

Online Appendices

Influences, Brief Biographies, and Excursuses

Nota bene. The bibliography for these appendices overlaps considerably with the bibliography in the printed volume which these appendices accompany. Therefore, it seemed best to include the bibliography for these appendices in the bibliography of that volume. If a source is used only in these appendices, it is marked with an asterisk in the bibliography in the printed volume.

Persons, places and things mentioned in the appendices have not been included in the index in the printed volume. However, items indexed in the printed volume that are also mentioned in these appendices are indicated by the following abbreviations and can be pursued in the appropriate appendix:

A1 = Appendix I, Influences

A2 = Appendix II, Brief Biographies

A3 = Appendix III, Excursuses

Appendix I

Influences That Formed the Characters of the Correspondents

Kennett Square, the Longwood Progressive Meeting, and Abolitionism. ET grew up at Hazeldell just off the Unionville Road, now S.R. 82, in East Marlborough Township about a half mile north of Kennett Square. The house still stands on Spottswood Lane. Her brother John Howard Taylor's (JHT) fine house Spottswood stands next door to Hazeldell. Her brother BT's Italianate mansion Cedarcroft, a registered national landmark, stands just across S.R. 82 on Gatehouse Drive. ET lived at Cedarcroft throughout the Civil War. CBL grew up at Hornblende Hill, a house that still stands (on about 105 of its original acres¹) a half mile southeast of the center of Kennett Square in Kennett Township at the intersection of M^cFarlan Road and Hillendale Road East.

Kennett Square is in Chester County, one of the three original counties laid out by William Penn in 1682.² The county was settled by British Quakers and German Lutherans. ET's grandfather John Taylor was a Quaker, and her grandmother Ann Bucher, a Lutheran. John Taylor was expelled from the Society of Friends for his marriage outside the meeting, just as CBL years later was expelled for his marriage to ET.³ BT's novel *The Story of Kennett*, set in

¹ Conveyed to me by the owner, Mr. George Whiteside, when I visited Hornblende Hill 21 February 2004. The name of the house is given in the dateline to ETLPP, RHL to CBL, 30 May 1861.

² *HCCP*, 21.

³ *OTC*, 62, and ETLPP, CBL to Overseers of the Kennett Monthly Meeting, 25 February 1871, and 25 May 1871.

the 1790s in Kennett and East Marlborough Townships, conveys the stifling formality of Quaker culture a hundred years and more after settlement.

However, Quaker life in the early nineteenth century was no longer stable. Delaware Valley Quakers divided into two meetings in 1827, going into schism over the teachings of Elias Hicks (1748-1830). Hicks was an eloquent preacher of an extreme quietism “tinged with liberalism”. His followers, the Hicksites, tended to be rural Friends, who were less affected than urban Friends by contemporary evangelicalism, and who remained more loyal to the older character of the Society, especially its devotion to the “indwelling Christ.” The smaller but more influential urban group was known as the Orthodox Friends.⁴ CBL’s father was a Hicksite, while Lamborn relations in Philadelphia, notably the successful merchant Townsend Sharpless, were Orthodox. In fact, it was a source of pleasure and pride to RL when, on a visit to Philadelphia in 1861, Sharpless took him to the Orthodox meeting.⁵

The Kennett Hicksites suffered a schism in 1853, when some radical members of the sect, indignant at the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 and impatient with contemporary Quaker hierarchy, left to establish the Progressive Friends’ Meeting. RPL’s brother-in-law and sister, John and Hannah Peirce Cox, donated land for a meeting house near Kennett at Longwood, which was erected in 1854 and 1855.⁶ The meeting house now houses the Brandywine Valley Tourist

⁴ J. William Frost, “Years of Crisis and Separation: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1700-1860,” in *Friends in the Delaware Valley: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1681-1991*, ed. John M. Moore (Haverford, PA: Friends Historical Association, 1991), 63-86.

⁵ ETLPP, RL to CBL, 16 April 1861. A. McElroy, *McElroy’s Philadelphia City Directory for 1861* (Philadelphia: E.C. & J. Biddle & Co., 1861), 888, lists Sharpless as a gentleman, with business interests at 801 & 803 Chestnut Street, dwelling at 1209 Arch Street. 801 & 803 Chestnut Street was the address of Sharpless Bros., dry goods merchants.

⁶ On the Progressive Friends, see Thomas E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 175-176, and Albert J. Wahl, “The Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends,” *Pennsylvania History* 25 (1988): 122-136. For the strong Northern reaction against the Fugitive Slave Law see *BCF*, 78-91. Castner Hanway, who married in succession two nieces of RL, and who was a founder of the Progressive Friends, was involved in the famous Christiana Riot of 1851. True to his principles, he refused to aid a federal marshal to arrest the escaped slaves who were at the center of the riot, as he was required to do by federal

Information Center just outside the famous Longwood Gardens. The DuPonts bought Longwood from Pierce descendants. The house where RPL grew up still stands in the Gardens.

Albert J. Wahl argues that the Progressive Friends' "movement represented the confluence of the same four elements— mysticism, prophetism, perfectionism, and universalism— which made primitive Quakerism such a potent religion." Yet his own analysis of the movement indicates that the Progressive Friends were more of a piece with the reform movements that originated during the Second Great Awakening in Upstate New York than with the enthusiasts of the first generation of the Society of Friends. Abolition, women's rights, temperance, and tobacco were their main concerns. The religious beliefs of the Progressives began in an optimistic universalism and ended in spiritualism.⁷

The Lamborns were particularly active in the Longwood Meeting, but the Taylors supported it, too, as many liberal non-Quakers did. The Lamborns and Taylors are all buried in the Longwood Meeting Cemetery. BT's novel *Hannah Thurston* (1863), set in the "burned over" district of Upstate New York, can be read as a satire on such reformers as the Longwood Progressives. In the novel the feminist Quaker heroine gradually, and against her will, falls in love with a cultured, skeptical, conservative gentleman. Not only women's rights, but also the

law. Hanway was tried for treason against the United States, but was acquitted. See Jonathan Katz, *Resistance at Christiana, The Fugitive Slave Rebellion, Christiana, Pennsylvania, September 11, 1851, A Documentary Account* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1974), and W.U. Hensel, *The Christiana Riot and the Treason Trials of 1851, An Historical Sketch ...*, 2nd & rev. ed. (Lancaster, PA: Press of the New Era Printing Company, 1911). The miller mentioned at BCF, 85, was Hanway.

⁷ See Wahl, "Progressive Friends," 136, 127, 128-132. Hannah Peirce Cox practiced spiritualism. See Letter 95 (ET to CBL, 17 December 1862). RL, RPL, and RHL were active on Longwood committees on temperance, tobacco, correspondence, education, and reform. See Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends. Held at Longwood, Chester County ...* (New York: John F. Trow, Printer, 1855), 5; *ibid.* (1856), 5 & 6; *ibid.* (1857), 10, and *ibid.* (1858), 7. In 1857 the Longwood Meeting adopted a position on spiritualism, suggesting it as the mean between traditional theology and materialism. The position was confirmed two years later. See *ibid.* (1857), 33-36, and *ibid.* (1859), 31. On Quaker enthusiasm, see Ronald Knox, *Enthusiasm, A Chapter in the History of Religion* (1950; reprint, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 139-175.

crusades against alcohol and tobacco are gently mocked. Mary Grew, a famous Philadelphia feminist and abolitionist, a connection of the Lamborns and Taylors, condemned *Hannah Thurston* as an “immoral” book.⁸

The Underground Railroad, which was especially active in Chester County, found many agents among the Progressive Friends. The great Wilmington, Delaware, stationmaster Thomas Garrett became a Progressive Friend. Between 1830 and 1863 he sent over 2,700 runaway slaves north to his friends in Chester County, whence they were conveyed east to Philadelphia. “Of the 107 agents whose religion is known,” observes William C. Kashatus, “45 belonged to the Longwood Meeting.” All would have been known to the Lamborns and Taylors, many were connected by blood or marriage.⁹ Though considered “cracked” by their Hicksite neighbors,¹⁰ these radical reformers had a lasting and positive impact on the great moral issue of the day.

Weimar Classicism and Transcendentalism. ET, CFT, and CBL attended school together for only one year that we know of: 1853 to 1854. This year is indicated by a gap in the record of CBL’s letters home from various boarding schools and from university. Letters and a report card survive from his time at Ercildoun Boarding School. These were written during the summer and fall of 1852. Letters also survive from Hopewell Academy,¹¹ written in the winter of 1854-1855. Finally, letters survive from the University of Michigan, written in the winters of 1855 and 1857.

⁸ See ETLPP, ET to CBL, 9 April 1864.

⁹ On the Underground Railroad in Chester County, see William C. Kashatus, *Just Over the Line: Chester County and the Underground Railroad* (West Chester, PA: Chester County Historical Society, 2002). The quotation is from p. 92. A list of agents is found on 94-96. Information on Garrett can be found on 49-51, and in the caption to Figure 31. CBL mentions Garrett’s sending runaways to Hornblende Hill: Letter 141 (CBL to ET, 14 April 1864). The owner of Hornblende Hill in 2004 (see In above) told me that there is an old sub-cellar in the house with a tunnel leading out to the well house.

¹⁰ Wahl, “Progressive Friends,” 126.

¹¹ Although CBL did not give the name of the school in his letters, certain clues lead to the name, found in *HCCP*, 306.

The gap between CBL's Ercildoun and Hopewell letters suggests that he was in school at Kennett Square in 1853 and 1854.

The school was the Institute for Teachers, a normal school opened in 1852 by Dr. Franklin Taylor, a younger cousin of ET's father and a European traveling companion of her brother BT.¹² In establishing a normal school, Dr. Taylor was at the forefront of educational theory and practice in his day.¹³ The Institute curriculum included "the Classical and Modern Languages, the Natural Sciences, History, the elementary and higher branches of Mathematics, and such other studies as pertain to a liberal education." The latter certainly included geography and art.¹⁴ Dr. Taylor's curriculum built on the education his students had already had. We glimpse this education in CBL's surviving Ercildoun report card. The subjects taught were orthography and definitions, reading, writing, grammar, rhetoric, composition, geography, physiology, natural philosophy, chemistry, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, mensuration, surveying, and astronomy.¹⁵ To this foundation Franklin Taylor added ancient and modern languages and literatures, as well as history. The students read both Virgil and Goethe in the original languages. Dr. Taylor's lectures on history covered the whole sweep of western

¹² *HCCP*, 306, identifies the school as a normal school, but says it was established in West Chester. *RFY*, 14, says the school was established in Kennett Square. "In 1850 or '52 Dr. Frank (we must call him Dr. now, for he had studied in Heidelberg and in Paris and deserved the title), began to lecture throughout the country, in school houses and halls ... It was not very long before he decided to open a school in Kennett Square for young men and women in higher branches. Many of his pupils had been teachers in Friends' or Quaker schools throughout the county." An advertisement for the school in the *West Chester Register and Examiner*, 9 December 1854 confirms ET's memory. *RFY*, 16, reports that CBL and CFT went to Michigan in 1853 and 1854. I think ET here confused the year they studied with her in Kennett Square for the year they went west.

¹³ R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence A. Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1953), 286-287.

¹⁴ The quotation is from the advertisement in the *West Chester Register and Examiner*, 9 December 1854 (above 12n.). The curriculum is also described, except for history and Greek, in *RFY*, 14-17. In ETLPP a small notebook survives, containing ET's notes on Dr. Taylor's history lectures in the summer of 1854. ETLPP, CFT to CBL, 9 February 1855, indicates that he knew some Greek, learned, one presumes, in Dr. Taylor's school.

¹⁵ ETLPP, Ercildoun Boarding School report card for CBL for May, 1852.

civilization. Thus, Dr. Taylor provided a cultural refinement and a view of life with which the dry bones of his students' earlier education might live.

Dr. Taylor's biography suggests the important philosophical influences on his view of life: New England Transcendentalism and the Weimar Classicism of Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749-1832) and Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805), itself an influence on Transcendentalism. With the former Dr. Taylor would have become familiar when, as a young man, he studied law for two years at Harvard University. Contemporary German thought, so deeply influenced by Goethe and Schiller, he would have learned when he finished his education at Heidelberg University in the Grand Duchy of Baden. His interest in European educational theory also calls to mind the influence of Weimar Classicism, as one of the two great influences on German educational reform at the time was Wilhelm von Humboldt, for a while head of the Prussian Ministry of Culture and Instruction, who was "inspired by the classical idealism of the Weimar period."¹⁶ Finally, the inclusion in the Institute curriculum of classical authors and of Goethe, all in the original languages, reveals a serious interest in the literature and ideals of the Weimar period.

The New England and German influences which formed Dr. Taylor's mind were also felt powerfully by BT. Indeed, BT was associated with such Transcendentalist luminaries as Ralph Waldo Emerson and George Ripley, and was good friends with George William Curtis, who had lived at Brook Farm, the Transcendentalist experiment in communal living.¹⁷ But BT's deepest love was Weimar Classicism. "[I]n this he stood for the time-spirit, for more than any other country the Americans admired Germany for two generations. The Transcendentalists of New

¹⁶ Christopher Dawson, *The Crisis of Western Education* (1961; reprint, Steubenville, OH: Franciscan University Press, 1997), 64-66. Taylor's Harvard studies are mentioned in *DLN*, 17 April 1890.

¹⁷ On Curtis, see *RE*, 243, and *L&L*, 285, 373, 382, & 726. On Emerson and Ripley, see *L&L*, 176, 183, 542, 567, & 568. For mention of a visit of Emerson to Cedarcroft, see Letter 211 (ET to CBL, 3 November 1864), and Letter 214 (ET to CBL, 6 November 1864).

England had popularized German literature, while Germany was the model for America in education, and typical Americans like Mark Twain were to idolize Germany ...” In fact, the “most brilliant achievement of a crowded career” was BT’s translation of Goethe’s *Faust*.¹⁸ For years, too, BT planned a joint life of Goethe and Schiller, which he had just undertaken to write when he died. BT also lectured on Schiller,¹⁹ and his love of Schiller seems to have been shared by ET and CFT. ET kept a bust of Schiller in her room at Cedarcroft,²⁰ while CFT wrote an essay on Schiller when he was at the University of Michigan. This essay contains a striking observation. “It was under such circumstances [in the ducal school] that the ‘Robbers’ [Schiller’s first play] was produced, when he was only in his nineteenth year—it was the expression of his own bold and free spirit, which had been so long under fetters.”²¹ Such an admiration for boldness and freedom was complementary to the passionate activism of the Longwood Progressives, and was a further influence on the children raised at Hornblende Hill and at Hazeldell.

Classics and the Heroic. In February, 1855, CFT wrote CBL at Hopewell Academy to invite him to join him in a plan. CFT, inspired by Greek history, had decided to become a scholar, and was “going East” to college.²² That fall the two young men went west instead to the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. Under Dr. Henry P. Tappan, elected president of the university in 1852, Michigan had modernized American higher education on the model of the German university. At Michigan he offered two programs, the classical curriculum and the

¹⁸ The two quotations are from Van Wyck Brooks, *The Times of Melville and Whitman*, (1947; New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, Everyman's Library 648A, 1953), 35.

¹⁹ See *L&L*, 197, 542, 544, 554, & 762.

²⁰ See Letters 39 and 54 (ET to CBL, 13 September 1861, omitted portion, and 12 December 1861). ET also translated German poetry.

²¹ ETLPP, signed and dated 19 December 1857, and thus written at the University of Michigan, as a pencil-note (with the wrong date) states on the first page.

²² ETLPP, CFT to CBL, “Sunday before New Years” 1854, and 9 February 1855.

scientific curriculum, which prepared men for leadership in an industrializing society. BT spoke at the university in 1859, and one suspects that, with his love of all things German, he had considerable influence on CFT and CBL in their decision to apply there.²³

CFT had already settled on a classical education, and it appears from CBL's familiarity with the classical languages and from his classical allusions, that he too must have pursued the classical curriculum.²⁴ At this point, a new influence emerges: the heroic. We see it clearly in a letter of May, 1865 to CBL from an old fraternity brother, A.H. Pettibone. "Early in 63 my division joined the Army of Grant at Young's Point. Went through the Vicksburg Campaign and on the 4th of July we marched into the grand stronghold of the west—'All the while, 'Sorous metal blowing martial sounds'—" Here Major Pettibone—perhaps slightly ironically—sets the capture of Vicksburg in a heroic context. And later in the letter he depicts himself and another old fraternity brother, while they sat tearfully in the trenches before Mobile, like heroes—like Achilles and Priam lamenting Hector in the *Iliad*—recalling all their lost brothers. "I tried to talk with Elliot (Lt. Col. 33rd Ill) as we lay in the trenches only the other day at Spanish fort! His eyes swam and mine too ran over."²⁵ Thus, a heroic attitude to duty and death was the legacy of the classical curriculum to these young men.

Applied Science, Manufacturing, and Business. Yet before the Civil War CFT had left the university, and was on his way to becoming a successful farmer with a good head for

²³ Howard H. Peckham, *The Making of the University of Michigan, 1817-1967* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), 32-36, 38.

²⁴ ETLPP, CFT to CBL, 9 February 1855, and A.H. Pettibone to CBL, 10 May 1865. See also *TFP*, CFT to BT, 27 October 1857: "My studies this term are Latin (Horace) Greek (Thucydides, Homer & Grecian history) and geometry and Trigonometry together with exercises in declamation and writing essays."

²⁵ ETLPP, A.H. Pettibone to CBL, 10 May 1865. Of course, "Sorous metal blowing martial sounds" is Milton's line, and not Homer's or Virgil's, but the effect is heroic, even if it does apply to Satan and his legions. See *Paradise Lost* 1.540. On Pettibone, see further my unpublished paper "Maj. Augustus Herman Pettibone, Esq., UMich Class of 1858, A Letter."

business; and after the war CBL became a successful railroad man. Moreover, RHL was a metallurgist, and WJP conducted experiments with coal,²⁶ and both were also railroad men. Where did these seemingly contradictory, non-heroic capabilities come from? First, one must recall the education CBL received at Ercildoun. The curriculum was designed to produce a politician, a lawyer, a manufacturer, a merchant, a citizen-farmer.²⁷ These boys received a pragmatic elementary education, and it underlay the Romantic idealism and classical heroism of their later instruction.

Second, Kennett Square before the Civil War was a town of inventors and manufacturers, the most successful of whom were related to the Lamborns. These were Moses Pennock, RL's brother-in-law, and his sons Samuel and Morton. As George Massey relates,

Moses Pennock ... was a farmer and inventor, the first to invent and use the revolving horse rake which he patented in 1822. Two years later he invented and put into use the discharging hay rake, since universally used ... His ingenious son, Samuel Pennock (b. 1816), greatly improved his father's grain drill, and invented and patented the 'Iron Harvester', the first American mowing machine equipped with a cutter-bar that could be raised and lowered without the driver leaving his seat.²⁸

Samuel Pennock and his brother Morton established a firm called S. & M. Pennock & Sons in Kennett Square. In their shop, not far from Hornblende Hill, they manufactured the machines they invented. At the beginning of the Civil War, they also began building railroad

²⁶ See the brief biographies of CFT, CBL, RHL, and WJP in these online appendices.

²⁷ The practical orientation of American education at this time can be seen clearly, too, in the examination for his first teaching position undergone by the hero of BT's novel *John Godfrey's Fortunes, Related by Himself, A Story of American Life* (New York: G.P. Putnam; Hurd and Houghton, 1864), 136.

²⁸ George Valentine Massey, II, *The Pennocks of Primitive Hall* (West Chester, PA: Chester County Historical Society, 1951), 69. Primitive Hall, in West Marlborough Township, Chester County, on S.R. 841, is an historic site. Samuel's grandson Herbert Jefferis Pennock was a star pitcher and manager of the Philadelphia Phillies.

cars.²⁹ Moreover, at the northeastern edge of Kennett Square near Hazeldell was Bloomfield, home of the Chambers family, where the first circular saw in Chester County went into use at John Chambers' saw mill about 1835. The millwright's son Cyrus (b. 1833) "was a mechanical genius," according to his brother, who invented a paper-folding machine and a brick-making machine.³⁰ Thus, the pragmatic concerns and capacities of the ordinary Northerner were as well inculcated by the upbringing of the Hornblende Hill and Hazeldell children as the sacrificial idealism of the Progressive Friends, Transcendentalists, and Weimar Classicists.

Nor was such a juxtaposition of contrary qualities unusual among people of the Taylors and Lamborns' intellectual cultivation at that time. Perhaps the Civil War did erase idealism from the minds of such men in the Transcendentalist orbit as Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.;³¹ but before the war the pragmatic and the idealistic could exist in the same mind without contradiction.³²

²⁹ *KSq*, 61-62. This book calls Morton 'Mordecai', but the name Morton is established from ETLPP and from the Pennock genealogy in Samuel Lamborn, comp., *The Genealogy of the Lamborn Family ...* (Philadelphia: Press of M.L. Marion, 1894), 286.

³⁰ John T. Chambers, *Bloomfield, The Chambers Homestead at Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, Memories and Records, 1817-1870-1920* (n.p., n.d.), 38-41.

³¹ On Holmes, see Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club, A Story of Ideas in America* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002), 61. Richard Cary, *The Genteel Circle: Bayard Taylor and His New York Friends* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1952), 6, criticizes BT and his poet friends for their failure to abandon their ideals. "It is to their discredit that in spite of a blazing war, an industrial revolution, and ascendant want, and a reverse in the national social mood, they never recast their inadequate values." He also criticizes BT and his friends for their sense of the "Homeric grandeur" (a quotation of E. C. Stedman) of the Civil War (p. 12). Yet we have seen that CBL and his comrades also held this view of the war. Cary, who admires Whitman, "who got to know pus and dysentery intimately," seems to judge the Civil War generation by the standards of the World War II generation. See also below, Brief Biographies, 7n.

³² Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The Young American," in *Nature: Addresses and Lectures* (1849), in *Essays and Lectures*, ed. Joel Porte (New York: Library of America, 1983), 213, 214. Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden, Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (1964; reprint Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1974), 229-245, examines this lecture of Emerson's, and describes it (p. 230) as "the philosophy of romantic American pastoralism." Marx argues that Emerson, unlike Hawthorne and Melville, did not see the demonic side of technology or understand that technology would corrupt the American pastoral ideal. In fact, Melville savagely satirizes Emerson's combination of mysticism and pragmatism in the character of Mark Winsome in *The Confidence-Man*. See Herman Melville, *The Confidence-Man: His Masquerade*, ed. Hershel Parker and Mark Niemeyer, 2nd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Norton Critical Edition, 2006), 190, 8-9nn, and 1n.

Such coexistence can be seen in the mind of the greatest of the Transcendentalists, Ralph Waldo Emerson, a friend of BT's, as we have seen, and a visitor to Cedarcroft. In his 1844 lecture *The Young American*, Emerson argued that the internal improvements of the 1830s and 1840s, especially the railroad, that "magician's rod, in its power to evoke the sleeping energies of land and water", were creating "an American sentiment" that would bind together the nation. In fact, the railroad would promote a return to the land, "the appointed remedy for whatever is false and fantastic in our culture ... the land, with its tranquilizing, sanative influences [which will] repair the errors of a scholastic and traditional education, and bring us into just relations with men and things."³³ Commerce, too, Emerson continues, contributes to bringing out the revolutionary potential of America for the human spirit in history. For commerce breaks feudal government down. Though commerce "would put everything into market, talent, beauty, virtue, and man himself," nevertheless, because it "displaces physical strength," being "a very intellectual force," commerce "was the principle of Liberty." This commercial power to dissolve government, Emerson then concludes, has set the stage for a new communalism, seen already both in "joint stock companies" and in the various communistic movements in Europe and America.³⁴

But this revolution in social organization will need heroic leaders. This, then, is the vocation of the young American.

If a humane measure is propounded in behalf of the slave, or of the Irishman, or the Catholic, or for the succor of the poor, that sentiment, that project, will have the homage of the hero. That in his nobility, his oath of knighthood, to succor the helpless and

³³ Emerson, "Young American," 220, 221.

³⁴ Emerson, "Young American," 222, 223.

oppressed, always to throw himself on the side of weakness, of youth, of hope, on the liberal, on the expansive side, never on the defensive, the conserving, the timorous, the lock and bolt system.³⁵

So, technology, manufacturing, and commerce, in Emerson's view, are not demonic influences within the garden of America, as Hawthorne and Melville thought them, but positive forces by which young heroes and youthful knights may realize the potential of the garden for true forms of community.

This union of the idealistic and pragmatic is also illustrated by Theodore Winthrop's 1862 novel *John Brent*. Winthrop, we know, was read in the Taylor-Lamborn circle.³⁶ A New Englander, he was a businessman and a traveler, as well as a novelist, before he was killed in the first year of the Civil War. Like Emerson's young American, the male protagonists of *John Brent* combine Homeric and chivalric qualities with a keen Yankee sense of business and the mechanical. As well, they feel moral outrage against slavery. Moreover, all these characteristics are summed up in a cult of the gentlemen, within which, oddly enough, there is still room to view the body as a machine.³⁷ The similarity with the young men whose words appear in this letter collection is striking. CBL, RHL, WJP, and CFT all bring together, each in his own way,

³⁵ Emerson, "Young American," 227.

³⁶ ETLPP, Emma Worrell to ET, 11 May 1864, mentions *John Brent*.

³⁷ Theodore Winthrop, *John Brent* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1862), 5, 23, 50-51, 101-103, 106, 238, 255, 282, 290, 299-300, 337. On the cult of the gentlemen, see especially 101-103. Winthrop writes, "There is a small but ancient fraternity in the world, known as the Order of Gentlemen. It is a grand old order. A poet has said the Christ founded it ... I believe it coeval with men. But Christ stated the precept of the order, when he gave the whole moral law in two clauses ... The formulas of this order are not edited; its passwords are not syllabled; its uniform was never pictured in a fashion-plate ... But the brothers know each other unerringly wherever they meet ... Gentleman knows gentleman by what we name instinct." Compare this with WJP's letter to his uncle Frank Jackson, 27 February 1865 (*FPVC*, 729). "One of the finest specimens of a country gentleman that I have ever met, was a man named Montcastle, in East Tennessee, near Mossy Creek. We camped on his plantation last winter one night, and although he was a rebel, he belonged to the Free-Masonry of Gentlemen, and before I knew it I found myself regretting every bushel of corn that we fed, and sympathizing with every one of his fence rails that we burned ... He was a man of fine feelings, had always been generous and kind to his poor neighbors, who were chiefly loyal, and was spoken of by them in the highest terms."

the qualities of heroic boldness, northern pragmatism, reforming idealism, and gentlemanly courtesy and condescension in ways remarkably similar to Winthrop's characters and to Emerson's young American.³⁸

Quaker Womanhood and the Cult of Domesticity. And what about the young women? The heroine of *John Brent* is certainly made for love: to love and be loved. But love is understood within the context of duty. She must discharge her debt to her father before she may respond to John Brent. Furthermore, she is a lady: educated and educating, refined and refining, able to survive the most degrading circumstances without being degraded, able to labor without becoming a drudge. Brent's heroine, although English, in fact strongly resembles the heroine of Emerson's essay entitled *Heroism*. The young American woman has no precedents, he writes.

She has a new and unattempted problem to solve, perchance that of the happiest nature that ever bloomed. Let the maiden, with erect soul, walk serenely on her way, accept the hint of new experience, search in turn all the objects that solicit her eye, that she may learn the power and the charm of her new-born being, which is the kindling of a new dawn in the recesses of space. The fair girl, who repels interference by a decided and proud choice of influences, so careless and so pleasing, so willful and lofty, inspires every beholder with somewhat of her own nobleness. The silent heart encourages her; O friend, never strike sail to a fear! Come into port greatly, or sail with God the seas. Not in vain you live, for every passing eye is cheered and refined by the vision.³⁹

³⁸ Marx, *Machine in the Garden*, 197-198, 201, points out that BT's Transcendentalist friends Emerson and Ripley had no trouble reconciling technology and the "middle landscape" of the American pastoral ideal. In fact, such a reconciliation seems to have been easy for most Americans at that time. See also pp. 190-192. This suggests that Cary, *Genteel Circle*, 6, is wrong in his assertion that BT and his friends felt an "[a]ntipathy to the findings of science".

³⁹ Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Heroism," in *Essays: First Series* (1841), in *Essays and Lectures*, 379. Cf. Winthrop, *John Brent*, 115, 144, 168, 237, 262-263, 355.

Emerson's heroine, too, is representative of the aspirations of people of the Taylors' and Lamborns' intellectual cultivation. Philip Held, a principal character in Bayard Taylor's 1870 novel *Joseph and His Friend*, expresses these aspirations well. "The world is a failure, God's wonderful system is imperfect, if there is not now living a noble woman to bless me with her love, strengthen me with her self-sacrifice, purify me with her sweeter and clearer faith! I will wait: But I shall find her!"⁴⁰

Therefore, one sees in Brent's heroine, in Emerson's ideal, and in Held's dream exemplars of womanhood that must have influenced ET, AT, and the other young women met within these letters. But here care is necessary. These young, Quaker and Quaker-influenced women were unrepresentative in one way. As Marie Hansen Taylor, ET's German sister-in-law, observed,

One point that struck me from the very first was the status of women [in Kennett Square]. As in the country at large, she enjoyed a degree of independence that is seldom met abroad. But here this position was hers by inheritance, and therefore free from any kind of excess. Its foundations were set in the first principles of the Quaker faith. Within the pale of this sect the woman was the absolute equal of the man; she had the same rights in the family and in the community; at the religious meetings she was as privileged as any man to stand up and address the assemblage whenever 'the spirit moved'. The self-reliance that the women acquired by this means endowed even the least of them with a quiet dignity that never under any circumstances deserted her.⁴¹

⁴⁰ BT, *Joseph and His Friend, A Story of Pennsylvania*, rev. ed., in *The Works of Bayard Taylor*, vol. 3 (1870; New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, n.d.), 361.

⁴¹ OTC, 91.

In other words, much of the virtue of the Transcendentalist heroine was theirs by birthright as Quakers. Moreover, their understanding of love was deeply influenced by the lyrics of Goethe and Schiller. Yet in practical terms their influence in their communities was from the domestic side, and in many ways their lives conformed to the “cult of domesticity”⁴² of the dominant northern culture.

In summary, then, one can say that the writers of the letters in this volume, and in particular the younger generation, were deeply influenced in their ideals by Progressive Quakerism, by Transcendentalism, and by Weimer Classicism. The young men, in particular, were also influenced by Homeric heroism, and at the same time by a pragmatic American regard for manufacturing and commerce. The women, on the other hand, while they enjoyed a great deal of freedom in their homes and communities, nevertheless accepted a primarily domestic and educative role for themselves, very much like the role assigned women by the “cult of domesticity”.

⁴² On the cult of domesticity see Alan Brinkley, *American History, A Survey*, 11th ed. (Boston: McGraw Hill Companies, 2003), 288-289, and *BCF*, 34, with literature cited there.

Appendix II

Brief Biographies

Nota bene. A few names are included here which are not found in the selection of letters in the printed volume, but which are found in the complete collection of letters.

A list of abbreviations can be found in the printed volume.

ET's Immediate Family. ET's father JOSEPH TAYLOR (1795-1885) lived in Kennett Square with his family until about 1828, when he moved to Hazeldell farm, a half mile away in East Marlborough Township. In 1837, he was elected county sheriff, and he moved his family to West Chester, the county seat, until 1840, the length of his term. Returning to Hazeldell, he farmed until 1858, when he turned the management of Hazeldell over to CFT. In 1860 he moved into BT's new mansion, Cedarcroft, with RWT, AT, and ET. At that time his real estate was valued at \$10,000.00, and his personal property at \$600.00.¹

REBECCA WAY TAYLOR (1799-1890), JT's wife, was the daughter of Caleb and Mary Bauer Way of Maytown, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Her first three children died in infancy.² Her eldest surviving child was BT, and she seems to have had a special fondness for him, and to have raised him to be a poet. MHT reports, "[BT] had been taught to read by his mother when he was four, and not impossibly [*Sir Walter*] Scott's death was fixed in his mind by

¹ Longwood Cemetery tombstone; *HCCP*, 374, 735, and Hobson and Shankman, "Colonel of the Bucktails," 334. Note that ET's 1860 letters were written from Cedarcroft (see ETLPP). JT's assets are recorded in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 19, p. 210, Dwelling 630, Family 645.

² Longwood Cemetery tombstone, and *HCCP*, 735. RWT's birthplace, the fact that her mother was German, and that RWT had used a German grace all her life, were recorded by ETL in a 3½" x 6" brown leather notebook, "Winter of 1909 & 1910," CCHC file "Lamborn, Emma Taylor, 1888-1910 I." Maytown was just a few miles NNW of Marietta, Pennsylvania, Cousin Annie Rinehart's home.

Scott's poetry, for poetry had great power over him from his childhood. The education which he received at home and under the impulse of his nature took precedence of the more formal culture of school life. Especially was he indebted to his mother, who understood well the refinement of his nature."³ Education, and the ambition to learn, were not rare among Chester County women. Dr. Franklin Taylor's sister Becky, a cousin of JT's, may have been the extreme case of such ambition. MHT recalled her. "My astonishment was great when I discovered that in former years, in the seclusion of her simple home life, she had acquired without instruction a mastery of the German and Italian languages, so that she was able to read 'Faust' and the 'Divina Commedia' in the original tongues."⁴ Such love of learning and appreciation of poetry also lived in RWT, and it is safe to assume that she not only taught all her children to read, but also conveyed to them her love of poetic feeling and expression.

BAYARD TAYLOR (1825-1878),⁵ was the first child of JT and RWT to survive infancy. BT left home at nineteen, traveled widely in Europe, Asia, and America, frequently in rough and dangerous circumstances, worked hard all his life at his writing, and when necessary, in the gardens and fields at Cedarcroft, and was always an agreeable companion and good friend. His writing was remunerative, as his real estate in 1860 was valued at \$28,000.00, and his personal property at \$1,000.00.⁶ BT was one of the most popular lecturers and authors of his day, publishing travel books, volumes of his own poetry, a translation of *Faust*, and novels, as well as reports and editorials for the *New York Tribune*, for which he worked for many years.⁷ He was a

³ *L&L*, 8-9.

⁴ *OTC*, 2.

⁵ Longwood Cemetery monument.

⁶ *L&L*, *passim*. His assets are recorded in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 19, p. 210, Dwelling 630, Family 645. On his mansion, Cedarcroft, see General Introduction, 2n.

⁷ Brooks, *Melville and Whitman*, 34, comments on BT's poetry. "Most of it was quite as good as the mass of Lowell's and Whittier's verse, but it lacked the few characteristic poems that carried both Lowell and Whittier, for instance, out of the ruck of mere skilful and commonplace talents. There was in Taylor nothing like *Snow-Bound* or *The Biglow Papers* that gave their authors a place in the history of their country, if not for all time in the history of

Republican, and was well connected in state and national politics through Simon Cameron, the later “boss” of Pennsylvania politics.⁸

BT’s second wife, MARIE HANSEN TAYLOR (1829-1925), was the daughter of Peter Andreas Hansen, director of the Seeberg Observatory at Gotha, in the German duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.⁹ His wife’s maiden name was Braun. MHT met her husband through her mother’s brother-in-law August Bubleb, who met BT in the Middle East in 1851, became fast friends with him, and invited him home to Gotha. There BT met his future wife in 1852.¹⁰ MHT seems to have idolized her husband. Her two books about him (see the bibliography) are hagiographical. She had a formidable temperament, but seems to have had a fragile side as well.¹¹

LILIAN TAYLOR (b. 1858) was the only child of BT and MHT. She married a Bavarian, Dr. Otto Kiliani.

JOHN HOWARD TAYLOR (1826-1905) was BT's next sibling. An alumnus of the University of Pennsylvania and a medical doctor, JHT was appointed Port Physician of Philadelphia in 1855 by Gov. James Pollock, a Whig. In 1856 Governor Pollock appointed him Physician at the Lazaretto, the Philadelphia quarantine station on Tinicum Island in the Delaware

poetry itself.” This is a more balanced view of BT’s art than that expressed by Cary, *Genteel Circle*, 8. See above “Influences”, 31&38nn. Taylor and the Genteel Circle are receiving renewed attention in academia. Liam Corley, *Bayard Taylor, Determined Dreamer of America's Rise, 1825-1878* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2014), 11-12, sees four reasons for studying Taylor now: his rise from his working-class origins; his interlinear homoeroticism; the contradiction between his racism and idealism, and his “Faustian bargain with the popular tastes and literary engines of his day”. As to the first reason, a study of the letters and annotations in the printed volume to which this is a supplement reveals that the Taylors were rural gentry, not “proletarian” (Corley, 28). As to the second, it seems to this reader, who read Taylor’s novels and a good deal of his poetry without twigging to his supposed homoeroticism, to be an example of eisegesis, not exegesis. The third reason is valid, as we see the same contradiction in the letters in this volume. The fourth is also valid, but perhaps undervalues the pleasure of reading Taylor’s work even today.

⁸ On Simon Cameron, see Ch.1, 5n. See also *PHC*, 210, 253, 254.

⁹ See Agnes Mary Clerke, “Hansen, Peter Andreas,” in *EB*, 12.931.

¹⁰ *OTC*, 23-25. BT’s first wife, Mary Agnew of Kennett Square, his childhood sweetheart, died of consumption in 1850 after only two months of marriage. See *L&L*, 180-199.

¹¹ Cf. Letter 180 (ET to CBL, 2 August 1864).

River. He lost the position, perhaps because a Democrat won the gubernatorial race in 1857. He hoped to be reappointed by Gov. Andrew G. Curtin, elected in 1860 and a Republican, but was disappointed in his hopes. He went into practice with his father-in-law briefly, but joined the army in 1861, and rose quite high in the medical corps. After the war he again enjoyed political favor from the Republican establishment, now increasingly under the influence of Simon Cameron, holding various patronage medical positions in Philadelphia throughout his life.¹² ELIZABETH GILLINGHAM TAYLOR (1829-1909), JHT's wife, was the daughter of Dr. William H. Gillingham, who "practised medicine" in Kennett Square "from about 1820-1839." He then established a practice in Philadelphia.¹³ Known privately as "la duchesse" by ET and AT, EGT was not liked by her Taylor connections. She was called LIZZIE to her face.¹⁴

The third sibling was WILLIAM W. TAYLOR (1829-1896), a civil engineer, who lived during the Civil War in Baltimore, Maryland. After the war, WWT built "reservoirs throughout the United States."¹⁵ ELLEN HAYES TAYLOR and Percy Taylor were WWT's wife and son. EHT was a Baltimore lady, whose family were southern sympathizers. She was quite heartily disliked by her Taylor connections. She was known as NELLA.¹⁶

¹² Longwood Cemetery tombstone. Reports in the *ARCCD*, 20 February 1855; *VR*, 21 June 1856; *DLN*, 25 October 1905, and University of Pennsylvania, *Alumni Register*, October, 1913. See also ETLPP, ET to CBL, 20 January 1861. JHT's alumni register reports that he served as "brigade surg. of the Irish Brigade; then surg-in-chief of the 1st Div. of 2nd Army Corps; medical director 2nd Army Corps; medical inspector Army of the Potomac; and surg. in charge of the Summit House U. S. Army General Hospital." Summit House Hospital, "with 522 beds," was on Darby Road near Paschalville in West Philadelphia. In August, 1864, the white patients at Summit were removed to Satterlee [Hospital] to make room for sick and wounded black soldiers. Later St. Joseph's Catholic Hospital was built on the site." See Sauers, *Civil War Philadelphia*, 153-154. The Lazaretto survives in Tinicum Township. The building is derelict. Its condition has provoked outrage in at least one quarter. See Tom Ferrick, Jr., "In 'burbs, history has little chance", *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 22 July 2001, B1. In 1860 JHT's real estate was valued at \$4,000.00, his personal estate at \$2,000.00. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 19, p. 209, Dwelling 627, Family 642.

¹³ Longwood Cemetery tombstone; *ARCCD*, 25 December 1855, and Lordi, *First Hundred Years*, 106.

¹⁴ ETLPP, ET to AT, 17 February 1861, and *TFP*, BT to AT, 13 December 1862.

¹⁵ Longwood Cemetery tombstone; *HCCP*, 735, and *DLN*, 26 October 1892.

¹⁶ Letter 53 (ET to CBL, Thanksgiving Day, 1861), and *TFP*, BT to AT 23 December 1862. See also Way, *Descendants of Robert and Hannah Hickman Way*, 422.

ANNIE TAYLOR (1832-1918) was the first daughter to survive infancy. She toured Europe in 1856 and 1857 with BT, ET, and CFT. When CFT joined the army, she moved into Hazeldell, and ran the farm for her brother. In the fall of 1863, she married a Swiss, CHARLES CAREY (1819-1885), Chancelier d'État, Canton de Vaud, whom she had met on her European tour, and returned with him to Lausanne. AT was strong willed and fearless, but seems sometimes to have been carried away by her temper. For example, she fired her Irish farmhand Michael Kavanaugh in 1862, for voting Democratic. BT rebuked her for her lack of judgement. On the other hand, she had a fine, dry wit. The Careys preferred America to Europe, and settled here in the 1870's. They had two children, CHARLES FREDERIC TAYLOR CAREY (1864-1956) and Emma Carey (1869-1950).¹⁷

EMMA TAYLOR (1834-1916) is the principal correspondent and chief figure in the volume which this appendix supplements. Her earliest education she must have received from her mother. What elementary schools she attended we do not know, but she finished her education at her cousin's normal school in Kennett Square in the 1850's. She was particularly strong in languages and literature, knowing Latin and speaking French and German fluently. She translated German lyrics and wrote poetry herself. Later in life she did some travel writing. She published several books: *Ember Days* (New York, 1887); *Edith's Silver Comb, A True Story* (Philadelphia, 1912); *Sketches of People and Places* (Philadelphia, 1912), and *Reminiscences of My First Year in Europe*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1914).¹⁸ She taught school and tutored language pupils at home in the 1850s and 1860s. She did not like school-teaching, and tutoring suited her

¹⁷ Longwood Cemetery tombstone; ETLPP, ET to AT, 2 January 1861, 27 March 1861, and ET to RWT, 13 June 1861; TFP, BT to AT, 23 December 1862, AT to CFT, 4 July 1861, 12 January 1862, 2 February 1862, 23 February 1862, and the postbellum ETLPP *passim*. HCCP, 735, gives AT's Christian name as "Anne." Dr. Charles F. Hobson, AT's great-grandson, informs me that her given name was "Annie." Carey became *chancelier* 16 December 1856, and appears to have remained in office until 1875.

¹⁸ RFY, 14-17. I have examined copies of these books at the Chester County History Center. Correspondence regarding *Ember Days* with George Putnam exists in ETLPP for 1887.

better.¹⁹ Her family considered her sickly, nervous, and lacking in strength of character. She had difficulties with servants, but was herself a hard worker.²⁰ Her letters reveal a passionate woman, subject to bouts of illness, given to anxiety, but also a woman of keen powers of observation, a Romantic sensitivity to external atmosphere and internal mood, and a ready sense of humor. She thought deeply about friendship, love, duty, patriotism, and self-sacrifice. Like Schiller she wove them together, and in doing so strove always to be “brave & womanly.”²¹ She became engaged to CBL in 1863, and married him in 1865. They had three children: Gertrude Lamborn Peet (1869-1917); Anne Beatrice Lamborn Polk (1870-1944), and Rebecca Taylor Lamborn (1872-1873).²²

CHARLES FREDERIC TAYLOR (1840-1863)²³ was the youngest child of the family, and a favorite of all. One assumes that he learned to read from his mother. It is said that he attended “the village school.” Later he attended Dr. Franklin Taylor’s normal school in Kennett Square from 1853-1855. He fell in love with the Classics. He spent the 1855-1856 academic year at the University of Michigan, joining Delta Kappa Epsilon, but left the university to travel in Europe in 1856 and 1857. In 1857 and 1858 he was back at the university, but left it for good in 1858 to manage Hazeldell. He fell seriously into debt—there was a depression going on—but was full of

¹⁹ ETLPP, ET to AT, 2 January 1861, and *TFP*, AT to CFT, 4 July 1861.

²⁰ *TFP*, AT to CFT, 4 July 1861, 28 August 1862; BT to ATC, 25 August 1873, 28 August 1877. See also ETLPP, PK to RHL, 27 August 1861.

²¹ ETLPP, ET to CBL, 30 October 1862.

²² Longwood Cemetery tombstone; Lamborn, *Genealogy*, 325.

²³ Longwood Cemetery monument.

ideas to make money.²⁴ By 1862, however, he concluded that he would be able to pay his debts, only if he rented the farm after the war, and engaged “in some more remunerative business.”²⁵

In 1861 he raised a company of volunteers in Kennett Square, the Kennett Rifles, marched them to Harrisburg, and enrolled them in Kane’s Rifle Regiment as Company H. The regiment, officially the Forty-Second Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry,²⁶ was called the Bucktails, as every man who enlisted brought with him the tail of a buck to sew to his cap. They quickly earned a reputation, with Yankees and Rebels alike, as one of the toughest regiments in the army. This regiment CFT came ultimately to command, at the age of twenty-three the youngest bird colonel in the Army of the Potomac.²⁷ He led it only a few months, until his death at the head of his men at the foot of Little Round Top.

During his parole in 1862, CFT fell in love with a daughter of the house where he lodged in Annapolis, Maryland. This young lady, ALICE GREEN, was the niece of Reverdy Johnson, a prominent Maryland Unionist. AT disliked her from the moment of her betrothal to CFT, while ET tried to like her, until she fell in love with another man too soon after CFT's death, a betrayal of her fiancé’s memory in ET’s view.²⁸

CBL’s Immediate Family. CBL’s father, ROBERT LAMBORN (1790-1870), was a Hicksite Quaker who later became attached to the Longwood Progressive Friends Meeting. His business

²⁴ *HCCP*, 137; Frank L. Beeby, “Col. Charles Fred. Taylor and the Bucktails,” *The Rostrum*, May, 1901, 188, and Hobson and Shankman, “Colonel of the Bucktails,” 334-335. (It should be noted that Beeby plagiarized *HCCP*.) CFT’s ideas for making money are found in the *TFP*, CFT to BT, 7 March 1861, and ETLPP, ET to AT, 10 March 1861. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 19, p. 209, Dwelling 626, Family 641, records the value of CFT’s personal estate as \$2,000.00. He did not yet own Hazeldell, at that time valued at \$10,000.00.

²⁵ *TFP*, CFT to AT, 21 October 1862.

²⁶ Another official designation was the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Reserve Infantry. See *HPV*, 1.909. ETLPP contains minutes of the meeting of 18 April 1861 in Kennett Square at which the Kennett Rifles were enrolled. Letter 65 (ET to CBL, 1 April 1862) recalls how CFT and CBL rode around the countryside in 1861 raising recruits.

²⁷ *TFP*, CFT to AT, 1 April 1863.

²⁸ *TFP*, BT to AT, 23 December 1862; ETLPP, Alice Green to ET, 21 July 1864, and Letter 211 (ET to CBL, 3 November 1864). On Alice’s relationship to Reverdy Johnson, see *TFP*, CFT to RWT, 18 July 1862. On Johnson himself, see *CWD*, 438.

papers show him to have been active in hiring laborers, renting land and houses, putting out weaving, and other engagements of this sort. He paid tuition for three or four boys to attend school in the 1820's. He also was guardian for the children of certain relatives. (These two categories of person might have been the same.) He appears therefore to have been a country gentleman. His stone house with elegant public rooms, confirms the impression, as does his Christmas gift of 362 pounds of beef and suet to 37 neighbors in 1861. In fact, although he was listed as a farmer in the 1860 Federal Census, his real estate was valued at \$18,000.000 and his personal estate at \$2,345.00. These assets placed him among the wealthiest men of the area, and far richer than the one resident of the township recorded as a "gentleman" in the census.²⁹

In his youth, RL was active in the Kennett Meeting, and courted Edith Bennett for years. Her parents at last permitted her to marry RL in 1823. Mr. Bennett was a Democrat and RL was a "Whig."³⁰ One child of this marriage survived infancy, Anne. Twin sons died in 1825 a few days after they were born, along with their mother, less than two years after her marriage. RL was a widower for ten years, but for five or six years of that time he courted Rachel Peirce, who became his second wife. Two children of this marriage survived infancy, RHL and CBL.³¹ After his second wife's death in 1860, RL suffered a deep depression, and then came out of it

²⁹ Lamborn, *Genealogy*, 56, 273, and ETLPP. For his Hicksite and Progressive commitments, see "Influences" above. The record of his 1861 Christmas largess is preserved in ETLPP. Each recipient signed RL's record sheet upon receipt of the gift. Sixteen were able only to make their mark. For RL's worth, see U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 19, p. 361, Dwelling 236, Family 248. The one "official" gentleman in the neighborhood was Joseph Way, who claimed only \$2,200.00 in real estate and \$6,000.00 in personal estate. See the census volume cited above, p. 343, Dwelling 112, Family 119. It is interesting to note that RL in 1860, according to the census, employed two servants, both African-American, a 19-year-old woman named Rebecca Rigby, and an 11-year-old boy named Marshall Howard.

³⁰ Longwood Library Collection, Box 3, File #7, Chester County History Center, "Robert Lamborn the 4th," a manuscript by an elderly female relation of RHL, and written for him. The Whig Party, of course, had not been formed in 1823, despite what this document states. It is possible that RL was a Federalist. It is just as likely, however, that he was what has been called a "nationalist" Jeffersonian Republican. See Michael F. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party, Jacksonian Politics and the Onset of the Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 2.

³¹ Longwood Library Collection MS (see previous note), and Lamborn, *Genealogy*, 273, 286.

suddenly in a frenzy of courting. His female connections were embarrassed for him, and a cousin addressed a severe, if very funny, letter to him on the subject.³² RL was unhappy that his sons would not take up farming, and felt keenly the emigration of the younger generation from Kennett Square.³³

RACHEL PEIRCE LAMBORN (1800-1860) was raised at Peirce's Park, now the world-renowned Longwood Gardens. Although none of RPL's letters appears in this volume, she is a significant presence through the continuing affection of PK and Sarah Pugh for the Lamborn children. Alexis Dinniman supplies a concise biography of RPL. "[A] Quaker schoolteacher for over a decade, she and Sarah Pugh started their own school in Philadelphia. Rachel was also a botanist, exchanging many letters on the subject with Abigail Kimber. Her later interests focused mainly on the causes of abolition and women's rights, the subjects of many of her letters."³⁴

ANNE LAMBORN TAYLOR (1824-1889) was the only surviving child of RL and his first wife. She was educated at Westtown School, Chester County. RPL seems to have formed a loving relationship with her. ALT wrote a touching poem on the death of her father's third child with RPL. ALT married RICHARD BAKER TAYLOR of Taylor's Mill near West Chester, and there raised her children, LOWNDES and HELEN. ALT was close to her younger brothers. She never abandoned the use of the second person singular, the Quaker "plain speech", as her brothers did. She had a delightful dry sense of humor.³⁵

³² ETLPP, Sarah Pugh to RL, 28 January 1861, and Lydia J. Hunn to RL, 7 October 1861. See also ETLPP, Townsend Walter to RL, 16 September 1861, and Sady Stubbs & Mary Lamborn Pennock to RL, 17 October 1861.

³³ ETLPP, RHL to RL, undated letter of April, 1861, and RL to Joseph Way, 5 November 1865.

³⁴ Alexis Dinniman, "Finding Aid," CCHC, Longwood Library Collection, Peirce-Lamborn Family Papers, MG 4.8, p. 3. Abigail Kimber is recorded among the botanists of Philadelphia. See George Morgan, *The City of Firsts, Being a Complete History of the City of Philadelphia from Its Founding in 1682 to the Present Time* (Philadelphia: Historical Publication Society, 1926), Ch. 36.

³⁵ Much of this information comes from ETLPP. See also Lamborn, *Genealogy*, 286, 325.

ROBERT HENRY LAMBORN (1835-1895) inherited the scientific bent of the Peirces. His mother was a botanist, and his uncle Jacob Peirce was librarian of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia from 1817 to 1826. He received his “high school” education at the Jordan Bank Academy, established and operated by the scientist Evan Pugh, who closed the school in 1853 to pursue a doctorate in Physical Science at the University of Heidelberg.³⁶ RHL then attended the Polytechnic College of Philadelphia to study civil engineering. His first employments were building railroads, and as city surveyor of Trenton, New Jersey. From 1858 to 1861 he studied in Germany, earning a doctorate in metallurgy, in which subject he published two college textbooks in 1860 and 1861. Returning to the United States at the outbreak of the Civil War, he became engineer in charge of rails for the Pennsylvania Railroad. In 1864 he became secretary for the American Iron and Steel Corporation. Although of weak health, being plagued by arthritis and a poor heart, he served as a gentleman volunteer during Lee’s two invasions of the north.³⁷ Andrew Carnegie, who worked for the Pennsylvania Railroad in the early days, has left an illuminating description of RHL at that time. “As a young man he was thoroughly practical, quiet, reserved, dignified, eminently scientific ... He wore kid gloves, which were then rare in western Pennsylvania; this fact rendered him somewhat an object of suspicion at first, something rather effeminate; one had only to know him to see how he survived his kid gloves. Year after year he gained more and more the respect and confidence of all of us, and finally became a friend and one of the circle whose loss was deeply deplored.”³⁸

³⁶ Longwood Cemetery tombstone. On his early education and employment, see *Philadelphia Friend's Intelligencer and Journal* 30 January 1895, and Aaron, “Robert Henry Lamborn,” 1-5. (Ms. Aaron’s report contains a few inaccuracies.)

³⁷ See ETLPP, John F. Reynolds to RHL, 18 September 1862, and Letter 110 (RHL to CBL, 4 July 1863).

³⁸ Cited in Aaron, “Robert Henry Lamborn,” 2. Kamm, *Thomas A. Scott*, 5, notes, “Many of the railroad employees of that early day [1853] were old river men whose rough speech and filthy habits were a constant source of annoyance to Carnegie’s Scotch Presbyterian conscience.”

After the Civil War, RHL was engaged in railroad building in the West with WJP and CBL, as well as in steel production. He made a fortune, and retired about 1885. He had already begun collecting Pueblo antiquities and Mexican art. As he now began to travel worldwide, he built up a collection of European and Asian ornaments. He left his collections to various museums in New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. RHL was a perfectionist, and difficult to know, but he had a longing for friendship. He was remarkably self-aware, as is indicated by a moving examination of conscience written in 1868, when his suit for a certain Miss Blow was rejected. Addressing his "Father in Heaven," he says, "Had I not possessed these defects [which he had just enumerated] I am sure she would have loved me: possessing them I can scarcely deem myself worthy of her love. Can I cure or correct them she may still love me, Should she not, I shall still know that through her excellence my character had become enobled, and I can continue to love her through my gratitude, as I now do through my hope. (Is this possible?)"³⁹ RHL never married.

The last Lamborn child to survive infancy was CHARLES BURLEIGH LAMBORN (1837-1902),⁴⁰ ET's friend and fiancé, and finally spouse. He was named for the great abolitionist Charles C. Burleigh, who married Gertrude Kimber, PK and Abigail's sister, of whose circle RPL was an intimate.⁴¹ He attended Ercildoun Boarding School (1852-1853), Dr. Franklin Taylor's Institute for Teachers at Kennett Square (1853-1854), and the Hopewell Academy (1854-1855), before pursuing a classical education at the University of Michigan (1855-1860). He then read law in West Chester with Wayne MacVeagh until the Civil War.⁴² At the

³⁹ ETLPP, RHL, 7 May 1868.

⁴⁰ Longwood Cemetery tombstone.

⁴¹ Swarthmore Library, PG 7, Kimber Family, Genealogy.

⁴² ETLPP, CBL to RPL, 6 June 1852, WJP to CBL, 20 May 1853, CBL to RPL, 11 November 1854, CBL to CFT, 15 February 1855, CBL to ET, 12 December 1858; *RFY*, 14-16; ETLPP, ET to CBL, 21 January 1861. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 19, p. 361, Dwelling 236, Family 248, records CBL as a farmer. It seems probable that he stayed at Michigan through the 1859-1860 academic year, and then returned home for the

beginning of the war, he enlisted in a volunteer company in West Chester called the Brandywine Guards, was elected first lieutenant, and went into training with the company as part of the First Regiment, Pennsylvania Reserve Volunteer Infantry.⁴³ Their training camp was at the West Chester Fair Grounds. CBL quickly became an aide-de-camp to Gen. John F. Reynolds. He saw heavy action during the Seven Days Battles on the Peninsula and at Second Bull Run. After Antietam and Fredericksburg, he became so frustrated with political interference with the Army of the Potomac, that in early 1863 he accepted the lieutenant colonelcy of the Fifteenth Pennsylvania Volunteer Cavalry, called the Anderson Cavalry, a regiment that had been raised by his boyhood friend WJP, and went west. CBL served in various campaigns in the West until February, 1865, when he resigned his commission to marry ET, and to take a position with the Pennsylvania Railroad. After the war, he followed WJP into railroading beyond the Mississippi River, working first for the Kansas Pacific Railroad, then with WJP in Colorado and the Southwest. His last position was as Land Commissioner of the Northern Pacific Railroad. He made his fortune, and retired to New York, as did his brother.⁴⁴

CBL was at home with the Greek fraternal ethos at Michigan. "[The fraternities] institutionalized drinking, smoking, card playing, singing, and athletic teams ... They were anti-democratic, yet they emphasized the secular values of sophistication, organizational fellowship, good manners, and leadership training, which were important in expanding America."⁴⁵ One imagines that the officers' mess of the Anderson Cavalry was very like a gathering of fraternity

summer, before taking up his legal studies in West Chester. CBL's studies under Wayne MacVeagh are mentioned in *DLN*, 3 April 1883.

⁴³ CBL's military career can be followed in the letters in this volume. In ETLPP there is an undated document of enrolment in the Brandywine Guards, written in CBL's hand, and signed by a number of men.

⁴⁴ CBL's postbellum career is summarized in George Johnson, ed., *The Poets and Poetry of Chester County* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1890), under the entry for Emma Taylor (CCHC clippings file under Lamborn).

⁴⁵ Peckham, *University of Michigan*, 27.

brothers. However, this ethos, at least as CBL embodied it, seems to have rubbed enlisted men and some officers the wrong way, and CBL was unpopular with some in the Brandywine Guards and in the Anderson Cavalry.⁴⁶

CBL relished feminine company, and ET showed concern over the years about his flirtation with Southern women. In the surviving letters, CBL does not speak too much or too bloodily about battle, but occasionally it escapes that he fought heroically in many close fights. Most dramatic perhaps was his rescue under fire of a brother officer, an artilleryman, wounded on the field at Second Bull Run and abandoned by his men.⁴⁷ CBL felt the condescension of his race and class to the Irish, the Jews, and to African-Americans, but he was personally kind, and was motivated to fight by a deep abolitionist sentiment learned from his mother.⁴⁸

Other Connections Whose Letters Are Included. One letter from Cpl. AARON BAKER survives in the collection. He was from London Grove Township, just west of Kennett Square. At the beginning of the war, he enlisted in Company H under CFT with his brother Edwin, a schoolteacher, and was present at CFT's death. Baker was wounded at South Mountain (14 September 1862) and at Fredericksburg (13 December 1862), and killed at Spotsylvania Courthouse 12 May 1864, the day the term of his enlistment was up.⁴⁹

GEORGE EDWARD GOURAUD (1841-1912) was the son of François Fauvel Gouraud (c. 1809-1847), who came from France to the United States in 1839 to promote the daguerreotype process. His wife's name was Emma F. Gouraud (d. 1847). The couple died of consumption in

⁴⁶ On the fraternal ethos, see especially Letter 267 (WJP to CBL, 23 June 1865), which recounts the final dinner of that mess. On CBL's unpopularity, see Excursus 1 in these appendices.

⁴⁷ Letter 190 (CBL to ET, 3 September 1864). Note that he did not write of the incident until two years after the battle. His courage under fire is confirmed by official commendations of his gallantry. See *OR*, 1.11.2, pp. 404, 418; 1.12.2, p. 395; 1.21, p. 456, and 1.45.2, p. 541.

⁴⁸ See especially Letter 174 (CBL to ET, 17 July 1864).

⁴⁹ Letter 173 (ET to CBL, 16 July 1864); *Bucktails*, 405; *HCCP*, Appendix, v, and *CWCC*, 132. See also *TFP*, Aaron Baker to AT, 11 July 1863, quoted in Ch. 5, 37n.

New York City within a month of each other, and are buried in Green-Wood Cemetery, Brooklyn. A daughter named Clemence Emma was born to them about 1838. Known as CLEMMY, she married an Episcopal clergyman, Horatio Nelson Powers (1826-1890), in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1857. The same year he took a parish in Davenport, Iowa.⁵⁰

After Clemence and GEG were orphaned in 1847 at the ages of nine and six, it is not known where they lived or who took care of them. However, it is known that GEG met the Taylors at the age of eight. He was at school with his sister in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1854, and exchanged familiar letters with CFT. After spending the summer of 1860 at Hazeldell, GEG spent the winter of 1860-1861 with his sister in Iowa, pursuing his studies.⁵¹ In 1861, GEG accepted a commission in Ramsay's New York Voltigeurs. He soon transferred to the Third New York Volunteer Cavalry, and saw service in Virginia and North Carolina. Next, he served on Gen. J.G. Foster's staff in North Carolina, Tennessee, and South Carolina. He finished the war as Assistant Inspector General, Department of the South, with the brevet rank of lieutenant colonel. He was awarded the Medal of Honor for his service at Honey Hill, South Carolina, 30 November 1864.⁵² He married FLORENCE SNOW of New York, the daughter of an editor of the *New York Tribune*, George Snow. In 1870, he was living with the Snows in New York,

⁵⁰ GEG's age at death was given as 71 in his *New York Times* obituary, 20 February 1917. Thus, he was born in 1841. This date agrees with the date one calculates in the reference to his birthday in Letter 172 (ET to CBL, 10 July 1864). In a letter to me dated 17 November 2005, Jane Cuccurullo, corporate secretary, The Green-Wood Cemetery, kindly supplied the information in her records regarding the Fauvel Gourauds. The only source on Clemence Gouraud Powers that I have discovered is Steve Dunlop, assisted by Steve Mitchell, *The Bard of Sparkill, The Forgotten True Story*, christchurch-sparkill.org, pp. 4-5 (n.b5z.net) (accessed 30 September 2020).

⁵¹ ETLPP, GEG to CFT, 1 February 1854, 15 March 1854; GEG to CBL, 1 March 1861; ET to GEG, 6 February 1864, and PK to RHL, 21 February 1864. At U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 19, p. 209, Dwelling 626, Family 641, GEG is listed as a resident of Hazeldell, 19 years old, a clerk by occupation, and a native of New York.

⁵² GEG's Civil War career can be traced in the letters in this collection. For his Medal of Honor citation, see Lang, *Medal of Honor*, 1.82, No. 495. To clarify his career in the Third New York Cavalry, see Phisterer, *New York in the War*, 1.793. In early November, 1862, GEG acted as an aide to General Foster for the first time. See Letter 92 (GEG to ET, 30 November 1862).

employed as an Assistant Appraiser of the Ports of New York.⁵³ He resigned that position in 1871, at which time he became involved in business in England. In 1873 he became Thomas Edison's representative in England, and remained so until about 1890. He named his house Little Menlo after Menlo Park, New Jersey, where the Edison laboratories were located.⁵⁴ He appears also to have suffered from a recurrent malady, possibly depression.⁵⁵

CHANDLER HALL was 42 years old in 1860, with a declared worth of \$15,000.00 in real estate and the same value in his personal estate. He and his wife Rebecca B. Hall had three children, Taylor, Byron, and RUTH. Hall liked a drink, and would draw a knife to avenge an insult.⁵⁶ Perhaps because of these traits he was elected first lieutenant of the Kennett Rifles, when the company was raised in 1861. He soon became brigade quartermaster under Gen. G.A. McCall. CFT was sorry to see him leave his company, writing home, "I would regret above all things to lose him ... He has proved a very dear friend and assistant to me. It would be well for those who slander him at home, did they possess half his good qualities."⁵⁷ His wife died during the war, and he was several times ill and home on leave. He remarried later in the war.

⁵³ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Ninth Census*, New York City (21st District, 21st Ward), p. 625; *New York Times*, 4 April 1872.

⁵⁴ Mr. Leonard DeGraaf, Archivist at the Edison National Historical Site, very kindly photocopied the slender file on GEG for me. Photocopies of GEG's obituaries were included, as was a useful memo by N.R. Speiden to Gov. Charles Edison, dated 10 February 1944. The identity of the GEG of the present letters and the GEG associated with Edison I have established by comparing the handwriting of the one with the other. GEG's correspondence with Edison is found at <http://edison.rutgers.edu> (accessed 30 September 2020). Also, a letter from GEG on Little Menlo letterhead dated 6 January 1884 survives in ETLPP.

⁵⁵ See Letter 13 (GEG to ET, 29 June 1861).

⁵⁶ ETLPP, ET to AT, 20 January 1861. Hall chased another man through town with a Bowie knife. See the process against Hall for Assault and Battery at the Chester County Archives, Quarter Sessions Indictments, January, 1861. After several delays due to Hall's illnesses, a "nul pros with leave of court" was entered 6 May 1861. The detail of the Bowie knife is interesting. It seems that such large fighting blades were a fad. Many young men took one to war, only to throw away the heavy and unnecessary weapon on campaign. See *CWCC*, 102.

⁵⁷ *HCCP*, Appendix, v; *OR*, 1.11.2, p. 418; Letter 36 (CBL to ET, 8 September 1861), and *TFP*, CFT to AT and ET, 1 September 1861. Other details can be found in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 19, p. 341, Dwelling 1133, Family 1161.

CHARLES S. HINCHMAN enlisted in the Fifteenth Pennsylvania Cavalry in 1862. He finished the war with the rank of lieutenant. He worked for WJP out West for some years after the war.⁵⁸

MARTHA KIMBER (b. 1812), known as PATTIE, was the daughter of Emmor and Susannah Jackson Kimber of Kimberton, Chester County. Her father ran a boarding school at Kimberton from 1818 to 1850. His daughters Abigail, PK, and Gertrude taught there. PK's subject was mathematics. Emmor Kimber was an abolitionist, and his school was a stop on the Underground Railroad. Gertrude married the famous abolitionist Charles C. Burleigh. The school was closed in 1850 on Mr. Kimber's death, and his daughters moved to Philadelphia. During the first years of the Civil War, PK and Abigail lived with their maternal cousin Sarah Pugh in Philadelphia. Their connection with RPL was probably made through Miss Pugh.⁵⁹ PK was an intimate of the Taylor and Lamborn families as well as of WJP's family.

WILLIAM JACKSON PALMER (1836-1908) was the son of John Palmer and Matilda Jackson of Philadelphia. He had two brothers, Charles and Francis, and a sister, Ellen. His family was Quaker. He and his brothers were firm friends of the Lamborn boys by 1852. It is probable that RPL knew the Palmers through the Kimbers when she lived in Philadelphia. The Palmers also knew the Motts, who were connections of the Kimbers.⁶⁰ WJP attended "the Friends School ... the Zane Street Grammar School ... [and] the Boys' High School".⁶¹ He left home at seventeen to join "the engineering corps of the Hempfield Railroad". At that time, he met J. Edgar Thomson, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, who was to further his career

⁵⁸ Letter 260 (C. S. Hinchman to CBL, 8 May 1865), and Wilson, *Column South*, 329.

⁵⁹ Swarthmore Library, PG 7, Kimber, Emmor, 1774-1850, Genealogy, and Swarthmore Library, SC051, Haines MSS 1840, Pamphlet: "Kimberton Boarding School, Chester Co. Pennsylvania." This pamphlet records that Elizabeth Mott, attended Kimberton in 1840. The Kimbers' role in the Underground Railroad is confirmed by Kashatus, *Just Over the Line*, 13, 21, 43, 60, 95.

⁶⁰ Fisher, *Builder of the West*, 20.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

significantly.⁶² WJP united an interest in coal and an interest in railroads at the moment when the Pennsy was trying to convert from wood to coal as fuel for its locomotives. WJP's experiments while Thomson's secretary were largely responsible for the conversion.⁶³

In the early months of the war, WJP was a key instrument of Thomson and of Thomas A. Scott, vice president of the Pennsylvania Railroad and Assistant Secretary of War, in marching northern troops by rail through hostile southern Maryland to Washington, D.C.⁶⁴ By September, WJP was using his connections in order to raise a troop of cavalry for the headquarters of Gen. Robert Anderson, hero of Fort Sumter and presently in command of the Department of the Cumberland at Cincinnati, Ohio.⁶⁵ The company was raised and named the Anderson Troop. The troop was in service until 1863, but in August 1862 WJP was ordered back to Pennsylvania to raise a larger unit of cavalry for similar elite duty. He raised a regiment, which was designated the Fifteenth Pennsylvania Volunteer Cavalry, but known as the Anderson Cavalry. In early 1863, CBL joined his old friend's regiment as lieutenant colonel. In the last months of the war, WJP was brevetted brigadier general, and was later awarded the Medal of Honor for his bravery at Red Hill, Alabama, 14 January 1865, an action in which CBL also took part.⁶⁶ A rather forbidding picture of this youthful commander was painted by a recent recruit near the end of the war: "Col. Palmer is a hard man well calculated for a soldier. His men regard him as one of little manly principles but an excellent commander."⁶⁷

⁶² Ibid., 21-22.

⁶³ Ibid., 50-59, and Brit Allan Storey, "William Jackson Palmer, Promoter," *Colorado Magazine* 43 (1966): 45.

⁶⁴ Letter 6 (WJP to CBL, 7 May 1861).

⁶⁵ Letter 40 (WJP to RHL, 20 September 1861). RHL knew General Anderson. See ETLPP, RHL to RL, 6 August 1861. See also *DbD*, 5, 71, 74, 109. Cf. CWFSP, 86-89.

⁶⁶ *HPV*, 4.898-899, 902, and Lang, *Medal of Honor*, 1.1015, No. 1011.

⁶⁷ For the wartime description, see Edward L. Palmer, letter of January 1865, in James B. Stabler, ed., "Thy Affectionate Son," *A Collection of Letters of Three Brothers: John Palmer, William I. Palmer, and Edward L. Palmer from the 1860s* ([Colorado Springs]: self-published, 1993), 37-38. Palmer also remarks, "But every man that is a soldier long must become hardened. The life is exceedingly difficult and naturally inclined to demoralize a man." In a letter of 14 January 1865 (p. 60), he observes, "It is not only the exposure but the privations that a man

After the war WJP first worked for the Kansas Pacific Railroad, but resigned in 1870 in order to build the Denver and Rio Grande Railway. In so doing, he established and developed Colorado Springs. He was married, and had three daughters.⁶⁸

ELIZA S. RANDOLPH resided at 1709 Green Street, Philadelphia, and was a widow in 1861. She was a connection of Gertrude Kimber Burleigh and Mary Grew.⁶⁹

ANNA MARY RINEHART (? - ?), known as ANNIE, was a daughter of David Rinehart, a Chester County native who became a successful lumber merchant, banker, and investor in Marietta, on the bank of the Susquehanna River, in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. AMR spoke of RWT as her aunt, and was good friends with ET. She was also an heiress, her father having left her \$10,000.00 in cash and \$10,000.00 in railroad stock on his death in 1852. The burden of caring for her mother fell largely on her, and her mother left her entire estate to AMR on her own death in 1878. After her mother's death, AMR went to live with her sister Susan Pugh in Burlington, New Jersey.⁷⁰

*Certain Connections of the Taylors and Lamborns Whose Letters Are Not Included, and a Few Domestic Beasts.*⁷¹

suffers. It is the demoralization he is subject to. An old soldier told me that the 15th boys had changed so during the time they had been in service he could hardly believe them to be the same boys." Palmer seems to use the words "demoralize, demoralization" literally: the degrading of a man's habits and sentiments.

⁶⁸ Storey, "Palmer," 45-55.

⁶⁹ McElroy, *McElroy's Philadelphia 1861*, 808; Letter 11 (Eliza S. Randolph to RL, 15 June 1861), and Lucretia L. Blankenburg, "Mary Grew, 1813-1896," in Biddle, Gertrude Bosler, and Sarah Dickinson Lowrie, *Notable Women of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942), 140-141.

⁷⁰ *Portrait Lancaster County*, 184-185; Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans, *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania with Biographical Sketches ...* (Philadelphia: Everts & Peck, 1883), 645, and the wills of David Reinhart (1852), and Susan H. Reinhart (1878), recorded in the Old Court House, Lancaster City, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Will Book V, vol. 1, pp. 152-154, and Will Book D, vol. 2, p. 23. I could find no record of AMR's will in Lancaster. However, AMR is recorded in the household of her brother-in-law J. Howard Pugh in Burlington, New Jersey, in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Tenth Census*. I was not able to go to Burlington to investigate.

⁷¹ Unless otherwise noted, the information in the following biographies is taken from Longwood Cemetery tombstones, a typewritten genealogy of the Gause family in the Gause file at the Chester County History Center, or Gilbert Cope and Henry Graham Ashmead, *Historic Homes and Institution and Genealogical and Personal Memoirs of Chester and Delaware Counties, Pennsylvania*, vol. 1 (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1904), 589-593.

The following biographies should be of use in identifying persons frequently mentioned in the letters, and a few four-footed friends.

AGNEW, JOHN, AND LYDIA: parents of BT's first wife, Mary S. Agnew. John Agnew and Harlan Gause often visited John P. Chambers at his sawmill. They were "both good singers and jolly good fellows".⁷² WILTON AGNEW was the son of the preceding.⁷³

BEN: JT's elderly, docile gelding.

BILL: another equine member of the Taylor household.

BOKER, GEORGE HENRY: (1823-1890) son of the Philadelphia merchant and banker Charles S. Boker. A Princeton graduate (1842), he decided to write poetry rather than to pursue a career in business. "[T]he 'handsomest man in America,' as N. P. Willis called him, Boker was a serious writer ... and one whose plays were the earliest in America with a value as literature, as poetry, as well as of the stage. They were performed at intervals through the fifties and sixties, and *Francesca da Rimini*, for one, had a long life."⁷⁴ An ardent Unionist, Boker was a founding member of the Union League of Philadelphia.⁷⁵ He was a close friend of BT, and wrote the preface to the 'Household Edition' of *The Poetical Works of Bayard Taylor* published in 1886.

BOLTON, SALLY: daughter of the American consul at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1856 and 1857, she and her family entertained AT, ET, and CFT at Christmastime the year of their European sojourn. She married a man named Smith, and died in 1864, possibly of stomach cancer.⁷⁶

⁷² Chambers, *Bloomfield*, 37.

⁷³ Lordi, *First Hundred Years*, 101.

⁷⁴ Brooks, *Melville and Whitman*, 42.

⁷⁵ Weigley, "Border City," in *PHILA*, 405; Beers, "Centennial City," in *PHILA*, 454, and Burt and Davies, "Iron Age," in *PHILA*, 511-12.

⁷⁶ *RFY*, 139-142; ETLPP, ET to GEG, 9 January 1864, and Letter 131 (Emma Taylor to C.B. Lamborn, 10 March 1864).

BRAISTED, EMMA HOLZER: daughter of a forester who lived near Gotha and “a sort of mother’s helper” to the Buflebs', BT’s friends, she married BT’s valet and returned with him to live in Chester County. Soon after the birth of a baby girl, ANNA, in 1859, and her removal to the United States from Germany, she became mentally ill. Her husband put her in an asylum.⁷⁷

BRAISTED, JOHN M.: a sailor whom BT hired as his valet in 1856 to accompany him on his travels. He married the preceding, settled near Cedarcroft, and worked for the Taylors. Notably, he superintended the building of Cedarcroft. He enlisted in the navy in 1861.⁷⁸

BUFLEB, AUGUST: “a wealthy German land-owner,” met BT in the Middle East in 1851. The two men became fast friends, and Bufleb invited BT to visit him at home in Gotha. There BT met MHT. Bufleb’s wife, A. BUFLEB, was MHT’s aunt.⁷⁹

CHAMBERS, JOHN PUSEY, AND HANNAH THOMPSON: lived at Bloomfield, a farm near Hazeldell, where John operated a sawmill. In 1860 his real estate was valued at \$3,600.00 and his personal estate at \$5,764.00. He was good friends with John Agnew and Harlan Gause. In the 1830s, John built a schoolhouse at Bloomfield for his sister Ruth Ann’s use. She was BT’s first teacher. SUSANNA P. CHAMBERS, one of ET’s correspondents, was a daughter. Another daughter, HANNAH, was married to JERRY CROASDALE. Among John and Hannah’s sons were William (1818-1877) and JOHN T. (b. 1842), as well as the inventor CYRUS (1833-1911).⁸⁰

COX, JOHN (1786-1880), AND HANNAH PEIRCE (1797-1876): lived beside Peirce’s Park, now Longwood Gardens, and donated the land for the Longwood Progressive Friends’ Meeting

⁷⁷ *RFY*, 75-6, and Letter 46 (ET to CBL, 7 October 1861).

⁷⁸ *L&L*, 315. Braisted and his daughter, a year old, are recorded as resident with Charles Osmund near Cedarcroft in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 19, p. 209, Dwelling 629, Family 644. Braisted’s personal estate is valued at \$500.00. His place of birth is given as “Gota”, Germany, his daughter’s, as Pennsylvania. “Gota” was a mistake. His superintendence of the construction of Cedarcroft is attested by Benjamin Peirce in *DLN*, 27 July 1886 (typewritten copy in CCHC, HABS, vol. 8, East Marlboro).

⁷⁹ *L&L*, 222, 238.

⁸⁰ Chambers, *Bloomfield*, 30, 37, 43, 49, and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 19, p. 335, Dwelling 1083, Family 1109. See also ETLPP, ET to AT, 9 February 1861.

House in 1854. Hannah was sister to RPL and Jacob Peirce. The Coxes ran a station on the Underground Railroad, assisted by their children. Hannah was a spiritualist, and told ET in 1862 that the spirits had assured her CBL would survive the war. In 1860 John's real estate was valued at \$20,550.00, his personal estate at \$2,517.00. Their children JACOB P. (1824-1897), LYDIA (1826-1916), ANNA (1829-1907), and JOHN WILLIAM (1835-1901) figure in these letters. The Coxes were friends of such luminaries as Charles C. Burleigh, Lucretia Mott, Mary Grew, Theodore Parker, William Lloyd Garrison, and John Greenleaf Whittier. A child by John Cox's first marriage, MARY HALL COX, is also mentioned in the letters.⁸¹

CURTIS, GEORGE WILLIAM (1824-1892): "a highly ornamental young man," "perhaps the foremost of Emerson's apostles," lived at Brook Farm, worked at the *New York Tribune*, lectured tirelessly for abolition and women's rights, and later for civil service reform. He was a colleague and friend of BT's.⁸²

DARLINGTON, CHANDLER (1801-1879), AND HANNAH M. (1808-1890): resided near Hazeldell at the Pines, a station on the Underground Railroad, connections of Sarah Pugh and the Kimbers, and original members of Longwood Progressive Friends' Meeting.⁸³ Gilbert Cope writes of Chandler, "Though a plain farmer by occupation, [he] was well informed and deeply

⁸¹ Priscilla L.C. Richardson, *The Coxes of Southeastern Pennsylvania, 1708-1978* (privately printed, 1984), 23, 33-35, 37; Letter 95 (ET to CBL, 17 December 1862), and Longwood Cemetery tombstones. The Chester County History Center possesses a copy of Richardson's work on the Coxes. See also Kashatus, *Just Over the Line*, 94, and Gertrude Bosler Biddle, "Hannah Cox, 1795-1876," in Biddle and Lowrie, *Notable Women*, 124-125. John Cox's worth is found in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 19, p. 211.

⁸² The quotations are from Brooks, *Melville and Whitman*, 11, 12. See also *L&L*, 285, 373, 382, 726, and Weigley, "Border City," in *PHILA*, 390, 391, 392.

⁸³ *HCCP*, 427, and Kashatus, *Just Over the Line*, 94. Kashatus lists only Hannah as an agent and locates her residence in West Chester. This misapprehension may have arisen because Hannah retired to West Chester after her husband's death. She donated land there for a public library. See Gilbert Cope, *Genealogy of the Darlington Family* (West Chester, PA: Committee for the Family, 1900), 141.

interested in the social questions of the day, fearless in the advocacy of right and justice, and undeterred by the unpopularity of his views.”⁸⁴ Hannah was a friend and correspondent of BT.⁸⁵

FAMOUS, COUSIN HANNAH: recalled in the following way by ET. "We had in the family a sort of mother's helper, a cousin of our grandfather, a rather cross, childless old woman. She would say, 'There, thee has read enough now!' 'Thee had better stop!' Whereupon my mother would say, 'Let the child alone, Cousin Hannah, I like to hear her!'" This woman is recorded in the 1860 Federal Census as aged 51, and resident at Hazeldell. A Nathan Famous, aged 65, farm laborer by occupation, is also recorded there.⁸⁶

FANNY: the Taylor's blind mare.⁸⁷

FOGG, STEPHEN N., AND AMANDA GAUSE: a master coachmaker in Kennett Square and his wife, ET's first cousin, daughter of Harlan and Rebecca Gause. Their daughter's name was JOSEPHINE. She was born in 1860. While Stephen claimed no real estate in the 1860 Census, he did claim a personal estate of \$13,000.00.⁸⁸

FOLEY, MICHAEL: an Irish farmhand at Hazeldall, known also as MIKE. He was 22 years old at the time of the 1860 Federal Census.⁸⁹ He is not to be confused with Michael Kavanaugh, on whom see below.

GAUSE, BERNARD (1835-1864): ET's first cousin, son of Harlan and Rebecca Gause, enlisted in the First Pennsylvania Volunteer Reserves at Annapolis, Maryland in 1861. Gause

⁸⁴ Cope, *Darlington Family*, 141.

⁸⁵ *L&L*, 621, 538.

⁸⁶ *RFY*, 6. Her last name is found in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 19, p. 209, Dwelling 626, Family 641.

⁸⁷ BT's account of her death in 1870 makes one angry and sad. "Blind Fanny was found dead this morning. Joe thinks somebody had taken her in the night and ridden her violently. Another advantage of living where people allow such things to be done, without punishing the culprits." See *TFP*, BT to AT, 19 August 1870, written at Cedarcroft.

⁸⁸ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 19, pp. 329-330, Dwelling 1044, Family 1069.

⁸⁹ Mike appears frequently in *TFP*. See also U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 19, p. 209, Dwelling 626, Family 641. His surname is found in the Census.

was captured twice during the war. The first time, in 1862, he was paroled, and was welcomed by CFT in Annapolis. The second time, in 1864, after the “exchange cartel” had broken down, he was imprisoned. He died at the Confederate prison camp at Salisbury, North Carolina, in November 1864. An obelisk marks his grave at Longwood Cemetery.⁹⁰

GAUSE, HARLAN (1793-1852), AND REBECCA TAYLOR (1799-1881): lived near Hazeldell at Willow Glen. Rebecca was JT’s sister. Harlan, John Agnew and John Chambers were good friends. In the 1860 Federal Census, Rebecca is listed as head of household, with real estate valued at \$16,000.00, and personal property at \$1,300.00. Her son IRWIN (IRV, b. 1828) is recorded as residing in her house, with the occupation of farmer and a personal estate of \$12,000.00. He must have taken over the family farm after his father’s death, while his brothers moved away to take up other occupations. His wife EDITH is also recorded in this entry. Rebecca’s daughters ANNIE E. (1825-1875) and HANNAH (b. 1837), the latter soon to marry EDWIN MATTSON (b. 1839), were dwelling with her in 1860, too.⁹¹ TAYLOR, the eldest child of Harlan and Rebecca, resided in Wilmington, Delaware.

GAUSE, HARLAN, JR. (1842-1923): son of the above, resident of Wilmington, accepted a commission in the Fourth Delaware Volunteer Infantry, mustered out as lieutenant colonel, engaged in the lumber business in Wilmington after the war.⁹²

GAUSE, LEWIS, AND FANNY TAYLOR: Lewis was Harlan Gause’s brother, Fanny was JT’s sister. Among their children were WILLIAM, LOUIS, and BEVERLY, all of whom joined the army during the war. The two former were privates in Company H of the Bucktails.

⁹⁰ Letter 27 (CBL to ET, 16 August 1861), and Letter 28 (CBL to RL, 16 August 1861). The phrase cited is from *BCF*, 791.

⁹¹ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 19, p. 339, Dwelling 1120, Family 1147.

⁹² *DLN*, 26 April 1923.

GILLINGHAM, WILLIAM H., M.D. (d. 1863): practiced medicine in Kennett Square in the 1820's and 1830's, then moved his practice to Philadelphia. His daughter Elizabeth married JHT. Another daughter, KATE figures in these letters.

GRAHAM, JAMES LORIMER, JR. (1835-1876): son of a wealthy New Yorker, educated in New York and France, highly cultured with "brilliant conversational talents," a collector, a friend of BT and of many other writers and artists, died in Florence while United States consul.⁹³

HANSEN, AUGUST: MHT's younger brother.

HANSEN, IDA: MHT's sister.

HANWAY, CASTNER (1821-1893), AND HANNAH PENNOCK (1819-1864): a Quaker, a miller, a relation of the Lamborns by marriage, tried for treason for his part in the 1851 Christiana Riot, Hanway was a founding member of the Longwood Progressive Friends' Meeting, and a stationmaster on the Underground Railroad. Hannah was the daughter of Moses and Mary Lamborn Pennock. Mary was RL's sister. Castner's first wife was Martha Lamborn, daughter of RL's brother Jesse and Letitia Cox Lamborn.⁹⁴

HEBERLY, KARL, and LENA (or LINA): brother and sister, Germans, servants of the Taylors, whose behavior presented challenges to their mistresses.⁹⁵

JACK: CFT's dog.

JACKSON, FRANCIS H.: WJP's uncle and frequent correspondent. Jackson "was connected with the Westmoreland Coal Company," and in 1855 lent WJP money "to study railways and

⁹³ *L&L*, 386, 473; "James Lorimer Graham, Jr.," *Appleton's Cyclopaedia* 2.702-703.

⁹⁴ See Kashatus, *Just Over the Line*, 94, and Lamborn, *Genealogy*, 273, 285-286.

⁹⁵ On Lena, see ETLPP, RWT to ET, 22 September 1862, RWT to ET, 1 October 1862, ET to CBL, 4 November 1862; and also Letter 131 (ET to CBL, 10 March 1864, omitted portion), and Letter 133 (ET to CBL, 16 March 1864, omitted portion).

mines” in England. Upon his return home, Jackson found him a position with the Westmoreland Coal Company.⁹⁶

JEFFERIS, MORTIMER T.: a native of West Chester, was a druggist, banker, Quartermaster officer, Treasury official, businessman, and Episcopal clergyman at different times during his life. Mr. Jefferis officiated at CBL’s funeral.⁹⁷

KAVANAUGH, MICHAEL: an Irish farmhand fired by AT for voting Democratic.⁹⁸

KIMBER, ABIGAIL (1804-1871): daughter of Emmor and Susannah Jackson Kimber of Kimberton, Chester County, a school teacher and botanist, assisted her father with the Underground Railroad, friend of RPL, abolitionist and women’s rights activist. Lived at 1014 Green Street, Philadelphia.⁹⁹

LEWIS, SARAH: lived with Sarah Pugh and the Kimber sisters at 1014 Green Street, Philadelphia. She had taught school with Sarah Pugh, and was active in the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society. Miss Lewis’s sister ALICE also lived at the Green Street house. Their brother EDWARD J. LEWIS was an officer in the Thirty-Third Illinois (Normal) Regiment, and served most of the war in the Trans-Mississippi Theater. Another brother, JOSEPH J. LEWIS, was Commissioner of Internal Revenue in Washington, D.C., from 1863 to 1865, assisted by his son CHARLTON T. LEWIS, the famous Classicist. Another son, ENOCH E. LEWIS, was an officer in the Seventy-First Pennsylvania (First California) Regiment. Two other brothers of Sarah’s, JOHN J. and HENRY J. LEWIS, were pioneers in Minnesota, and were involved in suppressing the 1862 Sioux uprising. A daughter of Joseph Lewis, Letitia M. Lewis, married the West Chester lawyer WAYNE MACVEAGH (1833-1917), CBL’s mentor and a figure in these letters. Sarah Lewis and

⁹⁶ Fisher, *Builder of the West*, 24, 53.

⁹⁷ *DLN*, 4 April 1906, and 6 January 1902.

⁹⁸ Information provided by Charles F. Hobson via email, 19 September 2022.

⁹⁹ See above under RPL, esp. 34n, and under PK.

her siblings were the children of Enoch Lewis. His first wife, Alice Jackson, was sister to Susanna Jackson, Emmor Kimber's wife, and was thus aunt to Abigail and Pattie Kimber. The Lewises and Kimbers were all cousins of Sarah Pugh, whose mother Catharine was sister to Susanna and Alice Jackson.¹⁰⁰

MEHAFFEY, GEORGE W., AND CHARLOTTE RINEHART: George was a Marietta, Pennsylvania, businessman and politician, a Republican. Charlotte, or CHARLIE, was the sister of AMR, and the daughter of David Rinehart of Marietta, a lumber merchant. They had two children at this time, David or DAID(Y), and MARY.¹⁰¹

PEIRCE, JACOB (d. 1867): brother of RPL and Hannah Cox, raised at Peirce's Park, a member of RPL's circle of abolitionist friends, librarian of the Academy of Natural Science of Philadelphia from 1817 to 1826.¹⁰²

PARKER, EMMA: (b. 1817) the daughter of Thomas Parker, Jr., and Eliza Sharpless of Philadelphia. Her mother was a sister of TOWNSEND SHARPLESS, and thus a cousin of RL's. Another sister, JULIA ANNA SHARPLESS, married THOMAS WILSON of Baltimore.¹⁰³

PENNOCK, MORTON (1833-1864), AND SIDNEY DARLINGTON (1829-1877): Morton was in partnership with his brother in manufacturing in Kennett Square. He was a nephew of RL's.¹⁰⁴

PUGH, JOHN HOWARD, M.D. (1827-1905), AND SUSAN RINEHART: Dr. Pugh was a native of Unionville, near Cedarcroft, taught school in Marietta, Pennsylvania, in 1847, earned a

¹⁰⁰ See McElroy, *McElroy's Philadelphia 1861*, 526, 570; Soderlund, "Female Anti-Slavery Society," 80, 84 (I am indebted to Laurie A. Rofini, Archivist, now retired, Chester County Archives, for this reference); Halliday Jackson, *Proceedings of the Sesqui-Centennial Gathering of the Descendants of Isaac and Ann Jackson: At Harmony Grove, Pa., Eighth Month, Twenty-fifth, 1875 ...* (Philadelphia: Committee for the Family, 1878), 121-123, and Walter W. Lewis, *Genealogy of the Family of Henry Lewis (Son of Evan Lewis) Who Emigrated from Wales in 1682*, 2nd ed. (Schenectady, NY: privately reproduced, 1970), 1-33, 63-65, 92-95.

¹⁰¹ See above under AMR with sources there.

¹⁰² See above under RPL.

¹⁰³ Cope, *Sharpless Family*, 457.

¹⁰⁴ See above, "Influences," 28&29nn.

medical degree at the University of Pennsylvania, and settled in Burlington, New Jersey. He was a Republican, served a term in Congress, and spent the latter part of his career as a banker.

Susan was sister to AMR and Charlotte Mehaffey. Dr. and Mrs. Pugh had a daughter named BELL.¹⁰⁵

PUGH, SARAH: (1800-1884) was PK's first cousin, and she ran a school together with RPL. She was an abolitionist and women's rights activist. She owned 1014 Green Street, Philadelphia, where she looked after her mother, and lived in a small community with PK, Abigail Kimber, and Sarah and Alice Lewis. She was raised in Germantown, now a neighborhood in Philadelphia.¹⁰⁶

RINEHART, SUSAN HAINES: widow of David Rinehart of Marietta, Pennsylvania, mother of AMR, Charlotte Mehaffey, and Susan Pugh. ET called her "Aunt Susan."¹⁰⁷

SICKELS, THEOPHILUS E. (1822-1885), AND LYDIAN TAYLOR (1831-1876): Theophilus, a New Yorker, was an engineer and successful railroad promoter, Lydian was a cousin of ET's, daughter of JT's brother Joshua Taylor. Theophilus had come to Kennett by 1854 in connection with the building of the Philadelphia & Baltimore Central Railway. In 1860, the Sickleses were living with Lydian's parents. At the time, Theophilus possessed real estate worth \$10,000.00,

¹⁰⁵ United States Congress, *Biographical Directory*, <http://www.bioguide.congress.gov>; HCCP, 701, and DLN, 2 May 1905.

¹⁰⁶ Swarthmore Library, PG 7, Kimber, Emmor, 1774-1850; Dinniman, "Finding Aid," 4, and Soderlund, "Female Anti-Slavery Society," 67-68.

¹⁰⁷ Her maiden-name is given in Ellis and Evans, *Lancaster County*, 645. Her will gives her middle initial as "H" (see above, 70n). Her husband spelled the family name "Reinhart", his father spelled the name "Rinehart", and others in the family spelled it "Reinhardt". See Annie M.P. M'Cormack, *The Reinhardts and Hawleys of Chester County, PA, Lives and Letters ...* (Ottawa, Canada: Gilmore Doculink International, 2003), 8 & 10. Susan's husband, David Reinhart, was from Parkersford, Chester County. His brother Isaac sent his daughter Mary to Emmor Kimber's school in Kimberton, Chester County (ibid., 8 & 14). Susan Reinhart's maiden name was Haines, a Chester County name. Though I cannot establish a direct relationship with the Taylors, the Reinharts moved in the same circles. See also above, 2n.

and a personal estate of \$1,500.00. Later on, they built a mansion in Kennett Square with a tower to compete with Cedarcroft's. They had two daughters in 1860, MARY and ROSA.¹⁰⁸

STEDMAN, EDMUND CLARENCE (1833-1908): a New York stockbroker and poet, friend of BT's. Van Wyck Brooks observes, "[O]ne could only say of Stedman that he never 'drew very deep water' as a poet, a phrase of Walt Whitman, who admired and loved him as a man ... As a critic, with a lifelong interest in poetry, Stedman was the best since Poe ..."¹⁰⁹

STEELE, ISABEL: a servant of the Taylors', she was 11 years old in 1860.¹¹⁰

STODDARD, RICHARD HENRY (1825-1903), AND ELIZABETH BARSTOW (1823-1902): Stoddard, a self-educated iron molder, was an early friend of BT's in New York. Once each man married, they sometimes shared lodgings in New York. Stoddard was a poet, a critic, and a literary editor. Mrs. Stoddard was a poet and novelist, whose work has begun to receive critical attention again in recent years. An unnamed, infant son of the Stoddards' died in Kennett Square in 1859, and was buried at Longwood Cemetery in the Taylor enclosure. Their son WILLY died in 1861. Their son LORIMER EDWIN was born in 1864.¹¹¹

TAYLOR, BECKY (1803-1893): daughter of JT's uncle Joshua, sister of Dr. Franklin Taylor, MILTON TAYLOR (1808-1888), and ZEBULON TAYLOR. Milton married Sarah Sharp, and they had nine children, including ALMIRA, who married JOHN CHANDLER, and PHEBE, who

¹⁰⁸ ARCCD, 26 December 1854, and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 19, pp. 330-332, Dwelling 1054, Family 1079. See also Stebbins, *Reminiscences*, 1.

¹⁰⁹ Brooks, *Melville and Whitman*, 331.

¹¹⁰ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 19, p. 210, Dwelling 630, Family 645.

¹¹¹ Hart, *Companion to American Literature*, 639; Jennifer Putzi & Elizabeth Stockton, ed., *The Selected Letters of Elizabeth Stoddard* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2012), Introduction, *passim*. Information on the Stoddards' unnamed infant from Charles F. Hobson by email, 20 September 2022. On Willy's death see Letter 58 (Emma Taylor to C.B. Lamborn, 31 December 1861), and on Lorimer's birth, see Letter 113 (Emma Taylor to C.B. Lamborn, 5 January 1864).

married JOSEPH G. TAYLOR. Zebulon was unmarried. His nickname was ZEBLYS. Becky also never married. Her linguistic prowess has already been recorded.¹¹²

TAYLOR, FRANKLIN (1819-1890): a first cousin of JT's. A native of Kennett Township, he was educated in Wilmington, Delaware, and New England. He went abroad with BT and Barclay Pennock in 1844. While the others hiked through Europe, Franklin Taylor remained in Heidelberg studying at the university. Ever after he was addressed as "Doctor." Taylor was a teacher, lecturer, journalist, promoter, and political activist. He was president of the Philadelphia & Baltimore Central Railway in its early days. He became editor of the *Kennett Square Free Press* in 1855, and later worked for the *Philadelphia Press*. In the 1860s, he was a Republican "militant", as we say nowadays, and his activity in county politics, as well as his connections in Harrisburg and Washington, brought him two patronage appointments in succession: Postmaster of West Chester, and Collector of Internal Revenues. As we have seen, he was also an educator, an early advocate both of normal schools and of teachers' institutes. He seems to have fallen back on teaching whenever his other interests did not pay the bills. His last position was as president of the Boys' High School in Philadelphia. During the war, he boarded in West Chester at Mrs. Martha Lamborn's. In 1867 he married Mrs. Lamborn's daughter Priscilla. They had one son, who died young. Dr. Taylor must have been a character. These words from his obituary are telling. "He possessed an inexhaustible fund of good humor, and his ready wit answered the purpose many a time of getting him out of a tight place or of relieving himself or friends when in embarrassing circumstances."¹¹³

¹¹² Above under RWT.

¹¹³ Longwood Cemetery tombstone; *L&L*, 17, 33, 37, 50; *RFY*, 14; *HCCP*, 361, and *DLN*, 17 April 1890. On teachers' institutes, which provided short training courses for teachers already employed in schools, see Butts and Cremin, *History of Education*, 287. *VR*, 22 October 1861 and 5 November 1861 record that Taylor was one of the lecturers at the Annual Teachers' Institute of Chester County. Taylor's wartime lodgings are recorded in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 20, p. 653, Dwelling 195, Family 193. His political

TAYLOR, JOSHUA (ca. 1797-1873), AND MARY DIXON (ca. 1807-1892): Joshua, a farmer, was JT's brother. In the 1860 Census his real estate was valued at \$12,750.00, and his personal estate at \$1,900.00.¹¹⁴ Joshua and Mary's daughter ELLEN TAYLOR (1837-1930) never married, but "was active in social affairs and philanthropic work of all kinds." A son named HENRY WILLIS TAYLOR lived with the family.

TEMPLE, ELIZABETH: (1820-1862) was born in Yorkshire, England. She came to the United States when young, and worked for RWT. At the beginning of the Civil War, she was making her living as a seamstress. She then became a nurse under Dorothea Dix in Washington, D.C., where she died. The Taylors brought her body back to Chester County, and buried her at Longwood. Her name is on the Civil War monument in the cemetery.¹¹⁵

VERNON, REBECCA J.: a 35-year-old domestic living with the Taylors, as recorded in the 1860 Federal Census. There are various references to this person, known as BECKY, throughout the letters. All these references indicate that Becky was an upper-level servant. BT once referred to "Becky's fits of brutality."¹¹⁶

WALTER, TOWNSEND (b. 1815): son of RL's sister MARGARET and of WILLIAM WALTER, resident of Coatesville, Chester County, seems to have been genuinely fond of RL.¹¹⁷

WILKINSON, MARY GAUSE: (1833-1893): ET's first cousin. She married newspaperman J. HENDERSON WILKINSON (1832-1898). At the beginning of the war, she was living in Ohio, but later her husband's job took her to Washington, D. C. She was called SISS.

connections are plain from several letters in this collection, e.g., Letter 104 (ET to CBL, 8 March 1863, omitted portion).

¹¹⁴ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 19, pp. 330-331, Dwelling 1054, Family 1079.

¹¹⁵ Longwood Cemetery tombstone, and letters in this collection.

¹¹⁶ *TFP*, BT to ATC, 25 August 1873, and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 19, p. 210, Dwelling 630, Family 645.

¹¹⁷ See Lamborn, *Genealogy*, 273 & 286; Letter 1 (CBL to RL, 15 April 1861), and ETLPP, RL to CBL, 14 November 1861, and RL to CBL, 28 November 1861.

WILLIS, NATHANIEL PARKER (1806-1867): called “the wet nurse of American literature” by R.H. Stoddard, his early travel writing fueled BT’s desire, at the age of ten, to visit Europe, and BT later thought of Willis as his patron.¹¹⁸ Van Wyck Brooks remarks, “It is easy to make fun of Willis, but he was an artist, nevertheless, in spite of his flowery mannerisms and his fripperies and fluff. Save here and there for a lapse of taste, his style was almost as good as Irving’s, with the natural flow and amenity and elegance of the *Sketch Book*, and a handful of his later stories proved that he was a writer born and one that a careless country should not have forgotten.”¹¹⁹

WILLIS, RICHARD STORRS: brother to N.P. Willis, and a friend of BT’s.¹²⁰

WORRELL, EMMA (1834-1930): born and raised in Wilmington, Delaware, though her roots appear to have been in West Chester. In the early 1860s, she directed the Young Ladies’ Select School in West Chester with her relations “the Misses Lamborn.” The latter were undoubtedly RACHEL and PRISCILLA LAMBORN, in whose house Miss Worrel and her sister LAURA WORRELL boarded. When ET taught briefly in West Chester in 1863, she also boarded at the Lamborns’, and became good friends with Miss Worrell. Miss Worrell returned to Wilmington in 1864, where she established a school and cared for her parents. She remained in Wilmington for the rest of her life. She maintained her friendship with ET over the years, and “read a tribute” to ET at her funeral. She always used the “plain speech” in her letters to ET.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ *OTC*, 69, and *L&L*, 10.

¹¹⁹ Van Wyck Brooks, *The World of Washington Irving* (1944; New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, Everyman's Library 642A, 1950), 450.

¹²⁰ *L&L*, 40.

¹²¹ Letter 104 (ET to CBL, 8 March 1863, omitted portion); CCHC clippings file under Lamborn; *HCCP*, 306; Lamborn, *Genealogy*, 280-281, and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census*, Pennsylvania, vol. 20, p. 653, Dwelling 195, Family 193. See also *Wilmington (DE) Every Evening*, 13 November 1930. I have adopted the spelling of Miss Worrell’s name used in her own letters and in the Wilmington obituary. The spelling used in Chester County is “Worrall”.

Appendix III

Excursuses

1. C.B. Lamborn's Unpopularity in Company A

Company A (Brandywine Guards), First Regiment, First Brigade, Pennsylvania Reserve Volunteer Corps, was clearly in some sort of difficulty in the fall of 1861.¹ A rumor was circulating in West Chester that the company was going to lose its position of honor at the head of the alphabet and as the divisional commander's guard. The rumor seems to have been false, but its existence points to some problem in the company that was reverberating at home. The problem seems to have lain at one level with the leadership of the regiment, particularly with Colonel Roberts.² However, there were problems at company level, too.

At the time, the company officers were Capt. John W. Nields, 1st Lieut. Charles B. Lamborn, 2nd Lieut. Mott Hooton, and 2nd Lieut. Cheyney W. Nields. On 10 October 1861, Captain Nields accepted the lieutenant colonelcy of the One hundred-fourth Pennsylvania.³ As senior lieutenant CBL expected to become captain of the company. However, he was not popular with the men of the company, who had the right to elect their own officers. Douglas R. Harper states that CBL "often fought with his own comrades in camp."⁴ I have not been able to confirm this statement, although Letter 45 (ET to CBL, 3 October 1861) does suggest that CBL

¹ I wrote this excursus several years before the publication of Brown & King, *Small Company* in 2015. Their coverage of the election is more complete than mine, but my focus was on CBL. The two accounts complement each other.

² See Ch. 1, 49n.

³ *HCCP*, Appendix, ii.

⁴ *CWCC*, 123-124.

had been guilty of displays of ill temper towards his men. Moreover, there is evidence that he was not liked by many of the men in the company.

On 30 September 1861, Albert Way of Oak Hill in the vicinity of West Chester wrote his son Joseph, a private in Company A, "I was requested by a neighbour to enquire how Charles Lamborn stood in the capacity of an officer with the company as they heard he was not verry popular."⁵ Joseph Way replied from Camp Tennally 3 October 1861, "As thee wanted to know how Charles Lamborn stood · it is verry easly told · he is not verry well liked by the men · Capten Nields is a going to leave us · he has been chosen Lieut. Colonel of another Regiment · the men are all glad to hear of his promotion but are verry sorry to part with him · it is Lamborns turn now · but the men are a going to try to elect Hooton Capten over him · if they cannot · their will be a great dissatisfaction in this company · thare is but two men that is in favour of him."⁶ On 16 October Hooton was elected captain.

The election was of general interest in Chester County, in which the company had been recruited. Knowing this, CBL, the day of the election, wrote the *Philadelphia Inquirer* bureau chief in Washington, Uriah H. Painter, a West Chester native, the following. "Mott Hooton · 2nd Lt. Company A. 1st Regt. Pa. Res. Vol. Corps · has this day been elected Captain of said company. 'Gen. McCall's Body Guard' · Please note in your report of this election that 1st Lieut. Chas. B. Lamborn was offered the position but declined it on recieving the Appointment of Aid de Camp to Brig. Gen. Jn. F. Reynolds—I desire this for the gratification of my friends at home rather than my own."⁷ This letter seems to have been published, as on 24 December 1861 Joseph

⁵ CCHC Ltr. 8555.

⁶ CCHC Ltr. 8464.

⁷ CCHC Ltr. 24982. It should be noted that CBL had some prior connection with General Reynolds through his sisters, Harriet and Eleanor (or Hal and Ellie), who lived with a third sister, Mrs. Henry D. Landis, at 1829 Spruce Street, Philadelphia (Nichols, *Towards Gettysburg*, 73). On 10 June 1862, Reynolds mentioned "your friend Mr.

Way's brother Emmor wrote, with not a little malice, "I expect you had a jolly time reading Lamborn's letter."⁸

What does this evidence suggest? First, it appears that CBL's opponents in the company were aided and abetted by their families—and the rumor-mongers—at home. The touch of malice in Emmor Way's letter may even reflect some prior dislike of CBL. At any rate, CBL was aware that he was the target of malicious gossip. His letter to Uriah Painter was an ill-judged attempt at self-vindication.

Second, CBL's statement that he was "offered the position but declined it on receiving the Appointment of Aide de Camp to Brig. Gen. Jno. F. Reynolds" is interesting. CBL does not claim that he was elected captain. Who, then, offered the position? Could it be that the regiment's commanders, Colonel Roberts and Lieutenant Colonel McIntire, tried to force CBL on the company, but met with such opposition that, with General McCall, they effected CBL's transfer to General Reynolds' staff, to prevent greater "dissatisfaction" from arising in "Gen. McCall's Body Guard"?

Third, the evidence leads one to ponder CBL's character as an officer. Why was he disliked? James McPherson has posited six chief reasons why Civil War enlisted men disliked their officers: lack of personal concern for the men; aloofness; incompetence; drunkenness; a

Lamborn" in a letter to Ellie (*ibid.*, 86). Moreover, ETLPP, Susanna Chambers to ET, 13 November 1862, mentions that Reynolds was pleased with CBL's work, which indicates that she had a connection with the Reynolds family. Also, ETLPP, ALT to CBL, 15 November 1862, mentions that John W. Cox knew Reynolds' sisters, Cox being CBL's first cousin. Letter 82 (ET to CBL, 28 September 1862) reports that Cox had met a friend, a Miss Reynolds, at market in Philadelphia, and had accompanied her to Kennett Square. Finally, CBL himself closes a letter of 18 July 1862 to Reynolds' sister Hal with the words, "With kind regards to yourself & your sister Mrs. Evans, whom I do not know personally, & to Miss Ellie." (This quotation from CBL's letter of 18 July 1862 to "the Misses Reynolds" is found in the *Eleanor Reynolds Scrapbook* at Franklin and Marshall College Library. See "July 18, 1862: Charles Lamborn to [Eleanor] Reynolds" at digital.fandm.edu.) This evidence strongly suggests that, before his appointment to Reynolds' staff, CBL was already known to General Reynolds through the latter's sisters, who had connections in Kennett Square, particularly with the John and Hannah Cox family.

⁸ CCHC Ltr. 8559.

spirit of strict discipline, and cowardice. Cowardice, M^cPherson found, was the most serious complaint a soldier could have against an officer.⁹ As we shall see, CBL was decisive and courageous on the field of battle. Moreover, although he liked a drink, he was not a drunk. The commendations he received from his superiors throughout the war indicate his competence.¹⁰ But his surviving letters do not reveal the "almost paternal interest in the men" of which M^cPherson speaks. Nor do his letters disclose an egalitarian spirit. His education at the University of Michigan had inculcated quite the opposite spirit. Finally, the models of officership before him in his first years in the army—Lt. Col. Henry M. M^cIntire and Gen. John F. Reynolds—were both strict disciplinarians.¹¹ Very probably then, CBL's temperament, education, and notion of officership made him unpopular among the volunteer lawyers, clerks, skilled craftsmen, and citizen-farmers of his company, who all figured they were just as good as he was, and resented his shouting orders at them.

2. The Andersons' Fight at Gatlinburg, Tennessee

The circumstances of the fight at Gatlinburg are difficult to determine with confidence.

This account relies on WJP's official report of 11 December 1863, on CBL's recollections

⁹ James M^cPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 53-61.

¹⁰ Both his courage and his competence are attested, e.g., in *OR*, 1.11.2, pp. 404 & 418.

¹¹ In Letter 8 (CBL to ET, 12 June 1861) the writer speaks approvingly of M^cIntires's disciplinary measures at Camp Wayne, and indicates his willing participation in their enforcement. "We adopted most stringent rules and compelled the man to remain in camp." Such discipline was resented by some of the men. See *VR*, 12 August 1862, where an extract from a letter by an enlisted man in the First Reserves, written after the Seven Days Battles, is published. "I admired Col. M^cIntyre's coolness at that time. Although I disliked him as sometimes privatts do their commanders when they think they are used hard; but Lieut. Col. M^cIntyre has gained my good will and that of many more who saw him in the battlefield doing all that laid in his power to keep the boys in good heart—he taking the same fate of his men" (Civil War Clippings File, Chester County History Center). Reynolds, a West Pointer, was known for his strict discipline, and alienated the 1862 Pennsylvania militia volunteers, of whom he was given command, because of it. See Nichols, *Toward Gettysburg*, 78-80, 136-138. An excellent account of the egalitarian principles that governed pre-Civil War militia service among Anglo-Americans, and which caused several mutinies in the first two years of the war, can be found in Romansky, *Disunion in the Ranks*, passim. The second chapter is a detailed study of the 1862 mutiny of the Anderson Cavalry, the regiment which CBL would join as lieutenant colonel.

recorded years after the event, as well as on Cpl. William Spang's later memories, and on the report which I heard from Bill Hooks, a retired U.S. Park Service employee, with whom I spoke in Gatlinburg in 2003.¹²

WJP led his regiment from Knoxville through Chandler and Maryville to "Weir's Cove", Tennessee, no doubt the present-day Wear Cove on U.S. 321/S.R. 73, also known as the Wear Valley Road. There on 9 December 1863 he divided his force. He sent part of the command under CBL along the main road from Sevierville to Gatlinburg (the Wear Valley Road joins this route), so as to approach Thomas's men from the north, blocking one avenue of escape. Meanwhile, WJP led the remainder of the command on a bridle path over Cove Mountain—possibly today's Wear Gap Road—to strike the road leading SSW out of Gatlinburg towards North Carolina. This allowed him to block Thomas's other escape route. The trap might have worked, if Thomas's Legion had not simply scampered over the mountain behind their position and escaped.

On the morning of the 10th, the two parties of the Andersons closed in on Thomas. Mr. Hooks identified Cannon Mountain as the site of Thomas's camp, and White Oaks Flat Cemetery as the site of the Federal position during the four-hour long battle. These two high points face each other across the shallow valley of Basking Creek—the one above the modern Arrowmont, the other above the Number 6 traffic light—and look down on what is now U.S. Highway 441,

¹² WJP to Maj. Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside, 11 December 1863; Lamborn, "First East Tennessee," and William Spang, "The Cherokee Indian Raid," in *FPVC*, 660-661, 332-333, 345-347. These sources make no mention of the cause of Thomas's occupation of Gatlinburg. VisitMy Smokies, "History of the Civil War in Gatlinburg TN and Pigeon Forge TN," <http://www.visitmysmokies.com> (accessed 29 June 2021), reports that Alum Cave near Gatlinburg held a deposit of saltpeter, important for making gunpowder, and that Thomas's men were in the town to mine the deposit. However, CBL reports that the cause of the Andersons' pursuit of Thomas was that Thomas had just come over from North Carolina, and had raided and plundered Sevierville. Perhaps the saltpeter at Alum Cave was mined sporadically, and Thomas was at this time just taking advantage of the camp site at Gatlinburg for a bivouac.

which leads north to Sevierville and south to North Carolina. The cemetery was probably used by WJP as a command post and for covering fire.

On their arrival in Gatlinburg, the two detachments of Federals drove the Confederate pickets back on their own camp. Corporal Spang describes the battle. "The first battalion, counted into sets of four, dismounted, and under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Lamborn, advanced under a fierce fire. The Indian war whoop resounded throughout the forest as they gave us several volleys, wounding Capt. Chas. M. Betts and Capt. George S. Clark. We then charged along the meadow, waded through the creek, breast deep, climbed up the hills and into the Indian camp. There were the blazing fires and the corn cakes baking, just ready to eat; so we gobbled them from out the frying pan, and finding no Indians in the huts, we started out and fought them until we had driven them away into the dense forest and we could no longer hear their war whoop."

3. The Route of WJP's Command During the Pontoon Raid

The route taken by the 15th Pennsylvania under CBL, with detachments of the Second Tennessee Cavalry and of the Tenth, Twelfth, and Thirteenth Indiana Cavalry under Col. William F. Prosser—the entire force under command of WJP—from their departure from Decatur, Alabama, 28 December 1864, until their return there 6 January 1865, a distance of some 265 miles, is very hard to determine in certain of its parts. Place names have changed, places have disappeared, creeks have become reservoirs, lesser roads are omitted from old maps, some roads no longer exist, and WJP frequently left the roads altogether to head across country.

Nevertheless, an attempt is made here to determine the route as nearly as can be without driving over the landscape. Several contemporary accounts exist: Letter 238 (CBL to ET, 1

January 1865); Letter 241 (CBL to ET, 8 January 1865), and WJP to Maj. S.B. Moe, 10 January 1865 (*FPVC*, 688-692). Two later accounts, published in the regimental history in 1906, are also helpful: Charles H. Kirk, "The Last Blow at Hood's Army", in *FPVC*, 688-692, and James W. Over, "Capture of Colonel Warren and Incidents of the Pontoon Raid", in *FPVC*, 457-459. The following maps have been very useful: *Colton's Alabama* (New York, 1864); Eugene A. Smith, *Geological Survey of Alabama, Geological Map of Marion County* (1878); Delos H. Bacon, *Map of Colbert and Franklin Counties, Ala.* (Florence, AL, c. 1908); U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Soil Map, Alabama, Lawrence County Sheet* (1914), and U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Soil Map, Alabama, Morgan County Sheet* (1918).

Wednesday, 28 December 1864. Nighttime advance from Decatur (Morgan County) on the main road towards Courtland (Lawrence County). Two direct roads seem to have led to Courtland: one ran more or less straight west to Courtland; the other more or less followed the railroad, until it joined the first road west of Hillsboro (Lawrence County). The second appears to have been the main road, as we learn from tomorrow's action that the main road ran through Hillsboro. Between four and six miles from Decatur (memories varied), and five miles from Hillsboro, perhaps near Trinity Creek, WJP attacked an enemy force of cavalry. The Confederates retreated, and WJP bivouacked for the night.

Thursday, 29 December. WJP sent part of his force under Prosser forward on the main Courtland Road. He led the Andersons north to the road from Brown's Ferry to Courtland as a precaution against enemy flanking movements. Presumably, the first road mentioned above tied into the Brown's Ferry Road somehow. Prosser met a body of Confederate cavalry at Hillsboro, and, having sent them flying, chased them to Pond Spring (Lawrence County), Gen. Joseph Wheeler's residence, where he met General Roddey's main force. Immediately attacking, he

routed Roddey's command, and pursued it through Courtland to Town Creek, where Roddey rallied his men. WJP rejoined Prosser after a much longer march, and bivouac was made.

Friday, 30 December. WJP reached Leighton (Colbert County), proceeding cautiously, as earlier in the week General Hood's army had crossed at Bainbridge (now submerged) near Florence. He skirmished with Roddey's men all the way. He learned that Hood's pontoon train had stopped for the night on the 29th at LaGrange, a college town in the mountains south of Leighton, and determined to pursue it.

Saturday, 31 December. WJP skirted Roddey's forces at LaGrange on a path, and struck off for Russellville (Franklin County), "on a good mountain road" (Kirk), where he again scattered some of Roddey's men. They fled south towards Tuscaloosa, while WJP headed WSW out of Russellville on the Cotton Gin Road, which still exists. It was also called the Bull Mountain Road. WJP caught up with the pontoon wagon train at Nauvoo (now old Nauvoo, Franklin County), a mile or so before reaching Little Bear Creek (now a reservoir), and destroyed it. There the command bivouacked, though not before WJP learned that an enemy wagon train of supplies was not too far ahead.

Sunday, 1 January 1865. WJP pursued the supply train on the Aberdeen Road. A 1908 map indicates that an Aberdeen Road intersected the Cotton Gin Road not far from Little Bear Creek. This may have been the road WJP took, although the map indicates that it ended further south in the county in a tee-intersection. At any rate, later in the day, in Marion County, WJP divided his command. He sent CBL directly after the train on the Cotton Gin Road, while he led a detachment "from near Bexar across by a trail to head the train on the Cotton Gin road." This is very hard to understand. However, a map of 1878 shows a Bull Mountain Post Office in Marion County. A road north from the Toll Gate (now Hamilton) made a tee there, while a road

from Franklin County veered WSW there to Shottsville Post Office, Marion County, where it intersected with a road north from Bexar. As the Cotton Gin Road near Russellville was also called the Bull Mountain Road, it makes sense to think that, from the Aberdeen Road, WJP linked up again with the Cotton Gin/Bull Mountain Road, cut WSW to Shottsville, and then headed south towards Bexar. At any rate, that night WJP "surprised [the wagon train] in a camp a few miles over the State line in Itawamba County, Miss." The train was destroyed, and the march resumed.

Monday, 2 January. Unmolested march SE to Gen. Andrew Jackson's old Military Road, then NE to the Toll Gate, and then NE towards Hackleburg Ford (now Hackleburg), on Bear Creek. Both of these locales are in Marion County.

Tuesday, 3 January. Having received intelligence that Roddey had disposed his men to oppose the Yankee raiders at Bear Creek, and towards Moulton (Lawrence County) on the Byler Road, which ran from Courtland to Tuscaloosa, WJP feigned an attack against the forces at Bear Creek, and headed east through the mountains to Thornhill, now in west Haleyburg, Winston County, evading all of Roddey's forces, except for the unit stationed on the Byler Road.

Wednesday, 4 January. Along the Byler Road, Prosser, in the advance, routed the remaining enemy force, and WJP directed his march towards Mount Hope, Lawrence County.

Thursday & Friday, 5-6 January. Discovering near Leighton that the Federal army had returned to Decatur, WJP went back to Decatur "by easy marches" from Leighton.