

ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND

Edited by J. HALL PLEASANTS, M. D.

Published by authority of the State

VOLUME L

Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly
of Maryland, 1752-1754.

The fiftieth volume of Maryland Archives, just off the press, is a worthy companion to those which have preceded it. It is the twenty-third volume of the sub-series dealing with Assembly affairs and is a handsome quarto volume of six hundred and sixty-two pages. As in other recent volumes of the work it is prefaced with a scholarly *resume* of the contents, by the Editor.

The publication of the fiftieth volume of such a series is a matter of more than passing interest and should be a subject of gratulation to the citizens of the State at large, as it is an honor to the Maryland Historical Society, which has every reason to be proud of its stewardship of our State's invaluable archives.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XXVIII.

DECEMBER, 1933.

No. 4.

THE ENGLISH BEGINNINGS OF MARYLAND.

MRS. ARTHUR BARNEVELD BIBBINS.

Three centuries have passed since the two sailing ships, the Ark and the Dove, freighted with the destinies of Maryland, left Cowes, on the Isle of Wight, England, Nov. 22, 1633.

After a tedious voyage of four months, hugging the coast of Africa for safety, and then across to the friendly West Indies, they sailed proudly through the Capes, and up the broad waters of the Chesapeake which had so delighted Sir George Calvert five years before, and anchored safe from the Indians on St. Clement's (now Blackiston's) Island, in the Potomac. A few days later, March 27, 1634, with boom of cannon, and colors flying the company went ashore on the mainland. At what is now St. Mary's City, they purchased the village-site of the Yaocomicos and began the actual settlement of Maryland.

Does the story of Maryland begin with the coming ashore of these colonists? By no means.

Maryland's history is part of a much larger whole. It is not solely a native American growth. It grew not up out of the soil of Maryland alone, but was, first of all, the result of generations of English enterprise and civilization, projected into the crude, new conditions of the American wilderness.

Sir George Calvert was a leading Englishman first, and later the Founder of Maryland. He was part of the pulsating era of Queen Elizabeth and James I, a chief actor of the time

of Raleigh and Cecil, of Shakespeare and Bacon, a period which was the inception of England's greatness as a nation.

The beginnings of Maryland more than of any other colony were a direct reflection of English vicissitudes of Court, Church and State. This was because Sir George Calvert was Secretary of State to James I. at the strategic time when England was at the parting of the ways between feudalism and liberalism, between royal autocracy and democratic privilege.

Maryland's proprietary rights were a counterpart of the princely prerogatives of the Bishop of the palatinate of Durham, near neighbor to George Calvert's home in Yorkshire. Toby Matthews, the Bishop's son, was one of his school-mates, and whose home, the towering castle on the precipice above the River Weare, was the boy's first vision of pomp and power.

Maryland's constitutional privileges were a reflection of the Stuart idea of the legitimate functions of sovereign and subject, the former to initiate, the latter to consent to laws so proposed.

Sir George Calvert, friend and loyal supporter of monarchy, sought to preserve intact in his charter the rights of sovereignty.

His son, Cecil Calvert, who lived through the compelling lessons of the Declaration of Rights, the Civil War, and the execution of Charles I., conceded by grant or judicious compromise, a broad-minded liberty, civil and religious, which made Maryland unique among colonial people who sought freedom in America from political and ecclesiastical strife.

Maryland inherited the Stuart idea of government, but its administration in hands far wiser than the Stuarts, preserved for its proprietors their Province when the Stuart King Charles I. lost both his throne and his head. Whence came the forces that shaped the lives of its founders, and thus brought into existence their colony in the New World?

The age of Elizabeth and James I. had recently emerged out of feudalism. The invention of gunpowder had taught its leveling message.

Fortressed castles like "Old Wardour", where Cecil Calvert sought his bride, Lady Anne Arundell, were soon to find they

could no longer stand the onslaught of the new warfare. The knight of chivalry, of sword and buckler was gone. His place was taken by men of affairs, interested in adventure, in colonization, or in state-craft as advisers to the crown, as was Sir Robert Cecil, friend of George Calvert, who was to succeed him as Secretary of State.

The destruction of the old strongholds foretold the downfall of their owners as a privileged class. The Civil War hastened the end of the rule of the privileged few. It pulled down the barriers between sovereign and subject, between class and class, and opened an entrance to democratic right and privilege. Men insisted on redress of grievances before funds were granted for royal schemes.

While the old lines of cleavage were being wiped out, new and sharp barriers were being set up in religious practice and belief.

The Reformation under Henry VIII. who had thrown off the Papal yoke, left England in the throes of a mighty struggle between the adherents of the new faith and the growing opposition to Rome. Both felt it obligatory to root out heresy. Many refused to observe Protestant forms and usages—of these the “recusants” of Yorkshire were a conspicuous example, and George Calvert’s maternal kinsfolk, the Croslands and Hawsworths, prominent families of Yorkshire, were among the faithful.

When Elizabeth succeeded her stern sister Queen Mary, she rejoiced her people by the espousal of Protestantism, and became the uncompromising foe of Mary’s husband, Philip of Spain. He determined to reconquer England for the Pope, and place Mary, Queen of Scots, on the throne. Elizabeth lived in an atmosphere of threat and conspiracy which shadowed young and old alike.

TWO GREAT EVENTS IN YOUNG CALVERT’S LIFE.

As a pale-faced lad of six, George Calvert, son of Leonard Calvert and Alice Crosland daughter of John Crosland of Croslands, sat with bated breath in the quaint old manor house

at Kiplin, Yorkshire, while his mother told of the fatal day in 1586 when Mary, the rash but resolute, laid her auburn head upon the block at Fotheringay Castle, herself the victim of Babington's Conspiracy to have her supplant Elizabeth, a plot which for a time threatened though falsely to involve his own grandfather, John Crosland of Croslands.

Scarce was this grim tragedy submerged when in 1588 Mary's avenger Philip of Spain bore down on England with the 140 unwieldy "galleons" of the Spanish Armada, "fit for a pageant, but not for a fight", and united all England behind their Queen. Spain was nearly bankrupt when her fleet set on fire by the swift English boats drifted to destruction, and the rest were wrecked on the coast of Scotland. England succeeded her as the world's leader in religious and maritime affairs.

Now George Calvert the boy of eight thrilled anew as he heard of the Spanish hulks wrecked on the Yorkshire coast, and yearned to outstrip Sir Francis Drake in his service to England.

GEORGE CALVERT'S ANCESTRY.

The Calverts had come to Yorkshire from Flanders, of an "auncient familie and estate", which to-day numbers a thousand acres around Kiplin on the left bank of the Swale. They previously had a seat at Danby Wiske, and Lazenby Hall, Yorkshire. Leonard Calvert's lands already yielded such fine returns from the wool-raising industry which the thrifty Flemings had introduced into England that his son George was soon to be sent down to Trinity College, Oxford, where Sir Walter Raleigh's exploits in America were on every tongue.

To reach Kiplin to-day, one must leave the main road from York to Durham, and journey westward by rail to Scorton Station.

A short drive will bring us to Scorton itself, a quaint old-world village, clustered round the village green, the chief ornaments of which are the vine-clad vicarage, the "Shoulder of Mutton Inn", and the Library erected by the lord of the Manor.

Two miles farther and we reach the Manor of Kiplin where George Calvert was born in 1580, no doubt in the old manor-house which preceded the present one.

Our discovery on investigation that the existing manor-house was the actual house built by Calvert in 1622, at the height of his official life was a great satisfaction to us, as all authorities we had read had simply stated that "he was born at Kiplin," easily confused with the hamlet of Kiplin, with no allusion to the family as landed proprietors, or to this stately house as his home when he planned the province of Maryland.¹

In the York Registry 1534-1556 we discovered numerous wills spelt variously, Calvard, Calverte and Calvert, all of "Oulcotes, parish Arneclif." The earliest was of William Calvert, Feb. 9, 1542, while that of most interest was of John Calvert of Oulcotes, May 9, 1566, who mentions his sons "Leonard, John and William", very probably George Calvert's grandfather, whose name was John.

CALVERT'S MOTHER ADHERES TO THE OLD FAITH.

While comparatively little is known of Leonard Calvert's ancestry or religious connections, much of new interest became available in this region regarding his mother's background, and loyalty to the old faith indicating the home influences which eventually brought her son back to the church of his early training.

The Croslands were people of importance among Yorkshire gentry. They bore a coat of arms of which the chief emblem—the cross, indicating their Crusade lineage—is conspicuous in the Maryland seal and flag, a blend of the Calvert and Crosland arms.

The mother of Alice or Alicia Crosland of Croslands near

¹ These rare photographs of the still existing connecting-links between early Maryland and England were secured by the author, Mrs. Bibbins, when in England, and their publication here has been made possible by the courtesy and co-operation of the Maryland Tercentenary Commission. Copyright applied for.

Almondbury was a daughter of ——— Hawksworth of Hawksworth, head of another prominent Yorkshire family, some of whom were of the proscribed faith.

These shaping influences which early surrounded young Calvert became apparent as soon as we stopped beyond Scorton at the ancient church of St. Mary's, Bolton-on-Swale, in the village of Kiplin. Although the Calverts were lords of the manor for more than a century, "there are no family records in the old register", because as the vicar Rev. Dacre Malinder explained "the family was of the Catholic faith".

It is interesting to note of this ancient church that Bulmer's History of North Yorkshire states it was in 1604 that George Calvert's mother who "was devotedly attached to the old faith, refused to comply with the law, and receive the sacrament at Easter in the church at Bolton."

In the list of "Recusants and Non-Communicants in Yorkshire in 1604," in Peacock's "Yorkshire Catholics", p. 69, (transcribed from the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford), is this entry—"Bolton parishe: ——— wife of Leonard Calvert of Kipling, non-communicant at Easter last".

As the fine for absence from communion in the parish church in those critical times was sometimes twenty pounds, the test of fidelity was a severe one. One does not wonder that with this evidence of his mother's liability to penalty and persecution, George Calvert became an advocate of tolerance and religious freedom, and was resolved to provide a refuge and haven for his friends in the new world.

As his parents with much foresight had sent him at the early age of 14 to Oxford University, he arrived at the flood-tide of colonial enterprise which was to center his reflecting mind later on in a solution of some of England's problems in scenes far aloof from European penalties and handicaps.

His rapid advancement is chronicled by Anthony Wood in the quaint lines in "Athenae Oxonienses", which record his noteworthy progress.

CALVERT'S RECORD AT OXFORD.

"George Calvert, son of Leonard Calvert by Alice his wife, Daugh. of John Crosland of Crosland, was born 1580 at Kiplin in the Chappelry of Bolton in Yorksh. (at which place he bestowed much Money in building in the latter end of the Reign of K. James I.)

He became a Commoner at Trinity College in Lent Term, 1593-4, and in the year of his age 15, took one degree in Arts in 1597, and then travelled beyond the Sea. On his return he was made Secretary to Sir Rob. Cecill one of the prime Secretaries of State, being then esteemed a forward and knowing person in matters relating to the State. When Sir Robert was advanced to higher offices, he retained him for several years for his prudence and faithfulness in many weighty Matters."

And then he adds in admiration at his rapid promotion.

"In 1606 he was actually created Mayster of Arts when James I. was entertained by the University."

On this extraordinary occasion of much magnificence, James entered Oxford on horseback surrounded by an imposing cavalcade of nobles and courtiers and was received like Elizabeth with costly banquets and pompous disputations which delighted his pedantic self-complacency.

The Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Oxford and Northumberland and Sir Robert Cecil also received the Master's degree as well as Calvert, then an untitled commoner. He was at this time twenty-five years of age and recently married (Nov. 22, 1604, to Anne Mynne, dau. of George Mynne, of an ancient family of Bexley, Kent, his son Cecil who was named for his patron being born about March 1, 1606).

Anthony Wood continues his chronicle:

"Afterwards, By the endeavors of Sir Robert Cecill, he was made one of the Clerks of the Council and in 1617 received the honour of Knighthood from his Majesty at Hampton Court. In 1618² he was made Secretary of State to his Majesty, who as before had used his help in many matters of moment, so did he oftener afterwards to his great benefit and advantage. In 1620 the King gave him a yearly pension of a thousand

² At Cecil's death.

pounds from the Customs, and on the 16th of Feb. 1624 he was by the name of Sir George Calvert of Danby Wiske, Yorkshire, Knight, created Baron of Baltimore, of the County of Longford in Ireland, being then a Roman Catholic, or at least very much addicted to their religion.

As for his adventuring into America as absolute Lord of Avalon in the New-found-land, and taking possession of a peninsula between the Ocean on the East, and the Bay of Chesapeake on the West, afterwards called by him Mary-land, let the histories of Travelers tell you."

CALVERT'S EARLY INTEREST IN COLONIZATION.

No doubt Calvert's first interest in colonization was deeply stirred at Oxford. Sir Walter Raleigh one of the most brilliant men in the world's annals had left Oriel College to confer upon his discovery in the New World the name "Virginia" in honor of his royal patroness, the virgin Queen Elizabeth. The disappearance of his first colonists in the woods of America had thrilled England into repeated efforts to trace their end. Raleigh's friend, Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, the great historian of English discovery, had stirred tremendous interest by his great folios "Hakluyt's Voyages".

It was Calvert's Oxford training with his intimate knowledge of the successes and failures of the first colonial attempts, which enabled him and his son to make of Maryland the "first American Colony which was a success from the beginning". He became a member of the Virginia Company in 1609, and later one of the councillors for New England.

No surer road to fortune could befall him than to enter Cecil's service at the height of his power as James's trusted administrator of the nation's destinies. England's policy was now in safe hands. Cecil knew how to avoid entangling alliances with foreign powers, and to steer at home the resolute forces checked by Elizabeth's Tudor diplomacy, but now ready to vent themselves upon the slobbering son of Mary, Queen of Scots.

Her thrift had barely made ends meet in this era when the influx of Spanish gold from the New World had materially

raised prices. When James made pedantic efforts to enforce what he called his "divine right" to privileges the Commons deemed their own, a clash of interests was bound to ensue.

James who wore his doublet quilted from fear, and averted his head from the sword when he dubbed a knight, amused his new subjects.

His pretended learning led Henry IV. of France to term him "the wisest fool in Christendom". He could not apply his theories to existing facts.

James had a pet theory as to the "Divine Right of Kings", the monarch's freedom from control by law, or by anything but his own royal will.

He founded his blunder on the old Tudor idea of "absolute monarchy", or freedom from Papal interference. But James declared the King was above law by his absolute power. "If it is blasphemy to dispute what God can do, it is high contempt for a subject to dispute what a King can do," was his dictum.

The Stuart kings were in a measure victims of circumstance. They inherited mistaken notions of Tudor tyranny and autocracy which in their time and grasp were impossible to enforce.

England as a nation had awakened. The Reformation, the Renaissance had developed a new Englishman, patriot to the core, but aroused to a keen sense of his own powers and rights as an individual. The old order had passed. England knew now the vast difference between royal prerogative and democratic right.

James would not learn the lesson of the times. He asked for money. The Commons presented "grievances", and insisted on new privileges.

Parliament offered "the Great Contract" a revenue of £200,000 yearly to the King, if he would surrender certain oppressive feudal rights, but they would denounce the royal "impositions." The King said the revenue was too little and dissolved them a second time in disgust.

George Calvert was a member of this Parliament. For seven long years James raised money by forced loans, or the shame-

less sale of peerages. Unfortunately, the great Secretary, Cecil, had died, and Calvert had succeeded him without his astute experience.

THE SPANISH MATCH LEADS TO CALVERT'S UNDOING.

James now proceeded to undo all that the struggle of Elizabeth and the wreck of the Armada had done for England. He turned to his fixed dream for years—the marrying of Prince Charles to the Spanish Infanta, whose vast dowry of two million crowns revealed the extent of Spanish spoils from the New World. “If I cannot get money from Parliament, I will get it from the King of Spain” he gloated, in order to scourge the people by turning their weapon upon themselves, but he found it later a two-edged sword.

He became his own Prime Minister, gave control to such wily adventurers as the Duke of Buckingham, whose nod made the highest noble quail.

Spain dangled the bait—the marriage, before the reckless eyes of the King. His allies implored against it. Parliament protested. “Its duty was to give money, not advice to the royal family”, they were told. Others backed a plan they hoped might entangle him in a war with Spain.

Raleigh was released from the Tower (kept there on a false charge), and sent to Guiana to discover a gold mine. Faithless James let him depart, but warned Spain, who drove him back to his ship as he landed. He tried to seize the Spanish treasure ships but failed. He returned, broken-hearted. His death on the scaffold appeased Spain, but deprived England of the “greatest Englishman of them all who first saw her triumph at sea and in America”.

Raleigh's maps, and papers in the Tower were delivered to Sir George Calvert, which keenly increased his aroused interest in the New World.

James despite popular displeasure at Raleigh's death, pursued his scheme. The Commons impeached Sir Francis Bacon, Lord

Verulam, Lord High Chancellor, and friend of Calvert,³ for bribery, and then demanded war with Spain, and a Protestant marriage for Prince Charles. James in a frenzy at their daring cried "Bring stools for the Ambassadors", and threatened them with the Tower.

THE KING'S REPRESENTATIVE IN PARLIAMENT.

The King then sent a letter to the Commons by Sir George Calvert, his official spokesman. Its burning words must have seared like a hot iron.

This ominous letter which we found after much search in the archives of the British Museum reveals the perilous part Calvert was forced to enact, as the agent of the King at this critical time.

"His Maties lre to Sir George Calvert, the same by him to the Commons House of Parliament, as making cleare his Maties meaning touching some poynts in his aforesaid answer concerning the liberties & privileges of that house, and the titles and rights that House hath to them.

Right Trustie & well beloved Counsellor, We greet you well.

We are sorry to learn that notwithstanding our reiterated messages to our House of Commons for going on in their businesses in regard of the shortnesse of tyme betwixt this & Christmas, & of their earnest desyre that we should now conclude a session by making of good and profitable Lawes, yet they continue to loose tyme. . . . Whereas we told them in our said answer that we could not allow of the Style calling it their auncient & undoubted right & inheritance, but that they shld say their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and Us. For the most of them grew from precedents, which shows rather a toleration than Inheritance.

The playne truth is that We cannot with patience endure our subjects to use such antimonarchiall words to us concerning their liberties except they had subjoynd that they were granted unto them by the grace and favor of our predecessors. . . .

Let them go on cheerfully . . . rejecting wrangling upon words

³ One of the best portraits of Calvert extant, by Mytens, long remained the possession of Bacon's descendant, Lord Verulam.

& sillables, otherwyse (which God forbid) the world shall see . . . and know the many curious shifts to frustrate us of a good purpose . . . whereof when the country shall come to be truly enformed they will give the authors thereof little thanks.

Royston, 16 Dec. 1621

To our right Trusty & well beloved Counsellor Sr. G. Calvert, Knt, one of our principal Secretaries."

Calvert found it a thankless task indeed, to stem the rising tide of indignation at the King's resistance. He could not forsee the constitutional monarchy of the future, controlled by a Parliament representing the will of the people. The assaults on royal prerogative must have betokened to him a carnival of misrule and revolution such as France endured a century later. Calvert's chief antagonist in the Commons and the Virginia Company was Sir Edwin Sandys whose advanced ideas were a perpetual terror to the King. Calvert was ordered to keep him in restraint, and to explain as best he could the absence of this great parliamentary leader.

James hated Sir Edwin so bitterly that he sent the Virginia Company about to elect a governor, the well known message "Choose the devil, if you will, but not Sir Edwin Sandys"! Sandys was chosen for deputy governor, and soon after imprisoned. Parliament deemed this "a crying grievance". Its temper was heard in the answer it returned to Calvert's letter.

It resolved "That the liberties, franchises, and jurisdiction of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England, and that the defence of the Realm & redress of grievances are proper subjects of debate in Parliament . . . and that every member of the House ought to have freedom of speech to treat the same. . . .

The king met this protest with a "characteristic outrage." He sent for the Journals of the House, and tore out the obnoxious pages with his own hands, crying passionately "I will govern according to the common weal, but not according to the common will",—and thereupon, he dissolved Parliament, once more. But the victory of the Commons was complete.

PARLIAMENT SUPREME—THE KING DEFEATED.

Every power it claimed it had secured, free speech, the right of taxation, of impeachment, against monopolies, all came into its keeping. Parliament and not the King had become the sovereign power. James, blind to the inevitable, still clung to his Spanish dream. "Baby Charles" as James called him became precipitate. At Buckingham's instigation the impetuous pair set off for Madrid in disguise, thinking their presence would secure the promised bride. They threw the Spanish Court, and the Infanta alike into consternation. On the way they stopped in Paris where Charles saw the young Princess Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV, his future Queen, after whom Maryland was later named by Charles "Terra Mariæ", Land of Mary. As she was but a child of 13 then, he paid little attention to her.

Secretary Calvert writes the King March 31, 1623 that he "has just received a packet from Spain, detailing the reception of the Prince", and asks "if bonfires shall now be ordered". James replies he is to "thank the King of Spain for the honourable entertainment given the Prince. Bonfires are to be made in London".

Spain played fast and loose with the Prince. It demanded a Catholic education for the Prince's children, and that the English laws against Catholics be relaxed. Even then they withheld the bride, they did not trust Charles's promises.

CALVERT RESIGNS, RETURNS TO KIPLIN.

The Prince enraged at his failure hastened back to England eager to vent his wrath upon Spain. A great burst of national joy greeted him. Charles forced James to summons Parliament, and urged supplies for a rupture with Spain. The laws against Catholics were renewed with vigor.

During James's intrigues with Spain, many courtiers had declared their adherence to the old faith, among them Secretary Calvert, whose mother was a Catholic.

He had staked his hopes for England upon the King's plans, but he now scrupled to break a treaty oath and plunge his country into war to gratify the wounded vanity of Charles and the Duke. To humiliate him the Duke had business diverted from his office. Sick at heart at a King's service where faithfulness was rewarded by the unworthy caprice of a degraded favorite, he disposed of his office to Sir Albert Morton for £6000 and resigned Feb. 1625. Though the King professed a particular affection for him because of his great abilities and integrity and created him Lord Baltimore of Baltimore in Ireland, he wished to retire to the stately home designed by Inigo Jones he had recently built in Yorkshire, and prepare for his new world adventure.

With Sir Toby Matthews, his boyhood friend, now a Catholic though son of the Bishop of Durham, he left London, faithful and unscathed in a period which had tried men's souls. It had victimized Raleigh, impeached Bacon, and was soon to execute Strafford, Calvert had followed his convictions at the cost of place and power. It is the high standard of a loyal courtier by which he should be judged.

Now for respite he refreshed his soul in the beautiful environs of Kiplin, his grief stirred anew by the recent loss of Lady Anne who had planned with him this stately home for their posterity, and then been called away from their hopeful brood of ten children by the birth of the youngest son, John. Their names and the family record of five sons and five daughters are given in imposing style in the "emblazoned pedigree" beside the choice marble altar-figure which represents their mother on her tomb in the church at Hertingfordbury, Herts. It was soon after the death of his wife, who was of the English church, that he returned to the faith of his mother.

KIPLIN, A CONTRIBUTION TO ARCHITECTURAL PROGRESS.

Kiplin, as it was erected in 1622 was a very notable contribution to the changing domestic architecture of the period. Designed by the Surveyor of Public Works to James I for his chief Secretary of State, Sir George Calvert, the architect (the

reviver of classical architecture), Sir Inigo Jones has emphasized its transition from the era of the mediaeval fortress to more modern needs by changing its grim towers once used for lookout posts and battlements into great four-square chimneys which at once suggest the new comfort and luxury of the Stuart period. This was later enhanced by the addition of a library wing by a recent owner, the late Admiral Walter Cecil Carpenter.

The time-mellowed seventeenth century bricks bespeak the recent change from stone to brick, while the mullioned windows tell of the new use of glass instead of wicker and lattice. The walls were hung with tapestries and arras work.

Outside the ancient yellow yew-hedge, the lime, linden, oak and thorne trees, the stone-pillared gateway and the antique wall testify no less to its great age, as well as to its remarkable preservation as birthplace of three-century old Maryland. No other State probably possesses such a unique connecting-link with its own historic past.

On the walls to-day are portraits of the Talbots ⁴ who intermarried with the Calverts, one of the Earl of Tyrconnell, and one of King Charles II, who it is said was grand-father to Lady Charlotte Lee, wife of Benedict Leonard Calvert, 4th Lord Baltimore.

Kiplin remained in the immediate family of the Calverts until 1713 when it was purchased by Christopher Crowe, who later married Lady Charlotte, widow of the 4th Lord Baltimore. His great-great-grand-daughter, Sarah, who inherited the estate, married John Delaval Carpenter, the 4th Earl of Tyrconnell, and upon his death without heirs, the property was bequeathed to the Earl's cousin, the Hon. Walter Cecil Talbot, Second son of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who in 1868, assumed the name and arms of Carpenter and was known as Admiral, the Hon. Walter Cecil Carpenter so that the estate for two centuries owned by the Calverts has since been owned by those intimately connected with the same background.

⁴ Grace, a daughter of Sir George, married Sir Robert Talbot.

It was after several years stay amid the choice environment of Kiplin, during which he married again that Calvert turned his mind to visit his colony at Avalon in Newfoundland in 1627, as he wrote the Earl of Wentworth: "I must either go and settle it in order, or . . . lose all the charges for these six years by-past".

He built an imposing mansion, equipped it finely, at an outlay of £30,000 then found the rigors of the climate "had made his house a hospital, of 100 persons 50 sick at a time and nine or ten of them dyed", so he writes King Charles pathetically, Aug. 19, 1629:

"Not knowing better how to employ the poore remainder of my days," he adds "I will remove with forty persons to Virginia, if your Majesty will grant me a precinct of land with such privileges as the king, your father, my gracious master, was pleased to grant me here I shall endeavor to deserve it, and pray for your Majesty's long and happy reign".

What were these privileges, and whence had they come, which Lord Baltimore wished to transfer from his charter of Avalon to Maryland?

They were the princely powers of the Palatinate of Durham, which adjoined Calvert's Yorkshire home upon the north, and were intimately known by him for their value and extent.

DURHAM'S PRINCELY POWERS CONFERRED ON CALVERT.

William the Conqueror built Durham Castle in 1072,

Half Church of God,

Half fortress 'gainst the Scot,

to guard the Cathedral and monastery, and gave the Bishop of Durham powers almost equal to those of the King, to protect England from the ravages of the warlike Scots on its northern border.

These special powers were both civil and military. Because of the Bishop's remoteness from the courts at London, he could erect courts, punish criminals, and furnish speedy justice, and

in case of invasion, he could summon forces, make war and repel attack. Lord Baltimore desired just such powers for his wilderness kingdom of Maryland, and moreover, he added in his Maryland charter "as great as had been enjoyed by any Bishop of Durham", and so obtained for himself powers "greater than any ever conferred on a subject by any sovereign of England".

He was given permission but not compelled to have churches consecrated according to the laws of England.

He had power to *enact* laws with the *assent* of the freemen of the province. Thus the *enacting* power was not with the Assembly but with the Proprietary—a relic of Stuart autocracy, but the people soon claimed the right to propose or originate legislation, and after a threatened deadlock, his successor, Cecil, wisely surrendered his charter right to initiate laws.

Calvert's court experience had taught him to protect his colonists from royal exactions such as Virginia had suffered. The power of the Crown to impose any customs or taxation was distinctly renounced. The colonists were to have all the rights and liberties of Englishmen, and Lord Baltimore the most favorable construction possible as to the interpretation of his charter. King Charles may have deemed special favor was due Calvert for the disappointment and retribution he had caused him over the Spanish match.

At all events all these charter rights were bestowed on this determined colony-planter on condition that he render the King at Windsor Castle the insignificant tribute of two Indian arrows annually, in token of fealty, and one-fifth of the native gold and silver found in Maryland, which never materialized. He, moreover, held Maryland by free and common soccage instead of by knights' service as with Avalon.

Sir George Calvert "probably drafted with his own hand—the hand of an experienced and accomplished man of the court", the charter of Maryland, as he had previously done that of Avalon.

"The ambiguous passages in the Maryland charter which

have been accounted evidence of design to make way for toleration or even possible dominance of Catholicism had appeared already in the charter of Avalon. Was it intended to supply a refuge for Englishmen of Catholic faith? The question is not easily answered." The great cost of the enterprise, £30,000, suggests that others must have been associated with him.

If the Maryland Charter has appeared to some "a masterpiece of dexterous ambiguity", it must be conceded Calvert had to secure what he could in the only way the laws of England then permitted.

The times were exigent. If the colony were intended to be a refuge for such recusants as his mother, other kinsfolk, and leading Catholics, toleration and protection were the best he could obtain for his co-religionists, and this only by granting the same to Protestants.

In the meantime an even greater crisis to English civil liberties had arisen.

When Charles I. succeeded his father, the struggle between the King and Parliament waxed more intense than ever. Charles' obstinate defiance of Parliament from 1625 to 1629 threatened the suspension of all Parliamentary institutions in England. The bitter religious bigotry of Archbishop Laud persecuted Puritan and Roman Catholic alike, and the only refuge of tormented Englishmen seemed in flight.

While the Puritans sought refuge in New England, the even more cruel laws against Catholics caused them to make renewed effort for a sanctuary of safety.

In 1628 the epoch-making Petition of Right was passed affirming the claims of the Great Charter, and the determination of all Englishmen, Protestant and Catholic alike, to stand for the preservation of English liberties.

Since the rigors of the climate of Newfoundland had obliged Calvert in the fall of 1629 to sail with his colony to Virginia where his foes, the friends of Sir Edwin Sandys, forced upon him the oath of supremacy (to acknowledge the king as the rightful head of the Church in England), he protested this

indignity, and explored with eager eye the goodly shores and teeming waters of the Chesapeake.

Leaving his wife, Lady Joan, and children at Jamestown, he went back to England, ill, discouraged, and "much decayed in strength", but still consumed with the purpose of establishing a colony which should prove a heritage for his family and a refuge for persecuted Englishmen, especially Catholics. Now began a concerted effort to provide with the aid of prominent English Catholics a place of security.

On Feb. 10, 1630, Sir George Calvert with Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundell, applied to the Attorney General for land south of the James. Because of his opposition to the King's exactions, Arundell was committed to the Tower, and died in November, 1630.

Calvert was now assisted by Father Richard Blount, Provincial of the English Province, Society of Jesus, who sent Fathers White and Altham with Calvert to further the settlement secured north of the Potomac.

Calvert obtained the grant of Maryland in his name alone by a charter very similar to Avalon, but died exhausted by his labors and was buried April 15, 1632, in St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, Fleet St., London, in grounds adjoining the Royal Courts of Justice, a spot which should be marked and visited by Marylanders. The Charter passed the Great Seal, June 20, 1632, and was entrusted with all its hopes and possibilities to his son, Cecil.

In order to meet any opposition to the transporting of Catholics to Maryland, a paper was prepared by Blount in 1632 for the guidance of Lord Baltimore entitled "Objections answered touching Maryland". This shows that many recusants were expected to go hither.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED TOUCHING MARYLAND.

According to Blount's judgment, it might be objected—

I. That the Laws against Roman Catholics were made to secure their conformity to the Protestant Religion,—but license

to go to Maryland, where they may have free liberty of their religion would take away all hopes of their conformity to the Church of England. To this it should be answered "Reasons of State caused most of these laws, against plotting mischief to King or State, and to secure their allegiance by oath and penalty puts them out of the way of conformity to the Church of England."

II. Such a license will seem a kind of toleration of Popery. To be answered "This Parliament has given passes to Catholics to go to France. Why not to Maryland?"

III. The King's revenues will be impaired by losing benefit of Recusants estates. To be answered "That Law was not made for the King's profit, but to free the Kingdom of Recusants, so going to Maryland would relieve the Kingdom of them."

IV. Going to Maryland would draw away people and wealth from England. Answer—"The number of Recusants in England is not so great that the departure of them all from hence would little prejudice the Kingdom in decrease of people or wealth."

(Stoneyhurst MSS. Anglia, Vol. IV).
Md. Hist. Society Fund Pub. No. 18.

This important document of Father Blount's of 1632 shows that the Charter of Maryland was from the start believed to assure liberty of conscience to Roman Catholics, and that, of course, toleration for Catholics carried with it, of necessity, toleration for all Christians. This was to be one of the "fundamental instructions".

Hence Cecil Calvert organized his first expedition so that it was composed of neither faith exclusively. To have done otherwise would have wrecked it. When the ships were halted at Gravesend after sailing from London, Oct. 18, 1633, Edward Watkins, Searcher, administered the oath of supremacy to 128, who were certainly largely Protestants, so that about 128 out of 220 were Protestants. They took on the rest with Fathers White and Altham at the Isle of Wight, whence they sailed from Cowes, Nov. 22, 1633. No Protestant minister went along nor was there any provision for that service. However,

Baltimore gave the most rigorous orders that acts of Catholic religion on shipboard be performed with as much privacy as possible. "whereby any just complaint may not hereafter be made by them (the Protestants) in Virginia, or in England". "The founders of Maryland were men of affairs shaping plan to opportunity, and the situation was inexorable."

MARYLAND TOLERATION—A PRACTICAL POLICY, NOT AN ADVANCED THEORY.

"There is no pretence of toleration as a theory of Government here", a discerning authority says. "That would have been far in advance of Raleigh, or Bacon, or even contemporary Puritan leaders." (Eggleston, *Beginners of a Nation*.)

Under the charter only freemen enjoyed political rights. The Catholics had the majority of freemen, hence the first colony was numerically Protestant, but politically, religiously and socially Roman Catholic.

It is curious to note that among the names in "Babington's Conspiracy" that Tyrrell the Jesuit had earlier implicated with John Crosland of Crosland, and then exonerated, as those "I most falsely and unjustly accused" were those of the "Earl and Countess of Arundel, Lord Win—, (Wintour?), Sir Thomas Gerard", and others.⁵

Now we note the interesting co-incidence, that in Cecil Calvert's "List of the 'Gentlemen Adventurers to Maryland, who have gone thither in person' on the first voyage, 1633, were the names of Edward and Frederick Wintour, sons of Lady Anne Wintour, and Richard Gerard, son to Sir Thomas Gerard, Knight & Baronet."⁶

In the midst of false accusations, and the imminent peril to Englishmen and their sacred institutions, "the need for tolera-

⁵ *Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers*. Boston Public Library.

⁶ *A Relation of Maryland 1635*. Bodleian Library, Oxford, England.

tion was based on the exigency of the situation and sound policy”.

Toleration was, therefore, of necessity Lord Baltimore's policy from the very beginning—before it was ever embodied in law. Without it as a fact, and as a policy, they would never have gotten as far as making a “Toleration Act” in 1649.

That King Charles, grandson of Mary Stuart, was well disposed to this colony, which he himself had named in honor of his Catholic Queen, and as affording sanctuary to Catholics is evident in the highly favorable clauses Sir George Calvert was allowed to frame in his charter.

In the hands of as astute an administrator as Cecil, Second Lord Baltimore, the charter served its purpose to compose conflicting elements in a spirit of liberality, which proved him well in advance of the men of his age. As this historic list of the

“First Gentlemen Adventurers to Maryland,”

is given by Cecil Calvert in the rare little second book ever printed concerning Maryland, The “Relation” of 1635, but three copies of which exist, no doubt they should appear here, as among the founders of a great new world commonwealth. He gives them as—

The names of the Gentlemen adventurers that are gone in person to this Plantation,

Leonard Calvert, the Governor, and George Calvert, his Lordships brothers.

Jerome Hawlie, Esq. and Thomas Cornwallis, Esq. Commissioners.

Richard Gerard, son to Sir Thomas Gerard, Knight and Baronet.

Edward Wintour and Frederick Wintour, sonnes of the Lady Anne Wintour.

Henry Wiseman, son unto Sir Thomas Wiseman, Knight.

John Saunders, Edward Cranfield, Henry Greene, Nicholas Ferfax,

John Baxter, Thomas Derrell, Captain John Hall, John Medcalfe and William Saire.

CALVERT, FATHER OF PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA.

So admirably adapted to untrammelled growth were the provisions of the Durham palatinate for a frontier colony, that Calvert's Charter of Maryland became the model for every other colony (except New England) founded afterwards.

"This was the case with New York and the two Jerseys after the English conquest of New Netherlands, with Pennsylvania and Delaware, the two Carolinas and Georgia. One and all were variations upon the theme first adopted in Maryland," says the discerning historian, John Fiske.

Lord Baltimore was, in fact, the Father of Proprietary government in America. But these proprietary rights, at first such a powerful protection against the encroachments of the Crown, became after a time in the minds of the sturdy colonists too powerful an infringement of their own rights. They were attacked and overturned by the people jealous of their own supposed rights as English subjects.

The story of the working out of the Durham Charter upon Maryland soil, steered by its Proprietor, Cecil Calvert, from his English home, kept there for life to defend his property and colonial prerogatives, is the absorbing story of Maryland's first half century. This story is centred no longer in the North, but at Wardour Castle, Wiltshire, near Salisbury in the south of England.

WARDOUR CASTLE—MARYLAND'S NEW CENTRE.

At the time Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, received the grant of Maryland he had been living at Wardour Castle three years, having married Lady Anne, fourth daughter of Sir Thomas Arundell, in 1629, when she was 18 and he 23 years of age. Their son, Charles, the quaint little lad holding the Map of Maryland in Gerard Zoest's great portrait of his father⁷ (which long hung at Windlestone Hall and was recently

⁷ A fine copy of this virile, life-like portrait showing Lord Baltimore as

sold to Lord Duveen of London for \$21,000 by Sir Timothy Eden), was born at Wardour in 1630.

How intensely concerned for the new colony must have been Lady Baltimore with her small boy of three (the future Governor of Maryland in 1661), how anxious her old father of 72, Sir Thomas, the Valiant, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, famous for his capture of the Turkish battleflag at the siege of Gran, how interested the whole brave household which had beheld many martial companies set off from its stronghold since its erection in 1372. Theirs was a conquering line.

Roger de Arundell, the Norman, had come to England with William the Conqueror, the French word "*l'hirondelle*", swallow, indicating the basis of his name and family crest. The castle was purchased in 1547 by Lady Anne's grandfather. Her father, Sir Thomas, had been especially recommended for bravery to Emperor Rudolph II of Germany by Queen Elizabeth in a letter still shown with great pride in the muniment room at Wardour. One of the last letters written by him to King Charles before his death in 1639, which the writer found in the English official archives, shows how heavily burdened Sir Thomas was not only by the King's exactions for the Civil War in which Charles had embroiled himself fatally with Parliament, but also for Lord Baltimore's costly enterprise in Maryland. As it evidences Lord Arundell's warm devotion to his favorite son-in-law, and is a graphic picture of the feudal interdependence of sovereign and subject at the outbreak of the Civil War, and has never been published before, it seems fitting to give it in part here. Lord Arundell writes:

the serious-minded promoter of colonization (who had experienced the sudden recall of his first expedition at Gravesend, Oct. 18, 1633, and a costly month's delay till its departure from Cowes, Nov. 22) was made by the late Miss Florence Mackubin for Dr. Hugh Hampton Young of Baltimore, who has added it to the generous series of remarkable original portraits of the Proprietaries of Maryland, which he purchased from Sir Timothy Eden of Windlestone Hall, a direct descendant of the Calverts, and which arrived in Baltimore in time for the inauguration of the Maryland Tercentenary celebration at the War Memorial, Nov. 22, 1933.

To the Right Honble Francis Windebank, Kt.
 Principall Secretarie of State to His Matie.
 from Thos. Lord Arundell of Wardor.

Right Honorable

Finding by His Matie's letter, his will to bee that the Barons, Earles, etc. should attend his Matie's Person and Royall Standard at Yorke, in such Equipage of Armour and horse as is fitting unto their calling . . . my infirmities meeting with a Bodie of fourscore years of age have made me utterlie unable to attend his Matie in Person. My fourscore horsemen's Armour I did resign unto his Matie about two years since. . . . My debts which if I doe not satisfie I shall be sued and my Land expended) are above three and twenty thousand pounds (the interest whereof consumes me) . . . My plate is part sold, and part at pawn, with little hope to redeem it. . . .

And to encrease my misery still more . . . my sonne Baltimore is brought so lowe with his setting forward the Plantation of Maryland, and with the clamorous Suites and oppositions, which he hath mett withall in that businesse, as that I doe not see how he would subsist, if I did not give him his dyet, for himselfe, his wife, his children and servants. Not withstanding all these wants and miseries I will give toward the Armies of his Majestie against the mutinies of Scotland, five hundred pounds, to be payd in two years, which with the fourscore horsemens armor two yeares since, will show I am more careful to spend the little meanes I have for his Majestie, than to provide for my children and their children, whose wants cannot be supplied but by my care and guarding course of life. God have you in his keeping.

Yours to doe you faithful service.

Warder Castle, 17th.
 Februarie, 1638.

Tho: Arundell.

As one gazes to-day at the valiant countenance of Sir Thomas which hangs close beside the lovely portraiture of Lady Anne by Van Dyck's skillful hand, looking out upon the grim ruins of "old Wardour", which fell before the fierce siege of the Parliamentary forces in 1643, we were glad to learn that both of them died in 1639, and so escaped the destruction of the splendid old stronghold, which martial Lady Blanche Arundell, with 20

retainers defended for two weeks, while young Lord Arundell and Lord Baltimore were with the King at Oxford.

A few of the treasures Lady Blanche saved from the wreck included the famous family portraits by noted English artists, many Italian masterpieces, and the red and gold royal Stuart bed, where King Charles I slept when at Wardour, and the rare old Saxon Wassail Cup, the most treasured relic of them all.

As Lord Arundell, the owner of the estate, drove us over from the present castle, erected about 1778, to the ruins of the old stronghold we passed close beside the Tudor dowry-house "Hooke House", given to Lady Anne by her father on her marriage to Lord Baltimore and which so generously sheltered these brave adventurers of their all across the sea in Maryland.

As we looked at "Old Wardour," he asked, "Do you notice anything familiar about these old ruins that reminds you of Maryland?"

As we looked more closely at the heavy vine clambering over the ruin "Can it really be Virginia creeper?" we inquired. "Yes," he replied, "it is Virginia creeper sent from Maryland nearly three hundred years ago, with other "rarities" Lord Baltimore was always requesting from the colony he was never to see in person." And then he showed us the most remarkable treasure of all—a great cluster of tree-trunks of what he called an "iron-beam", or "horn-beam tree", with silvery bark which came from Maryland in the long ago, and had stood guard beside a beleaguered tower for nearly three centuries. And curiously enough on coming home we learned there were still such trees known also as "water-beaches", as near Baltimore as our own Gwynn's Falls, and many more in tidewater regions to the southward.

As we beheld these and other rare "trophies" sent from Maryland's soil ages ago we were persuaded how greatly our broad Commonwealth beside the abounding Chesapeake was indebted to its Founders, the First and Second Lords Baltimore, for the unwearying sacrifice, patience, and persistence with which they had established this "land of sanctuary" and prosperity across the sea.

DISFRANCHISEMENT IN MARYLAND (1861-67).

By WILLIAM A. RUSS, JR.

The rebel attitude of a large part of Maryland's population in 1861 was typified by the Baltimore riot. The reasons for this pro-Southern sympathy of perhaps the majority of the State's inhabitants are the same as those for the rebellious sentiments of Missouri and Kentucky. Each was a border State, containing people who adhered to both Union and Secession; both suffered, as a consequence, from the divided state of public opinion inherent in such a condition. As in Kentucky, there were so many Southern sympathizers that it was doubtful what side the State would take in the struggle. If left alone, it would perhaps have seceded, just as Kentucky would probably have remained neutral. The fate of the Union cause thus was held in the balance; for, if Maryland (which surrounded the national capital and which could, therefore, hamstring the Lincoln government) seceded, Washington would have been isolated from Union territory. Lincoln perceived this, and, as a matter of war necessity, determined that Maryland must not secede if Federal forces could prevent it. Thus once more, just as in Kentucky, military force became the only bar between a State and rebellion; for the same reason, the army played a similar rôle in keeping the State Unionist by the usual process of arbitrary arrests and imprisonments without trial: in brief, disfranchisement of rebels by physical force.¹

Even before actual hostilities began, Maryland was occupied by Federal forces which were, legally or illegally, suppressing Secessionism and interfering in local government. As early as July 1, General N. P. Banks was proclaiming to the people of

¹ Cf. *Rebellion Records*, Series II, Vol. II, pp. 349-58, 456-63, 480-85, for numerous arrests for alleged disloyalty and releases upon taking the oath. See also Bancroft, *Seward*, II, 254-81, for examples of disfranchisement by military arrest.

Baltimore that "Whenever a loyal citizen can be nominated to the office of marshal who will execute the police laws impartially and in good faith to the United States, the military force will be withdrawn at once from the central parts of the municipality."² Military rule bred further secession sympathy; hence it soon became evident that when the legislature met, the State might be declared out of the Union. Lincoln ordered General Scott, who ordered General Banks, to see that this did not occur. Secretary of War Cameron told Banks, on September 11: "The passage of any act of secession by the Legislature of Maryland must be prevented. If necessary all or any part of the members must be arrested. Exercise your own judgment as to the time and manner, and do the work effectively."³ Banks did the work so effectively that on September 17 all Secessionists in the Legislature were arrested, twenty-nine in all.⁴ The oath of allegiance was offered to all and a few took it; others were asked to take the oath and not return to Maryland. This was a hard choice for men like Quinlan, whose income was derived from a farm in the State.⁵

After they had been incarcerated about two months, Senator Reverdy Johnson, on November 12, 1861, advised Seward, Secretary of State, that the rest of the prisoners should be released, for by that date, the terms of all, except of two Senators, had expired. The legislature by a recent election was safely Unionist, hence there was no reason for holding any of the imprisoned persons longer—except the Mayor and Commissioner of Police of Baltimore who still claimed their offices. It would (thought Johnson) result in a good effect on public opinion.⁶ But Governor Hicks, on the same day, advised Seward that the release of these rebels would be suicidal, for they would at once get in touch with the South.⁷ General Dix, however,

² *Rebellion Records*, Series II, Vol. I, p. 625.

³ *Rebellion Records*, Series II, Vol. I, pp. 678-9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 667-78 and p. 684.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 685-6, 694, 703.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 704.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 704-5.

also advised that they be released because of their ill health resulting from imprisonment.⁸ Most of them were freed on November 26 after taking the oath, although five were retained, because they refused to take it.⁹ Dix did not favor the release of these five until Senator Lynch (one of them) resigned his seat. By January, 1862, due probably to more arrests, ten still declined to take the oath and were held until November 26, 1862, when Stanton, Secretary of War, took over control of disloyal persons from Seward. Stanton immediately ordered the freeing of all political prisoners from Fort Warren, Boston, where the Maryland men had been kept. This was done at once; and finally, Kane, marshal of Baltimore, Brown, the mayor,¹⁰ and ten or twelve members of the legislature were freed after over a year of imprisonment and consequent exclusion from Maryland politics.¹¹

The arrest of the worst of the members of the legislature, as well as of the government of Baltimore, did not, by any means, kill the growth of rebellious sentiments in the State—as a matter of fact, Secessionism was increasing so much that Governor Thomas H. Hicks, on October 12, 1861, wrote a lugubrious

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 707-8.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 710-2.

¹⁰ On September 27, 1861, Seward told Dix, in command of Ft. McHenry, in which Mayor Brown was confined, that he might be released upon taking the oath of allegiance, upon resigning his mayoralty, and upon residing in some Northern city. Brown refused. On October 9, Dix suggested, at the request of Brown's brother-in-law, that he be confined to New England, if released. Seward then declined this overture, and offered to release him only upon his taking the oath and giving parole not to aid the South and not to return to Maryland during the rest of the insurrection. In January, 1862, Brown refused these terms because he said that acceptance would be admitting that he had been disloyal. *Rebellion Records*, Series II, Vol. I, pp. 647, 651-2, 665. Undoubtedly many of these men were unjustly imprisoned. Lawrence Sangston [1814-1876], of Baltimore, a member of the legislature imprisoned at Fort Warren, refused to take any more oaths: "I have twice taken the oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States during the present year and am not disposed to turn a solemn obligation into ridicule by constant repetitions of it." He demanded to know the charges against him. *Ibid.*, p. 706.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 728, 748.

letter on Union hopes in general and Maryland's situation in particular:

The loyal States and our Army and Navy are full of traitors; many of our office-holders are faithless to the Government, and unless things are closely looked after and the war carried forward with greater vigor, we shall be whipped I fear. I have not been scared until recently; . . .¹²

But as long as Union forces held Maryland, efforts might be made to neutralize rebel influence by the simple method of military disfranchisement, that is, keeping the disunionists from running for office and from voting. Such was done in the fall elections. On October 29, 1861, General Marcy, chief of McClellan's staff, ordered Banks to prevent rebels in the State from interfering in the coming elections of November 6; to send detachments of soldiers to protect Union voters and "to see that no disunionists are allowed to intimidate them, or in any way to interfere with their rights"; to arrest and confine till after election all disloyalists just returned from Virginia; to see that there was no disorder; and to suspend the writ, if necessary.¹³ The same order was sent to General Stone, commanding also in Maryland. On November 1, General Dix sent an order from Baltimore to the United States marshal of Maryland, and to the provost-marshal of Baltimore, to arrest all rebels who were returning to vote in the elections in order to carry the State for treason and rebellion. He continued:

I, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me to arrest all persons in rebellion against the United States, require you to take into custody all such persons in any of the election districts or precincts in which they may appear at the polls to effect their criminal attempt to convert the elective franchise into an engine for the subversion of the Government, and for the encouragement and support of its enemies.¹⁴

It is of interest to point out how Dix and others justified

¹² *Ibid.*, Series II, Vol. II, p. 99.

¹³ McPherson, *History of the Rebellion*, p. 308.

¹⁴ McPherson, *History of the Rebellion*, p. 308.

what seems to be a brazen violation of Maryland's right to run its own election. In Kentucky, and in Missouri, a disfranchising oath was soon provided and the military could pretend to be executing the law when they prevented rebels from exercising the franchise; but Maryland had no such State law, and the military was forced to invent some other justification. In answer to a letter from the inspectors of election at New Windsor, Carroll county, Dix said he had no power to force disunionists to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, for "the constitution and laws of Maryland provide for the exercise of the elective franchise by regulations with which I have no right to interfere." The only way to handle them, he said, was to arrest them for rebellion and treason and to hold them in jail until the election was over. Judges might also, by searching questions, satisfy themselves whether an individual was a rebel, and thus try "without any violation of the constitution or laws of Maryland, to prevent the pollution of the ballot-boxes by their votes."¹⁵ This was at least a practical solution, for no one could gainsay that imprisonment was effective disfranchisement. The following sentiment from Dix to Provost-Marshal Dodge, on November 5, will complete the picture of military disfranchisement in this election: "We have shown that we can control Maryland by force. We now wish to show that we can control it by the power of opinion, and we shall lose the whole moral influence of our victory if the right of suffrage is not free, and maintained."¹⁶

Needless to state, military arrests, too numerous to detail, continued during the next year, much to the chagrin of all Marylanders, except radicals. Many of these persons secured release and re-enfranchisement by taking the oath of allegiance—the only oath yet available.¹⁷ Still, many languished in jail; the reading of their suffering does not make pleasant diversion. The importance of these arbitrary arrests in this connection is that they rasped on the feelings of even Unionists who felt that,

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 308-9.

¹⁷ *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1863, pp. 611-12.

while military control was necessary, it was being carried too far. At all events, this feeling appeared rather prominently in the elections of 1863 which comprised the next political spasm that the State had to go through.

The ire of Maryland emerged in full proportions at General Schenck's General Order 53, of October 27, 1863, which commanded provost-marshals to arrest disloyal persons "hanging about, or approaching any poll"; to support with soldiers the election officials in requiring the oath of allegiance as a test of citizenship from anyone whose vote was challenged; and to report any judge of election refusing to take such an oath himself.¹⁸ Governor Bradford, thinking this an insult to Maryland dignity, overruled the order and protested to Lincoln.¹⁹ The President was hard put to take an attitude entirely on either side, for, on the one hand, he must support, if possible, the military which had saved Maryland in 1861; but, on the other, he could not lose the confidence of the people of the State, especially since this election was to determine the calling of a State convention to abolish slavery, and to pass a disfranchising provision. In his answer, November 3, to Bradford, the President told of interviewing Schenck, and of revoking that portion of the order regarding hangers-about; and he said that the military forces were there only to prevent disorder by disloyal persons. He said that he revoked Schenck's order, "not that it is wrong in principle, but because the military being, of necessity, exclusive judges as to who shall be arrested, the provision is liable to abuse."²⁰ Yet the President felt that Maryland was to blame, since it had neglected to provide a strict oath which would justify the military in its acts; and, he added, in typical Lincoln *argumentum ad hominem*, that Missouri had provided a disfranchising oath, but that Maryland had not:

. . . General Trimble, captured fighting us at Gettysburg, is, without recanting his treason, a legal voter by the laws of Mary-

¹⁸ Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, VIII, 462.

¹⁹ McPherson, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-10.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

land. Even General Schenck's order admits him to vote, if he recants upon oath. I think that is cheap enough. My order in Missouri, which you approve, and General Schenck's order here, reach precisely the same end. Each assures the right of voting to all loyal men, and whether a man is loyal, each allows that man to fix by his own oath. Your suggestion that nearly all the candidates are loyal, I do not think quite meets the case. In this struggle for the nation's life, I cannot so confidently rely on those whose elections may have depended upon disloyal votes. Such men, when elected, may prove true; but such votes are given them in the expectation that they will prove false.²¹

On November 3 Schenck was forced to modify his order as Lincoln had dictated, and at the same time answered Bradford's protest as follows:

Its principal purpose is to prevent traitorous persons from controlling, in any degree, by their votes, or taking part in the coming election. . . . It is only framed and intended to exclude from a voice in the election of those who are to administer the affairs either of the national Government or of this loyal State such individuals as are hostile to that Government of which Maryland is a part . . . it is clearly not a hardship, to be complained of by the individual challenged for such disqualification, when he is permitted to purge himself by his own oath of allegiance to the Government, in the management of which he claims a share.²²

Hardly had Lincoln instructed Schenck to mollify Maryland's sensibilities, when a worse incident occurred to stir up feeling against Federal supervision. This was an order of November 3, from Chestertown, issued by Lieutenant-Colonel C. C. Tevis, which, in essence, recognized no ticket but the Government one. He said that as a result of a correspondence between Hon. Thomas Swann and Lincoln, he was urging all loyal voters to show their sincerity by voting "the whole Government ticket, upon the platform adopted by the Union League Convention. None other is recognized by the Federal authorities as loyal and worthy of the support of any one who desires the peace and

²¹ Nicolay and Hay, *Papers*, II, 434-5.

²² McPherson, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

restoration of this Union." At once Schenck disavowed the order and put Tevis under arrest, but restored him on November 9 upon the latter's retraction. In proclaiming Tevis's retraction, Schenck said that the order had been due to 'bad advisers' and that there was no such thing as a Government ticket.²³

The State having decided for a convention, the legislature in January, 1864, passed a convention bill, Section 4 of which laid down, at great length, the qualifications for voting at the election for delegates, and made it almost impossible for any rebel vote to trickle through the meshes. This was probably made minute in order to evade any excuse of military interference by the United States.²⁴ The bill also provided against Federal control in the election, ordering the Governor to keep calling elections until military supervision ceased.²⁵ General Lew Wallace looked askance at this provision and on March 30, 1864, asked Bradford for a description of all the powers of judges in the coming elections. Bradford answered that they had ample powers to prevent disloyal persons from voting or running for office and that State powers were sufficient "if faithfully executed, as I have every reason to hope they will be, to exclude disloyal voters from the polls."²⁶

Wallace, who said that he "regarded rebels and traitors as having no political rights whatever," proceeded to prove his opinion by numerous precautions to keep disloyal persons from the polls—Bradford to the contrary notwithstanding.²⁷ For instance, he ordered one Kilbourn, who had been nominated from Anne Arundel county, to be questioned on his voting record in the Maryland legislature of 1861, and forced him to admit not only that he had voted for a resolution to recognize the independence of the Confederacy, but also to admit that he could not take the oath.²⁸ His name was withdrawn. The judges of

²³ The whole Schenck trouble in 1863 is discussed by Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 559-69.

²⁴ *Convention Debates*, 1864, I, 24.

²⁵ *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1864, pp. 497-8.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 498.

²⁷ Scharf, *op. cit.*, III, 577-81.

²⁸ *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1864, p. 499.

election of Cecil adopted a set of questions to be asked of all voters, such as: Have you served in the rebel army? Have you aided the rebellion? Have you given money to aid those intending to join the rebel cause? Have you sent money to those in the rebel area? Have you given comfort and encouragement? Have you wished for the success of the rebellion? Have you discouraged the Federal cause? Are you a loyal citizen of the United States? Did you rejoice over the downfall of Fort Sumter? Did you rejoice over the successes of the rebel, and the defeats of the Union army? When the rebel army meets the Union army in battle, which do you wish to gain the victory? And many similar. Further directions were given to aid registrars in deciding doubtful cases:

Comfort or encouragement means advocacy, advice in favor of. We aid the Rebellion by giving money, clothing, and provisions; we give it comfort or encouragement by our words. A man who has advocated the cause of the Rebellion, who talked in favor of Maryland going with the South, who rejoiced over the victories of the Rebel army, has given comfort and encouragement to the Rebellion. . . .

If the Judges are satisfied that a man is disloyal to the United States, it is their duty to refuse his vote, for such person is not a 'legal voter' of the State of Maryland.²⁹

By such methods the Unionists got a majority and the convention met on April 27, 1864. In the bill providing for a convention there had been included an oath that every delegate must take before the Governor in order to qualify:

that I have never, either directly or indirectly, by word, act, or deed, given any aid, comfort, or encouragement to those in rebellion against the Government of the United States; and this I swear voluntarily, without any mental reservation or qualification whatever, so help me God.³⁰

So well had the military gleaned all disloyal persons from running, that the Committee on Elections neglected to report until

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 499-500.

³⁰ *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1864, p. 503, and *Convention Debates*, 1864, I, 24.

August 3. It declared that, every member having taken this oath, all were eligible. The convention was thus safely radical and its work would be certain to reflect this fact.

On May 21 the Committee on the Elective Franchise was ordered to prepare an article in its report to the effect that every person who had aided the present rebellion "ought to be forever disqualified and rendered incapable to hold or exercise within this State any office of profit or trust, civil or military, or to vote at any election hereafter held in this state; . . ." On May 30 the Committee was instructed to prepare an article prohibiting anyone from holding office and voting in Maryland for "the space of three score years and ten" if he voluntarily had left the State to aid the rebellion; and to be disfranchised for five years if he aided the rebellion within the State.⁸¹

The disfranchising clauses reported by the Committee were stiff enough, but one Stirling became the wheelhorse for disfranchisement by trying to make them even more rigid. He had already offered a resolution to imprison or banish all rebel sympathizers who refused to register and take an oath of allegiance,⁸² and when the report was offered, he fought it in favor of more stringency. The Committee suggested: 1. Disqualification of anyone forever, unless pardoned by the President, who had rebelled or in any way had aided the Confederacy. 2. An oath (which must be taken by every official on entering office) that he had never directly or indirectly aided the rebellion.⁸³ The minority reported that it favored no disfranchisement at all, and merely suggested an oath for officers who would swear to bear true allegiance to, and enforce the laws of, the United States and Maryland.⁸⁴ Stirling led a successful fight against suggestion One of the report, finally causing its deletion and the substitution of a stricter disfranchisement. The substitute disabled forever all who had been in armed hostility to the United States; all who had served or had aided the Confederacy in any

⁸¹ *Proceedings of the Convention, 1864*, pp. 85, 126-7.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 265-6.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 431-4 and *Debates*, II, 1262-79.

⁸⁴ *Proceedings of Convention, 1864*, pp. 449-51.

capacity, or had gone within the rebel lines, or had left Maryland to adhere, or had communicated with, given information to, or had sent goods, letters or money, to the South; all who had aided or advised anyone to enter the rebellion, or had expressed a desire for the triumph of the South—all such were disqualified unless they had cleansed themselves by voluntarily entering the Union army and had then been honorably discharged, or had been restored by a two-thirds vote of the assembly. Election judges were to require a searching oath from voters; but mere acceptance of the oath was not a proof of the right to vote, for the judges were to have special powers to root out perjury.³⁵ The conservatives said that such a clause not only killed trial by jury but that it was also retrospective.³⁶ Stirling answered: "The only way to prevent civil war is to require those who engage in it to abide the results of their own conduct."³⁷ When the discussion of an oath came up, he again changed the majority report and secured the passage of the following ironclad:

... that I have never directly or indirectly . . . given any aid . . . but that I have been truly, and loyally on the side of the United States against those in armed rebellion . . . that I will . . . not allow the same to be broken up or dissolved, or the Government thereof to be destroyed under any circumstances, if in my power to prevent it, and that I will at all times discountenance and oppose all political combinations having for their object such dissolution or destruction.³⁸

A conservative, Jones, raised some opposition by listing ten offenses for which a man might be disqualified under such an oath, but Stirling had his way.³⁹ No more could Lincoln accuse Maryland, under such a structure, of backwardness in its franchise laws. Only 10,000 out of 40,000 in Baltimore and only 35,000 out of 95,000 in the whole State could vote. Two-thirds of the voters were disfranchised.⁴⁰

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 463-4, 468.

³⁶ *Debates*, II, 1273.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1275.

³⁸ *Proceedings*, pp. 472-3; *Debates*, II, 1286.

³⁹ *Debates*, II, 1331-1380.

⁴⁰ Scharf, *op. cit.*, III, 668-671. "In Maryland as matters now are three fourths of the people are disfranchised upon the ground that not having

In order to put these provisions into a form that could be administered, the legislature, on March 24, 1865, passed a registration law excluding negroes, minors, non-residents, persons who had been in armed hostility to the United States, persons who had left Maryland to enter and to live in the rebel area, and persons who had given aid and comfort in any manner.⁴¹ At Baltimore the registrars were given twenty-five questions to ask all applicants. Some of these questions were: Do you think the oath you have just taken morally binding? Are you aware of the danger of perjury? Have you ever been in arms against the United States? Have you ever gone into the Confederate lines to adhere? Have you given money or aid to Secessionists? Have you communicated with rebels or advised anyone to enter the rebellion? Have you deserted the United States army? Have you expressed antipathy to the United States? Have you wished the rebels to succeed? Do you hold any mental reservation in answering these questions?⁴²

The system disfranchised so many that Montgomery Blair in a speech on August 26, 1865, condemned it roundly;⁴³ he represented the wide-spread horror in which it was held now that the war was over. As in Kentucky, as soon as the war ended, there was a concerted move to rid the State of disfranchisement. A moot case (by a refusal to take the oath) was made up in order to contest the law in the courts, but the registrars were sustained by the highest tribunal in the State.⁴⁴ On January 11, 1866 Governor Swann defended the law as best he could before the legislature; he depreciated resistance, saying that disfranchisement had been placed in the Constitution when rebellion was creating so much disloyalty that the Government had to act to defend itself. He asserted that the repeal of the registration law would do no good, since the Constitution de-

registered they are disloyal and the remaining one fourth claim as the only loyal men of Maryland the right to control the State[.]” George M. Gold (?) to Montgomery Blair, February 13, 1866. Blair sent the letter to Johnson who, after reading, endorsed it in his own hand. Johnson Papers, LXXXVI, 9104.

⁴¹ *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1865, p. 526.

⁴² *Loc. cit.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 527.

⁴⁴ *Loc. cit.*

manded an oath. The only way out was to order a convention to change the Constitution.⁴⁵ This suggestion indicated the path to be followed, and so the movement to rebellize Maryland went on apace.

"Individuals were refused registration on the most frivolous grounds, and in many cases without even having heard that any reason whatever was given for their disqualification."⁴⁶ Montgomery Blair, in a letter of October, 1865, said that it was "to screen from punishment the lawless men who, under cover of transcendant loyalty, have been the great offenders against the cause of the Union."⁴⁷ The humiliated majority organized behind the *Baltimore Sun* and Montgomery Blair to get back their franchise. This movement brought about the calling of an anti-registry law convention in January, 1866, to present protests to the assembly. Blair was chairman and made an appeal for re-enfranchisement of whites. Why, he wished to know, were they disfranchised? He answered his question: So that the Republican party can "hold political power in defiance of the great principle which under-lies our whole form of Government. . . . Disfranchising the people of Maryland is for the same interests that Thad. Stevens is working in the House of Representatives to obtain." The convention passed a memorial which Blair personally presented to the legislature on January 26, 1866, pleading eloquently for removal of disabilities because the war was over and because Maryland needed the services of her own sons.⁴⁸ This same argument was used again and again in Kentucky.

Just as happened in Missouri in 1870, the Union party split in 1866 on the question of disfranchisement, each wing holding a convention. This schism aided the conservatives so much in the fall elections that the radicals lost the assembly; re-enfran-

⁴⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁴⁶ Scharf, *op. cit.*, III, 670.

⁴⁷ Quoted by Scharf, *op. cit.*, III, 669.

⁴⁸ *Proscription in Maryland. Speeches of the Hon. Montgomery Blair, as President of the Anti-Registry Convention, to the Convention and to the Legislature of Maryland. Delivered 24th and 25th of January, 1866.* Washington, 1868. See also Scharf, *op. cit.*, III, 673-76.

chisement of rebels was now only a matter of time.⁴⁹ The legislature soon acted on January 24, 1867, when it passed a law calling a convention "to restore to full citizenship, and the right to vote and hold office, all persons who may be deprived thereof by the provisions contained in the fourth section of the Constitution of this state." This act also explained that these restrictions were really temporary; that the disfranchised were taxed and subjected to military duty, yet could not vote.⁵⁰ At this act, Forney, in the *Philadelphia Press* said that Maryland Unionists "demand to know whether because they saved Maryland from treason therefore traitors are permitted to rule the State and ruin them?"⁵¹ Just as Unionists in Kentucky had done, so local radicals began appealing to those in Congress for action to stop this rapid turning of the State over to rebels. Nathan Haines, of Carroll county, implored "Thadeus Stephens" to prevent the calling of a convention in the State. What, he asked, are Union men to do? "I think Maryland needs" military reconstruction "about as badly as any of the Southern States, and I do not see any other way for us.—I hope it [Congress] will take us in hand. . . . Give us manhood Suffrage and we are Safe:—My dear friend the Safety of the Nation, enjoins it upon Congress,—to make Suffrage *universal*,—to *disqualify* and *impoverish* traitors,—and confine the ballot to the *loyal only*."⁵² Another letter implored Congress not to adjourn until it saw what course Maryland would take.⁵³ Maryland's answer seemed to be two more laws. One of March 19, 1867 rescinded that of January, 1865, requiring an oath for attorneys. One of March 23, 1867, repealed an act of January, 1862, which required an oath of allegiance.⁵⁴

Already Representative Ward, of New York, had secured the passage, by vote of 104-35, of a resolution in the House, to the

⁴⁹ Scharf, *op. cit.*, III, 678-9, 693.

⁵⁰ *Journal of the Convention of 1867*, pp. 9-11; also *Maryland Laws*, 1867, pp. 18-21.

⁵¹ January 31, 1867.

⁵² Stevens Papers, March 22, 1867, IX, 54452.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 54450.

⁵⁴ *Maryland Laws*, 1867, pp. 189, 346.

effect that in spite of disfranchisement of rebels and disloyalists by the Maryland Constitution, it was alleged that in the last election for Representatives for the Fortieth Congress, many disabled persons had voted, aided by United States troops who interfered at elections. The Committee of Elections was to inquire if any laws had been violated and how much of the blame should go the President.⁵⁵

But there was still another way for the radicals in Congress to hint to the State that it might have to be taken in hand—at the very same time, in fact, that they were making a similar threat to Kentucky. This method consisted in refusing to seat the choice of the rebel legislature, as Senator from Maryland, by finding some flaw in his record. In brief, when Philip F. Thomas presented his credentials as Senator from Maryland, he was charged with disloyalty and with inability to take the proper oath. Two rather far-fetched charges were brought up against him. The first was that when, in December 1860, he had served as the temporary successor of Cobb as Secretary of the Treasury, he had deliberately tried to imperil the public credit by refusing to pay the interest on the bonded debt. The *Nation* admitted that this accusation seemed to have been successfully answered. The second charge (which was the real reason for his exclusion) was that he had advanced money to his son to aid him in joining the rebel army, and in so doing had aided the rebellion.⁵⁶ This seemed so flimsy to conservative papers as to appear personal and petty. The *New York Times* bitterly riddled the Senate's attitude, as "Partisan Intolerance . . . the whole thing dwindled down to a complaint that Mr. THOMAS had behaved kindly to his own son."⁵⁷ The *Chicago Times* called it "Disfranchisement of Loyal States . . . an act of lawless despotism . . . [an] act of criminality."⁵⁸

The Senate Judiciary Committee investigated and on December 18, 1867, expressed no opinion against Thomas, preferring

⁵⁵ *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1867, pp. 199-200.

⁵⁶ January 9, 1868; *Sen. Mis. Doc. 11* (40 Cong. 2 Sess.); *Globe*, March 18, 1867, pp. 171-80.

⁵⁷ February 21, 1868.

⁵⁸ March 20, 1867.

to lay the matter before the Senate. It reported it could "find nothing sufficient . . . to debar said Thomas from taking his seat, unless it be found in the fact of the son of said Thomas having entered the military service of the Confederacy, . . ." ⁵⁹ The son, having been called before the Committee, had explained how his father had dissuaded him from going South, but had finally given him \$100 for food to keep him from starving and for a horse. The other Maryland Senator, Reverdy Johnson, offered a resolution to admit him if he took the regular oath. ⁶⁰ Thomas was, however, refused admission on the ground of having aided the rebellion by giving his son \$100—the vote being 28-21. Trumbull and Fessenden voted for him, while Sumner quoted Sallust regarding Aulus Fulvius, the Roman Senator, who killed his son for joining Catiline. ⁶¹ The Maryland legislature protested vehemently against such an excuse for refusing Thomas, but in the end elected William T. Hamilton, who was able to qualify. ⁶² The *Nation* thought that the lesson was learned, however, by Governor Swann, who also had been elected Senator, but decided not to give up his Governorship for a position out of which he might be voted, because he was supposed to have received payments of interest on the rebel bonds of Virginia. ⁶³ Whether the charge was true or not, he decided to hold on to what he had—and besides, the Lieutenant-Governor was a radical.

But long before the Thomas case was finally settled, Maryland had definitely changed its fundamental law on disfranchisement, so as to completely hand the State over to the rebels. The convention which had been ordered by the legislature in January, 1867, met in May and the crimes (in the eyes of radicals) perpetrated in that convention could not be prevented by such a gesture as the refusal of the Senatorial toga to Thomas. Nothing short of reconstruction could have undone the rebellization of the State that followed apace.

⁵⁹ *Senate Report 5* (40 Cong. 2 Sess.).

⁶⁰ *Sen. Mis. Doc. 11* (40 Cong. 2 Sess.).

⁶¹ *Nation*, February 27, 1868; see also February 20.

⁶² *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1868, p. 453.

⁶³ *Nation*, May 7, 1867.

The radicals, seeing their hold on the State fast slipping, began, of course, to protest to Washington. As early as March, 1867, the Republican minority of the assembly sent a memorial to Congress pleading against what they called the conspiracy (that is, the convention) which had been illegally ordered, and which was to meet in May to change the franchise law. It went on to say:

By doubtful construction of a clause of the existing constitution, this General Assembly, thus elected, has enfranchised all white men, no matter what treason they have committed, and thus have added to the voting population about 30,000 persons who have only lately ceased an armed resistance to the Government.

Next the Legislature had formed a rebel State militia and illegally had redistricted the State. The "... one object of this movement is to legislate out all the remaining loyal officers whom they have not already removed, and place ex-rebels, perhaps brigadiers and colonels of the rebel army in their places."⁶⁴ Unionists had only one hope, and that was Congress. Likewise the Grand Union League of Maryland begged Congress to extend, before it was too late, the reconstruction laws over the State, which had gone rebel.⁶⁵ The resolutions of the Republican State convention, held at Baltimore, declared that the party would oppose the convention bill and the other enfranchising measures just passed, and would refuse to vote for delegates.⁶⁶ Not to be outdone, the Mayor and Council of Baltimore appealed to Congress against the rebels and the coming constitutional convention, blaming it all on a Governor, a traitor to his party, who had appointed his own registrars so that the State could be given over to the worst of the disunionists.⁶⁷ In the face of such an array of pleas from the chief radical bodies in the State, it was hard for the Congressional radicals not to act; yet they

⁶⁴ *House Mis. Doc.* 27 (40 Cong. 1 Sess.) and McPherson, *Hand-Book for* 1868, p. 246.

⁶⁵ *House Mis. Doc.* 28 (40 Cong. 1 Sess.).

⁶⁶ *House Mis. Doc.* 32 (40 Cong. 1 Sess.).

⁶⁷ *House Mis. Doc.* 34 (40 Cong. 1 Sess.).

were held back by the same unalterable fact that was handicapping them in dealing with rebel Kentucky: the fact that Maryland had never seceded. Even radicals could not stomach legislation over a State which had always been, and still was, in the Union.

The convention met, therefore, in spite of certain radicals in Congress who declared for military force to prevent its assembling. President Johnson went to Annapolis to give it his personal blessing with a typical Johnson speech. The President of the convention and all members had to take, by order of the law calling them into existence, the oath to bear true allegiance to Maryland and the United States, to defend and protect both, to promise not to allow the Union ever to be dissolved, and to prevent any political combinations ever trying to do so.⁶⁸ If this was a studied play to disarm radicals with Unionist words, it did not work, for radicals were in consternation at the entire proceedings. Regarding disfranchisement, there is little to say, except that, by the report of the Committee on the Franchise, it was entirely wiped out of the Constitution. The only clauses even remotely related to it were provisions for a registration law, and an oath to support the Constitution. This report became Article I of the Constitution.⁶⁹ As if to insult Unionism and radicalism to the limit, it disfranchised negroes and asked for compensation for emancipated slaves.

Such insolence brought cries of rage from all radicals. The *Missouri Democrat* said: "Maryland is a captured State. Not in honest and open assault did the rebels succeed in taking it. . . . But by the treachery of Governor Swann, the enemy was admitted within the walls, and the place was delivered into their hands." ⁷⁰ The *Chicago Journal* also raved impotently:

Kentucky is not to be the only paradise of traitors and pandemonium of Unionists. . . . The only immediate remedy would be the interference of Congress. . . . It is quite certain that those who were traitors, and who now glory in the fact, will

⁶⁸ *Journal of the Convention, 1867*, pp. 9-11.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 151-3.

⁷⁰ June 4, 1867.

control the politics of at least two States, if not disfranchised by an act of Congress.⁷¹

Colfax stated Congressional opinion when he answered a letter of John L. Thomas, of Maryland, requesting his presence at a Border State convention to deal with rebel control in several of these States:

If a State which *enfranchises* by the tens of thousands every man who has arms to destroy the nation, and along with them every man who took official oaths of allegiance to a so-called government which could only exist on the ruins of the Republic, and, at the same time, *disfranchises* by the tens of thousands

the negroes, that state is not republican and ought to be investigated.⁷² Regarding the fall elections, the New York *Tribune* said:

No man who fought effectively on the Union side could find a place on that ticket; if he did, the voters would repudiate him. In short, Maryland is now under the sway of the worse [sic] wing of the late Confederate host.

The only hope (continued the editor) was for Congress to enfranchise the blacks, so as to swamp the rebel majority. "Meanwhile, we thank the faithful Radicals who keep the old flag flying. . . ." ⁷³ Greeley's feeling of disgust, and at the same time of impotence, was characteristic of the radical mind. After all, if Maryland and Kentucky wished to go to the devil, their apostasy would have to be suffered. And if the disease could be kept from spreading, it was not mortal, for the rebels of Kentucky and Maryland were a small minority compared to the radicals in the North. Their acts were atrocious, yet if the South could be made Republican, these two States might be left to glory in their own sin; for, in the large, they could not avail much, if the radicals kept the flag flying elsewhere.

The subject must not be dropped before it is emphasized that

⁷¹ August 26, 1867.

⁷² *National Intelligencer*, clipped by *Louisville Journal*, September 24, 1867.

⁷³ October 12, 1867.

both Maryland and Kentucky were thus going rebel at the very time that Congress was proposing to deal with the South. The thought in the minds of all who voted for radical reconstruction probably was that the treason of these two States must not be allowed in the South. They were horrible examples of what secessionism in defeat could accomplish, and they clinched any argument in favor of severity as against leniency towards the South. There must be no more Kentuckies and no more Marylands. Thus the seceded South suffered for the rebellious acts of the border States.

EARLY MARYLAND NEWSPAPERS.

A LIST OF TITLES

Compiled by

GEORGE C. KEIDEL, PH. D.

Entries prefixed with an * are in Maryland Historical Society's Collection.

(Continued from Vol. XXVIII, p. 257.)

1831

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette and Political Intelligencer.

* [Annapolis] Maryland Republican and
Political and Agricultural Museum.

[Baltimore] American and Commercial Daily Advertiser.

[Baltimore] American Farmer.

* [Baltimore] Chronicle and Daily Marylander.

[Baltimore] Chronicle of the Times and Disseminator
of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge.

[Baltimore] Freeman's Banner.

* [Baltimore] Gazette and Daily Advertiser.

[Baltimore] Genius of Universal Emancipation, or
American Anti-Slavery Journal, and Register of News.

- [Baltimore] Lutheran Observer and
Weekly Literary Religious Visitor.
Baltimore Minerva and Saturday Post.
[Baltimore] Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant.
[Baltimore] Niles' Weekly Register.
Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser.
Baltimore Republican and Commercial Advertiser.
Baltimore Times.
[Bel-Air] Harford Republican.
[Belle-Air] Independent Citizen.
Cambridge Chronicle.
Centerville Times and Public Advertiser.
[Chestertown] Kent Bugle.
Cumberland Civilian.
[Cumberland] Maryland Advocate.
* [Easton] Easton Shore Whig and People's Advocate.
* Easton Gazette.
[Easton] Republican Star, and Eastern Shore
General Advertiser.
Elkton Press and Cecil County Advertiser.
[Fell's Point] Wreath.
[Fell's Point] Wreath and Literary Shamrock.
* Frederick Town Herald.
[Frederick] Political Examiner and Public Advertiser.
[Frederick] Republican Citizen and State Advertiser.
[Frederick] Times.
[Hagers-Town] Mail and Washington
County Republican Advertiser.
* [Hagers-Town] Torch-Light and Public Advertiser.
[Princess Anne] Village Herald.
[Rockville] Maryland Free Press.
[Rockville] Maryland Journal and True American.
Snow-Hill Messenger and Worcester County Advertiser.
[Taney-Town] Regulator and Taney-Town Herald.
* [Williams-Port] Republican Banner.

1832

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette and Political Intelligencer.

* [Annapolis] Maryland Republican and
Political and Agricultural Museum.

* [Baltimore] American and Commercial Daily Advertiser.
[Baltimore] American Farmer.

[Baltimore] Chronicle and Daily Marylander.

[Baltimore] Commercial Chronicle and Daily Marylander.

* [Baltimore] Freeman's Banner.

* Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser.

[Baltimore] Genius of Universal Emancipation, or
American Anti-Slavery Journal, and Register of News.

[Baltimore] Lutheran Observer and
Weekly Literary Religious Visitor.

[Baltimore] Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant.

[Baltimore] Niles' Weekly Register.

Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser.

* Baltimore Press.

* Baltimore Republican and Commercial Advertiser.

* [Baltimore] Saturday Morning Visitor.

* Baltimore Times.

Baltimore Weekly Gazette.

[Bel-Air] Harford Republican.

[Belle-Air] Independent Citizen.

[Boonsboro] Cracker (?)

Cambridge Chronicle.

Centerville Times and Public Advertiser.

[Chestertown] Kent Bugle.

Cumberland Civilian.

[Cumberland] Maryland Advocate.

* [Easton] Eastern Shore Whig and People's Advocate.

* Easton Gazette.

[Easton] Republican Star, and
Eastern Shore General Advertiser.

[Elkton] Cecil Republican and Farmers' and
Mechanics' Advertiser.

Frederick Herald.

[Frederick] Political Examiner and Public Advertiser.

[Frederick] Republican Citizen and State Advertiser.

* [Frederick] Weekly Times.

* Hagers-Town Mail and Washington
County Republican Advertiser.

* [Hagers Town] Torch Light and Public Advertiser.

[Princess Anne] Village Herald.

[Rockville] Maryland Free Press.

[Rockville] Maryland Journal and True American.

* Snow-Hill Messenger and Worcester County Advertiser.

[Taney-Town] Regulator and Taney-Town Herald.

[Williams-Port] Republican Banner.

1833

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette and Political Intelligencer.

* [Annapolis] Maryland Republican and
Political and Agricultural Museum.

[Baltimore] American and Commercial Daily Advertiser.

[Baltimore] American Farmer.

[Baltimore] Chronicle and Daily Marylander.

[Baltimore] Commercial Chronicle and Daily Marylander.

* Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser.

[Baltimore] Genius of Comedy.

[Baltimore] Genius of Universal Emancipation, or
American Anti-Slavery Journal, and Register of News.[Baltimore] Lutheran Observer and
Weekly Literary Religious Visitor.

[Baltimore] Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant.

[Baltimore] Niles' Weekly Register.

Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser.

* Baltimore Republican and Commercial Advertiser.

* Baltimore Saturday Visitor.¹

Baltimore Weekly Gazette.

¹ In February 1833 title changed to.

- [Bel Air] Harford Republican.
 [Bellair] Independent Citizen.
 [Boonsboro] Cracker.
 Cambridge Chronicle.
 Centerville Times and Public Advertiser.
 [Chestertown] Enquirer.
 [Chestertown] Kent Bugle.
 [Chestertown] Telescope and Eastern Shore Advertiser.
 [Cumberland] Maryland Advocate.
 [Cumberland] Phoenix Civilian.
 * [Easton] Eastern Shore Whig and People's Advocate.
 * Easton Gazette.
 [Easton] Republican Star, and Eastern Shore
 General Advertiser.
 [Elkton] Cecil Republican and Farmers' and
 Mechanics' Advertiser.
 [Elkton] Central Courant.
 [Frederick] Maryland Herald.
 [Frederick] Maryland Sentinel.
 [Frederick] Political Examiner and Public Advertiser.
 [Frederick] Republican Citizen and State Advertiser.
 * [Frederick] Weekly Times.
 [Hagerstown] Free Press.
 Hagers-town Mail and Washington
 County Republican Advertiser.
 * [Hagerstown] Torch-Light and Public Advertiser.
 [Port Deposit] Central Courant.
 [Princess Anne] Village Herald.
 [Rockville] Maryland Free Press.
 [Rockville] Maryland Journal and True American.
 [Rockville] True American?
 Snow-Hill Messenger and Worcester County Advertiser.
 [Taney-Town] Regulator and Taney-Town Herald.
 [Upper Marlboro] Marlboro' Banner, and Weekly Advertiser.
 [Westminster] Carrolltonian.
 [Williamsport] Republican Banner.

1834

- [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette and Political Intelligencer.
 [Annapolis] Maryland Republican and
 Political and Agricultural Museum.
- * [Baltimore] American and Commercial Daily Advertiser.
 [Baltimore] American Farmer.
- * [Baltimore] Chronicle and Daily Marylander.
- * [Baltimore] Commercial Chronicle and Daily Marylander.
 Baltimore Daily News.
 [Baltimore] Experiment.
- [Baltimore] Farmer and Gardner.
- * Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser.
- [Baltimore] Genius of Universal Emancipation, or American
 Anti-Slavery Journal, and Register of News.
 Baltimore Intelligencer.
- [Baltimore] Lutheran Observer and
 Weekly Literary Religious Visitor.
- [Baltimore] Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant.
- [Baltimore] Niles' Weekly Register.
- * Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser.
- * Baltimore Republican and Commercial Advertiser.
 * [Baltimore] Saturday Visitor.
 Baltimore Weekly Gazette.
- [Bel-Air] Harford Republican.
- [Bel-Air] Independent Citizen.
- [Boonsboro] Cracker.
- Cambridge Chronicle.
- Centerville Times and Public Advertiser.
- [Chestertown] Kent Bugle.
- [Chestertown] Telescope and Eastern Shore Advertiser.
- [Cumberland] Maryland Advocate.
- * [Cumberland] Phoenix Civilian.
- [Denton] Caroline Advocate.
- * [Easton] Eastern Shore Whig and People's Advocate.
 [Easton] Republican Star, and Eastern Shore
 General Advertiser.

[Elkton] Cecil Republican and Farmers' and
Mechanics' Advertiser.

* Frederick Herald.

[Frederick] Political Examiner and Public Advertiser.

[Frederick] Republican Citizen and State Advertiser.

* [Frederick] Times.

[Frederick] Weekly Times.

[Hagers-Town] Mail and Washington
County Republican Advertiser.

* [Hagers-Town] Torch-Light and Public Advertiser.

[Port Deposit] Central Courant.

[Princess Anne] Village Herald.

[Rockville] Maryland Free Press.

[Rockville] Maryland Journal and True American.

Snow-Hill Messenger and Worcester County Advertiser.

[Westminster] Carrolltonian.

[Williamsport] Republican Banner.

1835

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette and Political Intelligencer.

* [Annapolis] Maryland Republican and
Political and Agricultural Museum.

* [Baltimore] American and Commercial Daily Advertiser.

[Baltimore] Commercial Chronicle and Daily Marylander.

[Baltimore] Farmer and Gardner.

* Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser.

[Baltimore] Genius of Universal Emancipation, or
American Anti-Slavery Journal, and Register of News.

Baltimore Intelligencer.

[Baltimore] Lutheran Observer and
Weekly Literary Religious Visitor.

[Baltimore] Maryland Colonization Journal.

[Baltimore] Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant.

[Baltimore] News Letter.

[Baltimore] Nicholson's Lottery Gazette.

[Baltimore] Niles' Weekly Register.

- * Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser.
- * Baltimore Republican and Commercial Advertiser.
 - Baltimore Saturday Visiter.
 - [Bel-Air] Harford Republican.
 - [Bel-Air] Independent Citizen.
 - [Boonsboro] Cracker(?)
 - [Boonsboro] Odd Fellow.
 - Cambridge Chronicle.
 - [Cambridge] Dorchester Aurora.
 - Centerville Times and Public Advertiser.
 - [Chestertown] Kent Bugle.
 - [Cumberland] Maryland Advocate.
 - [Cumberland] Phoenix Civilian.
 - [Denton] Caroline Advocate.
- * [Easton] Eastern Shore Whig and People's Advocate.
 - [Easton] Republican Star, and Eastern Shore General Advertiser.
 - [Elkton] Cecil Gazette and Farmers' and Mechanics' Advertiser.
 - Fell's Point News Letter and Mercantile Advertiser.
 - Frederick Herald.
- * [Frederick] Political Examiner and Public Advertiser.
 - [Frederick] Republican Citizen and State Advertiser.
 - [Frederick] Times.
 - [Hagerstown] Mail and Washington County Republican Advertiser.
 - [Hagerstown] Torch-Light and Public Advertiser.
- [Port Deposit] Cecil Whig and Port Deposit Weekly Courier.
 - [Princess Anne] Village Herald.
 - [Rockville] Maryland Free Press.
 - * Westminster Carroltonian.
 - [Williamsport] Republican Banner.

1836

- * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette and Political Intelligencer.
- * [Annapolis] Maryland Republican and Political and Agricultural Museum.

- * [Baltimore] American and Commercial Daily Advertiser.
- * [Baltimore] Columbian.
- [Baltimore] Commercial Chronicle and Daily Marylander.
- [Baltimore] Daily Intelligencer.
- * Baltimore Daily Transcript.
- [Baltimore] Farmer and Gardner.
- * Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser.
- * [Baltimore] Jefferson Reformer and
Baltimore Daily Advertiser.
- [Baltimore] Lutheran Observer and
Weekly Literary Religious Visitor.
- [Baltimore] Maryland Colonization Journal.
- [Baltimore] Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant.
- [Baltimore] Niles' Weekly Register.
- * Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser.
- * Baltimore Republican and Commercial Advertiser.
- [Baltimore] Samuel Ludvigh's Campagne-Blatt(?)
Baltimore Saturday Visitor.
- * Baltimore Trades Union.
- [Bel-Air] Harford Citizen and Cecil Whig and Courier.
- * [Belle-Air] Harford Republican.
- [Bel-Air] Independent Citizen.
- [Bel-Air] Madisonian and Harford and Cecil Advertiser.
- [Boonsboro] Odd Fellow.
Cambridge Chronicle.
- [Cambridge] Dorchester Aurora.
- Centerville Times and Public Advertiser.
- [Chestertown] Kent Bugle.
- [Cumberland] Alleganian.
- [Cumberland] Maryland Advocate.
- [Cumberland] Phoenix Civilian.
- [Denton] Caroline Advocate.
- * [Easton] Eastern Shore Whig and People's Advocate.
- [Easton] Republican Star, and Eastern Shore
General Advertiser.

- [Elkton] Cecil Gazette and Farmers' and
Mechanics' Advertiser.
Elkton Courier.
* Frederick Citizen.
Frederick Herald.
- * [Frederick] Political Examiner and Public Advertiser.
* [Frederick] Republican Citizen.
[Frederick] Times
Hagerstown Mail and Washington
County Republican Advertiser.
- [Hagerstown] Torch-Light and Public Advertiser.
- [Port Deposit] Cecil Whig and Port Deposit Weekly Courier.
[Princess Anne] People's Press.
[Princess Anne] Village Herald.
[Rockville] Maryland Free Press.
[Upper Marlboro] Bulletin.
[Upper Marlboro] Marlboro Gazette, and
Prince George's County Advertiser.
* Westminster Carrolltonian.

1837

- [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette and Political Intelligencer.
[Annapolis] Maryland Republican and
Political and Agricultural Museum.
- * [Baltimore] American and Commercial Daily Advertiser.
Baltimore Daily Transcript.
[Baltimore] Eastern Express.
[Baltimore] Farmer and Gardner.
- * Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser.
[Baltimore] Jefferson Reformer and
Baltimore Daily Advertiser.
[Baltimore] Lutheran Observer and
Weekly Literary Religious Visitor.
[Baltimore] Kaleidoscope.
- [Baltimore] Maryland Colonization Journal.
[Baltimore] Merchant.

- [Baltimore] Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant.
- [Baltimore] Niles' Weekly Register.
- Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser.
- * Baltimore Republican and Commercial Advertiser.
- Baltimore Saturday Visiter.
- [Baltimore] Southern Pioneer.
- [Baltimore] Spirit of the Times.
- * [Baltimore] Sun.
- [Baltimore] Weekly Sun.
- [Bel-Air] Harford Republican.
- [Bel-Air] Madisonian and Harford and Baltimore Advertiser.
- [Boonsboro] Odd Fellow.
- Cambridge Chronicle.
- [Cambridge] Dorchester Aurora.
- Centerville Times and Public Advertiser.
- [Chestertown] Kent Bugle.
- [Cumberland] Alleganian.
- [Cumberland] Maryland Advocate.
- [Cumberland] Phoenix Civilian.
- [Denton] Caroline Advocate.
- * [Easton] Eastern Shore Whig and People's Advocate.
- [Easton] Republican Star, and Eastern Shore General Advertiser.
- [Elkton] Cecil Gazette and Farmers' and Mechanics' Advertiser.
- Elkton Courier.
- Frederick Herald.
- * [Frederick] Political Examiner and Public Advertiser.
- * [Frederick] Republican Citizen and State Advertiser.
- * [Frederick] Times and Democratic Advocate.
- * Frederick Visiter.
- * Hagerstown Mail and Washington County Republican Advertiser.
- [Hagerstown] Torch-Light and Public Advertiser.
- [Port Deposit] Cecil Whig and Port Deposit Weekly Courier.

- [Princess Anne] People's Press.
- [Princess Anne] Village Herald.
- [Rockville] Maryland Free Press.
- [Upper Marlboro] Marlboro Gazette, and
Prince George's County Advertiser.
- * Westminster Carroltonian.

1838

- [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette and Political Intelligencer.
- * [Annapolis] Maryland Republican and
Political and Agricultural Museum.
- [Baltimore] American and Commercial Daily Advertiser.
- * Baltimore Commercial Transcript.
Baltimore Daily Transcript.
- * [Baltimore] Democratic Herald.
[Baltimore] Eastern Express.
- [Baltimore] Farmer and Gardner.
- Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser.
- [Baltimore] Geschäftige Martha.
- [Baltimore] Jefferson Reformer and
Baltimore Daily Advertiser.
- [Baltimore] Kaleidoscope.
- [Baltimore] Lutheran Observer and
Weekly Literary Religious Visitor.
- Baltimore Literary Monument.(?)
- [Baltimore] Maryland Colonization Journal.
[Baltimore] Merchant.
- [Baltimore] Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant.
- [Baltimore] Niles' Weekly Register.
- * Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser.
Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Gazette.
- * Baltimore Price Current (Lyford's).
- * Baltimore Republican and Commercial Advertiser.
Baltimore Saturday Visiter.
- [Baltimore] Spirit of the Times.
- * [Baltimore] Sun.

- [Baltimore] Weekly Sun.
- * [Baltimore] Whig.
- [Bel-Air] Harford Republican.
- [Bel-Air] Madisonian.
- [Boonsboro] Odd Fellow.
- Cambridge Chronicle.
- [Cambridge] Dorchester Aurora.
- Centerville Times and Public Advertiser.
- [Chestertown] Kent Bugle.
- [Cumberland] Alleganian.
- [Cumberland] Maryland Advocate.
- [Cumbreland] Phoenix Civilian.
- [Denton] Caroline Advocate.
- * [Easton] Eastern-Shore Whig and People's Advocate.
- [Easton] Republican Star and Eastern Shore General Advertiser.
- [Elkton] Cecil Gazette and Farmers' and Mechanics' Advertiser.
- Elkton Courier.
- Frederick Herald.
- * [Frederick] Political Examiner and Public Advertiser.
- * [Frederick] Republican Citizen and State Advertiser.
- * [Frederick] Times and Democratic Advocate.
- * Frederick Visiter.
- Hagerstown Mail and Washington County Republican Advertiser.
- [Hagerstown] Torch Light and Public Advertiser.
- [Port Deposit] Cecil Whig and Port Deposit Weekly Courier.
- [Princess Anne] Herald.
- [Princess Anne] People's Press.
- [Princess Anne] Somerset Herald.
- [Princess Anne] Village Herald.
- [Rockville] Maryland Free Press.
- [Snow-Hill] Worcester Banner.
- [Upper Marlboro] Marlboro Gazette, and Prince George's County Advertiser.

* Westminster Carroltonian.

* [Westminster] Democrat and Carroll County Republican.

1839

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette and Political Intelligencer.

* [Annapolis] Maryland Republican and
Political and Agricultural Museum.

[Baltimore] American and Commercial Daily Advertiser.

[Baltimore] American Farmer and Spirit of the
Agricultural Journals of the Day.

* Baltimore Clipper.

[Baltimore] Commercial Chronicle and Daily Marylander.

[Baltimore] Demokratische Whig.

[Baltimore] Farmer and Gardner.

Baltimore Gazette.

[Baltimore] Geschäftige Martha.

Baltimore Literary Monument.(?)

[Baltimore] Lutheran Observer and
Weekly Literary Religious Visitor.

[Baltimore] Maryland Colonization Journal.

[Baltimore] Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant.

[Baltimore] Niles' National Register.

Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Gazette.

* Baltimore Price Current (Lyford's).

Baltimore Republican and Commercial Advertiser.

Baltimore Saturday Visitor.

[Baltimore] Spirit of the Times.

* [Baltimore] Sun.

[Baltimore] Wahrheitsverbreiter.

[Baltimore] Weekly Sun.

[Baltimore] Whig.

[Bel Air] Harford Republican.

[Bel Air] Madisonian.

[Boonsboro] Odd Fellow.

[Cambridge] Dorchester Aurora.

[Cambridge] Weekly Chronicle and Farmers Register.

- Centerville Evening Times and
 Eastern Shore Public Advertiser.
 [Chestertown] Kent News.
 [Cumberland] Alleganian.
 [Cumberland] Maryland Advocate.
 [Cumberland] Phoenix Civilian.
 * [Easton] Eastern-Shore Whig and People's Advocate.
 [Easton] Republican Star, and Eastern Shore
 General Advertiser.
 [Elkton] Cecil Gazette & Farmers' & Mechanics' Advertiser.
 [Emmitsburg] Gazette.
 Frederick Herald.
 * [Frederick] Political Examiner and Public Advertiser.
 [Frederick] Republican Citizen.
 * [Frederick] Times and Democratic Advocate.
 * Frederick Visiter.
 * [Hagerstown] Herald of Freedom.
 Hagerstown Mail and Washington
 County Republican Advertiser.
 [Hagerstown] Torch-Light and Herald.
 [Hagerstown] Washington County Democrat.
 [Havre-de-Grace] Susquehanna Advocate and
 Harrison Democrat.
 Leonard Town Herald.
 [Leonardtown] St. Mary's Beacon.(?)
 [Port Deposit] Cecil Whig and Port Deposit Weekly Courier.
 Port Deposit, Rock and Cecil County Commercial Advertiser.
 [Princess Anne] Somerset Herald.
 [Snow-Hill] Worcester Banner.
 [Upper Marlboro] Marlboro Gazette, and
 Prince George's County Advertiser.
 Westminster Carroltonian.
 [Westminster] Democrat and Carroll County Republican.

1840

[Annapolis] Maryland Republican and
 Political and Agricultural Museum.

* [Baltimore] American and Commercial Daily Advertiser.

[Baltimore] American Farmer and Spirit of the
Agricultural Journals of the Day.

* Baltimore Clipper.

[Baltimore] Daily Argus.

[Baltimore] Daily Evening Gazette.

[Baltimore] Demokratische Whig.

[Baltimore] Deutsche Correspondent. (?)

Baltimore Gazette.

[Baltimore] Geschäftige Martha.

* [Baltimore] Log Cabin Advocate.

[Baltimore] Lutheran Observer and

Weekly Literary Religious Visitor.

[Baltimore] Maryland Colonization Journal.

[Baltimore] Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant.

[Baltimore] Niles' National Register.

[Baltimore] Ocean.

* Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Gazette.

* [Baltimore] Pilot and Transcript.

Baltimore Post and Commercial Transcript.

* Baltimore Price Current (Lyford's).

* Baltimore Republican and Commercial Advertiser.

Baltimore Saturday Visitor.

* [Baltimore] Spirit of Democracy.

[Baltimore] Spirit of the Times.

* [Baltimore] Sun.

* [Baltimore] Weekly Pilot.

[Baltimore] Weekly Sun.

[Bel Air] Harford Republican.

[Boonsboro] Odd Fellow.

Cambridge Chronicle.

[Cambridge] Democrat and Dorchester Advertiser. (?)

[Cambridge] Dorchester Aurora.

Centerville Evening Times and Eastern Shore

Public Advertiser.

[Chester Town] Kent News.

- [Cumberland] Alleganian.
 Cumberland Civilian.
 [Cumberland] Maryland Advocate.
 [Denton] Pearl.
 * [Easton] Eastern Shore Whig and People's Advocate.
 Easton Gazette.
 [Easton] Republican Star, and Eastern Shore
 General Advertiser.
 [Elkton] Cecil Democrat.
 [Elkton's] Cecil Gazette, Farmers' & Mechanics' Advertiser.
 [Ellicott's Mills] Howard Free Press.
 Frederick Herald.
 * [Frederick] Political Examiner.
 [Frederick] Republican Citizen and State Advertiser. (?)
 [Frederick] Times and Democratic Advocate.
 * Frederick Visiter.
 * Hagerstown Family Intelligencer.
 * [Hagerstown] Herald of Freedom.
 * Hagerstown Mail and Washington
 County Republican Advertiser.
 [Hagerstown] Odd Fellow.
 * Hagers-Town Torch Light and Public Advertiser.
 [Hagerstown] Washington County Democrat.
 [Havre-de-Grace] Susquehanna Advocate and
 Harrison Democrat.
 [Leonardtown] St. Mary's Beacon.
 [Port Deposit] Cecil Whig and Port Deposit Weekly Courier.
 [Princess Anne] Somerset Herald.
 [Rockville] Farmer's Friend.
 [Snow-Hill] Worcester Banner.
 [Upper Marlboro] Marlboro Gazette, and
 Prince George's County Advertiser.
 * Westminster Carrolltonian.
 [Westminster] Democrat and Carroll County Republican.
 [Williamsport] Republican Banner.

(To be Continued.)

BALTIMORE COUNTY LAND RECORDS OF 1673.

Contributed by LOUIS DOW SCISCO.

The Anglo-Dutch naval war seems not to have affected activity in colonial land transfers, for the number of recorded deeds is quite up to the average. As for institutional progress, there is nothing in these deeds to show any local development or any spread of population to new areas.

The items here following summarize pages 101 to 223 of the original land-record liber G. No. J, and also pages 71 to 169 of the transcript in liber T R No. R A. There are two interpolations in the record, showing payments of alienation fees in 1674.

Deed, March 1, 1672-73, Thomas Howell conveying to James Hepbourne 200 acres at the head of Fishing Creek in Sassafra River, adjoining land of Mr. Joseph Gundry. Witnesses, John Hodgson senior, John Owen.

Deed, March 2, 1672-73, Nathaniell Utie, gentleman, for 3,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Rutten Garret, planter, a 300-acre portion of the 800-acre tract "Oakinton" on the north side of Swan Creek. Witnesses, Thomas Long, Henry Ward. Interpolated entry that Sheriff Thomas Carleton on March 13, 1673-74, has received from Edward Bedell, for credit of Rutgers Garret, 36 pounds of tobacco for alienation, and entry is certified by Clerk Thomas Hedge.

Deed, January 1, 1672-73, Henry Eldesley, planter, conveying to Ebenezer Blackston, planter, 100 acres at Sassafra River, beginning at the landing of Nicholass Allum and being part of land formerly belonging to Capt. Thomas Howell. Parnell Eldesley signs with grantor. Witnesses, John Owen, William Gives, Miles Gibson.

Deed, September 5, 1671, John Vanheeck, gentleman, and wife Sarah conveying to Thomas Hawker 300 acres formerly conveyed by Vanheeck to him, adjoining land of Capt. Josias Fendall at Fendall's Creek. Witnesses, Richard Ball, T. Salmon. Appendant certificate, June 18, 1673, of delivery of seisin by Vanheeck, signed by T. Salmon, William Salsbury.

Deed, December 4, 1672, Robert Taylor, planter, of Gunpowder River, for 1,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Joseph Peircey, carpenter, of Back River, the 100-acre tract "Taylors Delight" on the east side of Gunpowder River. Witnesses, John Taylor, John Waterton.

Deed, April 6, 1672, John Browning, planter, and wife Elizabeth, for 28,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Richard Nash of Kent County 300 acres near Bohemia River, called Browning plantation, patented July 21,

1664, to Abraham Morgan, who conveyed it to Thomas Browning, father of the grantor; by same deed Henry Ward, esquire, is named attorney to record the deed. Witnesses, Augustine Herrman, Rowland Williams, Thomas Shelton. Appendant certificate, April 6, that grantors have delivered seisin to Nash, signed by same witnesses.

Deed, March 4, 1672-73, Richard Leake, tailor, and wife Gwilthin, for 7,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Hanse Peterson and James Watson, planters, the 300-acre tract called the Indian Range, at the head of the western branch of Back Creek in Sassafras River, adjoining John Cock's land and bounded by Cocke's Branch. Witnesses, Richard Ball, T. Salmon.

Deed, June 3, 1672, John Desjardins, gentleman, conveying to John Rogers, merchant, of Bristol, the 50-acre tract "Port Royall" at Port Royall Creek in Rumley Creek, patented May 1, 1672, to Desjardins. Witnesses, James Frisbie, John Vanheecke. Minute of acknowledgment on June 3, 1673.

Deed, June 3, 1673, Mathew Adams, planter, and wife Ann, for 2,700 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Jonathan Lincolne, planter, 50 acres at Sassafras River, it being the half next to Swan Creek of land bought by Adams from Thomas Pryor of Sassafras River. Witnesses, John Vanheecke, T. Salmon. Appendant receipt July 2, 1673, from Sheriff Thomas Carleton for one shilling paid by Lincolne for alienation.

Assignment, May 27, 1673, Obadiah Judkins of Talbot County conveying to John Hillen of Anne Arundel County a patent and land therein described which was assigned to him by Henry Downes. Witnesses, William Southebe, Joshua Shaller.

Assignment, May 27, 1673, Obadiah Judkins of Talbot County, for 4,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to John Hillen a deed of sale and land therein described formerly made to him by Henry Downes and wife Bridget. Witnesses, William Southebe, Joshua Shaller.

Letter of attorney, May 27, 1673, Obadiah Judkins and wife Jane of Talbot County appointing Abraham Strand of Baltimore County their attorney to acknowledge conveyance of 300 acres to John Hillen and of their patent and deed therefor, and to give Hillen seisin by turf and twig. Witnesses, D. Humbert, Henry Eldesley.

Assignment, January 7, 1667-68, Henry Downes and wife Bridget conveying to Obadiah Judkins of Miles River in Talbot County a patent and land therein described. Witnesses, Matt. Morton, Robert Dunn.

Deed, May 27, 1673, Obadiah Judkins and wife Jane of Talbot County, for 4,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to John Hillen the 300-acre tract "Hay Downe" on the south side of Captain John's Creek on south side of Elk River, between Goldsmith's Branch and Downes Branch and east of land of one Cavokerr now owned by James White, said tract patented September 15, 1665, to Henry Downes. Witnesses, William Southebe, Joshua Shaller. Appendant certificate, June 2, 1673, that Abraham Strand as attorney has delivered seisin to Hillen, witnessed by Thomas Shelton,

Nathaniel Hillen. Appendant receipt form for alienation fee is blank except for Hillen's name entered.

Partition deed, June 3, 1673, John Ryley and John Webster, planters, dividing equally their land at Swan Creek on south side of Sassafras River, bought jointly by them in 1670 from William Palmer, Webster to have the half next to Swan Creek with 30 perches of river frontage. Witnesses, William Toulson, T. Salmon.

Deed, August 4, 1673, John George, planter, for 2,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Thomas Rumsey the 200-acre tract "Fareall" on the west side of Torson's Creek in Sassafras River, adjoining land formerly taken up by Andrew Torson. Witnesses, Thomas Gilbert, George Brocas.

Deed, March 10, 1672-73, John Lee conveying to William Osborne his half of the tract "Spryes Marsh" on the east side of Bush River about three miles up. Witnesses, Eusebius Beale, Benjamin Blofield. Wife Florence Lee assigns all her interest, witnessed by Benjamin Blofield.

Letter of attorney, June 2, 1673, William Osborne appointing Eusebius Beale his attorney to acknowledge conveyance of land to Anthony Brispoe. Appendant letter authorizes Beale to take acknowledgment of Lee's conveyance of his half-share to Osborne. No witnesses recorded.

Deed, June 2, 1673, William Osborne and John Lee, for 1,200 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Anthony Brispoe the 100-acre tract "Mates Angle" on the east side of Bush River about five miles up. Witnesses, Eusebius Beale, Benjamin Blofield.

Deed, June 2, 1673, Samuell Tracey, gentleman, of Gunpowder River, for 6,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to James Wells and Thomas Richardson, planters, 150 acres, being part of the tract "Taylors Mount" on the south side of the eastern branch at the head of Gunpowder River, adjoining lands of Richard Winley and of Thomas Marley which were parts of "Taylors Mount," grantor giving warranty for himself and for Hugh Williams. Witnesses, Richard Winley, John Waterton.

Deed, October 19, 1672, Robert Chapman of Kent County conveying to Thomas Phelleps or Phelps of Anne Arundel County the tract "Woolfes Neck" at Swann Creek on the south side of the western branch of Gunpowder River, acreage not stated, adjoining land formerly taken up by Capt. Thomas Harwood, mariner. Witnesses, Jonathan Neale, Edmond Booney.

Deed, November 10, 1672, James Magreegory, planter, conveying to John Poole, planter, 175 acres at Omeely's Creek in Bohemia River. Witnesses, John Vanheck, James Frisbie.

Deed, August 2, 1673, William Salsbury, planter, and wife Sarah, for 6,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to William Morgan and William Welsh, planters, the 200-acre tract "Fawmouth" on Worton Creek, adjoining land formerly taken up by Capt. Cornwallis, patented on May 1, 1672, to Salsbury. Witnesses, Henry Ward, T. Salmon.

Deed, August 2, 1673, John Marscord and Mathew Kniveington, plant-

ers, for 12,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Barnard Utie the 200-acre tract "Beaver Neck" at Muskeeto Creek. Jane Marscord signs with grantors. Witnesses, Andrew Bennet, Henry Haslewood, Mense Sticklekamp.

Deed, August 4, 1673, George Harris, planter, of Kent County, for 2,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Henry Eldesly, planter, land at Stony Point on the south side of Sassafras River, acreage not stated. Witnesses, James Wrayeth, Nicholas Allome.

Bond, August 4, 1673, George Harris, planter, of Kent County, obligating himself for 4,000 pounds of tobacco to Henry Eldesly for warranty of title to land at Sassafras River sold to Eldesly. Witnesses, James Wrayeth, Nicholas Allome.

Deed, July 24, 1673, William Salsbury, planter, and wife Sarah, for 4,300 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Thomas Salmon 200 acres at Worton Creek, adjoining land of John Bromfeld, it being part of land bought from Col. Edward Carter of Virginia. Witnesses, Thomas Howell, John Vanheeck.

Bond, July 24, 1673, William Salsbury, planter, for self and wife Sarah, obligating himself for 10,000 pounds of tobacco, to Thomas Salmon for warranty of title to land sold to Salmon. Witnesses, Thomas Howell, John Vanheeck.

Deed, May 30, 1673, Robert Hawkins, heir and administrator of John Hawkins, deceased, conveying to William Dunkerton and Thomas Overton the 700-acre tract "Colleton" fronting on the eastern side of the Bay and adjoining Godfrey Bayley's land, patented February 15, 1659-60, to Richard Collet, planter, and assigned by him to John Hawkins. Witnesses, Thomas Howell, James Frisbie.

Deed, May 30, 1673, Robert Hawkins, heir and administrator of John Hawkins, deceased, conveying to William Dunkerton and Thomas Overton, the 150-acre tract "The Tryangle", north of land at Elk River formerly taken up by Richard and John Collet, and south of land formerly taken up by Richard Collet, patented September 30, 1667, to John Hawkins. Witnesses, Thomas Howell, James Frisbie.

Deed, May 30, 1673, Robert Hawkins, heir and administrator of John Hawkins, deceased, conveying to William Dunkerton and Thomas Overton 500 acres adjoining land of John Hawkins, deceased, lately possessed by John Collet, junior, deceased, it being one-half of the tract "Tryumph" at Elk River formerly taken up by John Collet, senior, and George Goldsmith, deceased. Witnesses, Thomas Howell, James Frisbie.

Deed, May 30, 1673, Robert Hawkins, heir and administrator of John Hawkins, deceased, conveying to William Dunkerton and Thomas Overton the 600-acre tract "Two Necks" at Crooked Creek on the north side of Elk River, adjoining the tract "Turkey Point" formerly taken up by Richard Wright, patented July 21, 1664, to Richard and John Collet, gentlemen, and assigned by John Collet to John Hawkins. Witnesses, Thomas Howell, James Frisbie.

Bond, May 30, 1673, Robert Hawkins, ropemaker, obligating himself for 200,000 pounds of tobacco to William Dunkerton and Thomas Overton, gentlemen, on behalf of self and wife Hanna, as warranty of title to 1,950 acres sold to Dunkerton and Overton. Witnesses, Thomas Howell, James Frisbie.

Clerk's minute reading "At A Courte held for Baltemore County Nouembr 4th, 1673".

Letter of attorney, June 15, 1673, Charles Gorsuch appointing Thomas Long his attorney to acknowledge sale of 86 acres to Roger Sidwell. Witnesses, William Coubourne, John Kemp.

Deed, June 10, 1673, Charles Gorsuch conveying to Roger Sedwell, planter, the 86-acre tract "The Prospect" near the head of Bare Creek on the south side of Back River, as patented to Gorsuch. Witnesses, John Johnson, John Barret.

Deed, November 4, 1673, John James, planter, conveying to Thomas Thurston the 200-acre tract "Turkey Hill" at the head of Bush River on the northeast branch. Witnesses, Miles Gibson, Edward Allely (?), Thomas Trout.

Deed, November 4, 1673, Edward Horton, planter, for 2,100 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Thomas Byworth of Patapsco River the 100-acre tract "Hortons Fortune", adjoining lands of Robert Gorsuch and of John Godfrey, patented July 10, 1671. Witnesses, George Utie, T. Salmon.

Deed, November 4, 1673, Henry Eldesly, planter, and wife Parnell, for 14,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to James Wrath two adjoining parcels on the south side of Sassafra River, one being 175 acres, part of the tract "Drecut" taken up by Henry Jones, deceased, and the other being land bought by Eldesly from its late occupant George Harris, deceased, late of Kent. Witnesses, Gideon Gundry, Henry Haslewood. Interpolated entry that Sheriff Thomas Carleton on March 30, 1674, has received from Wrath 27 pounds of tobacco for alienation of 225 acres.

The following papers dated in this year are recorded on pages 44 to 46 of liber IS No. I K which carries a transcript of excerpts from an older liber I C No. A, now missing.

Bond, June 3, 1673, Joseph Hughes obligating himself to re-convey to Thomas Heath some land lately bought from Heath, in case of non-payment of the last bill of debt given for it by Hughes, and if Hughes dies before payment the land reverts to Heath and Heath will return payments previously made. Witnesses, John Errickson, Eusebius Beale.

Bill of debt, January 28, 1672-73, Joseph Hughes agreeing to pay Thomas Heath, planter, 1,800 pounds of tobacco by October 10, 1674. Witnesses, David Thomas, Thomas Taldersby.

Bill of debt, January 28, 1672-73, Joseph Hughes, carpenter, agreeing to

pay Thomas Heath 611 pounds of tobacco after October 10 next. Witnesses, David Thomas, Thomas Talterby.

Bill of debt, March 1, 1672-73, Joseph Hughes agreeing to pay Thomas Heath of Bush River 262 pounds of tobacco after October 10 next. Witnesses, Eusebius Beale, Anthony Brispo.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

May 8th, 1933.—The regular meeting of the Society was held tonight with the President in the chair.

A list of the donations made to the Library and Gallery since the last meeting was read.

Mr. Louis H. Dielman was recognized by the Chair and he gave a brief sketch of the old swivel gun now on exhibition in the library. It is the tradition that this gun was used in the defense of Fort Cumberland. Photographs of the gun have been sent to various authorities on the subject of fire arms and they have given us some interesting information. The Curator of Fort Ticonderoga presented us with a piece of flint of the type used in the swivel gun.

It was noted that there were no nominations for membership and each member was asked to recognize his duty and try to secure a new member.

The following named persons, having been previously nominated, were elected to membership:

Mr. Skipwith Wilmer Pleasants

Mr. R. R. Griffith

Mr. Arthur Tracey

The death of our member Mrs. William Thomas Wilson was reported.

Dr. William Rush Dunton, Jr., was then introduced. He showed some lovely examples of early quilts and gave a brief history of each one. Some colored lantern slides were also shown in this connection.

Mr. J. Alexis Shriver moved that a standing vote of thanks be extended to Dr. Dunton for his most delightful and interesting talk.

October 9th, 1933.—The regular meeting of the Society was held tonight at the Peabody Institute, in the Concert Hall. Due to the interest created among our members in the lecture on the Rockefeller Institute Restoration Work at Williamsburg, Virginia, our library was not adequate to take care of the number of persons wishing to attend.

Mr. W. Hall Harris, President of the Maryland Historical Society presided, but announced that all matters of regular business would be dispensed with, excepting the reading of the names of those persons who have been placed in nomination for membership in the Society since the last regular meeting.

Mr. William G. Perry, member of the firm of Perry and Shaw of Boston, gave a very interesting talk on the Rockefeller Restoration Work at Williamsburg, Virginia, and showed lantern slides of the progress being made on these old buildings.

November 13th, 1933.—The regular meeting of the Society was held tonight with the President in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved as read. President Harris expressed the thanks of the Society for the courtesy of the Peabody Institute in allowing us to hold our October Meeting in the Peabody Concert Hall owing to the number of members of the Society who wished to attend, and the rooms of this Society being too small to accommodate the crowd.

The following named persons were elected to membership:

Mr. John Carroll Stow	Mrs. John Paul Tyler
Mr. Delmar L. Thornbury	Mrs. Joseph Earle Moore
Mr. Roland M. Hooker	Mrs. J. Frederick Essary
Mr. John Meagher	Mr. William Walter Bryan

Miss Cecilia M. Muth	Mr. James R. Paine
Dr. George F. Libby	Dr. William Mercer Sprigg
Mrs. William S. Hilles	Mr. Edward H. Glidden, Jr.
Mr. James C. Thompson	Mr. Edw. Breckenridge Lowndes
Mr. James Rittenhouse	Miss Julia E. Spilker
Mrs. Elmore B. Jeffery	Mr. Henry Chandlee Forman
Mrs. Eli Vernon Brown	Mr. R. Bennett Darnall
Dr. George M. Anderson	Mr. Charles J. Werner
Mr. B. Harris Henderson	Miss Ella Ijams
Rt. Rev. C. F. Thomas	

Mr. J. Alexis Shriver was recognized by the Chair. He gave a brief account of the very successful day spent by the members of the Harford County Historical Society at Tudor Hall, near Belair, commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Edwin Booth. A letter was read from Mr. E. H. Sothoron of the Players Guild expressing his regret at being unable to attend the exercises due to his sailing on the 23rd of October but extended the very best wishes of Mrs. Sothoron and himself for the efforts of the Maryland Historical Society and the Harford County Historical Society to honor the birth of Edwin Booth. It may be noted here that Mr. Sothoron died on the day that he was to sail for Europe.

The Maryland Tercentenary Commission has extended to this Society a cordial invitation to be present on the 22nd of November, at 2:30 P. M., at the War Memorial to hear the broadcast from Cowes, England and the answer to be returned by Gov. Ritchie, and a word of greeting from President Roosevelt, all in connection with the unveiling at Cowes by the Maryland born Lord Fairfax of the tablet which is being placed in honor of the sailing of the "Ark" and the "Dove."

Mrs. Arthur Barneveld Bibbins was then introduced and she gave a most entertaining talk on the English homes of the Lords Baltimore, illustrated with lantern slides.

It was moved, seconded and carried that a rising vote of thanks be extended to Mrs. Bibbins in appreciation for such a delightful evenings entertainment.

December 11th, 1933.—The regular meeting of the Society was held tonight with President Harris in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved as read.

A list of the donations to the library since the last meeting was read.

The following named persons, having been previously nominated, were elected to membership:

Active

Dr. Noble C. Powell	Mr. Henry M. Walker
Dr. Angus L. MacLean	Mrs. James M. Warrick
Mr. Kent R. Mullikin	Mr. Basil Sollers
Mr. Robert M. Torrence	Dr. Raymond Gerard Willse
Sister M. Clotilde Holbein	

Associate

Mr. Thomas M. Goodrich

The following deaths were reported from among our members:

Mr. John D. Urie, on November 19th, 1933.

Mrs. Hester Dorsey (Albert Levin) Richardson, on December 10th, 1933.

The President spoke of the lamentable fact that the Key manuscript of the Star Spangled Banner is to be offered for sale at auction in New York City but that it was not within the power of the Society to make any drastic efforts to try to save it for Baltimore.

Mr. James E. Hancock, President of the Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland, was recognized. He told of the efforts of his Society to obtain some details of the sale and perhaps arrange to secure the manuscript for the Society of 1812. In this connection he introduced the following resolutions:

“Whereas, We have heard that the original manuscript of the Star Spangled Banner as written by Francis Scott Key is about to be disposed of by the executors of the Estate of the late Henry Walters.

"And whereas, We have understood that Mr. Henry Walters had purchased said manuscript with the understanding that it would be kept in Baltimore.

"Therefore be it resolved, That the Maryland Historical Society, assembled in General Meeting, December eleventh, nineteen hundred and thirty-three, would deprecate the departure of this interesting relic which is so closely identified with the history of Baltimore, and hope that proper means will be taken to retain it in this city."

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Mr. William L. Marbury was recognized by the Chair. He suggested that the Society express to his honor the Mayor of Baltimore that an effort be made by the City to secure the Key manuscript.

Upon motion duly seconded and carried the Corresponding Secretary was advised to inform the Mayor of Baltimore of the feeling of the Society in the matter of the Key manuscript, and to forward to him a copy of the Resolutions as presented by Mr. Hancock.

The President brought to the attention of the meeting the possibility of having the Rotary Club of Baltimore deposit with this Society the memorial plaque which has been presented to said club by the Cowes Rotary Club in connection with the unveiling of the tablet at Cowes, England, commemorating the sailing from there of the "Ark" and the "Dove."

It was moved that a Committee be appointed to take this matter up with the President of the Baltimore Rotary Club, and the following named members of the Society to constitute said Committee. Mr. William Ingle, Mr. Thomas Foley Hisky, and Mr. J. Alexis Shriver.

The motion was duly seconded and carried.

The President extended the thanks of the Society to Mr. Henry Chandlee Forman for his gift to the library of a volume prepared by him entitled, "The Turner Family of 'Hebron' and Betterton, Maryland."

Mr. Forman, the speaker of the evening, was then recognized and he gave a most delightful talk on the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century architecture of Maryland, and later showed colored lantern slides of the exterior and interior views of some of the earliest houses in St. Mary's and on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

Upon motion of Mr. J. Alexis Shriver, duly seconded and carried, the thanks of the Society were extended to Mr. Forman for his most interesting and entertaining lecture.

NOTES, REVIEWS AND QUERIES.

First Settlement of ye Plantations of Piscatawy and Woodbridge, olde East New Jersey. By ORRA EUGENE MONNETTE. (A series of eight or more parts.) Los Angeles, California, Limited to 350 copies.

Part five of this work has just been received, covering pages 650 to 884 and containing 47 illustrations. It is difficult to comment intelligently on this work in its incomplete state, as it is different in construction from other genealogical works. It contains a great mass of data supported by photostatic and photographic copies of documents and records. The material is doubtless of great value, but until the contemplated index is completed it is obviously difficult of access, as the tables of contents do not give an adequate clue to the vast amount of material gathered into these nearly 900 pages. When completed and fully indexed, it will doubtless take its place as a major achievement in genealogy.

Our Earliest Colonial Settlements; their diversities of origin and later Characteristics. By CHARLES M. ANDREWS. New York, 1933, pp. 179. \$2.50. (Stokes Foundation.)

These six lectures by Dr. Andrews are not only illuminating, as was to be expected, but are equally delightful from a literary standpoint. The settlements of Virginia, Massachusetts, Rhode

Island, Connecticut and Maryland are considered from the point of colonization and later development. "An unbiased approach to the colonies from the standpoint of their origin will do something to eliminate those patriotic and nationalistic obsessions that have often led to an interpretation of the American past in a manner rather ingenious and artificial than historical." A valuable and thoroughly enjoyable work.

Proceedings of the Maryland Court of Appeals, 1696-1729.

Edited by Hon. CARROLL T. BOND. American Historical Association, 1933.

This is the first volume in the series of "American Legal Records," sponsored by the American Historical Association. From the Foreword we quote: "For the initial volumes, it was decided to select judicial records of the eighteenth century—a period even more seriously neglected than the earlier colonial era—beginning with the proceedings of the Maryland Court of Appeals from 1695 to 1729."

The Founding of Maryland. By MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS. Williams & Wilkins: Appleton-Century, \$4.50.

This timely contribution to the Tercentenary Celebration of the founding of our commonwealth, is the most important study of the period that has yet appeared and is by far the best work that Mr. Andrews has yet done. It should have a place in every public library and should be patronized by everyone interested in our local history. The work was sympathetically reviewed in the *Evening Sun* of December 9th.

Cato, the Censor, on Farming. Translated by ERNEST BREHAUT. Columbia University Press, 1933, pp. 156. Price, \$3.75. (Records of Civilization, No. XVII.)

That Cato the Elder's *De agricultura* is an invaluable document has been recognized for more than twenty centuries. To the "Records of Civilization," Mr. Brehaut now adds the first complete translation into English of Cato's work, and scholar-

ship is the gainer thereby. Detailed notes accompany the translation, and an introduction clarifies the text.

It is a handbook upon vine and olive-culture, written for any gentleman of means who is about to take up agriculture as a business venture, the only peaceful pursuit open to such a gentleman.

As a picture of rural life in the old Roman Republic, *Cato on Farming*, has surpassing merit.

1661 Crescent Place, N. W.

Washington, D. C.

Question. Who were the parents of Margaret Crabb who married Dr. Richard Johns (1703-1748) of Calvert Co., a son of Abraham and Margaret (Hutchins) Johns, and had Elizabeth, b. 1734, m. an Orme; Thomas, 1737, m. Sarah Hollyday (1751-) dau. of Dr. Leonard Hollyday; Margaret, b. 1742, m. Brooke Beall; Jane, b. ? m. a Ridgely; Philip; and maybe a sixth child?"

Notes. Ralph Crabb had a Margaret who m. a Hilleary, as "Monnette Family" states. That book also states that "Henry Crabb (1) had one son Ralph," but Ralph's will names brother Edward; "Semmes Papers" in Md. Hist. Soc. gives will of Thomas Crabb March, 1719, wife Elizabeth, dau. Elizabeth; dau. Margaret; dau. Jane, who m. C. S. Smith. Added note says "Kin. Ralph, a brother, C. S. Smith, son-in-law."

The names of the children of Margaret (Crabb) Johns suggest Thomas as her father.

Joseph Birckhead's will, 1739, names nephews Philip and Williams Johns, sons of his sister Margaret and Dr. Richard Johns. (I think Joseph was a step-brother of Richard Johns.)

Yours truly,

Edwin T. Pollock,

Captain, U. S. Navy. (Ret.)

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