1996

The Kinnamonts of the eastern shore of Maryland and the District of Columbia

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THE KINNAMONTS
OF THE EASTERN SHORE OF MARYLAND
AND
THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of History
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
K. Matthew Kinnamont

December 1996

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ABSTRACT

THE KINNAMONTS OF THE EASTERN SHORE OF MARYLAND AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

by K. Matthew Kinnamont

This thesis suggests a relationship between the descendants of one John Kininmont, who immigrated to Maryland in 1654, and those of a Dorchester County farmer who, in the early twentieth century, moved with his family from Maryland to the District of Columbia. Colonial probate, land and court records are employed to build a picture of the material and social lives of Captain John Kininmont's progeny up to the Revolution. Family Bible records, church, state and federal documents, together with original photographs and interviews allow for the reconstruction of the Kinnamont family of the District of Columbia's post-Revolution history. Since the Civil War, federal employment, particularly with the armed services, has been an important factor in the lives of most Kinnamont men.

PREFACE
&
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The following is the culmination, if there can ever be such thing in the pursuit of family history, of close to fifteen years of research into the Kinnamont family of Maryland and the District of Columbia. My father, Kenneth V. Kinnamont, was orphaned as a small boy and thus had but a scanty knowledge of his family background to pass on to us. Consequently, I grew up in this age of the glorification of ethnicity and culture feeling rather "disconnected." In the summer of 1982 I decided to remedy this situation. My first foray into the world of genealogy came when I stepped into an LDS genealogy library in Santa Clara, California. From the time that a library worker showed me my surname spelt as we currently do so in an index to the Maryland Census of 1790, I was hooked. I have since made two informative research trips to Annapolis and the Eastern Shore of Maryland, spent hours in musty libraries and record halls, written countless letters, and found a "long lost" uncle, Charles E. Kinnamont.

I would be remiss if I did not mention my great debt to the late Lester Bryan Kinnamon of Talbot and Dorchester Counties who spent the final decades of his life building an exhaustive collection of data on everyone he could find with a surname resembling our own. His book, *The Kinnamon Family in America*, has been an invaluable aid to me in my own study. I will always treasure the memory of my meeting with him at his Easton, Maryland

home in the summer of 1987, and owe my "mania" for primary sources to him. R. Bernice Leonard of St. Michael's, Maryland has likewise contributed mightily to this work. Her fifteen concise volumes of Talbot County land records covering the colonial period have made researching at such a distance far more fruitful than it could have otherwise been.

My second cousin, William M. Kinnamont of Alexandria, Va., has provided me with priceless photographs and information concerning his grandfather, Jacob H. Kinnamont. My Aunt Mary L. Hall of Tucker, Ga., and my Uncle Joe Kinnamont of Prince Frederick, Md. have also contributed photos and information. Robert Kato Design, San Francisco, helped immeasurably with the photos and graphics. Debby Moxey, of the Dorchester County Historical Society, kindly read and advised me on Chapters Four and Five. And to my parents, Ken and Diane Kinnamont, who made this all possible: Thanks y'all!

Lastly, I owe a debt of gratitude to the faculty of the Department of History, San Jose State University. Professors E. T. Van Beek, P. Buzanski, R. S. Cramer, B. Jensen, Y. Li, and E. B. Reynolds have made the past five years an informative, enjoyable and memorable experience. Thanks for your guidance, help and support!

To avoid confusion, I must note that the Kinnamont name has undergone periodic mutation over the last three centuries. In my work, I have sought to preserve the spelling of the name exactly as it has occurred in each primary source. Eccentricities of spelling which occur in other primary sources are similarly treated as a memorial to their age. Such are history.

Matt Kinnamont--December 1996

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ABBREVIATIONS

DCMB	Superior Court of D. C., Marriage Bureau
DCPW	D. C. Dept. of Public Welfare
DCVR	D. C. Dept. of Human Services, Vital Records Branch
E. D.	Enumeration District
Inv. & Accts.	Inventories and Accounts
JHK	Jacob Hicks Kinnamon/t
LDS	Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints
MdHR	Maryland Hall of Records
Nat'l. Arch.	National Archives
TLV	Talbot Land Volume
UNC	University of North Carolina
USPM	U. S. Office of Personnel Management
WMQ	William and Mary Quarterly

THE KININMONT COAT OF ARMS

Around 1200 A. D., a family closely associated with the Church of Scotland took upon themselves a surname associated with lands granted to them by the prior of St. Andrews. These "Kininmunds" were long ago granted a Coat of Arms. The representation on the following page is of its earliest description: "Azure a chevron argent in chief three fleurs-de-lis of the second." It is ultimately a silver chevron upon a brilliant, sky-blue background, topped by three silver *fleurs de lis*. Their crest is a green oak tree, symbolizing "constancy, strength and long life." Their motto is the Latin "Stabo," meaning, "I shall stand."¹ It should be noted that if one's family name is associated with a particular Coat of Arms, it does not necessarily follow that that person is descended from nobility.

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¹George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin, Meaning and History*, (New York: New York Public Library, 1946), 401; Bernard Burke, *Burke's General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales*, London: Harrison, 1884; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Book Co., 1962), 568; James Fairbairn, *Fairbairn's Book of Crests of the Families of Great Britain and Ireland*, 4th ed., London: 1905; reprint, Baltimore: Heraldic Book Co., 1968), Part I, 321, Part II, 78. The illustration on the following page was drawn by Matt Kinnamont.

kininmont

INTRODUCTION

In September of 1635, a pamphlet entitled, *A Relation of Maryland* appeared in the city of London. Published by Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, this pamphlet has been called a "prospectus" for the aspiring colonist.¹ Inside was a map of the Province, a description of the land and its inhabitants, a list of Baltimore's conditions of plantation, and a rather thorough listing of items a prospective planter would need to get started in the colony. If these were not enough, also included was a sample form for the indenture of servants, and a sample bill of lading for the trans-Atlantic journey to Maryland. Although many Britons hearkened to the invitation of Lord Baltimore, this paper will pay particular attention to one man and his American descendants.

John Kininmont was transported, along with his wife and two sons, to the Province of Maryland in 1654, and there he made his home beside a lazy tidal river on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake Bay. That he left the crowded isle of Great Britain for the opportunity of the Americas was in itself no guarantee of success. The New World presented challenges aplenty to new arrivals. Apart from the initial "seasoning" ordeal with its various and chronic maladies, the new settler in the Chesapeake faced the immediate challenge of day to day survival as he and his family attempted to build a

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¹Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland: 1633-1684* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910; reprint, Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, Inc., 1988), 65. Introduction to Cecil Calvert's "A Relation of Maryland," 1635.

working and profitable tobacco plantation. The only known information concerning this early settler of Maryland exists among the ancient records of Talbot County, and Maryland's Provincial Assembly and Courts. More compelling evidence of Kininmont's arrival on the shores of the New World, however, can be found in the number of descendants he left as a living legacy on the Delmarva Peninsula--descendants who have borne the Kininmont name in the similar forms of "Kinnamon" and "Kinnamont" down through the intervening centuries. This paper will attempt, as much as is currently possible, to relate the lineage of John Kininmont the immigrant to that of a Maryland farmer named Kinnamont who, in the early twentieth century, permanently moved with his family to the District of Columbia. It will at the same time look at some of the economic, social and political currents which worked to shape individual lives on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and in the District of Columbia. Much concerning the history of this family has been unfortunately shrouded by the passage of time; nevertheless, a thoughtful examination of the surviving records in light of their historical context should at least partially draw aside the veil of antiquity, allowing for a clearer picture of the Kinnamont family of Washington, D. C., and its origins on the Eastern Shore of Maryland to emerge.

Map 1. The Eastern Shore of Maryland: Talbot, Dorchester and surrounding counties.

Map by Matt Kinnamont

CHAPTER 1

JOHN KININMONT OF TALBOT COUNTY, MARYLAND

A description of Maryland, 1635

The Maryland that attracted John Kininmont from his native shores was described by Baltimore's pamphleteer as being

generally plaine and even, and yet hath some pretty small hills and risings; It's full of Rivers and Creekes and hath a store of Springs and small Brookes: The Woods for the most part are free from underwood so that a man may travell on horsebacke, almost anywhere, or hunt for his recreation. . . . The timber of these parts is very good, and in abundance, it is usefull for the building of houses, and shippes; the white Oake is good for Pipe-staves, the red Oake for wainescot. There is also Walnut, Cedar, Pine, & Cipress, Chestnut, Elme, Ashe, and Popler. . . . Also there are divers sorts of Fruit-trees, as Mulberries, Persimons, with several other kind of Plummes, and Vines in great abundance. . . . In the upper part of the Countrey, there are Bufeloes, Elkes, Lions, Bears, Wolves, and Deare there are great store . . . also wild Turkeys in great abundance, whereof many weigh 50 pounds and upwards.¹

This appealing description alone probably excited the imaginations of many and lured adventurers by the hundreds to a new life in Maryland. But the most attractive feature of Baltimore's colony was land. To the married man who would transport himself, his wife, and his children into the colony, Baltimore would grant two hundred acres, plus an additional fifty acres for each child under the age of sixteen. As Proprietor, Calvert would receive an

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¹Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore, *A Relation of Maryland* (London: 1635), microfilm, 16, 18-19. Pipestaves were used in the construction of barrels; wainescot is a type of wooden paneling.

annual "quit rent" of just twelve pence per fifty acres, paid in "Commodities of the Countrey"--an enticing proposition indeed.²

The first known record of John Kininmont is found among the ancient land patents of the Lords Baltimore. In 1658, one Christopher Oakely, while enrolling his own land rights, at the same time enrolled "John Kennimount, Anne Kennimount, his wife, Patrick Kennimount [and] John Kennimount, his sons . . . who were transported betwixt 1654 and 1657." The text of his patent to the land he acquired by virtue of his moving to the colony--his "headrights"--places the year of John Kininmont's arrival in Maryland as "Anno One thousand six hundred ffifty ffour."³

Maryland in the 1650s

The Maryland of 1654 into which John and his family sailed was a turbulent place indeed, not far removed from the island they had left behind in the Old World, reeling from the effects of civil war, and wracked with revolutionary strife. In Maryland, the ruling Calvert family and their Catholic following had found the position of governmental influence they had enjoyed since the founding of the colony in 1632 gradually usurped by a Protestant majority which had found a benevolent home there. Ironically, the universal religious toleration earlier propounded by Lord Baltimore had become an agency of his political troubles at this juncture in the young

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²*Ibid.*, 39-40.

³Lester B. Kinnamon, *The Kinnamon Family in America* (Talbot Co., Md: privately printed, c. 1984), xi; MdHR, *Patents*, CB #2, 32-33, John's patent of "Dundee," 16 Aug. 1680.

colony's history.⁴ From the time that news of the execution of Charles I reached Maryland in 1649, the colony had been thrown into a state of political chaos. Virginian William Clayborne, a continual thorn in the side of Cecil Calvert, with the blessings of the newly preeminent English Parliament, had rushed to establish Puritan rule at St. Mary's, the colonial capital.⁵ By 1654, a predominantly Puritan Assembly sat in power, and the seat of government had moved from St. Mary's to Patuxent. Concurrent to this development was the appointment in England of Puritan revolutionary General Oliver Cromwell to the lifelong position of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England. In the Spring of 1654, Maryland's resident governor, Captain William Stone, was brought knowledge of Cromwell's accession, and in May he duly recognized the new Lord Protector and his authority in Maryland. To celebrate the occasion, Stone offered "a general pardon of all offences committed in [Maryland] since the last general pardon."⁶ The quality of mercy does not appear to have been strained in Baltimore's colony.

In the early days of Cromwell's protectorate, and the surprising religious toleration that accompanied it, Lord Baltimore seized the opportunity to reassert his authority in Maryland. In early 1655, the arrival in Maryland of

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⁴John Leeds Bozman, *The History of Maryland: From Its First Settlement In 1633 To the Restoration in 1660*. vol. 2 (Baltimore: James Lucas and E. K. Deaver, 1837; reprint, Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, Inc., 1990), 494-95.

⁵*Ibid.*, 500, 504. Clayborne and one Richard Bennett were named commissioners of Parliament for the "reducement" of a presumed royalist Virginia and Maryland. This reducement occurred in 1652, when Bennett was also Governor of Virginia. For more on the motives of Capt. Wm. Clayborne, see J. Frederick Fausz, "Merging and Emerging Worlds: Anglo-Indian Interest Groups and the Development of the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake," in Lois G. Carr, Philip D. Morgan & Jean B. Russo, eds., *Colonial Chesapeake Society* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1988), 47-91.

⁶*Ibid.*, 498. Serious crimes, such as murder, were not subject to this pardon.

the *Golden Fortune*, carrying messages from both Lord Protector Cromwell and Lord Proprietor Baltimore confirming the authority of Cecilius Calvert as the rightful ruler of the Province of Maryland, signalled Baltimore's reconquest of his colony. In response to accompanying orders from Calvert, Governor Stone raised a small army, re-seized the colonial records being held at Patuxent, and then tentatively re-established Baltimore's government at St. Mary's.⁷

The Puritans, however, were not going to give up their position without a tough fight. In March of 1655, when Governor Stone and his army confronted the Puritan "rebels" at Providence (now Annapolis), they were handily defeated at the "Battle on the Severn," and held as prisoners of war. Later that year, Calvert named Josias Fendall to be Stone's successor as governor of the province, while those on both sides of the controversy--the Puritans and the Calverts--argued their case before Cromwell in England. In the meantime, Fendall was clapped into prison by the Maryland Puritans, and charged with having "openly act[ed] to the disturbance of the public peace and government of the . . . province, for that end of assuming a pretended power from captain William Stone."⁸

In late 1656, Lord Baltimore sent his brother Philip Calvert to Maryland with orders to administer the oath of office to Captain Fendall. The younger Calvert was to be one of Fendall's councillors as well as the principal secretary

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⁷Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland: Province and State* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co. Inc., 1929), 126; Kinnamon, xi, suggests that John might have come on the *Golden Fortune*, or another ship, the *Golden Lyon*, as part of Baltimore's force to end the Puritan rebellion.

⁸Bozman, 516, 518, 524, 536.

of the province. Philip Calvert arrived in the province by June of 1657 and there he met with Governor Fendall at St. Mary's.⁹

The political donnybrook between Baltimore and the Puritans worked hardship on everyone concerned in the divided province. A document from that time states that "the . . . inhabitants of the . . . province remaine in a very sad distracted and unsettled condition by reason of the . . . differences touching the . . . government there." Recognizing this fact, in late 1657, the two parties worked out an agreement in London under the auspices of the Committee for Trade. Under the terms of the agreement, Baltimore promised to forgive, if not forget, the Puritan uprising in return for their uncontested recognition of his authority as proprietor of Maryland. This signed treaty was brought to the colony by Governor Fendall when he returned there from London in February 1658. After haggling over some sticking points in the London agreement, the two sides in Maryland signed a similar treaty of their own on 24 March, and Cecil Calvert once again took up the reigns of power to his Proprietorship.¹⁰

Fendall proved to be a disappointing choice as Governor for the colony, and on 24 June 1660 he was removed by Baltimore. That same month Philip Calvert took Fendall's seat as Governor. A month earlier, almost to the day, the English monarchy was restored to a joyful Charles II, and an equally joyful mass of Englanders grown weary of their violent experimentation with revolution and republicanism. Calvert had come back into favor with the

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⁹*Ibid.*, 546; Fendall had been released by the Puritans after taking an oath that he would not disturb the peace. It appears that he was sitting as Governor at St. Mary's in 1657.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 553-55. Calvert's authority was sealed by a sworn oath of fidelity to him.

Court, and his colony could now get back into the business of agriculture and commerce without the added uncertainty of the preceding twenty years.¹¹

It is not known how he and his family occupied their time during the four years of Puritan rule, but once Baltimore had returned to power, John Kininmont appears to have wasted little time in making his claim under the conditions of plantation. He or his agent appeared before Province Secretary Philip Calvert in July of 1658--just a few months after the restoration of Baltimore's authority. At that time, Kininmont declared his transportation of Anne and their two sons to the colony and a warrant was then issued to Baltimore's Surveyor whose job it was to lay out and survey the appropriate acreage determined by conditions of plantation then in force. At the time of survey, a certificate would be generated naming Kininmont as the claimant and describing the boundaries of the land parcel. By conditions of plantation in force at the time of his application, John was entitled to two hundred acres of land on the Western Shore, *or* four hundred acres on the Eastern Shore. He took the latter.¹²

The Eastern Shore of Maryland was in the mid-seventeenth century, as it is now, a low-lying landmass whose four major rivers with their, "crooks and bends and creeks and coves [pattern] the land" from the Chesapeake to the border of present day Delaware "like a stag's antlers."¹³ It is the place of tobacco plantations, dense forests of oak and pine, and swampland glowingly

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¹¹Andrews, 134-35; Lacey Baldwin Smith, *This Realm of England: 1399 to 1688*, 5th ed. (Lexington, Mass. : D. C. Heath & Co. 1988), 283.

¹²Skordas, vii; MdHR, *Patents*, CB #2, 32-3, "Dundee," 16 Aug. 1680.

¹³Paul Wiltach, *Tidewater Maryland* (New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1945), 121.

expounded upon by James Michener in his epic novel *Chesapeake*--a green place alive with the fruit of tidewater: oysters, blue crabs, and glorious waterfowl.

John Kininmont's "Dundee"

On 12 May 1663, Baltimore's surveyor laid out for John a four hundred acre tract of land on the Eastern Shore of Maryland which Kininmont named "Dundee." At that time, it was standard practice to give each tract of land surveyed a name. The choice of parcel names employed can sometimes give hints as to a landowner's disposition, ie. "Mt. Misery"; political or religious sentiments, ie. "Republican's Choice," or "Papist Mistake"; or in the case of John Kininmont, his nationality. His choice of the name "Dundee," considered alongside his unique surname points to Scotland as being John's country of origin.¹⁴

The surname Kininmont arises from territories of that name in Fifeshire, Scotland. The name itself is the Gaelic "Cinn Fhinnmhonaidh," meaning, "head of the white hill." Around 1199, King William the Lion of Scotland confirmed a charter to these lands of Kynninmonth to "Odo the marshal." The first recorded use of the surname occurred in the early 1200s when Adam de Kinindmund, son of Odo, used it in witness to several charters. Parish registers of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in and around the general region of Dundee contain many entries of the family name in different variations.¹⁵

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¹⁴MdHR, *Patents*, CB #2, 32-3. Tract names were taken from Dorchester ("Republican's Choice"), and Talbot ("Mt. Misery," "Papist Mistake") land records.

¹⁵Black, 401; Basil Cottle, *Penguin Dictionary of Surnames* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967), 159; Black, 401.

John Kininmont's "Dundee" was located in newly formed Talbot County, along the northern shores of the St. Michael's River--what is today called the Miles River. That he had his "headrights" land surveyed in 1663 did not mean that he could take immediate possession of it; John would have to wait for the provincial land bureaucracy to run its course. The patenting process at this time was notoriously slow. In the interim, Kininmont began buying up tracts of land adjacent to the tentative "Dundee," and took up farming in earnest. On 23 July 1663, for example, he had surveyed and took up a one hundred acre parcel of land which he named "Fentry." The years between 1659 and 1663 saw Maryland tobacco prices at some of the highest levels recorded in colonial history. In order to take advantage of the boom prices of the early 1660s, "Fentry" would have to be cleared of the monumental white and red oaks that stood in the way of Kininmont and agricultural progress.¹⁶

That John Kininmont and his family found success at "Fentry" is suggested by the fact that on 7 May 1665, Kininmont was able to purchase another tract of land on the north side of the St. Michael's River. He called this fifty acre plot "Fooles Paradise." Taken together, these two tracts formed the seed-land of what was eventually called "Kininmont Plantation," a roughly 630 acre montage incorporating five subsequent land purchases made between 1669 and 1683. Kininmont Plantation was the place where John Kininmont ultimately built his home.¹⁷

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¹⁶Kinnamon 3; MdHR, *Patents*, Book 7, 323-327, certificates and patents of "Fentry," and "Bennitt Hill," 6 Aug. 1664; Russell R. Menard, "Farm Prices of Maryland Tobacco, 1659-1710," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 68 (Spring 1973): 85.

¹⁷Kinnamon, 3.

Map 2. Talbot County: St. Michael's (Miles) River Neck, circa 1720.

Tract locations are approximated. Map by Matt Kinnamont.

On 16 August 1680, Charles Calvert, Third Lord Baltimore, witnessed the patent of the four hundred acres originally granted John Kininmont by his father Cecil. John had at last received the "Dundee," for which he and his family had crossed the mighty Atlantic some twenty-six years earlier! Taking all of his known land acquisitions into account, John Kininmont owned well over one thousand acres during his sojourn on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.¹⁸

The Tobacco Farm: Foundation of Colonial Chesapeake Wealth

Wealth in seventeenth-century Maryland was generated primarily through the process of farm building.¹⁹ As we have seen above, the clearing of land was paramount to this process. When removed, the virgin stands of pine, hickory and red and white oak which dominated the landscape of the primitive colony would provide an aspiring planter like Kininmont with wood necessary for a dwelling house and its accoutrements, as well as a good supply of fuel. The cleared land would, with a bit of coaxing, bring forth food and the all-important cash crop: tobacco. Early farmers of the Chesapeake region appear to have readily adopted the Native American technique of girdling trees to achieve this end. A girdled tree--one which has had a significant band cut deep into its bark and sap bearing wood--would soon die, dropping its leaves and some branches in the process.²⁰ If necessary, and in

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¹⁸MdHR, *Patents*, Book CB #2, 32-3.

¹⁹Lois G. Carr, Russell R. Menard, & Lorena S. Walsh, *Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1991), 33. Hereafter cited as Carr, et al. I have borrowed the term "farm building" in toto.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 34.

the early stages of farm building it almost always was, the dead or dying trees could be felled entirely; but after a farm's wood and clear land requirements were met, the planter could grow tobacco and corn in the inconsequential shade of the standing dead wood. Clearing land in the Native American manner required tools no more complex than the standard axe, and conserved labor, time, and capital--all resources dear to mid-seventeenth-century Maryland. An agricultural method as simple and economical was similarly employed in the production of tobacco and corn.

"Hoe culture" is a term which describes the method employed by Chesapeake planters of tobacco and corn since the earliest days of Jamestown. Unlike the plow and furrow agriculture of England, in which man and beast worked in concert to till the earth, the farming of Chesapeake tobacco and corn required at minimum a single hand and a single tool. Both indigenous crops were grown on individual hills of earth scraped together in the late spring by workers wielding broad hoes. Tobacco hills were usually spaced about four feet apart; corn hills, about six feet apart. Thus, one acre could accommodate 2,700 tobacco hills, or 1,210 corn hills.²¹ One late seventeenth-century record describes a tobacco crop being about 20,000 plants, which would cover about seven-and-a-half acres. A recent source suggests that one late seventeenth-century laborer could tend half this much, bringing forth as much as 1,900 pounds of the final product. The number of corn acres on a plantation was determined by need. One acre of maize could yield between three and four barrels of grain. The estimated annual adult ration of corn was three barrels. A prudent planter ostensibly used numbers similar to these

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²¹*Ibid.*, 56.

when planning his agricultural year. The average Talbot County household employing "hoe culture" around this time had a yearly income of about £14--those planters without servants could expect less.²²

Between the months of June and September the tobacco crop cried loudly for attention. In June the plantings sown during the early spring were transplanted to the fields, where, in the semitropical heat of the Maryland summer, they would be weeded several times by hoe-wielding workers. To encourage wanted growth, the plants had to be periodically "succored from their illegitimate Leaves that would be peeping out of the body of the Stalk," and "topped" from time to time as well. The growing and maturing plants would also need to be constantly inspected for, and hand-denuded of, hungry green tobacco worms.²³ By mid-September, the mature tobacco leaf would be cut, wilted, and then taken into large open-sided barns where it would hang until cured, at which time the leaves would be "tyed up in bundles, and packt into Hogsheads, and then laid by for the Trade." Hogsheads were large wooden barrels containing upwards of 400 pounds of cured tobacco.²⁴

According to George Alsop, chronicler of mid-seventeenth-century Maryland: "Between November and January there arrives in this Province Shipping to the number of twenty sail and upwards, all Merchantmen loaden

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²²R. Bernice Leonard, *Talbot County Maryland Land Records, Book 2* (St. Michael's, Md.: by the author, 1987), 61, refers to TLV #5, 173, 29 May 1688; Carr, et al., 35; Paul G. E. Clemens, *The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore: From Tobacco to Grain* (Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell Univ. Press, 1980), 87. It should be noted that maize was *the* diet staple of the colonial Chesapeake--particularly in the early period.

²³Dickson J. Preston, *Talbot County: A History* (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1983), 60-1.

²⁴George Alsop's "Character of the Province of Maryland," (c. 1666) in Hall, 363.

with Commodities to Trafique and dispose of." The rivers of the Eastern Shore were often deep enough to allow the merchantmen to come right up to the edge of the fortunate planter's property. Since Kininmont owned land fronting on a commodious portion of the Saint Michael's River, it is indeed probable that he and his sons did business with the ocean going tobacco merchants from their very own wharf.²⁵

The central point around which a colonial tobacco farm revolved was the plantation dwelling house. Most dwellings of the early Chesapeake were impermanent structures lacking a foundation, constructed of domestic clapboards nailed upon a frame secured to the earth using a "post-in-the-ground" technique. It is estimated that such a dwelling could withstand human wear and the elements for no more than twenty years without constant and labor-intensive repairs. Construction of a new home was often the most economical alternative when an old house became unserviceable.²⁶ The first home a typical newcomer to Maryland built was probably a lofted one room affair no bigger than thirty by twenty feet. The main room of the house was usually termed the "Hall," and often served the function of a combination kitchen, dining room, living room and bedroom. The overhead loft could be used for storage, as well as a sleeping room for children or servants. The floors of most primitive colonial Chesapeake dwellings probably consisted of packed earth, but some planters surely outfitted their homes with wooden floorboards. Warmth for food and family came from a central hearth constructed of stone or brick; due to the manner of their

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²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶Carr, et al., 91.

construction, however, such clapboard homes were often leaky and drafty.²⁷ A lean-to type of construction called a shed was sometimes added onto a side of the dwelling house. Apparently accessible from the inside, the shed usually ran the length of one side of the dwelling.

The next most important structure on a Chesapeake plantation was the tobacco house. Essential to the harvesting and curing of the profitable weed, the tobacco house was constructed in the same "post-in-the-ground" manner as a dwelling house, and similarly covered, roof and exterior walls, with rived clapboards; the only external difference between the two was the absence of windows on the tobacco house. One seventeenth-century account of a tobacco house describes it as being between twenty to twenty-five feet in length and outfitted on its interior with rails, spaced five feet apart, running across the entire width of the structure. These rails, upon which the wilted tobacco plants were hung, were arranged in tiers ranging upwards to the ceiling of the house. As in the case of a dilapidated dwelling house, unserviceable tobacco houses were often abandoned and replaced with newer structures.²⁸

Other common outbuildings on a seventeenth-century tobacco farm were the milk house and corn house. The milk house, true to its name, was a wooden structure, usually between ten and fifteen feet in length, where cow's milk was handled and products like butter were made. A corn house was another small outbuilding, often of rough hewn lumber, in which maize, or "Indian Corne," was dried for storage.²⁹

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²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸*Ibid.*, 61-63.

²⁹*Ibid.* Dimensions taken from a Talbot land record.

Another necessity on a Chesapeake plantation was the fruit orchard. A grove of between fifty and one hundred trees could provide fresh fruit to a household during the summer months. Any fruit not consumed fresh could be dried for storage, or crushed and pressed, and the juice strained and stored in casks to preserve it well into the winter in the form of a staple very important to the hard-drinking English expatriates of the Chesapeake: hard cider. Planting an orchard as soon as possible assured the early colonial farmer (Nature consenting) with a steady supply of fruit and beverage once the trees matured--usually within six years. Apples were easily the most popular fruit tree planted in Talbot County, but peach, cherry, plum and walnut trees were also raised with some frequency. The prudent planter often kept a nursery of young trees to replace old and damaged ones.³⁰

Another important and ubiquitous feature of seventeenth-century Chesapeake farms which might not readily appear so was the simple fence. Colonial Maryland was a place where not only wild animals roamed freely; almost every planter owned a "gang" of semi-wild hogs and cattle which were allowed to range about the environs of his farm, foraging for themselves.³¹ The wise planter consequently employed fences around every crop of value. Fence types ranged from permanent garden palings, to the movable zig-zag "worme fence" used around tobacco and corn fields. One Talbot County record describes a tobacco fence as being "six rayles high;" a corn fence, on the other hand, was "eight railles high." Even orchards required fencing. Fence

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³⁰*Ibid.*, 72, 49. Orchard information taken from Talbot land records.

³¹Leonard, *Book 5*, 89. TLV #13, 148, 12 Nov. 1724, refers to a "gang of hoggs known as the Black Gang" which frequented a certain marsh.

panels were often judged by appraisers to be important items which enhanced the value of a farm. The typical Talbot County farm of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries used hundreds of "panels" of fencing made up of thousands of rails. New fence panels were continually needed to replace older ones succumbing to the forces of nature. This resulted in additional pressure on limited wood supplies. As early as 1722, estate evaluators were noting "the great scarcity of timber either for boards or rails" on some Talbot plantations.³²

The ability to bring new lands under cultivation was an important factor in a planter's success. The labor required to do this was largely accomplished by indentured servants. The fact that seventy percent of the population of early colonial Maryland consisted of servants and former servants emphasizes their importance to the economy and growth of the province in the seventeenth century.³³

John Kininmont & His Servants

A man or woman became an indentured servant by entering into a contractual agreement of service with a landowner or other person of means. By the terms of this "indenture," the servant promised to serve the indenture holder for a specific length of time. The holder of the indenture would, in

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³²Leonard, *Book 2*, 39, TLV #4, 351, 21 Dec. 1691; *Book 5*, 67, TLV #13, 44, 4 Sep. 1722, contains the valuation of an estate left to an orphan. Such land records give important indications of the number and dimensions of farm buildings. Points of value often cited in estate valuations were outbuildings, orchards and fence panels. The evaluators then judged the appropriate rent to be charged on the estate for the use of the child.

³³Lois G. Carr and Russell R. Menard, "Immigration and Opportunity: The Freedman in Early Colonial Maryland," 206-242, in Thad W. Tate & David L. Ammerman, eds., *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1979).

return, transport the servant to the colony and provide for the servant's upkeep during his or her time of service. Also included in the indenture agreement was the stipulation that at the end of a servant's term, he or she would be provided with goods to help them get off to a good start in the colony. Before 1663, this consisted of fifty acres of free land (five acres of which had to be plantable), clothes, a hoe, an axe, and a supply of corn to keep them alive until the next harvest. After 1663, the fifty acre land grant was done away with, but the master was still obliged to provide his servant with his or her "Freedom Come and Clothes." There are many instances recorded in the annals of the colonial Chesapeake of unscrupulous masters who attempted to defraud their servants either of freedom (once their term of service had expired), or of their just due in the form of "Corn and Clothes." The justices of the Talbot Court, however, appeared to have been fair-minded, and when convinced of a just claim on the part of a former servant, ordered an offending master to make just amends.³⁴ John was the master of at least six indentured servants in his days as a planter in Talbot County. This fact is attested to by the inventory of his estate, Provincial land records, and by the early proceedings of the Talbot County Court, from which can be seen an interesting side of John Kininmont, master. Richard Austin, Anthony Pechecoe, Humphrey Hutchins, John Spencer, and Elizabeth Warton all labored on the Kininmont plantation between 1664 and 1671.³⁵

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³⁴Preston, 62; *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 54, *Proceedings of The County Courts of Kent, 1648-1676, Talbot, 1662-1674, and Somerset 1665-1668, Counties* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1937), 582, 418, 442, 582.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 436, 519; MdHR, *Inv. & Accts.*, Book 10, 101-3, (John's estate inventory) mentions an unnamed manservant. *Patents*, Book 7, 324-25, mentions Humphrey Hutchins and John Spencer as being transported by John into the colony around 1664.

Whether Kininmont was a fair and good master is impossible to ascertain. It is certain, however, that John experienced periodic bouts of trouble with some of his servants. The most frequent labor problem that John seems to have experienced was that of simply keeping his servants on the plantation and at work. Talbot court records reveal that between 1668 and 1671, John had to appear before the Court to answer for his absconding workers on at least three occasions. In the most notable instance--that occurring on 21 September 1669--John came before the Talbot justices "Crav[ing] Order for sattisfaction according to law" concerning his servant, Anthony Pechecoe, who had "Run out of [John's] Sarvis twenty days or more." Kininmont came to court most likely with the hopes of having Pechecoe's term extended. The court sometimes extended a runaway's term by ten days for every day he or she had been absent from service.³⁶ However, when the Court learned that "John Kinemant Beate his Sarvant Anthony Pecheco When he was brought home with a Rod and Reasted (the effort had evidently worn John out) and beate him Againe," they judged such punishment to be sufficient. The beating of unruly servants by masters was sanctioned by the Maryland Assembly. In another case, two of Kininmont's servants conspired to escape together, but were caught by Thomas Philipps, who appeared before the Talbot Court to claim the two hundred pounds of tobacco reward per-returned-servant prescribed by an act of the Maryland Assembly. John was subsequently ordered by the Court to pay Philipps his reward. Why did these servants run away? As evidenced by Kininmont's treatment of the runaway Pechecoe, it appears that John might have had quite a temper. Since the majority of

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³⁶*Ibid.*, 542.

planters in the early Chesapeake actually worked from day to day in the fields alongside their servants, it is possible that these runaways were simply trying to find a respite from being continually under the watchful eye of a stern taskmaster.³⁷

John had other difficulties with his rascally crew of laborers. In November of 1669, for instance, John brought his servant Richard Austin before the Court because the insubordinate laborer had "called his [mistress] a Whore with other mallicious words." To provide Austin with future incentive for keeping a civil tongue in his head, the Court ordered him to "have thirty Lashous well Laid on his Bare Backe." The Sheriff, who usually had the honor of providing such discipline, realized another chance to employ his whip when Elizabeth Warton, Kininmont's servant woman, provided a Mr. Andrew Towkle with a "Bastard Child." For her carnal indiscretion, Elizabeth received thirty lashes to her bare back. "Twotley," as the court record suddenly (and confusingly!) refers to him, was ordered to "pay unto John Kinemant five hundred pounds of Tobacoe for the Charg[e] & loss of Elizabeth Whartton." Although men were sometimes beaten for such moral lapses, the Court appears to have more often taken its satisfaction from a man's pocketbook rather than from his hide.³⁸

John held servants until his death in the late summer of 1688. His inventory of September 1688 lists one manservant with a year of service still owed to the dead man and his heirs. That John Kininmont was a successful master is very difficult to ascertain. With his servant's labor, however, John

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³⁷*Ibid.*, 443, 502.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 478, 517, 519.

was able to build a profitable enterprise that allowed him time to render service of his own to the citizenry of Talbot.

Captain John Kininmont: Citizen of Talbot County

Talbot County was founded in early 1662. The first years of John Kininmont's residence there were undoubtedly spent establishing his plantation in the wilderness of St. Michael's River Neck. We have seen that he found success in his efforts during this time by his ability to acquire more land and servants to work it. By 1672, John had become well enough established in the county to be appointed by the county court, along with three other men, to be "Overseeares of the highwaie."³⁹ This job entailed the improvement of an assigned area of Talbot's primitive roads. The comparative importance of this type of appointment can be seen by a closer look at the other appointees, two of whom were justices on the Talbot County Court, and another who was a prominent jury member. John Kininmont was chosen to oversee the road "from the Towne at the Mouth of the Wye River to the mill." The Court empowered each of the "overseeares" with the ability to "press men & provisions" from the citizenry in order to accomplish their task. In 1672 and 1673 there was evidently a big push in Talbot to improve what meager roads the river-cut landmass provided. So pervasive were Talbot's rivers in fact, that many of the isolated residents could get around the county by canoe or sloop much faster than by overland travel. At any rate, from the County Levy of October 1673, over forty men were paid twenty pounds of tobacco for each of the over two hundred days of work they collectively provided for "highwaie" improvement in that year. Kininmont

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³⁹*Ibid.*, 540.

and his counterparts each received 400 pounds of the weed for their efforts. John was a highway overseer for at least two years. Apart from his above duties, Kininmont also helped rid Talbot of its surplus of wolves. Court records show that on occasion, John collected the one hundred pounds of tobacco bounty placed on the head of each varmint. He also served on at least two juries--one for Talbot in the late 1660s, and another for the Provincial Court in 1676.⁴⁰ In 1683, an act for the advancement of trade was passed by the Maryland Assembly. This act called for the establishment of town lots, county courthouses, and places of trade within each county. Commissioners were appointed in every county to carry out this measure, and John Kininmont was one of the twenty-three commissioners appointed in Talbot, along with such prominent Talbot Countians as Col. Philemon Lloyd, Col. Henry Coursey, and Capt. William Helmsley.⁴¹ In addition to the above duties, John might very well have served as a captain in the Talbot militia.⁴² Thus, by the latter years of his lifetime, Kininmont had found a place of public service and prominence in Talbot County along with the prestige that accompanied such a position. As a citizen of Talbot County, John Kininmont had certainly found success.

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⁴⁰*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 54, 540, 579-80, 445, 453; vol. 66, *Proceedings of the Provincial Court, 1675-1677*, 291-93. The "Publique & County Leavy" was usually accomplished in Talbot at the court session in October or November. At that time a tax was levied on each titheable person. The Sheriff or his deputies were the agents of collection. In 1669, the levy was 76 lbs. of tobacco, and in 1670, it was 40 lbs.

⁴¹Frederic Emory, *Queen Anne's County, Maryland: Its Early History and Development* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1950), 314-15.

⁴²MdHR, *Talbot Co. Land Records*, Book RF #13, 554-561, John Kininmont, John Ray, et al., 1729. John's grandson refers to him as Captain John Kininmont. His military career, if not in the New World, was in Britain. If in Britain, then his Scottish heritage might well have placed John in the ranks of the Cavaliers--Royalists loyal to King Charles I, himself a Scot.

John Kininmont: Husband and Father

In the late summer of 1687, John Kininmont fell grievously ill. On 30 August, despairing of life, John dictated his final wishes in the form of his last will and testament. At the time his will was written, John's wife Frances was pregnant. Whether he recovered from this particular sickness and eventually died of another malady is not known, but in a little more than a year--by 18 September 1688--John Kininmont had gone to his final reward.⁴³ It is in the examination of John's will that we are reminded that he was not simply a landowner, planter, master, citizen and possible soldier of Talbot County, he was a husband and father as well.

John Kininmont had at least two wives. He arrived in Maryland with a wife named Anne. At the time of his death, however, John's wife was a woman named Frances. It is not known whether Anne died during her "seasoning period" in the 1650s or if she survived longer. That their marriage was terminated by Anne's death is a reliable fact, for in seventeenth-century Maryland divorce was absolutely unheard of; marriage was truly a "till death do us part" proposition. High mortality rates insured that most early Maryland marriages were of short duration. The various Kininmont unions produced no less than ten children who survived into adulthood: seven boys and three girls, of whom we will learn more later. The terms of his will divided John's land equitably between his sons, and two of his daughters were given gifts of livestock. Frances was left his whole new dwelling

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⁴³MdHR, *Original Wills*, Box 14, folder 3, written 30 Aug. 1687, probated 18 Sep. 1688.

Photo 1.
The Original Will of
John Kininmont.

Inset: The mark made
with his own hand.

Courtesy of the Maryland State
Hall of Records

plantation for her use as long as she lived. John also stipulated that she be allowed to cut any lumber she needed from land given to his son John.⁴⁴

John Kininmont: Material Wealth & Economic Standing

It has been demonstrated that John Kininmont found a measure of success in his efforts as a planter in Talbot County. But just how successful was he? Shortly after his demise, the Talbot Court ordered two of John's neighbors, John Stanley and William Scott, to compile a complete inventory of all his "Goods and Chattells movables and Imovables." Scholars of the colonial Chesapeake have frequently employed estate inventories to aid them in their determination of relative wealth. Examinations of such records not only provide a revealing picture of the material world of the deceased but a representation of his economic status as well. Gloria Main reminds us, however, that inventory values were conservative guesses "on the part of appraisers of what the items might bring in a forced sale." There is some evidence to suggest that appraisers, for differing reasons, sometimes excluded certain items from their inventory. Add to this the fact that every estate inventoried does not have a corresponding record indicating that all outstanding debts on the estate had been paid or received, and one soon comes to the realization that the concrete value of a colonial Maryland estate is often all but impossible to determine. Keeping such limitations of the

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⁴⁴Lorena S. Walsh, "Till Death Us Do Part: Marriage and Family in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," 126-52, in Tate & Ammerman, eds.; MdHR, *Original Wills*, Box 14, folder 3.

evidence in mind, we are free to look into the material world of John Kininmont.⁴⁵

Amounting to £126 15s 2d, John's estate placed him within the ranks of colonial Maryland's middling well-to-do planters.⁴⁶ Sixty-three percent of his appraised wealth consisted of agricultural products. The lion's share of this number--thirty-nine percent of his total moveable wealth--was made up of livestock. John owned six steers, five cows, two calves, two heifers, four yearlings, and one bull, in addition to six horses and about forty hogs. The farm's "Indian Corne" crop for that year was estimated to be about thirty barrels, and there were eighty bushels more in store. The Kininmonts apparently maintained a taste for English grain; fifteen bushels of wheat, almost certainly imported, were on hand. A 4,800 pound tobacco crop harvested the year of John's death was valued at £12. Even with an additional two hundred pounds of the weed added, tobacco accounted for only about twelve percent of his total movable wealth. The remaining thirty-seven percent of John's material wealth was to be found packed tightly into his new dwelling house.⁴⁷

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⁴⁵Gloria L. Main, *Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650-1720* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), 284-85. Appendix C here discusses "Probate Records as a Source For Historical Investigation."

⁴⁶MdHR, *Inv. & Accts.*, Book 10, pt. 1, 101-3, inventory, 24 Sep. 1688; Aubrey C. Land, "Economic Base and Social Structure: The Northern Chesapeake in the Eighteenth Century," in James Kirby Martin, ed., *Interpreting Colonial America: Selected Readings*, 2nd ed. (N. Y.: Harper & Row, 1978), 259. British currency is related in pounds sterling (£), shillings (s), and pence (d).

⁴⁷MdHR, *Inv. & Accts.*, Book 10, pt. 1, 101-3. In the consideration of John Kininmont's estate, it is important to note the value appraisers placed upon food.

Large by contemporary standards, the Kininmont's new house was a seven-roomed affair complete with a hall, two chambers, a shed, kitchen and milk house--Frances Kininmont even had "her owne Roome." The hall in the Kininmont home appears to have been a place for family fellowship. The chairs and stools of leather and wood there could seat thirteen. Two couches, one made into a flock bed, were additional points of repose. A table, two chests, a parcel of books and a looking glass rounded out the hall's furnishings. The Kininmonts stored their five firearms in the hall as well.⁴⁸

In the first chamber, undoubtedly John's sleeping room, stood one feather bed complete with bedstead, curtains and valance; a small table, a chest, and a looking glass went alongside. The second chamber contained two chests, one feather bed and a flock bed, both on bedsteads. In Frances' room was a feather bed as luxurious as her husband's but without curtains. Another feather bed, four chests, a "dressing box," three brushes, a looking glass and a warming pan speak of the domestic niceties to be found in Frances' room. Three silver cups--the only items which speak of real luxury--and two "old swords" were also stored among Frances' things. Are these swords momentos of a former military career in England?⁴⁹

The Kininmont's shed held two flock beds, but only one was insulated from the floor on a bedstead. It can be assumed that their servant-man slept on the more inferior bedding. The shed seems to have also served as a combination linen closet and storage room for the family grain and horse gear. Two pair of iron fetters here are reminiscent of John's absconding

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⁴⁸Main, 153; MdHR, *Inv. & Accts.*, Book 10, pt. 1, 101-3.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*

laborers. The kitchen held a cornucopia of iron pots and kettles of various sizes. Brass ladles and skimmers, frying pans, pot racks and hangers, tongs, a spit and a dripping pan only partially represent the contents of this important room. In contrast to the burgeoning kitchen, the "milke house" contained simply a parcel of wooden and earthen ware.⁵⁰

In retrospect, Captain John Kininmont found good success on Maryland's Eastern Shore. He amassed over one thousand acres in his new homeland, upon which he commanded the labor, at one time or another, of at least six indentured servants. Such acquisition of wealth elevated Kininmont to a level of relative influence and prestige in Talbot County, and no doubt assisted him and his wives, in spite of the Chesapeake's harsh environment, to raise a substantial household of young women and men into adulthood. John provided the majority of his children with lands and material goods--an added push to aid them in their voyage of life. From this distant perspective, it is difficult to imagine the elder Kininmont being encumbered with many regrets as he drew his last breath.

But the economic tide was turning. Tobacco prices fell and remained low throughout the 1680s. Then, in 1690, war erupted in America--a manifestation of the long-standing enmity existing between England and France. The accompanying diversion of "men, money and ships" into the European conflict worked to disrupt the tobacco trade. Markets in Europe were either oversupplied or closed. As a result, the wars of King William and Queen Anne drove the Chesapeake into a roughly two decade period of

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⁵⁰*Ibid.*

recession. It was into these economic doldrums that the children of John Kininmont set sail on their individual voyages of life.⁵¹

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⁵¹Clemens, 226, 22, 38, 39.

CHART I

Some Known Male Descendants of Captain John Kininmont, the Immigrant, by Generation.

CHAPTER 2

THE FIRST GENERATION

Ambrose: The Eldest Son

Ambrose Kininmont, the eldest son of Captain John Kininmont, was very likely born on the isle of Great Britain and came to America only after his father's fortunes appeared secure. He was in residence on the Eastern Shore by at least 1687, for it was around this time that his father gave him the one hundred acres of "Fentry." Ambrose married a woman named Joan who was born about 1668. He and Joan had at least six children: John, Ambrose, Margaret, Mary, Sarah, and Sophia.¹

In the summer of 1689, Ambrose began an expansion of his land holdings, adding a forty-two acre tract he called "Long Point" onto the acreage of "Fentry."² In June of 1701, he acquired a 250 acre tract on the western side of Kings Creek called "Ye Forke." Then, on 18 March 1702, Ambrose purchased a two hundred acre tract of land called "Lambeth," located "in ye woods" close to the Wye River in northern Talbot County.³ The term "in the woods" is an important indication in the development of Talbot County. Early settlement in the Tidewater region occurred almost exclusively along rivers and creeks,

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¹MdHR, *Inv. & Accts.*, Book 26, 206-7, additional account, 7 Dec. 1706; *Talbot Co. Land Records*, Book PF#13, 445-46, 19 Aug. 1728; Kinnamon, 4.

²MdHR, *Patents*, Book C#3, 171-73. The certificate is dated 24 Jun. 1689. The actual patent was issued at Annapolis on 10 Nov. 1695. Evidence of bureaucratic lag at the Provincial Land Office?

³Leonard, *Book 4*, 3. In TLV #9, 112, Ambrose is identified as a "Cooper."

as water provided the easiest means of transport. As prime land along the waterside was taken up, however, settlers seeking new lands had to move back "in the woods." The reason why Ambrose bought wooded land away from the water probably had as much to do with his profession as with current necessity.

Ambrose is identified by Talbot land records as being both a carpenter and a cooper. Barrels were in constant use in colonial Maryland. Corn was stored in them, as were cider, and salted meats. The most important use of barrels or casks, however, was in the prizing and packing of tobacco for storage and transportation. Wooded land was a resource which the barrel-making trade demanded. In March of 1703, Ambrose and Joan sold "Fentry" and "Long Point," both tracts probably denuded of much of their usable lumber, to Talbot cleric Richard Marsden.⁴

Ambrose died during the winter or spring of 1703/1704. As far as can be determined, he left no will. While much about Ambrose Kininmont remains a mystery, an examination of the probate records concerning his estate reveals at least a partial image of the life of this Talbot County carpenter. Like his father, Ambrose owned indentured servants. His estate inventory lists a manservant with six years and a woman servant with two years left on their contracts. By the time of his death, it appears that Kininmont had abandoned agriculture on the large scale, although he did continue to grow at least some tobacco. His inventory of 25 May 1704 shows only a barrel-and-a-half of corn on hand. Since it has been estimated that the standard corn ration for an adult male was three barrels per year, it is probable that the Kininmonts would

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⁴*Ibid.*, 19, refers to TLV #9, 228.

need to purchase more of this staple before the usual harvest time in the late summer. The value of Kininmont's final 1,200 pound crop of tobacco was placed at £3 12s. Scholars have estimated that a single hand working in the early eighteenth century could produce between 1,500 to 1,800 pounds of tobacco. If this is the case, then it appears that Ambrose dedicated only one hand to his tobacco venture, most likely his male indentured servant.⁵

While Ambrose largely took leave of the hoe in favor of the adze and maul, the essential and less labor intensive art of animal husbandry was still practiced on his farm. His inventory lists seven cows, two calves, four steers, three heifers, four yearlings and one bull. Preserved beef--twenty pounds in salted or pickled form--was also represented. In addition to cattle, twenty-five hogs also ranged about the Ambrose Kininmont farm.⁶ A more stable form of this commodity is exemplified by the 227 pounds of bacon that he and Jane had put up for their household. Seven horses--two geldings, two mares and three yearlings--provided the Kininmonts with much needed locomotion; in conjunction with the wheeled cart listed among Ambrose's effects, tobacco, raw lumber and finished products could be hauled to and from the Kininmont establishment. About nineteen percent of Ambrose's moveable wealth was bound up in livestock and animal products.⁷

Ambrose left an estate valued at just over £206. About forty-three percent of his enumerated wealth was in the form of a bond due from the Reverend Richard Marsden, presumably money owed on his purchase of "Fentry" and

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⁵*Wills*, Book 3, 343, Ambrose's inventory; Carr, et al., 36; Main, 39; Carr, et al., 37.

⁶MdHR, *Testamentary Papers*, Box 16, folder 34, additional inventory, 25 Sep. 1706.

⁷MdHR, *Wills*, Book 3, 343.

"Longpoint." The estate was ultimately reduced by funeral expenses, debts and taxes to £174 12s. Joan received from this amount her "widow's thirds" of £58 4s, leaving £116 8s to be divided six ways among the orphans of Ambrose: £19 6s for each child. Joan, contrary to what was common during that day, remained an unmarried widow for at least twenty-five years beyond the death of her husband.⁸

Patrick: An Enduring Mystery

Patrick Kininmont, a son of Captain John who immigrated with him to Maryland in 1654, remains the most mysterious member of the first generation. When John prepared his will in August of 1687, Patrick was still alive, and was granted one third of the four hundred acre "Dundee." Later records, however, state that Patrick "died without issue," and that by a provision in his father's will, Patrick's third of "Dundee" fell to his younger brother Benjamin. It is uncertain just when Patrick died, but he had done so by September of 1698.⁹

John: His Father's Namesake

John Kininmont, the son of Captain John, arrived in Maryland with his parents and brother in 1654. As far as can be determined, he neither married nor had children. John lived on St. Michael's River Neck in Talbot until late 1693 or early 1694 when he became gravely ill. He spent the final days of his life in the care of his sister, Hannah, the wife of Alexander Ray. The Rays

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⁸MdHR, *Inv. & Accts.*, Book 25, 151, account, 28 Feb. 1705; Book 26, 207, additional account. Four of Joan's Kininmont sisters-in-law remarried soon after the deaths of their husbands.

⁹MdHR, *Original Wills*, Box 14, folder 3; *Talbot Co. Land Records*, Book JL#19, 162, the partition of "Dundee," 7 Sep. 1762; Leonard, *Book 3*, 50, TLV #7, 276, 19 Sep. 1698, Benjamin's sale of 100 acres of "Dundee" to Alexander Ray.

lived on a portion of "Dundee" granted them for a seven year period by a provision in the Captain's will. John inherited from his father an eighty acre tract of land on the southeast side of Hunting Creek called "Hopewell." Upon the younger John's death, "Hopewell" reverted to his brothers, Benjamin and Andrew. Little more is known of John, but his estate inventory reveals that he led a very humble existence indeed.¹⁰

It is relatively certain that John made his way around Talbot astride his only horse--a grey mare. In addition to this horse, John owned two cows (one with a calf), two young heifers and two "sowes." His other meager possessions consisted of a chest, one pewter dish, three pewter plates and an "ould salt seler." John's clothes and "shoose" were likewise judged by his appraisers to be "ould" or "worne." Apart from his livestock, the most valuable item owned by John was his "gunne." His entire estate was appraised at close to £11; after various disbursements, however, brother and executor Andrew Kininmont, received a mere £3 7s 7d.¹¹

From the list of his possessions, it appears unlikely that the younger John Kininmont maintained a farm himself. A necessary store of food--Indian corn and bacon at the very least--is not mentioned, nor is a tobacco or corn crop. The minimal tools required for hoe culture are also conspicuously missing from the 1694 document. It is more likely that John labored with his brother Andrew, or his brother-in-law Alexander Ray, on one of their plantations, and that he rented out all or part of "Hopewell."

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¹⁰MdHR, *Inv. & Accts.*, Book 13B, 152, final account, 22 Sep. 1696; *Original Wills*, Box 14, folder 3.

¹¹MdHR, *Testamentary Papers*, Box 8, folder 33, inventory, 24 Mar. 1694; *Inv. & Accts.*, Book 13B, 152. Andrew was his brother's executor.

Andrew & Benjamin: Brothers Inseparable

Two of Captain John's sons were inextricably linked by the terms of his will: Andrew and Benjamin were granted joint ownership of roughly four hundred acres of Kininmont Plantation located on the northwest side of Hunting Creek. Their portion was composed of five separate tracts of land: a fifty acre parcel called "The Addition," the one hundred acre "Scotts Lott," "Batchellors Hope" and "Fooles Paradise" (both fifty-acre tracts), and the 150 acre "Barterham." Their mother Frances retained possession of Kininmont Plantation, ostensibly for the remainder of her life, even though she married John Rice shortly after the death of Captain John. Frances evidently died before 15 Aug 1693.¹²

Evidence suggests that Andrew Kininmont, the older of the two brothers, was one of his district's more influential yeoman-farmers. In November of 1694, he secured a patent for 168 acres of land which he called "Kininmont's Delight."¹³ This parcel appears to have connected Kininmont Plantation with "Lymbrick," a tract of land formerly belonging to his mother but which was sold in 1693 to Benjamin Peck, husband of Mary Kininmont. Andrew put his carpentry skills to good use by building on his property one of the first school houses in Miles River Neck, a school that was in operation by at least 1699.¹⁴

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¹²MdHR, *Patents*, Book 11, 20, "The Addition," 29 Jun. 1667; *Talbot Co. Land Records*, Book RF#13, 284, an indenture between John Kininmont of Queen Anne's Co. and Benjamin, John & Andrew Kininmont of Talbot Co., 4 Aug. 1726; Leonard, *Book 3*, 14, TLV #6, 43, the sale by John Rice of Frances Kininmont's 70 acre parcel "Lymbrick" to her son-in-law Benjamin Peck.

¹³MdHR, *Patents*, Book C#3, 463, "Kininmont's Delight," 22 Nov. 1694.

¹⁴MdHR, *Talbot Co. Land Commissions*, Book PFB, 72. A deposition of William Rakes, made 12 Aug. 1727, stated that in 1699 he taught school in a house that was said to be built by Andrew Kininmont.

Sometime around the turn of the century, Andrew married Susanna Brown. On 11 June 1704, their eldest son Benjamin was baptized.¹⁵ Their firstborn son was obviously named for Andrew's younger brother and business partner. Two more sons followed for whom no baptism record is extant: John, namesake of the family patriarch; and Andrew, named after his father. To top off the list of his known accomplishments, it should be mentioned that Andrew was one of twelve jurors selected to appraise the land appointed for the construction of the first Talbot County courthouse.¹⁶ In early March of 1713, Andrew took to his bed with a serious illness. By the end of the month he was dead, but not before he was able to provide for his sons and make his final wishes known in his last will.¹⁷

Andrew Kininmont left his three sons all of the lands on the St. Michael's River granted him by the will of Captain John--lands he shared with his brother Benjamin. The Kininmont boys would have to wait, however, until reaching the age of eighteen before the lands could be equally divided between them. Andrew's "loveing wife, Susanna," was named executrix of the estate, and was assured of her widow's thirds, both in land and in movable property, by explicit terms of the will.¹⁸ Perhaps the most interesting feature of this will is the fact that Andrew was able to inscribe his name at the

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¹⁵Kinnamon, 7; Annie Walker Burns Bell, ed., *Parish Register of St. Michael's Episcopal Church* (Annapolis: by the author, 1939), Baptisms. The date of Benjamin's birth is listed as Mar. 11 of possibly the same year.

¹⁶This jury, which sat on 1 Mar. 1711, is mentioned in Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County Maryland, 1661-1861*, vol. 2 (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1915), 222-23.

¹⁷MdHR, *Original Wills*, Box 14, folder 8, 8 Mar. 1713, probated 30 Mar. 1713.

¹⁸*Ibid.* Andrew also named his son Benjamin as executor of his estate.

bottom of the document, albeit in a weak and shaky hand. Andrew's is the only surviving will of the first generation Kininmonts containing such hard evidence of literacy.

The estate inventory of Andrew Kininmont provides a representative picture of a Talbot farm in the early eighteenth century. While Andrew did possess the simple implements necessary for hoe culture, by 1713 he and his family were producing much more than tobacco on Kininmont Plantation. Andrew's inventory is unique among those of the first generation Kininmonts in that three important agricultural changes can be readily discerned in its enumeration--changes which, as the eighteenth century progressed, would become more the rule in Talbot, than the exception. These are the appearance of furrow plow culture, the rise of linen production, and the raising of sheep. Andrew owned one "weeding plowe," and one "furrow plowe." With the help of these Old World implements and a strong horse, Andrew was able to produce the precursor to linen: flax. A flax brake, four pounds of flax, two "Linin Wheells," and more than sixteen pounds of "Linin yearne" bear testimony to the industry of Andrew, Susanna, and their two servant women. Wool sheared from the fifteen sheep listed in Andrew's inventory was also spun into yarn by the Kininmont labor force. In his zeal to produce tobacco, linen and wool, however, Andrew appears to have forsaken largescale cultivation of grain. Instead of the coarse American maize, this member of the first generation continued the family penchant for the more refined bread made from English grain--grain Andrew was constrained to buy from local merchants.¹⁹

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¹⁹MdHR, *Inv. & Accts.*, Book 34, 85-86.

The inventory of Andrew further demonstrates that Talbot farmers were a group becoming in many ways ever more self-sufficient. A small parcel of "shoos maker tools," together with the bull hide and calfskin listed in the document, suggest that Andrew was able to at least repair shoes and other leather items. The presence of a parcel of carpenter's tools provides additional evidence of a talent for carpentry which apparently ran in the Kininmont family. The operation of a farming household clearly compelled the success-oriented planter to become a "jack of all trades."²⁰

The moveable estate of Andrew Kininmont was evaluated by appraisers to be ultimately worth just over £116 16s. Over fifty percent of this wealth was in the form of livestock. In addition to sheep, Andrew owned five horses, twenty-six head of cattle and fifteen hogs. Tobacco and fiber products comprise an additional twenty-five percent of his estate. The full amount of this movable wealth was reduced by about sixty-three percent by debts and taxes.

What did Andrew spend his hard-earned tobacco on? A consideration of his administrative account reveals an enlightening cross-section of Talbot County society in the early eighteenth century. Andrew's largest creditor not related to him was a local merchant named Richard Bennett. Bennett was associated with Philemon Lloyd of the great Lloyd family; both gentlemen carried on a brisk transatlantic business with the mother country. Among other purchases, Andrew owed Bennett for eight bushels of wheat. Edward Carslake, a local weaver, held a note entitling himself to about five hundred pounds of tobacco from Andrew's estate, as did shoemaker Edward Clarke.

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²⁰*Ibid.* For more on self-sufficiency in colonial Talbot, see Jean B. Russo, "Self-sufficiency and Local Exchange: Free Craftsmen in the Rural Chesapeake Economy," in Carr, Morgan, Russo, eds. *Colonial Chesapeake Society* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1988), 389-432.

Andrew was also in debt to Talbot Justice, merchant, and miller Robert Grundy to the tune of fifteen hundred pounds of tobacco. Local surveyor Andrew Skinner and perennial Sheriff Daniel Sherwood called in their bills to the estate as well. The amount of debt encumbering her husband's estate left Susanna with property amounting to about one year's income. Her children fared somewhat worse, receiving about £9 each. Within a few years of Andrew's death, Susanna Kininmont married Richard Barrow and Benjamin Kininmont became sole owner of "Kininmont Plantation."²¹

Although few existing records bear witness to the life of this son of Captain John, Benjamin Kininmont remains one of the most intriguing of the first generation American Kininmonts. One persistent and curious fact makes this so: Benjamin was the only member of his family to attain the privileged title of "Gentleman." What stroke of fortune elevated him in consideration above his father and brothers?

Benjamin received what appears to have been preferential treatment in the will of his father. He was to receive a double portion of the Captain's goods and chattels, as well as certain lands of his brothers in the event of their death. By September of 1698, Patrick, Benjamin's elder half-brother, had already died without issue and Benjamin took the opportunity to sell the better part of Patrick's third of "Dundee" to their brother-in-law Alexander Ray. It is in this land transaction that Benjamin is first referred to as "Gentleman." While Benjamin apparently lived the life of leisure--a life

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²¹MdHR, *Inv. & Accts.*, Book 36A, 57-59, account, 7 Jun. 1714. The professions of these creditors were gleaned from Leonard, *Books* 3-5. Curiously enough, but perhaps obviously, Benjamin Kininmont was his brother's greatest creditor.

characterized by freedom from manual labor--his brothers labored with axe, hoe and plow under the hot Maryland sun.²²

Benjamin Kininmont did not labor in the manner of his brothers, but he did exhibit a touching generosity toward the children of his siblings, particularly as he approached the end of his life. In June of 1718, he gave an additional thirty acres of "Dundee" to his nephew, Alexander Ray, Jr. Two months later, "for the love and respect [he bore to his] two sisters-in-law Margrett Horney and Kathrine Wilson, Relicts of [his] Brothers Joseph & Francis," Benjamin gave their orphan sons his remaining interest in "Dundee"--about three and one-third acres. On the same day, Benjamin gave Susanna Barrow, "the relict of [his] brother Andrew," a plantation owned jointly by the two brothers, being leased at the time to a certain John Christian. Benjamin's three nephews, Benjamin, John and Andrew, would receive the land when they reached the age of twenty-one.²³

By August of 1718, Benjamin had outlived each of his brothers and half-brothers. His gentlemanly life of leisure very likely contributed to his relative longevity. It is also evident by this time that Benjamin did not marry--indeed that he had no intention of marrying, as evidenced by his divestiture of land to relatives. Surely a gentleman, much more than the laboring sort, would have had the opportunity for marriage and the raising of a family. What kept Benjamin from treading the path of labor, marriage and fatherhood travelled by his father and the majority of his brethren?

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²²Leonard, *Book 3*, 50, TLV #7, 276, 19 Sep. 1698.

²³MdHR, *Talbot Co. Land Records*, Book RF#12, 327, 334.

The will of Benjamin offers little help in answering the above question. What one can conclude from the document is that Benjamin Kininmont fell mortally ill in the late fall of 1723, and that he died shortly more than a month later. Benjamin's will also mentions two beloved friends: Mr. Peter Bennett, second husband of Mary Kininmont Peck; and a Mr. Perry Benson, grandfather of the Revolutionary War hero of the same name. By a provision in Benjamin's will, these two men were to benefit for seven years from the "yearly profets and rentts" of three tracts of land left to Benjamin by his father: "Barterham," "Hopewell," and "The Addition." At the end of this term, the sons of Andrew Kininmont were to gain possession of the lands. Benjamin left his "best cloth su[i]tt of aparill and [his new] hatt" to his nephew, Benjamin Peck, and his "hors[e] bridel and sadell" to a godson, Daniel Peck.²⁴ No inventory or final account of the estate of Benjamin Kininmont exists. It appears that, apart from the above possessions, Benjamin Kininmont, Gentleman, was a pauper. How could this be?

Benjamin's gentlemen friends apparently did not take advantage of his generous bequest, for by early June of 1727, Benjamin, John and Andrew Kininmont were before the county court seeking a commission to look into the "very ancient and much decayed" boundaries of "Barterham." On 10 August, the commission returned with five depositions, the fourth of which, with one simple parenthetical statement, casts a brilliant light upon the life experience of the late Benjamin Kininmont of Talbot County, Gentleman: Richard Barrow testified to the commission that he "hath often been told by Benjamin Kininmont, and as near as he could learn, *ye aforesaid Benjamin*

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²⁴Tilghman, Vol. 2, 304; MdHR, *Original Wills*, Box 14, folder 13.

being a blind man, that the white oake standing in the west southwest course of a tract of land called Batchelor's Hope was the second bounded tree of the said land and further saith not."²⁵ This simple statement in an obscure land record reveals why Captain John provided so amply for his son, and why Benjamin could escape the toil of agriculture while his brothers labored hard and died relatively young. It also gives good reason why Benjamin failed to marry and have children, and why he died with such meager possessions. In a day that offered few alternatives for the physically disabled, Benjamin took the only route available to him. The blind Benjamin Kininmont was a gentleman, not through wealth or unexplained fortune, but of sheer necessity.

Joseph: Co-Owner of "Dundee"

Joseph Kininmont was very likely another of Captain John's sons born of his wife Frances. The order of his birth is unknown, but it is certain that Joseph was born prior to Andrew and Benjamin. By the terms of his father's will, Joseph inherited one-third of "Dundee." He farmed this portion alongside his sister and brother-in-law, Hannah and Alexander Ray, and their youngest brother Francis. In the early 1690s, the Maryland Assembly ordered Talbot County to be divided into parishes. Not long afterward, "Dundee" was chosen as a site for a Chapel of Ease of St. Michael's parish. Thus, Joseph Kininmont and his wife Margaret raised their sons Samuel and Andrew in the shadow of the Church of England.²⁶ The presence of such an edifice on

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²⁵MdHR, *Talbot Co. Land Commissions*, Book PFB, 60, 70, 72. The deposition of Richard Barrow. My italics.

²⁶Andrew and Benjamin are referred to as John Kininmont's two youngest sons in MdHR, *Talbot Co. Land Records*, Book RF #13, 284; Tilghman, vol. 2, 271; Anna Ellis Harper, *History of*

their property might well have provided Margaret and her sons with a measure of comfort when Joseph fell ill and died around the year 1716. Apart from the additional fact that he was apparently literate, little more is known about Joseph. A glance at his final account, however, throws a bit more light on his life.²⁷

An inventory of Joseph's estate was taken, amounting to £44 11s 4d. Unfortunately this document does not survive into the present day. We do know, however, that the estate was ultimately reduced by taxes, debts and fees to £12 8s--a reduction of about seventy-two percent. After the vestry of St. Michael's parish took one thousand pounds of tobacco, Talbot attorney Norton Knatchbull was Joseph's greatest creditor, possessing a receipt entitling him to 714 pounds of the volatile leaf from the Joseph Kininmont estate. Merchant Richard Bennett, and physician Thomas Scantlebury were owed 378 and 442 pounds of tobacco respectively, as were neighbors Sophia Scott and Thomas Hopkins, who claimed 390 and 351 pounds of the weed. These debts, added to Commissary General fees of 754 pounds paid to Sheriff William Clayland, and funeral expenses of one thousand pounds of tobacco, practically eviscerated the value of Joseph's movable estate. The amount of debt and taxes exemplified in the account of Joseph Kininmont leaves us with a disturbing picture of life and death in Talbot County during the early

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St. Michael's Parish (St. Michael's, Md.: by the author, 1956), 25, 31. Following the Glorious Revolution, Royal Governor Lionel Cropley presided over the establishment of the Anglican church in the new Royal Province of Maryland. The act of the Assembly which accomplished this was promulgated in 1692. In 1693, Talbot was divided into three parishes: St. Peter's, St. Paul's, and St. Michael's. For more on the Anglican Church in Maryland, see Carol van Voorst, *The Anglican Clergy in Maryland, 1692-1776* (New York: Garland Pub., Inc., 1989).

²⁷Joseph signed his name in witness to his brother Andrew's inventory.

eighteenth century. There was a bright spot, however: Joseph had one abiding possession of value which he was able to pass on to his sons Samuel and Andrew--his third of "Dundee" amounting to 133 1/3 acres of land. By the date of the issue of his final account, Joseph's wife Margaret had already married James Horney.²⁸

Francis: The Latecomer

Francis Kininmont, the unborn child mentioned in Captain John's will, was born shortly before his father died in 1688. Not much is known about the early life of Francis. It is probable that after his mother Frances died (c. 1698), Francis lived in the home of his elder brother Joseph. Since Francis named his only son Joseph, we can surmise that the relationship between these brothers was close. We know positively, however, that Francis Kininmont married Catherine Hopkins--daughter of Thomas Hopkins--that, like his father before him, he too was a planter, and that he died in 1717, close to the ripe old age of thirty.²⁹

An examination of Francis' inventory renders the image of an extremely simple homestead. At the time of his death, Francis and Catherine possessed little more than the bare minimum required to maintain a primitive tobacco farm. Their home contained one bed with the usual accoutrements minus the more extravagant curtains, a few extra blankets and bed rugs, two sheets of domestic linen, three iron pots (one broken), two tin pans, and a parcel of

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²⁸MdHR, *Inv. & Accts.*, Book 37A, 194, account, 31 Jul. 1716; *Talbot Co. Land Records*, Book RF#12, 334. As the state religion, the Church of England could collect taxes for its support. This 1,000 lbs. of tobacco might be an enforced "tithe." The Commissary General was Baltimore's head colonial official in charge of probate records.

²⁹*Ibid.*, Book PF#13, 445-46; Kinnamon, 3, 11.

pewter implements. The only items listed which speak of more than mere survival are a "small table Cloth," a "small Looking Glass," and a "small old Bible."³⁰

Of livestock, Francis owned two "small" mares, nine head of cattle, twelve hogs with eighteen shoats, and five sheep. The presence of an "old woolen wheel" and an equally old linen wheel indicates that Catherine Kininmont spent at least some of her busy days spinning yarn from the Kininmont sheep's wool, and that she might have taken in flax from which linen thread could have been spun. The resulting thread could then be woven on a local loom to produce what Francis' inventory calls "Countrey Cloth." There were four yards of this domestic manufacture on the premises when neighbors James Dawson and Philip Horney tallied up Francis' estate. For nourishment, he and Catherine had on hand 283 pounds of bacon, and five barrels of "Indian Corne," together with fourteen pounds of "fatt," and one bushel of wheat.³¹

Francis possessed two broad hoes, one narrow hoe and one narrow axe; each were notably "old." These old tools and the absence of any type of plowing gear on his inventory, together with the relatively small quantity of wheat listed by Dawson and Horney, suggest that Francis Kininmont employed the simple hoe culture in use on the Chesapeake for more than a century, and that corn and tobacco were the chief products of his labor.

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³⁰MdHR, *Inventories*, Book 1, 273-74, 15 Apr. 1718.

³¹*Ibid.*

Tobacco provided Francis with one quarter of his movable wealth at the time of his death--2,842 pounds of the weed valued at £11 16s 10d.³²

Francis Kininmont left an estate worth just under £48, unencumbered by outstanding debts. His funeral and accompanying sermon cost the estate £5. Colony officials next took their obligatory "pound of flesh," leaving the estate about £38. This sum was then almost certainly divided, giving Catherine Kininmont her widow's thirds. It is reasonable to assume that the remaining two-thirds of Francis' property (about £25) was left for the care of his only known son, still a child. When he came of age, Joseph Kininmont inherited his father Francis' third of "Dundee." Catherine Kininmont married John Wilson shortly after the death of Francis, and lived well into the eighteenth century.³³

The Kininmont Sisters: Eclipsed by Their Husbands

A discussion of the first generation of American Kininmonts would not be complete without at least a cursory mention of the Kininmont sisters--for they were important members of the extended family network which formed on Miles River Neck around the sons of Captain John. Indeed, because of the limitations imposed by English custom, a cursory mention is all that can be attempted, for from the moment they married, Hannah, Margaret and Mary Kininmont lost their traceable identities behind that of their husbands. Anything learned about these women, then, must be gleaned from records pertaining to the men in their lives. While there is much not known about

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³²*Ibid.*

³³MdHR, *Accounts*, Book 2, 29, May 1719; *Wills*, Book 22, 308, John Wilson, 21 Nov. 1740. Catherine was still alive when John wrote his will.

his daughters, it is certain that two had already married and were still alive at the time Captain John dictated his will in 1687: Margaret to James Scott, Jr., and Hannah to Alexander Ray. Nothing further is known about Margaret Scott; a little more is known about Hannah Ray. Hannah's mother was probably Ann Kininmont, John's immigrant wife. This Kininmont sister also nursed her ailing brother, John, in the final days of his life. The Rays and the Kininmonts shared "Dundee," and thus interacted for close to a century.³⁴

Mary's mother was probably Frances Kininmont. For some unknown reason, Mary is not mentioned in any record pertaining to Captain John, but she was nevertheless his daughter. Mary differed from her sisters in that she apparently married higher-up on the social scale. Both of her husbands are referred to in county records as gentlemen. Married to Talbot planter and lawyer Benjamin Peck until his death in 1709, she then wed Mr. Peter Bennett. Both of Mary's husbands maintained close relations with the Kininmont men--particularly Benjamin--as witnessed by land and probate records.³⁵

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When Benjamin Kininmont died in the winter of 1723, members of the second generation of American Kininmonts no doubt bid a fond farewell to their blind uncle, the last member of the first generation. The Talbot County

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³⁴MdHR, *Original Wills*, Box 14, folder 3; Kinnamon, 7; *Wills*, Book 3, 343. A certain Anne Rae, listed as kin to Ambrose Kininmont, made her mark in witness to his inventory. This Anne is probably the daughter of Hannah, and was named in honor of her maternal grandmother. For more on the life of women in early Maryland, see Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *WMQ* 34 (Oct. 1977): 542-71.

³⁵Kinnamon, 5. Her close relationship to Benjamin and Andrew suggest that Mary was the daughter of their mother, Frances Kininmont.

from which Benjamin departed was a very different place than the one into which he was born. The wild forests of the mid-1600s were now greatly cleared down to the waterline, making room for lands to be brought under hoe, hoof and plow. The Church of England had extended its authority from Canterbury all the way into the Kininmont's backyard of "Dundee." The rudimentary trappings of county government which formerly moved from house to house were now well established in a permanent courthouse on the site of present-day Easton. Having passed through two decades of relative economic stagnation around the turn of the century, the whole tidewater region in the early 1720s stood on the brink of a "Golden Age." Tobacco had once more become a profitable cash crop on the Eastern Shore. But hoe culture was gradually giving way to plow culture. Talbot farmers were increasingly beginning to grow wheat for the demand that was springing up in the shipping centers of Pennsylvania.³⁶ Moreover, many Talbot farmers, like Andrew Kininmont, were undertaking the local manufacture of cloth from domestically grown flax and wool. The economy of the Eastern Shore was slowly becoming less tied to the whims of the European markets. Thanks to the hard work of their predecessors, the second generation of American Kininmonts stood poised, educated, and energized to take part in the changes transforming Maryland's Eastern Shore.

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³⁶Clemens, 22, 23.

CHAPTER 3

THE GOLDEN AGE

What has been called a Golden Age dawned on Maryland's Eastern Shore in the 1720s and continued until shortly before the Revolution. Tobacco prices improved somewhat while the tobacco trade itself expanded considerably. "Golden Age" is perhaps a misnomer, for while some Marylanders during this period grew wealthy, and others still wealthier, their countrymen on the lower rungs of the economic ladder--poor farmers, landless laborers, indentured servants and African slaves--found themselves pressed harder to the wall. The opportunities of the seventeenth century were gone to be seen no more. As indentured white labor became scarce and prohibitively expensive, African slavery became more attractive. Those wealthy enough to invest in this renewable source of labor could continue to farm on the large scale; those for whom the expense was too much, however, were forced out--sometimes into tenancy. Across the Chesapeake a landed aristocracy began to consolidate wealth and power. Talbot was no exception. Here it was the Lloyds, Tilghmans, and Goldsboroughs who increasingly dominated the political and social life of the county.¹ In the days of the second generation of American Kininmonts, Talbot was characterized by a

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¹Preston, 77; Clemens, 118; Alan J. Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1986), 3-13; Main, 100-103. For more on Chesapeake society in the 18th century, see Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1982); and Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1975).

"small number of large slaveowners, [a] large number of landowners without slaves, [and a] predominance of small landowners and tenants." For those with land and the labor to work it, an increase in the standard of living was still possible.²

The Sons of Ambrose: John Sr., of Queen Anne's & Ambrose of Talbot

The eldest son of Ambrose and Joan Kininmont was born in Talbot County in 1677. Named after his grandfather, John Sr. is only one of a bewildering number of John Kininmonts to be born on the Eastern Shore. Upon the death of his father, John Sr. inherited "Lambeth." About two years later, Queen Anne's County was formed from portions of Talbot. "Lambeth" was located astride the new boundary between the old and new counties. Although John's dwelling plantation was situated in Queen Anne's County, he kept some of his land in Talbot. He married a woman named Margaret, and they had two sons: Ambrose, and John.³

In 1726, John Sr. and Margaret began laying claim to lands in Talbot to which they felt they had a right by virtue of a perceived flaw in Captain John's will. The Talbot Court was evidently convinced by their argument. Benjamin, John and Andrew Kininmont (sons of Andrew) defended their 430 acre inheritance by a payment of six thousand pounds of tobacco--about £25--to their Queen Anne's cousins. In 1729, John Sr. and Margaret went after a third of "Dundee," that portion inhabited by Hannah and Alexander Ray. Again, the Talbot justices allowed John to, in effect, re-sell the property to

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²Clemens, 144.

³Kinnamon, 4, 5. The number of John, Ambrose, and Andrew Kininmonts in Talbot records is confusing at best. The eldest son of Ambrose is identified in county records as John Sr.

Alexander and John Ray for ten thousand pounds of tobacco. It is not known whether these land dealings created any acrimony between John Sr. and his Talbot cousins.⁴

John Sr. died in 1749 at the good age of about seventy-two. The terms of his will left his dwelling plantation in Queen Anne's to eldest son Ambrose; his lands in Talbot were given to younger son John Jr. The inventory of John, Sr. shows the continuing diversity of Talbot farm life. Like his predecessors, John Sr. raised tobacco and corn, but his plantation also produced wheat, oats and flax, as well as "Indian pease" and "Indian beans." He seems to have continued, at least part-time, in his father's trade as cooper, but shoe-making tools suggest that more than barrels were being made on John's property. Indeed, wool was spun into yarn here, and from the flax came yards of coarse tow linen. The livestock John Sr. raised was typical for the day; it comprised about thirty-three percent of his movable wealth. Food products made up another twelve percent of his estate. Furniture and other items account for the remainder. A small gilded trunk, and an "old pewter chamber pot," are items of particular interest. This chamber pot is one of only two such items to be found among the enumerated effects of colonial Kininmonts! Appraisers ultimately judged the John Kininmont, Sr. estate to be worth £148 8s 9d.⁵

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⁴MdHR, *Talbot Co. Land Records*, Book RF 13, 283-86, 7 Aug. 1726; 554-61, 4 Feb. 1729. John Sr., as eldest son of Capt. John's eldest son, saw himself as rightful heir of his uncle Benjamin.

⁵MdHR, *Original Wills*, Box 7, folder 65, 14 Sep. 1748; *Estate Papers*, #840, John Sr.'s original inventory, 18 May 1749. No estate account survives for John Sr. On the chronic absence of chamber pots: early Marylanders apparently relieved themselves wherever convenient—oftentimes just outside their residence. Olfactory senses were obviously less acute in colonial times. See Carr, et al. *Robert Cole's World*, 107.

Not much is known of Ambrose Kininmont, Jr., son of Ambrose. He is linked with a certain Alexander Kininmont who died in Talbot around 1722. Ambrose Jr.'s wife was named Catherine, and they dwelt upon lands in Talbot which he inherited from his father. The younger Ambrose was a modestly successful farmer. At the time of his death in 1737, Ambrose Jr. owned twenty-five cattle, twenty-two sheep, and seventy swine, as well as three horses and two draft oxen. He also raised rye, as well as the corn and wheat usually found on Talbot farms. The wool and flax generated on the property were sometimes spun and woven together into yards of "linsey woolsey" fabric. Ambrose Jr. owned a considerable amount of clothing, including one "sute of Cloths of Good fashane." Appraisers of his estate found a servant woman with five years on her contract lingering on the premises. The poor creature, stricken "Crippell & Deaf" about four months earlier, was judged unfit for service. Six beds are listed in his inventory, suggesting that Ambrose Jr. might have had at least three children. The name of only one, however, is certain: Alexander Kininmont was less than twenty-one when his mother negotiated an overseer's position for him on the plantation of Robert Noble in March of 1739. Ambrose Jr. left no will.⁶

Ambrose, the eldest son of John Sr., inherited his father's lands in Queen Anne's County which he later sold to his uncle William Elbert (1752). In 1763, he married a Talbot widow with eleven children! It is improbable that the

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⁶Ambrose witnessed the account of Alexander Kininmont in 1722. MdHR, *Inv. & Accts.*, Book 4, 139-40, account of Alexander; *Inventories*, Book 23, 311-13, inventory of Ambrose, 17 March 1738; *Talbot Judgements*, Book JL #6, 253-57, Catherine Kinnimont, 2 Apr. 1742. Ambrose's estate was judged to be worth £177 17s 10d. No record of his debts and credits exists. Nothing further is known of Alexander, the son of Ambrose.

fruitful Lydia Gregory bore Ambrose children of his own. When he died in 1774, Ambrose left his property to Lydia and her children.⁷

John Jr., the youngest son of John Sr., inherited his father's lands in Talbot but apparently dwelt in Queen Anne's County. He sold his Talbot lands in 1755. In 1760, John, Jr. secured a patent for a twenty-acre parcel he called "Kininmont's Hardship." In 1763 this tract was re-surveyed together with an additional nineteen and-a-half acres and the resulting parcel was named "Kininmont's Outt Lett." John, Jr. sold this land in 1767. Nothing more is known of this great-grandson of Captain John.⁸

The Sons of Joseph: Andrew & Samuel

Andrew Kininmont, son of Joseph, shared one third of "Dundee" with his brother Samuel. Andrew had three sons: Richard who was born before 1743, Solomon, born around 1749, and Joshua, born around 1752. Andrew died in 1764. No full inventory of his estate exists, but his final account suggests that Andrew ran a fairly successful farm. After his estate was reduced by around £33 of debts and fees, his sons were left with property evaluated at just over £201 10s. Andrew left no widow.⁹ More on Richard, Solomon and Joshua, later.

Samuel, another son of Joseph Kininmont was born in 1706. He ran what must have been--for a time at least--a successful farm on his portion of

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⁷Kinnamon, 4; MdHR, *Original Wills*, Box 14, folder 36. Apparently literate, Ambrose signed his will.

⁸MdHR, *Patents*, BC & GS #14, 270-71; BC & GS #24, 129-30; BC & GS #20, 295-96; Kinnamon, 4, 5.

⁹MdHR, *Inventories*, Book 85, 9, additional inventory, 30 Jun. 1764; *Accounts*, Book 51, 338-40, final account, 6 Sep. 1764; Kinnamon, 6, 7.

"Dundee." His wife was Mary King, the daughter of John King. In 1744, Samuel was elected a church warden of Saint Michael's Parish. He also served as a lieutenant in the Talbot militia. Samuel and Mary had three children: Joseph, Elizabeth and Margaret.¹⁰

Samuel is notable for the troubles he found during the Golden Age. In early 1753, for unknown reasons, he negotiated a five-year mortgage of his third of "Dundee" with militia captain, Robert Goldsborough. Just over ten thousand pounds of tobacco in addition to £115 5s 6d of Maryland currency were exchanged. Evidence suggests that Samuel defaulted on the loan. In September of 1762, "Dundee" was officially partitioned between Thomas Ray, Samuel, and Francis Kininmont. Around this same time Samuel's portion of "Dundee" became a point of contention between a number of individuals. A series of judgements were issued against Kininmont and Goldsborough by the Provincial Court in 1762 and 1763, ordering them to surrender the land. In these records Samuel is referred to as a tenant. This legal fracas, however, appears to have been eventually settled in favor of Goldsborough. In May of 1765, Samuel sold his remaining interest in "Dundee" to Edward Lloyd IV for £60 in Maryland currency. Shortly before this time Samuel and Mary quit Talbot for Dorchester, the county adjoining Talbot on the south side of the Choptank River. Opportunities in Dorchester apparently outweighed any

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¹⁰Kinnamon, 6; Murtie June Clark, *Colonial Soldiers of the South, 1732-1774* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1983), 34-35; Bell, *Parish Register of Saint Michael's*, 129-30. There are no known children of Samuel's son Joseph.

remaining family ties in Talbot. In July of 1770, Robert Goldsborough sold his interest to Lloyd for £385. Samuel Kininmont had already died by this time.¹¹

Richard, Solomon & Joshua of Andrew: Grandsons of Joseph

Richard Kininmont, the son of Andrew, lived in Talbot and died there in the fall of 1769. His wife was named Ann. They had two sons. Andrew was about seven when his father died, and Daniel was less than a year old. An inventory Richard's estate was accomplished totaling £155 8s 4d. The farm of Richard Kininmont was that of a typical Talbot small holder of his day. He grew tobacco, corn, wheat, flax, peas and beans. Sheep's wool was spun into yarn on his property, and flax into linen thread. Wood and leather work were also done there. Hogs, cattle and horses account for much of Richard's movable wealth. One fifty year-old slave woman named Sue labored on his property. Appraisers Richard Grason and Richard Skinner also found a "crack'd" blue stone chamber pot on the premises--a seemingly rare item indeed in colonial Maryland.¹²

Richard's brothers, Solomon and Joshua, witnessed his inventory and received £19 9s as equal portions of their father Andrew's estate, which seems to have been liquidated at this time. After debts and taxes, Ann and her

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¹¹Leonard, *Book 10*, 34, TLV #18, 162-64, 3 Apr. 1753, mortgage of "Dundee"; *Book 11*, 71, TLV #19, 162-64, 17, 21 Sep. 1762, the partition of "Dundee"; *Book 12*, 94, TLV #19, 336-38, 7 May, 26 Aug. 1765, and TLV #20, 136, 21 Jul. 1770, the sale of "Dundee"; MdHR, Provincial Court, *Judgements*, Book DD#5, 97-100, 14 Sept. 1762; Book DD#3, 472-73, 6 Oct. 1762, April term 1762; Book DD#4, 73-76, April term 1763. There were evidently more tenants on "Dundee" beside Samuel. A Thomas Town is also mentioned. For a discussion of persistence in colonial Maryland see Lorena S. Walsh, "Staying Put or Getting Out: Findings for Charles County, Maryland, 1650-1720," WMQ 44 (Jan. 1987): 89-103; and Clemens, 161-63.

¹²MdHR, *Inventories*, Book 104, 167-71, 25 Nov. 1769. Sue was judged to be worth £8. Tea was also important to the Richard Kininmonts, as witnessed by tea making and drinking paraphernalia here.

children were left about £44 1s 6d. This was then divided into equal thirds between them.¹³

A little more than four years later, Joshua Kininmont--scarcely more than twenty-three years old--died. His sister-in-law Ann, once his guardian, became his executrix. James and Thomas Barrow appraised his estate and found property worth about £14 11s 5d. Next to the 231 pounds of preserved pork he had laid up, Joshua's bed was his most valuable item. A weaver's loom and gear are other items of note. The Revolution was well under way by the time of Joshua's final account of January 1777.¹⁴

Solomon, a son of Andrew, died in Talbot County in 1780. He and his wife Lydia had a son named Richard, born in 1773. Richard married Rebecca Gregory. Their son was named William. Richard died in 1806.¹⁵

The Sons of Andrew: Benjamin, John & Andrew

Benjamin Kininmont was born 1 March 1704. He was still alive in 1726 when his brothers secured their inheritance of Kininmont Plantation, but he preceded his brothers in death and evidently had no issue.¹⁶

John Kininmont occupied Kininmont Plantation in conjunction with his two brothers. He married at least twice. On 17 August 1748, John married the recently widowed Agnes Higgs. The name of his other wife is not known.

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¹³MdHR, *Accounts*, Book 65, 134-36 16 Nov. 1770; *Balance Books*, Book 6, 34, final account, 16 Nov. 1770.

¹⁴MdHR, Caroline County Circuit Court, *Naturalization Record*, Box 87, folder 14, inventory, 2 Feb. 1775; Caroline County Trial Magistrate, *Docket*, Book 74, 95-97, account, 10 Jan. 1777.

¹⁵Kinnamon, 7.

¹⁶No probate records exist concerning Benjamin.

John fathered at least two sons: Samuel and Andrew. On 3 March 1747 Samuel married Mary Nutwell. Their son was named Benjamin. Samuel apparently preceded his father in death, for in his will, John specified that rent from one half of his lands be paid annually to his grandson Benjamin. John also made provision for his nephew John, the orphan son of his brother Andrew. The elder John died in 1751.¹⁷

Andrew Kininmont, the youngest son of Andrew, died in 1742, leaving three orphans: Sarah, Mary and John. Shortly after his death, Andrew's widow, Jane, married Richard Barrow. They continued to occupy Kininmont lands. Andrew's son, however, was placed under the guardianship of his uncle John. When Uncle John died in 1751, the Talbot court declared Richard Barrow's guardianship over the younger John, and sent two neighbors, James Benson and Woolman Gibson, to evaluate the farm John inherited from Andrew Kininmont. They found one dwelling house in good repair, a tobacco house wanting repair, and an orchard of fifty good apple trees. Benson and Gibson judged that a rent of two hundred pounds of tobacco be paid annually by Barrow to his stepson John, until the lad was fourteen. A similar exercise conducted by the same men two years later increased the rent to 450 pounds per annum until John became twenty-one.¹⁸

Andrew's small farm was typical among Talbot Kininmonts. He raised corn, wheat and tobacco, together with a modest number of cattle, sheep and

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¹⁷MdHR, *Original Wills*, Box 14, folder 22, written Sep. 1751, probated 9 Nov. 1751. Nothing more is known of John's grandson, Benjamin.

¹⁸MdHR, *Accounts*, Book 19, 467-69, final account, 28 Aug. 1748; Kinnamon, 8; Leonard, *Book 10*, 17, refers to TLV #18, 77, 236, the estate valuations of John, "orphan and son of Andrew Kininmont."

swine. On their wheels, Jane and her daughters spun wool and flax, while Andrew, young John, and their manservant worked in the fields and sometimes fished in the nearby river. Lumber and leather were other products of their labor. Andrew's inventory is notable for the relatively small number of furniture articles listed. His estate was ultimately valued at close to £130. Debts and taxes reduced this amount to just over £88. The orphan John, of whom we will learn more later, would see a measure of opportunity matched by few of his contemporaries.¹⁹

The Son of Francis: Joseph

Joseph Kininmont was born in Talbot by at least 1717 and was very likely named for his uncle Joseph who preceded Francis in death by only months. Joseph's mother, Catherine Hopkins Kininmont, married John Wilson shortly after the death of Francis. Joseph was without doubt raised in the home of Wilson, becoming a fond elder brother to the children of his mother and stepfather. He was apparently so enamored of his two half-sisters, in fact, that he named his two daughters after them.²⁰

John Wilson appears to have done right by Joseph--not only by seeing that the lad survived the perilous years of childhood--but more particularly in looking out for his stepson's interest in "Dundee." In August of 1728, he appeared before the justices of the Talbot Court and enrolled in its records a deposition made by Joanna Kininmont, the wife of Joseph's uncle Ambrose. In this document, the sixty year-old widow revealed that Joseph's father,

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¹⁹MdHR, *Inventories*, Book 27, 181-83, 18 Jun. 1742; *Accounts*, Book 19, 467-69. Samuel of John, provided surety on this account.

²⁰MdHR, *Inv. & Accts.*, Book 37A, 134, account, 31 Jul. 1716; *Accounts*, 49, 12 May 1719.

Francis, was indeed the unborn child of John Kininmont mentioned in his 1688 will, thus securing the line of inheritance of one third of "Dundee" from the deceased Francis to his only son. If Francis Kininmont had married in his late teens, and fathered Joseph soon thereafter, then it is possible that by August of 1728, Joseph was of a suitable age to prepare himself for full ownership of his inheritance. John Wilson's actions that August paved the way for his stepson's transition from colonial farm boy to Talbot County Planter.²¹

Little is known of Joseph Kininmont in the decade following the enrollment of his hereditary rights. By January of 1737, however, it is certain that Joseph was set up on his own plantation.²² Before 1738, Joseph married Sarah Garey, daughter of George Garey. A number of children were born of the Garey-Kininmont union, and were named according to prevailing English custom. The eldest son, born probably in the late 1730s, was named Francis, after Joseph's dead father. A daughter and second son arrived around the early 1740s: Rebecca, named for Rebecca Wilson; and George, undoubtedly named for his maternal grandfather. Daughter Mary was born in the early 1740s. She was named after Mary Wilson, her aunt. In March of 1743, Sarah Kininmont bore a third son named, presumably, after her paternal grandfather, William Garey. Two years to the month later, yet another son was born to Joseph and Sarah: Joseph was named after his father. Sarah Garey Kininmont apparently died sometime in the decade following 1745, because Hopkins Kininmont, Joseph's youngest son, was born in October of 1755,

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²¹MdHR *Talbot Co. Land Records*, Book PF#13, deposition, 19 Aug. 1728.

²²*Ibid.*, Book 14, 200, 8 Jan. 1736.

almost certainly of Alice Carslake Kininmont. Hopkins was christened with the surname of his paternal grandmother, Catherine Hopkins.²³ Joseph Kininmont could accomplish his own name in pen and ink and was thus apparently literate. In 1748, he served as a private in the Talbot militia under the leadership of Captain Robert Goldsborough.²⁴

The Chapel at "Dundee"

A Chapel of Ease was built on "Dundee" around the turn of the eighteenth century, for the convenience of parishioners who lived too far from the mother church, located on the site of the present village of St. Michael's. It was at this chapel on their family land that the Kininmont's served their fellow parishioners of St. Michael's River Neck and the Church of England.²⁵ Joseph's cousins Samuel and John both served as St. Michael's vestrymen, and his wife Alice worked for close to two decades as the chapel sexton, "cleaning the Chapple [and] washing and ironing the surplice linen," contributing four hundred pounds of tobacco to the annual family income.²⁶

By 1781, the Dundee Chapel had become too decrepit for services and was thus abandoned. The ravages of time have since left virtually nothing to tell us where the ancient church actually stood. In the mid-1950s, when Anna

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²³Skordas, 171; Kinnamon, 13; MdHR, *Accounts*, Book 49, 650, 8 Sep. 1763; *Original Wills*, Box 14, folder 27, written 23 Jul. 1756, probated 9 Feb. 1762. William Garey immigrated in 1671 and was a friend of Capt. John mentioned in his will. Alice was the daughter of Robert Carslake.

²⁴Clark, 34-35.

²⁵Kinnamon, xiii.

²⁶Bell, *Parish Register of Saint Michael's*, entry for meeting of 9 Jun. 1756. Alice served from Jun. 1756 to Sep. 1774--18 years. In July 1763, Alice's wages were increased by 100 lbs. of tobacco.

Ellis Harper wrote, all that remained which could give hint of the chapel's existence on the farm known by then as "Little Dundee" were "bricks and rubble in the soil and . . . the name of a cove on one side [of the Miles river] which is called Church Cove."²⁷ It is reasonable to assume that when Joseph Kininmont died in February of 1756, he was laid to rest in the churchyard on his hereditary plantation.

Joseph was a typical Talbot planter of modest means. His possessions, apart from some walnut and maple furniture, and "a parcell of very old books," appear to be little better than rudimentary. On their farm, Joseph and family grew tobacco probably as the primary crop, but his inventory indicates that wheat, corn, potatoes, beans, flax, and cotton were also produced in some quantity. The fact that Joseph had four older sons might account for the absence of servants or slaves upon his property. Joseph and Sarah had an inexpensive labor force of their own making. The family owned five horses, nine cows, twenty-nine pigs, and seventeen sheep. With the leather, flax, cotton and wool produced on their farm, the Kininmonts could clothe themselves; any left-over goods could be used for barter in the local economy. Joseph's estate was valued at just over £112.²⁸

Joseph was survived by his wife Alice and six children. When their father died, Francis, George and Mary were above the age of twenty-one. William was nineteen, Joseph Jr. was seventeen, and Hopkins was six. Oldest son Francis was bequeathed Joseph's part of "Dundee." Joseph's will, however,

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²⁷Harper, 31-2. Could "Church Cove" be that cove designated "Kininmont Cove" in John Kininmont's original patent to "Dundee"?

²⁸MdHR, *Inventories*, Book 78, 306-8, 16 Aug. 1762.

Photo 2.

The Original Will of Joseph Kininmont.

Insets: Detail of his signature and seal.

Courtesy of the Maryland State Hall of Records

made it impossible for Francis to take possession of the land while his step-mother remained alive. Francis Kininmont died in the late spring of 1774. Alice never remarried and died about eight years later.²⁹

In his will, Francis, left his tentative third of "Dundee" to his two young sons John and Jonathan Kininmont. Francis gave orders to his friend and executor, Jeremiah Garland, that "immediately after the Death or Marriage of . . . Alice" that "Dundee" be sold, the proceeds being lent out at interest "for the benefit of [his] children." Francis also named Garland as the guardian of his boys. The will of Francis Kininmont also mentioned his brother, William, leaving him all of Francis' wearing apparel and his bridle and saddle. Brother George appears to have preceded Francis in death.³⁰

When Francis' third of "Dundee" was sold by Jeremiah Garland in 1782, the sons of Joseph became landless farmers. Persuasive evidence suggests that William Kininmont, following the example of his cousin Samuel, moved to Dorchester County around this time. Lands around the Nanticoke River were opening up to farming and lumbering operations and an experienced farmer might have found opportunity here. More of William, later.³¹

No further record of Joseph, the son of Joseph is known of. Hopkins Kininmont, however, remained in Talbot. He served with Maryland's militia

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²⁹MdHR, *Accounts*, Book 49, 650; *Original Wills*, Box 14, folder 27; Leonard, *Book 15*, 12, TLV #22, 120, 14 Aug. 1782, the sale of Francis' part of "Dundee" by his executor, Jeremiah Garland, apparently after the death of Alice. Rebecca Kininmont, mentioned in the 1756 will, preceded her father in death.

³⁰MdHR, *Wills*, Book 40, 131-32, probated 26 May 1774.

³¹Leonard, *Book 15*, 11, 12, TLV #22, 120-22, 16 Dec. 1784, the sale of Francis' third of "Dundee" for £270; Calvin W. Mowbray and Maurice D. Rimpow, *Close-ups of Early Dorchester County History* (Silver Spring: Family Line Pub., 1987), 45.

in the Revolutionary War. While the name of his first wife is unknown, Mary Ann Brint was the second wife of Hopkins. The children of Hopkins were Elizabeth, William, Hopkins, Joseph, John and Permelia. Many descendants of Hopkins Kininmont are with us today.³²

John of Andrew: A Golden Age Success?

If the experience of Samuel Kininmont represents the darker side of the Colonial Chesapeake's Golden Age, then the experience of John Kininmont provides an example of the opportunities and refinements the period had to offer. John, the orphan son of Andrew (of Andrew), was born about 1739. He married Elizabeth, the daughter of William Edwards. She came to the marriage with a dower of properties which the couple sold in 1760. The sale brought about £126 of Maryland currency to the household. The future of this couple looked bright in 1761. Their second child, a son named John, was born (their first child, Susannah had been born in 1759) and in spite of his relative youth, the elder John was elected one of the two church wardens for Dundee Chapel. By the summer of 1762, however, the young father was dead, having left behind a wife and two orphans.³³

The inventory of John's estate came in at just over £518. It is the richest of any colonial Kininmont and provides, in a small way, a glimpse of what material life in the Golden Age could be like for the middling landowner. Appraisers Richard Grason and Thomas Ray counted seven "Negros" on the

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³²Kinnamon, 13, 14.

³³Leonard, *Book 10*, 17; Kinnamon, 9; Leonard, *Book 11*, 34, TLV #19, 37-8, 5 Jun. 1760. Elizabeth and her sisters, Rebecca, Ann and Sarah inherited land jointly from their father. This 200 acre sale netted the foursome of spinsters £505. The term "spinster" refers to a woman who spun fiber into thread or yarn.

plantation: a fifty-five year-old named Joe, a thirty year-old named Rose, a twenty year-old named Penny, a fifteen year-old named Lyd, two three year-olds named Charles and Sam, respectively, and a one year-old named Isaac. These seven souls accounted for forty-three percent of John Kininmont's wealth. His slaves were listed just above John's six horses--animals which sported names like "Fly," "Pheonix," "Ranter," and "Smug." The names of these horses suggest that John was no stranger to the racetrack near Talbot courthouse. The popularity of horse racing amongst Talbot countians at every level made them little different from their counterparts throughout the colonial Chesapeake in the Golden Age.³⁴

Corn, wheat and tobacco--farmed on a relatively large scale--were the main products of John and his slave's husbandry. His corn crop amounted to 102 barrels, the wheat crop yielded 150 bushels, and the tobacco crop was 4, 400 pounds. Grain and tobacco account for better than twenty-seven percent of John's movable wealth. He owned eight head of cattle, twenty-three sheep, and twenty-three hogs. Like other Talbot farms, spinning, woodworking and leather-working were also accomplished on the estate.³⁵

An interesting feature of John's inventory concerns the refinements of the age which were available to those with disposable income. Tea--that great English pastime--had become important to the Kininmonts. Six tea cups and saucers, a tea pot, two cream pots, and six silver tea spoons with tongs speak

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³⁴MdHR, *Inventories*, Book 80, 532-35, 21 Aug. 1762; Preston, 86. John is one of two colonial Kininmonts on record as owning African slaves. Richard Kininmont died in 1769 owning a fifty year-old woman named Sue. See MdHR, *Inventories*, Book 104, 167-71, 25 Nov. 1769.

³⁵*Ibid.*

of this East Indian import. West Indian sugars--brown, loaf and molasses--were also used in considerable amount on the plantation. Six wine glasses and a glass cruet indicate an apparent taste for the fruit of the vine. At one time, in fact, John provided the Chapel at Dundee with its communion wine.³⁶

A detailed account John's plantation was rendered by Thomas Ray and Woolman Gibson when they evaluated the estate for his orphan son, John. The dwelling house was thirty-six by eighteen feet, having two brick chimneys. There were two rooms above and two rooms below. The house itself was in rather bad shape. It wanted new shingles and floor-boards, the windows required eighty-four panes of glass, and an upper room needed to be lathed and plastered. A twenty by sixteen foot outside kitchen with its own brick chimney was nearby, as was an eighteen by fourteen foot brick cellar. John's tobacco house was forty by twenty feet, and his barn was twenty feet square, "shedded round with eight feet sheds." The orchard contained thirty old apple trees, some cherry and peach trees, and one English walnut. At the upper end of the plantation stood a two-roomed, twenty-four by eighteen foot house. Its floors were "laid with plank above and below." A sixteen by twelve foot kitchen of logs was here, as well as two small old houses--these structures were deemed irreparable. Two large cherry, and sixty-six apple trees stood nearby and fifteen acres of wooded land were still available on the property.³⁷

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³⁶*Ibid.*; Bell, *Parish Register of Saint Michael's*.

³⁷Leonard, *Book 12*, 73-74, TLV #20, 54, 30 Aug. 1769.

Elizabeth Kininmont married Richard Parrott, who became guardian to John's young children. Susannah gave her step-father, Richard, the approximately five hundred remaining acres of Kininmont Plantation she inherited from John. She married Joseph Hartley, a well-known local "martyr" of Methodism, and upon his death, Matthew Greentree, another Methodist preacher. Susannah's brother, John, Jr., also married twice: his children were Richard, Garrettson, Perry, Eleanor and Margaret. Perry Spencer Kinnamon became a prominent Baltimore physician and lived well into the nineteenth century.³⁸

The life-experience of John Kininmont, son of Andrew, demonstrates two features of the life in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake. The fortunate planter with land, labor and good family connections could see his wealth and standard of living increase. Life on Maryland's Eastern Shore, however, continued to be fragile and uncertain. All the good fortune in the world is useless without a life in which to exercise it.

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³⁸Kinnamon, 9. Methodism was unpopular with the Church of England. Methodist preachers like Hartley were often jailed. Hartley, however, died a natural death. See William H. Williams, *The Garden of American Methodism: The Delmarva Peninsula, 1769-1820* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1984), 35-38.

CHART I I

A suggested pedigree of Perregine Kinnamon of Dorchester County, Maryland, one of four men believed to be the sons of William Kinnemont, the son of Joseph Kininmont of Talbot County, Maryland.*

* Estimated birthdate windows for Robert, Joseph, William and Perregine Kinnamon were interpolated from census data. Joseph might also be a son of this same Robert, and possibly a grandson of William Kinnemont, son of Joseph Kininmont of Talbot County. Joseph and Perry both named sons William, however, suggesting the possibility that their own fathers were named William. The pedigree above concentrates on the line running from Perry Kinnamon to Kenneth Vincent Kinnamont of Butte County, California.

CHAPTER 4

THE REVOLUTION & EARLY REPUBLIC

It is at this juncture that the circumstances surrounding the Kininmonts of the Eastern Shore become hazy indeed. County records from the years surrounding the Revolution are amazingly sparse in their mention of the family. Whether they had Tory or Patriot sentiments is not known. A life lived in the shadow of a Chapel of Ease of the Church of England might very well have engendered strong loyalist sentiments. One historian has observed that loyalism on the Eastern Shore "was strong enough to amount almost to counterrevolution." Comparatively few Eastern Shore Kininmonts are listed as having taken the 1778 Oath of Fidelity to the State of Maryland, nor are any members of the Joseph Kininmont family listed in the Censuses of 1776, 1778, or the Assessment of 1783. By 1782, most Kininmonts were bereft of their lands in Talbot, which accounts for their conspicuous absence in the land records. The next substantial mention of the Kininmont name comes in the pages of the first U. S. census, accomplished in 1790.¹

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¹Preston, 132; MdHR, *Bulletin No. 17: A Guide to the Index Holdings at the Maryland State Archives*, Revision of Oct. 1972, 21-22. The Census of 1776 was made "pursuant to a resolution of the Continental Congress for ascertaining the population of the United Colonies, adopted 26 Dec. 1775." The Census of 1778 was made "under the provisions of Chapter 30 of the Acts of 1777," to learn just who had not taken the Oath of Fidelity. The Assessment of 1783 was an act to raise supplies for that year.

Map 3. Dorchester County, Maryland.

Map by Matt Kinnamont

The Case for William Kinnemont of Dorchester County

The Census of 1790 mentions six families of "Kininmonts" living in Maryland--all on the Eastern Shore. In Talbot, Hopkins Kinnamont and Mary Kinnamont were listed as heads of separate households. In the adjoining county of Caroline, Benjamin Kinneman, Samuel Kinneman, and Mary Ann Kinneman headed up three separate households. Dorchester County was home to one William Kinnemont. He served as head of a household having two white males born before 1774, four white males born after 1774, and three white females. Is this William the son of Joseph Kininmont mentioned in his estate records? The ages of the men coincide, but there are definite problems providing a solid linkage between the two.²

On the early morning of 9 May 1852, a fire started by person or persons unknown engulfed the Dorchester County Courthouse at Cambridge, destroying virtually all of the county land and probate records. With the smoke that ascended heavenward on that morning went possibly any way of establishing to whom the William Kinnemont listed in the Census of 1790 was related.³ Nevertheless, a thoughtful examination of the next two U. S. censuses emphasizing naming trends of Dorchester Kinnemonts should provide at least some clues as to the children of this William Kinnemont.

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²U. S. Bureau of the Census, *First Census of the United States, 1790: Maryland* (Bountiful, Utah: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1978), 110, 38, 57. Caroline was formed in 1774 from parts of Dorchester and Queen Anne's Counties. The names found in Caroline suggest that these people are related to Samuel, the son of Joseph, who moved to Dorchester Co. between 1763 and 1765. See Laura C. Cochrane, et al. eds., *History of Caroline County, Maryland From Its Beginning* (Denton: c. 1920; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1994), 1.

³Mowbray & Rimpow, 11.

The 1800 census of Dorchester finds this same William Kinamont heading a household with one white male born in or before 1755, and two white males born between 1784 and 1790.⁴ The 1810 census of Dorchester lists a William Kinnaman, a Robert and Joseph Kinaman, and a certain Perry Kinaman. The William listed here is too young to be the son of Joseph. In his household was one white male (himself) born between 1765 and 1784.⁵ Robert and Joseph Kinaman were listed on the same page, one immediately preceding the other. Robert's household had one white male born in or before 1765. Joseph's household contained one white male born between 1765 and 1784, and three young white males.⁶ The household of Perry Kinaman consisted of one white male born between 1784 and 1794, two white males under ten, two white females between ten and sixteen, and four free persons--almost certainly free blacks.⁷

The Joseph Kinaman mentioned in the 1810 census, "sold his goods and farm supplies in Dorchester County, Maryland, February 24, 1812, and moved with his wife and children to Ross County, Ohio, in 1813." The name of this Joseph Kinnamon's first child was William.⁸ It is possible that the William, Joseph, Robert, and Perry Kinnamons of the 1810 census are brothers, the son of the William mentioned in the 1790 and 1800 census. Whether or not this is entirely the case, the presence of the name William in Perry's family line, as

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⁴Nat'l. Arch., *2d Census of the U. S.*, Dorchester Co., Md., 613.

⁵*Ibid.*, *3d Census of the U. S.*, Dorchester Co., Md., 362.

⁶*Ibid.*, 412.

⁷*Ibid.*, 387.

⁸Kinnamon, 25.

well as the proximity of others sharing naming trends common to the family of Joseph Kininmont of Talbot, makes this historian believe that the William Kinnemont of the 1790 census is the son of Joseph and our connection to Captain John Kininmont, through his son Francis.

Peregrine Kinnamon

Peregrine Kinnamon and his wife Rosannah McCollister were married on 8 May 1807, and lived together in the Fork District of Dorchester County. The farms of Dorchester, originally producing tobacco, were an important "bread basket of the American Revolution," and her virgin forests provided lumber for the shipbuilders of the Northeast, as well as her own local shipbuilding concerns.⁹

It was during the lifetime of Perry Kinnamon that the wheat producing regions of the Eastern Shore drifted under the miasma of an economic depression which plagued the region for decades to come. With the political stability engendered by the Congress of Vienna (1815), came a resumption of European agricultural production. The resulting economic competition drove wheat prices from \$2.50 a bushel in 1817 to less than 75 cents in 1821. Eastern Shore farmers and the people who relied upon them bore the burden of such competition and poverty became the lot of most small farmers. The population of Eastern Shore counties dwindled as the more adventurous

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⁹*Ibid.*, 45; MdHR, *Dorchester Co. Land Records*, ER #16, 547-49, 6 Aug. 1838, mentions a "Kinnamon's Branch" of Northwest Fork of the Nanticoke River; Calvin Mowbray, *The Dorchester County Fact Book* (Silver Spring, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1981), 85; Mowbray & Rimpow, 27. The Fork District was designated in 1830 as the First Election District. It consisted of all the land in the county east of the Northwest Fork of the Nanticoke River.

among them relocated to more promising areas--most notably the opening frontier of the Northwest Territories.¹⁰

But the family of Peregrine Kinnamon remained in Dorchester County, seemingly content to till the land as their fathers had done before them in the growing isolation of the Eastern Shore. There were some benefits of doing so. Food on the Eastern Shore was plentiful and inexpensive. Fish and waterfowl were still readily available year round. Oysters were abundant and not yet an item to be exported to urban markets. Although cash was hard to come by, farmers, merchants, tradesmen and professionals traded goods and services in kind.¹¹ For those who cast in their lot to remain, frugality, hard work and the kind hand of Providence would insure that body and soul be kept together through the year--but life on the Eastern Shore of Maryland in the first half of the nineteenth century continued to be inherently uncertain. Out of the mass of uncertainties in this period of the family's history, one fact is reasonably certain: Perry and Rosannah Kinnamon were poor dirt farmers who rented their land.¹²

The Kinnamons had at least eight children born between 1808 and 1824: Ebin, John, Sarah, Henry, William, DeWitt, Elizabeth, and Margaret. The

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¹⁰Preston, 171-72.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 180, 182; Christine Daniels, "Wanted: A Blacksmith who Understands Plantation Work: Artisans in Maryland, 1700-1810." *WMQ* 50 (Oct. 1993): 750. The rise of Baltimore seems to have contributed to an economic decline on Maryland's Eastern Shore. Railroads were not even established in Talbot or Dorchester until after the Civil War.

¹²Dorchester land records bear out that Perry Kinnamon owned no land in the county.

Kinnamonts of Washington, D. C., trace their lineage to Perry Kinnamon of Dorchester County through his fifth child, William.¹³

William Kinnamon

William Kinnamon was born on 19 January 1814. Around the time of William's birth, the County of Dorchester and the whole Chesapeake Shore were living under the fear of British invasion. Not long after the fledgling United States government had declared war on Britain in June of 1812, a squadron of British warships had taken control of Hampton Roads and were periodically raiding settlements up and down the Eastern Shore. The situation in Dorchester had become such in the spring of 1813, that William's father, Perry, was called into a brief stint of service with the local militia. The effort earned Perry a whopping dollar ninety-three and a third cents and also the distinction of having served, albeit briefly, in the War of 1812.¹⁴

Peregrine Kinnamon died on 17 November 1837 when William was almost twenty-four. Shortly after he turned twenty-eight, William married Elizabeth Ann Woollen, the daughter of Levin and Elizabeth Woollen. Two years later, William's younger brother, DeWitt Clinton, married Elizabeth Ann's sister, Rebecca.¹⁵

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¹³Kinnamon, 123; *Wm. Kinnamon Bible*, Births.

¹⁴*Ibid.*; Tilghman, vol. 2, 148; Lester B. Kinnamon, notes taken at the Nat'l. Arch. in Wash., D. C. concerning the War of 1812. Photocopy. Perry served from 10 Apr. 1813, to 19 Apr. 1813 in the Extra Battalion of Captain Levin Rawleigh's Detachment of the Dorchester Co. Militia, stationed at Cambridge, Maryland.

¹⁵Lester B. Kinnamon, notes concerning Dorchester Co. Marriage References 1780–1867. Photocopy. Perry Kinnamon was evidently an admirer of New York Governor De Witt Clinton, who started work on the famed Erie Canal in 1817.

William and Elizabeth Kinnamon appear to have settled not far from where Perry and Rosannah had lived. The couple had six children: four girls and two boys. Sarah Elizabeth, their first child, was born on 14 February 1844. Mortality was no stranger to the Kinnamon home. Only one of the Kinnamon daughters lived beyond her first year, and Celea Ann died at the age of sixteen months in December of 1849. There were other deaths in the family during this period as well. William's mother, Rosannah, was close to seventy when she died on 29 January 1852. And in June of 1855, less than a year after the death of her six month-old namesake, Elizabeth Kinnamon also expired. She was thirty-seven years old.¹⁶

With Elizabeth gone, William was left to care for nine year-old Walter and four year-old William, as well as the family farm. It is not surprising to learn that William quickly found a new bride to help him with the task. In November of 1855, William Kinnamon and Margaret Willey, the daughter of Jacob Willey and Elizabeth Wheatley, were married by the Reverend Mr. Kemp at the old settlement of Bucktown in south central Dorchester.¹⁷

Politics was a great pastime of Eastern Shoremen of the early 1800s. William was most certainly an admirer of certain contemporary politicians, and like his father Perry, he paid tribute to these men by naming sons in their

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¹⁶Nat'l. Arch., *7th Census of the U. S.*, Dorchester Co., Md. Election District 2, 308; *Wm. Kinnamon Bible*, Births & Deaths. William and Elizabeth's children: Sarah, b. 14 Feb. 1844, d. 1 Jun. 1844; Walter, b. 1 Sep. 1845, d. 3 May 1869; Celea, b. 3 Aug. 1848, d. 19 Dec. 1849; William, b. 3 Nov. 1850, d. 26 Mar. 1917; Catherine, b. 6 Jan. 1853, d. 25 Jan. 1853; Elizabeth, b. 18 Feb. 1854, d. 10 Sep. 1854. District 2 was established in 1830 as East New Market.

¹⁷Nat'l. Arch., *Pension File*, Wm. Kinnamon, Declaration For Original Pension of Widow, Margaret Kinnamon, dated 9 Oct. 1895. Executed at Airey's, Md. The marriage date on the application differs from the one in Family Bible. Margaret later amended this information in an affidavit sent to the U. S. Pension Agency.

honor. In November of 1850, for example, William named his newborn son, William Taylor Kinnamon, in honor of the President who had died that July. The American Party--an anti-Catholic, anti-semitic, and anti-foreign political group, often prone to violence--had gained increasing popularity in the state of Maryland during the 1850s. In the gubernatorial election of 1857, the American Party candidate proved to be victorious. Earlier that same year, Dorchester native Governor Thomas Holliday Hicks also gained a namesake when Jacob Hicks Kinnamon came into the world.¹⁸

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¹⁸Preston, 198; *Wm. Kinnamon Bible*, Births; Andrews, 483, 702. The American Party was also known as the "Know-Nothings," because members were instructed to say "I know nothing" when asked about their secret rituals.

Photo 3. Is this William Kinnamon, the father of Jacob?
According to Dorsey Blake Kinnamon, of Wilmington, Delaware, the man in this photo, discovered amongst the effects of Jacob Kinnamont, bears a striking resemblance to his father, Daniel Franklin Kinnamon. Daniel was the younger brother of Jacob. Photo taken in D.C.

Courtesy William M. Kinnamont of Alexandria, VA

CHAPTER 5

JACOB HICKS KINNAMONT OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

It is unclear just where in Dorchester County Jacob Hicks Kinnamon was born. He could have been born in the vicinity of the old settlement of Drawbridge on the Chicamacomico River. Members of his mother's family lived near there, as evidenced by the Census of 1860.¹ It is more likely, however, that he was born near Church Creek, an old town named for the branch of the Little Choptank River on which it sits. On the first of April in the same year of his birth, Jacob's uncle, DeWitt Clinton Kinnamon, purchased a fifty acre tract of land named "Grace Reading" located on the Parson's Creek branch of the Little Choptank River.² The two brothers and their families seem to have been living in close proximity at this time. Whether at Drawbridge, Church Creek, or at some other location in Dorchester, Jacob Kinnamon was born on 4 April 1857, the son of a Dorchester County farmer, and would likely have lived and died in the sleepy isolation of Dorchester had not revolutionary events intervened.³

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¹Nat'l. Arch., *8th Census of the U. S.*, Dorchester Co., Md. Election District 11: Drawbridge, 111. Margaret Kinnamon is listed in the same household as Mary Willey, aged 30. Both were employed as wash women. Next-door lived Nicholas Langfort, aged 50. In 1885, he wrote an affidavit for Wm. Kinnamon's pension application. Also living close by was Solomon Willey [Margaret's brother?], age 33. He wrote an affidavit for Margaret's pension application in 1895.

²MdHR, *Dorchester Co. Land Records*, Book FJH #3, 692-93, 13 Apr. 1857.

³Wm. Kinnamon Bible, Births.

The Civil War

With the Presidential election of 1860, and the victory of Republican candidate Abraham Lincoln, came the unravelling of that tenuous fabric painstakingly woven in Philadelphia seventy-three years earlier. The cords of compromise which bound together a Union in 1787, slowly corrupted by sectional acrimony and the canker of slavery, burst asunder that winter in a flurry of Southern secession. The subsequent Confederate attack on Ft. Sumter in April of 1861 inaugurated a conflict that Abe Lincoln aimed to finish. On 15 April the President issued a call for 75,000 state militia troops to be used for ninety days in order to put down the insurrection that existed in the South. Maryland, on the eve of the Civil War, was a border state where slavery legally existed. It was thus also a home of considerable pro-Southern sentiment. By virtue of his keeping the state legislature from meeting and considering the question of secession, Governor Thomas Holliday Hicks is sometimes credited with keeping his state in the Union fold.⁴

Not long after Lincoln's call, recruitment advertisements began to appear in certain pro-Union Dorchester newspapers. An enticing aspect of these advertisements was their promise that those answering the call to military service would do so exclusively on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. On 13 September 1861, at Church Creek, William Kinnamon answered Lincoln's call, enrolling for what was supposed to be a ninety day stint in Company C of the First Eastern Shore Home Guards. It was later re-christened the First

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⁴James M. Mc Pherson, *Ordeal By Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1982), 149; Mowbray & Rimpow, 75.

Regiment, Eastern Shore Maryland Infantry. On 12 November 1862, William was officially drafted into the Union Army. He was by that time over 47 years old!⁵

In his days of service with the Union forces, William Kinnamon experienced both quiet duty on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, and the unexpected horrors of one the greatest battles of the first modern war firsthand. In June of 1863, Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia invaded Maryland and Pennsylvania. In response, the First Eastern Shore Regiment is reported to have requested service at the front with the Army of the Potomac. The unit was ferried from the Eastern Shore to Baltimore, and thence marched into Pennsylvania, arriving at Gettysburg on the morning of 3 July, whereupon it went into "[immediate] action with 12th Army Corps on Culp's Hill." The regiment was generally reported to have done good service in battle.⁶

William Kinnamon, together with his company, was discharged from the Army at Baltimore on the last day of October in 1864. He was a few months short of his fifty-first birthday and in Dorchester County he had a wife, a

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⁵*Ibid.*, 25; Nat'l. Arch., *Service File*, Wm. Kinnamon; *Dorchester County Genealogical Magazine* 6 (Mar. 1987): 19. A Company Muster Roll roll gives William's age as being 43. He was actually 47. Did William fraudulently enlist? If so, what forces motivated him?

⁶Maryland State Adjutant General, *History & Roster of Maryland Volunteers, War of 1861-1865*, vol. 1 (Baltimore: Guggenheim, Weil & Co., 1898; reprint, Silver Spring: Family Line/Toomey Press, 1987), 606, 613; Harry W. Pfanz, *Gettysburg: Culp's Hill & Cemetery Hill* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1993), 307-8. George K. Collins, the historian of the 149th New York Volunteer Infantry, cast aspersions on the conduct of the 1st Eastern Shore Regiment, saying that the untried troops, taking the field in apparent confusion, "fired in the backs of the [New Yorkers] and scampered away." Collins added that when the New Yorkers were relieved, they stood behind the Marylanders with fixed bayonets in case they decided to "gig out" once more. Pfanz found no corroboration of this in any other Gettysburg account. See Pfanz, 457-58.

young daughter,⁷ three sons and a farm awaiting him. Jacob was seven years old when his father returned from the war. It is quite easy to imagine growing up on the Kinnamon farm in those heady days after the Civil War, hearing tales of battlefield heroism spun on warm and lazy Fourth of July evenings.

In the years following the war, William and Margaret worked a farm in Griffith's Neck. In May of 1869, the family lost a brother, son, and valuable farm hand when Walter Fernandis, age twenty-three, died of typhoid fever coupled with pneumonia. By the Census of 1870, the family was living in the vicinity of Church Creek. Thirteen year-old Jacob and his ten year-old sister Eliza were attending a nearby school, but older brother William Taylor, at age nineteen, was illiterate, as was his stepmother Margaret. The estate of William Kinnamon was at this time worth about \$250.00. After 1870, William and Margaret had two more children: Daniel Franklin, born 21 September 1871, and Lucy E. Kinnamon, born 20 March 1876. Three years after Lucy's birth, however, her sixteen year-old sister, Eliza Roberts Kinnamon, died of pneumonia.⁸

Private Jacob H. Kinnamon

It is quite possible that his father's stories of life in the Union Army had a profound effect on the life of Jacob Kinnamon. While it is impossible to know the extent of this effect, we do know that on 2 January 1880, Jacob Kinnamon followed in the footsteps of his father and enlisted in the United States Army.

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⁷Eliza Roberts Kinnamon, daughter of Wm. and Margaret Kinnamon was born 23 Jul. 1859.

⁸MdHR, *Dorchester Co. Land Records*, Book FJH #6, 603; Nat'l. Arch., *9th Census of the U. S.*, Dorchester, Co., Md., Election District 9: Church Creek, 28, ln. 13; Veterans Administration, *Military Pension File*, JHK, File C 887 766, Form for the Physical Examination of a Recruit, 9 Feb. 1889; *Wm. Kinnamon Bible*, Deaths, Births.

He was twenty-three years old. The enlistment record states that at the time of his entrance into the military, Jacob was five feet, eight and one-half inches tall, ruddy complexioned, with brown hair and blue eyes.⁹

Jacob served for five years in Battery A of the Second U. S. Artillery Regiment. His term of service in the Army was characterized by relative peace, and was, for the most part, uneventful. Jacob underwent basic training at historic Ft. McHenry, Maryland. The life of a private soldier at Ft. McHenry in the early 1880s often consisted of the tedium of guard duty and drill, but always had the potential for surprises. In the summer of 1880, for example, Jacob was exercising one of the Battery's horses, "riding at a fast trot or gallop," when the horse that he was riding "stumbled or jumped forward" at the same time that the horse he was leading to water "pulled back." The result was a serious sprain in Jacob's back. The following morning he went on sick call and was treated in quarters for the next two days before being returned to duty on 27 June 1880.¹⁰

The life of an artillery soldier during the peaceful interlude following the Civil War was not necessarily all work and no play. There were plenty of novel attractions for a farm boy like Jacob in the nearby cities of Baltimore and the District of Columbia, and it is a fair assumption that he spent at least some of his free time enjoying these attractions. For instance, military records state that from 26 December 1881 to 21 January 1882, Jacob Kinnamon was

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⁹Nat'l. Arch., *Service File*, JHK, Enlistment Papers.

¹⁰*Military Pension File*, JHK, Claimant's Affidavit filed by Jacob, received by U. S. Pension Office on 24 Dec. 1909; Original Invalid Claim, 24 Feb. 1897; Excerpts from his medical records in the same file.

treated in the Post Hospital for "primary syphilis . . . not contracted in [the] line of duty."¹¹

Following his training, young Kinnamon was transferred to the District of Columbia; it was thus in the early 1880s that Jacob's relationship with the Federal City began. He was quartered there in the Washington Barracks, located in southern D. C., close to the mouth of the Anacostia River. The Barracks are famous for being the place where the four "co-conspirators" in the assassination of President Lincoln were tried and hanged in 1865.¹² During his stay at these famed barracks, Jacob made the acquaintance of a certain Caroline Levinia Virginia Williams, who lived across the river in nearby Anacostia, Maryland.

On New Year's Day 1885, private Jacob H. Kinnamon received a discharge from the Army at the Washington Barracks with a recommendation of "excellent character." Roughly two weeks later he married Caroline "Carrie" Williams, the daughter of John Samuel Williams and his wife Eliza Ann Scott, both originally from Charles County, Maryland. Jacob and Carrie were married at St. Teresa of Avila Catholic Church by Father Thomas B. Hughes on 15 January 1885. Lawrence Williams [Carrie's uncle?] and Carrie's mother Eliza were in attendance. The newly weds decided to settle in Washington.¹³

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¹¹*Ibid.*, Summary of medical records; A statement from the Adjutant General's Office of the War Department summarizing Jacob's military service, 13 Apr. 1897.

¹²*Ibid.*; Frederic Taber Cooper, *Rider's Washington: A Guide Book for Travelers* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1924), 350.

¹³Nat'l. Arch., *U. S. Army Register of Enlistments*, Vol. 80, 200, entry 14, 1880; DCVR, *Death Certificate*, Carrie Kinnamont, 9 Jul. 1921. Information provided by niece, Christina Hilbrandt, 321 D St. S. E.; DCMB, *Marriage License*, JHK and Carrie L.V Williams; Parish Records of St. Teresa of Avila Church, Washington, D. C., *Marriage Certificate*; *Pension File*, JHK, Bureau of Pensions Questionnaire, 3 Sep. 1909.

Map 4. From Charles Burr Todd, *The Story of Washington*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1889.

A New Wife. A New City. A New Name

The city wherein Jacob and Carrie made their new home was in many ways, a beautiful, modern and rapidly growing one. Since the early 1870s, "the dirty, straggling, unkempt, provencial-like" Washington of the Civil War days had undergone a marvellous transformation. A great new sewage system had been installed, "one hundred and thirty three miles of water mains and pipes" were laid, as were gas lines for over three thousand street lamps, and 180 miles of the District's broad avenues and streets were paved--some being lined with sidewalks, green lawns, and thousands of shade trees. A good number of horse-drawn street cars rode on rails along the city streets; a five cent fare allowed a rider to travel to all parts of the city. People were busily streaming into this desirable place to make a life for themselves. In 1870, there were 131,700 souls in Washington. By 1880, this number had increased to 177, 638. By 1885, Col. William H. Boyd, publisher of the *Washington City Directory*, computed the population of the District to be between 210,000 and 215,000 people--an increase of well over five thousand from the year before.¹⁴

Not long after his discharge from the Army and his marriage to Carrie, Jacob H. Kinnamon changed his name to Jacob H. Kinnamont. *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia* for the year 1886 lists him for the first time with his "new" surname. At the time, he and his new bride were living

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¹⁴Charles Burr Todd, *The Story of Washington: The National Capital* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1889), 179, 182-84, 188; De Be Randolph Keim, *Keim's Illustrated Hand-Book: Washington and its Environs, 1884* (Reading, Pa: B. F. Owen, 1884), viii, 9-10; *The Evening Star*, Washington, D. C., 3 Jan. 1885, 2.

at M Street in the Southwest part of the city, and Jacob was working as a laborer.¹⁵

Why the name change? It is clear that the Kinnamons of the Eastern Shore had for many years been aware that their last name had undergone a change from its original spelling. The late Lester Bryan Kinnamon states that the lore of his Talbot County family is that they originally "spelled their surname with a 'd' or 't' on the end of it." As late as the census of 1790, "Kinnamont," and "Kinnemont" were the forms used by enumerators to identify the forbearers of the Maryland Kinnamons. In subsequent censuses after 1800, however, the name, particularly in Dorchester, had corrupted to the spelling of Jacob's day. An exception to this rule occurred in the Census of 1860, when DeWitt Clinton, Jacob's uncle, was listed as "De Wit Kinnamond."¹⁶ It is possible that his newfound freedom from military authority, and his recent marriage, inspired Jacob to change his name back to a form close to its original spelling, allowing Jacob to start a new and independent life with a "new" name that was in reality not so new after all.

The first years of married life for Jacob and Carrie Kinnamont appear to have been rather unstable. Between 1886 and 1889 the couple lived at three separate addresses and Jacob was alternately finding employment as a laborer and teamster. Their first child, William Walter Kinnamont, was born on 15

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¹⁵*Ibid.*, 32; *Boyd's*, 1886. D. C. streets are identified by the quarter of the city in which they lie. Washington was early divided into quarters with reference to the Capitol. The Northwest "constitutes the finest part of the capital," the Southwest, "formerly known as 'The Island,' from its separation from the city by the Washington Canal (filled by 1883) is generally the quarter of persons of moderate means." The Northeast quarter was also a haven for those of middling income. The Southeast quarter embraces Capitol Hill.

¹⁶Kinnamon, viii; Bureau of the Census, *The First Census of the U. S.: 1790*, 57; Nat'l. Arch., *8th Census of the U. S.*, Dorchester Co., Md. Election District 4: Taylor's Island, 172.

September 1886, and curiously enough, was baptized in December that same year under the name Thomas Kinnamon. The burden of an extra and growing mouth to feed, appears to have been one that the civilian Jacob Kinnamont had difficulty in bearing. In early 1889, he abandoned civilian life in favor of the military.¹⁷

Back in the Army

Jacob Kinnamon, his surname shorn of its recent addition, enlisted in the Third Regiment U. S. Artillery, Battery K on 10 February 1889. The nature of his reenlistment at the Washington Barracks is certainly questionable. In fact, an examination of Jacob's enlistment papers reveals that Jacob fraudulently enlisted. On the front of his enlistment contract, for example, Jacob gives his age as being twenty-nine, when in actuality he was approaching his thirty-third birthday. On the reverse side, Jacob signed a declaration stating that he was of legal age to enlist and that he had "neither wife nor child," when it is clear, that by this time, he had both. It is quite evident that in the winter of 1888-89, Jacob Kinnamont wanted to join the Army badly--so much in fact that he apparently lied in order to do so.¹⁸

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¹⁷*Boyd's*, 1886-89; *Pension File*, JHK, Declaration for Invalid Pension, 21 Aug. 1907; *Baptismal Records*, Saint Peter's Catholic Church, from a letter of Rev. Michael O'Sullivan, 21 Jun. 1989. Could the name "Thomas" be a gesture towards the priest who married the Kinnamonts and possibly baptized William Walter?

¹⁸*Service File*, JHK, Enlistment Paper, 9 Feb. 1889; *Pension File*, JHK, physical examination report for his second enlistment. Were the Kinnamont's starving? In a commentary section of the form, the physician states that everything is "Normal, except [that Jacob's] weight [was] less than it should [have been] for his height."

Photo 4. Jacob Kinnamont, with his sons William Walter (standing), and infant James Douglas, circa 1891.

Courtesy William M. Kinnamont of Alexandria, VA

Safely back in the military, and with a guaranteed \$13.00 monthly income, the Kinnamont family began to grow. On 31 August 1890, Jacob and Carrie's second son, James Douglas Kinnamont was born. A faded photograph taken around this time shows a uniformed Jacob seated with son William at his side and infant Douglas on his lap. There is evidence that at least some of the time Jacob was serving with the Third Artillery, his wife and two children spent time in Dorchester, presumably with William and Margaret Kinnamon. The baptismal records of Saint Peter's Catholic Church in Southeast Washington have as a notation to the 6 November 1890 record of James Douglas' baptism: "Living in Dorchester, Maryland." On December 31, 1891, Jacob engineered a premature release from his five-year enlistment contract with the Army. He had managed to secure for himself a better position in the outside world.¹⁹

In late July of 1895 an anonymous letter arrived at the office of Washington, D. C. Metropolitan Police District Commissioner, George Truesdale:

Dear Sir,

Pardon the liberty I take in addressing you this morning regarding a most trifling and low drunkard of an officer that we have in our town. He is by no means capable of discharging his duties as an officer of protection should. On one occasion I have known him to go to a certain [g]reenhouse in town and ask for the key of same so as to

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¹⁹Bureau of Retirement and Insurance, *Retirement File*, JHK, General Accounting Office, Wash., D. C., to Interior Dept., Commissioner of Pensions, letter, 19 Oct. 1927; Original Photograph in the possession of Wm. M. Kinnamont of Alexandria, Va.; *Pension File*, JHK, Bureau of Pensions Questionnaire, 3 Sep. 1909; *Baptismal Records*, Saint Peter's Catholic Church; Nat'l. Arch., *U. S. Army Register of Enlistments*, Vol. 84, 332, entry 49, 1889, JHK's second enlistment. Jacob was paid from 1 Oct. 1890 to 31 Dec. 1891 as a Private at \$13.00 per month.

obtain shelter at night time instead of patrolling his beat. . . . [He] has been in my presence drunk more than once and also off of his beat an hour at a time to my knowledge. He is in all sense of the word a complete nuisance to the neighborhood. . . . [H]e has been reported frequently at the Georgetown station house but they seem to be a class that bribe each other and pay no attention to such complaints. On another occasion I have seen him standing on his own porch barefooted with his pants and underwear rolled above his knees with a bottle of beer in his hand drinking it before the public. If this is pronounced due respect to taxpayers and neighbors we must look for something worse hereafter if there is not a stop put to it. This is officer Kinnamon of the 7th precinct in Georgetown.²⁰

Private Jacob Kinnamon, D. C. Metro Police

On New Year's Day, 1892, Jacob Hicks Kinnamon was appointed a private on the District of Columbia Metropolitan Police force. His career as a Metropolitan policeman, however, was a short and troubled one. Personnel files of the D. C. Metropolitan Police housed at the National Archives indicate that at least five different internal police inquiries into Jacob's activities were undertaken between 1893 and 1896. Three of these investigations--one conducted in 1893, and two in 1896--concerned Jacob's failure to repay debts to certain D. C. grocers. While it is fairly conclusive that Kinnamon's failure to pay his grocery bills was the compelling reason for his eventual dismissal from the Metropolitan Police force, it is the trouble that Jacob found in a certain Georgetown neighborhood that makes his police personnel file interesting reading.²¹

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²⁰Nat'l. Arch., Records of D. C., *Metropolitan Police Personnel Files*, Officer JHK, Record Group 351, 13E2a 28:29:f, Box 89. An anonymous letter to Dist. Commissioner George Truesdale, 20 Jul. 1895.

²¹*Ibid.*; *Retirement File*, JHK, Certificate of the Civil Service Commission, indicates that Jacob claimed to have worked with the Metropolitan Police from Jan. 1, 1892, to 12 Feb. 1896.

**Photo 5. Jacob Kinnamont, D.C. Metropolitan Policeman,
1892-1896.**

Courtesy William M. Kinnamont of Alexandria, VA

Not long after landing his job with the D. C. Police, Jacob moved with Carrie and two sons to the more gently populated Northwest quarter of the city, renting a home at 1665 Valley Street in the Georgetown District. Across the street from the Kinnamon home was the residence one Mr. John McCarty, gardener and long-time resident of the area, his wife, and their two daughters. The McCartys were clearly not enamored of their new neighbors. Indeed, it was very likely Mrs. McCarty who penned the anonymous complaint (related above) which was the grounds for the July 1895 investigation of Officer Kinnamon. His conduct on and off duty apparently proved to be an offence to the sensibilities of the McCartys and their daughters--young ladies who were accustomed to theater-going and parlour sing alongs--but it was a quarrel with a family friend, real estate and insurance agent William Sullivan, which precipitated the controversy between the neighbors that July of 1895.²²

On an evening shortly before July fourth, Sullivan had been setting off fireworks in front of the store adjoining the McCarty's residence. Kinnamon, being roused by the racket (he had been on duty all day at the White House and was trying to get some sleep), warned Sullivan not to set off the devices on pain of being "run in." The insurance agent ignored the off-duty policeman's warning and proceeded to light off the noise-makers, whereupon Kinnamon arose, and proceeded to attempt an arrest. Sullivan beat a hasty retreat into the McCarty home and avoided a trip to the station that night, but

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²²*Personnel file, Officer JHK, proceedings of JHK's hearing before the District Commissioners, 31 Jul. 1895, 1-29, Passim.*

Kinnamon obtained a warrant and collared the insurance agent a few days later. The feud between Kinnamon and the McCartys continued until he was ousted from the force in 1896. During his short stint as a policeman, Jacob and Carrie's third and fourth sons were born: Jacob Norman on 3 August 1892, and Henry Victor on 18 September 1894.²³

The mid-1890s were a time of loss for the Kinnamons of Dorchester and D. C. On 21 February 1895, Carrie's seventy year-old mother died. Eliza Williams was buried at St. Ignatius Roman Catholic Cemetery in Oxon Hill, Maryland.²⁴ There was sad news in Dorchester as well. In September of that same year, eighty-one year old William Kinnamon succumbed to congestive heart failure at his farm in Airey's. His departure left sixty-three year-old Margaret, and nineteen year-old daughter Lucy to tend the mortgaged forty-eight acre farm. Alarmed at her financial situation, Margaret wasted little time in petitioning the government for pensionary aid.²⁵ And one year after William's death, Jacob and his wife Carrie were forced to endure the passing of their young son, Henry Victor, who was stricken with convulsions three days before his death on 12 September 1896. A year later, however, Jacob and Carrie welcomed their first daughter into the world. By the time of her baptism in October of 1897, Margaret Eliza Clara Kinnamont and her parents

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²³ Ibid.; *Pension File*, JHK, Bureau of Pensions Questionnaire, 3 Sep. 1909; Kinnamon, 129.

²⁴ Jean A. Sargent, ed. *Stones and Bones: Cemetery Records of Prince George's Co., Md.* (Bowie, Md.: Prince George's Genealogical Society, 1984), 327; *Personnel file*, Officer JHK. In his testimony during the investigation of 1895, Jacob mentions the death of his mother-in-law.

²⁵ Nat'l. Arch., *Pension File*, Wm. Kinnamon, Declaration for Original Pension of a Widow, Margaret Kinnamon, 9 Oct. 1895, her statement of 12 Sep. 1896. William was buried at Salem Methodist Chapel, just off Route 50. His tombstone, although worn is still legible.

were living in Prince George County, Maryland, presumably with Carrie's stepbrother, John Grafton Smithson and his wife Hannah.²⁶

On 24 February 1897, Jacob Kinnamon hired an attorney and fired the first salvo in what would become a thirty-eight year battle with the U. S. Bureau of Pensions. Jacob was injured, it might be recalled, in the summer of 1880 while participating in a drill exercise at Ft. McHenry. According to his 1897 claim, Jacob, on the eve of his fortieth birthday, was suffering from the effects of this old injury to his back.²⁷ In July of 1897, after due consideration of his claim, the Pension Bureau fired back a rejection, whereupon Jacob fired his lawyer and appealed the Bureau's decision, acting as his own attorney. His efforts, were not met with success.²⁸

After leaving his job with the Metropolitan Police, Jacob worked at his old stand-in occupations of horse-driver and laborer. Whether it was because he was disheartened by his recent turn of luck, or whether his growing family was unable to survive on his income as a driver and laborer, sometime after late May of 1898, Jacob and his family abandoned the Washington area for the familiar farmlands of Dorchester County.

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²⁶DCVR, *Death Certificate*, Henry Victor Kinnamon, 12 Sep. 1896; *Baptismal Records*, Saint Peter's Catholic Church, Clara Kinnamont, obviously named for both of her grandmothers, was baptized 7 Oct.; Nat'l Arch., *10th Census of the U. S.*, Prince George's Co., Md., Oxen Hill, Vol. 16, E. D. 132, sht. 21, ln. 16. Liza Williams (Carrie's mother) is listed with her two sons from a previous marriage: Grafton and Douglas Smithson, and their wives. Both men are buried near their mother. See Sargent, 327.

²⁷*Pension File*, JHK, Original Invalid Claim, 24 Feb. 1897.

²⁸*Ibid.*, JHK's letter to the Commissioner of Pensions, 29 May 1898. At this time Jacob was residing at 623 Virginia Ave. S. W. in D. C.

Back Home

The census of 1900 found Jacob working as a farmer and living in a rented house near the county seat of Cambridge. Since their arrival on the Eastern Shore, the Kinnamon family had grown again by the addition of another daughter. Cecilia Ophelia was born on the 4th of January 1900. By 24 July, however, Margaret Willey Kinnamon had gone on to join her husband, dying two days after the onset of a stroke. The Kinnamons remained in Dorchester for over a decade, during which time their eighth and last child was born. Samuel M. Kinnamont arrived on 8 December 1903. While living on the Eastern Shore, Jacob supported his large family by working as a farmer and laborer.²⁹

In 1907, Jacob rejoined the battle with the Bureau of Pensions. On 21 August, he filed another pension claim, and on 28 February 1908 the Bureau rejected it on the grounds "that there was no ratable degree of disability shown from [Jacob's] alleged injury." Not one to suffer rejection passively, Jacob appealed once more the Bureau's decision. On 18 August 1909, he filed yet another Original Invalid Claim that stated his injury occurred as the result of "being kicked by a horse at drill." This apparent change of story surely raised eyebrows at the Pension Bureau. When confronted with the alleged discrepancy in his story, Jacob filed an affidavit with the Bureau which

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²⁹Cecilia Kinnamont was named for her maiden aunt, Cecilia Ophelia Williams, who died on 4 Oct. 1938, age 74; Nat'l Arch., *12th Census of the U. S.*, Dorchester Co., Md., Election District 7-Cambridge, Vol. 29, E. D. 35, sht. 4, ln. 16; *Pension File*, JHK, Bureau of Pensions Questionnaire, 3 Sep. 1909; MdHR, *Death Certificate*, Margaret Kinnamon, 24 Jul. 1900. Samuel's original middle name was possibly Melvin. It might have been changed to Joseph at the time of his baptism. Melvin was probably the middle name of Sam's grandfather, William Kinnamon.

backtracked from his prior claim, stating that he "[did] not remember saying that [he] was kicked by a horse." Whether the story "mix-up" was deliberate on the part of Jacob, or a clerical error originating in the office of his attorney, the Pension Bureau understandably denied Kinnamon's claim. This fruitless shuffling of paperwork lasted well into 1910.³⁰

In the spring of 1910, the Kinnamon family was living in a rented house on Wingate Road in the Straights District of Dorchester. Jacob was working as a stableman, and his three eldest sons were employed as dredgers on one of the Chesapeake's oystermen.³¹

A Return to the City

It is not known when or why Jacob made the decision to return to the District of Columbia. The growing Federal bureaucracy certainly provided employment opportunities in every sector, but perhaps Jacob and Carrie simply never quite forgot the conveniences, comforts and novelties that city life had to offer. Jacob's younger brother Daniel had departed the county with wife, Mamie, and two sons for Delaware in 1909. In early 1910, Jacob had similarly made up his mind to leave Dorchester, and by March he had returned to Washington ahead of his family. By late 1910, the entire brood was back in D. C. and going by the name of Kinnamont. Perhaps Jacob saw this second move from Dorchester County back into the "big city" as another new start comparable to the days of 1885 when he first attempted to change

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³⁰*Pension File, JHK, Brief for Reopening, initiated 10 Apr. 1909; Declaration for Original Invalid Pension, filed 18 Aug. 1909; Claimant's Affidavit, received by Bureau of Pensions on 24 Dec. 1909.*

³¹Nat'l. Arch., *13th Census of the U. S., Dorchester Co., Md., Election District 10: Straights, ED. 44, sht. 12A, ln. 8.*

his name. Whatever his motivations, from 1911 on, Jacob Kinnamon and all of his family were henceforth called "Kinnamont," and Jacob's progeny own the name to this day.³²

Between 1911 and 1918, Jacob was employed as a laborer, a driver, a hostler, a liveryman, and a foreman, and finally in February of 1918, he landed a coveted government job as a watchman at the U. S. Treasury. An interesting photograph of Jacob exists from this period. In it the bespectacled and broadly mustached watchman is tranquilly seated upon a bench in front of a backdrop of the U. S. Capitol: legs crossed, hat on his knee, a lit cigar in his hand. Jacob Kinnamont never missed a day of work at the Treasury until his retirement in September of 1927.³³

In 1916, Jacob and Carrie moved into a house on I Street S. E., where they lived together until death intruded once again into their world. On 9 July 1921, Carrie died of an apparent stroke. She was interred at Mt. Olivet Cemetery in D. C. Jacob and Carrie had been married thirty-six years. The blow of his wife's death might have been softened somewhat by the fact that on November 20 that same year, Jacob's first grandchild was born. William Melvin Kinnamont remembers sitting on Jacob's knee playing with his grandfather's big, gold pocket watch. Jacob lived on I Street until 1925.³⁴

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³²Kinnamon, 131; *Retirement File*, JHK, Affidavit of Mrs. D. F. Kinnamon of Chateau Farm, Dover, Delaware, 13 Dec. 1924. The Kinnamon brothers kept in contact over the years; *Pension File*, JHK, JHK to M. B. Stevens & Co., letter, 9 Mar. 1910, directing them to send his mail to 505 Va. Ave S. E. in D. C. Jacob still used "Kinnamon" when dealing with the U. S. Pension Bureau.

³³Boyd's, 1911-13, 1917-18; *Retirement File*, JHK, Treasury Department: Abstract of Official Record of Employee, 8 Oct. [19?]; Retirement Application, 20 Sep. 1927.

³⁴Boyd's, 1917; DCVR, *Death Certificate*, Caroline L. V. Kinnamont.

Photo 6. Jacob Kinnamont, circa 1920s.

Courtesy William M. Kinnamont of Alexandria, VA

On 30 September 1927, Jacob Kinnamont, having attained the ripe old age of seventy, applied for retirement from his security position at the U. S. Treasury. The government accepted his application and granted him an annuity of \$301.80. After retirement, Jacob appears to have briefly moved in with his son Norman, and wife Leona, who reportedly had at least the beginnings of an alcohol problem. The name Jacob H. Kinnamont disappears from the *Boyd's* listings after the directory of 1928. Where and with whom he lived until 1931 is unknown.

In early February of 1931, Jacob applied for residence at the United States Soldiers' Home: "a military asylum for the relief and support of invalid and disabled soldiers of the Army." Jacob was not yet an invalid, nor did he serve the usual twenty-year military hitch required for residence in the Home, but since he had previously donated a sum of money to the Home, its Board of Commissioners, on February 16, granted Jacob temporary admission contingent upon a medical examination which ultimately judged the old soldier to be "incapable of earning his own livelihood." On 24 February, Colonel F. M. Hartsock, Chief Surgeon of the Soldiers' Home, made his recommendation to the Board of Commissioners that Jacob Kinnamon be admitted to the Home by virtue of a "one-half" degree of disability, due chiefly to cataracts in both eyes--an advanced case which surgery had failed to relieve in the left (Jacob could count his fingers only within ten inches of his face), and an early case of the disease clouding the vision of Jacob's right eye. Acting favorably upon Dr. Hartsock's endorsement, the Board of

Commissioners granted Jacob full admission to the U. S. Soldiers' Home on 27 February 1931.³⁵

Life in the Soldier's Home

According to his grandson, Jacob enjoyed life at the Soldiers' Home. It apparently offered the septuagenarian a smattering of the secure military life, combined with the relative freedom of civilian life, making such security easier to enjoy. Members of the Home seem to have worn clothing provided by the Home for their use and conducted themselves in a semi-military fashion while in residence there. Soldiers' Home residents also received annual furloughs of at least two months. Jacob often chose the notoriously hot and muggy summer months to escape Washington for the more favorable climate found on his native Eastern Shore. The languid summer would surely pass more congenially in the company of old friends and family. While on the Eastern Shore, Jacob probably stayed with his sister, Lucy, who had married a postal worker in the Dorchester town of Vienna. At least two of Jacob's annuity payments were sent to this town. Perhaps the most appealing aspect of life in the Soldiers' Home was that it delivered the proud and stubborn old Marylander from having to rely on his children--some of whom were already showing signs of moral decay--for support. The Home provided the old soldier with his meals, clothing, lodging and tobacco money.

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³⁵Doris D. Montgomery, Administrative Officer of the Administration Directorate at the U. S. Soldiers' & Airmen's Home, Washington, D. C., to Matt Kinnamont, letter, 29 Sep. 1988; Cooper, 433; Nat'l. Arch., *Soldiers' Home File*, JHK, Record Group 231. Thirteen papers compose this file--most notable are Jacob's application to the Home, his furlough card, and his hand-written will.

In spite of his advancing age, Jacob Kinnamont could still be his own man at the United States Soldiers' Home.³⁶

There were, however, some drawbacks to community life amongst former soldiers. On the evening of 1 July 1935, Jacob left his room on the third floor of the Sherman Building bound for a brief and refreshing summer bath. Returning to his room about twenty minutes later, Jacob retired for the evening. When he arose at six o'clock the following morning and attempted to dress himself, he discovered that his prized seventeen jewel Elgin pocket watch, with an open-faced gold case, was conspicuously missing from its place in his vest pocket. Also missing was a dollar and eighty cents from his pants pocket. Jacob reported the loss to his First Sergeant, who initiated an unfruitful investigation into the matter. It is unlikely that Jacob ever again had the fifty-five dollars needed to replace such a timepiece.³⁷

It was at his residence in the Soldiers Home that Jacob Kinnamont fought his last tenacious battle with U. S. Bureau of Pensions. In the late spring of 1934, Jacob applied yet once more for a disability pension from the Bureau. Maintaining its previous position, the Bureau, in October, rejected his claim. In January of the following year, Jacob, true to form, appealed the Bureau's decision. In a statement accompanying his appeal, the story of the "horse incident" of 1880 took yet another turn, when Jacob claimed that he "was thrown from [the] horse" in question. He went on to state, "I am nearly

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³⁶Interview, Wm. M. Kinnamont of Alexandria, Va., 25 May 1987; *Pension File*, JHK, Jacob's Annuity Award Card details check numbers and addresses to which these checks were sent.

³⁷Nat'l. Arch., *Soldiers' Home File*, Memorandum of F. H. Brown, 1st Sergeant of Sherman Building to Deputy Governor, U. S. Soldiers' Home, 2 Jul. 1935.

Photo 7a, b. Jacob Kinnamont, alone and with friends, circa 1930s.

Courtesy William M. Kinnamont

helpless and cannot do any work at all, and at times suffer severe pain. My eyes are very bad and [my] hearing is not good at all." Exactly what one might expect to see in a fellow soon to celebrate his seventy-eighth birthday.

While waiting for the decision on his appeal, Jacob quit Washington for Vienna on a furlough he expected to last from early July to early January. For some reason he cut his leave short by almost two months and returned to the Soldiers' Home on November 12. Meanwhile, the offices of Maryland Senator Millard E. Tydings, and Representative Stephen W. Gambrill, were wielding their influence on behalf of Jacob and his appeal to no avail. On 21 December 1935 the Board of Veterans' Appeals affirmed the decision of the Pension Bureau. Jacob's battle had been lost.³⁸

By the time the Board of Appeals' decision reached Jacob, he might very well have been experiencing some abdominal pain and distress. Indeed, sickness might have been the reason Jacob cut short his 1935 furlough. Unbeknownst to him, a malignant mass was quickly and quietly ravaging the tissues of his stomach. Around the New Year in 1936, Jacob likely sought out the attention of a Soldiers' Home physician, but there was no remedy to be had. The cancer growing in Jacob's stomach made quick work of the old soldier. By April 4--his seventy-ninth birthday--he was gaunt and emaciated, and on the afternoon of 20 April 1936, Jacob Hicks Kinnamont died at the Soldiers' Home Hospital. Three days later, he was buried with military honors in the National Cemetery on the grounds of the Home. His

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³⁸*Pension File*, JHK, Geo. E. Brown, Dir., Veterans' Claims Service, to JHK, letters, 2 Jun., 31 Oct. 1934; JHK to the Board of Appeal of Veterans' Affairs, affidavit, 3 Jan. 1935; Sen. Millard E. Tydings, to Geo. E. Brown, letters, 20 Nov., 6 Dec. 1934, 8, 30, Mar. 1935; Rep. Stephen W. Gambrill, 5th District Md., to Geo. E. Brown, letter, 6 Jun. 1935; Jno. G. Pollard, Chmn., Board of Veterans' Appeals, to JHK, letter, 31 Dec. 1935.

tombstone bears the surname he was born with. It seems that even in death Jacob could not maintain the identity that he created and sought to hold on to for over half a century (Had he been able, one imagines that Jacob would have appealed this decision as well). With his children, however, the Kinnamont name stuck and held fast.³⁹

Following his death, says grandson William Kinnamont of Alexandria, Jacob's children began to squabble over the perceived estate of their father. Some believed that the old soldier owned a number of desirable pocket watches along with other valuables. An investigation of the many surviving records concerning him reveals that Jacob Kinnamont died virtually penniless. With his appeal to the Board of Veterans Affairs denied, Jacob was living on an annual pension from his years as a Treasury Watchman of just over five-hundred dollars, amounting to \$41.67 per month.⁴⁰ The account of the theft of Jacob's expensive watch, together with \$1.80 has already been related, reducing Jacob's estate by at least one watch. The Home lists no personal effects belonging to Jacob, and even found it necessary to provide a suit of clothes to the undertaker in which to bury the old Marylander. Jacob did leave a will, however. The hand-written document is quite concise:

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³⁹DCVR, *Death Certificate*, JHK, 20 Apr. 1936; Soldiers' Home National Cemetery, Grave 9668, Section M.

⁴⁰*Pension File*, JHK, Jacob's Annuity Award Card.

My Will
 I Jacob H. Kinnamon
 A Member of the U. S. Soldiers Home D. C.
 do Will to J. Norman Kinnamon My son
 all of my belongings My Jewelry Clothing and Money
 if any
 Signed this 6th of Oct. 1931
 Jacob H. Kinnamon #7849
 U. S. Soldiers Home D. C.⁴¹

Jacob had earlier named Juanita Kinnamont, the daughter of his son Norman Kinnamont, as beneficiary of his pension. If anyone was to properly benefit from the estate of Jacob Kinnamont, J. Norman Kinnamont was the man hand-picked by his father to do so. Norman, however, had a difficult time wrenching his father's final pension payment from the government. Because Jacob's will was unwitnessed, it carried little legal weight with the Washington bureaucrats. Finally, in March of 1940, after months of resistance, the Retirement Division of the U. S. Civil Service Commission ordered a check in the amount of \$27.78 to be paid to Norman Kinnamont as guardian of Juanita Kinnamont. The estate of Jacob Hicks Kinnamont was settled. Bad feelings among the remaining sons and daughters of Jacob Kinnamont persisted.⁴²

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⁴¹Nat'l. Arch., *Soldiers' Home File*, Will dated 6 Oct. 1931.

⁴²*Pension File*, JHK, Designation of Beneficiary form, 14 Nov. 1934; Accrued Annuity Form 3186, 20 Mar. 1940; *Interview*, Wm. M. Kinnamont, 25 May 1987.

My Will
I Jacob H Kinnamon
a Member of The U. S. Soldiers Home D.C.
do will to J. Norman Kinnamon My son
all of my belongings my jewelry clothing and money
if any
Signed This 6th of Oct 1931
Jacob H. Kinnamon #7849
U. S. Soldiers Home D.C.

Fig. II. A representation of Jacob Kinnmon's will.

UNITED STATES SOLDIERS' HOME

FUNERAL NOTICE

The Funeral of **JACOB H. KINNAMON**, late

PRIVATE, BATTERY "K" 3RD. ARTILLERY, U. S. Army,

will take place ~~at Home Chapel, 10-40-A-N~~ **at Home Chapel, 10-40-A-N, 1931**

THURSDAY, APRIL 23rd, 1936. FUNERAL PROCESSION WILL FORM AT HEADQUARTERS at 10.30 A.M.

ALL ARE INVITED TO ATTEND

Fig. III. A representation of Jacob Kinnmon's funeral announcement.

CHAPTER 6

THEIR EXPANDING WORLD

The life of Jacob Kinnamont bridged two centuries and saw amazing developments crucial in their import to the American people. The simple steam driven boats and trains of his father's day gave rise to swift, ocean-going steamers and thousands of miles of track linking the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. The Morse telegraph of the 1840s was virtually superseded by Bell's telephone of the 1870s, and before long Americans could talk "long-distance" with others thousands of miles away. Engines of an industrial revolution just "gaining steam" prior to the Civil War were now red-hot and humming to the tune of electricity. Jacob saw horsepower in its truest form begin an inexorable retreat before the onslaught of the mass-produced internal combustion engine. Even the sky itself became part of America's Manifest Destiny as it yielded to the exertions of the Wright brother's flying machine and its descendants.¹

But if the vast continental expanse of America seemed to grow smaller in the light of such technological developments, the influence of America in the world grew correspondingly larger. American business interests in the Northeast, their eyes upon the coveted China trade, prevailed upon the U. S. government to "encourage" the heretofore xenophobic Shogunate of Japan to

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¹Page Smith, *A People's History of the Antebellum Years*, vol. 4, *The Nation Comes of Age* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1981), 809; vol. 6, *The Rise of Industrial America*, 90-92; vol. 7, *America Enters the World* (New York: 1985), 862-63, 867-76.

open the island nation to commerce with America. The Treaty of Kanagawa (1854) officially heralded the beginning of America's periodically stormy relationship with Japan. The presence of U. S. naval vessels in the Western Pacific during the intervening years made it all the more easy for Admiral Dewey to steam into Manila Bay and wrest the capital of the Philippines from Spain in the opening salvo of the Spanish American War (1898). The annexation of the Philippines following this "splendid little war," gave America its first imperial possession and tied the destiny of the two nations together--for better or worse--for the greater part of the twentieth century.²

The war that broke out across Europe in 1914 also worked to further expand American influence in the world. The arms and supplies provided to the conflict by the U. S. eventually worked to drag it into the fray, sending hundreds of thousands of American men to fight on European soil. A "spirit of crusading reformism," a side show of the U. S. war effort, produced the Eighteenth Amendment (1919), which prohibited "the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors . . . for beverage purposes" in the U. S. The echoes of World War I would reverberate in often tragic and sometimes glorious ways into the twenty-first century.³

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²Peter Booth Wiley, *Yankees in the Land of the Gods: Commodore Perry and the Opening of Japan* (New York: Viking, 1990), 100, 416-23. Japan sat astride the Great Circle route between the U. S. and China; it was thus a logical coaling station for American steamers. For more on America's relationship with the Philippines, see Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (New York: Random House, 1989). The phrase "splendid little war" was made by John Hay, McKinley's ambassador to Great Britain, in a letter to Theodore Roosevelt.

³Page Smith, Vol. 7, 581-87; Alfred H. Kelly and Winfred A. Harbison, *The American Constitution: Its Origins and Development* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1948), 670-71.

Samuel Joseph Kinnamont of Washington, D. C.

Samuel J. Kinnamont, the youngest child of Jacob and Carrie, was born in Dorchester County on 8 December 1903. When the Kinnamonts returned to Washington, Samuel attended Lenox Public School. He was baptized at St. Peter's Catholic Church at the age of seventeen. It was perhaps at St. Peter's that Samuel first made the acquaintance of a pretty, dark-eyed girl named Dorothy Webb. Between September 1918 and March 1920, Sam worked as a messenger boy. He also worked for a brief time in 1922 as an attendant at the District's famed St. Elizabeth's Hospital; Samuel lost his job here for manhandling and verbally abusing an inmate. Apparently good with his fists, Sam reportedly spent time as a bouncer at a tavern on the edge of town. It might have been at this establishment that he received his first taste of forbidden alcohol. In the early 1920s Sam's brother Norman, a painter by trade, took his younger brother on as an apprentice. Sam eventually became known for his skill as a painter and paper hanger. On 28 April 1928, Samuel married Dorothy Elizabeth Webb. She was roughly eighteen years old.⁴

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⁴USPM, *Personnel File*, Samuel J. Kinnamont; *Baptismal Records*, St. Peter's Catholic Church; *Interview*, Wm. M. Kinnamont, 25 May 1987; *Notebook of Clara Kinnamont*; *Census of 1920*, D. C., Vol. 7, E.D. 123, sht. 3, ln. 80. In Samuel's letter refuting the charges brought against him by St. Elizabeth's administration, one can almost hear the voice of Jacob Kinnamont dictating the contents to his son.

Photo 8. Samuel Kinnamont, circa 1920.

Courtesy William M. Kinnamont

Dorothy Webb Kinnamont, circa 1925.

Courtesy Mary Kinnamont Hall

Huetter & Webb: New Blood From Across the Atlantic

It is was with Dorothy Webb that the first discernable addition of migrant blood made its way into this particular line of the ancient immigrant John Kininmont. The United States remained a popular destination for Europeans desiring to escape the oftentimes appalling conditions which ebbed and flowed across the continent and its islands during the nineteenth century.

Englishmen continually flocked to the shores of the U. S. during this period, finding a relatively benign environment in which to make a new start.

Irishmen, however, especially those who streamed into America in the wake of the potato famine of 1842, received a poor welcome--this in spite of and possibly because of the hard work they performed in their new country.

Germans, coming largely between the late 1840s and 1880s, also had difficulty integrating into American society. Their proud, stolid and exclusive nature probably had much to do with this.⁵ Dorothy's parents, Charles W. Webb and Mary Louise Huetter were both children of recent immigrants to the U. S.

Charles William Webb was born in D. C. on 12 May 1873. His mother, Elizabeth T. Sorrell, was born in Maryland. His father William James Webb, however, was born in England around 1838. William Webb was in the United States as early as 1867 when his eldest child James H. Webb was born. William J. Webb and his wife Elizabeth had at least four children.⁶

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⁵Page Smith, vol. 4, 737-40.

⁶Nat'l. Arch., *Census of 1880*, D. C., Vol. 3, E.D. 34, sht. 18, ln. 22.

Mary Louise Heutter was born in Baltimore around 1884. The name of her mother is not known, but her father, George Edmund Huetter was born in Germany around 1862. He arrived in the United States in 1881. The nineteen year-old baker wasted little time in finding a job in the city of Baltimore. In that same year *Woods' City Directory* found him living at 4 N. High Street pursuing his trade. As late as 1893, Huetter was still in Baltimore, but by 1897, George had found a home in D. C. The Heutter family moved frequently.⁷

Charles Webb and Mary Huetter were married on 24 October 1900 at St. Matthew's Chapel in D. C. He was a twenty-seven year-old messenger for the U. S. mail, and Mary was sixteen. They had at least four children. Charles Webb eventually became a shipping clerk with the American Railway Express. He died of heart disease on 12 January 1935. Mary L. Webb--"Nanny," as her grandchildren learned to call her--far outlived her husband and never remarried. She died of cancer in the summer of 1968.⁸ The cultures of those who immigrated into the U. S. worked in uncountable ways to enrich the lives of those British-Americans who predated them along the Eastern Seaboard. Germans, for example, brought a passion for beer, and as Mary Kinnamont Hall can attest, "Nanny" Webb was not above periodically sampling a brew, in good humor declaring such diversion to be her national prerogative.

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⁷*Ibid.*, *Census of 1910*, D. C., E.D. 106, sht. 14; *Woods' City Directory of Baltimore*, 1881, 1883; *Polk's City Directory of Baltimore*, 1893; *Boyd's*, 1897, 1898, 1900, 1909. George Edmund, was also called Edmund George Heutter.

⁸DCMB, *Marriage License*, Charles W. Webb and Mary L. Huetter, 24 Oct. 1900; Nat'l. Arch. *Census of 1920*, D. C., Vol. 7, E.D. 123, sht. 3, ln. 80; DCVR, *Death Certificate*, Charles W. Webb, 12 Jan. 1935.

Samuel and Dorothy Kinnamont had seven children: Joseph William was born on 20 December 1928; Robert Leroy was born on 9 April 1930; Eugene Clarence was born 5 September 1933; Mary Louise was born 10 February 1935; Shirley May was born some time between 1935 and 1938, but died shortly thereafter; Kenneth Vincent was born 7 July 1938; and Charles Edmund was born 24 July 1941.⁹

The 1928 marriage of Samuel and Dorothy Kinnamont appears to have been entered into of necessity and was, according to all reports, not a pleasant one. The stock market crash of 1929 and the ensuing Great Depression might well have set the tone for their union, but alcoholism was doubtless the major contributing factor in their marital difficulties. The repeal of Prohibition in late 1933 seems to have opened the floodgates of alcohol abuse on the part of both husband and wife. The result was the destruction of the marriage and family as a unit. Charles Kinnamont, who bears some signs of fetal alcohol syndrome, is a living testimony to the excesses of his parents. On 13 January 1943, conditions had so deteriorated in the Kinnamont home that the government of D. C. intervened, taking the youngest of the children into protective custody. The older children were farmed out to relatives. One year later, Joseph, Eugene, Kenneth, and Charles, were placed in the care of their paternal aunt, Clara Kinnamont Wighington, who lived with her husband Victor in the home of her elder brother James Douglas at 1328 E Street, N. E. Samuel, on occasion, also lived with his brother Doug, apparently coming

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⁹*Notebook of Clara Kinnamont.* This document served Clara as an address book and reminder of birth and death dates. It probably originally belonged to her sister Cecilia Kinnamont.

and going with unpredictable regularity. He had by this time established a solid pattern of alcoholism.¹⁰

Not long after his children were placed with his sister, Samuel applied for a position with the federal government. When asked by the application if he had used "intoxicating beverages" within the past year, Sam responded by noting his "occasional" use of beer. He also mentions in the same application that he had about two weeks earlier been arrested and fined ten dollars for "drinking." Samuel apparently spent quite a bit of time in Lorton, the D. C. jail. William M. Kinnamont relates that when the police there needed their furniture refinished, or if they required some paint-work done at Lorton, they knew they could always count on Sam Kinnamont, who would do an admirable job as he served out his sentence. Was Samuel's 1944 attempt at procuring a government job, however, accompanying an effort of reform?¹¹

Life at 1328 E Street could get rather exciting from time to time, and was hardly the place to raise children. Drinking to excess was a common form of recreation amongst all members of the family except perhaps James "Uncle Doug" Kinnamont. Kenneth Kinnamont remembers wild times at the Washington row house. He recalls the discharge of firearms in the residence and a time when his besotted aunt Clara stumbled out of the house, collapsed upon the doorstep and urinated upon herself. Kenneth also remembers a

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¹⁰DCPW, Child Welfare Div., *Letter*, 13 Jan. 1964, to A1C K. V. Kinnamont, 7567 Ridgeway Rd. Jacksonville, Fla., describes all the places and with whom Kenneth was placed while under the authority of the Child Welfare Div.; *Interview*, Joseph W. Kinnamont, 11 May 1993.

¹¹USPM, *Personnel File*, Samuel J. Kinnamont, Application for Federal Employment, 18 May 1944; *Interview*, Wm. M. Kinnamont, 25 May 1987.

Photo 10. Uncle Doug on the steps of 1328 E. Street, N.W.

Courtesy William M. Kinnamont

drunken next door neighbor who impaled herself while trying to climb over a wrought iron fence running between the two yards--she was apparently in a hurry to join the festivities at 1328 E Street N. E.¹²

"Uncle Doug," who suffered from a severely debilitating injury to his pelvis received while working at the Navy Yard foundry in February of 1929, died in the early morning hours of 18 July 1945. With the "restraining" influence of Doug Kinnamont gone, Clara and her husband Vic, according to William M. Kinnamont, proceeded to drink up their inheritance--the house at 1328 E Street, N. E. By 1949, Kenneth and his brother Charles were again remanded into the care of the Child Welfare Division of D. C. ¹³ Joseph Kinnamont had entered the United States Marine Corps in 1947.

Samuel Kinnamont never recovered from his alcohol-induced ways. His life continued a downward spiral into skid-row inebriation, which ended in rather mysterious circumstances in the summer of 1959. William M. Kinnamont tells the story this way: On a warm day in late June, Samuel and some "friends" got together with the intention of attending a "party" later that day--that it would be no formal event is reasonably certain. The greater part of the group left Samuel and another man alone in a house on 2nd Street S. E. Samuel and friend never arrived at the celebration. The two men were discovered a few days later in the 2nd Street house: both were dead. Samuel

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¹²*Interview*, Kenneth V. Kinnamont, 11 May 1993.

¹³DCPW, Child Welfare Div., *Letter*, 13 Jan. 1964; USPM, *Personnel File*, James Douglas Kinnamont; *Interview*, Wm. M. Kinnamont, 25 May 1987; *Letter*, 13 Jan. 1964. Doug's personnel file provides interesting information concerning his tragic encounter with a 3,000 lb. casting. The piece of armament in question rolled off a cart he was directing, crushing him beneath it! As a result, Doug was forced to wear a urine bag for the remainder of his life. The file also relates the chronic difficulty he experienced in paying for items bought on credit.

was supposed to have been found seated at a table, his head down upon folded arms. The other fellow was on the floor. No police records of this incident are known to have survived. Samuel's death certificate, however, provides the added information that on that warm June day, a gas jet was left burning in the house on 2nd Street S. E. The medical examiner surmised that the room in which he and his friend were found had been depleted of breathable oxygen. He ruled that Samuel died of acute congestive heart failure aggravated by carbon monoxide poisoning and acute chronic alcoholism.¹⁴

What of Dorothy Kinnamont? Joseph and Kenneth Kinnamont cannot recall ever having seen their mother. Mary Kinnamont Hall, who was placed with her mother's sister Edna, remembers her mother visiting once; the two attended a movie together. Dorothy had been drinking at the time. Kenneth was told by his maternal grandmother, Mary Webb, that Dorothy had once contacted her and told her that she had remarried and given birth to more children, and wanted Mary to meet them. Mary angrily told her daughter that *she already had her grandchildren and was not interested in any others*. The estrangement between "Nanny" and her daughter apparently lasted until Mary's death in 1969. Nothing more is known of Dorothy Kinnamont.

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¹⁴Interview, Wm. M. Kinnamont, 25 May 1987; DCVR, *Death Certificate*, Samuel Joseph Kinnamont, 28 Jun.1959.

Photo 11. Samuel Kinnamont, circa 1949.

Courtesy Mary Kinnamont Hall

Kenneth Vincent Kinnamont

Between 2 July 1949 and 3 January 1955, Kenneth Kinnamont was moved twelve times between various orphanages and individuals providing foster care--an average of three times a year. On 19 December 1950, he went to stay with Mr. and Mrs. Charles Sain at 115, Upsal Street, in the Southeast portion of the city. He was taken from and returned to the Sain home three more times until his permanent placement there in early 1955.¹⁵ From that day, Charles and Jewel Sain became known to Kenny Kinnamont as "Pop" and "Mom," and the relationship stood firm until the death of Jewel Sain Bonamarte in the spring of 1992.

Kenneth left the Sain home in early 1957 to enter the United States Air Force. Later that year, he married Diane Sandra-Sarah Miles. They had met through mutual acquaintances. She was born 5 January 1940, the daughter of Frank Henley Miles and Edna May Irvine, of Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.¹⁶ The ceremony was performed on July 20 at the Chapel at Bolling Field, Washington, D. C.¹⁷

For three hundred years the Eastern Shore Kinnamonts clung tenaciously to the Eastern Seaboard. This precedent was overturned in 1967 when

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¹⁵DCPW, Child Welfare Div., *Letter*, 13 Jan. 1964.

¹⁶Frank Henley Miles was born at 4 Gladstone Cottage, Burgess Hill, Sussex, England. His father, Frank Henley Miles, Sr., immigrated to Canada in 1912. His wife, (they were married in 1900) Mary Fry Miles, followed with the children in 1914. Point of entry for both was Halifax, Nova Scotia. Information provided by Vera Miles Gowan, sister of Frank. The father of Edna May Irvine is not known. Her mother, however, was named Minnie.

¹⁷DCMB, *Marriage Certificate*, Kenneth Kinnamont and Diane Miles, 20 Jul. 1957.

Kenneth Kinnamont moved with Diane and their three sons from Jacksonville, Florida to Dallas, Texas. In the late summer of 1969 the family, at the invitation of friends Ken met while in the service, relocated to the West Coast, settling in Northern California's Santa Clara Valley. Ken and Diane retired in mid-1994 and now live in Oroville, California. Kenneth and Diane Miles Kinnamont have four children: Kenneth Matthew, Keith Vincent, Kent Victor, and Kimberly May.¹⁸

Kenneth Matthew Kinnamont was born in November 1959 in Ozona, Texas. He served in the United States Air Force with the 341st Strategic Missile Wing at Malmstrom Air Force Base, Great Falls, Montana from 1978 to 1982, as a Minuteman II Intercontinental Ballistic Missile mechanic.

Constantino & Takemoto: New Blood From Across the Pacific

Keith Vincent Kinnamont was born at Jacksonville Naval Air Station, Jacksonville, Florida, in March of 1964. He joined the United States Navy in the summer of 1982. In August of 1990 Keith married Katherine Gigi Constantino. She was born in February of 1968, the daughter of Danilo and Elizabeth Villanueva Constantino of Manila, the Philippines. Keith and Gigi have one son. Kristofer Vincent was born at Chesapeake General Hospital, Chesapeake, Virginia in January of 1993.

Kent Kinnamont was born at Jacksonville Naval Air Station in June of 1965. He and Mami Takemoto were married in Osaka City, Osaka Prefecture, Japan, in June of 1989. She was born in May of 1965 and is the daughter of Fumiko and Mitsuo Takemoto of Imazato, Osaka City, Japan. Kent and Mami

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¹⁸Ken and Diane Kinnamont met Mack and Dixie Taylor when the two couples were stationed in Alaska. They have remained close since that time, going as far as retiring in the same Northern California town.

have three children. James Mitsuo was born in Daly City, California in March of 1990. Cynthia Fumiko, was born in Nara City, Nara Prefecture, Japan in February of 1992. Miles Takeshi was born in Nara City in July of 1994.

Kimberly May Kinnamont was born at Baylor University Medical Center, Dallas, Texas in April of 1968. In July of 1994, she married First Lt. Erik C. Loquist Loquist, the son of Lee Loquist and Mary Ann Lee of Livermore, California. He was born in July of 1971, and is a pilot in the United States Marine Corps.

CONCLUSION

For over 340 years the ancient Scottish blood line of Kininmont has survived in the New World. One can easily imagine the dreams of opportunity, wealth, and greatness which almost certainly buoyed the heart of John Kininmont as he rode the turbulent Atlantic waves in the vessel that brought him and his family to America. It can be confidently assumed that John found opportunity and a measure of comfort on the shores of Maryland. Wealth and greatness, however, were to be realized by few American Kinnamonts--particularly in the line continuing through Peregrine, William, Jacob, Samuel and Kenneth Kinnamont. While the imperfections and human foibles of Sam and Dorothy Kinnamont might have worked irrevocable tragedy in an earlier period, the human services provided by the city of D. C., in combination with the employment opportunities offered by the armed services of the federal government in the wake of World War Two, insured the survival of their children. Indeed, military service has proved to be an important stepping stone for the majority of Kinnamont men

since 1945, educating and preparing these young men for a life in the private sector.

This thesis has attempted to forge a meaningful connection between the children of Jacob Hicks Kinnamont of Washington, D. C. and those of Captain John Kininmont of Talbot County, Maryland. It is hoped that while doing so, it has also provided a taste of the American experience of these New World Kininmonts. However the surname is spelled, the economic, social and political tides which have swept across the topography of this place we call America have left their undeniable marks upon the Kinnamont family, making them Americans in every sense of the word. While knowledge of one's genealogy is by no means a prerequisite for living a happy and fruitful life, it can be quite desirable to convey to one a sense of his or her own cultural roots. It is hoped by this historian that future evidence will come to light establishing firmly the origin of Captain John Kininmont in Scotland. A solid documentary connection between Captain John and Perry Kinnamon is also needed before one can, with the ironclad assurance of the Daughters of the American Revolution, rightfully identify Captain John as the legitimate founder of the present day Kinnamont family. It is as the individual pieces of the puzzle appear and fall into place that a clearer picture of the past is formed.

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Provincial:	<i>Inventories & Accounts</i> <i>Accounts</i> <i>Balance Book</i> <i>Inventories</i> <i>Judgments</i> <i>Patents</i> <i>Wills</i>

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