any matter so trivial as not to deserve notice.

Never give out that which does not first come in.

Never spend but to produce.

Let the greatest order regulate the transactions of your life.

Study in the course of your life to do the greatest possible amount of good.

Deprive yourself of nothing necessary to your comfort, but live in an honorable simplicity and frugality.

Labor, then, to the last moment of your existence.

Pursue strictly the above rules, and the Divine blessing and riches of every kind will flow upon you to your heart's content; but, first of all, remember that the first and great study of your life should be to tend by all the means in your power to the honor and glory of the Divine Creator.

JOHN MCDONOGH.

NEW ORLEANS, March 2, 1804.

The conclusion at which I have arrived is that without temperance there is no health; without virtue, no order; without religion, no happiness; and the sum of our being is to live wisely, soberly and righteously.

The date shows that John McDonogh was not much beyond twenty-four years of age when he thus deliberately set down the scheme of life he had formed. He had been between three and four years in New Orleans, and was fairly launched upon his successful career. The difficulties and dangers which had beset Louisiana from changing political relations had, a few months before (December 20, 1803), been happily settled by the peaceful transfer of the whole immense territory to the United States,[1] and now every one foresaw the rapid

[1] Louisiana was transferred from Spain to France in 1800, but the actual transfer of authority at New Orleans did not take place until 1803, a few weeks before the French turned it over to the United States. In the spring of 1803 President Jefferson negotiated a treaty with Napoleon, then First Consul of France, for the purchase of Louisiana by the United States. Mr. Monroe, afterwards President, was sent to Paris as a special envoy to carry on this negotiation, and he, together with Mr. Livingston, the American Minister to France, effected the treaty by which on April 30, 1803, France

rise of New Orleans to commercial supremacy in the vast region whose trade must seek the sea by way of the Mississippi. To the young merchant, who with rare skill and self-reliance had steered his way so successfully through the troubled waters of the past few years, the prospect ahead must have been most alluring. There would be a large influx of population and a great extension of trade. He was young, accustomed to the climate, well established in business and character, already one of the leading citizens of the place. What a field for capacity and energy lay before him! It was under these circumstances that he formulated in words the ideal of life which he had gradually been forming. The words are simple, but the rules are comprehensive enough to embrace every form of activity, every phase of life. The ideal itself is a lofty one. Philosophy nor religion has ever attained a higher conception of human life than that its chief aim should be "the honor and glory of the Divine Creator," nor have they ever pointed to nobler paths by which this aim was to be accomplished than by the behests "Do unto all men as you would be done by," and "Study in the course of your life to do the greatest possible amount of good." Admirable, too, are the rules setting forth the value of time, of labor, and of order in business, and not less so the warning against procrastination, covetousness and debt. His twelfth rule marks out a course of life equally removed from self-indulgence and miserliness, a course most consonant with the accomplishment of high and unselfish ends. It cannot be said, however, that these rules are beyond criticism. Some of them show the narrowness of view which in years long subsequent rendered John McDonogh "a man apart from his fellows," and deprived him of the sympathy and affection of many of his contemporaries. Combined with his intense concentration upon the objects of his pursuit, some of these rules fostered the hard side of his character, and made him too exacting in his claims upon others, too rigid in his laborious self-denial, and too indifferent to the manifestation in his daily life of that love and

agreed to sell the whole vast territory of Louisiana to the United States for $15,000,000. The actual transfer of the territory to the Commissioners sent by the United States to New Orleans for the purpose of receiving it took place December 20, 1803.

charity to his fellows which from another point of view was to be the controlling motive of his career. A long and active life (nearly forty-seven years) was the lot of John McDonogh after the date of this paper. His strong personality and the earnestness with which he pursued his aims often brought him into conflict with his fellow-men. He was a reserved, proud man, who, conscious of the rectitude of his own intentions, cared little for the praise or censure of the world about him. He was exacting, requiring from others the same strict fulfilment of obligations that he laid down as the law of his own conduct towards others. His isolation and reserve increased as he grew older, and as his absorption became greater in the large plans by means of which he expected to accomplish "the greatest possible amount of good" within his reach. But through all these years and conflicts, through constant misconception and frequent misrepresentation, John McDonogh shaped the general course of his life in accordance with the chart he had laid down in the paper we have quoted. To say that he realized fully the high conception therein set forth would be to exempt him from human frailty and imperfection. But it is not too much to say that he kept steadily in view the scheme of life he had deliberately adopted, and that he prosecuted the noble aims there set forth, sometimes it may be imperfectly, sometimes it may be through mistaken agencies, or with a zeal that took too little note that

> "The quality of mercy is not strained,
> It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven,"

but with a faithfulness and steadfastness of purpose not often equalled, and which will deservedly rank him high among the benefactors of his race.[1]

[1] In 1805 a number of gentlemen in New Orleans, attached to various protestant churches, took steps to organize the first protestant church in that city. They obtained a charter of incorporation from the Territorial Legislature, and requested Bishop Moore, then the P. Episcopal Bishop of New York, to recommend a suitable minister of the Gospel. The Rev. Philander Chase, afterwards the distinguished P. E. Bishop of Ohio, went to New Orleans in response to this invitation, and under his guidance this movement resulted in the foundation of Christ's P. E. Church in that city. We find John McDonogh's name on the list of the first vestry, elected Nov. 16, 1805.

During the period of his life we are now considering, Mr. McDonogh kept up a frequent correspondence with the members of his family in Baltimore, and showed an affectionate interest in their welfare. The correspondence with his father shows not only the affection which he ever manifested towards his parents, but proves that as the eldest son he was constantly consulted in regard to the education and other interests of the younger members of this large family. It has been already incidentally stated that his brother Joseph went out to him soon after his settlement in New Orleans. This brother he took care of and tried to establish in business, but after three years Joseph became tired of the country and the work and returned to Baltimore. The next two brothers, Thomas and Henry, took to the sea and became officers on merchant vessels sailing from Baltimore. We find frequent letters from the father commending these younger sons to the care and advice of the elder brother. The next brother, James, was sent out to him when quite a lad, and was educated and brought up by him. The youngest brother of all, William, seems to have been a special favorite with John McDonogh. The latter repeatedly asked his father to send him out to New Orleans, offering to provide for him the best educational facilities of every kind and to extend to him a brother's tenderest affection. The old people were unwilling to part with this the Benjamin of their flock, and it was not until after their deaths[1] that William was sent to New Orleans. But in 1810 we find him there under the charge of Mr. Le Fort, to whose care his brother had confided him. Some extracts from his correspondence will best illustrate this side of McDonogh's character.

Mr. Richardson Stewart, a friend of his childhood, in writing (Nov. 1807) to ask him to put the proper officers upon the track of some runaway slaves who were supposed to have sailed for New Orleans, apologized to Mr. McDonogh for renewing a long interrupted acquaintance. He says, "I asked Mrs. Cole, your sister, what apology I should make for re-

[1] Mrs. Elisabeth Wilkins McDonogh died June 16, 1808, and John McDonogh, senior, on March 19, 1809. William was born in 1796, and was therefore but thirteen years old at the time of his father's death.

viving a correspondence which had slept for near twenty years. She replied that her dear brother had not forgotten his early days, that his friendship had grown from childhood into manhood, and that he would delight in serving me—I believe it." After speaking of Mrs. Cole he adds: "Their precious little ones are all in high health and lovely beyond description. I wish I could say as much for their grandfather and grandmother. I saw them both a few days ago; they are recovering from their late indisposition." Mr. McDonogh replies, Jan. 1808: "Your highly esteemed and appreciative letter of Nov. 27 was received a few days since, and afforded me much real pleasure. Excuse me for saying it brought to my memory days long since past of my boyhood, when your partiality permitted me to call you 'papa.' I was lost for an hour over it, ruminating on the little city of my nativity and the friends I had still left in it. I am sorry to think you should have thought it necessary to apologize for addressing me. Be assured you have afforded me much gratification, and I shall ever esteem it an honor to be addressed by you." Then, after giving a full account of the manner in which he had executed Mr. Stewart's request, he adds: "I feel much for the late indisposition of my parents, and hope there are yet many years in store for them. The description you give me of my sister, her husband, and their little family, has delighted me. Another such portrait would set me, I fear, to reflecting on the conjugal state. If it is in my power at any time to serve you here I beg you will freely command me. I look forward to the pleasure, the ensuing summer, of personally paying my respects to you, and of assuring you of my unaltered respect and attachment."

Mr. McDonogh designed to give his brother William a full collegiate course, that he might enter one of the learned professions, and the letters of his teacher, Mr. Le Fort, indicate the assiduous care which the elder brother devoted to the subject. In Sept., 1810, Mr. Le Fort writes that William's application and progress in study have not been very satisfactory, and proposes for the present to confine his studies to French and arithmetic. At the same time William writes to his brother in French, since the latter had requested him

always to write in that language. In December, 1813, a rumor of William's death reached Baltimore, and Mr. Alexander Fridge (William's guardian) writes inquiring as to its truth and asking instructions as to the disposition of his patrimony. Mr. McDonogh replies in February, 1814: "I have the satisfaction to inform you that the report of the death of my brother William is unfounded. He is in perfect health, and is at this moment in the highest spirits in consequence of the pleasure he looks forward to in a short time of meeting with you, for whom he has repeatedly expressed to me his respect and affection. I regret extremely, sir, the necessity which compels me to give you further trouble as his guardian and protector. The deep interest which I feel in his advancement in life obliges me to send him to you for the completion of his education, as we have no colleges fit to place him in here. On his arrival, therefore, with you, I pray you, sir, to have him placed immediately at Princeton College, that he may complete what he has begun. Should it be found, on examination, that he is not sufficiently prepared to enter college, he can be placed at one of the preparatory schools at that place until deemed sufficiently advanced to be entered there. The expense of his education, board and clothing I will take on myself (as I do not wish his patrimony to be touched), and, on being informed by you, will either remit the amount in advance to meet the payments or you will be pleased to draw on me for the same here through your banks. He at times says he would wish to be a merchant, and, notwithstanding I would wish him to prefer the study of the law, I would let him choose for himself. By the time he finishes his education he will be better able to determine." In the spring of 1814 William was sent on a boat up the river with Mr. Le Fort. They were to go by way of Pittsburgh to Baltimore, whence William, now eighteen years of age, was to be sent to Princeton. We find Mr. Le Fort writing from Louisville in July, 1814, saying that it had taken them four months to reach that point. His letter is mainly about William, who was expected to prosecute his classical studies on the voyage, in order to complete his preparation for college. But William had failed to fulfil his tutor's expectations. Mr. Le Fort comments on William's

indifference to study and on his desire to become a merchant, and after mature reflection strongly advises Mr. McDonogh to give up the plan which he had evidently cherished for years, of sending William to Princeton, and to permit him to follow his own inclination as to entering at once upon business. John McDonogh replies, August 9, 1814: "Your friendly account of William and advice respecting him (although it disappoints my expectations of him), I receive with grateful acknowledgments and shall implicitly follow. I had requested his friends to place him at Princeton College, that he might complete a classical education, but on receipt of your letter I wrote immediately to his guardian, Mr. Fridge, giving him an extract therefrom, and telling him I would abandon the idea of giving him Latin and Greek, and requesting that he might be placed at business in the counting-house of some merchant without loss of time, that he might obtain an insight into commerce."

Some years after, William returned to New Orleans, where he was employed in attending to a part of his brother's large business, and where he subsequently died during the visitation of the cholera in 1832.

Mr. McDonogh at this period took no active part in the politics of the times, devoting himself steadily to business, but he was ever ready to do his part as a good citizen. The schemes of Aaron Burr which looked to the separation of Louisiana from the United States and the establishment of an independent State in the Southwest, caused much excitement and anxiety in the early years of the century. At this time John McDonogh stood firmly by the Government of his country and gave his unflinching support to General Wilkinson in the measures which finally led to the frustration of Burr's plans and the arrest and disgrace of that brilliant adventurer. After the failure of Burr's plans the course of public affairs ran more smoothly, until the war of 1812 with Great Britain. The exposed condition of New Orleans and its commercial importance marked it as a desirable point of attack to a power with almost undisputed control of the sea. Hence, when Great Britain had been relieved (by the disasters to Napoleon in 1813) of the fearful strain on her resources due to the

French war, attention was directed to the mouth of the Mississippi, and measures initiated for sending a formidable expedition to that quarter. For months before this expedition sailed, its coming was foreseen in the United States, and there is an allusion in Mr. McDonogh's letter of August 9, 1814, above quoted, that shows the concern and alarm that existed in Louisiana.[1] On September 19 we find the Hon. E. Fromentin, then Senator from Louisiana, writing to McDonogh as follows:

WASHINGTON, September 19, 1814.

I hasten to send you an account of the brilliant victory obtained on Lake Champlain by Commodore McDonough, and at Plattsburg by Gen'l Macomb. It is not quite an offset for the taking and burning of Washington. But we must not despair. Good may still come out of evil. In great haste.

To which Mr. McDonogh replies thus, under date of November 8, 1814:

I had the honor of your favor of the 19th September, by mail, in due course, and return you my thanks for your polite attention. The information you therein gave of the splendid victories obtained by our arms over the enemy by land as well as by water, was to me (the descendant of one who bore arms during the whole of the struggle which terminated in giving us a name and rank among nations) most gratifying, and not the less so that a conspicuous part was achieved by my gallant namesake, though I am a stranger to the hero.

We are apprehensive that the enemy meditate an attack on this section of the Union, and (should they make the attempt with a large force) we are not without some fear on the occasion. We are making every preparation that our limited means will permit, and but one determination pervades every class of citizens, that of disputing every inch of ground with them, should they appear. But we cannot conceal the knowledge from ourselves that in the event of the enemy's making the attempt in large force, the result will depend on the efforts which the General Government shall make to save us.

The British fleet and army reached the mouth of the Mississippi and cleared the river on December 14, 1814. The British troops under General Pakenham landed on the 16th and advanced upon New Orleans. As is well known, the decision and courage of Andrew Jackson, seconded by the patriotic efforts of the Louisianians, and of the other troops,

[1] Mr. McDonogh says: "We are in much anxiety about the future destiny of our country."

saved the city and brought signal and disastrous defeat to the British arms on the plains of Chalmette on January 8, 1815. In the preparations for the defense of the city, John McDonogh was an energetic participant.[1] He was also a member of Beale's Rifles, one of the best volunteer companies from the city, composed for the most part of men of property and influence, and when the crisis came he shouldered his musket and performed well his part on the field of battle. Beale's Rifles were posted on the right of the American lines on the 8th of January, and acted a prominent part in the struggle which there took place.

[1] We find among Mr. McDonogh's papers an invitation to him from J. Villeré, President of "Le comité de defense de la Nouvelle Orléans et de ses environs," to a conference with them on October 8, 1814.

CHAPTER III.

1815–1825.

The ten years which followed the war with Great Britain were perhaps the most active and energetic of Mr. McDonogh's life. He was now in the full vigor of manhood; his mental powers and his capacity for labor were at their best. The management of his already large property, including the direction of several sugar estates, and the increase of this property by constant accumulation, made large demands upon his time. He transacted the greater part of his business himself, and did all his correspondence. By the greatest system and regularity in his methods he was able to get through an immense amount of work. His income was never permitted to lie idle. Indeed, throughout life his investments in new enterprises seem to have always kept in advance of the means he had on hand, and in consequence he was a large and constant borrower of money. As already stated, he had, during his early years in New Orleans, invested heavily in public lands. The fondness for real-estate investments grew with his years, and finally became a ruling conception. His faith in the great growth and development of the South, and especially of Louisiana, was strong and unwavering, and he looked forward to the time when real estate of every kind would possess a greatly enhanced value. The purchases made by him of Spanish land certificates in 1803 and 1804, when he was comparatively young and inexperienced, involved him in a long and weary struggle to establish his titles. These lands, bought by himself and his partner, Shepherd Brown, consisted of 120,000 arpents in West Florida, as it was called, in the region on both sides of the Pearl river and south of latitude 31°. This land having been sold by the Spanish Government after the cession of Louisiana, a question arose as to whether or not it was included within the limits of Louisiana, and consequently as to the right of the Spanish

Government to sell. For more than forty-five years Mr. McDonogh contended for his rights with the pertinacity of a Scotch-Irishman. Time and again was he defeated. Commissioners reported against his claim, the Land Office refused to recognize it, the treaty by which Florida was acquired in 1818 left the matter still in doubt, petition after petition fell unheeded upon the ears of Congress, bills for his relief repeatedly failed. Still he never wavered in his conviction of the justice of his claim and in his faith that the Government would recognize it. One of his letters giving the history of his title is a model, from the clearness and fullness with which it sets forth the whole matter in controversy. Mr. McDonogh's efforts were only partially successful during his life, but years after his death the Supreme Court of the United States fully established the soundness of his claim,[1] and secured to his legatees the proceeds of these old Spanish certificates.

It was during this period of his life and in connection with these land titles, in which many others besides himself were interested, that the only association of Mr. McDonogh's name with the politics of his State occurred. Mr. McDonogh was as a citizen always proud of his country and devoted to its welfare. He had as a young man used his influence actively in support of the United States against the schemes of Aaron Burr, and as we have seen, had performed his duty both as citizen and soldier in the war with Great Britain. His large experience and influence as a man of business, his intelligent appreciation and earnest advocacy of all schemes for the development of Louisiana, and the clearness and persistence with which he maintained the validity of the Spanish land titles made before the actual occupation of eastern Louisiana and West Florida by the United States, commended him to a large portion of his fellow-citizens as a proper representative of their interests in the United States Senate. He was averse to public life, and did not seek political preferment, but he was brought forward by influential friends for the Senate in 1818, when the term of Hon. Jas. Brown expired. Mr. Brown was a candidate for re-election and was successful, Mr. McDonogh being defeated by a small vote. This was, we

[1] This decision was rendered Jan. 9, 1874.

believe, the only occasion of his life in which Mr. McDonogh's name was mentioned in connection with political office, nor is there in his correspondence the slightest trace of regret at the result.

It was a year or two before this (in 1817) that Mr. McDonogh removed from the city of New Orleans to one of his plantations, which lay immediately opposite the city, on the right bank of the Mississippi. The suburb which has grown up at this place is now called McDonoghville. Here Mr. McDonogh resided during the remainder of his life.

Many are the stories which are told about the change which came over Mr. McDonogh at this time, and which is said to have led to the transfer of his place of residence and to a change in his style of living. According to one tradition, the rejection of his addresses by a lady he loved led him to give up society and seek a life of comparative seclusion. Another account attributes his change to the state of his health, which, it is said, was severely threatened. Tradition represents him as suddenly breaking up a fine establishment in New Orleans, selling off his furniture, horses, etc., and retiring to a small and plainly furnished house on the opposite side of the river, where he lived in frugal style. The foundation for all this we believe to be very slight. The fact is that in June, 1817, Mr. McDonogh removed to his plantation, and that his surroundings and style of living were thereafter simpler than they had been when he had lived and moved in the society of the city. It is not necessary to look farther for the cause of this change than to Mr. McDonogh's growing absorption in business, the gradual weakening of the attraction which society had possessed for him in his younger life, and the pressure of pecuniary obligations incurred in his extensive business transactions. It is probable, too, that the foundation of his fortune being now securely laid, he began to contemplate more distinctly the great purpose to which his life was devoted, the amassing of wealth for the creation of philanthropic charities.[1] The allusion which Mr. McDonogh himself makes to his change of

[1] Mr. W. O. Rogers, in the Louisiana *Journal of Education*, May, 1880, says: "We prefer to think that at this time was formed the purpose of his life to which his exertions were ever after directed with unswerving fidelity."

residence, in a letter (given on a subsequent page) to his old employer and friend, Mr. Wm. Taylor, dated July 24, 1817, indicates that there was nothing dramatic about it.

From the natural tendency to exaggerate the peculiarities of prominent men, and from the seclusion in which Mr. McDonogh lived—a seclusion which deepened, of course, with advancing years and the death and removal of early contemporaries and friends—it has been often stated that his habits of life after his removal from the city became ascetic, and even miserly. There seems to have been no foundation for such an idea beyond the fact that the wealthiest and most prominent business man in New Orleans chose to live in a plain house and in simple style. He adhered strictly to the rule he had laid down for his guidance in 1804: "Deprive yourself of nothing necessary to your comfort, but live in an honorable simplicity and frugality." Mr. McDonogh was, throughout life, a very temperate man, both in eating and drinking, and his tastes were simple. The rooms he occupied in the house at his plantation were furnished comfortably in mahogany; the table service he daily used was of solid silver; the faithful slaves who kept his house prepared his meals in accordance with the bill of fare he gave them; and after his death his cellar was found well stocked with wine, which he seldom touched unless he had some one to dine with him.[1]

The correspondence between Mr. McDonogh and Mr. Wm. Taylor at this time shows the kind and grateful sentiments with which the former ever regarded his early employer and friend. During and after the close of the war of 1812, Mr. Taylor met with losses, and finally, in 1817, became bankrupt. His letters show the despondency natural to a high-spirited man overwhelmed by misfortune at the close of a long and successful business career. On Nov. 28, 1817, he writes to McDonogh: "I have sent on board the ship Missouri, Capt. Hart, marked for you, two boxes containing books and pictures which I did not wish to dispose of with my furniture. Perhaps it may gratify you to have something in remembrance of the establishment of an early friend." He subsequently

[1] These facts were obtained from Mrs. Jules Dupeyre, of Algiers, La. She and her mother were the slaves in charge of his house for many years before his death.

informed Mr. McDonogh of his determination, in spite of the mortification it entailed, to go into bankruptcy, and of his desire as soon as his affairs were settled to remove to New Orleans. On July 24, 1817, Mr. McDonogh replied as follows: "I feel very much for your misfortunes and situation. I had hoped that you would have been able to overcome your difficulties and to weather the storm. As that has been impossible, your determination to relieve yourself is in my opinion a wise one. In giving up all you possess to your creditors you do all that man can do; you fulfil your duty in the presence of God and of men, and secure to yourself the only source from which true happiness springs in this world, the approbation of your own heart. I feel happy in your determination of taking up your residence in New Orleans; it will afford me great pleasure to meet you, and I have long desired it. My sentiments, sir, towards you can never change; reports injurious to you I never credited, and no man was ever permitted to express them in my hearing. Within the last month I have removed from the city to a place I have opposite and in front of it on the right bank of the river, where in a small box I occupy myself in gardening, making wood, etc. This I have been obliged to do for the sake of economy, until I can relieve myself of my debts. In this retreat I am fitting up a room for you, sir, in which the contents of the two boxes will be placed, and where I anticipate the pleasure of seeing you before long considering yourself at home, and once more in the pursuit of happiness. For you, who have enjoyed fortune, know from experience that it does not bestow happiness. Therefore, my dear sir, arrange your affairs and join me as soon as possible, assured of the pleasure it will afford me to see you under the same roof and to be in any way serviceable to you."

Mr. Taylor reached New Orleans in January, 1818, and seems to have made his home with Mr. McDonogh for some time, if not for the rest of his life.[1] Mr. Taylor lived more

[1] It is said that Mr. McDonogh gave Mr. Taylor employment and a desk in his own office. I cannot be certain of this. Mr. W. M. Watson says that Mr. Taylor was for some time a member of the firm of Taylor & Palfrey in New Orleans, and that he then retired from business and subsisted on the income from the hire of some slaves.

than ten years in New Orleans, and died about the beginning of 1829. In writing, Aug. 4, 1829, to R. D. Shepherd, Mr. McDonogh says: "Our old friend, Mr. Taylor, has left us, as you observe; he is happy in the bosom of his God, I hope and trust. He had been very frail long before his death, and died full of years. I always felt the greatest regard, affection and attachment for him, and gave him proof of it on every occasion by my conduct and behavior."

Mr. McDonogh from a very early date displayed a strong interest in the training and education of the young—that object which gradually grew to be the one absorbing purpose of his efforts and his life. We have already seen how he took two of his younger brothers to New Orleans and provided for their education. In William's case no care nor expense was spared to fit him for college and a professional career, and when this scheme failed he was trained to business and successfully inducted into it.[1] Mr. McDonogh also gave his youngest sister, Margaret, the best educational advantages then to be had, keeping her for some time at school in Pennsylvania and Maryland. Somewhat later he charged himself for several years with the education of the children of his sister Jane (Mrs. Hammet), besides making contributions to the support of the latter, whose circumstances were straitened. This is shown by the letters of his nephew, James Poague, through whom the remittances were sent for the payment of the school bills, etc. About 1816 or 1817 we find him assuming charge of several orphans, the children of friends, who by the death of one or both parents had been left destitute. These sometimes lived at his own house, but for the most part were kept at school, great care being taken to secure for them the best intellectual and moral training. Three girls were placed in the Ursuline Convent School at New Orleans and there educated. Two boys were brought up for a time at his own house. In 1821 these latter were sent to Boston and placed in charge of Mr. McDonogh's friend, Mr. R. D. Shepherd, to be educated. The correspondence in regard to these boys between Shepherd and McDonogh, who had begun life together

[1] William, at his death in 1832, left an estate of over $30,000, mainly to his sister, Mrs. Cole. (Letter of J. McDonogh to Mrs. Cole, 1833.)

in Mr. Wm. Taylor's counting-house, had then lived for years in New Orleans as merchants, and had ever been intimate friends, is interesting. Mr. Shepherd had one child, a daughter,[1] to whom Mr. McDonogh was godfather, and there are frequent allusions to her in the letters. In reply to a letter of Mr. Shepherd in which he offered to assist in placing the children in a proper school or family, Mr. McDonogh says, July 20, 1820: "The bringing up of these children in the path of rectitude and virtue is an object near to my heart. Three of them, girls, I have had in a convent here now upwards of three years, and their progress in plain and moral acquirements has been very considerable. I hope to be able to finish their education here without sending them away, as the convent is an excellent school of morals, and many of the nuns engaged in the instruction of those committed to their charge, both French and American, are ladies of polished minds and manners. I think it very probable, however, that I shall trouble you the ensuing spring with the placing of two boys for me, the one five, the other seven years of age. For this is no place to bring up or educate boys. Until the present time I have kept them with me under my own roof, and have gotten them pretty well advanced in grammar and a plain English education. . . I perused with great pleasure and satisfaction the description you have given me of my little godchild. I have no doubt, as you observe, that I shall have every reason to be proud of her. Your plan of giving her principally a useful education I highly approve. You will throw some flowers (to make the useful sit easier, and appear to the greater advantage), however, as you go along; but the idea of giving her Latin and Greek alarms me. Few women can support it properly in their walk through life, and in most instances that have come under my observation it has been the cause of unhappiness to them. I have known exceptions, I confess, and exceptions highly honorable to the sex, but still, I repeat, there is much to fear. It often retards their settlement in life; often hinders a good man who has received but a plain education from addressing them; and even where this does not take place, it is after marriage the source of discontent and

[1] The late Mrs. Peter C. Brooks, of Boston.

unhappiness. At all events, should you cultivate her in the Latin and Greek classics, as you purpose, I advise you, interested as I am in her welfare, as you value her happiness, never to marry her to a man for whom nature and education have done less than they have done for your daughter. As you will have fortune enough to bestow on her, let not that be a consideration in the choice of a husband. When you see her, embrace her for me; tell her that one who has promised to be to her a second parent, and who feels a strong interest in her welfare and happiness, sends her his love and his blessing."

On April 27, 1821, Mr. McDonogh writes: "This will be handed you by my two orphan children, whom I informed you last July I would send you the present spring, and whom you were so good as to say you would be a father to. The eldest, James McDonogh Drehr, is about seven years of age; he lost some years since both father and mother (and since the death of Brown[1] I have striven to replace both him and them). The other, Francis Pena, is about five years old; he lost, some years since, his father. They are both the descendants of virtuous and respectable people, and as relates to them, I well know all that is necessary for me to say to you is that I wish them to be brought up as my own (or as yours). . . . My first wish in relation to them is to have them brought up strictly in the path of moral and religious rectitude; and, to succeed in that, it is not only necessary that the theory should be inculcated in them, but that the example should be constantly before their eyes in the life of those under whom they are placed, and whom they look up to as their superiors, models and guides. Everything will depend, therefore (or principally), upon the family with whom they are placed. . . . They have been taught the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Commandments, and to bend the knee night and morning before the Creator in prayer, which I request they will be made not to neglect; and if the distance from church is not too great, they should be made regularly to attend divine service. . . . I wish them to be brought up in the country, away from town, in the strictest economy, but to want for nothing necessary to taking them through a course of classical and mathe-

[1] Mr. McDonogh's partner.

matical studies, and to fit them for a university education (in the event of Nature's giving them talents suitable for the acquirement of such a course, and for either of the learned professions, of which it is as yet impossible to judge). For I am decidedly of the opinion that the education offered to individuals should be made to correspond to the gifts and intentions of Nature, some being destined, it would appear, for the learned professions, others for merchants, traders, soldiers, mechanics, farmers, etc., etc. Having said all on the subject that I think of, I close by observing that they are now in your hands; do, therefore, as you see fit and proper with them. . . . I perused with much pleasure the letter of your daughter and my godchild which you inclosed me. It proves that she is possessed of much good sense and strength of mind for her age, and is well advanced in her education, both her writing and her style being very handsome. I congratulate you from my heart on her improvement, and hope that she will be all that you can wish her. Remember me to her with affection."

These boys were placed by Mr. Shepherd with Miss Caroline Gorham, of Barnstable, Mass. Subsequently Mr. McDonogh sent another of his adopted wards, a little girl (Gertrude), to Mr. Shepherd to be educated. The letters of the two friends show the care taken to secure the best training for the children.[1] James Drehr disappears from the correspondence in a year or two, but Frank and Gertrude remained in Massachusetts for ten years or more. Frank was not fitted to make a scholar, and when Mr. Shepherd reported this, Mr. McDonogh wrote, Aug. 4, 1829: "I observe what you say of Frank and Gertrude; what you do is always right and well done; give Frank, as you say, a first-rate English education, and prepare him for business. To throw away time and money in attempting to give him a classical one when Nature has not fitted him to receive it, would be the height of folly."

Frank, not doing well at business in Boston, returned to New Orleans in 1832, but Mr. McDonogh continued his care and guardianship, and finally left him $100,000. Gertrude got on much better at school. Mr. McDonogh intended

[1] Mr. McDonogh wrote to the boys regularly, giving them good advice and encouraging them to make good use of their time.

that she should be fitted for the trade of tailoress and dress-maker, but finding that she made good use of her advantages, directed that she should be also taught the piano and vocal music, the French language, the use of instruments, flower-drawing, and dancing, but so as not to interfere with the useful occupations.

The following letter of Mr. McDonogh in regard to her shows that his conception of education was by no means a narrow one :

NEW ORLEANS, April 15th, 1833.

DEAR SHEPHERD:—Your esteemed favor of the 10th February last reached me in due course, and I note the observations you therein make in regard to Gertrude. You say that the idea of a trade you now consider as being abandoned; dancing, drawing, and music are a very different affair from the trade of tailoress or mantua-maker, that they are separate ingredients that no process will ever blend; and that you don't know that it is to be regretted, because Gertrude is of too feeble a frame for the washtub. Now, my friend, permit me to say that I do not agree with you at all, and I have not abandoned for a moment the intention of having her to learn the arts of tailoress and mantua-maker; nor can I see why a female who can play an air on a pianoforte or dance a cotillion should be unfitted thereby from handling her scissors, needle and bodkin, but on the contrary it appears to me that she would be the better fitted from her accomplishments to gain friends and customers. My intentions as relates to her are precisely the same as they have been from the commencement. She has her industry to depend upon to carry her through life, and nothing else. I have been at much expense with her, but am willing to be at a little more. The very observations you make were what determined me (at the strong recommendation of the Superior) to add to her education a few of the polite accomplishments. The Superior informed me that as her constitution was delicate and not well adapted to the washtub, if I would consent to her learning music, she would strive to perfect her in it, and by that means fit her to become an instructress thereof, by which means on her return home she would be enabled to teach the art, and obtain a living in a less laborious manner and with more ease to herself than she could do it otherwise. This, my friend, was my reason for consenting: that I might give her an additional string to her bow. Mantua-making and tailoring therefore she must learn, and after her education is finished with those she will have a choice of pursuits when she comes home. As to dancing, I believe it was you, my friend, who first had it taught her; as well as I remember, one of your letters informed me that you had authorized her and Frank to be taught dancing, and of course I did not object; as you know, I have always said to you that what you did was right and well done. I therefore really, my dear sir, cannot perceive how "it will entirely disqualify her for the laborious and useful." My sole object in consenting to go to the additional expense of giving them to her was with the intention of enabling her to become more

extensively useful in life. You observe that you "cannot agree with the Superior to the full extent in what she says as to the great backwardness of Gertrude in her education." Nor can I, nor did I, my friend, agree with her; but ladies, you know, will have their own way and their own opinions, and a wise man will never contend when these opinions are innocent.[1] . . . I perceive, notwithstanding your firm determination as formerly expressed, you are going into business again, building ships, etc. I think you are wrong; I advise you to leave off commerce and go to Virginia. Establish a beautiful seat in that genial climate, and study to make yourself and the world happy around you. Do this and I will try to join you and become your neighbor in a few years.

In the summer of 1819 Mr. McDonogh's health seemed about to give way. The death of his partner, Mr. S. Brown, a year before,[2] and the settlement of their large joint estate, had no doubt thrown much additional labor upon Mr. McDonogh. This may have rendered him less able to resist the tendencies of the climate. In August, 1819, he was taken down with bilious intermittent fever accompanied with ague, and for more than a year he suffered frequent returns. He then appeared to throw off the disease, but his health was not strong, and in June, 1822, he had a sharp attack which threatened his life.[3] After his recovery from this he regained his usual health.

[1] Gertrude after completing her education returned to New Orleans, and according to the writer in the *Picayune* heretofore quoted, married Mr. Leanthier, a dry goods merchant. Mr. McDonogh gave her a handsome sum at the time of her marriage, and in 1848 she and her husband removed to France.

[2] Mr. Brown died in the winter of 1817–18. The settlement of his estate, of which Mr. McDonogh was executor, was long delayed, and involved much vexatious litigation.

[3] On his recovery from this attack he received the following from the Lady Superior of the convent where some of his orphans were at school:

"Sir, I am charged by the community to be the interpreter of their sentiments in regard to you. We were sincerely afflicted when we heard of your dangerous illness: vows and prayers were offered to the throne of Grace for your speedy recovery. Heaven has at length lent a favorable ear to our supplications. May it preserve and prosper the friend of the poor and the tender father of the helpless orphan! For in truth, such high and exalted titles may without flattery be bestowed upon you. Take care, sir, to preserve your health, not for yourself alone, but in consideration of those who look up to you as their father. Receive the sincere congratulations of the whole community, and mine in particular, as your friend and devoted servant,

June 27, 1822. FRANÇOIS DE SALES BOWLINS."

It was in 1822 that Mr. McDonogh, in the management of his slaves, took the first steps towards that course which subsequently developed into his unique and noted plan for liberating them, after a suitable training for the duties and responsibilities of freemen. His slaves were numerous ; the greater part of them lived in quarters built for them near his own house. Though he required steady and faithful work, Mr. McDonogh was a kind master, who looked carefully after the welfare of his dependants. He thus describes the change made at this time in his management : " Having at all times been opposed to laboring on the Sabbath day (except in cases of actual necessity), one of my rules for the walk and guidance of my slaves always was, that they should never work on that holy day, prohibited as we are from doing so by the Divine law. A long experience, however, convinced me of the impossibility of carrying this out in practice with men held in bondage and obliged to labor for their master six days in the week ; and on reflection, I saw much in their case to extenuate the offense against my rule. They were men, and stood in need of many little necessities of life not supplied by their master, and which they could obtain in no other way but by labor on that day. I had therefore often to shut my eyes and not see the offense, though I knew my instructions on that head were not obeyed. Consequently, after long and fruitless exertions (continued for many years) to obtain obedience to that injunction, I determined to allow them the one-half of Saturday (from midday until night) to labor for themselves, under a penalty (if they violated thereafter the Sabbath day) of punishment for disobedience, and sale to some other master. From this time the Sabbath was kept holy. Church was regularly attended forenoon and afternoon. I had a church built expressly for them on my own plantation, in which a pious neighbor occasionally preached on the Sabbath day, assisted by two or three of my own male slaves, who understood, preached, and expounded the Scriptures passably well, and at times I read them a sermon myself. I perceived in a very short time a remarkable change in their manners, conduct and life, in every respect

for the better." The slaves were permitted to work for whom they would, but usually preferred to work for their master, who always paid them on Saturday night. The men received wages at the rate of 62.5 cents per day in summer and 50 cents per day in winter, and the women were paid at the rate of 50 cents and 37.5 cents per day in summer and winter respectively. This plan worked so well that at the end of three years Mr. McDonogh expanded it into the larger scheme by which so many of his slaves were enabled to acquire their freedom. This scheme will be set forth in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

1825–1845.

Mr. McDonogh had now reached middle life with health re-established. His fortune was secure and was rapidly growing. Firmly established habits made untiring labor his greatest pleasure. The large schemes of benevolence which for years had been before his mind, began to assume more definite shape and to become a more and more absorbing object of contemplation. These plans, as they gradually unfolded themselves in his mind, took increasing hold upon his energy and his enthusiasm, and stimulated him to unflagging efforts in the accumulation of wealth. He had no confidants to whom he revealed or with whom he discussed his plans. The natural reserve of his nature increased with age. He had ever been a strong, self-reliant, self-contained man, not needing and not caring for the sympathy and encouragement of others in his work. To him, as to all men, popular appreciation was grateful, but he never sought it, and the lack of it never caused his energies to flag. He decided upon the purposes of his life from the best lights within reach, and carried out these purposes with rare vigor and determination, unaided and unhindered by the sentiments of those around him.

Though Mr. McDonogh always declared that the manumission of his slaves was in him a simple act of justice to them, the mere execution of a contract of which they had fully performed their part, no act of his life shows more clearly his interest in the welfare of others. It shows also his appreciation of the difficulties which beset the question of how best to secure the welfare of the slave when once freed. He was too wise to bestow sudden freedom upon negroes whose only preparation for the new condition had been ages of serfdom. He devised a mode of training adapted to develop habits of self-control, of steady purpose,

of prudence and foresight. He provided for them a school in which the young should be taught the elements of education, and many were well instructed in trades. He was particularly careful to provide for them moral and religious training. His conviction was strong that as freemen they should be removed from contact and competition with the superior race, and he therefore included in his scheme their transportation to Liberia. The plan he followed illustrates, too, some of his peculiarities. For many years it was kept an entire secret between himself and his slaves ; and though it subjected him to frequent misrepresentation and ill-natured criticism, he disdained to remove the misapprehension by a single word of explanation. Only after his experiment had been worked out to a successful conclusion and after the first shipload[1] of slaves had sailed for Africa (June, 1842), did he make known the plan he had pursued for seventeen years in the treatment of them. An inquiry addressed to him through a newspaper elicited, first, the statement that he was not opposed to slavery, but on the contrary was ready to purchase more slaves. He then declared his strong opposition to permitting freed slaves to remain in Louisiana, and observed that his act had been "one of simple honesty alone. I lay no claim nor am I entitled to any credit or praise on the score of generosity." A few days later (July 10, 1842), in a long letter addressed to the N. O. *Commercial Bulletin*, he fully explained his motives and method of operation.

In this letter, after explaining the measures he had taken to prevent his slaves from working on Sunday (see last chapter), he states that the result of these measures led him to calculate how long it would take a slave to purchase his entire working time if he had his half Saturdays as a capital to start with. Having decided that it could be done in fourteen or fifteen years, and that the doing of it was desirable from every point of view, he called together, one Sabbath afternoon, the ten or twelve leading men and women of his slaves, and, after expressing his deep interest

[1] About eighty were sent at this time.

in the welfare of them and their children both in this world and the next, he said:

If you and your children will be faithful, honest, true, sober, economical, industrious (not eye servants), laboring day and night, considering the affairs and interests of your master as the affairs, concerns and interests of each and every one of you individually, and all this with a fixed determination to persevere in well-doing to the end under every temptation that may assail you, and over every obstacle that may fall in your way, and will, in everything, be ruled, directed and guided by me, I will then undertake so to manage your affairs as to insure your freedom and that of your children, with the blessing of the Most High (viz., your freedom in Liberia, in the land of your fathers). This will be effected in conformity with my plan and estimate in the following manner—viz.: The one-half of Saturday being already your own (in consequence of my agreement with you that no labor should be done on the Sabbath day), your first object will be to gain a sufficient sum of money to purchase the other half of Saturday, which is the one-eleventh part of the time you have to labor for your master, and in consequence the one-eleventh part of the value your master has put upon you, and which you have to pay him for your freedom. This, I notify you, will be the most difficult part of your undertaking, and take the longest time to accomplish, and it is to be effected by laboring for me on Saturday afternoons, and leaving the amount of the labor in my hands to be husbanded up for you. By foregoing everything yourselves, and drawing as little money as possible out of my hands, I calculate you will be able to accomplish it in about seven years. That once accomplished, and one whole day out of six your own, you will go on more easily and rapidly; indeed, that once effected, your success is certain. You will be enabled easily by your earnings on one entire day in each week to effect the purchase of another day of your time in about four years. Now master and owner of two days in each week, you will be able in two years more to purchase another day, so that three days, or the one-half of your time, will be your own; in one and a half years more you will be able to purchase another day, making four days your own; in one year more, another or the fifth day, and in six months, the last day, or the whole of your time, will be your own. Your gains in less than another year will suffice to free (added to what the youths will have gained in the meantime) your children, and all will be accomplished. In the foregoing estimate, I calculate that you will draw from me occasionally some small sums of money to furnish little necessaries you may need; but you will remember, when one draws, the whole of you must draw at the same time: the men, an equal sum each; the women, the three-fourths part each of the sum drawn by the men. You shall be estimated at fair and reasonable prices—say the men at $600 each, the women at $450, and the boys, girls and children in proportion. An account shall be opened at once on my books and your valuations charged, without taking into account the increased valuation of the youths and children as they advance in age, and no child to be charged that shall be born

after the commencement of this agreement. This to be in some measure as a counterbalance to an interest account, as none will be calculated or allowed you on account of your gains in my hands. Such men and women as have no children of their own, when they have worked out their prices, shall be held and obligated to assist in paying for the children of the others, so that the whole company shall go on the same day on board ship and sail for your fatherland. I expect and shall insist on the strict performance of your moral and religious duties in every respect. . . . Should any of you commit crimes at any time whilst serving under this agreement, he or she shall immediately be put up at public sale (their offenses declared and made known) and sold; and whatever money they had earned under this agreement shall go to the benefit of the others in general.[1]

He continues:

Their surprise and astonishment at such a proposal . . . may be easily conceived; they gave their consent with tears of joy, declared the confidence they entertained of my truth, honesty, and pure intentions to do them and their children good, and their willingness . . . to be guided in all things by me. . . . On separating I told them to communicate my plans and proposal to their adult fellow-servants, male and female, and to say to them that none were bound or forced to come into the arrangement who had any objection to it; . . . that such as did not wish to accept of it should go on under the same old regulations, . . . and I requested one and all of them to consult together through the week and to give me their final answer . . . on the next Sabbath in church; . . . charging them as they valued my affection to keep what I had said to them (desirous as I was to avoid making the slaves of other plantations unhappy or discontented) in their own bosoms, and never to disclose it, until after they should have left the country for Africa, to a living being on earth. . . . On the next Sabbath day I met them in church, and was told that they had informed all their fellow-servants of my views and intentions towards them; . . . that they had well reflected during the past week on all that I had said to them; that they were at a loss for words to express their love and gratitude to me for what I had done and was now desirous of doing for them and their children, and that they had always looked on me in the light of a father, deeply interested in their welfare; that I was the only true friend they had on earth; . . . that they accepted one and all of the proposals I had made them.

Mr. McDonogh explained to them distinctly that their freedom was not to be a gift of his, but that they were to purchase it by extra diligence and labor. Said he:

My object is your freedom and happiness in Liberia, without loss or cost of a cent to myself from sending you away, and conferring that boon

[1] Mr. McDonogh states that during all the years this plan was working out he had to sell but two of his slaves.

(as the humble instrument of the Most High) on you and on your children. . . . There is but one way, one mode to effect it, . . . and that is by greater assiduity and exertions in the slave to his labor during the usual hours of day labor, and especially by extra hours of labor before day in the morning and after night in the evening. One hour after night in the evening and one hour before day in the morning would be two hours extra in twenty-four hours, and would be the one-sixth part more of time devoted to labor than is generally demanded of the slave, which is equivalent to two years and a half of additional labor in fifteen years. . . . In the mode which I propose, your master will not make you a present of an hour of your time, and you will in reality have gained and placed in his hands previous to going out free, a sum of money arising from your extra labor fully sufficient to enable him to purchase an equal number of people with yourselves, to take your place in the work of his farm, so that his work and revenue shall not be stopped for an hour; and to fit you out with all things necessary in your new life and new undertaking. . . .

On my part, you may depend on my prudence not to involve myself by speculation or otherwise (with the Divine blessing) so as to put it out of my power to carry out the agreement; and I will take care by keeping regular accounts of all your gains, and by instructions to my executors (in case of death), to have our agreement truly and fully executed, and justice rendered you. . . .

Mr. McDonogh thus states the result of the proposal so gratefully accepted by his slaves:

In less than six years the first half day was gained and paid for by them. In about four years the next or second day of the week was paid for and their own. In about two and a quarter years the third day was paid for. In about fifteen months the fourth day was theirs. In about a year the next or fifth day was gained; and in about six months the last or sixth day of the week became their own and completed the purchase, . . . effecting their freedom in about fourteen and a half years. After this it took about five months' labor to pay the balance due on their children. Any discrepancy in the period in which they effected the purchase of the different days is to be accounted for in their drawing more money at one period than at another, as they frequently did towards the last. Their freedom was effected in August, 1840, at which time they would have taken their departure for Liberia; but as the Abolitionists of the Northern and Eastern States of our Union had occasioned much excitement in our State, not only among the owners of slaves but among the slaves themselves, I did not consider it safe, or myself at liberty, . . . as there was a considerable black population in the immediate neighborhood of the residence of my black people, to send them away. I therefore told them (without giving them the cause) that they must be satisfied to remain where they were until the proper time for their departure should arrive, with which they remained satisfied. So they effected their freedom . . . in about fourteen years and a half; and the assertion I made in your *Gazette* of the 24th of June last, that "the act of

sending these people away is in my case one of simple honesty alone," is explained in my having received in money from them (or the equivalent of money) the full price agreed on between us for their freedom in Liberia.

Mr. McDonogh thought his method of making the slave gain his own freedom much preferable to conferring it as a gift.

Without hope, a certain something in the future for him to look forward and aspire to, man would be nothing. Deprive him of that inspiriting faculty of soul, and he would grovel in the dust as the brute. But, say they, why not promise him at once freedom after fifteen years' service? To this I have many and strong objections. In that mode his freedom would appear the gift of his master, who might repent and retract his promise. In the other mode the slave would have gained it—have purchased and paid his master for it. Hope would be kept alive in his bosom; he would have a goal in view continually urging him on to faithfulness, fidelity, truth, industry, economy, and every virtue and good work.

Of his people who had sailed for Liberia, he continues:

I can say with truth and heartfelt satisfaction that a more virtuous people does not exist in any community; and I pray the Most High to continue unto them the blessings which He never ceased to shower down on their heads whilst under my roof.

I will further observe that since the day on which I made the agreement with them (notwithstanding they had at all times previous thereto been a well-disposed and orderly people), an entire change appeared to come over them; they were apparently no longer the same people; a sedateness, a care, an economy, an industry, took possession of them to which there seemed to be no bounds but in their physical strength. They were never tired of laboring, and seemed as though they could never effect enough. They became temperate, moral, religious, setting an example of innocent and unoffending lives to the world around them which was seen and admired by all. The result of my experiment, in a pecuniary point of view, is not one of the least surprising of its features, and is this: that in the space of about sixteen years which these people served me, since making the agreement with them, they have gained for me, in addition to performing more and better labor than slaves ordinarily perform in the usual time of laboring, a sum of money (including the sum they appear to have paid me in the purchase of their time) which will enable me to go to Virginia or Carolina and purchase double the number of those I sent away.

In urging the adoption of his plan upon others, he recognized the difficulties in the way; the necessity of legislation to secure their earnings to the slaves, etc., and frankly states that the scheme can only succeed when the master

has the entire confidence of the slave. He gives the following sketch of his mode of treating his slaves:

They were lodged in warm and comfortable houses, fed with good salt provisions and corn bread, with a plenty of garden vegetables cooked with pork; clothed with strong, durable clothing, according to the season; a ration of molasses and one of salt was allowed them weekly, and a little coffee and common tea every six months. Christmas and New Year presents served to supply their little wants, and enabled them to leave nearly everything arising from their own labor untouched in my hands. They kept hogs and fowls of their own, and cultivated what ground they needed in corn and vegetables. In sickness, I had as good care taken of them as of myself, with good nurses to attend them. When they committed or were charged with offenses, I did not order an arbitrary punishment, but had them tried by their peers. I would summon a jury of five or six of the principal men, and say to them: "Such a man or such a woman is charged with such or such an offense; the witnesses, I am told, are such and such persons; summon them, hold your court, have him tried, and report to me your judgment and the punishment to be inflicted." It was done all in due form (the court-room was the church); the trial took place, and the punishment (if found guilty) was reported to me, and I generally found it necessary to modify it in reference to leniency. If twenty lashes were awarded, I would say to the judges, who were the executors of the sentence, "Give ten lashes and a moral lecture to the culprit for the offense." It was done, the criminal acknowledged the justice of the sentence, promised better things for the future, and forgot not to be grateful to the master who had reduced the punishment and reinstated him in place and favor.

For upwards of twenty years I had no white man over them as an overseer. One of themselves was their manager or commander who conducted, directed and managed the others; nor would I have the time once in six months to see in person what they were doing, though the commander would report to me nightly what he had done through the day, and receive my instructions for the day following. They were, besides, my men of business, enjoyed my confidence, were my clerks, transacted all my affairs, made purchases of materials, collected my rents, leased my houses, took care of my property and effects of every kind, and that with an honesty and fidelity that was proof against every temptation.[1]

[1] Mr. Ed. E. Parker, a prominent and wealthy citizen of New Orleans, noticing the extraordinary industry of some of Mr. McDonogh's people engaged on some buildings near his residence, repeatedly offered to buy their foreman, "Jim," from his master, offering finally $5000. Finding the slave could not be bought, he thus described their manner of work to Mr. McDonogh, who was never with them: "Why, sir, I am an early riser, getting up before day;—I am awakened every morning of my life by the noise of their trowels at work and their singing and noise before day; and they work as long as they can see to lay brick, and then carry up brick and mortar for an hour or two afterwards, to be ahead at their work the next

Mr. McDonogh thus closes his letter :

The scene [at taking leave of them] I will not attempt to describe ; it can never be erased from my memory. Though standing in need of consolation myself (in bidding a last farewell on earth to those who had so many claims on my affection, and who had been round and about me for such a long series of years), I had to administer it to them who stood in greater need of it, and tell them that the separation was but for a brief period of time, and that we should meet again, I trusted, in a better and happier state. . . . On Saturday morning the Rev. Mr. McLain, the agent of the American Colonization Society, crossed the river to dispatch the ship and see them take their departure. After seeing them off, Mr. McLain came into my house for breakfast, and on seeing him much affected in his manner, I inquired if anything had happened to give him pain; to which he replied : "Oh, sir, it was an affecting sight to see them depart. They were all on the deck of the ship, and your servants who have not gone were on the shore bidding them farewell, when from every tongue on board the ship I heard the charge to those on shore : 'Fanny, take care of our master ; James, take care of our master ; take care of our master as you love us, and hope to meet us in heaven—take care of our beloved master.' These ejaculations continued until they were out of hearing."

While Mr. McDonogh's slaves were gradually acquiring their freedom, he neglected nothing which he thought would promote their progress after it had been obtained. As already stated, he provided a school for the children. For years he established in his own house a teacher, whose duty it was to instruct them. He early petitioned the Legislature of Louisiana for leave to educate forty or fifty slaves to become citizens of Liberia. His want of success in this application did not cause any abatement of his efforts in this direction. He wished to provide competent instruction and guidance for his freedmen when settled in their new homes. For this purpose he selected two boys from among his slaves, with the design of having them thoroughly educated. One was then to become the physician, and the other the pastor and teacher of the colony. These boys

morning. And again, sir, do you think they walk at their work? No, sir, they run all day. I never saw such people as those, sir; I do not know what to make of them. Was there a white man over them with whip in hand all day, why then I could understand the cause of their incessant labor ; but I cannot comprehend it, sir. Great man, sir, that Jim—great man, sir. I should like to own him." After laughing heartily at Mr. Parker's description, which was true, Mr. McDonogh informed him that there was a secret about it which would some day be disclosed.

were placed under the care of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, and were sent to Lafayette College at Easton, Pa., where special tutors were provided for them under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Geo. Junkin, then president of that institution. They were in this way taken through a course of instruction parallel to that of the college. Their names were David and Washington McDonogh, and they went to Easton in 1838. Washington remained there three years, and in 1842 was sent out from Philadelphia to join the colony. He was teacher and missionary, and proved to be a useful and devoted man. David, who had much the brighter mind, remained at Easton for over six years, until Sept., 1844, and completed the whole college course. He then studied medicine in New York, but never went to Liberia. The following sketch of these youths is from Mrs. Margaret J. Preston, a daughter of Dr. Junkin :

The Presbyterian Mission Board had asked my father to have these boys educated. They were accordingly sent to Lafayette College, where they were for several years under his care. They were a great care and trouble to him, as they were kept and taught wholly apart from the students, who would never have consented to their presence among them. For the sake of the cause the professors took them over the regular courses by themselves. David took a full diploma. I think Washington did not take the whole course. After graduating, David was sent to New York to one of the medical schools, through which he passed with credit, afterwards becoming an assistant to the famous Dr. Valentine Mott. When the time came for them to go to Africa, David preferred to remain in New York. I have heard that he subsequently became a hack-driver. Washington went with Mr. McDonogh's people. We occasionally heard from him afterwards as a faithful preacher and teacher.

These boys were very black, of the purest African color; David lithe, graceful and handsome, with features that had scarcely a negro trace about them; and both were exceedingly well mannered. Mr. McDonogh treated them as his children. They dressed like gentlemen, both carried watches when not many students did, and had their supply of pocket-money. He wrote to them very frequently, always in French; and many a long letter of moral and religious advice they used to bring to me to read to them. I was then a schoolgirl studying French, and used to wonder at their inability to read French when their easy chatter of it made me envy them. They were always good boys, and used to come a good deal to our large, airy kitchen to talk with our servants, who were always black. All the while they were under my father's care Mr. McDonogh kept up a correspondence with him about them. I remember well the long foolscap sheets he used to write,

and he always seemed more intent upon their spiritual condition than anything else.[1]

Mr. McDonogh had taken a deep interest in the American Colonization Society. Soon after 1830 he was made one of the vice-presidents of this association, and throughout his subsequent life he zealously promoted its interests and contributed annually to its funds. He now sought the friendly patronage and care of this society for his freedmen, and on March 21, 1842, instructions were issued through R. R. Gurley, Sec. American Colonization Society, to Gov. J. J. Roberts, Liberia, that the necessary preparations be made for the reception of the colony, and that "nothing be neglected in order to secure the health, safety and property of this most interesting and valuable body of immigrants." A ship was sent to New Orleans to carry them to Liberia, and from 60 to 100 acres of land were given to each family, and provisions advanced to them for six months upon their arrival.

During the twenty years of his life which we are considering, Mr. McDonogh was unwearied in his devotion to business and the increase of his wealth. His exacting method of business and his tenacious adherence to what he believed to be his rights involved him in frequent litigation. His name often appears upon the records of the Louisiana courts, and more than once upon that of the Supreme Court of the United States. The strong, self-reliant, aggressive character of Mr. McDonogh, his enthusiastic pursuit of aims unknown to the multitude and above their comprehension, and perhaps the Scotch-Irish blood which came to him through a century or two of strife, made contests more pleasing to him than compromises. After the consecration of his wealth to noble charities had become the purpose of his life, he began to look upon himself simply as a steward entrusted with his Master's goods, and felt it to be his duty

[1] About the time that David was completing his course at Lafayette College, Mr. McDonogh sent to the same institution to be educated, young Durmford, the son of a free man of color, one of his former business friends and managers. This young man was his godson, and he conferred upon him a full college education.

to maintain intact what was devoted to promoting the welfare of his fellow-men. He thus speaks in the memoranda attached to his will :

I have much, very much, to complain of the world, rich as well as poor. It has harassed me in a thousand different ways. Suits at law, of great injustice, have been carried on and instituted against me, to deprive and take from me property honestly acquired (for I have none, nor ever would have any, that was not acquired by honest industry and the sweat of my brow); and when obliged to seek justice through courts of law, it has often and often been refused me. They said of me, "He is rich, old, without wife or child: let us take from him, then, what he has." Infatuated men! they knew not that that was an attempt to take from themselves; for I was laboring and had labored all my life, not for myself, but for them and their children. Their attempts, however, made me not to swerve either to the right hand or to the left, although to see and feel so sorely their injustice and ingratitude made me often to lament the frailty, the perverseness and the sinfulness of our fallen nature. I preserved an onward course, determined (as the steward and servant of my Master) to do them good whether they would have it or whether they would not have it.

In the fall of 1832 the cholera visited New Orleans, and the destruction of life was fearful. On November 21 Mr. McDonogh writes:[1] "I will not attempt to give you a description of the afflicting scene. All that you have seen of yellow fever here was nothing in comparison. It is supposed that 5000 or 6000 souls, black and white, were carried off in fourteen days. Amongst others of my friends I have to mourn the loss of my brother. In my family I lost five of my people." The brother he refers to was William, whom he had educated and whom he had introduced into business in New Orleans. William left a considerable amount of property to his relatives in Baltimore, the greater part of which was lost through the mismanagement of the nephew who was placed in charge of it.

Mr. McDonogh kept up a correspondence with his relatives in Baltimore, from whom he had been separated so many years. His sister Jane had become a widow. Her circumstances were narrow, and in addition to poverty she was afflicted with partial loss of vision. Mr. McDonogh had, years before, purchased for her the house in which she lived (near Arlington, Baltimore Co.), and he manifested a

[1] To Mr. R. D. Shepherd.

constant interest in her welfare, sending her remittances from time to time, accompanied by expressions of his warmest regard and affection.

Mr. McDonogh's will is dated Dec. 29, 1838, the day on which he completed the fifty-ninth year of his age. Its provisions will be more fully noted when we come to the history of his bequests, but the steady purpose of his life is shown by his thus mapping out the distribution of his property while yet in the full vigor of his powers. With the exception of a moderate sum bequeathed to his sister Jane and her family, his whole estate was willed to charitable purposes. The education of the poor was the great object of his desires, and to this the bulk of his property was devoted. During all his life he had devoted money and time and care to the education of those who needed it. There was hardly a time after his first establishment in New Orleans when he did not have a number of protégés at school or college. His brothers and a sister, and then his nephews and his nieces, had profited by his bounty in this regard. Then came the little protégés for whose training he had provided in New Orleans and Boston, and lastly the young slaves whom he prepared to guide and teach his freedmen, and the godson whom he sent to college at Easton. He had all his life looked upon the provision of education for those without the means to acquire it as one of the most beneficent of objects, as an aim worthy of the most exalted ambition, and it is probable that long before he reached middle life his mind had settled down upon this as the purpose to which his fortune should be given. His plan was elaborated slowly, and without consultation with others. His characteristic secretiveness and self-reliance prevented him from confiding the scheme to any one. His plan was undoubtedly the result of a conscientious conviction that by accumulating property and applying it to this high object, he could accomplish the greatest amount of good within his reach. He grew more and more absorbed in his purpose as age came on. He became, to himself, the steward into whose hands Providence had confided a large amount of property for a high and holy end, and his zeal

and earnestness in gathering wealth increased rather than diminished with advancing years. Deliberately had his plan been formed, and nothing, not even other and approved schemes of benevolence, turned him aside from it. He thus writes to Mrs. Sarah Bella McLean, the wife of Judge McLean, of Cincinnati, on May 6, 1844; (this lady, with whom he corresponded for some years in regard to the interests of African colonization, had written to him suggesting that he endow a college or in some other way provide for the education of a large number of young negroes, who could be sent out to their fatherland as teachers and missionaries):

You inform me that there is an admirable school and college in the north part of your State, where persons of color can be received, educated and fitted for usefulness, and recommend me to send some young persons to that institution, and not to leave all good deeds of the kind to be performed by my executors. You further observe that I might endow a college exclusively for colored children in Ohio, and propose to me a choice of four plans of usefulness, any or all of which I might patronize and carry out. The extent of your philanthropy and the goodness of your heart, Madam, shine forth in every word you have uttered; but a very humble individual like myself, with limited means at command, cannot do and accomplish all things. Africa, I confess to you, Madam, is one of my favorite daughters; but strong as are her claims, she is not my chief favorite; for charity begins at home. Though I refuse not my little mite, as I wend my way along the path of life, to the unhappy and the unfortunate whom I overtake on the road, still the chief object I aim at is to husband up, amass, and take care of the goods which the Most High places and has been pleased to place in my hands as His humble steward; not placing my affection on them, I trust, but husbanding them. When the day of my departure arrives, you will then know, Madam, for what object the very humble individual whom you have honored with the appellation of "friend" has lived; know, not to condemn, but I hope, to approve. Whilst on the subject of your recommendation (education), I will observe that under the laws of our State owners of slaves not being permitted to educate them, I applied some ten or twelve years since to the Legislature for permission to educate mine, under the obligation of bond and security to send all I should so educate to Africa within five years of the date of the law, but the permission was refused. I then determined to secure them and their descendants education by other means, and in consequence sent two talented young men of 17 and 18 years of age (slaves and black as Africa) to the College of Lafayette at Easton, Pa., the president of which institution was the excellent and talented Dr. Geo. Junkin, whom you probably are acquainted with. One of these young men has departed for Africa, and is now at the mission

station at Settra Kroo, Liberia, keeping a school for the native youth. I frequently hear from him, and his letters are most interesting and gratifying. The other young man is still at Easton. I have the pleasure to inform you, Madam, of the arrival of a ship here from Liberia, commanded by Capt. Hamburg (with letters highly pleasing from that part of my black family which I had sent there), who informs me that he has seen them all; that he had dined frequently with them at their houses; that they informed him that they were happy and in the possession of everything they could desire, fine plantations, etc. When he asked them if they were desirous of returning to Louisiana, their reply was that they would willingly cross the sea again to see once more their master before they die; but for all things else they would not change Africa for any country on earth. Now, Madam, in view of these declarations and this happiness (this part of my family now there were happy when here), permit me to ask you why the Abolitionists oppose the Colonization Society. Why oppose a removal of the colored people from our country to Africa, that great country, the land of their fathers, where they may indeed be happy? Do, Madam, in the name of Africa, as well as in the name of our country also, exert your potent influence with the Abolitionists of your great State to induce them to advocate and assist in the removal of the free colored man to Africa, where alone he can live in peace and in the enjoyment of freedom and happiness. Your kind expressions, Madam [she had urged him to visit her home in Cincinnati], bring to my recollection some dearly beloved sisters who for twenty years previous to 1830 I yearly promised that the ensuing spring I would see them; but that spring has never yet set in, as each succeeding one found me more and more deeply immersed in the affairs of life, and those beloved sisters, living in my native city of Baltimore, I have not seen for forty-four years. In 1830 I gave up all hope of ever seeing them in this life, and so wrote them; still I hope to sleep there, for my ambition reaches no farther now than the desire of lying down alongside my father and mother, who sleep there, and were to me more dear in life than all things else on earth.

Mr. McDonogh never made known during his life the provisions of his will except to the eminent lawyer, Mr. C. Roselius, who had long been one of his counsel and whom he had designated as one of his executors. As appears from the following letter of Mr. Roselius, even he was not consulted until nearly six years after the date of the will:

NEW ORLEANS, 30th Nov., 1844.

Dear Sir:—I have read with the greatest interest and pleasure the document which you so kindly permitted me to peruse. To tell you that I heartily approve of the grand and noble scheme of almost universal philanthropy which you have so ably developed, would be but a faint impression of my feelings on the occasion. Your views are comprehensive and original, and I think you have succeeded in devising a system of such checks and

balances as will effectually secure your magnificent endowments from being diverted from the great objects to be accomplished by them.

With your permission I will take the liberty of making two suggestions.

First: I think it advisable to direct what number of executors shall be authorized to act in the absence from the State, refusal to qualify, resignation, or death of the others; otherwise your intentions might be thwarted by the appointment of dative executors.

Secondly: It would be provident to insert a special direction that in the acts of incorporation contemplated by you there shall be an express provision that the administrators or officers of the respective corporations shall never have the power of selling or alienating in any manner whatever the real estate belonging to said corporations.

These are the only two suggestions that occur to my mind. Accept, dear sir, my sincere wishes for your health and prosperity.

I remain, very respectfully, your friend and obedient servant,

JOHN MCDONOGH, Esq., Present. C. ROSELIUS.

It was in the year 1844 that a successful effort was made in New Orleans to found and organize a public-school library and lyceum, an institution which to-day exerts a wide and beneficent influence on the educational interests of that city. The manner in which Mr. McDonogh chose to encourage this good work is revealed in the following letter, published in the New Orleans *Picayune* a few days after his death in 1850:

In December, 1844, soon after the adoption of my plan by the council of the second municipality for the establishment of the Public School Lyceum and Library, a gentleman called on me and expressed his cordial approval of the project and his warm wishes for its success. He told me he was desirous to aid in the good work and handed me a banknote of $1000, requesting me to have it applied to that object. He at the same time enjoined on me never to mention his name in connection with the donation. I promised to comply with his request, and have done so to this time, although I have often heard this act of liberality attributed to other persons, none suspecting him. I handed the amount to Mr. Sloo, at that time treasurer of the second municipality, and *ex-off.* treasurer of this society, who publicly announced its receipt from me, as a donation from a person unknown.

The injunction of secrecy I consider to be removed by the death of the donor; and I also think that after so much has been said, written, and printed to create an unfavorable impression of the deceased, I should be derelict in duty to the memory of one whose character is best indicated by his acts, were I to withhold from the public the fact that that early and liberal friend of our Lyceum and Library was John McDonogh.

SAM. J. PETERS.

CHAPTER V.

Closing Years (1845–50).

When Mr. McDonogh had passed sixty-five years of age he felt that his life was drawing towards its close, and frequently so expressed himself in his correspondence. He had carefully "set his house in order." The slaves he had freed were established in their fatherland, and provision had been made for sending others to join them; the great objects to which his estate was to be devoted were set forth in his will, and directions given as to how they could best be carried out. He had taken every precaution which appeared to him necessary to secure the preservation of his estate and the certain appropriation of it to the ends he had in view. Having thus arranged his affairs, he calmly and steadily pursued his systematic labors in the management of his property, ready to obey the summons of death whenever it should come. He adhered to the rule he had laid down in early life, "Labor then to the last moment of your existence." The labor of managing his estate increased as the estate itself grew, but he continued to the very last the daily performance of this task. The New Orleans *Daily Delta* of the day after his death says: "A few months ago he told us that he devoted eighteen hours per day to labor, and regretted that he could not spare a few minutes to read the newspapers. His labor consisted in keeping the accounts, deeds, papers, and vouchers of the most extensive landed property owned by a single individual in the world. His only assistants in these duties were some negro slaves whom he had educated and trained to his own habits of method and industry." Mr. McDonogh alludes not unfrequently in his later correspondence to this self-imposed, exhausting labor, stating that the mass of affairs on his hands is almost beyond his strength, and that it deprives him of time for letter-writing except at night. But Mr. McDonogh's

powers were well trained; his habits systematic; his capacity for work immense; his temperament cheerful and elastic. He therefore bore long and well the strain which would speedily have broken down most men. His powers of endurance, too, were increased by the enjoyment he found in work, and by the enthusiasm with which he contemplated the grand object of his life-work as his strong imagination pictured its realization before his mind.

The advance of age, and the consciousness of failing powers, together with sorrows which are the lot of all, were not, however, without their effect upon John McDonogh. It was when depressed by them that his strong religious faith shone forth most brightly, and that he expressed most firmly his reliance upon his Creator.[1] We find him writing to Mrs. Judge McLean, February 20, 1846, as follows:

Within the last few months I have had much to affect me—much to show that life here below is a shadow, that all things are fleeting and vain except virtue and the love of the Deity. . . . I have been blessed through life with spirits of great elasticity, and have striven to receive the dispensations of the Most High, whatever they might be, with a heart humble and resigned to His will. But—I know not how it is or whence the cause (loss of health,

[1] In the memoranda attached to his will Mr. McDonogh says: "It will be well to say here in whom I place my hopes, trust, belief and faith, and in the tenets of what Church of Christ I have walked. My hopes, trust, belief and faith are in salvation through the perfect, the all-sufficient and accepted atonement of our blessed Lord and Master, Jesus Christ. And I have walked a Presbyterian of the 'Presbyterian Church' so-called, or that church the ecclesiastical government of which is conducted and ruled by presbyters."

Though a man of clear and positive views, Mr. McDonogh was free from any sectarian narrowness in his creed. As we have already seen, he was one of the first vestry of the First Episcopal Church in New Orleans—then the only Protestant place of worship in that city. And near the close of his life (years after the above memorandum had been written, no doubt) he became a communicant in St. Peter's Episcopal Church (now the Seamen's Bethel), at the foot of Esplanade street. The Rev. Jno. F. Girault, in a letter of Nov. 11, 1885, to Julius Kruttschnitt, Esq., states that he found Mr. McDonogh's name entered on the register of communicants for the year 1848–9 of old St. Peter's Church. That register also showed that the Rev. Mr. Whitall, then rector of that church, officiated at Mr. McDonogh's funeral, Oct. 27, 1850, at McDonoghville. This church was just across the river from Mr. McDonogh's home, and its proximity may have been one reason for his joining it in the last year or two of his life.

perhaps, and the advance of old age and the consequent feebleness of mind and body)—I find my equanimity and vigor of mind (though I trust my heart is entirely resigned to the Divine Will) are now more easily disturbed and shaken than was formerly the case. Amongst many circumstances of an unpleasant and afflicting nature which have occurred lately to disturb the even tenor of my way to the land of delight and peace, has been the departure of one of those beloved sisters[1] of whom I spoke to you in a former letter, to the world of spirits. It was only a month or two before her departure that she saw cut down in the springtime of life a beloved son and daughter. . . . I wrote her a few lines sympathizing with her, and telling her that her children had only preceded her a few short days on their journey, and little expected that the next account would inform me of her departure. She was greatly beloved by me, for she was my companion, my friend in childhood and youth, with whom I walked hand in hand and took sweet counsel. Excuse all this, madam ; it eases my heart (I acknowledge my selfishness) to speak of one who possessed the love of my heart at a period of life when the affections are all warm, innocent and pure, to another her counterpart in all the virtues of truth, faith, charity and love.

In the same letter he says :

If I have desired life, it has been that I might tend to the honor and glory of Him that made and placed me here ; and if, after He retires me from this scene, it shall be found on a review of my actions that I have not lived in vain, then will the object of my soul, through its whole existence here, have been accomplished.

Mr. McDonogh's zealous interest in promoting the cause of African colonization grew with his years. The colony of slaves he had sent out in 1842, and the published account of the training by which he had tried to fit them for freedom, attracted much attention. Letters came to him from every quarter congratulating him on his success and praising his philanthropy. Prominent planters engaged in correspondence with him, anxious to follow his example. It was evident—and to none more clearly than to himself—that only a few were in position to tread in his footsteps. But the successful experiment gave everywhere a stimulus to the colonization cause. Mr. McDonogh maintained his friendly relations with his former slaves, and contributed in many ways to their welfare in their new circumstances. The letters he received from them were all of the most affectionate kind, and the great mass of them gave a most encouraging view of the success of the

[1] Mrs. Cole.

colony. A large number of these letters were obtained by the Rev. R. S. Finley in 1847, and published in the *Liberian Advocate*, St. Louis. In 1849 the Rev. R. R. Gurley, who had for years been the secretary of the American Colonization Society, visited Liberia, and after his return wrote Mr. McDonogh an account of the condition of his people. He says:

I saw a number of your people and visited their settlements on the beautiful banks of the St. Paul's. Mr. G. R. Ellis [one of the McDonogh colony] is one of the most intelligent and respectable citizens of Monrovia. He lives in a very substantial and well-furnished house, while he has a flourishing plantation some seventeen miles up the river. I visited him frequently. He has for his wife one of the best-educated women in the republic, and is himself a man of great activity and enterprise. I am indebted to him for a list of those who emigrated from your plantation.

He reports the greater part as doing well. On June 10, 1850, Mr. McDonogh replies:

Your opinion of Liberia and her population fills my heart with joy, and I agree with you, sir, "that the scheme of African colonization is one of vast beneficence, meriting the earnest and liberal support of the whole American people." The account you gave me, sir, of the moral and religious character of those people whom I assisted to get to Liberia, and of their happiness and prosperity there, affords me great joy. My first great object in assisting them to reach that country was the honor of our Lord and Master. To that end I strove to instruct and prepare them through a long series of years, night and day, and had them instructed in the knowledge of Him and His righteous law. To know, then, that they are laboring in His divine cause with a holy and pious zeal fills my soul with delight and thankfulness to Him. . . . Will the Government of the United States do nothing in the way of an appropriation of money, say half a million of dollars annually during ten or twelve years, to assist in the expense of transporting the free black and colored population of the United States to their fatherland?

The time I should think a favorable one for pressing the subject on the attention of Congress, especially as that great, virtuous and good man, General Taylor, is in the Presidency. . . . What subject is there, sir, after that of the Union, which interests the American people more than this? . . .

The last sentences recall a plan he had strongly urged during the last years of his life. This plan contemplated the gradual purchase, at a low price, by the United States Government, of slaves from such planters as were willing to sell, and the transportation of them to Africa. He foresaw that in a few years more "white labor in our country will be as cheap as it

now is in France and Italy, and whenever that is the case the slaveholder will not retain his slaves," but would be glad to get rid of them. Such a policy of purchase by the Government, he believed, would in a few years lead to the settlement of the question which was then shaking the Union to its foundation.

Might not the adoption of Mr. McDonogh's scheme have pointed the way to an escape from the enormous waste of blood and treasure caused a few years later by the growing antagonism to slavery? Ralph Waldo Emerson, in 1855, likewise urged a purchase of the slaves of the South even at a cost of two thousand millions of dollars.

But Mr. McDonogh was not much longer to labor and plan. During 1849–50 he complained of failing strength and health. In his letter to Dr. Gurley (June, 1850) he says: "For the last twelve months I have not enjoyed my accustomed feelings of health, having been ill at my ease without being sick. I impute it to the closing of the seventieth year of my age, which is generally a critical period of man's life." He continued his accustomed round of duties, however, until Thursday, Oct. 24, 1850. This day he spent, as usual, in the city, and did not return to his home across the river until late in the afternoon. Speaking of his death two days after, the writer in the New Orleans *Delta* from whom we have already quoted says: "Though his great vigor of mind and energy of spirit enabled him to triumph for a while over physical debility, and to pursue within a few hours of his death the industrious and busy habits which he had practised for fifty years, his health had been declining for some months, and the termination of his earthly career was daily looked for by himself as well as by his friends. Two days ago we saw him on our streets engaged in earnest negotiation and discussion with a brother millionaire respecting some settlement which he desired to consummate ere he was called hence, and overheard him say in words which fell upon our ears with force and emphasis: 'My days are numbered, and my affairs must be settled this side of the grave.'"

Mr. Roselius, in his testimony in the case of Pena *vs.* the Cities of New Orleans and Baltimore, says: "On the Thursday before his death, he [Mr. McDonogh] said to me, in

speaking of his will: 'Remember, I put my trust in you.' He did not tell me where the will was, but I felt satisfied it was in bank. He had often told me I was one of his executors." These incidents reveal the manner in which his last working day on earth was spent.

He returned to his house much fatigued, and during the night was attacked with colic. He was nursed by his devoted household slaves, and next morning rose and dressed as usual, but finding himself too unwell to leave home, soon went to bed. By midday he had become worse, and then his faithful slave, Jim Thornton, obtained permission to go for a physician. The doctor's remedies only effected a temporary check in the progress of the disease, which soon assumed choleraic symptoms. On Saturday morning he was very ill, and by midday it was evident that the end was approaching. When informed of the approach of death, Mr. McDonogh expressed his readiness to meet it, and requested that Mr. Roselius and some other friends be sent for. This was done at once, but he sank so rapidly that when Mr. Roselius, who was the first to come, arrived, Mr. McDonogh was no longer able to speak, and he soon passed away. He died about 4 P. M. on Saturday, October 26, 1850. The next day's New Orleans *Picayune* contained the following:

> The announcement yesterday evening of the death of John McDonogh took our city by surprise, and formed the sole subject of conversation wherever it was known. His long residence among us, his immense wealth, his peculiar habits and appearance, had made his name familiar, not only here, but everywhere in the State, as a household word. He seemed to many a being apart from his fellow-men. While youth and strength and health and beauty were year after year struck down beside him, he moved on, tall, spare, erect, with sprightly step and look. Every school-urchin recognized at first glance the thin, sharp, intelligent face, the small, sparkling brown eye, the long white hair, the neat, prim white cravat and high shirt-collar, the well-preserved old hat and blue umbrella, and the old-fashioned, tight-fitting blue cloth dress-coat and pantaloons and well-polished shoes. . . .

Mr. McDonogh's funeral took place on Sunday, Oct. 27. The services were conducted by Rev. Mr. Whitall, rector of St. Peter's Episcopal Church (now the Seamen's Bethel), of which Mr. McDonogh had been a member for a year. It is thus described in the next morning's *Picayune:*

Mr. McDonogh was buried yesterday afternoon in the cemetery erected by himself, near his residence at McDonoghville, for his negroes. It was his wish that he should be buried among them. The funeral was plain and unostentatious. Prayer and a short sermon were delivered in the small church attached to the house, and built for the negroes. Here the deceased himself often preached to his slaves. A very large number of persons, white and colored, were present. The coffin was placed in the plain, oven-shaped tomb so common here.

Over this tomb was erected a substantial vault, on the west end of which is inscribed the following:

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
JOHN McDONOGH,
BORN IN BALTIMORE, STATE OF MARYLAND,
Dec. 29, 1779,
DIED IN THE TOWN OF McDONOGH, STATE OF LOUISIANA,
Oct. 26, 1850.

Written by Himself:

Here lies the body of John McDonogh, of the city of New Orleans, in the State of Louisiana, one of the United States of America; the son of John and Elisabeth McDonogh, of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, also one of the United States of America: awaiting in full and firm faith the Resurrection, and the coming of his glorious Lord, Redeemer and Master to judge the world.

On the two sides of the vault are written the rules he adopted for his guidance in life.

Some years after his death his remains, in accordance with the request made in his will, were removed to Baltimore, where, on July 1, 1864, they were buried in Greenmount Cemetery, on the spot where now stands the monument erected to his memory.

The cenotaph in the little, ruinous graveyard at McDonoghville is preserved and kept in good order by Edward Thornton, one of his former slaves. This labor, entirely one of love, continued now for more than a generation after Mr. McDonogh's death, is a touching evidence of the affection that bound master and slave together.

CHAPTER VI.

Characteristics.

The singular habits of Mr. McDonogh, his abstemiousness and frugality, the seclusion in which he lived, and the secretiveness with which he covered all the motives of his course of life, caused him to be misjudged by many of his contemporaries, and rendered him the subject of much harsh criticism. To the mass of men who saw him toiling incessantly at his daily work, he appeared simply the stern, never-resting, exacting man of business, entirely absorbed in the pursuit of wealth, with no thought except for making or for saving money. The appeals of charity appeared to meet but rarely with a response, the ties of kindred and of friendship seemed to have withered and died with age. So intently wrapped up had the old man become in the contemplation and pursuit of his great plans—plans of which the world knew and suspected nothing—that he moved among his fellows, not as one of them, but as a being from another sphere.

He who had been in his young manhood a prominent member of the gay and fashionable society of New Orleans, had become, so far as concerned his own race, a recluse. Those who knew him in any other way than through business relations became yearly fewer and fewer. Only to his large household of slaves were his feelings of tenderness and human sympathy daily manifested. These were his dependents, for whose welfare he felt himself responsible, and no master ever more faithfully, steadily and conscientiously performed his duty. As for the great world outside, he was trying to fulfil his duty to it by entire consecration to a grand scheme designed for the good of future generations. His vivid imagination, fired by the purposes of a lifetime, pictured before him results which were beyond the reach of even his skill, talents and industry; but if this clearheaded and accurate man of business did often dream, how splendid were those dreams in

their object, their scope, and their far-reaching usefulness! With what a high and steady purpose was every faculty consecrated throughout life to the realization of the great conception which filled his soul!

We cannot doubt the absolute sincerity of a man so earnest, so proud, so indifferent to the opinions of his contemporaries, as was John McDonogh, when he says, "My soul has all my life burned with an ardent desire to do good—much good, great good—to my fellow-man, as it was chiefly by that means and through that channel that I could tend—greatly tend—to the honor and glory of my Lord and Master, which was my soul's first, great, chief object and interest."

But it will be well to add some extracts from widely different sources, to show how he impressed others who observed his life or studied his character. These views, taken from different standpoints, show how he failed of appreciation until the objects of his life-work, kept secret so long, came to be understood. The following is from the New Orleans *Delta* of October 29, 1850, the day after his will was made public:

It is due to the memory of the deceased to admit that this document [the will] will greatly modify the public prejudice which has long existed against Mr. McDonogh on account of his miserly habits, his hard, exacting nature, and his apparent insensibility to the ordinary feelings and ties of humanity. His will shows, that throughout his long career of devoted, severe mind-and-soul-wearing pursuit of wealth, he has been actuated and prompted by a philanthropic motive, a desire to benefit his species, to advance the cause of religion, virtue and good morals. We believe that this feeling was a sincere one. No ambitious love of posthumous fame or notoriety appears to have weighed with this patriotic motive. His dispositions are not made in a manner calculated to please or satisfy the people of the present age, as they cannot take effect for many years to come.

The next extract is from the address of the Hon. J. H. B. Latrobe, of Baltimore, delivered in 1866, on the occasion of the dedication of the monument in Greenmount Cemetery to Mr. McDonogh's memory:

In Mr. McDonogh's dealings he was just, but he was harsh in the enforcement of his legal rights, regarding every lawsuit brought against him as an attempt to diminish a sacred fund, and as an evidence of the injustice and ingratitude of his fellow-men. . . . .

The character of John McDonogh required a lifetime to develop it, and was only understood after his death. Secretiveness seems to have been a

distinguishing feature. It may be said of him most truly that he kept his counsel in all things. His compact with his slaves was a secret one. He secretly enjoyed the mystification of the friend who would have purchased his slave to ascertain the secret of his zealous industry. He wrote his own will without the aid of legal advice; and this instrument, with the accompanying instructions to his executors, and a long and admirable letter to the New Orleans *Bulletin*, explaining why he sent his slaves to Liberia as an act of common honesty, after they had fulfilled the compact on their part, constitute the data from which we can best form an estimate of the man. They show a clear and exact thinker, of great determination. . . . .

Revering the memory of his parents, he reverenced the law of God and obeyed the laws of man. A patriot in the best sense of the word, he not only exposed his life for his country, but sought to render men more worthy to be its citizens. His relations to his slaves were those rather of a father than of a master. Without family to develop his affections, they manifested themselves towards these helpless beings; and while he taught them the love of God by precept and example, he at the same time qualified them to become teachers in their turn, directly or indirectly, of the benighted millions of the Dark Continent to which he sent them.

In a memorial address on George Peabody, delivered January 6, 1870, before the Maryland Historical Society, Brantz Mayer, Esq. (who had been one of Mr. McDonogh's executors, and one of the agents of Baltimore City in managing his estate), said:

Two Baltimoreans have been in our day generous benefactors, not only of our city, but of this Society; one of them, though born in New England, a resident fellow-citizen for over twenty years; the other born, taught, and commercially educated here, then going to Louisiana and rapidly amassing a fortune in New Orleans.

Mr. Peabody and Mr. McDonogh were both bachelors. Peabody, as an active trader and merchant for twenty years in Baltimore, and an active financier for thirty years more in London, always preserved his genial intercourse with men, making his fortune chiefly by dealing with money; McDonogh, after securing wealth, suddenly and in the prime of life abandoned the career of luxurious self-indulgence he was leading in New Orleans, sold his superb household and equipages, and retired for nearly thirty years, a recluse if not a hermit, to his solitary chateau opposite the city, where, in 1850, he died without a relative at hand, attended only by a faithful slave. For those thirty years his life had been one of rigid self-denial and abstinence. The one was a solitary, brooding, speculative, benevolent, religious visionary, brave though dreamy, kind though austere, and living mainly to die; the other a "live man" of a live age, feeling forever the pulse of society beating around him, and identified with the active present as well as the anticipated future. The striking difference between these philanthropists is the vital variance that exists betwixt personal and posthumous benevolence.

Peabody, though unblest with wife and children, remembered that he had kindred, and remembered every one of them while he lived. McDonogh, though equally unblest, discarded all relatives save a sister, to whom he gave by will a personal pittance, which lapsed by her death before his own. In his thirty years of isolation he seems to have become wrapt with the idea that he owned nothing, and was but a "steward of the Lord"; that nothing was due to one's blood but a debt of education and simple provision; and that acquired wealth, beyond the plain necessaries of life, belonged to the public. . . . .

Both of these gentlemen, as I said before, were benefactors of this Society —Peabody to the extent of thousands, McDonogh of hundreds; but those hundreds were given with kind alacrity: first, when he knew we were building this Athenæum by voluntary contributions, and afterwards when he heard we were furnishing it by the same means.

I have not coupled the names of these gentlemen to contrast them, or to make unfavorable comparisons. One of them certainly lived only to accumulate, and to bequeath his accumulated lands to be still more augmented by accumulation before a remote public enjoyed the usufruct; the other, farseeing and provident as he was, also probably lived, during at least the last fifteen or twenty years when his fortune had become large and certain, for purposes more practically laudable, benevolent and immediate. One of these remarkable men was surely more sympathetic, if not more public-spirited, than the other; for he wanted the present age to enjoy his goodness, and did not make the estate he bestowed, depend on fanciful theories of infinite growth and infinite benefit at indefinite periods. The motives of both were noble, but not equally wise in institution.

A writer in the *Continental Magazine* for August, 1862, who had evidently often seen Mr. McDonogh, gives some vivid sketches of the philanthropist and his career, from which we extract the following:

In the year 1850, and for nearly forty years previous, there could be seen almost every day in the streets of New Orleans, a very peculiar and remarkable-looking old gentleman. Tall, and straight as a pillar, with stern, determined features, lit up by eyes of uncommon, almost unnatural brilliancy, with his hair combed back and gathered in a sort of queue, and dressed in the fashion of half a century ago, this singular gentleman, with his ancient blue silk umbrella under his arm, and his fierce eye fixed on some imaginary goal ahead, made his way through the struggling crowds which poured along the streets of New Orleans.

The last time this strange figure was seen making its accustomed rounds was on the twenty-fourth of October, 1850. On that day a very remarkable event occurred, which attracted the notice of passers-by, and was even snatched up as an item by the ever-vigilant reporters of the daily press; this consisted simply in a notable variation from the routine and habits of the old gentleman. He was seen to stop on Canal street, to hesitate for a few moments, and then deliberately enter an omnibus bound for the lower

part of the city. Such an occurrence created quite a sensation among street-corner gossippers. There must really be some new and pressing emergency which could produce this departure from the custom and invariable habits of forty years; so said every one who knew the old gentleman. The omnibus stopped at the Court-House; the subject of these observations and his blue umbrella emerged from it, and both soon disappeared in the corridor leading to the so-called halls of justice.

That was the last that was ever seen of the strange old gentleman on the streets of New Orleans.

And the strange old man, who could not ride a few squares in an omnibus without attracting the attention of everybody, and exciting public curiosity to such a degree, was the millionaire, the Crœsus of the South, the largest landowner in the United States. He had reached the advanced age of seventy, and his remarkable vigor and health had never given way under the pressure of the severest and most incessant labor. Generation upon generation had lapsed into the grave under his eye. A few, a very few shriveled old men were known to him as contemporaries. Suddenly, while pursuing so eagerly his imaginary goal, he was seized with faintness on the street. Other men would have taken a cab and ridden home, or at least to a physician's; but when did John McDonogh turn aside from business to relieve any weakness or want? He had an important document to file in court. It must be done that day. He is too weak to walk. There is the omnibus; the fare is only a dime; but that dime is so much taken from the poor; for John McDonogh is only an agent for the poor, so appointed and called of God. Such were the reflections that passed through his mind before he could be induced to perpetrate this serious violation of the settled rules of a life, this single blot and stain on a career of unbroken self-abnegation. With a sigh, he took his seat in the omnibus. It was his last ride.

The same author thus describes his death:

No devoted relatives or friends gathered around his couch to cheer his last moments with those tender tokens of love and sorrow which so sweeten the otherwise bitter cup of death. No weeping little ones were there to cheer his heart with the assurance that on their dear pledges of affection his name and virtues will live after him. His lawyer, physician, and his servants were the only witnesses to the mortal agony of one who could have commanded troops of devoted friends, and who possessed the qualities which might have adorned the domestic and social circle.

So departed this life the rich and eccentric possessor of acres sufficient to have made a duchy or a kingdom, and of money adequate to the maintenance of the dignity and power of such a possession.

The coloring thus given to the final scene is more fanciful than real. Mr. McDonogh, though he had lived apart from kindred and friends, was not cynical, nor morose, nor unhappy. His feeling towards his fellow-men was evidenced by the fact

that his life was spent in working out a scheme to benefit numbers of them in future years. His temperament was cheerful and elastic, his religious faith sound and vigorous. He found happiness in the enthusiastic prosecution of his plans. He looked upon himself as a humble instrument of Providence for the accomplishment of good. He was ready for the summons of death, and he met it with the calmness and composure of a Christian.

After giving the story of Mr. McDonogh's courtship of the beautiful daughter of Don Pedro Almonastre, and his subsequent retirement from New Orleans to his plantation on the other side of the river, the writer in the *Continental Monthly* continues:

Mr. McDonogh continued to prosecute his acquisition of property with augmented vigor and ardor. It was about this time his passion for accumulating vast acres of waste and suburban land began to manifest itself. All his views regarded the distant future. The present value and productiveness of land were but little regarded by him. One of his favorite plans of operation was to purchase the back-lands of plantations on the river, the value of which would be increased enormously by the improvements in front of them. So he eagerly pounced upon all the lands in the neighborhood of the towns and villages in the State. One of the most brilliant of his feats in this sphere was the completion of his line of circumvallation around the city of New Orleans. For many years he pursued this object with the greatest ardor and intensity. Commencing at the upper end of the city, he stole gradually around through the swamps, purchasing large belts of land, until at last, a few years before his death, meeting one of his old friends in the street, he slapped him on the shoulder, with his face full of enthusiasm and joy, exclaiming: "Congratulate me, my friend; I have achieved the greatest victory of my life. I have drawn my lines around the city, and now entirely embrace it in my arms—all for the glory of God and the good of my race."

During all this eager pursuit of acres there was never any manifestation of selfishness, or of the ordinary repulsive characteristics of grasping avarice. It is true he was exacting, punctual, and opinionated. He pursued his own course in all matters, but there was no misanthropy or harshness in his manner or deportment. He rarely gave for charitable or other purposes, for the reason that he would never sell any property he acquired, because he said it was not his—that he was only the steward or agent of God for certain great designs. His agency, however, did not include a power to sell. Hence he could not be induced by any offer or consideration to alienate any property he had once acquired. Abstemious to a fault, withholding himself from all the enjoyments and associations of the world, he devoted his time to the care of his large estate, to the suits in which such acquisitions constantly involved him; working for seventeen hours out of the twenty-four, the greater part of which labor consisted in writing the

necessary documents relating to his titles, in corresponding with his lawyers and overseers. For the fifty years of his life in New Orleans he never left the State, and rarely, if ever, passed beyond the limits of the corporation. It was well known that he was entirely wrapped up in some grand scheme of charity, the nature of which, however, was only known to a few lawyers, with whom he consulted in regard to the legality of his proposed dispositions, though none of them knew the mode and form in which those dispositions were to be made.

McDonogh's scheme was certainly a grand one. In the execution of it, a man of his character and mind might well feel and display the extraordinary zeal and enthusiasm that gave to his appearance, habits, and conduct the characteristics of a monomaniac. Without ever once turning aside for pleasure, ambition, curiosity, affection, or enmity, he steadily pursued his great design, until death released him from the severe servitude to which he had bound himself. But, save in this entire self-abnegation and social exclusion, Mr. McDonogh had none of the habits of the miser. He was not a usurer, a money-lender, or a speculator. He did not extort his riches from the distresses and weaknesses of his fellow-men. He acquired by legitimate purchase, or by entries on public lands. He dealt altogether in lands. Stocks, merchandise, and other personal securities were eschewed by him.

We add some extracts from the address of Mr. S. Teackle Wallis, delivered at the annual commencement of the McDonogh Institute, June 3, 1882. In the opening paragraphs Mr. Wallis pictures Mr. McDonogh as he saw him a few years before his death, and reproduces the estimate then generally entertained of him.

Nearly forty years ago, as I stood upon the wintry bank of the Mississippi river, a short distance above New Orleans, waiting with a friend for the ferry, I saw a skiff approaching from the other side. It contained a single passenger, whose appearance, as he landed and came near me, attracted and fixed my attention. As I remember him, he was a singular-looking old man, tall, gaunt, erect, and of strongly marked features, with an expression of much force and more austerity..... He was dressed in a clean but well-worn, if not threadbare, suit of black, with a close-bodied coat and white cravat, looking very much like a somewhat ascetic country clergyman, ill supported by his parish.... My companion, perceiving that the stranger whom I have described was an object of curiosity to me, inquired if I did not know who he was, and upon my replying in the negative, told me he was John McDonogh, one of the wealthiest citizens of Louisiana, and a man of singularly eccentric habits, some of which he described. Mr. McDonogh's appearance, as I have said, though quite consistent with eccentricity, gave certainly no evidence of riches, and, upon expressing my surprise at the wealth ascribed to him, I was informed that he was an extremely close and penurious man—in fact, to be plain—a confirmed and notorious miser. Not taking much personal interest in that sort of people, it is probable that I should never have thought again of Mr. McDonogh, had I not seen, some five years

afterwards, the announcement of his death and of the noble and unexpected purposes to which, by a will prepared long before I saw him, he had dedicated the hoardings of his lifetime. The picture, which I have endeavored to draw for you, came back to me, then, upon the instant, with all the freshness of the first impression, and I have the scene upon the river shore as vividly before me, now, with John McDonogh, "in his habit as he lived," as if years, and changes, and war had not swept on between, as dark and pitiless as the waters by whose rush we stood. Least of all things, as you may well imagine, did it occur to me, when I saw the old man for the first and last time, ... that here, to-day, a thousand miles from where I left him, and after more than a third of a century, I should be standing, amid the ripening fruits of his benevolence and foresight, to praise the goodly works which have lived after him to bless him.

Mr. Wallis is no less eloquent in criticism than in praise. He says:

That Mr. McDonogh was thoroughly sincere in the "reflections and opinions" which he directed to be recorded and preserved by his executors, I think it impossible to doubt. He believed in himself, and they were the revelation of his creed. They bear, all over them, the stamp of conviction, not only genuine, but intense. I am not sure that, at last, his intellect did not hover perilously near the point, at which men mistake their desires and convictions for direct and divine inspiration. . . .

He was not the first man whose faith was better than his works. It may be, after all, that he was right in his estimate of himself, and that his life was but another of those mysteries of humanity, which are none the less actual because they cannot be fathomed. But I have felt, as I have said already, that I could not do justice to the young people in whose presence I speak, and who will read the life of their benefactor in that spirit of admiration which is born of gratitude, without indicating in what it should be a warning to them, and in what an example. I could not hold up, as I do, to their imitation, the prudence, the intelligence, the indomitable will, the industry and patient thrift of John McDonogh—his manly independence, his self-reliance and self-denial—without teaching them that these admirable qualities have no necessary relation to the grim and ignoble traits with which they were associated in his life and conduct. They must learn—and, under the excellent guidance to which they fortunately are entrusted, they will not be permitted to forget—that they were born to live in this world, not merely to die out of it—and that their appointed place is in the midst of their fellow-men, discharging, manfully, the duties; wrestling, cheerfully, with the responsibilities; and exchanging, kindly, the charities of life. Because the fortune which Mr. McDonogh was enabled to scatter, from his deathbed, had been gathered and kept together by all the devices of money-making and money-saving, which commonly contract the heart and debase the spirit, these children of the bounty of his better days must not be deceived into believing, that the right way to the benevolence which crowned his life, lies through the dark, repulsive paths by which he reached it. Their homage to his memory will be none the less, from their learning to distinguish between his virtues and his faults, and taking to their bosoms the instructive lessons of both. . . .

It is not, after all, a barren commonplace to say that the best, and oftentimes—although not always—the most enduring record of remembrance is that which is written on men's hearts. That the hope and desire of such remembrance was a warm and moving impulse in the founder of this institution is plain, from the touching request in his will, the "little favor" as he humbly calls it, that the children of his schools should be permitted, every year, "to plant and water a few flowers" around his resting-place. But if, beyond this natural yearning for the human sympathy of which he had sought so little while he lived—this desire to prolong, through all the summers of the coming years, those

> "Pious thoughts, which visit, at new graves,
> In tender pilgrimage—"

he felt, in his loneliness and isolation, the longing after a

> "Resurrection in the minds of men,"

with which few pulses are too dull to throb, he could not easily have built for himself a monument from which his name will be less likely to crumble than this beneficent foundation. . . .

The old man sleeps in Greenmount, over the hills yonder, and the flowers were reverently strewn upon his grave yesterday, by the young hands from which he asked and merited that tribute. The marble pile round which they lie, scarce faded yet, is what is called his monument, but his true monument is all about us here. Nor is it here only—it is wherever the blessings of his bounty have been spread—wherever those whom it has blessed are useful, happy, upright men.

CHAPTER VII.

The Will.

Mr. McDonogh's will had been carefully prepared more than twelve years before his death. It is dated December 29, 1838. In the words of Mr. Randall Hunt: "He wrote the will and quintupled it, sealing up each, and keeping its provisions profoundly secret. He deposited one in a box in the vaults of the Union Bank; another in the hands of a friend, Mr. Montgomery; a third in the hands of the Mayor of New Orleans, Mr. Crossman; a fourth in the hands of a free man of color, Mr. Durmford; and kept the fifth himself. Not satisfied with this, he took triplicate receipts for it from the depositaries. Such was his care for the preservation of the will." The will is a long and somewhat intricate document, giving full and detailed directions, not only as to the purposes to which his estate was to be devoted, but as to the manner of managing his property after his death. Its principal provisions are as follows:

1. A moderate provision was made for the support of his sister Jane and her family.

2. His slaves (except some recently acquired) were set free, and provision made for sending all to Liberia, except a few who were to remain in New Orleans.

This provision Mr. McDonogh executed in part before his death, by sending the shipload of freedmen to Liberia in 1842. The slaves recently acquired were to be set free and sent to Liberia in fifteen years after his death.

3. The entire residue of his property (which was to be permanently invested in real estate and managed as a whole) was to be devoted to the establishment by the cities of New Orleans and Baltimore of free schools for the education of the poor. The whole net income of his estate was ultimately to be equally divided between these two cities for this purpose. For a time, however, one-half only of this net income was to go directly to

the cities, while the other half was to be applied to the payment of the following annuities:

a. One-eighth of the net income was to be given annually to the American Colonization Society for forty years. This sum was not to exceed $25,000 for any one year.

b. One-eighth of the net income was assigned to the city of New Orleans, to found an asylum for the poor, where they were to be sheltered, clothed, fed, and taken care of. This annuity was to continue until the sum of $600,000 should have been paid to this object, and then it was to cease.

c. One-eighth of the net income was to be given annually to the Society for the Relief of Destitute Orphan Boys of the City of New Orleans, until the sum so given should amount to $400,000, when it was to cease.

d. One-eighth of the net income was set apart for the purpose of establishing a farm school near the city of Baltimore, for the poor boys, first of the city of Baltimore, then of the towns and villages of Maryland, and then of the great maritime cities of the United States. As the annuities *a*, *b*, *c* were paid off, the portions of the net income appropriated to them were to be applied to the payment of *d*, which would thus ultimately absorb one-half the whole income of the estate. This last annuity was to continue until the sum of $3,000,000 should have been accumulated, when the farm school was to be established upon this large foundation, and the annuity cease.

It will thus be seen, that from the time of his death one-half of the net income of his property was to be divided between the cities of New Orleans and Baltimore, for promoting the free education of the poor, and that the other half of the net income was to go to the same purpose, after the payment of the charitable bequests (themselves in large part educational) heretofore mentioned. He thought that perhaps fifty years or more would be required for the payment in full of these bequests.

Mr. McDonogh directed that all his property should be invested in real estate, as well as the portion of the income designed for the endowment of the institutions above mentioned, and forbade that any of this real estate should ever be sold or alienated. Nothing but the income was to be used, and he

anticipated a rapid increase in the value and productiveness of this property, from the advance in the value of such investments in a growing country. His reasons for preferring to invest in land are thus given in the memoranda accompanying his will: "For the base of a permanent revenue (to stand through all time, with the blessing of the Most High), I have preferred the earth, a part of the solid globe. One thing is certain, it will not take wings and fly away as silver and gold, government and bank stocks often do. It is the only thing in this world of ours which approaches to anything like permanency; or in which, at least, there is less mutation than in things of man's invention. The little riches of this world, therefore, which the Most High has placed in my hands, and over which he has been pleased to make me his steward, I have invested therein, that it may yield (its fruits) an annual revenue to the purposes I have destined it forever." He desired to perpetuate his estate by means of an act of incorporation, and left full and minute directions as to the machinery by which this vast and growing accumulation of real property was to be managed. Mr. McDonogh was a sanguine man, and he largely overestimated his actual wealth, by attributing prospective rather than present values to much of his unimproved real estate. He also greatly overestimated the growth of his property in the years to come.

Mr. McDonogh impresses his desires and intentions upon his executors as follows: "The first, principal, and chief object I have at heart (the object which has actuated and filled my soul from early boyhood with a desire to acquire fortune) is the education of the poor (without the cost of a cent to them) in the cities of New Orleans and Baltimore, and their respective suburbs." He desires that every poor child in those places "may receive a common English education; based, be it particularly understood, upon a moral and religious one." And looking forward to the time when his ever-growing estate would yield the immense revenues necessary, he says: "It is my desire, and I request that the blessings of education may be extended to the poor throughout every town, village and hamlet in the respective states of Louisiana and Maryland, and were it possible, throughout the whole of the United States of America."

He refers to the jealousy and animosity felt by the poor towards the rich, and deprecates it as unwise and wrong. The rich should be regarded by the poor as their best friends; and such, he adds, are those rich men "whose hearts occupy the right place in their bosoms." He continues: "Let the poorer classes of the world be consoled; assured that the labor-loving, frugal, industrious and virtuous among them possess joys and happiness in this life which the rich know not and cannot appreciate. So well convinced am I (after a long life and intercourse with my fellow-men of all classes) of the truth that 'the happiness of this life is altogether on the side of the virtuous and industrious poor,' that had I children (which I have not) and a fortune to leave behind me at death, I would bequeath (after a virtuous education, to effect which nothing should be spared) a very small amount to each, merely sufficient to excite them to habits of industry and frugality, and no more."

He concludes his will with the request that his funeral be "plain, without parade, and with the least possible expenses," and adds this final request: "That it may be permitted annually to the children of the free schools (situate the nearest to the place of my interment) to plant and water a few flowers around my grave. This little act will have a double tendency. It will open their young and susceptible hearts to gratitude and love to their Divine Creator, for having raised up as the humble instrument of his bounty to them, a poor frail worm of earth like me, and teach them at the same time what they are, whence they came, and whither they must return."

A provision existed in Mr. McDonogh's will, directing that in case of a failure of the cities, from any cause, to take the property bequeathed to them, it should revert to the states of Louisiana and Maryland for the purposes set forth in the will.

The principal facts in regard to the contests over Mr. McDonogh's will and the final disposition of his estate deserve to be recorded. Mr. McDonogh appointed a large number of executors,[1] representing those interested in the succession, of

[1] The executors named in the will were Christian Roselius, Judah Touro, Abial Dailey Crossman, Lewis Philip Pilié, Jonathan Montgomery, Joseph A. Maybin, William E. Leverich, François Bizoton D'Aquin, of New Orleans;

whom Messrs. C. Roselius, F. B. D'Aquin, W. E. Leverich, A. D. Crossman, J. P. Smith, Brantz Mayer, Wm. Gibson, and R. R. Gurley qualified, and the first four, who alone were residents of Louisiana, took charge of the estate. The cities accepted the gift, and undertook to carry out Mr.McDonogh's wishes.[1]

But from the very first the estate was involved in litigation: a litigation which itself forms a curious and interesting history, and which, extending over twenty years, prevented for that period, in large part, the execution of the will. The principal contest in which the executors were at the outset involved was the attack made upon the validity of the will by the heirs-at-law of McDonogh. This suit was brought in the United States Circuit Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana, and was argued by an imposing array of counsel on both sides. It was claimed by the heirs that the singular and involved directions Mr. McDonogh had left for the management of his bequests to the cities, and the impracticable requirements he had laid down in order to effect the perpetuity of his estate, rendered void this portion of his will. The Circuit Court decided in favor of the heirs; but upon an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States this decision was reversed and the bequests to the cities confirmed. The illustrious lawyer and jurist who now, in the full ripeness of age, stands at the head of the bar in our country, Judge John A. Campbell, was then a member of the Supreme Court and delivered the opinion in the case. In the course of his opinion Judge Campbell says: "We may remark of the will of the testator, that it indicates his imagination to have been greatly disturbed by a long and earnest contemplation of plans, which he says 'had actuated and filled his soul from early boyhood with a desire to acquire a fortune, and which then occupied his whole soul, desires, and affections.' In the effort to accomplish these cherished hopes he has overstepped the limits which the laws have imposed upon the powers of ownership, overlooked the practical difficulties

Ben. C. Howard, John P. Kennedy, John Spear Smith, Brantz Mayer, Henry Didier, John Gibson, of Baltimore; Henry Clay, of Kentucky; R. R. Gurley, of Washington; and Walter Lowrie, of New York.

[1] Baltimore did this by resolution of the City Council on January 9, 1851.

which surround the execution of complex arrangements for the administration of property, greatly exaggerated the value of his estate, and unfolded plans far beyond its resources to effect; and has forgotten that false calculations, mismanagement, or unfaithfulness might occur to postpone or prevent their attainment. Holding and declaring a firm faith in the interposition of Providence to render his enterprise successful, he apparently abandons himself, without apprehension or misgiving, to the contemplation of the 'McDonogh Estate' as existing through all time, without any waste or alienation, but improving and enlarging, 'extending the blessings of education to the poor through every city, town, and hamlet' of the State where he was born, and the State in which he had lived and was to die; 'rescuing from ignorance and idleness, vice and ignominy, millions upon millions of the destitute youth of the cities,' and 'serving to bind communities and states in the bonds of brotherly love and affection forever.'"

But while thus recognizing the defects of Mr. McDonogh's will, and the exaggeration of his plans and expectations, Judge Campbell declared that these defects were not sufficient to defeat the great object had in view by the testator, nor to invalidate his bequests to New Orleans and Baltimore. He furthermore stated, that in case of a failure of the devise to the cities, the property would go to the States of Maryland and Louisiana. This decision of the Supreme Court, which was final, was rendered at the December Term, 1853. A similar opinion upon the validity of the will had already been rendered by the Supreme Court of Louisiana.

Mr. McDonogh had directed that the control of the estate (which, as already stated, was to be kept intact) should be confided to six commissioners or agents, three to be appointed by Baltimore, and three by New Orleans, who were to manage the property according to the directions he had left, and to distribute the net revenue in accordance with the provisions of the will. The validity of the will having been established, the cities appointed these agents or commissioners. Messrs. Brantz Mayer, William S. Peterkin, and Thomas L. Emory were appointed agents for Baltimore, under an ordinance dated December 28, 1854. The city of New Orleans appointed as its commissioners, Messrs. A. D. Crossman, John Cuth-

bertson, and P. E. Bonford. These gentlemen having met and organized, the estate was turned over to them in the spring of 1855 by the testamentary executors. A résumé of the value of the property then made it $2,272,406.05, of which $2,091,-374.59 was in real estate, according to an inventory made at the time of Mr. McDonogh's death.[1] This estimate was found subsequently to have been too high.

For the next two years this joint board administered the property and attempted to carry out Mr. McDonogh's wishes. It was soon found, however, that the cumbersome plan of administration laid down in the will would not work in practice. The estate was widely scattered, and it contained so much unproductive real estate that the income of the productive property was in large part absorbed by the unproductive. A great amount of the city property needed heavy expenditures in order to render it profitable. The estate was attacked by costly and vexatious litigation on every side. The costs of administration were very heavy, and the efficiency of management necessarily poor. In the seven or eight years following Mr. McDonogh's death, the entire net income of his estate never reached $25,000 a year, and averaged but little, if anything, over half this sum. No steps had been taken to put into execution Mr. McDonogh's charitable intentions, nor did it seem probable, from the condition of the estate, that this could soon be done. The two already existing corporations (the Colonization Society, and the Orphan School for Boys in New Orleans), which were beneficiaries under his will, finally lost patience at the delay. The latter corporation entered suit for the one-eighth of the net annual income to which it was entitled, and which had been withheld by the managers because of the unsettled outstanding claims against the estate, and on January 26, 1857, obtained a decree in its favor. It became evident that the plan by which Mr. McDonogh had sought to ensure the perpetuity of his estate, as well as its enormous increase through the rise in value of real property in a new country, was a failure. No testamentary provisions could enlist in his service the energy, self-denial, industry, ability, singleness of purpose, and administrative skill by which he had

[1] See Report of the Agents of Baltimore, May 9, 1855, and the Report of the Commissioners and Agents, January 24, 1856.

amassed his estate, and which were needed in an ever-increasing degree for the successful management of so vast a property. The conviction became general that the best thing to be done would be to divide the estate, pay off the annuities and other charges, and let each city manage its share as it should deem best. For the purpose of bringing about such a partition, New Orleans entered suit against the other corporations interested, and in April, 1857, the Fifth District Court of the city of New Orleans directed that the partition be made between the two cities, subject to the payment of the present value of the annuities to the Colonization Society and the Orphan School for Boys. The report of Messrs. Brantz Mayer and Thomas G. Hunt, who were appointed to make a partition among the parties in interest, stated among other things:

1. That the entire real estate of John McDonogh was worth $1,465,680 instead of $2,091,374.

2. That the annuities to the Colonization Society and Orphan School had each a present cash value of $84,230.27. This was based upon the assumption that the average annual income of the estate for twenty-four years to come would not exceed $64,000.

3. That the slaves belonging to the estate should be freed and sent to Liberia as soon as possible, instead of being retained until the expiration of fifteen years from Mr. McDonogh's death.

4. That the real estate should be apportioned equally between the cities of New Orleans and Baltimore, subject to the payment of the annuities.

This report was adopted by the Fifth District Court, and its decree of partition was confirmed by the Supreme Court of Louisiana early in 1858.

The total amount received from the estate by the American Colonization Society, and the Orphan School for Boys in New Orleans, was in each case:

$12,534.09 as one-eighth net income up to 1857.
84,230.27 cash value of annuity in 1857.
3,273.90 in lieu of interest until cash value was paid in full.

$100,038.26

In 1857 suit was brought against the McDonogh estate by Francis Pena for $100,000, upon a slip of paper which purported to be a codicil to Mr. McDonogh's will, and which directed his executors to pay this amount to Mr. Pena. This paper, not having been produced until more than six years after Mr. McDonogh's death, and being at variance with all that was known of his purposes, was vigorously assailed. But in 1858 the Louisiana Supreme Court confirmed Mr. Pena's right to the bequest, and it was paid in full.

After the decree of partition, the cities each took charge of its share of the estate, and proceeded to sell the property as rapidly as possible. The agents of the cities sold the greater part of the property in 1859. These sales were made under favorable circumstances, and the share of Baltimore (including the estimated value of some unsold property) produced in gross about $900,000. This shows that the value of the estate when actually liquidated was about $1,800,000, or about midway between the assessments made in 1851 and 1857. Deducting the annuities and the legacy to Mr. Pena, there remained in gross about $750,000 to each city, out of which was to come all the costs of winding up the estate. On May 28, 1858, the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore enacted the first ordinance erecting a Board of Trustees of the McDonogh Educational Fund and Institute. This board consisted of twenty persons, and organized on June 22, 1858, by electing John W. Randolph president, Dr. W. G. Knowles secretary, and Marcus Dennison treasurer. By the same ordinance all the funds derived by the agents of Baltimore from the McDonogh estate were to be turned over to this board. In May, 1860, Messrs. Mayer, Peterkin and Emory reported the total assets so turned over (principally notes for property sold), together with those yet in their hands, as $579,715.53.

The agents of the two cities carried out the recommendations to the court in regard to Mr. McDonogh's slaves, and on March 27, 1859, forty-one of his negroes "departed for Africa in the ship *Rebecca*." They were well provided with the things necessary in their new home, and a physician was sent to take care of them on their voyage. An appropriation was placed in the hands of Col. J. B. Walton for the benefit of the old and decrepit freedmen who remained in New Orleans.

The rude shock of war now came upon the land, and turned the thoughts of all from the peaceful purposes which had filled John McDonogh's life. Four years of strife and destruction told heavily upon all interests, and the estate left by John McDonogh suffered with the rest. A considerable amount of property was thrown back upon the cities by the failure of purchasers to meet the deferred payments, and in all such cases the depreciation in value entailed heavy loss. New Orleans was a heavier loser than Baltimore, because of the greater disasters which befell that city commercially and financially. For some time Baltimore was cut off from all access to her sister city, and much fear was felt lest the greater part of the McDonogh bequest might be lost through the ravages and accidents of war.

Another danger at this time threatened the estate. Moses Fox, a former employé of Mr. McDonogh, and now claiming to be his nephew, produced and attempted to set up a codicil to Mr. McDonogh's will, by virtue of which Fox was to receive $300,000 eight years after the testator's death. This claim was finally proved to rest upon an ingenious forgery, but for long years it hung over the estate and prevented the active employment of funds the title to which it kept in controversy. Suit was first brought on the Moses Fox claim in 1860. The case was tried in 1862, and decided in favor of the cities; but it was carried up to the Supreme Court of Louisiana, where a like decision was reached in May, 1866. The claim was subsequently to be revived.

The effects of the war upon the McDonogh estate were serious, but not so disastrous as was anticipated. During 1864 and 1865 the Baltimore Board of Trustees of the McDonogh Educational Fund, through their president, John W. Randolph, took active steps to look after the property belonging to Baltimore yet unsold, and to collect the notes that were overdue. The board was able to report in January, 1866, over $370,000 on hand invested in Baltimore City and United States stocks, besides $208,000 of uncollected notes.

The city of Baltimore determined to set aside all of the funds derived from Mr. McDonogh's estate for the establishment of the farm-school provided for in his will, and directed that the

school should be called the McDonogh Institute. The half of his estate which fell to Baltimore was far below the amount he had contemplated for the endowment of this school alone, and as Baltimore already possessed an admirable and well-equipped system of free schools, it was deemed best to concentrate the bequest upon this one of the prominent objects of his will.

In July, 1868, for the more efficient administration of the fund, a new ordinance was passed by the City Council of Baltimore creating a Board of Trustees, with the right to fill the vacancies in their own number, in whose hands was placed the whole of the McDonogh property, with full powers to administer the same, and to carry into effect the will of Mr. McDonogh by the establishment of a farm-school near the city of Baltimore. The fund at this time amounted to slightly over $500,000, invested in interest-bearing stocks; a tract of land near Belair avenue, which had been purchased by the previous trustees for the site of the school; besides real estate in Louisiana yet unsold, and estimated to be worth $100,000.

The trustees appointed under the ordinance of July 10, 1868, were Messrs. Lawrence Sangston, Joshua Vansant, Albert Schumacher, Robert T. Baldwin, James B. George, H. Clay Dallam, Wm. A. Stewart, Wm. Keyser and John Donnell Smith. Mr. Smith declined to qualify, and the board organized with the eight first named.[1]

The ordinance gives the board the power to fill all vacancies in their own body, and provides that the number of trustees shall not be less than seven nor more than nine.

The presidents of the board have been Lawrence Sangston

[1] Changes:

1. James B. George died February 1, 1869. Vacancy not filled, the Board determining to limit the number of trustees to seven.

2. R. T. Baldwin resigned November, 1871. S. H. Tagart elected.

3. Albert Schumacher died June, 1871. John Donnell Smith elected.

4. Lawrence Sangston resigned, having removed into the country. David L. Bartlett elected.

5. Joshua Vansant resigned November, 1871, having been elected Mayor. Dr. Thomas Bond elected.

6. Dr. Bond resigned December, 1872. G. H. Hunt elected.

7. John Donnell Smith resigned December, 1872. C. H. Mercer elected.

8. Wm. Keyser resigned November, 1873. R. T. Baldwin elected.

and Samuel H. Tagart; the vice-presidents, Joshua Vansant and Wm. A. Stewart; the secretaries, Wm. Keyser and H. Clay Dallam; the agent, H. Clay Dallam. Since November, 1873, no change has taken place in the organization of this board, which has been since that time as follows:

SAMUEL H. TAGART, *President.*
WM. A. STEWART, *Vice-President.*
H. CLAY DALLAM, *Secretary and Agent.*
DAVID L. BARTLETT.
GERMAN H. HUNT.
CHARLES H. MERCER.
ROBERT T. BALDWIN.

The Moses Fox case had been decided in 1866 in favor of the cities. In October, 1870, suit was renewed upon this claim for $300,000, with interest from October, 1858. After a vigorous contest, a final judgment was rendered in favor of the cities in January, 1872, and the cloud which had so long hung over the title to the McDonogh Fund was dissipated.

As soon as the Moses Fox case was settled, the Board of Trustees appointed by the city of Baltimore proceeded to the establishment of the McDonogh Institute. The fund in their hands at the beginning of 1872 amounted to slightly over $700,000 in Baltimore City stocks, besides the property unsold in Louisiana. In May of that year, the board prepared, through John Donnell Smith, a scheme of the school to be founded, and a few months later purchased the fine estate of 835 acres, twelve miles northwest of Baltimore, on which the institution is now located.

In 1873 a Principal and other officers were appointed, the buildings on the farm were adapted to the temporary needs of the school, and on November 21, 1873, twenty-one pupils were admitted, and the McDonogh Institute was regularly opened. By the first of February, 1874, this number had been increased to fifty, which was the extent of the capacity of the building.

The permanent buildings were delayed by the impossibility of selling the property in Louisiana, which had been set apart as the source of the building fund. The gradual accretions from income, however, enabled the trustees to go forward in 1881,

and in March of that year the construction of the front of the present building was begun. This was so far completed that the dormitories were ready for occupation in August, 1882, and the class-rooms in January, 1883. In July, 1884, the rear wing of the school-building was let to contract, and in October, 1885, it was finally completed, and all the departments of the school were transferred to their new quarters. In the spring of 1884 the trustees determined to increase the number of scholars by the admission of ten boys each year, and, in accordance with this policy, the school for 1884–85 contained sixty boys, and for the present session of 1885–86 it numbers seventy.

Mr. McDonogh's legacies to the American Colonization Society, and the Boys' Orphan School in New Orleans, were applied to the objects of those corporations. In the case of the latter institution, about $70,000 of the bequest was devoted to the construction and equipment of the large, substantial and well-located buildings of the school on St. Charles avenue. The remainder of the bequest, or such part of it as escaped the war, is one of the sources from which the school derives its income.

This institution has done for years a most useful work among the orphan boys of New Orleans. With a limited income (some $8000 a year), it is now furnishing a good home and good training to over sixty children and youth.

The portion of Mr. McDonogh's estate which fell to the city of New Orleans was by that city committed to the care of a board of commissioners, who were instructed to devote the income of the fund to the erection (or purchase) and equipment of schoolhouses for the public free schools of that community. This board consists of the Mayor, the City Treasurer, and the City Comptroller *ex officio*.

The fund belonging to the city of New Orleans was reported January 1, 1861, as $764,419.37, "exclusive of property unsold, and a considerable amount of property held for account of purchasers at the several sales who failed to comply with the terms and conditions of the adjudications." It suffered severely by the war from the depreciation of the investments, and in 1874 it was reported at $637,567.46 upon paper, with a

comparatively small sum as available. With the restoration of local self-government to this terribly oppressed State, and the consequent improvement of Louisiana, the condition of the fund improved. It was judiciously handled, and the income constantly applied to the object upon which the city thought best to concentrate it. In 1883 the principal of the fund was reported as over $500,000, invested in premium bonds of the city of New Orleans, while some $280,000 had been expended on the nineteen "McDonogh Schools" which up to that time had received appropriations. Another handsome and commodious schoolhouse has since been built. Fortunate, indeed, has New Orleans been in preserving so large a portion of this noble bequest, and not less so in the wise appropriation made of it. W. O. Rogers, Esq., for years the accomplished Superintendent of Public Schools of New Orleans, says (Report of 1884):

It is not easy to estimate the beneficent influence of the McDonogh Fund in its relations to a well-organized and well-sustained system of public education. Without its aid our public schools would have required much more than it would have been possible for them, in the straitened finances of the city, to obtain. The commissioners of the fund have shown great liberality and public spirit in appreciating the wants of the city for new schoolhouses, and in the care of those already constructed. The McDonogh buildings are not only erected out of the fund, but they are supplied with new and improved furniture, and are kept in good repair by the same means.

After recommending the construction of a McDonogh building for the high schools of the city, Mr. Rogers continues:

All parts of our city schools should share, as far as may be, in the benefaction of John McDonogh. The buildings which bear his name render silent honor to his memory. A nobler tribute is to be found in the grateful affection of the thousands who, under the friendly shelter and amid the pleasant surroundings of those schoolhouses, are permitted to gain the rewards of study in the blessings of knowledge. It is a pleasing thought that the day may not be far distant when every pupil in our public schools, from the primary room to the high school, shall receive instruction in a McDonogh schoolhouse.

In June, 1858, the authorities of Baltimore, in concert with those of New Orleans, took steps to have the remains of John McDonogh removed from New Orleans to the city of his birth, in accordance with his expressed desire. This was done in June,

1860, and they were temporarily deposited in the vault of Brantz Mayer, Esq., in Greenmount Cemetery, until a proper tomb and monument could be erected. It was not until 1866 that the arrangements for erecting the monument to John McDonogh were completed. In that year, over his remains, which had been deposited in a beautiful and commanding spot in Greenmount Cemetery, was reared an enduring structure of granite and marble, surmounted by a colossal statue, in marble, of the dead philanthropist. The dedication of this memorial was made with suitable ceremonies, and an eloquent and appropriate address was delivered on the occasion by the Hon. J. H. B. Latrobe.

CHAPTER VIII.

The long delay in the execution of Mr. McDonogh's plans due to the protracted litigation over his will, the heavy costs of this litigation, the losses and perils to which his bequest were subjected by the war, and still more, perhaps, the extravagant expressions in his will due to an overestimate of his property and its probable income, have given rise to a widespread impression that a large part of his estate was swallowed up or lost, and that only a comparatively small portion has finally been applied to the grand purposes which inspired the soul and directed the life of the philanthropist. This impression is erroneous.

Mr. McDonogh's will is an illustration of how feeble at the best is human wisdom, and how easily the most carefully laid and farsighted plans may entirely miss their mark. Mr. McDonogh wished to secure the perpetuity of his estate by directing that all his property should be invested in real estate, and that these investments should be unchangeable. To prevent waste or misappropriation, he provided a cumbersome and complicated system of administration which soon broke down of its own weight. A few years of trial demonstrated the fact that his large estate, if continued in the condition in which he left it, and under the system of management he had devised, would produce no considerable income available for the purposes of his will. Still more would the retention of the real estate, of which the bulk of Mr. McDonogh's property consisted at the time of his death, have been disastrous. He anticipated a rapid and great increase in the value of these investments. But, owing to the war and other causes unforeseen by him, this real estate is far less valuable to-day than it was when he died, thirty-five years ago, or than it was twenty-five years ago, when sold by the two cities. It has proved fortunate for the fulfilment of Mr. McDonogh's cherished plans that the great bulk of this real estate, to which he clung so tenaciously, was disposed of before the war and the proceeds invested in securities which Mr. McDonogh considered comparatively undesirable.

The exact value of Mr. McDonogh's estate originally it would be difficult to determine, but it is not hard to arrive at an approximation. Under the appraisement made at the time of his death, much of which depended upon estimates found afterwards to be too high, the estate was valued at $2,272,406.05, of which $2,091,374.59 was in real estate. When divided between the devisees in 1857, the whole real estate (the personal property having been offset by debts and expenses) was carefully appraised at $1,465,680.

This property, when sold in 1859, however, brought (including the deferred payments at face value) about $1,800,000. A considerable amount of the property thus sold was thrown back on the cities, and yet remains on hand.

If we assume $1,800,000 as the value of Mr. McDonogh's property at the time of his death, we shall evidently be over rather than under the mark. Of this sum $300,000 went in the legacies to the American Colonization Society, to the Orphan School for Boys, and to Francis Pena. Hence the gross amount divided between the two cities was $1,500,000.

To-day (Feb. 1886) the fund belonging to Baltimore consists in round numbers of—

Interest-bearing stocks of Baltimore City at face value (worth in market $900,000), . . .	$705,000
In the farm and buildings of the McDonogh Institute, ...	250,000
Value of lands assigned to Baltimore in 1857 and yet unsold, according to the appraisement at that time. This property is much less valuable to-day, ...	175,000
	$1,130,000

That of New Orleans consists in round numbers of—

In premium bonds of the city of New Orleans, .	$530,000
Bills receivable and cash, ...	30,000
In twenty McDonogh schoolhouses, . .	300,000
Value of lands yet unsold belonging to New Orleans, ...	40,000
	$900,000

Hence the total value of the property derived from the McDonogh estate and now in the possession of the two cities is fully $2,000,000, of which over $1,200,000 is invested in interest-bearing funds.

Thus it will be seen that, notwithstanding the costs of administration and of the fierce and long litigation over the will; notwithstanding the losses of war and the great depreciation of much of the original property of the estate, there is to-day in the possession of the two cities, and administered in accordance with the purposes of the donor, a larger amount of valuable property than he left at his death.

This result is an evidence of the faithfulness and success with which the wealth so laboriously gathered and husbanded by John McDonogh has been cared for and preserved. It is a result which should be gratifying, not merely to the communities which are the special recipients of his bounty, but to the friends of John McDonogh himself, and those interested in the perpetuation of his name and the memory of his good deeds, as well as to all who rejoice to see great and noble purposes reach their goal in spite of difficulties, dangers and conflicts.

Already numbers of youth in two great cities revere the memory and bless the name of the man who, though isolated from his fellows, labored incessantly through long years to do them good.

As the years roll on, these numbers will steadily increase, until a great host will arise in each successive generation to keep green and fragrant the fame of a philanthropist who, in spite of many frailties and mistakes, yet in the midst of the struggles, troubles, jealousies, strifes of a busy career, kept ever before his eyes the motto: "Study, in the course of your life, to do the greatest possible amount of good."

SKETCH OF McDONOGH SCHOOL.

BY JOHN JOHNSON, JR.,

Formerly a Pupil, now a Teacher there.

John McDonogh provided in his will for establishing a farm-school in the neighborhood of Baltimore, where to bring up poor boys "in knowledge and virtue, to industry and labor." After his death in 1850, more than twenty years passed before his benevolent intentions could be carried out; for, litigation over the distribution of his wealth, and the troubles of the Civil War, interfered to frustrate his designs for the time. In the interval between his death and the acquisition by the city of Baltimore of her share of his estate, so many charitable and reformatory schools had been opened in or about Baltimore, that the Board of Trustees of the McDonogh Fund, in preparing to administer the trust, had to use much care not to enter upon fields fully occupied by existing institutions. In July, 1871, a committee of the board consisting of Messrs. John Donnell Smith, S. H. Tagart, Wm. A. Stewart and Wm. Keyser was directed to draw up a general plan for the new institution. The able report of this committee (which has been ascribed to Mr. Smith) clearly showed, by an elaborate and detailed review of the circumstances, the proper scope of the school, and laid down the lines along which its progress has been accomplished. The report was adopted by the board, and may be regarded as a general outline of their views and intentions at the time the school was opened, and, in part, as an expression of their ideas at present. They saw the changes effected since McDonogh's time in the condition of the classes whom he hoped to aid; they realized that the most unfortunate boys, as well as the juvenile delinquents of Baltimore, were already provided for by orphan asylums, the Manual Labor School, St. Mary's

Industrial School, the Boys' Home, and the House of Refuge; and they noted the fact that the public schools put education within the reach of many who could not obtain it when McDonogh drew up his will. They were, however, of the opinion that, without competing with any of these, they could enter a wide field of usefulness in giving to poor boys of good character and respectable associations the "plain English education," "with instruction in geography, history, etc., etc.," described in McDonogh's will.

In carrying out such a plan, many difficulties were to be feared, and the board were quite apprehensive of the result. They determined, therefore, to give as much elasticity as possible to their first arrangements, and to begin their work in an experimental way. They were compelled, by an express mandate in the will of the founder, to establish a farm-school, but they felt that they had large discretion as to the part that the pursuit of agriculture should be made to take in the life and training of the beneficiaries. Accordingly, they bought a tract of 835 acres in Baltimore County, about ten miles from Baltimore, and on the line of the Western Maryland Railway; but they were careful not to make the high cultivation of the land and the production of valuable crops the first object in the conduct of the new institution. They believed that the boys could not make satisfactory progress in their education if they should be required to do much work upon the farm; and they regarded the education of the boys as their first and highest object, to which end farmwork was to be made one means among many. But how to combine farmwork with such an education as should be useful to city-born children, who would doubtless become city men, was by no means an easy problem. Another difficulty that seemed likely to be serious was the apparently small number to be had of such boys as the board wished to train. They were determined to maintain a high standard of character among the pupils of their institution, and to admit only "poor boys," "of respectable associations in life," as they defined them; moreover, they thought that children under ten or over fourteen years of age would not be suited for the training they were able to

give. By these limitations, therefore, they seemed confined in their operations to a small class of boys ; and—especially by critical persons who had no connection with the school—doubt was at first expressed whether their scheme could succeed. The farm having been bought, the Principal, Colonel William Allan, at that time a professor at Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia, having been appointed, the organization and conduct of the institution having been committed to him, twenty-two boys having been chosen, and the necessary buildings having been prepared, the school was opened on November 21, 1873. The first boys reached the school when winter had fairly set in, and when city boys could hardly be expected to enjoy a transfer to the country. Their first winter at McDonogh was not spent without enduring a good many discomforts, and some of these, such as the inconvenience due to the lack of a play-room for use in bad weather, it was found impossible to remove until a new school-building was put up. The house in which the school was opened had been originally built as a private residence, and had been hastily fitted up as a school by adding a frame wing of a rather insubstantial sort, containing a dining-room, recitation-rooms, and a large room made to serve as a study-hall, play-room, and assembly-room for any exercises requiring the whole school to be called together. As it was often imperative that the boys should be kept out of this room at times when many of them were at liberty, they were sometimes for hours together without a comfortable lounging-place ; and in such times they took refuge from the cold and wet in the cellars containing the boiler that furnished steam to heat the house, or they scattered themselves over the barns and stables and other outhouses. In those places their associations could, at best, be of no good to them, and their meddlesome hands were often at work on some thoughtless destruction of property. The annoyances that both the boys and their elders thus suffered in consequence of the lack of a proper play-room were not removed until, in 1882, the erection of the new building happily gave the needed accommodations.

In this first winter the organization of the school was

adopted which is still used—at least in its most important parts, if not in its details. Then, as now, the boys were arranged in a military company and required to wear a military uniform. The company was then, as now, officered by the older and more mature heads among the schoolboys; and these officers were given considerable power and responsibility in the maintenance of discipline in minor matters. While this organization for the purposes of out-of-school government was being formed, the present system of classes was arranged: under which all the boys who have made about the same progress at their entrance, are put together to do the same work and to compete for the same honors until the end of the year; when those who have made a satisfactory standing are promoted, and the rest remain behind to go over their former work with boys promoted from the classes below.

At the beginning, also, the care of the household and the direction of the servants was placed in charge of a lady matron, Mrs. Josepha Young, whose admirable administration the boys still enjoy. With her rests the supervision of their clothes, their bedrooms, and their food.

The course of instruction now requires attention. Several considerations, among them the declared wish of the founder, led to the decision to give the McDonogh boys as a basis a "plain English education," which should not include the study of either Greek or Latin. Another important factor in determining the proper course to follow was the fact that Mr. McDonogh had indicated sixteen as about the proper age for the termination of school-life, which coincided with the opinion of the trustees—that in most cases it would be more or less demoralizing to extend support to boys who had passed beyond that age and had thereby become fit to support themselves. Their short stay in the school and their immaturity limited very closely the amount of book-knowledge that could be given the pupils, and a limitation of the kind of training that should be attempted was placed by the fact that few McDonogh boys have any means of carrying on their studies after leaving the school. The Principal therefore made the attempt to lay out such a course as would in four years—the average length of a term of residence at the school—do most to

prepare boys to engage at sixteen or seventeen in active work for a living.

With this object in view, mathematics, the elements of natural science, drawing, music, English and German, and the outlines of American and English history, were introduced, as the first boys became prepared to receive them; and these branches are still the main parts of a McDonogh boy's schoolwork. In the lower classes arithmetic is very thoroughly taught, and in the higher classes algebra, geometry, trigonometry and land-surveying are added. Arithmetic takes up commonly about one-third of the entire time of the lower classes; and nearly another third is devoted to lessons in English—to learning to read and to write fairly well, to make ready use of any book containing ideas comprehensible by a boy of fourteen, and to give ready expression to any ideas such a boy may have. The remainder of the time in these classes is given to music, drawing, penmanship, and geography. In the higher classes geography and penmanship are discontinued, and less time is given to English and mathematics, while the total time for study is somewhat increased. By this arrangement opportunity is afforded for the study of German, which is usually pursued during the last half of the boy's residence at the school. In addition to that language, elementary botany is taken up in the third year, and in the fourth elementary physiology, hygiene, and history come up for attention. A small number of boys endowed with rather more capacity than their fellows, or admitted into the school at an earlier age than the majority, complete this course before reaching the end of their term. For the benefit of these pupils, physics, chemistry, and analytic geometry are sometimes taught. In the cases of a few boys who wished to prepare themselves to enter Johns Hopkins University, Roman history and the French language have been temporarily introduced. From these statements it will be seen that a boy who has gone creditably through the school has received a good elementary knowledge of two languages and of mathematics, and also some acquaintance with the workings of external Nature and of his own body.

The studies before mentioned occupy about seven hours

of each school day—from eight o'clock in the morning till one, and from seven to nine at night. In the former period both preparation and recitation go on ; in the latter, preparation alone. Those boys who have failed in their recitations during the day are required to spend a short time—not more than forty-five minutes—in the afternoon in making up the deficiency. Thus there remain the greater part of each day and the whole of Saturday, which may be used to gain that practical acquaintance with farmwork which the founder wished to give his beneficiaries. Accordingly, from one to two hours of the afternoon are often spent in some manual labor out-of-doors ; and on Saturdays, during some seasons, five or six hours are so used. The large farm surrounding the schoolhouse requires a great deal of labor to keep it in order, and it has been found advantageous to have the lighter parts of this done by the boys. For example, in the spring the boys plant the corn, going out in large squads under the command of their officers, and marching in line across the fields as they drop and cover the grain. In the autumn, during the afternoons, and on Saturday mornings, they cut the corn and husk it ; and at all seasons they aid the gardener in his work. Further, during ten weeks in summer—from early in June to the middle of August—studies are entirely suspended, and six or seven hours of each day are devoted to work upon the farm and in the garden and orchard. The larger boys are then employed in the harvest-fields or about the barns, while the smaller ones pick fruit and vegetables for the use of the household or for market, and help to destroy the almost endless succession of weeds and insects that infest the garden.

There is no doubt that this enforced exercise out-of-doors has a good effect upon the health of the boys ; and it has also been found highly efficacious as a penalty for small offenses against the rules of the school, such as are often punished by giving demerits. Those boys who have offenses charged against them are put to work during playhours at such tasks as chopping wood, cleaning the yard, or weeding the garden, while their more fortunate schoolfellows are on the ball-

ground. Peccadilloes, when reported by officers whose duty it is to note them, are recorded in a book kept for the purpose, and atoned for by the healthful penance of outdoor labor. The book in which these wrongs are entered for a reckoning is known as the work-list book, and incurring the penalty is called "getting on the work-list." Each boy's name is written in the work-list book, and after his name is put a list of his small sins. These are reckoned according to a prepared tariff of indulgence, as it might be called. For example, the boys are required to keep the buttons sewed on their pants and coats, and one of the youngsters who sees a button fly off reflects that if he does not replace it before the next inspection, which will come within a few hours, he will then receive one demerit in the work-list book, or, as he would express it in the slang of the school, he would "get on one day for the button off." By "one day" he would mean one day's work, or as much work as is ordinarily required to be done in the afternoon playtime of one schoolday—namely, pretty active employment for about one hour and a half. His whole idea, somewhat amplified, is that, if the button is not sewed on, he must work during the playtime of one day. Slovenliness in other respects, as a dirty face or an unbrushed head, brings on the same penalty. More serious offenses are more heavily punished by requiring more work to atone for them; and the scale of fines ranges all the way up to "twenty days," the penalty for going out of bounds. When a boy has spent an hour and a half of his playtime to expiate his bad conduct, he is entitled to have the fact recorded in the work-list book, and when his offenses are thus accounted for he is no longer compelled to do extra work.

The work done as a penance is not the only work by which a boy may earn the good marks or "credits" which serve to balance his account upon the book of offenses, for all the work that the boys are required to do outside of the schoolroom is paid for in "credits," and, owing to this, the boys are encouraged under their tasks by the certainty of thus obtaining something of value in return for their labor. Value, other than that due to the power of cancelling offenses, is given to

the credits by various customs and regulations of the school. In the first place, they are exchanged among the boys, though with certain restrictions put on in the interest of the younger ones ; and they may be therefore made the means of friends paying each other's scores. In the second place, boys who are deeply in debt, because they have a large reckoning of unatoned offenses not cleared off, are made very uncomfortable by having various privileges taken away from them ; they are therefore glad to buy " credits " from their better-behaved companions. These purchases are sometimes made with their pocket-money, and often with the " good things " sent them by kind friends at home. To those who have no offenses to answer for, their accumulated credits are thus made a source of profit, and they have become a sort of rude currency among the boys. Further value is added by the permission granted the boys to buy holidays for themselves with this novel money. A boy who has laid up fifty credits is allowed to go to visit his friends on Saturday, in return for which privilege he surrenders twenty-five of his credits, which are removed from his account. Additions are also made to the length of the boys' summer holiday at home, when they have deserved the indulgence by having gained a sufficient number of these good marks.

The extra labor exacted of the delinquents, and the regular farmwork required of the boys, serve well enough to make them more or less acquainted with most of the operations of farming and gardening ; but this knowledge, merely as knowledge, can be of but little benefit to most of the pupils, for nearly all of them find employment, as they grow up, not in the country, upon farms, but in cities, as clerks or mechanics. Recognizing this fact, steps have been taken to give some of them an acquaintance with the art of printing. With this view, a printing-office has been fitted up, and put under the charge of Mr. D. C. Lyle, one of the instructors. In this office the boys print a small weekly paper, written and edited by the boys of the school, and devoted solely to its concerns. In addition to this, they have printed several of the reports of the Principal and of the trustees, and also the catalogues for the school. This work gives employment out of school to about fifteen boys, who are carefully chosen for their fitness for their

places. The knowledge of printing which some of them have thus gained has afforded a means of making a livelihood to several boys after leaving the school.

More ample funds to use for giving manual training than the trustees have heretofore had, have recently come into their possession through the philanthropy of Dr. Zenus Barnum, who bequeathed his estate, worth perhaps $80,000, to the city of Baltimore, for the purpose of establishing at this school a course of instruction in the use of tools. With a prospect of an income from this fund, it has been thought proper to open a small shop for instruction and practice in woodworking. Mr. Solon Arnold, a graduate of the United States Naval Academy, has been placed in charge of this new department, and has lately formed a class and begun work. In the Barnum Shops it is proposed hereafter to teach a number of the boys to work in wood and iron, to give practice in making and using mechanical drawings, and in all respects to give such a course of manual training as may be suited for boys in the circumstances of those at McDonogh. In future, it is believed, this will become a very important part of the education given at McDonogh School.

Having thus given an account of most of the exercises by which the boys are trained, it remains for me to tell what opportunities they have for play. It must not be thought that they are overworked. Those boys who are chronically "on the work-list" of course have a great deal to do; but their afternoon work is in such a great contrast to their morning duties in school, that they get benefit, not harm, from their labor. The others, who are out of debt, so to speak, have about half of their afternoons and Saturday holidays to themselves. Nearly one-half of the farm of 835 acres is in woodland, and so gives ample space to roam about, and a large playground is provided near the buildings. Baseball, marbles, and the other common games of American boys, are highly popular, and other sports more peculiar to McDonogh are great favorites. Among these, rabbit-trapping is the most important, and causes much wholesome tramping about in the fall and early winter. Muskrats and small fish lead other boys to

spend part of their leisure along the banks of the two streams running through the property. When the cold and wet days of winter keep every one indoors, the boys gather in the big playroom and the long passage of the basement and amuse themselves in skating over the floors, in making traps, and in endless other ways. The more quiet and studious among them go up to the library, where they find newspapers, magazines, and a carefully chosen collection of nearly three thousand books, comprising novels, poems, histories and scientific works. The reading-room is comfortably furnished with tables and chairs, and is well lighted, well warmed and well ventilated. It is opened nearly every afternoon, and also during a considerable part of Saturday and Sunday, both in the day and at night. The boys are permitted either to use the books in the room or to take them away to other parts of the house. Some boys carry the books of their choice to their meals, and even out into the fields when they go to work; and there is much evidence that they read a large amount of healthy literature during their residence at the school.

From the foregoing description it will appear that the McDonogh boys spend their days partly in study and lighter reading, partly in muscular work indoors and out, and partly in healthy play. After sixteen hours of this varied activity they go to their rooms quite ready for a night of rest. Their dormitories are large and well-ventilated rooms, each accommodating about thirty boys. These sleeping-apartments are so arranged as to give the advantages of the pure air and abundant light obtained in large rooms, together with the privacy secured by small rooms for single beds. The dormitories, for this purpose, are cut up by light partitions into small alcoves, mostly occupied by one boy; but, as the partitions are so arranged as not quite to reach the floor, and to extend only to a height of eight feet, they serve to hide the occupant from view without cutting off any of the abundant supply of fresh air furnished to the whole room, which can reach him both from above and from below his alcove walls.

It remains to say something of the sort of discipline

maintained at the school. This is rigid to a degree unattainable in most places, and attainable at McDonogh only by reason of the peculiar circumstances of the place. The pressure from applicants for appointment has become so great that the authorities have felt it their duty to begin competitive examinations of the candidates. Of course, an examination under the most favorable conditions cannot always be depended upon to select the absolutely best of the applicants, and naturally it was found that unworthy boys often gained an entrance to the school by their temporary proficiency in subjects of the examinations. To remedy this difficulty, the trustees, at the suggestion of the Principal, resolved that all appointments should be made for a term of but one year, and all reappointments should be conditional upon a satisfactory standing in the school. In determining their standing, both moral and mental qualifications are taken into account. As an aid in gauging the latter qualities, as well as a stimulus to interest in study, a process of competitive marking is made to enter into almost all schoolwork. With but few exceptions, every school-exercise is marked, and so are the answers in the occasional examinations held at the convenience of the different teachers, as well as those in the stated examinations held in midwinter and at the close of school in summer. These marks are carefully preserved and computed from time to time. On the result depend the boy's grade in the school, and the length of holiday he is permitted to spend at home during the summer vacation. In addition, the marks are largely taken into account in determining whether a boy's progress has been so satisfactory as to make it desirable to retain him in the school from year to year; for every pupil is sent to the school for a period of but one year, and his reappointment depends very much upon his standing as indicated by his marks. The marks are also of much weight in the award of the prize scholarships. These give to the successful competitor an extra year of tuition and maintenance, and are found to be great incentives to hard study and good conduct.

Under the influence of this system, all the boys are made to

feel, from the first, that they have won their places, and that they must win new positions every year. Their appointments being made on the merit system, they see that their chances for success depend upon their ability, industry and character; and they see more clearly than one might expect that the lazy and the vicious are unhappy. The idea of individual responsibility thus fostered by the conditions of their tenure of places in the school is also applied in minor matters. For all the property entrusted to a boy—books, tools, or clothing—he is held to a strict account. Periodic inspections of these things, and punishment when they are damaged, keep before each boy's mind the sense of his accountability for his ordinary acts. If a boy carelessly tears his coat or burns his boots before the date at which new supplies are issued, he can get no more from the school during the interval; and he must either call upon his friends for relief, or bear the penalty of his own carelessness by going ragged and ill-shod. The severity of this treatment is rather apparent than real, since one experience of it is usually sufficient to teach the lesson desired, not merely to the sufferer, but to many of his comrades, who learn by the example of his experience. To summarize, it may be said, in the words of the Principal, the pupils are subject to "a steady and strict discipline, the object of which is to encourage and develop industry and self-reliance, as well as truthfulness, honesty and manliness."

That it is successful in these aims there are many evidences. Notable among these is the fact that a number of wealthy persons, able to give their children every educational advantage that money can obtain, have of late years applied for permission to enter their sons at the school as paying pupils. Striking testimony to the practical value of its training is also found in the preference given by many business men of Baltimore to boys educated at McDonogh, in choosing their clerks and apprentices. "Already," said Mr. S. T. Wallis, in his commencement address in 1882, "during the short period of the existence of this institute, one hundred and fifty educated youths, on whom but for its aid the burden of poverty and ignorance would have rested with all its crushing weight, have gone forth into society fitted for its struggles and

deserving its rewards. Into almost every walk of useful and active life they have carried the manly and substantial qualities of mind and character which it has been the special object and effort of this institute to form and foster." And they, more than any other class of men, can set a true value upon the work the institute has done. Therefore, the best testimony of the worth of the school is the love they have for it, and the pride they take in being known as "old McDonogh boys."