

CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER: THE MAN.*

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Sometime in January 1767 Scott Pringle and Company, merchants at Madeira, received an order from a new customer living in Annapolis, Maryland. He wanted—by the first vessel coming to Annapolis—a pipe of the best madeira wine and the letter went on “as it is for my own table use I would have it of the very prime kind—two or three years old or more if it can be got of equal goodness in quality with what may be bought of the last vintages and tho it should cost me more I shall willingly allow it.” There was nothing unusual in this order. Scott Pringle & Co. were prominent merchants who shipped many pipes of fine madeira to the continental colonies. What makes the letter noteworthy is another instruction of the new customer. “There are,” he wrote, “so many of the name in this town that some particular distinction is necessary to prevent mistakes please therefore to direct to me Councillor or Barrister at Law and when you write to Mr. Anderson [the London merchant who would pay for the wine] be pleased to mention me with that addition.”¹

Charles Carroll, Barrister, was the second generation of his family to suffer at least minor annoyance from the failure of his

* An address given as the Emilie McKim Reed Memorial Lecture before The Maryland Society of the Colonial Dames of America.

¹ Carroll MSS. Dec. 6, 1766. A note shows the letter went on Dec. 24 by the Sloop Potts, Capt. Geo. Cook. The letterbooks, from which nearly all the materials for this article are drawn, contain the correspondence of both Dr. Charles Carroll and his son Charles Carroll, Barrister. The letters of Dr. Carroll have been published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, and will be cited here as Carroll Letters with the appropriate volume. The letters of Barrister Carroll were copied and the manuscript copies are in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. They will be cited as Carroll MSS.

name to distinguish him from others. Twenty-four years earlier his father, Dr. Charles Carroll, had written with some asperity that a lady who claimed him as uncle was certainly mistaken, "nature having left it Impossible that I should have such a relation having had but one Brother Who died Unmarried." He did not feel obliged "to give Ear to an Impertinent or Groundless Claim nor will the circumstances of my Fortune permit me to be lavish, and I very well know all the Relations I have Who are Intituled to a Just Claim on me." He would, he wrote, "Recommend to her to be Better provided with circumstances and certainty in her next claim of Kindred."²

The needy lady in search of a rich relative should not be hastily blamed. The trouble was, and is, that in Maryland during the middle of the eighteenth century there were four Charles Carrolls who achieved prominence. In addition to the Barrister and his father, Dr. Charles Carroll, there was, of course, Charles Carroll of Carrollton and his father, Charles Carroll. The two families were related but not closely, nor were they intimate. Perhaps the fact that Dr. Carroll had become a Protestant may help to explain the lack of intimacy.

Fortunately there was no AAA to plow under the surplus of Charles Carrolls, for they rendered distinguished service to their country. The two younger men were leaders in the movement for independence. The part played by Charles Carroll of Carrollton was such that there is no history of the American Revolution, however brief, that does not include some account of him. The activities of Charles Carroll, Barrister, although scarcely less important, are not widely known. Yet every history of Maryland during the Revolution tells of his leadership in the community. He served on most of the important committees in the conventions in Maryland and framed or helped to frame some of the great state documents. He was a member of the committee of correspondence. He was put on the council of safety, he presided over several conventions, including the one that relieved Governor Eden of his office; he was one of the

² Carroll Letters, *M. H. M.*, XX, 362-363.

seven most distinguished patriots appointed to prepare a declaration and charter of rights and a form of government for the state of Maryland; he was elected to Congress, and having declined the chief judgeship of the general court he was elected to the first State Senate, an office he held until his death.

The official records that trace his public career cast little light on the man himself. They prove, of course, that the people of Maryland recognized in him one of their leaders. They prove he gave himself freely to the cause and that neither sickness nor danger caused him to hold back. But official records from their very nature do not usually supply the materials necessary for an account of the private citizen or for an understanding of how he lived and what he read and ate and wore. Fortunately in this case other materials are available. Both father and son kept copies of their voluminous business correspondence and these have been preserved. When the present owner, Mr. Alexander Preston, loaned them to the Maryland Historical Society the letters of Dr. Charles Carroll were published in its magazine and the letters of Charles Carroll, Barrister, were copied in manuscript. Together they constitute a rich mine of Maryland history.

It is at once apparent that the doctor was a good father. Indeed Dr. Carroll is well worth close attention in his own right. Coming to Maryland from Ireland around 1715 he began a career typical of those successful energetic men who seized the opportunities the new world offered. He practised medicine for several years, then turned to tobacco. When tobacco ceased to be profitable he built ships and sent flour and foodstuffs to the sugar islands in the West Indies. But the large fortune he ultimately accumulated was derived from land and iron. Everyone in America invested and speculated in real estate in the confident belief that the growth of population would increase the price of land. Dr. Carroll operated on a large scale, although his holdings did not attain the proportions of those of the Dulanys or the Carroll of Carrollton family. The iron business was not so typical but it was the foundation of the fortunes of a number of Maryland families. In 1733 Dr.

Carroll deeded 1800 acres of land lying on the west side of Gwinn's Falls to a company consisting of himself, Benjamin Tasker, Daniel Dulany, Charles Carroll (the father of Carroll of Carrollton) and Daniel Carroll of Duddington Manor. The iron furnace erected on this land was immediately successful and the industry prospered. By the 1770s about 3100 tons of bar and pig iron were exported annually and a fifth interest in the Baltimore Iron Company which had cost £700 in 1733 was sold for £5,200 in 1765 when the estate of Col. Tasker was settled. In addition to his share in the company Dr. Carroll engaged in the manufacture of iron as an individual.³

This brief statement gives a deceptive picture of continuous prosperity. A close examination reveals that there were depressions in those days too. In the 1740s Dr. Carroll was in desperate financial straits. To his London merchant and banker he wrote this cold comfort. "I am too old to run away nor do I know well where to Run to, the Rice trade is as bad as ours and I shall want more Cloaths if I go Northward therefore I hope you will contribute to keep me here a little longer till better times."⁴

During these periods of depression Dr. Carroll's pugnacity and irritability were frequently expressed in his correspondence. He would write sarcastically about interest charges and about low prices for his goods. On one occasion he had a heated dispute with his partners in the iron business and a lawsuit with the Catholic Carrolls. "The whole Popish Interest have Levelled their Artillery Agt me," he wrote bitterly.⁵

But to his son he was a gentle—even an indulgent—parent.

³ William B. Marye, "The Baltimore County 'Garrison' and the Old Garrison Roads," *M. H. M.*, XVI, 228, n. 35. Numerous references to his activities in the iron business can be found in Dr. Carroll's letters. There is a brief account of him and the iron business in a manuscript dissertation by Charles A. Barker entitled "The Background of the Revolutionary Movement in Maryland" in the Yale University Library. For the exports of iron in the 1770s see *M. H. M.*, II, 358.

⁴ Carroll Letters, XXII, 191. Many other letters during this period show how desperate his financial condition was.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XXVI, 51.

In 1731 when the future Barrister was only 8 years old Dr. Carroll wrote to relatives in Ireland asking for advice as to "where to place my little boy for his Education being resolved (with gods Assistance) to give him the best I am able." ⁶ Three years later his father was taking him to England when bad weather drove their ship to Lisbon, as Dr. Carroll described it, "the Child being much Fatigued with the Voyage I left him there at the English College on Bacco Alt Under the Care of Mr. Edward Jones the President of the same College." ⁷ Young Charles remained in Europe until the summer of 1746, or until he was 23 years old. How long he stayed in Portugal is not clear, but probably most of the time was spent in England where he ultimately attended Cambridge University. A letter to one of his professors suggests the possibility that the young man did not make a brilliant record as a student. "It is," the father wrote, "a pleasure to me to find by yours that if he will not make a bright Schollar he may a Virtuous man. I Likewise flatter myself that you will Endeavour to Improve the Talent he has for Learning in the best manner and promote his Aplication to Study's." ⁸ Young Charles received many of those kindly sermons which fathers still send to their sons away at college. Here is a typical one written in 1742. "This money I hope you will lay out in Necessaries for your Person, or Endowment of Your mind & not spend in wine or Riot. Remark, that Women & Wine are the Bane of youth.

Pray take oppertunities to Improve in your Dancing some of this money may be apld that way a Genteele Carriage in Person as well as behaveour is becomeing, make good choice of Your Company avoid such as are Prophaine or Extravagant.

This is Your time to Provide for Your Future Life, I will Endeavor hard to give you oppertunities of a good Education with wch you must hereafter Provide for yourself." ⁹

From 1746 to 1751 young Carroll lived in Maryland and there is no evidence showing what he did. In the latter year

⁶ *Ibid.*, XIX, 190.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XX, 362.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XX, 369.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XX, 171.

he again returned to England, this time to read law in the Temple so as to qualify himself for that profession. The family fortunes had revived. According to a letter from his father not long afterwards young Charles himself owned lands, slaves and stock worth £2000 and the father's property was valued at £10,000 sterling and £5000 currency. Naturally his allowance for living expenses was liberal. It amounted to £300 a year, a very considerable sum for a man of 28 in 1751.¹⁰

Although his father still sent him an occasional lecture on the need for frugality and virtue he was no longer an inexperienced youth and his father consulted him on business matters and legal questions.¹¹ Young Charles must have considered remaining permanently in England for his father opposed the idea in these terms: "as to any notion of settleing there I fear it will not answer for Ladies of fortune will scarce give it to foreigners whose Estates they deem in England very precarious Therefore you must fix your Eye for future Life in Maryland."¹²

While Charles was in England his younger and only brother died. This letter bearing the news revealed how keenly his father felt the blow. "Dear Charles," he wrote, "This Day about four o'Clock in the afternoon died here in my arms your Brother John Henry in the same manner that he lived in Innocence & free of pain & without a Convulsive Distortion, but entirely Wore away with a Confirmed Consumption his Senses lasted to the last moment & desired we should not be Concerned . . . I have lost an Agreeable Companion & friend in him but hope he is Gone to better I am now wishing to have you here with me least my Eyes should Close before I see you."¹³

In spite of this pathetic appeal Charles, with his father's approval and consent, did not return for over a year. Sometime

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XXIV, 249; XXVII, 221.

¹¹ See for example the long and detailed proposal for forming another iron company or partnership in *ibid.*, XXV, 284-289, 293-301.

¹² *Ibid.*, XXVII, 221.

¹³ *Ibid.*, XXVI, 242-243.

in the summer of 1755 he reached Annapolis, but his father was not able to enjoy his company for long. On Sept. 29 of that year Dr. Carroll died.¹⁴

The Barrister thus became at the age of 32 one of the wealthiest members of the Maryland aristocracy, that aristocracy pictured so pleasantly and flatteringly by William Eddis. He had spent a large portion of his life in England receiving as good an education as that country offered. About 5 feet 8 inches in height he was already beginning to assume the portly figure that his later portraits show. He was only 35 when he had to warn his London tailor that "I am through laziness something Fatter than when I left you."¹⁵ Obviously he appreciated fine clothes and furniture but they were to be in good taste and not flamboyant. Thus in ordering furniture he desired it to be "of the neat Plain fasshion and Calculated for Lasting nothing of the whimsical or Chinese Tast which I abominate."¹⁶ On another occasion he ordered mirrors with gilt frames "of the Plain Genteel Fashion."¹⁷ His tailor, told to send one ordinary suit and "one full Trimmed Dress suit fine Cloth with Fasshionable Double Gold Lace Coat waistcoat and Breeches . . . about twenty-five pounds. . . .," received the further instruction that neither suit was "to be made in the Extremity of the Fashion."¹⁸

Rich, cultured and young, Charles Carroll, Barrister, must have received many invitations from mothers with eligible daughters. Indeed there was only one thing that might make a mother hesitate. His health was none too good. Every year he suffered from fever and ague in spite of all the remedies he tried. One summer he made what he called "an Excursion as far as Boston in order to Escape my Troublesome annual visitant the fever and ague but had not Been Returned to Annapolis four Days before I was siezed with it in a more violent manner

¹⁴ The eulogy and biographical comments published in the *Maryland Gazette* are printed in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVIII, 212.

¹⁵ Carroll MSS. To William Anderson, merchant in London, Aug. 20, 1788.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Sept. 1760

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

than at any of its former attacks.”¹⁹ In the following year on the advice of his physicians he sent to England for “Pyrmont and German Spaw waters to subdue my Inveterate Ememy the fever and ague.”²⁰ At considerable expense these were sent to him in two quart bottles, several dozen at a time so that they would be fresh. Needless to add, this remedy too did his malaria no good.

Whatever the reason the Barrister remained a bachelor until 1763, when he was 40 years old. Then he married Margaret, the 21 year old daughter of Matthew Tilghman.²¹ Judging from the little evidence available in his business correspondence the marriage was an unusually happy one. Indeed there is a noticeable change in the tone of even his business letters after 1763. Before then complaints and instances of irritation were not infrequent. The goods he ordered had not come in time, the prices were too high, the insurance underwriters were untrustworthy, no ships were available to take his iron, the china dishes sent were full of holes. He asked Col. John Taylor of Richmond to put a claim of his into the hands of some honest attorney “if any such there be,” a slur on the legal profession that brought an immediate protest from the Virginian.²² After 1763 everything is different. Serenity and kindness prevail and when a complaint is necessary it is made gently or humorously. For instance his wife asserted the tea they received was inferior to that which the same merchant sent her father. Carroll wrote this gentle rebuke—“My Compliments Likewise in a Particular manner to the Good Knight Alderman and Grocer Sir Thomas Rawlinson and Let him know that Imposing upon a man is by no means a Deed of Chivalry if he does not mend his manners and send me Better Tea [tell him] I shall think

¹⁹ *Ibid.* To William Anderson, Sept. 27, 1762.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1764.

²¹ If the account of the wedding in the *Maryland Gazette* can be believed she was “a young Lady of great Merit, Beauty, and Fortune.” The item from the *Maryland Gazette* is reprinted in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVIII, 170.

²² Carroll MSS., Feb. 27, 1756, and April 13, 1756.

the Touch of his Majesty's sword has no more Virtue than the Imposition of Hands of a Bishop it Gives only a Little Pride and Leaves the Morals and Principles of a man just where it found them." ²³

Whether this change was produced by matrimony or by greater prosperity when peace ended the ruinous wartime insurance rates, or by the mellowness that begins at forty cannot be stated.

Certainly his income increased steadily. It was derived from rents and mortgages on land and especially from the sale of iron in England. Apparently Carroll never practiced law at all, even though Winston Churchill made him act as Richard Carvel's lawyer.

How a man spends his income is perhaps a better key to his character than how he gets it. The way in which Charles Carroll and his wife spent their income, or rather that portion of it which was spent in England is clear. At least once a year and usually more often a long invoice of goods wanted went to their merchant in England. These lists often extended over five or six large folio pages and they contain a curious assortment of articles. From London he ordered a good marble tombstone "with the Inclosed epitaph for my Father. I would have his Coat of Arms which you have cut on the Top of it over the Epitaph." ²⁴ From Bristol in 1767 at a cost of about £80 he ordered stone and marble columns. "The plan is," Carroll wrote, "for a Portico or Colonade to be Joined to the Front of a House and Project Eight Feet from it, an Arch at Both Ends, for a Passage through it to spring from Pilasters of Stone Joined to the End Pillars of the front of the Portico." ²⁵ He enclosed a plan with exact measurements and made some suggestions as to the best method of shipping the columns without breaking them. Undoubtedly these were for his beautiful home,

²³ *Ibid.*, to William and James Anderson, Oct. 29, 1767, and Aug. 13, 1768.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, to William Anderson, Sept. 23, 1761.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, to Messrs. Sedgley Hilhouse and Randolph, merchants in Bristol, July 27, 1767.

Mount Clare, the only colonial house now standing within the city limits of Baltimore, and the one for whose preservation your Society deserves so much praise. Tradition has it that the bricks used in Mount Clare were imported from England but there is no evidence in this large collection of papers that the Barrister or his father ever imported any bricks. He did import, again from Bristol, "150 Grey Flag Stones for Paving Passages I think they are 18 inches square and come in at 3/ per yard they must be thick and strong as they are for an outside Piazza." ²⁶

Among the long list are such items as these: "One full Dressed Ladies suit of Cloths of Rich white Ground Brocade if can be got and fashionable with a slight Gold sprig of flower Interspersed send in a yard of the same to spare.

A suitable Laced Head Dress and Ruffles and Handkerchief etc of Lacc about two Guineas per yard

A suitable Stomacher and Bows

1 Fashionable Silk Hat

1 Stomacher made with blond Lace and flowers

½ Dozen best Ivory Dandrif Combs

1 Beer Kettle to Hang on a Hook to Hold 18 Gallons

1 Good English Carpet with Lively Colours 12/4 by 14

the best book of cooking published

A Ladys velvet Large Cloak or Cardinal of a fashionable Colour and Lined with Shag or fur as it is for winter wear

A Ladys watch . . . set in Gold and cut on Carnelian or other Hard Stone the Coat of Arms Inclosed being the Tilghmans Quartered with mine which you have or it may be Got at the Heralds office

Seeds of various kinds, brocoli, celery, grass, fruit trees

An Arabian horse

One Turkey Carpet suitable for a Room 25 feet Long and twenty Broad at about Ten Guineas

12 Mahogany chairs with black Leather seats of the Neat Plain Fassion and strong at about two Pounds p Chair.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Oct. 6, 1764.

2 suitable Mahogany Dining Tables made so as to fit into each other if occasion Lengthways about £3 each

One four Wheeled post Chariot . . . for Town use "

These are enough to illustrate his purchases. Clothes, furniture and wines were the most frequent items. Shopping under these circumstances was a difficult process. It is no wonder that Mrs. Carroll at times had to complain that her shoes were not what they should be. The colonists were completely at the mercy of the taste of their English merchants, a fact which is sometimes forgotten when we praise the early American esthetic standards for selecting such beautiful furniture. But just as the colonial depended upon the integrity and skill of his English merchant for the sale of his goods so also was he dependent upon the merchant's discrimination in the purchase of his household articles. They even had to depend on the judgment of their English businessman in the selection of a cook. "We are," wrote Carroll in 1768, "in want of a Sober orderly woman of a Good Character that understands Cooking Pickling Preserving and the other Requisites for a Housekeeper if Elderly we shall Like her the Better I suppose such are to be met with that would on moderate wages I suppose about Ten or Twelve Pounds Sterling per Annum Come to a Good Place Here for some years we shall be much obliged if such a one to be Got that you would agree with Her for us on the best Terms and send her to us if above the ordinary Rank of servants my wife will Like her Better, as she will meet with all kind Treatment But she must not be of the flirting kind or one that will give herself airs." ²⁷

Evidently the servant problem was a serious one for the Barrister since in requesting his merchant to send out under indenture a gardner and a tanner he requested that they be over 30 years of age "as they are more Likely to be Riotous and Troublesome if young." ²⁸

²⁷ *Ibid.*, to William and James Anderson, Aug. 13, 1768, and Dec. 15, 1768.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, to Messrs. Sedgley Hilhouse and Randoph, Jan. 28, 1768.

Among the many things purchased in England none could serve as a better guide to the type of mind Carroll had than the books that were included. One of the best ways to judge a man is by the literature he reads. Unless he intended them all for presents, and that is highly improbable, the Barrister had a scholarly cultured mind. A large proportion of his shopping lists included a number of books and their titles indicate his interests and good taste. Among them were:

Sir William Temples works
 Lord Shaftsburys works
 Lord Molesworths History of Denmark
 Keatings History of Ireland or the best Irish History published
 Gordons Independent Whig and Remarks on Tacitus
 Maccheavel's Political Discourses on Livy Trans from Italian
 Montesques Spirit of Laws
 the age of Lewis the fourteenth by Voltaire
 both translated from the French
 The Analysis of Montesquieus Spirit of Laws by Mr. De
 Alembert
 Cardinal D'Retz's memoirs
 Davilas History of the Civil wars in France
 Pompadours Memoirs
 Dialogues of the Dead
 Tacitus History
 Johnson's English Dictionary in Folio
 Francis's Horace
 The Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon

Frequently he sent instructions to his bookseller to forward 20 shillings worth of the best pamphlets. Once he said that none of them should concern "Religious Controversy" but should be the best political pamphlets especially any that relate to the colonies.²⁹ He also wanted the *Gentlemans Magazine* sent to him regularly.

That he was a true Maryland gentleman of the period and did not spend all his time in the library is proven by another letter in which, when ordering a stop watch with a second hand, he

²⁹ *Ibid.*, to William Anderson, Oct. 4, 1764.

said he needed it "as I am Concerned in the Blood or Running Breed of Horses."³⁰

In another and more important way Carroll showed himself to be a true aristocrat. *Noblesse oblige* were not empty words to him for he fully accepted the responsibility of a person occupying a position such as his to support the education of talented youths. A young saddle maker in Annapolis, named Charles Willson Peale, had given great promise as an artist. Several Maryland gentlemen donated funds so that he could visit England and receive the training he needed for a successful career. Not only was the Barrister among the group but he manifested a personal interest and used his best efforts to promote the cause of American art as these letters will testify. The first is to his merchant banker in London:³¹

Sir:

The Bearer hereof Charles Wilson Peale a young man of this Town has a Turn for Limning and some other Branches of Painting He has Likewise Pretensions to an interest in oxfordshire as his Circumstances are but Low I am willing to advance twenty or twenty five Guineas to Enable him to take a Trip to England to see what he can make of his Pretensions and to Get some further Insight into the Profession. I Desire therefore that you will at times as he shall want it Let him have in the whole to the amount of the above Sum and Charge the same to my account If it Lays in your way and you Can Recommend him to the Employ of or Git Him Introduced to any of the Profession it may be of Service to him and I shall be obliged to you as I have no other motive to what I advance but to Give him an opportunity of Improving Himself That he may be better able to Support himself and Family I hope he will behave with Diligence and Frugality

I am Sir your mt hble Servt.

C. C.

About a year later or on Oct. 29, 1767, Charles Carroll wrote another letter, this time addressed to Peale, which not only reveals the man but shows his good judgment as a patron. This letter too is worth reading in full.³²

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. 10, 1764.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 30, 1766.

³² *Ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1767.

Mr. Peale

It was a Pleasure to me to find by yours of the 17th March last that you were in a way of Acquiring some Improvement in your Profession but I was a Little surprized to hear from Mr. Anderson that you had thoughts of Leaving England to sail for Maryland the November following the Dates of your letters as I supposed you would make your stay in England as Long as Possible to Git all the Insight you Could and as I Calculated the Assistance you Carried from Hence would Enable you to Make a Longer stay but I hope both Mr. Anderson and myself were *mistaken and that you have Conducted yourself with that Prudence and Frugality that you will not have occasion to hurry away before you have in some Measure attained the Ends for which you went.* You are to Consider that you will never be able to make up to yourself and family the Loss of the opportunity and that those by whom you have been assisted will be sorry to find their money thrown away but I hope as I before said that I have been mistaken and those hints are unnecessary I have wrote to Mr. Anderson and left it to his Discretion in Case he should Judge you Deserving to advance you Eight or Ten Guineas more on my Account.

I observe your Inclination Leads you much to Painting in miniature I would have you Consider whether that may be so advantageous to you here or whether it may suit so much with the Taste of the People with us as Larger Portrait Painting which I think would be a Branch of the Profession that would Turn out to Greater Profit here you Likewise mention the Copying of Good Painting by which I suppose you mean the study of History Painting This I look upon as the most Difficult Part of the Profession and Requires the utmost Genius in the artist few arrive at a high Point of Perfection in it and indeed in this Part of the world few have a Taste for it and very few Can go thro' the Experience of Giving that Encouragement that such an artist would Desire but after all Consult and be guided by the best of your own Genius and Study that Branch to which your Disposition Leads you and that you Judge most suitable to your Talents you had better be a Good Painter in Miniature than an Indifferent one in Either of the other Branches and be Assured that what I have above wrote and mentioned Proceeds from my Desire of your Welfare As I am

Your Friend and Servant

Cha. Carroll

Evidently Peale thought this advice sound for, as is well known, he made his reputation and fortune upon his return to America as a painter of "Larger" portraits. Very appropriately he expressed his gratitude to the Barrister by painting his picture and that of Mrs. Carroll.

The same sense of *noblesse oblige* characterized the Barrister's public career which began about this same time. How much it interfered with his private life cannot be told for this rich collection of letters stops in June 1769. But even without corroborating evidence from the public records anyone who has read his private correspondence will be confident that he remained until his death in 1783, a sensible cultured patrician.

BENJAMIN H. LATROBE AND THE CLASSICAL INFLUENCE IN HIS WORK.

WILLIAM SENER RUSK.

In the case of Benjamin H. Latrobe, the facts of his career are already well known, and generally speaking, readily available. In the discussion here we shall, therefore, limit ourselves to a brief summary, with the sources indicated, a list of his works wherever known, with their illustration; and a discussion, as occasion warrants, of his classical prototypes. *The Journal of Latrobe* (1), with its introduction by his son, John H. B. Latrobe, is probably the best source to begin with. As a corollary would come *John H. B. Latrobe and His Times*, by John E. Semmes (2), with its numerous early references to the father, and the extract from Latrobe's diaries in *Appleton's Book-lovers' Magazine* (2a). Early appreciations of Latrobe's career are found in *Ackermann's Repository* for January, 1821 (3), and in *Dunlap's Arts of Design* (3a). Another convenient summary is found in *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (3b). Latrobe's own literary works include, *Charac-*

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THE ST. MARY'S CITY PRESS: A NEW CHRONOLOGY OF AMERICAN PRINTING.

By LAWRENCE C. WROTH.

The first individual to establish and operate a printing press in the English colonies south of Massachusetts was William Nuthead, who, late in 1682 or early in 1683, began printing in Virginia and, almost at once, was forbidden by Governor and Council to continue the practice of his craft in that colony. Because of the briefness of his venture in Jamestown, represented today by nothing more tangible than an entry in the Virginia Council minutes, historians of printing have not regarded Nuthead's operations as marking the actual establishment of the press in the first of the English American colonies. Sometime later, he moved to Maryland, where, through printing activities covering ten or more years, he brought about a permanent establishment of the press. Until the event now to be reported, the earliest, and only, extant issue of the Maryland press of Nuthead known to bibliographers was a political broadside of the year 1689. The printing house of William Bradford, which began operations in Philadelphia late in 1685 with the publication of an almanac, has always been regarded, therefore, as the first permanent press to be established in North America between Massachusetts and Mexico. But this generally accepted conclu-