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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Appendix.

Illustrations.

THE MANSION AND FAMILY OF NOTLEY YOUNG.

By GEORGE C. HENNING.

(Read before the Society, January 16, 1912.)

One of Thomas Hardy's characters is made to say:

"It is only those who half know a thing that write about it: those who know it thoroughly, don't take the trouble."

This saying contains a germ of truth, and as I have undertaken to write the story of the old mansion and those connected with it, I risk the imputation of only knowing half of my subject.

Nevertheless as much as I know or have learned I have here put down. My first acquaintance with the Potomac river was in the year 1837, when my father and mother with me annexed moved into the mansion said to have been built by Notley Young about 1756 on the bank of the river in what is now known as G street between 9th and 10th streets S.W.

The situation as I first knew it:

At the junction of Maryland avenue and 12th street the land was about eight feet higher than that at the corner of 7th and E streets N.W.

From the Tiber or canal southward there was a gradual rise in the land towards the river, so that from the former point the natural drainage was north to the Tiber and east to St. James' creek.

In writing to the President of the United States under date of June 22, 1791, L'Enfant notices this ground elevation in connection with making a canal of the Tiber, and says:

"It will require much ground to be thrown in to fill up, and at least as much as will enable to levell that point of high ground between the Tiber and P. Yong's house to almost a level with the tide water."

The Potomac river was bordered along the front by a bank, its highest point being from 9th to 12th streets, about 25 feet above high water, and gradually declining in height eastward to Greenleaf's point and westward to the Tiber. In many places along the edge of the bank there was a growth of the common yellow locust, *Robinia pseudacacia,* festooned with the vines of the trumpet flower creeper, *Tecoma radicans;* and under the shade of these trees the children sat, made canoes of the flower pods and pretended to be Indians. At 10th street, near the old mansion, the bank was a favorite resort in the afternoon of the elders to gossip and to view the river craft, and of the youngsters to view each other and to indulge in conversation common to youth. A channel of some depth flowed in front of the bank which was used for commerce up and into the Tiber or canal.

The only semblance of Water street was a dirt road extending from 9th to 12th streets, reached by way of 11th street with a steep grade.

A skeleton map of the original survey of the Territory of Columbia shows all the avenues and the principal streets, of which south G street was one. From this I infer that G street was designed to be a medium of communication between the principal Potomac river front and the Anacostia river. Its course was well above the head of St. James' creek, into which the mean tides flowed and ebbed as far north as I street south.

The location of the mansion was an ideal one, about two hundred feet from the edge of the bank, and fur-

nished a view up and down the river as far as the eye could reach.

It was built of brick with a frontage of about fifty feet by a depth of about forty feet, with a hall of about ten feet wide running through the center from north to south.

On the north or entrance side there was a pillared porch with steps leading up from the ground.

A door at the south end of the hall opened upon what had been another porch, which was in the last stage of decay when we moved there.

On the west side of the hall were two rooms connected by folding doors, and windows provided with inside shutters.

There was a large closet in each of these rooms with a window in it which gave light from the outside.

On the east side of the hall were two rooms separated by a wide stairway which continued with landings to the second story and to the garret with a window at each landing.

The garret received its only light from the window on the upper landing. Under the stairway a door opened upon a porch or platform with steps on the north end leading easterly to the ground.

At the south end of this platform, projecting eastward, was a two story structure extending from the ground to just below the second story windows of the principal building. The upper floor of this structure was coincident with the first floor of the mansion and was entered by a door from the porch, and was used, I think, as the kitchen, and the lower floor as the servants' dining room, where the commonalty were dined after Mass in the mansion, while the gentry were dined above.

This structure decayed long before the mansion was

demolished, its final ruin hastened by the tenants using portions of it for fire wood.

The roof of this structure was extended to cover the platform and the steps at the north end, as well as a declined plane between them, down which a horse and cart might be driven to store the winter provision in brick bins which lined the way on each side, to the principal cellar under the west rooms. This cellar had windows with sills level with the ground, and it was upon one of these sills I started a miniature cocoonery, but the chickens ate my silk worms, and so perished an infant industry that didn't have sufficient protection.

The second story was divided similarly to the first, and all the rooms on both floors had high ceilings. The upper hall had a large window at each end. The builder evidently took his points of the compass from his noon-day mark when the sun was fast, as the mansion fronted slightly east of north.

Several hundred yards E.N.E. of the mansion, in the midst of square No. 413, was a brick stable, an apanage of the mansion.

A few years ago the mansion was pictured in a Washington paper, but it was not a correct representation of it as I knew it. This was perhaps taken from a publication of residential architecture of the Georgian period, and the artist drew it as he thought it ought to be.

On the south side of the mansion were a few jasmines, *Gelsemium sempervirens,* but no other flowers.

At the south end of lot 22, square 389, there was a pump which gave excellent water. I am unable to say if that was coeval with the mansion.

Benjamin, the father of Notley Young, came to this country about 1734, and settled in a part of Prince George's county, Maryland, now a part of Montgomery.

He was a commissioner of crown lands and a member of the governor's council, which was a branch of the Legislative Assembly appointed by the governor. Soon after his arrival he married a widow Carroll, whose maiden name was Rozier, and who was a great granddaughter of a former governor Notley, and hence the name of Notley through several generations of the Youngs.

Notley was the only child by this marriage.

Thomas Notley was appointed in 1676 by Lord Baltimore deputy governor to his son and heir Cecil. Thomas Notley died in 1682.

Assuming that Benjamin married in 1735, in the usual order of events Notley would have been born in 1736.

Notley and his father-in-law Digges were two members chosen from Prince George's county in 1776 to act on the committee of examination and observation, known later as the committee of safety.

Notley's first wife was the daughter of Nicholas Digges, of Melrose, Prince George's county.

Scharf says that Digges' first name was Ignatius, but Scharf is not free from error. It is not important, but his name was Nicholas.

I have no data to show the date of this marriage nor if Notley gained any wealth by it. His wife may have brought him some slaves, but under the prevailing law of primogeniture she probably had no real estate subject to his tenancy by the Courtesy of England.

By the United States census of 1790 Notley had 245 slaves.

By this wife he had six children that survived childhood.

These were Notley, a secular priest, Nicholas, Benjamin, Mrs. Mary Fenwick, Ann, who married Peter

Casanave, and who was the mother of the wife of Major Parke Howle, of the Marine Corps, and Eleanor, the wife of Robert Brent, the first mayor of Washington, who resided in the mansion with Notley until the death of the latter.

Robert Brent subsequently resided in a house on the corner of 12th street and Maryland avenue, at the N.W. corner of square No. 327.

Notley's second wife, whom he married in 1782, was the daughter of Daniel Carroll, of Marlborough, and sister of Archbishop John Carroll. This union was infertile.

From a recent examination of a family document I find that Notley died early in 1802, aged about 65 years.

His remains were buried in the family lot near the S.E. corner of square No. 390; subsequently disinterred and buried by Robert Brent in the graveyard of Carroll Chapel, near Forest Glen in Montgomery county, Maryland.

No stone marks his grave and the precise spot of burial is unknown.

The territory owned by Notley, which he dedicated to the city may be roughly described as commencing at a point on the Potomac river at the junction of 15th and C streets, thence E. by N. to the junction of 9th and B streets, thence E.S.E. to the junction of 3d and C streets, thence S.E. to St. James' creek, thence along the creek to Greenleaf's point, thence along the Potomac river to the place of the beginning, comprising 800 acres.

The dates of the birth and death of Notley's mother are uncertain, but by a computation I think she was born about 1690. She died after 1758.

Nor do we know with any degree of certainty the

identity of her first husband, Carroll, but an inquiry into the history of the Carroll family may give a clue.

Charles Carroll came from Ireland in 1688 when he was 28 years old.

He made his will in 1718 and died in 1720.

He had three sons, Daniel, Charles and Henry. Henry died young.

The record of the birth of Daniel, known as Daniel Carroll of Marlborough, is unsatisfactory, but he died at Upper Marlborough, February 27, 1751.

Daniel had six children. These were Daniel, successively known as Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek (from his residence at Forest Glen with his mother after the death of his father), of Maryland and as Commissioner; Mary, the second wife of Notley Young; Eleanor, who married William Brent and whose daughter Ann married Daniel Carroll, of Dudington; Ann who married Robert Brent and whose son was Robert Brent, the first mayor of Washington; Elizabeth, who never married; and John, who was born in 1735 and who died in 1815, first Bishop in Partibus and then Archbishop of Baltimore, whose original appointment was suggested by Benjamin Franklin through the Pope's nuncio at Paris.

Before taking his vows as a member of the Society of Jesus, John conveyed to his brother Daniel in 1666 his interest in the Carroll manor.

This manor extended somewhat irregularly from the Pautuxent river to the northern parts of the present District of Columbia.

Scharf says that Daniel Carroll, of Marlborough, was the son of the first Charles, and I have followed Scharf.

Mrs. Rowland says that he was the son of Keane Carroll, of Ireland.

In view of the conflict of authorities it is difficult to

decide, but the preponderance of testimony is that Daniel's children were cousins of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, which fixes the relation of Daniel to Charles the first.

Perhaps Keane Carroll was the grandfather instead of the father of Daniel.

All the Carrolls mentioned herein were descended from Daniel and Dorothy Carroll, of Ely and O'Neill, Ireland, whose ancestry is veiled in the mist of antiquity.

Charles' son Charles, known as Charles Carroll, of Annapolis, born in 1702, died in 1781, was granted a manor of 10,000 acres, by subsequent additions increased to more than 13,000 (according to the statement of his son), in Anne Arundel county, which he called Doughoregan, though the name is often spelled differently. This was the last of the manorial grants. After the erection of Howard county a part or all of this manor was thrown into this county. This manor was inherited by his son Charles, who still continued to call himself Charles Carroll of Carrollton from his previous residence near Baltimore.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton was born in 1737 and died in 1832, aged 95 years. He was considered the richest man in the province if not in America, his wealth being estimated by his father at 40,000 pounds sterling.

By the United States census of 1790 he had 365 slaves.

On December 1, 1729, Daniel and Charles Carroll conveyed to the Baltimore commissioners, 60 acres of land at 40 shillings per acre or the equivalent in tobacco. These acres were near the junction of Charles and Lombard streets, now the wholesale center. Daniel and Charles were the sons of Charles

the first. When Charles the first arrived in Maryland he came as Attorney General, but he had hardly entered upon the functions of his office when the revolution in England suspended them.

In 1689, Charles writes a dolorous letter to his patron, Baltimore, giving a very unfavorable statement of the condition of affairs in the province. By the friendly intervention of Lord Powis, Charles was appointed in 1691, judge and register of the land office and agent and receiver of the rents of Lord Baltimore in the province of Maryland.

He succeeded Henry Darnall, whose daughter he had taken as second wife. He held this office until 1717, when, as a Catholic, he was disqualified from holding office by an act of the legislature. Personally he was very popular, and the next year his disqualifications were removed.

The same year, 1718, he and his brother James went to France to seek a concession from the king on the Arkansas river. In this they were unsuccessful, as the king thought the grant too exorbitant for a subject.

The appointment of Charles to office gave great offence to Governor Hart, who in an address to the Legislative Assembly in 1720, claimed Carroll had acquired a vast estate in the province (estimated at 60,000 acres) by virtue of the office he had held and by the practice of the law.

The manorial grants were made under the provisions of Article XIX of the charter of Maryland.

Cecilius, writing to Leonard in 1636, prescribes the qualifications and method necessary to obtain grants. A historian of that period, writing of manorial grants, says,

"Some of them were appropriated or reserved by the lord proprietor for the benefit of his relations or particular friends."

In November, 1770, Charles Carroll conveyed by deed of trust to Henry Rozier, Notley Young and Daniel Carroll, 160 acres of land for the purpose of laying out a town to be called Carrollsburgh. The site of this town was on what is now known as Buzzard point, lying between St. James' creek and the Anacostia river. Under the trust lots, streets and alleys were laid out, 606 lots disposed of by a drawing, each lot being numbered. The lots drawn were to be paid for, two pounds for each lot so drawn. Mr. Carroll reserved six lots.

Among the purchasers were Notley Young, in joint ownership with others and for himself, Elizabeth Carroll and her sister Mary, Notley's second wife.

In the surrender by the proprietors of the lots in this subdivision to the commissioners these lots were exempted from the general agreement of half and half, and it was stipulated that,

"Nothing in this agreement shall affect the title to the lots in which any of the proprietors, parties to this agreement, may hold in the towns of Carrollsburgh or Hamburgh."

By agreement between the parties ownership in other lots in the new subdivision was substituted, mainly in or about the original sites.

For particulars see Senate Document No. 18, 57th Congress, first session.

The Henry Rozier mentioned above was apparently the nephew of Notley Young's mother. The Daniel Carroll mentioned was the son of Daniel Carroll of Marlborough and was then known as Daniel Carroll of Maryland.

After he was appointed one of the three commissioners to receive the conveyances from the original owners of the land dedicated to the city he was known as Daniel Carroll, commissioner.

In the fourth chapter of the history of Washington, Mr. William B. Webb confounds him with Daniel Carroll of Duddington. I notice another historian commits the same error. As Daniel Carroll of Duddington was one of the grantors to the commissioners, he could not have been a grantee in the same instrument.

In his history of Maryland, Scharf says the grantor of the 160 acres for the town site of Carrollsburgh was Charles Carroll, barrister, the son of Doctor Charles Carroll, who settled at Annapolis in 1715 and who died there in 1729. Scharf, as well as other historians, was misled by the frequent recurrence of the names Daniel and Charles without other qualifying names.

Charles Carroll, barrister, was not the grantor of the 160 acres.

Some authorities say that James was not the brother of Charles, who immigrated with him, but in his will executed in 1718, Charles devises six pounds to each of his kinsmen, to buy mourning, including James and Daniel by name.

As to the relation of Charles and James, I have followed Scharf. But the status of Daniel is fixed by the will of James, who calls Daniel his brother.

James made his will in 1728 and died a bachelor the same year at the house of his nephew Charles Carroll of Annapolis.

Daniel seems to have immigrated later than his brothers, and not long after his coming married Ann, the daughter of Notley Rozier, of Notley Hall.

The Duddington manor, consisting of 1,000 acres, was surveyed for George Thompson in 1663, and Daniel adopted the appellation of Duddington from his residence there after his marriage. His wife inherited Duddington manor from her Notley-Rozier descent, Notley Rozier being apparently the grandson of

Thomas Notley. Ann gave Duddington manor to her son Charles Carroll in 1758, and from him it came to Daniel Carroll, of Duddington, except the town site of Carrollsburgh. The 800 acres which she gave to her son Notley Young was a part of the original purchase with Duddington manor by Thomas Notley from George Thompson.

Daniel, of Duddington manor, died in 1734, leaving a widow who married Benjamin Young, and one son Charles Carroll, of Duddington and Carrollsburgh, who was born in 1729 and who died in 1773.

This Charles Carroll, half brother to Notley Young, was the grantor of the 160 acres for the town site of Carrollsburgh.

He had two sons, Daniel Carroll, of Duddington, and Charles Carroll, Junior. Daniel, of Duddington, was born in 1770 and died in 1849, aged about 80 years. Daniel, of Duddington, had one son and several daughters, one of whom married William Dudley Digges and their daughter Norah married Dr. James E. Morgan. As an original proprietor in Washington, Charles Junior was only known as an owner of lots in Carrollsburgh, no doubt some of the lots reserved by his father, the grantor previously mentioned. He was later known as Charles Carroll of Bellevue from the name of his mansion, which he built about 1800 in Q street, between 27th and 28th streets N.W., in old Georgetown. This mansion, somewhat after the style of that of his brother of Duddington, still stands in the line of Stoddert street and yet retains the name of Bellevue. It is said that he owned a large estate in western Maryland. As he did not get this estate from his father, how did he get it?

In the will of the first Charles, he bequeaths to his daughters, Eleanor and Mary, a moiety of 20,000 acres

surveyed for him on the Monocacy, 5,000 acres to each and to the heirs of their bodies; in default of which, they were to inherit to each other. Eleanor died without issue and Mary inherited the whole 10,000 acres.

Charles Carroll, of Duddington and Carrollsburgh, married Mary, the daughter of Henry Hill, and if she were the daughter of the Mary of Charles the first we can account for the large estate owned by their son, Charles, of Bellevue, in western Maryland, his brother Daniel, of Duddington, having been provided for. This is a conjecture, but a reasonable one.

Charles, of Bellevue, had two sons, William Thomas and Charles H. Carroll.

The first was clerk of the Supreme Court of the U. S. from 1827 to 1862.

Charles H. and his father left this vicinity about 1811 and settled in Genesee county, New York. As a Henry Clay whig, Charles H. Carroll represented his district in the 28th and 29th Congresses.

He was a Presidential elector on the Fillmore and Donaldson ticket in 1856, and on the Bell and Everett ticket in 1860.

His biography in the Congressional directory states that he gave most of his time to the management of his extensive estates, but location is not given.

Mrs. Rowland says that it was Daniel, the son of Charles the first, who married Ann Rozier. I do not think so. If he had done so, he would have married a woman seventeen years older than himself, if Mrs. Rowland is correct in fixing his birth in 1707. But what is conclusive, Charles, of Duddington and Carrollsburgh, had no estate except Duddington given him by his mother. If he were a grandson of Charles the first he would have had a considerable share of his grand-

father's estate. He gave all that he had to his son Daniel, and his son Charles was provided for by his mother.

At the time of the dedication to the city by the original proprietors of the lands owned by them, there was a stipulation,

"If it shall become necessary to remove the buildings, improvements &c, the original proprietors of the same shall be paid the reasonable value by the public."

Notley Young was compensated by the reconveyance to him of squares numbered 355, 356, 389, 390, 391, 415, S. of 415 and 489, exempt from the general provision of the division of half and half.

Compensations were made to the other original proprietors in the same way. See the Senate Document before quoted for particulars.

Mary, the widow of Notley, died in 1815, the same year in which her brother John died.

I find in the city directory of 1822, one Summerhays Dunkin residing in the mansion. The city directory of 1834, the next one issued, fails to show any resident there.

By his will, executed March 14, 1798, and probated in 1802, Notley names as executors his sons Nicholas and Benjamin and his son-in-law Robert Brent. In it he disposes of all his holdings, but only such are mentioned here as are necessary to my story.

To his wife, Mary, he gives a sum of money and all the negroes she had or brought with her at the time of the marriage, together with all their increase. He also gives her other slaves for life, mentioning their names, then after her death to go to Mrs. Brent.

He gives her the use of the mansion and stable and a number of squares of ground, including Nos. 389 and

390, between which the mansion stood, for life, with a remainder to his son Benjamin.

He also gives her the lands bought of Anthony Addison, except 50 acres of woodland, for life, and after her death to revert to Nicholas.

Nicholas must have been previously assured of the ultimate ownership of this tract, for he was building a home at Nonesuch in 1793, and was heard to complain of the heavy tax imposed upon him by keeping a four-horse wagon employed hauling wood to the mansion to keep his stepmother warm.

Nicholas was succeeded by his son George Washington, and he by his sons George Washington and Joseph Nicholas.

To his son Notley, he gives several tracts of land across the Anacostia, describing them by the names of those from whom he bought them, with power of willing them to whichsoever of his grandchildren or descendant or heirs of such as he may think proper, and in case he does not so will them, then to go to Robert Young Brent (his grandson), and in case he dies without heirs, to revert to Nicholas.

This property together with the Addison tract (just mentioned) was a strip of land from about Stickfoot branch on the north extending south to what is now known as Shepherd, bounded on the east by Oxen run and on the west by the Potomac and Anacostia rivers.

He also gives to his son Notley, the 50 acres of woodland on the Addison tract, for life, and after his decease to go to Nicholas.

The wills of father and son are recorded in Liber No. 1.

I have not examined the will of Notley, the son, but the tracts given to him and the Addison tract, all across the Anacostia, eventually came into the possession of

George Washington, Joseph Nicholas and I. Fenwick Young, great-grandsons of the first testator, in accordance with his desire.

The boundaries of the tracts described are somewhat conjectural, but are sufficiently exact for our purpose.

Notley makes a specific bequest of a number of city squares to Mrs. Brent.

To his daughter, Ann Casanave, besides other city squares, he gives her square No. 232, lying between 14th and 15th and C and D streets S.W. upon the N.E. corner of which she built a brick mansion.

After the death of her husband, Peter, she gave over the mansion to her son-in-law, Major Parke Howle, while she resided in a frame house south of it.

Her name appears in the city directory of 1822 as residing near the bridge, where she was living in my recollection.

To his son, Benjamin, Notley bequeaths a number of city squares, including No. 355, upon the S.E. corner of which, at 10th and G streets, Benjamin built a frame cottage, finally destroyed by fire, when owned by Benjamin, the third.

Benjamin, the son of Notley, had four sons, Dominick, a Dominican priest, Ignatius Fenwick, Henry Notley and Benjamin, the third of that name.

Benjamin, the third, had four sons, Alexander, Notley, Wilfrid and Benjamin, the fourth of that name.

Henry Notley lived in his own brick house on lot 22, square 389, on the south side of F street near the corner of 10th street. This house still stands, though so greatly altered as not to be distinguishable.

Henry Notley had several daughters and one son, Howard.

I met Howard a few years ago and he told me he

was farming in Fairfax county, Virginia, and I understand he is still there.

One year Henry N. Young had all of square 390, except the part occupied by our garden, growing wheat. From the gleanings of this field we made fromenty.

Inspired by Mr. Young's example and being of a bucolic turn of mind, I gathered some of his wheat leaves which protruded through our fence and planted them, hoping to realize a crop. It is unnecessary to say that this experiment was not more successful than when I planted feathers to grow chickens.

To Ann Casanave and to others mentioned in the will, Notley gives a one-fifth interest to each in all the lots in the back part of the city of Washington.

This included the lots substituted for his lots in Carrollsburgh, one of which was substituted after his decease, and also included a number of lots in the northeast and east assigned to him by the commissioners, the reason for which does not appear. These are named in the Senate Document before referred to. Notley also gives one-third interest each to Ann Casanave and Eleanor Brent to all lands lying outside of the city of Washington, and one-third interest for life in the same to Robert Brent, with a remainder to Brent's children. These lands were north and northeast of the street that bounded the city or Florida avenue, and later known as Brentwood and Eckington.

Mrs. Fenwick is not mentioned in Notley's will, and from that fact I infer that she had died childless.

Dr. Busey says that Mrs. Brent died before her father. I think he mistook Mary for Eleanor, as some of the younger members of the family died also.

The old mansion had the dual reputation of having been built of imported bricks and of being haunted.

The first I doubt, though Scharf says that it was common for vessels to bring bricks as ballast. Square No. 439, which Notley owned, had on it plenty of good clay, and was used as a brick yard, when I first knew it, by Kelly H. Lambell.

The second reputation I can confidently affirm was untrue. Even as a child I was incredulous as to the existence of ghosts, though ghosts and witches were constant themes with the negro children. Like the man from Missouri I had to be shown; and two cents, as I will relate, enabled me to brave the ghosts. My mother tried to bribe me with one cent to go across the hall to sleep by myself in one of the large rooms. But that didn't appeal to me as sufficient compensation in view of the reputation of the mansion; so I compromised on two cents wherewith to buy a china alley which I ardently desired. Cents were large in those days.

After we left the mansion in 1841, an old couple, man and wife, whose names were Dozier or Rozier, owning a number of slaves, lived there.

On his death bed the old man manumitted his slaves upon their agreement to support his widow for life. She lived about one year after her husband's death and died in the almshouse.

About the same time there lived in the mansion an elderly widow, who owned several slaves, one of whom, Sam, was her favorite.

Sam and the old lady had frequent quarrels and on such occasions she would threaten to sell him. This had occurred so often that Sam had come to regard it as the cry of "wolf."

Once when the dispute raged higher than usual the old lady declared she would stand it no longer but would send for Mr. Williams to buy him.

"You needn't take dat trouble, I'll go fur him mysef," said Sam.

Williams was a slave-dealer and an old bachelor, and Sam went and brought him down.

While the old lady and Williams were bargaining, Sam was watching them out of the corner of his eye.

At last she told Sam that he could go with Mr. Williams and that she was no longer his mistress. "Huh!" said Sam, "I didn't bring him here to buy me, I brung him here fur a beau fur you." This pleased the old lady, but Williams was wrathy and increased his offer, but she wouldn't sell and never did sell Sam.

Soon after the close of the civil war, walking down 7th street one day, a smiling negro face approached me, which I recognized as Sam's, and in answer to my question, "Dis is me, Marse George," I told Sam I thought he was dead and gone to Hades long ago. "Oh! no, Marse George, I'se here yit: has you got a quarter fur a pore ole feller?"

Sam wasn't his name, but that will do as well as another. I never saw him any more. In its later stages the old mansion became the refuge for all sorts and conditions of men and women, went rapidly to decay and was finally demolished about the year 1856.

During its demolition, Father Dominick Young secured the newel post of the stairs as a relic, and when he died Father Raymond Young fell heir to it. Raymond was a son of I. Fenwick Young the first and a brother of I. Fenwick Young the second. The Fenwick family, with whom the Youngs were connected, immigrated to Maryland in 1634.

Tracing down the ownership of the mansion from the corporation tax-books, I found that in 1803, squares 389 and 390, between which the mansion stood, were assessed to Mary Young, the widow of Notley.

In 1824 the heirs of Benjamin Young made a subdivision of these squares and they were assessed for them. The mansion was here assessed, in pencil, at a valuation of $2,500, as a part of square 390. The mansion did not touch any part of that square, but the N.W. corner of it did touch one of the lots numbered 13, 14, 15 or 16 of square 389. The usufruct of the mansion seems to have followed the ownership of these lots, as it was not subsequently assessed for taxation. I fix the N.W. corner of the mansion as impinging on lot 14 of this square from my early recollection of its proximity to a house that stood and still stands on lot 18 of this subdivision.

This house, the story goes, was built by a retired sea captain. The parlor was papered with a representation of the wanderings of Ulysses, the subject of the Odyssey, or the Journeys of Telemachus in search of his father.

When I lived in the mansion this house was inhabited by Nicholas Halter, a clerk in the Post Office Department. He had two sons, Nicholas and another, who initiated me into the mysteries of sour krout. I haven't tasted any since.

The next record on the tax books shows an assessment to Isham Talbot. Isham G. Talbot, born in Virginia in 1773, died in Kentucky in 1837, was a U. S. Senator from Kentucky from February 2, 1815, to March 3, 1819, and again from November 27, 1820, to March 3, 1825, each time elected to fill vacancies caused by resignations. He bought this property perhaps about 1825, and tradition says that he lived in the mansion with his wife until they parted, when he conveyed to her. He could not have done this directly, as the law then prevailing would not permit it, and he could only have done so through a third person.

This third person appears to have been Maria Thomasson, and she was perhaps the mother of Mrs. Talbot, and was next assessed for these lots, followed by an assessment to her heirs, but Talbot was assessed for them in 1834.

The next owner was Thomas Carbery, to whom we paid rent.

He seems to have collected the rents for Thomasson's heirs before he became owner in 1844, when he was assessed for the lots.

In 1873 they were assessed to Ruth Carbery, and about this time they were quit-claimed by the residuary legatee of Mary Talbot, the daughter of the Senator, Carbery never having completed the purchase.

By the city directory of 1822, Thomas Carbery was a justice of the peace, and the same year was elected mayor of Washington.

Captain Carbery, as he was usually called, was elected president of the Bank of the Metropolis in 1855 and served in that capacity until his death in 1863. He was a native of St. Mary's county, Maryland, and resided in this city at the corner of 17th and C streets, N.W., the site of the present D. A. R. hall. When quite a child I visited his house several times in company with the widow of his brother James who lived in a part of the mansion with us. We were usually received in his library, which was in the second story back, where I saw more books than I had previously seen in all my life.

Captain Carbery must have been somewhat of a naturalist, as the bottoms and tops of his book-cases were filled with sea-shells, and innumerable bugs were pinned to the wooden cases.

In writing this sketch I have wandered farther afield than I originally intended, but the subject grew upon

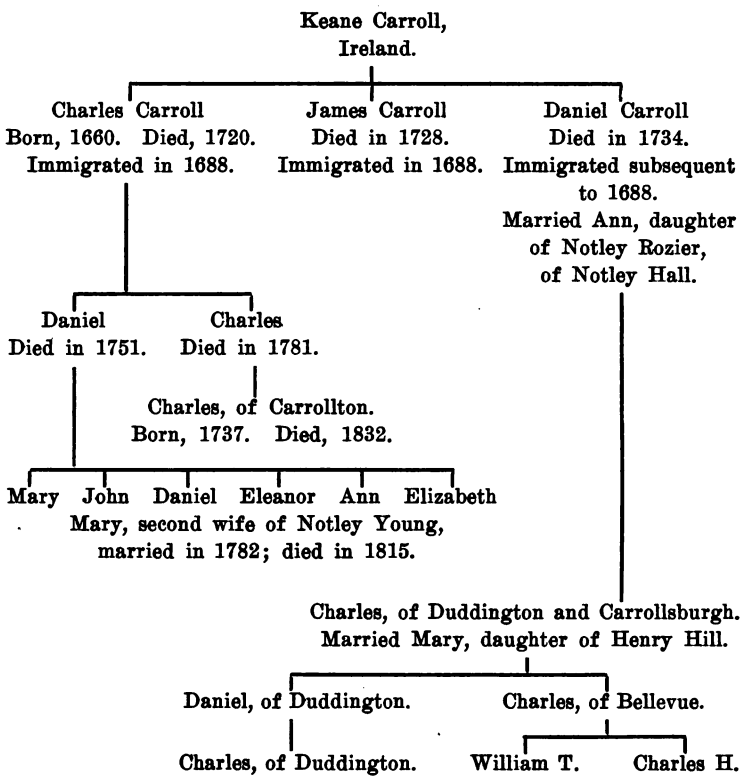
me as I proceeded, and I found it necessary to include the Carrolls as well as the Youngs in order to arrive at a proper understanding of my theme.

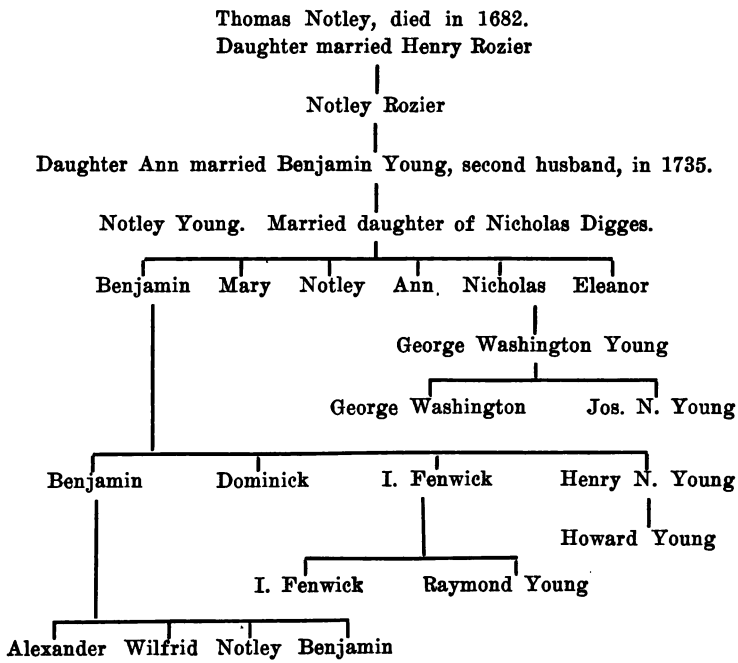
I cannot flatter myself that the story I have written is entirely without error, but I have endeavored at correctness by using all the information I could obtain from many sources. I have had to reconcile tradition with tradition, and tradition with established facts.

For information concerning the Carrolls I have consulted Scharf's history of Maryland, and the life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton by Kate Mason Rowland, though in the latter work I have found many errors of genealogy. Outside of my own knowledge of the Young family, I am indebted to Mrs. Eugene A. Jones, the daughter of I. Fenwick Young, born in 1825, the son of I. Fenwick Young, born in 1790, the son of Benjamin Young, born in 1762, the son of Notley, born in 1736, the son of Benjamin Young; and to Mr. Joseph Nicholas Young, born in 1831, the son of George Washington, the son of Nicholas, the son of Notley; also to Mrs. Eleanor Brent Goodfellow, the daughter of Robert Young Brent, the son of Robert Brent the mayor.

Mr. William B. Chilton has furnished me with much information in regard to both the Young and Carroll families.

APPENDIX.





THE HISTORIC POTOMAC RIVER.

By WILLIAM EDGAR ROGERS.

(Read before the Society, February 20, 1912.)

"All quiet along the Potomac tonight,
Where the soldiers lie peacefully dreaming;
Their tents in the rays of the clear Autumn moon,
Or the light of the watch fires are gleaming,
A tremulous sigh, as the gentle night wind,
Through the forest leaves softly is creeping;
While stars up above, with their glittering eyes,
Keep guard—for the army is sleeping."

Half a century has slipped by since these lines of Miss Ethel Beers first touched a nation's heart at a time when the fierce passions of men and the deadly conflict gave little room for sentiment. Appealing to many a stricken home, North and South (for grief has no sectional lines), was the story of the "Lone Picket" and how,

"All quiet along the Potomac tonight;
No sound save the rush of the river;
While soft falls the dew on the face of the dead—
The picket's off duty forever."

Fifty years agone! The Potomac still flows on its quiet, majestic course to the sea. The watch fires no longer gleam, but the soldiers are peacefully dreaming on the slopes of Arlington, their generals among them, though the white tents have given place to the more unpretentious one of green, "whose curtains never outward swing,"

"Under the sod and the dew,
Awaiting the judgment day,
Under the laurels the blue,
Under the laurels the gray,"

and mocking the fading race of men the peaceful Potomac flows ever on and on, a silent witness of the procession of the ages. What a procession—past, present and future!

The tombs, monasteries and ruins of excavated cities in Egypt, Asia Minor and Babylonia are being ransacked by archæologists for the priceless parchments from which they may wrest the secrets of the past. They tell us these palimpsests, as they are called, are overlaid with different writings two and three deep, the first imperfectly washed out to give place to a second and sometimes a third, written at intervals of a century or more, all of which science is now able to restore and interpret.

So, hidden away in the archives of Tidewater Virginia, and in the musty records and letters of many an ancestral home, there may yet be found the priceless material from which will be woven the true story of the "Cradle of the Republic," and the people who for the last three centuries have lived, loved and died on the banks of its peaceful rivers, each generation writing a new record, a glorious one of the past.

What priceless palimpsests to students of American history would be those giving in detail the correct story of the Potomac and the James, and the lives of the people who lived on their shores.

It is not the purpose in this paper to attempt any such detailed history, but simply to call attention to the neglected beauties of the Potomac and its wealth of historic material, in the hope that in coming years other and abler pens will take up the story and do it justice.

The lovers of American literature find embalmed in its shrines the most delightful play of fancy and the gentlest artistic touch in association with our rivers. Nothing appeals so strongly to poet or artist as the quiet majestic flow of the silent river. The Concord, the Merrimac, the Penobscot and the Charles, how closely they are entwined with the memories and the writings of those bright stars in our literary firmament, Holmes and Hawthorne, Longfellow, Thoreau, Emerson and others. These rivers occupy a very inconspicuous place and play a very inconspicuous part in the commercial economy of the nation, and the great world would seldom hear them mentioned but that forever their places are fixed in literature by those gifted men, who walk with us no more, but whose works live after them.

The Connecticut has a literature of its own and the romantic Hudson, with its rugged Catskills and majestic highlands, its West Point and Sleepy Hollow—all the grandeur of the scenery of the Hudson as well as the more subdued and quiet beauty to be found among its diversified attractions, one will find somewhere pictured with daintiest touch of pen in the works of Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, N. P. Willis, Rodman Drake, or Gaylord Clark.

Artists, poets and historians have freely given of their best in portraying the charms of these streams, which they have immortalized, and each has a saga and a literature of its own.

How is it, then, that our lovely Potomac, combining all the varied attractions of the rivers mentioned, richer than all of them in historic lore, from the time of John Smith to the present, and bearing on its fair shores the sparkling jewel of the capital of one of the greatest nations on earth—how is it that the Potomac finds no prominent place in American literature?

Here on its banks were born and here were passed the boyhood days and years of illustrious manhood, and here sleeping the dreamless sleep by its side are the two friends in life and neighbors in death, the Father of his Country and George Mason, of Gunston Hall, author of the famous Virginia Bill of Rights, which antedated the Declaration of Independence.

Brilliant writers, John P. Kennedy in the '40's, John Esten Cooke in later years, and a few others have now and then thrown a flashlight over isolated scenes or times on the Potomac, but its history is yet to be written and its charms still remain unsung.

From the earliest rise of its branches in cool, trickling streamlets in the mountains of West Virginia, till its silvery flow is lost in the bosom of the Chesapeake, every mile of its onward flow is in some way associated with the nation's history.

Before the earliest dawn of that history, centuries before the plash of John Smith's sturdy oarsmen broke the solemn stillness of the forest primeval about the Lower Falls of the Potomac in 1608, or its lower reaches were bejewelled by the lordly homes and princely estates of the cavaliers of Virginia, the banks and beautiful valleys were thickly peopled by a race of whom we know nothing—a race who lived their little day and passed on leaving no records, no trace, save scattered mounds, outlines of fortifications and ditches, fragments of strange domestic utensils, and here and there uncovered in the march of improvement gigantic skeletons of a prehistoric race. These men, their joys, their sorrows, their bones are all buried together and oblivion has drawn about them her kindly mantle.

Next in the panorama of the centuries and touching the borderland of our recorded history, comes trooping along that grave but unfortunate people whose light

canoes have long since "vanished from off the crested wave," the red men of the forest, whose rival nations struggled long and fiercely for supremacy in the rich valleys of the north and south branches of the Potomac and about its headwaters.

Long before Braddock's defeat and the French and Indian war, and more than a century before the veterans of McClellan and Lee, the men of the North and of the South met in deadly combat on the banks of the Antietam and the Potomac, the event was foreshadowed by another bloody struggle almost on the same spot, between the men of the north and those of the south. The powerful Delaware tribe from New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio here contended with the equally powerful and warlike Catawbas from the Carolinas.

One battle took place at the mouth of Antietam Creek, on the banks of the Potomac, then known, for that part of the stream above Harpers Ferry, by its Indian name, the Cohongoruton. How fierce and sanguinary was the fray may be gathered from the fact stated by the historian, Mr. Samuel Kercheval, in his "History of the Valley," that not one Delaware escaped.

This region seems to have been a favorite field for the contending Indian tribes or nations, rivaling that of the famous "dark and bloody ground" of Kentucky; for the same author tells in his book of other battles between those rival nations, one on the Potomac at the mouth of Conococheague Creek—once seriously considered as the location for the capital of this republic—where only one Delaware escaped. Another bloody battle was fought about a mile and a half from the Potomac, at Slim Bottom, on the Wappatomaka (the Indian name for the great south branch of the Potomac

River near Painted Rock). And still another great battle between these warring tribes occurred at Hanging Rock, on the south branch, in the county of Hampshire. On these old battlefields, the historian tells us, long rows of Indian graves bore mute testimony to the sanguinary strife and the valor of the unfortunate Delawares, who were nearly annihilated.

To the student of history it must ever be interesting to observe how geographical—or perhaps topographical were better—conditions for successive ages control the march of armies, directing them again and again to the same old battlefields, till it would seem that certain localities on the surface of old Mother Earth were so richly fertilized with human blood that never would they lack luxuriant verdure.

The narrow gateway in Asia Minor between the mountains and the sea, through which for centuries ebbed and flowed alternately the warring hosts of Europe and Asia—the myriads of Xerxes, Darius, Cambyses and Alexander the Great—and along which thundered again and again the victorious legions of Imperial Rome, is a case in point.

The Italian foothills and passes of the Alps, and those of the Pyrenees in southern France, further illustrate it.

Here in our own country the fords and shallows of the Upper Potomac afford easy access from North to South of warring hosts, and those bloody Indian battles fought in that locality—what were they but dark forerunners of the far bloodier struggles that grim destiny had marked out for the mighty armies of the North and the South, when, centuries later, they should on the same ground close in deadly strife.

During the Civil War all the region of the Upper Potomac was the scene of constant repetition of march-

ing and remarching, crossing and recrossing, midnight raid and foray, picket firing and skirmish line, by and between the men of Lee and Jackson, McClellan and Meade, Early and Sheridan, the prelude and aftermath of the tragedies of Antietam, Gettysburg, Harper's Ferry, Ball's Bluff, Falling Waters and Winchester. From 1861 to 1864 the lurid flame of war blazed all along these mountain tops; every great rock along this river's now peaceful flow was a bloody milestone in the march of war—every acre marks a hero's grave.

The magnificent scenery of the much-traveled Hudson is familiar to the public but comparatively few know that it can be duplicated and even excelled in every feature by the Potomac somewhere on its winding way. For grandeur the famous Highlands of the Hudson cannot compare with the awe-inspiring gorges of Harper's Ferry, where the noisy Shenandoah bursts through its mountain barriers to mingle its foaming waters with those of the Potomac. Thomas Jefferson's matchless description of this wonderful work of the Creator has made it familiar to every school boy.

Far up in the upper reaches of both the North and South branches of the Potomac are to be found freaks of nature of the rarest kind, and scenery unsurpassed for grandeur and wildness anywhere within the national domains, barring the canyons of the Yellowstone and Colorado, the Yellowstone Park and Alaska.

And here just at our own doors, at Great Falls, we have one of the wonders of nature, which for beauty and majesty defies description.

An artist who had travelled much and repeatedly visited all of the beauty spots of France, Switzerland, Italy and the Nile, recently said to the writer: "If our Great Falls had been located in Switzerland, the tourists of the world would flock to its banks."

Where in all of this wide world could there be a more impressive sight than that from the Aqueduct Bridge when in summer:

> 'Comes still evening on twilight gray
> And has in sober livery all things clad.'

The sunset after-glow over the Virginia hills paints the rich sky with such dainty, varied, beautiful tints as no artist could ever hope to equal. The dark shadows of the deep woods on the Virginia Heights opposite the Three Sisters quiver in darkly lengthening lines on the placid bosom of the swiftly flowing river and scores of graceful Indian canoes with young men and maidens paddle lightly over the mirrored surface. The grandest shaft on earth, that to the Father of his country, the silent sentinel of the ages to come, thrills one by its solemn majesty, as the evening shadows enfold its lofty summit melting away into cloudland.

Analostan Island and its dark woods sleeps by the side of the still waters and dreams of the old colonial times when a stately mansion graced its fair acres and the free-handed hospitality of Col. John Mason, son of the statesman and patriot, reigned supreme.

And over there on the other hand we see the sacred heights of Arlington. In that grand old mansion General Lee wooed and won his young and beautiful bride, the mistress of all those broad acres where now are encamped in mute and quiet peace a mighty army of heroes, the Silent Congress of the Dead.

Ah! here is abundant theme for the artist, the poet, the historian; and our river has seen and knows it all, but flows ever silently, resistlessly on.

But I must not linger here. In the necessarily brief time allotted for this communication, we shall be able to glance only cursorily at some of the leading features

of the earliest recorded history of the Potomac. All the wealth of material clustering around its subsequent history—the trying days of the Revolution; of the war of 1812, and of our terrible Civil War; the fragrant aroma of legend, romance and song, still clinging around its ancient, ancestral halls, all these may as I have said some day be illumined by the pen of some other and more competent lover of our beautiful river.

One cannot but feel a deeper interest in the region about the south branch of the Potomac and the valley of Virginia when he recalls the fact that it is inseparably connected with the career of General Washington, for it was there he received the schooling of hardship, self-denial and experience that moulded his character and fitted him for his subsequent illustrious career.

To the youth of our land his early life must ever be an impressive lesson and lasting inspiration to them to join the ranks of those who furnished the majority of our country's great characters—the ranks of self-made men.

Deprived of the advantages of education as it is now known and imparted, we find him at the age of sixteen a master of the science of surveying, and starting out to earn his own living as a surveyor in the employ of the powerful Lord Fairfax, whose land grants covered much of the valley of Virginia, then—in 1748—an almost untrodden wilderness, with but few struggling settlers.

Senator Lodge in his fascinating life of Washington speaks of these three years of his life as a

"rough life but a manly and robust one, and the men who live through it, although often rude and coarse, are never weak or effeminate. To Washington it was an admirable school. It strengthened his muscles and hardened him to exposure and fatigue. It accustomed him to risks and perils

of various kinds and made him fertile in expedients and confident of himself, while the nature of his work rendered him careful and industrious."

A faint, prophetic suggestion of the miseries of Valley Forge is to be found in this extract from one of Washington's letters written during this rough experience:

"Since you received my letter of October last, I have not slept above three or four nights in a bed, but after walking a good deal all the day, I have laid down before the fire upon a little hay, straw or fodder, or a bearskin, whichever was to be had, with man, wife and children, like dogs and cats, and happy is he who gets the berth nearest the fire. Nothing would make it pass off tolerably but a good reward. A doubloon is my constant gain every day that the weather will permit of my going out, and sometimes six pistoles."

The historian already quoted tells us of Washington's experience at this time:

"All these things, as well as the progress of their work and their various resting places, Washington noted down briefly but methodically in a diary, showing in these rough notes the first evidences of that keen observation of nature and men and daily incidents which he developed to such good purpose in after life."

It would be interesting to know whether at this early age this keen observation had caused to germinate in his fertile mind the idea, which afterwards, next to the salvation and welfare of his beloved country, became the dream of his life, of seeing the Potomac become "a channel of commerce between Great Britain and the immense Western territory, a tract of country unfolding to our view."

It was Washington's hope to connect the headwaters of the Potomac with the headwaters of some stream emptying into the Ohio by some short portage,

and thus, by having the shorter route to tidewater, secure the immense trade of the Northwest which afterwards fell to New York and the Erie Canal.

His own state of Virginia did not enthuse over this magnificent project for her commercial supremacy, and in 1784 he wrote to Jefferson:

"Despairing of any aid from the public I became the principal mover of a bill to empower a number of subscribers to undertake at their own expense on conditions which were expressed the extension of the navigation of (the Potomac) from tidewater to Wills Creek (Cumberland), about 150 miles."

From his efforts resulted the organization of the Potomac Company in 1784 and the opening of navigation from Cumberland to tidewater in 1802. The boats were propelled by poling up stream, and floated with the tide downward. The fall of 70 feet at Great Falls was overcome by five sets of locks in massive masonry, the solid walls of which remain to-day silent witnesses to the foresight and enterprise of that wonderful man. The franchise of the Potomac Company was transferred to the Chesapeake & Ohio canal in 1828, and the Potomac Company and the project for its short connecting waterway with the Northwest, so dear to the heart of Washington, passed from the minds of men, their only monument the imposing ruins of the locks at Great Falls.

The history of the Potomac Company, and of Washington's repeated patient and minute explorations of the mountain streams and tributaries of the Ohio, Monongahela, Kanawha, Alleghany and Potomac rivers in search of the shortest and most available connecting link between the waterways of the Ohio, the Great

Lakes, and the Potomac, would make an interesting volume yet to be written.[1]

A part of this project was the establishment of a manufacturing city at the locks of Great Falls. The city was laid out, lots sold and some structures erected at Matildaville, the strangely named embryo city. All that remains to-day to mark the spot are the ruins of the old warehouse and historic "Dickey's." But a short distance below these are the locks. Adjoining these locks below is the deep cut blasted through the solid rock to a depth of sixty feet or more which gives outlet to the Potomac below the Falls. Dense thickets and great overarching trees conspire to hide from a too curious public these imposing monuments of the failure of Washington's cherished dream.

The question of these locks seems to have cost him many anxious hours. It is repeatedly adverted to in his correspondence with Tobias Lear, his secretary, who at times was actively connected with the management of the enterprise, and December 21, 1794, he writes him:

"The plan of Mr. Claiborne's engineer as far as I understand it is to avoid locks altogether. The vessels are received into a basket or cradle, and let down by means of a 'laver' and pullies; and raised again by weights at the hinder extremity of the laver, which works on an axis at the head of a substantial post fixed about the center of the laver. On this principle but differently constructed, Mr. Greenleaf, a few months ago, showed me a model, the efficacy of which he seemed to entertain the most exalted opinion. My doubts of the utility of both, arise from the insufficiency of any machinery of this sort to bear the weight of the cradle when

[1] When the above was written, I had not seen the exhaustive papers written by Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster, which were read before the Society and published in its vol. 15, Records 1912. They cover the whole ground and form an invaluable contribution to American history.

charged with water and a loaded boat therein, and its aptness to get out of order by means thereof. Mr. Weston has told me (but of this I am not certain) that no method of raising and lowering boats has been found equal to locks. Still, as I observed in my last, I should be for hearing the opinions and explanations of any and every scientific and practical character that could be easily got at on the subject."

Strange things destiny brings about! Strange that the footprints of the two forceful men whose names are most closely associated with the early history of the Potomac should meet on this very spot, though an interval of two centuries lies between.

It has been said that Smith never reached the Great Falls, that it was impossible for him to have passed above Little Falls with his boat, but it must be remembered that in his zeal of exploration he often left his boat and made little excursions inland. He describes one such at Quiyough (Occoquan) where after rowing as far as they could, they marched inland some seven or eight miles.

What more probable than that they left their boat at Little Falls and pushed on up the river? This description surely fits Great Falls and not the lesser.

"Having gone as high as we could with the bote we met divers salvages in canoues well loaded with the flesh of beares, deare and other beastes whereof we had part.

"Here we found mighty rocks growing in some places above the ground as high as the shrubby trees and divers other solid quarries and divers tinctures; and divers places where the waters had falne from the mountains they had left a tinctured spangled skerfe that made many bare places seem as guilded. Digging the grawnde above in the highest cliff of rocks we saw it was a clare sand so mingled with yellow spangles as if it had been half pin dust."

Fiske, the historian, says of Capt. John Smith, "his life reads like a chapter from 'The Cloister and the

Hearth.' It abounds in such things as we call improbable in novels."

It was he who first explored the Potomac and published its beauties to the world. Nothing occurred in his adventurous career more wild and improbable than that on the wooded point which he rounded from the Eastern Branch there should rise within three centuries the fairest city on earth, the City Beautiful, the stately capital of one of the greatest of world powers. What more improbable than at Great Falls, which interposed an insuperable barrier to his further explorations, there should stand two centuries later a man of his own rugged, indomitable type, whose name and fame echoed around the world, and whose last fading years of life were largely devoted to removing those very barriers so fatal to the further progress of the ambitious explorer.

A wonderful man this same John Smith. Without him the Jamestown colonists would have been annihilated and the Jamestown Exposition never heard of. Fiske says of him:

"To this day John Smith is one of the personages about whom writers of history are apt to lose their tempers. In recent days there have been many attempts to belittle him, but the turmoil that has been made is itself a tribute to the potency and incisiveness of his character. Weak men do not call forth such belligerency. Amid all the conflicting statements, too, there comes out quite distinctly a contemporary recognition of his dignity and purity. Never was a warrior known, says one old writer, 'from debts, wine, dice and oaths so free,' a staunch Puritan in morals though not in doctrine."

It was a turbulent, quarrelsome company that largely predominated in the first Jamestown colony, and not such stuff as nation-builders are made from.

"Lust for gold and not love of liberty was the inspiration of the movement."

Very different in character and quality were the early settlers on the Potomac. When the last battle of the civil war in England was fought, in September, 1651, and King Charles I was afterwards executed, there was no place in England for his cavalier supporters. A stream of emigration set in at once, and it was largely directed toward Virginia. Ship after ship followed, carrying with their rude accommodations, compared with modern luxury, some of the best blood of England. One ship alone we read carried three hundred and fifty of these English squires and gentlemen, as in those days they were designated. It was these men and the descendants of these men, a few of whose baronial estates still lie scattered along the banks of the Potomac and the James, who shaped the destinies of Virginia and very largely those of the nation.

While they lived in comparative peace and luxury in their stately homes on the tidewaters of Virginia, a struggle for existence, before the Revolution, was going on around the upper reaches of the Potomac. In the valley and along the north and the south branches there was another class of settlers, sturdy pioneers—many of them Dutch or of Dutch extraction —who, pushing forward from the frontier land of Pennsylvania, braved all the horrors of Indian warfare, scalping knife and burning stake. The early history of the Upper Potomac is blotted with tears over the sad fate of many of those pioneers of civilization in the Valley of Virginia. More than one book would be required to give the details of the bloody story.

Strange, is it not, that to-day, while conventions are being held in which governors of States, railroad pres-

idents and captains of industry from all parts of the land assemble and plan for the improvement of inland waterways—strange, is it not, that on this subject as on so many others affecting the growth and prosperity of the republic, George Washington, whose name is so inseparably connected with the early history of the Potomac, should be now, as he was then, the pioneer; the first to blaze the way.

"First in peace, first in war, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," he was also the first advocate of inland waterways. His name and work is so closely intertwined with the history of the Potomac River that no adequate sketch of one can be made without frequent allusion to the other.

In 1748, as we have said, he as a boy was surveying on the Upper Potomac and in the Valley of Virginia, for Lord Fairfax, and is incorrectly said to have located and placed the celebrated Fairfax Stone, now an important piece of evidence in contention in courts in a question of boundary lines between two states of the Union.

In 1753, we find him the bearer of dispatches from the Governor of Virginia to the commander of the French forces in and about Lake Erie. In 1754, he commanded the Virginia regiment which inaugurated the French and Indian War, at Great Meadows and Fort Necessity, at what is now called Farmington, in Pennsylvania.

In 1755, he marched over the same route with the ill-fated Braddock, crossing the Potomac at Wills Creek, as he did again in 1758, when he led the advance with the Virginians, under the command of Gen. John Forbes' army, which captured Fort Duquesne. Again in 1784, we find him travelling the same old trails—thirty years after his misfortune at Fort Necessity,

twenty-nine years after Braddock's defeat and death. This time his mission was one of peace. He was no longer an inconspicuous Virginia Colonel, but a successful general, and head of a young but mighty nation. He adhered to his lifelong habit of keeping a diary.

On the 6th of September he records,

"Remained at Bath [Berkely] all day and was showed the model of a boat constructed by the ingenious Mr. Rumsey for ascending the rapid currents by mechanism; the principles of which were not only shown and fully explained to me, but to my very great satisfaction exhibited in private under the injunction of secrecy until he saw the effect of an application he was about to make to the Assembly of this state for a reward.

"The model and its operations upon the water which had been made to run pretty swift, not only convinced me of what before I thought next to, if not quite impracticable, but that it might be to the greatest possible utility in inland navigation; and in rapid currents; that are shallow."

Here we have the first approach to what Mr. Rumsey afterwards demonstrated on Sir John's Run, a steam-propelled vessel, an invention for which John Fitch and Robert Fulton claimed priority.

On every page of Washington's diary for this month of September one reads of his anxious, persistent effort to find the "Nearest and best communication between the Eastern and Western Waters." His efforts were not confined to the Potomac alone, nor the James —long before this trip, and while he was still in command of the Continental Army with headquarters at Newburgh, N. Y., in 1783, he made a tour up the Mohawk Valley in New York state, with a view to examine the feasibility of a waterway connection between the Great Lakes and the Hudson.

On his return he wrote to Chevalier de Chastellux:

"I could not help taking a more extensive view of the vast inland navigation of these United States, and could not but be struck by the immense extent and importance of it, and of the goodness of that Providence which has dealt its favors to us with so profuse a hand. Would to God we may have wisdom enough to improve them. I shall not rest contented till I have explored the Western Country and traversed these lines, or a great part of them which have given bounds to a new empire."

Immediately on his return to Mount Vernon Washington summed up the result of his observations, giving in detail some ten or twelve different water routes combined with portages from Detroit to tidewater, and adds:

"When the subject is considered in a political point of view it appears of much greater importance. No well-informed mind need be told that the flanks and rear of the United Territory are possessed by other powers, and formidable ones, too—nor how necessary it is to apply the cement of interest to bind all parts of it together, by one indissoluble band—particularly the middle states with the country immediately back of them, for what ties let me ask should we have on these people if the Spaniards on their right or Great Britain on their left should invite their trade and seek alliances with them?"

These far-seeing views of Washington a century and a half later were found to meet a great national impulse of a mighty nation—an impulse forcibly expressed by Secretary of State Root in a late address to the Inland Waterways Convention in Washington:

"There is no greater achievement than the transportation of articles which are valueless at one point to another point where they are valuable. The railroads of the country no longer are able physically to carry the traffic of America, and

the one avenue open to such traffic is water transportation. We must move forward or we will go backward. I see American production handicapped by two things: First, the great cost of getting the goods to the seaboard, and second, the absence of an American merchant marine."

It is a fascinating story that runs like a scarlet thread through many an old musty volume, yellowed and tattered parchment—that story a century and a half old—of the struggle between two mighty nations along the great lakes and the wild mountain passes of the Alleghanies for the control and supremacy of the vast and unknown empire lying beyond their shaggy summits.

Truly does Hurlburt, the eloquent historian, write:

"The Appalachian Mountain system proved a tremendous handicap to Saxon progress. True there were waterways inland—the Connecticut, Hudson, Delaware, James and Potomac Rivers—but these led straight into the mountains where for generations the feeble settlements could not spread, and where explorers became disheartened ere the rich empire beyond was reached. The St. Lawrence, on the other hand, offered a rough but sure course, tempting ambitious men onward to the great lake system from which it flowed, and the Ottawa River offered yet another course to the same splendid goal. So while the sturdy English were planting sure feet along the seaboard, new France was spreading by leaps and bounds across the longitudes."

The troubles of the sturdy settlers in western Virginia and along the banks of the upper Potomac and the Ohio did not end with the French and Indian War nor the War of the Revolution. From 1754 till "Mad Anthony Wayne's" crushing defeat of the bloodthirsty savages in 1794 these hardy pioneers on the borderland of civilization lived in a constant state of daily and nightly peril. The banks of the Potomac,

the Shenandoah and the Ohio were dotted with forts. Not the forts of our day, for in some places a single blockhouse with a cabin or two constituted a fort. In others, more pretentious, a range of log cabins loopholed for rifles formed one side, and divisions or partitions for families separated the cabins from each other; very different were they from the stately homes on the lower Potomac. The walls on the outside were ten or twelve feet high, the slope of the roof being turned wholly inward. The blockhouses were built at the angles of the fort, projecting about two feet beyond the outer walls of the cabins and stockades.

The families belonging to these forts were so much attached to their nearby cabins on their farms that they seldom moved into the forts in the spring until some horrid murder announced the presence of Indians in the vicinity.

General Washington on his tour in 1784 had intended prolonging his itinerary to his lands at the mouth of the Great Kanawha and on the Ohio, but the activities of the Indians at that time caused him to change his programme and return. Mention was made of his meeting at Bath while on this trip the ingenious Mr. Rumsey.

Two years afterward (1786) Rumsey made a successful demonstration of his boat—the first ever made of a passenger boat propelled entirely by steam—on the Potomac just above Shepardstown. He succeeded in attaining a speed of four to five miles an hour against the swift river currents.

Howe, the Virginia historian, who wrote in 1845, says:

"There are now living several persons who were on board at the time, among them Mrs. Ann Baker; Washington is also said to have been among the passengers."

Three years after this John Fitch, who disputed priority of invention with Rumsey, made his first successful trip on the Delaware River near Philadelphia. In 1797 John Stevens, of Hoboken, and Chancellor Livingston, of New York, were experimenting with steamboats on the Hudson, afterwards aided by Nicholas Roosevelt (of the family from which the President sprang), but though partially successful, it was not till 1807 they succeeded in building a boat which attained the required speed, and then Robert Fulton, with his *Clermont,* had beaten them by only a few days. So the claim for our historic Potomac of bearing on its bright waters the first successful steamboat is an established fact.

Poor "Crazy Rumsey," as his neighbors called him, shared the fate of all inventors.

Washington, ever quick to recognize meritorious claims of inventors, when the Potomac company was organized, in 1785, called him to the task of "rendering navigation possible around Great Falls, Seneca Falls and Shenandoah Falls, at Harpers Ferry."

Nothing, however, could long divert his mind from the cherished steamboat scheme. For many years on the banks of the Potomac, not far from his modest home, was pointed out "Rumsey's Walk," the place where the dreamer, in deep meditation, paced for weary hours at a time. The voices unheard by others lured him on. To England he went, scanty in purse, but rich in hope. There privations beset him, and the debtors' prison frowned threateningly across his way; but in his lexicon there was no such word as "fail." He secured his British patents in 1788. The tide turned; money came his way; his life's plans were on the eve of realization; his boat was built; all was ready; success was certain, and wealth and fame were

to follow. A lecture before an overflowing audience of the wealth, learning and beauty of Liverpool was too heavy a task for poor overtaxed Rumsey. In the midst of it he was stricken down by apoplexy, and the shores of his loved Potomac saw him no more.

The close of the career of his famous rival, John Fitch, was equally pathetic. He died at Bardstown, Kentucky, in 1796, and requested to be buried on the banks of the Ohio,

"where the song of the boatman would enliven the stillness of his resting-place, and the music of the steam engine would soothe his spirit."

"The day will come," he said, "when some more powerful man will get fame and riches from my invention; but nobody will believe that poor John Fitch can do anything worthy of attention."

I am indebted to Mrs. Thomas A. Johnson, of this city, for the information that the machinery for Rumsey's boat was made at the Catoctin Furnace, by her great-great-grandfather, Col. Baker Johnson.

Col. Johnson's brother, Thomas Johnson, then Governor of Maryland, was present with General Washington at the experimental trial of Rumsey's boat on the Potomac on March 14, 1786.

The boat was built by Rumsey at Shepardstown; it was eighty feet long and attained a speed of four miles an hour against the current.

Afterwards the machinery was taken back to Catoctin and for many years the cylinder, four inches in diameter, stood three feet above ground as a boundary mark between the Catoctin Furnace property and the land of Wm. Johnson.

When General Washington in 1784 laid aside the ease and comforts of a luxurious home for the rough hardships of his extended explorations in the wild

fastnesses of the Alleghanies, Spain had dominion over all that vast territory west of the Mississippi, afterwards included in the Louisiana Purchase, and her emissaries from New Orleans were busily engaged in the scattering settlements west of the Alleghanies, Kentucky and Tennessee in efforts to detach the inhabitants from their allegiance to the feeble attenuated republic yet in its earliest infancy and gather them under the proud banner of Spain.

General Washington early saw the danger and this was one of the reasons for his repeated and persistent efforts to discover some available transportation route by land or water between the disjointed members of the straggling nation.

It is with this in mind that Hurlburt, that eloquent historian, says, referring to Washington:

"He did not foresee the answer, but he uttered the question first and loudest of all his countrymen and as this one explorer turned away from the old ford it was with the thought, Washington crossed the Delaware, but not more in his country's service than when he splashed across this river in this dark vale of the Alleghanies. In the first instance he was typically first in war; here he stands typically first in peace. The very act shows how broadminded, far-sighted a man he was and what were his splendid powers of initiative; no Fabian policy here but rather a fascinating series of active, daring plans for the union of a land that was nothing except free."

It would be curious to know what thoughts flitted through the mind of this grave, austere man as on his onward way he passed by Braddock's lonely grave, and Fort Necessity, and Great Meadows, the scenes of his earliest military achievements. And then one wonders, too, why when passing so near to Greenway Court on his return he did not pay a visit to this home

of his early patron, Lord Fairfax, to whom he was indebted for the first rung in the ladder of his surprising career. True, Lord Fairfax had been two years sleeping "the sleep that knows no waking," but Greenway Court had been to Washington a delightful haven when life was young and fair. It was Fairfax who sent young Washington, at the age of sixteen, to survey those great tracts of mountain, valley and wilderness included in his princely grants, and Fairfax might fairly be called the Lord of the Potomac, for his patents included a territory large enough and rich enough for a kingdom, reaching from the source of the North Branch of the Potomac in the Alleghanies to Chesapeake Bay.

And what about Lord Fairfax, whose name is so closely connected with the history of the Potomac, were it otherwise unknown it is perpetuated in the legal and historical records of Virginia as the owner of a principality comprising not only what is now known as the Northern Neck between the Rappahannock and Potomac but in addition thereto a territory which now includes the fairest portion of old Virginia and the Virginia Valley, with its sparkling Shenandoah, "beautiful for situation the joy of the whole earth," and from thence on beyond the mountains—the dreaded mountains, then dark, gloomy and forbidding, the hunting ground of fiercest savages, and the home of wild beasts and reptiles—now the scene of humming industry, puffing railroads, throbbing mills, flourishing towns, plethoric farms and granaries and tens of thousands of happy homes.

King Charles Second in 1684, granted to Lord Hopton and others

"All that entire tract and territory bounded by and within the heads of the rivers Tappahannock (Rappahannock) and

Quiriough (Potomac) Rivers as they are commonly known and called by the inhabitants and description of their parts, and Chesapeake Bay."

Lord Hopton and the other grantees transferred their interests to Lord Culpeper who was Governor of Virginia from 1680 to 1683. Thomas the fifth Lord Fairfax married Lord Culpeper's only daughter, and their son Thomas the sixth Lord Fairfax, inherited the "Northern Neck," otherwise known as the "Fairfax Grant." In the lifetime of his father confusion having arisen as to whether the North Branch or South Branch might properly be taken as embracing the "headwaters" of the Potomac, commissioners appointed by King James the Second, in 1733, surveyed the entire tract, and on their report afterwards confirmed by the "council for plantation affairs" and the king, it was decided:

"The boundary ought to begin at the first spring of the South Branch of the river Rappahannock, and that the said boundary be from thence drawn in a straight line northwest to the place in the Alleghany Mountains, where that part of the Potomac River which is now called Cohongoroota (North Branch) first rises."

Commissioners appointed under this decision to run the lines after their surveys were completed on October 17, 1746, planted the celebrated "Fairfax Stone" as marking the original source of the Potomac River.

Mr. Herman G. Johnson, editor of the *Daily Inter-Mountain,* writes me that:

"As a matter of fact the river does have its origin near the Fairfax stone, yet the streams flow in two branches from a spring in the mountain side about two hundred feet from the top of the Alleghanies and both streams flow around the historic spot joining about eighty five feet farther down the mountain side in a stream not large enough to crowd a one

inch pipe. The spring spoken of is at an altitude of 3500 feet.

From a little distance above the spring the Maryland West Virginia State line may be seen for miles, as a few years ago when the line was re-run a strip was cleared along it about one rod wide.

The Fairfax stone was built of two rocks placed side by side which form a foundation about two feet square roughly dressed with a hammer and placed so as to extend about eight inches above the ground. Upon this stands a cut stone just two feet square and eighteen inches deep, and capped off on top to a square of thirteen inches. There has been another stone placed on this which has been destroyed. On all four sides of the stone are cut the letters F. X. and one face is covered with an inscription time has obliterated."

Lord Fairfax seems to have been a man of varied accomplishments. Springing from a distinguished race, a graduate of Oxford University, an officer of the English army, a patron of literature and the arts, fortunate in all else but woman's love, a disappointed man when past the prime of life, he deserted old England forever to take possession of his vast inherited Virginia estates and bury himself in the western wilderness. For a time he made his home with his relative, William Fairfax, at Belvoir, a magnificent estate of 2,000 acres, handsome brick mansion, servants' hall, cellars, offices and stables, after the best manner of the wealthy Virginians of Colonial days.

Belvoir, destroyed by fire during the Revolutionary War, was situated on the high promontory, now known as Stony Point, at the entrance on the right to Gunston's Cove and nearly opposite Marshall Hall. Fifty years ago it was the favorite summer excursion place for Washingtonians; but now sleeping in solitude, no sounds but those of the wild birds, the plash of waves on its lonely wooded shores or the rush of passing

steamers disturb the repose where once the generous hospitality and echoing mirth of the Virginia planter reigned supreme. The old fishermen who ply their trade in those waters will tell you the place is haunted, and that often at midnight, from far up in the deep recesses of its forests, may be heard the plaintive notes of a bugle breathing out soft, uncanny strains of wild, unfamiliar music—a lament, they insist, over the desolation which swept away so much of joy and beauty. Belvoir was about midway on the River Potomac—here seen in its most charming guise—between George Mason's stately Gunston Hall, still spared to us, and Mount Vernon. Lawrence Washington, the elder and favorite brother of George and the owner of Mount Vernon, had married the daughter of the proprietor of Belvoir. Naturally Washington, then a stripling of sixteen years, was often found at that attractive spot, and there he formed the acquaintance and gained that friendship of Lord Fairfax which was to exercise so great an influence in shaping his destinies. There in the winter of 1747–48 they hunted the fox together and hunted him hard.

Mr. Lodge writes:

> "They engaged in all the rough sports and perilous excitements that Virginia life could afford, and the boy's bold and skillful riding, his love of sports and his fine temper commended him to the warm and affectionate interest of the old nobleman."

On the Valley turnpike, twelve miles southeast of Winchester, there stands at the intersection of cross-roads, in the center of a pleasant little village, a plain, solid white post some eight or ten feet high. Strange stories are told about that post. One venerable "uncle" gravely assured me that if one made a wish as he touched that post at midnight the "wish sure

enough come true." Others tell of buried treasure at its base, or of a dead soldier sleeping there, and many there be who in passing fail not to touch the post "just for luck." Yet the story of White Post is simple enough. Lord Fairfax, tiring of the sound of festivities at Belvoir, sought the solitude of the wilderness. At Greenway Court, in the midst of his vast possessions, he established himself in comparative seclusion, and this white post he planted as a guide to his dwelling, one mile distant. He intended to erect at Greenway Court a series of buildings on an extensive scale, only one of which was completed, in which he lived and died—a single clapboarded story-and-a-half house, surrounded by about one hundred and fifty negro servants, who lived in log huts scattered about in the woods.

He was a dark, swarthy man over six feet high and of great personal strength. Howe says:

> "He lived the life of a bachelor and fared coarse, adopting in that respect the rough customs among whom he was. When in the humor he was generous—giving away whole farms to his tenants and simply demanding for rent some trifle; for instance, the present of a turkey for his Christmas dinner."

He was an intense Royalist, and the surrender of Cornwallis is said to have broken his heart, for he died soon after and was buried under the communion table of the old Episcopal Church in Winchester. He never married, and devised a large portion of his estate to the Rev. Denny Martin, a nephew in England, on condition that he would apply to Parliament for an act authorizing him to take the name of Fairfax which was done. He devised Greenway Court Manor containing ten thousand acres and a large part of his slaves to another nephew, Col. Thomas Bryan. That

portion of his estate devised to Denny Bryan was afterwards purchased by what we now call a syndicate made up by Chief Justice Marshall, Raleigh Colston and General "Light Horse Harry" Lee. It comprised the Manor of Leeds, located in the counties of Culpepper, Faquier and Frederick, containing 150,000 acres; the Manor of South Branch in Hardy County, 55,000 acres; Patterson's Creek, in Hampshire, and Goony Run Manor in Shenandoah, 13,000 acres, and these estates we are told have been the cause of more litigation than all the other estates in Virginia put together.

In 1781 at the age of 92 Fairfax passed from the ranks of living men.

And so drops out of our picture the eccentric and picturesque figure of the Lord of the Potomac, once the friend of Addison, the petted darling of London's gilded court circles and the victim of unrequited love. He left no lasting impress on the destiny of Virginia, except for his one great achievement, the discovery of George Washington. So many pleasant and interesting inlets and byways lead away from our lovely Potomac that the student of its history is continually tempted to wander away from the main thread of his purpose and linger over what may seem trivialities.

Let us return again to our old friend John Smith and the Lower Potomac.* I like John Smith and love to linger over the quaint pages of his curiously spelled

* I had supposed before reading Mr. Hugh T. Taggart's interesting paper "Old Georgetown", published in vol. 11, The Records, 1908, that Smith was the first to discover the Potomac. Mr. Taggart has delved deeply into the subject, and one is forced to adopt his conclusions that the honor probably belongs to Father Segura, Vice-Provincial of the Jesuit Order, and his little company who are said to have made a settlement at Occoquan in 1570, thirty years before Smith's exploration. This little settlement was speedily exterminated by the Indians and to Smith belongs the credit of the first exploration.

diary. There be those who say John Smith was a great liar, but then there are those not always in humble stations who say that of every man who has won a name for himself. Be that as it may, Divine Providence endowed this sturdy, rugged sailor of ours with the heart and soul of a true poet. Listen to this:

"Within (the capes Henry and Charles) is a country that may have the prerogative over the most pleasant places knowne for large and pleasant navigable rivers; heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for mans habitations were it fully inhabited by industrious people. There are mountaines, hils, plaines, valleyes, rivers and brookes, all running most pleasantly in a faire Bay (Chesapeake) compassed but for the mouth (the capes) with fruitsome and delightsome land."

Can our modern writers draw a finer picture? He tells us this

"Bay lyeth North and South in which the water floweth near 200 myles and hath a channel for 140 myles of depth between 6 and 15 fadoms holding in breadth for the most 10 or 14 myles. [Chesapeake Bay.]

"From the head of the Bay to the Northwest the land is mountainous and so in a manner from thence by a southwest line, so that the more Southward, the farther off from the Bay are these mountains. From which fall certain brookes which after come to five principal navigable rivers. These run from the Northwest into the South east and so into the West side of the Bay, where the falle of every River is within 18 or 20 myles one of another."

Here we have the earliest recorded description of the Appalachian range and water shed, which he says is:

"Covered with much snow and when it dissolveth the waters fall with such violence that it causeth great inundations in some narrow vallies which is scarce perceived being

once in the rivers. These waters wash from the rocks such glistening tinctures that the ground in some places seemeth as guilded, where both the rocks and the earth are so splendent to behold that better judgments than ours might have been persuaded that they contained more than probabilities."

John Smith was half right; "better judgments than ours" have been persuaded to their cost that those shining rocks and sands around the Potomac "contained only probabilities."

Describing the five navigable rivers, Smith enumerates the Powhatan (James), navigable for "150 myles," Pamaunkee, navigable "50 or 70 myles," Toppanock (Rappahannock), navigable "some 130 myles" and then we come to our own Potomac (Potawomeke) "6 or 7 myles in breadth and navigable 140 myles." "The Potawomeke," he tells us, "is inhabited on both its sides. First on the south side at the very entrance by Wighcocomoco 130 men. Two other tribes on the same side and then come the Potawomekes 200 men," located as near as can be gathered from Smith's map on the Eastern shore of the Potomac opposite Occoquan. The last and uppermost tribe on the Potomac Nacotchtaukes, where he says:

"The river above this place maketh his passage down a low pleasant valley overshadowed in many places with high rocky mountains from whence distil innumerable sweet and pleasant springs."

In poring over the quaint pages of John Smith's "General Historie of Virginia" and the modernized but equally interesting leaves of General Washington's Diary one cannot but be continually impressed with the many points of resemblance in the characteristics of these two remarkable men, whose names will ever be inseparably associated with the early history of the Potomac. Both were natural born explorers, insensible

to hardship, fearless of danger, masters of men, natural leaders.

Well might Richard Pots Clarke of the Council write of Smith:

"What shall I say but thus we found him, that in all his proceedings made justice his first guide and experience his second ever hating baseness, sloath, pride and indignitie more than any danger; that never allowed more for himself than his soudiers with him; that on no danger would he send them where he would not lead himself; that would never see us want; what he either had or could by any means get us; that would rather want than borrow, or starve than not pay; that loved action more than words, and hated falsehood and covetousness worse than death; whose adventures were our lives, and whose losse our death."

This would seem to be a very fair picture of Washington at Valley Forge. It was in June, 1608, that Smith and fourteen companions set out on their venturesome voyage of exploration of Chesapeake bay and its tributary rivers.

In an open barge, of only three tons burden, these hardy mariners for months underwent a series of adventures and hardships almost without parallel. Assailed by hostile Indians on land, swept by hurricanes and mighty waves on sea; mast and sail blown away; bread and provisions watersoaked and rotten; men exhausted with rowing and bailing their frail craft, it was no wonder that at last they rebelled and refused to go farther.

The indomitable leader rose to the occasion, and infused the sorely tried sailors with some of his dauntless courage.

"You cannot say," he tells them, "but I have shared with you in the worst that has passed and forwhat is to come of lodging, dyet or whatsoever, I am content you allow the worst

part to myself. As for your fears that I will lose myself in these unknown large waters or be swallowed up in some stormie gust; abandon these childish fears for worse than is past is not likely to happen, and there is as much danger to return as to proceed. Regain therefore your old spirits for return I will not (if God please) till I have seen the Massawomekes, found Potawomeke or the head of this water you concede to be endless."

So repairing their sail with their shirts the brave fellows pushed on to final success.

When one recalls the fact that in these modern days the stoutest seagoing steamers not infrequently have to struggle for safety in the fierce tempests that sweep over the broad waters of the Chesapeake, the wonder is that there was left a single survivor from that frail little craft.

Bancroft, in his history of the United States, thus speaks of this wonderful voyage:

"With a few companions over whom his superior courage rather than his station as a magistrate gave him authority, and embracing a navigation of nearly three thousand miles. The slenderness of his means has been contrasted with the dignity and utility of his discoveries and his name has been placed in the highest rank with the distinguished men, who have enlarged the bounds of geographical knowledge and opened the way by their investigations for colonies and commerce. He surveyed the Bay of the Chesapeake to the Susquehanna and left only the borders of that remote river to remain for some years longer, the fabled dwelling place of a giant progeny. The Patapsco was discovered and explored and Smith probably entered the port of Baltimore. The majestic Potomac, which at its mouth is seven miles broad, especially invited curiosity, and, passing beyond the heights of Mt. Vernon and the City of Washington, he ascended to the falls above Georgetown. Nor did he merely explore the rivers and inlets. He penetrated the territories and estab-

lished friendly relations with the native tribes for future beneficial intercourse. The map which he prepared and sent to the company in London is still extant and delineates correctly the great outlines of nature."

Of this map, Marshall in his life of Washington says:

"He brought with him an account of that large part of the American continent now comprehended in the provinces of Virginia and Maryland, so full and exact that after the progress of information and research for a century and a half, his map exhibits no inaccurate view of both countries and is the original upon which all other subsequent descriptions have been formed."

True argonauts were these lusty sailors. Jason and his fabled band of heroes searching for the golden fleece were no braver, no truer men. This frail little craft as it rode the stormy billows of the Chesapeake and penetrated each cove and inlet of its bays and rivers was the white winged advance courier of a mighty civilization. A second Jason indeed!

"And when the first bold vessel dared the seas,
High on the stern the Thracian raised his strain,
While Argo saw her kindred trees
Descend from Pelion to the main;
Transported demigods stood round,
And men grew heroes at the sound."

So, row on ye hardy mariners! Strange sights has the unrolling panorama of the centuries disclosed on the historic bosom of the Potomac, where once you toiled and suffered. Strange sights—but none stranger than that of you and your frail little craft. Warlike fleets have swept over these waters; mighty armies have trodden its banks; its bright waters run red with heroes' blood; its hills shaken to their very foundations by the many-voiced roar of murderous cannon.

But ye are the first in that mighty moving panorama,

so comrades row ye on. Brave men ye are, rowing better than you know. In front the untrodden wilderness, nameless fears of a fierce, giant, mythical race; poisoned arrows of the untamed savage; hunger and thirst; perils by sea and land, by night, by day, perils everywhere, but row ye on brothers for trailing in your wake one sees through the mists and shadows of a not distant future the advance guard of a wondrous civilization.

The years roll swiftly on. Our argonauts are gone, forgotten; their names were writ in water, all except their heroic leader.

Twenty-five years quickly sped and one bright day in March, 1634, there appeared at the mouth of the Potomac, a ship freighted with the hopes, fears and ambitions of its 300 souls seeking in the yet untrodden wilderness to find new homes with the civil and religious liberty at that time denied to poor persecuted Catholics in old England. Lord Baltimore's colony landed at St. Mary's and we are told lived in peace and plenty. The settlers had little to do but plant their gardens and fields, and wait the coming harvest. Within six months the colony of St. Mary's had grown into greater prosperity than Jamestown had reached in as many years.

The best of all was the pledges of civil and religious toleration were kept to the letter, something that could not be said of any other colony in America. As far as I can discover this was the first settlement on the Potomac. The sites of Alexandria, Bell Haven and Georgetown were in the howling wilderness.

Mr. Snowden in his very interesting treatise on "Some Old Landmarks of Virginia" tells us that in 1699,

"the whole domain from the Great Hunting Creek to the

falls of the Potomac, extending inland and embracing six thousand acres, had been purchased by John Alexander from Capt. Robert Howson for 6,600 pounds of tobacco. At that time ST. Marys was far advanced in development and prosperity, the evidences of which are there seen at the present day. That country is rich in legend, romance and history which some day will be woven into literature and song."

As the years rolled on, tidewater Virginia and Maryland grew rich and powerful. After the disaster which cost King Charles I his throne and head in 1651, many of the squires and landed gentry who supported his cause sought safety in America. On the banks of the James, the Rappahannock and Potomac they carved out for themselves new homes and lived in comfort and peace.

The eternal struggle between barbarism and civilization had transferred its scene of operations to the headwaters of the Potomac, and the midnight warwhoops and flames of burning homes no longer disturbed the quiet of the "Barons of the Potomac." Gradually all along the banks of the James and Potomac sprang up stately homes, on princely estates with names reminiscent of old England, which the passing years have not yet been able to efface. Some are as familiar as household words. Mt. Vernon, Gunston Hall, Belvoir, Arlington, Boscobel, Shirley, Westover, Stratford and a score of others will not soon be forgotten.

In the life of George Mason of Gunston Hall, his son gives an exceedingly interesting account of the manner of living on one of these great plantations.

"It was very much the practice," he wrote, "with gentlemen of landed and slave estates in the interior of Virginia, so to organize them as to have considerable resources within themselves; to employ and pay but few tradesmen and to buy little or none of the coarse stuffs and materials used by them,

and this practice became stronger and more general during the long period of the Revolutionary War which in a great measure cut off the means of supply from elsewhere. Thus my father had among his slaves, carpenters, coopers, sawyers, blacksmiths, tanners, curriers, shoemakers, spinners, weavers and knitters and even a distiller.

"The woods furnished timber and plank for the carpenter and coopers and charcoal for the blacksmith; his cattle killed for his own consumption and for sale, supplied skins for the tanners, curriers and shoemakers, and his sheep gave wool and his fields produced cotton and flax for the weavers and spinners, and his orchards fruit for the distillery. His carpenters and sawyers built and kept in repair all of the dwelling houses, barns, stables, ploughs, harrows, gates, etc., on the plantations and outhouses and at the home house. His coopers made the hogsheads the tobacco was prized in and the tight casks to hold the cider and other liquors; the tanners and curriers with the proper vats tanned and dressed the skins as well for upper as lower leather to the full amount of the consumption of the estate and the shoemakers made them into shoes for the negroes.

"A professed shoemaker was hired for three months in the year to make up the shoes for the white part of the family.

"The blacksmiths did all of the iron work required by the establishment and the spinners and weavers made all the coarse cloth and stockings used by the negroes, and some of the finer texture worn by the white family. The distiller made every fall a good deal of peach, apple and persimmon brandy. All of these operations were carried on at the home house and their results distributed to the different plantations. All the beeves and hogs for consumption and sale were driven up there and slaughtered at the proper season. My father had in his service a white man, a weaver of fine stuffs to weave himself and superintend the black weavers and a white woman to superintend the negro spinning women."

This estate of Gunston comprised five thousand acres and was one of several owned by George Mason, one

of which, now known as Analostan Island, in his time was called Barbadoes. I cannot linger over the beauties of Gunston and the history of its illustrious patriot and owner. One hundred and fifty years have silently gone their way since the argonauts of the Potomac disappeared from history.

The cavaliers of Virginia were resting in peace on the banks of the Potomac but on its headwaters was fiercely raging the battle for the possession of an empire, the rich and boundless territory of the Great West.

George II, King of England, was at war with France. The battles of England were to be fought on the frontiers of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, and for the first time the Potomac around its headwaters was to be a scene of contest between two civilized nations. Already and for years, a trail of fire and blood had marked its course from the innocent sufferers of Indian warfare.

At this time the King's son, the Duke of Cumberland, was commander-in-chief of the British army. Among his favorites was an officer who had served under him with great distinction in the Low Countries, distinguished for his bravery, strict discipline, as well as dissolute habits. Edward Braddock was for forty years or more an officer of the famed Coldstream Guards. He was recalled from the command of the Fortress of Gibraltar and selected to be commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces in America.

Poor doomed Braddock! His fateful campaign had been planned for him in advance by the Duke of Cumberland. His written instructions were precise, leaving no latitude for discretion, no choice of routes. We read what a friend of his wrote of Braddock's last night in London.

"Before we parted last night, the General told me he should never see me more, for he was going with a handful of men to conquer whole nations and to do this, they must cut their way through unknown woods. He produced a map of the country saying at the time.—Dear Pop, we are sent like sacrifices to the altar."

It was a stately war fleet that landed Braddock and his gallant army at the wharves in Alexandria early in 1755. Up to that time the Potomac had known no such an imposing array. The day of the argonauts and the little three-ton barges had long since past.

The curtain lifts on a new era in the history of our beautiful Potomac.

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By WILLIAM A. De CAINDRY.

(Read before the Society, March 19, 1912.)

Interesting accounts of early library enterprises in the District of Columbia are given by Mr. W. Dawson Johnston in his papers read before this Society and published in volumes 7 and 9 of the Records of the Society. His paper of January 12, 1903, gives a full account of the Washington Library Company, which was chartered by act of Congress of April 13, 1814. The books of this library in 1868 were about 6,000 in number, and are said to have been removed, in 1869, from the old Union Lodge Building on 11th street, between C and D streets, to Lincoln Hall, corner of 9th and D streets, northwest, where they were used for a time by the Young Men's Christian Association, and afterwards given to the Washington Central High School.

The following libraries, also chartered by Congress, should be mentioned:

By act of January 31, 1804, the Columbian Library Company of Georgetown was chartered. Little is known at this day of its history.*

By act of April 20, 1818, the Columbian Institution for the promotion of Arts and Sciences was chartered. This institution contemplated the erection of a library

* It is referred to by Mr. Johnston in a footnote to his paper of January 12, 1903, and also by Mr. Allen B. Slawson, on page 104 of Vol. 9 of the Records of this Society, where a reference is also made to a branch circulating library established in Georgetown in 1792 by John Lockwood, a bookseller of Alexandria.

WASHINGTON CITY FREE LIBRARY.
McLean Building, 1517 H Street N.W.

and museum building and the maintenance of a botanical garden, the President of the United States being authorized to grant to it the use of five acres of ground in the city of Washington for botanical purposes. By act of May 26, 1824, it was granted

"the use and improvement of public ground in Washington city which is bounded on the east by the Botanical Garden in the occupancy of the said Columbian Institute; on the north by the Pennsylvania avenue; on the west by the Tiber and Canal; and on the south by the Maryland avenue."

I am not advised as to what the subsequent history of this learned institution was.

By act of August 11, 1856, the Columbian Library of Capitol Hill, in the city of Washington, was chartered. A peculiarity of this organization was that no person was eligible as a director, or had a right to vote for a director, who was not a member of the Columbia Fire Company, of Washington, D. C.

By act of the same date, August 11, 1856, the Columbian Library for Young Men was chartered. By this act, Judge James Dunlop, chief-justice of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, John T. Powers, mayor of Washington, Henry Addison, mayor of Georgetown, Joseph Henry, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, John S. Meehan, librarian of Congress, and their successors in their respective offices, with such persons as the mayors mentioned might designate, were made a body corporate under the name above given. Among the powers given it was one which authorized it to

"limit the ages within which the young men of the District may be entitled to the benefit of the act; to diffuse knowledge among them in such ways as shall be best calculated to instruct them, to elevate their morals, and fit them for usefulness."

It was also authorized to

"receive assurances of permanent aid from the corporations of Washington and Georgetown, and either of them, to sustain said institution by annual or other aid."

I do not know how far this institution fulfilled the object of its creation. The form of government of the District was changed in 1871, and the mayoralties of the two cities abolished.

No one of these enterprises, with the possible exception of the one last mentioned, was intended to be conducted at the public expense for the free circulation of books among the people. They partook of the old joint-stock or subscription plans.

Suggestions for the establishment of a *free* public library did not originate until 1849, as shown by Mr. Johnston, nor did any movement in this direction meet with realization and success until the year 1895.

It is the object of this memoir to set forth the history of the Washington City Free Library, an institution which was organized and incorporated in Washington in 1895 for furnishing and which actually did furnish free library facilities for the people of the District of Columbia. The high character of its promoters, the liberality of its sustainers, the remarkable efficiency of its administration, and the aid which it rendered to the greater enterprise of founding the municipal tax-supported free public library of June 3, 1896 (which became the beneficiary of the Washington City Free Library upon the dissolution of the latter), are thought to merit the tribute of remembrance; and the earliness of its work in supplying free library facilities to the residents of the District justly entitle it to the claimed distinction of being the first free public library that was ever put in actual operation and maintained in the District of Columbia.

In October, 1894, Brigadier General A. W. Greely,

Chief Signal Officer of the Army, on duty in the War Department and in charge of the library of that Department, being influenced by the general desire existing in the community at that time for the establishment of a free public library for the District of Columbia, conceived the notion that the best method of bringing about the result would be to follow the footsteps of the older successful places and begin by "starting a free library," leaving its future extension and development to be guided by the ascertained demands of the community for such facilities and the liberality of those who would be willing to assist in financing the undertaking.

Accordingly, on the 30th day of that month he circulated among persons known to be friendly to this method of bringing a free library into existence a subscription paper, a copy of which, with the names of the original subscribers, is here inserted:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., October 30, 1894.

"There being no free public library in the city of Washington, the undersigned hereby promise and agree to pay annually, from 1895 for five years, the sums set opposite our respective names for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a Free Public Library.

"The first instalment of said sums shall be payable whenever an annual income of $1,000 shall have been subscribed and a Treasurer shall have been elected by a responsible committee composed of citizens of Washington.

"John Joy Edson	$25	J. W. Thompson	$50
Alexander Mackay-Smith	25	T. E. Roessle	10
John J. Keane	20	F. Lisner	50
Caroline Bonaparte ..	25	W. W. Johnson, M.D.	20
Andrew Wylie	25	Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Whittemore	25
Alex. B. Hagner	25	B. H. Warner	25
Charles M. Foulke ...	25	C. Heurich	100

Woodward & Lothrop	100	John R. McLean	100
Crosby S. Noyes	100	Henry B. Brown	10
Mrs. Benj. H. Warder	100	David J. Brewer	10
Gardiner G. Hubbard	100	Mrs. George N. Beale	10
F. M. Colton	20	Jos. K. McCammon ..	10
John W. Foster	25	J. B. Wimer	10
E. Francis Riggs	100	Thomas M. Chatard ..	10
W. T. Harris	10	Mrs. Phebe A. Hearst	600"
Melville W. Fuller ..	25		

There had been introduced in the House and Senate previous to this time, at the instance of the Washington Board of Trade, various measures having for their object the establishment and maintenance of a free public library in the District of Columbia, and a favorable report had been made in the House in July, 1894, on one of them. The report had been debated in that body in August and December of that year; but the efforts of those who were pressing the matter resulted unsuccessfully, and the session ended without definite action.

With the success achieved with the subscription list of October 30, 1894, General Greely redoubled his efforts after the adjournment of Congress, and on April 23, 1895, issued the following circular to persons interested in the subject:

"Washington is one of the few great cities of America that has no library free to the public; indeed, there is no place where a book can even be consulted after four in the afternoon.

"Congress having failed to provide for the public needs in this direction, a free circulating library and reading-room is to be opened in Washington at such time and place as the subscribers for its maintenance may hereafter decide. The plan to be followed is the same as that of the Free Circulating Library of New York, which started in 1880 in two rented rooms, has now six branches, and circulated last year 636,000 volumes, and accommodated 180,000 visitors in its reading-rooms.

"Through the generosity of a few women and men of Washington, the sum of $1,800 annually has been pledged for five years, commencing with 1895, thus insuring the establishment of a small library and its operation for five years.

"Subscriptions for an additional amount of $2,200 annually are very much desired, and it is hoped that all persons interested will pledge an annual subscription, however small, for five years.

"Subscribers, and those willing to subscribe for this project, are asked to meet at 1914 G street northwest, Friday, April 26th, at 8 p. m. Persons who cannot be present are invited to send their subscriptions to

A. W. GREELY,
23d April, 1895. 1914 G street, n. w."

Commenting upon this circular of April 23, 1895, the *Washington Post* said:

"It seems to us that a scheme of such proportions should be easily carried into practical effect. Surely there must be public-spirited people here who are willing to contribute this comparatively insignificant sum for the benefit of their fellow creatures. We shall not waste time and space in setting forth the advantages of a library open at all hours to persons ambitious of educational advancement but unable to obtain these advantages for themselves. Arguments on that line are unnecessary. Enough to say that General Greely's suggestion is as intelligent as it is timely. The plan he proposes is perfectly feasible, and should commend itself to all."

The same paper published the following remarks on the meeting which took place on April 26, 1895:

"The most practical movement that has yet been made looking to the establishment of a free public library in Washington was made last night by a meeting of representatives of the various library interests of the city at the home of General A. W. Greely, the supervising librarian of the War Department. The Washington Librarians' Association was largely responsible for the meeting, as was also the private

enterprise of General Greely, who for five years past has been steadily but quietly working to bring about the end which now appears in sight.

"Some time ago a committee, consisting of Hon. A. R. Spofford, General Greely and Mr. W. H. Allen, was appointed by the Librarians' Association, with directions to determine on the most practicable way of securing a free public library for the city, and these gentlemen after consulting together decided that the best and surest way was to gather the nucleus of a library by private enterprise, and with this in hand to show the good faith of the city to go to Congress for additional support.

"Pursuant to this plan notice was sent out several days ago for the meeting last night. To this meeting were invited all persons having a direct interest in any plan for securing a free city library, as the object was to harmonize all interests and get united action when once a plan was agreed upon. Fourteen or fifteen gentlemen last night responded to the call. Among them were Judge Hagner, Dr. Hart Merriam, Dr. Robert Reyburn, Mr. F. H. Newell, Dr. Chatard, Mr. Fassig, Prof. Cyrus Adler and General Greely.

"In opening the meeting General Greely made the very comfortable announcement that whatever might be the final fate of the project, they started with $10,000 pledged, that was as good as though it was in hand. Some of it, in fact, was in hand already, although General Greely, through whose efforts the subscriptions had been made, had requested pledges in preference to cash. To relieve him of the responsibility of this fund, it was turned over to Mr. Wm. A. DeCaindry, the treasurer of the Cosmos Club, who was appointed trustee of the fund. The $10,000 had been pledged by sixty subscribers, conditionally, to be paid in five annual instalments of $2,000 each. General Greely said that if a single individual could do this much in the way of collecting, he thought it would be a small matter with a systematic canvass to secure as much more, if necessary, each succeeding year. He had been credibly informed, he said, that fully half of the 20,000 persons in government employ in the city would, if properly

approached, give a dollar a year to such a cause, and he was of the opinion that a widely spread subscription of this sort made in small individual amounts was better for the library than a single lump from some multimillionaire, though the latter was not to be despised should it come along.

"After a brief discussion of the subject a committee of five, of which General Greely was the chairman, was appointed to draw up legal plans for the incorporation and government of the library, and to harmonize, so far as possible, all the embryonic library interests of the city. This committee, the four other members of which are yet to be appointed by the chairman, will not do much active work before fall; but then a house, or at least rooms, will be rented and a model library started on a small scale, so that by the time Congress assembles and gets to a point where it can lend an ear to District demands, there will be a real live library before it to make a practical appeal for further aid in behalf of the city."

The following circular was issued to subscribers on April 30, 1895:

"At a preliminary meeting of the subscribers for the Free Library, Friday, April 26th, it was unanimously decided that steps should be taken to effect a legal organization, and that every effort consistent with the speedy opening of the Library should be made to harmonize all interests looking to the founding of a library in Washington, and to utilize such other literary collections as may subserve this interest. For these purposes a committee was appointed, to consist of General Greely, Judge Hagner, Mr. Pellew, Dr. Reyburn, and Col. Colton, who are to report at a subsequent meeting, which all subscribers will be urged to attend, in order to act on the report.

"Mr. Wm. A. DeCaindry was designated as temporary trustee to take charge of all cash subscriptions. The total amount now subscribed slightly exceeds $10,000, or $2,000 annually."

In pursuance of the directions of the above meet-

ing, articles of incorporation, in the name of the WASHINGTON CITY FREE LIBRARY, were duly executed July 1, 1895, and attested and filed in the office of the Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia July 5, 1895. The incorporators were: General A. W. Greely, Judge Alexander B. Hagner, Gardiner G. Hubbard, Jos. K. McCammon, Francis Colton, Robert Craig, Wm. A. DeCaindry, Helen L. McL. Kimball, S. W. Woodward, A. M. Lothrop, Josephine A. Clark, Rufus H. Thayer, Robert Reyburn, M.D., Oliver L. Fassig, E. Francis Riggs, and C. Hart Merriam. At a meeting of the incorporators held shortly after the filing of the articles of incorporation, the following were elected trustees of the library: General A. W. Greely, Alexander B. Hagner, Gardiner G. Hubbard, Wm. A. DeCaindry, S. W. Woodward, Josephine A. Clark, Joseph K. McCammon, C. Hart Merriam and Dr. Robert Reyburn. The following temporary officers were also elected: President, General A. W. Greely; 1st Vice-president, Alexander B. Hagner; 2d Vice-president, S. W. Woodward; Secretary, Oliver L. Fassig; Treasurer, Wm. A. DeCaindry.

A code of by-laws, and regulations for the management of the Library, were adopted by the Board of Trustees in July, 1895.

The preliminary work of organizing the library began in August, 1895. In October following, rooms were rented in the McLean Building, next door to the corner of H street and Vermont avenue, northwest, and the labor of accessioning, classifying, cataloging and arranging the books was begun under the direction of the Library Committee, consisting of Jos. K. McCammon, E. Francis Riggs, Rufus H. Thayer, Francis R. Lane, J. H. Brickenstein, Oliver L. Fassig, W. P. Cutter and W. H. Lowdermilk. In the same

month the following appeal for contributions of books was issued to the citizens of the District of Columbia:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., October 15, 1895.

"After the refusal of the last Congress to provide a free public library and reading-room for the District of Columbia, about sixty individuals pledged an aggregate of $10,000, payable in five annual instalments, to open such an institution. A legal organization was effected in July, 1895, by sixteen selected subscribers; nine Trustees were elected for the first year; by-laws adopted; officers chosen; and appropriate committees appointed.

"Rooms have been rented at [next to] the northeast corner of Vermont avenue and H street; furnishings are in progress; an experienced librarian will soon be had; and it is expected that the Washington City Free Library will be opened in November.

"Before making a public appeal for funds and support, it is desired to accumulate and catalogue such books as can be obtained through private donations by public-spirited individuals of standing and influence. It is hoped that you are interested in this movement for the public good, and that you will so indicate on the inclosed postal card.

"Books of any class will be welcomed, but experience in libraries of this kind has shown that sound fiction, history, and children's books are most in demand. Books will be received at the Library, [next door to the] corner of Vermont avenue and H street, 2d floor, between 2 and 6 p. m., or will be sent for as may be indicated."

The generosity of the citizens who had thus far responded to the appeals of the new Library, and the scope and standing of the enterprise, as a whole, are indicated by the following extract from an article which appeared in the *Washington Post* on December 8, 1895:

"The Washington City Free Library is about to be opened to the public in a most desirable locality, and with the sub-

stantial foundation of 3,000 volumes of wholesome reading matter. It is located in two large front rooms on the 2d floor of the McLean Building, Vermont avenue and H street, northwest. The rooms are large and well lighted. They overlook the Arlington Hotel, Cosmos Club, and Lafayette Square. They have been rented since October; the shelves, tables, chairs and all necessary furniture are in place; the new librarian has entered upon her duties and is busy every day cataloguing the books.

"The rooms could be opened to the public this month, but the Association has decided to wait until after the holidays are over, and the opening day has been fixed as the first Monday in January. Another reason for the delay is the fact that Mr. John R. McLean is still remodeling the building, and by the time the doors are thrown open to the public the Association will have excellent quarters. About 2,000 volumes, most of which have been contributed, are now on the shelves, and the committee appointed to purchase books-not-contributed have about $800 to spend for the latest publications before the opening day. They will wait as long as possible before buying, in order to be able to select the books-not-contributed by that time.

"It will be a modern free library in every sense, governed after the successful free libraries of other cities. The American card system of indexing has been used. There is nothing of amateur order about its establishment which will have to be done over again when the institution assumes large proportions. In this work the Trustees have been very materially aided by volunteers from the experienced librarians of the city, as well as by several ladies who have generously given their time for the public good.

"The rooms will be open from 8 o'clock in the morning until 9 o'clock in the evening, and any person over fourteen years of age living in the District will have free access to all the books. Children under fourteen will have to present a permit from their parents to draw books, and then the parents will be held responsible for their return. The first time a person obtains a book, he will be given a card which will

entitle him to obtain a book at any future time without being entered on the record. All books taken away must be returned within two weeks, and some of them within seven days.

"The reference portion of the Library promises to be very large, and will be thrown open to anyone desiring to use the reading-rooms which will be provided. Persons wanting to read in the rooms will be permitted to help themselves from the shelves, which have a capacity for holding 5,000 volumes.

"The books donated to the Library are in many cases valuable and appropriate, covering special sciences, fiction, history, travels and children's literature. The volumes purchased cover recent popular publications, especially those of fiction, and were so selected as to supplement the volumes obtained by donation.

"The Board of Trustees, while welcoming any subscription in money or donation of publications, has decided that it would be wiser to defer a general appeal to the public for funds and support until after the Library has been organized and thrown open to the public in a satisfactory working condition. The present collection is due to the efforts and liberality of less than 150 persons.

"The list of subscribers shows how general are the sources from which this Library has been organized. It includes the Justices of the Supreme Court and other high tribunals, the clergy without regard to sect, the legal profession, executive officers of the government, business men, and the old residents of Washington, as well as persons who have only a temporary residence.

"The subscribers, with one or two exceptions, have pledged themselves for a period of five years, thus giving Washington an opportunity to say whether the Library shall live or die, and the District authorities now have a practical argument on which to base their claim on Congress for the support of a free public library from District funds.

"Efforts to obtain books through contributions were confined to private requests, and have been unusually successful. No less than 1,749 volumes have been contributed, and more

than 300 additional have been purchased. There is no reason to doubt that, when the Library opens, its shelves will be covered with at least 3,000 volumes.

"In addition to the 2,100 volumes already on the shelves, the National Geographic Society and the Biological Society of Washington have deposited their valuable collections of books and pamphlets as reference libraries for general use within the building. As these Societies receive by exchange the latest journals and magazines relating to geography and biology, the importance of these accessions is easily seen. . . .

"The Library will probably soon be before the public through its Committee on Ways and Means, and an opportunity will be offered to subscribe such as is seldom neglected by the philanthropic citizens of the District.

"It has been in the minds of its founders from the first that the Library, although supported by subscription, shall be open to every one, and that the only rule in the issue of books shall be 'first come, first served.' Every restriction will be removed that is not absolutely necessary to protect the property of the Library and the rights of every user. Especial attention will be paid to the educational side of the Library, and an attempt will be made to supplement the work of the school in every possible way. Every precaution to keep sensational literature off the shelves will be taken, and no attempt will be made to cater to depraved tastes.

"Those interested in this movement recognize the fact that the library supported by subscription has, at the best, but a limited field, but the public library supported by subscription is considered as doing more good than *no* library. The project of the Board of Trade in asking of Congress the support of a public library by appropriation and other gifts meets with the support of those interested in the Washington Free Library insofar as it contemplates the establishment of a free library, and such legislation as is asked for from Congress, when made, will result in co-operation from the Library now existing.

"The establishment of the Library grew out of the failure of the three bills introduced for a kindred purpose in the

53d Congress. One of these bills was discussed practically for two days, and in the debate of December 10, 1894, it developed that access to the Library of Congress was very limited, and that the Librarian had been instructed by the Joint Library Committee to enforce strictly the law forbidding the issue of books, even on the orders of members, to those who were not members of Congress. Opposition developed to the establishment of a free circulating library in the Congressional Library, and the opinion was advanced that liberal-minded citizens of Washington should establish a Library by the contribution of books and money in accordance with assurances already made to the District Committee by citizens of Washington." . . .

All being in readiness for the opening of the doors of the Washington City Free Library, the President and Board of Trustees sent out invitations to representative citizens asking their presence on Saturday afternoon, January 4, 1896, from 3 to 9 o'clock, at the rooms of the Library, 1515 H street, to inspect the Library previous to its opening to the public on Monday, January 6th.

The *Washington Post,* in its issue of January 5, 1896, said:

"The Washington City Free Library will be open to the use of the public in the McLean Building, [next door to the] corner of Vermont avenue and H street, northwest, to-morrow. This Library grew out of the failure to obtain legislation in the 53d Congress for the establishment of a free library, and was undertaken by public-spirited citizens who acted upon suggestions thrown out in debate in the House of Representatives to the effect that the citizens of Washington should first show their interest in the subject by starting a library by the contribution of money and books before appealing to Congress for aid.

"S. W. Woodward, the present President of the Board of Trade, has been an enthusiastic worker in the organization of

the Washington City Free Library, and several other members of that Board are among the subscribers and contributors to the undertaking. The Board of Trustees have pledges of undoubted reliability for the raising of an annual fund of $2,000 for the next five years for the support of the enterprise, whatever may be the fate of the proposed legislation relating to the establishment of a library supported at municipal expense. There is no subscription conditioned to become null and void in case the 54th Congress does or does not establish a library to be run at public expense, but $1,925 of the first year's subscription have already been paid in, and 3,050 books have been contributed and are on the shelves. The Washington City Free Library enterprise will, therefore, go on whether the Library Committee of the Board of Trade is successful in securing legislation in the 54th Congress or not.

"The Library was inspected Saturday afternoon by many who have contributed either by subscription or donation. The books received have been classified, catalogued and arranged for issue by librarian experts, thus rendering the administration of the Library, after it is opened Monday, possible, with the minimum amount of trouble and with the maximum degree of rapidity and efficiency. A large amount of the work has been done by ladies interested in the establishment of the Library for the benefit of the District, who have contributed their time and abilities, while an experience of nine years renders the librarian, Miss Gilkey, especially competent for the important duties that devolve upon her.

"The fine beginning of the Washington City Free Library, which contemplates branches in various portions of the District of Columbia, as demands and means shall require and permit, is well worthy of an inspection and consideration by the House and Senate Committees which have the subject of a free library under consideration, as well as by members of the Board of Trade and the Library Committee of that body. . . . Those who have organized the new public Library believe that it will be largely patronized, and that many booklovers will visit its rooms to-morrow, the opening day, and that all

will be pleased with the splendid arrangements which have been made."

The *Washington Post,* on January 7, 1896, the morning after the opening, describing the rooms and the installation, said:

"There are now in the alcoves about 3,100 books, most of them contributed by friends of the proposition, though 700 of that number have been purchased by the Association. In the larger of the two rooms given up to the Library, the registration desk, a reading table, and several alcoves (in which the bound volumes of the magazines, of which the Association has become the possessor, the encyclopædias and the dictionaries are placed) take up the most space; but there is room enough for several comfortable reading chairs and a large cheerful fireplace, on the mantel over which is a bust of Emerson.

"In the rear of the desk is the room containing the larger number of shelves, in which the fiction and many of the reference books are placed. As might be expected, most of these are slightly worn, but all of them are still strong, well bound, and capable of hard service. Paper-bound books have been changed into desirable cloth-bound volumes by the expenditure of 18 cents each, for which sum a local bindery has undertaken the task of furnishing a neat burned-duck binding.

"In the five weeks given to the librarian for preparation, not only have the books of the Association for the shelves been prepared, but the catalogue of all the volumes, arranged for consultation as to authors, subjects, or titles, has been completed. As is the case in the Boston Public Library, the catalogue is made up of cards fitted in a series of drawers."

Bills had been introduced in the Senate and in the House of Representatives on December 30 and 31, 1895, to

"establish and provide for the maintenance of a free public library and reading-room in the District of Columbia."

Bills of the same character had been pressed on the attention of Congress by the Washington Board of

Trade at the preceding session, the distinctive feature of which being that they contemplated the establishment and maintenance of the proposed library at the joint expense of the District of Columbia and the United States—in other words, it was to be a library supported by *taxation.*

While the Senate bill was under consideration by the Committee on the District of Columbia of that body in January, 1896, the Board of Trustees of the Washington City Free Library authorized the President, General Greely, to present their views on the bill to the Committee, which he did in writing under date of January 27, 1896.

The first amendment proposed by General Greely was accepted by the Committee, but the second one was not. In reporting the bill favorably to the Senate on February 4, 1896, the existence of the Washington City Free Library was not touched upon, except that General Greely's letter above mentioned was inserted in an appendix which accompanied the report.

In the report made to the House on the same bill on March 5, 1896, the District Committee of that body said in part:

"The city of Washington is the capital of our nation, and within the last quarter of a century there seems to have awakened among its citizens the desire to make it a city worthy of the American people. Much has been done toward the ornamentation and beautifying of its public buildings and streets, and in the upbuilding of such public institutions as are necessary for the education and comfort of its citizens. But the matter of a free library to be conducted at the public expense has been neglected, and there is not now a public library in the city of Washington accessible to its citizens for their use, saving only the Washington City Free Library, which has been in existence for about a year and is dependent upon free contributions and voluntary subscriptions. . . . The

Washington City Free Library stands ready, upon the passage of this bill and the establishment of the library, to merge its books and properties into the Free Public Library so established, and doubtless when the citizens of the District find that the Government and municipal powers have created a Library, they will give it financial aid; and we may look forward in the near future to a splendid library, having such success as a project so praiseworthy is eminently entitled to."

The House Committee embodied in the appendix to its report General Greely's letter of January 27, 1896, to the Senate Committee above referred to. (See Report H. R., No. 634, 54th Cong., 1st session.)

The bill, after long discussion in the House and in conference, was finally passed, and on June 3, 1896, was approved and became a law under the title: "An act to establish and provide for the maintenance of a free public library and reading-room in the District of Columbia."

Meanwhile the Washington City Free Library was undergoing a phenomenal experience. Said General Greely, in a report dated March 20, 1896, in which he asked for prompt payments of subscriptions:

"Since opening [January 6, 1896] the growth and development of the Library has been astonishing, and the applications were so numerous that the services of an assistant librarian, at an inadequate salary it may be said, were absolutely indispensable; and even then, volunteer work has been constantly necessary, as sometimes twenty people are applying for books at once. The registrations in January numbered 1,402; in February, 870; and March 1st to 18th, 477; aggregating 2,749, and representing all parts of the District. Number of books taken out in the month of January, 2,267; February, 4,921; March 1st to 18th inclusive, 4,013; making a total of 11,201 volumes loaned. The average daily circulation increased with remarkable rapidity from 114 in January, to 205 in February, and 267 March 1st to 18th. The import

of these figures is best understood when the number of books in the Library is considered, there being at the opening, January 6, 1896, 3,051; January 31, 3,725; February 29, 4,207; and March 18, 4,454. As fully 500 volumes are of a reference character, it will be seen that the issues are simply phenomenal. In two months the Washington City Free Library reached a circulation that the New York Free Circulating Library did not attain for ten months.

"As regards the Free Public Library for the District with which the collections of the Washington City Free Library will be merged whenever the former is established by the Government, it may be said that the House and the Senate having disagreed as to the details of the bill, final action is delayed pending the appointment of a conference committee by the House, and it is hoped and believed that this important legislation for the District will be perfected within a few weeks. The bill carries no appropriation, and as both Houses are agreed that under this law no expense whatever should be incurred prior to an appropriation by Congress, it is not probable that public funds will be available for the Public Library until July 1, 1897.

"Meantime the men and women who have so liberally contributed to the opening of the Washington City Free Library, and have initiated an institution that has stimulated Congress to its educational duty to the public, have every reason to be proud of the results accomplished. They must look to the continuance of their work for 1896 and 1897, by which time the Government should have entered on its duties in this respect.

"It is almost incredible to realize that the results so far accomplished indicate that over 60,000 volumes will be loaned by the Washington City Free Library during the year 1896—a result which discloses both the needs and possibilities that even the most sanguine promoters of the enterprise had never dreamed of."

The popularity of the Washington City Free Library was markedly evidenced by the citizens of the

District during "Donation Week," in April, 1896, when large and valuable contributions of books and reading matter of all kinds were made by them to the Library.

The Board of Trustees elected the following officers on July 2, 1896: President, General A. W. Greely; 1st Vice-president, Jos. K. McCammon; 2d Vice-president, S. W. Woodward; 3d Vice-president, Mrs. Phebe A. Hearst; Secretary, Miss Josephine A. Clark; Treasurer, Wm. A. DeCaindry. Rufus H. Thayer was appointed chairman of the Library Committee, and Jos. K. McCammon chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. Resolutions were unanimously adopted recognizing the services of Judge Alexander B. Hagner, retiring trustee.

General Greely, in submitting his report, said:

"The following table exhibits the growth of the Library as regards additions to the library, registered borrowers, books loaned for home reading, and those used in the inadequate quarters of the Library reading-room:

1896.	Books in Library at End Each Month.	New Books Added Each Month.	Registered Borrowers.	Books Loaned for Home Reading.	Books Read in the Reading-room.	Total No. of Volumes Loaned.
January.....	3,726	675	1,402	2,267	317	2,684
February.....	4,207	481	870	4,921	703	5,624
March.....	4,762	555	789	6,982	1,319	8,301
April.....	5,200	438	350	6,359	1,350	7,709
May	5,719	519	276	5,569	1,380	6,949
June.....	6,490	771	363	6,180	1,775	7,955
Total.....			4,050	32,278	6,844	39,222

"It seems almost incredible that 40,000 volumes should have been loaned within six months after a library of 3,151 volumes had opened its doors; but such is the record of the Washington City Free Library. It is unparalleled in the history of free libraries, and it is to be noted that the increase has been regular and unbroken. Taking into account the

usual fluctuation in the circulation throughout the year, as shown by library statistics, the circulation for June is comparatively greater than that for March, while the new registrations, the number of gifts, and the circulation for June are all greater than for either April or May.

"No volume has yet been lost, and it is evident that it would cost more to investigate the standing of applicants than to lose a book now and then under the present system, which trusts entirely to the honesty of the individual borrower.

"Arrangements are being made to foster the growth of historical and scientific literature by issuing non-fiction cards, by which a second book will be loaned provided it is not fiction. The shelves containing novels and similar literature are now thrown open to the public. Teachers are allowed to borrow six volumes at a time for use of themselves and pupils, and the librarians are always ready to suggest books suitable for special courses of reading or study.

"Small traveling libraries, each containing 30 duplicates of sound light literature, are loaned for periods of 30 days to such associations as desire to borrow them. One is now in use, and applications are under consideration from other associations. . . .

"While unfortunately the act of Congress for the creation of a municipal library for the District of Columbia carries no appropriation, yet it is gratifying to know that the Commissioners of the District realize the importance of organization and effort. The selection of a Board of Trustees for the municipal library will, it is hoped, hasten and influence the action of the Commissioners so as to result in the merging of the Washington City Free Library into the municipal institution. This is the end which the Board of Trustees of the Washington City Free Library have had steadily in view, and as they have heartily and effectively supported all efforts to secure the institution of such a library through the favorable action of Congress, so they will continue to foster and promote its growth and development.

"It is a pleasure to recognize the hearty and efficient cooperation that has been extended to me by the Trustees and

by the members of the Library Committee. They have made sacrifices of their time, effort and comfort for the promotion of this Library, and to them as a body are due the appreciative thanks of the residents of the District of Columbia for the first free library with which the capital of the nation has been favored."

In pursuance of the authority vested in them by the "Act to establish and provide for the maintenance of a free public library and reading-room in the District of Columbia," approved June 3, 1896, the Commissioners of the District of Columbia in June, 1896, appointed the board of trustees of that institution. Two members appointed to that board were members of the board of trustees of the Washington City Free Library—Messrs. Gardiner G. Hubbard and S. W. Woodward.

General Greely, early in June, 1896, drew the attention of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to the existence of the Washington City Free Library and its availability for mergence with the free municipal library when the same should be established by them under the law. A letter of General Greely of June 17 was as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., June 17, 1896.

"THE HON. COMMISSIONERS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,

"*Gentlemen:*—In connection with the establishment of the free municipal library by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia under the law passed at the recent session of Congress, I beg to invite the attention of the Commissioners to a previous communication which I had the honor to address to them on the subject of the Washington City Free Library, and to state that this latter institution was organized in 1895 by a number of public-spirited citizens, and has been maintained by them at their own expense for the free use of the residents of the District of Columbia, it being the first really free library which the public in the District has ever had. Its

stock of books consists of 6,200 volumes, all catalogued according to approved methods and ready for use; it has 4,000 registered borrowers; it is supervised by a librarian and assistants at a monthly expense of about $240. In the last five months it has circulated 35,000 volumes at no expense to those who have used them.

"The sole object of the projectors of this free Library, which has met with such phenomenal success, was to furnish free and suitable reading-matter to the residents of the District until Congress should by law direct the establishment of a municipal library to be maintained at public expense.

"I am instructed by the Board of Trustees of this Library to draw your attention to this practical plant now in operation in this city, which it is the desire of the Trustees at the proper time to merge in the municipal library when the same is organized. It is with that object in view, therefore, that I address you, with the hope that, in the incipiency of the undertaking of the establishment of the free municipal library by the Commissioners under the law, the availability of this valuable plant may not be overlooked, but that provision for its utilization and absorption may be made at as early a day as the means and facilities at the hands of the Commissioners will permit.

"Attention is also invited to the fact that the importance of the Washington City Free Library was recognized by the Committees in both Houses of Congress as shown by the reports made on the municipal library, and that the Senate amended the bill so that this Library might be merged by gift with the municipal library.

"I should be glad to learn from the Commissioners what measures can be taken by them at this time for the utilization of this Library as a part of the larger library which they are required to establish.

"I am, gentlemen, with much respect, your obedient servant,

"A. W. GREELY,

"President Washington City Free Library."

The receipt of this letter was simply acknowledged by the Commissioners at the time, but they wrote in full, under date of August 22, as follows:

"OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF
THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., August 22, 1896.

"GEN. A. W. GREELY,
President Washington City Free Library,

"*Dear Sir:*—In further reply to your esteemed favor of June 17, in which you state that you were directed by the Board of Trustees of the Washington City Free Library to draw the attention of the Commissioners to the plant now in operation in this city, and that it is the desire of the Trustees at the proper time to merge it in the municipal library when the same is organized, I have the honor to state that the Commissioners highly appreciate the action of your Board in this matter, and they are confident that the object sought to be attained by your Board can in due time be accomplished.

"The only meeting held by the Trustees of the Municipal Library was in the early part of July, and at that meeting your letter was placed in charge of the Secretary of the new Board, who has only within a day or two returned it to the Commissioners. The absence from the city of a large number of the Trustees of the new Library has prevented such consideration of the subject as would enable the Commissioners to name a date when the Library so tendered may be utilized; but construing your letter as a tender of the books and plant of the Free Library, the Commissioners gratefully accept the same, the formal delivery to be completed when the Trustees of the Municipal Library shall have been enabled to adequately provide for them in appropriate quarters.

"I have the honor to be, with great respect, yours very truly,
"JOHN W. ROSS,
"*President Board of Commissioners, D. C.*"

It was not until July 15, 1898, nearly two years after

this correspondence, that the board of trustees of the new Municipal Library took possession of the library and plant of the Washington City Free Library. The act creating the Municipal Library made no appropriation for its housing, its personnel, its fuel, lights, fitting up of rooms, furnishing or other contingent expenses. When estimates for these purposes were submitted to Congress at the ensuing session by the Commissioners, stubborn opposition developed in both houses against the payment by the Government of any portion of the expenses of the maintenance of the new Municipal Library, it being contended that the whole expense should be paid out of the revenues of the District of Columbia exclusively.

In the meantime the Washington City Free Library proceeded serenely on its way, supported entirely by voluntary contributions, and fulfilling easily and efficiently its self-appointed task of supplying free reading matter to any and all residents of the District of of Columbia.

At the annual meeting on January 5, 1897, held in the assembly hall of the George Washington University, corner of H and 15th streets, northwest, the following trustees were elected: Marcus Baker, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Rufus H. Thayer, Wm. A. DeCaindry and Carroll D. Wright.

General Greely in his annual report submitted at this meeting said:

"It is gratifying to report that the generous response of subscribers has made the collection of moneys pledged an easy matter. Contrary to the experiences of most public associations depending on private subscriptions for a series of years, the Washington City Free Library Association has found only about two per cent. of its pledges invalid.

"It cannot fail to be a source of gratification, and especially of wonder, that this Association, beginning its active

work January 6, 1896, in two small rented rooms, with only 3,151 books, mostly gifts, should in the first year circulate upwards of 100,000 volumes. No effort was made to stimulate the circulation; indeed, the small number of volumes at the beginning constrained the Board of Trustees to decline the issuance of non-fiction and teachers' cards, for fear that the ordinary demands could not be met by the stock on hand. From month to month, however, through generous friends, the number of books grew steadily, keeping pace with the registration and the demand for literature. It thus resulted that from average daily loans of 113 volumes in January, from a stock of 3,721 volumes, the issues of the Library rose almost uninterruptedly to an average of 416 volumes daily from a stock of 8,270 volumes in November. At the end of the year, much to the surprise of everyone, and not the least to the Board of Trustees, it appeared that the total use of the Library had aggregated 100,446 volumes; that the average daily circulation had been 333.7 volumes; that the number of persons registered as borrowers reached 6,666; that the number of volumes in the Library had increased to 8,531; and that there was a surplus in the Treasury sufficient to pay the expenses of the opening month of 1897.

"The demands upon the Library, unparalleled, it is believed, in the history of any other library for its first year, indicate in a striking manner the pre-existent necessity for such an institution. A few doubted the policy of starting a public library in Washington which should be absolutely free to every resident of the District, and which would be dependent for its support on private subscriptions. Others doubted whether the demands for books would be sufficient to justify the expenditure of time and money necessary for such an experiment. Nearly everyone, including your President, thought that the circulation would be fluctuating and intermittent, so that during the hot season the Library could be either closed for a month, or that its hours could be reduced and a portion of its force furloughed. No one, it may be safely said, realized to the fullest extent the intense craving for literary food in this capital city of our nation, with its

population of some 275,000, where there was not a single institution from which the general public could borrow gratuitously a volume, and where it could not even consult a library-book after 4 p. m. To the general astonishment, when the month of August came, with its extreme and long-continued heat, the number of persons registering as borrowers steadily increased, and the demand for reading-matter was so great as to tax the physical energies of the entire Library force, even when aided by volunteer assistance. The office hours from 10 a. m. to 9 p. m. remained necessarily unchanged, and the librarian found each morning a group of waiting visitors, while at 9 p. m. it was almost invariably necessary to warn out the readers.

"In connection with the proposed Municipal Free Public Library, your Board of Trustees steadily exerted their influence to bring about its establishment by law. As your representative, your President appeared before the Committees of both Houses of Congress, where he urged, orally and by letter, the establishment of such a library. The value attached to this action is shown by the reports of the District Committees of both Houses of Congress favoring the project, wherein was incorporated the letter of the President of this Association.

"As you well know, the act for the establishment of a Municipal Free Public Library eventually passed, but, unfortunately, the act carried no appropriation. The Commissioners of the District of Columbia have, however, appointed the Board of Trustees under the act, among whom are numbered two members of your Board of Trustees—Gardiner G. Hubbard and S. W. Woodward—whose generous contributions of time and money have materially advanced the interests and promoted the success of this Association.

"Recognizing the gravity of future demands upon such an institution, and believing that in matters affecting so materially the public interests there should be the most generous co-operation, initial steps have been taken to merge our collections and books into the Municipal Free Public Library at as early a date as the District Commissioners may be able to receive and care for them. . . . The action taken, it is

strongly urged, should be confirmed by the subscribers at this meeting, so that the Board of Trustees may feel that any action in this direction which they may deem timely and expedient can be taken with your pronounced approval. Should the consolidation be perfected, I request for the Municipal Library a continuance of the same material and moral aid that have made this Library so successful an element of city life.

"As any appropriation made by the present Congress for the support of the Municipal Free Public Library cannot be available before July 1, 1897, it will be necessary that subscriptions for the current year be paid by the founders of our Library, and it should be understood that gifts of money and books are necessary to meet present demands. Under existing conditions the greater part of the circulation falls upon 3,000 volumes, so that these books are loaned about four times each month, under which usage they are rapidly wearing out.

"After deliberation, the Board of Trustees based its rules as to access to books upon the belief that a reading public can be trusted. Of the 6,666 registered borrowers, in no single case have the references or statements been investigated. The outcome justifies the action: out of 100,446 volumes loaned, there have been lost only 23 volumes, or about 1 for each 4,000 volumes. Free access has been accorded the general public to every volume in the Library, and, as has been determined by an inventory just made, only 1 volume is missing. These methods have proved economical to the Library and beneficial to the public. Borrowers have made more satisfactory selections, and the Library has saved hundreds of dollars which methods of suspicion and watchfulness would have cost.

"The Board of Trustees realizes the necessity of establishing branch delivery stations, but means have been wanting. They have, however, adopted the plan of loaning as traveling libraries the best of the duplicate volumes. Of these, 130 books are now loaned under most liberal conditions to the Young Men's Christian Association and to the Workingmen's Club.

"The limited means at our disposal necessitated the strictest economy in every quarter. What can be done with little when

judiciously managed, appears when it is shown that the circulation of 100,446 volumes in the year 1896 was accomplished at an expense of $3,200, (including $960 for rent,) being less than 3.2 cents per volume.

"It is recognized that the Library which we have thus far created, although declared by one of the best judges in the country to be above the average, is not all that it should be; but it speaks well for the reading public of Washington, who have given most of the books, that it is of so good a standard. It is deficient in juvenile literature, especially for girls; and, while it is relatively strong in American history, largely through the generosity of Mrs. Phebe A. Hearst, yet it is wanting in books upon European history and foreign literature. The rooms, though admirably located for library purposes are too small and too few in number. The shelves are only adequate to accommodate the books through the fact that about 3,000 volumes are always in circulation.

"Too much praise cannot be accorded the librarian, Miss M. A. Gilkey. Able, tactful and professionally trained, she has spared neither mental application nor physical labor. She has so classified and catalogued the Library that its volumes and cards can be merged with other collections without additional labor. She has been admirably seconded in all her efforts by the assistant librarian, Mrs. A. F. Stevens. The friendly counsel to readers and lively interest in their work on the part of the librarians have most materially contributed to the successful administration of the Library. Both librarian and assistant have worked regularly over hours to such an extent as seriously to tax their health and strength. To Miss Edith S. Rogers the thanks of the Association are due for volunteer assistance that has been timely and valuable.

"The President desires to acknowledge the public-spiritedness of the Board of Trustees. Their attendance at Board meetings has been a serious tax upon the time of very busy persons, and their readiness in accepting assignments on committees and in performing any duty that would add to the efficiency of the Library has been a source of great encouragement and gratification."

The following resolution was unanimously adopted at the annual meeting of January 5, 1897:

"*Resolved,* That in the matter of merging this Library into the Free Municipal Library, the Board of Trustees are hereby authorized to take such timely and final action as its members may judge to be for the public interests."

On May 28, 1897, the Library was the recipient of a handsome gift from Mr. Andrew Carnegie, consisting of a check for $1,000.

The following statistics taken from the Librarian's annual report show the number of books used at the homes of borrowers, in the library reading-room, and in the traveling libraries, during each month of the year ending December 31, 1897:

Month.	Volumes Used in			Total.
	Homes of Borrowers.	Library Reading-room.	Traveling Libraries.	
January	10,260	1,738	260	12,258
February	10,226	1,646	260	12,132
March	11,349	1,847	260	13,456
April	10,961	1,878	260	13,099
May	10,191	1,774	260	12,225
June	9,988	1,853	260	12,101
July	9,417	1,828	300	11,545
August	9,063	1,638	300	11,001
September	9,055	1,670	390	11,115
October	10,107	1,674	390	12,171
November	10,736	1,698	390	12,824
December	9,622	1,754	430	11,806
Total	120,975	20,998	3,760	145,733

The number of volumes in the Library increased from 8,728 in January, 1897, to 11,559 in December, 1897.

General Greely, in his annual report for the year, said:

"The average number of volumes used per day is 477, so that the circulation of each month exceeds in number the total volumes in the Library."

Discussion in the House of Representatives in December, 1897, over the item of appropriation for the new Municipal Library grew warm and evoked a threat to repeal the law creating that Library. It was only after able and exhaustive argument in January, 1898, before the sub-committee of the House Committee on Appropriations, by Mr. Theodore W. Noyes, the President of the Board of Trade, and who was also President of the Board of Trustees of the Municipal Library, that the measure was carried through the House. In the Senate it also met opposition. The appropriation was ultimately made, however, but did not become available until July 1, 1898.

The final dissolution of the Washington City Free Library took place soon after the above date, as evidenced by the following letter to the Treasurer:

"July 19, 1898.

"WM. A. DECAINDRY, ESQ.,
"War Department, City.

"My dear Mr. DeCaindry:

"I dare say that you have already been advised that the Board of Trustees of the New Municipal Library took possession of the Library and the plant of the Washington City Free Library on the 15th instant, and assumed responsibility for the rent of the rooms in the McLean Building from that date.

"Mr. Noyes, the President of the Library Board, desires information as to amount of fire insurance outstanding and date of expiration. It may be that he has already seen you upon this matter.

"So far as I am informed the items above reported close the incident and conclude the duties imposed upon the Library Committee.

"General Greely, I believe, is fully advised of the above recited facts.

"Very truly yours,
"RUFUS H. THAYER,
"Chairman Library Committee."

All outstanding bills against the institution were then settled by the treasurer, and a balance of $93.86 was left on hand. This balance was carried until April 6, 1900, when, by direction of President Greely, it was donated to the Longfellow National Memorial Association, by transfer to that Association on the books of the Riggs National Bank, where it had been kept on deposit, and was used in meeting the expenses of the erection of the Longfellow statue in the triangle at the intersection of Connecticut avenue and M street, northwest.

Thus ended the career of the Washington City Free Library. It was organized in 1894–95; opened to the public January 6, 1896; and two and a half years thereafter merged into the Municipal Free Public Library, July 15, 1898. It had its inception in a desire for civic betterment of the District in the matter of free public library facilities. The organization gave freely of its money, its talents and its time in promoting and encouraging the movements to secure that end. The end attained, its mission was accomplished.

The following is a statement of receipts and disbursements on account of the Washington City Free Library, from its inception until its close:

	Receipts.	Disbursements.
Year ending December 31, 1895..	$1,949.50	$1,036.62
Year ending December 31, 1896	3,285.63	3,851.11
Year ending December 31, 1897	4,361.88	4,108.71
To July 31, 1898	1,897.37	2,404.08
Total	$11,494.38	$11,400.52
Transferred to Longfellow Memorial Association		93.86
		$11,494.38

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

By Rev. PAGE MILBURN, Ph.D.

(Read before the Society, April 16, 1912.)

That the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia antedated President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation by nine months, and that the owners were paid for their slaves by the United States Government; and that this was done by a special act of Congress are facts known to comparatively few. That the histories of the United States are silent on this subject is surprising when one considers the publicity of the act, the question involved, and the results on the nation.

Twenty years ago there was written for the historical seminar of Nebraska State University a paper entitled, "Slavery in the District of Columbia. The Policy of Congress and the Struggle for Abolition, by Mary Tremain, M.A." This excellent paper was afterwards corrected and extended, and then published in book-form. Aside from this volume there has not been found any distinct discussion of the subject.

Slavery was one of the institutions which became incorporated in our national life when the thirteen American colonies became a Federal Union. But it is a noteworthy fact that the leading statesmen did not look upon slavery as a permanent institution.

"Before the War of Independence it was the prevailing opinion among the colonists that if allowed by the mother-country to do so, the colonies would abolish slavery. In the first draft of the Declaration of Independence, His Majesty King George was charged with selfishly working injury by

refusing to allow a prohibition of slave importation." (See Anti-slavery opinions before 1800, by William F. Poole.)

Virginia after the establishment of her state-government in 1778 forbade the slave-trade. Maryland a few years afterward did the same.

"It would appear that the weight of public opinion in Maryland and Virginia was against slavery and certainly their greatest statesmen were opposed to it."

Nevertheless, with the industrial growth of the South, pro-slavery sentiment grew. The antagonism between the two parties on the subject grew more intense annually. Petitions for the abolition of slavery coming before Congress made the sectional lines very distinct.

The fight was on. Sectionalism grew more and more rabid. Abolitionists began their attack by suggesting the freedom of slaves in the District of Columbia, wherein Congress had absolute jurisdiction. The agitation began in the years 1816 and 1817. Jesse Torrey published a pamphlet, "The Portraiture of Domestic Slavery in the United States," which had wide circulation. It contained "a graphic description of the system as carried on in the District." John Randolph thereupon and presumably influenced thereby, introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives against the Slave-Trade at the National Capital. The *Philanthropist,* in 1817, advocated the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and emphasized the importance of having free soil between Maryland and Virginia. From this time Congress was bombarded with petitions, and the press thundered against slavery in the District.

But little impression was made. The pro-slavery sentiment was influential and tenacious. To abolish slavery in the District of Columbia would be a confession and a concession which would sound the death-

knell of slavery throughout the country. The question of Congressional jurisdiction and authority did not arise. On the other hand slavery-advocates conceded it, yet questioned the feasibility of the abolition at that time.

Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky (a member of Congress 1807–19; of the Senate, 1819–29; again of Congress, 1829–37; Vice-President of the United States, 1837–41), during the debate on the Missouri Compromise in 1819, said:

> "I am at a loss to conceive why gentlemen should arouse all their sympathies upon this occasion, when they permit themselves to lie dormant upon the same subject in relation to other sections of the country where their power would not be questioned. . . . To interfere with state-sovereignty upon this subject is, in my humble opinion, down-right usurpation, but in the District of Columbia containing a population of 30,000 souls, and probably as many slaves as the whole territory of Missouri, . . . the power of providing for emancipation rests with Congress alone. Why, then, Mr. President, let me ask, all this sensibility, this commiseration, this heart-rending sympathy, for the slaves of Missouri, and the cold insensibility, this eternal apathy towards the slaves of the District of Columbia?" (See Annals of Congress, 1819–1820.)

On the other hand, that astute, brave, conscientious Northern statesman, John Quincy Adams, when in 1831, he presented fifteen petitions from citizens of Pennsylvania asking for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, declared that he could not support the proposition. In spite of his personal views on the subject of slavery and especially slavery in the District, "he did not think its abolition there was desirable," and said, "he hoped the subject would not be discussed in the House." He thought that "the citizens of Pennsylvania ought not

petition in regard to the matter in the District of Columbia. It would lead to ill-will, heart-burnings and mutual hatred." (Tremain.)

The Committee taking charge of the Pennsylvania petitions, and consisting of three Congressmen from Virginia, three from Maryland and one from Pennsylvania, reported that "abolition in the District of Columbia would be unjust to Maryland and Virginia until those States themselves shall have taken action." "Moreover," said the Committee, "the present is an inauspicious time for consideration." *The Committee's request that they be excused from considering the petitions was unanimously granted.*

The steps which led to the War of 1861–65 are so familiar it is not necessary to recite them. Slavery was recognized by the South and many politicians in sympathy with the South, as a necessary economical and domestic institution. It was a part of the South's social and commercial life. To speak of its abolition was to kindle a flame of angry discussion. At the same time the Northern leaders were pressing for the extermination of what they believed was a rank injustice to millions of human beings, and a menace to the best interests of the whole nation. Press, pulpit and platform hurled anathemas against the institution, against the slave-owners, and against the officials of the government who for reasons of political expediency failed to destroy what was denominated "the sum of all villainies."

Lincoln was elected President of the United States. War ensued. Secession of the Southern States followed. The nation was in a struggle which threatened its life. In the midst of these troublous times a bill was presented in Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. This was doing by law in the

District where Congress had jurisdiction what was done nine months afterwards in the states of the South by Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

The main features of this Act of Congress were as follows:

1. Slavery and involuntary service in the District of Columbia to cease.
2. Certificates of value of slaves to be presented by *loyal* owners.
3. Three commissioners to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. They to pass on the claims and apportion money value of slaves, the average per slave not to exceed $300.
4. Money to be paid out of the United States Treasury.
5. Commissioners empowered to compel attendance of witnesses.
6. Provides for compensation of commissioners.
7. Sum not to exceed $1,000,000 appropriated to carry out provisions of the law.
8. Punishment for kidnapping.
9. A detailed record of each owner's slaves to be furnished.
10. A certificate of freedom to be given each slave.
11. Appropriation of $100,000 for colonization of slaves.
12. Repeal of all laws contrary to this Act.

The discussion over the bill was sharp. The greatest contention was over the constitutional authority of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and the right of the citizens of the District to vote on it.

Mr. Wright, of Indiana, offered a substitute for the pending bill, proposing gradual emancipation, and other features which he hoped would make Congres-

sional action less galling. Briefly, his substitute provided as follows:

Section 1.—No person not now within the District of Columbia, nor now owned by any person or persons now resident within it, nor hereafter born within it, shall ever be held in slavery in the said District.

Section 2.—No person now within said District, or now owned by any person now resident, or hereafter born within it shall ever be held in slavery without the limits of the District of Columbia. Provided that officers of the government, citizens of Southern States coming on public business and remaining so long as may be reasonably necessary for that business may be attended into and out of said District, and while here by their slaves.

Section 3.—All children born of slave-mothers within said District on or after the first day of ——— 1862, shall be free. But shall be reasonably supported and educated by the respective owners of their mothers, or by their heirs or representatives, and shall serve a reasonable service as apprentices to such owners, heirs, etc., until they respectively arrive at the age of 21, when they shall be free.

Section 4.—All persons now within the said District lawfully held as slaves or now owned by any person or persons within said District shall remain such at the will of the respective owners; provided that any such owners, etc., may at any time receive from the treasury of the United States full value of such slaves, in case of which payment the slaves shall hereafter be forever free. Provided further that the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of the Treasury be a Board to determine the value of such slaves.

Section 5.—Provided for a vote on this Act by the citizens of the District.

This measure of Mr. Wright did not however meet with much favor, and failed. We have cited its various propositions to show that there was an attempt to reconcile differences, and pass a compromise-act. But 1862 did not seem to be a good year for compromises.

When the original bill was taken from the Speaker's table on April 9, 1862, for reference, Mr. Vallandigham moved that the bill be rejected, and called for the previous question, in order to bring out the relative strength of the opposite sides of the question. His motion was lost by a vote of 45 to 93.

The day before the bill came up in the House of Representatives, the *National Republican* of Washington, D. C., the organ of the radicals, said editorially:

"Current events, which are well understood are tending to increase the number of free negroes in this District to a degree which is pronounced alarming by many persons, and which has even attracted the attention of the City fathers of Washington."

(Both Washington and Georgetown in the District of Columbia at that time had a City Council, Board of Aldermen, and Mayor elected by the citizens.)

The *Evening Star* commenting on the above quoted utterance of the *National Republican* said:

"Our contemporary suggests as a remedy the abrogation of the rule on the Washington Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road which provides 'that no negro shall enter the cars here without a bond signed by some responsible citizen that no claim to him as a runaway slave shall ever be established,' and asks, 'will not our City Government which has already taken up the subject of free negroes exert its influence to abrogate a rule which blocks the exodus of that *species of population*'" (italics ours).

Was it possible that this suggestion was to enable slaves to escape from Washington before their owners

could present them for registration and thus receive compensation for them?

The effect of the agitation of the question of Emancipation in the District was seen on the negroes outside the District. Five days before the passage of the bill, one of the Washington dailies relates that the slaves of Prince George's County, Maryland, which bounds the District of Columbia on the East and North were "running away in numbers, the most of them making their way to the City of Washington, having got the idea that they will be free here." It was reported that "from 100 to 200 slaves crossed the Eastern Branch Bridge every week. The owners were not bothering themselves much," the reporter said, "knowing that they could not stop the stampede." It was also said, that the industrious slaves were remaining on the plantations, while it was the worthless, shiftless only that were running away.

While Congress was considering the enactment of a law by which the slaves in the District of Columbia were to be emancipated, it is interesting to note that the sentiment in Washington was strongly against the measure. It was a Southern city on former Maryland soil, and adjacent to Virginia. The leading families were descendants of Maryland and Virginia stock. Except for the official circles, representing at this time the North and West (secession of the Southern States having eliminated the Southern leaders from the scene), the people were accustomed to slavery, and looked on it as a part of their inalienable right. The two leading newspapers, *The National Intelligencer* and *The Evening Star,* were opposed to the pending bill. Their editors however had to be careful not to say too much, or to speak too vehemently, for every citizen of the capital was closely watched in those days, and any

suspicion of disloyalty to the Government made it very embarrassing, and might lead to a temporary residence in the Old Capitol Prison.

The Evening Star of April 4, 1862, commenting on a criticism of the same date by *The National Republican* of Senator John Sherman's speech on the bill to emancipate slaves in the District of Columbia, said that

"Sherman mounted his hobby in order to propitiate the abolition sentiment of a portion of his constituents, while, avowing and justifying the prejudices of the latter against the policy he was sustaining as applicable to themselves,—that of enforcing negro-equality upon white men."

It also said, in view of the hopelessness of the defeat of the bill recognized by the editor:

"Under these circumstances, we take it for granted that those among us owning negroes worth more than $250, which is proposed to be paid for them from the United States Treasury will lose no time in exercising their undisputed legal right to place them beyond the reach of Congress. In every Northern State that has abolished slavery, at least nine tenths of those worth more than the amount allowed for them in so doing, that course was pursued. This is the only defence now left to the slave-holders of this District against the acts of those who are legislating to deprive them of their property without a fair equivalent, merely that they may strengthen themselves individually with abolition sentiment at home."

The editor furthermore offered objections to the bill:

"1. It would throw on the Treasury of the United States the expense of paying $500 for each slave in the District not valued by his or her owner at $250. 2. As every such slave is incapable of providing for his or her own wants, it will throw upon the citizens and other tax-payers of the District the burden which the well-abused *"black-code"* now rests on the owners of such slaves, the obligation of supporting them, numbering about 1500 in all. It will also bring hither within

the next year a population of between 50,000 and 100,000 negroes liberated by the natural contingencies of the war. 3. In so doing it will generate here at least the state of feeling on the part of our fellow-citizens toward negroes as a class existing in Ohio according to Senator Sherman, and so emphatically justified by him; and thus it will render their future condition here far worse than their present condition with slavery existing among us. 4. In a national point of view, it will stimulate abolitionism to renewed exertions against slavery in the States, and thus in fact as well as in name, postponing peace between the sections, it will cost the National Treasury hundreds of millions more than if Congress should seek to satisfy the masses of the South that it is not the purpose of the Government to interfere with slavery in the South."

The editor however in closing his editorial said:

"We are free to confess that we by no means regret the certainty that slavery is no longer to be a powerful element in the politics of the country as heretofore, which is to be one of the grand results of the War. The suffering, misery and expense of the War upon the country, North, South, East and West, has radically cured us at least, of all sympathy with pro-slavery politics. *So we shall hail with joy the advent of the day when it becomes simply the industrial element of our affairs it should be, of almost incalculable value to the industry of the whole country.*"

The opposite view of the bill was presented by *The National Republican* in an article after the passage of the Act. The editor said:

"It is immaterial that on principles of strict equity and absolute right *these slave-holders had no just claim of the wages of their slaves.* The law assumes that the equity of the claimant is not good, but at the same time, admits that there is a color of title—strengthened by time—if not a legal title which should not be destroyed without offering fair and reasonable compensation."

A contemporary writer commenting on this sentiment declared:

"If this be so, Congress was stultified in the Act of Emancipation, and the Act is a fraud upon the Treasury. There never was a balder absurdity; and the first heard of it was from a learned pundit in the Senate who discovered contrary to the judicial opinions of Marshall and Story and Baldwin and McLean that the Maryland law of 1715, which was the law for the present territory of the District of Columbia, enslaved the negro for one generation only: and consequently, that inasmuch as the laws of Maryland prior to 1800 only were operative here, slavery had a legal existence. The law of 1715 bears no such construction, and in the second place the Maryand law of 1663 which declares that 'all negroes or other slaves within the Province, and all negroes and other slaves to be hereafter imported into the Province, shall serve *durante vita,* and all children born of any negro or other slaves shall be slaves, as their fathers were, for the term of their lives,' was until the 16th of April, 1862, the law of the District of Columbia. There was no other law than these statutes, whereby slavery existed in Maryland until a law was enacted so late as 1843, we believe, establishing it in so many words. And yet the courts of that State, which inclined to freedom, always when a claim existed, never had any doubt as to the slave-holder's rights under the ancient statutes."

In further substantiation of this position the writer mentions the fact that in 1842 at the second session of the 26th Congress, when John Quincy Adams, Joshua R. Giddings, William Slade, Seth M. Gates, John Mattocks and other "sentinels of human freedom," equally watchful, if not so able, were members of the House of Representatives, a bill which became a law passed without objection in either house, allowing John Carter of Georgetown to bring a certain negro man from the state of Alabama, and hold him as a

slave in the District of Columbia the same as he was there held, and this too

"in view of the fact, if we remember right, that but for such special legislation the negro in question could not have been held as a slave here, for more than one year."

During the discussion on the bill in Congress providing for the emancipation of the slaves in the District of Columbia, members from states where slavery existed continually prodded the representatives from free-soil states with the inconsistency and lack of generosity of taking from slave-holders their legal property, legislating on matters wherein they themselves were not pecuniarily affected. Sometimes the debate became exceedingly caustic, but usually it was dignified and in good humor. One stroke of humor is worth noting. On March 26, 1862, Mr. Willard Saulsbury, of Delaware, offered in the Senate the following amendment to the bill, viz.:

"And be it further enacted, That the said persons liberated under this act shall, within thirty days after the passage of the same, be removed at the expense of the Federal Government into the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Oregon and California; and that said persons be distributed to and among said States *pro-rata* according to the population of the same."

This amendment was unanimously rejected by a vote of Yeas, 0; Nays, 35. Mr. Saulsburg evidently did not vote for his own amendment.

During the discussion of the bill in Congress, *for the first time* it was asserted in debate that

"Maryland and Virginia would not have ceded the two counties to the United States if they could have thought that

anything so perilous to their own interests as abolition in the District would be attempted."

Certain students of history have thought they have discovered the influence of the slave-holding states in fixing the national capital in Southern territory. But it is very evident that this question had little or nothing to do with the establishment of the seat of government on the Potomac. Miss Tremain in her paper has traversed this field most industriously and thoroughly, and her citations of recorded history prove beyond a question the statement made above.

To be sure there were sectional differences among the states which cropped out even in the Constitutional Congress. The question of the national capital came up August 27, 1789, when sectional pride was naturally displayed and personal convenience was an influential factor. There was a strong combination among the Northern members of Congress to settle the question among themselves. The Southern members became jealous and proposed a Southern location. According to Mr. Madison,

"Early in the session secret negotiations were set on foot among the Northern States from Pennsylvania inclusively, but failing to agree among themselves, overtures were made by the contending parties to the Southern men."

But a new and strong element entered into the controversy which finally settled the question. Alexander Hamilton was Secretary of the Treasury, and had proposed a broad and comprehensive plan of national finance, and a funding and assumption act was before Congress. The Revolutionary War had brought victory and national freedom to the American colonies, but with the victory came a heavy debt. The indebtedness of the United States including the revolutionary expenses of the several states, amounted to nearly

eighty millions of dollars. Hamilton's plan laid before Congress at the beginning of the 2d session proposed

"that the debt of the United States due to American citizens as well as the war-debt of the individual states be assumed by the general government and *that all should be fully paid.* . . . As a means of augmenting the revenues of government a duty was laid on the tonnage of merchant-ships, with a discrimination in favor of American vessels: and the customs were levied on all imported articles." (Ridpath.)

There was violent opposition to Hamilton's financial plans, but through the assistance of Thomas Jefferson, Hamilton secured the promise of the votes of White and Lee for the assumption act on condition that Hamilton would arrange with the help of Morris to have the capital permanently located on the Potomac.

This compact was carried out. The bill was passed agreeing to establish the capital for ten years at Philadelphia, and afterwards and permanently at some suitable place on the Potomac.

"The district of ten miles square was accordingly located and its lines and boundaries particularly established by a proclamation of George Washington, President of the United States on March 30, 1791, and by the act concerning the District of Columbia, approved February 27, 1801, Congress assumed complete jurisdiction over the said District, as contemplated by the framers of the Constitution."

The slave interest as such had no part in this legislation. The victory over the capital-location question, as Miss Tremain has ably shown, was really with the North. It was a victory for Hamilton's financial projects. The capital-location was a secondary question.

Two other facts are important in this connection. In the first place it is a fact that in the year 1789 and thereabout, not many of the Northern States could have offered free soil for the capital. Pennsylvania,

which proposed Philadelphia, and New Jersey, which proposed Trenton as a place for the "Federal District," were not free states. To be sure Pennsylvania by a law passed in 1780 had provided for gradual abolition of slavery, but in New Jersey the act abolishing slavery was not enacted until 1804.

"Nor were the Northern States more sincere in the hope of casting off the burden than Virginia and Maryland. It was absolutely impossible then to foresee that the system would die in the North while it thrived in the South. Except possibly in South Carolina and Georgia slavery no where was looked upon as a permanent institution. There was no desire to foster it. Hence the question could not have determined or influenced the selection of the Capital site." (Tremain.)

That the question of Maryland and Virginia's interest in slavery was in any way related to the subject of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia was an afterthought is clearly shown by the remark of James Buchanan, who when in the Senate declared

"that slavery in the District of Columbia could not be abolished without doing violence to Maryland and Virginia, slaveholding states that ceded the territory."

It was in 1836, when Buchanan gave utterance to this sentiment. It was in connection with a memorial of some Pennsylvania Quakers which he had presented, and which asked for the abolition of slavery in the District. A motion was made to receive the memorial. Buchanan wanted it to go to a committee, hoping that thereby it might be buried. In his speech on the motion he said there were four classes of senators.

"1. Those who believe that to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia would be a violation of the Constitution of the United States.

"2. Those who although they may not believe that the subject is constitutionally beyond the control of Congress, yet

think that the acts of cession from Maryland and Virginia to the United States forbid us to act upon the subject.

"3. Those who do not believe that the subject is placed beyond the power of Congress either by the Constitution or by the compacts of cession, yet are as firmly opposed to granting the prayer of the petition, whilst slavery continues to exist in Maryland and Virginia as if they held both these opinions.

"4. The fourth class, and probably not the least numerous, are opposed to the agitation of the question, under existing circumstances, and will vote against the abolition of slavery in this District at the present moment, but would be unwilling to give any vote which might pledge them for the future. Here are the elements of discord."

He concluded his speech thus:

"If the spirit of abolition has become so extensive and so formidable as some gentlemen suppose, we might justly be alarmed for the existence of this Union. Comparatively speaking, I believe it to be weak and powerless, though it is noisy. Without excitement got up here or elsewhere, which may continue its existence for some time longer, it will pass away in a short period, like the other excitements which have disturbed the public mind, and are now almost forgotten."

This speech was delivered on January 19, 1836.

Without anticipating the exposition of the views of Abraham Lincoln on the subject of slavery, and especially in regard to its abolition in the District of Columbia, it is interesting to note that only a few weeks or months at the farthest after Buchanan's strange prophecy, in 1837, Abraham Lincoln and Dan Stone presented a protest to the House of Representatives of the State of Illinois (which was read and ordered to be spread upon the journal) in which

"they declared that they believed that the Congress of the United States had no power under the Constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different states;

that they believed that the Congress has the power under the Constitution to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but that the power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of the said District."

The bill providing for the emancipation of the slaves in the District of Columbia was finally passed by Congress on April 12, 1862. On the 16th day of April, President Lincoln signed it and returned it to Congress with a brief message. Among other things he said:

"I have never doubted the constitutional authority of Congress to abolish slavery in this District, and I have ever desired to see the national capital freed from the institution in some satisfactory way. Hence there has never been in my mind any question upon the subject, except the one of expediency, arising in view of all the circumstances."

We are satisfied that while Mr. Lincoln signed the bill, he was not perfectly satisfied with it.

That Abraham Lincoln did not believe in slavery is true. That he came to Washington to abolish at any cost the institution of slavery in the United States is not true. His one aim was to save the Union. His famous letter to Horace Greeley in August, 1862, is emphatic on this point. The restoration of peace between the North and the South, and the maintenance of the National Union were of greater importance to him than the question of slavery.

He was only 27 years old when he joined his colleague from Sangamon County in the Illinois Legislature in the protest referred to above.

On December 13, 1848, Mr. Palfrey, of Massachusetts, asked leave to introduce into the National House of Representatives a bill repealing all laws sustaining slavery in the District of Columbia. Abraham Lincoln, then a member of the House from Illinois (at the age of 39 years), objected,

"not believing in the expediency of abolishing slavery in the District without compensation to slave-owners."

On January 16, 1849, Mr. Lincoln introduced in the House of Representatives a bill providing for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, in which the principle of full compensation was reserved, and *the right of the inhabitants to vote on the measure asserted.*

In his discussion with Douglas, speaking at Quincy, Illinois, on October 18, 1858, Mr. Lincoln said:

"We (Republicans) have a due regard to the actual presence of slavery among us, and the difficulty of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way, and all the constitutional obligations thrown around it. I suppose that we have no right to at all disturb it in the States where it exists, and we profess that we have no more inclination to disturb it than we have the right to do it.

"We go further than that: we don't propose to disturb it where in one instance we think the Constitution would permit us. We think the Constitution would permit us to disturb it in the District of Columbia. Still we do not propose to do that, unless it should be on terms which I don't suppose the nation is likely soon to agree to,—the terms of making emancipation gradual and by compensating the unwilling owners."

In his first inaugural address, March 4, 1861, he said:

"Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that by the accession of a Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There never has been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that 'I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution

of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.' Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them."

He then read a resolution adopted by the Convention which nominated him, declaring,

"that the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its judgment exclusively, is essential to the balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend."

And added:

"I now reiterate these sentiments; and, in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the new incoming administration."

Thus it is clearly shown that to abolish slavery was not Lincoln's chief concern. He would administer the law as it was then on the statute-books. He would, if he could, preserve the Union.

The effect of the passage of the bill providing for the emancipation of slaves in the District of Columbia was of a varied nature. There was no great jubilation in the Capital itself. The *National Republican* was exuberant, but the *Evening Star* said nothing, although it did comment on the *National Intelligencer* as follows:

"The *Intelligencer* comments upon the passage of the District Emancipation bill, and adverts to the alarm and apprehension with which this Act will inspire the slave-Border States."

The Washington papers, though expressing their

sentiments very sparsely, did not fail to quote from other sources everything which would tend to prejudice the public mind against the anti-slavery movement.

One paper, for example, inserted a paragraph from the *Rochester (N. Y.) Union* of April 26, 1862, as follows:

"INFLUX OF CONTRABANDS. Just about these days there seems to be quite an influx of strange colored persons in our city. Each is telling some large story about his escape from slavery and his sufferings. These persons come here expecting to be taken care of by 'white folks,' and disappointed in that expectation, resort to means for a living not countenanced in this community. Two or three of the species were before the police magistrate this morning, and were summarily disposed of by sending them to the penitentiary. They are only placed where they can earn a living, and not sponge it out of citizens."

A few weeks after the Emancipation bill was made a law by Lincoln's signature, the following appeared in the *Washington Evening Star:*

"At a recent session of the New England Anti-Slavery Society at Boston, Wendell Phillips called Mr. Lincoln a lick-spittle, General McLellan a traitor, and General Halleck a fool."

Some idea of the intensity of feeling against the freed negro and the jealous watchfulness of the white people is furnished by the following extract from the Washington correspondence to the *New York Herald.*

"A great deal of astonishment and indignation is expressed here on the discovery that a section was smuggled into the act supplementary to the act for the release of certain persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia which places the negro upon an equality with a white man in the courts of justice here.

"The section alluded to provides that in all judicial proceedings in the District of Columbia there shall be no exclusion of any witness on account of color.

"Even in Ohio where there are few negroes, in conferring upon them the right to testify in the courts, it was decreed that their testimony should go to the jury for only what it was worth. The sudden elevation of the negro just emancipated to an equality with white men in the Capital of the nation is regarded as something worse than an error of judgment."

That there was great rejoicing among the negroes of the District of course goes without saying. At this day their solemn declarations make interesting reading.

A few days after President Lincoln signed the bill making free many who hitherto had been slaves, the colored people of the District held a convention in the colored Presbyterian Church, and passed the following resolutions:

"1. Resolved, That we return our most devout thanks to Almighty God, who in his great wisdom and mercy has governed and controlled the current events of time, so as to bring to us of this District that dearest of all earthly treasures—Freedom. And that we first offer to Him the true homage of our grateful hearts for this sacred and invaluable blessing.

"2. Resolved, That by our industry, energy, moral deportment and character, we will prove ourselves worthy of the confidence reposed in us in making us free men.

"3. Resolved, That to the citizens of the District of Columbia we give our sincere assurance that as in the past we have as a people been orderly and law abiding, so in the future we shall strive with might and main, to be in every way worthy of the glorious privileges which have now been conferred upon us.

"4. Resolved, ' . . . a resolution of heartfelt and enduring

thanks to Congress, to President Lincoln and to our friends generally.'

"5. A resolution fixing Thursday May 1, 1862, as a day of thanksgiving and directing that these resolutions be read in every colored congregation, Sunday, April 27, 1862."

On April 16, 1862, when Mr. Lincoln sent his message to Congress approving the bill, he nominated as the Commissioners to carry out the provisions of the Act, three well-known citizens of the District, viz.: Samuel F. Vinton, Daniel R. Goodloe and James G. Berrett. They were promptly confirmed by the Senate. But changes took place in the personnel of the Commission. Mr. Berrett declined to serve and within a month after his confirmation Mr. Vinton died. Horatio King was chosen for Mr. Berrett's place, and John M. Brodhead to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Vinton.

William R. Woodward, a member of the Washington Bar, a neighbor and personal friend of Secretary of the Treasury, S. P. Chase, was selected for the responsible position of Clerk to the Commissioner. Upon him devolved very much of the important work of the Commission.

According to the census of 1860, there were in the District of Columbia 11,141 free negroes and 3,185 slaves. Of the latter number about 3,100 were reported to the Commission, paid for and freed. The amount of money expended by the Commission was $993,406.35.

On April 28, notice was issued that the Commissioners would hold sessions in the City Hall, Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays of each week and directing that

"all loyal persons should within 90 days after the passage of the Act, i. e before July 15, present statements in writing, and sworn to, setting forth the number, ages, names, &c. of slaves owned and for whom recompense was to be paid."

The time was afterwards extended to August 15.

The story of the work of this Commission is very interesting reading. How to value the slaves as they were reported was a difficult task. The price of slaves in the District had fluctuated considerably since the beginning of the Civil War. People were unwilling to buy as long as the passage of soldiers through the city rendered easy the escape of the slaves.

The Commissioners decided to take

"the last scale of current prices which had had any existence, viz.: that which ruled immediately prior to the rebellion." (See *National Intelligencer,* June 23, 1862.)

"To aid them in the appraisement of the slaves the Commissioners have summoned an extensive dealer from Baltimore who has at their request brought with him his accounts of purchases for a number of years past" (ibid.).

On June 16, 1862, there was published in Washington dailies a detailed list of the petitioners' names, the number of slaves with their names and their values, followed by the following notice signed by the Clerk:

"All persons having knowledge of any facts going to show that the claims are in any respect ill-founded are requested to submit the same for the consideration of the Commissioners."

The largest number of slaves claimed by any one citizen was sixty-eight; the next highest was thirty-three; another claimed twenty-six, from which figure the claims gradually fell to a single servant.

The highest price claimed for any one servant was two thousand dollars, the alleged value of *Sarah Johnson,* owned by William Nailor; of *John Brooks,* owned by William Thomas Carroll; of *William Brown,* owned by James M. Wright, and of *Jane,* owned by Matt H. Stevens.

This chapter in American history is strange reading to the present generation which at the distance of fifty years cannot understand how men and women were legally owned by citizens of the United States, and had their quoted market prices as have cattle, stocks, bonds, etc., nowadays.

The Commissioners completed their work on August 16, 1862, and made their report.

[For the report of the Commission vide "38th Congress, 1st session, House of Representatives, Ex. Doc. No. 42.]

THE ERECTION OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

By MRS. ABBY GUNN BAKER.

(Read before the Society, November 19, 1912.)

To obtain an at all adequate grasp of the story of the erection of the White House, and incidentally of all of the public buildings of the national capital—the story must be fitted to the time, the place and the conditions which then existed. It will easily be recalled that in the days of our colonial history the Congresses were uncertain bodies with no permanent place of meeting. It was Benjamin Franklin who made what was probably the first suggestion for a permanent Federal Union, the plan of which was laid before a Congress assembled at Albany in 1754 for renewing an alliance with the tribes of American Indians known as the Six Nations. Eleven years afterward, upon the news that the English Parliament had passed the Stamp Act, a Congress of nine of the colonies met at New York to take action thereon.

In 1774 occurred the first meeting of that body which subsequently became known as the Continental Congress, which convened at Philadelphia. It met there again the year following, but in the fiery days of the Revolution it was constantly on the wing. In December, 1776, when the British came into Philadelphia it fled to Baltimore. The following March it returned to Philadelphia, but in September, when some drunken soldiers broke in on its deliberations, it hurried away and for three days sat at Lancaster and from there went to York, Pennsylvania, for the winter. The next summer it was meeting again at Philadel-

phia, but once more the soldiers appeared and then it held its sessions successively at Princeton, Annapolis, and Trenton. Then in January, 1785, it went to New York City, where it finally died a natural death in 1788 and where the Federal Congress was born March 4, 1789. This hasty glance recalls for us the migratory meeting places of the Congresses of our forefathers and it was of course this condition which accentuated the need of a permanent seat of government. The subject had been discussed so thoroughly, both in and out of Congress, that when the Constitutional Convention met in May, 1787, it was one of the first matters which came up for consideration and was one of the first subjects embodied in that magna charta of our republic—the Constitution. Article 1, Section 8 reads:

> [Congress shall] "Exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of Government of the United States."

Soon afterward, the states of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland passed laws transferring to the United States exclusive jurisdiction over any district within their respective states which Congress might choose for the seat of government, and at the first session of the Federal Congress which met in New York, March 4, 1789, the subject of the site of the permanent seat speedily became a burning issue. The Eastern members of the body united under a resolution offered by Mr. Benjamin Goodhue, of Massachusetts, on September 3, 1789, designating

> "some convenient place on the East bank of the river Susquehanna in the State of Pennsylvania and that until the

necessary buildings be erected for the purpose the seat of Government ought to continue at the City of New York." The Southern members rallied to the resolution offered by Mr. Richard Bland Lee, of Virginia.

"That a place as nearly central as a convenient communication with the Atlantic Ocean and an easy access to the Western Territory will permit, ought to be selected and established as the permanent seat of Government of the United States."

To them of course "the place as nearly central" meant upon the banks of the Potomac river. The debate ran for many months and became acrimonious in the extreme.

An interesting bit of history which Jefferson relates in his diary fits in here so perfectly that although it is well remembered it will bear repeating briefly: It will be recalled that the Revolutionary War left many States burdened with debt. An effort, called the "Act of the Assumption," had been made to have Congress assume the payment of these debts on the ground that the money had been spent for the general demand caused by the war and should be paid from the general treasury. It produced a white heat of feeling, so much so that all legislation was stopped—the settlement of the permanent seat of government with other matters—and the fear was openly expressed that the Union would go to pieces over the question.

It was just at this time that Jefferson arrived from his mission in France to take up his duties as Secretary of State. One morning soon after his return he was on his way to see President Washington when he met the Secretary of Treasury, Hamilton, near the executive mansion, who drew him to one side and in the strongest terms laid the case before him. In his diary Jefferson records that he told Hamilton he

though it impossible that reasonable men consulting together coolly could fail by mutual sacrifices of opinion to form a compromise when so great an issue was at stake as the preservation of the Union. He believed if the contending leaders could be brought together where they could discuss matters dispassionately, a compromise could be effected, and he invited Hamilton to bring some of the leaders to his house for a dinner the night following. Jefferson also invited three or four of his friends. At the dinner the opposing factions were gathered and a compromise was accomplished. By its agreement the two men who favored the Potomac location, White and Lee (but White, Jefferson says, with a revulsion of stomach almost convulsive), agreed to change their votes against the Assumption Act.

On his side, Hamilton promised he would, with the help of Robert Morris, turn enough votes in Congress to secure the Potomac site for the permanent seat of government, a promise which he made good soon thereafter, as it will be recalled that on the 9th of July, 1790, by a vote of 32 to 29 in the House and 14 to 12 in the Senate, the bill for the present site became a law. As a pacifier to Pennsylvania it was provided that Congress should meet in Philadelphia during the ten years interim from 1790 to 1800, while the capitol and other public buildings were being erected.

While this "bit of history," as to how the votes were secured, is doubtless true, yet from start to finish all through those years when the subject of the seat of government was being discussed the Father of his Country, the farseeing, immortal Washington, was the indisputable, dominating force which eventually brought the national capital to its southern site, and certainly with no selfish ulterior motives. The terri-

tory contiguous to Georgetown or Alexandria was about as centrally located as any elsewhere within the Thirteen Original States, the Potomac was a navigable stream within communicable distance of the Atlantic, and Washington fully expected to connect it with the "Great Western Territory" by an elaborate system of canals. With all his heart he believed what he wrote in one of his letters of this period in which he said,

> "From the advantages given it by nature and its proximity to a rich interior country and the Western territory, the Federal City will become the Emporium of the United States."

Believing this, he designed the government on a plan for which coming centuries must still do him honor.

The Act establishing the seat of government empowered the President to appoint three commissioners who were to survey, purchase, or accept such quantity of land within the said district "as the President shall deem proper for the use of the United States and according to such plans as he shall approve."

The Act provided, further, that

> "prior to the first Monday in December next [1790] all officers attached to the seat of Government of the United States shall be removed to, and until the said first Monday in December, 1800, shall remain at the city of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania."

The commissioners appointed by the President were empowered to have complete control of the federal territory and the erection of the public buildings during this ten years interim. As can be seen this Act of Congress gave Washington almost unlimited jurisdiction in all affairs pertaining to the new capital. The proviso made for the Commissioners to accept grants of money was inserted in order to make available the $72,000 which the legislature of Maryland had

voted in her cession of land for the federal district and the $120,000 donated by the State of Virginia, money which was most imperatively needed and which enabled the constructive work to start.

It will be recalled that Washington named as the first Commissioners, 2d of April, 1791, three tried friends, of whose efficiency he had personal knowledge—comrades of the Revolution—General Thomas Johnson, the first governor of the State of Maryland; David Stuart, who had married the widow (Eleanor Calvert Custis) of John Park Custis, Martha Washington's son; and Daniel Carroll of Marlboro', the wealthy Maryland landowner. Soon afterward Washington appointed the surveyors L'Enfant and Ellicott, and the latter part of March, just before he started on the memorable trip he took through the Southland that spring (1791), he came in person to see what progress was being made in the new federal district. He stopped at Suter's Tavern in Georgetown on March 28th where he examined the surveys of L'Enfant and Ellicott and the next day went on horseback, with them and the three Commissioners, over the property which was to be secured for the seat of government. He met the nineteen original landowners during the day and that evening had them meet him at his hotel, where he closed the bargain with them for their lands. Of this transaction he wrote in full to the Secretary of State, Jefferson, from Mount Vernon March 31, 1791. In the letter he said:

"Having been so fortunate as to reconcile the contending interests of Georgetown and Carrollsburg, and to unite them in such an agreement as permits the public purpose to be carried into effect on an extensive and proper scale, I have the pleasure to transmit to you the enclosed proclamation which, after annexing the seal of the United States and your counter signature you will cause to be published.

"The terms entered into by me on the part of the United States, with the landholders of Georgetown and Carrollsburg are, all the land from Rock Creek along the river to the Eastern Branch, and so upwards to or above the Ferry, including a breadth of about one and one-half miles, the whole containing from three to five thousand acres, is ceded to the Public on condition, that, when the whole shall be surveyed and laid off as a city (which Major L' Enfant is now directed to do), the present proprietors shall retain every other lot, and for such part of the land as may be taken for public use, for squares, walks, and so forth, they shall be allowed at the rate of twenty-five pounds per acre, the public having the right to reserve such parts of the wood on the land as may be thought necessary to be perserved for ornament, the landholders to have the use and profits of all the grounds until the city is laid off into lots and sale is made of those lots, which, by this agreement, becomes public property. Nothing is to be allowed for the ground which may be occupied as streets or alleys.

"To these considerations all the principal landholders, except the purchaser of Slater's property, who was not present, has subscribed, and it is not doubted that the few who were not present will readily come into the measure, even the obstinate Mr. Burns."

The bargain which Washington made with the landowners that evening at the Suter Hotel was supposed by all parties at that time to be mutually advantageous and while subsequent events did not prove it the bonanza which the landowners expected, yet it gave to the American people their beautiful national capital. With the details of this transaction in his mind, it is not surprising that L'Enfant had the courage to lay out the sightly reservations, the broad streets, and the magnificent avenues which still make the chief beauty of our Federal City.

What a transformation the ten years of preparation for the new seat of government made in the federal

territory, "the ten miles square"! For several years it has been the writer's good fortune to make a serious study of our colonial and subsequent history, particularly in reference to the District of Columbia, searching many of the original papers in the archives of the government and also in the libraries of Philadelphia, New York and Boston, and in consequence the scenes of the ten years' activities in the federal territory between 1790 and 1800 have become a vivid reality to the mind's eye.

When the ceded territory was surveyed and laid out in town "lotts" all of the land from the mouth of the Eastern Branch to Georgetown, aside from the little settlement on the Eastern Branch known as Carrollsburgh and another one at the east of Observatory Hill called Funkstown but which later became Hamburgh,—was either covered with the forest primeval or occupied by thrify farms of growing tobacco or corn. Just imagine the excitement there must have been when these, mostly shrewd, well-to-do, landowners, and farmers knew that the United States Government was to be the purchaser and that their own lands were to be the site of the capital of the nation! No wonder that they thought that they could give the land for the streets and avenues and contribute every other city lot advantageously.

One of the Senate Reports of this period contains the statement that

> "During the first six years the government was at Washington there prevailed, not only in this country but all over Europe a degree of enthusiasm bordering on madness, respecting the future destinies of this metropolis."

Seemingly the "madness" dated even earlier than those six years, but it can be put down for a certainty that it was not long before transpiring events were

occurring at the new seat which must have frozen the enthusiasm of the Commissioners at least! Think of the difficulties which confronted them during those ten years. A decade later when the young town had become a reality and the public buildings were in a degree habitable Abigail Adams had termed it "the wilderness," what the chaos of that wilderness must have been while the buildings were in process of erection, and the task it laid on those underpaid Commissioners can scarcely be exaggerated. It was bricks without straw and the Commissioners needed not only all the enthusiasm they could muster but grit as well.

By the 8th of September, 1791, the surveys had progressed so favorably that Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, and "Honorable Madison" attended the Commissioners in conference and it is recorded in their report that day that it was decided

"to name the streets of the Federal City alphabetically one way and numerically the other from the Capitol, and that the name of the City and Territory shall be the City of Washington and the Territory of Columbia."

The record closes with the statement,

"The printers throughout the United States are requested to insert the above in their papers."

Washington's modesty in regard to this honor is most noticeable. It is said that he was never heard to call the capital by any other name than "The Federal City," nor in all of his papers which have been preserved can a single instance be found in which he referred to it in any other term.*

* There is one instance known to the Committee on Publication. In his diary for October 9, 1799, General Washington gave himself the pleasure of using his own name for the Federal City just once before he died. He writes:

"Col. [John] Walker & Mr. [Hugh] Nelson [who had arrived at Mount Vernon on the 4th] set out for the City of Washington after breakfast."

In October, 1791, a letter is written to Mr. Ellicott by the Commissioners instructing him to proceed to lay off directly a number of "Lotts" immediately around and fronting the square on which the President's house and capital are to be built. On the first Monday of that month Major L'Enfant is directed to employ one hundred and fifty laborers to throw up clay at the proposed sites of the President's house and the house of Congress. The next item in the records of particular interest to us notes that

"on the 16th day of November, 1791, L'Enfant on behalf of the Public hath rented from John Gibson for ten years to commence on the 10th day of next month, all quarries of freestone on the land on Aquaia Creek at a yearly rental of Twenty pounds current money to be paid to the said John Gibson on the first day of December in every year."

I can see that momentous transaction, can't you, in the stately white buildings of the President's house and the capitol to-day? And I can see also all the labor it involved—no steam nor electrical apparatus to quarry the needed free stone—the inaccessibility of the location, and no railroads! The miles the stone must be transported through the rains of summer and the snows of winter and the fathomless mud of country roads! And then the scarcity of all labor, an evil that was ever present with them from the day the first shovel of earth was turned until the last shingle was laid.

On November 25, 1791, the Commissioners' records had this notation,

"Received a letter from the Secretary of State [Thomas Jefferson] suggesting the expediency of laying out the squares and lotts on the avenue from the President's house to the Capitol."

The "avenue" only existed on paper then and for a

long time afterward, but the engraved plat of the new capital was made,—though poor L'Enfant who had made it would not deliver it over to the Commissioners and thus brought on the controversy which terminated in his dismissal,—and it was sent broadcast through the new States and Europe. It was hailed with delight wherever it went and the work making the plan it embodied a reality was pushed as rapidly as the conditions at the new seat of government would permit.

By March, 1792, the preliminary work had progressed so far that the Commissioners ordered an advertisement published in the principal towns of the United States offering

"A premium of five hundred dollars or a medal of that value to the person, who before the 15th of the following July, should produce to them the first approved plan, if adopted by them, for a President's House. On the 16th of July it was recorded that the President of the United States with the Commissioners examined the several plans for the Capitol and the Palace which had been forwarded agreeably to advertisements of the 14th of March."

On the 17th, the examinations were continued and the premium for the best plan of a President's house was awarded to Mr. James Hoban of Charleston, South Carolina. It is also noted

"that as the plan for a President's house by John Collins appeared to the Commissioners to be Scientific and the second in merit, one hundred and fifty dollars is ordered drawn on the Treasury as a token of their sense of the merit of his essay."

Two days later, it is recorded, that James Hoban is entitled to the reward published and

"Chuses a Gold Medal of eight or ten guineas the Balance in Money."

A little further on Hoban's duties to superintend the execution of his plans of the "Palace" are defined and the records add:

"He is to find himself and to receive three hundred Guineas a year."

Then how these records buzz with the activities of the times! The new superintendent rushes into his work with such zest that on Saturday, the 13th of the following October, 1792, the corner stone of the "President's palace,"—it is always termed "palace" during those early days,—is in readiness and is laid with Masonic ceremonies, "with befitting pomp and a large concourse of people," though unfortunately the one who was most desired could not be there, the revered President Washington.

All that winter Mr. Hoban was getting his plans under way and by the next summer the foundation walls were in and the building operations in full swing. The labor question was a serious problem during all the ten years,—labor was always scarce and prices were never settled. Advertisements were inserted "in the principal papers of the United States" repeatedly calling for laborers of all kinds. At one of the meetings of the Commissioners soon after the public buildings were begun it was resolved to hire

"Good labouring negros by the year, the masters cloathing them well and finding each a blanket, the Commissioners finding them provisions and paying twenty-one pounds a year wages, the payments to be made quarterly or half yearly. If the negroes absent themselves a week or more such time to be deducted."

This venture must have proven successful, for the next year the Commissioners are again advertising,

"Wanted at the city of Washington a number of Slaves to

labor in the Brick Yards, Stone quarries, &c, for which generous wages will þe given. Also Sawyers to Saw by the hundred or on wages by the month or year."

Later on, as the work advances, we find the Commissioners sending to Europe for mechanics, advancing them thirty shillings sterling and paying their passage money (there were no laws prohibiting contract labor in those days!). "At present," the record runs, "stone cutters and good masons have 4/6 and 5 Sterling for every actual working day." And then as though to repudiate some accusation which had been made to the contrary the record continues,

"There is no other idea of considering the mechanics in any other light than the Respectable of the country. They will draw one half of their wages weekly and the other half to be retained till the advanced and passage money is satisfied. Stone Cutters in different branches are the Most Wanted."

(There were no set regulations as to either spelling, punctuation, or capitalization to the various scribes who filled the office of secretary to the Commissioners during those early years!)

To add to the thickening labor difficulties there are no houses, and no place provided for the laborers to live. Such entries as the following appear frequently:

"Henry Barnes, a Carpenter and a Sawyer was allowed to erect a temporary building for himself and family near the president's palace to follow his trade."

Beside housing labor those resourceful Commissioners had to see that provisions were supplied. "Captain Munroe," the secretary of the Commission, "is requested to provide for the sustenance of the hands plentifully on the best terms he can," the records note at another time, and from the repeated references to the matter the poor Captain's task was not a sinecure. Here's a sample:

"Middleton Belt agrees to deliver at the public Buildings three days in the week or oftener if required one and one fourth pounds of Beef for each Labourer in public Employment,—estimated to be about one hundred and eighty,—said Beef to be delivered on such days as shall be appointed by the Commissioners and an equal number of fore and hind Quarters the Beef to be of good quality, well Butchered also to be delivered in good condition."

A later note adds that Belt was to be paid five pence per pound once a month but owing to his straightened need 100$ (with the dollar mark following the figures) was advanced to him. This matter of raising the price of the first contract seems not to have been unusual. The following is not exceptional:

"In Consideration of the rise of flesh and Provisions Mr. Brent has had no profit on the May Rations, he is therefore to be allowed thirteen Pence Virginia Currency per ration for the June July & August ration."

The "pence," the "shilling," the "pound," "sterling" and the different states' currencies are encountered very often in the early records of the Commissioners, but in July, 1795, this entry appears:

"All Accounts of the Board since the first of July 1795 shall be kept in Dollars and Cents and reduced to Dollars and Cents by the Paymaster before their allowance by the Board and all books and Assessments relating to the affairs of the City shall be kept in Dollars and Cents."

Which was of course a proper recognition of the new United States treasury.

Sickness among the laborers was another difficulty which beset the work and one of Washington's first suggestions to the Commissioners was that a temporary hospital should be built for the accommodation of the sick. He closed his suggestion with the remark that he did not think the hospital should be located "in

the bosom of the city." It was probably expected to erect it in some such desirable locality, for presently Mr. Hoban is requested to remove the materials collected for building the hospital "from the place they now lie to Judiciary Square and erect the Hospital there." It evidently was not built on that spot either, for later in the records Hoban is directed to build it on some public ground convenient to a good spring and that such a location was found for it is demonstrated in the fact that in September, 1794, the records note that

"Captain Williams is requested to purchase for the use of the Sick in the Hospital twelve Blankets, roles of bedding, Porrengers and pots and also fresh provisions Rice sugar and vinegar as may be occasionally wanted."

Later still in the records Dr. Frederick May is spoken of as having succeeded Dr. Brown as physician in charge. In her charming letters Mrs. Margaret Bayard Smith refers to Dr. May, calling him "Our Physician, an amiable, handsome young man."

Despite the labor difficulties and other drawbacks the work at the permanent seat of government progressed favorably as long as the money held out which had been granted by the states of Virginia and Maryland, but in 1793 it was keenly realized that if the original plan (the sale of city property to meet the expenses as they accrued) were to be carried into effect many more "Lotts" must be disposed of than as yet had found purchasers. This need is pressing, but a reference to it is made so unconsciously, in the old records, that it is impossible not to smile over it. It reads:

"The corner stone of the Capitol building will be laid on the 18th of September, 1793, when the Commissioners invite the Brotherhood of the Craft the Masons however dispersed to join the work. The Solemnity is Expected to Equal the

Occasion. The preceding Day the Sale of the Lotts in the City commences The Inhabitants on both sides of the Potomack will attend to their Interests—theirs and That of the Union are the same. The first story of the Hotel is expected to be up by that time and the Lottery for that Elegant Building will be then. drawing numbers are expected from the Extreame parts of the Continent and if Nature Beauty and Solidity can please they will be gratified The Inhabitants of the City of Washington are Remarkably healthy."

A seeming incongruity of subjects surely, but if we will but remember the financial burdens those Commissioners were bearing we can readily understand that in their minds the solemnity of the occasion undoubtedly demanded a large Sale of City Lotts and that the healthfulness of the new seat should not be overlooked!

The need of money to prosecute the work on the public buildings and to lay out the new city grew increasingly pressing, and the money increasingly hard to secure. Washington, and Congress with him, had believed in the beginning of the enterprise that before the appropriations from the states of Virginia and Maryland were exhausted the sale of city lots would provide all funds needed. When the work at the new seat of government was commenced Washington advocated selling the lots to individual purchasers only, believing that if the greater part of them could be held until after the removal of Congress and the offices to the seat of government the property would then command so much better prices as to easily liquidate all expenses which had been entailed. When it was found, however, that the property was not commanding the sales expected and that the need for money to carry on the work was imperative he consented to the large real estate transaction in which Messrs. Morris and Greenleaf subsequently figured so disastrously.

Among the State Papers in the Library of Congress I found the following letter from the Commissioners of 1801, Thornton, White and Cranch, to President Adams, which contained such a clear review of this situation and of the difficulties encountered during the ten years the new seat was building that I have copied from it freely. The letter was dated January 28, 1801:

"No sale of lotts (in the city of Washington) took place deserving attention until December 23rd, 1793, when a contract was made with Robert Morris and James Greenleaf for the sale of six thousand lotts at $80 a lott, payable in seven annual installments without interest, commencing May 1, 1794, and with the condition of building twenty brick houses annually, two stories high, and covering twelve square feet each. With the further condition that they, Morris and Greenleaf, should not sell any lotts until the 1 of January 1796 and on condition of erecting on every third lott one such house within four years from time of sale. John Nicholson was afterwards taken into partnership and the terms of the agreement somewhat changed. . . . Notwithstanding the favorable prospect which this transaction for a time afforded, the scene soon changed. The purchasers not only failed to pay the installments which became due May, 1795, but early in that year discontinued the buildings which they had commenced under their contract, and on which very little progress has since been made" (1801).

The failure of Morris and Greenleaf blackened the prospect of the new capital in every way and the scarcity of money drove the Commissioners with an appeal to Congress; the letter continues:

"It was therefore decided to solicit the patronage of Congress which was done in 1796 by a memorial from the Commissioners stating the affairs of the federal seat in as clear a light as the circumstances would then admit and suggesting a loan bottomed on the city property and guarantied by Congress if that property should prove deficient. Congress ap-

proved and authorized a loan of $300,000. It is needless to detail the fruitless attempts which were made to fill this loan with actual specie. The only loan which could be obtained was $200,000 in United States six per cent stock at par, from the State of Maryland and for which the Commissioners were obliged in addition to the guaranty of Congress to give bonds in their individual capacities agreeable to the resolutions of the Assembly of that state passed in the years 1796–1797. With the interest and sales that had to be made only the nett sum of $130,873.41 remained applicable to the use of the public. . . . On the 23rd of February, 1798, the Commissioners transmitted by the hands of the President to the Congress a second memorial and Congress authorized the Treasurer of the United States to advance $100,000 which was declared to be in full of the sums previously guarantied. Outstanding debts for the lotts could not be collected and it became evident that the several objects considered as necessary previous to the removal of Government could not be accomplished with the means at the disposal of the Commissioners and so on December 23, 1799, a $50,000 loan of the stock of the United States at six per cent interest per annum was obtained from the state of Maryland on condition that the Commissioners would give such real and personal security as the Governor and Council should approve for the payment of the principal sum by the 1st of November 1802 and the punctual payment of the interest quarterly."

This $50,000 carried building operations through and until after the removal of Congress to the permanent seat of government, but it is most interesting to note in this connection that William Thornton and Gustavus Scott with Uriah Forrest and James M. Lingan "entered into bond" with the State of Maryland for the payment of the $50,000 and interest. Forrest executed a mortgage on four hundred acres of his own land and all of the unpledged property in the city of Washington was held as security for the loan, yet the "nett" sum realized was only $40,488.96. Mrs.

Thornton in her quaint and interesting diary makes a striking reference to this incident. She writes on Friday, 28th of February, 1800:

"Mr. Scott (one of the Commissioners) sent word that Gen'l Forrest and Lingan were at his house so Dr. T. and Mr. Munroe (Capt. Munroe, Sec. of the Com.) went up about one o'clock. The two gentlemen are to be security with the Commissioners for the governor and Council of Maryland for the loan obtained from the State and they had appointed today to meet to prepare the necessary papers to send to Annapolis by Mr. Wm. Brent one of the Commissioner's clerks."

She adds that, it's a bad day, rain and sleet and snow, but that Dr. T. and Mr. Munroe went out in it to attend to this necessary business.

Under such circumstances it is not surprising to find in the old records of the Bureau of Public Buildings and Grounds letters from the Commissioners to Mr. Hoban and Mr. Hadfield in which they say:

"The present situation of our funds rendered it impossible to pay the time Roll due yesterday. The roll shall be preferred to quarterly salaries or any other demands except small debts due to Labourers. If with these prospects the general persons employed will continue at the buildings it will be highly agreeable to us and we hope the Sale for the 8th inst. may enable us to discharge their claims."

At another time they wrote Washington (of whose sympathy they were always sure):

"In no winter since the commencement of the City has more been done with so little means. Hitherto all have been paid or quieted, and if a speedy supply could be obtained, our poverty tho' strongly suspected could not be certainly known. No persons entitled to annual salaries have during the winter asked for more than very partial payment, few have asked for any, All look forward with anxious solicitude for the

long hoped for guaranty and if it comes at last, it will not be the less joyfully received because so long delayed."

The need for money became so pressing that in March, 1798, Mr. Alexander White, one of the later Commissioners, went over to Philadelphia to labor personally with Congress in behalf of the sadly needed appropriation to finish the buildings. He writes:

"I am still more concerned to find the prospects here so gloomy. Some wish this house (the Capitol) to be the permanent one, some wish a temporary building for the Presidents. Those who wish to finish the President's House talk of making a Judiciary of it and allege that the Seat of Justice would be as advantageous to the adjacent proprietors as the residence of the President. Others propose making the Presidents' House the residence of Congress and too many on both sides are of the opinion that only one of these houses should for the present be finished and that any money granted should be appropriated by the act to finish the one which might be preferred."

Unfortunately Congress was not only slow in making appropriations but was correspondingly free in its public utterances of disapproval of the new federal city and the building operations under way there. New York and Philadelphia, as well as cities in other sections of the thirteen states, never ceased to make inducements for the permanent seat to be changed in their favor and this helped to waken a feeling of uncertainty in the public mind, which, as the years passed and the financial difficulties increased, almost became a settled conviction that the Potomac site would not be the permanent seat of government. The public buildings, the Commissioners, Mr. Hoban, and the architects of the capitol were constantly criticized on the floors of Congress and this added fuel to the flame of uncertainty. The direst prophecies were made that the

buildings would never be completed,—repeatedly it was suggested that the work on the capitol should be discontinued until the future ages, when a structure of such size and magnificence would be needed, and times without number it was reiterated that the President's House was of sufficient magnitude and should be completed for the use of Congress. At session after session it was suggested that but one wing of the capitol should be built, and that the President's House should be finished for the executive offices,—that it could be used for the Treasury Department, for the War, the Navy, or the Judiciary. In that case, it was argued, a hired house would answer for the President's residence. This kind of criticisms continued almost up to the time the departments were moved to Washington, and of course almost hopelessly handicapped the sale of the new city's "lotts."

This naturally caused many delays. In March, 1799, they are hurrying Mr. George Andrews, of Baltimore, who had the contract to furnish the ornaments in composition work for the President's house. Again they are writing about the mahogany for the floors and certain doors. Then there is an angry letter from a Peter Lenox, in which he tells the Commissioners that he understands that one Clephane is trying to saddle the carpenters with his neglect for not painting the works in the President's house and goes into detail to tell them the things that are still lacking—and they are a discouraging number. When the Secretary of the Navy writes the Commissioners in February, 1800, that the lease on the President's house in Philadelphia expires in the following June and that President Adams wishes to move his furniture and come to Washington himself, they are in despair and reply that while the materials for finishing the house were being

laid in and there were about twenty carpenters employed on it

"We do not believe it will be possible to prepare the building for the reception of the President until October or November next. The plaster and paint must have time to dry. We can, however, at any time, lodge very safely, his furniture and no attention on our part shall be wanting to hurry on the work as fast as possibly consistent with the faithful and substantial execution."

Everything was rushing by mid-summer. President Adams sent down the furniture from the President's House in Philadelphia when the lease on it expired in June and came himself for a few days. But he did not put up at the unfinished President's house, he went to a tavern. Mrs. Thornton says on Wednesday, June 4th:

"The president came bye about three o'clock Dr. T. had a horse got ready and with some other Gentlemen accompanied him to the Capitol. He stopt first at his house and the Treasury office. He travels in a chariot and four, and is going to Lodge at Tunnicliffe's Tavern on Capitol Hill."

He couldn't have "lodged" at "his" house if he had wanted to for everything was in such an unfinished state there.

The last few months before Congress moved to Washington, 1799–1800, the work on both the capitol and President's House was rushed to the utmost, but there were many things which could not be rushed in those days. In January, 1800, the Commissioners wrote Mr. Stoddart, the Secretary of the Navy, who lived in Georgetown and who probably had a greater interest in the Federal City in consequence than his colleagues, in answer to his inquiry as to the progress of the buildings:

"the glass and hardware necessary for the President's House were written for to London early last fall and are expected early in the Spring. We expect the carpenters will close their business at the Capitol in one month from this day and we then intend removing the whole of them to the President's House for his accommodation."

But the hardware and glass from London were delayed and so were other materials. It had been planned to put in marble chimney pieces but that was curtailed—though more from want of money than from want of time. In March, 1800, the Commissioners direct that for both the President's House and the capitol "for the present" the chimney pieces shall be made of wood "in a plain neat manner" with a view that in time marble or stone might replace them.

The "President's palace" was of great interest; probably about everybody living in the District or who came to the Capital during those days visited it, as well as the other public buildings. You recall how repeatedly Mrs. Thornton refers to taking visitors to see the President's House and the capitol and Mrs. Margaret Bayard Smith in her delightful letters tells of doing the same thing. It is evident there was a rush of visitors, for in the old records I found this note, dated 20 October, 1800,

"Thomas Claxton writes the Commissioners to say that the crowds of people who constantly frequent the President's House interrupt the upholsterers etc who are exerting every nerve to prepare for the reception of the president that I am under the disagreeable necessity of begging you to stop all intercourse for a few days."

You all recall Abigail Adams' often quoted letter telling of the condition of the President's House when she reached Washington in November, 1800, and in which she told of using the great unfinished audience

room, the East one, for a drying place in which to hang up the clothes and in which letter she also says,

"To assist us in this great castle and render less assistance necessary, bells are wholly wanting not one single one being hung through the whole house and promises are all you can obtain. This is so great an inconvenience that I know not what to do nor how to do. We have not the least fence, yard or other convenience without. But no comparisons—if they will put me up some bells and let me have wood enough to keep up fires I design to be pleased."

Remembering this letter I was most interested one day to run across a lengthy correspondence about these very missing bells in the old records of the Bureau. On October 28, 1800, the Commissioners wrote to Mr. William Herbert

"We are very desirous of having eight or ten Bells hung in the President's House during the present week and understanding that there are some articles in this line in Alexandria we beg the favor of you to use your Influence with the one you think best to come up immediately with eight or ten of his best bells and all the material necessary for hanging them."

They evidently sent the letter by carrier, expecting the bell hanger to come immediately, but they were disappointed for on the 30th they wrote Thomas Fenton, bell hanger of Baltimore, that they were very desirous of having ten or twelve bells immediately "at the President's House and begg the favor of you to come down immediately with the necessary bells, etc., so that they may be hung the first of next week."

Again it is evident that they did not succeed and that the Baltimore hanger disappointed them also, for on November 7th (Mrs. Adams arrived on Sunday, the 16th) the Commissioners write a letter to Mr. Shaw,

the President's Secretary, manifestly in answer to one he has written them.

"We received your card of the 4th inst. relative to the necessity of hanging bells in the President's House. We were well aware of the want of them and endeavored to supply it by an application to a bell hanger in Baltimore who died suddenly and we were under necessity of engaging another who is now employed in preparing Materials and will commence his operations on Monday next."

But he certainly did not commence his operations on the next Monday for on November 21st—the very day on which Abigail Adams wrote the second letter wailing her want of bells!—the Commissioners are writing another Baltimore firm, Messrs. Harrison and Maynadier,

"the bearer Mr. Clark goes to your City to procure Bells and Materials for hanging them for the President's House. We beg the favor of you to aid him in procuring these articles."

No success there either and this must have so discouraged the Commissioners that the subject is not mentioned again in the records until the 12th of March, 1801. Then they write Mr. William Blodgett, an active and useful citizen of Washington who happened to be in Philadelphia, that they have heard of a superior construction for a water-closet and they wish him to examine it as they wish two of them for the President's House and they add,

"We beg you also to inquire if a good skillful bell-hanger can be induced to come here to hang about a dozen bells in the President's House and at what price with and without the materials."

Some time in April and more than a month after poor Mrs. Adams' Régime in the President's House had closed the bells must have been hung, for the last entry

I found concerning them is a letter to Mr. Blodgett dated 27th of March, 1801, and runs,

"We are much obliged to you for your attention to the inquiries we requested you to make concerning the bell hanger and materials. We shall thank you to engage Mr. Hedderly to come down as soon as possible and to bring with him materials of the best quality for 12 Bells. We agree to pay the Price he fixes and pay the expenses expressed in his estimate though the whole taken together we conceive to be high."

The difficulty of putting the bells in the President's House was but one of the many which were encountered as the time drew near for Congress to move to the new seat of government. There were so many things to be done to make the President's House presentable and the halls of Congress habitable! Mrs. Adams wrote that there was not "the least fence" about the place, but it was not because there had been no effort to have one put up. Mr. Stoddert had written the Commissioners in February asking if a garden could not be laid out in the President's yard and a wall put up around the grounds. Mrs. Thornton makes the following reference to Mr. Stoddert's request:

"Thursday 20th. (March 1800) Fine clear moderate day. After breakfast we walked with D^{r}. T—— to the ground behind the President's House which he is going to have inclosed & laid out for a garden—it is at present in great confusion, having on it old brick kilns, pits to contain Water used by the brick makers, rubbish &c &c.—The Comms^{rs} have agreed to have a few hands employed on this, & D^{r}. T—— is going to direct it, for he says, if he does not undertake it, it will not be done at all. Which I would let it be.—Found old Mr. King there surveying."

In referring to the garden a little later in her diary Mrs. Thornton says, "this is a difficult work, without they have large funds to make everything accord with

the Building." It was indeed difficult work, difficult from the fact that they not only did not have the money "to make it in accord with the Building" but only a limited time also before the seat was to be ready for Congress. All of the buildings were in an unfinished state that summer and all of them crowded with the workmen's paraphernalia. At the President's House in addition to the brick kilns which were near it many of the laborers had their temporary living quarters, and when the commissioners tried to move them to make the grounds presentable for Mrs. Adams' coming they encountered objections to which they had to give heed. Here is a letter from the laborers recorded in full in the old records:

"*Gentlemen Commissioners:* You cannot be ignorant of the utter Impossibility of Procuring houses for the Married or Lodgings for the Unmarried Carpenters employed at the President's House, Should you intention of removing the Buildings they at present Occupy be carried into effect. At this advance season such Men as are able to build must use every Exertion to prepare for the day they are to remove. Consequently the men will be all employed either for themselves or their friends and the President's House remain unfinished."

Further in the letter the men offer to rent their houses,

"but if you persevere in taking the houses down we shall every man leave the employ on the return of this bearer by whom we shall expect your answer in writing. Signed by the Carpenters at the President's House."

With his condition it is not surprising that the garden nor the wall did not become a reality until December, 1801, when by a note in the Commissioners' records we learn that Peter Lenox is asked to "view" the fence around the President's house, "to report the

number of panels in it and if it is completed in a workmanlike manner."

From the beginning there had always been difficulty in laying out the streets of the new city. That little paragraph which the magnanimity of Washington allowed to be inserted in the contract with the nineteen original landowners that they could have the use of their lands until the actual transfer of the "Lotts" had taken place accounts for much of the trouble. The farmers continued to raise their crops where the new streets were to be cut through and it was, of course, a continuous cause of friction. Several of the frequent letters which the Commissioners had to write to Mr. David Burnes were in regard to the growing crops of corn which for two years in succession he insisted on raising on the ground which had been laid out to include part of Pennsylvania Avenue, and in their last letter to him they very politely informed him that if he "does not begin the work of removal the next day the Commissioners will start their own workmen at it."

A year or two after Congress had moved to the permanent seat of government Mr. John Cotton Smith, member from Connecticut, wrote scornfully of the condition in which Congress found the new city. Said he

> "No buildings, no roads, except a road with two buildings on each side of it called New Jersey Avenue. The Pennsylvania Avenue leading as *laid down on paper* from the Capitol to the Presidential Mansion was nearly the whole distance a deep morass covered with alder bushes—which were cut through the width of the intended avenue during this winter."

There certainly was more than a morass of alder bushes on Pennsylvania Avenue even before the time of which Mr. Smith wrote. Probably he did not expect posterity to take his letter literally for, as the history

of that time shows, there was not only a "paved footway" but also a "carriageway" cut through Pennsylvania avenue that first winter. The records in the Bureau of Public and Grounds contain copies of the letters which the Commissioners wrote during the previous spring and summer inquiring the price of paving "of both foot and carriage ways" at Philadelphia, Baltimore and Alexandria. (Think of Alexandria's cobblestones!) By September 3rd the pavement was under way, for they write to the contractor advising him

"that the footway should be built on the South side of the Avenue and for him to avoid the ancient water course running where the carriage-way was first proposed,—to make the carriage-way as much within the bounds of the old one as possible."

And that the residents of Washington were quite proud of it is seen in the reference Mrs. Smith makes of the new avenue, and Mrs. Thornton also. Mrs. Thornton wrote on the 31st of May, 1800:

"We walked to Pennsylvania Avenue to see what is done toward the pavement, there is to be a footway of common foundation stone and a road thrown up with ditches to carry off the water,"

then after a dash she adds, "This is only to be a temporary work."

Nor is it true that the houses were so few and far between at the new seat of government in 1800 as the Honorable John Cotton Smith would have us think. In the old records of the Bureau of Public Buildings I found one day a page of the Commissioners' minutes which was headed HOUSES IN A HABITABLE STATE IN THE CITY OF WASHINGTON 15 MAY 1800, and then followed the items: "Brick 109," "Wood 263," "Unfinished Brick 79," "Wood 35." A little lower on the page a

note had been added some time later, "Proposed Houses Nov. 1801 Brick 16: Wood 6." So Mr. Smith must have been mistaken when he wrote "No buildings but two on the road called New Jersey Avenue."

The President's House was still unfinished when Congress arrived in December, 1800, and Mrs. Adams undoubtedly had many inconveniences. She tells us that six rooms in the President's House were "made comfortable." "Two are occupied by the President and Mr. Shaw" (the President's Secretary), "two lower rooms, one for a common parlor, and one for a levee room. Up stairs," she adds, "there is the oval room, which is designed for the drawing room and has the crimson furniture in it. It is a very handsome room now but when completed it will be beautiful." The other room she does not designate but it was probably the "President's bed chamber" which had caused the decorators so much anxiety.

It will have to be acknowledged that the President's House was not altogether in order and ready when the "Government" arrived to take up its abode in its permanent seat, but when we begin to read of the delightful dinners and suppers, the "levees" and "routs" which so soon thereafter became the vogue in Mr. Jefferson's administration, under the sway of his beautiful daughters and the charming Mrs. Madison, we cannot but believe that even in the unfinished state of the "palace" and of the city, those gay and happy forebears of ours found Washington, as we their descendants find it to-day, altogether lovely!

DR. WILLIAM B. MAGRUDER.

By ROBT. H. HARKNESS.

(Read before the Society, December 17, 1912.)

The history of a life that was actuated by high purposes and filled with good deeds, is inspiring, stimulating, elevating, a matter of fellow-human pride and satisfaction; and when such a life has been within our own personal observation, it is a duty and a pleasure to place on record our recollections and the results of our investigations about it, both as a memorial tribute and as a lesson and incentive.

In the present instance the performance of that duty has been a labor of love; and the pleasure has been marred only by the author's conscious inability to do his subject full justice.

In many of the older families of the District of Columbia the memory of Dr. William B. Magruder is still green and will be cherished for generations to come. To his surviving friends this short history, however unworthy of its subject, will give great pleasure, and many of the incidents here recorded will recall dozens of similar and, perhaps, more interesting ones about him.

Capt. Thomas J. Zuttrell, not long before his death, uttered a sentiment held by many others, when he said that there had been, and could be, but one William B. Magruder.

And one of the most intimate friends the Doctor had in his last years, declared that the statements herein contained are not as strongly drawn as they might be.

Dr. Wm. B. Magruder,
[From an old photograph.]

The Magruder family has been prominent in Maryland since colonial times, and is of Scotch origin. The name occurs frequently in the early annals of Georgetown, D. C. It is a modification of the name MacGregor.

Dr. William B. Magruder's father, James Alexander Magruder, resided, at the time of the Doctor's birth, near Marlborough, Md., but became, not long afterward, a resident of Georgetown, D. C.

The maiden name of the Doctor's mother was Millicent Beans, and the Doctor was named after her brother, Dr. William Beans, a very prominent physician, who used to ride around the neighborhood of Marlborough, Md., a century ago with his coach-and-four.

Dr. Beans was an intimate friend of Francis Scott Key and they were prisoners together on one of the ships of the British fleet during the bombardment of Fort McHenry in the war of 1812; on which occasion Key wrote "The Star-Spangled Banner" while sitting on the deck with a barrel for his desk.

Another interesting fact about Dr. Beans is that on December 14, 1799, he wrote in his bible (which was in the possession of Col. James A. Magruder at the time of his death in 1897) a memorandum stating that "this day my dear friend Gen. George Washington died."

Dr. William Beans Magruder was born in Marlborough, Md., February 11, 1810. His childhood and youth were spent in Georgetown, D. C., where he received his academic education.

Among his instructors were the Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, who afterwards became celebrated as a pulpit orator, and Rev. James Carnahan, afterwards president of Princeton College. These are the only facts now known as to his childhood and youth.

He studied medicine first with Dr. Benjamin S. Bohrer, at Georgetown, D. C., and in 1831 he graduated at the University of Maryland Medical School at Baltimore, his thesis on that occasion having for its subject "Hydrophobia."

The following physicians then composed the faculty of that school, their names having been furnished me by Dr. J. Edwin Michael, dean of the faculty in 1894: John Beale Davidge, Nathaniel Potter, Elisha DeButts, Samuel Baker, Richard Wilmot Hall, Maxwell McDowell, Nathan Rino Smith, John Doane Wells, J. T. Ducatel and Elisha Giddings, all of them eminent in their profession. One of them, Dr. Nathan Rino Smith, became one of the most noted surgeons of the nineteenth century and lived to very old age, dying July 3, 1887.

After his graduation Dr. Magruder studied the practical drug-business under Dr. Ridgeley, who founded the drug store on Pennsylvania avenue near Twentieth street, still known to many as Ridgeley's drug store; and Dr. Magruder used to say that no physician's education was complete without such experience.

He began the practice of his profession in Georgetown, D. C., shortly after his graduation.

In the year 1832 the memorable cholera epidemic visited the District of Columbia, and Dr. William B. Magruder was placed in charge of the Western Hospital in Washington city by a call of the citizens.

One of the Doctor's old friends, Mr. Joseph Rollins, identified a quaint old brick house numbered 1826 "M" street, N.W., as the old Western Hospital. Another, Mr. Frederic Schneider, contended that, while house numbered 1826 "M" street was used as a hospital during the cholera epidemic, the Western Hospi-

tal was out farther towards Kalorama and was afterwards destroyed by fire.

But whether he was located at one or the other place, or at both, is not of much consequence. Wherever it was, he there showed that he was a brave, good man, and a born doctor.

He was but twenty-one years old, and yet he remained and did his duty when the other doctors of the neighborhood had fled. And he not only prescribed for the patients, but he staid in the hospital and helped to nurse them, all the while making a study of the disease. And whenever his great frame was overcome with fatigue, he would actually lie down on the beds beside the sufferers to rest and sleep. He made a record there as a very successful cholera doctor, and a still higher place in the respect and affection of the community.

He then settled in Washington city, where he resided almost continuously until the time of his death.

Not long after the cholera epidemic had come and gone, Captain (subsequently Colonel) John James Abert invited Dr. Magruder to accompany him as surgeon and secretary on an expedition to the South on business relating to Indians,—either to Florida to quell an outbreak, or to Tennessee to remove the Creek Indians to Arkansas.

Capt. Abert had assisted in nursing the patients at the cholera hospital and had formed a very high opinion of the brave young doctor.

The invitation was accepted.

The cholera broke out among the Indians; and Dr. Magruder was so successful in treating them that they considered him as almost divine.

He afterwards went to Cincinnati, Ohio, during a cholera epidemic, and helped to take care of the victims. He worked very hard there, and was himself attacked

by the disease. When he suspected that he himself was going to take the cholera, he went to Newport, Ky., to the home of his friend, Mrs. Col. Taylor, who nursed him through his illness according to directions he wrote out for her before he took to his bed.

Returning to Washington, he settled down to general practice again, locating in the old First Ward, his residence then being on the north side of "I" street, just east of Twentieth street. He afterwards moved one square west of that location, and subsequently to the south side of Pennsylvania avenue just west of Twenty-first street (the house is now numbered 2106), where he continued to reside until his death.

He was married twice. His first wife was Miss Elizabeth Hutchinson, of Washington city. His second wife was Miss Sarah Van Wyck, of Tennessee.

Notwithstanding his reputation and popularity consequent on his heroic conduct during the cholera epidemic, there was still, in some quarters, a little hesitancy in employing his as a general practitioner on account of his youth.

During this period an old lady summoned him to attend her sister, but when he arrived at the house, she would not admit him to the patient's room, but wished him to diagnose the case from her description of the symptoms. He told her that if he could not see the patient, he would not prescribe, and forthwith left the house.

The field he was entering had been but recently vacated through the death of an old and popular physician, Dr. Thomas Sim (father of Mrs. Commodore Forrest).

A continued display of the independence, professional zeal and ability of which he had already shown himself possessed, established him before very long in

the entire confidence of the community; and in a few years he had become, and until his death he remained, the most popular physician and citizen in the District of Columbia.

There is no calling, not even excepting that of the clergy, that engages the affection of the people to the extent enjoyed by the medical profession, especially as represented by the family physician. It is a very poor doctor indeed who has not some patients who maintain that in him is concentrated the very essence of the healing art and all the manly virtues. But when, to the favor the doctor enjoys on account of his profession, are added unusual physical, temperamental, and intellectual attributes, and an unselfish, generous, self-sacrificing disposition, the rare individual possessing them rises without effort to the heights of popular esteem.

Dr. William B. Magruder was a man of very large and well-proportioned frame, erect, noble carriage, and handsome features. In his younger days he was of very boyish appearance, but as years went by his aspect became very imposing, and he would be singled out anywhere as one of God's masterpieces and a leader among men. And not only was he large in stature; but all his faculties were planned on the same liberal scale. His intellect was massive, and, like a complete library, was stored with knowledge of many kinds. And his heart was so large that it had room for all God's creatures, especially God's poor.

It is impossible to speak of his goodness of heart in anything like adequate terms without seeming extravagant to those who never knew him. He was as nearly absolutely unselfish as an uninspired mortal could be, and his heart overflowed with kindness like a spring of water. No one could look at his beaming counte-

nance without getting into a good humor, and a little time spent in his company was a treat long to be remembered.

As his various talents and abilities unfolded and developed, he afforded his friends and admirers fresh reasons for wonderment, and some of them came to believe he could turn his mind and hand to anything.

The first few years of his residence in Washington seem to have been devoted exclusively to his profession. Then, when everyone had become convinced that he was a good doctor, and going to be a great one, his influence began to be felt in politics, and it was not long before he was being elected to the City Councils, and was attracting the attention of the community to his career in his new rôle of legislator, in which he showed consummate ability as a debater and orator. Had he been in a community of great political importance, and devoted his talents to the attainment of political laurels, there is no doubt that he would have been able to attain the highest honors in the gift of the people.

Dr. William Tindall has kindly furnished the following list of public offices held by Dr. William B. Magruder:

1835, Member of Board of Health.
1836, Member of Board of Health.
1837, Member of Board of Health and Common Council, 1st Ward.
1838, Member of Board of Health.
1839, Member of Board of Health and Common Council, 1st Ward.
1840, Member of Board of Health and Common Council, 1st Ward.
1841, Member of Board of Health.
1842, Member of Board of Health.
1843, Member of Board of Health and Board of Aldermen, 1st Ward.

1844, Member of Board of Health and Board of Aldermen, 1st Ward.
1845–6–7, Member of Aldermen, 1st Ward.
1850 to 1856, inc., Member of Board of Aldermen, 1st Ward.
1857 to 1858, Mayor of the City of Washington.
1860 to 1863, Member of Board of Aldermen, 1st Ward.

He was also on the Board of Trustees of the Public Schools from 1838 to 1844 inclusive.

It will thus be seen that he held office almost continuously from the year 1835 (when he was 25 years old) until the year 1863, a period of twenty-eight years; and that he served three terms in the Common Council, sixteen terms in the Board of Aldermen, ten terms in the Board of Health, and one term as Mayor.

When he settled here in 1832, Washington city was a great straggling village with but gloomy prospect of fulfilling the elaborate design upon which it had been founded. The experience of the real estate speculators had discouraged settlement and investment, and there was little here to make the place a promising field for the seeker after wealth or political honors. The place seemed to have already come to old age and decrepitude.

He, on the contrary, was a superb specimen of abounding virility. It is said that he was so large at that time, and increasing in weight so fast, that he had to starve himself to keep his flesh down.

The question naturally occurs, why did he remain in a place so apparently unsuited to his abilities? The answer is plain when his record is considered. He simply desired the life of a quiet citizen and physician; and such honors as came to him, he accepted, but did not strain after. And it was the same in regard to money. He cared nothing for it. He took what came to him and let the rest go. But if love is golden, then

he was a millionaire; and, when he died, he carried his wealth with him.

The same spirit that actuated him during the cholera epidemic, prompted him to acts of kindness and self-sacrifice for his patients during all his subsequent practice. One lady, who lived to a good old age and raised a large family, always considered that she once owed her life to the fact that, one night, away back in the "thirties," when she was passing the crisis of a dreadful illness, and her case seemed hopeless, he staid all night with her husband and helped nurse her. To all appearances life was gone, and for hours their task appeared to be without result; but when morning came they had fanned the faint spark of life into flame again.

She said he was one of the most patient and considerate of nurses. He was once watching at night at the bedside of a delirious patient. She asked for a cup of tea. He was alone for the time with her; so he bustled around in his elephantine way, and, after much trouble, brewed a cup of the desired beverage. The patient tossed it to the floor. Without saying a word, or manifesting the least irritation, he made another cup and took care that she drank it.

His tenderness and benignity were proven in a beautiful way by the love and confidence with which he always inspired even very young children. Shortly before his death he told a friend that no child had ever refused to come to his arms.

He was one of those happily constituted people who are always equal to any emergency and never at a loss what to do.

If the proper remedies and appliances were not available for the necessary treatment, he would contrive to supply their places with whatever happened to be at hand.

In a case of drowning* at Easby's shipyard (26th and D streets, N.W.), Dr. Magruder arrived on the scene just after the young man had been taken from the water and was being subjected to the old-time treatment of rolling on a barrel. Noticing a large pile of sand nearby which was scorching hot from the sun's rays, he ordered the body to be laid upon and covered with it. In a short time the heat of the sand was communicated to the body, circulation was resumed, and the man was restored to life.

He used to tell the following story as though it was a great joke on himself, and it found its way into the "Editor's Drawer" of *Harper's Magazine.* He was called to a little village to attend a man who had swallowed some sulphuric acid. He prescribed magnesia; but, there being no drug store in the place, it could not be obtained; and he was compelled to administer saleratus as the most convenient substitute. Directly the Doctor was horrified to see the man's body swelling rapidly, and to hear him complain of a burning heat in his stomach. The patient was apparently in the very throes of dissolution. The Doctor was thoroughly frightened but consoled himself with the reflection that the first prescription had been for the true antidote. But, at last, fortunately, vomiting ensued; and as the mingled acid and saleratus met the air, a violent effervescence took place. When the patient saw the bubbling mass, he turned to the Doctor, and, with a queer expression of pain and wonder, gasped: "Doctor, I knew it was hot, but I did not think it would boil."

A prominent judge of the local bench was stricken with apoplexy. Dr. Magruder and other physicians were summoned. All but he decided that nothing

* Related by Mr. Thos. F. Harkness.

could be done. He proposed bleeding. The others hooted at the idea of its doing any good; and after a short dispute, he offered to bet hats that it would save the patient. As the others considered the case hopeless anyhow, they took the bet. The operation was performed and was successful, and Dr. Magruder wore his new hat in triumph.

His mere visits to the sick room seemed to do as much good as medicine. Many of his old patients say that his very presence brought a feeling of relief. Often they would wait and suffer in severe illness for several days rather than have another physician.

His manner in the sick-room was very characteristic. Sometimes he would sit by the bed and listen to the patient's long tale of woe; only answering with a grunt or a peculiar sniff, all the while glancing over a newspaper or a book, if any were near. At other times he would wander around the room inspecting its contents in a leisurely way, inquiring the history of any picture or piece of furniture that struck his fancy, or, perhaps, setting the clock. If he was tired, he would sit and doze a little while; and then, rousing himself, he would dash off a prescription, give his directions, and depart.

Then again, if the conditions were favorable, and he in the humor (and he usually was), he would sit with the patient's whole family around him, telling and listening to jokes and yarns, until they all, even the patient, almost forgot there was anybody sick in the house.

His prescriptions were always written in a plain, clear hand. A prominent druggist who was familiar with them, pronounced them models of simplicity and directness. The same druggist related that there was a family over in Virginia who still (in 1894) came to his pharmacy to have one of Dr. Magruder's prescrip-

tions filled, and who always spoke of the Doctor in terms of affection and admiration.

Dr. Magruder possessed in a high degree that keen perception and intuition which are recorded as characteristic of Boerhaave, Nelaton, John Warren, and many other celebrated physicians, and was frequently observing the patient critically while apparently engaged in some other way.

His jovial disposition showed itself in all his intercourse and nobody could tell when to expect one of his pranks. Sometimes he would gravely tell a patient to eat nothing until he saw him again; and they would not see each other again for weeks perhaps.

Sometimes a patient would tell him how much good certain pills had done him, and be surprised and disgusted to have the Doctor tell him they were nothing but bread.

He could, by a seemingly casual joke or remark, set a patient laughing, or rouse his spirits into a state of hopefulness, and send him spinning on the way to health.

At a meeting of the Doctor's masonic lodge, a subject was once under consideration of such absorbing interest that the discussion of it became quite violent. In the midst of it the Doctor and another gentleman, who was an undertaker, were both clamoring for the floor at the same time. The Doctor silenced his competitor, and brought down the lodge, by raising his stentorian voice and shouting "Hold on, Brother! Hold on! the doctor should always precede the undertaker!"

Another little anecdote which he told about himself, and which found its way into *Harper's Magazine,* was, that he was once trying to persuade a little boy to take a dose of castor-oil, and was expatiating on its sweet-

ness. The little skeptic delighted the Doctor beyond measure by asking "Well then, if it is so good, why don't you take some yourself?"

He once took it into his head to wrap his buffalo carriage-robe around his face and shoulders and walk into his stable just to see what his horse would do. The horse, to get away, apparently, tried to climb up into the loft, and the experiment came to an abrupt, but satisfactory, conclusion.

At a picnic of the Union Guards out at the "Cedars," north of Kalorama, in Dr. Magruder's younger days, two of his friends tried, in a friendly tussle, to throw him, one of his opponents being almost as large a man as the Doctor. One, Mr. Random, a powerful blacksmith, he threw some distance from him; the other, Mr. Joseph Rollins, he landed among the lower branches of a cedar tree.

But it would be doing Doctor Magruder great injustice to leave the impression that he was of a frivolous nature. These things just related about him were merely the ripples on the lake. Deep down in his great being were the clear, full springs from which welled his love for God and for his fellowman; and when those depths were stirred, his thoughts and words were sublime.

On one well-remembered occasion, while he was sitting with a patient's family, the conversation suggested to him Leigh Hunt's "Abou Ben Adhem and the Angel," and he recited it in full; and as its pious sentiments rolled majestically from his lips, with all the feeling of personal application, his hearers were thrilled; and as they remember him now they have no doubt that his name was already written in the great "book of gold"; for the ever dominating characteristic of his life was his love for his fellowman.

It was once my privilege to see a quaint old scrap-book that had belonged to the Doctor's sister Sarah. It was full of selections in prose and verse, written and printed, many of them being of a highly moral and spiritual nature; and among them was the poem just referred to copied in a girlish hand.

At the time when Charlotte Elliott's celebrated hymn, "Just as I am Without One Plea," was first published, Dr. Magruder heard a clergyman repeat it in church; and after service his fine memory enabled him to delightedly repeat it entire very nearly as he had heard it from the pulpit.

His sister-in-law, Mrs. James A. Magruder, used often to say of him that "he had the kindest, tenderest heart, that ever man had, and just lived to do for those in distress, especially women and children."

In my reading of medical biography it has been with pleasure that I have found that most of those who have risen the highest in the profession have been noted for their tenderness of heart. The great Boerhaave, a prince in the profession, was one of the kindliest and gentlest and most pious of men. Dr. Joseph Hartshorne would have to pause and weep before entering the cell of his insane friend; and Monsieur Nelaton, the surgeon of Napoleon Third, would be so evercome by the sufferings of an afflicted child that tears would rain down his cheeks; and many cases like these could be cited.

Dr. Magruder had no false professional pride, and was not a professional pedant. He was never known to rave over a "beautiful case" or a "typical case," but all disease was hideous to him. He fought it fiercely and he had the reputation of dealing the malady a death-blow with his first prescription if there was a fighting chance of the patient's recovery.

He had no false pride of any kind. He was at home alike in the palaces of the rich and the hovels of the poor. He associated on equal terms with the high, the low, the learned and the ignorant; and he could make an agreeable companion of any one of either sex, of any age or any condition.

Pleasant, cheery greetings were his wherever he went, and few were those whose hearts did not go out to him whenever he appeared.

He was a member of the Episcopal Church. He was confirmed by Bishop Whittingham, of Maryland, in 1854, at Epiphany Church, Washington, D. C.

It is interesting and gratifying to note how many of the great physicians have been men of deep piety, and many of them active promoters of the cause of religion. And yet there is nothing wonderful about it. It is strange if any one can study botany, chemistry, physiology and anatomy (the last especially at the dissecting table) without recognizing and believing in God and His wisdom and goodness; and it is just as strange if a man who has the good of his fellowmen first and uppermost in his heart, can practice medicine without becoming pious. Galen is said to have been converted from atheism by the contemplation of a skeleton. And some physicians, after years of practice, have found that, in head and heart, they have come so near to the Kingdom of God that it seemed only a step and they were over the boundary.

That Dr. Magruder was a pious man and that his life as a physician was one long act of service and devotion to Almighty God and his Saviour, is the firm belief of all those who knew him well.

Like many men of genius Dr. Magruder was not very systematic. He had his office hours, but there was no more certainty of catching him during those hours

than at any other time. Often many visits had to be made to his house before he could be found, and sometimes it would be two or three days before he could be gotten to the patient's bedside. This, of course, was very unfortunate, and sometimes caused him and his patients trouble. But when it is remembered how large was his practice, how widely scattered his patients, and that he was, for a large part of his time, engaged in politics, in which he was endeavoring to serve the public in civil office as faithfully and as well as in his profession of medicine, we can readily believe that he was but seldom, if ever, chargeable with censurable neglect of duty. It is also remembered that, frequently, even during his last years, he was known to respond on foot after twelve o'clock on inclement winter nights, to calls from patients in the northern part of the city (then a wilderness called "The Slashes") and not only to give his advice gratuitously, but to go to the drug store a half mile or more away, have the prescription filled, and take the medicine back to the patient's house.

On one occasion he had been sent for repeatedly, and arrived at the patient's house two days after he was first summoned. The lady of the house met him at the door and scored him roundly. She scolded for a while without getting any reply, when, almost enraged at his silence, she said, "Dr. Magruder, Holmead Cemetery is full of people who would not have been there but for your neglect." Then he raised his beaming eyes to hers, and, to this unmeant compliment, replied, "I know it, Madam." She could keep her anger no longer, but surrendered to his overpowering good nature with a hearty laugh, and was still his admiring friend.

It may be he was not as learned and skilful as

Benjamin Rush, or Samuel Latham Mitchell, or Moreton Stillé and other physicians whose attainments excited the wonder of their friends and of the world; but he was informed in general literature, well read in his profession and thoroughly equipped for its requirements.

He was not a surgeon like Valentine Mott, or Brashears, or George McClellan, or Ephraim McDowell and many others whose feats with the scalpel astonished even the profession. But he was a fine diagnostician and a skilful, daring and successful operator.

In diagnosis he probably never had a superior for rapidity and certainty.

He was a complete example of the old-fashioned, all-around family physician, whose race is beginning to disappear before the march of the invading specialist, and whose chief charm, and, perhaps, one of whose most potent professional influences, upon sick and well alike, is an intense, attractive, wholesome and irresistible personality. The law of nature and of progress has decreed his extinction, and we must bow in submission; but he will long be recalled with fond regret by those who have known and loved him.

Dr. Magruder became a leader in politics in Washington city. His old friends say they seldom heard a more fluent speaker or a more impressive orator. He was active in local politics during nearly the whole time of his residence in Washington city, was, as we have seen, many times a member of the legislative bodies of the city, and was once mayor.

His term as Mayor of Washington city extended from June 1, 1856, to May 31, 1858.

The convention that nominated him was composed of thirty-five members, and represented the conservative masses of both the Whig and the Democratic party,

who desired to drive the Know-Nothing party from power. On the occasion of his nomination speeches were made by Joseph McNerhany, James G. Berret (afterwards Mayor), Jonah D. Hoover and Michael McCluskey.

The ratification meeting was addressed by Thomas F. Bowie, of Maryland; Peck, of Michigan; A. G. Brown, of Mississippi; Thomas B. Florence, of Pennsylvania, and Davidson, of Louisiana.

The local papers, of course, took an active part in the contest,—all except the *National Intelligencer.* It merely announced the nominations, and the result of the election. It refused to publish an article sent to it because its writer praised one candidate and abused the other. Outside papers also took an interest in the election; and the following from "Omega," the correspondent of the *Baltimore Freeman,* will show how the Doctor was esteemed by his political friends, and by many of his political enemies.

"Of the candidate presented by the Anti-Know-Nothing party, I will simply remark that no man in this community can point to a fairer record.

"For twenty years he has been identified with our city councils, and has acquired an enviable reputation by the prompt and able discharge of every public trust confided to him. His private character is without spot or blemish. During his professional career as one of the ablest and most skilful physicians, he has been emphatically known as the good Samaritan —as the poor man's friend. In a word, he possesses in an eminent degree all those noble qualities of head and heart,— the intellect, the knowledge, the courage, the fidelity to principle—which constitute the guarantee that his administration of the office of Mayor will be conducive to the welfare and happiness of the whole people of this rising metropolis.

"And I may state further that he cherishes that stern and uncompromising hostility to Know-Nothingism, and that

warm and ardent devotion to the principles of civil and religious liberty, which give the assurance that, whilst carefully directing his enemies to take leave of him, he will be equally careful to take care of his friends."

The campaign was one of the hottest the District of Columbia ever saw. Among the speakers on the Know-nothing side was a minister of the Gospel who indulged in particularly violent language. He threatened to crop Dr. Magruder's ears, and accused him of having six times committed perjury. He also hinted, in his speeches, at the necessity for bloodshed, and the active part he would take in strewing the streets with corpses.

Those were racy old days in the history of Washington city.

The Doctor was threatened with personal violence by others than the "Angel Gabriel." Word once reached his friends secretly that his house was to be mobbed on a certain night. A number of them therefore assembled in his side yard on the evening named, and, taking the base-board off the fence (which was some feet above the level of the garden) waited, as behind a breastwork, with shotguns and other weapons, to give the assailants a warm reception; while the old Western Hose Company, over near Washington Circle, had a small cannon ready to bring over and sweep the street. But, happily, no foe appeared.

Dr. Magruder received 2,936 votes, and his competitor, Mr. Silas H. Hill, received 2,904. The Doctor's side was worsted, however, in the vote for aldermen and councilmen, thus testifying to his great popularity.

The following named gentlemen were on the ticket with Dr. Magruder: William T. Dove, George W. Riggs, Charles Abert, John B. Turton, D. C. Lee, William Riggles, William F. Bayley, William Orme, F. Jefferson, Thomas J. Fisher, John H. Goddard,

M. V. B. Bogan, Lambert Tree, W. P. Howell, Jr., George T. Langley, William W. Moore, Richard H. Clarke, James A. Kennedy, Elijah Edmonston, J. C. Fitzpatrick, S. Hanson, Jr., Thomas Hutchinson, William F. Wallace, William Marshall, George A. Bohrer, Thomas Altemus, John D. Brandt, Lemuel Gaddis, Samuel Pumphrey, James E. Johnson, James Espey, John Bradley and William Douglass.

The gentlemen on the ticket with Mr. Hill were: William Wilson, L. R. Smoot, S. A. Storrow, John A. Borland, John B. Hines, William H. Parker, C. W. Bennett, George W. Mitchell, Henry Turner, S. W. K. Handy, French S. Evans, J. T. Walker, James Towles, J. H. G. McCutchen, J. M. Downing, John P. Pepper, J. T. Clements, James P. McKean, John Ball, John H. Houston, Amon Baldwin, D. A. Watterson, John Bohlayer, B. F. Dyer, George R. Ruff, John Bayne, James A. Gordon, Josiah L. Venable, P. M. Pearson, S. Yorke AtLee, Thomas E. Lloyd, Robert T. Knight and Peter Hepburn.

Immediately after his election, the boast was made that Dr. Magruder would not dare to show himself in the "Northern Liberties," the stronghold of Know-nothingism. Taking a friend, Mr. Joseph Rollins, who desired to accompany him, he rode down Seventh street to the Northern Liberty Market, now Mount Vernon Square, and twice passed through a crowd of his political enemies there collected, and thence to the City Hall. No one dared to molest him, although everyone must have recognized him.

He signalized his inauguration as Mayor, and showed his fearlessness by making a clean sweep of the offices, although one at least of the incumbents was his strong personal friend.

During his term the election riots of June, 1857,

occurred, when he requested the assistance of troops to quell the disturbance, and a battalion of marines was placed at his disposal, and performed that duty with some bloodshed. It was charged by some, and denied by others, that Dr. Magruder gave the order to fire on the mob. He never shirked any responsibility in the matter. He showed himself then, as always, equal to whatever emergency confronted him. Dr. Magruder's administration as Mayor was remarkable for the results accomplished with rather limited means. One engineering enterprise which he tried to put through would have made his administration famous for those days had it not failed for want of popular approval caused by low finances.

The old maps of Washington city show a small stream that drained a large part of the old First Ward, which section of the city extended from Fifteenth street westward to Rock Creek and was bounded on the north by Florida avenue, then called Boundary street. This stream, called Slash Run, had its source at the head of Eighteenth street, or thereabouts, whence it ran in a southerly and southeasterly direction almost to the corner of Sixteenth and L streets, where it took quite a sharp turn to the westward, in which general direction it ran, keeping to the north of L street, until it reached Twentieth street, where it shifted to the south; and, between Twentieth and Twenty-first streets, ran, for part of the square, along the L street roadway; then it ran in a northwesterly direction and emptied into Rock Creek at about N street.

This stream must have been very attractive in the early days of the city; and in ordinary weather it was of small volume; but in rainy weather it became a raging torrent, in some places overflowing its banks

and doing damage, besides causing inconvenience to those whose path it crossed.

In order to put a stop to the occupation of part of an inhabited street by this stream, Mayor Magruder obtained authority to arch that part of it that occupied most of the roadway of L street between Twentieth and Twenty-first streets. The work went on as far as the erection of the side-walls which were about on a line with the old curbs, when protests from the other wards that all the city's money was being used in the First Ward (the Mayor's home ward) became so insistent that the Mayor had the work stopped and nothing more was done on it. The grade of the street has since been raised about eight feet, and the stream is now controlled by sewers, one a large one extending from near Twentieth and L streets to Rock Creek at N street.

In speaking of him after his death the *Evening Star* newspaper said:

"Dr. Magruder served a number of years in both branches of the City Councils, and in 1856 he was elected on the Anti-Know-Nothing ticket Mayor of the City; which position he filled with marked ability. Considering the financial condition of the City at that time, the amount of improvements carried on during the two years he held office, was notably great."

He was very proud of the record he made as Mayor.

His election to the mayoralty did not make any difference in his freedom of intercourse with his old patients and friends, the old, the young, the rich and the poor.

The following shows how natural he was, even on occasions when he might have been expected to assume some dignity of official position. In old times, before the Civil War, it was the custom in Washington, at the end of the school year, to have all the public schools

(each of the four districts taking a day in succession) march to the Smithsonian Institution and assemble in the great amphitheatre it then contained, when there would be music by the children and the Marine Band, an address by some prominent man, and distribution of premiums by the Mayor, who always had a kind word for each happy recipient.

On one of these occasions, while Dr. Magruder was Mayor, the name of a little seven-year-old boy, a son of one of the Doctor's old friends, was called, and as he walked timidly down to the front to receive his premium, he had no idea the Mayor would recognize him; but judge his astonishment and consternation when the great big Mayor bent over and looked at him and said, so loudly that his great big voice rang through the great hall, "Why, Harry, is that you?"; and then shook his huge body with laughter as the shy little form shot up the aisle again amid the tumultuous applause of the whole assemblage.

Once he noticed in a confectioner's window some candy made to represent little hams. At the same time a little Jewess, daughter of one of his friends and patients, happened to be near. He took her into the store and bought her some of the candies. After she had eaten one, he told her to go home and tell her mother she had been eating ham.

He was essentially a man of the people, and took part in all their doings. He was a member of the old Union Fire Company in his younger days, and ran to fires and worked like his fellows. He was for a time the captain of the engine, and, instead of standing around and directing the other firemen what to do, he would work with them; and whenever he held the nozzle, the other firemen would have considerable fun observing how he would stick his tongue out one side

of his mouth and chew it as he directed the stream to the proper point.

He was a devoted member of the Masonic order, and that, too, when Masonry was at a great discount here. He was made a Mason, March 2, 1843, served as Master of Hiram Lodge, No. 10, and was elected Grand Master of the District of Columbia in 1854.

He also belonged to the Odd Fellows, in which order his record is as follows:

Initiated in Friendship Lodge, No. 12.....January 30, 1843;
First and Second Degrees.....February 6, 1843;
Third, Fourth and Fifth Degrees.....February 16, 1843;
Vice Grand .....October 1, 1843;
Noble Grand .....January 1, 1844;
Secretary .....January 1, 1845;
Suspended .....March 11, 1858.

It will be observed that this last date was while he was Mayor, and after the election riot of June, 1857.

It is to be hoped that it is not too late to suggest that *that suspension should be expunged.*

He was for some years, about 1850, a member of the Order of Rechabites and was once Chief Ruler of Heber Tent, and was well known as a temperance orator; but his views changed and he became a moderate user of spirituous liquors, occasionally over-indulging.

He was surgeon of one of the old military companies here.

He was, in fact, one of the active public men of Washington city, and figured in many of the public demonstrations in which the citizens took part.

There was never any doubt as to his position on any public question, local or national.

At the breaking out of the late Civil War he staunchly espoused the Union cause, and, at a number

of meetings in Maryland, electrified those who heard him by his eloquent appeals in favor of the Union; and during the war he and the other physicians here were unstinted in their attention and kindness to the soldiers. And when the war was over, his magnanimity and charity were experienced by more than one ex-Confederate who drifted to Washington and was so fortunate as to fall into his hands. One of these, Captain Thos. J. Luttrell, used to relate how he went to Dr. Magruder to pay his bill, but the Doctor refused to take any money from him, saying that he needed it less than the soldier did.

On public occasions Dr. Magruder was a very striking and imposing figure, fit to grace any Senate or any Court.

He once attended a masquerade ball at the residence of Senator Gwynn, of California. He took the character of "Rob Roy" and was much admired. Mrs. Magruder accompanied him in the character of "Night" in a costume loaned by Mrs. Jefferson Davis. But ordinarily he was very thoughtless of his dress. He could not be careful of his clothes and was a great trial in this respect to his wife and to his tailor.

Sometimes, when he happened to have a new suit on (broadcloth, perhaps) he would run to a fire with his company and ruin every stitch, or, he would be called to a patient and kept out most of the night, and, when he went home, he would lie down just as he was, and the result may be imagined.

There probably never was a person in Washington city, and very few anywhere, who did marketing and shopping in the same way as Dr. Magruder; and it was another proof of the popular affection for him.

He kept no account books in his practice, and very few business people kept any accounts against him.

In this respect he was, without knowing it, a most delightful socialist.

Often he would go to market without a cent in his pocket, and usually with two large baskets. As he sailed through the place like a great ship among smaller craft, he was saluted cordially by everyone. He would go to the stalls of his friends and patients (and that meant most of the market people), select what he wanted, throw it into his basket, and walk off. It was all right. The dealers knew who were getting the better of the bargain, and they knew too that what he saved from them or took from them, went to the poor.

Besides giving his professional service to the poor (and to many who were not poor) he did numberless other acts of charity. Others beside his own family were fed and clothed from his larder and purse. For instance, he once met a poor barefoot boy on the street in winter. He took him into a store, and, having procured him a pair of shoes, told him to see how well he could run in them.

In money matters he was very much like Dr. Nathaniel Chapman, one of the old-time doctors in Philadelphia, who was born in Fairfax County, Va., and who received part of his medical education in Georgetown, D. C., under Dr. Bohrer, and in Alexandria, Va., under Dr. Dick, and whose friends could seldom make him take pay for his services.

Dr. Magruder once formed a partnership with Dr. D. R. Hagner, but it did not last long. Two men of such contrary business views could not pull together. They were always friends, however.

Dr. Magruder was never known to dun a poor patient for money. In fact he sometimes refused to take money from those he considered unable to pay.

The natural consequence was that many took advantage of his leniency and imposed on him outrageously; and many, without intending it, withheld from him what was his due.

He was accustomed to say that the wealthy paid him enough to make up for what the poor could not pay.

Among those whom he numbered as his friends, was Mr. Fox, once British minister here, and who testified his admiration and regard for the Doctor in a singular way. One day he sent for him, requesting that he be at the legation at a certain hour. It happened that the Doctor was punctual; but when he was ushered into the Minister's presence, Mr. Fox accused him of being five minutes late. The Doctor protested that he was on time, but Mr. Fox good-humoredly insisted that he was not; so the Doctor let him have his way. Thereupon Mr. Fox produced a fine new English gold watch and presented it to the Doctor as a token of his esteem, and with the hope that it might help him to be more punctual. It is safe to presume that they then proceeded to have a pleasant time together, and that the Doctor got home late that night.

He could play cards with those who liked that amusement, and could talk politics, poetry, history, science or theology with those whose minds were so inclined.

He was once called on for an extemporaneous address on the subject "a spool of cotton," and kept his listeners' attention two hours.

On another occasion he was called upon, without warning, to take the place of an orator at a meeting in honor of Robert Emmet; and, notwithstanding his want of time for preparation, he delivered an address which did honor to the occasion and to the subject.

It appears that he never wrote for the medical

journals, and was never an instructor in any of the medical schools. The reason assigned is that he was too indolent to write or teach. He may have been naturally an indolent man; and yet he was always a very busy man, and could not have prepared and delivered lectures without seriously interfering with his other work. His ability is unquestioned. And his not writing medical articles was due doubtless to his want of inclination to write, and to his modest opinion that there was no need for anything from his pen.

Dr. Ephraim McDowell, of Kentucky (whom Dr. Magruder seems to have resembled in size, strength and personal characteristics), for many years, in the first part of the nineteenth century, performed most of the important surgical operations in the great Southwest, and was the first surgeon in the world to successfully perform the operation ovariotomy, then considered extremely difficult and dangerous, if not impossible; and his first operation of that kind is amongst the most celebrated feats in the history of surgery. And yet he made only five contributions to medical literature; while others, of less prominence and ability, have filled whole books with their cases.

Had Dr. Magruder done much teaching and writing, he could never have been the same man socially and politically—and then he would not have been the same Dr. Magruder we loved so dearly.

It has been said that it was hard to catch him at home. But there was one part of the day when he could usually be caught, and that was early in the morning. He arose with the birds, not only because he liked to, but because, like Dr. Samuel Bard, Dr. David Hosack, and other distinguished physicians, he was a dear lover of flowers. In spring, summer and autumn, he always spent the early morning in his

garden. Many of his patients remember seeing him sitting on a little stool among his garden-beds digging and planting, or walking about spraying the flowers with an old-fashioned watering-pot.

He sometimes took plants to those of his patients who loved them, and in at least one of our old gardens could be found until recently the descendants of plants he thus distributed.

The love of flowers was a passion with him, as with all his family, and was an additional link of sympathy between him and some of his patients.

Early one bright summer morning, over forty years ago, while seated in his garden, he handed to the writer a little sheet of paper and told him to take it home to his mother. It had printed on it (with corrections in the Doctor's own hand) the poem which concludes this article. It was one of those surprises which he was occasionally giving his friends. It was well known that he possessed fine literary tastes, but few had suspected him of a talent for poetical composition. That was not very long before his death.

When he came to die he was the great physician still. For some years before his death he suffered from an obscure affection of the stomach, but he concealed his pain and suffered in silence, giving no outward hint of the burden that filled him with apprehension. He kept at his work, however, until May 23, 1869 (just one week before he died), on which day he visited professionally a few of his personal friends. On returning home, he remarked that he had made his last professional call, and retired to his room, never to leave it alive. During the last four months of his life he lost eighty pounds in weight. He knew that he could not recover, and on Saturday afternoon, the day before he died, he remarked to Drs. Thomas Miller and

Joshua Riley, and his attendants, that his death would take place in twelve hours from that time; and his premonition was verified. He had frequently predicted the hour when a patient would die (sometimes even when the patient seemed to be improving) and it did not surprise many that he so accurately measured his own time.

He did not fear death, and took the same cheerful view of that event as of everything else. He requested his friends not to be saddened by his departure, but to act, even while he lay dead in the house, as though he were still alive.

He breathed his last at four o'clock in the morning of Sunday, May 30, 1869, aged fifty-nine years, and at the moment of his death a severe thunderstorm was raging.

Immediately it was felt that a mighty man had fallen, and everything possible was done to show the sense of the loss the community had sustained, and to pay the last sad tribute of respect in a worthy manner.

The Medical Society held a special meeting, presided over by Dr. Thomas Miller, with Dr. William Lee as Secretary, at which Drs. Thomas Miller, D. R. Hagner, Grafton Tyler, W. G. Newman, Joseph Borrows and Flodoardo Howard paid feeling tribute to the memory of their lost brother, and appropriate resolutions were adopted, drawn by a committee consisting of Drs. Joseph Borrows, H. Lindsay and Grafton Tyler.

Mayor Bowen announced the death in a special message to the Councils, which adopted resolutions of respect and appointed a committee of arrangements for the funeral.

The Grand Lodge of Masons and Hiram Lodge, No. 10, held special communications and made elaborate preparations.

He was buried at four o'clock on Tuesday, June 1, 1869. It was a warm, wet, sultry afternoon; one on which he would have looked out into his garden and been glad for his flowers' sake.

A beautiful cross of natural flowers was placed on his breast, and flowers from his own garden were placed about his face. On the top of the coffin were his Masonic apron and a beautiful wreath; and after the service at the house, a magnificent garland was laid over the coffin. During the day large numbers called to take a last look at the face they knew and loved so well; and just before the casket was closed at the house, his old friend, Mr. Rochat, kissed him good-bye.

Funeral services were held at St. John's Episcopal Church, conducted by Rev. J. Vaughn Lewis. The assemblage was too large for the edifice. Among those present were members of many of the oldest families in the District, and representatives of the city government; and but few of the physicians of the District were absent.

The procession was headed by Washington and Columbia Commanderies, Nos. 1 and 2, Knights Templar, with Heald's American Brass Band; Master Masons; Hiram Lodge, No. 10, and Grand Lodge of Masons.

After the hearse and carriages came a number of physicians and other citizens who followed to the grave on foot.

The Masonic burial service was conducted by Grand Master R. B. Donaldson.

The funeral, though large, represented but feebly the sorrow occasioned by his loss. As some one said of Daniel Webster, so it was felt here in reference to Dr. Magruder, that the world would seem lonely with-

out him; and, far better yet, it might truthfully have been said of him, as Whittier said of his own sister,

> "How many a poor one's blessing went
> With thee beneath the low green tent
> Whose curtain never outward swings."

The newspapers paid glowing tributes to him as physician, man and public officer. One writer said:

"With a generosity and largeness of heart rarely met with, he gave himself up to the alleviation of human suffering. He literally walked in the footsteps of the Redeemer, not among the rich and great who could reflect credit and give to him in return, but out in the highways and byways, ministering to God's poor, expending skill and energy without thinking of receiving aught in return. Truly in this age of avarice and personal ambition, such unselfishness and unworldliness are worthy all praise and emulation. In intellect and force Dr. Magruder was rarely gifted, and, had he chosen, could have stood prominent among his countrymen in whatever line of life he might have chosen."

Another said:

"Had he possessed the ambition and a proper sphere, he would have made his mark in public life. He easily reached the highest municipal honors that the City had to bestow, but always seemed indifferent to public applause, and indisposed to make any exertion to display his fine abilities. By his neighbors, and especially by the poor to whom he gave his time, money and valuable professional services without stint, he was almost idolized; and amongst all classes he was regarded with a warm personal affection created by his fine social and mental qualities, his magnanimity, generosity, and kindly spirit.

"His stately form and leonine chest and head, afforded a fitting casket for his great heart and vigorous mind.

"Like his predecessors, Force and Seaton, such stately trunks are rare in the forest."

He lies buried in Oak Hill Cemetery. His grave is

on the south side of the old enclosure next the street, about halfway along the low flagstone path that leads from the old to the new part. In the same lot is a grave-stone with the name Van Wyck on it.

He has no monument. He needs none, and probably wished for none. A man who so possessed the hearts of his friends that his return after absence would bring tears of joy to the eyes of one of them, needed no monument to keep his memory green (that friend was Mr. Frederick Schneider, Senior).

But if all the fees due him and which he never tried to collect, and of which he kept no record, were used in the erection of a monument to him, it would take dozens of the best in the cemetery to equal it.

His will consists of only a few lines, and by it he devised all his estate to his wife.

The title to his home was of doubtful validity; and, with his usual negligence, he had omitted to perfect it.

After his death, a family who claimed an interest in the property by descent brought suit through their agent against Mrs. Magruder. She employed Messrs. Richard T. Merrick and William F. Mattingly to defend her title. The suit was entitled Tayloe et al. *versus* Magruder, No. 7456, Doc. 8, at law. At the trial Mr. Merrick's address to the jury was one of the most thrilling and eloquent he ever delivered, and he dwelt with such enthusiasm and pathos on the life and character of Dr. Magruder that the jury were in tears and promptly rendered a verdict in Mrs. Magruder's favor.

Not long after the Doctor's death one of his intimate friends (Mr. Geo. Salter) discovered that Mrs. Magruder was in straitened circumstances.

After a consultation with her, he called on Gen. Michler, Superintendent of Public Buildings and

Grounds, and proposed that the government purchase such plants from the Doctor's garden as should be considered suitable for the public parks. Soon thereafter Gen. Michler had a large magnolia tree and other plants carefully transplanted as suggested, and a check for five hundred dollars was in due course received by Mrs. Magruder.

The same friend called on Mr. Solomon Stover, a wood and coal dealer, a former neighbor of the Doctor, who, on being informed of Mrs. Magruder's circumstances, declared that, as long as he lived, she should have all the fuel she needed free of charge.

Mr. George Krafft, the baker, was also approached in the same good cause, and he promised to furnish Mrs. Magruder all the bread she wanted and never send her a bill.

And some of the old market friends of the Doctor, including Mr. William Linkins, acted in the same generous manner.

Through the kindness of President Grant who was an acquaintance of Dr. Magruder and an occasional visitor at his house, Mrs. Magruder afterwards obtained a situation at the Treasury Department, and was employed there a number of years.

There are in existence some photographs of Dr. Magruder owned by his old friends; but they all lack his kindly expression.

Mr. George W. Linkins has an oil portrait of him, but it is a very poor likeness.

The Grand Lodge of Masons has a fine oil portrait of him in its collection of pictures of Past Grand Masters.

And there is a pastel portrait of him in the Municipal Building, which is a very good likeness.

There used to stand in his hallway a large marble

bust of Dr. Magruder, but it also is an unsatisfactory likeness. On the Doctor's death this bust went to Mr. Rochat, who left it to Mr. Armand Jardin, whose widow, about 1895, presented it to Hiram Lodge of Masons, who have recently (1911) presented it to the Society of Oldest Inhabitants.

The Magruder School building on "M" street, between 16th and 17th streets, N.W., was named after Dr. Magruder at the suggestion of Building Inspector W. B. Entwisle.

One of the plat books in the Office of the Surveyor of the District of Columbia (Liber W. B. M.) was also named after him by Surveyor William Forsyth.

Besides his widow, Dr. Magruder left a daughter, Millicent, who became noted among her friends for her musical ability. When Millicent was only two years old she and her father had become devoted chums, and he often took her with him on his rounds among his patients. He would hold her on one arm and drive with the other hand. His old friend Col. Abert once wrote to him cautioning him against such a practice, warning him that it might result in injury to the child's spine. But the Doctor considered that he knew how to handle a child, and continued to take Millicent with him. When she was old enough he began to teach her little poems and have her recite them for his patient's families. She married Mr. Frederick Almy, of Boston, Mass., and now (1912) resides at Lawrence, L. I. One of her children is named after his grandfather Magruder.

The Doctor had five sisters, Mary, Ellen, Catherine, Millicent and Sarah, all now dead; and one brother, Col. James Alexander Magruder, also now deceased.

Dr. Richard Maury, of Memphis, Tenn., and Prof. Thompson B. Maury, now for thirty years head of the

weather bureau of the *N. Y. Herald,* are nephews of Dr. Magruder, being children of his sister Ellen.

Here is his poem. It has probably never been given to the general public. It might not have been preserved had not a friend had it printed. It is thought that he wrote a few other poems, but they have been lost. One of his friends says that he occasionally contributed short pieces to the literary periodicals, but kept no record of them.

FLOWERS.

By Dr. William B. Magruder.

O! beauteous flowers! stars of this darken'd earth—
Fairest of summer's progeny are ye!
Gladly I hail your coming—for your birth
Is fraught with purest happiness to me!
It makes me wonder when I chance to see
One who can pass your beauty by unmark'd,
And find no thoughts of peace and purity
Flow through his eye, down to his gladden'd heart.
It surely ne'er was meant that ye should be
Unlov'd—uncar'd for, or looked on with apathy.

Whence came ye, gentle flowers? Did our first mother,
Fleeing from Eden, pluck ye as she pass'd—
That, midst a sorrow that she might not smother,
Ye should be token of the holy past?
Yours is a beauty sin hath failed to blast—
For midst your leaves God's smile is ling'ring still;
And ye shall tell us while the world doth last,
Of His rich mercy and his matchless skill,
And of the Saviour's lessons, calm and sweet,
Drawn from your gentle tribe that blossom'd at His feet.

Ye are God's messengers of love, O flowers!
Sent on your holy mission throughout the earth,
To deck with loveliness the monarch's bowers—
Ye are a joy to those of lowly birth—
Ye wreathe the temples of high-hearted mirth—
Hope with your buds of promise binds her brow—
Ye strew the graves of those whose priceless worth
Hath made our hearts all desolate—ye bow
Your beauteous heads beside the bubbling stream—
On plain, in wooded dell, on mountain top ye gleam!

And wheresoe'er ye are, ye still do tell
  Truths it is good for mortal man to know;
Unto the great ones of the earth, who dwell
  Midst pomp, and pageantry, and wealth, ye show
What well might make them humble; for altho'
  Clad in their dazzling robes, they may not vie
With ye, who in your loveliness do grow
  From the base earth; and when ye die,
Ye warn them still—that their bright life may be
Like yours—not bright alone, but like in brevity.

And when ye cluster round the cottage door
  Of him who struggles through the poor man's part,
How bright your smile—how freely do ye pour
  Lessons of trust into his aching heart,
And bid his dark misgivings all depart—
  For He who decks the lilies of the field,
And paints their gorgeous hues with magic art,
  Will never leave His people, but will yield
Each blessing which His wisdom sees to be
Such as will fit them for a bright eternity.

And e'en when midst the dusty streets ye dwell,
  Your wistful smile tells many a pleasant tale
Of the dear home our childhood loved so well,
  Amidst the woodlands of our native vale;
And when your perfume scents the evening gale,
  Strange, dreamy thoughts come o'er us, and again
They seem to waft us back; and as we sail
  In mem'ry's bark across the past, we gain
Deep glimpses of the thoughts that buried lie
Far in our inmost hearts—most hidden sanctuary.

And yet once more—your loving ministries
  Are prized, and priceless, in the darkened room
Where sickness on a bed of suffering lies;
  For there ye come—and with your gentle bloom,
And the rich offering of sweet perfume
  Ye speak of health, and teach us how to prize
Those lesser blessings, which we oft assume
  To be our own, until our God denies
To us the sight of Heaven, the fair green earth,
And all the beauteous things to which it giveth birth.

Father of Mercies! for every precious gift
  Thy gracious hand so bountifully showers
Around my daily path, to Thee I lift

My heart in thankfulness! and ye! O flowers,
Are not the least among them! Ye give birth
To thoughts of Him who, in the trying hours
Spent in His weary pilgrimage on earth,
Found, midst the cares which on His soul did press,
A holy pleasure in your simple loveliness.

And now, have we not described a truly great man?

He was a giant in stature, physical strength and intellect; yet simple and jocund as a child.

He was a consummate statesman, yet associated on equal terms with the humblest citizen, and abounded in works of love and charity.

He could grapple with the most difficult problems in politics and medicine, yet loved to work among the flowers in his garden, and was not above the drudgery of the sick-room.

He was an orator and poet of no mean order, yet shrunk from a display of his fine abilities.

He was as brave as a lion, yet as gentle as a woman.

And to sum it all, he was superbly gifted to an unusual degree, but devoted all his powers and talents to Christian duty, and to his fellowman.

APPENDIX.

OFFICERS.

OFFICERS ELECTED AT THE NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING HELD JANUARY 21, 1913.

President ..... JAMES DUDLEY MORGAN.

Vice-Presidents ..... JOB BARNARD, ALLEN C. CLARK.

Treasurer ..... WILLIAM HENRY DENNIS.

Recording Secretary ..... MRS. MARY STEVENS BEALL.

Corresponding Secretary ..... MICHAEL I. WELLER.

Curator ..... JAMES FRANKLIN HOOD.

Chronicler ..... MRS. WILLIAM KEARNY CARR.

Managers classified according to expiration of term of service.

1914 — LOUIS P. SHOEMAKER, JOHN JOY EDSON.

1915 — MRS. CHAS. W. RICHARDSON, CORCORAN THOM.

1916 — JOHN B. LARNER, HUGH T. TAGGART.

1917 — WILHELMUS B. BRYAN, WILLIAM VAN ZANDT COX.

COMMITTEES.

On Communications.

ALLEN C. CLARK, *Chairman,* F. A. RICHARDSON,
W. B. BRYAN, JAMES DUDLEY MORGAN,
CLARENCE R. WILSON, CHARLES S. BRADLEY,
L. P. SHOEMAKER.

On Qualifications.

M. I. WELLER, *Chairman,* JOHN JOY EDSON,
WILLIAM V. COX, WILLIAM HENRY DENNIS,
MRS. WM. KEARNY CARR.

On Publication.

JOHN B. LARNER, *Chairman,* WILLIAM DE CAINDRY,
MRS. MARY STEVENS BEALL, S. WALTER WOODWARD,
JAMES DUDLEY MORGAN, W. B. BRYAN.

On Building.

JOB BARNARD, *Chairman,* GEORGE M. KOBER,
CHARLES JAMES BELL, WILLIAM TINDALL,
CHARLES C. GLOVER, GLENN BROWN,
MRS. CHARLES W. RICHARDSON.

On Exchange.

JAMES F. HOOD, *Chairman,* HUGH T. TAGGART,
CORCORAN THOM, C. ALBERT WHITE,
LEROY STAFFORD BOYD, MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

On Membership.

WILLIAM HENRY DENNIS, *Chairman.*

CHARLES S. BUNDY, EDSON L. WHITNEY,
BARRY BULKLEY, FRED L. FISHBACK,
MISS CORDELIA JACKSON, MISS MAUD B. MORRIS,
WALTER C. CLEPHANE, MISS J. E. PRATHER,
MRS. M. B. DOWNING, JOHN A. SAUL.

On Exchange of Duplicates.

JOHN B. LARNER, *Chairman.*

M. I. WELLER, MRS. M. S. BEALL.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MARCH 27, 1913.

(Names of Life Members are printed in SMALL CAPITALS.)

Abell, Mrs. Edwin F.,	16 East Mt. Vernon Place, Baltimore, Md.
Abell, Walter W.,	*Sun* Bldg., Baltimore, Md.
Abert, William Stone,	1520 K St.
Addison, Mrs. Clare G.,	1765 N St.
Adriaans, John H.,	404 Sixth St.
Bacon-Foster, Mrs. Corra,	The Marlborough.
Baker, Mrs. Abby Gunn,	1417 Belmont St.
Baker, John A.,	1819 H St.
Barbour, James F.,	520 Eighth St.
Barnard, Job,	1306 Rhode Island Ave.
Barr, Lester A.,	The Wyoming.
Beall, Mrs. Mary Stevens,	2116 P St.
Bell, Charles James,	1327 Connecticut Ave.
Blagden, Thomas,	Deerwood, Upper Saranac, N. Y.
Blair, Gist,	Union Trust Building.
Blair, Henry P.,	Colorado Building.
Blair, Montgomery,	Hibbs Building.
Blount, Henry Fitch,	"The Oaks," 3101 R St.
Boyd, Leroy Stafford,	312 C St.
Bradley, Charles S.,	1722 N St.
Britton, Alexander,	1811 Q St.
Brown, Glenn,	Eighteenth and N. Y. Ave.
Brown, Miss Mary Perry,	1865 Mintwood Place.
Browne, Aldis B.,	1855 Wyoming Ave.
Bryan (M.D.), Joseph H.,	818 Seventeenth St.
Bryan Wilhelmus Bogart,	1330 Eighteenth St.
Bukey, Miss Alice,	209 Md. Ave., N. E.
Bulkley, Barry,	The Portland.
Bundy, Charles S.,	315 John Marshall Place.
Butterfield, John W.,	419 Fourth St.

Byrns (M.D.), Wm. Francis,	1923 Calvert St.
Carr, Mrs. William Kearny,	1413 K St.
Chilton, Robert S., Jr.,	U. S. Consulate, Toronto, Can.
Church, William A. H.,	912 B St., S. W.
Clark, Allen C.,	816 Fourteenth St.
Clark, Appelton P., Jr.,	1762 Lanier Ave.
Clephane, Walter C.,	Chevy Chase, Md.
Conrad, Holmes,	Home Life Building.
Cook (M.D.), George Wythe,	3 Thomas Circle.
Corning, John Herbert,	520 Thirteenth St.
Cox, William Van Zandt,	Second National Bank.
Coyle, Miss Emily B.,	1760 N St.
Craig, Miss Netta,	3125 O St.
Cull, Judson T.,	319 John Marshall Place.
Curry, Miss Cora C.,	1020 Monroe St.
Dale, Mrs. Mary J. M.,	Chihuahua, Mexico.
Davenport, R. Graham, U.S.N.	1331 Eighteenth St.
Davis, Miss Adelaide,	213 C St., S. E.
Davis, Mrs. Elizabeth B.,	2212 First St.
Davis, Madison,	316 A St., S. E.
Davis, Miss Miranda P.,	1725 Connecticut Ave.
De Caindry, William A.,	914 Seventeenth St.
DeLacy, William H.,	Juvenile Court.
Dennis, William Henry,	416 Fifth St.
Dent, Louis Addison,	1317 Euclid St.
Devereux (M.D.), J. Ryan,	Bradley Lane, Chevy Chase, Md.
Devine, John T.,	The Shoreham.
Devitt (S. J.), Rev. Edward I.	Georgetown University.
Dove, J. Maury,	1740 New Hampshire Ave.
Downing, Mrs. Margaret B.,	1262 Lawrence St., Brookland, D. C.
Dunlop, G. Thomas,	Fendall Building.
Eaton, George G.,	416 New Jersey Ave., S. E.
Edson, John Joy,	1324 Sixteenth St.
Eustis, William Corcoran,	1611 H St.
Finley, W. W.,	2221 R St.
Fishback, Fred L.,	907 S St.

Flannery, John Spalding,	2017 O St.
Fletcher, Miss Alice C.	214 First St., S. E.
Gale, Thomas M.,	2300 S St.
Glennan, John W.,	Warder Building.
Glover, Charles C.,	1703 K St.
Granger, John Tileston,	Florence Court.
Griffin, Appleton P. C.,	Library of Congress.
Hagner, Alexander Burton,	1818 H St.
Hamilton, George E.,	Union Trust Bldg.
Hannay, Wm. Mouat,	532 Third St.
Harkness, Robert H.,	1311 Irving St.
Harvey, Frederic L.,	2146 Florida Ave.
Hearst, Mrs. Phœbe Apperson,	Pleasanton, Cal.
Henderson, John B., Jr.,	1601 Florida Avenue.
Henning, George C.,	Wash. Safe Deposit Co.
Henry, Mrs. Kate Kearney,	2021 I Street.
Heth, Miss Nannie R.,	1906 G St.
Heurich, Christian,	1307 New Hampshire Ave.
Hibbs, William B.,	Hibbs Building.
Hill, William Corcoran,	1724 H. St.
Hood, James Franklin,	1017 O St.
Howard, George,	Nat. Savings & Trust Co.
Howard, George H.,	1914 N St.
Hoxie, Mrs. Vinnie Ream,	1632 K St.
Hughes, Percy M.,	318 B St., S. E.
Hull, Mrs. John A. T.,	1762 N St.
Hunt, Gaillard,	Library of Congress.
Hutcheson, David,	P. O. Box H, E. Capitol Sta.
Hyde, Thomas,	1537 Twenty-eighth St.
Jackson, Miss Cordelia,	The Terrace.
Jameson, J. Franklin,	2231 Q St.
Janin, Mrs. Violet Blair,	12 Lafayette Square.
Jennings, Hennen,	2221 Massachusetts Ave.
Johnston, James M.,	1628 Twenty-first St.
Judd, George H.,	420–22 Eleventh St.
Kauffmann, Rudolph,	Office *Evening Star.*
Kelly, Henry A.,	P. O. Department.

Kenyon, J. Miller,	930 Sixteenth St.
Kern, Charles E.,	1328 Harvard St.
Kibbey, Miss Bessie J.,	2025 Massachusetts Ave.
King, William,	3114 N St.
Kingsman (M.D.), Richard,	711 East Capitol St.
Knapp, Mrs. Martin A.,	Stoneleigh Court.
Knight, Hervey S.,	Victor Building.
Knox-Heath, Mrs. Nelly Lloyd,	147 Highland Ave., Newtonville, Mass.
Kober (M.D.), George M.,	1819 Q St.
Lansburgh, James,	2511 Fourteenth St.
Larcombe, John S.	1815 H St.
Larner, John Bell,	Wash. Loan and Trust Bldg.
Larner, Philip F.,	918 F St.
Lenman, Miss Isobel Hunter,	1100 Twelfth St.
Lisner, A.,	1723 Massachusetts Ave.
McCarthy, Miss Helena,	915 Fifteenth St.
McGill, J. Nota,	Woodley Lane.
McGuire, Frederick Bauders,	1333 Connecticut Ave.
McKee, Frederick,	610 Thirteenth St.
McKenney, F. D.,	Hibbs Bldg.
Magruder, Caleb Clarke, Jr.,	Commercial National Bank.
Magruder, John H.,	1843 S St.
Marshall, James Rush,	2507 Penna. Avenue.
Matthews, Henry S.,	1415 G St.
Mattingly, William F.,	1616 H St.
Mearns, William A.,	1505 Penna. Ave.
Merritt, William E. H.,	1403 H St.
Merwin, Charles D.,	Sixth Auditor's Office.
Miller, J. Barton,	Oxford Bldg.
Moore (M.D.), Mark W.,	518 Fifth St.
Moore, Mrs. Virginia Campbell,	1680 Thirty-first St.
Morgan, Cecil,	Macon, Ga.
Morgan (M.D.), James Dudley,	919 Fifteenth St.
Morgan, Mrs. Jas. Dudley,	919 Fifteenth St.
Morris, Miss Maud Burr,	1603 Nineteenth St.
Morse (M.D.), Edward E.,	Cosmos Club.
Mosher, Mrs. James,	2000 S St.

Moss, George W.,	2139 Wyoming Ave.
Neale (M.D.), Richard A.,	1209 U St.
Neale, Sidney C.,	1306 F St.
Nevitt (M.D.), J. Ramsay,	1820 Calvert St.
Noyes, Theodore Williams,	1730 New Hampshire Ave.
O'Connell, Rt. Rev. D. J.,	800 Cathedral Place, Richmond, Va.
Oyster, James F.,	1314 Rhode Island Ave.
Parker, E. Southard,	1738 Connecticut Ave.
Peacock, Miss Virginia T.,	2466 Ontario Road.
Peelle, Stanton J.,	1416 F St.
Pellew, Henry E.,	1637 Massachusetts Ave.
Pelz, Paul J.,	2011 F St.
Pentland, Andrew W.,	1330 Eighteenth St.
Perry, R. Ross,	Fendall Bldg.
Philp, Mrs. Sarah B.,	3248 N St.
Porter, Miss Sarah Harvey,	1834 K St.
Prather, Miss Josephine E.,	1310 Vermont Ave.
Pratt, Frederick W.,	2015 Columbia Road.
Ramsay, Francis M., U.S.N.,	1317 New Hampshire Ave.
Rheem, Clarence B.,	727 Fifteenth St.
Richards, William P.,	District Building.
Richardson (M.D.), Chas. W.,	1317 Connecticut Ave.
Richardson, Mrs. Charles W.,	1317 Connecticut Ave.
Richardson, Francis Asbury,	Cosmos Club.
Richardson, Mason N.,	Fendall Building.
Riggs, Miss Alice L.,	1617 I St.
Riggs, T. Lawrason,	1311 Massachusetts Ave.
Rittenhouse, David,	1607 Twenty-eighth St.
Roberts, William F.,	1413 New York Ave.
Rudolph, Cuno H.,	District Building.
Russell, Monsignor Wm. T.	619 Tenth St.
Saul, John A.,	344 D St.
Shahan (D.D.), Rt. Rev. T. J.,	Catholic Univ. of America.
Shand, Miles M.,	Department of State.
Shandelle (S.J.), Rev. Henry	J., Georgetown University.
Shoemaker, Louis P.,	Southern Building.
Shuey, Theodore F.,	U. S. Senate.

Simmons, B. Stanley,	1255 Irving St.
Simpson, Henry K.,	1207 E. Capitol St.
Simpson, (M.D.), John Crayke,	1421 Massachusetts Ave.
Small, John H., Jr.,	Cor. Fifteenth and H Sts.
Snow, Alpheus H.,	Union Trust Building
Sowers (M.D.), Z. T.,	1707 Massachusetts Ave.
Spofford, Miss Florence P.,	1621 Massachusetts Ave.
Swisher (Ph.D.), Charles C.,	Cosmos Club.
Swormstedt, John S.,	Southern Building.
Sylvester, Richard,	District Building.
Taggart, Hugh T.,	3249 N St.
Taylor, Miss C. Bryson,	1822 Massachusetts Ave.
Thom, Corcoran,	Amer. Security and Trust Co.
Tindall (M.D.), William,	District Building.
Todd, William B.,	1243 Irving St.
Trego, Mrs. Elizabeth Yonge,	The Olympia.
Van Schaick (Rev.), John, Jr.,	1417 Massachusetts Ave.
Truesdell, George,	1627 Lincoln Ave.
Tucker, Charles Cowles,	Evans Building.
Van Wickle, William P.,	1217 F St.
Warner, Brainard Henry,	Southern Building
Weller, Michael I.,	East Wash. Savings Bank.
White, C. Albert,	Barrister Bldg.
White, Charles E.,	621 Third St.
White, Enoch L.,	1753 Corcoran St.
White, Robinson,	Barrister Building.
Whitney (Ph.D.), Edson L.,	1234 Euclid St.
Willard, Henry K.,	Kellogg Building.
Williams, Charles P.,	1675 Thirty-first St.
Wilson, Clarence R.,	Pacific Building.
Wood, Rev. Charles,	2110 S St.
Woodhull, Maxwell V. Z.,	2033 G St.
Woodward, Fred E.,	Eleventh and F Sts.
Woodward, S. Walter,	2015 Wyoming Ave.
Wright, W. Lloyd,	1908 G St.

COMMUNICATIONS MADE TO THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(Continued from Page 332, Vol. 15.)

1912.

Jan. 16. The Mansion and Family of Notley Young. George C. Henning. Published in this volume.

Feb. 20. The Historic Potomac. William Edgar Rogers. Published in this volume.

Mar. 19. The Washington City Free Library. William A. De Caindry. Published in this volume.

Apr. 16. The Emancipation of the Slaves in the District of Columbia. Rev. Page Milburn, Ph.D. Published in this volume.

May 21. A Biographical Sketch of Henry A. Willard. Henry K. Willard. In the hands of the author.

Nov. 19. The Erection of the White House. Mrs. Abby Gunn Baker. Published in this volume.

Dec. 17. Dr. William B. Magruder. Robert H. Harkness. Published in this volume.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

127th meeting. *January 16, 1912.*

The meeting was called to order by the presiding officer, Dr. James Dudley Morgan.

Mr. William Henry Dennis read the Resolutions of Sorrow and Sympathy on the death of our Chronicler, Mrs. Madison A. Ballinger, and the Rev. Henry J. Shandelle, S. J., presented the Memorial Sketch. By resolution, these were included in volume 15 then in press.

The historical communication of the evening was made by Mr. George C. Henning on "The Mansion and Family of Notley Young." The ensuing discussion was participated in by President Morgan, Mrs. Downing, Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster, Mrs. Abby Gunn Baker, Miss Goddard, Messrs. Allen C. Clark, M. I. Weller, W. H. Dennis, Fred E. Woodward, C. C. Magruder, Jr., and Dr. William Tindall.

Present about 95 members and guests.

At the 18th Annual Meeting immediately following, reports were presented and the annual elections held.

128th meeting. *February 20, 1912.*

Vice-President Barnard occupied the chair and with about 95 members and guests listened to the communication made by Mr. William Edgar Rogers on "The Historic Potomac." The subject was discussed by Mrs. Downing, Mrs. Bacon-Foster, Messrs. Weller, Clark, Kiefer and Dr. William Tindall.

Mr. Joseph I. Kiefer read "The Last Hours of Washington" as described by George Washington Parke Custis.

129th meeting. *March 19, 1912.*

Mr. William A. De Caindry made the communication of the evening, his subject being "The Washington City Free Library." President Morgan, Messrs. Weller, Bowerman, F. H. Parsons, Gen. Greeley and Dr. Tindall took part in the discussion following.

Dr. Morgan presided and there were about 55 members and guests.

130th meeting. *April 16, 1912.*

President Morgan in the chair and about 45 members and guests listened to the communication made by the Rev. Page Milburn, Ph.D., of the West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon, on "The Emancipation of the Slaves in the District of Columbia."

The subject was discussed by President Morgan, Messrs. Clark, Tindall, Bryan, Weller and Dennis. Judge Bundy moved a vote of thanks, seconded by Mr. Weller.

131st meeting. *May 21, 1912.*

Mr. Henry Kellogg Willard gave the communication, his subject being "A Biographical Sketch of Henry A. Willard," illustrated with numerous portraits and pictures. Appreciative remarks were added by Dr. Tindall, Judge Bundy and Messrs. Bryan, Clark and Shoemaker.

President Morgan occupied the chair and there were present about 40 members and guests.

132d meeting. *November 19, 1912.*

President Morgan welcomed about 80 members and guests after the summer adjournment. Mrs. Abby Gunn Baker gave the communication, "The Erection of the White House."

The subject was discussed by Messrs A. C. Clark, Weller, Dennis, Shoemaker, Fishback and Kiefer; Miss Howes and Mrs. Downing.

133d meeting. *December 17, 1912.*

Mr. Robert H. Harkness made the communication, his subject being "Dr. William B. Magruder." The subject was discussed by Vice-President A. C. Clark, Messrs. Louis P. Shoemaker, Barry Bulkley, Joseph I. Kiefer, D. J. Callahan and Vice-President Barnard.

Present about 50 members and guests, with Vice-President Barnard in the chair.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR 1912.

RECEIVED.

Dues of members	$915.00
Sale of books	25.00
Special donations	9.00
	$949.00
Balance from previous years	140.38
	$1,089.38

EXPENDED.

Printing and binding Vol. 15	$599.72
Delivering same to members	42.18
Rent of room for archives	110.00
Rent of hall for meetings	50.00
Recording Secretary	175.00
Postage	37.34
Miscellaneous printing	34.15
Sundries	35.00
Insurance on archives	4.90
	$1,088.29
Balance	1.09
	$1,089.38
Life membership fund and interest	$164.25

Attest: WILLIAM HENRY DENNIS,
Treasurer.

Audited and found correct:

William B. Hibbs,
William E. H. Merritt,
J. Miller Kenyon,
Committee.

NINETEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY FOR 1912.

To the President and Members of the Columbia Historical Society, Greeting:

The Recording Secretary submits the Nineteenth Annual Report, beginning with the 127th meeting, January 16, 1912, and ending with the 133d meeting, December 17, of the same year.

During 1912, the Society admitted 8 new members, lost 5 by death, 7 by resignation and has at present a membership of 218.

The Board of Managers held 7 meetings with an average attendance of 6 members. The Society held 7 meetings in the Lecture Hall of the Washington Club, 1710 I street, with an average attendance of 65 members and guests.

Volume 15 issued in May, 1912, and presenting *The Records* for 1911, contains 368 pages and 20 important illustrations.

The correspondence of the Secretary shows that more and more the Society is being recognized as an authority in matters relating to the history of the District, as questions come from Departments of the Government, historians and historical societies in many different parts of the United States.

As the keeping open each Wednesday from November to May inclusive, of the Society's library, room 57 Pacific Building, is still a work of love, it has not been feasible to have it open any evening, although that too, we hope, can be achieved in the future.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY STEVENS BEALL,
Secretary.

January 21, 1913.

NINETEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CURATOR.

To the President and Members of the Columbia Historical Society:

I hand you herewith my nineteenth annual report as Curator of the Society.

Nothing has been purchased for the Society for the year 1912, but the library has grown through exchange and by gift.

The following are the accretions for 1912:

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY. Bulletins of, issued in 1912. 12 nos. of. In exchange with the Library.

PAN AMERICAN UNION. Bulletins of, 1912. In exchange with the Bureau of American Republics.

KANSAS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications of, 1912. In exchange with the Society.

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications of, 1912. In exchange with the Society.

WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications of, 1912. In exchange with the Society.

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications of, 1912. In exchange with the Society.

THE SOUTHWESTERN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY. Vol. XVI, No. 2, October, 1912. In exchange with the Texas State Historical Society.

THE UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO STUDIES. Vol. IX, No. 4.

THE CONTINUITY OF BERGSON'S THOUGHT, by M. F. Libby, Ph.D. In exchange with the university.

YEAR BOOK OF THE SCHENECTADY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1908–1912. In exchange with the Society.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS AND REPORT OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF THE LIBRARY BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS, 1912.

CHECK LIST OF AMERICAN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY NEWSPAPERS, compiled by John Van Ness Ingram, 1912. In exchange with the Library of Congress.

ANNUAL MAGAZINE SUBJECT-INDEX, 1911. In exchange with the editor.

A BOY'S RECOLLECTIONS OF THE WAR. Hon. Wm. O. Hart. Presented by the author.

AMERICAN BREEDERS MAGAZINE. Vol. III, No. 2, 1912. Presented by the editor.

NIAGARA, THE "MIGHTY THUNDERER." Garnault Agassiz. September, 1912.

UNPRINTED LETTERS OF WASHINGTON. Carnegie Institution, Depart. of Historical Research. June 23, 1912. Leaflet.

THE RED MAN. Vol. 4, No. 8. April, 1912. Presented by the editor.

WORKS OF ART IN THE CAPITOL BUILDING.

THE OLD TRAILS ROAD, THE NATIONAL HIGHWAY. A memorial to the pioneer men and women; a suggestion of the Missouri Good Roads Committee, Daughters of the American Revolution. Presented by the Committee.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. Vol. V, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 1910; Vol. VI, No. 1, 1911. Presented by Miss Cordelia Jackson.

THE POTOMAC ROUTE TO THE WEST. Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster, 1912. Presented by the author.

A RECORD OF THE FIRST EXHIBITION OF THE METROPOLITAN MECHANICS' INSTITUTE, 1853.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST WM. LLOYD GARRISON FOR A LIBEL. 1847.

AN ORATION DELIVERED ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF GETTYSBURG BY EDWARD EVERETT, at the Consecration of the Cemetery, Nov. 19, 1863.

MCCLELLAN: FROM BALL'S BLUFF TO ANTIETAM. George Wilkes. 1863.

A FUNERAL ORATION BY WM. CULLEN BRYANT ON THOMAS COLE. May 4, 1848.

A CARD FROM HENRY ADDISON, ESQ., TO THE PEOPLE OF GEORGETOWN. 1858.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE COLUMBIAN HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY OF THE D. C. August, 1833.

AN ADDRESS BY GEORGE WATTERSTON, delivered before the Columbian Horticultural Society at the First Annual Exhibition. June 6, 1834.

CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS, ENGRAVINGS, ETC., ETC., at the Picture Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society. Third Annual Exhibition. 1850.

ADDRESS BY CHAUNCEY P. HOLCOMB, delivered before the Agricultural Society of Montgomery Co., Md., at its Annual Exhibition at Rockville, September 14, 1854.

TWELFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON. August, 1856.

SCENES AND INCIDENTS OF STANLEY'S "WESTERN WILDS." Printed at the Evening Star Office, Washington, D. C., 1854.

All the above presented by Ralph W. Shoemaker.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES F. HOOD,
Curator.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
January 21, 1913.

REPORT OF THE CHRONICLER.

Principal Local Events of the Year 1912.

The Chronicler submitted the following report:

To the President and Members of the Columbia Historical Society:

1912.

Jan. 1. Meeting of the Washington National Monument Society reported that but seven states lacked representation in the Washington Monument.

" 5. The funeral of Rear Admiral R. D. Evans, who died January 3, was held at All Souls Church.

" 13. At 8 A. M. the city experienced the coldest hour since February, 1899, the year of the memorable blizzard. Temperature 15 degrees below zero.

Feb. 14. Dr. Harvey W. Wiley was the principal speaker at a meeting at the New Willard Hotel called for the purpose of organizing the District Council of the National Civic Federation.

" 23. A number of residents of Alexandria County, dissatisfied with conditions in the county, contemplate calling on President Taft to urge him to exert his influence to have Alexandria County replaced in the District of Columbia.

Mar. 11. Census bureau bulletin shows that Washington has 333,069 inhabitants, and is the seventeenth city in population in the country.

" 23. Thirty-four caskets, containing the remains of the last of the "Maine's" crew, were lowered in the graves of the Spanish War Section at Arlington. President Taft stood in the drizzling rain during the ceremonies. Commander Knapp spoke in memory of the dead and Father Chiswick, who was chaplain of the "Maine," offered prayer.

Mar. 27. Mrs. Taft planted the first Japanese cherry tree, a gift to this city, on the west side of the tidal basin in Potomac Park. 3,000 trees have been received.

Apr. 3. The commissioners designate the week from April 15 to 20 as city cleaning week for the District of Columbia.

" 4. The contract has been awarded to furnish four bronze buffaloes to decorate the O street bridge, at a cost to the District of $24,000. The bridge will cost $275,000.

" 12. Clara Barton, founder of the American Red Cross Society, died at her home in Glen Echo, Md., aged 90.

" 17. General Horace Porter delivered the oration at the unveiling of the monument of John Paul Jones in Potomac Park. The famous sea fighter's achievements were extolled in an address by President Taft.

" 20. Cardinal Gibbons was the recipient of a gift of $25,000 for the Catholic University, of which he is Chancellor. The donor, a wealthy Hebrew, withholds his name.

May 4. The statue of John Carroll, first archbishop of Baltimore, and the founder of Georgetown University, was unveiled. Chief Justice White made the formal presentation to the University as spokesman for the donor, the National Alumni Association. President Donlon reviewed the Archbishop's life as an educator.

" 5. Memorial services in honor of Major A. W. Butt, military aide to President Taft, who went down with the "Titanic" in the disaster off the North Atlantic coast, were held at the National Theatre. Mourning emblems were conspicuously absent; in their place were flags, flowers and Army insignia. Among the speakers were President Taft and Secretary Stimson.

May 23. The population of the District, according to the census taken by the police, is more than 350,000.

June 2. The Joaquin Miller Cabin, removed from Sixteenth and Belmont streets to Rock Creek Park, was turned over to the government.

" 8. After the elaborate ceremonies at the Union Station plaza during which President Taft and the Marquis Cusani Confalioneri delivered addresses, the Columbus Memorial Celebration was brought to a close by a mammoth banquet at Convention Hall.

" 25. The government acquired Meridean Hill Park. Congress appropriated $490,000 for the purchase of the land and its conversion into a public park.

July 4. This morning over every public building in the city was hoisted a flag with forty-eight stars. The increase is due to the admission of two new states, New Mexico and Arizona.

" 24. An interesting collection was installed in the Hall of History in the National Museum, consisting of articles donated and loaned by Mrs. Custer, widow of General Custer. One of the relics is a small table on which General Grant wrote the terms of surrender of General Lee.

Aug. 6. The first fully equipped motor fire engine house in the District fire department went into commission at Petworth.

" 23. The District's contribution to the 20,000,000 militia of the United States is more than 78,000. This may seem a small number, yet it surpasses that of six states, according to the director of the census.

Sept. 17. Condemnation proceedings were commenced to acquire nine and one-half squares of ground for the proposed extension of the capitol grounds to the Union Station plaza.

" 28. The National Museum received a notable collection of more than five hundred weapons and other

objects, presented by Mrs. Julian James, of this city.

Oct. 23. According to the census bureau, of the more than 350,000 residents of the District only 139,000 are natives. Of the states represented in the population, Virginia stands first with 52,000.

Nov. 12. The cornerstone of a monument, intended to crown the peace between the North and the South, was laid in the section set apart for the Confederate dead at Arlington. Ex-Secretary Herbert officiated and William J. Bryan was the orator of the day.

Dec. 13. The National Museum had added to its collection four antique chairs that were once the property of Alexander Hamilton.

" 28. The John Dickson home (a memorial by Henry Dickson to his father), intended as a refuge for aged men was announced ready for occupancy.

"The record of the year is done, as hoary, old December
Adjures us by experience now to ponder and remember;
For in the morn, with springing feet and lips of dew, a fairy
Will haste to turn a bright, new sheet—the glad young January!"

Respectfully submitted,
MARTENA CARR.

NECROLOGY.

1912, May 9th.....CHARLES HARPER WALSH.
1912, May 11th.....JOHN J. HEMPHILL.
1912, September 4th.....W J MCGEE.
1912, October 3d.....JOHN TAYLOR ARMS.
1912, November 30th.....ALVIN MASON LOTHROP.

INDEX.