A HISTORY

of

LITERARY PERIODICALS IN BALTIMORE

By

W. Bird Terwilliger

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Maryland in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

1941
PREFACE

This history does not include all the magazines published in Baltimore, and the method of selection may be open to criticism. It was felt, however, that the purely technical and scientific journals, even though they might contain an occasional scrap of a literary nature, were outside the bounds of this study. On the other hand, many religious magazines have been included, for they are nearly all literary to at least a slight degree. Humorous magazines have also been included, even though they are of doubtful literary quality.

There are two magazines which could not properly have been included in the text, but which should at least be named here, since both achieved national prominence. They are Niles' Register, which was established by Hezekiah Niles in 1811 and survived until 1848, and The American Farmer, founded in 1819 by John Stuart Skinner, which was continued until 1897.

I wish to acknowledge the kindness of Dr. John C. French, of The Johns Hopkins University, in permitting me to examine Dr. Uhler's dissertation, and also the valuable co-operation of the members of the staffs of the Peabody, the Maryland Historical, and the Enoch Pratt Free Libraries.

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A HISTORY
of
LITERARY PERIODICALS IN BALTIMORE

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST MAGAZINES
1793 - 1814

Any survey of the periodicals, literary or otherwise, which have appeared in Baltimore in the century and a half since the publication of the first one in 1793 must perforce parallel to a great extent the history of American magazines so thoroughly investigated and so well told by Frank Luther Mott in his History of American Magazines. The same vicissitudes, the same triumphs, the same failures were experienced alike by the optimistic and often rash publishers of periodicals in New York and Richmond, Boston and Baltimore. There was everywhere a craving for some medium of cultural expression, as well as a desire, especially after the Revolution, to demonstrate to the world, and to ourselves, that the New World was in no way inferior to the Old in matters intellectual, just as we had demonstrated our proficiency in military and economic affairs. This twofold need was met by the periodical. Many of the earlier ones were wholly eclectic, and most of the remainder were in direct imitation of English publications. It would seem that every literate English-speaking immigrant brought along a copy of the Spectator in his breeches pocket. When the material was original, so much of it was anonymous or written over pseudonyms that any attempt to identify particular items is futile.
The enterprising magazine publisher in the early days of our history was beset by all manner of difficulties. The percentage of the population to whom even mediocre literary productions would appeal was small. A large number of those who were willing to read were unwilling or unable to pay, if we may judge from the innumerable "notices to subscribers," and the number of periodicals which were abandoned for lack of financial support. The problem of distribution was a very real obstacle to a profitable circulation until, in 1775, William Goddard, Baltimore printer and publisher, established for the circulation of his Maryland Journal the Constitutional Post Office, which soon became the United States Post Office. Printing equipment was also expensive and hard to come at, and it was not until after the Revolution that paper manufacture was engaged in to any extent in the colonies.

In the face of all these difficulties, however, two magazines, the first in the New World, were established in Philadelphia before the middle of the eighteenth century: Andrew Bradford's American Magazine, on February 13, 1741, which ran for only three months, and Franklin's General Magazine and Historic Chronicle, established three days later, which ran for six months. Following this breaking of the ice there was an eruption of more or less literary periodicals, in all the colonies eventually, but principally northward through New England. At first, when transportation and communication were greater problems than they have been since the Civil War, before we began to think of New York as the capital of the Union in all save politics, each section of the country was more nearly self-sufficient than it has been in the past 75 years. New England had its own centers of culture and industry, so did the Middle States, the Southern
group, and, to a certain extent, the South- and Middle-west, represented respectively by New Orleans and Cincinnati. In the earliest days, isolation was almost complete; there was not enough inter-communication for a healthy interchange and comparison of ideas. There was, however, a gradual shifting from this state of affairs, as such centers as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, Charleston, Cincinnati, and New Orleans began to exert a magnetic attraction upon both intellectual and industrial capital. Then, in the second quarter of the last century, the lesser of these cities began to lose their power of attraction, the number of such centers decreased, and eventually all were swallowed up by three, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. This process continued until in the early twentieth century we were presented with the spectacle of a great nation giving its all to New York, with the result that the latter has assumed the role of the pampered courtezan, for whose embellishment the other units of the country slave, and sacrifice their most illustrious ornaments. In more recent years there has been some indication of a trend toward de-centralization, but New York is still the Mecca of those who aspire to recognition in the literary world.

In Maryland it was not until more than fifty years after the advent of the American Magazine that any publication other than a newspaper was attempted. In Baltimore there was not even a newspaper until 1773, although at Annapolis, the seat of government, there had been a newspaper as early as 1727, the Maryland Gazette, published by William Parks. Although this paper lived but a short time, a successor bearing the same name, established by Jonas Green in 1745, survived until 1839.

Baltimore, inferior to Annapolis in both size and importance until
the Revolutionary period, had no newspaper until 1773, and only one suc-
cessful printer, Nicholas Hasselbach, who set up shop in 1765 and pub-
lished a number of textbooks and religious works in German and English.
William Goddard arrived in Baltimore in 1773, after a short but tempe-
tuous career as printer and publisher in Providence, Rhode Island, New
York City, and Philadelphia, and opened a printing establishment, from
which he and his sister Mary issued the Maryland Journal and Baltimore
Advertiser. This paper, which was continued under various publishers
for twenty-four years, apparently opened the flood-gates in Baltimore,
for from this time onward both newspapers and magazines, some of them
ephemeral as the dew, others attaining the venerability vouchsafed to
centenarians, continued to be poured forth with boundless optimism.
Among the newspapers, the American, founded in 1799, was for many years
one of the leading papers along the Atlantic seaboard. Others which
must be reckoned with in any study of American newspapers are the Balti-
more Daily Repository, founded in 1791, which became the Federal Gazette
and Baltimore Daily Advertiser in 1796, and the Patriot, established in
1812.1

1. John Earle Uhler, Literary Taste and Culture in Baltimore
(unpublished dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1927), has
listed all newspapers and magazines proposed or published in Baltimore
before 1834.
Lawrence C. Wroth, History of Printing in Colonial Maryland,
1686 - 1776 (Baltimore, 1922), has provided a complete record of Maryland
colonial newspapers.
For further information upon early newspapers and magazines, and
for the study of those published since these dates, I have relied upon J.
Thomas Scharf, History of Baltimore City and County (Philadelphia, 1881),
and the files of local newspapers and magazines.

Many of the magazines published in Baltimore, especially in the
years before the Civil War, were issued from the printing establishments of the various newspaper proprietors, and, as will be noticed later, the characteristics of newspaper and magazine were frequently combined. In this respect there was a reversion to the type of the earliest eighteenth-century English magazines. Although there are few among the Baltimore literary magazines which are generally remembered today, there were many which, in their own day, were read throughout the country, and some of the men who edited or contributed to them were significant figures in the development of American literature and thought. Baltimore's literary achievements were greater than has generally been recognized, and her contributions, direct and indirect, to the total of our national culture are not unworthy of consideration.

Among the early Baltimore printers to follow the path opened up by Goddard was Philip Edwards, proprietor and publisher at various times of the Baltimore Daily Advertiser, the Maryland Journal, and other papers. From his printing house was issued, in January, 1793, the first magazine published in Baltimore, the Free Universal Magazine. As a purely religious magazine, it scarcely falls within the province of literary history, but it is interesting to see what were the first fruits of Baltimore in this field. The Free Universal Magazine was a quarterly, edited by the Reverend Abel Sarjent, pastor of the Universalist church in Baltimore. It bore as a motto:

For thus hath the Lord said unto me, Go, set a watchman, let him declare what he seeth.

Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night?
The watchman said. The morning cometh, and also the night:
if ye will enquire, enquire ye: return, come.2

2. Isaiah, XXI, 6, 11, 12.
Sarjent was a man of considerable learning and literary ability, a fortunate circumstance for readers of his magazine, as he was almost the only contributor. In the third number, the only one known to be in existence, is given a list of subscribers, numbering one hundred thirty-five, from Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. Nearly half this number were in New Jersey. 3


Besides the report of the annual Universalist Convention in Philadelphia, there is considerable other material of denominational news value, but most of the space is devoted to an exposition of the doctrine of Universalism, which was on the defensive. Numerous inquiries on Universalist interpretation of Scriptural passages are skilfully and convincingly answered by Pastor Sarjent. The Free Universal apparently existed for only one year.

The next Baltimore magazine, although not described by the publishers as a religious publication, came very close to being one. This was the Weekly Museum, first issued on Sunday, January 8, 1797, printed by John Smith and Christopher Jackson, who were also editors. No further record of these men has come down to us. In "To the Public," which was printed in the first four numbers, the editors outline their intended publication:

Of late years, the institution of Sunday Schools has been adopted, for the purpose of spreading knowledge among the laborious members of society. There can be no reason why a Sunday publication may not have a similar effect, and at the same time, afford information and entertainment to every class of citizens. As the WEEKLY MUSEUM will be enlisted in the service of virtue and knowledge, it is thought, that no one can object to its appearance, or publication on Sunday morning. Its contents (which we hope will meet the approbation of a discerning community) will include a variety of select performances, both in prose [sic]
and verse, anecdotes, and the best political pieces of the times, and ingenious essays on different subjects. To these will be added, a weekly abridgment of affairs, foreign and domestic, with the latest news that may arrive every Saturday evening, by the post, from the different parts of the continent.

Mention is also made of the fact that the small size of the Museum (7" x 9") as compared with that of newspapers will make it most convenient for binding and preserving as a never-ending source of pleasure and enlightenment.

Only a dozen issues were published, and these are almost devoid of "select performances" in either "pros or verse." There is verse, to be sure, such as it is, and an occasional borrowed tale or moral essay. The news summary is fair. The most substantial offering, a reprint of "An APOLOGY for the BIBLE," Dr. Watson, Lord Bishop of Landaff's reply to Paine's Age of Reason, is still going in the last available number.

The Weekly Museum's only claim to distinction is that it was the first Sunday publication in Baltimore.

The only discoverable copy of the Baltimore General Magazine and Impartial Review, printed by Andrew Hanna, is the second, that for July, 1798. On the cover appear the following "Conditions:"

It will be published monthly, enriched with a beautiful engraving, at a Quarter of a Dollar each number, Payable on delivery.

It will contain FORTY octavo pages, stitched on medium size paper.

Subscribers residing at a distance are requested to appoint some person in this town to receive, and pay their numbers; otherwise to pay half a years Subscription (one dollar and a half.)

The available number contains a lifted, and apparently condensed story, "Charles and Amelia; or, The Unfortunate Lovers," with an elegant engraving of Amelia; two original columns, "The Visitor," by "A,"
probably the unnamed editor, a rambling discourse on procrastination, fairly good; and "On Marriage," pretty bad; the "Journal of a Wiltshire Curate," good but borrowed; various other borrowed news and articles; an original but anonymous poem, "The Challenge.-From a Parson to his Mistress," unreadable; a "Humorous Scene in the New Play of Columbus;" and columns of marriages and deaths. The magazine contains little to make us wish it had been continued.

Scharf says that Alexander Martin, "To compensate his subscribers..." for the deficiency of size in his paper the Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser,... issued the Honey Comb, a dainty little literary paper of eight pages, beautifully printed, and full of interesting matter, beginning on the 18th of August 1799, and it was continued until the 14th of November, when the American was considerably enlarged and otherwise improved." No other record of the Honey Comb exists, however.

The next magazine, the Child of Pallas, contains much better original matter. A weekly, it was published for eight weeks in 1800 by Warner and Hanna, with Charles Prentiss as editor. The issues are numbered but not dated, and although each number contains a few news items, these are so general, and usually so old, that they are of little assistance in determining dates of publication. In his introduction to
the first number, Prentiss presents a theory soon made familiar to the reader of old Baltimore magazines; namely, Baltimore can produce talent comparable to that in the rest of the nation, and the editor believes such a venture as he contemplates will meet the approval of his fellow-citizens to an extent that will insure financial success. Foolish optimist! One hundred and fifty years of magazine failures in Baltimore have disproved his theory, without, however, eradicating it from the minds of Baltimoreans.

Two regular departments constitute the original material: "The Jumper" is so named, says its author, who is undoubtedly the editor, because he proposes to jump about from one subject to another. It is not so inane as its title would indicate, but is a light, rather entertaining commentary on various quirks of human nature. "Crites," also obviously by Mr. Prentiss, is a good series of articles on the subject of correct English usage.

The remaining pages of the eight issues contain a great deal of material concerning Samuel Johnson and his circle, taken chiefly from Boswell; a few news items; and occasionally some poor verses, usually borrowed. On the whole, the Child of Pallas is a creditable production. We shall find less that is good in many of the hundred odd magazines that have been published in Baltimore.

On Saturday, April 26, 1800, appeared the first number of the Baltimore Weekly Magazine, "containing a variety of entertaining, instructive, and useful productions." It was published by William Pechin for

7. William Pechin, alone or with various partners, was for some years editor and proprietor of the Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser. He was elected a member of the Maryland Legislature on October 7, 1910. As a Major in the Maryland Militia, he led a company
of 600 men at the Battle of North Point.

John B. Colvin, the editor, and bore the motto:

8. John B. Colvin, printer, was editor of the Baltimore Republican Advocate in 1803, and was the author of The Magistrate's Guide (Frederick-Town, Maryland, 1805).

For every palate is our Banquet fit;
Replete with Morals, Hist'ry, News, and Wit.

In the first number, under the heading, "To THE PUBLIC, and patrons of the Baltimore Weekly Magazine," the editor proposes to bring Baltimore into line with northern towns which have well-established literary magazines, and offers as a prospectus:

Discarding almost every idea, save those attached to the Belles-Lettres and their concomitants, it shall be my sole endeavor to give to the Weekly Magazine an excellence which shall render it valuable to every class of society;—its pages shall ne'er be sullied by the rancorous spirit of party on the score of politics; Modesty will meet with nothing discordant to the ear; neither shall "slander vile," with all its train of character-blasting calumnies, find admittance here.—The dangerous, and too often malevolent, theologian, may keep aloof, for unless the disquisition is peculiarly and generally informing, it will not procure a place.

Thus professing and thus determined, I issue the first number of this work, and invite GENIUS, so she comes not "in a questionable shape," to communicate her productions for insertion—the Biographical Sketch, the Moral Essay, the Philosophical Inquiry, and Poetical Effusion, I shall be happy to receive from the pens of the learned and the sentimental...  


There is also a promise of a weekly digest of news, and a doubt that the editor will at first be able to secure sufficient original material to fill up the magazine, apparently a quite well-founded doubt.

From August 3, 1800, to December 20, 1800, the Weekly was suspended during the epidemic of fever which swept the city; and again from
February 16, 1801, to March 11, 1801, there is a gap, this time unexplained. Finally, on May 27, 1801, Colvin sorrowfully announced that he must cease publication for lack of support. Thus the Baltimore Weekly Magazine ran, in the brief space of thirteen months, the usual race of Baltimore magazines before and since, a short, monotonous existence.

The magazine fell considerably short of Colvin's editorial hopes. Much of the material is eclectic, and not particularly well chosen. The original poetry is uniformly bad, as is most of the prose. One tale, "The History of Jack Smith," which appeared serially from the first issue to the last, seems to have been the one contribution which kept the Weekly alive for its brief existence; and it was a reprint of a novel, probably a pirated edition, published two years earlier.\(^\text{10}\) It is a rather ordinary picaresque story of a rogue who wanders from one American city to another, victimizing the unsophisticate, until his reformation, brought about by the tender influence of his sweetheart. This story and a condensation of Kotzebue's Ildegarte are the most substantial works to be found in the magazine. The contributions are completely anonymous; most of them lack even the pseudonym which so annoys in the other early magazines.

The digest of news comes to nothing. A notice of the opening of the New Theater with Kotzebue's Reconciliation, on May 24, 1800,\(^\text{11}\)

\(^{10}\) The History of Jack Smith, by Charles Lucas (Baltimore, 1798).

\(^{11}\) Baltimore Weekly Magazine, I, 39.

introduces an anemic and intermittent theatrical column. The following excerpt will indicate the quality of the dramatic criticism:
"Hamlet, Prince of Denmark"

To those who were present at the performance of this justly esteemed tragedy, it must have afforded a peculiar pleasure in witnessing the superior powers of Mr. Cooper, who (to borrow from Shakespear, so well suited "the action to the word and the word to the action," that he appeared more like the real than the mock Hamlet. Mrs. Merry in Ophelia, looked "the wild maniac." It is not meant here to be censorious, but Mrs. Francis did not seem the queen; yet she surpassed expectations, as it is entirely out of her line of acting; she is excellent in many parts. Mr. Wood in Horatio was not amiss; and Mr. Cain, although there appeared "a falling off" from the Laertes of Moreton, acted his part with some eclat.12

12. Ibid., May 31, 1800, I, 47.

The editorials cover a wide range, from the moral to the frivolous, avoiding most controversial topics, however. One exception is an editorial obviously pointed at the institution of slavery, in which the editor relates how, while walking through the forest one day, he found a Negro in a cage, hanging upon a tree, where he had been for two days. A part of the account follows:

I shudder when I recollect that the birds had already picked out his eyes; his cheek bones were bare; his arms had been attacked in several places, and his body seemed covered with a multitude of wounds. From the edges of the hollow sockets and from the lacerations with which he was disfigured, the blood slowly dropped, and tinged the ground beneath. No sooner were the birds flown, than swarms of insects covered the body of the unfortunate wretch, eager to feed on his mangled flesh and drink his blood.13

13. Ibid., May 6, 1801, I, 281.

The editor would have put the poor fellow out of his misery, but had just fired the last shot from his gun, in order to frighten away the birds, so had to be content with fetching a drink of water for the Negro.

A week later, Jefferson's Inaugural Address is printed, but the
editor is careful to emphasize that it has been inserted by re-
quest. 14


Not the least readable of the Baltimore magazines, the Weekly
Magazine nevertheless lacks anything of permanent interest.

Before the end of the year 1801, Warner and Hanna were back in
the field again, this time with a religious magazine, the Temple of
Truth, edited by the Reverend John Hargrove, pastor of the New Jerusa-
lem Church, in Baltimore. The avowed purpose of the Temple of Truth
was to combat the atheistic and agnostic influences which were abroad at
the time. The editor's sincerity probably compensated for the dullness
of his prose as far as his followers were concerned, but it hardly suf-
fices today.

At about this time, Alexander Martin, for two years editor and
proprietor of the Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser, again made
a sally into the field of the literary periodical. Having, on January
1, 1803, sold his newspaper to Pechin and Frailey, he began on January
1, 1804, the publication of the Rush-Light, "a satirical, political, and
literary weekly journal," but his propensity for quarreling led him to
attack Pechin therein, and the latter soon ridiculed the Rush-Light out
of existence. 15 No copies of the Rush-Light are available.

15. J. Thomas Scharf, Chronicles of Baltimore, (Baltimore, 1874),
p. 85.

In the same year was published, by Martin and Pratt, the Marvel-
ous Magazine. It was a weekly, although it is not certain that it
appeared regularly. The only number retaining its cover, which bears the date, is that for March 10, 1804. The title page bears the inscription, Non Fabula Mendax. "Wonders!- Wonders!- Wonders!" which in the issue mentioned above is followed by this "Advertisement:"

The spirit of this work will be, to collect and conserve all the events, and such publications, as come under the denomination of

QUEER, singular, marvellous, out-of-the-way,

STRANGE unaccountable, astonishing, wonderful!

From the pursuit of these singularities, should it obtain public countenance, it shall never be diverted. But while it shall be our constant aim, to "Make the world's wide mouth with wonder gape!" Yet, we shall ever endeavor to attend to matter-of-fact as far as possible; being fully convinced that everything which bears the appearance of invention, is not an absolute falsehood.

The "Advertisement" continues to the effect that man is too prone to disbelieve wondrous tales, an inclination which the perusal of true tales of the marvellous may in some part remedy.

The magazine is a compendium of all the tall tales of all time that the editor could lay hands upon. There are sea-serpents, ghosts, weird dreams, and harrowing tales of poor unfortunate persons who were buried alive. There is a section devoted to "Marvellous Poetry," and another to "Wonderful Paragraphs," short anecdotes. Nor are all the tales concerned with fabulous monsters and supernatural occurrences. Among the most curious is the report of the defense of Miss Polly Baker, as presented by herself, upon her being arraigned for the fourth time before the court of judicature of Connecticut, on the charge of bastardy. She had previously paid two fines and served two jail sentences, in lieu of fines, for the same offense. A part of her plea follows:

Abstracted from the law, I cannot conceive (may it please your honors) what the nature of my offense is. I have brought five children into the world, at the risque of my life. I have maintained them well
by my own industry, without burdening the township, and would have done it better, if it had not been for the heavy fines and charges I have paid. Can it be a crime (in the nature of things, I mean) to add to the number of the King's subjects, in a new country that really wants people?

Miss Baker concludes with the assertion that she has robbed no women of their husbands, seduced no youths; only ministers and justices can claim injury at her hands, and they only because she may have deprived them of fees.

Most "marvellous" is the sequel. Miss Polly was acquitted, and next day was married to one of her judges, to whom she bore fifteen children.¹⁶


The Orphan's Friend and Literary Repository was a monthly with literary pretensions, printed for the editor, James Heron, by Wane and Murphy. Nothing definite is known of Mr. Heron. He may have been the James Gordon Heron who was a member of the convention which met at Annapolis and ratified the new Federal Constitution on April 28, 1789. The Orphan's Friend was first issued in November, 1804. After four numbers had been published, Heron sold out to his printers, who changed the title to the Baltimore Magazine and Literary Repository, and apparently did their own editing for the remainder of its short life. With the number for April, 1805, came the announcement of the "temporary" suspension of the magazine, but "temporary" meant here, as so often in the magazine field, permanent.

In the first issue the editor, in his address "To the Public," states that his two great objects are "to inform the understanding and improve the heart." For contributions he relies "upon the steady cooper-
ation of several persons of great eminence in the city, whose names, were he at liberty to mention them, would add respectability to any work." 17 Further on, in the regular editorial column, he states that


half the proceeds from the magazine will go to the aid of needy orphans, and continues:

The editor, sensible of the abilities of many individuals in this city, cordially solicits them (not through selfish motives, but the public good) to expand and communicate their instructive discussions, by which means, the world and posterity will partake and be entertained. 18

18. Ibid., p. 48.

In spite of Mr. Heron's seductive plea, either the "persons of great eminence" did not respond, or their abilities fell below reasonable expectations, for in six months of publication, there appears not one shred of literary merit. All contributions are anonymous, or signed with unidentifiable initials or such pseudonyms as "Timothy Quaint," "The Stranger," and "Launcelot Lounger." In the first number there is a defense of the stage, 19 in which the latter is compared to the press as an educational institution. The thinking is sound enough, but the writing very ordinary. In the same issue, "A Friend to the Sex" writes a letter in violent denunciation of "rights of women" and Mary Wollstonecraft, to every sentiment of which the editor assents heartily. Another number contains an article on the first of the P's which have
swept the gullible of this country off their feet: Phisiognomy, Phrenology, and (Applied) Psychology.  

20. Ibid., January, 1805, I, 119.

In his "To Correspondents," in the second number, the editor relates how he caught a plagiarist, and warns his contributors against this sin; but his successors assert that it matters not whether material is original or borrowed; that if it is good, it will be printed; and that borrowings need not be acknowledged. There are numerous articles on seduction, which was apparently a prevalent pastime of the day, on Christianity, and on education, together with an abundance of bad anecdotes. No one, save perhaps the orphans, and that is doubtful, suffered from the eventual suspension of the Orphan's Friend and Literary Repository.

On November 3, 1804, within a few days of the publication of the Orphan's Friend, Cole and Hewes, rivals to Wane and Murphy, issued the first number of the Companion and Weekly Miscellany, edited by "Edward Easy, Esquire," unidentifiable. "Mr. Easy" outlines a rather ambitious program:

He the[editor] will sometimes send imagination forth to try if she can find what may amuse the serious and relax the busy with harmless merriment, and sometimes he will endeavor to detain the volatile and thoughtless, by exciting and describing those finer sensibilities and feelings of the soul, which, when properly directed, are the pride, the boast of human nature, and the purest sources of virtue and happiness:
But, while he gives the tear and the sigh, in sympathy with those whose spirit is bowed down by reflection, he will ever avoid the hackneyed cant, the ridiculous whining which characterize the sickly sensibility of modern novels; and, when he indulges in the sallies of sportive humour, he will never transgress the bounds of decency, or offend the chastest ear by indecorous allusions.

That vice should be scourged with the rod of satire, and folly painted in appropriate colors of ridicule, is sanctioned by the practice of the wise and good in all ages... Religious and political controversy will never make any part of his lucubrations; 23


Attempting, like so many American editors, to imitate the Spectator, "Mr. Easy" devotes several pages of his first and second issues to a description and history of himself and his family, 24 and


his prospective contributors, "Mr. Steady," "Richard Razorblade," "Nathan Scruple," "Will Whimsical," and "Captain Frankly," 25 as odd a lot of characters as could well be got together.

These associates must, however, have been hypothetical or extremely reticent, for only once or twice in the two years of the Companion's existence does one of the above names appear.

The contributions are the usual miscellaneous assortment, without, however, much fiction. There are innumerable essays and poems, frequent letters to the editor, and several more or less regular columns. Of the latter, "The Trifler," 26 by "T," "The Pedestrian," 27 by "Rario,"

27. Began July 13, 1805, I, 292.

and "The Bystander,"\(^2\) completely anonymous, which appeared frequently in 1806, are the most regular. All are extremely wide in their scope of subject matter; none have any distinguishing characteristics. Other unidentifiable and very amateurish contributors are "Pericles," "J. Plumpudding," "Miss Biddy Fidget," "Rubrilla," "X," "Solus," "Yelse," and "Leander," the last four indefatigable versifiers. One contributor, probably the editor, is apparently a student of Samuel Johnson, for there is an entertaining "Lesson in Biography,"\(^2\) in which "James Bozz"

28. The issues containing the first four numbers of "The Bystander" are missing.

29. The *Companion and Weekly Miscellaney*, November 17, 1804, I, 36.

writes up "Doctor Pozz;" and in another essay, an equally satirical and amusing imaginary dialogue between Dr. Johnson and William Godwin, "supposing the former to have lived a few years longer," the outcome of the clash of intellects seems to be a draw.\(^3\)


There is an occasional review of the theater, not particularly well done.

Various reprints of commencement addresses, popular biographies, and similar material constitute the remainder of a rather dull magazine,
which "temporarily" suspended publication on October 25, 1806.

Joseph Robinson, for half a century one of the most substantial of the early Baltimore printers and publishers, undertook, in November, 1806, to publish a successor to the Companion and Weekly Miscellany, a weekly which he named the Observer, and Repertory of Original and Selected Essays, in Verse and Prose, on Topics of Polite Literature. Why he called it a successor to the Companion is not quite clear. Presumably he bought up the defunct magazine, and possibly he employed the same editor. No editor's name appears in the first four issues, and in the fifth, an announcement that "Beatrice Ironsides" is the editor does not add much to our knowledge of his identity. ("Beatrice" is obviously a man.)

Although the editor repeatedly stresses the opportunity for original talent to find expression in the Observer, and addresses numerous notes "to correspondents," he apparently did most of the writing himself, for there is a noticeable similarity of style among nearly all the articles. In the first issue begins "The Lucubrations of Benjamin Bickerstaff," who purports to be a collateral descendant of Isaac


Bickerstaff. He is deeply offended by a critical letter from "Tabitha Simple," and on January 31 writes a farewell "lucubration." With the

32. Ibid., January 24, 1807.

next number begins "The Cameleon," by "Thomas Fickle," a similar series which runs with considerable regularity throughout the life of the Observer. It is evident that "Benjamin Bickerstaff," "Tabitha Simple,"
and "Thomas Fickle" are one with "Beatrice Ironsides." The series is merely another of the countless productions inspired by the Spectator and similar eighteenth-century papers. The first number of "The Cameleon" is devoted to a description of "Solid," "Candid," "Lively," and "Earnest," members of an Addisonian club. In another issue, "Fickle" humorously describes in turn each of the clergymen of Baltimore, disguising their identities but faintly.33

33. Ibid., March 28, 1807.

In a series beginning with the issue for February 21, 1807, "Beatrice Ironsides' Budget," the editor gives a whimsical account of him- or herself, which still leaves the reader entirely in the dark, and there is no contemporary reference to indicate who the editor may be.

The articles are not badly written, but they reveal little originality or literary value. The anonymously contributed verse is of the most inferior quality.

In "Beatrice Ironsides'" farewell "Budget," the editor pokes a

34. Ibid., December 26, 1807.

rather scornful finger at his readers, who have failed to make the Observer financially profitable, condemning them to the reading of the Companion, the Critic, the Spectator, and Moonshine, all apparently contemporaneous Baltimore magazines, of which no other record remains save an equally vague reference in the Baltimore Repertory.35

In view of the scarcity of light reading matter in the colonies at this time, it is likely that the Observer was read with considerable relish by the subscribers, even though they did not pay their subscriptions, but it certainly did little to raise the level of literary excellence in America. The best writing in the magazine is to be found in an interminable series of "Remarks" on Dr. Crawford's oration on the Quarantine, which began on March 7, 1807. This series, which began as a discussion of an anti-quarantine speech, turned out to be a very readable and quite learned series of scientific papers for lay readers.

Of the next Baltimore magazine, Spectacles, only one copy has been preserved, that for June 6, 1807. It was a weekly, printed and published by Joseph Harmer. Letters to the editor, one of which identifies him as Harmer, are numerous. There seems to have been one regular column, a letter from an old bachelor, signed "Theophilus Rusty," very likely written by Harmer, whom I have been unable to identify. The whole first page is devoted to an editorial on indolence, very good but smacking somewhat of Franklin.

The Emerald, first Baltimore magazine of that name, was printed in 1809 by Benjamin Edes, who was also to publish the second, and infinitely better one, in 1828. The earlier one, which was first issued on November 3, 1809, was published by "Peter Pleasant and Company," "Peter Pleasant" apparently being the editor. The Emerald contains a remarkably high percentage of original matter, none of which writes merits disinterment. To identify "Victor," "Philo," "Olim," "Eucardius," "Sambo," and forty or fifty other contributors would be as unprofitable as it is impossible. The articles range from the cynical to the over-sentimental: "Platonus" proposes the repeal of the Ten Commandments, because they impede freedom of thought, and because they are forgotten
anyway;\textsuperscript{36} while "Querist," whose column is found in nearly every

\begin{align*}
\text{36. Emerald, December 22, 1810, I, 87.}
\end{align*}

number, ponders such problems as "What is Passion?" "Is Love voluntary or involuntary?" "What is the strongest passion?" "What object on earth, within the power of man, is most worthy of pursuit?" (Answer, Love.) There is considerable literary criticism, neither good enough nor bad enough to deserve notice.

The Emerald was published weekly through Saturday, March 2, 1811, when it was discontinued for lack of support.

The enterprising Joseph Robinson again sought public favor for a literary periodical in 1811, when, in January, he issued the first number of a monthly, the Baltimore Repertory of Papers on Literary and other Topics, "By a Society of Gentlemen." In the preface by the anonymous editors, the need of literature as a broadening influence on the mind is emphasized.

A reprinted story, "Agrarius Denterville," anonymous, and two columns, "Evening Reflections," (chiefly dissertations on the ancients) by "Desultory Reader," and "The Vigil," anonymous, run through the first volume, January - June, 1811, the only one known to be preserved. The eclectic articles are fair, but Robinson was to make better selections later, for Robinson's Magazine. The group of plays by forgotten dramatists which is bound with the volume (Pechin acquired the leftover copies and bound them) adds nothing to the value or interest of the magazine.

For the next three years Baltimore, occupied with beating off the British, had little time for literary periodicals. On August 17, 1813,
Gamill M. Mann, M. D. issued the prospectus of the Museum and Weekly Gazette, which he described as a scientific and literary journal. Both original and selected material were to be published. There would also be a digest of the news. As Dr. Mann relates how, by a process of elimination, he determined upon Baltimore as the home of the Museum, he was evidently not a native Baltimorean. The lack of any other mention of his name in Baltimore annals also tends to confirm this theory. Only the prospectus having been preserved, it is not known whether the magazine itself was ever issued, although Scharf mentions the National Museum and Weekly Gazette as having been published in 1813.37


There is little indication, in the productions of this period between the two wars, of any deep springs of literary inspiration in Baltimore; but, although she may never have attained the first rank, she was destined, before the middle of the century, to produce an enormous quantity of literature, some of it comparable to the best produced during the same period in any other part of the country.
CHAPTER II

EARLY MATURITY

1815 - 1824

Maturity, if not stability, came suddenly upon Baltimore literary periodicals with the close of the War of 1812. The remaining ten years of the first quarter of the nineteenth century compassed the life span of two of the most finished productions which the city can boast, productions which she has scarcely equalled, and never surpassed. There were inferior magazines during this period, too, but the good ones were not buried, as was the case a few years later, among a multitude of shabby journals which it is impossible to read without experiencing something akin to nausea.

The first new magazine after the close of the war was The Wanderer, bearing as its motto, "Some wandering touches of reflected light," by Pope. It was printed and published by Richard Matchett, publisher of Baltimore's first directory, and the first issue appeared on October 13, 1815. In the six-page introduction to the first number, the editors set forth the purpose of The Wanderer: "It will dispense information, present original notices, and notice remarkable occurrences of the day." The three editors are described: "Spiderius," the philosopher, an attic bookworm, dwelling among spiders, cobwebs, and books, will write on matters philosophic, scientific, and classical; "Valerius," the affable man about town, who keeps abreast of all that is happening, will select the reprinted material, and note the "remarkable occurrences;" "Peregrinus," possessing to a less pronounced degree the
qualities of both his co-editors, will preside over the muses. The anonymity sought by these three has been well preserved. Even garrulous John Neal, who frequently refers to the Wanderer, fails to name them.

The introduction, purely Addisonian, is well written, and promises better for the quality of the magazine than do the contents of the first issue, the only one preserved, which consist chiefly of a review of Arispe's Memoir on the Northern Provinces of New Spain. The introduction, purely Addisonian, is well written, and promises better for the quality of the magazine than do the contents of the first issue, the only one preserved, which consist chiefly of a review of Arispe's Memoir on the Northern Provinces of New Spain.38

38. The Wanderer, October 13, 1815, I, 6.

quite well done, and some inferior poetry, anecdotes, and other miscellaneous matter, all borrowed. The length of publication of the Wanderer is unknown, but it certainly did not long "present original notices, and notice remarkable occurrences of the day."

The best of the Baltimore magazines up to its time, and one of the best of all time, is The Portico, a Repository of Science and Literature, which was published in Baltimore by Neal, Willis, and Cole, and in Philadelphia by Anthony Finley. The first issue appeared on January 1, 1816. It was edited by "Two Men of Padua," Tobias Watkins and his brother-in-law, Stephen Simpson. Simpson, born in Philadelphia on July 24, 1789, was a bank clerk in his native city until he entered the army for the duration of the War of 1812. After the close of the war, he was variously editor of the Portico and of the Columbian Observer (Philadelphia), candidate for Congress on the ticket of the Workingmen's Party, and writer on economics and politics. He also wrote a biography of Stephen Girard, and one of Washington and Jefferson. He died in 1854.39 As he did little writing for the Portico, it is probable, in
the light of Watkins's known pecuniary inaptitude, that his role in the partnership was that of financial bulwark. His connections in Philadelphia, where he lived even while editing the *Portico*, account for the simultaneous publication of the magazine in both cities.

Watkins was a more colorful figure. He was born in Baltimore in 1780, and was graduated from St. John's College and the Philadelphia Medical College. In 1809, he established and edited the (Baltimore) *Medical and Physical Recorder*, securing experience which served him well when he came to edit the *Portico*. After serving as an army surgeon during the War, he was in 1818 appointed by President J. Q. Adams to the post of Assistant Surgeon General in the United States Army, a position which he held until 1821. President Adams then appointed him Secretary to the Spanish Commission, saying very pointedly as he told Watkins of the appointment, "Dr. Watkins, the salary is two thousand dollars; there are no perquisites." Nevertheless, Watkins kept a coach, lived in the most expensive part of town, and contracted fabulous debts, which were never paid. His next appointment was to the post of Fourth Auditor in the Treasury Department. He was removed from this office by the Jackson administration, and, as he had engaged rather freely in politics and electioneering, his accounts were investigated. When a shortage of a few thousand dollars was discovered, he served a term in prison. President Jackson personally ordered the inscription over the cell block in which the ex-Auditor was lodged to be changed from "Debtor's Department" to "Criminal's Department." Watkins rounded out his irregular life by keeping a common school in a tumbledown brick
building in Alexandria, Virginia, and eventually dying in Washington on
November 14, 1855.40

40. The above account of Watkins's life has been taken from
Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, VI, 388, and John Neal,

Watkins was a member of the Delphian Club, a literary and cultural
society founded in 1816, to which belonged such men as Francis Scott
Key, John Neal, and J. P. Kennedy. The club met for reading and discus­
sion at the "Tusculum," or "Gwynn's Folly," a severely classical
structure hidden away on Bank Lane near St. Paul Street, which was the
home of William Gwynn, prominent Baltimore newspaper publisher. At
every meeting the members read original papers, many of which found
their way into the Portico.41

41. For a complete account of the Delphian Club see John Earle
Uhler, "The Delphian Club," Maryland Historical Magazine, December,
1925, XX, 305-546.

The prospectus in the first number of the Portico informs the pub­
lic that in their new venture the editors will not depend upon adventi­
tious support, but will welcome it. The matter of their magazine,
which will always be chosen for its literary excellence, will be arrang­
ed under four heads:

1. Miscellaney. Original letters, and essays on Life, Literature,
Manners, Biography.

2. Review. Original and selected criticism. Our country lacks
taste, not genius.


4. Repository. Original and selected poetry.42
The third of these heads, however, the editors saw fit to change to the Department of Arts and Sciences, fearing that a political department might lead to controversy.  

At the close of the first volume, which ran through June, 1816, the advertisement of the editors is somewhat less sanguine:

Our support, though respectable, seems to have been affected by literary taste, independent of local pride; and when it is considered, that the present undertaking, being the first of the kind established in this city, is important in its consequences to the character of the place, and to the intellect of the people, we shall not be thought either extravagant or unreasonable, in appealing to the pride of the public, for additional encouragement.

Some "additional encouragement" must have been forthcoming, for the Portico was published by Watkins until his removal to Philadelphia in 1821, and for a year after that by General William A. Winder, another Delphian.

The contents of the Portico attain a high degree of literary excellence. John Neal was the most prolific contributor. By his own

44. Neal was born in Maine on August 25, 1793. After some experience as a bank clerk, and later as a teacher of penmanship, he came to Baltimore as a partner in the dry goods business of John Pierpont, merchant, poet, and Unitarian minister. Upon the failure of the dry goods business, Neal supported himself by writing, while he studied law. Finding literature a more congenial vocation than law, he devoted himself exclusively to writing history, novels, and poetry, all of which he turned out with great rapidity. He is credited with having written the greater part of Paul Allen's History of the American Revolution (1819). His most famous poem is The Battle of Niagara, which he published in 1818 under his Delphian pseudonym, "Jenius O'Cataraclt." Among his numerous novels are Keep Kool (1817), Randolph (1823), and Seventy-Six (1823), generally considered his best. He wrote in
Randolph a description of William Pinkney which so incensed the latter's son, Edward Coote Pinkney, the poet, that he challened Neal to a duel. Neal, who had always been an outspoken critic of the institution of duelling, declined in a rather ostentatious manner, whereupon Pinkney posted him as a coward.

In 1823, Neal went to England, and in 1824 was writing for Blackwood's and other British magazines. Falling under the influence of Jeremy Bentham, he returned to America as Bentham's apostle and settled down in Portland, Maine. He edited several magazines, quarreled internably with his cousin, Neal Dow, and enjoyed a long and close friendship with Longfellow. He died on June 20, 1876.

-Dictionary of American Biography, XIII, 398

estimate, he wrote one third of the material published in the Portico from 1816 to 1818, and internal evidence tends to corroborate his statement. Other contributors were Paul Allen, Rembrandt Peale, Horace H.

45. All information concerning contributions by Delphians to the Portico, except that gleaned from the magazine itself, has been obtained from Neal's rambling autobiographical work, Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life (Boston, 1869).

Hayden, Dr. John Didier Readel, Secretary of the Delphian Club, whose club name was "Blearix von Crambograph," and an Englishman, also a Delphian, named Dennison. It is impossible to identify non-Delphian contributors, although there were several.

Neal's contributions are varied in character, the best being his reviews, which he usually signed "A," one, as he says, of a score of signatures over which he wrote. He seems never to have used his club name, "Jehu O'Cataract," except in the publication of The Battle of Niagara. Among his most interesting reviews is a series of articles on Byron, which began in October, 1816, and followed Byron through the publication of Manfred, in 1817. Admirer of Byron though he was, Neal
viewed his subject objectively, and marked the poet's progress with discernment. He compares English Bards and Scotch Reviewers rather unfavorably with the first cantos of Childe Harold and some later poems, concluding:

"With all their faults, there is something in all Byron's other poems, which walks directly into the heart. We have more to condemn, but infinitely more to praise. His faults are those of humanity. - Perfection would dishearten us. - At what immeasurable distance would these writers other critics place the poet from the man? For ourselves, we had rather see Byron on the wing of the whirlwind, directing and controlling the keenest lightning of the passions, though he may be sometimes rendered indistinct by his velocity, than to look at him walking in the steady lustre of noon, open to all eyes, and on a level with all observation, attired like ourselves - no mystery, nothing but what anybody may discover a motive for."  

47. Ibid., October, 1816, II, 303.

Childe Harold remains his favorite (Don Juan had of course not yet been published). When he comes to Manfred, he begins to despair. "Byron is now an ostentatious misanthrope," he writes. 48 Then, in the next paragraph, he convinces himself, if not the reader, that Manfred was not written by Byron at all, but by Charles Robert Maturin, an Irish novelist and dramatist, for whom Byron had had a play, Bertram, produced at Drury Lane. Even this gross blunder does not disqualify the whole series as good, sound criticism.

Paul Allen contributed an occasional humorous article over his Delphian name, "Solomon Fitzquiz."

Rembrandt Peale 49 who had recently astounded the citizenry of

49. Rembrandt Peale (1778 - 1860), son of Charles Wilson Peale,
was a celebrated painter of portraits and historical scenes, who traveled extensively abroad and wrote numerous books and articles on painting and other subjects. He was elected president of the American Academy of the Fine Arts in 1825. He established art galleries in Baltimore and Philadelphia.


Baltimore by the splendor of a museum illuminated with gas, contributed an article, "On Gas Lights." 50

50. Ibid., June, 1816, I, 523.

Horace H. Hayden 51 contributed several technical articles under

51. Horace H. Hayden (1769 - 1844), born in Connecticut, came after a varied career as cabin boy, architect, and dentist, to Baltimore in 1800. He was licensed to practice dentistry in Maryland in 1810, and was one of the founders, as well as the first president, of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, the first institution of its kind in the world, which received its charter on February 1, 1840. He was fond of hunting and fishing, chiefly because his long, solitary trips through the countryside served as feeders to his chief hobby, geology. He was considered by the geologists of his day as somewhat of an authority in that field.


the pseudonym, "L. Alberti," but they are decidedly inferior to his later writing for the Young Men's Paper. There is better entertainment in his light verse, usually signed H. H. An amusing tour de force is his "Della Cruscan Ode upon - Any Thing," a satire upon the science of saying little in many words. The following stanza is illustrative of the whole:

Melancholy's mild meander,
Breathes beside the broad brook's brink,
Where the mortified Menander
Deigned the draught of death to drink. 52

52. Portico, November, 1817, IV, 413.
Readel ("Blearix von Crambograph") composed a rollicking

53. John Didier Readel (1790-1854), Philadelphia born, was brought to Baltimore at the age of five. He was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania Medical School in 1811, and after a three year tour in Europe, settled down to the practice of medicine in Baltimore, where he became very active in Freemasonry and in the activities of the Maryland Medical Society.

- Edward T. Schultz, History of Freemasonry in Maryland, III, 780.

"Anniversary Ode" to celebrate the re-election of Watkins ("Pertinax Particular") to the presidency of the Delphian Club. The "Ode" concludes:

Then Delphians 'round Pertinax rally forever!
Hell, Hell be the portion of those that would sever,
The bonds that unite us! and never - oh! never,
May Delphian records exhibit again
A chief's base secession - indelible stain!
Ye Delphians thrice lucky! Your fortune ye know not-
To Pertinax, honour he merits, ye show not-
Ye greet him, but oh! with affection ye glow not!
Say, would ye forever be ruled by his power?
Then rise in his presence this genial hour,
And drink to his fame
With joyous acclaim!
The first toast we swallow
Is due to Apollo
Whenever our theme is the praise of this day-
But next to Apollo
Shall Pertinax follow
And long may he flourish the Delphians to sway.54

54. Portico, July, 1817, IV, 140.

Two good regular columns worthy of mention are "The Club Room," by "Horace De Monde, Esquire,"55 which is signed with a dozen different

initials; and "Essays after My Own Manner," unsigned. The first is
an account of the organization of the Club Imperial and its subsequent
proceedings, a sprightly satire on society faintly reminiscent of
Addison yet full of originality. The second, the first twenty-eight
numbers of which were said to have appeared in a previous magazine, is
a rambling series of more serious essays. A comparison of the style of
these papers with that of Neal definitely establishes him as their
author. Numerous other contributions also are most certainly his, but
to list them would profit nothing.

While perhaps not timeless, much of the material in the Portico
has not yet lost its flavor. The intellects which produced it were
originators, not base imitators. The intense nationalism which has
been attributed to the Portico is not apparent to the reader who con-
siders the magazine in its entirety. Many editors during the next two
decades went to far greater extremes in this respect than did Simpson
and Watkins.

The writer of "Literary Intelligence" in the Portico for March,
1817, speaks highly of the second number of a magazine, Pasquin of
Mobton; or the Baltimore Satirist, "Conducted by Himself." The reviewer
denies any knowledge of the identity of Himself. There are other references to Pasquin of Mobton, but no copies have survived, and little can be learned about it. I believe, however, that the editor was either Dennison, whose Delphian name was "Precipitate Pasquin," or Neal, whose novel, Keep Kool, was first published under the pseudonym, "Himself."

On Saturday, July 18, 1818, Joseph Robinson began publishing Robinson's Magazine, a Weekly Repository of Original Papers; and Selections from the English Magazines. Robinson's was published weekly until June 26, 1819, when it carried a notice of suspension "until times get better."

It served as a repository for very few original papers, not above half a dozen throughout its entire existence. These few consist entirely of verse by unknown and untalented contributors. The selections from the English journals are, however, uniformly good, being taken most frequently from the Edinburgh Magazine, the Ladies' Monthly Magazine, the British Critick, the Literary Gazette, and La Belle Assemblee.

Much better is the Red Book, which Robinson began publishing on October 23, 1819. The Red Book was edited by two distinguished Baltimoreans, one of them among the best writers Maryland has produced. They were John Pendleton Kennedy and Peter Hoffman Cruse. Of these the former is better known to posterity, and deservedly so, both on account of the greater extent and excellence of his writing, and because of his distinguished services to his country. Kennedy was born the son of a prosperous merchant of Baltimore, on October 25, 1795. After service in the War of 1812, he began the study of law in the office of William Wirt, novelist, biographer, and eminent lawyer, and was admitted to the bar in 1816. He entered state, and later national, politics, and was
in 1852 made Secretary of the Navy. He did considerable writing, of both fiction and non-fiction. His best known literary works are three novels, *Swallow Barn* (Philadelphia, 1832), a story of Virginia in the days following the Revolution, *Horse-Shoe Robinson* (Philadelphia, 1835), built around the Battle of King's Mountain, and *Rob of the Bowl* (Philadelphia, 1838), a story of colonial Maryland, all of which he published under his favorite pseudonym, "Mark Littleton," and his *Life of William Wirt* (Philadelphia, 1842), although he contributed much to periodicals, notably his letters in the *National Intelligencer* over the pseudonym of "Paul Ambrose," in which he gave a running commentary on the progress of the Civil War. He died at Newport, Rhode, Island, on August 18, 1870.59


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Cruse (1795-1832) was born and died in Baltimore. A graduate of Princeton, he practiced law and literature in Baltimore and was from 1822 to 1832 the editor of the *Baltimore American*.60


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Scharf refers to Josiah Pennington as a third editor of the *Red Book*. Pennington, active in Baltimore civic affairs for several decades of the last century, was one of the founders of the original Maryland Academy of Sciences, and also one of the trustees named by George Peabody to establish the Peabody Institute.61

Kennedy and Cruse were among the group, though not members of the club, which met at the Tusculum, and caught the literary spirit from Neal, Pierpont, Key, and other Delphians, and their Red Book contains some of the best literary work published in Baltimore, scarcely inferior to that in the Portico. In the first number, an advertisement introduces the editors as "Pantagruel" (Kennedy) and "Sidrophel" (Cruse), saying that the identity of the editors will not be revealed. It was not long, however, before they were recognized by Neal and other Delphians. In the same issue, "Pantagruel" introduces himself and "Sidrophel" in yet another imitation of the first two numbers of the Spectator. Their intent, like Addison's, is to amuse the world while correcting it. In "From the Tusculum," a column which appears more or less frequently throughout the life of the magazine, "Pantagruel" describes the Tusculum, his peculiar home, and continues, "We have taken the town under our charge for the ensuing winter, and have promised to rectify all abuses coming under our jurisdiction."


Disguised by a plaid shawl and a low-pulled hat, "Pantagruel" goes down Market Street to find material for "Market Street Musings." He describes various types of walkers: the Rapid, the Slow, the Queer, the Nondescript, the Mysterious, and comments upon facial expressions. "The sourest face I saw," he says, "belonged to an old maid who had in her youth been a toast....The most cheerful looking man was a bankrupt."63 "Market Street Musings" appears frequently, and is as well

63. Ibid., November, 1819, I, 65.
done as many of its models.

"Sidrophel's" most regular series is "Sidrophel to the Ladies," in which he delivers rather sprightly homilies on dress, reading to converse, coquetry, and other feminine matters. On one occasion, having been reproached by several ladies, he varies the series with a satirical "Sidrophel to the Gentlemen," in which the current affectations of young men are delineated with wit and good honor. His indictment begins:

Time was—though the chronicles don't tell us when
That youths were expected to rise into men;
When merit was held in some little repute,
And breeding preferred to a holiday suit;
When station was measured by virtue and parts,
Devotion to science, or love of the arts....

But now! happy aera! in country and town
We haste by less difficult paths to renown,
So brief the probation at college and school,
So easy the process of forming a fool,
Young master turns out quite as soon as his sister,
And takes all the airs with the title of Mister....

Thus corn, for the want of good weeding and grubbing,
Shows a premature tassel, and brings forth a nubbin.64


"Sidrophel" also contributed an irregular series of essays, "The Recollections of Mr. Bronze," relating how he became acquainted with the peculiar old fellow, and edifying his readers with "Mr. Bronze's" philosophy, often in the form of manuscripts which he has found among the possessions of his deceased friend.

Some of the best contributions in verse are to be found in "Horace in Baltimore," Pope out of Horace, which appears in almost every issue. Appleton's 65 gives Cruse credit for all the poetry appearing in the
magazine, but internal evidence suggests a third, unofficial, member of the editorial staff, who may well have been Josiah Pennington, mentioned by Scharf. The following ode concludes the first volume of the Red Book:

**HORACE IN BALTIMORE**

_Ode 9. Vides, ut alta nive candidum Soracte._

Horace exhorteth Pantagruel and Sidrophel to make merry, and to scorn the criticks.

Let those who like it walk the street,
And plough thro' snow, or slide on sleet,
 To see the sleighers racing;
Or shivering on some "snow-clad hill,"
Mark thence the "icy-fetter'd rill,"
 Or skaters on the basin.

I'm Poet-like enough to know
That when without there's so much snow
 There's need within for fuel;
So, Harry! bring the other flask
Then take my compliments and ask
 For Sid: and Pantagruel.

"Pray take a seat! the walking's bad;
My rustick Pan! throw off your plaid
 "And Sid: your amorous sorrow;
"We'll scribble, tope, and laugh to day,
"Tho' all our criticks breed a fray,
 "And Boreas brawl to-morrow.

"Thank Heaven! all three yet are young,
"Can laugh at humour said or sung,
 "Nay relish a tea-drinking;
"Our wit will pass, our purse is stout,
"Nor find we, though a volume's out,
 "Our reputation sinking.

"'Tis true our standing's rather low
"With baby belle and babbling beau,-
 "Nor have they cause to love us;
"But grave Aristus likes our style,
 "And dames who once forbore to smile,
 "With laughing glance approve us."
In the Red Book is preserved the flavor of that "Baltimore Long Ago," which Kennedy himself described with nostalgic charm.

Another Delphian, Paul Allen, mentioned above as one of the contributors to the Portico, made his first venture into the publishing field with the Journal of the Times, published by Schaffer and Maund, on September 12, 1818. The Journal ran until March 6, 1819. It bore a motto from Dryden, "Tros Tyrius Que Nullo Discrimine Habetur," and in the first number the editor notified "The Publick" that it would be a weekly, and would contain a "summary or an analysis of the passing events both foreign and domestic,... biography, literary reviews, mission news, and literary contributions." In the first number began a "History of Baltimore," by "A Gentleman of Baltimore" (General Winder), and in the

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In the *Red Book* is preserved the flavor of that "Baltimore Long Ago," which Kennedy himself described with nostalgic charm.


68. Paul Allen (1775-1826) was the grandson of Governor Nicholas Cooke, of Rhode Island. He lived in Philadelphia for a time, moving in 1814 to Baltimore, where he wrote for the Portico and was editor of The Journal of the Times, the Federal Republican, the Baltimore Telegraph, the Morning Chronicle, and various other newspapers.

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Baltimore," by "A Gentleman of Baltimore" (General Winder), and in the

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70. *Journal of the Times*, September 12, 1818, I, 4.
John Neal, Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life, p. 175, identifies Winder as the author.

William H. Winder (1775-1824) was an Annapolis lawyer and later a judge of the supreme court of Maryland. He became an adjutant general in the War of 1812, suffered a defeat at Bladensburg which caused an investigation. He was, however, exonerated. From the close of the War until his death he practiced law in Baltimore, becoming one of the city's most successful lawyers.

-Scharf, Chronicles of Baltimore, p. 415, ff.

second, a reprint of "A History of the Late War between the United States and Great Britain," by Henry Marie Brackenridge,71 which had been

71. Henry Marie Brackenridge (1786 - 1871) was a lawyer, traveler, and author. In addition to "A History of the Late War between the United States and Great Britain and several other works, he published, on commission from the United States Government, The Voyage to South America (2 vols., Baltimore, 1819).

published in Baltimore in 1816.

There is frequent comment on the works of Byron, no doubt also by Neal, for it was he who wrote the long series of articles on the poet for the Portico, and the style seems to be his. On September, 19, an article on Byron, Moore, and Hunt, concludes, "Byron is a hero, a monarch; Moore a coxcomb, a petit maître; and Hunt a free hearted, noble fellow.72 The essay contains sound criticism, and the above quotation


is unmistakeably pure Neal.

A week later there is an extravagant review of "The Battle of Niagara," by "Jehu O'Cataract,"73 written by Allen. A review of The

73. "Jehu O'Cataract" was Neal's Delphian pseudonymn.
Heart of Midlothian, the work of Allen also, gives Scott the highest praise. 74

74. Journal of the Times, October 17, 1818, I, 93.

On November 28, 1818, Allen inaugurated an "Agricultural Column," which started out well, but soon came to be entirely borrowed. On January 6, 1819, appeared the oration by the president of the Delphian Club on the anniversary of his election, which contains a readable exposition of the benefits of relaxation of the mind. 75

75. Ibid., January 16, 1819, I, 289.

On March 6, 1819, Allen announced that he was discontinuing the Journal, but was about to begin a daily, the Morning Chronicle. 76 This he did, giving as his reasons for making the change the facts that he was beaten to the news by the already existing dailies, and that when he did get the news into his paper, there was no room for literary matter, hence he might as well make it a newspaper proper. There is little of interest in the Journal except the literary reviews, and of them only Neal's rise above the mediocre. Allen's next venture undoubtedly contributed more to the satisfaction of the citizens of Baltimore than did this one.

The Unitarian Miscellanea and Christian Monitor, which was published from January, 1821, to December, 1824, was devoted entirely to the propagation of Unitarianism. Its editor, F.W.P. Greenwood, very honest-
ly made no pretensions to literary excellence.

From the printing establishment of Joseph Robinson came, in 1821, another magazine, *The Camera Lucida of Fashion*. Only one issue of this anonymously edited periodical has been preserved, the second, and it is not dated except as to year. The "Introduction," 77 which refers


to the "youthful pencil" of the editor, is a long justification of the Camera's policy of criticism, "candid, yet just," which has, in the first issue, evoked considerable remonstrance. The only other item of importance is a regular column, "Sketches from the Fashionable World," 78


wherein the editor criticizes the foppish young men of the town. The material in the Camera is quite well written.

In 1824, Benjamin Lundy 79 brought to Baltimore his *Genius of

79. Benjamin Lundy (1789 - 1839) was a fiery abolitionist who organized the Union Humane Society in St. Clairsville, Ohio, and was an active anti-slavery propagandist in Baltimore and Washington.

*Universal Emancipation*, which he had established in Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, in 1821 and later in the same year had moved to Greenville, Tennessee. In 1829, he was joined in Baltimore by William Lloyd Garrison, the reformer. Garrison soon published an article in which he accused Francis Todd, of Newburyport, Massachusetts, of being engaged in the domestic slave trade. Todd sued him for libel. Conviction resulted, and Garrison languished in the Baltimore jail for six weeks, until June 5,
1830, when he was freed through the intervention of Fred G. Tappan, the philanthropist, who was also an abolitionist and a staunch friend of Garrison.

Lundy found that Garrison was too frequently involved in suits of one kind or another, and soon separated from him. Before the end of the year 1830, he betook himself and his magazine to Washington.

The *Genius of Universal Emancipation* is almost completely devoted to propaganda, even in its "Literary Department." The only purely literary offering in the available numbers is a reprint of a poem, "Genius Waking," by James Gates Percival.  

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On May 20, 1824, Paul Allen brought out the first number of another journal, the *Herald*, which was published by Richard Matchett and printed by Samuel Sands. The *Herald* was little more than a newspaper with an occasional story or poem by a local and usually anonymous contributor. It was continued by Allen until his death in 1826.

The *Commercial and Literary Gazette* was first published in June, 1825, by J. Lee and Company, Lottery, Exchange, and Stock Brokers. No editor is named in the only copy I have been able to find, a part of the issue for September 8, 1827, which is numbered Volume III, Number 12, whole number 116. This was undoubtedly one of the numerous lottery gazettes published in Maryland for the sole purpose of purveying lottery news, but the only existing pages contain nothing but literary matter, all borrowed except one poor anonymous poem, "The Picture Gallery." Other items include a reprint of "A Retrospective Review," by Hood, a translation from the Italian, a letter from Naples reprinted from the
Philadelphia Album, and a eulogium on Thomas Jefferson.

The price was three dollars a year, but the Gazette was free to those who purchased tickets at Lee and Company’s office.

No other literary periodicals, good or bad, appeared in Baltimore between the demise of the Portico in 1822 and the year 1826. One group of writers had been dispersed, or had temporarily written themselves out, and the next group had not yet got under way.
Throughout the United States, the second quarter of the nineteenth century was, with the possible exception of the last few years, a period of exuberance. The young nation, barely half a century old, was reveling in the consciousness of her own prowess. There were still, at the beginning of this period, many Revolutionary heroes alive, and the glorious War of 1812 was fresh in the memory of most of her citizens. One of the effects of these wars was the temporary, and perhaps only superficial, quiescence of sectionalism. Probably at no time in our history has nationalism ridden higher than during this quarter century. The United States had shown the world what her army and navy could do; she was among the leaders in commerce, and, to a lesser degree, in industry; and the feeling was strong that in all fields it was her duty as well as her destiny to carve her own highway (no mere pathway would do) to new and heretofore un-dared heights of achievement.

There was a concerted and increasing tendency to cut loose from all foreign leadership and create her own models, a tendency reflected in the literary development of the nation, and best known to posterity through Walt Whitman's "barbaric yawp."

Baltimore shared in all these phases of our national development. The years between 1825 and 1850 were not dull ones for her. Her military and naval exploits, her part in the framing of the constitution, were commemorated by statues to Washington and Howard, by streets named for Paca, Chase, and McHenry. In the making of current history she was
in the van. The new Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was spreading her name abroad in her own land, and the clipper ship was bearing it to the far corners of the earth.

Nor was activity in Baltimore confined to commerce and politics. During this period at least fifty-four periodicals were announced for publication. Of this number, more than thirty-five either exist today or are positively known to have been published. Of these, the majority were wholly literary, many were semi-literary in nature, and a few were wholly technical. Of the latter nothing need be said here.

The first years of this quarter century were not, however, remarkably productive. There was in 1825 no strictly literary magazine in Baltimore, the nearest approach to it being Paul Allen's Herald, which has been mentioned above. Upon Allen's death, in 1826, his printer, Samuel Sands, bought the paper, and, employing a local physician, Dr. Patrick Macaulay, as editor, revamped it into the North American, Or

81. Patrick Macaulay was one of the Board of Directors under whom the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was commenced, a Baltimore patron of John James Audobon, a member of the Maryland Academy of Sciences, and the friend of Robert Gilmor.

Maryland Historical Magazine, March, 1920, XV, 15; September, 1922, XVII, 249; June, 1939, XXXIV, 142.


The first number of the new journal appeared on May 19, 1827, and gave promise of a good, substantial review. Much of the material was selected, but the selections show good judgment. The articles on science and politics (all apparently by the editor) are well-written and sound reviews of current development and opinion. There is not much original literary work, but George D. Prentice contributed several pieces of
George Dennison Prentice (1802-1870), after a brief experience as a lawyer, became editor of a New London (Connecticut) paper in 1827. He was the first editor of the New England Review, established in 1828, but after publishing his campaign biography of Henry Clay, in 1831, was called to the editorship of the Louisville Daily Journal, which he made the most influential Whig paper in the South and West. He also achieved some popularity as a poet, and published the Poems of George D. Prentice in 1876 (revised, 1883).

-Dictionary of American Biography, XV, 186.

verse over the pseudonym "Il Penseroso," and N. P. Willis submitted an occasional poem.

There are selections by Mrs. Hemans and Miss Mitford, but they are not marked "for the North American." Although the editor is usually careful to give credit where it is due, and these particular items are not credited to other publications, it is not certain that they had not appeared elsewhere before he published them. In the literary field, as

-Nathaniel Parker Willis (1806-1867) was an editor, poet, playwright, and essayist, and one of the earliest experimenters in the field of the short story, who was for many years popular in America and England. After spending several years abroad, and sending back to America a splendid series of travel letters, he returned home to edit several papers, the most successful being the Home Journal, which he established in 1846, with George Pope Morris as co-editor.


-Felicia Dorothea Hemans (1793-1835) was a friend of Scott and Wordsworth, and the writer of a great deal of popular but rather ornate verse.


-Mary Russell Mitford (1787-1853) was a British writer of popular novels and plays, and was the friend of Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

-Encyclopedia Britannica, XIV, 618.
in science and politics, the reviews contain the best material. The weekly summary of literary intelligence and the theatrical column are truly critical, lacking the promiscuous praise and want of literary standards so common in our early magazines.

For over six months the North American maintained a fairly uniform standard of excellence; then, on November 10, 1827, the publisher offered it for sale, asserting that it was not unprofitable, but that other duties of his profession prevented his devoting sufficient time to its management. Two weeks later, no purchaser having appeared, Sands announced that it would no longer be published, and requested all who had subscribed in advance to call at the office for a refund of their money.

Imperfect as it is, the North American contains much to commend it to the intelligent reader, and it was unfortunate, in a period when there was so little worthy competition, that Mr. Sands did not see fit to continue it.

On May 26, 1826, was begun Canfield's Lottery Register. It was, like the Gazette, Cohen's, and other lottery magazines, devoted chiefly to lottery news, but published regularly reprints of contemporary verse.

Baltimore's next literary periodical was better manned, attained a higher literary standard, and lasted longer, though, as we shall see, no magazine in Baltimore lived to be truly venerable. In 1827 Rufus Dawes arrived in Baltimore to practice law, and began writing for magazines there and throughout the East. Born in Boston in 1803, Dawes entered Harvard in 1820, and, upon being graduated, began the study of law, at the same time entering the literary field through the pages of the United States Literary Gazette. John Hill Hewitt described him quite accurately as "a man of refined ideas, and a scholar of the first order." In
Baltimore he soon became associated with the literary group, and, on April 12, 1828, issued the first number of the Emerald and Baltimore Literary Gazette. About a year later, he went to Washington, seeking political place, and secured a minor clerkship. Although he occasionally visited Baltimore, and was connected with one or two other magazines there, and was also for a short time one of the editors of the New York Tatler, Washington remained his home for the remainder of his life. During his Baltimore residence, he was also preparing for publication his volume, The Valley of the Mashaway, and Other Poems, which was published in 1830. He died in 1859. Dawes's publisher for the

Emerald was Benjamin Edes, a competent judge of literature, but a poor business man, whose earlier Emerald had survived for little more than a year. It is therefore disappointing, in view of the qualifications of the editor and the publisher, that the Emerald is no better than it is, but not surprising that it was short lived. Undoubtedly superior to its immediate predecessors, it falls far short of what might have been expected from Dawes. The contributors were chiefly local, and, in the hiatus between the period of the Portico and the Delphian Club and the luxurious blossoming of the thirties, the best work was by Dawes himself.

In spite of its faults, however, the Emerald is one of the least
amateurish of the Baltimore periodicals. Mr. Dawes had about him a sophisticated manner then almost wholly confined to the New England and the New York groups, and to be found in Baltimore only in the old Delphian Club, and in the work of Lambert A. Wilmer and, in his later days, Nathan C. Brooks. Most of the editors seemed to fear that their contributors might write over the heads of their subscribers, and chose their material accordingly, but Dawes apparently took the best he could get without paying for it.

Most of the contributors still wrote over pseudonyms, and being of local importance only, are unidentifiable. Three of the most regular are "Adelphos," "Selwyn," and "The Wanderer." "Adelphos" is certainly the best. He wrote articles of all sorts and did numerous translations, some of them, as for example, "Herculaneum and Pompeii," a speech of

88. The Emerald, April 19, 1838, I, 10.

Valerius from a fragment of Varro, very excellent. His articles on education in Baltimore do not spare the city, but are on the whole fair and full of encouragement, and he contributed several strong articles on temperance.

"Selwyn's" descriptive sketches are among the better things in the magazine. "The Valley of the Llangollen [Maryland]" and "The Old Dominion" are good descriptions of American scenes, while his "Wash-
91. Ibid., July 5, 1838, I, 89.

Washington Sketches are entertaining and, though rather caustic, scarcely

overdrawn. While there is no direct evidence that "Adelphos" and "Selwyn" were pen-names of Dawes, the content and style suggest his authorship. Then, too, editors in those days furnished so much of their own copy that it would not be surprising to find Dawes writing three fourths of the articles in the Emerald.

"The Wanderer" also wrote prose and verse of all kinds. His "Tales of the South" are uniformly bad, but such whimsical tales as "The Mer-

maid, a Pathetic Fish Story and "Darkness Visible," which relates the

experiences of two intoxicated youths, are above the average in humor.

"The Wanderer" was the most faithful contributor, and it was to him that Dawes later entrusted the management of the Emerald.

Of the recognizable contributors, James G. Percival and John Hill

96. James Gates Percival (1795 - 1856), poet and geologist, became, after various experiences in teaching, law, and medicine, state geologist of Connecticut in 1835, and of Wisconsin in 1854. His Poems, a selection from his verses published in various magazines, was published in New York in 1823.
Hewitt were the most regular. Besides innumerable original poems of no
great merit, Percival contributed many excellent translations from the
German poets, particularly from Goethe. It was in the Emerald that

97. See, for example, Emerald, May 24, 1828, I, 47; and June 14,
1828, I, 72.

there appeared the first translation in America of a scene from Faust.

98. H. R. Warfel, James Gates Percival (unpublished dissertation,
Yale, 1932).

One of the men who helped to raise the level of contributions to the
Emerald was John Hill Hewitt, one of Baltimore's chief literary figures
between 1825 and 1840. The son of a musician, he was born in New York
City on July 11, 1801, and received his early education in Boston. He
entered West Point in 1818, a member of the class in which were John H.
B. Latrobe and other Baltimoreans destined to become prominent. Upon com­
pleting his course there, in 1821, he resigned and went to South Carolina
to teach music. While there he studied law, not too diligently, but
finding his tastes more inclined to literature and music than to law, and
achieving some fame upon the publication of his ballad, "The Mistrel's
Return from the War," of which he composed both words and music, he remov­
ed to Baltimore in 1825, where he became active in literary and musical
circles. In Baltimore he taught and composed music, wrote prose and verse
for many periodicals, edited several magazines, among them the Minerva
and Emerald, and the Minerva and Saturday Evening Post, as well as the
Clipper and other newspapers. When the Civil War broke out, he went
South, remaining in Richmond for the duration of the war. There he composed many ballads, the most popular being "Rock Me to Sleep, Mother." He was for a time editor of the Savannah Mirror, then returned to Baltimore, where he spent the rest of his life. Besides more than a hundred ballads (he has been called the father of the American Ballad), he composed more than thirty operas and oratorios. His best oratorio, "Jephtha's Daughter," was performed in Washington, Baltimore, and New York. His military opera, "Vivandiere," was also quite successful. He wrote several successful dramatic pieces, among them the melodrama, "Rip van Winkle." In 1877 he published a volume of reminiscences, Shadows on the Wall (Turnbull Brothers, Baltimore), which is highly entertaining, though not altogether dependable. He died in Baltimore on October 7, 1890. 99

Scharf, History of Baltimore, p. 646.

For the Emerald he wrote a series of articles on music and musical history, part of them as a series, "Epitome of Music," which appeared at intervals as long as the magazine was published. His brief histories of Church music, 100 choral music, 101 Italian opera, 102 etc., are competent discussions, and did much to add to the cultural value of the Emerald, for Hewitt was well equipped for such studies. Besides contributing a great deal of verse, Hewitt also composed much of the music which appeared in
the *Emerald*, usually to accompany ballads translated by Dawes and others, occasionally for his own ballads, some of which are quite good, although none of his best songs are among them.

Mrs. Stebbins contributed a gruesome tale, "The Murderer's Grave," relating the story of a man who murdered a girl and concealed her corpse under the floor.

Aside from the "Epitome of Music," there were no regular columns or departments, although several, such as the "Diary of a Man of Leisure," were started, to run only a short time.

Dawes was of course the most frequent contributor. Besides his editorials and reviews, and the large number of articles signed otherwise, but which may safely be attributed to him, he wrote many critical and topical articles over his anagram, "Sewad," and much poetry over his own name. His poetry, when he attempts to be serious, is almost unreadable, one notable exception being the dignified "The Galley Slave," but his humorous verse is much better. His interminable poem, "The
"The Times," is described as "a poem without notes." "The Times," a rambling affair in the manner of "Don Juan," was apparently begun when Dawes was writing for some other magazine, but was later transferred to his own magazine. Probably the most entertaining contribution to the Emerald, it appeared when he felt like writing it, and treated of politics, literature, John Neal, or any other subject which came to his mind. Typical of the whole is Canto VI, "dedicated to the Lovers of Bathos," which, after a beautiful description of dawn and sunrise, concludes, rather too much like Byron, with,

List! -there's a fitful sound, unlike a knell
That questions to my ear- Proud spirit, wait!
Genius of eating, 'tis thy breakfast bell!
Dream not a hungry poet will be late,
Who worships to the muses as a lover-
Of tea-imperial, toast, and roasted plover. 107

107. Ibid., August 6, 1828, I, 144.

His articles cover a multitude of subjects, from "The Spirit of Ridicule," 108 to phrenology, 109 and are usually good. In criticism he


is generally sound, although he can say of Mrs. Sigourney's poems:

If correctness of taste, elegance of language, and rich fancy, can secure to any author the approbation of readers, Mrs. Sigourney will rank in the first class of American writers. 110

110. Ibid., April 19, 1828, I, 15.

In writing of Byron, he says, "Though the poet's faults were great, his excellencies were greater." 111
He occasionally crossed swords with his old friend John Neal,\textsuperscript{112}

editor of the Yankee, but only in the friendliest spirit. He regularly attended the theater and concert hall, giving his readers accounts of the performances and appraising the ability of the entertainers who appeared in Baltimore.

Almost as entertaining as his "The Times" are the notices he occasionally published of Mrs. Royall,\textsuperscript{113} who frequently paid him a call.

\textsuperscript{113} Anne Newport Royall (1769 - 1854) was a traveler and notorious muckraker. She published ten volumes of travel essays and edited \textit{Paul Pry}, 1831 - 1836, in Washington, and \textit{The Huntress}, 1836 - 1854, in Washington and Baltimore. Although she made a host of enemies by her frankness and her tendency to scold (she was arrested in Washington in 1829 as a common scold), she was loyal to her friends, and a shrewed observer of men and things.


When he heard of her forthcoming \textit{Black Book}, which "is to paint, in scarlet hues, the vices of the day, and to offer to the curious an opportunity of luxuriating in all that is rotten in Denmark,"\textsuperscript{114} he described Mrs. Royall vividly and warned her to "be guided by the landmark of truth." Later he reviewed the book, on the whole quite favorably, but the lady was, as usual, offended, and on September 27, he wrote:

\textsuperscript{114} \textit{Emerald}, April 19, 1828, I, 13.
Mrs. Royall—The editor was honored a day or two since by a visit from this illustrious vampyre, who is very impartial in her favors wherever money is to be had.... We were very civilly asked whether we were a puppy or a beast....

115. Ibid., September 27, 1828, I, 191.

Her ostensible reason for this particular call upon Dawes was to see the bowl from which the Boston Tea Party drank punch. The bowl was then in the possession of Colonel Edes, whose cousin, Peter Edes, had mixed the punch in his father's house in Boston. It was her custom, however to visit all members of the editorial fraternity, to flatter them and try to wheedle money from them when they reviewed her favorably, to bestow imprecations upon them if they dared write deprecatingly of her, so that her descent upon Dawes was all in the day's work.

In the issue for March 7, 1829, there is an announcement that "Mr. Dawes evaporated on Sunday last," and that the paper has been left

116. Ibid., March 7, 1829, II, 78.

in the hands of "The Wanderer." This was the time when Dawes went to Washington ("fishing for the office of poet laureate to the South Sea Expedition," as "The Wanderer" reported it), and secured his clerkship. Two weeks later "The Wanderer" announced that he was still in charge, and Dawes never returned to the Emerald, which deteriorated.

118. Ibid., March 21, 1829, II, 94.
rapidly, and, in 1829, was merged with the Minerva as the Minerva and Emerald.

Of the Minerva, with which the Emerald was merged, nothing is definitely known, but Lambert A. Wilmer says\textsuperscript{119} that Hewitt was its editor, and as the latter edited the new Minerva and Emerald, Wilmer probably told the truth. The few existing copies of the Minerva and Emerald, really a weekly newspaper with a literary department, contribute little to our estimate of Hewitt's editorial ability. Due to the incompleteness of the existing files, it is difficult to determine the important dates in the paper's life, but by August 28, 1930, it had become the Baltimore Minerva, Wreath, and Saturday Post, having absorbed the Wreath, now lost, established by Dr. Lucius J. O'Brien\textsuperscript{120} and the Saturday Post, about which nothing else is known.

The sub-head describes the Minerva and Emerald as "A Family Paper - Devoted to News, Economics, Agriculture, Manufacture, Religion, General Literature," and most of these elements are present in the existing copies, although their treatment is never of the best. The best thing to be found is the following, from Hewitt's editorial column on February 27, 1830:

"A theatre is the manufactory of paupers, scoundrels, harlots, felons; the slaughterhouse of souls; the vestibule of Hell, and it should be denounced by the press and the pulpit, until it be crushed by the weight of public opinion."

We extract the above mild and gentle paragraph from the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," a paper published in this city by two philanthropic individuals, namely Lundy and Garrison, and opposed to slavery,
intemperance, amusements, tobacco, Fanny Wright, and fiddlesticks..."

There follows a good defense of the theater, as would be expected for a man as closely attached to that institution as was Hewitt.

There are regular columns on foreign news, congress, Maryland Legislature, City Council, and other matters of public interest, with considerable "selected" material consisting of travel accounts, anecdotes, and verse.

The agricultural column is rather good, but usually has been borrowed from some New England magazine. There is a good two part article on capital punishment,\(^{121}\) probably by Brantz Mayer,\(^{122}\) an occasional fair piece of verse by Hewitt, and much inferior scribbling by "Urah," "Benedict," "Clio," "Mabella," and other unknowns. According to Hewitt,\(^{123}\)

\(^{121}\) Minerva and Saturday Post, January 1, 1823, January 8, 1831.

\(^{122}\) Brantz Mayer (1809 - 1879) was editor of the Baltimore American, Secretary of Legation in Mexico, and one of the founders of the Maryland Historical Society. He wrote a great deal, chiefly on historical subjects, and was considered an authority on the history of Mexico.

-Dictionary of American Biography, XII, 449.

\(^{123}\) Shadows on the Wall, p. 11.

Brantz Mayer, T. S. Arthur, J. N. McJilton, and N. C. Brooks were all contributors, but all were rather young and inexperienced, and certainly little that is in the magazine can be identified as theirs by comparison with their later writing, except the articles on capital punishment mentioned above.

Hewitt was able to secure considerable advertising, among which the notices of Peale's Museum, the Concert Hall, and the theaters are
prominent.

The editor's experience with this magazine undoubtedly prepared him to do a better job when he came to edit the Visiter, a year or so later, but it is difficult to become very enthusiastic about the Minerva and Emerald. The Emerald, together with all the combinations in which it subsequently appeared, is disappointing. There are good things in it, but they are few, and nearly all are the work of the editor. Far from discovering genius, or even good sound writing in any quantity, it failed to foster through its pages any writers, except Hewitt and perhaps Mayer, who continued to make a contribution, temporary or permanent, to Baltimore life or literature.
CHAPTER IV

THE EARLY THIRTIES

With the beginning of the thirties, the doldrums were left behind, and literary activity in Baltimore reached a peak never equalled before or since. Perhaps none of the magazines of that decade was quite the equal of an occasional one published earlier, or one or two since that time, but there were several that indicated a more general extent of literary ability and interest than was shown by any of the others, and which fostered names who were then or are still significant figures in American letters.

Tradition tells us that at the Seven Stars, a tavern on Water Street near Marsh Market Space, there used to assemble, in the first years of the decade, Edgar Poe, William Poe, Lambert A. Wilmer, Brantz Mayer, Timothy Shay Arthur, John Nelson McJilton, and various other youths with time for convivial fellowship. Sometimes John P. Kennedy and other older men, already known to the public, were of their number.


Much of the talk of such a group must have run to literature, and if the later activity of these boys be any proof of the way in which they spent the hours at the Seven Stars, we know that many were the grandiose plans there inspired for the creation of a great American Literature, for all here mentioned are to be identified with the literary growth of Baltimore and other cities, some of them even of the nation, within the following twenty years. Poe went to Richmond, where he began to put into
practice the theories he had conceived, propounded, or heard during his Baltimore days, and the others, as will appear in the following pages, devoted at least a part of their time to literary pursuits in Baltimore and in other cities.

While they were dreaming their youthful dreams, however, the vogue for women's magazines, then beginning all over the nation, was manifested in Baltimore in the form of two journals, The National Magazine, or Ladies' Emporium, and the Young Ladies' Journal of Literature and Science, both established in 1830. The former was edited by Mrs. Almira Spencer, a native of Boston, who had been for many years the successful principal of a school for young ladies in her native city, but, her health failing, had come to Baltimore, where she had a brother, Dr. M. L. Knapp, a prominent physician. She hoped to support herself by the less arduous profession of editing, and, in October, 1830, brought out the first number of The Young Ladies' Journal of Literature and Science. A few months later, her health having apparently improved, she opened Mrs. Spencer's Seminary, No. 32 Holliday Street, where young ladies could find board, lodging, and learning for $200 a term, and learning alone for $50 per term. The Journal was accordingly designed as subsidiary to the school, a means of presenting to the public, through its pages, the results of her experience as spiritual cicerone to the maidens.

The Journal was a monthly, having four engravings to the (annual) volume, and running to about 500 pages a year. No copies of the first volume are available, and only numbers 1, 2, and 3 of the second. As there is no contemporary reference to it after 1831, it must have expired
during that year or the next, although the Seminary is listed in the directory as late as 1834.

The only identifiable contributor is Mrs. Sigourney, without

126. Lidia Howard Huntley Sigourney, (September 1, 1791 - June 10, 1866), was one of the most prolific writers of her day. Besides How to be Happy (1833), Letters to Young Ladies (1833), and History of Marcus Aurelius, Emperor of Rome (1836), and more than sixty other volumes, she wrote saccharine, sentimental verse for almost every magazine published in America between 1810 and 1860. So great was her fame that Godey paid liberally for the mere use of her name on the editorial page.


whom no magazine of those days could be considered more than a child's plaything. Most of the articles are by Mrs. Spencer herself, whose ability never exceeds the mediocre. In "Our Own Scrutine sic ," 127


she discusses the lyceum as an American institution, and finds it a very estimable one. Better than the above are "Our Own Fireside," 128 a re-

128. Ibid., October, 1831, II, 70.

view of current magazines, and "Hints on Matrimony," 129 in which she

129. Ibid., November, 1831, II, 64.

shrewdly takes to task those mothers and daughters who are always "on the lookout for husbands" of any description, laying at their door the responsibility for many unhappy marriages.

There are several unknown contributors from New England and New York, probably old acquaintances, but they wrote over initials or pseu-
donyms and cannot be identified.

While the Journal does avoid much of the sentimentality and cloying sweetness of many of the contemporary magazines, and, no doubt, furnished staid entertainment to numerous ladies, young and old, of Baltimore, there is little more to be said for it. Amateurish and prim, it served to grace a lady's "scrutoire" rather than to purvey intellectual nourishment, or even good, wholesome entertainment.

Of an entirely different stamp is the National Magazine, or Ladies' Emporium, edited by Mrs. Mary Chase Barney, daughter of Justice Samuel Chase. With both her father and her husband dead, she found herself

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130. Samuel Chase, April 17, 1741 - June 19, 1811, born in Somerset County, Maryland, was a noted Revolutionary leader, a signer, and a justice of the Supreme Court. Denounced as a ringleader against the royal governor by the Mayor and aldermen of Annapolis, he, with Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Ben Franklin, was commissioned to win Canada to our side in the Revolution. Throughout the war he was an active patriot, but lost out somewhat in popularity when, in 1778, he tried to corner the flour market, and was upbraided for so doing by Alexander Hamilton, writing as "Publius" in the Maryland Journal. He regained the confidence of the people, however, to the extent that, without opposition, Washington appointed him a justice of the Supreme Court in 1796. His turbulent demeanor and highhandedness there, however, were the cause of bringing against him impeachment proceedings, in 1804, which failed, and which probably saved Marshall from similar treatment later. Due to gout and disinclination he participated very little thereafter in the affairs of the court until his death in 1811.

-Dictionary of American Biography, IV, 34.

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in Baltimore with no means of support. She had inherited much of the opprobrium bestowed upon her notorious father, and found many doors closed to her. Feeling, however, that her father's name must yet command the moral and material support of many staunch adherents, she launched her magazine in November, 1830. Mrs. Barney was both editor and publisher, and for the greater part of the life of the magazine, chief contributor. In her prospectus, she described the journal as
"generally literary, and occasionally political." In her foreword,


"To Patrons," she offers an apology for appearing in public, averring
that her family has been her world, and that her sole delight is to live
a sequestered, devoted mother. She continues:

I looked at the world without as through a casement I might gaze
upon an agitated ocean with feelings though allied to terror, yet not of
terror, because accompanied with the consciousness of safety.

132. Ibid., November, 1830, I, 1.

But, swept off her feet by "the overwhelming tide of calamity," she
has been forced to emerge from her seclusion, and must make the best of
it, encouraged by the fact that women have been engaged in literary pur-
suits before and have suffered no shame therefrom. She promises that her
politics will be non-partizan; she invites all contributors, saying that
she will also reprint some material; and she promises reviews of as
"mild and benign an aspect as may be consistent with the truth," -noble
promises, indeed, but either insincere or forgotten early in life of the
magazine, which became one of the most violent Whig journals in America.

For a few months, however, there is little to complain of in the
quality of the National Magazine. True, no genius is discernible in its
pages, but genius is the exception rather than the rule in most of these
early magazines, and Mrs. Barney possessed considerable talent.

In the first two numbers there appears, apparently by the editor,
"Historical Parallels," a very readable essay in which, after a general

133. Ibid., November, 1830, I, 1-16, and December, 1830, I, 81-88.
preliminary discussion of history, the thesis is developed that we are often unwilling to learn the lessons that history presents to us. Either we fail to recognize historical parallels when they exist before our eyes, or we are bound to see them where none exists. As an example of the latter tendency, the author cites the often remarked parallel between the Stuarts and the Bourbons, which constitutes the substance of the essay. The analysis is soundly performed, and with surprising sympathy, especially for the Stuarts.

This series is dropped after the second number, and the only other regular department is, "The Circulating Library," by "Clara Jones," which opens as a column of literary criticism and develops into a narration of "Clara Jones's" affair with the Old Bachelor. Such criticism as there is begins with a discussion of Cowley, Vanbrugh, Cibber, Lillo, Murphy, Cumberland, and Goldsmith, the latter two being given equal rank among the immortals. There is later an ecomium on Maria Edgeworth,

134. Ibid., November, 1830, I, 92-93-94.
135. Ibid., February, 1831, I, 303.

but scarcely any other literary discussion, for the Old Bachelor comes on the scene in the fourth number, and monopolizes the interest. "Clara Jones," an unknown from the hinterland, does not write badly, but seldom has much of interest to say.

There is little fiction and poetry, and that little could well be spared. All the contributions are anonymous or over pseudonyms, and are accordingly unidentifiable.
There is an essay on Rousseau, chiefly biographical, by

137. Ibid., March, 1831, I, 329, and July, 1831, II, 162.

"Desiderius," which contains, of course, no original factual material, and as little original thought. There is also an article on the fourth annual report of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which gives a brief resume of the history of the road and dilates upon its value to Baltimore.

Politics accounts for the remainder of the Journal. Most of the articles are by the editor, with an occasional contribution by some anonymous friend of Mary or her father. There is little to commend this material, for it is too prejudiced to be readable. In the first number, under "The Present Time," there is a diatribe upon the corruption and bribery in high places, and the tone is struck for the life of the magazine. It is followed by a critical article upon the ornaments at the capital; another on the kind of education our people need to enable them to vote intelligently and clean up Washington; one on "The Ameri-
can System," advocating a high tariff and a "Buy American" policy; 142 "A

142. Ibid., January, 1831, I, 162.

Review of the Correspondence between Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun," tending to expose their perfidy; 143 and numerous other like papers, cul-

143. Ibid., July, 1831, II, 209.

minating, after many attacks on Jackson, in the last number with "General
Jackson," 144 in which the backwoodsman is thus disposed of: "We do not

144. Ibid., March, 1831, I, 383.

think that it is in his power to add to the disgrace which he has brought
upon it the country." 145


Mrs. Barney, strangely enough, did not meet with universal favor;
she was too much like her father. In her "Prologomena," 146 or preface

146. Ibid., May, 1831, II, 1.

to the second volume, she admits that she is discouraged, saying that
so many of her readers object to her politics, but that she must retali-
ate against her enemies for the "proscription" she has suffered. The
attitude of the public grew more and more unfavorable, however, and with
the issue for July, 1831, that containing her masterpiece against
Jackson, the magazine died, having contributed, perhaps, some poor enter-
tainment, but certainly no worthwhile stimulus to Baltimore life, literary or otherwise. We cannot but be sorry that Mrs. Barney was unable to round out her life looking "at the world as at a casement.... upon an agitated ocean."

About this time, also, on October 2, 1830, appeared the Chronicle of the Times, published by C. V. Nickerson and edited by Julius T. Ducatel (1796 - 1849), chemist and geologist, who, in addition to serving on the faculties of the University of Maryland and St. John's College, wrote numerous scientific books. On October 30, 1830, George H. Calvert was associated with Ducatel in the editorship. Calvert was a man of some prominence in the literary world. Born in Baltimore on January 2, 1803, and educated at Harvard, where he was graduated in 1823, and at Gottigen, he was for several years editor of the Baltimore American. At the time of his connection with the Chronicle of the Times, he was Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy at the University of Maryland. In 1843 he removed to Newport, Rhode Island, where he spent the remainder of his life, serving as mayor for a term beginning in 1853. He published considerable work, his first volume being Illustrations of Phrenology (Baltimore, 1832), the first book on the subject published in America. Among his more meritorious publications were A Volume from the Life of Robert Barclay (Baltimore, 1836), his two series of Scenes and Thoughts in Europe (New York, 1846 and 1852), and An Introduction to Social Science (New York, 1856). In August, 1831, the Chronicle of
the Times ceased publication, but it was immediately followed by the Baltimore Times, Devoted to Science, Art, Literature, and General Information, which was edited by the same men. No copies of the earlier Chronicle of the Times are available, but it was from all accounts quite similar to the Baltimore Times, which is rather disappointing to the seeker after early literary productions. The material on literature, as well as that on art, is usually selected, much of it from the New York Mirror, and consists chiefly in literary notices. The articles on science and general information, however, are, for the most part, by the editors, although there is also some borrowed material there, and are usually good. Among the best of the original contributions are articles on American silk,¹⁴⁹ which was at that time a subject of widespread interest, on gunnery,¹⁵⁰ and on woolen goods,¹⁵¹ all by the editors and very well written.

¹⁵⁰. Ibid., October 29, 1831, I, 33.
¹⁵¹. Ibid., November 19, 1831, I, 57.

Beginning with Volume III (The Times was published weekly in quarterly volumes), March 3, 1832, Calvert held the editorship alone, DuCatel having withdrawn because of the pressure of his duties at the University. In spite of its capably written articles on science and industry, however, there was insufficient support to make the Times profit-
able, and in the issue for September 22, 1832, a notice appeared that it would be published no longer. Although a good medium for factual information, the Baltimore Times added nothing to the literary and cultural development of Baltimore.

In February, 1832, Charles F. Cloud and Lambert A. Wilmer issued the first number of the Saturday Visiter, of all Baltimore magazines the best known to the general reading public of today because of Poe's connection with it. Wilmer was the first editor. Not a great deal is known concerning his life. Born in Kent County, Maryland, in 1805, he studied law, and was about to begin practice when Charles F. Cloud offered him a position on the Elkton (Maryland) Press, which he accepted. From there he went to Philadelphia, where he worked on various papers, then to Washington, where General Duff Green gave him a place on the United States Telegraph. In 1832 his old friend Cloud married $6,000.00, and asked Wilmer to come to Baltimore and become his partner in publishing a literary magazine, Cloud to furnish the money and Wilmer the labor and experience. They began the Saturday Visiter on February 4, but soon exhausted Cloud's money, and took in as a third partner William P. Pouder, Cloud's brother-in-law, who also had some money, but, according to Wilmer, no editorial experience or ability. The next era in the life of the Visiter is best described by Wilmer:

Soon after the admission of Mr. Pouder as a member of our publishing firm, a certain Mr. Hewitt, a teacher of vocal and instrumental music, and the author of a popular song called 'The Minstrel's Return,' volunteered to write editorial articles for the Visiter, without any compensation except the glory of being named as one of the editors. Mr. Hewitt had been connected with the editorial department of a weekly literary paper called The Baltimore Memerva, which expired of inanition soon after our Visiter was commenced.152

152. Lambert A. Wilmer, Our Press Gang, p. 25.
As Hewitt had other means of livelihood, he was able to continue this arrangement indefinitely, and Cloud and Pouder, seeing how much they could get for nothing (and, I suspect, having a higher regard for Mr. Hewitt's talents than for those of Mr. Wilmer), dissolved the partnership, unknown to Wilmer, through advertisements in the daily press. As they refused to pay him for the work he had done, he stole a march on them by collecting a number of bills due the firm. When they advertised in the newspapers that there was no longer a firm of Cloud, Wilmer, and Pouder, and that no subscriber should pay any money to Lambert A. Wilmer, he retaliated by advertising that there was no longer any firm of Cloud, Wilmer, and Pouder, and that no one should pay any money to Mr. Cloud or Mr. Pouder, thus, as he says, leaving the subscribers in the enviable position of not being permitted to pay any money to anybody. Wilmer finally had recourse to the law, and the court of chancery decreed a sale of the establishment, whereupon the partners came to terms, Wilmer accepting Cloud and Pouder's note for five hundred dollars, which he claims to have had difficulty in collecting.

After this unhappy experience he went, according to Hewitt, to

work on the Philadelphia Sunday Mercury, "to measure poetry as he would tape, and judge of its quality as a gauger would the proof of whiskey." He remained in Baltimore for some time, however, for he became editor of the Baltimore Morning Chronicle, in which he frequently lampooned Cloud and Pouder; and he was also editor of the Eastern Express, in Fell's

work on the Philadelphia Sunday Mercury, "to measure poetry as he would tape, and judge of its quality as a gauger would the proof of whiskey." He remained in Baltimore for some time, however, for he became editor of the Baltimore Morning Chronicle, in which he frequently lampooned Cloud and Pouder; and he was also editor of the Eastern Express, in Fell's


154. Saturday Visiter, August 25, 1832.
Point, in 1836, according to an editorial in the Baltimore Monument.

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By his own account, he went from the *Visitor* to the editorship of the *Cecil Courant*, of Port Deposit, Maryland, which failed, then returned to Baltimore and with Edgar Allan Poe planned to establish a literary magazine. Poe, however, went to the *Southern Literary Messenger*, while Wilmer and "two job printers" started "a small weekly paper, called the *Kaleidoscope*." He did eventually secure a position on the Philadel-

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phia *Sunday Mercury*, and later became editor of the *Pennsylvanian*, in Philadelphia, which he edited for several years.

Although Hewitt's judgment is often swayed by his prejudices, there is ample evidence that his opinion of Wilmer was justified, for the latter was a critic more rancorous than just. In 1848 he published, under the pseudonym "Lavante," a satire, *The Poets and Poetry of America* (William G. Young, Philadelphia), in which he bitterly attacked all contemporary poets. To Griswold he gave the credit for keeping the whole pack alive, and there was scarcely one that did not come in for a share of the author's abuse. Especially severe were his comments on Bryant, Halleck, Dana, Sprague, Willis, Holmes, and Percival. Besides an *English Grammar*, he also published *Quacks of Helicon* (Philadelphia, 1851), *Life of De Soto* (Philadelphia, 1853) and *Our Press Gang* (Philadelphia, 1859). The latter is a book of reminiscences of his literary and journalistic associations, filled, like *The Poets and Poetry of America*, with vituperation and ridicule, pretending to be an exposure of the corruption in the newspaper world.

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Information on Wilmer has been secured from Allibone, III, 2763; Hewitt, Shadows on the Wall, p. 40; and Lambert A. Wilmer, Our Press Gang (J. T. Lloyd, Philadelphia, 1859). While both the latter are extremely entertaining, it is to be feared that neither is particularly trustworthy.

As the files of the Saturday Visiter are incomplete, it is impossible to follow the succession of the various editors and publishers. Cloud and Pouder continued to publish the magazine until April 5, 1834, when Pouder withdrew. Scharf 158 says that R. Horace Pratt 159 bought an interest in February, 1835, and Hewitt says he was associated with Pratt in the editorship of the Visiter. 160 By January 25, 1840, however, the magazine had passed into the hands of William S. Sherwood and Company, then the leading publishers of periodicals in Baltimore, who changed the name to the Saturday Morning Visiter. Just how long Hewitt remained editor cannot be ascertained, but, at some time near the end of the decade, J. Austin Sperry apparently secured the position. Nothing is known of Sperry except that he wrote innumerable bad stories for all the local periodicals between 1838 and 1850, and edited two or three of them.

By May 23, 1840, J. B. Jones, 161 who had for several years been a
161. John Beauchamp Jones (1810 - 1866) published several novels between 1841 and 1859. He went to Montgomery to serve the Confederacy, and his *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary* (Phila., 1866) is a valuable source book for the student of history. He was for a time editor of the *Southern Monitor*, in Philadelphia.


162. J. Evans Snodgrass (? - 1880) was a Baltimore physician who wrote prolifically for various local periodicals. He was a life-long friend of Poe, to whom the latter frequently turned in time of distress. New light has recently been thrown on their relationship by John Ward Ostrom, in "A Poe Correspondence Re-edited," *Americana Illustrated*, July, 1940, XXXIV, pp. 409 - 446.

employed as editor, and, in January, 1842, Jones, Sherwood, and Company sold all their publishing interests to him. In February, 1842, Snodgrass advertised for a partner to look after the business end of publication, but was unable to secure one at the time. Later, however, in


1845, the *Visiter* was published for a few months by Snodgrass and Wehrly. With the exception of this brief interval, Snodgrass was sole editor and publisher from January, 1842, until some time after November 14, 1847, the date of the last existing number.

Under his direction the *Visiter* became somewhat of an abolitionist paper, with considerable loss of patronage as a result. To offset this decrease in circulation, Snodgrass sought new subscribers by clubbing the *Visiter* with *Miss Leslie's Magazine*, relying upon T. S. Arthur's connection with the latter to attract Baltimore readers, and with
Graham's. This expedient proving unsuccessful, he merged the Visiter with the New Era, an abolitionist paper published in Washington, if Scharf can be relied upon, and was heard from no more.

Under the editorship of Hewitt, and for two or three years under Snodgrass, the Visiter was one of the most widely read journals in the country and boasted some of the best contributors in the South. It was in reality a weekly literary newspaper, about one third of the space being devoted to literature, and the remainder to political, financial, and other news, with several columns of advertising. It is known to all students of American literature as the magazine in which was published, on October 19, 1833, Poe's *Ms. Found in a Bottle*, for which the author received a prize of fifty dollars. Poe wrote one or two other items for the Visiter, and the other contributors were those whose work is to be found in nearly all the Baltimore magazines of the period, among them Stephen Asbury Roszell, John Nelson McJilton, T. S. Arthur, John McCabe, M. Topham Evans, J. Austin Sperry, Amelia B. Welby, C. C. Cox, David Hoffman, George Yellot, E. Yates Reese, Lydia Jane Pierson, and

164. David Hoffman (1784 - 1854) was from 1817 to 1836 a professor of Law at the University of Maryland, and was the author of several works, the most important being *A Course in Legal Study* (1836, enlarged to two volumes in 1837), which was widely recommended to law students.


William Henry Carpenter. Notes upon all these writers will be found under the magazines with which they were most closely associated. Outstanding contributions are few, but one of the most interesting is a sketch of Poe, by J. Evans Snodgrass, which appeared on July 29, 1844, in which we are told that Poe had a "forehead extremely broad, display-
ing prominently the organs of Ideality, Causality, Form, Constructiveness, and Comparison, with small Eventuality and Individuality."

Under Hewitt, the editorials were excellent, covering all subjects with fairness and sound judgment, but with the advent of Snodgrass, they began to take on a peculiar sameness. Too many were devoted to abolition, abstinence (there is a great deal of propaganda for the Washingtonians), and gambling. The best, during this latter period, are those in which the editor rebuked the bitter rivalry then prevalent among the various religious denominations, and fostered by such publications as Breckenridge's *Literary and Religious Magazine*.

The *Family Companion* and *Baltimore Semi-Monthly Magazine*, first issued on July 18, 1836, ran for only a few months, and the quality of its stories and verse was ample justification for its early demise. Editor and publisher are unknown.
CHAPTER V

McJILTON AND ARTHUR

Throughout the period from 1828 to 1834, among the most constant contributors to Baltimore literary periodicals had been two young men who, during the next fifty years, became figures of considerable importance, one in Baltimore, the other in Philadelphia and throughout the nation. They were John Nelson McJilton and Timothy Shay Arthur. McJilton (1809 - 1881), the son of a cabinet maker and Methodist lay preacher, was apprenticed to his father’s trade, but, finding that his literary efforts met with considerable success in local magazines, and having secured sufficient education to enable him to obtain a position in the public schools, he forsook the bench and devoted himself to literature and education, to which he later added his father’s avocation, preaching. In the field of literature he edited several magazines and newspapers, contributed to magazines throughout the east, published his collected poems, of small literary value, and edited the poems of the "Milford Bard," with a memoir of the author. In the church (Episcopal, for he early deserted Methodism), he rose rapidly. Ordained in 1841 by Bishop Whittingham, he went from Christ Church to St. James to St. Stephen's, and, after his retirement from St. Stephen’s in 1853, remained one of the most eloquent and sought after preachers for special occasions in the city until his removal in 1868 to New York City, where he was called to serve the Madison Street Protestant Episcopal Church. His greatest services, however, were in the field of education. He gave up teaching, at which he had been very successful, when he accepted his first church, but was soon elected a member of the
Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore City, becoming Treasurer of that body in 1849. For 17 years he served in this capacity, performing all the duties later delegated to the Superintendent of Schools, and, upon the creation of that office in 1866, was made Baltimore's first Superintendent of Schools, holding the office till 1868. During his 23 years of service he did more for the cause of public education in Baltimore than any one man before or since.  


Arthur likewise forsook a trade for the uncertain rewards of a literary life. Apprenticed to a tailor, he gave up his trade before ever practising it, on account the failure of his eyesight, and entered a counting house. He, too, found favor in the sight of numerous editors, and as his experience in the world of business proved unprofitable, he embarked, in 1834, on a long career of writing and editing, first in Baltimore, then in Philadelphia, which made his name a household word throughout the United States. His Arthur's Home Magazine was for years second only to Godey's in popularity around the fireside, and only Uncle Tom's Cabin surpassed his Ten Nights in a Bar-Room in popularity, both as novel and drama. In addition, he published more than a hundred other books, most of which were extremely popular both here and in England.  


Both these young men were among Poe's friends. They, like Brooks and Wilmer, began to realize in Baltimore the dreams they had dreamt in
that youthful circle, while Poe migrated to Richmond. It was not until 1834, however, that either attempted the role of editor. On June 7 of that year, McJilton, with William T. Leonard and John L. Cary, founded the Young Men's Paper. The first number, issued on June 7, 1834, bears the following description on the cover: The Baltimore Young Men's Paper: a weekly journal published under the auspices of the Baltimore Young Men's Society, and devoted to religion, morality, literature, and the fine arts, embracing tales - essays - sketches of character - scenery - biography - critical notices of passing events - poetry - etc.

It was printed on Royal Sheet, quarto, and sold for three dollars a year, two dollars and one half if paid in advance.

Leonard was a young Baltimore physician and surgeon.167 Cary168 I

167. The only contemporary references to Leonard which I have been able to find are his professional advertisements on back cover, Baltimore Young Men's Paper, Vol. I, No. 5.

168. Henry E. Shepherd, in Representative Authors of Maryland (New York, 1911), p. 211, says that Cary published Slavery in Maryland Briefly Considered, in 1845.

have been unable to identify, but as he edited only one number, his importance is negligible.

There was apparently some difficulty experienced in launching the paper, for the second number did not appear until November 29, 1834, at which time Arthur succeeded Cary as editor. Dr. Leonard withdrew from the editorship in February, 1835, hence only Arthur and McJilton need be considered in that capacity.

In November, 1835, the Baltimore Young Men's Society changed its name to the Baltimore Athenaeum and Young Men's Society, and accordingly, with the beginning of second volume, the name of the magazine was chang-
ed to the Athenaeum and Young Men's Paper. In character it suffered no
change, although the cover describes the new journal, considerably in-
creased in size as "a weekly journal devoted to polite literature,
science, and the arts", omitting the religion and morality emphasized
on the first appearance of the Young Men's Paper.

In 1836, McLilton having in January withdrawn from the editorship
to teach school and prepare for the ministry, Arthur began to publish
a folio sheet, the Athenaeum, simultaneously with the Young Men's
Paper. The Athenaeum was a family newspaper with occasional literary
columns, modeled somewhat after the fashion of the Saturday Morning
Visitor. On June 25, 1836, in the last number of the second volume,
Arthur announced that he was no longer justified in publishing the
Young Men's Paper, but that the Athenaeum would continue to be publish-
ed as usual.169 The latter paper, later called the Athenaeum and


Visiter, continued under Arthur editorship, until 1840. In December,
1839, it was offered for sale,170 but no one wanted it, and Arthur
closed it out before going to Philadelphia in 1841.

The purpose of the Young Men's Paper, as stated in the editorial
column of the first number, was to encourage local talent and to serve
as the organ of the Baltimore Young Men's Society. This introductory
editorial concludes thus:

In conclusion, we add, that our efforts in conducting this paper
will be directed towards the same objects to which the principles of
the Young Men's Society tend. Keeping free from political and religious
controversies, the field of literature and morality will be wide enough for both amusement and profit.171

171. Young Men's Paper, June 6, 1834, I, 7.

The Baltimore Young Men's Society, which sponsored the Young Men's Paper and determined its character, was the local branch of the American Young Men's Society, then at its zenith. These societies had their roots as far back in history as the late seventeenth century, for in 1678 Dr. Anthony Horneck, of Westminster, organized a Church of England Young Men's Society, and in 1677 Cotton Mather belonged to such a group.172 The idea does not seem to have taken on at the time, however,


for when, in 1758, Pastor Meyenrock organized a Young Men's, Apprentices' and Working Men's Association at Basel, Switzerland, the idea was regarded as an innovation. This society was dissolved about five years later, but was revived in 1817. About the same time, there was organized in Stuttgart a similar society, which grew into an international organization.173


By 1850 the societies were well established and their purpose had been quite clearly defined. James Hogg says of them:

The general object of these societies is the mutual edification of their members in mental and moral culture. The means used are the reading of original essays, polemic exercitations, in which argumentative talent is brought into lively and prompt activity, and, lastly, extemporaneous criticism.174
Hogg also enumerates the benefits derived from membership in the society:

1. Love of reading is engendered or cherished.
2. These societies lead us to think.
3. These societies encourage English Composition.
4. These societies bring before their members the leading topics of the day.
5. They give increased facility in extempore speaking.

The following is his conception of the value of the societies:

It is because they are schools of eloquence that we chiefly value young men's societies. We expect them, if rightly constituted and conducted, to give forth great public spirits and moral rulers of the human race, to redound to the immortal glory of Great Britain, and mightily to further the highest interests of the world.

The first American society was organized in 1830 by David Naismith, who had organized the first of a group of Young Men's Societies for Religious Improvement in Glasgow six years earlier. In America he founded some thirty of these societies, with which he worked until 1839. After he left them, some were dissolved, others became Young Men's Christian Associations.

There is no record of the origin of the Baltimore Young Men's Society, but as it is said by the editors of the Young Men's Paper...
to have originated in the American Young Men's Society, formed in New York on February 28, 1831, it was undoubtedly one of those founded by Naismith. Apparently the Baltimore editors believed the Society to be an American institution, for they wrote of it in 1834 as having spread to Canada, England, Ireland, Scotland, and France. The membership in Baltimore consisted of men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five who were known to be of good moral character. According to the editorial referred to above, "The general object aimed at in the formation of these societies was the moral and intellectual improvement of young men." Hospitality to strangers was also designated one of the chief virtues of the society. The meetings were held on Thursday evenings, in the lecture room of the Athenaeum, a center of cultural activity which housed the Baltimore Lyceum, the Maryland Institute, and other organizations.

The contents of the Young Men's Paper cover a variety of subject matter, but the moral element predominates. There are four individually conducted departments which appear with considerable regularity throughout one or both volumes of the magazine. The first to appear, and the most continuous, is "The Parterre," conducted by "A," probably Arthur, as the style is similar to that in contributions signed by him. Much like the modern column, save that it is devoted entirely to moral teaching, it rambles endlessly from one subject to another. Against a background of broken homes and gambling hells are paraded an endless
procession of ruined maidens, dissipated youths, and dying children. On the whole, it is about the worst of the regular columns, although in it appears some promise of the skill which Arthur later displays in depicting home life of the most simple type.

"The World," by "Peter Trumpet," with "The world is mine oyster" for its motto, also appears with regularity throughout the first volume, and is much better written than "The Parterre." "Peter Trumpet," whose identity remains unknown, takes, like Bacon, the world for his province. His comments on moral questions are sound, without the sentimentality of "The Parterre," while his humor is good according to the standards of the times. Inspired by Pope's recipe for writing epic poetry, as reprinted in the Guardian, he gives his own recipe for the then popular mystic poetry. He says:

This species of writing possesses one quality of the sublime, viz. obscurity, and is much cultivated by young poets. For the benefit of such, and of all others who may wish to try their hands at this sort of composition, I have drawn up the following receipt: take the longest double-compounded words you can find, provided they will work together in a ten-syllable line; mix up elements; thunder, fire, rocks, stars, sea, darkness, tempest, clouds and mountains; than take scorn, hate, withering, blighted, scarred, scorched, desolation and such words; throw these into the Spencerian sic stanzas; sprinkle well with dashes and exclamation points, and you have the thing complete.


"Peter Trumpet" writes well on serious matters. In one of his best articles he discusses the backwardness of American Literature in a most satisfactory manner, ascribing it to our youth and lack of traditions, and the fact that we have been too busy doing other things
to devote much serious effort toward cultural pursuits. He concludes the article by paying tribute to the greatness of English Literature in the most gentlemanly manner.

The opinions and criticisms of the readers are also published in the columns of 'Peter Trumpet,' who semi-officially answers them. "The World" is still readable.

"My Fireside," second series, by "Uncle Ben," is apparently another contribution by Arthur. He had a fondness for signing his anonymous articles "Uncle ----," and the style is his. Another circumstance which suggests him as the author is that the first series, which had been appearing in the _Saturday Visiter_, was concluded almost as soon as he became an editor in his own right, while the new series appears in the _Young Men's Paper_ almost at once.

"Uncle Ben" is a quiet old bachelor with whom three charming and modest nieces make their home. The reader is admitted to intimate glimpses of their ideal family life, their illnesses, their trials, and their ambitions. Around the fireside they discuss current poetry, and while their judgment is not invariably bad, Mrs. Lydia Howard Huntley Sigourney is conceded to be "without a rival or competitor in the female poetical world."182

182. Ibid., January 3, 1835, I, 54.

While the series is over-sentimental and extremely moral, it is superior to "The Parterre," partly, no doubt, because it follows a definite plan, being built around the life of the small household about "Uncle Ben's" fire.

"The Short and Simple Annals of the Poor," by "Atrox Mars," is
another rambling series, part essay, part fiction. The moral element predominates, as it does everywhere in the magazine, but it is, on the whole, treated with dignity and restraint. "Atrox Mars" was a pseudonym of Stephen Asbury Roszell, lawyer, teacher, and clergyman. He was born at Georgetown, D.C. on February 18, 1811, the son of Steven George Roszell, prominent Methodist clergyman. After attending the school conducted in Baltimore by his brother, Dr. Roszell, where he amazed everyone with his skill in Latin and Greek, he taught those subjects in the Baltimore schools until he was admitted to the Bar in 1834. Almost immediately, however, he went to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where he became Principal of Dickinson Grammar School, as well as Professor of Latin and Greek in that institution. After four years, during which he prepared for orders at Dickinson Seminary, he entered the ministry. He held several charges in Baltimore, Washington, and Virginia, and died at Alexandria, Virginia, on February 20, 1852.  

Under another pseudonym, "Richard Vagrant," Roszell wrote both prose and verse with considerable skill. He replied to "Peter Trumpet's" recipe for mystic poetry with a poem made after the recipe, which shows, as does much of his work, better wit than is usually found in the magazine. During 1835 and 1836, when it had become the fashion for young writers to tour parts of the United States and write home to the local journals about what they saw, just as Willis, Brooks, and innumerable others were writing home their impressions of Europe, "Vagrant"
made such a tour by stagecoach. His letters to the Young Men's Paper, written partly to satirize the current fad, are full of wit and shrewd observation.

Dr. Roszell was a frequent contributor to numerous magazines, both religious and secular, from his earliest Baltimore days. While his writing is sound, solid, and not unreadable, there is little about it to distinguish it from that of a dozen other local literary clergymen.

There are numerous other departments, such as "Leaves from My Portfolio," by Arthur, and "Seasonable Soliloquies," anonymous, but they are very irregular and appear to have been written to fill out numbers for which material was lacking.

Among the contributors are many, a great majority, indeed, of inferior quality: many whose pen name is the only one now known or discoverable, but there are some who were of importance in their day. Among the latter, the most important are Mrs. Sigourney; Thomas Holley Chivers, the "mad poet" of Georgia; Hayden, the dentist-geologist; and John Hill Hewitt.

Mrs. Sigourney wrote a kindly, though rather condescending letter to the editors (not long after Uncle Ben had pronounced her superior to Byron), and enclosed two poems. She continued to contribute occasionally, and it must be acknowledged, did not, as did some authors, submit to the Young Men's Paper only that which she considered unfit for a better market, for her contributions compare favorably with the best of her work.
in other publications.

Chivers's contributions, while comparable to the general run of poetry submitted, do not show him at his best. He had by this time begun to be blessed with visions, but had not yet begun to imitate or quarrel with Poe. His best piece in the Young Men's Paper is his "Niagara," in the issue for January 30, 1836.

187. Ibid., II, 83.

Horace H. Hayden's series of articles, "Geology of Baltimore," which appears in the first volume of the Young Men's Paper, is among the most substantial offerings received by the young editors. Hewitt was extremely busy during the thirties, for he became editor of the Saturday Visitor in 1832, and, along with his duties in that capacity, continued to compose and publish countless ballads. He found time, however, to contribute occasional verses to the venture of his young friends.

Among the more obscure, though not always inferior, contributors, the best was undoubtedly one who wrote over the nom de plume "X. Y. Z." "X. Y. Z.," like most of the regular contributors, wrote on a variety of subjects, ranging from the profound to the trivial, but his best work is found in his general literary criticism and his essays on the "Peculiarities of Men of Genius." 189

189. Ibid., February 7, 1835, I, 94.

There were innumerable other unidentified correspondents, some of
them possessed of genuine talent, but scarcely worth being remembered here.

Among the other known contributors, the editors were the most prolific, as was usual in literary periodicals of the day. Just as Poe had to write endless columns to fill out the Southern Literary Messenger, so McJilton and Arthur often furnished half the material for a whole number of the Young Men's Paper. Both were young and unpractised; neither had yet found himself; and much of their work undoubtedly suffered from the haste with which it was composed. Nevertheless McJilton, in his humorous tales and verse, Arthur in his fireside poetry, where it was not too sentimental, both in their editorials, published some creditable work.

Henry F. Harrington, editor of the Boston Galaxy, contributed a serial, "Glycon, the Grecian; a Tale of Rome's Evil Days," of which the first installment was published on April 2, 1836.

It would be unkind, perhaps, to suggest that he considered it unfit for his own more sophisticated readers, but it is certainly inferior to much that was supplied by native Baltimoreans.

Mrs. Anna Hanson McKenzie, of Annapolis, John McCabe, of Norfolk and Richmond, Rufus Dawes, N. C. Brooks, Miss A. M. F. Buchanan, C. C. Cox, and Lambert A. Wilmer, of Baltimore, and Lydia Jane Pierson, of Philadelphia, were occasional contributors.

Editorial comment was directed chiefly toward literary matters, with due emphasis on the moral responsibilities of writers and editors. In the issue of April 4, 1835, New York and Philadelphia are soundly
rated for assuming all the literary honors in America, and a plausible case is made for other regions of the country. In another editorial,

There is a good review of Whittier's *Mogg Megone*. There are several long quotations, which are used by the editor to illustrate a rather competent discussion of Whittier's technique. In the number for March 19, 1836,

there is a review of Noah Webster's philological notes in the *Knickerbocker*, with moderate praise for Mr. Webster. In the following number, the editor discusses the advantages and disadvantages of literary labor in a comprehensive, authoritative manner. The young man who today contemplates a literary career could do worse than read this century-old editorial.

There is also occasional notice of local and national affairs. The burning of the *Athenaeum* was lamented editorially, for with it were destroyed the library and phrenological casts of the Maryland Academy of Sciences, books and apparatus of the Baltimore Lyceum, philosophical apparatus of the Maryland Institute, and the meeting-place of the Baltimore
Athenaeum and Young Men's Society. In the issue for October 10, 1835, the abolition question, which was even then a point of bitter controversy, is discussed in a thoroughly sane editorial. The editor warns

196. Ibid., I, 374.

against undue heat in considering the subject, and begs that a subject fraught with so much importance for the nation be examined with the greatest care and moderation before a dogmatic stand is taken.

There are also frequent editorials on the subject of education,

197. Ibid., May 9, 1835, I, 196; June 6, 1835, I, 231; July 1, 1835, I, 279.

presumably all written by McJilton, whose life was devoted to that cause, and who, more than any other, was responsible for the advances in public education made by Baltimore between 1830 and 1865.

The editors faithfully read all the literary periodicals of the day, and gave to their readers resumes and reprints of articles and editorials which they considered worthwhile. Their judgment was usually quite sound, certainly no less so than that of the majority of the editors of the period. They were partial to the Knickerbocker and the Southern Literary Messenger, and now and then had a good word for Godey's Ladies' Book. With especial interest they followed Poe's career with the Southern Literary Messenger, as might be expected because of their previous intimate association with him. Only when he was quite severe with certain of the Eleanor H. Porters of the day, such as Mrs. Sigourney and Lucy Seymour, did they censure him, and then not heavily, usually admitting that, judging by strictly literary standards his criticisms were just.
McJilton and Arthur, however, although not ignorant of literary standards, set no great store by them when moral or nationalistic questions were involved.

After McJilton left the magazine, in January, 1836, the quality of the editorials was slightly improved, in that there were fewer devoted to sermonizing, but they remained provincial until the end.

Only a handful of copies of the *Athenæum and Visiter*, which was continued by Arthur for nearly four years after the failure of the *Young Men's Paper*, have been preserved. A study of these indicates that it was a very ordinary paper, "devoted to morals, literature, science and general information." There are several regular departments, design-

199. Inscription beneath the title.

ed to make the *Athenæum and Visiter* an indispensable home paper. In the "Children's Department," there is always a brief informative article, followed by a moral dialogue on "things in common use." Problems of training and discipline are discussed in the "Parent's Department." Other regular features are the "Bachelor's Department," "Temperance Items," and "Scientific Information." There are also summaries of the political and financial news of the week.

Much of the literary material is supplied by Arthur, but George D. Prentice, Park Benjamin, and others are occasional contributors of verse.

The *Athenæum and Visiter* was, at the time of its suspension in 1840, in every way the equal of its chief rival, the *Saturday Visiter*. 
and Arthur's decision to remove to Philadelphia was evidently the result of the general centralization process which was then in full swing, rather than of the failure of his paper.

Meanwhile, as the Young Men's Paper was tottering to its grave, a new literary periodical appeared in Baltimore. John Nelson McJilton, for more than a year co-editor of the Young Men's Paper, became associated with David Creamer, the hymnologist, in the publication of the

200. David Creamer, born in Baltimore on November 20, 1812, was the first important American hymnologist. In the course of a rather commonplace life as merchant and government employee, he became an authority on the hymns of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and published the Methodist Hymnology (New York, 1848), then the most comprehensive work of its kind and still of value today. He died in Baltimore on Good Friday, 1887.


Baltimore Monument. The publishers were also the editors, but McJilton apparently bore most of the editorial burden. The cover of the first number, which was published on October 8, 1836, describes the magazine as "a weekly journal devoted to polite literature, science, and the fine arts, embellished with engravings and music." The Monument is very similar to the Young Men's Paper in its make-up, but its literary quality is perhaps slightly higher, and it is infinitely more attractive in appearance. Its editor had had considerably more experience than when he first wrote for the Young Men's Paper, for he had been a constant contributor to various magazines, among them the Southern Literary Messenger, the Boston Galaxy, and the Saturday Visitor.

His prospectus in his first editorial describes a far more pretentious undertaking than was contemplated by the editors of the Young Men's Paper. He begins by commenting upon the monuments which give
Baltimore its nickname of the "Monumental City," and introduces the Monument thus:

Our aim is to erect a fabric in literature that shall not deteriorate from the high honors of the "Monumental City." It is not meet, that all our boast should be in marble, while the glory of other cities is in the volumes that they send forth bearing enlightenment upon their wings, and diffusing knowledge in their flight. And have we not the means of marching forth, in generous rivalry upon the wide world of letters, to win a few laurels that might otherwise be lost to all? There is talent buried in Baltimore, which if brought to light, would shine in the literature of our land; there are societies here of young men, second to none in the nation - and if they can be stimulated to active exertions, stars will shoot forth upon our mental horizon, whose parallax [sic] may be, with the highest that have arisen before them. We hope to have a part, in leading them from their seclusion, that their talents may combine with the liberality of our citizens, in assisting our humble efforts to rear another "Monument" that shall tell in after times how Virtue, Patriotism, and Learning - a holy triumvirate, flourished in Baltimore.201

201. Monument, October 8, 1836, I, 4.

The editor then proceeds to some rather harsh criticism of current popular literary periodicals, but concludes that,

In the midst of this state of things it is pleasing to know that our best magazines are exhibiting a moral culture and healthy tone. The conductors of the American Monthly and Knickerbocker magazines deserve high praise for the elevated stand they have taken, and the editor of the Western Literary Journal, if he continues as he has commenced, to follow the same path, will reap with them the rich reward they mutually deserve, for elevating our literature to the standard of Morality, and giving it a character that will remain in inflexible purity when the ephemeral efforts of the present day have passed to their slumber, and are safely reposing beneath the wing of oblivion.202

202. Ibid., p. 5.

The Monument sold for three dollars a year, payable in advance, and was published every Saturday. There were eight pages of text, with no regular arrangement of material. About half the material was original, but occasionally there was an editorial boast that a number was
wholly original, and twice in its four years of publication there were numbers written and edited entirely by women. It attained a comparatively wide circulation, for there were notices of the appointment of representatives as far west as Columbus, Ohio, and St. Louis, Missouri.

The promise of engravings and music was fulfilled. Several fine engravings of prominent Baltimore scenes, such as the Battle Monument and Eutaw House, appeared as frontispieces, and there were many ballads published, most of them entirely original, although occasionally some old lyric was presented, with "musick arranged by an amateur," or "by a young lady of Baltimore." The best music offered was that of Hewitt, who usually wrote his own ballads, and of Alexander Ball, another Baltimore composer.

The Monument was published weekly for two years, but subscriptions were hard to collect, judging by the pleas for payment which appear in the "Notices to Correspondents," and the publishers, who had started out with funds sufficient for a year's expenses, found themselves in financial difficulty. On the completion of the second volume, it was announced the magazine would henceforth be published monthly, at the same price, but vastly improved in style and contents, with T. S. Arthur succeeding Creamer as co-editor with McJilton. The new prospectus stated:

Our magazine shall combine the light and the beautiful, with the stern and the strong, in literature. It shall be the aim of the editors to elevate, as far as their abilities will admit, the moral stand-
ard of our literature, to pluck from the parterre the weeds that have prevented its growth and expansion, and clear the undergrowth that it may spread forth in strength and vigor.205

205. Ibid., September 29, 1838, II, 410.

The monthly magazine, however, was inferior in quality to its predecessor, although some good material appeared in it. After two years, it also expired, one more evidence of the soundness of Hewitt's judgment, that "No literary no strictly literary journal published in the City of Baltimore will pay; and if it does not pay, it cannot continue to exist."206

206. Hewitt, Shadows on the Wall, p. 56.

The monthly Monument was published under the same name as the weekly, but I shall follow the precedent of the binders, and call it the Baltimore Literary Monument, to distinguish it from the earlier Baltimore Monument.

In the content, the Monument is not unlike the Young Men's Paper. There are the regular departments, some conducted by the editors and others by regular correspondents. The most regular is "Marble for the Monument," by the Reverend Andrew Adgate Lipscomb. Lipscomb (September 16, 1816—November 23, 1890) was a Methodist Protestant minister and a prominent educator. While preaching in various cities in the South, he wrote a great deal for religious magazines, frequently giving way to outbursts of anti-Catholicism, and published a Life of Reverend Charles W. Jacobs. In 1855 he became president of the Female College at Tuskegee, and in 1860 Chancellor of the University of Georgia. He went to Vanderbilt in 1874, where he taught esthetics and
lectured on Shakespeare. He studied and wrote much on the psychology of the morbid, making a special study of Hamlet. 207


In "Marble for the Monument," he covers an infinitude of subjects, never allowing his mission, the teaching of Christian principles, to be obscured. There are numerous sketches of country parsons and other godly folk, and pious expositions of moral problems. On his rare departures from the strictly moral, where he writes as a man, rather than as the mouthpiece of a religious body, his articles are tolerably sound. His defense of freedom of the press 208 is well constructed, and contains most of the arguments in behalf of that cause. His style is not ornamental, but simple and clear, with little of the verbiage that marks so much of the writing of the period.

208. Monument, April 3, 1838, II, 171.

In the issue of May 27, 1837, 209 there appears an editorial intro-

ducing the Key Club, and stating that the contributions of its members will henceforth constitute a regular department in the magazine. Little is told of the club, and no other mention of it is to be found. Appar-ently inspired by the memory of the Delphian Club, but more inclined to the moral in its discussions and writings, it consisted of a group of young men with literary ambitions, who wrote under such impersonal pseudonyms as Binarvo, Kuveno, and Levaro. Only six numbers of the Monument
contain the "Papers of the Key Club," as the column is designated, and as no further mention is made of the club, in the Monument or elsewhere, it apparently ceased to exist. About the only virtue which can be attributed to the few papers which appear is their sincerity, and even this is lacking in the last, 210 which is as jejune a piece of humor as

210. Monument, July 1, 1837, I, 306.

may be found anywhere in the Monument.

In the Baltimore Literary Monument, the most regular department is "Parnassian Pastimes," evidently written by Arthur, which consists of a series of discussions between the author and Dorothea, a soulful young lady with whom he maintains a strictly Platonic friendship, on the general subject of poetry. In the successive dialogues, numerous poets are considered, and there are copious quotations from their works. The criticism is only fair, as the author characteristically prefers those poets of unimpeachable moral quality and doubtful poetic ability who were considered suitable for the family type of magazine.

Other departments, too ephemeral or inconsequential to merit consideration, appear from time to time, but they form a less important feature of the Monument than was the case with the Young Men's Paper.

There are, on the other hand, a number of series, unlike those just mentioned in that they maintain a continuity of subject matter, in which may be found better prose writing than appears anywhere in the Young Men's Paper. Probably the most important of these is "The Dental Art," by Chapin Aaron Harris. 211 Harris was born in Pompey, New York,

211. Began in Monument, May 27, 1837, I, 264.
on May 6, 1806. He studied medicine, then drifted into dentistry, and migrated to Baltimore, where, in 1833, he was licensed to practice dentistry. His "The Dental Art," which is both a history and textbook of dentistry, was, soon after its appearance in the Monument, published in book form (Baltimore, 1839). It was revised in 1845, and between that time and 1896, when it was still considered a leading authority, passed through twelve editions in English and several in a French translation.

Harris was associated with Hayden in the founding of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, succeeding to the presidency upon Hayden's death in 1844.

212. See above, p. 32.


Another series, "Scenes from the Revolution," gives, beginning with the "Fall of Wolf," stirring accounts of important episodes in the struggle for independence. The articles are signed "M," and the only clues to their authorship, the subject matter and excellent style, may point to Brantz Mayer, one of the ablest of the younger Baltimore writers who had been a member of the circle at the Seven Stars.

By far the best prose series, from a literary viewpoint, though not so interesting to the historian as "The Dental Art," is "New Thoughts on an Old World," by M. Topham Evans.
215. M. Topham Evans, son of Hugh W. Evans, was born in Baltimore in 1817 and died in Cumberland, Maryland, in 1850.

- Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser, August 2, 1850.

The first article in the series, which was published on March 3, 1838, is merely laudatory of the acknowledged masters of English literature, Byron, Coleridge, Southey, etc., although it contains an unprejudiced comparison of English and American writers. The second article introduces the series proper, which is a critical examination of the works of the post-Shakespearian dramatists, with a discussion of Jonson, Beaumont, and Fletcher. Succeeding numbers treat Massinger and Ford, Rowley and Middleton, Webster, Dekker, and others. The writing is first rate, and the criticism sound. The extracts chosen to illustrate the virtues of the dramatists exhibit superior powers of judgment. Another article by Evans, not one of the series but of a similar nature, and appearing between two of the regular articles, is an essay entitled The Life and Writings of Sheridan. After reading this essay, one is convinced that the author's presence would materially raise the standards of many a seminar in English Drama today.

Evans wrote much for the Monument, even turning out fiction occa-
sionally, but, while his severe classical style is rather a relief after the sentimental effusions of many of the contributors, it must be admitted that his talent lay wholly in scholarly pursuits.

The Reverend John G. Morris, Lutheran clergyman and writer, who


made a hobby of entomology and became recognized to the extent that he frequently lectured at the Smithsonian Institute, began a series entitled "The Naturalist," in the Literary Monument for November, 1838. It is

220. Literary Monument, I, 66.

a good series, but rather elementary, as it no doubt had to be, out of consideration for the limitations of its readers.

McJilton published several series of articles, of which the best is "The Romance of American History." Here his usual florid style is


somewhat restrained, and a pleasing matter-of-factness if maintained.

Another series of admirably written articles is "The Examiner," by J. P. C., another unidentified clergyman, which began in the Monument for January 21, 1837. The first article answers the question, "What

222. Monument, I, 123.

does nature teach concerning the existence of God and the Divine Attributes?" with logic that is comparable to that in the best theological writing of the day. The whole series is done in a creditable manner,
but the author follows it with a second series, "Practical Commentary," which is decidedly inferior to the first, dealing chiefly with the subject of conversion in the manner of the old Methodist Exhorter.

S. A. Roszell, "Atrox Mars," wrote a short series of sketches, which he called historiettes, dealing with Greek Comedy, which, although it is not wholly bad, makes rather poor reading when compared with M. Topham Evans's essays on the English dramatists.

Of miscellaneous prose there was mostly an inferior variety, but here and there may be found a sincere attempt to attain literary excellence, and, rarely, a successful attempt.

An unidentified writer, "Banquo," contributed a tale, "Philip the Wampanoag," which was published serially. The tale is a composite of Cooper's novels. The action begins in frontier America, in the midst of Indian warfare, but is made to embrace English society life and thrilling adventures upon the high seas, and thus is achieved the quite desirable end of condensing Cooper into one volume. The depiction of Indian life and customs is less impressive than Cooper's, though perhaps no less accurate, but the characters are, in general, more real than Hawkeye or David Gamut. "Banquo," however, lacks Cooper's ability to spin a yarn, and "Philip the Wampanoag," as well as his other contributions, is exceed-
ingly dull.

The most regular correspondent was C. C. Cox, Baltimore physician and surgeon. Cox was born in Baltimore in 1816, was graduated from Yale in 1835, and received his M.D. from the Washington Medical University, Baltimore. He was made a professor in the Philadelphia College of Medicine in 1848, President of the Medico-Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland in 1851, Surgeon General of Maryland in 1862, and United States Commissioner of Pensions in 1868. A prolific writer on technical and other matters, he contributed verse to the Monument almost weekly, which appeared under the heading, "Scraps," and wrote essays and tales almost as regularly, either over his own name or as "Il Tristo." His writing in both prose and verse is mediocre, though not the worst in the magazine.

Some of the best poetry in the Baltimore magazines of the thirties and forties is that of James Hungerford, who was born in 1814, in Calvert County, Maryland. He read law, and was admitted to the bar in 1835, but because of ill health was compelled to abandon the law for a time and become a surveyor with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. He later (1837) returned to the practice of law in Leonardtown, Maryland. He founded the Franklin Seminary for boys in Baltimore and the Franklin Academy, now Franklin High School, in Reisterstown, Maryland. He also founded the Baltimore County Whig, and was for a time editor of the Southern Home Journal, published in Baltimore. He was the author of several novels, the best being The Old Plantation (New York, 1859), a tale of southern life. His verse, while often puerile and sentimental, frequently

226. Perine, Poets and Verse Writers of Maryland, p. 129.

227. Scharf, History of Baltimore, p. 646.
rises to true lyric quality, surpassing much that passed for litera-
ture in the days of America's growing pains. In "Anne of Ellesby,"

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228. Monument, March 18, 1837, I, 192-193.
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a ballad after the manner of Scott, he tells the romantic tale of sweet
Anne, who rejects her lover, Eugene, because he is not romantic. Eugene,
disguised as a troubador, returns to her and lures her away to a cave,
where he is welcomed as leader by a group of brigands. Anne, frantic,
calls upon the name of Eugene, whereupon the leader of the brigands re-
veals his identity, and they are married. The story is not well told,
but the lyrics with which it is adorned, Eugene's song and Anne's reply,
and their duet, show a light and airy touch all too rare in American
verse. Other excellent lyrics by Hungerford are "The Light Caique"

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229. Monument, February 18, 1837, I, 158.
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and "Canzonet." 230

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230. Monument, June 3, 1837, I, 278.
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Another local writer whose work does much to compensate for the
poor quality of the bulk of the contributions is William Henry Carpen-
ter, who came from London to Baltimore in 1831, and entered the cloth
importing business. He at once began writing for newspapers and maga-
zines, and at one time or another rose to editorial positions on the
Patriot, the Exchange, and finally the Sun, of which he was senior
editorial writer at the time of his death. With T. S. Arthur he edited
the Baltimore Book, in 1839, now a collector's prize. Carpenter pub-
lished several novels, and contributed serial tales to various magazines. He and Arthur also wrote for Lippincott eleven school histories of states, which were used extensively. He contributed both prose and verse to the Monument, his most pretentious contributions being "Yanasa" and "The Evil May Day." Neither is of superior quality, but "Yanasa" compares favorably with the average Indian tale.

Lambert A. Wilmer, who had contributed occasionally to the Young Men's Paper, was a contributor to the Monument during those rare intervals in which he was on good terms with the editors. His contributions to the Young Men's Paper and the Monument are not written with the sharpness of his better known works, but they also lack the force which he could so well employ.

Hewitt was also a frequent contributor to the Monument, but his only noteworthy work to appear there was a series of translations of the German poet, Theodore Körner, which began on December 31, 1836,

with a biographical sketch of the poet.

Among the most frequent contributors of sentimental prose and verse was Lucy Seymour, of Liberty, Pennsylvania. She published two novels, The Swiss Heiress and The Polish Orphan. In reviewing the
No record of *The Swiss Heiress* has been found.

latter work, the editors of the *Monument* compare her style with that of Mrs. Porter, whose *Children of the Abbey* was then to be found on every middle class parlor table.

One of Miss Seymour's titles, "The Wild Rose-Tree's Petition to the Plowman," is indicative of the nature of her contribution to the Monument.

There are also frequent contributions by writers prominent in other literary circles. Mrs. Sigourney and Miss Sedgewick appear occasionally, as does Sarah Josepha Hale, whose "Our Female Poets," a long article in which each of the ranking poetesses is ably criticized, in a valuable source of information. Charles Gilman, editor of the *Maine Monthly Magazine*, is represented by a series of articles on the Tixall Poetry. James G. Percival, Park Benjamin, Grenville Mellen, and Mrs. Began in *Literary Monument*, July, 1839. The Tixall Poetry was a collection of the poetry written by members of the Aston family, edited by Arthur Clifford and published by John Ballantyne, Edinburgh, in 1813.
Hemans are among the other better known contributors.

Editorially the Monument is superior to the Young Men's Paper. There is greater variety, and a wholesome interest is evidenced in subjects which are appropriate to a literary periodical. There are two strong pleas for a copyright law, and an excellent argument for freedom of the press. There is a distinctly modern note to the editorial comment on the depression, and perhaps the editor's eloquent yearning for public promenades was influential in bringing into reality Baltimore's splendid system of parks. MoJilton's passion, education, is frequently brought to our attention.

The literary criticism is also more mature. On October 29, 1836, there is a good discussion on the general subject of poetry, and

240. Monument, November 12, 1836, I, 45; February 11, 1837, I, 150.

241. Ibid., February 25, 1837, I, 166.

242. Ibid., July 22, 1837, I, 42.

243. Ibid., January 13, 1838, II, 117.

244. Ibid., October 15, 1836, I, 14; January 28, 1837, I, 155; April 21, 1838, II, 230.

245. Ibid., I, 29.
the critical essay on English prose in the Monument for February 11, 1837, contains sound opinions on the work of Dryden, Addison, and Swift. 246 In a review of "Clement Falconer, or the Memoirs of a Young Whig," the editor expresses incidentally a rather low opinion of Dickens, however. He says:

"Scarcely any one expects the writings of Box to outlive the day that gives them to the public; they are read, laughed over, and thrown aside, and while the works of Walter Scott will continue to be published and republished for years to come; while they shall be circulated in thousands of copies, and remain as works of constant reference, the Pickwick Papers, Oliver Twist, and Nicholas Nickleby together with many of the writings of the celebrated and celebrating Captain Marryat, may hardly have a name or a place among books."

"Boz" must have grown on the editor, however, for in the Literary Monument for February, 1839, he receives unqualified praise.

246. Ibid., I, 151.

247. Ibid., September 8, 1838, II, 390.

248. Literary Monument, I, 190.
McJilton and Arthur held no monopoly on the periodical field, however, during the thirties, for there were numerous other publications, of varying degrees of literary standing. It was during this period that the longest lived and most influential of the religious-literary magazines flourished. There had been earlier several attempts to found periodicals of a combined religious and literary nature, but such magazines usually ceased publication after the settlement of the particular issue which drew them forth, or folded up because of lack of support. On November 12, 1828, Melville B. Cox had brought out the first number of the *Itinerant, or Wesleyan Methodist Visiter*, a bi-weekly organ devoted to the support of Wesleyan Methodism against the Reformers in the controversy then raging, and chiefly centered in Baltimore, where there was a convention assembled for the purpose of organizing the new church. The *Itinerant* consists almost entirely of doctrinal papers, but there are occasional poems, most of them anonymous, a few by writers of some prominence, such as T. S. Arthur. By October 26, 1831, the backers felt that, the convention having failed, the objective of the magazine had been realized, and it was withdrawn from publication.

In January, 1830, was issued the *Metropolitan, or Catholic Monthly Magazine*, published by P. Blenkinsop and sanctioned by the Archbishop as the official Catholic organ of the diocese. It was edited by the clergy of Baltimore, and was devoted entirely to the affairs of the church, the only literary material being occasional poetry, always of a
religious nature. Only one volume of the Metropolitan has been preserved, but it was evidently published for several years.

The Methodist Protestant, also, was at its best through these years. Founded in 1821 as the Wesleyan Repository and Religious Intelligencer, it was published under various names until 1834, when it became the Methodist Protestant, under the editorship of Nicholas Snethen and Asa Shinn. On October 13, 1838, E. Yates Reese undertook the editorship and brought the magazine to the peak of its career, editing it until his death in 1861. Reese was born in Baltimore on January 18, 1815, and early showed decided literary tendencies, completing a poem of over three hundred lines in his twelfth year and at fourteen contributing to all the local magazines. He was for a time a teacher in the public schools, then a preacher, until he was forty, when he took to the lecture platform and was very popular.249 Always a student of literature, he utilized his reading to furnish material for his lectures, which were thereby made more interesting than those of many of his contemporaries in the religious field, and he also maintained a certain degree of literary excellence in the Methodist Protestant, which served to set it off from the general run of such magazines. While primarily an organ of the church, and under the immediate direction of a committee appointed by the General Conference, the Methodist Protestant, under Reese, welcomed contributions of verse and occasional stories of a nature suitable to such a publication, and in it are to be found contributions by Arthur, C. C. Cox, and others of the better local magazine contributors.

In 1833, O. A. and S. F. Skinner, and the Reverend S. Streeter began publishing the Baltimore Southern Pioneer and Richmond Gospel Visiter,
which appeared simultaneously in Baltimore and Richmond, and ran until 1834 or later. It is a very inferior religious journal containing sermons, borrowed articles, church news, and an occasional pious tale, usually centered about the life of a minister's family. Its comparatively long life can be explained only on the basis of its value as a vehicle of Methodist church news.

Another magazine of religious nature, for a time almost as influential, though less deservedly so, in that it catered to the basest prejudices of the most bigoted readers, was the Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine, which began in January, 1835, and was published until January, 1842, when it was succeeded by the Spirit of the Nineteenth Century. The editors, or conductors, as they preferred to be called, were the Reverend Mr. Robert J. Breckenridge and the Reverend Mr. Andrew B. Cross, and the publisher was R. J. Matchett.

The senior editor, Breckenridge, was a man of some estimation, locally and abroad. His ancestors, offshoots of the Breckenridges and Cabells of Virginia, were among those who followed Daniel Boone into Kentucky. His father, John, was United States Senator from Kentucky, and served as Attorney General under President Jefferson. Robert J. was born at Cabell's Dale, near Lexington, on March 9, 1800, and after attending Jefferson College (Pennsylvania), Yale, and, finally, Union College (New York), where he was graduated, he returned to Lexington to manage his mother's estate and study law. He began to practice law in 1824, and was a member of the legislature from 1825 to 1828. In 1828, he joined the Presbyterian Church and, forsaking the law, was licensed to preach in 1832. In the same year he went to Princeton Seminary to further prepare himself for his calling, but his attendance there was cut short within the year by a call from the Second Presbyterian Church in Baltimore, where
he succeeded his brother John, and remained till 1845, distinguishing himself as a controversialist and crusader. Breckenridge was chiefly responsible for the "Act and Testament," of 1834, which in 1837 caused the split of the Presbyterian Church into the Old School and the New School, himself remaining loyal to the former. While in Europe for the sake of his health in 1836, he represented the General Assembly of his church, and in Glasgow, Scotland, entered into a heated debate over the slavery question.

He was called to the Presidency of Jefferson College, in 1845, but, owing to the rigors of the Pennsylvania climate, returned to Lexington, where he successively preached, became Superintendent of Public Instruction for Kentucky, and taught in the Danville Theological Seminary until his retirement in 1869. He died in 1871.

Always a controversialist, he so bitterly attacked the Roman Catholic and Universalist churches while he was in Baltimore that his friends often feared for his life. He was also an active temperance worker, and was elected to the legislature in Kentucky on a platform consisting of opposition to slavery and Sunday mails. He was Lincoln's chief advisor in Kentucky during the war, and so bitter were his feelings that he refused to raise a hand to save members of his own family from northern prisons and firing squads. He is also credited with the 1866 schism in the Presbyterian Church.

In addition to editing the Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine and the Spirit of the Nineteenth Century, in Baltimore, he was an editor of the Danville Quarterly Review and wrote a good deal besides.

With such a man at its head, it is no wonder that the Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine, with total disregard for the first half of its title, is almost wholly controversial. No editorial principles are laid down; in fact, there is no editorial department as such, but the obvious purposes of the journal are first, to crush the Roman Catholic Church in Baltimore, as a prelude to a world campaign against it, and, second, to further the cause of the Protestant missionary. The editors apparently saw no incongruity in these aims. Fully eighty percent of each number is devoted to scathing attacks upon Roman Catholicism. A survey of the contents of the first number, that for January, 1835, will indicate the nature of all. First, there is an article on "Colonization and Slavery," which gives an account of Governor Hall's survey. Dr. James M. Hall was the governor of the colony at Cape Palmas, Liberia, and had just surveyed the territory of Maryland, in Africa. He gave a glowing report of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the prospects of the work of the Maryland State Colonization Society, a chapter of the American Colonization Society. Then comes a translation (from the French) from the Annals of the Society for Propagating the Faith, which describes the work of Monseigneurs Carroll and Marschal.


252. Ibid., I, 8.

in establishing the Roman Catholic Church in Maryland. An attempt is made to show the insidious manner in which they went about their business, and a rather heavy clod of satire is heaved at their enticing poor,
beauty-starved Baltimoreans into their lair by means of the second finest organ in the world. Then follows the story of a Baltimore priest's kid-
napping of a protestant girl,253 and an account of the monarchy perpe-

Ibid., I, 15.

trated by the priests in South America, whose morals are vile, politics corrupt, and influence wholly for the bad. Two short articles, not too bad, come next, "The Truth of the Bible, 254 and "The Value of the Bible,"

254. Ibid., I, 23.
255. Ibid., I, 24.

then the monthly sermon. After this is the short but pathetic account of how the Messrs. Lyman and Munson, missionaries to Africa, were, on the eve of their departure for America to seek support, seized by their pro-
spective victims, boiled, and eaten with great gusto.256 The number

256. Ibid., I, 30.

concludes with a page or two of miscellaneous clippings, chiefly relig-

ious.

In other numbers we find a "literal translation" of the Roman Catholic Creed,257 with numerous italics to emphasize the subversive

257. Ibid., February, 1835, I, 33.

nature of some of the articles; an article entitled "No Salvation for Protestants!"258 an account of the poisoning of Pope Clement XIV by

The Jesuits; 259 a phrenological reading of the head of Pope Alexander VI,


Extracted from the *Edinburgh Phrenological Journal*, No. 12, 1826, in which his Holiness out-Malcoms "all the legions of Horrid Hell;" 260 an


Exposure of the dastardly doings of the College of Maynooth (Ireland); 261


The story of a noble member of the Ohio Senate who was mobbed for retaining his hat while a papist procession passed by; 262 the details of the


Manner in which the rector of the Cathedral helped forge a will; 263 an


Exposure of the idolatry of the church at Rome; 264 the story of an out-


Rage which was "probably committed" at the Carmelite convent at Balti-

265. On this last occasion the editors secured the sworn statement
of a group of pious ladies to the effect that in the dead of night, as
they passed the convent on their way home from a religious meeting, they
heard most piteous and agonizing screams to issue from the convent, with
prayers to God and some other invisible power, obviously a priest or a
sister, for mercy. This, as well as some other attacks against the Roman
Catholics, brought forth protests in the newspapers and in some of the
Catholic publications, but, in 1839, Breckenridge overstepped all limits
of papist patience and published an article which opened:

"The County Alms-house has been converted not only into a papal
mass house, but into a papal prison. An aged German Catholic, in the
western end of Baltimore, whose wife was in the Alms-house, became uneasy
about his soul and asked for Protestant instruction."

The article went on to relate that his priest heard of it, told the
old fellow his wife was dead, and had him committed to the Alms-house as
a mad-man. Eventually some Protestants heard of the case and a rescue
was effected. 266

266. Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine, November, 1839,
V, 533.

Upon this attack, however, the Church, through James L. McGuire,
the keeper of the Alms-house, entered suit for libel against Breckenridge,
Senior editor and writer of the article, who said he had the information
from a reliable source. The trial opened on March 10, 1840, with Brecken­
ridge entering the court-room accompanied by his brother-in-law, the
Honorable W. C. Preston, United States Senator, and defended by his
counsel, the Honorable John J. Crittendon, United States Senator, and
William Schley, of Baltimore. The case dragged on until, on March 21,
the jury having asked to be discharged, the state offered a nolle
prosequi and the suit was dropped.

267. The Baltimore Clipper, March 10 to March 24, 1840.

It was the most interesting case the Baltimore courts had known for
years and, the rooms were crowded every day. So great was the interest
that the Clipper had to publish several thousand extra copies daily, and
at the close of the trial, a thirty-six page account of it was published
by Mr. John Reilly, Bookseller, and sold readily.

268. The Baltimore Clipper, March 25, 1840.

There are, however, in the extant copies of the Baltimore Literary
and Religious Magazine, a few articles not consecrated to breaking down
of Roman Catholicism. The best of these are a group by Maxwell McDowell,
M. D., of Baltimore. The first, "The Origin of the Human Race,"269 is

269. Ibid., March, 1835, I, 79.

probably the poorest. Dr. McDowell defends the story as told in Genesis,
and labels the opinions of Erasmus Darwin "the unbridled vagaries of a
vivid imagination." The reader's credulity is finally overstrained when
he reads the account of a woman who turned instantaneously and permanent­
ly black with grief upon seeing her daughter and the latter's two children
commit suicide by leaping from a window. Dr. McDowell's other articles,
however, are somewhat better. In April, 1835, for example, he discusses
"On Craniological Phrenology,"270 and, while not dogmatic, points out
some weaknesses in the theories of Gall and Spurzheim. On the whole, however, the Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine probably served only to further arouse those with whose pre-conceived opinions it was already in accord, and can be said to have contributed nothing worthwhile to society.

It expired with the issue of December, 1841, but the senior editor, nothing daunted, at once launched the Spirit of the Nineteenth Century, taking upon himself the whole editorial burden. The new magazine differed in no way from its predecessor, unless in that it presented less variety. In presenting the first number, that of January, 1842, the editor said in part:

It the Baltimore Literary and Religious Journal has been a work eminently devoted to realities, and in prosecuting these, it begged nobody - in age of mendicity; it feared nobody - in an age of truckling; it flattered nobody - in an age of self seeking. Now it is dead - it would not exchange that epitaph for all the inflated life of all the dilated and diluted humbugs of the age.

The editorial went on to state that the policy and aims of the new magazine would be similar to those of the old.

One year was the life of the Spirit of the Nineteenth Century, and in its pages is to be found little to indicate that it was worthy of a longer life. Anti-Catholic propaganda makes up four fifths of the material. One long series of articles is entitled "The Funeral of the Mass." It covers the whole range of the Roman Catholic liturgy, with devastating scorn. The following excerpt from the discussion of the
doctrine of transubstantiation is a fair sample of the logic employed by the author, presumably Breckenridge:

A man cannot receive that which he hath while he hath it, and therefore he cannot receive a being while he hath a being; for, as it is impossible to take away a being from that which hath no being, so it is impossible to give a being to that which hath a being already.\textsuperscript{272}

\textsuperscript{272} Ibid., April, 1842, I, 179.

One non-controversial item of doubtful interest is the account, together with some correspondence related thereto, of the ecclesiastical trial of the Reverend Archibald McQueen, of Fayetteville, North Carolina, on charges of incest. The Reverend McQueen had married his deceased wife's sister, and had first been tried by the Fayetteville Presbytery and convicted. He appealed to the General Assembly in Baltimore, and in a decision read by Breckenridge, the appeal was dismissed.\textsuperscript{273} Breckenridge did, however, later print a dissenting opinion, by "a layman,"\textsuperscript{274} and a counter-rebuttal by "a Presbyter."\textsuperscript{275}

\textsuperscript{273} Ibid., July, 1842, I, 320.

\textsuperscript{274} Ibid., August, 1842, I, 360.

\textsuperscript{275} Ibid., December, 1842, I, 541.

Of the other articles which are non-controversial, one of the best is an editorial on slavery, in which there is, contrary to the editor's usual bent, a very sane plea for a more moderate attitude on both sides of the question.\textsuperscript{276} Another editorial on temperance\textsuperscript{277} shows a less
tolerant attitude in its demand, not for temperance, but for abstinence. The only article in the volume that is not religious, controversial, or reformatory in nature is a well-written sketch on "Iowa Territory, its Condition, Resources, Population, and Wants," and even this closes with an enumeration of the churches within the territory and a statement of the need for missionary work, especially by the Presbyterians, who are lagging behind the Methodists and Baptists, and, worst of all, the Roman Catholics.

While the Spirit may have served to stimulate and fortify the more bigoted of Breckenridge's denomination, it is difficult for the modern reader to find anything to say in praise of it. Its only interest lies in the fact that Breckenridge was its editor.

There were also, during this period, at least two fraternal magazines published, in which appeared an occasional literary scrap. The Covenant, Devoted to the Cause of Odd-Fellowship, was edited by Past Grand Master James L. Ridgely, and ran from 1836 to 1840. In it there are several poems by Hewitt and one or two by John McCabe. The Iris and Odd-fellows' Mirror, which was edited by G. W. Magers, also published some verse and an occasional story, according to advertisements which appear in the Western Continent throughout the first part of 1846, but apparently no files of the Iris have been preserved.
CHAPTER VII
THE LATE THIRTIES

While McJilton and Arthur were entertaining the family circle about the fireside with the Athenaeum and the Monument, and while Breckenridge was feeding the flames of bigotry and intolerance with his two journals, a Yankee, laden to the scuppers with learning, briefly invaded Baltimore. In 1832, Sumner Lincoln Fairfield had established the North American Quarterly Magazine in Philadelphia, where he published eight volumes of the magazine. Although apparently not unsuccessful there, he removed, in June, 1838, to Baltimore, and published there one issue, No. 38, Volume IX. Fairfield was, however, a restless soul, and almost at once abandoned his baby on a Baltimore doorstep, while he returned to Philadelphia.

The one issue which he published in Baltimore is full of good reading, at least for serious and not too unlearned minds. A rather good translation of Aristophanes' "Birds," by the Reverend Henry Francis Cary, is followed by some well-chosen critical remarks by the editor upon the plays of Aristophanes. "Nestor," unidentifiable, unless, as the

279. Sumner Lincoln Fairfield (1803 - 1844) was a scholar and writer whose chief notoriety came from the fact of his accusing Bulwer for plagiarizing, in his Last Days of Pompeii, from his own Last Night of Pompeii (New York, 1832). While Bulwer undoubtedly used Fairfield's work as source material, it was not in the sense of plagiarizing. Fairfield's chief work besides this was the North American Quarterly Magazine. -Dictionary of American Biography, VI, 258.

style might indicate, he is Fairfield, contributed two articles, "The Misguided," and "The Union of the States." The first is a discussion of marriage and divorce, in which much of the blame for unhappy married life is justly laid to lack of proper foresight and common sense. The second is a discussion of the slavery question, with a plea for the preservation of the federal government. Nathan C. Brooks submitted a long poem, "Bower of Paphos," outlining the struggle and ultimate triumph of the Christian faith on the island of Cyprus. Written in Brooks' best style, rather severely classical, "Bower of Paphos" is not wholly unreadable. Fairfield's verse is of average ability, his articles are somewhat above the average, and his reviews show exceeding catholicity of taste and due regard for literary criteria.

The doorstep on which the baby was abandoned was that of Nathan Covington Brooks, who attempted to carry on the ambitious plans of Fairfield. Brooks published prospectuses in the local newspapers, stating that the magazine would be continued as the American Museum of Literature and the Arts. There was some difficulty in getting the new journal under weigh, however, and it was not until September, 1838, that the first number of the American Museum appeared, under the joint editorship of
Brooks and Dr. J. Evans Snodgrass.

Nathan Covington Brooks, the senior editor, was among the most scholarly of Baltimore's literary men. He was born in 1809 at West Nottingham, Maryland, and was graduated from West Nottingham Academy and St. John's College, receiving his M. A. from the latter school in 1833. He was from 1824 to 1890 active in educational work in Maryland, his first position being that of the mastership of the Charlestown School, where he remained from 1824 to 1826. Then he opened an academy of his own in Baltimore and directed it until, in 1831, he was elected principal of the Franklin Academy, in Reisterstown. When the Baltimore Male Central High School, now Baltimore City College, was established in 1839, he was the first principal, remaining there until he established the Baltimore Female College in 1848. He was president of this school until its demise in 1890, when he removed to Philadelphia, where he died. He bore honorary degrees from Emory (L.L.D. 1859), Ohio University (Ph. D. 1889), and Franklin and Marshall (L.H.D. 1889).

His educational work, however, represented only a portion of his accomplishments through a long and active life. He began writing stories and verse at an early age, and edited an annual, the Amethyst, in 1830. He published First Latin Lessons; First Greek Lessons (Philadelphia, 1846); text editions of Caesar, Ovid, and Virgil; Vitae Virorum Illustrium Americae, a Columbo ad Jacksonum (New York, 1864); Historia Sacra; Greek Collectanea Evangelica; Complete History of the Mexican War, Baltimore (1849 and 1865, translated into German, 1849); and numerous religious manuals. His best poetical work is his Scriptural Anthology, of Biblical Illustration (Philadelphia, 1837). His editorship of the American
Museum was his only editorial or publishing venture, but he was a pro-
lic prolific contributor to various magazines, among them the Emerald, the
Monument, the New World, the Boston Galaxy, and the Southern Literary
Messenger. When he wrote for magazines outside Baltimore, he often
signed his verse "Hesperus." The circumstances of his admission to the
New World are amusing. Park Benjamin, who was editor at the time, had
said that Brooks could not write, and had repeatedly rejected his contrib-
utions. A lady of Philadelphia sent Benjamin two of Brooks' poems,
signed "Leonora," intimating that they were by the Honorable Mrs. Norton.
Benjamin puffed them, but changed the signature to "Mrs. N.," thus unwill-
ingly admitting that Brooks could write. Upon learning of the hoax, which
he believed to have been perpetrated by Charles Kennard, a nephew of Mrs.
Norton, who was then in London, Benjamin was chagrined, but the damage
was done.

In the prospectus on the editorial page of the first number of
the American Museum the editors apologized for their tardiness in getting
the journal started, and outlined their plans for its policy. The first
volume was to consist of four issues, considerably larger than original-
ly contemplated, and succeeding volumes should contain six issues. The
editorial statement continued:

The American Museum will combine the solidity of a review with the lighter miscellany of a magazine; besides impartial reviews of important works and short notices of minor literary productions by the editors, it will embrace essays, tales, historiettes, poetry, literary and scientific intelligence, and translations from standard and periodical works in other languages, contributed by some of the ablest writers of the day.

Obviously here was a magazine whose purpose was wholly literary and intellectual, the first such since the demise of the Emerald, nearly a decade before. Nationwide contributions were invited, and for these the editors offered to pay, the first such offer in Baltimore periodical history.

With such a program in view, and with such able men as editors, the future of the Museum appeared promising. The magazine had, to begin with, the appearance of a review, whereas most of the Baltimore magazines had been of the "home magazine" type. The approximately eighty-five pages of heavy paper, 6 x 8½, the bold type, and the undivided pages gave it an appearance of solidity which did not wholly belie the contents. While it contained some good poetry, and an occasional acceptable story, it was in its articles that the Museum was at its best. As usual among the reviews, both British and American, of the day, a large number of these were the work of the editors, or rather, editor, for Brooks was the principal writer.

The contributors are a diverse group, and there was less tendency toward a clique than in any previous Baltimore literary journal. Among the most regular was "Peter Prospero," whose "The Atlantis" appeared in every issue. Although constructed on a hackneyed theme, Utopianism, "The Atlantis" betrays considerable originality and is quite readable. "Prospero" devises a "magnetic ship," a combination of steam and magnetism, in which he and companions are carried southward, through the ice
floe, to Saturnia, capital city of Atlantis. Apparently Saturnia is a sort of stopping-off place, or Purgatory, where man resides for an indefinite period after death, until his ultimate admittance to Heaven or Hell. In this strange city, the circumstances of the individual are arranged according to his desserts, without regard to his former position in life. Nero, Tiberius, and Caesar Borgia are the porters who meet "Prospero" as he disembarks, while Mary of Scotland is head waiting woman for Lady Jane Gray. 288 All the great personages of former times are assembled here, and the form of government changes according to the prevailing ideas of the latest arrivals. At the time of "Prospero's" visit, Saturnia is a republic, with George Washington as president. 289 Washington, incidentally, is almost the only man there who is reunited with his former wife. 290 Benjamin Franklin and Madame Helvetius are reunited, and Mary Woolstonecraft and Jean Jacques Rousseau are living together in a rather ambiguous state. 292

Every phase of Saturnian thought and civilization is covered. Jefferson defends the rights of the slave states, 293 Gibbon is criticized
for making history readable, and Pope and Richardson denounce Scott for writing merely to entertain. Shakespeare has mollified Saturnian criticism by revising and expurgating all his works. No novel after Richardson meets with approval. Swift, Coleridge, and Johnson discuss the relative merits of Newton, Kepler, Locke, and others. Sam Johnson speaks very highly of Sir Charles Grandison, then turns the talk to America, which he conceives to be very like Scotland was when he visited it. Among other interesting papers in this series are a satire on phrenology, a proposal to revise the Old Testament, expurgating the
blood-thirsty parts, a speculation as to whether the improvements made by the Reverend Clark upon the Protestant episcopal liturgy might not profitably be adopted on earth. Prospero, whom I cannot identify, writes in a pleasing, ingenuous style, very convincing, and has a good sense of humor. His narrative is one of the most entertaining pieces in the Museum.

Three scientific articles by Professor Foreman (I have been unable to identify Foreman), two original and the third a condensation of a series of reports, are rather good, though extremely elementary. The first, "The Origin of the Sciences," hypothecates primitive man's speculations on natural phenomena and ascribes invention to necessity, not so old an idea then as now, and still employed by those who present scientific facts to laymen. The second, a meteorological discussion of wind-storms, seems quite sound, and is similarly presented. His final paper, "Geology," describes the theory of progressive development of
organic life, and is a digest of a series of articles from the reports of the London Geographical Society. It is very well done.

John G. Morris also contributed several scientific papers. Morris, born in York, Pennsylvania, in 1803, was a Lutheran clergyman who, in addition to publishing a Popular Exposition of the Gospels (2 volumes, Baltimore, 1840), a history, The Lords Baltimore (Baltimore, 1874), and various other works, edited the Lutheran Observer in 1831-1832, was the first librarian and bought the first books for the Peabody Institute Library. He was also an amateur naturalist who became recognized as an authority on entomology and was several times a lecturer before the Smithsonian Institution. 306

Morris began a series, "Entomology," 307 with a cursory sketch of

the subject, tending to show how God is manifest in the insect world. In June, 1839, he wrote also "General Zoology," 308 a mass of unrelated, sometimes curious, data, with the general purpose of glorifying God. In another article, "Geology and Revelation," 309 he re-interpreted Genesis,
in the manner still employed by those who try to reconcile scientific
discovery with a literal acceptance of the Old Testament. He points out
that Genesis does not state specifically that the sun, light, and animals
followed immediately upon chaos, and he also makes the day of Moses rather
elastic, to make room for the geological facts regarding the age of the
earth.

Poe was a rather frequent contributor to the Museum, also. He and
the editors had formed friendships during his Baltimore days, friendships
among the most lasting in the unfortunate poet's life. He had even so-
licited a teaching position under Brooks when the latter was principal of
the Franklin Academy, but had found no opening at the time, and it will

be remembered that Snodgrass was one of those to whom he turned during
the last wretched days of his life. Early in the life of the American
Museum, Brooks wrote to Poe, asking him to prepare a series of articles
on American authors, but Poe had just undertaken the editorship of the
Southern Literary Messenger, and was too occupied to comply with his
wishes. He did, however, make five contributions to his friends' maga-

zine. "The Psyche Zenobia" appeared in November, 1838; a miscellane-

ous set of opinions, "Literary Small Talk," in January, 1839; a
second "Literary Small Talk" in February, 1839; "Ligeia," in September, 1838; and "The Haunted Palace," later incorporated in "The Fall of the House of Usher," in Burton's Magazine, in April, 1839. Three of the pieces are familiar to readers of Poe, and have undergone few or no changes in successive editions. The "Literary Small Talk" is small indeed, not above the average attained by the contributors to the Museum. It was apparently the poet's intention to continue the series, but he got only as far as the second number.

Other names of more than local renown which appear in the American Museum are those of Arthur Quillinan, C. S. Rafinesque, Henry Theodore Tuckerman, Jared Sparks, and William Gilmore Simms.

In March, 1839, the editor announced that he had received some contributions from a talented British writer, which would appear in a later number. Accordingly, in July, there appeared the first of two poems by Edward Quillinan, of Canterbury, Wordsworth's son-in-law. As no further comment upon the source of these poems is made, it is evident that they are the items referred to. Both are in the ballad form. The first, "Ramsgate," is of religious import, and the second, "The
316. Ibid., April, 1839, II, 291.

Manchester Steam-Ship,*1 discovers romance, thought dead, in a steamer.

317. Ibid., June, 1839, II, 466.

Neither poem shows supreme literary excellence.

Constantine Samuel Rafinesque*1 submitted only one article, "The

318. Constantine Samuel Rafinesque (1783 - 1840) was a scholar, merchant, teacher, and botanist, whose life reads like a chapter from Sinbad. He spent his last years in Philadelphia, and died there in poverty. His writings ranged over the Bible, poetry, banking, and economics. He was the originator of the coupon bond, and, irrelevantly, anticipated many of the theories of Charles Darwin.


last he wrote in his Philadelphia garret, for his last months were spent in a state of helplessness. It is soundly conceived, and disposes with good sense of the more commonly held theories of the origins of the American mounds and other monuments. He only hints at his conclusions, however, which are based on the similarity of our mounds to those found in central Asia, and which he evidently intended for a second paper, never accomplished.

"Mountain Serenade"*20 and "To Violante, in Absence,"*21 by William
Gilmore Simms, are bits of light verse, truly lyrical in quality, though imperfect, and interesting today in the light of Simm's growing reputation as a prose writer.

Tuckerman is represented only by selections from his Italian Sketches published a year earlier. Jared Sparks contributed an essay, "History," in which he attempted to show the importance of
history in that it teaches by example, and that through a knowledge of the past we may be better able to cope with the present problems of science, industry, and political economy. He also commented upon the tendency of European governments to strengthen themselves, examined the tendency in the light of historical perspective, and warned his readers how to prevent their own government from becoming too authocratic.

The Reverend Mr. George W. Burnap, who succeeded Sparks at the First Unitarian Church in Baltimore, and who attained considerable reputation as a lecturer throughout the East, 326 also wrote one article.

326. Scharf, History of Baltimore, p. 647.

"The Influence of the Use of Machinery of the Civilization, Comfort, and Morality of Mankind." 327 Those who are today attempting to reassure uneasy man in regard to his future and the probable effect upon it of the machine age might find a useful suggestion or two in Burnap's article. He optimistically avers that there is no danger, that we in America have the greatest opportunities ever vouchsafed by divine Providence to any nation of men.

One of the more scholarly papers in the Museum is that entitled "The English Versions of Tasso's Jerusalem," 328 written by Isaac Candler.


Candler, who is unidentifiable, does a creditable job of comparing the four English versions of Fairfax, Hoole, Hunt, and Wiffen.

328. Ibid., September, 1838, I, 90.
Lambert A. Wilmer is represented by only two articles, but both are excellent. The first, in prose, "An Essay on Mental Phenomena," is a sound discourse on memory and the imagination, fully as advanced as that presented in the psychology textbooks seventy-five years later. The second is a splendid satire in verse, "Phrenology," addressed to Mr. C., Phrenologist. The following lines are typical:

...Or in a jealous fit some day,
You'll take your charmer's life away.
'Tis known Othello's woolly knob
Prepared him for this latter job;
And Romeo, (to augment out proof)
Had suicide marked on his roof.

M. Topham Evans contributed several articles. That on "Classical Literature," in which the author explains how classical literature can be taught successfully, is rather good, but his "Kaleidoscopia Biographica," a series of biographical sketches of noted English clergymen, is quite inferior to his contributions to other magazines.

There are the usual verse contributions by Mrs. Sigourney, Grenville Mellen, H. F. Gould, John Hill Hewitt, "Il Tristo," John McCabe,
333. Grenville Mellen (1799 - 1840) was a lawyer and poet and a pioneering figure in the field of the short story. Besides contributing to numerous magazines, he published *Sad Tales* and *Glad Tales*, by "Reginald Reverie" (Boston, 1828), and other volumes.

-Dictionary of American Biography, XII, 516.

334. Hannah Flagg Gould (1789 - 1865) was an American writer who became quite popular for her bad poetry.


and E. Yates Reese, but the general level of the verse published in the Museum is very low.

William Henry Carpenter published in two parts "The Merchant's Daughter,"335 a drama of romance and intrigue written in imitation of Shakespeare's style, which is about the worst thing he ever wrote.

As was usually the case, the editors, or, rather, the senior editor, for Snodgrass wrote but little, furnished a large portion of the material. There are no editorials as such. The nearest approaches are two not very clearly differentiated departments, "Reviews" and "Literary Notices." These critical notices are usually quite sound, but, especially in the case of fiction, have the fault of telling the whole story, leaving nothing for the reader to find out, as, for example, in the review of John P. Kennedy's *Rob of the Bowl.*336 They are superior to most of the critical reviews cited in earlier magazines, for Brooks and

Snodgrass are not callous to literary excellence. In reviewing G. P. R. James's "The Huguenots: a Tale of the French Protestants," for example, Snodgrass is careful to emphasize the need for a "philological as well as moral effect,"337 a matter of secondary consideration with


McJilton, Arthur, Breckenridge, and most of the other earlier editors. Little is said about contemporary magazines, but the editors do praise rather extravagantly the Baltimore Monument338 and the Southern Literary Messenger339 in which "more valuable papers are to be found than in any

338. Ibid., May, 1839, II, 428-429.


of our monthlies." Such praise, however, must be read remembering that the editors of both magazines were among the closest friends of Brooks and Snodgrass.

A more or less regular department, the only one besides the "Reviews" and "Literary Notices," is the "Researches of Polyglot Club,"340 a series


of studies in plagiarism, obviously the work of Brooks, with contributions by various scholars whose interest he had aroused. In each number of the series there is presented a poem, supposedly original, with from one to
four versions of the same poem, each in a different language, and each said by its author to be original, all manifestly palagiarisms upon the oldest, which, after reading the group, one is likely to suspect to be itself a plagiarism.

Among the many articles that Brooks wrote for the Museum, two of the best are those entitled "American Authors" (apparently he at first considered writing the series about which he had written to Poe, but had to give it up), the first devoted to Irving, the second, to Cooper.

342. Ibid., January, 1839, I, 1.

For Irving he has little but praise. After a brief sketch of Irving's life, Brooks examines his humor and finds it good, discourses upon his staunch Americanism, which is at the same time not offensive to the British, and concludes that his greatest contribution to the world lies in his having brought England and America closer together. His analysis of Cooper is less acute, because less sympathetic. Brooks apparently felt that Cooper's lack of scholarship excluded him from the possibility of great achievement. The criticism is, however, very fair.

Brooks also published some of his own fiction, written in a lumbering, artificial style, without doubt the worst in the magazine. His verse is not of the best, but some of it, particularly a series called "Antique Cameos," brief stanzas on Hylas, Triton, and other clas-

343. Ibid., October, 1838, I, 255.
344. Ibid., November, 1838, I, 377.
sical themes, exhibits considerable skill in the use of a restrained, classical style.

Snodgrass submitted occasional bad verse, and even worse moral tales. His best contribution is his "Disclosures of Science," 345 in which he shows the enthusiasm of a neophyte, writing in a style similar to that employed today by those who would initiate children into the wonders of science.

On the last page of the number for June, 1839, Brooks announced that he was forced to retire from the editorship, because of the "duties of an arduous profession," but that the Museum had been a success, and would continue under the care of Snodgrass. Later on the same page, however, appeared another letter, from Snodgrass, stating that, he, too, found that he could be more profitably employed in his chosen profession, and that there would be no further numbers of the magazine.

The Museum was undoubtedly the best that Baltimore had seen since the Portico, twenty years before. Although not as entertaining as many others, it contained more solid reading and was better edited than they.

One newspaper of the thirties which deserves to be mentioned for its literary columns is the Baltimore Clipper, first issued on September, 1839, by John H. Hewitt and Company. Hewitt shared the editorial duties with John Wills until Edmund Bull and William Tuttle bought the paper, in 1840, retaining Wills as editor. William Wailes bought it in 1864, and it ceased publication in 1866. 346 Although the Clipper was primari-

345. Ibid., November, 1838, I, 370.

ly a newspaper, both Hewitt and Wills welcomed stories and verse, and most of the local writers are represented in it by an occasional contribution. The most regular contributor was John Lofland, the "Milford Bard," who wrote for nearly every magazine and newspaper published in Baltimore and Philadelphia between 1820 and 1845. Lofland was born in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1798. 347 His mother so spoiled him that when he went to school, he would not for several years learn even his alphabet. He later improved his opportunities, however, and began the study of medicine in the office of his cousin, Dr. James P. Lofland. He attempted further studies in medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, but, as the result of a quarrel with Professor Cox, left before completing his course.

During his residence in Philadelphia he became quite intimate with Tom Moore, then visiting in America, with whom he used to take long walks along the banks of the Schuylkill, and the Irish poet remained one of his staunchest friends.

While in Philadelphia, also, Lofland suffered a disappointment in love, from which he never recovered sufficiently to contemplate marriage.

Having already made for himself some literary reputation as the "Milford Bard," Lofland, upon leaving Philadelphia, removed to Baltimore to engage in literary work. Besides writing both prose and verse for all the local magazines and newspapers, he furnished considerable "request" poetry, at a price. The following advertisement, from the Clipper for May 1, 1840, is but one of many in which he solicited commissions.

TO THE LOVERS OF LITERATURE

Having none of the false pride that belongs to some Poets, and believing that a man may receive pay for his miscellaneous, as well as his collected and published writings, and that mental labors are as worthy of remuneration as corporeal or bodily—this is to inform the lovers of polite literature, that I will write poetical articles for five cents per line, and prose articles in proportion. Inquire at No. 7 South Street, or at the Patriot office, where all will be politely and punctually accommodated.

MILFORD BARD

And commissions he received, on every conceivable subject. He was asked to compose Fourth of July orations, to help make up quarrels, to supply verses for ladies' albums, and to assist in proposing marriage.

One client wrote:

Dear Sir— I take the Liberty to call on you as you promised me to Compose me a peace and if you will I will feale MySelf Very much indebted to you and will never forget you for it.

I am Your Obt. S.
R - E -

PS. and if you requier a compensation for it you shall have it.

I am about to qoart a young lady who I love sincerely.  

Through a combination of cucumbers and laudanum, Lofland became addicted to opium and drink, and, in his efforts to effect a cure, had himself committed to various institutions, without success. Finally some of his friends of the medical profession (he had for a while tried to make a living as a physician) took him in charge and cured him of his appetites, but he never recovered his faculties, meager at their best, and died in poverty in 1849.

On June 27, 1840, Bull and Tuttle issued from the office of the Clipper a weekly newspaper for the home, the Ocean and Weekly Clipper.

348. Ibid., p. 19.

349. Ibid., p. 19.
which also contained a literary department. No copies of the Ocean are available, but it was published for several months, according to the accounts of its growth printed in the Clipper. As no complete file of the Clipper exists, it is impossible to ascertain the closing dates of the Ocean and Weekly Clipper.
CHAPTER VIII

A DECADE OF DULLNESS

1841 - 1850

With the beginning of the forties there was a decline in both the quantity and the quality of literary periodicals in Baltimore. Many of the editors of and most regular contributors to the earlier magazines had either left Baltimore or become too engrossed in other work to devote much time to writing. Poe had gone to Richmond, then to New York; Wilmer and Arthur were in Philadelphia; Brooks and McJilton were engaged in educational work, although the latter did make two more sallies into the publishing world, one with the Patriot, a newspaper with which he was connected from 1849 to 1856, and the other with a magazine of miscellany, the Elevator, which he established in 1856; and many others had retired from writing. There were, however, several magazines published during the decade which are worthy of mention. In January, 1841, J. Austin Sperry issued the first number of The Monthly Budget of Science, Literature, and Art. On the back cover appeared the prospectus, part of which follows:

It has, of late, been a matter of no little surprise to the sister cities, that, while they have been casting their bread profusely upon the waters (and when the harvest time of fame and honor comes, they will reap abundantly), Baltimore sends out not a single crumb to feed the annals of literary glory.

The editor then says that he will attempt to supply the deficiency, as he feels certain that both the talent and the demand for it exist in Baltimore, but are merely obscured by the political cloud that has enveloped the nation. Only two numbers of the Monthly Budget appeared, and
there is in them little of interest. Sperry was the chief contributor, his tales and verse appearing in profusion in both numbers, but his ability is not remarkable. John G. Morris contributed "A Visit to a Naturalist," a pleasant account of his stay in Ohio with an English Count who


had retired thither to study nature. MoJilton, C. C. Cox, the "Milford Bard," E. Yates Reese, M. S. Lovett, and Esther Wetherald are among

351. M. S. Lovett was a frequent contributor of sentimental verse to many Baltimore magazines, but no record of him has been found.

the familiar names appearing in the two issues, but all had done better work elsewhere.

After the failure of the *Monthly Budget*, Sherwood and Company, publishers of the *Saturday Visiter*, employed Sperry to edit a successor, the *Baltimore Phoenix and Budget*, which appeared first in April, 1841. The *Phoenix and Budget* is a rather sorry affair with little to commend it to the reader then or now. The contributors, mainly the ones who were already familiar to Baltimore readers, did little to enhance their claims to renown. Dr. John W. Geyer, of Newmarket, Maryland, contributed occasional verses and moral articles, as well as "Retribution" a

352. Began in *Baltimore Phoenix and Budget*, June, 1841, I, 98.

melodramatic tale, which appeared serially. Dr. Snodgrass combined his loyalties to literature and surgery in a delicate tribute "To My Spring
George Yellot, Maryland lawyer and jurist, was a frequent contributor. Yellot, born in the Dulaney Valley, Maryland, in 1819, was admitted to the Baltimore Bar in 1841. He became a judge in the Baltimore County Court in 1858, and Chief Judge of the Judicial Circuit of the Court of Appeals in 1867. He published several volumes of poetry, among them the *Paradise of Fools* (Baltimore, 1841); *The Maid of Peru, and Other Poems* (Baltimore, 1848); and *Tamayo; a Tragedy in Five Acts, and Other Poems* (Baltimore, 1857). His serious poetry is over-strained and sentimental, but his jovial and satirical verse is much better.

Yellot's most ambitious contributions to the *Phoenix and Budget* are "The Misobion," a narrative poem in which is related a sad tale of a pair of lovers, parted for no discernible reason, and culminating in the death of the heroine; and "The Maid of Peru," a romantic poem in the manner of Scott, which also ends with the heroine's death.
Brooks, Arthur, L. E. Landon, "Il Tristo," M. S. Lovett, E.

357. Letitia Elizabeth Landon (1802 - 1838), a native of London, was a contributor to, and co-editor of, the London Literary Gazette. Her sentimental effusions won her a large following, and her death, under peculiar circumstances, a few months after her marriage to Mr. George McLean, received much publicity in British and American papers.

-Allibone, I, 1053.

Yates Reese, the "Milford Bard," and Mrs. Annan were all frequent contributors.

358. Mrs. A. M. S. Annan, wife of Dr. Annan, of Annapolis, was a regular contributor to most of the magazines of the period.

Only two new names of any importance appear in the Phoenix and Budget. Professor Ingraham contributed a serial, "The Struggles of

359. Joseph Holt Ingraham (1809 - 1860), author and Protestant Episcopal Priest, was a prolific writer of novels. Two of his most popular were Lafitte (1836), and The Quadroone; or St. Michael's Day (1841).

-Dictionary of American Biography, IX, 479.

360. Phoenix and Budget, April, 1841, I, 1.

Early Genius (the name was changed several times, but the above was used most), which began with the first number and had not been completed when the magazine collapsed. It is not an uninteresting tale, quite well told, of a youth who desires to be a sculptor. His father forbids him to make images, but the minister satisfactorily explains away the
Scriptural injunction, and parental scruples are allayed. He is followed through a career as shoemaker and tailor, until his ultimate success as a sculptor, and the story is broken off as he is about to make his first great exhibition.

Another serial, "Wild Western Scenes," by "A Whipporwoll," (J.B. Jones), is quite inferior by comparison. It tells the preposterous tale of two young friends who go west and meet Daniel Boone; of Ranghgrove, the ferryman, and his daughter, Mary, who turns out to be the daughter of Ranghgrove's first wife and the Prince of Wales; and of an Indian chief who is revealed to be Mary's twin brother. "Wild Western Scenes" is by far the worst Indian tale published in any Baltimore magazine.

There is an unsigned monthly letter from France, which is quite good, and Esther Wetherald contributed several translations from the French, some of which, notably "An Auction Scene," are excellent.

The most entertaining article in the Phoenix and Budget is a sketch of Moses Johns, V. O. V. I. C. Vendor of Oysters - Vendor of Ice Cream. Moses, colored, was one of the picturesque street vendors then so common, and was known from one end of town to the other by his,
Poor old Moses - poor old fellow. Just coming round once more 
me-erly to accomodate the ladies and gent'men with elegan nice oysters! 
Whe-u-o-h! Jest from the she-ell!

and his

La, lilly-la lum, 
Mo lemon ice-cream.

When, in February, 1842, Dr. J. Evans Snodgrass bought the Saturday 
Visiter, he also took over the Phoenix and Budget, and, upon the comple-
tion of the first volume, in March, changed the title to the Baltimore 
Monthly Visiter. The first number of the new magazine contains several 
good articles, among them an editorial on the copyright law and a 


review by M. Topham Evans of a series of articles on Shakespeare 

365. Ibid., I, 24.

written for Graham's by T. S. Fay. Much is made of an anticipated serial 
by T. S. Arthur, "author of The Subordinate," and several other contribu-
tions by authors who were then popular, but, as only the first number of 
the Monthly Visiter exists, we do not know whether these materialized. 
As there are no contemporary references to the magazine, however, it 
evidently did not long survive.

In retaliation for being excommunicated from the Episcopal church, 
"two years after renouncing it," by Bishop Whittingham, John Alberger, a 
former deacon, published the first issue of the Temple of Reason on July 
9, 1842. The Temple of Reason was ostensibly "Devoted to Morality,
Science, and Humanity," but it contains little besides a defense of non-
church-members and a list of self-contradictory quotations from the Bible.
Alberger evidently used up all his quotations for the first issue, as no
other seems to have been published.

On May 24, 1845, the printing and publishing house of Vanderford,
Meeks, and Company issued the first number of a weekly, The Ray and Lit-
erary Offering, A Family Newspaper; Devoted to Literature, Education,
Science, Arts, and General Intelligence. "Independent of Sect or Party,"
the Ray published verse, fiction, and miscellaneous prose, all apparently
original and indubitably bad. It was still going on September 6, 1845;
how much longer is unascertainable.

The only other noteworthy literary periodical published in Baltimore
before 1850 was the Western Continent. In 1845, after the suspension of
the New World, Park Benjamin came to Baltimore and, securing as assist-

366. Park Benjamin (1809 - 1864) was one of the pioneers in sensa-
tional journalism. His most important editorial association was with
Rufus W. Griswold, on the New World (New York), for which they used to
publish extras containing whole novels. It was through this medium that
Walt Whitman's temperance novel, Franklin Evans, reached the public.
After leaving the Western Continent, Benjamin operated a literary agency,
took to the lecture platform, and finally retired to New York. Throughout
his life he was a prolific writer of verse.


ant editor W. T. Thompson, formerly the editor of the Augusta, Georgia,
Mirror, launched, on January 3, 1846, the Western Continent, a Weekly
Newspaper of Literature and Art. In the prospectus, the editors described
their paper as a literary weekly, containing some news, and "devoted to
southern and western interests."

The Western Continent was similar to the Saturday Visiter in both
form and content, and, in the quality of its literary department, comparable to the *Visiter* at its best. Benjamin's contributions, chiefly verse, are mediocre, but Thompson, the associate editor, who wrote over the pseudonym, "Major Jones," which he had used in the *Mirror*, supplied a series of humorous travel sketches367 which are as entertaining as

367. Began in *Western Continent*, February 14, 1846.

most humor found in contemporary American periodicals. Thompson's serial story, "John's Alive,"368 is an impossible tale of love and mystery, is

368. Began in *Western Continent*, January 3, 1846.

as well told as such a yarn could be.

"Frank Forrester"369 (Henry William Hubert) contributed a good arti-

369. Ibid., February 21, 1846.

cle, "The Game of North America."

William Henry Carpenter was a constant contributor. His "John the Bold," 370 published serially, is a story of France during the reign of

370. Began in *Western Continent*, March 14, 1846.

Charles VI, not very convincingly told. Better is his "John Heywood,"371

371. Ibid., March 9, 1846.
the first and only number of a projected series, "The Wits of Shake­
speare's Time."

Numerous other authors already familiar to Baltimore readers were
more or less regular contributors, but the incompleteness of the files
makes it impossible to determine the extent and quality of their work.

The editorials are not as sensational as might be expected. Prob­
ably the most striking is the one from which the following excerpt is
taken:

The greatest man, "take him for all in all," of the last one
hundred years, was George Washington, an American.
The greatest metaphysician was Jonothan Edwards, an American.
The greatest natural philosopher was Benjamin Franklin, an American.
The greatest of living sculptors is Hiram Powers, an American.
The greatest writer on law, in the English language, for the present
century, was Judge Story, an American.
The greatest orators now living, are Clay, Calhoun, and Webster, all
Americans.
The greatest of living historians is W. H. Prescott, an American.
The greatest living ornithologist is John J. Audobon, an American.372

372. Ibid., January 17, 1846.

The critical notices are competently written. Particularly good
are the reports of important lectures, such as those of Professor Sil­
liman,373 of Yale, who was delivering a series of talks in Baltimore.

373. Ibid., March 7, 1846.

On July 11, 1846, Benjamin announced that he was returning to the
North,374 and in the following September, Taylor sold out to Thompson,

374. Ibid., July 11, 1846.
the remaining editor, and Samuel Smith, printer. For part of the period between October 17, 1836, and August 14, 1847, William Henry Carpenter was assistant editor, but only an occasional number of the paper has been preserved, and the exact dates of his tenure cannot be ascertained. On July 18, 1848, H. M. Garland and John Donaldson became editors and proprietors. They reduced the size of the paper and the amount of original literary matter, but otherwise made no changes. As no copies later than that for August 19, 1848, have been preserved, it cannot be determined how long Garland and Donaldson continued to publish the Western Continent.

There were five other magazines of lesser importance published in Baltimore before the end of the decade. On Saturday, December 26, 1846, the Iris and Odd-Fellows' Mirror was merged with the Gazette of the Union, a Journal of the Age, published by J. T. Harris and Company. A. C. L. Arnold, J. T. Harris, and G. W. Magers were the editors. The magazine contains the usual miscellaneity of stories, verse, and articles, none good. It ran for over a year. No record is to be found of either of the original magazines which were merged into the Iris.

There is extant also the first volume of the Crystal Fount, a monthly which was first published on January 1, 1847. This magazine was obviously sponsored by, and was the semi-official organ of, the Sons of Temperance, the records and activities of which were carefully recorded therein. While it never departed editorially from its allegiance to the Sons, it did, after the first few numbers in which nearly every story, poem, and article had a temperance cast, become chiefly a literary vehicle, confining its temperance bias to its editorials and the reports of the progress of the Sons of Temperance.

Edited by the Reverend E. D. Williams, it contains few of the names prominent at the time in Baltimore literary circles. The ubiquitous Mrs.
Sigourney is present, and Dr. J. E. Snodgrass, at the time editor of *Crystal Fount*, January 1, 1847, I, 4.

The Visiter, is represented by his "Song of the Teetotallers," and one or two other pieces, as well as an occasional letter to "Brother Williams."

In his first editorial, Williams, introducing the magazine, says it will have, "Tales, Essays, Poetry, embracing the argumentative, the humorous, & the pathetic, in such proportions as shall seem most advisable." In a later number he has gone decidedly literary, and writes, "As a Literary Magazine, we will permit nothing of its 'inches' to excel it." The tales and poetry are generally bad, but there are quite competent reviews, several of them by the Reverend William H. Smith, who may have been a co-editor. One of these, "Wordsworth's Poetry," is particularly good. "Howard," also unidentifiable, also wrote good critical articles. In his "Strictures on Shelley," he makes a good case

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376. Ibid., I, 27.
377. Ibid., I, 28.
378. Ibid., February 1, 1847, I, 61.
379. Ibid., April 1, 1847, I, 69.
380.
for his thesis that Shelley was neither agnostic nor atheist at heart, but had revolted merely against outward forms. While lamenting that so great a genius did not exert his talents on greater labors than "profane melodious music about Queen Mab," he treats the poet quite generously. Rather less of the spirit of tolerance is betrayed in another review, among the "Notices of the Month," presumably by the editor, of Feudal Times, or the Court of James the Third, by the Reverend James White. The reviewer says, "We advise all who wish to become acquainted with the author, and the style of modern dramatists, to purchase this book and read it, in preference to seeing it acted at those nurseries of vice, called Theatres...."381 This is not, however, in accord with the general

380. Ibid., June 1, 1847, I, 144.

381. Ibid., May 1, 1847, I, 128.

382. Id.

383. McCurdy had edited Euclid's Elements of Geometry, according
considerable erudition in such articles as his "Claims of the Saxons and Celtae Compared." 

384. Crystal Fount, February 1, 1847, I, 39.

The Crystal Fount is no worse, perhaps, in spite of its avowed raison d'être, somewhat better than we have come to expect after the welter of trash which was erupted by the Baltimore press during most of the forties.

Of less interest is the Enterprise, Devoted to Foreign and Domestic News, the Arts, Science, Literature, Morality, and Humor, which was, so far as I have been able to find, Hewitt's last editorial venture. The date of first publication cannot be exactly determined, the only available number being Volume I, No. 12, April 8, 1848. The Enterprise is in quality decidedly inferior to anything else edited by Hewitt.

According to a back-page advertisement, the publisher, William Taylor, also published The Flag of Our Union, containing the "frolic of the times, ... poetical gems, ... original prose and poetic matter," but further information concerning this magazine is not available.

Another very inferior production of this period was the Monumental Fountain and Temperance Banner, Devoted to Temperance, Pure Literature, Morality, Education, and General Intelligence. It was first published in 1848, under the auspices of the Independent Order of Rechabites, but the earliest extant copy is that issued on November 17, 1849. The Fountain was edited by James Young. It is not remarkable for its
385. James Young was a prominent Baltimore printer and publisher, active in temperance work and in civic affairs. He was at various times President of the City Council, Acting Mayor, and Police Commissioner.


literary excellence. J. E. Snodgrass, T. S. Arthur, and Finley Johnson, himself later the editor of _The Monumental Literary Gazette_, are the best of the more regular contributors; and their contributions are almost wholly limited to temperance effusions. On June 8, 1840, there began a series of articles, "The Literati of Baltimore," which included sketches of E. C. Pinkney, Edgar Allan Poe, and John P. Kennedy, but which contributed nothing original and was not particularly accurate.

Beginning with the issue for December 15, 1849, the _Fountain_ chronicled the activities of the Sons of Temperance, and it became the official organ of that order when, on January 4, 1851, Young relinquished the editorship to Thomas H. Stanford, B. R. Waugh, and William Gobright. Nothing further is known of these gentlemen or their magazine.

The last of the five was _The Viper's Sting and Paul Pry_, formed by the merging of two scurrilous journals which have been totally lost. Only two numbers of this magazine are available, those for February 24 and March 10, 1849, numbers 7 and 9 respectively, of Volume I. Number 9 contains the second and last installment of a very bad story concerning a harlot, and both numbers contain poetry, just as bad, by F. J., who may have been Finley Johnson. The paper seems to be primarily a scandal sheet, with the anonymous editor soliciting his neighbors to snoop into the affairs of their fellow townsmen.

Scharf mentions two other magazines, _The Parlor Gazette_ and _The
Parlor Journal, as having been published in 1849, but there is no other record of them.

It is undeniable, then, that in this, the most productive quarter century in the literary history of Baltimore, the city made no outstanding contribution to American periodical letters. No literary magazine lived long enough to become established as a national institution, or to attract as contributors the leading American writers. Of course, it may be argued that the number of successful magazines in any part of the United States was extremely small during this period, and that in comparison, Baltimore, with the Monument, published for four years, and the Saturday Visiter, which lived for fifteen years, did not do so badly; but it is nevertheless true that in Baltimore the average length of life was remarkably short.

The reasons for this are no doubt complex. Certainly there was a lack of capable management. Only two of the men connected with any of the magazines of the period, Poe and Arthur, ever became successful in the field (even Poe can scarcely be included), and they achieved their success in other cities, after a comparatively long period of apprenticeship.

It is true, moreover, that the majority of the Baltimore magazines lived as long as was justified by their quality, although there is something to be said in defense of their shortcomings. To the reader unfamiliar with the general run of magazines read by the American people during the first half of the nineteenth century, the Saturday Visiter, the Young Men's Paper, and the Monument will appear provincial and crude; but let him withhold his judgment until he has examined the literary
periodicals of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. If from the latter is sifted the work of a half dozen writers of exceptional talent, even genius, the residue will be found to consist of just such material as was published by Hewitt, Arthur, and McJilton. Innumerable periodicals flourished in America for longer periods than did any of those here considered, with the possible exception of the Saturday Visiter, without publishing a single selection superior to Hewitt's translations of Korner or the essays of M. Topham Evans.

Another, and perhaps the most important, factor in the matter is the fact that even at this early period the centralizing process had set in. Already Boston, New York, and Philadelphia were attracting the best talents of the land. The Concord and Knickerbocker groups were sufficiently dominant that all others were beginning to be eclipsed. Poe and Arthur, already cited as the most eminent of the Baltimore group, felt the pull, and found their ultimate success in Philadelphia and New York. It was an inevitable development, and Baltimore was no more able to withstand it than were Richmond, New Orleans, Cincinnati, and all the other lesser cities.

Nevertheless, these early literary and semi-literary publications of Baltimore cannot be dismissed as mere puerile effervescences whose total contribution to the world was a brief and inconsequential vapor. It must be admitted, at least, that in giving encouragement and experience to Poe and Arthur, they justified their existence. But they did more. Each type of magazine performed a function beneficial to Baltimore, if not to the nation, and, after all, that which benefits its own section cannot be condemned because its influence is not universal.

The literary newspapers, such as the Saturday Visiter and the Clipper, performed a double service: they gave to their readers informa-
tion of a general nature, enabling them to keep abreast of the world's progress; and at the same time they provided a modicum of culture and intellectual stimulus, not invariably bad, which the majority of their subscribers would otherwise have been unable to enjoy. In addition, they furnished an outlet for the work of scores of ambitious writers, who, though they may have produced little of lasting value, kept alive the faith in the literary resources of Maryland, and nurtured a creative spirit in the state, which in every generation since that time has produced or fostered at least one, and usually several, writers of acknowledged excellence. This last service was, of course, similarly performed by the other types of magazines as well.
CHAPTER IX

THE SHADOW AND SUBSTANCE OF WAR

1850-1865

By the middle of the century the ominous rumblings of the War of Secession had become very distinct, and Maryland, the border state, was torn by domestic dissension to a greater extent than was any other state. The leading minds of the city and state were turned to questions social and political, with almost complete neglect of literature and the arts as a result. Many of the more fervent partisans removed to the North or the South, as their consciences dictated, feeling that they could better serve their respective causes in localities where greater unity of opinion prevailed.

There was feverish activity in the newspaper world, where the whole conflict was duplicated on paper in miniature. Every paper took sides, violently, and innumerable new ones sprung up in defense of one faction or the other, many of them of only a few days' duration. The war itself brought no cessation in partisan newspaper warfare in Baltimore. Although "rebel" publications were closely watched and usually suppressed by the military authorities, and although more than one editor or publisher was incarcerated at Fort McHenry, the South continued to benefit by the support of a not inconsiderable Baltimore press.

The result of all this strife was that literary publications generally went by the board. It has been seen how, toward the end of the preceding decade, Hewitt went south to be nearer the heart of the cause to which he professed allegiance, Snodgrass turned the Visiter into an aboli-
tionist and temperance sheet, and almost everyone capable of influencing public opinion turned his energies toward the impending struggle.

There were nevertheless several feeble attempts at literary publications between 1850 and the close of the War. Many of them were undertaken by young people, whose productions were often not markedly inferior to those of their elders. These will be considered as a group in a separate chapter. It was not until 1853 that any other type of magazine was issued. In February of that year, John Murphy and Company began publishing The Metropolitan, a monthly which ran until December, 1858. M. J. Kerney, the editor, set forth the principles upon which the magazine was founded in his first editorial, which reads in part:

The exposition and defense of Catholicity and the diffusion of intelligence relating to it, being the aim of this periodical, it must not be expected to contain any thing in the least at variance with the principles of Catholic faith and morals. 387

387. The Metropolitan, February, 1853, I, l.

Kerney published some theological dissertations, considerable church history, and a monthly department of reviews. The articles are passably well written, showing the editor, who wrote nearly all, to be a man of more than average intelligence and education. Nothing further is known about him. The reviews are confined to religious works, or those with religious implications. Of the latter type, "The Tone of Recent English Poetry," 388 is the best. In this article, the reviewer discusses the

388. Ibid., September, 1853, I, 357 - 366.

treatment accorded to the Catholic church at the hands of British and
American poets, touching lightly, and rather unfavorably, upon one after another of the British poets, and finally coming to grips with the work of Longfellow and Whittier. Longfellow is commended for having presented the Church as she is, particularly in "Evangeline," while Whittier is given credit for making an honest effort, having failed only through ignorance. The essay closes upon an optimistic note:

Longfellow will however find imitators, and there is prospect that ere long a shelf may be filled with books, which will redeem English literature from the heavy charge of being a "conspiracy against Catholic truth."389

389. Ibid., p. 366.

The only substantial original literary contribution is "Redemption," by John D. Bryant, M. D., a poem in twelve parts.390 "Redemption," inspired by Milton in both theme and form, is at its best dull, and an occasional line like

"His enmity piacular pursues"391

391. The Metropolitan, October, 1858, N. S., I, 545.

almost invites unseemly levity.

The next magazine to be established, Taylor's Literary Bulletin, of which the only copy available is that for May, 1854, Volume I, No. 12, New Series, was apparently a medium for the advertising of Taylor's Cheap Book Establishment. Taylor claimed ten thousand readers, but, as no men-
tion is made of price, I suspect that it was distributed free. It con-
tains many miscellaneous items, all borrowed, and considerable advertising
besides that of Taylor, but none that might compete with him.

On January 7, 1854, Finley Johnson and Company issued the first
number of a weekly, The Monumental Literary Gazette, "Devoted to the In-
struction and Amusement of the Home Circle." In the few copies available,
we find "An Original Story of the Last War with England written expressly
for the Monumental Literary Gazette, Henry Lawrence; or Spy of the
Penobscot," by George Hobbs, a very poor affair indeed. There are no

392. Monumental Literary Gazette, January 14, 1854.

continued stories, but various short ones by Hobbs, Edgar Pabor, Helen
Bruce, Willte, and others. There is also verse by M. H. Lucy, Finley
Johnson, J. W. Welsh, Hate Vernon, and numerous other scribblers. It must
be admitted that little was borrowed.

In 1855, John Nelson McJilton sold his newspaper, the Patriot, of
which he had been editor and proprietor for six years, and entered upon
his last editorial venture, The Elevator, a Family Educational Journal
Devoted to Literature, to Science and Art, and to matters of General
Interest in all the relations of life. At this time treasurer of the
Board of School Commissioners, McJilton was devoting all his energy to
furthering the cause of public education in Baltimore, to which cause the
Elevator was dedicated. The following notice from the title page of
Volume III, No. 1, January, 1857, sets forth the purpose of the journal:

The ELEVATOR is intended as a companion for the fire side and a
friendly visitor for the occupancy of every leisure moment. Its design
is indicated in its name. It is to cultivate a taste for rational enjoy-
ment; to develop and encourage genius; to foster pure and noble princi-
ples; to inculcate morality; to refine and elevate character. It is
intended as an adjunct to the teacher, and a help to the parent in the effort to instruct and form the characters of the youth committed to their care. Our motto is - A SOUND MIND IN A HEALTHY BODY - and we shall labor its development as we may have ability and opportunity.

In June, 1856, Henry S. Hunt, M. D., also interested in education in Baltimore, joined McJilton in the editorship. J. B. Burleigh was corresponding editor. He seems to have been a resident of New Jersey, for many of his contributions extol the Elevator as a beneficial influence upon public education in that state.

There is little attempt to give literary tone to the Elevator. Education is almost the only topic treated in either articles or editorials. The latter are usually well-written and sound, tending, of course, to familiarize the public with McJilton's theories of public education, and to prepare the way for the reforms he wished to effect in the Baltimore school system. His theories were, for the period, unusually sound in the light of modern educational practice. One excellent editorial is that on "Religion in the Public Schools," in which religion is described thus: "It is that which proclaims love to God, and love to man, and the pure and spotless life which such love would encourage." The editor continues to the effect that in public schools, with their heterogeneous religious groups, religious education can go no farther than this.

393. Elevator, May 1, 1857.

Considerable space is devoted to valedictory and salutatory orations, addresses by school officials, and other contributions from members of the public school system of Baltimore. The Elevator contains more advertising than do most magazines of the day, much of it inserted by textbook publishers. The fact that D. Appleton and Company, of New York, carried a
full page of advertising in each issue implies that the magazine had a
wide circulation. There is, however, no indication that it was published
after 1858.

In January, 1857, Joseph Robinson began publishing The Monitor,
semi-official organ of the Episcopal church, edited by Hugh Davey Evans. 394

394. Hugh Davey Evans (1792 - 1868) was born in Baltimore and died
there. He studied law, but, not making much of a success as a practicing
lawyer, confined his activities in that field to writing. Besides the
Monitor, he edited for thirteen years the True Catholic (1843 - 1856), an
Episcopal organ with no literary pretensions whatever. He wrote several
pamphlets and many articles on various phases of Episcopal doctrine.

-Dictionary of American Biography, VI, 203.

A part of the Monitor is devoted to the church calendar and general dioc-
esan intelligence. In the editorials are mingled theology and practical
hints for clergymen. There are always at least one very bad continued
story in progress and weekly "Children's Columns," containing moral
verse and stories only slightly above the level of those found in present
day Sunday School magazines.

On December 10, 1858, with the close of the second volume, Robinson
announced that he must cease publication of the Monitor, since he could
no longer afford to publish it at a loss, while Evans, in his "Valedic-
tory," informed his friends that after seventeen years as editor of
religious magazines, he was now too old to embark on another such venture,
but might still be heard from as a contributor to other journals.

A magazine for youth, which, since it was written and edited by
adults, cannot be included among the juvenile productions, was The Cath-
olic Youth's Magazine, a monthly which was published by John Murphy and
Company, publishers of the Metropolitan. It was begun in September, 1857,
and ran for four years. It contains some church history, a little verse, and numerous moral tales. The only regular series is "Aunt Lucy's Stories," which is as good as the general run of contributions to children's magazines.

The **Home Companion** was a monthly which was begun by F. Frazier and Company in July, 1858, and ran for three months, perhaps a little longer. Frazier was his own editor, and most of the work was contributed by Henry Morton and Tamar Anne Kermode. Nothing more is known of any of the three, whose stories and verse have nothing to commend them to us.

An attempt to found a family magazine which should be written by and for southerners was made by Charles H. Moore and Company, who, in 1859, began publishing **The Family Journal**, a monthly, which became, on December 29, 1860, **The Southern Family Journal**. Moore was editor, and Fayette H. Norvell associate editor, until September 8, 1860, when H. Grey Latham succeeded Norvell.

The first volume has not been preserved. The third is incomplete, the last number being that for February 9, 1861. For lack of other evidence it must be inferred that it collapsed before the onslaught of the War.

There is a preponderance of fiction in the **Family Journal**, most of it by writers now unremembered. Carrie Clifford, John B. Williams, L. P. Clyde, "Dick Spun-Yarn," and Margaret Blount wrote numerous serial tales, all unbelievably devoid of merit. Williams also contributed a series of short detective stories, "Leaves from a Detective's Note Book," purportedly taken from the notes left with the author by Robert Brown, an English detective, upon the latter's return home after a visit to America. The second "leaf", "The Silver Pin," is typical. The detec-
tive has a young friend who is employed by a wealthy widower with a marriageable daughter. The widower dies, supposedly from an obscure heart ailment. Relatives suspect foul play, and summon Brown, who can find no evidence except a faint mark over the heart of the corpse. The young man marries the daughter of the deceased, who also dies, within a short time, from the same obscure cause. Brown is again summoned, and again finds the tiny mark over the heart, which convinces him that his young friend is the murderer of both father and daughter. While waiting for an interview with the criminal, he picks up a book, which opens to an article telling how a silver pin, inserted in a vein just above the heart, will cause instant death. The young man, when confronted with the evidence, confesses like a man and, driving the pin into his own bosom, falls dead.

Several old acquaintances appear in the Family Journal: W. L. Shoemaker, Finley Johnson, and James Hungerford. None enhance their laurels. Two regular departments are the "Ladies' Portfolio," in which are answered questions propounded in long letters from feminine readers, and "Music and Drama." The latter gives a very faithful but prosaic account of what appears in the theater and concert halls, but its critical pronouncements are pretty much limited to generalities like the following:

The influence of truly chaste and beautiful spectacles, spectacles in which there is a harmonious blending of the natural and the supernatural, the latter appealing to the high sense of imagination, and thereby evoking, or rather awaking, the poetic instinct - cannot be recognized or properly appreciated by the superficial observer; yet there is no more effective means of refining and softening the manners, elevating the taste, improving the modes of thought, and even the morals of people.
While not a repository of literary gems, the Family Journal does not descend to the level of many of the pulps, and some of the slicks, of today.

The Possum Hollow Gazette, a weekly, was first published on July 10, 1859, and ran for only a few weeks. It was devoted chiefly to local political satire, but contained numerous reviews of volumes of poetry, with excerpts. Editor, publisher, and even place of publication are unknown, but there are scattered references to it as a Baltimore publication.

In July, 1860, appeared the first issue of Weishampel's Literary and Religious Magazine, a semi-monthly publication. The second of two extant numbers is that for April, 1861. How much longer it was published is uncertain. Its editor and publisher was John F. Weishampel, Jr., son of the Reverend John F. Weishampel. Each number presents a rather good engraving as a frontispiece. As contributions were discouraged, the editor wrote most of the magazine himself, although there is one poem, "Alone," by E. Yates Reese, who had long been familiar to Baltimore readers. One of Reese's better pieces, written on the death of Mary, apparently his wife, "Alone" concludes with these not unworthy lines:

...With these communings
I bend me to the Father's will, and wait
With patience and submission that glad hour
When we shall meet again, and death no more
Dissolve the tie that binds us. Now, good night -
I sleep to dream of thee. 397

396. Ibid., April 28, 1860.

Other items are a reprint of a sketch of the life of John Jacob Astor, an article on the boa constrictor, evidently condensed from an encyclopedia, and a condensation of the Life of Blaise Pascal, by his sister, Madame Perier, contributed by Edward Spencer. Weishampel, who was apparently a scholar, provided good fare for his readers, but soon went the way of his predecessors.

A magazine for the improvement of the Negro, The Lyceum Observer, a compendium of literature, romance, poetry, and general intelligence, was published by J. Willis Menard in 1864. It is an anonymously edited monthly journal, containing nothing of interest or literary value.

Truly nothing was added to the literary or scholarly glories of Baltimore during this period.
CHAPTER X

RECONSTRUCTION

1865 - 1890

After the War, before either side had time to recover to any extent, and while the evils of reconstruction were at their peak, periodical literature blossomed forth again in Baltimore and the South with a luxuriance inferior only to that of the thirties. There were not so many magazines, perhaps, but among those published in the late sixties and early seventies was one, at least, which rivaled all that had gone before in the excellence of its contents.

There were developed in the South, during this period, two distinctive types of magazines. One, the family magazine, was not confined to the South, but was rather a national institution. As its generic name implies, it was designed as a magazine for the home, rather than for the study. While its literary standards were not of the highest, it published an enormous quantity of literary material, and in many instances the quality of this work was remarkably good. It also contained, in addition to literary matter, numerous departments, covering all subjects of interest in the home, thus providing something for every member of the family. The outstanding examples of this type were three magazines published in Philadelphia, Godey's, Leslie's, and Arthur's, but Baltimore and the South produced their share.

The other group, part and parcel of the South, includes all the reconstruction magazines. These in turn fall roughly into two classes. At the one extreme we find the cheerful, conciliatory journal, willing
to accept the realities of defeat gracefully and make the most of the new order, casting a glance wistfully backward now and then, but without bitterness or rancor. At the other extreme are the "bitter-enders," clinging desperately to the lost cause and its tarnishing grandeur, facing northward defiantly, with a chip on either shoulder. These two, the family and the reconstruction magazine (though not the second type of the latter), were frequently combined.

There was more literary talent in the South at this time than ever before, and much of it found expression through Baltimore magazines. In addition, at least one Baltimore editor of the period, less sectional in his appeal than most, was able to secure contributions from writers who were then nationally popular, although their names may be only faintly remembered today. All in all, the period constitutes a last gallant struggle for individuality, a brief but delightful pause on the brink of the vortex which was drawing to New York City all who sought recognition as creative artists.

That this pull had been felt for some time is evident from the "Salutatory" of Thomas Cooper DeLeon,\(^{401}\) publisher and editor of The Cosmopolite, A Monthly Magazine Devoted to Literature, Art, and General Reading, the first magazine to be established in Baltimore after the War. Mr. DeLeon tells us that while he expects to meet difficulties in launch-
ing a new journal, he has reasonable hopes of success. He does not feel that a magazine published outside the "magic limits of New York City" must fail, and attributes the failure of many such to sectionalism, a vice which he will eschew. He will publish some eclectic material. There will be no politics, but he will print anything not too controversial. His optimism was unfounded, however, for the Cosmopolite, which was begun on January 1, 1866, ran for only five issues.

While the Cosmopolite is definitely southern in its sympathies, it is not aggressively so, belonging rather to the first than to the second of the above mentioned groups. The first article, "Four Years in the Rebel Capital," by the editor, which was later revised and published as a book under the same title, is a vivid relation of the experiences of a man who left Washington for the new capital, at Montgomery, and was filled with alarm at the chaos he found there. He describes the later invasion of Montgomery by the political hacks from the old Union Congress, whom the natives despised as those people from "Sodom."

Another not unmeritorious original article is "Reminiscences of a Southern Hospital," by its matron, which is written with humor, understanding, and sympathy.

There is considerable original poetry, two of the best contributions being "Torchwork," a pathetic story of civilians in the War, by Innes Randolph; and "Eidolon," by James Ryder Randall, in which he tells
Innes Randolph (1838 - 1887), member of an aristocratic Virginia family, served in the Confederate Army and later engaged in the practice of law in Baltimore. A volume of his verse was published posthumously in Baltimore by his son in 1898.


James Ryder Randall (1839 - 1908), famous as the writer of "Maryland, My Maryland," was a teacher, poet, and journalist, who was born in Baltimore, but spent most of his life in the deep South. He wrote for various periodicals, and was editor of the Atlanta Constitutionalist.


how he first saw Leonie, his eidolon, in the cathedral, went away to sea, and came back to find her dead.

There is an editorial review of Buchanan's administration, quite impartial. Selected articles are a translation from the French, an article on dreams from Temple Bar, and others, all good. Each issue contains excellent departments on Art, on Music and Theatricals, and on
New Books.

Decidedly inferior to The Cosmopolite is the Sunday Courier, of the family newspaper type, which was begun on August 12, 1866. Neither editor nor publisher can be discovered. The Courier contains the usual miscellany of verse and prose, as well as continued stories, one of which, "John Alvan Coe: A Legend of Drum Point," is by James Hungerford. Inferior to his usual work, it is still the best thing in the paper. The Courier ran for less than a year.

Far superior to anything published in Baltimore for many years before the War, and equal in many respects to the best reviews in the country, was the Southern Review, a quarterly which was established in 1867 by William Hand Browne and Albert Taylor Bledsoe, the latter

409. William Hand Browne (1828 - 1912) was the son of a Baltimore commission merchant. Although he received his M. D. from the University of Maryland in 1850, he was engaged in the commission business until 1861, when he joined the Confederate forces. Besides the Southern Review, he edited the New Eclectic and the Statesman, both in Baltimore. In collaboration with Richard Malcom Johnston he wrote a Life of Alexander H. Stevens, which was published in Philadelphia in 1878. He edited many volumes for the Maryland Historical Society, and was the first editor of the Maryland Historical Magazine. In 1879 he was made librarian at The Johns Hopkins University, and he was professor emeritus of English Literature in that institution at the time of his death.


410. Albert Taylor Bledsoe (1809 - 1877), the son of a Kentucky editor, was a Confederate soldier, editor, and author. He was graduated in 1830 from West Point, where he was a fellow-student of Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee. After teaching in various southern universities, he received a commission as colonel in the Confederate Army in 1861, and was later appointed Assistant Secretary of War in Davis's cabinet. He was sent on a mission to England from which he returned in 1865. His life after the War was spent in the editorship of the Southern Review.


an unreconstructed southerner if ever there was one. Within a short time
Browne withdrew from the partnership, to edit the New Eclectic, and Bledsoe continued the Review alone until a few years before his death, when his daughter, Sophia Bledsoe Herrick, joined him in the editorship. A typical review of the day, this magazine covered every field; literature, art, natural history, medical science, politics, education. And, although there were, according to Bledsoe, several eminent southern contributors, most of the work is his, and bears witness to his wide reading, profound scholarship, and catholic taste. In the first few lines of an article on "German Romance," he describes aptly the method and purpose characteristic of a review:

The name of a book at the head of an article, by a well-understood conventionality common to all review of this day, is often only a point of departure for a wide discursive range through kindred topics.

Occasionally there is evidence that the editor or the anonymous contributor of an article drew most of his knowledge of his subject from the books reviewed in the article, but it is usually obvious that the writer brings to bear upon the subject the fruits of a wide reading therein and considerable thought thereupon. There is, for example, the review of Tuckerman's Book of the Artists, under the heading, "Landscape Painting." Tuckerman is soon dismissed, with approval, while the reviewer

411. See the sketch by Sophia Bledsoe Herrick in The Library of Southern Literature (Atlanta) 1907, I, 395 - 399.


413. Ibid., July, 1868, IV, 149.
considers the history of landscape painting and its probable future in America. The Greeks, he says, though they excelled in sculpture, cared little for the beauty of nature, hence did not try to reproduce it in painting. The Romans, however, or rather the Italians, under the influence of Christianity, experienced a change in their attitude toward nature, reverencing it as the work of God, but did little in an artistic way with any of it except the human figure. It remained for the northern peoples to develop the art of landscape painting to the limit of its possibilities, and nowhere could this be done so well as in America, where nature appears at her best, unsullied by centuries of man's domination. He is convinced that "America is destined to develop a school of landscape painting which will elaborate a form of art as distinctive, as grand in its kind, and as unequalled as sculpture among the Greeks and historical painting among the Italians." Three quarters of a century

414. Ibid., p. 186.

have not, perhaps, carried us far toward a realization of his hopes, but such articles as this make the Southern Review well worth our study.

Through all the volumes of the Review, however, runs the spirit of the unreconstructed Confederate, sometimes in reviews patently written for no other purpose; again, cropping up unexpectedly in the midst of abstruse scientific discussion. Time somewhat mellowed the doughty Bledsoe, who was alone the editor after 1868, even to the extent of enabling him to laugh at his own vehemence, but Johnny Reb he remained. In an early article, 415 a review of the works of Henry Reed 416 the four
volumes of Reed's work which serve as a pretext for the review are scarcely considered. The article opens:

"Henry Reed" is a name which sounds sweetly in the Christian ear—especially the Christian ear of the South, accustomed as it has been for five dreary years to the association of Northern Names with words and deeds of cruelty and wrong. Rarely, during the strife, was it that a name reached us, known as that of one who dared to plead for the oppressed, or whisper sympathy across the line of blood. Almost as rare was it, to hear of one not associated with some word or deed of positive wrong. Literature in the North, especially in New England, like the Roman "judgment, fled" early, and the Everetts, and Bancrofts, and Motleys, and Lowells, and Holmenses, and Bryants, and Longfellows, who once, in our day of delusion, we thought were men of genial letters, all joined the Great Crusade, and preached and sang the Psalmody of bloody War. Mr. Hawthorne who, Puritan as he was, from the bottom of his heart detested the race, stands almost alone in innocence. George Lunt417 fought bravely for

417. George Lunt (1803 - 1885) was a Massachusetts lawyer, author, journalist, and legislator.


us, and here the list of true men ends.

Reed's attitude toward the South, and a long defense of the Confederate cause, constitute the bulk of a long and exceedingly well-written article.

Reviews of school textbooks, most of which were written and published in the North, provided unlimited opportunities for perpetuating
the War. In "School Histories of the United States," which is headed by a list of eleven school histories, there is some critical evaluation of the merits of each, but the total result is a blanket condemnation of the whole lot. "Surely," says the reviewer, "if the North could only see her own history as it really is, she would startle the world with a shriek of terror, instead of making it, as she now does, resound with the praises of her peerless perfections." Children who read such histories as these, he concludes, could never have done otherwise than perpetrate a Civil War.

The mellowing influence of the years is evident in two articles in the issue for January, 1870. The first is a review of William D. Northend's Speeches and Essays upon Political Subjects from 1860 to 1869, which was published in Salem in 1869. Bledsoe, for the article is surely his, says that Northend's object has ever been to see the good and the bad in all, "to prove all things, and to hold fast that which is good." He has always respected and liked Northend. "His hand was, it is true, against us at the beginning, and during the earlier period of
the War; but, nevertheless, it always followed, with unswerving loyalty, his convictions of truth and right." The reviewer then enters into an exposition of his own theory of the weakness of both the North and the South.

The Union was based on "the great error of the eighteenth century:" the great error, namely, that the wisdom of the people is immutable; or, in other words, that their intelligence and virtue are incorruptible.

The South, he continues, believed this as much as the North, and attempted another, similar, government.

Our eyes are open. We see the truth. Our leaders still believe, we are sorry to say, that "the people are capable of self-government;" that is to say, the people of the South, but not the Yankees. The Yankees, on the other hand, (and we mean no disrespect by the use of that epithet,) believe that "the people are capable of self-government;" that is to say, the Yankees and the negroes, but not the whites of the South. Our disbelief is far more catholic, comprehensive, and profound. It is not the species Yankee, nor the species Negro, nor the species Cavalier, which has brought the grand experiment of self-government to grief; it is the genus man. All are alike, if not equally, incapable of self-government. The Yankee, the Negro, the Cavalier, may lay the flattering unction to his soul, that his race is capable of self-government; but it is all a delusion.

The reviewer has no recommendation except:

Put not your trust in princes, nor in peoples, nor in politicians. Wait on Providence, and watch every opening to improve, by all lawful and legitimate means, your condition in life. Mind your own business, and let other people's alone. Hoe corn and dig potatoes. Plant cotton, corn, wheat, rice, tobacco, and devoutly pray for abundant crops. Above all, be men. Eat no dirt, spit no fire, and subscribe to the Southern Review.

The second article, in "Notices of Books," is a review of The Nine Muses; or American Beauty Personified. Here a sense of humor, not uncommon in Review articles on more innocuous subjects, is brought to bear upon the intense sectionalism of the magazine.

We have borne many wrongs and insults from our Northern neighbors;
long and patiently have we borne them; but really this little book is too much;—it is more than we can stand. What! "American beauty personified as the nine muses;" and yet, in the whole immortal nine, not one Southern form or face! What son of the South can bear this? If there be one, only show us the man,—the man,—and we will show you a craven cur, fit only to crawl under the footstool of power, and lick the foot that kicks it into submission. As for ourselves, we are now for war. All our former wrongs were nothing to this. We did not vote for secession; we voted for Bell and Everett; we coveted peace, and we ensued it then. But now we go for war. Did not Helen's beauty fire all Greece?... What! O ye merciful powers! all American beauty — all — all — all — done up in "the Nine Muses;" and yet not one hint that there is any beauty in the South, or any South in America! We cry aloud for war.

That solemn pedantry was never a characteristic of the Review may be seen as early as the second number, when, about to review several records of travels, the reviewer says:

There is not a clergyman, with a real or imaginary sore throat, who has not written and printed his experiences of travel from the first spasm of prosaic illness to the joyous welcome of the congregation, who, having paid his expenses, are glad to see him at home again.422

422. Ibid., April, 1867, I, 412.

In the field of literary criticism, the Southern Review recalls the best that has ever been offered the reading public under a Baltimore date line. Upon his Les Travailleurs de la Mer is built a competent criticism of Hugo's novels.423 In "Picaresco Romances,"424 Petronius, Mendoza, de Luna, Aleman, and others are all discussed in a scholarly manner. From the Satyricon of Petronius, whom the reviewer calls the father of the Picaresque novel, to Aleman's Vida y Hechas del Picaro Guzman de Alfarache, the development of the genre is traced through the
centuries. The failure of the English to produce a real Picaresque novel is attributed to their inability to write anything without pointing a moral, an element incompatible with the essentials of the Picaresque.

In *Two Recent Poems,* the editor disposes of Morris's *The Earthly Paradise* and Eliot's *The Spanish Gypsy,* and at the same time gives something of his critical standards for poetry. With Morris he is in entire sympathy.

Mr. Morris has prefixed to his book a pleasing though quite unnecessary Apology for his choice of these ancient themes, instead of writing with some ethical object, or as he expresses it, "striving to pull the crooked straight." It is precisely for not attempting this that we thank him. The world is weary of dolorous preachments in verse, of poetical philosophizing, from Mrs. B., who gives a feminine but vigorous problem, in *Aurora Leigh,* to the melodious despondency of Mr. Arnold, who lets go altogether. To us it seems that the sentimental school of poets have about done their appointed work. While we shall always be happy to have a record of the emotions of a Tennyson, or the subtle analysis of a Browning, it is time the smaller fry of sentimentalists had penetrated themselves with the knowledge that the world does not in the least care how they feel or think on any subject whatever... We want poets who, instead of mauldering in their closets, will go forth and see the beauty and the glory of nature, and make us see them more clearly and love them more.

Regarding George Eliot as a poet he does not write in such approving terms, and it is hard to see how he could. Both his criticisms, that she does not accurately reconstruct bygone days, and that her character portrayal lacks vitality, are valid. In an earlier paper,

however, he has written otherwise concerning George Eliot's novels, which he esteems very highly. There is nothing in his evaluation of her
work which we have not heard many times, but I believe it was original with Bledsoe.

A critical study of Hamlet was begun in April, 1870,\textsuperscript{427} and continued through three lengthy installments, growing out from a study of several books on Hamlet which the editor set out to review. The reviewer’s rhetorical masterpiece appears in the first installment, as he comments upon the most famous of soliloquies:

It is precisely here that he explains himself in that marvellous monologue which fills the heart of this troubled symphony with an Adagio of calm, infinite, unearthly, beauty.\textsuperscript{428}

\textsuperscript{427} Southern Review, VI, 271.

\textsuperscript{428} Ibid., p. 309.

It would not be difficult to find hundreds of critical dissertations upon Hamlet that are inferior to this one.

Hawthorne seems to stand high in the regard of the Review. Reference has already been made to the reviewer’s exalted opinion of the New England romancer, and in another review\textsuperscript{429} the editor says that New England can boast “only one artist to her manner born and indigenous to her soil,” Hawthorne. The reviewer includes a good analysis of the New England background and people, with their effect upon Hawthorne, who was ever conscious of what there was in him of the old, Puritan, New England.

\textsuperscript{429} Ibid., April, 1870, VII, 328.

To go further into the merits of the Southern Review, in these and
other departments, would require more space than is here available, but from its pages might be compiled a highly respectable anthology of critical essays.

In 1870, evidently even earlier, the Review began to fall beneath the universal curse of literary periodicals before, and not infrequently since, the day of national advertising; lack of financial support. In the number for October of that year, Bledsoe announced that the publishing end of the Southern Review had been disposed of to the Reverend John Poisal and the Reverend S. S. Roszell of Baltimore, saying, "I

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430. John Poisal was a presiding elder in the Methodist Episcopal church, chaplain to Congress for a year, and an editor and publisher of religious works.


431. S. S. Roszell (1812 - 1882) was an instructor at Dickinson College and later a presiding elder in the Methodist Episcopal church.


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rejoice in the literary department, I absolutely abhor the business department." Some months before, he and Poisal had begun negotiations whereby the Methodist Church might take over the Review as its official organ, thus shouldering the problem of financing it, while he should continue the reviews as before. There was to be no change except the addition of another department, devoted to religion. There seems to have been at first no loss of literary excellence, but with the number for July, 1871, the Southwestern Book and Publishing Company, of St. Louis (Trubner and Company, who had been Bledsoe's London publishers since April, 1870, were retained in that capacity), bought the magazine, and it became more and more the organ of Methodism, with constantly decreas-
ing literary merit. The War was still going on in the last year of publication, however, for in the April number there is a long review entitled "How Gettysburg Was Lost."1,432 As all the material published in

432. Southern Review, April, 1878, XXIII, 422 - 447.

the Review during 1878 was taken from the unpublished work Bledsoe left behind at his death in 1877, however, this review may have been written in the early years of the magazine. In 1875 Bledsoe and his daughter had bought the Review again, and brought it back to Baltimore, where it was published through 1878. A notice on the back cover of the last Baltimore number, that for October, 1878, informs the subscribers that the Review has been sold to W. A. and C. J. Griffith, of Salem, Virginia, who will continue publishing it in that city. There is no evidence that publication was resumed anywhere.

Not since the demise of the American Museum, more than thirty years earlier, had such critical acumen been brought to readers through the medium of a Baltimore periodical. While a militant loyalty to the Lost Cause was undoubtedly the vital spark which begot the Southern Review, and kept it alive for several years, there is in it enough of non-controversial, intellectual matter to more than make up for the rank sectionalism and to repay any reader in search of mental stimulus.

Another magazine established in the first years after the War in an attempt to encourage the fallen South and restore to her some measure of prestige in the eyes of the North was The Southern Home Journal, in which were combined elements of the family magazine and the less vitriolic reconstruction magazine. It is a typical weekly family magazine, save that it is concerned more with literary ability than were most of the
others. John Y. Slater, editor and publisher, was himself an amateur poet, and had considerable talent for literary appreciation. In his first editorial he promised to publish work by Hayne, Simms, Father Ryan, James H. and John C. Carpenter, Edward A. Pollard, and James Hungerford. He kept his promise, and threw in a little of Joel Chandler Harris, John Esten Cooke, and Maximilian Schele De Vere for good measure. The Southern Home Journal was begun on November 23, 1867, and ran until some time in 1868.

The most pretentious contribution, and that best known to later readers, is James Wood Davidson’s "Living Writers of the South,"

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433. James Wood Davidson (1829 - 1905) born in South Carolina, was a teacher, Confederate soldier, and author. He published a School History of South Carolina (New York, 1869), and Living Writers of the South (New York, 1869). When he died, he had for some time been at work on a dictionary of southern authors, having collected more than 4000 names.


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which, beginning with the first number, and continuing for several months, was collected and published as a volume in 1869. The book is well enough known to render unnecessary any discussion of its merits in these pages; but it should be said in all fairness that its quality was at least as high as that of most of its subject matter. This series was followed by a similar one, "Living Politicians of the Day," by Edward A. Pollard, 434

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434. Edward Alfred Pollard (1831 - 1872) was a Virginian by birth, educated at the University of Virginia and William and Mary. Failing to complete his law course at the latter school, he traveled extensively in Central America and Asia, then returned to the United States to study for the Episcopal priesthood. Finding this also uncongenial, he turned to journalism, editing several southern papers and writing much on the War, and on the relations between the North and the South.
which, though no less deserving than "Living Writers," never achieved the distinction of appearing as a book. "Living Politicians of the Day" began on February 22, 1868, with a sketch of Andrew Johnson, remarkably astute and judicious in its evaluation of the unfortunate president.

Uniformly good, but not brilliant, are the biographical sketches and critical comments on U. S. Grant, William H. Seward, Thaddeus Stevens, Salmon P. Chase, Charles H. Sumner, and others. 435

435. The above sketches are to be found respectively in the Southern Home Journal for March 7, March 14, March 21, March 28, and April 11, 1868.

Of the better known creative writers of the South, Paul Hamilton Hayne was the most frequent contributor. Some readable verse, though none of the common anthology pieces, appears over his name in the Journal. Joel Chandler Harris, of "Uncle Remus" fame, is represented by one poem, "The Love Dream," 436 which is equal to most of the verse in the magazine.


William Henry Carpenter, who had contributed to Baltimore magazines since 1832, wrote occasional verses for the Journal, and James Hungerford, then editor of the Sun, wrote both prose and verse. Several of his stories which verge upon the Gothic are quite interesting without claim to any great literary excellence. Slater published some of his own verse, quite correct and dull.

Several continued stories were published, none of them of much in-
terest today. John Esten Cooke, published his "Monksden, or the Fate

437. John Esten Cooke (1830 - 1886), Virginia novelist and histo-
rian, was one of a distinguished family of authors and lawyers. He was
admitted to the bar in 1851, but his success in literature led him to
continue in that field. He served in the Confederate Army, and his sto-
ries of the War in Virginia are authentic. The Virginia Comedians
(1854), a story of colonial Virginia, is his best work. He was inter-
ested in the welfare of the post-War South, and wrote much about it.


of the Calverts, a melodramatic tale of Old Virginia in which is


told the old story of the last born twin brother who cheats the rightful
heir, in love as well as in the matter of the inheritance, but finally
comes to grief. Mrs. Fanny Downing, unidentifiable, contributed
"Florida; or the Double Life," a thoroughly boring tale. Only slight-


ly better is "Fire-Eye; or Mene-otah, the Captive Forest Flower," an


unbelievably bad imitation of Cooper written by one William McKnight.

In spite of all that must be admitted for it in the way of literary
deficiency, the Southern Home Journal is pleasant reading. There is
about it a freshness, a sincerity, and a courageous acceptance of the
fact that the South faces a new order, which make the magazine more acceptable to the uncritical reader than are those magazines which are lachrymose over the lost cause, or those others which prefer to ignore Appomattox.

The Olive Branch, Devoted to Religion, Science, Literature, and the News, begun on December 1, 1867, was edited by James Dabney McCabe. 441

441. James Dabney McCabe (1808 - 1875) was first a Methodist minister, then an Episcopal clergyman. Besides the Olive Branch, he edited the Oddfellows' Magazine, a strictly fraternal organ.

-Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography, IV, 74.

It contains continued stories, miscellaneous prose, verse, temperance articles, and a "Sabbath Department." Of little interest then or now, it ran only a few months.

Of like unimportance is The People's Weekly, Devoted to Art, Literature, Mechanical Interests, and Odd-Fellowship, which first appeared on January 4, 1868. Its verse, stories, and articles are mediocre or worse. The editor is unknown.

When, after completing the second volume of the Southern Review, in December, 1867, Albert Taylor Bledsoe and William Hand Browne dissolved partnership, the latter immediately began a new monthly magazine, the New Eclectic, which was published by Turnbull and Murdoch. The next year it became the New Eclectic Magazine, still published by Turnbull and Murdoch, and two years later, in January, 1871, it was changed to the Southern Magazine, with Murdoch, Browne, and Hill as the publishers. They continued it till the end of 1875. Browne was the sole editor of the magazine throughout its existence. For the last year and a half of its life it was the official organ of the Southern Historical Society,
and contained the record of the transactions of that body.

During the first years, it was purely eclectic, containing some of the best material to be found in current British magazines and an occasional article from an American magazine. Gradually, however, Browne introduced original material, until, perhaps not entirely coincidentally, he ceased publishing eclectic material, and dropped "Eclectic" from the title, at the time of the Southern Review's becoming the organ of Methodism. One of the last reprinted works was Dickens's The Mystery of Edwin Drood, which appeared throughout the year 1870.

Although the Southern Magazine contains a great deal of admirable writing, it suffers by comparison with the Southern Review. Browne, while perhaps equal to Bledsoe in scholarship, lacked the latter's breadth of interest, and could not approach his former partner in originality and vividness of expression. His articles are sound but on the whole a little stodgy and pedantic. In contrast with the Southern Review, which owes its life to the work of one man, the editor, the Southern Magazine is at its best in articles contributed from the outside. Several of the leading southern writers contributed with more or less regularity, although Browne did not always get their best work. Lanier furnished several articles, among them an essay, "Paul Hamilton Hayne's Poetry,"442 rather uncritical; a two part "Retrospects and Prospects,"443 a sensible commentary upon the South and its problems;


443. Ibid., March, 1871, VIII, 284 - 290, and April, 1871, VIII, 446 - 456.
and "Peace," a pathetic attempt at humor, in which he tells how he

tried to spend a peaceful day, having been left in sole charge of his son, 
two years, one month, and five days old, and his nephew, two years, one 
month, and six days old.

John Esten Cooke and Edward Spencer were regular contributors.

Cooke's stories are always readable, and an occasional one is excellent.
Typical of his average quality, however, is "A House in the Blue Ridge,"

a melodramatic tale of love, greed, and blackmail. Spencer's stories

Edward Spencer, Baltimorean, was a dramatist and student of 
history, and was also connected with the Baltimore Evening Bulletin, the
Sun, and the American.

-Scharf, History of Baltimore, p. 656.

are rather inferior, but in his critical articles there is some good 
writing. Among the best of these is his "On Reading Poets," of which

the following is a fair sample:

The various qualities of perception are nowhere better illustrated perhaps than in reading. One class of persons have no patience to take
in thought unless it comes to them in epigrams - those neat packages 
which are like French bon-bons, sweet and pretty, but not cheap. Others 
again must have their mental provender in goodly bulk - corn on the cob,
and bundles of well-cured blades; they cannot hop like sparrows from point to point, but must have an unbroken continuity of diffusive statement and comparative ratiocination. Such readers have to take their minds through long antecedent processes before they are quite able to see the point of such terse sayings as that crisp satirical proverb of the Arabs: "I asked him about his father. 'My uncle's name is Shayb,' he replied." It is with such persons especially that the power of suggestion in poetry loses its effect. Take, for instance, that remarkable effect which De la Motte Foque has produced in his Sintram by the simple cry of terror the haunted youth utters when he flies to the table where they are feasting in the stern old hall: "My knightly father! Death and another are pursuing me!" What an ineffable idea this, of being pursued by another undefinable horror which is even more terrible than the grisly king of terrors himself! Your true artist is always able to bring about these his most powerful effects in the simplest way, and by employing what are apparently the most insignificant means. It is not the palpable expression or image, but the suggestions that grow out of it, the character of the associations which come with it, that make such things affect us. There are some works of art, indeed, which command us by positive forces of beauty and power; but ordinarily the artist does not attempt to create an interest or impression de novo out of his work, but merely to suggest an interest already awakened, and to bind it to his service by the subtle ideas of association. All this, or nearly all of it, is lost upon the class of readers mentioned above, who have not sufficient flexibility of imagination to enable them to warm to the suggestion or make the association as they read the thought. Hence, to this large class of readers, the subtle phrase of our best because most imaginative poets is almost entirely lost, and they cannot appreciate such verses at all, any more than they can feel the emotions which are being called from a skilfully handled violin. They can read Scott and Byron, but not Keats nor Wordsworth, nor Browning nor Coleridge. These poets again have no influence nor any favor with that other large class of readers who must have the fancy quickened by that neat-handed Phyllis, wit, and who go back to Pope and Dryden, Johnson and Addison, Voltaire and Boileau, in utter disgust for that "slovenly art" which sets more store by the depth of the effect than by the turn of its phrase.

Innes Randolph is represented by an occasional poem. The best is probably "Twilight at Hollywood," written in honor of the Confederate dead; it closes thus:

0, rushing river, thou at least art free
And fit to sing a soldier's requiem,
Deep-toned and tremulous - the dirge of men
That once were timeless as thy winter flood.

448. Ibid., June, 1872, X, 714 - 716.
It was in the Southern Magazine that Richard Malcom Johnston's^®

^449. Richard Malcom Johnston (1822 - 1898) was a lawyer, teacher, and author of numerous books. He lived much in New England and Baltimore, but was at his best in his writing when he was portraying the "cracker" life of Georgia, his native state.


"Dukesborough Tales," later published in book form, first appeared, over the pseudonym, "Philemon Perch." Johnston also contributed some verse, not of the highest order.

Lizette Woodworth Reese^®^ published her first poem, "The Deserted House." Another poet, whom I have been unable to identify, contributed, over the pseudonym, "Barton Grey," some of the best verse in the magazine. He usually employed a light, tenuous metre, but in "The Death Ride,"^452 a tale of one who has seen Death in the morning and rides to the end of the earth to avoid meeting him again in the evening, only to

^449. Southern Magazine, June, 1874, XIV, 605.

^450. Lizette Woodworth Reese (1856 - 1935), Baltimore teacher and poet, was the author of A Branch of May (1877), A Quiet Road (1896), White April and Other Poems (1930), and numerous other volumes of poetry, as well as several other books. Her sonnet, "Tears," is a classic, one of the finest sonnets in the language.


^451. Ibid., October, 1874, XV, 356 - 359.
be confronted by the arch enemy at the end of the day, he wrote a dignified, stately piece, which concludes thus:

Night! Night in the Great Desert! Down behind
The western sands the day has dropped; the stars
Scarcely the fainting pilgrim's feet do guide
To where around yon huge misshapen rock
A horror of great darkness broods for aye.
The pilgrim nears that rock, and lo! a gleam,
Cold, steady, terrible, of pallid light
Flows forth unto him, and they stand once more
Face to face, all alone with God's own stars,
Azrael, and the man whom men did call
Emir Nourreddin, chief of all the guard!
Then the death angel lifted up to heaven
The patient awful terror of his eyes:
"Mighty art Thou, O Allah, and Thy ways
Past finding out! Behold, the victim comes
Whom Thou did'st bid me wait, - whom I myself
Long leagues away beheld this very noon.
He comes across Thy trackless sands to where
Thou bad'st me wait for him when day was done."
And as he spoke the gloom crept slowly up
And wrapped the prostrate figure at his feet,
And over all was silence.

Paul Hamilton Hayne contributed a few poems, not his best.

Joseph Holt Ingraham wrote a review, "Poe's 'Politan'" which is

really not a criticism, merely a synopsis. The best reviews are by
Browne, but, while they are usually critically sound, they fail to hold
the interest of the reader. The editor's best article is "A few Hints
to Young Writers," in which, without coldly discouraging ambitious

youth, he points out some of the obstacles to becoming a successful
author, financially or artistically.
While there is much that is good in the Southern Magazine, we do not regret its passing as we do that of the Southern Review. We respect Mr. Browne's accomplishments, but his personality, as revealed in his magazine, does not fascinate us as does Bledsoe's.

Browne's other editorial venture began in the same year as did his connection with the New Eclectic, but lasted only a short while. On Saturday, October 17, 1868, he began editing The Statesman, a Weekly Journal of Politics, Literature, Science and Art, which was first published on that date by the Maryland Democratic Association. The Statesman contains chiefly news and politics, but there is an occasional borrowed story; and the reviews, presumably by Browne, are unusually good. The following excerpt from a review of Part I of Browning's "The Ring and the Book," will give the reader an idea of the quality of the criticism:


...It is by taking the dry bones of history and legend, clothing them with flesh, and animating them with warm blood from the poet's own imagination, that we get a Prometheus, an Electra, a Macbeth, or a Falstaff. It is the poet's privilege and gift to make us see what he can see and we cannot; and this gift has been dealt in amplest measure to Robert Browning.

His peculiar power lies in the faculty of becoming for the time the person of his poem; of identifying himself with him, so that he thinks as that person would have thought, and speaks as he would have spoken.... This is the "creative faculty," as it is sometimes termed, and it is this that constitutes Browning preeminently a dramatic poet.

Indeed all his poems are dramas. In nearly all there is vividly brought before the reader some action which takes its form from the person or persons of the poem, and is determined by, or reacts upon their characters; and we clearly see these characters defined by their own deeds and speech.

...Evoked by his wand they appear before us, the souls that were convulsed and torn by the passions that led to this murky welter of madness and crime.

Browne does not wholly approve of Browning's treatment of the sub-
ject, however, feeling that it should have been put into the form of a tragedy. He continues:

But instead of this he has chosen a form and mode of treatment quite unexampled, by which we cannot see that anything has been gained, while we certainly see that very much has been lost.

There is, he concludes, too much repetition, too much talking the matter over, to give the reader the dramatic effect which is latent in the story.

At the close of Volume I, there is an announcement that with the next number, the Statesman will be enlarged and the price reduced, but apparently no more issues were published.

The People's Weekly, Devoted to Art, Literature, Mechanical Interests, and Odd-Fellowship, which first appeared on January 4, 1868, is devoid of interest. Its verse, stories, and articles are mediocre or worse.

Better is The Baltimore Leader, a Weekly Journal of News, Literature, Politics, Economy, and Art, which was first published on April 18, 1868, by the Leader Association. Half newspaper, half magazine, the Leader belongs to the same group of hybrids as to The Saturday Morning Visiter, The Journal of the Times, and many others whose literary qualities entitle them to a place among literary periodicals. In the prospectus printed opposite the first editorial page, the editors describe the Leader thus:

The Leader will give the News of the Week, in condensed and readable form, Foreign and Domestic Intelligence, News from all parts of the South and West, and the Latest Telegrams to the hour of publication. It will present Good Stories, Literary Gossip and Intelligence, Sketches, Humor, Poetry, and Pictures of Life and Manners....
It will have notes on Art, Music, the Drama, and Public Amusements...

It will take pains to note the newest things in Art, show how Society is refined, and the World amused.

While the editors preferred to remain anonymous, the volume possessed by the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore contains annotations by an unknown contemporary which, together with some internal evidence, identify two of them as William J. McClellan and A. Snowden Piggott, M. D.

McClellan I have been unable to identify. Piggott was born in Virginia in 1822, and died there in 1869. A scientist of considerable parts, he published several scientific works, was professor of Anatomy and Physiology in Washington Medical College, and Professor of Chemistry at the Maryland Institute, and was co-editor of the *American Journal of Dental Science*. 457 Aside from his column, "Agriculture," which is very good. Piggot did not contribute scientific articles to the *Leader*. His best contribution is "Prince and Parvenu, Chronicles of the Court of Louis XV," which began in the first number and ran for several weeks.

A regular "Our New York Letter," by "Dunne Browne" (Thomas Cooper DeLeon), covers society, books, drama, etc., in a most lively and graceful manner.

Edward Spencer was a frequent contributor of mediocre verse. His prose work, "Woman," 458 a not too thorough analysis which ran through three issues, is better.


Other contributors of verse were E. B. Seabrook, M. K. Kellogg ("Theodosia H. Cummings"), and John Collins McCabe. Paul Hamilton

459. I have been unable to identify Kellogg or Seabrook.

John Collins McCabe (1810 - 1875) was a writer and Protestant Episcopal clergyman. In 1861 he was chaplain in a Virginia regiment, and in 1862 was made chaplain at Libby Prison. A friend of Poe, he was a frequent contributor to the Southern Literary Messenger. A volume of his verse was published in Richmond in 1835, under the pseudonym, "Scraps."

-Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography, IV, 74.

Hayne is represented by one poem, "Not Dead," not in his best vein.

460. Leader, August 15, 1868.

The Art, Drama, and Literary Notices, and "Notes and Queries," all quite good, are chiefly by McClellan, although "L. D.," "M. J. P.," and one or two others appear frequently in these columns.

In the concluding number of Volume I, that for October 10, 1869, the editors announce their intention of going on with Volume II, but there is no evidence that they did so. It is too bad that they did not.

On August 14, 1870, W. R. Coale and W. M. Laffan began publishing the Sunday Bulletin, which, on May 11, 1871, became the Baltimore Bulletin. How long it was published is not known. According to Scharf, it was a magazine of "high literary qualities," but no copies of it have been preserved.

461. Chronicles of Baltimore, p. 100.
Only one number has been preserved of *The Monitor, Devoted to Temperance, Religion and Literature*, that for September, 1871. It was edited by T. Newman, M. D. Temperance predominates the magazine, even to the very short stories. "A Register of the Secret Orders of Temperance, with places and times of meeting," lists the Sons of Temperance, the Cadets of Temperance, and the Good Templars. In the "Literary" column, George Gilfillan writes a fair essay on Milton, in which he describes the difficulty faced by the poet in making our first parents perfect, yet human. The essay then develops into an analytical discussion of Milton's character, rather too favorable. No record of further numbers of the *Monitor* exists, but it may have struggled on for a few months.

The *Baltimorean* was a weekly newspaper with a page of literary matter, usually consisting of some verse, an installment of a serial story, and two or three articles. It was published by Crutchfield and Haas from June 8, 1872, until some time in 1898. The publishers may have been also the editors, but nothing further is known concerning them. The best writers represented in the available numbers are John Hill Hewitt and James Hungerford, both of whom contributed rather dull serial stories.

A magazine unique in Baltimore periodical history was *The Baltimore Elocutionist, A Journal of Literature and Amusement*, edited and published by Sara S. Rice, William T. Haydn, and William Benson, Jr., D. D. S. This magazine, which was published monthly from June, 1873, to March, 1880, was devoted entirely, with the exception of advertising matter,
It may have been published longer, but no later copies exist. To pieces suitable for readings, and contained no original matter. That such a publication could survive for seven years is an indication of the widespread interest in elocution which then prevailed.

Our Fireside, begun in 1874, was an official Grange publication, "managed" by A. J. Wedderburn. It contains nothing of literary value.

Another family journal, which began on April 5, 1877, and ran for over a year, was Every Saturday, edited by Charles M. Caughy, and "Devoted to Literature, Music, Art, Science, and General Information." No other record of Caughy has been found. The journal consists chiefly of selected informative articles and a little original prose and verse, none good.

On May 5, 1880, The Pioneer, a monthly, was established by the Reverend Fletcher E. Marine (1821 - 1889), who, in addition to being a Methodist clergyman and a dealer in lumber, grain, feed, hay, etc., was his own editor and publisher. Mr. Marine introduces the Pioneer thus:

The undersigned has long contemplated the issuing of a Price Current in connection with his business, after the design of the present one; and it is his intention to continue its publication.

Those who peruse it will find, that its first page is devoted to select reading matter, its second page to editorial and business notes, its third page to advertisements, and its fourth page the price current matter proper.464

On November 4, 1880, it was announced that the Pioneer would be published semi-monthly, but the change was not made. From that time forth, however, the "select reading matter" on the first page, and the
"editorials and business notes" on the second, were devoted almost exclu-

dively to "A History of the Rise and Progress of Methodism in America"

and other religious material. The only original material was contributed

by the editor himself, or by his son, William M. Marine, who wrote

both prose and verse. The Pioneer closed on December 1, 1885, with the

last number of Volume Six.

That there was in existence in 1880 a periodical named The Weekly

Magazine, edited by W. Montague Connelly, is proved by the existence of

several copies of The Politician, or Second Part of the Weekly Magazine,
in which appear advertisements for the latter. The Politician, which

began on March 7, 1880, and was still going on July 3, 1880, contains

nothing but political matter. No other record of the Weekly Magazine has

been found.

In August, 1881, appeared the first number of the American Literary

Churchman, edited by the Reverend William Kirkus. Designed as a

monthly, the magazine was changed in three months to a bi-weekly journal,

which continued until February 2, 1885. An organ of the Episcopal church,
it was more liberal than any of the religious magazines noted previously;

465. William Matthew Marine (1843 - 1904) was a Baltimore lawyer

and author who was active in Republican politics. His History of the

War of 1812 was posthumously published in Baltimore in 1912.

-Baltimore, Its History and Its People, by various contribu-
tors, Lewis Historical Publishing Company, New York and Chicago, 1912,
pp. 359 - 361.

466. William Kirkus (1830 - 1907) was a local clergyman and author.
He was, according to the Baltimore City Directory, rector of the Church
of St. Michael and All Angels at the time he began publishing this maga-
zine.
but its claim to the word "literary" in the title rests solely upon the
book reviews, which, as the months passed by, occupied more and more
space. They are in general excellent reviews, about half being concerned
with religious publications, the remainder treating all types of books,
including novels. As examples of the breadth of mind of the editor may
be cited two reviews, one of Darwin's *Vegetable Mould and Earthworms*,

467 American Literary Churchman, January 1, 1882, I, 65.

and the other a general review of Darwin's works, including *The Origin
of Species*, both extremely favorable to Darwin.

468 Ibid., May 24, 1882, I, 143.

Considerable critical acumen is displayed in these reviews; and even
the articles, all on religious topics, are not marked by the illiteracy
so prevalent among the editors of religious magazines. Save for the book
columns, however, there is little of literary interest in the American
Literary Churchman.

City and State, a weekly begun on November 19, 1881, by Howard S.
Hodson, was devoted chiefly to civic problems, but contained some verse
and fiction of inferior quality, City and State was short lived.

The Literary Criterion was first published on May 6, 1882. It was
a bi-weekly edited by Luther Martin, a frequent and rather inferior
contributor to various local magazines. C. B. Dilworth was general man-
ger. The first editorial restates the familiar theme: "We need no
longer go to other cities for "culture" and the truly "aesthetic," for
we have a broad field of our own to cultivate and keep free from tares."
The field was pretty arid in the eighties, however; not even tares were thriving. In Volume II, No. 5, February 3, 1883, the editor was begging desperately for subscribers at thirty cents a year, and it was not long before the Literary Criterion disappeared. It is doubtful that its passing was mourned. The verse is borrowed, the reviews literate, but dull. The two volumes preserved do give us a bi-weekly record of the activities of several clubs and societies which flourished in Baltimore at that time: the Bryant, the Calhoun, the Irving, the Myrtle, and the Colvin Musical and Literary Circle. There is nothing else to interest the historian.

Josias Hawkins has come down to posterity only in his capacity as editor of The Continental Magazine, Devoted to Literature, Poetry, Romance, and the useful Arts, a monthly which A. C. Mayer began publishing in January, 1883. In his first editorial,469 Mr. Hawkins gives, in


broad outline, a history of American periodicals, and says that, while he does not hope to rival Harper's, Scribner's, Century, and other expensive magazines, he does hope to "find a comfortable corner at many a modest fireside...."

The Continental Magazine contains many regular departments, such as "Wit and Humor," "Farm and Fireside," "Sandwiches" (odd paragraphs interspersed with advertising), and "Fun and Frolic." There is a news column, "The Editor's Record," in which are recorded only events of national or international importance, after the manner of present day weekly news magazines.

Although no well known names appear, there are some good stories,
as well as some very mawkish and sentimental ones of the E. D. E. N. Southworth school. Such a one is "A Bitter Requital," by Miss Arrah Leigh, author of 'A False Step,' 'Leah's Mistake,' 'Broken Vows,' 'Harvest of Thorns,' etc. 470 An irregular, anonymously written series, "Whiffs from an Old Sailor's Pipe," contains some entertaining yarns. One of them, "Blockade Running," 471 tells how the "Old Sailor," running out of Wilmington, North Carolina, with a cargo of 700 bales of cotton, eludes his pursuers by means of sudden shifts from black to smokeless coal, arrives safe at Nassau, and on the return trip so befuddles the enemy squadron that they are still bombarding one another when he drops anchor at Smithville.

Very interesting, too, is an article, "Then and Now," 472 in which one Francis Waring Parkhurst compares the National Capital as it appeared in 1800 with its appearance in 1882.

There is little verse, none of it good; but there is one selection, J. W. Palmer's "The Kiss in School," 473 which was for many years second


472. Ibid., May, 1883, I, 140, ff.

473. Ibid., January, 1883, I, 23.
in popularity only to Lowell's "The Courtin'" as a declamation piece at school entertainments.

There is no indication that the Continental Magazine ran for more than one year.

The Rambler, a monthly journal edited and published by A. L. Richardson, was begun in February, 1883, to run only a short time. It contains borrowed verse, a few anecdotes, and considerable advertising.

Some of the best light reading matter which appeared in Baltimore publications in the eighties is to be found in The Home Journal, later The American Home Journal, which contains work by several of the better American writers of the day. It was established by Christian Devries.

474 Christian Devries was a prominent Baltimore financier and banker. He was president of the National Bank of Baltimore, president of Charles A. Vogeler Company, and a director of the Western Maryland Railroad.

-Baltimore, Its History and Its People, II, 324.

on June 4, 1887. No editor is named. It is unlikely that Devries found time to perform that office himself. John S. Shriver, a frequent contributor, who was named editor later in the life of the magazine, may have been the editor from the beginning.

A typical family magazine, the Home Journal contains a variety of special departments: "Special Correspondence" (from abroad), "Fashion's Fancies," "The Family Kitchen," a theatrical column, and numerous others.

For a time the Home Journal met with considerable success. On April 20, 1888, it was sold to the Lorborn Publishing Company, of New York, Baltimore, and Chicago, who changed the title to The American Home Journal. J. G. Pangborn was made Baltimore General Manager, and John S. Shriver
became editor. The new publishers boasted the "largest Roll of Contrib­utors of any Paper in the United States," among whom were listed George
Alfred Townsend, Edward Payson Roe, Oliver Optic, Eugene Field, Cardinal
George Alfred Townsend (1841 - 1914) was a journalist, author,
and noted Civil War correspondent.


Edward Payson Roe (1838 - 1888) was an author, Presbyterian
clergyman, and Civil War chaplain. By his moral stories he did much to
dispel current prejudice against the novel. His best work was Barriers
Burned Away (1872), a story of the Chicago fire.

-Dictionary of American Biography, XVI, 84.

William Taylor Adams (1822 - 1897) was a journalist and the
author of 126 books, of which over a million copies were sold. He used
various pseudonyms: "Oliver Optic" for juveniles, "Irving Brown" for
love stories, "Clingham Hunter, M. D." for travel sketches, and "Old
Stager" for some miscellaneous works.


James Gibbons (1834 - 1931), one of the greatest Roman
Catholic prelates of modern times, became Cardinal in 1886. He was a
leader in promoting religious toleration.


Daniel Carter Beard (1850 - ) is the author of numerous
outdoor books and the founder of the first boy scout society, from which
grew the Boy Scouts of England and America.


As many of these had already been contrib-
uting to the Home Journal, however, there is little apparent change in
the magazine. Of the better writers, Field was the most frequent contrib­utor; four of his stories appear in the fifty-three weeks of the Journal's
life. "Oliver Optic" contributed one, and George Alfred Townsend
was a frequent contributor.

The magazine contains a great number of travel articles, both foreign and domestic, usually written by regular contributors. The best, however, are those by Julian Ralph (1853 - ?), New York journalist and traveler.482

While its literary quality is not of the highest, The Home Journal struck a higher note than did most Baltimore magazines after the Civil War. It bears comparison with Leslie's and Arthur's, whose competition was no doubt a chief contributory cause of its short life.

In October, 1889, The American Press Company began publishing No Name Magazine, described on the cover as "The Ideal Magazine." It was edited by Eugene Lemoine Didier,483 who was later editor of Success, also published by The American Press Company. Apparently he was himself the


483. Eugene Lemoine Didier (1848 - ?), author, editor, and critic, edited No Name Magazine, Timon, and Success, and also wrote The Life of Edgar A. Poe (New York, 1879), and other works. He was in his time a leading Poe scholar.

American Press Company.

No Name Magazine got off to a good start by publishing in the first number a hitherto unpublished poem by Poe, "Oh Temporal! Oh Mores!" together with an account of the discovery of the manuscript. The magazine is generally disappointing, however. The best articles are to be found in an irregular series, "American Literary Portraits," by Didier, which, although too inaccurate to be of use in the study of major writers, are often almost the only source of information concerning little known authors. There is an occasional brief article on Poe, a shallow vein which Poe scholars have long since exhausted; and the editor's interest in Poe is also betrayed through numerous advertisements in which he offers to buy, sell, or exchange Poeana. Aside from the work of Didier, contributions are usually unsigned and invariably mediocre.

484. No Name Magazine, October, 1889, I, 1.
In the period between 1852 and 1885 were published the majority of all Baltimore Magazines published and edited by young people. Eleven of them, at least, came between 1857 and 1873. This urge to break into print was not a phenomenon peculiar to Baltimore youth, but a national disturbance, as the mushroom growth of amateur press association throughout the land clearly indicates. The reasons for this burgeoning are not equally clear. Certainly there was no plethora of literary or critical genius among the boys and girls of this period, since a careful check reveals not a single name associated with these juvenile publications that later achieved even a minor place in the ranks of writers or editors. An overwhelming desire for self expression may have been a by-product of America's first real mass education, or it may have been the result of reading too much Emerson. Whatever the cause, the results were abundant, and often entertaining.

The first of this group to be published in Baltimore, and the best, was *The Parthenian, a Quarterly Magazine Devoted to Literature and the Fine Arts*, which was begun on March 1, 1852, and published, not quarterly, but annually, for seven years. It was edited "by the Young Ladies of the Baltimore Female College," and printed by Sherwood and Company. Verse, Latin essays, valedictory and salutatory addresses, and inaugural theses constitute the greater part of the magazine. In the second volume there is a fair series of biographical sketches, among them one of Nathaniel Covington Brooks, President of the Baltimore Female College,

one of Mrs. Lydia Huntley Sigourney, and one of Frances Sargent Osgood. The concluding pages of each number served as the official catalogue of the school, in which were listed the rates of tuition, description of courses, and other matters of information concerning the college. *Parthenian* was published till September, 1859.

The next magazine published by young people was *The Comet*, which began in August, 1857, and appeared once or twice a month through February, 1858. It was a comic paper of four to eight pages, written in longhand. The publishers were "J. F. R." and "W. H. K.," neither of whom can be identified. The humor is quite bad, but is relieved by some rather good drawings. There are numerous conundrums, riddles, rebuses, and the like, and one asinine farce. A serial, "A Letter from the Western Wilds," dated from Cassawassa (which the writer never saw), runs through several issues. In the last number the names of the editors and publishers are given as "Timothy Tadpole" and "Christopher Crookshanks."

Another juvenile, *The Weekly Magpie*, also began as a manuscript magazine, on April 30, 1859. With the eighth number, however, on June 18, 1859, it began to appear in printed form, continuing until October
29, 1859, when an index was published and cessation announced. It was published by Thomas Donaldson, Jr., "sole Editor and Proprietor," at "his office, Edgewood, near the 'Relay House.'" It contains much bad verse, most of it by a young lady, "B. E. H.," alias "X. Y. Z." The prose is no better. In an early issue the editor promised that nothing would be published by anyone over fifteen years of age, and he apparently kept his word.

Two other boys, W. E. and J. E. Cushing, started a bi-monthly, the Mirror, in November, 1859, which ran until June 1, 1860, chiefly on borrowed material. A reprint of a story, "Engaged at Sixteen," by T. S. Arthur, runs through all numbers. There is considerable advertising.

The Medfield Literary Society, of Mr. John Prentiss's School, began publishing a monthly magazine, the Quodlibetarian, on September 29, 1859. The first volume closed with the issue for June 15, 1860; the second began on November 15, 1860, and ran until January 15, 1861. It seems to have been one of the casualties of the War. The whole Society constituted the editorial staff, but two members, W. R. Lyman ("Namyl") and

488. See letter from Lyman's daughter, Mrs. M. L. Knight, to Mr. James W. Foster, pasted inside cover, Quodlibetarian, Volume I, in the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore.

William Burnham, wrote most of the articles. The Quodlibetarian was, and is, a very creditable school publication.

On February 1, 1860, appeared the first number of the Metropolitan, "Devoted to Literature," published by Norwood, Mactier, Poultney, and Company, which was issued on the first and fifteenth of each month until June 15, 1860. It contains nothing but some bad verse and worse prose, chiefly continued stories. At first the editors, all very young boys,
announced that the profits were to go to the Home of the Friendless, but a later announcement related that there had been friction among the editors, and that the proceeds would go where they had originally been destined, to the Church Home. At the end of the same number, however,

489. Metropolitan, June 15, 1860.

appeared the following: "Notice. Any two persons wishing to become Editors of this paper, will please send us a letter by mail to that effect," and the Metropolitan was heard from no more.

In an editorial in the Metropolitan for April 1, 1860, The Mount Vernon is mentioned as a flourishing magazine published by young people, presumably in Baltimore, but no copies have been discovered.

Four youths, H. S. Gordon, H. Gatchell, S. Chase, and H. Cannon, began publishing a bi-weekly, The Young Pioneer, "Devoted to Literature," on February 11, 1860. With the third, and apparently the last, number, they were joined by J. H. Anderson. Each issue contains one poem and one story, which should not be judged too harshly in view of the tender ages of the youths.

The Amateur Journal, a monthly, "Edited by Boys," was first published in July, 1872. The "boys" were Masters Warfield, Jenkins, and Caton. There is little to distinguish it from half a dozen other juveniles except that in September, 1872, it became the official organ of the Baltimore Amateur Press Association, a branch of the Southern Amateur Press Association, which was at that time a flourishing organization with headquarters in Washington. The Amateur Journal contains considerable advertising, and must certainly have paid its way. There is no indication, however, that it was continued later than February,
1873. Scharf\textsuperscript{490} says it became the \textbf{Monumental Journal} on July 5, 1873,

\textsuperscript{490} Chronicles of Baltimore, p. 107.

with H. F. Powell, W. Landstreet, James H. Reiman, Jr., and George U. Porter, Jr., as editors, but I have been able to find no copies of such a magazine.

The \textbf{Baltimore Amateur} expired soon after publishing a lofty editorial on "Why Papers Don't Succeed." This magazine was a semi-monthly established on April 1, 1872, by two boys, A. H. and E. K. Canby, editor and associate editor respectively, who were joined on May 15, by H. C. Bosley, business manager. Only five issues had been published, when, on June 1, 1872, the subscription list was turned over to John F. Nichols and George W. Rayner, editors and proprietors of \textbf{Our American Youth}. By October, 1872, \textbf{Our American Youth} was "about to stop,"\textsuperscript{491}

\textsuperscript{491} The Young Idea, October, 1872.

and one of the editors, Nichols, again transferred his subscription list, this time to \textbf{The Little Sunbeam}, of which he was sole editor and proprietor. No numbers of the \textbf{Little Sunbeam} are available, but the other two magazines contain verse and stories, especially the latter, which are comparable to much that was current in adult publications. Nichols ("Nick") had considerable ability as a story teller, and it is surprising that he was not heard from as he grew older.

\textbf{The Young Idea}, a monthly, began in August, 1872, with Jesse Higgins, Edward Hewes, and Horace Waters as the youthful editors and proprietors. On their first editorial page, one of the editors, "Judex,"
in an article on "What is Literature?" lays down some precepts which
were followed rather faithfully in the magazine. He concludes, rather
loftily:

In true literature fun never descends into ribaldry and foolish-
ness, and incidents never so far exceed possibility or probability and
to be caricatures on humanity. 492

492. The Young Idea, August, 1872, I, 3.

Each issue contains essays, stories, verse, puzzles, and a summary
of baseball scores. With the second number, the Young Idea became of-
official Baltimore organ of the Southern Amateur Press Association. In
October, Edwin K. Canby, who had been one of the editors of the Balti-
more Amateur, succeeded Waters in the editorship. As far as can be
ascertained, only six issues were published.

In January, 1873, James S. Calwell and George D. Fawsett began
publication of The Southern Star, a monthly. In June, Fawsett retired
from the editorship. In one of the early numbers, not preserved, a
short story contest was announced. In the June issue were published the
names of the winners, the first prize having been taken by "Nick"
(Nichols), himself the editor of several magazines, with a neatly turned
story, "The Stout Gentleman." 493

493. Southern Star, June, 1873, I, 43.

As no more numbers have been preserved, how long the Southern Star
survived cannot be determined.

The last of the juveniles to be published before the end of the
century was The Infant, which began in February, 1884, and ran for only
a few months, true to its motto, aut vincere aut mori. The Infant is a quarto, sixteen column paper, published by A. D. Hines and edited by William A. Wright, with P. L. Downs as assistant editor. Almost everything but the editorials, which are pretty bad, is borrowed. The magazine contains considerable advertising, personal columns, and fair theatrical notices. By the third number the publisher was already offering premiums to clubs for securing subscriptions, and almost immediately the Infant passed from sight.
CHAPTER XII

SOME LATER BALTIMORE MAGAZINES

1890 - 1940

The history of Baltimore literary periodicals since 1890 is a history, not of growth, but of decline. Only a few have been attempted, and these few have, with two or three possible exceptions, merited the fate which overtook them. It was in the early part of this period that the process of centralization culminated, and few were the magazines which succeeded in any city outside New York; but even after allowance has been made for this general situation, there has been a lamentable dearth of literary excellence in Baltimore publications.

There have been magazines published in Baltimore during the past fifty years, perhaps almost as many as during any other similar period, but a majority of them have not been primarily, or even incidentally, literary productions. There have been scholarly journals, some of them commanding international respect. Modern Language Notes, for example, has for more than fifty-five years been publishing outstanding contributions by scholars in the fields of English, Romantic, and Classical languages. Also, there have been, and are, technical publications, some of them of local interest only, others with nation wide circulation. Religious, fraternal, and institutional publications have abounded. In the Maryland Room of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, in Baltimore, may be found today nearly thirty current Baltimore publications, scarcely one of which can claim the slightest literary merit.

A short chapter will suffice to disclose the merits of those lit-
erary periodicals which have appeared in Baltimore during this last period. The alleged gayety of the nineties is reflected in the first one, Baltimore Life, the best magazine of humor published in Baltimore, which was begun on April 9, 1890, and ran for ten years. In no way inferior to any American humor magazine of the time, it contains regular columns on "The Play and Players," devoted to the theater in America and abroad; "Stage," containing advance notices of the fare at the local play houses; "Society," and "Sport." Two sports only are treated: baseball and "The Wheel." The sport of cycling was then in its heyday, and bicycle advertisements occupy a large share of the advertising space. On April 29, 1893, Life became the official organ of the Century Cycling Club.

A short story appears in each issue, and there is an occasional serious poem. George S. Steuart, the editor, who has been forgotten, filled a double page each week in a most agreeable manner, discussing literature, sport, politics, or, in fact, almost anything, with ease and ability. The cartoons and illustrations are excellent. Among the staff artists were R. F. Outcault and Charles Dana Gibson, and others

494. Richard Felton Outcault (1863 - 1928), comic artist, was the originator, with his "The Yellow Kid," of the American "funny paper." Other of his famous creations were "Hogan's Alley" and "Buster Brown."


495. Charles Dana Gibson (1867 - ) artist and illustrator, and author, is best remembered as the creator of "The Gibson Girl."


only less well known.

There is a large amount of advertising, some of it in the spirit of
the magazine, as may be seen from the following notice which appears in numerous issues:

**Free Pool**

McINTYRE*S
Cor. Baltimore and Holliday,
Largest Glass of Cool Beer in the City!
The Worst Lunch in Town All Day;
Come in and Try It.
Best of Liquors and Cigars
Call and See Me.

The leading American humorist to contribute to *Life* was George V. Hobart, who began writing a signed column on baseball on August 8, 1896. Hobart, under his pseudonym, "Diedrich Dinkelspiel," contributed considerable humorous prose and verse in a spurious German dialect. Beside pages of jokes and witty anecdotes, *Time* contains regular columns on society, women's clubs, amateur athletics, "Plays and Play People," and "Books I have Read." The last named, written by Saxe Humbert, usually contains some good reviews.
The cartoons and illustrations are not so good as those in Life, although several of the same artists, but not the best ones, are represented.

On April 14, 1901, Time was still alive, but somewhat emaciated. How much longer it was published I have been unable to determine.

In Baltimore Life, the publishers announce regularly the appearance of their Life's Monthly Calendar, containing, "copious Reading Matter and Profuse Illustrations," but there are no copies of such a periodical to be found.

Two years after Life was established, a rival, Town Talk, edited by W. C. Watkins, appeared. It was "Devoted to the 'Wheel,' Sport, Society, Military, and Wit," but, as all these fields were within the province of the then successful Life, Town Talk survived less than a year. It was begun on November 7, 1891, and ceased publication early in 1892, having contributed nothing of interest or importance to Baltimore.

Eugene L. Didier, who had edited and published No Name Magazine in 1889 - 1890, established another monthly magazine, Success, An Illustrated magazine For the People, in January, 1893. As it differs from the Home Journal and other family magazines only in quality, it merits little consideration. Didier wrote a large share of the articles, and even the various department, such as "Household," "Flowers," and "The Children's Page," often contained his work. Other contributors were Amy D'Arco Wetmore, Mrs. E. Burke Collins, James L. Hempstead, and Ralph Washburn Chainer, none of whom created even a small glow in the literary firmament.

At the end of the year it was announced that the price of Success
would be reduced from ten to five cents per copy with the first number
of Volume II, but there is no further indication that more issues were
published.

Among the more pretentious of the literary magazines of this
decadent period is Dixie, still another attempt to establish the lit­
erary sufficiency of the South. Published from January, 1899, to April,
1900, and edited by Henry Clayton Hopkins, this monthly presented a

497. Henry Clayton Hopkins (1869 - ) was a student of medicine
and art, who finally turned to magazine work. Rose Leaves, a volume of
his verse, was published in Baltimore in 1896.

--George C. Perine, The Poets and Verse Writers of Maryland,
p. 315.

diverse assortment of literature and art. It differed from most previous
Baltimore literary periodicals in the quantity and nature of its adver­
tising, which was much more general than what we have seen previously,
and in the fact that it was a slick. The literary content is of doubt­
ful value, apparently not because the editor was deficient in literary
taste, but because of a dearth of capable contributors. Edward Lucas
White and Virginia Woodward Cloud are the best known contributors,

498. Edward Lucas White (1866-1934), teacher and author, was
graduated from The Johns Hopkins University in 1888. He taught Greek
and Latin at the University School for Boys, Friends' School, and McDonogh.
He is noted for his numerous stories of classical times, particularly
Andivius Hedulio (1921).

--Who's Who in America, 1922 - 1923, XII, 3276.

499. Virginia Woodward Cloud (1861 - 1938), journalist and author,
wrote reviews, columns, stories, was literary editor of the Baltimore
News, 1896 - 1914, published, Down Durley Lane, a collection of ballads
(1898), and also published a volume of poems, A Reed by the River
(1902).
and their fame was, and is, chiefly local.

*Dixie* also contains an abundance of humor, boasting some superior cartoonists. On the whole, its humorous columns, interspersed among the copious and quite modern advertising matter, are the equal of the greater part of what passes for humor in the leading slick humorous magazines today.

The book reviews, usually sound and well written, were in the capable hands of E. A. U. Valentine.

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500. Edward Abram Uffington Valentine (1870 - ), lawyer, musician, author, and critic, was born in Bellefonte, Pennsylvania, and lived much of his life in the central part of his native state. He was connected at various times, however, with the Baltimore News and the New York Herald. His claim to literary recognition rests chiefly upon his stories of central Pennsylvania, of which *Hecla Sandwith* (Indianapolis, 1905), a story of iron smelting in the early days, is probably the best.

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One series of three articles which is especially worthy of mention is "Southern Potteries and Southern Clays," by H. S. Turner, which is still probably the most complete treatment of the subject.

Undoubtedly the best feature in *Dixie* is its art department, in which were published small portfolios of excellently chosen works by J. Gleeson, G. Alden Pierson, and Gordon Pike, a New York architect.
502. Joseph Michael Gleeson (1861 - ?), artist and author, was noted for his paintings of animal life, and wrote numerous stories of animal life for various magazines.


503. G. Alden Pierson (1873 - ), artist, was a member of the Charcoal Club, in Baltimore, and the Art Student's League, in New York. He was also art manager for the American Magazine and for the Caxton Advertising Company.


Dixie is today of more value to the historian of art or of literature than to the seeker after literary nuggets.

The Baltimore Circle of Bookfellows began in January, 1924, the publication of an official organ, The Circle, apparently inspired by Poetry, A Magazine of Verse. Mrs. Leacy Naylor Green-Leach was editor, Eugenie du Maurier, Associate Editor, and Henry E. Shepherd, Consulting Editor. The Circle was to appear bi-monthly or quarterly; actually it

504. No information is available concerning Mrs. Green-Leach or Miss du Maurier. Henry E. Shepherd was born in Fayetteville, North Carolina, but lived much of his life in Baltimore. He wrote several books on the English Language, as well as a Life of General Robert E. Lee (New York, 1906) and Representative Authors of Maryland (New York, 1911).


was a bi-monthly. The poetry is definitely amateurish, much of it written by the editor and by Edgar Daniel Kramer. The magazine was pub-

505. Edgar Daniel Kramer was a teacher in various private schools of the East until, in 1921, he became a free lance.

lished until August, 1925.

A longer life was destined for Interludes, a Magazine of Verse, also begun 1924. It was a quarterly, published by the Verse Writers' Guild of Maryland, and edited by William James Price, who, in addition to being a prolific versifier, had an eye for business, as we learn from the back cover of Interludes. His advertisement informs us that his experience (He has verse in twenty anthologies) makes him well qualified to give advice to struggling poets. He will furnish:

Expert analysis and constructive criticism, 5 cents per line, including title; minimum fee, $1.00. Over 100 lines, 4 cents per line. Revisions, 7 cents per line.... MS typed at 2 cents per line, including one carbon copy.

Interludes attracted contributors from far and near, however, some of them from poets now recognized as such. Jesse Stuart's is probably the best known name today. His contributions were usually simple quatrains, such as:

SILENCE

There is a song in silence
No voices ever sing;
There is a light in darkness,
That suns can never bring.


In later issues Interludes conducted frequent essay contests, which were occasionally productive of pieces of genuine literary merit. The magazine was published through 1933.

The Adolescent, A Quarterly for Young People, was offered to the public in the summer of 1928, published by the Adolescent association. True to its name, it contains little that is mature. The fiction, verse, and articles scarcely bear reading. Of the numerous contributors, none
of whom, according to the title page, was over twenty-two years of age, only Donald Coale, the contemporary painter of portraits and murals, has become known to the general public. Only one issue of the Adolescent was published.

In December, 1929, was begun The Townsman, with Elizabeth Nash as editor. The Townsman was obviously inspired by The New Yorker, and, while not a bad imitation, contains nothing of value. It collapsed in 1933, a victim of the depression.

In 1940 a monthly magazine of amateur poetry, Musings, was established, with Margaret Gordon Kuhlman as editor. Musings publishes some very creditable verse, usually by young people.

Baltimore did little to enhance her literary fame during this period.

Any final evaluation of the worth of the literary periodicals which have been published in Baltimore must take into consideration two elements: the place of these periodicals in American literature and their value to the people of Baltimore and Maryland. As has already been pointed out, few of them now command more than the briefest mention in histories of American literature, and these few are remembered chiefly because a Poe or a Kennedy contributed to them, rather than because of their general literary quality. The justice of this treatment, in the case of several of the magazines, is open to question. The Portico and the Red Book both contain material which has rarely been surpassed in American magazines. The reviews, especially the American Museum, the Western Continent, and the Southern Review, served as high a purpose as did any throughout the land. Had not Brooks been at heart an educator, and Benjamin a wanderer, the first two could have been the foundations of still-living organs of culture and intellectual expression, for the
right stuff was in them; and even in their short existences, coming as they did during a transitional period, they created the desire for such magazines which helped make possible the later success of some of our greatest literary journals. The Southern Review was too much the shadow of one man, Albert Taylor Bledsoe, to survive his death; but that man made of it, in its earlier years, a vehicle for some of the soundest criticism and sanest thinking, marred only by his intense loyalty to the South, in itself a not ignoble trait, that have ever appeared in an American magazine.

The early home magazines, such as the Young Ladies' Journal and the Monument, reflected the mores of the "sentimental years," and played no small part in the formation and portrayal of the spirit of the times, a function indispensable and praiseworthy, whether or not we may approve of the end which was to be served. The later ones, such as the Home Journal, brought to their readers literature that was equal to that supplied by similar magazines in any section of the country, a good, wholesome diet, though plain. If their worth to their readers be measured by the amount of homely enjoyment they provided, and certainly that is one valid measure, their existence was more than justified.

Even the religious magazines, besides fulfilling their primary purpose of promulgating the doctrines of their respective churches, contained the leaven of literary matter necessary to maintain in the minds of their readers a sufficiently broad outlook upon life.

There is no cause for the people of Baltimore to feel ashamed of the role their city has played in the history of American periodical literature.
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In addition to the standard encyclopedias and biographical dictionaries, the following works have been consulted in the preparation of this paper:


Baltimore, Its History and Its People, by various contributors. Chicago: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1925. 3 volumes.


The Library of Southern Literature. Atlanta: Martin and Hoyt Company, 1907. 16 volumes.


Schultz, Edward T. History of Freemasonry in Maryland.


APPENDIX A

In the following chronological table are listed all the magazines which have been examined and are included in this paper. The date of first publication, when known, is given, and the date of the last issue, or, where that cannot be ascertained, the approximate date of the end of publication.

1793


1797

The Weekly Museum. January 8, 1797 - March 26, 1797.

1798


1800


The Child of Pallas, weekly. Eight issues only, - January, 1801.

1801

The Temple of Truth, monthly.

1804

The Marvellous Magazine, weekly. One year only.
The Orphan's Friend and Literary Repository, monthly. November, 1804 - April, 1805.


1806

The Observer, weekly. November, 1806 - December 26, 1807.

1807

Spectacles, weekly. Only one issue, that for June 6, 1807, has been found.

1809

The Emerald, weekly. November 3, 1809 - March 2, 1811.

1811


1813

The Museum and Weekly Gazette. Only the prospectus has been found.

1815

The Wanderer, weekly. October 13, 1815 - ?

1816

The Portico, monthly. January, 1816 - December, 1822

1818

1819

The Journal of the Times, weekly. September 12, 1818 - March 6, 1819.

1820


1821


The Camera Lucida of Fashion. Only one number, not dated, has been found.

1824

The Genius of Universal Emancipation, weekly. 1824 - 1830. It was continued in Washington for an unknown length of time.

The Herald, weekly. May 20, 1824 - 1826.

1825

The Commercial and Literary Gazette, weekly. June, 1825 - ?

1827


1828

The Emerald and Baltimore Literary Gazette, weekly. April 12, 1828 - March 7, 1829.

The Itinerant, or Wesleyan Methodist Visitor, bi-weekly. November 12, 1828 - October 26, 1831.

1829

The Minerva and Emerald, weekly. Dates uncertain.
1830

The Baltimore Minerva, Wreath, and Saturday Post, weekly. 1830 - 1833.

The Metropolitan, or Catholic Monthly Magazine. January, 1830 - December, 1830. Scharf, History of Baltimore, p. 613, says the Metropolitan ceased after one year, but it evidently was continued longer, though no later copies exist.

The Young Ladies' Journal of Literature and Science, monthly. October, 1830 - 1831 (?). The last issue preserved is that for December, 1831, but there is no hint that publication ceased at that time.

The Chronicle of the Times, weekly. October 2, 1830 - August, 1831.


1831

The Baltimore Times, weekly. September, 1832 - September 22, 1832.

1832

The Saturday Visiter, weekly. February, 1832 - 1847 (?).

1833

The Baltimore Southern Pioneer and Richmond Gospel Visiter, weekly. 1833 - 1834 (?).

1834

The Young Men's Paper, weekly. June 7, 1834 - June 25, 1836.

The Methodist Protestant, weekly. June 11, 1834. This magazine, under various titles, was published until late in the century.

1835


1836


The Family Companion and Baltimore Semi-Monthly Magazine.

The Baltimore Monument, weekly. October 8, 1836 - September 29, 1838.

1837

The Athenaeum, weekly. 1836 - 1840 (?). During its career, the Athenaeum was changed to the Athenaeum and Visiter. The exact date
of the change is not known, nor the last date of publication.

1838

The North American Quarterly Magazine. June, 1838. Only one issue was published.


The Baltimore Literary Monument, monthly. October, 1838 - September, 1840.

1839

The Baltimore Clipper, daily. September, 1839 - 1865 (?).

1841


The Baltimore Phoenix and Budget, monthly. April, 1841 - March, 1842.

1842

The Spirit of the Nineteenth Century, monthly. January to December, 1842.

The Baltimore Monthly Visiter. April, 1842. Only one issue exists, and the length of publication cannot be determined.

The Temple of Reason, weekly. Only one issue exists, that for July 9.

1845

The Ray and Literary Offering, weekly. May 24, 1845 - ?

1846

The Western Continent, weekly. January 3, 1846 - July 18, 1848 (?).

The Iris and Odd-Fellow's Mirror, weekly. 1846 - 1847.

1847

The Crystal Fount, monthly. January, 1847 - December, 1847 (?).

1848

The Enterprise, weekly. 1848 - ?

The Monumental Fountain, monthly. 1848 - 1851.

1849

The Viper's Sting and Paul Pry, weekly. January 13, 1849 - ?
1852

The Parthenian, annual. 1852 - 1859.

1853

The Metropolitan, monthly. February, 1853 - December, 1858.

1854

Taylor's Literary Bulletin, monthly. The only available issue is that for May, 1854.

The Monumental Literary Gazette. January 7, 1854 - ?

1855

The Elevator, monthly. January, 1855 - 1858 (?).

1856


The Comet, irregular. August, 1857 - February, 1858.


1857

The Home Companion, monthly. July - September, 1858.

1859


The Family Journal, monthly. 1859 - 1861 (?).


The Possum Hollow Gazette, weekly. July 10, 1859 - ?

The Mirror, bi-monthly. November, 1859 - June 1, 1860.

1860

The Metropolitan, bi-weekly. February 1, 1860 - June 15, 1860.


The Young Pioneer, bi-weekly. February 11, 1860 - ?

1864

The Lyceum Observer, monthly. One year only.
1866

The Sunday Courier, weekly. 1866- 1867.

1867

The Southern Review, quarterly. 1867 - 1878.
The Southern Home Journal, weekly. 1867 - 1868.
The Olive Branch, monthly. 1867 - 1868.

1868

The People's Weekly. 1868 - ?
The Southern Magazine, monthly. 1868 - 1875.
The Statesman, weekly. October 17, 1868 - April 17, 1869.
The Baltimore Leader, weekly. April 18, 1868 - October 10, 1869.

1871

The Monitor, monthly. The only existing number is that for September, 1871.

1872

The Baltimorean, weekly. June 8, 1872 - 1898.
The Baltimore Amateur, semi-monthly. April 1, 1872 - June 1, 1872.
Our American Youth, monthly. ? - October, 1872.

1873

The Southern Star, monthly. January, 1873 - ?

1874

Our Fireside, monthly.

1880

The Pioneer, monthly. May 5, 1880 - December 1, 1885.
The Politician, weekly. March 7, 1880 - ?
1881

The American Literary Churchman, monthly, later bi-weekly. August, 1881 - February 2, 1885.

City and State, weekly. November 9, 1881 - .

1882

The Literary Criterion, bi-weekly. May 6, 1882 - 1883.

1883


The Rambler, monthly. February, 1883 - ?

1884

The Infant, monthly.

1887

The Home Journal, weekly. June 4, 1887 - 1888 (?).

1889

No Name Magazine, monthly. October, 1889 - 1890.

1890

Baltimore Life, weekly. April 9, 1890 - March 25, 1899.

1891

Town Talk, weekly. November 7, 1891 - ?

1893

Success, monthly. January, 1893 - December, 1893 (?).

1899

Dixie, monthly, January, 1899 - April, 1900.

Life, weekly. March 25, 1899 - 1900.

1924

The Circle, bi-monthly. January, 1924 -

Interludes, quarterly. 1924 - 1933.

1928

The Adolescent, quarterly. The only number published was that for Summer, 1928.
1929

The Townsman, weekly. December, 1929 - 1933.

1940

Musings, monthly. 1940 -
APPENDIX B

In this table are listed all the literary magazines definitely known to have been published in Baltimore, but not available for examination at present. References to Uhler are to his Literary Taste and Culture in Baltimore, and those to Hewitt are from his Shadows on the Wall.

1807

The Critic and the Spectator are mentioned in the Observer, December 26, 1807.

1811

The Companion, Moonshine, and the Casket, are all mentioned in an editorial in the Baltimore Repertory for January, 1811.

1817

Pasquin of Mobton. Reviewed, Portico, March, 1817, III, 249.

1829

The Wreath, weekly. Only six numbers were published. Hewitt, p. 12.

The Minerva, weekly. Merged in same year with the Emerald.

The Saturday Post, weekly. Merged in same year with Minerva and Emerald.

1830

The American Quarterly Journal of the Fine Arts. This must have existed, as it was catalogued at the Peabody Institute Library.

1840

The Ocean and Weekly Clipper. According to the files of the Clipper, the Ocean was first published on June 27, 1840, and continued throughout the life of the Clipper.

1841

Youth's Athenaeum. Scharf, History of Baltimore, p. 625, says this paper was an auxiliary to the Apprentice's Library Association.
1846

The Iris and the Gazette of the Union were merged in this year.

1848

The Flag of Our Union is regularly advertised in the Enterprise.

1849

The Viper's Sting and Paul Pry were merged in this year.

The Parlor Gazette, Scharf, History of Baltimore, 628, says that in November, 1849, the Parlor Gazette became the Ladies' Newspaper.

1860

Once a Month and the Baltimore Ledger are referred to editorially in the Quodlibetarian, June 15, 1860.

The Mount Vernon is referred to editorially in the Metropolitan, April 1, 1860.

1880

The Weekly Gazette. Its publishers published also the Politician, in which the Weekly Gazette is advertised.

1890

APPENDIX C

The following magazines are mentioned in the sources indicated, but there is no other evidence of their existence. Some of those mentioned by Uhler and Scharf were merely advertised for publication in the columns of the local newspapers, and probably never got beyond that state.

1796

The Eagle of Freedom. Scharf, History of Baltimore, says this "was to contain literary matter."

1799

The Honey-Comb, weekly. Scharf, Chronicles of Baltimore, p. 85.

1804


1820

The Moon. Uhler.

1822

Orpheus, or Musical and Literary Intelligencer. Uhler.

The Trifler. Uhler.

1823

Ladies' Literary Bouquet. Uhler.

1826

Nonius Nondescript. Uhler.

1827

The Academician. Uhler.

The Portico. Scharf, History of Baltimore, p. 616, says it was published "about 1827," but he apparently confused it with the Portico of 1816.

The Post Chaise Companion. Uhler.
1828
The **Baltimore Argus and Literary Spectator**. Uhler.

1829
The **Amethyst**. Scharf, *History of Baltimore*, p. 616, says it was published in 1829 or later.

1831
The **Budget of Blunders**. Uhler.

1832
The **Monthly Repository**. Uhler.


1833
The **Terrific Register**. Uhler.

1836

1841
The **Juvenile Mirror**. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, p. 94.

1849

**Young America**. Scharf, *History of Baltimore*, p. 628.

1859
The **Lily of the Valley**. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, p. 95.

1866

1870

The **Sunday Bulletin**. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, p. 100.
1872

The Little Sunbeam. Reference to its early publication is made in the Young Idea, October, 1872.

1873