ALEXANDER CONTEE HANSON, FEDERALIST PARTISAN

By Joseph Herman Schauinger

He was not great, but at least was colorful, and at times even volcanic. He killed his man, a naval officer in the days of the Code. He was almost killed himself when, with a few companions, in a stronghold much less defensible than the Alamo, he attempted to fight a Baltimore mob. Elected to Congress as a Federalist during the War of 1812, it was a very obscure Republican who did not have at least one row with the fiery, swashbuckling, Alexander C. Hanson.

It is sometimes thought that the Federalists were confined to New England. Perhaps this may be ascribed to the works of Henry Adams, or perhaps to the power and virulence of the "Essex Junto." At any rate, it is an error, for there were many prominent men of the South who were Federalists. It might almost be said that most of the Federalists of the South were prominent, because the majority of the people there were Republicans. A few of the more outstanding Federalists in the South were John Marshall, Bushrod Washington, and James Breckinridge of Virginia, John Steele, William R. Davie, and William Gaston of North Carolina, Philip B. Key and A. C. Hanson of Maryland.

Hanson was born at Annapolis on February 27, 1786, the second son of Rebecca (Howard) Hanson and the Maryland jurist of Revolutionary fame, after whom he was named. In 1802 he was graduated from St. John's College, and began the practice of law soon afterwards in his native town. In 1808 he founded the Federal Republican, a newspaper that was soon to establish a reputation as the most violent of the anti-administration papers. With the founding of this paper Hanson moved upon the national scene.

His policy was simple; attack the administration in any and every way; show that the Jeffersonians had sold out to France and were supporting Napoleon; that the last hope of civilization, law, and order was old Mother England.

Josephine Fisher's research has proven that Hanson's paper was extensively used by the British Minister, Francis J. Jackson, to counteract the activity of the anti-British party in this country.¹ Hanson became very intimate with Jackson, carried on a voluminous

¹ Josephine Fisher, "Francis James Jackson and Newspaper Propaganda in the United States, 1809-1810," Maryland Historical Magazine, XXX, 93-113.

correspondence with him concerning American affairs, asked him for English newspapers, and even solicited articles for use in the Federal Republican. On that cold, grey morning in early January of 1810 when Hanson set out to settle his affair of honor with Captain Gordon, Jackson was informed, so that he would know why his letters might not be answered at once.

As the war clouds moved nearer and assumed a more threatening aspect the *Federal Republican* rained abuse upon Madison and his crowd.

"... There is scarcely an act of tyranny and oppression complained of against George the Third which has not been committed by Jefferson and his political pimp... whiffling Jemmy," was a characteristic shaft aimed by Hanson.²

Such quips aroused the ire of the most disreputable class in Baltimore. When war was declared against England in June of 1812 Hanson became, if possible, even more pro-British. This was more than Baltimore could stand. In July a howling crowd moved upon the offices of the paper. With the aid of a few friends and a hastily erected barricade the mob was resisted for a time. However, after an interlude, it moved upon the few Federalists with more success. The mayor had stood by, unwilling or unable to quell the disorder. It was finally agreed that the heroic defenders of the liberty of the press should be confined to the city jail for safekeeping. On the way to this doubtful sanctuary the mob surged in, with the result that most of the band were severely injured. General Henry Lee was killed, and Hanson badly hurt. After this affair the paper was removed to Georgetown.

Hanson was elected a Congressman to the Thirteenth Congress, which convened May 24, 1813. Here he was able to continue his fulminations. To his brother Federalists he was a victorious martyr. "Black Dan" Webster, who had just been elected to his first national post in this Congress, wrote that "Hanson is a great hero." On another occasion Webster wrote that action upon a certain measure would be delayed until the arrival of Hanson. However, beyond quarreling and making ardent speeches Hanson could do nothing, for the legislature was in the very capable hands of Henry Clay and his fellow war-hawks. As a matter of fact, no one did anything in this Congress. The Federalists could do little more

¹ Federal Republican, July 4, 1811. Quoted in Bernard Mayo, Henry Clay: Spokesman of the West, p. 392. Mayo has many apt quotes from this paper.

than cry and bluster about the pro-French policy of the administration. Practically every Federalist speech was sounded on this note.

The fireworks began when the Republicans decided to exclude George Richards, the reporter for the Federal Republican, on the plea that there was no room for him.

Concerning this move Hanson said:

It is vain to expect to crush the spirit of opposition, to stifle opposition or investigation, change the nature of truth or shut out its light from people... for no matter what is done, still will the rays of truth pierce solid walls and shed its light on the land.... As yet there is no privileged order known to the written constitution. The press of this free country had no prefect set over it by law....*

This dispute occasioned his first Congressional quarrel. One of his colleagues, Robert Wright of Maryland, had accused the Federal Republican of being in the pay of Great Britain. In the course of his speech Hanson turned toward Wright with the remark that he forgot what he owed to himself in noticing the aspersions of this gentleman, but that he had no hesitation in pronouncing the charges of foreign influence against the paper a base calumny. He concluded by observing that Wright knew where to seek a remedy for any remarks he did not like. To this Wright replied that he still believed that the paper was "corruptly published, and that he was prepared to seal this belief with his blood." 4

Hanson then leaped to his feet and growled, "Now, Sir, once for all, I wish it to be distinctly understood, that nothing which can fall from that quarter (pointing to Wright), nothing which that member could think, utter, or do, can possibly disturb my breast. This is the first and last time I notice him."

However, his colleague had succeeded in disturbing him to the extent that he fell back exhausted into his seat. Hanson was never in good health after his escape from the Baltimore mob; his injuries had prematurely aged him. Compared to many of the other Federalists he did little talking in this Congress, for he could not stand it. His own statement bears this out. At the very beginning of the session he told the House that "being in such a state of extreme debility as to forbid any active, personal, or intellectual exertion" he would have little to say. After almost every speech of Hanson's appears the significant line—"Mr. H being completely exhausted." There is no doubt that he was a man of deep courage and character.

He could not still his fiery tongue when aroused by the more

* Ibid., p. 118.

⁸ Annals of Congress, 13 Cong. 1 sess., p. 113 (May 31, 1813).

active of the war-hawks. Two weeks after his row with Wright he launched an attack on "that damn Felix Grundy" of Tennessee, the ugly, acid-tongued frontiersman, whose chief occupation seemed to consist in irritating sensitive Federalists. Grundy had just concluded a sweeping defense of the administration. Hanson, in his usual manner, rose to the occasion, with the wish "to deprive of lawyer-like dexterity . . . and characteristic skill and cunning for which he understood the member stood unrivaled and pre-eminent in the highly civilized and refined state which honored the House with his presence here. . . . " ⁵

When he branded his opponent as "the apologist of France" he was called to order by the Speaker. Later, he very pointedly remarked that Grundy could set an example in and out of the House which would require a very stout heart to follow.

As before observed, the Federalists were concerned mainly with the French peril. In some way the editor of the Federal Republican obtained a letter which was supposed to have been written by the French Minister to the Secretary of State before the existing war. It was declared to be of a most insulting nature; practically dictating the terms which the United States would have to meet before France would negotiate a treaty of commerce. The Federalists accused the administration of trying to conceal the existence of the letter. Hanson tried to force some sort of Congressional investigating committee to act on it. He even drew up a resolution to cause an investigation as to how he had obtained the letter. All this was of no avail. The Republicans were having enough trouble without bothering with this. In any event, it contained too much dynamite for them to explode. Every resolution concerning it was defeated. William Gaston of North Carolina had the contents of the letter read into the records, but this was all.

During the course of the debate on this question Hanson practically challenged Jonathan Roberts of Pennsylvania, whom he accused of introducing a bill containing an implication against his honor and veracity.

Even the gentlemanly South Carolinian, John C. Calhoun, had to bow to Hanson's anger. Of this gentleman the latter said,

... It was this same bold and false prophet who led us into Canada to conquer free trade and sailors' rights; and such is the sanguine nature of the late Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, that I have no doubt even now he would contract, if he could find security for the forfeiture, to

⁵ Ibid., p. 251.

capture in six weeks, more or less, the whole British army and deliver them, bound hand and foot, at the Capitol. . . . ^a

Finally, not even the capital itself was proof against his sarcasm and temper. When the bill to remove the capital was being debated—after the British had marched through and fired some of the public buildings—Hanson moved that further consideration of the motion be indefinitely postponed, and in the concise words of the reporter:

Supported his motion by a speech the substance of which was, that though he entertained very great contempt for the citizens of Washington, which he expressed in the most pointed language, he was opposed to a removal at this moment, as being derogatory to the national dignity and honor.

His enemies probably thought that he was never satisfied unless quarreling with someone. It must be admitted that he did not show himself to best advantage in debate. To his friends he revealed the better side; both must be taken into consideration to obtain a complete picture of the man. The Federalist from North Carolina, William Gaston, made many friends while in this Congress. Among these was numbered Hanson. The following letter to Gaston not only throws more light upon his character, but also contains interesting material on the time.

To Hon. William Gaston

Geotown May 19, 1814

My dear Sir:

After an absence of more than three weeks, I am once more seated in my big chair. But after the incessant rains that have fallen this month of May it was in vain to attempt bringing my family home with me. I have left them road bound in the neighborhood of the city of toleration and sound

principles—you will understand at once I mean Baltimore.

My brother was quite mortified at not seeing you. Grosvenor and Lovett were still with him when I arrived, and they stayed another day. Poor Lovett; he has lost his office, through the treachery of the Clinton party who left us in a body on the day of election. It is just what I expected. Clinton's play was to throw the game into the hands of the democrats that Mr. King might be beaten, and thus he would have it believed there is no chance of his being the next President. What a corrupt, intriguing set they are in N. York. I have written to Grosvenor beseeching him to leave the State. He half promised me that he would when he left, but Hoffman, Gardenier, & the rest of the clan I know will teaze and laugh him out of it. I should take it I am not now in the best possible odeur with the Clinton party, and after what has passed upon the bank question, it is reasonable to conclude my standing is not much better with the King party—between two stools.

⁷ Annals, 13 Cong., 3 sess., p. 322.

^{*}W. M. Meigs, Life of John C. Calhoun, I, 217.

After all our sad vaticinations to the contrary you see 10 millions of the loan are taken, but upon the most ruinous terms. It is expressed in the certificates of stock that the new creditors shall be placed upon the footing with any future creditors. In this way—if the next loan goes off at 80, then the subscribers to the 10 million are to have \$8 paid back to them. Thus will all the holders of the new stock be interested in crying down the next loan, a premium being given to them to preach national distress, embarrass the financial operations of the government, and to compel the Secretary of the Treasure to sell at the worst possible terms. They have only to throw a quantity of the stock into the market, and make feigned sales to depress the stock, and then they demand to be reimbursed in the difference between the new and the last loan. This is very like killing the goose to get all the golden eggs at once. Campbell has succeeded, by attaching this privilege to the stock, in relieving the present wants of the treasury, but he has effectually destroyed all hope of disposing of the balance of the 25 million authorized to be borrowed. The very men who would otherwise be relied on to assist the treasure, even the speculators will find their interest in combining against the treasure.

If you were here, or within striking distance where I could get at you, I would hunt you out that I might give you a cordial grip of congratulation on the news from France. Castlereagh in Paris negotiating with the Senate of France after a grand battle before the gates of Paris and Bonaparte left with 45,000 men. Moreau was killed before the walls of Dresden and his aid Rappatelle fell before the barriers of Paris. It is curious. I knew the latter, but cannot say much of him. The former I never admired, because it was within his power to have prevented all the blood that has been shed from flowing, but he had neither the talent, spirit or ambition to prevent mischief or do great good. Perhaps it is because I hate all the French. Lord Nelson said "there is no other way to reason with a Frenchman but to knock him down." I should knock the whole nation down if it were with me and there wasn't any other way of preserving the balance of power in Europe. I got the news through little Payne,8 the American Roscius, whom you have heard me speak of, as having raised funds for him to go to England to improve himself in his profession. His three letters are very interesting and if franking season was not gone by I would enclose them for

Come, here is a sort of beginning to our correspondence so you have no excuse for not writing to me.

Yrs. most truly & sincerely, Alex. C. Hanson

Several of Hanson's facts concerning the new loan were inaccurate, but his conclusions were correct. Madison obtained but a

⁸ John Howard Payne, actor, dramatist and author of "Home, Sweet Home." He had many friends in Baltimore, where he first appeared on the stage in 1809, among whom were William Gwynn, editor of the Federal Gazette, Jonathan Meredith, successful attorney, and Hanson. Through the efforts of these and other friends a fund of \$2000 was raised to enable Payne to display his talents as an actor in England. A young man of 22, he sailed in January, 1813, to be gone, as it happened, for twenty years.—Editor.

small-part of the money needed, and general bankruptcy at length occurred. Campbell had to resign and the President was compelled to call a special session of Congress. As usual Hanson revealed in this letter his proclivity to deal harshly with his enemies. A month later he wrote again to Gaston. In this letter he set forth the usual Federalist position concerning our relations with England, but in his analysis of the French situation he was remarkably farsighted. He foresaw the return of Bonaparte.

To Hon. Will Gaston

Geo.-town June 12, 1814

My Dr. Sir,

Your letter gave me infinite satisfaction. It was so long coming tho that I had thought you had ceased to bear in mind that there was such a being on earth as humble me. It is the nature of friendship and affection to be

suspicious and jealous.

My sole occupation is riding, reading and writing. Of what is called pleasure, I take nothing, and never leave the house unless it is to take an airing in the gig. I am too weak to ride on horseback. An attack of the old complaint a fortnight ago has made me quite feeble. If you ever read the paper, you will acknowledge that in the scribbling way at least I have not been idle. The confection of paragraphs is my evenings amuzements tho they are always crude and often badly put together. Tomorrow's county paper would have informed you of the receipt of your letter. A sentence being borrowed from it contained the acknowledgment.

You ask for my opinion of the effect of the Revolution in Europe upon American affairs. It will be collected from the suggestions given in the paper. I consider and treat as idle all apprehensions of the enemy's rising in his demands upon us. The truth is no demands have ever been made upon this govt. The British only require a recognition of their own rights. She simply claims the right to the service of her own subjects—to take them on a common jurisdiction, and to punish them according to their own law when found in arms against their own country within its acknowledged jurisdiction. Add the dispute about what constitutes a blockade according to public law and you comprize in a narrow compass the whole matter in conversy. Can there exist a doubt in the mind of any candid man who has attended to the course of measures pursued here and the pretensions set up by Mr. Madison that he has been from the beginning in the wrong. He must give up the question of the hostages, in place of the French definition of blockade, he must conform to that of the writers on the law of nations, and he must abandon the claim of employing and protecting British subjects. Until this is done, every call upon the minority to support the war must be disregarded if they are firm, consistent, and true to themselves and country. When the documents are published, should it appear that an honest and sincere effort was made at Gettsburg to renew the relations of amity and peace without effect, and that after yielding every point which we

^{*} See Henry Adams, History of the United States, VIII, 212-215, for details of the loan,

say ought to be yielded, the British urged new claims striking at the honor, rights or sovereignty of the nation, then I say, let the only contest among Americans be who shall go furtherest in their maintenance and vindication. But I have no idea of prolonging the war for the right to trade with the British Islands, her East India possessions, or to take fish within her jurisdiction or to strike and dry them on her territory, for the simple reason because we have no such right. We must rely upon her good will to extend to us these privileges and advantages. If she no longer feels any good will for us, we must be content with securing our rights. The comparative strength and resources of the two countries make it altogether idle & fruitless to fight for an advantageous treaty, so we must be content with what will be considered an honourable one. Am I wrong? Tell me if you think so and assign the reasons for your differing in opinion. But I have no idea now of our being placed in any situation of difficulty as a party, in deciding how to act. We have gone over the ground so often, and every Federalist has his lesson so well by heart that I apprehend no blundering, or "getting out" as they say at school. We all know our duty, and I trust will be prompt and dauntless in discharging it. Still the necessity exists of making regular appeals to the people. The pen of every man who can write should be put in requisition. Now is the time to rise upon our adversaries. We should strike every moment while the furnace is in blast & the iron can be kept hot. As a party we stand upon the most elevated ground. Besides justice, honor and everything else that can recommend a cause, Providence seems to be on our side. But we must nevertheless put our shoulders to the wheel or Hercules will not help us. Suppose you and Stanley brush up the N. C. Fed. Rep. by taking advantage of circumstances & the times you may get the State with you.

I am in a prodigious great hurry but I must say a word or two about the affairs of France. Don't you think Louis will be insecure with all the late creatures of Bonaparte in office and about his person. No doubt numbers of these persons were tired of their master and desired a change, but the majority of them were attached to him. They were all compelled to bow to circumstances, but I have not a doubt that in less than a twelvemonth we shall hear of conspiracies against the Bourbons. If Bonaparte is not taken off by poison or the dagger, living at Elba upon his immense annuity, he will be visited there either openly or clandestinely, at any rate he will be corresponded with, and some desperate wretches may be induced by the expectation of great gain to massacre the whole Royal family. Let it then be announced that Bonaparte had landed and the terror of his name would prevent everything like resistance. This is the beginning very soon to augur evil, but really I can see nothing like safety for the Bourbons surrounded as they are by the murderers of Louis XVI & the late creatures of Bonaparte and he too alive. Had the dethronement of Bonaparte been a matter of choice with the Senate Legislative body, his Generals and armies it would have been totally different, but as it is he will carry the hearts of thousands into banishment with him. I hope I may be mistaken but am almost certain, without a great change in the officers, civil & military, there will be no repose for poor Louis. As Burke says there will continue a disposition to hope for much from the variety and inconstancy of villainy, rather then the tiresome uniformity of fixed principles, but he describes Louis XVIII as a man of general knowledge, of sharp and keen observation,

of gracious and princely manners. Monsieur Comte d'Artois he says is eloquent lively, engaging in the highest degree of a decided character, full of energy and activity in a word he presumes him a brave hon'ble & accomplished Cavalier. This gives me some hopes, but as long as Napoleon is alive there will be no counting on the permanency of the French Government. I should like to meet you in Richmond in October to spend a few days together. Let me know when you will come on.

My family all desire to be remembered to you . . .

Your friend. A. C. Hanson

However, with the end of the war Hanson began to drift away from the Federalist party, and by 1815 was in sharp conflict with it. He felt that it had not supported his paper as vigorously as possible. Rufus King, the nominal leader of the Federalists, tried to placate him, but to no avail. In 1815 King wrote Hanson, among other things, that

Of your zeal, your disinterested views and correct principles I have the most entire conviction; of your devotedness to these principles no proofs are wanting; for the honor of our country they are already too strong. The injury done to your property has been great; and further sacrifices, should they be necessary, no one seems to have a right to call upon you to make. I know that you can never compromise your well settled opinions, and I am mistaken if, at this period of your life, you can much abate in your laudable zeal to explain them; still the interest of your own independance and the comfort of a beloved family ought not to be neglected.10

Later in the same year King wrote to Christopher Gore about Hanson, saying:

. . . I have recd. a letter from Hanson on the subject concerning which you had one or two conferences with him-He is very much mortified and dissatisfied—appears to entertain strong resentments agt. Mason, suspects Webster and Easton, conceives that he has been unfairly treated, that his standing and character are struck at, and that his own and family's ruin is aimed at. It is more than probable that his pecuniary affairs have been neglected; that while his expenses have been certain and great in circulating his paper, the income has been far short of what it shd have been, and would have been under the direction of a man, who understood the value of money, and who would bestow the proper care on the money department. Anyone who knows Hanson must know that he has feelings and sentiments which disqualify him for that sort of attention wh. is indispensable in collecting the annual subscriptions. . . . Hanson thinks his political friends in his own state have been shy of him. To a meeting of the leaders held some time since, preparatory to the fall election, Hanson alone of the Fed. members of Congress, was omitted in the invitation; this has increased his dissatisfaction. . . . In my answer to his letter, I took pains to soothe his feelings, but declined any agency respecting the disposal of his paper. . . . 11

¹⁰ King to Hanson, May 28 (1815), Correspondence of Rufus King, ed. by Chas. King, V, 480 n. 11 Ibid., V, 479-482.

King did not succeed in soothing Hanson as the following letter to his good friend, Robert G. Harper, will attest.

September 22, 1815

My dear Sir,

When I first became enamoured of political pursuits, it was my delight to contrast the publick and private qualities in general composing the two parties. I considered federalism all that was pure, disinterested and exalted and democracy exactly the reverse. Experience has shown me that the shades of difference between the two parties are but slight, with some few distinguished exceptions among the prominent men on both sides. The complaints which the stolen letter has given rise to have disgusted me more than any recent event. The sentiments expressed in it, were those entertained and expressed by every man of the party, at the period of its date. We all rejoiced at the peace, and that it had been brought about by the relinquishment of those pretentions which the supporters of administration knew to be extravagant and untenable. To rejoice because these pretentions were abandoned was no more than rejoicing at the peace, because without their abandonment peace was unattainable. And may it not be asked, if the Democrats themselves did not rejoice in their abandonment when by illuminations and feasts they testified their frantic joy at the termination of the war? By the very terms of the treaty, our claims upon the subject of impressment, were in effect withdrawn and disavowed, and the administration declares the treaty to be honorable, which in other words is nothing less than an acknowledgement of their being always in the wrong on this great question. I have not therefore been able to perceive the "imprudence" of your "unfortunate letter." But notwithstanding, full one-half of the Federalists with whom I have conversed say, if the election is lost, it will be owing to the "unfortunate letter" which it would have been better to disavow—that is, it would have been better for the federal party to disclaim such sentiments, and to have left the writer in the lurch, in other words to have offered him up as a victim to popular clamour and delusion. Such is Baltimore federalism, and such the principle of many of that city, but governed by its influence. It would seem almost a vain hope for a party to get along when composed of such materials.

I proved now [sic] to the first object of my letter when I sat down to write. I am making arrangements to remove the Federal Republican back to the place of its activity [nativity?]. My motives for this step are strong as regards my own interest, and I am induced to think the public will be likewise benefitted. As relates to my own interest, there can be no doubt of its being materially promoted. I am now convinced that no federal journal can more than support itself at the seat of government. The patronage it has to subsist on is too remote, the District itself never affording enough to defray the expense of ink, candles, and paste. In a commercial city like Baltimore, whose population is now overflowing and continually increasing, a paper which could carry with it more than 3000 subscribers from other parts of the Union, would soon prove a handsome fortune. The city patronage would nearly pay the expenses leaving the remainder clear gain. Besides the Federal Republican would enjoy in Baltimore the same advantages it does at Georgetown—to wit, the correspondence of

of Congress and the first publication of all the opposition speeches. There can-be no question, whatever might be the coldness of its reception at first or the opposition made to it by the friends of the paper which has started up in Baltimore since its absence, it would soon find a circulation corresponding with my wishes. If I could afford to lose what I have invested in the paper, I would let it fall, rather than carry it back to Baltimore, for a few months of rural luxury and ease has taught me the value of retirement and tranquillity. But my duty to my family requires a continuance of those exertions which have so far enabled me to pass through life without experiencing the contempt and scorn which follow poverty.

I think the cause would also be benefitted. That mean servile temporizing spirit which has spread much since June 1812 ought to be written down,

or brought into contempt, by example of firmness, consistency and intrepidity. Federalism in Baltimore is in a state of bondage and the wishy-washy paragraphs of the Telegraph however to be admired for the smoothness and beauty of their style are not calculated [to rouse] the party to an effort to break its chains. I wish your opinion upon this subject given in that spirit of candor and frankness which belongs to a friendship such as that which has long subsisted between us. Will you have the goodness to consult Mr. Oliver and such other gentlemen as you think entitled to be advised on this subject. Some that I had an opportunity to converse with, when I was in town a few days ago, were bold to say, the paper ought to have been formally invited back to Baltimore immediately upon the restoration of peace—that there was no other way of wiping off the stain that had been cast upon the party. I desire no such invitation; all I desire is, to be allowed to take back the paper without having its old friends among its new enemies. The sooner I hear from this subject the better. I am impatient to make the change.

The loss of Vermont in addition to the unfavorable result in North Carolina destroys Mr. King's hopes. I now see no other chance of putting down Monroe but to take up Clinton. I understand he can always secure his own state with the aid of the federal party, and that Vermont has always been at his disposal. I suppose he understands buying as well as Monroe, and will have the same fund at his command, with this exception,

that his antagonist will be able, in part, to pay in advance.

Your friend sincerely, A. C. Hanson, 12

Mr. Harper

Hanson's feeble health did not permit much more activity. He left the House in 1816. The following year he was appointed to the Senate, to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of his friend, Harper. He did very little here, for his poor health soon resulted in death, which occurred April 23, 1819.

It is hoped that these letters of Hanson will throw a little more light upon his erratic character.

¹³ Galloway, Markoe, Maxcy Collection, Library of Congress.

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