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A LOST COPY-BOOK OF CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

Few years pass without bringing to light hitherto unknown letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton to his family or friends. For this there are several excellent reasons: his prodigious life-span (1737-1832), the wide-spread complexity of his interests, his philosophical turn of mind and the evident pleasure he took in putting his thoughts on paper, and his inflexible habit of keeping copies of his more important correspondence. To this last is due the survival of the letters published in the following pages. They are contained in a rough copy-book of coarse, durable paper, probably home-made, which formerly was part of the collection of Carroll manuscripts owned by the late Dr Joshua I. Cohen, of Baltimore. The vast majority of these were presented in 1915 to the Maryland Historical Society and were published, in part, in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* of 1916 and 1917. Just why this one copy-book should have been withdrawn from its fellows is not known. It remained in the possession of the late Miss Bertha Cohen until the dispersal of her belongings in 1929, when it was sold at the Anderson Galleries in New York, subsequently finding its way back to Maryland.

This year, when the State is celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of Carroll's birth, seems a fitting time for the publication of the contents of this copy-book. They cover the period of 1770-1774, when Carroll was in the full vigor of his mind, and, of course, deeply concerned with the oncoming Revolution, which he had been predicting for many years.

The letters are addressed to correspondents in Europe: William Graves, Edmund Jennings, Charles Carroll the Barrister, and the Countess d'Auzouër. Graves (who is first mentioned by Carroll in a letter to his father in 1763 as "a Master in Chancery"), was perhaps the most intimate of a circle of friends formed by the future Signer during his residence in London at the Inner Temple. In

writing to him, Carroll unburdened himself of his most private thoughts on religion and politics, and frequently relaxed his usual stiff epistolary style. Jennings (described in an early letter as a "sensible, sober, discreet, well-behaved young man") was the son of Thomas Jennings. In 1770 he appears to be permanently established in London. Charles Carroll the Barrister is too well known to students of Maryland history to need further comment here. The following letters were addressed to him while he and his wife were in England for reasons of health. As for the Countess d'Auzouër, the recipient of a single long, interesting letter heavily freighted with family matters, nothing is known beyond the self-evident fact that she was a distant kinswoman of Carroll's, married to a Frenchman of title.

J. G. D. PAUL.

TO EDMUND JENNINGS.

18 Decemb^r 1770

D^r Jennings:

I wrote to you y^e 16 of last October, in which letter I explained y^e reason of your not receiving our portraits.¹ You may expect them by M^r Carroll barrister, who proposed to set sail for England with his lady some time next May provided there should be no war. I shall send you also by the same opportunity some seeds of y^e most curious of our shrubs & trees: the number will be but small because your letter without date requesting me to send you such comes too late for me to make a collection this year. I shall not be able to collect the most rare & valuable till next fall.

I have not leisure at present to give you my thoughts on the political subjects of y^r last letter as fully as I could wish, but this much I shall remark, that honest & well meaning men generally entertain the same Sentiments of public measures.— "*idem velle ac sentire de republica*," Tully says somewhere, is a proof of friendship: why so? because none but honest men can be sincere friends, and none but honest men will think alike or at least publicly express their sentiments on the political parties & disputes which may happen to divide & dis-

¹ The person discovering the whereabouts of these portraits will bring to light the first known likeness of the wife of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

tract their country. I am perfectly of your opinion that little is to be expected from a change of men: whatever set of new ministers may take y^e lead, the measures of administration will be equally bad. Should I be deceived in my conjectures, a long and uniform experience will however justify y^e boldness & malignity of the censure—since the revolution what vehemence, what eloquence, what reasoning in Parliament against mischiefs which have been continually increasing! Since that period what changes from bad & unpopular Ministers to Patriots who have lost their popularity the moment they obtained a place—because with a place their language & opinions were altered. M^r Cooke desires to be kindly remembered to you; my Father & M^{rs} Carroll join with me in sincere wishes for y^r health and happiness. I am with unfeigned esteem

S^r y^r friend & hum^l S^r

C. C. of C.

8th April 1771.

TO EDMUND JENNINGS.

D^r Sir:

This will be delivered to you by M^r Carroll,¹ with whose company you will be much pleased. His lady is a very amiable woman, tho' somewhat reserved to strangers. However, on a better acquaintance that reserve will entirely wear off, and then the goodness of her heart will charm you. From M^r Carroll you will learn the present state of politicks in this Province. He is well acquainted with its institutions & the parties in it.

I could wish to be with you, but such wishes are idle and ought not to be indulged. If I can not join in y^r conversations, I hope I shall sometimes be y^e subject of them.

Persons who dispassionately consider & reflect on public measures, will I find entertain the same opinion, tho' at ever so great a distance. By y^r last letter to me I see we perfectly agree in

¹ Charles Carroll the Barrister.

our sentiments reg^d y^e seizure of Falkland's Islands. Taking possession of them could be viewed in no other light by the Spaniards, but what you mention. The inability of France, y^e reluctance of y^e King to war, and y^e great superiority of our naval force, even when opposed by y^e united marines of France & Spain, have prevented rupture with those powers, and Spain has been obliged to pocket the affront. I suppose Falkland's Islands will be restored to us: at least I conjecture so, for we do not know as yet how our negotiations with Spain have terminated.

If we are to have peace, it will be a patched-up peace, or rather a suspension from hostilities till France and Spain can go to war with better hopes of success—unless indeed we should be bound by a secret article to abandon Falkland's Islands within a certain time, as a place of no consequence & of great expense to the Nation.

Although y^e political interests of nations are not subject to the same strict rules of justice which should regulate y^e conduct of individuals, yet a just regard to treaties and to good faith should be rigidly observed. *Nullum bellum justum nisi necessarium*, is I think y^e opinion of Tully. I believe it will not be pretended that a war undertaken to regain possession of Falkland's Islands can come under that denomination.

By the public prints I find y^r Ministers bid defiance to y^e opposition, which seems to be crumbling to pieces: no wonder, when most who compose it have private ends to answer, and your Ministers have ample means to gratify those ends. I despair of seeing things take another course, as long as many lucrative offices continue in y^e disposition of the King, & his servants have the fingering of such prodigious sums.

I have sent you by this opportunity M^{rs} Carroll's & my portraits. I question whether you will discover any great likeness of y^r old acquaintance in my picture: M^r Carroll & M^{rs} Carroll will give you their opinion on both. M^r Cooke I believe will write you by this opportunity; he told me he would. This is a busy time; you will therefore excuse the shortness and dryness of this letter. We never so much enjoy the company of a friend

as at a leisure hour; and then too it is y^e fittest time to write to him, when our thoughts are most disengaged from y^e serious trifles of this busy scene. I am, etc.

TO EDMUND JENNINGS.

9th August 1771.

Dr Jennings:

My last to you was by M^r Lee. I hope that gentleman and his lady are long since safely arrived in London. Mine & M^{rs} Carroll's portraits were sent by M^r Carroll Barrister, by whom also I wrote to you.

From the latest London prints I find that y^e minority laugh at all opposition: a dead majority in y^e House of Commons secures them against y^e hatred of y^e People, and its impotent effects: for my own part I despair of seeing the Constitution recover its former vigour. The vast influence of y^e Crown, y^e luxury of y^e Great & y^e depravity of y^e common People are unsurmountable obstacles to Parliamentary independence. The liberty of y^e press yet remains as a check upon y^e Ministerial or Royal power: a few years will destroy or greatly weaken that bulwark of liberty.

The English seem to be arrived to that degree of liberty & of servitude which Galba ascribes to the Roman People in his speech to Piso: *imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem.* Those same Romans a few years after that period deified the horse of Caligula. Should those who really wish well to liberty & to y^e constitution find it impossible to check y^e present system of corruption, I should not be sorry to see all y^e powers of y^e state resolved into one. A corrupt aristocracy is the worst of all governments; what shocking laws were imposed by the Roman Emperors under the sanction of the Senate! It lent its name to y^e worst of tyrannies—Will ye British dominions long admit of the present form of Government? To assert that they will not may

appear too bold & paradoxical; yet many plausible reasons could be brought to favour that decision.

Under the Roman Emperors the distant Provinces enjoyed more liberty than during y^e latter times of y^e Republic. The reason is obvious. There was but one Tyrant, when y^e power of y^e senators became absorbed in that of y^e Prince. An aristocratic Government is y^e least fitted of all others to extensive empire: and I think y^e English Government approaches nearer this day to an aristocracy than to any other kind of Government. The House of Commons, which ought to be y^e representative of y^e People, is become the instrument of the Ministry, to raise money from the subjects: the Ministry is commonly composed of rich noblemen & of some rich commoners, connected together by y^e ties of kindred or of interest; y^e opposition which has been constantly made to Ministers for these 60 years past, seems to be founded rather on y^e selfish views of the Outs, than upon true patriotic principles, some few excepted from the minority who perhaps have been actuated by a real love of their country, and have no other reward in prospect but the glory of doing good.

I suppose you entertain pretty near the same sentiments on politicks, and as a natural consequence have embraced that state or manner of life which is least exposed to corruption, or endangered by faction. I mean that of a private gentleman, pursuing the amusements of agriculture. *O fortunatos, nimium sua si bona norint agricolas!* The present excessive heat of y^e weather makes me sincerely wish with y^e same poet: *O qui me gelidis convallibus Haemi sistat et ingenti ramorum protegat umbrâ!*

The wisest philosophers, y^e greatest poets, and the best men have constantly placed y^e most perfect sublunary happiness in rural retirement; under the shades of Forests statesmen have sought happiness, having in vain sought after it in y^e perplexed mazes of ambition & interest.

Has Voltaire published any late tracts, I mean since the year 1768? I have all his works to that time. If he has, you would oblige me by sending them to me, & be pleased to apply to Messrs P. R. on my account for payment of these or any other late

publications you may think worth my perusal. I have Robertson's History of Charles y^e 5th, y^e first volume of which I think instructive & entertaining; I can discover no great merit in the others. Has Hume published anything of late? Is it thought he will bring his history of England as low as y^e present times?

I heartily wish you well & remain very affectionately yours

C. C. C.

TO WILLIAM GRAVES.

9th Aug. 1771

D^r Graves:

I have wrote several letters since the receipt of your last dated y^e 14th January 1770, but have not had y^e pleasure of receiving any from you in answer to them. In a postscript to my letter of 16th Decem^r 1769 I desired you to inform me what a good landscape painting would cost executed by an eminent painter in London, to shew in the clear of y^e frame 6 feet ten inches one way & 2 feet 8 inches y^e other. I intend it for a frame over my chimney piece. Should such a piece of painting come too dear, I shall fill up the vacancy with some cheaper ornament. I have not yet received the remaining volumes of Vitruvius Britannicus:¹ Two only have been sent. Payne kept y^e third to have y^e others bound like it. Be pleased to remind him to send that with y^e other volumes to compleat y^e set to Messrs. P. B. & B. In my letter of y^e 23^d July 1770 I beg^d the favour of you to send me l'Abbé Chappe d'Auteroche's Travels thro' Russia to Tolboskoi (*sic*), capital of Siberia. To these I entreat you to add Voltaire's publications since y^e year 1768.

Altho' I am at a loss how to account for y^r long silence, yet I do not as yet give over y^e pleasing expectation or hope of receiving a letter from you by some of y^e fall ships: if I should be disappointed in this expectation, I hope you will answer this

¹The presence of this and other architectural works in the library at Doughoregan may in part account for the perfection of "Homewood," the house built by Charles Carroll, Jr., on the outskirts of Baltimore.

letter by the first opportunity and comply with its contents. I am with great sincerity, your friend & hum. Serv^t

C. C. C.

TO CHARLES CARROLL THE BARRISTER.

9th August 1771.

D^r Sir:

This I hope will find you & M^{rs} Carroll safely arrived in England and perfectly pleased with y^r situation and the amusements of that country; in a few weeks I suppose you will set off for Bath, whose waters I sincerely wish may afford you that relief which you expected from them when here. I should be glad to know whether England answers M^{rs} Carroll's expectations: I dare say you find surprising alterations since you left it, particularly in London.

This is dead time with us. Politicks are scarce talked of. The scene of action will soon be opened, and I doubt not we shall have a hot campaign this fall. D. D.¹ has of late been much troubled with y^e Cholic; this looks as if things do not go to his liking. He has resided Chiefly during y^e summer at H. Ridge; his family remains in town. He is perhaps brooding Schemes of mischief and laying plans of crooked policy.* The Major tells me he has wrote to you lately, I suppose he has given you an account of his & De Butt's rastling at the Governor's and some other particulars of that drunken frolic. M^{rs} Eden was

¹ Daniel Dulany, the eminent jurist, who later locked horns with Charles Carroll of Carrollton in the celebrated newspaper controversy between "First Citizen" and "Antillon." There was considerable ill-feeling between the two families, which nearly resulted in a duel between Charles Carroll and Lloyd Dulany, Daniel's half-brother.

* He still talks of going to England in y^e Spring: whether he will or not time will shew. If he goes it will be with a view, it is thought, to get his son appointed Secretary, or perhaps (which I really take to be y^e case) to fly from y^e contempt & hatred of his countrymen, for although his retainers puff him off, & talk much of his vast influence, it is pretty well known to be greatly on y^e decline; y^e loss of his popularity chagrins him to y^e quick, & y^e improbability of regaining it adds to his mortification.

so much alarmed (as it is said) at y^e disturbance they made in y^e house that she miscarried.

You have no doubt seen the letters published in our Gazette ag^t Ned Tilghman: ² he has not deigned to answer the invectives of an anonymous author, not choosing, I suppose, y^e trouble & perplexity of a paper war.

Colonel Lloyd ³ has purchased Chase's house; it has cost y^e Colonel upwards of £3000 cur^y and I really think when the offices are finished and the house compleatly furnished it will cost him £6000 more. You are as good a judge as myself whether y^e Colonel has acted prudently in buying this house; it is however agreed on all hands that Chase has acted very wisely in selling it: he has got rid of an encumbrance which must have ruined him at y^e long run: the money received of Lloyd will extricate him from all difficulties, he is now independent, & may if he pleases continue & become more serviceable to the Public.

Shuttleworth & D^r Tootle have had a boxing bout: Tootle got terribly mauled & still feels y^e effects of his bruises, altho' y^e fray happened above a month ago. Two of a trade can never agree. Some old grudge has subsisted between them—something that Shuttleworth gave out Tootle had said about Middleton revived it & occasioned the combat. Tootle, according to Shuttleworth, thought y^e disease which carried Middleton off, y^e pox. This came to M^{rs} Middleton's ears, who was greatly distressed at y^e possible imputation of having poxed her husband or of being poxed by him. She taxed Tootle with y^e calumny,

² Colonel Edward Tilghman, a prime mover in the opposition to the Stamp Tax.

³ Colonel Edward Lloyd (IV) of Wye House. The house referred to is still standing in Annapolis, and is known to architects the country over. Its foundations were laid in 1769 by Samuel Chase (later the "Signer"). It would appear that the main body of the house was well finished when, for some reason unknown, it was sold to Colonel Lloyd. In 1826 Edward Lloyd V sold it to his son-in-law, Henry Hall Harwood, for \$6500, and from his heirs it was acquired in 1847 by Miss Hester Ann Chase. It is now a Home for elderly gentlewomen, maintained under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

& gave him her author. A much less cause has involved mighty nations in war: *fuit ante Helenam cunnus teterrima belli causa*. The doctors have not proceeded to greater lengths, and I much question whether the quarrel will finally be decided with y^e pistol or sword. They are both perhaps of Hudibras' opinion that

“Great danger doth environ
The man who meddles with cold iron.”

Tootle, however, swears vengeance & that he will take all advantages, knock down his antagonist & then if he chooses fight him afterwards with any weapon.

Doctor Murray⁴ is soon to be married to Miss Roberts: he had courted Molly Dulany, but got a flat. Failing of success in that quarter he addressed Miss Roberts & has succeeded: every thing is settled: y^e nuptials are to be celebrated some time next October.

I hope you have not forgot my commission about y^e coach. Remember that y^e box must be made to take off occasionally: harness for 4 horses & spare glasses must be sent with y^e coach. As to all other particulars I leave them entirely to your taste & fancy, recommending only to y^e artist a neat simplicity, lightness & strength in his work.

I beg to be very kindly remembered to your lady. M^{rs} Carroll gives her love to her, & desires to have y^e few trifles she was to get for her in London sent by some fall ship or very early in the Spring. We both join in our compliments to you & M^{rs} Carroll, & sincerely wish you both health & spirits to enjoy the gay scenes of London & Bath. I do not know whether you wish to return, but it would give me great pleasure to see you safe landed in Annapolis. I suppose we may expect you next spring or summer; in y^e meantime pray write to me frequently. The variety of incidents which daily occur in London will always

⁴ Probably James Murray (b. 1739, d. 1819) a leading physician and medical instructor of Annapolis.

furnish ample matter for a letter, and I do not flatter when I assure you your letters will give great satisfaction to

Y^r most hum. Ser^t

C. C. C.

TO THE COUNTESS OF AUZOÛER.

Sept. 20th 1771.

Madam:

I received your unexpected and very obliging letter dated y^e 13th of last February about 2 month ago. The cause to which you attributed my sudden departure from France, thank God, has not yet happened: my Father is still alive, & enjoys in an advanced age, the spirits of youth and y^e understanding of a man of 40. He is the greatest comfort of my life, & I do all in my power, to render him happy & easy.

The not keeping my promise of paying you a visit was not therefore owing to the accident to which you favorably ascribed it, but really (to speak honestly) to a certain giddiness incident to youth, and which I now sincerely repent of, as it has deprived me of the pleasure of an acquaintance with a lady of an exceeding good heart & understanding, to judge from y^r letter, the only means now left me of judging by.

After this frank declaration, y^e best apology I can make for forfeiting my word, I shall proceed in compliance with y^r request, to make you acquainted with my situation & circumstances, & as far as I am able with those of the persons you enquire after. The affection you are pleased to express for me, which I believe to be real & for which you have my sincere thanks, encourages me to dwell longer upon myself & my affairs than I should otherwise choose to do from an apprehension of sliding into partiality or of being tiresome & dull: should dulness or partiality appear in y^e following account of myself, remember y^e fault lays at y^r door.

All the descendants of the House of Buttler established in this Province soon after the settlement are extinct or so miserably

reduced by poverty as to be unknown: in a commercial nation, the glory of illustrious progenitors will not screen their needy posterity from obscurity & want.

Michael Macnamara died in goal since my return to this Province. He left issue two sons: the eldest is now a Surgeon's mate on board a Russian man of war in y^e Mediterranean; the second is bound apprentice to the Baltimore Company,¹ thus a set of gentlemen, of whom I am one, stile themselves, having entered into a co-partnership for carrying on an Iron-work. I much question whether either of these youths will turn out well, as they seem strongly to partake of y^e perverse temper of their Father, his untoward disposition & passions lead him on to vice, from vice to want, & from want to ignominy: I wish my prognostication of his sons may prove false, but similar causes produce similar events.—

I am convinced, Madam, that no interested view prompts you to enquire after your relations in these parts, but as you friendly express it, a desire of being made known to them, and of hearing from them. I wish my acquaintance with the genealogy of our families was sufficient to give you a satisfactory account of them. But having left Maryland my native country at 11 years of age, to be educated in France far from my relations, the studies of my youth and subsequent occupations of manhood have prevented my enquiries on this subject. All I know of my family I shall now candidly impart to you. Charles my grandfather, y^e first of our family who settled in this Province, was second son of Dan. Carroll of Litterlouna of Kings County in the Kingdom of Ireland, younger brother to Antony of Lishenboy. My grandfather married Mary Darnall the daughter of Colonel Henry Darnall on the 14th of Feb^y 1693. He had issue by this marriage 3 sons, Henry, Charles & Daniel, & several daughters; the daughters all lived and died single. The eldest son died at sea unmarried on his return to Maryland from Europe. Charles my Father was born y^e 2^d April 1702 & married Eliz^a Brooke,

¹The Baltimore Company (or the Baltimore Iron Works) consisted of Charles Carroll, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Charles Carroll the Barrister, Daniel Dulany, Walter Dulany, Benjamin Tasker and others.

daughter of Clement Brooke Esq^r of which marriage I am the only issue. My mother died on y^e 12th March 1761, while I was in London to my great grief, not having seen her since I left my home in 1747.—She was a most excellent woman, beloved & esteemed by all who knew her: excuse, Madam, this merited praise bestowed on a most amiable & fond parent. Daniel the 3rd son of Charles my grandfather married Ann Rozier in 1728, and had issue one son named Charles & two daughters, and died y^e 15th April 1734. Charles married Mary Hill, has issue 3 sons all alive, himself now living. His eldest sister Eleanor married one Daniel Carroll, a very distant relation: she died some years ago & left one son & one daughter, both alive: the second sister Mary married Ignatius Digges, is now living but has no issue. Having given this short account of the descendants of Charles Carroll my grandfather, I shall now communicate to you some further particulars, which you may perhaps think interesting, relative to him, his 2nd son Charles my Father, and myself.

My grandfather had a liberal education in foreign schools, having studied humanity at Lille, Philosophy, the civil & canon laws in the University of Douay. He entered the Society of y^e Inner Temple in London on 6th May 1685, where gentlemen who are bred up to y^e law generally reside for 4 or 5 years, to acquire a competent knowledge of their profession.

The family estate being greatly impaired by the iniquity of the times, which had stripped the most ancient Irish families of their property, he resolved to seek his fortune far distant from the scene of such oppressions. Being a Roman Catholick he pitched on Maryland, where the free exercise of that religion & equal privileges were granted to its Professors by a royal Charter, afterwards confirmed by a perpetual law of this Province. He arrived in Maryland on y^e first of Oct. 1688, with a commission from y^e then Lord Baltimore constituting him Attorney General. On his quitting England he chose the following motto: *ubicumque cum libertate*, ingeniously alluding to y^e Hawke, part of y^e family crest, & his value of liberty, which by a voluntary banishment from his country, family &

friends he sought & hoped to enjoy in the wilds of America. Vain & short lived hope! The English Revolution of 1688, which placed the crown of the Stuarts on y^e head of W^m the 3rd set an example to a similar revolution in this province in the following year. The Revolutionists usurped the Government then in Charles Calvert, the first Lord Proprietary of this Province: they turned out of their places all the R. C. gentlemen, vested with most & chief of y^e posts of honour, profit & trust, hanged some of them, & imprisoned many, among whom was my grandfather, & forced others to seek their safety in flight, & plundered their houses & goods. These civil commotions & outrages being repressed by orders from the King of England, the Proprietary trusted y^e management of his revenue to his R. C. friends & appointed Col. H. Darnall, whose daughter M^r Carroll afterwards married, his agent & Receiver-general & keeper of his great seal for granting lands, & my grandfather Register of his land-office; who on M^r Darnall's death succeeded to all his posts, in which he continued, under the 1st Lord Charles, Benedict & Charles y^e 2^d, with ample & enlarged powers, until y^e year 1717, when he was removed from all his posts much against his Lordship's will, in compliance with y^e necessities of the times. The assembly of this Province, constituted in imitation of y^e English parliam^t of two houses, y^e upper & y^e lower, y^e former being composed of 12 gentlemen who likewise form his Lordship's Privy Council, y^e latter of y^e representatives of y^e People, had in y^e aforesaid year 1717 passed laws depriving y^e R. C. of the few privileges which yet remained, and among others the privilege of chusing representatives in Assembly: not content with this act of injustice, they made the employing of R. C. in y^e manage^t of his Lordship's private concerns, a public grievance.

My grandfather died 1st July 1720 in the 60th year of his age, having laid the foundation of an estate, at this day the most considerable in the Province possessed by any one individual.

When my Father came to the estate, which was nearly divided

between him and his brother Daniel, he was but 18 years of age. The experience of his relation James Carroll, by whose advice he suffered himself to be guided, was of singular service at that critical time of life—his guardian strongly urged the sweets of independence, and as a necessary means of attaining it, a well regulated economy. My father was convinced of the justness of this reasoning, and loving independence practised economy to be independent. A prudent management during a long life has made him the richest individual in this Province, without y^e favour of Government, even in opposition to it, & in spite of many injustices suffered thro' y^e envy of public & private persons.—He now lives at a seat of his about 30 miles from this town [Annapolis] retired from y^e business & y^e cares of life, dividing his time between his books, y^e society of his friends, and y^e occupations of agriculture.

The many friendly and affectionate expressions in your letter encourage me to say now something of myself. In 1747, I left Maryland to be educated in y^e college of English Jesuits at St. Omer, where I continued 5½ years, from thence I was removed to a college of French Jesuits at Rheims, from which place after a year's residence I went to Louis-le-Grand at Paris, & continued there two years. Here it was that Mons^r d'Augé and I got acquainted: his recommendations of me are to be attributed to the prepossessions & prejudices of youth more than to my merit. His friendship, believe me, dear Madam, has greatly magnified whatever he saw commendable or praiseworthy in his school fellow, but his partiality is pleasing, & I beg, if he should ever again fall in your way, to be kindly remembered to him. From Paris I went to Bourges to study y^e civil, or Roman law; in 18 months I returned to Paris & after ten months' stay, set out for London toward y^e close of y^e year 1758. I lived in London near 4 years and embarked y^e 20th of Sept^r 1764 at Gravesend for Maryland. I did not reach this place till y^e February following, owing to y^e tediousness of y^e voyage & y^e severity of y^e winter after my arrival in Virg^a the next adjacent Province to y^e Southward of this.

I married Miss Mary Darnall y^e 5th of June 1766. She has

brought me two girls: y^e eldest died at 6 months old: the younger is alive, a thriving child 13 months old. I despair of ever paying you a visit at Auzouër. Should any unforeseen circumstance occasion my taking a trip to France, my inclination would strongly lead me to the place of y^r abode, where I should be sure of being received with that cordiality & joy which would warm my breast at our happy and unexpected meeting.

The languishing condition of your only & promising son gives me unfeigned concern. If his constitution be not too much impaired, a change of air & exercise might be of great service, but I must recommend most of all some active employment. Grief preys most on the inactive mind—the bustling, busy scenes of life are y^e best preventives ag^t melancholy: which grows the more it is indulged. But your letter gives me little room to expect his recovery: the gradual approach of death, your piety & resignation to y^e will of God has prepared you for this severe trial. You have a daughter left to console you for his loss; her tender care will be employed to soften a parent's grief. May she long live y^r comfort: she will excuse a wish of mine, that she may make some deserving man happy, be blessed with tender pledges of mutual love, y^e surest solace of declining age. I beg my most respectful compliments to your husband, & be assured, dear Madam, that no one more ardently wishes for y^e happiness of your family than y^r affectionate kinsman & most humble Serv^t

C. C. C.

I make no doubt you will procure some one to translate the above letter. I should have wrote it in French, but from disuse I found upon trial that I could not express myself with y^e same ease & propriety in that language as in my own.

TO CHARLES CARROLL THE BARRISTER.

3^d Decem^r 1771.

D^r Sir:

I got Your kind letter of y^e 3^d of August on my return home from a jaunt to New York; M^{rs} Carroll, M^r & M^{rs} Ridout were

of y^e party. The company, the fine weather & y^e civilities we received in Ph^a & New York all contributed to make it very agreeable. The things you mention to have sent by Cap^t McLaughlin are not yet come to hand. I imagine they are at M^{rs} Tilghman's. M^{rs} Carroll therefore can not as yet give her opinion of y^e silk, altho' she is satisfied it is pretty, having a very high one of y^r good taste, and is exceedingly obliged to your lady for y^e trouble she has taken in executing these commissions. I suppose I may expect my coach this spring or summer; that it will be genteel & fashionable I have not y^e least doubt, & bought on y^e best terms. As I have dropt in great measure my correspondence with Messrs. P. Boss, you will be pleased to apply to M^r John Buchanan for pay^t of y^e coach & of y^e other matters, unless you should have already received y^e cash from y^e former before this reaches you.—

I suppose M^{rs} Carroll is better reconciled to her new manner of life than when you wrote to me. I was not surprised to hear she prefers y^e domestic amusements of Maryland to y^e vanities of St. James's. The society of a few choice friends is worth all y^e pomp & emptiness of a court, where friendship never approaches.—Seldom indeed is to be met with in the highest stations of life. The dissipation, ambition & vanity of y^e great are mortal enemies to sincerity, y^e source & basis of friendship.

The conduct of y^e ministry with respect to Wilkes has been as ridiculous as can well be conceived. I derive this consolation from their folly, that no great mischiefs are to be apprehended to y^e constitution from such Politicians—unless y^e universal depravity should render y^e subversion of liberty an easy task to y^e meanest capacities.

I think our politicks are as contemptible, & more pernicious than those of England. Could you imagine y^e right of fixing officers' fees by proclamation would be claimed at this time of day? I think I see you stare at the very question, & well may you be surprised— but y^e fact is so, I assure you. The Governor's¹ answer to y^e address of y^e lower house against y^e

¹ Governor Eden.

proclamation issued last year and beginning of this clearly sets up such a claim. However, as you will no doubt receive a full & distinct acct. from Mr Tilghman of y^e proceedings of y^e late session, & of its issue, I shall say little more on this subject, tho' I can not help saying that I am sorry to see the Gov^r entirely swayed by y^e counsel of one man,² insolent & impolitic enough to advise such selfish measures. All things here will soon lie in the greatest confusion, & unless a very different policy be shortly pursued, the Governor must bid adieu to all happiness in his present station.* War is now declared between Govern^t and y^e People, or rather between a few placemen, the real enemies to Govern^t and all the inhabitants of this Province. Y^e issue of y^e contest in so just a cause between such unequal numbers cannot be doubtful.

I read that part of y^r letter to y^e Governor where you mention his brother. He seemed pleased with it. No new incidents have occurred since my last date y^e 9th of August worth mentioning except the above. Dr Murray & Miss Roberts have quarreled; y^e match was as quickly broke off as concluded on: the real cause of y^e rupture perhaps still remains a secret. Both are blamed, and consequently, I suppose, there were faults on both sides.

I hope soon to receive another letter from you & hear that England has agreed well with you & y^r lady, and that notwithstanding you are soon to leave it & return home. I left my father a few days ago at y^e Ridge hearty & in spirits. He & M^{rs} Darnall desired to be kindly remembered to you both; my wife joins me in sincere wishes for your & M^{rs} Carroll's health, & for y^r speedy return to Annapolis, where y^r arrival will give unfeigned joy to

y^r etc.

² Probably Daniel Dulany.

* It may, and probably will, be made so uneasy to him that he may wish to quit it.

TO WILLIAM GRAVES.

17th March 1772.D^r Graves:

The receipt of your letter of y^e 6th of last Novemb^r, which came to hand y^e 5th instant, gave me greatest satisfaction by removing all doubts of your existence, (for to death among other causes I at times imputed your long silence) and by convincing me that you still retain some share of affection for your friend. What adds too to my joy is the having an opportunity now given me of renewing an agreable correspondence with a person whom I really love & esteem. Of all the assigned causes for the interruption of our epistolary intercourse the unlucky incident which has given you so much trouble & employment was the last I ever should have guessed at. I remember perfectly well your shewy tenant Combes & his honest attorney Bambridge. That the extravagance of the one should reduce him to want was an event within the reach of common foresight, and that the principles of the other should lead him to undertake any dirty work is not surprising. But that so barefaced & improbable a trick should have occurred even to y^e fertile imagination of M^r Bambridge, & be supported & encouraged by his advice is really surprising. What credit can be given to y^e oath of a cheat, an extravagant spendthrift reduced to y^e expedient of changing his name & of becoming a common soldier? The patronage of M^r Bambridge, in my opinion, more than all these circumstances, serves to invalidate Combes' oath. Altho' I am no stranger to y^e dilatoriness of chancery proceedings, I hope you have by this got rid of y^r tenant's suit. His coming hither or to some part of America in the capacity of one of His Majesty's passengers is not an improbable consequence of his extravagance & audacious folly. If so, it is a pity he should not be attended by his counsel, the good M^r Bambridge.

Y^r brother, who you say has lately entered into the state of matrimony, is, I apprehend, the Cap^t with whom I was acquainted in London. He has my sincere wishes for conjugal felicity, and as our increase is at least a cement thereof, I hope

he will have issue, an event of which I am the more desirous as it will contribute to your as well as to his happiness.

I have one daughter alive, & Mrs Carroll will soon make an addition to her family. Your observation is very just that every man who has a large fortune ought to have wishes of descendants of his own body to inherit it. I may venture to say there never was a rich man but who wished sincerely for descendants of his own body—tho' the reflection that they might possibly not be of his own body has deterred many from using the means. When would that reflection strike more forcibly than now? The Cornelian family (to use Molière's expression) is become in point of numbers truly alarming: a bare catalogue of them would swell to a large in-folio. Each may indeed derive some consolation in having his misfortune common to many, & of being kept in countenance from y^e numbers and rank of his fellow-sufferers.

You promise to let me know in your next the price of a landscape such as I want by an eminent hand. As I wrote to you before, I do not chuse to exceed 20 guineas: indeed a landscape of an inferior price would be more suitable to my room, for you must know it is none of the handsomest, and the furniture in character, tho' decent & useful, is neither costly nor shewy. It has ever been a maxim with the owners of this mansion to be all of a piece. An attempt at grandeur with us or magnificence is sure to be followed by something mean or ridiculous. Even in England, where the affluence of individuals will support a thousand follies, what evils arise from the vanity & profuse excesses of the rich—the Courtier's pliancy, the Patriot's zeal, the lubricity of women all owe their origin to the unbounded indulgence of imaginary wants.

Be pleased to add to the books I have already wrote for, & to such as you may think proper to send me, the following: Monsieur Mongault's translation in French of Cicero's letters to Atticus, Paris edition; Ross' remarks on Cicero's familiar epistles, the 4th volume of Hooke's Roman History. I bought of Payne the 3 volumes in quarto which were published when I was in England, and to compleat the set I should be glad to

have the 4th. Pray in what estimation is the Modern Universal History? As it is composed by several hands, I imagine it must be an unequal work, yet perhaps in y^e whole well worth having. I find it frequently quoted by Blackstone. By referring to my letter of y^e 9th of last August you will see what books I requested you to send me which are still wanting to compleat my Vitruvius Britannicus.

My Lord Baltimore's ¹ will is likely to prove an ample field for contention, and to yield a fine harvest in Westminster Hall. Perhaps a subject of more importance with respect to property never came before your courts: the decision of it will probably not rest entirely in legal principles. Political considerations will no doubt in some measure influence the determination, particulary if it should be made in the House of Lords. My father, who continues to enjoy his health, & spirits, desires to be remembered to you. A few days ago he left me to go to his favorite seat where he usually resides during the Spring, summer & fall, & in the improvement of which he amuses himself usefully and agreeably. He begun a year or two ago a vineyard, which I hope he will live to see thrive & perhaps bring to a tolerable degree of perfection. At least he has spared no pains or cost to deserve success. If we live a few years longer, you may depend on tasting the wine of its growth, & doubtless y^r prejudices in favour of y^e owner will make you fancy it excellent Burgundy, equal to the best wine of France. The vineyard is planted with several sorts of grapes,² that we may learn by experience which sorts are best suited to our climate.

¹ Frederick, last of the Barons of Baltimore, who left the succession to his illegitimate son, Henry Harford. Carroll's prediction was correct.

² These grapes, according to a letter of Charles Carroll, Sr., were "Rhenish, Virginia grape, Claret and Burgundy." This attempt to produce a good table wine in Maryland, like many subsequent ones, seems to have been a failure.

TO WILLIAM GRAVES.

14 August 1772.

D^r Graves :

All the books mentioned in your letter of the 9th of last Feb^y are come to hand in good condition; several of them I have already read, & have met with much entertainment in their perusal. *Les Questions sur l'Encyclopédie* abound with wit and humour, interspersed with the most judicious & philosophical reflections. *L'Évangile du Jour* is the most direct attack on Christianity that has yet been published by its author—indeed it scarcely merits the appellation of a new publication, being merely a collection of his former detached pieces brought together into one view, placed in a new light, and animated with a bolder colouring.

I have not yet had leisure to read l'Abbé Chappe d'Auteroche's travels. The edition is magnificent indeed, and considering the beautiful engravings with which it is adorned, I think, cheap. If the inside corresponds with the out, it is well worth all the money you gave for it.

By sending me the 4th volume of Hooke's Roman History you have anticipated the request made in my letter of y^e 7th of March, in that letter I also desired you to add to the catalogue of my books the following: Monsieur Mongault's French translation of Cicero's Letters to Atticus, Ross's Remarks on Cicero's familiar epistles.

The modern universal history, of which I asked your opinion in my letter above mentioned, I see you have bought. If you choose to part with that work, I will take it off your hands. M^r Holwell's account of the religion & manners of the Bracmans I find often quoted in Voltaire's last pieces; pray in what estimation is M^r Holwell's writing held in England? He must have acquired, if a man of any observation & curiosity, from thirty years' residence at Benares, a thorough knowledge of the Bracmans: the subject of his publication is certainly curious & instructive, & his account if well wrote must be entertaining. I should be glad to have it at all events.

Bolt's considerations of India affairs I suppose occasioned the late Act of Parliament for regulating the Courts of Justice in India, or the Mayor's Court at Calcutta; such an act has passed, and the public detestation in which our Nabobs are held, if news papers may be relied on, is a proof that their insolence & oppression in that part of the world called aloud for the interposition of Parliament; if the instances of injustice and oppression enumerated by Bolt be true, the authors ought to feel the weight of national justice. Perhaps as effectual a way as any to prevent the like oppressions for the future, would be to inflict an exemplary punishment on the present transgressors if on a strict & impartial inquiry they should be found guilty of the crimes laid to their charge.

It seems you are inclined to think the quantity & cost of the books sent may make me rejoice that your packets arrive only once in 3 years. This I am sure was only said in joke. Money cannot be laid out better, in my opinion than in the purchase of valuable books. You think like me in this respect, or why should you lay out yearly £30 in that article? You indeed say that upon reflection you always blame yourself for so doing, because you read less than ever and because your memory is less retentive: read more & your memory will grow stronger. You must blame yourself therefore for becoming indolent, not for purchasing books. Age, I mean your age, is the fittest season for reading; the judgment is then matured, a knowledge & a greater experience of the world enables a man of 40 or 50 to read with more benefit to himself than men under that age usually reap from books. It too frequently happens that men engaged in business and advancing in life, either from multiplicity of employments or from an indolence natural to years, neglect the fittest time for the improvement of their understandings; yet y^e passions of youth, its giddiness & dissipation are equal if not greater enemies to study. The memory & imagination may be, & I believe are generally weaker in men of y^e age of 40 than 20; strong memory & strong imagination even in young men are seldom to be met with united.

“ Where beams of strong imagination play
The memory’s soft traces melt away.”—

and I am [inclined] to think the memory sooner fails than the imagination, particularly if suffered to grow rusty from want of use: it may be compared, when not exercised, to the Senate’s decree ag^t Cataline — *tanquam gladium vaginâ reconditum*, which we know will contract rust if never drawn. Thus you see I draw an argument for your reading from the very reason you assign as an excuse for not reading.

For the future, when you send me any books of which I may have by me y^e volumes first published, pray let the others be bound; we have no book binder here; and let the books be lettered. Even tho’ y^e binding should be different, yet y^e lettering will prevent confusion. When we can we ought certainly to preserve symmetry, which ought in its turn to be sacrificed to more important considerations, as convenience & strength, for instance.

I wait with impatience for Doc^r Hawkersworth’s publication. I am sorry to hear that Messrs. Banke’s & Solander’s intended voyage to prosecute discoveries in y^e Southern hemisphere & Pole has been laid aside on a representation from the Spanish Ambassador, that such a voyage would give umbrage to his Court. Thus because his Catholick Majesty is jealous of y^e advantages that may be derived to y^e British nation from those discoveries, they must be laid aside! I know what answer I would make to the haughty Castilian were I the British minister, but as I am not, I may as well keep my answer to myself: for I am sure if it were known to the minister, he would make no other use of it than to laugh at the spirit & honesty of a private man.

I have not got L^d Clarendon’s life nor the continuation of his history of the Rebellion in 3 vol. 8^o—but I should be glad to have them; to tell the truth I did not know such a work was in being, & to tell another I have not yet read L^d Clarendon’s history; it is a pleasure I have still to come. As to Bower’s History of the Popes, I have always understood it to be a catch-

penny thing, wrote with great virulence & consequently abounding with falsehoods. I have as little veneration for bad Popes as Mr Bower or anyone else, but even bad ones should not be calumniated & misrepresented. Bower forgot Cicero's advice "ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat." He is not the only historian by whom that admirable maxim has been entirely disregarded.—You may send me, if you please, L^d Littleton's History of Henry the 2^d; although it contains the transaction of a very distant & uninteresting period, it may be instructive & perhaps entertaining. Bartlett's Farriery you sent me before; however I am not sorry to have one by me; y^e other being sent to Elkridge, where my father resides & where I keep my most valuable horses.

A landscape of y^e size to fit the frame which forms part of my chimney would come, I imagine, to pretty near Mr Marlow's price, if drawn by an eminent hand. I shall get a painter of this town to fill up the vacancy left for a landscape with some rough drawing & conceit of his own, which will be more suitable to my room, than the more finished production of Mr Marlow.

By this, I suppose you have seen Sir W^m Hamilton's collection of Roman antiquities gathered from the ruins of Herculaneum. I dare say the locks and keys are clumsy compared to those of y^e present age, but they have y^e stamp of antiquity to recommend them, & may be useful in another light, to show what progress that nation so famous for its policy & arms, had made in the mechanick arts. I wish the publick may buy the collection; it is odds the money if not applied to this purpose will be lavished on something more insignificant or on some parasite, whore, or plunderer. His Majesty, no doubt as a connoisseur in these matters will recommend the purchase to Parliament, particularly if there should be any buttons amongst the other rarities, for I have heard his Majesty is a great adept at making buttons.

I am now the father not of many children but of two girls, (at least M^{rs} Carroll tells me so) and *Pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant*. Notwithstanding matrimony & the heat of the

climate, my poor little thin carcass keeps its own, & my spirits are kept up, as you have guessed, by a variety of employments, business, exercise & study, in short, I never allow myself time to be idle, or the spleen to prey upon me, and to this perpetual occupation I ascribe the nearly equal flow of spirits, which I cannot say is constitutional, being naturally rather of a melancholy & contemplative cast.

Most of my estates are surveyed; y^e custom of annual perambulations to perpetuate y^e boundaries has not reached America; & indeed I question whether such a custom, in this Province at least, would not be attended with more bad than good consequences. It would however be of little advantage; our boundaries are perpetually fluctuating: this I know will seem strange, but y^e fact is really so—we are permitted to have but one fixed boundary at y^e beginning of each tract of land, from there we run such a course & so many perches & so on as many courses & distances as will include y^e quantity we choose to take up, always closing y^e survey with this expression, then with a straight line to the beginning; the needle by which all our courses are directed being subject to a continual variation, the courses must also vary, and there being but one given boundary, the exterior lines of our lands are constantly shifting.

My namesake (Carroll or Locke) had crossed the Atlantick long before it entered your head to make him undertake a 2^d voyage. Indeed I wonder how you could think of sending so awkward a booby from home to expose himself, family & friends to contempt, & ridicule; it is a matter of surprise how he ever got back to England, for some of his relations, on his first coming hither, ashamed of his appearance, confined him to a garret, where it was imagined he still remained neglected & forgot. It is high time to finish this long epistle; therefore without more to-do I assure you that I am

Your affectionate friend

C. C. C.

TO WILLIAM GRAVES.

7th September 1773.D^r Graves:

All the ships expected from London this season are arrived & no letters from you. I need not tell you the disappointment is mortifying. You see, however, I am determined to force you to keep up a correspondence. A short letter once a year will satisfy me; am I unreasonable? What vast employments should hinder you from gratifying a friend's request, so easily complied with? Have you as yet worked yourself into an administration or into y^e good graces of the Ministers? or are you one of those very uncommon personages who prefer an honest & patriotic conduct to the smiles of a court, or can contemn y^e calumnies of a faction ever ready to be poured on a man whose steady principles will not suffer him to be the dupe of private aims? The British counsels seem to be greatly distracted & the Common People much oppressed; the late astonishing emigrations to North America are proof of their distress: the causes, at least the principal, cannot escape the notice of Government, tho' y^e attention of its ministers may be too much engrossed by other matters to apply a remedy. The growing population of the Colonies, increased by such a considerable annual influx of newcomers, bids fair to render British America in a century or two the most populous and of course the most potent part of the world. I fancy many in England begin to entertain the same opinion, for I am informed that several noblemen & gentlemen have obtained grants of large tracts of land in the new Colony going to be settled on the Ohio: are you of y^e number of patentees? 60 or 70 years (perhaps much sooner) those lands will be valuable. Hawkersworth has, I find, published his account or narrative of y^e late voyages into y^e South Sea undertaken by Commodore Byron, Captains Wallace & Cook. I beg you will send me those voyages, as likewise the voyage of Banks & Solander if published. The following list contains a few books I should be glad to have.

Milton's Works, prose & verse.

Lord Lyttleton's history of Henry y^e 2^d.

Machiavelli's works in English, & his discourses on Livy.

Sir David Dalrymple's late publication.

I believe you are acquainted with y^e last named gentleman. Is he not the same who wrote a treatise on feudal law & tenures some years ago? His late publication, it is said, does little credit to y^e patriotism of Sidney & some others who were most instrumental in bringing about the Revolution. Pray let me know your sentiments of Sir David's performance. Has Voltaire printed anything new of late? You sent me in y^e Spring 1772 four volumes of his *Evangile du Jour*, & seven volumes of his *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*. I should be glad to receive his subsequent publications. I have desired Cap^t Kilty to wait on you with this letter, & to call on you some time before he sails for y^r answer & y^e books wrote for. Be pleased to send y^r acct. to M^r — Johnson, who will be instructed to pay it. M^r Johnson lives somewhere in y^r city: you will learn of the bearer y^e particular street or court.

My father continues in good spirits: I enjoy a tolerable share of health. M^{rs} Carroll & her little girl (she has only one alive) are both well. I hope to hear that you enjoy y^r health, & that you are radically cured of that dangerous & painful disorder with which you were afflicted a year or two ago. That I may soon receive this pleasing intelligence is the hearty wish of

D^r Graves, y^r sincere friend & hum. Ser^t

C. C. C.

M^o Wrote again to M^r Graves y^e 16th October by Cap^t Hanrick to send y^e above books.

TO WILLIAM GRAVES.

15th August 1774.

D^r Graves:

As I write so seldom be not alarmed at y^e enormous length of this letter: I have plenty of matter for a treatise in folio;

you must put up with a few pages: that they are not swelled to a volume is more owing to the dread of tiring you with the perusal, than myself with y^e writing of one. However, before I enter upon my main subject, I shall touch on such pages of your 2 letters of y^e 1st & 7th of last January as require an answer, and lest I should overlook anything material I have them before [me]. You desire I should say something of my family. It is with pleasure I inform you that my father still enjoys a good state of health—*meus sana in corpore sano*—& sound understanding. Mrs Carroll has brought me 3 daughters, of wh. only one is now living, a fine child about 3 years old & of sweet & lively temper. She is now big with a son & heir—at least so the old Gentleman wishes. I believe he will lose all patience should it turn to a girl. “Do I ever mean to cross y^e Atlantick?” No—unless I should be transported under y^e obsolete act of Henry y^e 8th to be hanged in England for being a true American—but more of this bye and bye. The next paragraph draws a sigh. Poor Hussey—his death was timely. He did not outlive the glory of his country. We are but birds of passage—I might add, with more truth, of prey. Every now & then a hungry vulture would visit us, but now your own Island is so overstocked that whole flights come at once. I fear they will soon have carrion enough to feed on.

But vultures are not worse than horse-jockeys—so take care, if you value my friendship when you become a Minister, not to send us any of them, not even under the controul of y^e Honourable L. Gordon, for tho’ his knowledge of their ways may fit him for y^e office, the experiment would be dangerous.

The packages as well as all the books arrived safe and in excellent order, being carefully packed: the very reason wh. induced you to buy the Modern Universal History led me to think of getting it—but as you do not seem to set any great value on that performance, I have altered my mind, unless it can be had at a bargain. I wish you had bought Farnsworth’s translation of Machiavel: y^e style of y^e one sent is so barbarous & uncouth that I can not read a single chapter without ennuye

generally followed by a comfortable slumber. I shall return you by Cap^t Hanrick or by Cap^t Kilty y^e 4th volume in duodecimo of Addison's posthumous works.

No doubt y^e vigour of y^e human mind is generally on y^e decline at 50, but men of good constitution & habituated to study & reflection from their youth frequently retain the full powers of memory at that age, owing to y^e constant exercise of that faculty, & even long after. Voltaire is a living example; I could cite others, but I will drop this subject to come to y^r criticism on Pope. He is my favourite Poet, therefore you must excuse me for endeavouring to defend him from y^e imputation of having wrote nonsense where he sings

“Where beams of warm imagination play,
“The memory's soft figures melt away.”

The imagination and memory I take to be distinct faculties of the mind; frequently we meet with the latter in men who have not in y^e least degree y^e former. I have known myself several of very retentive memories, and of imagination as cold as the frozen sea, as sluggish as the canals of Holland. Their operation I also conceive to be different—the imagination acts instinctively; it seizes at once y^e sublimest parts of various types of nature, — hills, rocks, woods, precipices, waterfalls, rush upon the mind, as when united in one picture; we say, for instance, a warm, an ardent imagination. That act, a simple recollection or retracing of images or ideas or words, which is memory is a sober, cool, & still operation. Fancy has so little concern in it that y^e glowing blushes of that Goddess would disconcert y^e virgin modesty of Memory & put her out of countenance. I could say more on this subject, but I pass on to others of more consequence & not so metaphysical.

Well, I see, you want to make a convert of me, not out of religious zeal. But all modes of Religion being in y^r estimation indifferent to our Creator, I may as well embrace that which my countrymen have embraced. What if they have embraced an absurd one? Yes, certainly, because y^e one I have been brought up in is still more absurd. Granted, for argu-

ment's sake; What, then, do you advise me to quit a false religion & adopt one equally false, & this merely to humour the prejudices of fools, or to be on a footing with knaves? I have too much sincerity and too much pride to do either, even if my filial love did not restrain me — for I can truly say, *Nequeo lachrymas perferre parentis*. I am a warm friend to toleration; I execrate y^e intolerating spirit of y^e Church of Rome, and of other Churches, for she is not singular in that. Designing & selfish men invented religious tests to exclude from posts of profit & trust their weaker or more conscientious fellow-subjects, thus to secure to themselves all y^e emoluments of Government: Wharton's saying was a true as well as a witty one: The oaths to Government were so framed as to damn one part of y^e nation, & to shame the other.

If my countrymen judge me incapable of serving them in a public station for believing y^e moon to be made of green cheese, in this respect their conduct, if not wicked, is not less absurd than my belief, and I will serve them in a private capacity notwithstanding—nay, I have done it, as Eden or Dulany himself would acknowledge, could they forgive a man who had contributed to check their attacks on y^e constitution of his country.

Sir John Dalrymple's collection of original papers was the work I wanted. I was mistaken in attributing that performance to Sir David. What do you think of the old Patriots? Why did you not communicate to me y^r sentiments on so interesting a point? What was Sir John's motive for publishing those papers? Did he mean to expose the pretended Patriots of those days, or discredit all Patriotism by endeavouring to shew it never had a real existence? Sir John may perhaps be of y^e latter opinion, and if so, the present age will serve to confirm him in it. But even in these degenerate days the example of a Sir George Saville will confute the uncharitable creed; men void of principle are willing to bring all others on a level with themselves, and what they have not virtue to attain, or even to aspire at, they maliciously & falsely pretend not to be attainable by others. These reflections naturally lead me to my principal

subject wh. now engrosses the attention & fires with indignation y^e heart of every American—Are you then resolved to force us to become independent or to become abject slaves? If the present measures should be obstinately pursued, we have no alternative, and you would despise us justly, if we could hesitate a moment between slavery and freedom. To expose y^e injustice, the cruelty, the absurdity of y^e late Acts would be misspending my time and yours: all these are self-evident. Hear what America is doing and tremble at the consequences.

From Boston to Georgia inclusive the colonies are united and act as one man. Provincial committees constituted of deputies nominated by their respective counties have met in y^e capital city of each to collect y^e sense of y^e whole, being previously instructed in most instances by their constituents what sentiments to deliver at y^e meeting. It has been universally agreed that a Congress of deputies from y^e different Provincial committees should meet at some one Place, there to concert by the joint & united wisdom of all a well-digested plan for y^e Government of all the colonies. Phil^a is the place of meeting & y^e 5th of next month the day appointed. It would be endless to relate the several resolves of y^e different committees, and I believe unnecessary, as I make no doubt they will find their way to England before this letter get thither. However I shall just give you y^e principle heads of the Virg^a resolves as the latest of all, by y^e complexion of which you may form a near judgment of what will be done by our great Amphitronic Council. All importations from G. B. are to cease after y^e 1st of next Nov^r. If y^r Ministry should still continue to insult & oppress this devoted country all exports from Virg^a to G. B. will be stopped after the 5th of next Aug.,—and depend on it, this resolve will be embraced by the Congress and carried into execution by American virtue. All persons whatever countervening these resolves will be deemed a public enemy, an abetter of British tyranny, a traitor to his country; all intercourse & connection with him will be strictly precluded,—in short, y^e emphatical sentence of y^e Roman people ag^t State criminals will not [only] be pronounced, but literally executed: aquâ et igne interdicatur.

This is nearly y^e substance of the Virg^a resolves: they have also drawn up instructions for y^e direction of their deputies in which, taking notice of Gage's proclamation for y^e suppression of associations declared by y^e General to be rebellious & treasonable, and previously observing that all treasons are defined by y^e Statute of Edw^d y^e 3rd, they go on to say (I give you their very words): [The quotation is omitted from the letter book] now on foot to relieve y^e poor of that besieged city; some vessels have already sailed with provisions, more are daily expected to sail; Boston is considered by every Colony as suffering in the common cause. Thus have a mistaken policy, an ill-grounded jealousy, or rather y^e insatiable avarice or worse ambition of corrupt ministers intent on spreading that corruption thro' America, by which they govern absolutely in G. B., brought the British empire to y^e brink of ruin, armed (y^e expression is not too strong) subject ag^t subject, the parent against y^e child, ready to add unnatural murders to y^e horrors of civil war. And do these men expect to escape the vengeance of an insulted, a spirited and powerful People?

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER BY ROGER B. TANEY.¹

Washington, Dec^r. 17. 1856

My Dear sir

My servant Maddison Franklin a free colored man was arrested today by two corporation officers, for coming in to the District—and remaining here more than five days—which they said was an offense against the laws of this corporation.² I be-

¹ The original of this astounding letter from the Chief Justice who did not know the laws (and especially those pertaining to such a widely discussed subject as negroes) of the town where he had lived for twenty years is in the Lincoln Historical Collection at the University of Chicago.

² Apparently the law which Taney or his servant broke is the following: "SEC. 3. *And be it enacted*, That from and after the passage of this act every free negro or mulatto, whether male or female, shall, within five days

came security for his appearance before Justice Hollingshead tomorrow at four o'clock.

Maddison has been in my service many years. After the death of Mrs. Taney it was impossible to leave my two daughters who lived [with] me in Baltimore alone during the winter when I am obliged to be here—and determined to bring them with me, & to live at a boarding house while my official duties required me to be in Washington. I did so, last winter, bringing all my household servants with me—and spent the summer & part of the autumn at the Springs—still taking my servants with me. But finding that from my own infirm state of health, as well

after their arrival in this city, and on the tenth day of December thereafter annually, record his or her name, and the name or names of every member of his or her family, on the books of this Corporation, and at the same time pay into the treasury of said Corporation for himself, herself, and each and every member of his or her family so registered, the sum of fifty dollars, upon which registration and payment of the sum aforesaid, the Mayor is hereby authorized and directed to grant a permit of residence to such registered free negro or mulatto, which shall entitle him or her to a residence within said Corporation; and on failure to comply with each and every provision of this section, he, she, or they, so failing, shall forfeit and pay to this Corporation a sum not less than ten dollars, nor exceeding twenty dollars, and shall be ordered by the Mayor to depart forthwith from this city; and failing to depart therefrom, shall be subject to the conditions and penalties prescribed in the first section of this act: *Provided*, Nothing in this act contained shall be so construed as to apply to or affect the condition of any free negro or mulatto who may come into the city in the service of any transient person or member of Congress, while in such employment, or who may have been sent to the city by his or her employer on temporary business." *Corporation laws of the city of Washington, to the End of the fiftieth council, (To June 3d, 1853, inclusive), to which are added the laws enacted between that day, and October 10, 1853.* Revised and compiled by James W. Sheahan. . . . Prepared and published by order of the corporation of Washington. Washington: Printed by Robert A. Waters, 1853. P. 252-53. "An Act supplementary to and amendatory of an act supplementary to 'An act concerning Free Negroes, Mulattoes, and Slaves,' approved May the thirty-first, eighteen hundred and twenty-seven," Approved, Dec. 10, 1850. According to the 1827 law, negroes had to register within 30 days. *Ibid.*, p. 246 f.

The officer who made the arrest probably considered (not unjustly) Taney as no longer a transient since he had resided in Washington for approximately twenty years, and had taken a house, and that hence the *Proviso* did not apply to his servant.

as the delicate health of one of my daughters that we unavoidably suffered much discomfort in a boarding house, I endeavored to procure a ready furnished house for the winter. But after much search I was unable to procure a suitable one—and was finally obliged to take the one I am now in for a year—or to return again to board. Yet although I have taken the house for a year I have never intended or expected to remain in it, except in the winter when my official duties require me to be here. I have not taken it with any intention of becoming a resident—or of abandoning my residence in Maryland. I am staying here merely because my public duties compel me to be here—and have brought with me my household servants to be with me while I remain. And I have always regarded myself as a sojourner in Washington & my servants sojourning with me while public duties detain me.

I made this statement to the corporation officers who arrested Madison & told them that I was not acquainted with the laws of the corporation—but did not suppose that what I have done could have been made an offense by a law of the corporation—and that there must be some mistake in the matter. But that I knew you were the corporation Attorney, and that I should submit the case to you—and cheerfully abide by your decision whatever it might be.

I inclose the memorandum made by the officer for Madisons appearance tomorrow.

I am with great
respect & regard
Y^r Obt. S^t:
R. B. Taney

J. M. Carlisle Esq. [James Mandeville Carlisle]

HISTORIC FORT WASHINGTON.

By AMY CHENEY CLINTON.

Will Fort Washington, on the historic Potomac, some day be a Government park, or will it continue to be used as an Army Post?

Fifteen miles south from Washington, just opposite Mount Vernon, and six miles below Alexandria, Virginia, at the mouth of Piscataway Creek, this beautiful promontory is an ideal site for either purpose.

Hundreds of visitors come to the post each year, among them foreigners and military attaches, for the ground where the fort stands today has an interesting history, aboriginal, revolutionary and secessional, that dates back to 1600.

Under an act of Congress passed May 29, 1930, amending the act of June 6, 1924, providing for a comprehensive development of the park and playground system of the National Capital and its environs, Forts Washington, Foote and Hunt were authorized to be turned over and administered as a part of the George Washington Memorial Parkway whenever their use was no longer deemed necessary for military purposes. Forts Foote and Hunt have already been transferred under the act, and are now under the jurisdiction of the office of National Capital Parks of the National Park Service.

The act of 1930 also provided that when the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway was completed it would be a part of the George Washington Memorial Parkway which is to extend from Fort Washington to Great Falls on the Maryland side of the river, and from Mount Vernon to Great Falls on the Virginia side. The National Capital Park and Planning Commission is authorized to acquire the land for the parkway. Due to lack of funds progress has been slow. However, the Commission has acquired, through the cooperation of property owners, more than 300 acres between Washington and

Great Falls, on the Maryland side. Arlington County and the State of Virginia have contributed to the acquisition of the river front between Memorial Bridge and Key Bridge where the National Park Service is now constructing a parkway road to connect with the Mount Vernon Highway.

In 1634, when Maryland was first settled, an Indian village known as Piscataway was situated on the fort site. It was the residence of Chief Kittamaqund. These Indians had been visited by Henry Fleet before the coming of the Maryland colonists. It is probable that it is the same village Captain John Smith gave the name of Pamacocock.

In his interesting article on the Piscataway Indians, in Vol. 30 of the Magazine of the Maryland Historical Society, which gives a very complete history of the tribe, William B. Marye says that the natives called Chief Kittamaqund the "tayac," and to the English he was always known as "Emperor." It was customary to style as kings all ordinary Indian chieftains. The Indian chief who ruled over kings had to have a more pompous title, so he was called "emperor."

Mr. Marye says further that the ruling powers of the Province of Maryland acknowledged the station and authority of three "emperors." The emperor of the Piscataways was the only one of them who lived and held sway on the Western Shore. The other two, the Emperor of Nanticoke and the Emperor of Assateague, lived on the Eastern Shore. Various Indian tribes acknowledged the supremacy of the Piscataway Emperor. They were the Mattawomans, the Chocticos, the Portobaccos, the Nanjemoyes and the Anacostans.

The territory of the Piscataway Indians was thought to extend for 130 miles, that is, to the east, as far north as the territory of the Susquehannocks, or at least to the Patapsco River, and as far south as the Patuxent River. To the west their territory was bounded by the Potomac, though it extended along that river as far north as the present site of Washington and as far south as the Piscataway River.

In a paper on historic Fort Washington, read before the Co-

lumbia Historical Society, in 1903, James Dudley Morgan, M. D., states :

“ The strategic advantage of the promontory on the Potomac which is now called Fort Washington, seems to have been known to the Indians long before the coming of the white man into this region. That these aborigines appreciated the natural advantages for defense and offense offered by this bluff at the junction of the Potomac River and Piscataway Creek, and that their judgment in the choice of the situation was both sound and unassailable for hostile defense was proved by the first Colonial settlers under Governor Calvert, by its choice as a point of fortification by Generals Washington and Knox, and by its improvements and enlargement under Presidents Madison and Monroe, and by its reaching later the distinction of flying the garrison flag.”

Piscataway Manor was laid off as a reservation for the Piscataway Indians, and here was erected a stockaded fort in which they were supposed to be protected against the Susquehannocks, their enemies, who made inroads on them from the north.

The Piscataways played an especially important part in the life of the early Maryland colonists. A Jesuit mission was established at Piscataway in 1640, soon after the arrival of Lord Baltimore's colonists. Some of the early settlers lived among the Indians in order to acquire enough knowledge of their language to become interpreters and also to protect them against the Susquehannocks. The latter seem to have made things too uncomfortable for the priests, and they withdrew their mission to Port Tobacco.

It appears that about this time Virginia colonists became incensed at the depredations of the Susquehannock Indians, and also that they wished to gain possession of the Piscataway fort. The Susquehannocks, who had been troubled with an epidemic of smallpox and incursions of Northern Indians of the Six Nations, had taken refuge with their enemies at the fort.

Some years before this a treaty of peace had been made with the Susquehannock Indians at Spesutia Island, at the mouth of

the Susquehanna River, by the Governor and his council, one of the council being Colonel Nathaniel Utie. As a token of the permanence of this treaty they gave the chiefs of the tribe a medal on one side of which Lord Baltimore's head was shown in relief, and that of his wife on the opposite side. At the top was a small hole through which a yellow and black ribbon was inserted, so that the medal could be hung around the Indians' necks. The assurance was given them that if they were ever in trouble in Maryland this medal, a token of inviolable friendship, upon being displayed, would be a protection.

At the time of Bacon's rebellion in Virginia, George Washington's grandfather, Colonel John Washington, and a company of Virginia men in quest of Susquehannock Indians, crossed the Potomac River to the Piscataway fort. Colonel Trueman, as a representative of Maryland, met them there. The Virginians taxed the Susquehannocks with "murders done on their side by them, but they made the same reply as to Major Trueman, that it was none of them. Then they made it appear that three of the Indians were they that did the murders."

Colonel Washington then demanded the surrender of the chiefs of the Susquehannock tribe. Obeying the command, the five chiefs stepped forth and presented the medal that had been given them as a token of everlasting peace.

An account of the incident, given in the *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. 2, May 20, 1676, says:

"Depont saw six Indians guarded with the Mary Landers & Virginians and the Major with the Virginia Officers Setting upon a Tree Some distance from them and after Some While they all Rose and came Towards the Indians and caused them to be bound, and after Some time they talked againe and the Virginia Officer would have knocked them on the head in the place presently and perticularly Collonell Washington Said what Should we keep them any longer let us knock them on the head we shall get the Forte today but the Depont Saith that the Major would not admit of it but was over swayed by the Virginia Officers and after further discourse the sd Indians were carryed forth from the place where they were bound and they knocked them on the head."

Colonel Trueman, the representative of Maryland, was tried before the Governor and the Council of Maryland, for allowing such a procedure to occur, and was condemned to death. He was later reprieved.

The medal which was given the Susquehannock Indians is in the Maryland Historical Society's collection of objects of historic value.

In 1634, Governor Leonard Calvert visited the Emperor of the Piscataway Indians before settling at St. Mary's. With two small English ships, the *Ark* and the *Dove*, he sailed up the Chesapeake to the Potomac, accompanied by a party of colonists who were exploring the Potomac, and who later became the first Marylanders. They penetrated as far up the river as St. Clement's Island (now called Blakistone Island), before disembarking.

Leaving most of his party here, Governor Calvert with a few chosen men (one of whom was Captain Henry Fleet who acted as interpreter), set out in two pinnaces to explore the river. They made several landings, one at a point near the present Colonial Beach.

Continuing their voyage of discovery, they came to what was then, and is yet, called Piscataway Creek, and here they found the surrounding heights covered with Indians to the number of five hundred.

Mr. Marye states that while Calvert made clear his desire to settle peaceably somewhere in the Emperor's territory, the chief listened quietly, and then answered in true diplomatic fashion:

"I will not bid you go, neither will I bid you stay. You may use your own discretion."

This hardly seemed a hearty welcome, and too, Calvert thought the town of Piscataway too far up the river. Thanking the chief, he turned back towards the mouth of the river, landing finally among the tribe of Yeocomicos, from whom he purchased land on which to found St. Mary's City.

Governor Nicholson, writing in the year 1697, concerning the

Indian population of Maryland, says that the Piscataway Indians gradually diminished in numbers. Smallpox was one of the causes of their decrease. Drinking was another cause. Other reasons for the melting away of the population were wars made upon the native people by neighboring Indians and by the Five Nations (Senecas—an old affair), and the wars and petty strifes with the English.

As they diminished in numbers the Piscataways and their allies became more and more accessible to the recurring attacks of the Northern Indians. In 1680 it was reported that the Piscataways, the Mattawomans and the Chocticos were no match for the Senecas and the Susquehannocks who had a muster of one thousand men to besiege them. About this time the Northern Indians boasted that they had "brought the Pascataway heads to be as small as a finger, and will now see if they can make an end of them."

The attacks of the Susquehannocks were so fierce that the Piscataways sold their land at last to Lord Baltimore. Records show that William Calvert received a large grant of land from his uncle, Lord Baltimore, called Piscataway Manor, 2,400 acres of which he sold to Charles Egerton, Senior.

The Piscataways left their former abodes in the year 1697. Not many years later they were living under the government of Pennsylvania, and the land of their ancestors saw them no more.

The records of the State Land Office at Annapolis, Maryland, show that in 1717 the site where Fort Washington is now located was purchased from George Barbier, John Contee and Luke Gardiner by Charles Digges, a descendant of Edward Digges, Governor of Virginia from 1652 to 1668, and named Warburton Manor. Warburton Manor was bounded by Piscataway Creek, the Potomac River, and part of Swan Creek, and natural boundaries that made it twelve hundred acres, more or less.

Warburton was the home of George Digges, who married into the Carroll family. His widow built Green Hill on a portion of Chilham Castle Manor estate which took its name from that

of the ancestral home of the Digges family in Kent, England. William Dudley Digges, a son, married Eleanor, daughter of Daniel Carroll, of Duddington. In the Digges home at Green Hill, Major Charles Pierre L'Enfant found refuge in his last days.

Edward Digges, Governor, married Elizabeth Page, by whom he had thirteen children. The eldest, William, figured prominently in the official and military life of Virginia, and was active during Bacon's rebellion. He moved to Maryland in 1680, and patented extensive tracts of land in the Province. He married a Mrs. Wharton, a charming widow whose beautiful mother captivated Charles, the third Lord Baltimore. From this eldest line of the Digges family in America have descended many of Maryland's most distinguished sons and beautiful daughters. While the owner of estates in several counties, Colonel William Digges' name is associated with Warburton Manor.

Of the many Maryland families whose lineal descent from some of the most notable houses of Great Britain is positively proven by the records of England and internal evidence in Maryland, none is of more interest than that of the Digges family. This ancient name is notable for royal blood which flows in its veins from several reigning kings, including that of the great Conqueror himself.

The Digges family were very intimately associated with the Washington family. George Washington and George Digges were not only neighborly, but enjoyed a close friendship. Dr. Morgan states in his paper that there was much social visiting between Warburton and Mount Vernon, and their neighboring country seats. In addition to the hospitality extended during the hunting season, Washington Irving speaks of "water parties upon the Potomac in those palmy days when Mr. Digges would receive his guests in a barge rowed by six negroes dressed in uniform the distinguishing features of which were checked shirts and black velvet caps."

Washington spent his forty-third birthday at Warburton.

It was his custom in going to Bladensburg by Upper Marlborough, or to Annapolis, to ferry the Potomac from Mount Vernon to Warburton, and thus continue the journey. Often, when belated, or for social intercourse, he would stop and spend some time with George Digges. He kept a coach at Warburton for use on his journeys to Baltimore.

Dr. Joseph H. Toner speaks of the beautiful and unobstructed view from Mount Vernon to Warburton. It appears that General Washington and George Digges had a system of flag signaling. Standing on the knoll a little to the front of his home, General Washington would wave to his neighbors, and little boats with liveried men would pull out from the shores of the Potomac to transport him to Warburton, sometimes for the purpose of striking a trade of tobacco, corn or wheat, of cattle or sheep.

A letter from General Washington to Thomas Digges about an exchange of wheat, says:

“Genl. Washington presents his compliments to Mr. Digges and will with pleasure exchange 20 bushels of the early white wheat with him when he gets it out of the straw—which is not the case at present—nor can he until the latter end of next week or beginning of the week following, which would be full early for sowing that kind of wheat; indeed any time in September is in good season. The middle, better than sooner in that month.

“A good journey to Mr. Digges.

“Mt. Vernon, 31 Sept., 1799.”

Before Fort Monroe, at Old Point Comfort, Hampton Roads, Virginia, was built for defense at the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, Fort Washington was the only protection to the City of Washington from invasion of an enemy by water. Now that Coast Defense rifles, in conjunction with controlled and contact lines can close the mouth of Chesapeake Bay against all hostile sea forces, its purpose has passed. Records show, however, that Fort Washington, which has seen so many vicissitudes and taken part in so many wars, invasions, sieges and insurrections, was never an adequate protection as a water battery.

With the establishment of the National Capital in the City of Washington, the necessity for its protection was recognized. General Washington realized the advantages of Warburton as a natural vantage point. Always keenly awake to any enterprise in connection with the interests of the young Republic, in 1785, accompanied by several friends among whom was Governor Johnson, of Maryland, he made a tour of investigation of the Upper Potomac in a canoe, long before the removal of the seat of government to Washington.

In 1794, General Washington wrote Secretary of War Knox as follows:

“The President of the United States, who is well acquainted with the River Potomac, conceived that a certain bluff of land on the Maryland side near Mr. Digges, a point formed by an eastern branch of the Potomac, would be a proper situation for a fortification to be erected.”

In 1795, negotiations were entered into with Mr. George Digges for the purchase of part of Warburton, consisting of three acres, at the mouth of Piscataway Creek, and a further expense to the Government of small sums of money for intrenchments at that point. The fort was built as a water battery in 1800, under the name of Fort Warburton.

Edwin Melvin Williams, in a chapter on “Revolution and War of 1812,” in “Washington Past and Present,” states that in 1807 an incident occurred that aroused Washingtonians. The United States frigate Chesapeake on her way to the capes of Chesapeake Bay was stopped and searched by a British war vessel, and several American sailors wounded. Such a national insult so near the National Capital stirred martial spirit, and President Madison called for mobilization of American militia. The troops were not called into active service, as the need passed.

To further quote Mr. Williams:

“The spirit was further reflected by fortifying Fort Washington, on the Maryland side of the Potomac opposite Mount Vernon, in 1808. It was expected that this fort on Digges

Point properly fortified and supported by gunboats, would afford protection to Alexandria, Washington and Georgetown against the approach of any such naval force as reasonably could be expected. By the end of 1808, Fort Washington showed the bristling muzzles of thirteen guns on the side next to the Potomac, and six guns in a blockhouse of masonry, commanding the approach. One hundred and twenty artillerymen constituted the garrison."

Brigadier General James Wilkinson's Memoirs state :

"There was not within succouring distance of Washington any organized militia of the states, nor regular force except a few hundred raw recruits of the 37th and 38th regiments, the district militia partly unarmed and miserably formed, and the defense of the river depended on the sloop of war Adams, with a few small gunboats, and Fort Washington, a mere water battery of twelve or fifteen guns, bearing upon the channel in the ascent of the river, but useless the moment a vessel had passed. This work was seated at the foot of a steep acclivity, from the summit of which the garrison could have been driven out by musketry, but this height was protected by an octagonal Block house, built of brick, and of two stories altitude, which being calculated against musketry only, could have been knocked down by a twelve pounder."

Mr. Williams states that when war was declared in the summer of 1812, Washingtonians manifested a martial ardor that was comforting to the Madison administration. In New England partisan politics hindered the military plans of the National Government. Britain was concerned by the threat of Napoleon against its own supremacy, else the British operations in America might have been more serious than they proved to be.

In May, 1813, a British fleet under Admiral Warren and Rear Admiral Cockburn began to blockade Chesapeake and Delaware Bays. Cockburn ascended the Chesapeake and burned Havre de Grace and other towns. From Philadelphia to Richmond most citizens realized that the coast defenses were weak; and Major L'Enfant, at this time, made a report to the President on the inadequacy of these defenses. The National

Capital itself was in danger, though President Madison would not admit it.

According to Mr. Williams' account, Fort Washington which had been allowed to get into disrepair, was strengthened, and a detachment of militia kept vigilant watch from the hill where the Naval Observatory was built later.

In the year 1813, when the British invaded Washington, it seemed to the Secretary of War, on paper, that more than enough troops could be mustered at short notice to meet the invaders and repel them. In June additional companies were enrolled in the militia of the District, and a force numbering 400 was enlisted in the service of the Government. In addition, a squadron of cavalry, under Colonel Tayloe patrolled near the Washington Bridge.

The British fleet attacked Norfolk without success, but burned Hampton, after which they began the ascent of the Potomac. By the middle of July, 1813, they were within sixty miles of the Capital City.

By ten o'clock of the morning of the day when word of this was received at daylight, three thousand men were on their way to Fort Washington. This force consisted of District militia and all the regulars that were then in the Capital. Secretary of the Navy William Jones accompanied the U. S. frigate Adams and several gunboats from the Navy Yard. With the six hundred regular soldiers that were garrisoning Fort Washington was Secretary of War John Armstrong. The Secretary of State, James Monroe, went with cavalry patrols down the river. Many members of Congress also were to be found at the points of danger.

Realizing that it would be difficult to accomplish their plans at this time, after staying six days within sixty miles of Washington, the British admiral dropped down the river and resumed cruising in Chesapeake Bay.

With the departure of the enemy ships Washingtonians soon forgot their plans for defense.

In 1814, Napoleon abdicated, and the peace treaty was

signed. Britain, supreme at sea and possessing an army seasoned in warfare against the most brilliant strategist of that period, could now safely plan to use her legions of veterans against America.

First word of this determination reached Washington on May 9. Nevertheless, the War Department, if not the whole Government, gave little credence to the reports.

With eleven ships of war and several store ships and transports, General Ross left the river Garonne in France on June 2, 1814, and reached Bermuda on July 24. He sailed for the American coast on August 3, and reached the Patuxent River on the 19th, landing at that point without opposition. The plan was to attack the Capital by way of Upper Marlborough and Bladensburg, by landing at Benedict on the Patuxent River.

Cooperating with General Ross was Rear Admiral Sir George Cockburn, whose aim was to destroy the American flotilla of Commodore Joshua Barney, who was resisting attacks in the Chesapeake. Admiral Cockburn had sent two smaller naval expeditions, one under Captain Gordon, up the Potomac, with the destruction of Fort Washington as its main objective, and the other up the Chesapeake above Baltimore.

When the British anchored off the Patuxent, General William H. Winder, who was in charge of land forces, had a paper strength of 15,000 militiamen, but actually under arms only about 842 men, the 36th and 38th Regular Infantry numbering 330 men under command of Lieutenant Colonel Scott, 250 militia under Major Kramer at Bladensburg, and the artillery garrisons at Forts Washington, McHenry, Severn and Madison, numbering in all only 262 men. General Winder strongly advocated the immediate mobilization and training of a citizen army, which, without instruction in military movements, could hardly be expected to seem much better than a mob by comparison with the veterans of the Napoleonic wars. General Armstrong, Secretary of War, thought differently. He did not reply to General Winder's letter urging action.

Cockburn and Ross, for the major operation against Wash-

ington, began the movement from Benedict on the 20th. Reaching Upper Marlborough on the 22nd, Cockburn found and destroyed Barney's flotilla a few miles from Pig Point, the American commodore having withdrawn his sailors and some guns after it had become apparent that the gunboats could not be saved. Barney and his men fell back in the direction of the Capital, and assisted in activities at the Battle of Bladensburg.

General Winder, with hastily gathered forces, made a determined defense against Wellington's veterans fresh from the scenes of victories in the Napoleonic wars under the leadership of General Ross, who had enjoyed a reputation second to none. Suddenly hurried from civil life into war, too much was expected of the militia on the field of Bladensburg. The battle here was well contested, numbering about 100 men under the command of General Walter Smith.

General Winder withdrew his whole force into the City of Washington across the Eastern Branch Bridge, and the British began their march of forty-five miles to the Capital. His report states:

"To preserve Smith's command from being pressed in front by fresh troops of the enemy who were coming on at the same time, while they were under the certainty of being assailed on both flanks and the rear by the enemy, who respectively gained on them, in which circumstances their destruction or surrender would have been inevitable, I sent (my horse being unable to move with the rapidity I wished) to General Smith to retreat. I am not acquainted with the relative position of the different corps composing his command, and cannot, therefore, determine who of them engaged the enemy, nor could I see how they acted, but when I arrived in succession at the different corps, which I did so soon as practicable, I do not recollect to have found any of them that were not in order, and retreating with as little confusion as could have been expected."

Much criticism was directed at the District of Columbia afterwards, but it is apparent from General Winder's report that the militiamen did not fall back from Bladensburg in panic.

General Ross and Admiral Cockburn entered the city about

dusk with some 700 men, for the purpose of burning public property. The toll of the torch that night included the Capital, the Congressional Library, which was then housed in the White House, War and Treasury Buildings, the Arsenal and Barracks. It is said that the reflection from the flames could be seen in Baltimore, forty miles off.

Henry Adams' *History of the United States* says that while Ross and Cockburn were engaged in their work of destruction the President, after riding over the battlefield until the action began, remarked to Monroe and Armstrong that "it would be now proper for us to retire in the rear, leaving the military movement to military men," which they did. A moment afterward the left of the line gave way, and the militia poured along the road leading westward toward the point which in later times became known as the Soldier's Home. The President retired with them, continuing to move slowly toward the city.

Continuing, Mr. Adams says that the President left Bladensburg battle-field toward five o'clock. He had already ridden in the early morning from the White House to the Navy Yard, and thence to Bladensburg, a distance of eight miles at the least. He had six miles to ride, on a very hot August day, over a road encumbered by fugitives. He was sixty-three years old, and had that day already been in the saddle since eight o'clock in the morning, probably without food.

Soon after three o'clock he reached the White House, where all was confusion and flight. He had agreed with his Cabinet in case of disaster to meet them at Frederick in Maryland fifty miles away, but he did not go toward Frederick. Before six o'clock he crossed the Potomac in a boat from the White House grounds, and started by carriage westward, apparently intending to join his wife and accompany her to his residence at Montpelier in Loudon County, on the south of the Potomac, Secretary Jones, Attorney-General Rush, and one or two other gentlemen accompanied him. In the midst of a troop of fugitives they travelled till dark, and went about ten miles, passing the night at a house a few miles above the lower falls.

The next morning, August 25, the President travelled about six miles and joined his wife at an inn on the same road, where he remained, subjected to no little discomfort and some insult from fugitives who thought themselves betrayed.

To again quote Dr. Morgan :

On the 25th of July, 1814, just a month before the battle of Bladensburg, the officer in charge of Fort Washington reported to General Winder the "defenseless situation" of the post, and at the suggestion of the general, the War Department consulted Major Charles Pierre L'Enfant, who in a written report told of the dilapidated condition of the fort and the armament, and urged a suitable appropriation for putting it in proper condition for the defense of the Potomac and the Federal City. He spoke of the necessity for an additional number of heavy guns at Fort Washington, and an additional fort in the neighborhood, and concluded :

"The whole original design is bad, and it is therefore impossible to make a perfect work of it by alterations."

After this report had been made the Common Council of the City of Alexandria sent a deputation to the President to apprise him of the defenseless state of the town, and the reply received was that their representations would be properly attended to, but that it was "impossible to extend protection to every assailable point of the country." Little or nothing was done toward the defense of the Capital itself. The corporation of Alexandria, however, appropriated fifteen hundred dollars out of the town funds to pay for mounting some cannon which were in the town, and which had been in the use of the militia while under the state government.

For two years the City of Washington had stood unprotected. Not a battery or a breastwork was to be found on the river bank except Fort Warburton. With all the facts before him Secretary of War Armstrong argued the utter improbability of a hostile force leaving its fleet and marching forty miles inland. As to the Potomac, its rocks and shoals and devious channels would prevent any stranger from ascending it.

Neither the Secretary of War nor President Madison saw the need of urgency, and only a "couple of hands" were ordered down to the fort to execute the necessary repairs. The ascent of the British in August, 1814, was an easy matter. Only one man was killed in the journey of eight or nine days or more upon the Potomac, and "this Briton was shot later down the Potomac raiding a chicken roost."

On the 15th of August, after news of the arrival of British land forces at Benedict, had been received, and the British Squadron, under Captain Gordon, of the "Seahorse," was known to be ascending the Potomac, General Winder addressed a letter to the Secretary of War in which he suggested that vessels be sunk in the Potomac at Fort Washington to obstruct navigation, and that the garrison be reenforced. It does not appear that any attention was paid to either suggestion. There is no doubt that had General Winder's warning been heeded the British would not have invaded Alexandria.

On the night of General Winder's retreat to the city, after the battle of Bladensburg, he sent directions to the officer, Captain Samuel T. Dyson, commanding Fort Washington, "in the event of his being taken by land by the enemy, to blow up the fort and retire across the river." Three days after receiving these directions Captain Dyson, becoming panicky at the approach of the British Squadron, called a council of war, and by their advice blew up the magazine and abandoned the fort without firing a shot at the British fleet. The garrison, it appears from the official report, did not then exceed sixty men.

With inadequate equipment, and without the support of his Government, it is difficult to see how Captain Dyson could have successfully repulsed the enemy. The fact was, however, that he acted without orders. It would seem almost as though he had been made the scapegoat. He was tried by court martial, found guilty of misbehavior in the presence of the enemy, and sentenced to dismissal.

An account of the destruction of Fort Washington is given in the report of Captain Gordon. This is dated August 27, 1814:

“Higher up the river on the opposite side Fort Washington appeared to our anxious eyes, and to our great satisfaction it was considered assailable. A little before sunset the squadron anchored just out of gunshot, the bomb vessels at once taking up their positions to cover the frigates in the projected attack at daylight next morning, and began throwing shells. The garrison to our great surprise, retreated from the fort and a short time afterward Fort Washington was blown up, which left the Capital of America and the populous town of Alexandria open to the squadron without the loss of a man. It was too late to ascertain whether this catastrophe was occasioned by one of our shells or whether it had been blown up by the garrison, but the opinion was in favor of the latter. Still we are at a loss to account for such an extraordinary step. The position was good, and its capture would have cost us at least fifty men and more had it been properly defended.”

Captain Gordon, with the British Squadron, consisting of “seven-sail,” then passed Fort Warburton, and proceeded to Alexandria, which capitulated the next morning, and was compelled to furnish large supplies of merchandise, provisions and ships. Then, towing the captured ships, Captain Gordon proceeded down the Potomac. The winding course of the channel and the numerous kettle bottoms formed by beds of mud and oysters, made navigation and speed very slow, and on many occasions vessels were grounded on the frequent sand bars.

According to Scharf's *History of Maryland*, a large body of seamen had been ordered from Baltimore and placed under the command of Commodores Rodgers, Perry and Porter, and Captain Creighton, of the United States Navy. Commodore Rodgers, with three small fire-ships, under the protection of four barges, manned with about sixty seamen, attacked and annoyed the rear of the enemy's squadron.

Commodore Porter, assisted by Captain Creighton and other naval officers, with a detachment of sailors and marines, erected a battery at the White House on the west bank of the Potomac, for the purpose of destroying the enemy's ships on their passage down the river. He was also assisted by General Hungerford's brigade of Virginia militia, and Captain George W. Hum-

phrey's rifle company, General Young, Captain Gena's company of Infantry, Captain Grayson of the Marines, Captain Griffith of the Alexandria artillery. Commodore Perry, assisted by Lieutenant Reed, of the United States Navy, established a battery on the east side of the Potomac at Indian Head. In his official report he says:

"The field pieces (six pounders) under the direction of that excellent officer, Major Peter, of the Georgetown, and Capt. Burch, of the Washington volunteers, and Capt. Lewis, of Gen. Stuart's brigade, kept up a very spirited fire. These officers, together with Captains Stull and Davidson, and their brave men, behaved in the handsomest manner, and rendered all the assistance their limited means afforded.

"The ammunition of the 18-pounder and of several of the sixes being expended and the fire of the enemy from two frigates, two sloops-of-war, two bombs, one rocket ship, and several smaller vessels, being very heavy, it was thought advisable by General Stuart, Major Peter, and myself, to retire a short distance in the rear. This was done in good order, after sustaining their fire for more than an hour. General Stuart and Colonel Beall were much exposed during the whole time of the cannonading. It would be presumptuous in me to speak in commendation of these veterans. I cannot, however, avoid expressing admiration of their conduct."

The Porter's battery did considerable damage to the enemy, killing seven and wounding thirty-five men.

Only a few days elapsed after the departure of the British when Secretary of State Monroe, who was then also Acting Secretary of War (General Armstrong having resigned in disgrace), ordered Major L'Enfant, on September 8, 1814, to proceed to Fort Washington and reconstruct the fort. Major L'Enfant designed and superintended the construction of the fort, which was protected by a moat and drawbridge. Hand-shaped natural stone composed the walls. The work was begun in 1815 and completed in 1822.

After the second war with Great Britain, Fort Washington was allowed, as most all fortifications throughout the United States, to go to rack and ruin for want of proper care of its

armaments and intrenchments, until in 1850 it was a mere military post having one or two companies of artillery, and later only a detachment of ordnance corps.

In 1861, a detachment of Marines under Colonel John Harris, Commandant, took over the post, and later during the War between the States, Fort Washington became an important link in the chain of defenses that girdled the Capital.

From the end of the Civil War until about 1890, the post was occupied by small caretaking detachments. In 1891, work was begun on the modern fortifications now in use, and known as a seacoast battery.

During the Spanish-American War and the World War these fortifications were manned by troops of the Coast Artillery. Since 1921, the post has been an infantry garrison, and the heavy artillery guns and mortars have been moved to other defenses.

The present garrison of Fort Washington consists of the Third Battalion, Twelfth United States Infantry, a specially organized battalion used for ceremonies in the City of Washington, and for demonstrations in addition to performing its normal garrison duties at the fort.

The fort is a monument to Major L'Enfant. The entrance way, the original doors and part of the machinery for working the drawbridge are intact. A mound is all that remains of the Warburton Manor. The site of the original Digges Manor house is indicated by a marker containing historical data, which was unveiled September 20, 1932, located just north of the two brick houses on the officers' line. A portion of a fine old box hedge, planted about the year 1700, may still be seen in the rear of the first of these brick houses.

The fort is reached by continuing past the site of the manor house and the dismantled seacoast battery, which was built in 1891, to the end of the road.

From the parapet of the old fort, as one faces the river, can be seen in order from the right, the Washington Monument, at the end of the river; the tower of the Masonic Memorial in

Alexandria; Fort Hunt, one of the old river defenses of Washington, directly across the river; and Fort Humphreys.

Repair work is at present being done by a company of CCC workers under the direction of the National Capital Park and Planning Commission, which includes restoration of walls that have become split as the result of the growth of the roots of trees.

It is thought that one fortress in the vicinity of the Capital of the Nation should be selected for suitability of type and beauty of line, and restored to, and preserved in, precise conformity to the period of warfare of which it is a model.

THE PAPERS OF THE MARYLAND STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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At a meeting of the Maryland Historical Society on March 9th, 1885, John H. B. Latrobe, its President, read a paper entitled "Maryland in Liberia," based on a collection of documents in the custody of the Society. The Preface to the printed copy of Mr. Latrobe's paper (Fund-Publication, No. 21, Baltimore, 1885) set forth the history of these documents as follows: "When the Maryland State Colonization Society closed its active operations in 1863, Dr. James Hall, who had been its agent and business manager, and the editor of the *Maryland Colonization Journal*, arranged carefully all the books and papers of the Society and placed them in the custody of the Maryland Historical Society."

As a matter of fact, however, it was not until fourteen years after the date mentioned by Mr. Latrobe that the papers of the Maryland Colonization Society were delivered to the Historical Society. On October 9th, 1876, the Rev. Dr. E. A. Dalrymple read a letter from Dr. James Hall, expressing a wish to deposit

with the Historical Society the 'Archives of the Colonization Society,' and, upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to refer the matter to the President and the Librarian with power to act. Four months later, on February 12th, 1877, a letter from Dr. Hall to Mr. Latrobe was read, notifying Mr. Latrobe that Dr. Hall had sent to Mr. Gatchell, Assistant Librarian, an inventory of the 'Archives' sent to the Historical Society for safe-keeping. This inventory, dated January 22nd, 1877, listed 23 items "In Manuscript" and 12 items of "Printed Matter," and was accompanied by a letter thanking Mr. Gatchell "for the kind assistance afforded in arranging this matter of transfer and deposit of the Archives of one public institution to the custody of another."

Mr. Latrobe himself, in the Preface mentioned above, remarked that: "The material has not by any means been exhausted." Indeed, this should be regarded as a considerable understatement of the situation, for the papers of the Maryland State Colonization Society are so voluminous and cover so many phases of the work of the Society in both America and Liberia that it would be impossible to exhaust them in a number of essays similar to Mr. Latrobe's. Over fifty years have passed since Mr. Latrobe addressed the Historical Society, and no further attempts have been made to use the material gathered so carefully by Dr. Hall and deposited with the Historical Society. It might be of interest, therefore, to give some account of the large collection still reposing in the original cabinet and untouched for many years until February 1937. For purposes of convenience to students and others, the papers have been classified arbitrarily under certain headings according to their subject matter.

I. MINUTES

A. *Records* of the meetings of the Board of Managers:

1. February 1831—December 1831.
2. (1) * March 1832—December 1834.

*The numbers in the parentheses indicate volume numbers as they appear on the books themselves. However, figures given in the notes refer

3. (2) January 1835—June 1838.
4. (3) June 1838—October 1851.
5. (4) February 1852—April 1864.
6. (5) November 1864—November 1902.

The *Records* provide a full history of the administration of the Maryland State Colonization Society and are an excellent source of information on the colony in Liberia. Volume I contains the organization records of the Colonization Society, and includes an interesting report by Dr. Ayres, agent of the group, on his trip to the various counties of the state to form branch societies. Volume 2 has a copy of the Ordinance for the government of Maryland in Liberia, showing the administrative set-up there; and has a copy of the deed for the land in Africa, giving the price paid in terms of muskets, kegs of powder, cloth, kettles, hats, beads, iron pots, looking glasses, knives, jugs, pitchers, bowls, fish hooks; scissors, etc. Volume 3 has the Third Annual Report of the Board of Managers, giving an interesting detailed account of the first settlement at Cape Palmas. It reflects the steps taken to raise funds, even to the extent that each member of the Board sold a certain number of Oratorio tickets for the benefit of the colonization project. Numerous other reports throw light on the early history of the movement and the colony. Volume 4 includes the Seventh Annual Report, which discusses fully the social and economic problems at Cape Palmas, as do all succeeding reports. A circular distributed among the people of Baltimore in 1841 seems to indicate that some colonization business was transacted at saloons. This book concludes with the Ordinance providing for the maintenance of 'Public Worship' in Liberia. Volume 5, like all the minute books, has a vast amount of correspondence relating to colonial affairs, reports, instructions, etc., not included in the regular letter books. There is also a copy of the articles of agreement between the Colonization Society and the

to the place of the volume cited in the whole series, because other types of material have no numbers of their own and it has seemed clearer to use a uniform method of citation.

people of Maryland in Liberia in 1854, when self-government became an actuality. The report of the Managers on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Society reviews past history and congratulates the members on the success of their efforts, rejoicing particularly that the territory at Cape Palmas was purchased without giving the natives "presents of Ardent Spirits." Volume 6 covers the period after the active work of the Society ceased, and shows the gradual decline of enthusiasm, the less frequent meetings, and the slow disintegration of the organization. The final records deal with the disposition of small sums in the treasury.

B. *Proceedings* of the Executive Committee:

1. March 1831—November 1833.
2. May 1832—May 1834.

The *Proceedings* are very brief and supply only the barest outline of what was done. Volume 1 includes some financial accounts. Volume 2 duplicates the record during 1833.

II. CORRESPONDENCE RECEIVED

A. *Letter Books*:

1. 1827-33.
2. 1834.
3. 1835.
4. 1836 (January-July).
5. 1836 (August-December).
6. 1837 (January-June).
7. 1837 (July-December).
8. 1838 (January-June).
9. 1838 (July-December).
10. 1839.
11. 1840.
12. 1841.
13. 1842.
14. 1843.
15. 1844.

16. 1845.
17. 1846.
18. 1847-8-9.
19. 1850-1-2.
20. January 1853—May 1854.
21. May 1854—April 1855.
22. April 1855—September 1856.
23. October 1856—October 1857.
24. October 1857—December 1859.
25. January 1860—July 1863.
26. April 1863—September 1872.
27. September 1866—October 1869.
28. March 1870—June 1871.

The twenty-eight volumes of *Letter Books* are an exceedingly large and valuable collection of source materials. They include every letter received by the Colonization Society from home and abroad, filed in chronological order of writing. These letters deal with a vast array of subjects, and include countless communications from Liberia, official and personal. Correspondence from all parts of Maryland and from distant regions of the United States indicates the wide sweep of the Society's activities. The first nineteen volumes are bound uniformly in brown leather; the rest are pasted in the black files customary at the time, are less well preserved, and are more difficult to consult. The entire collection, except the first volume, is indexed either by date or by the name of the writer.

B. *Letter Books, Shipping:*

1. April 1857—March 1858.
 2. March-November 1858.
 3. October 1858—November 1859.
 4. August 1859—May 1860.
 5. May 1860—April 1861.
 6. April 1861—May 1863.
 7. May 1863—"onward to the end."
- Extra. Bills of Lading, "Inclusive," 1856-60.

The *Letter Books, Shipping* are the only parts of the correspondence received which deal with a special subject and are set aside by themselves. The papers in them are shorter than those in the general letter files, they are all from American sources, and they deal entirely with business matters. They are pasted in the usual files, and are indexed by names. The Bills of Lading show the quantities and prices of goods shipped to Africa. They include an interesting array of receipts on the forms of many old firms: Adams Express Company, Cromwells New York and Baltimore Steamship Line, New York and Baltimore Transportation Line, American Express Company, Baltimore and Philadelphia Steamboat Company, Powhatan Steamboat Company, Merchants and Miners Transportation Company, United States Express Company, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Harnden's Express, Harrisburg Transportation Line, etc.

C. *Foreign Letter Books*:

1. January 1834—March 1838.
2. March 1838—June 1843.

The *Foreign Letter Books* contain copies of letters received from Liberia, and consist chiefly of official reports. They discuss all the problems of the colonial settlement, and present this material in paragraphs headed by the subject titles of the matter related therein.

III. CORRESPONDENCE SENT

A. *Letter Press Books*:

1. June 1854—May 1856.
2. May 1856—August 1859.
3. September 1859—June 1866.
4. October 1860—October 1861.

The *Letter Press Books* are impressions of a large number of letters sent out by the Colonization Society, many of them written by Dr. James Hall. Each volume has nearly five hundred pages, and most of the letters are very legible. They

are indexed under the names of the persons addressed. They touch on all phases of the Society's activities, but particularly interesting are the papers written at the time of the establishment of the Republic of Liberia in 1857. Volume 4 is concerned largely with Dr. Hall's letters written during his trip to Africa in 1860-61. The journey may be traced through its various stages: preparation, sea voyage, visit to Monrovia, trip down the coast with stops at Mesurado, off Bassa, at Cape Palmas, etc., at sea again, in the Chesapeake, and home. The latter portion of the book covers Dr. Hall's next trip to Londonderry in Ireland, Newport in England, and back again. Many of the letters in this volume are badly faded.

B. *Letter Press Books, Shipping:*

1. April 1857—November 1858.
2. December 1858—May 1860.
3. May 1860—January 1864.
4. (missing)
5. September 1866—April 1868.
6. April-December 1868.

The *Letter Press Books, Shipping* correspond among the letters sent to the *Letter Books, Shipping* among the letters received. Each volume contains nearly five hundred pages of correspondence dealing with goods sent to Africa, and the actual lists with prices are included in some cases. Volume 6, for instance, has on pages 404-07 an inventory of the ship 'Golconda,' listing all its equipment and supplies. A few other matters appear intermittently, and the entire collection reflects Dr. Hall's delightful charm of style. These letters, like those of the regular *Letter Press Books*, are indexed by the persons addressed.

C. *Corresponding Secretary's Books:*

1. October 1832—June 1834.
2. June 1834—July 1836.
3. July 1836—April 1840.

One of these volumes is labelled: "Letter Book, containing Copies of all Letters addressed by the Corresponding Secretary to different persons on business of the Society." This adequately reveals the nature of this class of the letter books. They include directions, suggestions, and reports on activities. Only Volume 1 is indexed.

D. *Latrobe Letter Books:*

1. November 1833—July 1836.
2. July 1836—November 1852.

These volumes contain a similar set of letters, all of them written by John H. B. Latrobe, who served as the Colonization Society's first Corresponding Secretary and became President in March 1837. Volume 1 consists largely of letters to Dr. Hall while the latter was Governor of Maryland in Liberia.

E. *State Managers' Book:*

1. April 1832—December 1862.

The *State Managers' Book* contains local correspondence, most of it written for the Board of Managers by Charles Howard, with the usual index. Noted almost at random is an interesting letter addressed in April 1832 to the President of Hayti, asking if there was a place for colored people in that island.

F. *Agents' Books:*

1. January 1834—October 1836.
2. November 1836—May 1844.
3. May 1844—October 1848.

The *Agents' Books* are copies of letters sent by the Rev. William McKenney, the Rev. Ira Easter, and Dr. James Hall while serving as agents of the Colonization Society. They show the activities of the Society in Maryland, particularly in regard to the colored people going to Africa. Included are the instructions to the captains of the ships taking the emigrants over the ocean and to the colonial officials in the settlement at Cape

Palmas. Volume 3 has in the front copies of letters from the mercantile house of J. R. Gordon and Company to its clients, April-December 1842, apparently not concerned at all with colonization affairs.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS AND MINUTES

A. Original letter, fifty-eight pages in length, from Robert Goodloe Harper to Charles B. Caldwell, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, giving ideas on colonization in Africa before the movement gained headway. This letter, dated at Baltimore, August 20th, 1817, is an extremely interesting document covering all phases of the subject and showing Harper very favorable to colonization.

B. Package of around sixty letters to the Board of Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society, dealing chiefly with emigration to Africa during the year 1832.

C. Package of reports of the Board of Managers and various committees, all dated 1832.

D. Collection of around seventy-five letters from the Rev. William McKenney to numerous correspondents, 1834-35. These papers seem to be a peculiarly full and valuable source of information on all phases of colonization activities: emigrants, whites and blacks to serve as missionaries and teachers, the purchase of supplies, colonization itself, etc. A letter written January 24, 1834 to Senator H. T. Emory presents a keen analysis of the situation in Maryland at that time. Particularly interesting are two letters to John McDonough in New Orleans, dated February 12th, 1834 and March 10th, 1835, which sketch the first moves for colonization by the Maryland Society. The first was written on seeing notice of McDonough's application to the Louisiana Legislature for permission to educate his slaves; the second approves the plan heartily as giving the slaves the Gospel and the prospect of freedom in the land of their forefathers.

E. Report of the Executive Committee on Dr. James Hall's account, and other papers, 1836.

F. List of contributions to the Maryland State Colonization Society, 1836, unpublished in the official 'Journal.'

G. Package containing letters to the Board of Managers, and a large number of minutes and proceedings of the Board, 1837.

H. Annual report of the Home Agent, 1837.

I. Reports of travelling agents, etc., 1848-49.

V. INVOICE BOOKS

1. October 1833—Spring 1838.

2. March 1839—April 1860.

The *Invoice Books* give lists of all the goods sent to Liberia, with prices of the various articles and names of the vessels on which they were shipped. Among the items enumerated are: clothing, food, books, medicines, household supplies and furnishings, etc. The ships with the largest cargoes were the 'Ann' (\$8,316.11), the 'Niobe' (\$7,131.40), and the 'Liberia Packet' (Voyage A, \$5,518.13; Voyage B, \$5,615.69). The vessels with the smallest shipments were the 'Columbia' (\$596.03), the 'Liberia Packet' (Voyage D, \$1,303.35; Voyage H, \$1,460.78), and the 'Trafalgar' (\$1,470.89).

VI. FINANCIAL RECORDS

The financial records of the Maryland State Colonization Society are amazingly complete from start to finish, and it is doubtful whether more material could be desired on this phase of the colonization problem.

A. *Day Books*:

1. (A) March 1831—December 1849.

2. (B) January 1850—November 1875.

The *Day Books* contain records of all financial transactions at the Colonization Office in Baltimore, receipts and payments entered in the order of their occurrence. Marginal numbers refer to pages in the *Journal* where the various items may be found.

B. *Journal*:

1. (A) March 1831—July 1875

The *Journal* gives the accounts of the Colonization Society in less detail than the *Day Books*, but the sums are identical. Marginal numbers refer to the pages in the *Ledger* where the accounts are listed individually.

C. *Ledger*:

1. (A) March 1831—December 1864.

The *Ledger* contains individual accounts, with the credit and debit columns balanced. Included are the expenses of the different expeditions to Liberia, the accounts of agents, and special funds, such as the public farm in the colony, the 'Cape Palmas Packet' (a newspaper), and the like. Numbers refer to pages in the *Journal* whence the sums are extracted, and there is an index loose in the front.

D. *Balance Sheets*:

A package has in it balance sheets of the Maryland State Colonization Society for the years 1831-44 inclusive. They seem to indicate total expenditures of \$189,940.43 for those first fourteen years of the Society's existence.

E. *Bank Books*:

1. May 1832—June 1840.
2. December 1836—October 1875.

The first bank book has a record of deposits in and withdrawals from the Union Bank of Maryland, balanced at the bottom of each page. At the end there is a list of subscribers to the 'Maryland Colonization Journal,' 1843-45. The second bank book covers a longer period of time, with three years' duplication. In the front are the accounts of Dr. George Keyser, General Agent, for 1835.

F. *Bills*:

Ten packages contain bills for debts owed by the Colonization Society from 1833 to 1864, inclusive. There are itemized lists

of supplies of all kinds, so that the collection provides a vast store of material on the economic history of the middle nineteenth century. The rise and fall of prices is only one phase which catches the eye more quickly than others. An example of the kind of thing found here is a list of medicines bought in October 1854 from J. Irwin Smith, druggist, 122 Pratt Street Wharf. Included are such familiar items as magnesia, calomel, gum arabic, iodine, black pepper, sugar of lead, bicarbonate of soda, ammonia, etc. The total bill is \$95.49. Further insight into customs of the times may be gained from odds and ends like the monthly bills for postage, sent out by the Postmaster of Baltimore on regular printed forms.

G. *Check Book*:

1. December 1853—October 1875.

The *Check Book* has the stubs of 387 checks, with notations of the purposes for which drawn. Among the items listed are: office rent, salaries, travelling expenses, expeditions, medicines and foodstuffs for voyages, etc.

H. *Checks*:

There are five packages of cancelled checks, covering, with one brief period omitted, the entire history of the Colonization Society.

1. 1837-40 (nos. 1-330).
2. 1841-49 (nos. 331-463, 1-278).
3. 1850-55 (nos. 279-570, 1-116).
4. 1856-59 (nos. 117-354).
5. (missing).
6. 1872-75 (nos. 366-82).

I. *Notes*: three packages of cancelled drafts

1. 1847-49.
2. 1855-61.
3. 1861-65.

J. *Managers' Accounts:*

1. Four packages containing vouchers for expenditures by the State Managers and some cancelled checks, 1832-33.
2. Accounts of the Rev. William McKenney with the State Managers, 1833-36.
3. Rough draft of the annual account of the Managers for the inspection of the Legislature, 1834.
4. Five packages of cancelled checks drawn by the State Managers, 1834-51.
5. Three packages of receipts to Managers of the State Fund, 1835-37.

K. *Travelling Agents' Books:*

1. May 1850—January 1856.
2. March 1856—August 1859.

The books were kept by the Rev. John Leys and the Rev. P. D. Lipscomb during their service as agents travelling through Maryland soliciting funds for the Colonization Society. Information given includes dates, names, residences, and the sums given or subscribed; there are many signatures.

L. *Contribution Book:*

1. October 1839—October 1845.

The *Contribution Book* lists contributors and subscribers by localities, with notations of the amounts given and paid. It includes subscriptions to the 'Cape Palmas Packet' during 1838-45.

M. *Account Books:*

1. Account book of Ira Easter, agent, 1831-37.
2. Individual accounts, 1833-39.
3. Accounts of the Colonization Society with the State of Maryland, balanced, 1833-51.
4. General account book, giving receipts and expenditures, 1835-42.

VII. SPECIAL FUNDS

A. *Colonial Accounts:*

1. Thirty-four semi-annual accounts of the colony in Liberia, 1837-52 inclusive, sent to the Maryland Society by Governor John B. Russworm and other officials. Each report contains detailed figures on the expenses involving all phases of colonial activity: contingent expenses, poor and sick fund, dash account, farm, fortification, medicine, emigrants, repairs, roads, store, mill, jail, ladies school, colony school, nurses home. There is here an immense amount of valuable data on life in Liberia up to the time of the establishment of the Republic.

2. Package containing semi-annual reports of the colonial agency at Cape Palmas, 1833-36, transmitted by Dr. James Hall, Agent.

3. Package containing semi-annual accounts of Dr. Oliver Holmes, Agent, 1836, with interesting inventories of the supplies on hand.

4. Package containing semi-annual accounts of Dr. Samuel McGill, Agent, 1853-54.

5. A similar package containing accounts of Joseph T. Gibson, Agent, 1854-60.

B. *Stevens Correspondence:*

Copies of letters sent and received regarding the fund donated by John Stevens of Easton, Maryland, for building a vessel to carry emigrants to Liberia. Included are accounts of the ship 'M. C. Stevens' for 1856-63.

C. *Hall School Fund:*

1. August 1875—January 1894.

Copies of letters sent concerning the use of the Maryland State Colonization Society funds left after the cessation of active work for the support of a school in Cape Palmas. The transcripts are prefaced by a statement of Dr. James Hall giving the history of the Society and of the School Fund.

2. March 1875—June 1893.

File of letters received, invoices for goods sent, and drafts for sums spent.

3. June 1875—January 1894.

Account book, not detailed.

D. *Maryland Colonization Journal*:

1. Individual accounts of subscribers, 1838-43, with alphabetical index (loose) giving places of residence and page numbers in record book.

2. Subscribers listed by localities, no dates; three successive compilations, including "exchanges." Lists in back all post offices in Maryland, with the postmasters and their "compensations." Inserted throughout are lists of the members of the Legislature in the form of clippings from the 'Baltimore Sun.'

3. Subscriptions for 1843-45, signatures and payments (see Bank Book 1, where this item is to be found).

VIII. COMMISSIONS AND REPORTS

A. Commissions, 1832-36, from the State of Maryland to the Board of Managers for the removal of free people of color to Africa. Signed by Governors George Howard, James Thomas, and Thomas Veazey.

B. Package containing reports of the Board of Managers and committees, 1833-36, with a few letters about slaves to be sent to Liberia.

C. Printed copies of the Third, Fourth, Fifth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Annual Reports of the Maryland State Colonization Society, 1835-43, in pamphlet form for distribution to members and the public.

D. Loose copies of the Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Thirteenth, January 1852, January 1856, and January 1858 Reports of the Board of Managers of the Colonization Society. There are duplicates in six instances.

E. Bound volume containing the Third to Eighth (inclusive) Annual Reports, 1835-40.

F. The Eleventh Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States, published in Washington, 1828.

G. The Forty-ninth Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, Washington, 1866.

IX. CENSUSES

A. *Census of free negroes in Maryland, 1832*, compiled by the sheriffs of the various counties in compliance with the legislative Act of 1831, passed as a result of fears aroused by Nat Turner's insurrection in Virginia. There are the original records for Allegany, Anne Arundel, Calvert, Caroline, Cecil, Charles, Dorchester, Frederick, Kent, Montgomery, Queen Anns, St. Mary's, Somerset, Talbot, and Washington Counties.

B. *Census records of Maryland in Liberia:*

1. Book with lists for 1837-43, dividing citizens according to sexes and ages, and giving occupations.

2. Loose copies of census figures for 1837 and 1843, duplicated in the book.

3. Register of births, deaths, and marriages for 1842.

4. Report of military strength, 1844.

5. Lists of ship arrivals, scholars, imports, exports, births, deaths, and marriages during 1845.

6. Census figures for 1848, with statistics of acres cultivated and the different kinds of trees on them.

7. Census figures for 1849 and 1852.

X. MANUMISSIONS AND EMIGRANTS

A. *Manumission Books, Lists:*

1. 1832-55 (nos. 1-4757).

2. 1854-60 (nos. 4758-5571).

The lists of persons manumitted include the name, age, by

whom manumitted, how (deed, will, or sale), the date, the county, when freedom is to commence, and (rarely) remarks.

B. *Manumission Books, Copies:*

1. 1832-37.
2. 1837-58.
3. 1858-60.

The copies of the manumissions are taken from the original documents sent in by the county officials, and they are numbered to correspond with the names in the lists. Volume 1 contains at the end a list of 533 emigrants during 1832-38, giving age, by whom manumitted, county of record, occupation, destination, how sent, when sent, and the amounts paid.

C. *Manumissions:*

Twenty-nine packages of certified copies of deeds of manumission, wills, and bills of sale, 1832-60, sent to the Colonization Society by county clerks and registers of wills. These papers are numbered to agree with the lists, but give much fuller information; they are the documents copied into the books just described.

D. *Record of Emigrants:*

A volume containing a list of the colored people sent out to Africa by the Maryland colonization group from 1831 to 1862, giving ship, date, name, age, county of origin, and occasional remarks.

E. *Charter Parties:*

One package of charters for vessels to take negroes to Liberia during 1835-37, supplying full data about the ships and their use for colonization purposes.

XI. LIBERIAN COLONIZATION

A. *Land Deeds:*

1. A book containing copies of eleven deeds made between

1834 and 1849 by native chieftains, with confirmations by the headmen of the various districts concerned.

2. A package containing the original deeds, plus one other marked "Null." The treaties give "considerations" paid for the land in the form of mutual defence, advantages from the trading posts, schools, "General Benefit," and presents or 'dashes.'

B. *Travels:*

1. A package of journals or diaries of sundry tours in Liberia during 1844-45, including two made by Governor Russworm.

2. The journal of Messrs. Stewart and Banks' journey to the Pah Country in 1845, filling twenty-nine pages and accompanied by a chart of the terrain traversed.

Both sets of journals are extremely interesting reports on the country and the people, with accounts of numerous colorful incidents.

C. *Miscellaneous Affairs:*

1. A package of documents relating to the trial of James Thomson in 1837, with the original of Thomson's own statement. He was accused of adultery with native girls while connected with the Episcopal mission, and confessed, but was acquitted for lack of evidence.

2. The correspondence between Governor Russworm, Captain Ramsey of the U. S. S. 'Vandalia,' and others relative to the case of the Rev. Mr. Griswold and robberies committed by the natives.

XII. NEWSPAPERS.

A. *Maryland Colonization Journal:*

1. May 1835 (I, 1)—May 1841 (I, 51).

2. June 1841 (n. s. I, 1)—May 1861 (n. s. X, 24).

This paper was published in Baltimore by the Maryland State Colonization Society. The copies listed above are bound in volumes, and there are a number of duplicates.

B. *The African Repository and Colonial Journal*:

1. January 1st, 1841 (XVII, 1)—December 1842 (XVIII, 14).

The American Colonization Society issued this paper from its headquarters in Washington. The change from semi-monthly to monthly status was made with the issue of March 1842.

C. *The Colonization Herald and General Register*:

1. April 12th 1843 (n. s. II, 1)—December 1858 (n. s. # 102).

This journal was the official organ of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, and changed from a semi-monthly to a monthly in 1843. The numbering system was shifted more than once, so that it is rather difficult to follow without careful observation. There are six or eight copies missing in the collection.

D. *New-York Colonization Journal*:

1. December 1850 (I, 1)—December 1858 (VIII, 12).

The Rev. J. B. Pinney edited this paper for the New York State Colonization Society, and it appeared monthly throughout its existence. One copy seems to be missing from the file in the archives of the Maryland colonization group.

E. *Liberia Herald*:

1. February 1842 (XI, 4)—February 18th, 1857 (n. s. VII, 4).

This interesting paper was published in Monrovia itself by Hilary Teage, editor and proprietor. Originally a monthly, it shifted to semi-monthly status in 1845. It has value as an eye-witness reporter of events in Liberia during the fifteen years preceding independence and as a reflection of colonial opinion on the happenings of that period. A number of copies are lacking, and after 1851 the gaps are more frequent and quite noticeable.

XIII. COLONIZATION PAMPHLETS

A bound volume with this title includes twenty-eight original pamphlets dealing with Liberia and colonization affairs. They are:

1. The Declaration of Rights, and the Constitution of the State of Maryland in Liberia. (The Declaration is printed on blue paper, the Constitution on white.)

2. The Duty of a Rising Christian State to Contribute to the World's Well-Being and Civilization, and the Means by which it may Perform the Same. The Annual Oration Before the Council and the Citizens of Monrovia, Liberia, July 26, 1855. By the Rev. Alexander Crumwell, B. A., Queen's College, Cambridge. London, 1856.

3. Four Months in Liberia: or African Colonization Exposed. By William Nesbit, of Hollidaysburg. Pittsburgh, 1855.

4. Four Years in Liberia. A Sketch of the Life of the Rev. Samuel Williams. With Remarks on the Missions, Manners and Customs of the Natives of Western Africa. Together with an Answer to Nesbit's Book. Philadelphia, 1857.

5. Liberian Colonization: or Reasons Why the Free Colored People should Remove to Liberia. By an Abolitionist and Colonizationist. New York, 1857.

6. The Report of the Committee of Adjudication, of the National Fair, of the Republic of Liberia; Held in the City of Monrovia, December 14-21, A. D. 1857. Monrovia, 1858.

7. Message of the President of the Republic of Liberia to the Legislature, at the Commencement of their Session December 1858. Monrovia, 1858.

8. Acts of the Legislature of the Republic of Liberia Passed During the Session Commencing in December 1857. Monrovia, 1858.

9. Message of the President of the Republic of Liberia, Communicating Matters and Things in Reference to the French System of Emigration on the Liberian Coast. January 6, 1859. Monrovia, 1859.

10. Message of the President of the Republic of Liberia; to the Legislature, at the Commencement of their Session December 9th, 1859. Monrovia, 1859.

11. Injunction Case. Court of Quarter Session and Common Pleas, March Term, 1858; His Hon: Judge Moore, Presiding. Extraordinary Judicial Proceedings!! and Remarkable Decision!! Monrovia, 1858.

12. Fourth Annual Message of Stephen A. Benson, President of Liberia. Delivered to the Legislature, December 1858. (From the New-York Colonization Journal. April 1859.)

13. A Voice from Bleeding Africa, on behalf of her Exiled Children. By Edward W. Blyden. Liberia, 1856.

14. A Vindication of the African Race; Being a Brief Examination of the Arguments in Favor of African Inferiority. By Edward W. Blyden. Monrovia, 1857.

15. Liberia Described. A Discourse Embracing a Description of the Climate, Soil, Productions, Animals, Missionary Work, Improvements, &c. with a Full Description of the Acclimating Fever. By Armistead Miller, a Citizen of Monrovia, Liberia. Philadelphia, 1859.

16. African Colonization. (Letter from Alexander M. Cowan, Agent of the Kentucky State Colonization Society, to John H. B. Latrobe, October 6, 1855.)

17. Inquiry into the Causes which have Retarded the Accumulation of Wealth and Increase of Population in the Southern States: in which the Question of Slavery is Considered in a Politico-Economical Point of View. By a Carolinian. Washington, 1846.

18. The Foreign Slave-Trade. Can it be Revised Without Violating the Most Sacred Principles of Honor, Humanity, and Religion. By Rev. J. Leighton Wilson, D. D. (From the Southern Presbyterian Review. October, 1859.)

19. The Duty of the Christian Church in Relation to African Missions. By J. Leighton Wilson. New York, 1858.

20. An Address to the Free People of Color of the State of Maryland. (By Dr. James Hall, Baltimore, December 1858.)

21. *The Regina Coeli.* Correspondence between the Hon. James H. Hammond and John H. B. Latrobe, Esq. Baltimore, 1858.

22. *Colonization.* A Notice of Victor Hugo's Views of Slavery in the United States, in a Letter from John H. B. Latrobe, of Baltimore, to Thomas Suffern, of New York. Baltimore, 1851.

23. *Cotton Cultivation in Africa.* Suggestions on the Importance of the Cultivation of Cotton in Africa, in Reference to the Abolition of Slavery in the United States, Through the Organization of an African Colonization Society. By Benjamin Coates. Philadelphia, 1858.

24. *The Appeal of the Religious Society of Friends in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Etc., to their Fellow-Citizens of the United States on Behalf of the Coloured Races.* (By Benjamin Coates.) Philadelphia, 1858.

25. *Sketches of Liberia: Comprising a Brief Account of the Geography, Climate, Productions, and Diseases of the Republic of Liberia.* Second Edition, Revised. By J. W. Lugenbeel, Late Colonial Physician and United States Agent in Liberia. Washington, 1853.

26. *Western Africa, a Mission Field; or, The Moral and Physical Condition of Western Africa, considered with Reference to the Founding of Mission Settlements of Colored People.* By Rev. Morris Officer, Missionary to Western Africa. Pittsburgh, 1856.

27. *African Colonization Unveiled.* By Edmund Ruffin, of Virginia. (Washington, n. d.)

28. *The Virginian History of African Colonization.* By Rev. P. Slaughter. Richmond, 1855. (xx, 116 pages.)

XIV. MISCELLANEOUS PAMPHLETS

A collection of loose pamphlets dealing with a variety of different subjects. Chronologically arranged, they are:

1. *Constitution of the Young Men's Colonization Society, with an Abstract of the Proceedings of the Meeting at Which*

it was Adopted. Held at Clinton Hall, on the 15th March, 1832. New York, 1832.

2. Addresses Delivered at the Sixth Anniversary Meeting of the Maryland State Colonization Society, Held at Annapolis, February 2, 1838. Baltimore, 1838.

3. Communication from the Board of Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society, to the President and Members of the Convention Now Assembled in Baltimore, in Reference to the Subject of Colonization. Baltimore, 1841.

4. Liberia Described . . . By Armistead Miller. (See number 15 of the *Colonization Pamphlets*.)

5. African Colonization—Its Principles and Aims. An Address Delivered by John H. B. Latrobe, at the Anniversary Meeting of the American Colonization Society held in the Smithsonian Institute, Washington City, January 18, 1859. Baltimore, 1859. (2 copies.)

6. A Prize Essay on Political Economy, as adapted to the Republic of Liberia. By the Rev. J. S. Payne. Monrovia, 1860.

7. Memorial of the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the American Colonization Society, Celebrated at Washington, January 15, 1867. With Documents Concerning Liberia. Washington, 1867.

8. The African Missionary, XVI, 12 (December 1872). (Published by the American Missionary Association, New York.)

9. Order of Exercises of the Exhibition of the Monrovia Sabbath School of the M. E. Church on the Afternoon and Evening of Tuesday, January 13th, 1874.

XV. BOOKS

1. An Account of the Gold Coast of Africa: with a Brief History of the African Company. By Henry Meredith, Esq. Member of the Council, and Governor of Winnebah Fort. London, 1812.

2. The Travels of Ali Bey, in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus,

Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Turkey, between the Years 1803 and 1807. Written by Himself. Volume 2. Philadelphia, 1816.

3. Constitution and Laws of Maryland in Liberia; with an Appendix of Precedents. Published by Authority of the Maryland State Colonization Society. Baltimore, 1837. (3 copies.)

4. A Plea for Africa, being Familiar Conversations on the Subject of Slavery and Colonization. By F. Freeman. Philadelphia, 1837.

5. Report of Mr. Kennedy, of Maryland, from the Committee on Commerce of the House of Representatives of the United States, on the Memorial of the Friends of African Colonization. . . . House of Representatives, Report no. 283, 27th Congress, 3rd session. Washington, 1843.

6. Tables Showing the Number of Emigrants and Recaptured Africans sent to the Colony of Liberia by the Government of the United States; . . . Together with a Census of the Colony, and a Report of its Commerce, September 1843. Washington, 1845.

7. A History of Colonization on the West Coast of Africa. By Archibald Alexander, D. D. Philadelphia, 1846.

8. Constitution and Laws of Maryland in Liberia; with an Appendix of Antecedents. 2nd edition. Baltimore, 1847. (2 copies.)

9. Proceedings Against William Lloyd Garrison, for a Libel. Baltimore, 1847. (Francis Todd of Newburyport, Mass., was complainant.)

10. Africa's Redemption the Salvation of our Country. By Rev. F. Freeman. New York, 1852.

11. Slavery and Anti-Slavery; a History of the Great Struggle in Both Hemispheres; with a View of the Slavery Question in the United States. By William Goodell. New York, 1852.

12. The Statute Laws of the Republic of Liberia, Carefully Compiled from the Laws of the Commonwealth, and Laws of the Republic; . . . Published by Authority. Monrovia, 1856.

13. Liberia, as I Found it, in 1858. By Rev. Alexander

M. Cowan, Agent Kentucky Colonization Society. Frankfort, 1858. (2 copies, one in paper cover.)

14. Grebo Kona Ah Te: or, History of the Greboes. By Right Rev. John Payne, D. D. New York, 1860. (In the native language.)

15. Liberia's Offering: being Addresses, Sermons, etc. By Rev. Edward W. Blyden. New York, 1862.

16. The Future of Africa: being Addresses, Sermons, etc., etc., Delivered in the Republic of Liberia. By Rev. Alexander Crummell, B. A., Queen's College, Cambridge. New York, 1862.

17. Narrative of a Journey to Musardu, the Capital of the Western Mandingoes. By Benjamin Anderson. New York, 1870.

LETTERS OF JAMES RUMSEY.

Edited by JAMES A. PADGETT, Ph. D.

(Continued from *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXXII, 2, page 155.)

TO CAPT. CHARLES MORROW

Paris March 27th 1789.

Dear Charles,⁸⁷

I suppose you will be Surprised from the date of my last letter when I tell you that I have been in Paris two weeks and that its distance from london is upwards of 300 miles, the letters addresses to my friend West that will accomp this will give you Some information of my Jurney &c &c.—It is now about three oclock and Considering the difference of Longetude makes it about ten oclock with you and precisely one yeare my friend Since I shook you by the hand and left your Hospitable Cottage with a heart over flowing with love and gratitude [] the inhabitants thereof, the partings, and tak[] of that

⁸⁷ Rumsey Collection, Library of Congress.

day Charles Caused my philosophy & fortitude To totter and I believe nothing Short of Desperate Circumstances Such as mine then was, Could have Enabled me to persue the precarious undertaking I had Sat out upon, and leave the once peacefull Shades of Berkeley; you Can have no Idea my friend of the Various Scenes of anxiety, and Care, that I have went through, attended with the agitations—both of body and mind that hope, fear, Success, and disappointment merits in general occations yet no retreat, Except that of poverty and Contempt through a winderness of want was left for me to attempt and therefore a desperate persuit became necessary, *Conquer or fall* was my motto! These principles has led me in haste to this great City where one of the holy order, an abby, was making head against me, and was inroaching fast upon the great prospects that this kingdom held out to my Views, but (frenchman like full of politeness,) as Soon as I arrived, he took his departure for another world, from where no traveller are yet returned. The road now being Clear I have reason to believe a grant will Soon be obtained in my favor.—I have been frequently at Mr Jeffersons, our american Embasedor, he has got all that Ease, affiibility, and goodness, about him that distinguishes him as a good, as well as a great man, he has taken much pains Indeed to Serve me, yesterday Evening by his appointment I met A Moseiuer Leroy. (a leading member of the Royal accadime of arts and Sciences to Explain the nature of my business to him, that he might state it to the Accadimy, he was much pleased with my plans and Informed me that Doct^r Franklin had wrote to him Several times respecting me Since I have been in Europe on the hole he was Very Clever understood the busness & Spoke English well, but you will pity me when I tell you the necessary preporation to wait on Such Characters, or in Short on any jenteel person (if in the afternoon) I was obliged to be dressed in a black Coat- wescoat, breeches & Stockings, my hair hand- somly dressed and powdered, and the hind part in a large black bag; by my Side a Sword; my hat in my hand; and (hard at my——) a lusty french Servant, brought up the rear; in this

order (to use my sister Marys Expression) I went Tackling along; you may perhaps think I am jokeing when giving this discription of what is necessary to pay a french Visit, but be ashored it is true; amd that it is as Common for genteel people to walk the Streets with their hat under their arms as it is in our Country to have them on our heads In Short many of their hats are nothing more than a three Square flat thing on purpose to be Convenient to Carry and are never put on at all; I had like to have forgot the muffs for the hands, which In truth are often as big as a half barrel; and are generally worn, by both men, and women; you will naturally Conceive the appearance! These are things Charles, that at first, I had no idea was a necessary Conection of a Steam boat; after ashoreing you, and my Sister, that you Ever have my Sincere Wishes for your well fares, and happeness, & requesting you to remember me in the most Efectionate manner to my relatives & friends, I must bid you farewell—

J. Rumsey

Cap^t Charles Morrow.
Shepherdstown Virginia
March 27, 89 N^o9

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON ⁸⁸

M^r Rumsey has the honor of returning M^r Jefferson his most Sincere thanks for the friendship and attention he has received from him, M^r Rumsey has taken the liberty to direct that if a letter Should Come to the hotel where he lodged for him, That it be forwarded through M^r Barlow ⁸⁹ to M^r Jefferson So that Should a letter Come from the Minister M^r Jefferson will receive it, and will much oblige M^r Rumsey if he will open it and take Such measures on the Contents thereof as M^r Jefferson thinks proper. M^r Rumsey is Exceeding uneasy that his

⁸⁸ Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

⁸⁹ See note 84.

Sudden departure prevented him from giving timely notice to Mr Jefferson, that he might have had the pleasure of Caring his letters to England.

Thursday Morning
April 9th 1789

Mr Jefferson.
The Honorable
Thomas Jefferson Esq^r

TO CAPT. CHARLES MORROW

London april 12th 1789

Dear Charles,⁹⁰

I arived here Last Evening about nine Oclock from paris which place I left on the 9th in the morning at 7 oclock, their is Expediteous traveling in Europe but the Expense Intolerable before I left paris my business was in Such a train that there is but little doubt but I shall Soon obtain a grant in that Country for my Inventions Mr Jefferson attends to the business for me in my absence, he has treated me With the greatest possible Civility. I dined at his house the day before I Came away when he made me a present of a book and a pair of new invented tooth drawers the two worth 7 dollars at least, there was at his house that day agreat number of nobility with their Stars & garters, and their Countesses and ladyships, the reason that the number of them was remarkable on that day was on account of a yearly procession of all the Carrages in paris, parading on a long feild a few miles from the City these Carrages had to pass his house, the procession began at two oclock and lasted to about 7 forming two lines reaching from the City to the feild and back again besides the field full, the Company in them was dressed (and their horses and Servants decorated) in the most Superb mannor that human folly Could Suggeest. I need Say

⁹⁰ Rumsey Collection, Library of Congress.

nothing about our return to London as it was by the Same rout we went to Paris Except that We ware Stoped and robed on the famous black heath Common by three foot pads I was in a post Chase, with a Mr Parker ⁰¹ whom I have before mentioned, I had a pre Sentiment that Such a thing might happen and therefore hid all my money Except about one & a half guineas my watch I kept in my hand and the moment the rains of the horses was Seized and the pistol presented to the postelian I threw her in the bottom of the Carriage among Some Straw, the doors was Soon opened and a postol presented at each of our heads! We delivered what was in our pockets, which by no means Satisfied them, Mr Parker haveing used the Same precaution with his wath they Suspected we had him them and mode Some Search, at the Same time Swareing most bitterly, that if we did not produce the Watches that they would blow our brains out, however we Stuck to our first [asser]tions that we had none, and they at lenth Shut the doors and ordered us to drive on Mr Parker lost about twenty one or two guineas, but we boath Saved our watches, but I Can ashore you that this geting robed is a Very Serious business, Especially when they get desa[]in geting the Expected booty which was the Case with us, as the Chief they got of Mr Parker was french bills, in a pocket book therefore they Supposed their prize was Very Small.

I Expect that the [] will nearly bring about the day of my Experiment Should I not be obliged to go again to france before that time. I have nothing new to inform you of Except my receiving letters from Philadelphia that doath not give me much Satisfaction; poor barnes he has no Suspation of mankind, and I doubt he will let our inventions be Clogged by private Veivs; without ever Suspecting it; my best respects to all

⁰¹ Whiting, Rogers, and Parker were of London and were interested in Rumseys steamboat. Whiting was also a noted speculator. *William and Mary Quarterly*, XXII, S. 1, 163, 165, 240.

friends and relations, I am with real regard yours &c James Rumsey

Capt Charles Morrow ⁹²
Shepherdstown
Virginia

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON ⁹³

London May 22^d 1789.

Sir,

The first leisure hour I had, after my return from Paris to London, was Employed to find out a person that would advance Some money for the Tooth drawers, (that I had the honour of receiving from you.) for the use of the inventor of them, Several persons seemed willing to give something for them, provided that they would answer the purpose Well on Experiment, and wanted me to put them into their hands for that purpose, which I did not think proper to do, not knowing their Characters; I mentioned the Sircumstances to M^r Vaughan,⁹⁴ and he was kind enough to propose shewing them to a M^r Cline,⁹⁵ (or Kline, a famous annatomist, who he thought might be depended upon; I have this day Called upon M^r Vaughn to know the result of the application; but to my great surprise M^r Vaughn informed me, that, M^r Cline assured him, that such had been in use in England, to his knowledge, for upwards, of Sevin years—M^r Vaughan left them with M^r Cline, and requested him to make them more public, as he Conceived them to be a usefull machine; I confess I have my fears that M^r Cline has not been Candid in his business, but as I know nothing of him, but what

⁹² Charles Morrow was the brother-in-law of the inventor. This was written on this letter. See note 65.

⁹³ Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

⁹⁴ See note 77.

⁹⁵ Probably this was Henry Cline (1750-1827), who was a surgeon, anatomical lecturer, agriculturist, and writer on agricultural topics. *Dictionary of National Biography*, IV, 544-5.

I heard from Mr Vaughan; I therefore did not think it prudent to Express my doubt to him. I am realy very sorry that I am not able to give you a more Satisfactory account of this matter, I have however taken Some pains to discover wheter such a thing has been in use, in this Country, or not, and shall let you know the result of my Enquiry.

The Machine for my Vessel has not gone on So briskly as I Expected, the case I believe with all new inventions, the Machanickes not being able Execute them, with Such dispatch as they do those they are acquainted with, I Expect however that another month will be near the time of Experiment.—I am Sir under many obligations to you, for your kind attention to my business in france, and shall ever remember your friendship with gratitude.—I have the honor to be Sir with great Esteem your most obliged abd Ob^t hb^l Serv^t

James Rumsey

His Excellency Thomas Jefferson Esq^r &c &c &c
Paris

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON ⁹⁶

Dover June 6 th 1789

Sir,

I have letters from America as late as the 24th of April, And as the Ship Came from Philadelphia, I thought it possible that you might have had none of So late a date; I therefore Concluded that the little news that they brought me might be (under such Circumstances) acceptable to you, The amount of it is; "That his Excellency General Washington arived at Philadelphia ⁹⁷ on the 20th of April, amidst the acclimation of

⁹⁶ Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

⁹⁷ The journey of Washington from Mount Vernon to New York was one continuous ovation. At Schuylkill, near Philadelphia, arches of larel had been erected, and as he rode beneath them a wreath dropped on his head. On the Old York Road in the northern part of the city, a bevy of maidens, clad in white and wearing floral chaplets, streded flowers in his

a joyous multitude, That on the next day he Set out for new york where he arrived on the 23^d That the Federal government was Completely organized, and that Congress ware [sic] pr[]with great harmony; and public affairs wore a very promising appearance, It is Sir agreeable news to hear of their proceeding to business so Calmly, after so many warm, and irritateing party disputes.—

My letters mention that there was a Committee ⁹⁸ of Congress appointed to bring in a bill for Establishing an office for granting Exclusive Wrights to inventors &c This is a business that is at present upon, but a bad footing, in any part of the world; England I believe has fixed it on the best Establishment, yet it is far Short of being Equitable, or Encouraging to ingenious men, which I suppose was the object Such laws was intended to imbrace. The dispute between Mr Fitch and myself has caused many of the gentlemen of our Country to be very tenacious about giveing grants, So much So that the assembly of New York, and Some others, would not give me a grant for the principle of my boiler, but only for one formed like the drawing laid before them (which was intended only to explain its principle more Clearly than Expressions Could.) alledgeing that any other kind of grant, would Cut of others from improving on it, and So I think it ought for a limited time, or what will a grant be worth, if Every form that a machine Can be put into Should intitle a different person to use the Same principle; there is no machine Extent but what might be Varied as often as their is days in a year, and Still answer nearly the Same purpose. Such

path. Many triumphal arches adorned the road along which he traveled. On the twenty-third of April he crossed from Perth Amboy to New York in a boat manned by masters of vessels and accompanied by ships of every description. Great receptions were prepared for him in New York. Joseph Dillaway Sawyer, *Washington*, 279-90.

⁹⁸ The first patent act was passed in the United States on April 10, 1790, and on July 13, 1790, the first patent was issued to Samuel Hopkins for an improvement in making pot and pearl ashes. By December 5, 1782, there had been 268,882 patents issued. James Schouler, *History of the United States*, I, 148; John Back McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, I, 583.

mechines as are already in use (and their principles not under any restrictions by patents, then Every person Improving on Such mechines aught to have a grant for Such improvement and no more. but where the principle itself is new I humbly Conceive that it ought to be Secured to the inventor for a Limited time, otherwise but few persons will Spend their money and time in makeing new discoveries, knowing that the first person that varies the form of his invention, will be intitled to receive Equal advantages from it with himself. The french method of haveing new inventions Examined by a Committee of Philosophical Charactors, before grants can be obtained, is certainly a good one, as it has a tendency to prevent many Simple projectors from ruining themselves by the too Long persuit of projects that they know but little about.

I have troubled you Sir with these remarks, not only because I am deeply interested myself in haveing a just and permanent Establishment of this business made, but because I wish my Countrymen to have Such Encouragement given to them, as to Cause them to out Strip the world in art, & Science. And knowing you could throw great light upon the Subject on your return to america was still a greater inducement for me to wish to draw your attention towards that object.—I meet with many delays In getting forward my Experiments, It will be ten days yet before I can have the Vessel Launched, by the time She gets to London I Expect to have the machinery ready to put into her, what time it may take to fit it is uncertain, but hope not long; I have a dread Comes on me as the day approaches on which I have so much at Stake, yet Every review I take of my plan Confirms me more in its Success.—

I have the honor to be Sir with Every Sentiment of Esteem.
Your most obliged friend & ob^t hb^e Serv^t

Thomas Jefferson Esq^r—

James Rumsey

P. S. I have not had it in my power hear any thing more about the tooth drawers Except that M^r Vaughan asked me if

I had informed you what had been done, I told him I had he said the the annatomist, I forget his name at this Instant, was geting a pair made by them. I am & *J. Rumsey* pleas to excuse the Scarcety of paper—

His Excellency Thomas Jefferson Esq^r &c &c &c

Paris. per post

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON ⁹⁹

London Sept^r 8th 1789.

Sir,

you should have heard from me long before this time, had it been in my power to have given you any information worthy of your attention, respecting my Experiment; which has been most unfortunately kept back, by the ungenerous Conduct of a person who undertook to assist me with Some money towards the accomplishment of it; on Conditions by which he would have been a gainer, had the Vesveal success, and Could have lost nothing had she failed; Considering him as my friend, I had the Vessel registered in his name, myself being an alien, could not have it done in my own name; after he had advanced nearly all the money agreed upon, he took it into his head that he Could turn it to better account in another way, In consequence of which he informed me (with as little concern as he would break a childs play thing) that if I did not in a few (I think four) days produce him his money, that he would sell the Vessel to raise it; which he certainly would have done, if he had not accidently by a letter made himself Liable to pay for the Engine, I prevailed upon the founder to call upon him, and make a demand of the money for it; this frightened him so that he Came to terms immediately; M^r Vaughan.¹⁰⁰ and a M^r Robert Barclay (to whome I had letters) have since furnished me

⁹⁹ Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

¹⁰⁰ See note 77 for Vaughan.

with the means of discharging the debt; this unlucky affair has put me back near a month with my Experiment; and will prevent me I fear, (from what Mr Cutting¹⁰¹ tells me) from giving you an account of my success before you leave Europe; I am not under the least apprehension of failing; I have by weight, (hung to a Cord made fast to an anker, and drawn over a pully in the Seat of the Vessel) tried what power was necessary to hold her against the Current of the Thames; the power of the Engine being known, it may be (nearly) ascertained how fast she will go; for my own part I have little doubt of her going upward of one hundred & fifty miles in East Twenty four hours; by steam alone; and am satisfied that ten miles per hour may be looked up to, with a great degree of Certainty; where the Engine bears a proper proportion of Size to the Vessel; mine is rather small; my Vessel haveing got thirty tons larger, than what she was intended to be, when the Cylinders of the Engine were Cast.

It has been out of my power to assartain whether Toothdrawers, Such as you gave me, have been in use in this kingdom or not; but I Confess from my not being able to discover any Such in the Shops, and the instrument makers, that I believe they were not; Mr Kline¹⁰² I suppose he has had a pair made by them, and he has returned them to Mr Vaughan; On account of the poor man that invented them, I am sorry that I have been so unfortunate in that business; It was my opinion before I Came to England that men of genius in general possessed liberality, but to my great disappointment, I find them to be a Set of mean pilforers; the Machanical part of them in particular are So to the greatest degree.

I with Sincerity Sir wish, that you may have a Safe, and pleasant, passage to your own Country;¹⁰³ and a happy meeting with all your friends.

¹⁰¹ John Brown Cutting. See letters of September 18, 1789, and September, 1789, of John Brown Cutting to Jefferson. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

¹⁰² See note 94 for Mr. Cline.

¹⁰³ Jefferson went from LeHavre to Cowes on the Isle of Wight, where

I have the honor to be Sir with much Esteem and regard,
your most obliged, and most Ob^t hb^l Serv^t

James Rumsey.

Thomas Jefferson Esq^r

P. S. I suppose nothing farther will be done respecting a grant in france ¹⁰⁴ untill they hear of the Success of My Experiment, will you Sir be so obliging, as to mention it to a friend or two that will assist me when I again have occation to apply? Monsieur

Monsieur Jefferson
Challot à Paris
favoured by M^r Morris

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON ¹⁰⁵

London Sept^r 22^d 1789.

Sir,

I received your favor of the 10th inst on Saturday last, this being the first post day Since that time, will make it I fear too late for this to find you in france; but I have no doubt but you have received a letter I wrote you by M^r Morris ¹⁰⁶ on the 8th;

he waited until October 14, 1789, for favorable winds. On November 13, he reached the Capes and made Secretary of State at once. Gilbert Chinard, *Thomas Jefferson*, 245.

¹⁰⁴ When Rumsey was in Paris he thought that it would be easy to procure patents for his machines, but the French Revolution interfered with the government doing anything at this time.

¹⁰⁵ Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

¹⁰⁶ Gouverneur Morris (Jan. 31, 1752-Nov. 6, 1818) was a student, lawyer, statesman and writer. He was a member of the first provincial Congress of New York which met on May 22, 1775; a member of the constitutional convention of New York which met in 1776, where he, John Jay and Robert R. Livingston were appointed on a committee to draft a constitution; and a member of the Continental Congress from 1777 to 1780. He was elected to the Constitutional Convention from Pennsylvania in 1787, and as chairman of the committee on Style he wrote the Constitution as we have it today. O December 18, 1788, he sailed for Europe on private

which will inform you of the Situation my Vessel was then in, and the Cause of such great delay in the Experiment; ¹⁰⁷ I still meet with remarkable delays occasioned by my workmen, yet hope that ten or twelve days more will be about the period that I shall be ready to move.—I am with you and Mr Leroy, ¹⁰⁸ of opinion that further application for an Exclusive privilege in France is unnecessary, before the fate of my Experiment is known; ¹⁰⁹ Accept my most Sincere thanks for your friendship in that business.

I am with perfect Esteem Sir your most obliged and most Ob^t hbl.

Serv^t—

James Rumsey.

Mr Jefferson

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON ¹¹⁰

London Oct^r 4th 1789.

Sir,

I have by the august packet, received a letter from one of business; on January 17, 1791, he was sent to England to endeavor to persuade her to fulfill the terms of the treaty of 1783; from 1791 to 1794 he was minister to France; from 1794 to 1798 he traveled in Europe; and from 1800 to 1803 he was a member of the United States Senate. He was a promoter of the Erie Canal as well as other internal improvements, and a lecturer and writer of note. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII, 209-12.

¹⁰⁷ When the Rumsean Society sent Rumsey to England in 1788 to patent his machines, the company could do nothing in America for Fitch held the public interest here. For more than four years he labored abroad amidst the most dishartning circumstances. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 223.

¹⁰⁸ Mr. Le Roy was a member of the Academy of Science in France. See letter of Jefferson of November 13, 1786, to M. Le Roy des L'Academie Des Science. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

¹⁰⁹ Abbe' D'Arnal at Wismes had already obtained an exclusive privilege for navigating the rivers of France with the steam engine. His grant was given on November 10, 1788, and the papers of Rumsey were sent in August, but perhaps the papers of the Frenchman were filed first. Jefferson did not think that D'Arnal could succeed for he had thus far made a complete failure. The fact that Rumsey procured the patents in England made him the more hopeful that he would procure them in France. Jeffer-

the gentlemen, whome I am Connected with in America, informing me that the Rumseian Society,¹¹¹ was upon the point of trying an Experiment, near Philadelphia, with my improved Barkers mill,¹¹² upon a large Scale; and from the account I have received of the hight of the water, that is to work it, the dementions of the mechine, and the purposes it is intended for; I am Sure it cannot succeed; Evin in a tollerable manner; my not knowing the Quantity of motion, and force, that to Say how much they want to produce, puts it out of my power, here, to Say how much they will be deficiant of makeing the application to the best advantage; I only know, that the purposes the mill are for, (grinding snuff &c.) requires too slow a motion for my Barkers mill, to Exert its powers to advantage, in the manner they are about to apply it; The Excellence consists in moveing with great Velocity, (in proportion to the head of water that turns it) without thereby looseing much of its power; it follows then, that it, moveing slow will not give it power in proportion

son to Thomas Payne, December 23, 1788, and Jefferson to Dr. Williard, March 24, 1789. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

¹¹⁰ Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

¹¹¹ James Rumsey convinced many men about Philadelphia that he had a boat that would make a success. Benjamin Franklin was the treasurer of the Rumseian Society. Rumsey went to London in the spring of 1788, and by the spring of 1790 he had secured his patents and launched his boat that spring. Here he met Fulton. He had built a boat propelled by steam nineteen years before Fulton tried his boat on the Seine, and John Fitch had demonstrated that steam could be used to propel boats on the Delaware in 1785. In 1737 Jonathan Hull printed a book in which he gave a picture and description of a steamboat. Sawyer, *Washington*, II, 311-13.

¹¹² Barker's Mill was invented by Dr. Barker, and consists of a vertical axis, moving on a pivot and carrying the upper millstone after passing through an opening in the fixed millstone. Upon the vertical axis is fixed a vertical tube connecting with a horizontal tube, at the extremities of which there are two apertures in opposite directions. When water from the mill course is introduced into the tube it flows out at the apertures and by pressure of the water upon the sides of the tube opposite the apertures it revolves and turns the whole machinery. An arrangement is attached for raising and lowering the upper stone. In England, as modified by Whitelaw, it is called the Scotch Turbine. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, V, 3764.

to what it will loose, by restraining it from motion, yet nearly the Same quantity of water will be Expended, that would if it moved five times as fast; which probably may be about the Velocity it ought to move with, in the above mentioned Experiment. The philosophy of this mill is not yet much known, of Course the bad Success of this Experiment, will Carry Conviction to the public, that it cannot become usefull; and may make bad impressions upon the mind of my friend, with respect to my other inventions; Especially as my Opponants, will not fail to Set Every misfortune that my Schemes meet with, in the most disadvantageous point of view; It is therefore Sir, that I have taken the liberty of troubleing you with this account, of what I Expect will be the fate of the Rumseian Societys Experiment, of my Barkers mill; that my friends in America, to whome you may be good enough to Communicate the Contents of this letter, may Suspend their opinions respecting the utility of that mill; untill I have an opportunity of makeing an Experiment with it, under my own direction; when I doubt not of making it perform all that I promised the public to Expect from it.

In all next week I expect to try my Vessel, and am very sorry that it was not in my power to get it ready, before you left Europe.

You have my best wishes for a pleasant Voige, and your Safe arival in America.

I am Sir with the greatest Esteem y[our] much obliged friend, and Ob^t

hb^l Serv^t

James Rumsey.

Thomas Jefferson Esq^r
His Excell^y Thomas Jefferson Esq^r
to the care of Thomas Autige Esq^r
Merchant Corves Isle of Wight ¹¹³

(*To be continued*)

¹¹³ Cowes is a famous watering place on Isle of Wight. Isle of Wight is in the English Channel and belongs to Hampshire. The Channel of Solent and Spithead separates it from the mainland. It is noted for chalk downs and wonderful scenery. *Ibid.*, IX, 1061.

BALTIMORE COUNTY LAND RECORDS OF 1684.

Contributed by LOUIS DOW SCISCO.

Contemporary court records of this year show that in March the county court ordered surveys of two 100-acre town sites, one located at Bush River, the other at Sparrow's Point on Patapsco River. Later in the year the court considered payment of the expenses of these surveys.

The summarized documents here following are from pages 62 to 109 of Liber R M No. H S, as therein transcribed from some former record book called Liber E No. 1.

Deed of gift, December 29, 1683, John Yeo, gentleman, for love and affection, conveying to his son-in-law Garrett FitzGarrett, effective at grantor's decease, the 150-acre tract "New Parke," adjoining to FitzGarrett's tract "Carters rest," but if grantee dies without issue the land reverts to grantee's mother Somelia Yeo, if living, otherwise to grantor's heirs. Witnesses, John Mould, Jane Mould, Andrew Mattson. Grantor acknowledges and wife Somelia consents February 4, 1683-84, before George Wells and Edward Bedell, commissioners.

Deed of gift, November 3, 1683, Jacob Jennifer, for love and affection and five shillings, conveying to Otho Holland of Anne Arundel County the 97-acre tract "Middle Jennifer," on the north side of Middle River, as patented July 27, 1680, to grantor. Witnesses, Griffith Jones, Thomas Vaughan. Grantor acknowledges November 6 before Vincent Lowe and John Darnall.

Letter of attorney, April 20, 1683, James Fendell, merchant, appointing Miles Gibson, gentleman, his attorney to receive conveyance from Thomas Thurstone and to require acknowledgment in court. Witnesses, George Holland, Thomas Hedge.

Deed, December 13, 1683, Thomas Thurstone, for £150, conveying to James Fendell, mariner, of Bright Helmston, Sussex, Eng., the 600-acre tract "Delph" on the west side of Delph Creek, near Rumley Marsh, adjoining to land formerly taken up by Maj. Samuel Gouldsmith and opposite to land formerly taken up by John Hatton, it being patented to Francis Stockett. No witnesses recorded. Grantor acknowledges before George Wells and Edward Bedell, commissioners, and wife Mary consents before Bedell. Certificate from Wells, Bedell, and Ephraim Lee that seizin is given by turf and twig to grantor's attorney Miles Gibson.

Deed. December 13, 1683, Thomas Thurstone, for 8,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Miles Gibson the 115-acre tract "Delph Island," on north side

of Rumley Creek and lying between the tract "Delph" and the Bay, as patented January 10, 1670-71, to Francis Stockett of Anne Arundel County. No witnesses recorded. Grantor acknowledges before George Wells and Edward Bedell, commissioners, and wife Mary consents before Bedell.

Deed, March 3, 1683-84, Arthur Taylor, planter, by agreement with his wife Frances, conveying to James Smither, son of said wife, 150 acres out of 300 acres taken up by grantor on south side of Bird's River, a branch of Gunpowder River, under warrant of April 20, 1683, assigned by Nicholas Painter to Maj. Thomas Trueman of Calvert County, by him to Thomas Lytfoot, and by him to grantor. Witnesses, Thomas Hedge, John Yeo. Grantor acknowledges at March 4 court before the justices. Deputy Clerk John Yeo attests for Clerk Hedge.

Deed, August 2, 1683, Michael Judd, shipwright, and wife Jane of Gunpowder River, conveying to John Nicholls, planter, of Bush River, 200 acres at Bow Creek in Bush River, adjoining to land formerly owned by William Orchard. Witnesses, John Lowe, Marcus Lynch. Judd acknowledges August 6 before the justices. Wife Jane consents November 6 before George Wells. Clerk Hedge attests.

Deed, February 11, 1683-84, Thomas Everest, planter, and wife Hannah, of the Clifts, Calvert County, for 2,500 pounds of tobacco, conveying to John Bennett, merchant, of Anne Arundel County, the 60-acre tract "Balls Addition," on east side of Clapher's Creek and adjoining to land of Mary Humphries, as patented to Richard Ball, said wife Hannah being daughter and heiress of Richard Ball, cordwainer, deceased, late of Baltimore County, Witnesses, James Ellis, George Parker, William Holland. Everest acknowledges and wife Hannah consents before Thomas Taylor and William Burgess. Unsigned notation that alienation is paid.

Deed, February 11, 1683-84, Thomas Everest, planter, of the Clefts, Calvert County, for 1,500 pounds of tobacco, conveying to John Bennett, merchant, of Anne Arundel County, the 50-acre tract "Bennetts Range" at Claper's Creek on north side of Patapsco River, adjoining to the tract "Balls Addicion" and lately taken up by Everest. Witnesses, James Ellis, George Parker, William Holland. Everest acknowledges and wife Hannah consents before Thomas Taylor and William Burgess. Interpolated entry, February 3, 1684-85, that Miles Gibson, collector, has received from Mr. John Bennett 2 shillings 6 pence for alienation of Ball's Addition and 2 shillings for Bennett's Range.

Deed, May 21, 1684, Jacob Jenifer, for 7,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Thomas Long, gentleman, the 733-acre tract "Jacobs Chase," at Burchen Run at head of Back River in Gunpowder River, as patented to grantor. Witnesses, Samuell Addams, John Rouse.

Letter of attorney, May 21, 1684, Jacob Jenifer appointing Mr. Miles Gibson and Mr. James Thompson his attorneys to acknowledge conveyance of 733 acres to Maj. Thomas Long. Witnesses, Samuell Addams, John Rouse. At June 3 court Gibson acknowledges. Deputy Clerk John Yeo attests.

Deed, January 24, 1680-81, George Yate, gentleman, of Anne Arundel

County, for 6,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Robert Hooper, cooper, of the same county, the 480-acre tract "Betties Choyce," at White Marsh, south of Cranberry Swamp, as patented July 18, 1679, to Yate, and adjoining to Col. George Wells's tract "Benjamins Choyce"; also grantor appoints Col. George Wells and James Phillips his attorneys to give seizin. Witnesses, Henry Hanslap, Mathias Prosser, Mark Richardson. Wife Mary consents and Yate acknowledges August 9, 1681, before Thomas Taylor and Anthony Demondidier. Undated certificate of seizin by Yate's attorneys, Col. George Wells and James Phillips.

Bond, January 24, 1680-81, George Yate, gentleman, of Anne Arundel County, obligating himself to Robert Hooper, cooper, of the same county, for 12,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, Henry Hanslap, Mathias Prosser, Marke Richardson.

Deed, June 10, 1683 (*sic*), Robert Hooper, cooper, of Anne Arundel County, for 6,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Col. William Burgess, merchant, of same county, the 480-acre tract "Bettys Choyce," at White Marsh near Cranberry Swamp, adjoining to Col. George Wells's "Benjamins Choyce," said tract being patented July 18, 1679, to George Yate, who conveyed it on January 20, 1680-81, to Hooper. No witnesses recorded. Grantor acknowledges June 10, 1684, before Thomas Taylor, Thomas Francis, Nicholas Gassoway. Seizin is given by grantor's attorney Mr. Thomas Hedge, who also acknowledges September 3, 1684, before Col. George Wells and Mr. John Boreing. Deputy Clerk John Yeo attests for Clerk Hedge.

Letter of attorney, June 10, 1684, Robert Hooper, cooper, appointing Thomas Hedge his attorney to acknowledge in court a conveyance to Col. William Burgess. Witnesses, Thomas Taylor, Thomas Francis, Nicholas Gassoway.

Bond, June 10, 1684, Robert Hooper, cooper, of Anne Arundel County, obligating himself to William Burgess, merchant, of same county, for 12,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, Thomas Taylor, Thomas Francis, Nicholas Gassoway.

Deed, Marsh 5, 1683-84, Elias Robertson, planter, of Cecil County, for 4,600 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Andrew Mattson, carpenter, the 200-acre tract "Railey" or "Reiley" on the north side of Swan Creek, as described in deed to James Robertson, of Cecil County, deceased. Witnesses, George Wells, Edward Bedell. Grantor acknowledges August 2 before Col. George Wells and Mr. Edward Bedell, commissioners. Deputy Clerk John Yeo attests for Clerk Hedge. Receipt, Miles Gibson in 1684 having received four shillings from Mattson for alienation.

Bond, March 5, 1683-84, Elias Robertson, planter, of Cecil County, obligating himself to Andrew Mattson, carpenter, for 20,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, George Wells, Edward Bedell.

Deed, June 15, 1684, Maj. Thomas Long of Back River, attorney for

Jacob Jenifer, for 2,500 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Thomas Tench, merchant, of London, the 250-acre tract "Jenifers Delight," on the north side of Swan Creek and at head of Back River, formerly called Northwest River, as patented in 1683 to Jenifer. Witnesses, Thomas Scudamore, John Boring. Long, as attorney, acknowledges at August 5 court. Deputy Clerk John Yeo attests for Clerk Hedge.

Letter of attorney, January 21, 1683-84, Jacob Jenifer appointing Maj. Thomas Long his attorney to execute conveyance of 250 acres to Mr. Thomas Tench and acknowledge same in court. Witnesses, Samuel Adams, John Rouse.

Deed, July 5, 1684, Miles Gibson conveying to Thomas Thurstone the 500-acre tract "Ann's Lott" at Susquehanna River as described in patent. Witnesses, Thomas Long, Edward Bedell, John Boreing. Grantor acknowledges at August 5 court. Deputy Clerk John Yeo attests for Clerk Hedge. Receipt, July 14, 1684, Deputy Clerk John Yeo, for the receiver Miles Gibson, having had from Thurstone 12 pounds of tobacco for alienation. John Hathway signs.

Deed, August 5, 1684, George Ogleby, tailor, and wife Johannah, of Gunpowder River, for 3,300 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Thomas James, planter, the 64-acre tract "Hornes Point," on a branch of Saltpeter Creek in Gunpowder River, adjoining to Thomas Richardson's land, as deeded by William Horne, cooper, March 7, 1681-82, to Ogleby. Witnesses, William Farces, Robert Bengier. Signed with mark as Ogulvie. Ogulvie acknowledges and wife Johannah consents at August 5 court before Mr. John Boreing. Deputy Clerk John Yeo attests for Clerk Hedge.

Deed, August 4, 1684, Thomas Long, gentleman, and wife Jane, of Back River, for 1,600 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Richard Enock and Francis Freeman, planters, of same place, 111 acres on the western branch on the west side of Middle River, adjoining to the tract "Hopewell" and reaching to a creek of Back River. Witnesses, John Boreing, Joseph Smith. Maj. Thomas Long acknowledges at August 5 court and John Boreing certifies wife's consent as given. Deputy Clerk John Yeo attests for Clerk Hedge.

Bond, August 4, 1684, Thomas Long, gentleman, of Back River, obligating himself to Richard Enock and Francis Freeman, planters, of same place, for 3,200 pounds of tobacco payable at his dwelling plantation, as security for performance of covenants concerning 111 acres sold and for acknowledgment by himself and wife. Witnesses, John Boreing, Joseph Smith.

Deed, August 2, 1684, Joseph Gallion, planter, and wife Sarah conveying to Phillip Greenslade, mariner, of Barnstable, Eng., 200 acres occupied by Gallion, on the south side and at head of the northwest branch of Bush River. Witnesses, Thomas Richardson, Peter Ellis, John Yeo. Wife Sarah consents and both grantors acknowledge at September 2 court to grantee's attorney Mr. James Phillips, before Mr. John Boreing. Deputy Clerk Yeo attests for Clerk Hedge.

Bond, August 2, 1684, Joseph Gallion, planter, obligating himself to

Phillip Greenslade, mariner, of Barnstable, Eng., for 12,000 pounds of tobacco as security that land at Bush River, when conveyed, shall be free from all incumbrance except proprietary rents. Witnesses, Thomas Richardson, Peter Ellis, John Yeo.

Letter of attorney, May 2, 1684, Phillip Greenslade, mariner, appointing James Phillips, innholder, his attorney to receive conveyance of land in court. Witnesses, Thomas Hedge, Robert Pearlie.

Deed, June 4, 1684, John Larkin, innholder, of Anne Arundel County, conveying to James Phillips, innholder, the 400-acre tract "Eaton" on the west side of Susquehanna River, adjoining to land formerly laid out for Thomas Griffeth, gentleman, and to the tract [illegible] formerly surveyed for Henry Ward, gentleman. Signed by Thomas Hedge. No witnesses recorded. Thomas Hedge on September 6 declares himself attorney of grantor and acknowledges conveyance before George Wells and John Boring, commissioners.

Letter of attorney, [illegible] 4, 1683, John Larkin, innholder, appointing Thomas Hedge, gentleman, his attorney to acknowledge conveyance of 400 acres to James Phillips. Witnesses, George Holland, Otho Holland,

Bond, October 15, 1684, John Larkin, innholder, of Anne Arundel County, obligating himself to James Phillips, innholder, for 24,000 pounds of tobacco as security that land conveyed is free from incumbrance, except for proprietary rents. Witnesses, Thomas Taylor, Thomas Hedge.

Deed, November 5, 1684, William Horne, planter, and wife Mary, for 3,500 pounds of tobacco, conveying to John Hall, planter, 67 acres in two parts, first, the 50-acre tract "Horneisham" on the east side of Gunpowder River as patented June 18, 1681, to Horne, adjoining to the tract "Daniell Nest" formerly taken up by Thomas Odaniell, and second, "one third part of three parts" of "Daniells Nest," estimated at 16½ acres, which Horne holds as dowry of his wife Mary that comes to her by inheritance. Witnesses, George Wells, John Boring. Wife Mary consents before Boring. Clerk Hedge attests.

Bond, November 5, 1684, William Horne, planter, obligating himself to John Hall, planter, for 10,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of articles in conveyance of same date, Witnesses, George Wells, Thomas Hedge.

Deed, August 12, 1684, John Hawkins, planter, of Anne Arundel County, eldest son and heir of John Hawkins, deceased, for 5,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Henry Constable, merchant, of same county, the 100-acre tract "Bolealmanack neck" on the south side of Patapsco River, formerly taken up by grantor's said father. Witnesses, George Parker, John Peasly, William Holland. Grantor acknowledges in Anne Arundel County before Thomas Taylor and William Burgess. Clerk Hedge attests. Receipt, September 8, 1684, Miles Gibson, receiver, having had alienation dues from Constable.

Deed, March 11, 1683-84, Edward Filkes, planter, of Anne Arundel County, for 4,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Thomas Pattison, of same county, 140 acres of the 170-acre tract "Yates Inheritance" on the

south side of Patapsco River and adjoining to Paul Kinsey's tract "Halbrough," the tract being patented September 4, 1668, to George Yate, gentleman, of Anne Arundel County, and deeded by him on March 29, 1668 (*sic*) to Francis Waters, planter, of same county, the said Waters conveying 140 acres on January 1, 1671-72, to John Jacob, planter, who conveys same March 1, 1671-72, to Filkes. Witnesses, John Sellers, Richard Robertson, William Holland. Grantor acknowledges and wife Ellen consents before Thomas Taylor and William Burgess. Receipt, September 9, 1684, George Burgess, high sheriff, having received alienation dues in full.

Bond, March 11, 1683-84, Edward Filkes, planter, of Anne Arundel County, obligating himself to Thomas Pattison of same county for 20,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, John Sellers, Richard Robertson, William Holland. Clerk Hedge attests.

QUERIES.

A REWARD OF \$50.00 OFFERED. For the identification of the parents of Jane Banks Thompson, b. Mar. 31, 1783; d. July 31, 1837; m. Nov. 6, 1860, Charles Swift. They lived and reared a family of eleven children in Hanover Co., Va.

MRS. HENRY LOCKHART, JR.
Longwoods, Maryland.

QUESTION. Are there any descendants of Nicholas, James or Jacob Shires, who served in Revolutionary War, now living in Baltimore Co., Md.?

Mrs. P. T. CHAPMAN, SR.
Vienna, Ill.

A John DeBruler or DeBrulier was living in Baltimore county, Maryland in 1666. Was he the one referred to below?

An Act was laid before the Upper House of Maryland May 17, 1701 asking for the naturalization of John DeBruler of Baltimore county, and John and William DeBruler, his sons, together with the other sons and daughters of said John DeBruler who were born within the colony.

Did the DeBrulers come from near Orleans, France?

When did they come to America?

What were the names of those who came first?

What were the names of the other children of the above-named John DeBruler?

What was the name of his wife?

What was the name of the DeBruler who married a widow Roberts? What was her maiden name? When were they married? What were the names of their children?

What was the name of their son who married a Greenfield? What was her first name? When were they married? To what line of Greenfields did she belong? Was she a descendant of Thomas Greenfield? What relation was she to Micajah Greenfield, the soldier of the French and Indian war?

Was Micajah Greenfield of the French and Indian war period the same man who was a Tory at the beginning of the Revolution but changed his allegiance and was pardoned by the Maryland Assembly?

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NOTE.

Newberry Library. A check list of manuscripts in the Edward E. Ayer Collection, compiled by RUTH LAPHAM BUTLER. Chicago, 1937. Pp. 296. (One of an edition of 500 copies.)

There is little that can be said concerning this scholarly and handsomely printed volume, other than that it should be of great value to advanced students of American history. Seventeen hundred and sixty-nine items are listed, and a thorough index has been included.

An invaluable tool for scholars.