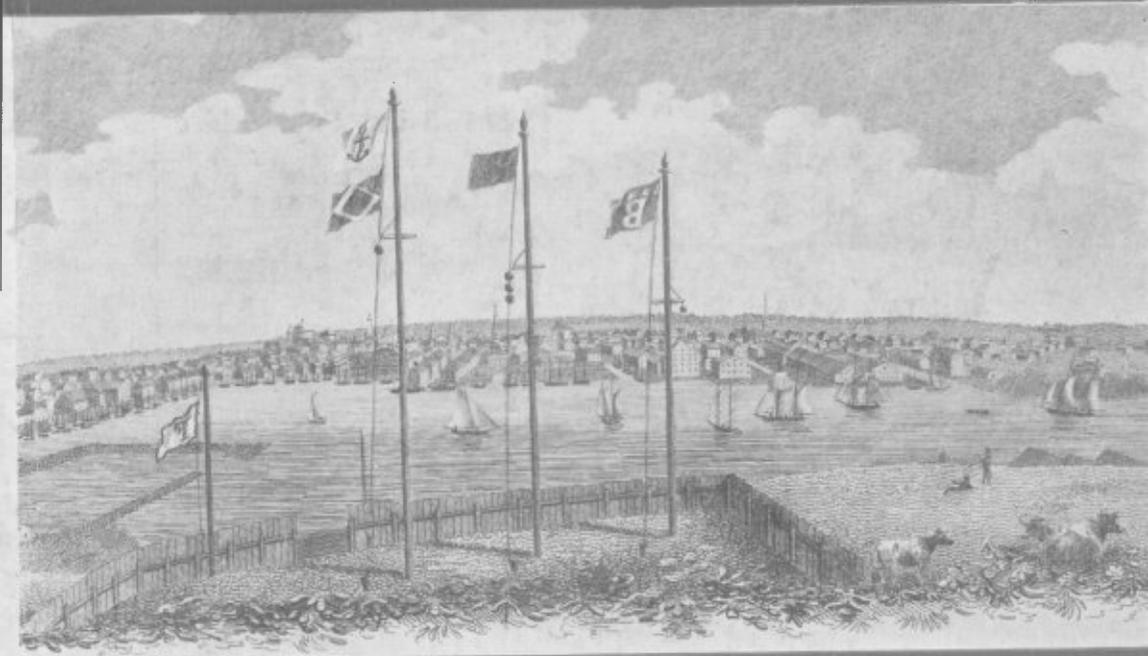


MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



Baltimore from Federal Hill, Showing Signal Flags of the Marine Observatory.
From Poppleton's Map, 1822.

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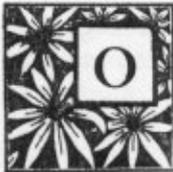
Volume XLIV

JUNE, 1949

Number 2

THE FOUNDING OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE 1784-1789

By TENCH FRANCIS TILGHMAN



ON WEDNESDAY, November 11, 1789, there assembled in the Stadt House in Annapolis a procession of some distinction. It contained the members of the General Assembly, the Chancellor, the Judges of the General Court, the gentlemen of the bar, and the worshipful corporation of the city. Followed by a "numerous and respectable concurs of people," the procession marched through North St. to where, on Stephen Bordley's four acres of land, the building known for forty-five years as Bladen's Folly was at last to be put to some use, even if one for which it had not been intended. Dr. William Smith preached "an elegant sermon," the Rev. Ralph Higginbotham delivered an oration on the advantages of a classical education, and St. John's College had officially begun its academic career.

This piece of news, at least locally important, was not pub-

lished in the *Maryland Gazette* until December 3. But the delay of three weeks did not mean that Annapolis and the state were indifferent to the new college. The newspaper was a small weekly, appearing every Thursday, and most of its space was devoted to the usual advertisements for runaway slaves, horses and houses for sale, and various other public notices. In addition, the news columns were at that particular time filled with reports of what the editors, with considerable understatement, called "the recent commotion in France." Both events and news moved very slowly in eighteenth-century Maryland. And the event that had called together the numerous and respectable concourse of Annapolitans had been the result of no less than five years of effort on the part of those Marylanders who were trying to found on the Western Shore a college that would be the counterpart of Washington College in Chestertown, which had been established in 1782, and thus build a state university.

The first faint stirrings of what was eventually to be St. John's can be discerned as far back as 1732. During the meeting of that year's Assembly some enthusiast for education introduced into the Upper House a "Proposal for Founding a College at Annapolis,"¹ and this paper contains, in very complete outline, a plan for a small college with a faculty of perhaps half-a-dozen men. We do not know who was the author of this proposal. But nothing was done about it, and the idea dropped out of sight for over twenty years. In May, 1754, it was revived by no less a personage than Governor Horatio Sharpe. When the Assembly had convened, he presented the usual governor's address before a joint meeting of the two houses, and ended with this statement:

Shall I also take the Liberty of intimating what considerable Benefit must accrue to the Inhabitants, and what Honour must redound to yourselves, from the Foundation of a more perfect and more public Seminary of Learning in this Province; a Scheme This, long since put in Execution among our Neighbours, to whom our Youth are still obliged, much to the Disadvantage and Discredit of this Province, to recur for a liberal Education: Of such an Establishment your Descendants and late Posterity will reap the Advantage, and remember the present Age with Gratitude. From my Knowledge of what vast Pleasure and Satisfaction his Lordship receives, from being able to contribute to and promote, the Reputation,

¹ Bernard C. Steiner, *History of Education in Maryland* (Washington, 1894), p. 26.

Honour, and Prosperity of his Province, I will presume to encourage you to expect something more than his bare Approbation of such a Proposal.²

The suggestion of so powerful a man as Governor Sharpe got almost immediate results, and a committee began to work on the plan. Later in the month, after making elaborate calculations of possible revenue, they reached this conclusion:

And although the yearly Amount aforesaid may not be certain, yet it is conceivable that one Year with another, it will be sufficient to defray the annual Expence of a College. . . . And your Committee apprehend that the School-House, belonging to King William School, on the Stadt-House Hill, in the City of Annapolis, may be converted to some Public Use.³

In spite, however, of this optimistic view that the necessary money could be raised by certain taxes, the proposal was again sidetracked and postponed for several more years. It appeared again in 1761. On April 24 of that year the Lower House of the Assembly appointed a committee headed by Edward Tilghman to consider and report "what funds may be necessary to be raised for Erecting and Establishing a College within the Province." On May 5 the committee reported that, in their opinion, the house in Annapolis intended as the Governor's dwelling would be suitable for such a purpose if it could be finished. Their estimate of the funds needed was: for completing the main house, £2,000; for furnishing it, £216; for a stable, £100; and for a garden and yard, £100. This money, they maintained, could be raised by selling the county free schools, which they considered to be accomplishing very little; and for current expenses they advocated a tax on ordinary licenses, wheel carriages, negroes, Irish papist servants, and bachelors.⁴ The bill was brought to a vote and defeated, largely through the influence of the Eastern Shore delegates.⁵ And so the idea languished for another twenty years, although the bill of 1761 established a pattern that was to be followed later.

The story of St. John's really begins in 1784. The founding of colleges was in the air of post-Revolutionary America. Prior to 1776 there had been but nine colleges in all the colonies; but four more were established during the Revolution, and fourteen during the years immediately following.⁶

² *Archives of Maryland*, L, 472-3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, LVI, lxvi, 488-90.

³ *Ibid.*, L, 492.

⁵ *Ibid.*, LVI, 492-93.

⁶ Richard G. Boone, *Education in the United States* (New York, 1890), p. 75.

The General Assembly met in November of 1784, and there was introduced into the Senate a bill (No. 37) with the following title: "An act for founding a college on the Western Shore of this State and constituting the same, together with Washington College on the Eastern Shore, into one university by the name of the University of Maryland." By January 4, 1785, the bill had reached its second reading and was passed and sent to the House, which concurred. The bill became law at the end of the session and was printed in full in the laws of Maryland for that year.⁷

The law establishing St. John's College is an extremely interesting document, obviously drawn up with care by someone who had some very complete ideas on state education. The main purpose was to create a state university; and the division of it into two colleges, one at Chestertown and one at Annapolis, which seems so clumsy today, was the natural result of Maryland's peculiar geographical configuration. With the state split into two parts by the Chesapeake Bay and with the difficult communications of those days, a university divided in this fashion was the sensible solution. Thomas Jefferson could found his university at a spot near the center of Virginia, but Maryland really has no center. Further, the tradition of a state composed of two separate and equal parts, the Western and the Eastern Shores, was, even in 1785, an old one in Maryland. The political life of the state had been built around this idea for generations, and in the late eighteenth century the populations of the two shores were probably about the same in number. For the further organization of the proposed university, the act provided that, for the time being, the Governor of the state should be Chancellor, and that the convocation of the university should take place alternately at the commencement exercises of its two colleges. It was to be under the control of a board composed of at least seven members of the visitors and governors of St. John's and seven from Washington, with the addition of two faculty members from each college. The purpose of this board was to secure "uniformity of manners and literature" on both sides of the Bay and to confer "the higher degrees and honors of the university." This act of 1784, then, provided a quite complete blueprint for a state university for Maryland, and it is one of the great misfortunes of the educa-

⁷ *Maryland Senate Journal, 1784-1785* [Annapolis, 1785], *passim*.

tional history of the state that so little came of it. Had the intention of the legislators been carried out, Maryland might have had, at a very early date, a well-established state university.⁸

The laws for the regulation of St. John's College proper were set forth in great detail. The college was to be "founded and maintained forever upon a most liberal plan." There was to be no religious or civil test for the students; the college was even forbidden, in good eighteenth-century fashion, to urge "their attendance upon any particular religious worship or service." But a curious contradiction appeared in regard to the civil test, for the governors of the college and the professors were required to take the oath of fidelity and support to the state.

In the minds of the framers of this law there seem to have lingered traces of the European tradition of a college community as a thing apart with special rules and privileges of its own. For the statute provided that all principals, vice-principals, professors, students, and scholars of St. John's "shall be exempt from all rates and taxes on their salaries and from all military duties except in the case of an actual invasion of the state and when general military law is declared." This, to a certain degree, made the members of the college a privileged group, whose status as scholars was recognized by the state as being different from that of other citizens. It is sufficiently curious that an institution whose members were expressly exempt from military service except in dire emergencies should later have been for so many years a military school.

The law granted to the new college the right to confer academic degrees, but left the requirements for such degrees to be determined by the officials of the college. The stipulation was that degrees could be awarded only to those students who had been publicly examined one month before commencement.

The affairs of the college were to be administered by a board of visitors and governors, in number not more than twenty-four nor less than thirteen, at least seven of whom must live within sixteen miles of Annapolis, seventeen of the whole number on the Western Shore, and all within Maryland. These regulations, it might be noted, are still binding upon the college, although in

⁸ The text of this law will be found in *Laws of Maryland Made and Passed at a Session of Assembly Begun . . . [Nov. 1, 1784]* (Annapolis [1785], Chap. XXXVII.

later years they were not always observed. The board was to be self-perpetuating. The method of selecting its first members was an odd one: any group of citizens who subscribed a thousand pounds to the college endowment had the right to nominate one member of the board. The same device had been used in the organization of Washington College, except that the tariff had been lower: five hundred pounds had been thought sufficient in that case. This scheme may have been planned as a shrewd piece of salesmanship to appeal to the vanity of possible patrons—it is hard to say. It is also difficult to understand why a board member should be worth twice as much in Annapolis as in Chestertown. But at all events the plan was made a part of the foundation of the financial structure of the college; and the Assembly appointed, as canvassers for subscriptions, the following: the Rev. John Carroll, the Rev. William Smith, the Rev. Patrick Allison, Richard Sprigg, John Steret, and George Digges. Of this group—all men of prominence—Carroll had probably the most distinguished career. He had been educated at St. Omer and Liège and had lived in England in the household of Lord Arundel. In 1786 he was created Vicar-General of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, and in 1790 he was consecrated Bishop of the See of Baltimore, the only Roman Catholic bishop in this country.⁹

Although Carroll was the most famous of this group, Dr. William Smith, who was to preach the "elegant sermon" at the opening exercises of St. John's, was certainly the most colorful. At this time he was the head of Washington College, but he had previously been Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, a position he was to hold again in later years. The friend of Franklin, the man who did most to raise the Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia to college rank, and an eminent Anglican divine, Smith, on the one hand prepared for the University of Pennsylvania a curriculum that has been called "one of the most comprehensive schemes of education in America up to that time," while on the other, he was described by his contemporaries as "infamous for religious hypocrisy," an "habitual drunkard," and a man who "swore extravagantly" when angered.¹⁰ He had edited a newspaper, written a book on education, and been in jail. But in addi-

⁹ *Dictionary of American Biography*, III, 526.

¹⁰ *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVII, 353 ff., quoting Ezra Stiles and Benjamin Rush.

tion to his other peculiar talents, he was, in modern terms, a promoter of remarkable ability. He had collected funds for the University of Pennsylvania, even going to England with James Jay who was on the same errand for King's College, now Columbia University. He had also solicited contributions for Washington College, and it is a tribute to his persuasiveness that for this cause he had garnered the sum of £10,000. So, in spite of his many unenviable qualities, he was a man well experienced in the task faced by this committee. Of the other members, Richard Sprigg was of "Strawberry Hill," just outside Annapolis and George Digges of "Warburton" in Prince George's. The Rev. Patrick Allison was a Presbyterian clergyman from Baltimore, and John Steret, also a Baltimorean, was a member of the Assembly. It might be noted that the appointment of three clergymen of three different denominations seems an early attempt to emphasize the non-sectarian character of the new college.

But the Assembly did not depend entirely upon the possible generosity of friends of education to get St. John's started: in addition to what might be raised through private subscription, the charter made a grant of £1,750 per annum which was specified to be perpetual. Following the general pattern of the bill of 1761, this sum was to be collected from the fees for marriage licenses, the fees for ordinaries or taverns, and the fines for certain minor crimes and misdemeanors. Upon this curious *mélange* of private generosity and public crime, romance and alcoholic consumption, St. John's financial structure was based. The great disadvantage of this method was that it made the new college a kind of hybrid, half-private, half-public. In the long run it might have been far better for the college had it been entirely the one or the other so that either the public or the state would, from the beginning, have felt complete responsibility for its welfare.

But to show that the sum granted by the Assembly was not so meagre as it seems in the light of modern college endowments, it might be noted that William and Mary, considered the richest institution in America at that time, had an annual income of only £4,000;¹¹ and King's College, a generation earlier in 1754, had been started on an appropriation of but £500 a year to be raised from the excise.¹² And this grant was to run for only seven years

¹¹ Boone, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹² J. N. van Amringe, *History of Columbia University* (New York, 1904), p. 33.

from that date—any further money had to come from lotteries and subscriptions. So St. John's had a quite adequate income for that period, and the somewhat bizarre method of raising it was only in line with the usual method of college financing. In addition, the Assembly gave to the college, should it locate in Annapolis, the four acres of ground which Stephen Bordley had conveyed to Governor Bladen in 1744, where stood the walls of the projected but unfinished Governor's palace. On the whole, then, the Assembly had done well by St. John's: the college had an assured income of what, for those days, was no small amount, and a group of distinguished men (one of whom might almost be called a professional fund-raiser) from different parts of the state was in charge of the campaign to raise additional funds. The omens were favorable.

That the committee lost no time in getting to work is shown by one of the subscription papers, for the city of Annapolis, which has survived and is in the possession of the college library. It is dated November 16, 1784. Thus the canvassers were making their rounds before the bill establishing St. John's had even passed the Senate. The paper provides that subscriptions were to be paid in three installments, due on June 1 of 1785, 1786, and 1787. The largest individual contribution came from Charles Carroll of Carrollton, then considered the richest man in America, who gave £200. Contributions of £100 each came from Governor William Paca, Richard Sprigg, George Plater, Thomas Stone, George Digges, and Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer. With the addition of various smaller subscriptions, this one paper for the city of Annapolis alone carried pledges for something like £1,500. Again, for purposes of comparison, in 1767-8 the newly-founded Brown University collected only \$4,500, to which \$2,500 was added during the following two years.¹³ A number of these original subscription papers have survived, and the minute book of the first Board of Visitors and Governors contains certified copies of all the lists.¹⁴ These lists are divided into "classes"—that is to say, into groups of subscribers of whom each group or "class" had contributed one thousand pounds and hence was entitled to nominate one member of the Board. From the origi-

¹³ Edwin Grant Dexter, *History of Education in the United States* (New York, 1906), p. 261.

¹⁴ These subscription papers are in library of St. John's College.

nal papers and from some of the copied lists it would seem that the first intention had been to make the classes geographically representative of the Western Shore counties, the Eastern Shore, of course, having been pre-empted by Washington College. There are eleven such classes, each running to a little over a thousand pounds, so that—on paper—the new college had an endowment of between eleven and twelve thousand pounds. It is unfortunately necessary to emphasize the phrase “on paper,” as the melancholy sequel will show.

The affairs of St. John's moved forward steadily, if slowly, so that by 1786 enough money had been pledged to create a Board according to the peculiar rules laid down for its organization. On February 28 of that year in the Senate Room of the State House appeared the following gentlemen duly elected Visitors and Governors of St. John's College in the State of Maryland, *viz.*, Thomas John Clagget, D. D., William West, D. D., Nicholas Carroll, John H. Stone, William Beans, Richard Ridgely, Thomas Stone, and Samuel Chase.¹⁵ There were also present the agents, as the canvassers for funds were called (minus the Rev. Patrick Allison, who seems to have disappeared from the picture at this time), to attest the election of the new college officials. Before Alexander Contee Hanson, one of the Judges of the General Court, they “subscribed a declaration of their belief in the Christian religion,” and took “the two oaths of fidelity required by the Constitution.” This formula, repeated time after time whenever a new Board member was elected, is a flat contradiction of the law founding the college, for that, as has been shown, demanded only that the member take the oath of fidelity and support to the state. Still, when it is remembered that, in St. John's brief history of less than two years, no fewer than five clergymen had been involved in its affairs, it is not surprising that some such addition had been made to the original plan. The Board then adjourned to the following day, on which it added to its numbers John Thomas, somewhat bleakly described in the minutes as “one

¹⁵ Minutes of the Board of Visitors and Governors, Feb. 28-March 2, 1786. Hereafter abbreviated to MBVG. The Minute Books covering the years 1786 to 1843 and 1878 to the present have been preserved and are in the possession of St. John's College. The first of these books (1786-1826) has been the chief source of this article. Also preserved at the college is the matriculation book, 1789-1855. The originals of letters quoted in this article are in the college library.

of the people called Quakers," and elected William West as its president.

Two important pieces of business awaited the Board's attention. The first of these had to do with King William's School, designated since the patriotic days of the Revolution as the Annapolis School, that mysterious institution about which much has been written and very little actually known.¹⁶ According to the *Maryland Gazette*, the Trustees, Governors, Visitors, and Rector of King William's School met on February 22, 1785, and appointed a committee of five to meet with representatives of St. John's to discuss the transfer of the funds and property of the school to the new college. Unfortunately, the paper does not say whose idea this was, nor are the names of the members of the committee given. But work was apparently being done in the Assembly, because the bill permitting the consolidation of the funds of the old school with those of the new college was passed on March 2, 1786; that it is say, it was being put through just as the St. John's Board was holding its first meeting and tackling the problem. The delay of a year between the conception and execution of this scheme is probably explained by the fact that before March of 1786 there had been no St. John's Board for the King William's representatives to deal with.

The school made a really handsome offer to the college. It had in cash about £1,200, and it wanted to contribute £2,000 so as to get two Board members of its choice. But, so its communication said, the people of Annapolis wanted the school to continue until the college opened; so could the school keep its Latin master and some of its money and pay its £2,000 in installments? Further, when one of its Board members died, could the school nominate his successor from among the people of Annapolis? Towards most of these suggestions (especially the £2,000) the St. John's Board showed a sweet reasonableness. But towards the last it was very stern. For King William's School to be allowed to select its board members' successors from among the people of Annapolis would not be "within the true principles of equality," St. John's replied. King William's, not to be outdone in a love for equality, hastily agreed, and, its other conditions being accepted, sent as its nominees for the Board Alexander Contee Hanson and Thomas

¹⁶ This second name is the one almost always employed in the Board Minutes.

Jennings. These two men, bringing the number up to eleven, completed the original Board of St. John's College and were the last to be nominated by subscribers, as subsequent elections show.

The other business before the meeting was the choice of a location for the college. Upper Marlborough got two votes and Annapolis nine. Annapolis was obviously the heavy favorite because of the four acres of land and the Governor's Palace which the Assembly had granted if Annapolis were selected. So the choice was a foregone conclusion.

For the first two days of their initial meeting the Board had convened in the Senate Chamber; but, perhaps finding that apartment somewhat austere and even chilly, they moved, on the last day, to Mr. Mann's house, a celebrated tavern on what was then Church, now Main Street.¹⁷ In this more congenial atmosphere the remaining business was accomplished. Ephraim Ramsay was made secretary to the Board and Benjamin Harwood treasurer. Mr. Harwood's salary was rather vaguely fixed at $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on all money received by him and 1 per cent. on all money paid out. Then a sub-committee was appointed to inspect the newly-acquired land and building; and finally there was an interesting resolution to pay Mr. Andrew Ellicot "who had attended at Annapolis to inspect some mathematical instruments intended for the use of the college." These mathematical instruments, whatever they may have been, were the first purely educational equipment owned by St. John's.

The proceedings of this first meeting of the Board bring up the whole question of the connection between King William's School and St. John's College, a connection about which many misleading statements have been made. Some, for example, have written as if the Assembly turned over to the college the funds, property, books, teachers, and students of the school, which implies that the Assembly created St. John's College out of King William's School.¹⁸ This does not seem to have been the case. From the facts presented in the preceding pages it is clear that the college was founded with no thought of consolidation with the school in

¹⁷ Walter B. Norris, *Annapolis, Its Colonial and Naval Story* (New York, 1925), p. 320.

¹⁸ See, for instance, Hurlbert Footner, *Maryland Main and the Eastern Shore* (New York, 1942), p. 268, which is typical of the way in which this story is told in popular histories of Annapolis.

the minds of the legislators, and that it was only while the college charter was being put through the Assembly that the idea of merging the two institutions came into somebody's head. It is clear also that the initiative came from the school, not from the college. Unfortunately, so little is really known about King William's School that we cannot follow the sequence of events in any detail. Probably someone on the school board felt that it was unnecessary to have both in one small town, and that the college would offer better educational facilities. Not even the names of the Governors of the school are known with any certainty; it is likely that Hanson and Jennings were among them, since the school nominated these two men to the college Board. Further, as far as the school funds were concerned, it is clear that the school subscribed them to the college endowment just as any group of individuals might have done, and received the same privileges in return. The only difference was that the school, being in a sense a state institution, had to have the Assembly's permission before it could make its subscription. This was the only place in which the Assembly entered the picture. And finally, what evidence there is about the school indicates that it was entirely a preparatory institution and could not have been converted into St. John's College without losing all of its former character. It is true, however, that a number of books did pass, in some way or another, from the possession of the school into that of the college, and are still in the college library. And it is also true that Ralph Higginbotham, who will be introduced later, had been a master in the school; but he was appointed to the St. John's faculty in exactly the same fashion as were the other instructors and not as the result of a special connection between the two institutions.

The Board of Visitors and Governors met twice more during this year, both times in Mr. Mann's tavern.¹⁹ The problem now confronting them was the building the Assembly had bestowed. Since the word "building" always appeared in the singular, it is evident that the four acres contained Bladen's Folly and nothing else. It is generally stated that only the four walls had been completed by that ambitious Governor, which is probably true.²⁰

¹⁹ MBVG, May 9-10 and July 5-6, 1786.

²⁰ Bladen wrote to Lord Baltimore on Nov. 15, 1744: "I have finished the brick work of a very good house upon your Land for yr. Governr. which I shall send

Although the building is fairly large, it must have seemed rather cramped if it were to be made to contain classrooms and accommodations for both teachers and students as well as whatever offices might have been needed. So the Board determined to add wings to the building, and spent much time trying to decide whether the north or south wing should be added first. As it turned out, neither was ever erected. After advertising for bids, the Board entrusted the work to Joseph Clarke—who had been the architect for the new State House begun in 1772—and he prepared plans for the additions.²¹ And plans they remained. In August of 1789, three years later, the Board wrote to Mr. Clarke the following plaintive letter:

Sir

Being informed by our Committee for superintending the Building of St. John's College of their application to you for the Designs & Drawings Articles & Materials in your Possession and Care belonging to the College and of your Declining to answer their Letters relative thereto it is our request that you would deliver up to the Committee without further delay the Articles & Materials Designs & Drawings belonging to the College.

N. Brice

Clerk

To this appeal no answer was ever received—at least there is no record of one—and so the plan for enlarging the present McDowell Hall came to nothing. From an esthetic standpoint this failure is to be regretted; had the building been changed into the typical eighteenth-century central-block-with-wings form, it would have made an impressive nucleus for the campus.

After the meeting of July 5-6, 1786, a three-year curtain of silence descends upon the Board of Visitors and Governors of St. John's College. From the condition of the minute book it is obvious that no records have been lost, nor is it likely that they

your Lordship a Draught of by the Baltimore." *Calvert Papers, Fund Publication No. 34* (Maryland Historical Society), p. 122. If the Assembly of 1761 thought £2,000 necessary to complete the building, Bladen could not have done more than erect the walls. There is further confirmation of this in the reminiscences of Mrs. Rebecca Key, who knew the building before the college acquired it. She wrote that a Dr. Duff had been brought from Scotland to construct it and that "under his direction the walls of the present main building were erected, joists laid, and scaffolding prepared for roofing it in." Mrs. Rebecca Key, "A Notice of Some of the First Buildings with Notes of Some of the Early Residents, 1754-1840." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIV (1919), 258 ff.

²¹MBVG, Feb. 28-March 2, 1786. Horatio Clark, one of the earliest students in the college, is described in the matriculation book as son of Joseph Clark, architect, Annapolis—doubtless the same.

were kept in a different volume. The answer seems clear: the Board simply did not meet. Nor is there any insoluble mystery about this lapse: financial troubles, the eternal spectre haunting the campus of St. John's, began to appear as early as this. The *Gazette* contains a notice, signed by Carroll and Hanson, that the subscribers were not paying their pledges as they had contracted to do.²² It will be remembered that, according to the terms of the subscription papers, the last installment should have been paid on June 1, 1787. The notice goes on to say that, because of this lack of ready money, building operations at the college had been suspended, and ends with an appeal to the delinquent subscribers to catch up promptly with their payments. So the conduct of Mr. Clarke becomes quite understandable: he doubtless saw small chance of ever being paid for the work he had undertaken to do and so he very wisely did nothing. The slowness in collecting the pledged funds also accounts for the lapse of the Board; with little or no money in hand there was not much they could accomplish, and the out-of-town members spared themselves a trip to Annapolis. When they did finally reconvene, on May 12, 1789, one of their first acts was to employ one Archibald Golder as a collector working on a percentage basis to stir up the consciences of the tardy subscribers. If we can judge by the number of bills submitted to the college by the sheriffs of the various counties, Mr. Golder hauled the backsliders into court by the dozen. A document of the period shows him at work:

Dr. Mr. William Young

To the Visitors & Governors of St. John's College

To Amt. of his subscription to sd College £10.00

I hereby certify that it appears by the original subscription paper No. 17. that William Young of Baltimore County subscribed the sum of ten pounds current money, to St. John's College, and that I have not received any part thereof.

B. Harwood Treasr.
of St. John's College

Maryland to wit—May 16th 1791

Then came before me the subscriber one of the Judges of the General Court of the State aforesaid Archibald Golder late Collector of St. John's College subscriptions, and made oath on the holy Evangel of almighty God, that he hath not received any part or parcel of the above subscription.

Sworn before—
J. To[wnle]y Chase

²² *Maryland Gazette*, February 19, 1789.

So it was a slow job, for even the enterprising Mr. Golder. Many people had blithely signed up when the original papers had been passed around and then, regretting their rash generosity, tried to wriggle out on one pretext or another. Thus we have a letter from Mr. Thomas Cradock, writing three years after the college had opened. His letter expressed considerable annoyance over misrepresentation practised by the solicitors of funds:

1 Sept. 92

Sir—

I received yours and would wish you to lodge the subscription papers in the hands of Mr. Johnson or any other person whether it is so put down or not I can't tell, but I subscribed so much on condition the college was in Balt County & that I think at 3 different annual payments there was deception made use of and the subscription was not as fairly obtained as it ought to have been; that was my reason for writing to you to lodge the subscription paper that I might see it.

With respect to Jho. Cradock & Col. Watkins they deny ever seeing the subscription paper at all—and a gentleman now acknowledges that he put down their names at haphazrd to make up a particular sum to have the college in Balt County.

Yr. obt. Servt.

Tho^s. Cradock

To Mr. Marbury
Annapolis

Affairs, however, did move forward under Mr. Golder's prodings, and the Board stayed in session three days. Of the original members, one—Thomas Stone—had died in 1787, and it was necessary to replace him. As a matter of fact, the Board had really been acting illegally all the while, since the charter required its number to be at least thirteen. So the first job was to rectify this, and the following were elected: James Brice, John Allen Thomas, Gustavus Brown, the Rev. Edward Gannt, Clement Hill, Richard Sprigg, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Jeremiah Townley Chase, Charles Wallace, and John Carroll. These gentlemen were all elected by the existing Board; the day of nominations by subscribers was over.

The condition of Bladen's Folly and how little had been done to it is made clear by the Board's action in ordering two rooms in the building to be prepared for opening a grammar school and a mathematical school. Evidently not even the rooms in the building were fit for use at this time. Next, two masters had to be

secured to preside over the two rooms when prepared, and at this meeting and at the next (August 11) the position of Head of the Mathematical School was offered to John McDowell, A. M., and that of Head of the Grammar School to the Rev. Ralph Higginbotham, their salaries each to be £300 per annum. A glance at these two men who presided over the early intellectual life of the college might be not without interest.

Of the two, John McDowell was the more important, since modern historians have thought him worthy of a place in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.²³ He was a native of Franklin County, Penn., where he was born in 1751. He had been educated at the College of Philadelphia, as it was then called, holding a tutorship even before his graduation in 1771. He was English orator on the commencement programme. He taught there until 1782, at which time he moved to Cambridge, Md., where he studied law and did some more teaching until he was appointed head of the Mathematical School at St. John's. A college broadside published just after his appointment described him as a "gentlemen of uncommon learning, long experience in teaching, amiable manners, and distinguished moral character." According to the terms of his rather vague contract, he was to teach not only mathematics but "such other branches of literature" as the Board might think proper. How St. John's ever heard of him must remain a mystery, but his Pennsylvania background suggests the influence of Dr. Smith. Later he was made the first Principal of the college and remained there until 1805.

The Rev. Ralph Higginbotham is a much more shadowy figure, and the facts of his life are hard to get at. His first appearance in Annapolis is in an advertisement in the *Gazette* for August 26, 1784. This notice, which is dated August 17, begins with the announcement that the Rev. Ralph Higginbotham, late of Waterford, Ireland, "being appointed by the visitors master of King Williams School in the city of Annapolis, begs leave to inform the inhabitants of the city and its vicinity, that on Monday the 13th day of September next, he will open school for the education of young gentlemen in the Greek and Latin languages, preparatory to their entering college." He then continues, with becoming humility, to speak of his excellent qualities as a teacher, and

²³ XII, 31-32.

ends with the statement that his terms would be one guinea per quarter. In the winter of 1785 he was elected Rector of St. Anne's Church on which occasion he produced his credentials, stating that he had been ordained at Waterford in 1774.²⁴ He remained Rector until 1804. Of his personal characteristics we have little knowledge, except from the pen of the Rev. Ethan Allen who, though writing a number of years later seems to have had access to much information about the early rectors of St. Anne's—most of whom, by the way, he regarded with a very jaundiced eye and remarkably little Christian charity.²⁵ Allen wrote with frosty disapproval that Higginbotham was a man of "irregular habits," from which his reputation as a clergyman suffered, and that he paid too much attention to the college and not enough to the church. It must be admitted that Higginbotham was perhaps unwise in attempting two full-time jobs at once.

But in spite of his irregular habits, over which time has spread a kindly oblivion, Higginbotham is an important figure in St. John's history. First, he represents the earliest link between St. John's and St. Anne's Church, a bond which has lasted down to the present day. And in the second place, he is the actual physical connection between the college and King William's School. The often-repeated statement that the scholars of the school all came to the college is impossible of proof; we have all the names of the first students, but there is no way of knowing where they had been before entering St. John's. The records of the school have been so completely destroyed that almost nothing is known about it.²⁶ But the Rev. Higginbotham had actually taught there, though it is necessary to repeat that his election to the college faculty was not the result of his having been master of the school. A position at the college was open, he applied for it, and got it. He was not turned over to the college by the school.

At this same meeting of the Board, at which the two masters were selected, it was further decided that the tuition fee at the new college should be five pounds a year. The sum seems grotesquely small even for this period, but St. John's was—or thought

²⁴ St. Anne's Parish Vestry Records.

²⁵ Rev. Ethan Allen, *Historical Notes of St. Anne's Parish* (Baltimore, 1857). Pp. 93 ff.

²⁶ Mrs. Key wrote: "The Free School stood on the south side of the State House, a plain building containing school rooms and a habitation for the teachers and his family. . . . It supported two masters who had been sent from England and at the Revolution returned to their native country." Mrs. Rebecca Key, *loc. cit.*, pp. 258 ff.

it was—an endowed institution and an important part of the state's educational machinery. It did not have to make money.

All of these proceedings were communicated to the press, and the citizens of Annapolis evidently began to count on the opening of the college, for several issues of the *Gazette*, beginning with that of Sept. 24, 1789, carry the advertisements of those who wanted to rent rooms to students. Anne Tootell, Susanna Brewer, Vachel Stevens, B. Maybury, and Mary Reynolds all publicly expressed their desire to furnish the prospective students with board, lodging, and washing for thirty pounds a year. Some of them unquestionably came to regret their venture into the student-rooming-house business, for within a year it was found necessary to have a master visit each house every evening to restrain the young gentlemen dwelling therein.

The last Board meeting of this preliminary period took place on November 10 to plan for the opening exercises on the following day. The ubiquitous Dr. William Smith²⁷ was named President of the College *pro tempore*, and the order of the next day's procession was arranged. It was substantially as the *Gazette* account, quoted at the beginning of this article, described it—with one important difference. The *Gazette* did not mention the students of the Grammar School, who were assigned by the Board to a place in the procession. But the newspaper writer can easily be forgiven for overlooking these students: there were but sixteen of them.²⁸ They must have been completely lost in the crowd of dignitaries of both church and state, as the procession swept solemnly from the Stadt House to the College. But at least a modest glory was theirs on that November day: they had the distinction of being St. John's first students.

²⁷ The article in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 31-32, already quoted, states that Smith had resumed his duties as Provost of the University of Pennsylvania in the preceding July. He must also have maintained his connection with Chestertown, for he brought to St. John's, on this occasion, Washington College's list of delegates to the Convocation of the University of Maryland, whenever that might take place, and his name was on the list. Thus, he had three college connections at the same time.

²⁸ Piety demands that their names be preserved. They were:

Thomas Higginbotham	Richard Cooke
John Beven	Richard Harwood
William Long	Thomas Wally
James John Jennings	Henry Brice
Francis [Scott] Key	Daniel Jennings
John Shaw	William Brewer
Horatio Clark	George Clark
William Cooke	James West

SOME NEW LIGHT ON THE EARLY YEARS OF THE BALTIMORE PLANTATION

By L. LEON BERNARD

Historians of Maryland have long lamented the mists which shroud the first few years of Cecil Lord Baltimore's first settlement on the banks of the St. Mary's River. Beginning with January, 1638, the proceedings of the Colonial Assembly provide a solid basis for the history of the Plantation, but prior to that date the sources are extremely meager. Outside of half a dozen or so brief accounts of the founding in 1634 (most of which borrow one from the other or cover pretty much the same ground) and a few scattered letters and other miscellany, there has been nothing else available to the historian.¹

The material for this article has been drawn from a source whose existence is well-known to all historians but which has remained virtually untouched because of the enormous difficulties confronting anyone seeking to exploit it for historical purposes. We refer to the records of chancery proceedings in the Public Record Office in London: bills, answers, depositions, and other proceedings in chancery suits, amounting to several thousand voluminous and unwieldy bundles for the Stuart period alone. No one has ever more than scratched the surface of these archives. There are various calendars and indices for some of these records, but for the most part any historian in search of suits involving early Maryland history, or any phase of colonial history, would be compelled to resort to the highly laborious method of untying bundles and turning over pages one by one until his eye struck upon some familiar name.² Charles M. Andrews, in preparing his

¹ For a list of these accounts, see C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (New Haven, 1936), II, 288.

² M. S. Giuseppi, *A Guide to the Manuscripts preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, 1923), I, 51-52.

Guide, disposed of chancery in one curt paragraph, stating that "until these parchments and papers have been officially listed it will be impossible for anyone to gain an adequate idea of their contents."³

Much as he would like to, the author can take no credit for heroic labor performed in the Public Record Office. The chancery suit which forms the basis for this article came to his attention through the very unheroic process of having it placed before him, in photostatic form, at the start of a seminar in Elizabethan and early Stuart paleography.⁴ It had been chosen more or less at random as presenting a fair sample of the paleography of the period, as well as an example of the type of material relating to American colonial history which is available in great quantity in chancery proceedings.

The case is that of *Edward Robinson v. Cecil Lord Baltimore*.⁵ The documents available to us are, first, nine interrogatories administered to two witnesses produced on behalf of the plaintiff, and, secondly, the depositions of those two witnesses, by name, Jerome Hawley and William Peaseley. The suit was initiated in chancery in the summer of 1637.

The litigation arose out of some sums of money adventured by the plaintiff in the Maryland Plantation. In August, 1633, Baltimore received an unspecified sum of money from Robinson, presumably to pay for the passage of indentured servants from England to Maryland. The plaintiff alleged that Baltimore accepted his money although he had no intention of sending men for the plaintiff into Maryland.⁶

On another occasion, in August of 1634, Robinson paid over to William Peaseley, the elected Treasurer of the Adventurers in Maryland, the sum of 20 pounds to be "putt into the stock for trade with the natives in Maryland."⁷ Robinson was apparently dissatisfied with the distribution of the proceeds of the stock;

³ C. M. Andrews, *Guide to the Materials for American History, to 1783, in the Public Record Office of Great Britain* (Washington, 1912), I, 12.

⁴ The seminar was given at the University of North Carolina in the winter quarter of 1948-49 by Dr. Charles Sisson of the University of London, who more than any one living man has mastered the intricacies of chancery archives and who, though not a historian himself, has long been urging a systematic study of chancery records by the historians.

⁵ *Robinson v. Lord Baltimore*, PRO, C24/621/79.

⁶ Interrogatories 3 and 5. (Hereinafter abbreviated as Inter.)

⁷ Inter. 4.

there is no direct statement to this effect but the detailed questioning put to the witnesses concerning their knowledge of the distribution of the stock indicates that Robinson thought he had not received his just due.⁸

Another rather significant allegation was that Baltimore had "dressed up" the list of adventurers in the Plantation with names of men who had never actually invested in the undertaking, in order "the better to drawe on others."⁹

The real interest of the case, however, does not rest so much on the suit itself as on the historical side-lights which can be gleaned from the testimony of the witnesses, Hawley and Peaseley.¹⁰ Both men are well-known figures in the early history of the Plantation, especially the former. Jerome Hawley was one of the seventeen "gentlemen of very good fashion," who, along with some 300 laboring men, disembarked from the *Ark* and the *Dove* in March of 1634.¹¹ With Thomas Cornwallis, he served as Commissioner during the early years, aiding Leonard Calvert in the government of the Plantation, while Lord Baltimore remained in England to guard against the constant efforts of William Claiborne and certain other Virginia gentlemen to undermine the new enterprise at Court.

Peaseley never voyaged to the New World. He remained with his brother-in-law, Lord Baltimore, in England, acting as Treasurer of the Plantation. But he, like Hawley, was obviously in a position to give credible testimony on matters concerning the Maryland Plantation.

Turning to this testimony, we might first mention some new facts revealed regarding the economic life of the Plantation during the first year, particularly on the trade with the Indians. Jerome Hawley in his testimony declares that there were "eleven adventurers in the plantation in Marye Land at the first beginning," who put in a total of about thirty shares.¹² He gives their names and we can easily identify them as members of the first expedition;

⁸ Inter. 8.

⁹ Inter 2.

¹⁰ It is quite possible, though, that if certain documents referred to in Interrogatories 5 and 7 were available, along with the testimony of other witnesses, the issues of the suit would emerge with greater clarity and the case itself would then hold greater interest from an historical point of view.

¹¹ Lord Baltimore's letter to Strafford, Jan. 10, 1634, cited in M. P. Andrews, *Tercenary History of Maryland* (Chicago-Baltimore, 1925), p. 47.

¹² Deposition of Hawley, 2.

the only adventurer named by Hawley who did not emigrate in the winter of 1633-1634 is Lord Baltimore himself, who, we are told, held about half of the thirty shares.¹³ The value of these shares is not given but from other sources we learn that they were probably worth 15 pounds apiece.¹⁴

In accepting this list of eleven adventurers given by Hawley we run headlong into an apparent conflict with another list of the original adventurers, namely, the well-known one given on the last page of *A Relation of Maryland*, published anonymously in London in 1635. This latter list is entitled, "The names of the Gentleman Adventures that are gone in person to this Plantation," and includes all the names mentioned by Hawley (with the exception of Lord Baltimore himself) plus seven others.¹⁵

Two conclusions are possible: either Hawley's memory failed him, or else Hawley and the author of the book in question were using the term "adventurers" in different ways. The first alternative is unlikely, considering that Hawley must have known all the adventurers concerned as well as he did the members of his own family and that he had left Maryland only two years prior to the time of his testimony.

The second explanation is far more reasonable. When Hawley refers to the "Adventurers," he has in mind those members of the original expedition who had risked their money in a commercial adventure (i. e., trade with the natives), while the author of the *Relation* simply was listing the names of the gentlemen who had set forth on a hazardous enterprise. Hawley uses the phrase "adventurers *in* the plantation," while the *Relation* reads "adventurers *to* the plantation."¹⁶ Thus, it becomes possible to identify those of the original 17 gentlemen adventurers who had seen fit to join Baltimore in his speculative venture, as distin-

¹³ ". . . the nowe defendt and his brother Leonard Calvert Esqr himselfe this dept Captaine Cornwallis Mr. Edward Winter Mr. Pfredericke Winter Mr. Richard Jarrett Mr. John Saunders Mr. Wiseman Mr. Greene and one Mr. Ffearefaxe." (Deposition of Hawley, 2). Hawley's testimony further reveals that some of Lord Baltimores shares belonged in reality to anonymous adventurers (Inter. 8), clearly substantiating the belief that many adventurers in the Plantation did not deem it prudent to divulge their names: the enterprise was too closely associated with Catholicism.

¹⁴ Letters from Leonard Calvert to Sir Richard Lechford, dated May 30, 1634, *The Calvert Papers No. 3* (Fund Publications, No. 35, Maryland Historical Society, 1899), p. 22.

¹⁵ *A Relation of Maryland*, edited by F. L. Hawks (N. Y., 1865), p. 65.

¹⁶ Italics are mine.

guished from their more conservative companions who contented themselves solely with settlement in the new colony.

The testimony of Hawley and Peaseley enables us to reconstruct in some detail the outcome of the first year's speculation in trade with the natives. We learn that there were two separate "stockes" in the first year's (1634) adventure: a first stock and a second stock.¹⁷ The first stock consisted of the goods brought over in the original expedition by the eleven adventurers referred to above.¹⁸ We are told that Baltimore held about half of the 30 shares in this first stock, and that Hawley himself held three shares, but how the remaining shares were distributed was not known to the deponent.¹⁹

Soon after arriving in the New World, and despite the obstructive tactics of William Claiborne, the settlers began trading with the Indians. In exchange for the goods brought over from England, the adventurers received beaver skins and corn, all of which were pooled together and allotted to the shareholders at the rate of 28 pounds of beaver skins (worth 10 shillings a pound) and an unspecified amount of corn for each share held.²⁰ Unfortunately, the fur season was just about over when they arrived on the scene, and as a consequence of their late arrival they lost some 3000 skins to the Virginians.²¹ Hawley complains that the total received by him did not amount to the value of his three shares, so that he "did loose and not get anything by this said adventure in the first yeares stock."²²

From Peaseley's testimony, we learn that in addition to the foregoing, there was a second stock raised in the year 1634.²³ In this instance, the value of each share is clearly stated as being 20 pounds, but the total number of shares is not given.²⁴ The

¹⁷ Deposition of W. Peaseley, 4.

¹⁸ Deposition of J. Hawley, 2.

¹⁹ It has been asserted by one investigator that Hawley "took an eighth interest in Calverts Maryland project." H. T. Cory, "Some Unpublished Hawley-Halley Data," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIV (1939), 175. The names of a few other adventurers can be found in Leonard Calvert's letter to Lechford, *Calvert Papers No. 3*, 22-24.

²⁰ Deposition of J. Hawley, 8.

²¹ Letter of Leonard Calvert to Lechford, *Calvert Papers No. 3*, 22.

²² Deposition of J. Hawley, 8.

²³ Deposition of W. Peaseley, 4.

²⁴ Leonard Calvert, in his letter to Lechford, *Calvert Papers No. 3*, writes that the "summe we haue all thought fit to adventure is thirtie pounds p̄ share . . . we finde by experience, that the quantity of trucke we brought ouer last is nothinge, in respect of what is here to be vented."

names of only two of the share-holders are mentioned: Peaseley, who invested five shares, and Robinson, the plaintiff, one. Peaseley acted as Treasurer for the Adventurers and it is in this capacity that he called at Robinson's home in August, 1634 and collected the sum of 20 pounds for one share in the second stock.

The money thus received by Peaseley in the summer of 1634 was employed in the purchase of various commodities which were then entrusted to the care of an agent, Captain Humber. The latter sailed for Maryland with these goods about Michaelmas, 1634 and arrived in Maryland at the beginning of December.²⁵ Neither of the two witnesses, however, deposes anything concerning the final division of the proceeds of the second stock.

In connection with the administrative history of the early years an interesting fact is brought to light. Hawley, in his testimony, makes the statement that the division of the proceeds of the first year's stock was made "by order of the Governour and Councill there resident."²⁶ It has been generally thought that the Council, as such, did not exist prior to Lord Baltimore's order of government of April, 1637 and the arrival of the first Secretary, John Lewger, in Maryland seven months later pursuant to that order of government.²⁷ The supposition has been that only with the arrival of Lewger did Commissioners Hawley and Cornwallis become "Councillors."²⁸

Several other minor points of historical interest emerge from the depositions: for example, the date of birth of Jerome Hawley, which in standard secondary works is either omitted or given many years earlier than the actual date (1590) revealed in Hawley's deposition; the years of Hawley's sojourn in London; and, finally, the number of "servants" brought over by the two Calverts in the first year, which we learn to have been no less than forty.²⁹

Lastly, but of considerable importance, is the revelation of the identities of the authors of the small book referred to above,

²⁵ Deposition of W. Peaseley, 1; Deposition of J. Hawley, 1.

²⁶ Deposition of J. Hawley, 8.

²⁷ *Archives of Maryland*, III, 49-55.

²⁸ See, for example, *Papers Relating to the Early History of Maryland*, Fund Publication No. 9, Maryland Historical Society, p. 218, and M. P. Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

²⁹ E. D. Neill in his *Founders of Maryland* (Albany, 1876), p. 84 asserts that Hawley arrived in London in June, 1635. Powell, *op. cit.*, says this is not possible. But the evidence presented by Hawley himself supports Neill's assertion.

A Relation of Maryland. This work, published anonymously in London in 1635, has long been recognized as an essential source for the early history of Maryland. Oldmixon lifted many passages bodily out of the *Relation*,³⁰ without, of course, citing his source, and from his time down to the present it has continued to be used extensively, though more honestly, by colonial historians.

The *Relation* of 1635 is certainly the liveliest and most interesting of the several accounts which have come down to us concerning the early years of the Plantation. It is simply a prospectus, and a first-rate one at that. In addition to relating briefly the story of the first settlement at St. Mary's, describing the progress made ("without boasting it may be said, that this colony hath arrived to more in sixe moneths, then Virginia did in as many yeeres"³⁵) and allaying the fears of possible investors as the bloodthirstiness of the natives, the *Relation* sets forth the "conditions propounded by the Lord Baltemore, to such as shall goe, or adventure into Maryland."³² For example, any Englishman who cared to assume the burden of equipping five able-bodied men with "all things necessary for a Plantation" and transporting them into the colony would receive in return a manor of 1000 acres to be held in perpetuity. A detailed list of everything necessary for settlement in the new plantation, down to "inkle for garters," is set forth for the benefit of prospective adventurers, along with the profits that might be derived from the labor of each servant transported to Maryland.

The authorship of the *Relation* of 1635 has until now remained a mystery. Some authorities have regarded the work as merely a revised and enlarged edition of the *Relation* of 1634; others have pointed to Cecil Lord Baltimore as its probable author.³³ The *Relation* of 1635 is, however, not just a revised edition of the earlier work. It is true that the first chapter does borrow to some extent from the *Relation* of 1634, but most of the opening chapter consists of new material, and the remainder of the book contains nothing which could be traced back to any known earlier work.

³⁰ John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America* (London, 1741), pp. 324 *et seq.*

³¹ *Relation*, p. 16.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³³ B. C. Steiner, *Beginnings of Maryland, 1631-1639*, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, XXI, p. 41; C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, II, 288 n.

It is Peaseley's testimony that finally clears up the question of the origin of the *Relation* of 1635. Asked whether to his knowledge a certain printed book showed to him in court had been "written or caused to be written by the said defendant," Peaseley answered that "it is true that the printed booke . . . Intituled . . . A Relation of Marie Land and dated September 6 Anno Dom 1635 . . . was written and conceived or composed by Mr. Jerome Haulie and Mr. John Lugar two of the adventurers to the said plantacon." ⁸⁴

There can be no reasonable doubt of Peaseley's statement. As Treasurer of Lord Baltimore's enterprise, and the Proprietor's brother-in-law, he was certainly in a position to know who were the authors of a book designed to serve as a prospectus for the colony. Nor could a more logical pair be chosen to write the *Relation*: Hawley, the commissioner of the Plantation recently returned from Maryland, and John Lewger, the intimate friend of Lord Baltimore, soon destined to become the Plantation's first Secretary.

⁸⁴ Deposition of William Peaseley, 6.

THE OBSERVATORY ON FEDERAL HILL

By M. V. BREWINGTON

Within a few years after the War for Independence had been won Baltimore showed herself in the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury to be not only the first port of the Chesapeake but also one of the first five in the United States. Her vessels were to be found in the Ganges and the Orinoco, in the Thames and the Congo, while in the Patapsco Judge Thomas Jones at North Point counted in the year 1795 some 6085 vessels entering the port.¹ This was in spite of a harbor definitely not one of the best five on the Atlantic seaboard: Baltimore attained her position and maintained it primarily because her merchants, her whole maritime community, displayed unceasing energy and resourcefulness in making the most of what nature had given.

One of the first man-made improvements was a means whereby the merchants could be informed when one of their vessels was approaching her homeport. In the words of an early commentator, information of the near approach of a vessel might ". . . afford the merchant an opportunity of saving [an insurance] premium and the underwriters . . . the gratification of beholding a flag on which they had largely insured."² Well before the vessel dropped anchor customs officials could get their red tape ironed out and quarantine doctors could ready their pills and bleeding cups. Wives and sweethearts could prepare for the sailor's return. In fact, everyone directly or indirectly dependent on water-borne commerce was vitally interested in knowing of the pending arrival of a vessel in port. The passing of years has changed to a large degree the comparative importance of the news, but even so, can we not all recall that the approach of a tanker laden with fuel oil was a front page story in many a city during the shortage plagued winter of 1946?

¹ Manuscript Diary of Thomas Jones, Maryland Historical Society.

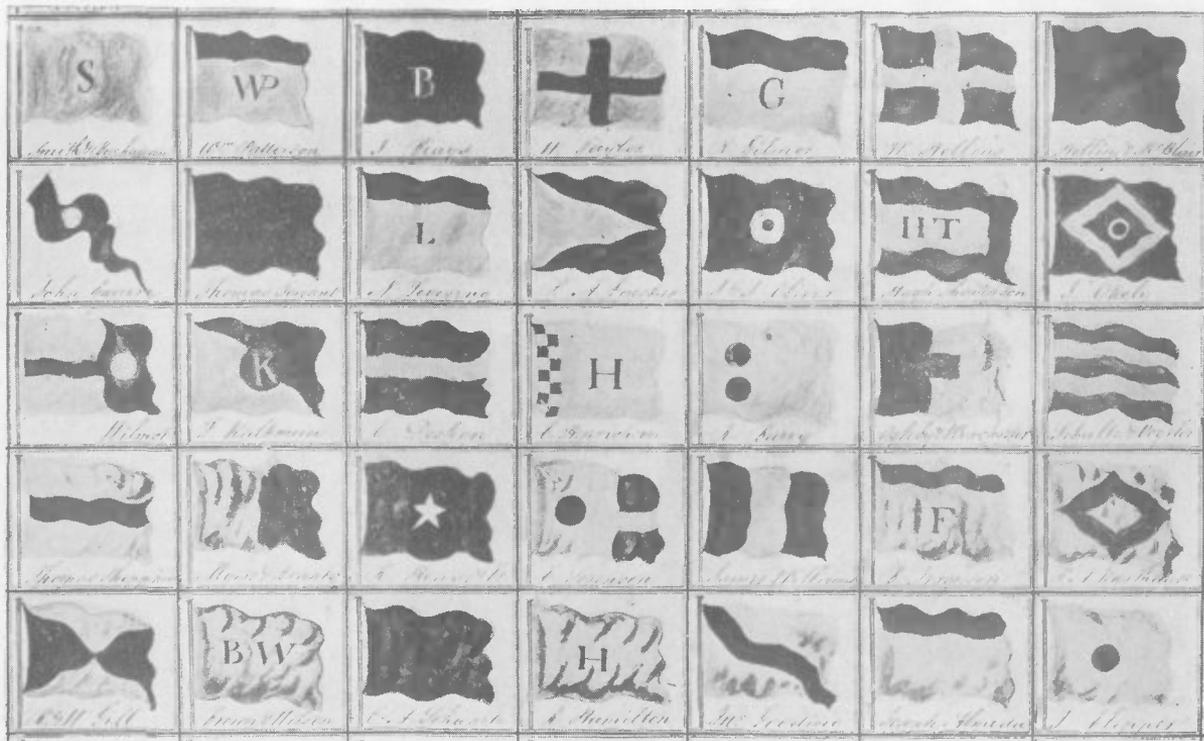
² *New Baltimore Directory and Annual Register, 1800-1801*, p. 18.

So, when in 1797 Captain David Porter, senior, announced that he was about to do something to bring Baltimore quicker news of her homecoming shipping, his efforts at the outset received such hearty support and soon were found to have such an important part in the functioning of the port, that the result of his endeavors lasted for more than a full century.

David Porter, senior, has been forgotten by Baltimore but in his time he was one of the best known men in the city's maritime circle. He was born in Massachusetts in 1754, the son of Alexander Porter, a Boston merchant and shipmaster. He served in privateers during the Revolution and after being captured by the British and taken into Halifax made one of the most daring escapes recorded during the war. He had also been one of John Barry's midshipmen on the Continental frigate *Raleigh*. When Alexander Hamilton organized the Revenue Cutter Service in 1791, Porter was given command of the U. S. R. C. *Active*, and stationed in Chesapeake Bay.³ His command was not an easy one. The colonial tradition of avoiding, if not evading, the king's customs was still strong in the minds of merchants and seamen alike, and there were plenty who were willing to risk jail if they could get a cargo past a not too watchful cutter. Added to that, the French Navy and the British Navy both had strong squadrons around the mouth of the Bay with guns double shotted, tompions out and matches lighted, just waiting for the other to start something, violation of territorial waters be hanged because the Americans had but small means to defend their dominion. The Revenue Cutter Service was new and none too well organized, but Captain Porter acquitted himself well, and although one or two overt acts were committed, somehow he maintained reasonably good order afloat. About 1796 he "swallowed the anchor," bought a home on Montgomery Street, Federal Hill, and at once became active in the affairs of the port. In company with several other seafaring men he was one of the organizers of the Charitable Marine Society.⁴ One of his sons, David, junior, entered the United States Navy as a midshipman on the Baltimore-built U. S. S. *Constellation*. During the War of 1812 he distinguished himself as a commodore of the Pacific raiding squadron and later was one of

³ *Niles' Weekly Register*, VII (1814-15), Suppl., p. 8; biographical data in Navy Department.

⁴ Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1833), p. 155.



House flags of merchant shipowners used as signals at the Baltimore Observatory. Section of watercolor chart, dated 1817.
Collection of Maryland Historical Society.



Home of Captain David Porter, Senior, on Federal Hill, showing signal tower. Watercolor in the John S. Barnes Collection, Courtesy the New-York Historical Society. The troops drilling in the foreground probably were Duryea's New York Zouaves who were stationed at Federal Hill in 1861. The buildings in center were razed in 1861 or 1862.

the commanders on the Potomac after the burning of Washington. David, senior, in 1807 was appointed sailing master, U. S. N., serving under his son who was then in command of the New Orleans Station. It was the son's duty on June 25, 1808, to write the Secretary of the Navy, "I have the honor to inform you that Mr David Porter Sailing Master departed this life on the 22d inst." ⁵

What induced the senior Porter to establish the Marine Observatory has not been recorded. Certainly his life afloat had shown him the undeniable usefulness of such an institution but the reason may have been only the boredom of life ashore forcing him to seek some touch with the sea. Whatever it was, on March 10, 1797, he advertised in the *Federal Gazette*:

Proposal

For the erection of a Flag-Staff on the highest ground on Federal Hill.

DAVID PORTER

Proposes to build a Look-out House, and raise a Flag-Staff on Federal Hill, that early information may be obtained of ships and vessels coming up the bay. . . .

He further proposed to equip the station with ". . . a good telescope and perspective glasses. . . ." (what the distinction may have been is not known) and to have ". . . suitable signal flags prepared." ⁶

In return for his own and his station's services he sought three hundred subscribers at \$2.50 annually, half to be paid in advance to finance the construction of the Look-out House. Each subscriber who was a vessel owner would have his "private signal" (a banner of distinctive design and coloring selected by a vessel owner to serve as his mark when worn at the masthead of his vessels, just as a rancher "brands" his cattle, or a manufacturer of corn flakes "trade marks" his product). This was to be flown on the flag-staff when one of his vessels came in sight; he would receive a printed copy of all the signals of the port; he would have free access to the Observatory, as the Look-out House soon came to be called, and preferential use of the telescope and glasses.

⁵June 25, 1808, Letters of Officers, Ships of War, Navy Department Records, National Archives.

⁶Issues for March 10, 11, 16, 1797.

Those not subscribers must pay twenty five cents each time they sought admittance.⁷

The subscriptions evidently came in quickly for on April 7 Captain Porter informed the public that the flag-staff had been erected; that the Observatory would be completed "with all expedition"; and that ". . . as good a Telescope as can be procured in London. . . ." was expected. At the same time merchants with vessels then at sea equipped with private signals were invited to inform Captain Porter of the designs so that he might properly and promptly report when their signals were sighted.⁸ However, so few merchants evidently were using *private* signals that *general* signals were fixed for use until better arrangements could be made. These were: when a ship (the word is given its specific meaning: a three-masted, square-rigged vessel) was sighted an American ensign would be hoisted on the flag-staff; a brig brought forth a "pendant" (a long narrow triangle); a topsail schooner, a burgee (a shorter wider triangle, swallow-tailed); and a sloop, a flag (a square or rectangle). If two ships appeared, the ensign was hoisted over the pendant; two brigs were indicated by the pendant over a red flag; and if several sail were in sight, the ensign was flown over the red flag.⁹

With a taste of what the observatory could do the maritime community seemingly was clamoring for the full meal since on April 29 Captain Porter was forced to advertise that "the Observatory cannot be got in rediness so soon as the first day of May; but it will be announced when complete, by the signal of Three guns."¹⁰ Although the event was not reported by the newspapers, the three guns must have boomed forth on May 8 or 9 because Captain Porter then advertised that the signals were ready for delivery on the 9th and that ". . . Care shall be taken to make the Observatory answer the purpose for which it was intended." He went on to say, "Time will shew the utility of the work and I flatter myself merchants and others who feel themselves interested in this intelligent undertaking, will endeavor to encourage the

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, April 7, 19, 22, 1797.

⁹ *Ibid.*; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 292.

¹⁰ *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, April 29, May 9, 1797.

same." With that the subscription price went up to three dollars a year.¹¹

Two days later the general signals first flown on the flag-staff were discontinued and the new private signals were inaugurated. No copies of these signals are known to exist in the "card" form which Captain Porter gave to each subscriber. They would be of more than passing interest because many of the private signal flags like coats of arms were handed down from father to son or from one business firm to its successor. Some are worn today on yachts whose owners' ancestors had hoisted them on packets and clippers a century ago.¹²

The earliest of the signal lists is that with which "Captain Porter has, for the information of the public, politely favoured the publishers of the *New Baltimore Directory & Annual Register*." It gives fifty-six private signals and the ensigns of the city-states of Bremen and Hamburg, both of which were greatly interested in the Baltimore trade. Among those listed were such firms as John M'Kim and Son, "Green Flag with a white ball and white fly"; William Patterson, "Red above, white below, the letters WP black, in the white"; Paul Bentalou, "Blue and white, checker'd."¹³

The method of using the signals was, as Captain Porter wrote, ". . . on a scale easy to be understood." When sighted through the telescope by the watcher in the Observatory, the signal flown at the masthead of the approaching vessel was hoisted on the flag-staff which could be easily seen from every part of the harbor and business district, thereby informing the vessel's owner whose signal was flying that one of his craft was in sight. When a second vessel came in sight, a small cannon evidently was fired to draw the attention of the Port to the change or addition to the flag hoist. Inward bound foreign vessels were indicated by hoisting their respective ensigns. There seem also to have been some scheme whereby through the use of large canvas or basketwork balls hoisted on the staff, other information, perhaps the exact location of the vessel coming up the river: "Abreast the White Rocks,"

¹¹ *Ibid.*, May 8, 9, 1797; *Federal Gazette*, May 8, 15, 1797.

¹² Compare charts of private signals with signals depicted in the year books of various East Coast yacht clubs.

¹³ *New Baltimore Directory and Annual Register 1800-1801*, pp. 18-19.

or "Off the Bodkin" could be conveyed, but knowledge of this scheme apparently has been lost.

The Observatory, as Captain Porter had advertised, stood on Federal Hill and in the eyes of all Baltimoreans and all those who entered by water it soon became the most prominent landmark in the town. It was depicted on almost every view and mentioned in every guidebook up to the beginning of the twentieth century. The hill itself, ". . . a beautiful and commanding eminence, on the South side of the Bason" rose about seventy-five feet above the water.¹⁴ On its crest was a two-story frame house, evidently the residence of Captain Porter, and the Look-out House itself. The latter was a square pyramid thirty feet high with a projecting balcony some ten or twelve feet below the apex. The portion of the structure above the balcony, the watcher's room, had a window in each side giving an unobstructed view of the whole land and waterscape down the river. A flag-staff topped the roof, and other flag staves from an original one to an eventual four were erected in the door yard. The yard itself was enclosed by a high board fence.¹⁵

Even though the Observatory was fully functioning in May, the real opening came on July 4, 1797. Not since the celebration of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States had Federal Hill seen such a fête. Captain Porter's program was announced through the newspapers.

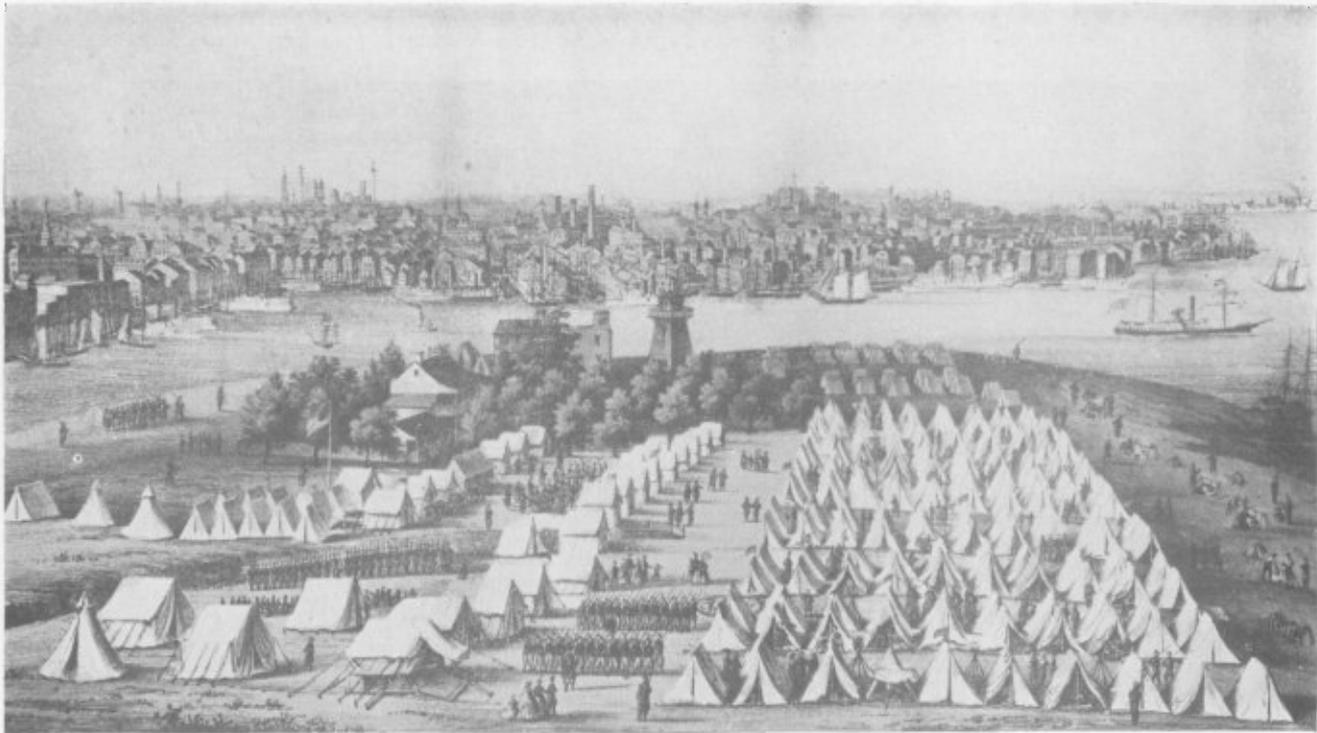
OBSERVATORY

The Citizens are respectfully informed that the Observatory will be illuminated This Evening. The fire works of various forms will be exhibited but no squibs [fire crackers]—a proper place is prepared for this exhibition.

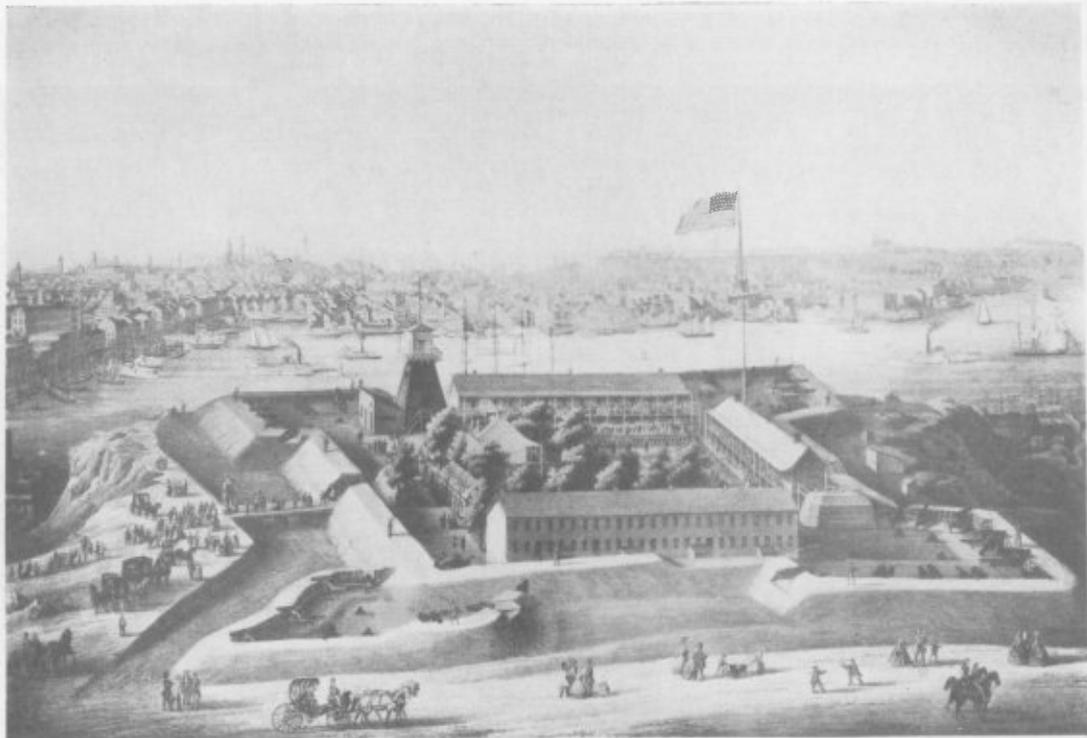
Baron Trenck will be in transparent paintings, drawn with his chains and irons in full proportions, by an able artist, with a motto suitable to the Occasion. The morning of this memorable day will be ushered in with the discharge of the Observatory Artillery. At 10 in the evening the citizens who may please to honor the Observatory with their company, shall have a Federal Salute and a rocket for each gun. The Fire works will be as follows; wheels horizontally and otherwise, a discharge of one of Bounapartes conquering Pistols—this—[sic] scene will be opened by the drawing of a cork of a bottle of Porter which will turn into a volcano.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Early Home of Commodore David Porter, U. S. Navy, Federal Hill, Baltimore*, water-color in J. S. Barnes Collection, New York Historical Society.



Camp of Duryea's Zouaves, of New York, on Federal Hill. Lithograph made by E. Sachse & Co. shortly after occupation by General B. F. Butler on May 13, 1861. The artist seems to have neglected to show the flagstaves, although the tower is clearly shown.



Fort Federal Hill, 1862. Lithograph by E. Sachse & Co., showing the barracks and fortifications built by Union forces. Four signal flagstaffs can be seen to the right of the tower.

A Collation and the best of Liquors will be provided; the proprietor of the Observatory earnestly solicits the patronage of the citizens, every exertion shall be to please, active waiters are engaged and necessary steps taken to prevent imposition. Should the weather prove foul, the above Exhibition will be the next fair night.¹⁶

By 1800 it was reported ". . . the Observatory proves . . . of the greatest utility," and there was no question of the success of Captain Porter's undertaking. Just why and when he left the Observatory is not known, perhaps the smell of powder floating up the Bay from the guns of H. M. S. *Leopard* when she inexcusably attacked the U. S. S. *Chesapeake* brought to the old privateersman a look into the future and he wanted to be on hand for the first chance at the Red Ensign. But if so, his own part of the vision was not fulfilled; he met Yellow Jack instead. As relics of Captain Porter's time at the Observatory there have been preserved two charts of the private signals of the merchants. These are water colors dating *ca.* 1802 and 1806. The first includes fifty flags, the ensigns of Bremen and Hamburg, and an ominous but doubtless often flown pennant which denoted "Vessel aground";¹⁷ the second chart gave with its ninety-two private signals, the fateful "Vessel aground" pennant and the American ensign testimony of the growth in the number of Baltimore's sea-traders during the era of neutral trading just before Jefferson's Embargo.¹⁸ Together with the 1802 forerunner the charts also show a significant change in the traders themselves. In addition to the "old" Baltimore firm names, those of French, German and Irish merchants appear in such proportions that even with no other evidence one would know they had become a very important factor in the city's foreign trade.

Who Captain Porter's immediate successor may have been I have not been able to discover; he probably had little to do because the Long Embargo was just about to become effective. But neither is there any record of the part played by the Observatory during the British invasion of Maryland. That must have been an active

¹⁶ Baltimore *Telegraph and Daily Advertiser*, July 4, 1797. Baron Trenck was a celebrated Prussian soldier whose persistent attempts to escape from a ten-year imprisonment, as related in his memoirs published about this time, had aroused the interest of the contemporary world.

¹⁷ Collection of Maryland Historical Society, watercolor dated by donor from internal evidence.

¹⁸ *Duplicate Signals at the Baltimore Observatory*, 1806, watercolor, signed "J. Barling," Maryland Historical Society.

period and certainly Captain Porter's London-made telescope and his good perspective glasses would have provided a view of the "Rocket's red glare" worth far more than the three dollars subscription price. It is unfortunate that no chart of the wartime signals can be found for it is quite likely some very interesting hoists were in use, one to report "Enemy in sight" as Admiral Cockburn's fleet cruised off the Patapsco; or equally important, "No enemy in sight" so that the "Baltimore Flyers," as the clippers were then called, could slip out to raid British commerce.

For the period immediately following the war when sea-trading again became active a third chart, dated 1817, is extant: a watercolor containing sixty-six private signals and eight ensigns.¹⁹ Sometime before 1830 the Observatory came under the management, and apparently the ownership of Thomas L. Neilson and John L. Dudley, both of whom were also associated with the Merchants' Exchange, then the focal point of all Baltimore's sea-trade. Neilson and Dudley extended the Observatory's watch system by building about 1832-33 another look-out house, located at Bodkin Point.²⁰ There the watcher could see well down the Bay, and hoisting a signal on his mast, the colors were picked up at the Observatory. Here the hoist was repeated and a third watcher in the upper story of the Exchange itself announced the arrival of the vessel, then perhaps some sixty-five miles below. About 1846 a third station, at North Point, is said to have been in operation; but if so, it is difficult to see a sound reason for it unless some structure had been erected cutting off the view of the Bodkin station. There may, however, have been no reason whatsoever since when Neilson died in 1859 his eulogist remarked that Neilson was "noted for eccentricity of character."²¹ In the same year the system of ship identification signals devised by a Baltimorean, Henry J. Rogers, co-worker of Samuel F. B. Morse on the magnetic telegraph and close friend of Dudley, was used at the Observatory. But as the system did not come into general use it was quickly dropped and the old private signals reinstated.²²

¹⁹ *Duplicate Signals at the Baltimore Marine Telegraph, 1817*, watercolor, Maryland Historical Society.

²⁰ Charles Varle, *A Complete View of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1833), p. 67.

²¹ Thomas H. Nelson [*sic*] obituary, *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, December 2, 1859.

²² For a description of Roger's system see M. V. Brewington, "Signal Systems and Ship Identification," *The American Neptune*, III (1943), p. 205; Henry J.

One of the Neilson watchers was Thomas W. Lawrence, who, so it is said, spent his time when his eyes were not at the telescope or his hand on the signal halliards, making watercolored copies of the signal charts. These he sold for two dollars each. One of them dating from internal evidence between 1843 and 1857 has been preserved through a poor reproduction in the *Sun* of April 19, 1908.²³ Watercolor copies, though, had been superceded in 1852 when a large colored lithograph with ninety-seven signals and a portrait of the ship *Alexander*, flying the flag of Alexander Brown and Sons was issued.²⁴ That chart was followed in 1860 by another lithograph with 104 flags, including six ensigns, one of which to the maritime world was a very new one, that of the Rising Sun of Japan.²⁵ A view of the Observatory itself decorated the chart.

Throughout the Civil War the Observatory, now managed by George U. Porter and Marcus L. Dudley, was surrounded by the breastworks of Fort Federal Hill. A print of the Fort during the war period shows not only the staff on the Look-out House but also the four other staves bare of signals.²⁶ Whether the Federal troops stopped operations of the Observatory is not known, but it would appear so.

When the City of Baltimore condemned Federal Hill for a public park (1875) the proprietors of the Observatory offered to

Rogers, *The Telegraph Dictionary and Seamen's Signal Book* (Baltimore, 1845), pp. vii-xi.

²³ "History of the Steamboat on the Chesapeake," *Baltimore Sun*, April 19, 1908.

²⁴ *Duplicate Signals at the Marine Telegraph for 1852*, lithograph, Maryland Historical Society.

²⁵ *Private Signals, Marine Observatory, 1860*, lithograph, Maryland Historical Society. Two very large charts, oil on canvas, *Private Signals of the Merchants of Baltimore* and *Private Signals of the Merchants and Underwriters of Baltimore*, are also extant. The first, unsigned and undated, is owned by The Mariners' Museum; the second, signed "William Cook, New York, 1854," is in a private collection. Both appear to be by the same hand and show the same signals in identical arrangement. The signals are those given in the 1860 lithograph but the arrangement varies slightly and the decorations are quite different, that of the first being a painting obviously inspired by John White's 1585 drawing of Indians building a log canoe; that of the second is a fair copy of the Bartlett-Fisher view of Baltimore. If the charts are contemporary, their purpose cannot be discovered, but neither adds to the story of the observatory.

²⁶ *Fort Federal Hill, Baltimore, Md., Garrisoned by the 7th Regiment (National Guard) NYSM . . .* (1862), lithograph by Sachse in the Society's collection; also item 45, Enoch Pratt Free Library, *Catalog of the Cator Collection of Baltimore Views* (Baltimore, 1933). George U. Porter does not appear to have been related to David Porter. The former and Marcus L. Dudley operated the Maritime Exchange, usually known as the Merchant's Exchange. Its records of vessel entries and clearings, 1833-1872, are in the Society's collections.

construct a new and in their opinion more pleasing, building at their own expense, if they were allowed to continue business on the site. By July 1885 Messrs. Porter and Dudley had removed the last stick of the old structure—"a great relief," the Park Commission reported.²⁷ The proprietors themselves did not build the replacement; the Park Commission did the work appropriating \$8000 (the original had cost not more than \$750) for the new Observatory.²⁸ It was completed in 1887 and thereafter the Commission collected an annual rental of \$325; \$200 for the Observatory and \$125 for an ice cream stand on the first floor!²⁹

The work of the Commission certainly was not the equal of that of old Captain Porter. His Look-out House, stark and clean with its almost Frank Lloyd Wright lines stood the storms of 88 years. Not so the Park Commission's structure. Within a year after it had been opened, rank with the gingerbread of the era, it was reported "6 inches out of plumb from last winter's gales." Windows were continually being broken and the building itself "rocked ominously under [storm] pressure."³⁰

But by then there was little work left for the Signal Station. Communications faster and more accurate than flag hoists had been devised. On June 7, 1899, the past proprietor, Marcus Dudley, sold his interest to the Chamber of Commerce which promptly set up a telephone system linking their offices with Cove Point far down the Bay to get the entries through the Capes of Chesapeake, and another line with North Point to get the Bay traders. There had been 102 years of faithful service rendered by the flags and telescopes. Now their day had passed and as if the very building knew its work was finished, in a summer squall on July 20, 1902, amid the crash of thunder as loud as the guns which had heralded its opening and the flash of lightning reminiscent of the "rocket's red glare," the Look-out House toppled and fell apart.³¹

²⁷ *Report of the Park Commissioners for the year ending December 31, 1885*, p. 22-23.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1886, p. 5.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 29, 53.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1888, p. 18; *ibid.*, 1896, p. 23.

³¹ *Baltimore Sun*, July 21, 1902.

DANIEL RAYMOND, ESQUIRE FOUNDER OF AMERICAN ECONOMIC THOUGHT

By CHARLES J. MACGARVEY

This paper is presented as a biographical sketch to precede a more extensive study, now in preparation, of the life and works of Daniel Raymond, lawyer, writer and economist. It has been written with a view to stimulate the interest of all thoughtful Marylanders in the writings of Raymond, so that at last he may be formally acknowledged as the adopted son of our state, who along with Adam Smith, Friedrich List and others played a significant role in the early development of economic thought.

Daniel Raymond was born in Montville, Connecticut, on September 12, 1786, the fourth son of Daniel Fitch Raymond, farmer and landowner.¹ He was named Daniel Fitch after his father, but dropped the second name while in his teens. On his father's side, he descended in a direct line from Richard Raymond (or Rayment), original settler of Salem, Massachusetts, and Thomas Fitch, the last colonial governor of Connecticut. His mother, Rachel Hillhouse, was the daughter of the famous Judge William Hillhouse and Sarah Griswold Hillhouse, and youngest sister of James Hillhouse, United States Senator from Connecticut and friend of George Washington. She was named for her great-grandmother, Rachel Hillhouse of "Free Hall," near the town of Londonderry, Ireland.² Raymond's home was on a substantial farm near Schofield's Satinet Mill, Montville, the site of which was formerly a part of the original Raymond Hill Farm.³

Little is known of his early years, except that his three older

¹ Henry O. Baker, *History of Montville, Connecticut, formerly the North Parish of New London, from 1640 to 1896* (Hartford, Connecticut, 1896), p. 585.

² W. W. Spooner, editor, *Historic Families of America* (Historic Families Publishing Asso., New York, n. d.), p. 256.

³ Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 584.

brothers died before he was nine, possibly saddling him with the responsibilities of the eldest son from then on. His younger brother, David Hillhouse Raymond, graduated from Yale in the class of 1810. Daniel and David both entered Judge Tapping Reeve's Law School in Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1810, and remained there under the Federalist influence of Judges Reeve and Gould, until 1812. In 1810 there was a large student group at Tapping Reeve's Law Academy in Litchfield, and Daniel Raymond was thrown in contact with many who later won fame and high political office.⁴ His great friend among the law students was Louis Eichelberger, of Baltimore, who later became head of the Board of Commissioners of Insolvent Debtors for the city and county of Baltimore.⁵ It was Eichelberger's urging which persuaded Daniel Raymond to come to Baltimore, when his mother's death in December, 1811, and his father's remarriage a year later, made him decide not to remain in Montville. In the meantime, his brother David Hillhouse Raymond was admitted to practice law in Montville, but shortly thereafter moved to New York City. David married in New York, was the author of a pamphlet on George Washington, and died in St. Francisville, Louisiana, in 1820.⁶

There is every reason to believe that Daniel Raymond and Louis Eichelberger travelled together during 1813, and on March 28th, 1814, the two friends appeared before Chief Judge Joseph H. Nicholson and Associate Justice Frederick Bland, of the Baltimore County Court of the Sixth Judicial District, and were duly admitted as attorneys of the Court. Their examiners were John Purviance, Nicholas Brice, and Nathaniel Williams.⁷ Raymond's motion for admission is the first entry in the Court Minutes for 1814. Two days later, they each signed the old "lawyers book" to qualify as law practitioners.

⁴ D. C. Kilbourn, *The Bench and Bar of Litchfield County, Conn.* (Litchfield, Conn., 1909), pp. 195-214. Some of the eminent men attending the Litchfield school while Raymond was there were James Booth, Jr., Chief Justice, Delaware; William C. Gibbs, Governor, Rhode Island; James G. King, Member of Congress, New York; Judge Garrick Mallory, Pa.; William D. Martin, M. C., South Carolina; Henry Shaw, M. C., New York; Edward F. Tatnoll, M. C., Georgia, and others.

⁵ Baltimore City Directories, 1831-1836.

⁶ David Raymond, *An Oration delivered on the 22nd of February 1813, at Washington Hall, in the City of New York, before the Hamilton Society* (New York, 1813).

⁷ Minute Book of Baltimore County Court for Year 1814, Record Department, Superior Court, Baltimore City Court House.

Raymond set up offices at the corner of St. Paul's Lane and Chatham (Fayette) Street, and proceeded to wait for clients. He must have received financial help from his father during this time, as his law practice was anything but good. His friend Eichelberger shared rooms with him there for some years. The strong Federalist teachings of Reeve and Gould, combined with the sage advice and counsel of his favorite uncle, Senator James Hillhouse of Connecticut, encouraged him more and more in the study of political and social problems, probably with Eichelberger as a willing disciple.

When General Samuel Smith called for volunteers to defend Baltimore against the British in August, 1814, both Raymond and Eichelberger came forward. Louis Eichelberger became a private in Captain Nicholson's Company of Baltimore Fencibles. Daniel Raymond joined Captain Pennington's Company of Baltimore Independent Artillerists. They fought during the bombardment of Fort McHenry, in units which acquitted themselves nobly, according to their commander, Lt. Colonel George Armistead.*

In 1819, Daniel Raymond first broke into print, with the publication of *The Missouri Question*. This was a small, unbound pamphlet of 39 pages, and was printed by Schaeffer and Maund of Baltimore. It commanded immediate interest, being written in strong support of congressional prohibition of slavery in Missouri. It was well written, with clearly defined economic and statistical arguments pointing out the dangers of the rapid increase in the size of the colored population. In it Raymond arrived at the following conclusions:

It has, however, been made a question, whether Congress has any right or power under the constitution to restrain the introduction of slavery into the new states. If this be the case, it puts an end to the question, and the horrors of slavery must be permitted to extend through all that western world, to the prejudice of both the new states, and the old; at least until the constitution can be altered.

. . . At all events, congress has the power of preventing the introduction of slavery into that western world. So long as it remains in a territorial state, congress has the same right to legislate for it, as a state has to legislate for itself, and, of course, the right to prohibit the introduction of slaves. If congress prefers keeping it in a territorial state for the purpose

* William M. Marine, *The British Invasion of Maryland 1812-1815* (Baltimore, 1913), pp. 278, 413; *The Citizen Soldiers at North Point and Fort McHenry, September 12 & 13, 1814* (Baltimore, 1889), pp. 12, 16.

of preventing slavery, to admitting it into the union as a slave state, no one will question the legality of such an exertion of its power. . . . If then, these territories will not consent to become members of the union, upon such terms as congress pleases to prescribe, let them remain territories, and be subject to such laws as Congress see fit to enact.⁹

Raymond was excoriated by the southern faction on the floor of Congress, who denounced him "as being in the pay of abolitionist groups." The little pamphlet was considered to be "quite influential in the slavery controversy" then raging in Congress, and gave assistance to the advocates of Congressional prohibition.¹⁰

One year later, November 28th, 1820, Daniel Raymond published his *magnum opus*, *Thoughts on Political Economy*.¹¹ While no effort will be made here to offer a long discussion of the present literary or scientific value of the work, it cannot be denied that it had great contemporary influence and that it was the first systematic treatise on Political Economy to be written by an American. Just as Adam Smith is called the founder of the classical school of economics in England, so may Daniel Raymond, counsellor at law, member of the Baltimore Bar, and protégé of Robert Goodloe Harper, be termed the founder of the American school of economic theory. He is recognized as a writer whose work influenced the thinking of many later economists, both here and abroad.¹² Raymond dedicated his book to his mentor, Robert Goodloe Harper, former United States Senator, in a letter calling modestly for Harper's support of his economic principles. In the preface to the work, Raymond willfully tried to depreciate its worth:

The following sheets were written to please myself—my principal object in writing them, was employment. The public has not seen fit to give me constant employment in my profession, otherwise this book had never been written. Idleness was irksome, and I sought relief in putting on

⁹ *The Missouri Question* (Baltimore, 1819), pp. 37-38.

¹⁰ Joseph Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization, 1606-1865* (New York, 1946), II, 567.

¹¹ Daniel Raymond, *Thoughts on Political Economy in Two Parts* (Baltimore: Fielding Lucas, Jr., 1820).

¹² Dorfman, *op. cit.*, II, *passim*, credits Raymond with having greatly influenced such writers as George Tucker, Matthew Carey, Friedrich List, Willard Phillips, John Rae, Nathaniel A. Ware, the Reverend Julian Sturtevant, and Henry C. Carey; Ernest Teilhac, *Histoire de la Pensée Economique Aux États-Unis au Dix-Neuvième Siècle* (Paris, 1928), pp. 53, 55, 169, ascribes an equally wide influence to Raymond; Charles Patrick Neill, *Daniel Raymond, An Early Chapter in the History of Economic Theory in the United States* (Baltimore, 1897), is of the same view.

paper some of my notions on political economy. If the public shall think this is a sufficient justification for writing a book, it is well; if not, I cannot help it—I have no other to offer.

Many have misjudged the work because of Raymond's petulant outburst in the preface. For example, Professor Lewis H. Haney, of New York University dismisses him as a "forerunner of Carey" stating that "he shows the American school's characteristic animosity to England."¹³ However, others who have studied Raymond's work have recognized the historical value of his writings, and have acknowledged him as the systematic originator of the so-called "American System" of political economy. The late Professor Charles Patrick Neill in his monograph on Raymond declared that the importance of Raymond's work was not alone in that it was the first systematic treatise on economics from the pen of an American, but also that it showed the influence of American conditions, and in consequence presented a theory of political economy opposed at all points to the prevailing system developed by the dominant school of Adam Smith.¹⁴

The French economic historian, Ernest Teilhac, says of him:

Raymond's doctrine represents the contrast between American and European economic conditions. The consequence is two-fold: first, Raymond represents a reaction against the doctrines of the classical school; second, the form of this reaction was quite different from the form it was to take in Europe where it represented the contrast between Continental and English conditions. Although Raymond's work had but slight success during his lifetime, it is still read. This is an indication of its real value for all those who are able to discern in political economy something more than a science of business, something more than the technique of capitalism.¹⁵

Joseph Dorfman in his *Thorstein Veblen and His America* gives considerable credit to Raymond as a pioneer in American political economy, referring to the *Thoughts on Political Economy* as "The Leviathan of Daniel Raymond."¹⁶

Raymond's book was a challenge to America to "break loose

¹³ Lewis H. Haney, *History of Economic Thought* (New York, 1936), p. 317. Haney's opinion of Raymond is generally most unfavorable; Neill, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 39-40, strongly denies that Raymond drew his inspiration from this anti-British sentiment.

¹⁴ Neill, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹⁵ Teilhac, *Pioneers of American Economic Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, authorized English translation by E. A. J. Johnson (New York, 1936), pp. 51-52.

¹⁶ Dorfman, *op. cit.*, II, p. 566.

... from foreign theories and systems of political economy," and laid down principles and laws favoring economic isolation, by means of protective tariffs and internal controls, in order to increase production, wages and national wealth. It opposed Adam Smith's classical principle of *laissez faire* with its paper money and unregulated credit. National wealth was defined as a "capacity for acquiring the necessaries and comforts of life," and Raymond declared that such capacity can never exist independent of labor.¹⁷ Raymond stated that Adam Smith had failed to define national wealth, although he had written three volumes on the subject. Raymond's assertion that a "nation is in the greatest state of prosperity when the annual production just equals the annual consumption" may sound trite to modern ears, but it presented a new concept of the balance of trade in American national economics at that time.¹⁸ He insisted that it was not in the province of political economy to study how values are created and augmented, nor how individuals or classes may acquire wealth, but rather it should study how the government may best legislate in order to effect the greatest well-being to all citizens alike.¹⁹ He decried slavery in the strongest terms:

The iniquitous system of slavery which gives to the slave owners an interest in the flesh and blood of their fellow creatures, has placed a noose about the neck of the slave states, which threatens, and is indeed actually inflicting strangulation upon a large portion of the white inhabitants, and the only way of getting out of the noose is by forcing the slave owners to let go their hold upon their slaves, and set them free.²⁰

Among those who welcomed Raymond's book with enthusiasm was Matthew Carey of Philadelphia, who offered, in "a degree of quixotism" to endow a professorship of political economy in the University of Maryland, and to pay the expenses thereof to the extent of five hundred dollars a year, provided Raymond would accept the professorship.²¹ This, Daniel Raymond was unwilling

¹⁷ *Thoughts on Political Economy*, p. 55.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

²¹ Matthew Carey, *Autobiographical Sketches in a series of letters addressed to a Friend: Containing a view of the Rise and Progress of the American System* (Philadelphia, 1829), p. 93; Daniel Raymond, *The Elements of Constitutional Law and Political Economy* (4th ed., Baltimore, 1840). In the introduction to this edition Raymond quoted excerpts from letters he had received from Jhon Quincy Adams, John Jay and John Marshall to whom he had presented an earlier edition. All three expressed approval of his doctrines.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 454.

to do, being more interested in bettering his position in the legal profession in view of the impending retirement of his friend, Robert Goodloe Harper, from the leadership of the Baltimore Bar.

In 1821, Raymond was employed as an associate defense counsel in the famous case of the State of *Maryland v. Buchanan, McCulloch and Williams*. This was a case in which three officials of the Baltimore branch of the Bank of the United States had been indicted and tried for embezzlement of bank funds. The defendants in question were James A. Buchanan, President, James W. McCulloch, Cashier, and George Williams, Clerk. They were acquitted in the lower courts, but the State of Maryland appealed the verdict, the case being argued before Chief Justice Jeremiah T. Chase, with Judges Buchanan, Earle and Martin sitting at the December, 1821, term of the Court of Appeals.²² General Winder was senior defense advocate, with Pinkney, Kell, Archer and Maulsby assisting. Raymond's friend, Robert Goodloe Harper was the leading counsel for the State, and was responsible for the compilation of the reports ordered published by the President and Directors of the Bank of the United States. An outcome of this case was Raymond's *Argument before the Court of Appeals of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1823), in which he questioned the right of the state courts to adjudicate a case involving a foreign corporation.²³

At the end of the same year, the second edition of *Thoughts on Political Economy* was published in two volumes, retitled *The Elements of Political Economy*. It was prefaced by a short note of thanks to the public for the reception given to the first edition which the author states was but a model, and much "to small a work."²⁴ Although the general tendency of the book was to soften the dogmatic harshness of the 1820 edition, the storm of

²² *An Exhibit of the Losses Sustained at the Office of Discount and Deposit, Baltimore, under the Administration of James Buchanan, President and James W. McCulloch, Cashier: Compiled and digested under the direction and superintendence of Robert Goodloe Harper* (Baltimore, Printed by Thomas Murphy, 1823), p. 82.

²³ Daniel Raymond, *The Argument of Daniel Raymond, Esquire, before the Court of Appeals of Maryland, at the December term, 1821, in the case of the State of Maryland versus Buchanan, McCulloch and Williams, upon an indictment for a conspiracy to cheat the Bank of the United States*, reported by Thomas Harris (Baltimore, John D. Toy, 1823).

²⁴ Daniel Raymond, *The Elements of Political Economy in Two Parts: Second Edition, in two volumes: by Daniel Raymond Esquire, Counsellor at Law* (Baltimore: F. Lucas, Jr. and E. J. Coale, 1823).

vituperation let loose on Raymond's head was appalling. In the fall of 1824, came the first of the most vicious attacks on him, by William Branch Giles of Virginia. In a series of long-winded letters to the Richmond *Enquirer*, he denounced Raymond and his American System, as a foreign born policy, made up to wreck the Union and the country.²⁵ Professor Charles Patrick Neill of Catholic University gives a very concise explanation for this reception:

The failure of Raymond's work to win popular favor is not in itself sufficient to convict the public of his day of an indifference to his science; the cause of this failure may more properly be sought in the character of the work itself. It was not without merit; in many respects it was worthy of the attention of the time, and merited a more careful and considerable perusal than it received. But looseness of method marked it, and frequently confusion of ideas; and in addition it touched upon too many questions that were then the centers of political storms. On one side or another, it found itself in opposition to some popular prejudice. It ran counter to the philosophy of individualism, which was the accepted gospel of the elect of those days. Its advocacy of protection was too liberal to please the more rabid advocates of an American System, and too pronounced, on the other hand, to win readers from amongst the strict disciples of *laissez faire*. Its intolerant opposition to banks and to all forms of corporations destroyed the value of his work in the eyes of the advocates of these institutions. His fierce hatred of slavery was a fatal obstacle to popularity in the South.²⁶

Coincident with the publication of the second edition occurred the death of Judge Tapping Reeve, of Litchfield, Connecticut, and on Christmas Eve, 1823, a meeting of the Baltimore Bar was called to order in the City Court Room, by General Robert Goodloe Harper, Chairman, with Louis Eichelberger acting as Secretary. The meeting considered a resolution offered by Mr. Mitchell, seconded by Mr. Raymond, deploring the death of their old teacher.²⁷

Again in 1828, following the publication of Friedrich List's *Out-*

²⁵ In the Richmond *Enquirer*, Aug. 26, 1825, Giles declared: "Raymond is believed to be a disciple and leader of the new political School, and like most zealous sectarians . . . , he is, in that respect, a fanatic. The writer thinks that Raymond possesses some genius when he treats of the elements of political economy in reference to governments of unlimited power. Fanatics . . . never reason themselves, nor listen to the reasoning of others. They become stripped of their intellectual energies by the delirium of fantastical passionate excitements. . . . What absurdities and difficulties must ever encompass the disciples of the new school in every attempt to exhibit to the world the militant combustible elements of their fantastical destructive political economy."

²⁶ Neill, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

²⁷ *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, December 26, 1823.

lines of American Political Economy (Philadelphia, 1827), which seems to have drawn on Raymond's work without acknowledgment, Raymond published another controversial pamphlet, this time anonymously, entitled *The American System*.²⁸ It was written in defense of the protective tariff, and to uphold the right of Congress to pass such laws. The Act of 1824, which had been so roundly denounced by Daniel Webster, was being assailed as unconstitutional, and a violation of state rights, in the fury of the campaign for the presidency.²⁹ Again the South came forth with sharp criticism of Raymond's writings, and this 42-page pamphlet caused as much furor as the *Missouri Question* of 1819. His old opponent, W. B. Giles, denounced him in further letters to the Richmond *Enquirer*, and on the floor of the Virginia State Constitutional Convention of 1829.³⁰

In 1830, Raymond was married to Miss Sarah Amos, the daughter of Isaac and Catherine Amos of Baltimore, and grand-daughter of William and Sarah Worthington.³¹ Shortly after his marriage, he moved to Allegany County, where he was admitted to practice at the Allegany County Bar.³² His first child, Daniel Fitch Raymond, was born in Allegany County in July, 1832, followed by a daughter, Fanny Elizabeth, born in October, 1834. His wife, Sarah Elizabeth Raymond, died on April 7th, 1836, and is buried at Friendsville, Allegany County.³³ In the same year, on November 15th, 1836, Raymond's friend, Eichelberger, died in Baltimore, aged 45 years.³⁴

It is of interest to digress and note that, about a year prior to this time, Raymond's younger brother, James Raymond, who had graduated from Yale in the class of 1818, and Tapping Reeve's Academy in 1820, removed from Connecticut to Frederick, Maryland, where he was admitted to the practice of law in 1835. He married Caroline Ruth, daughter of William A. Thompson of

²⁸ Neill, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-63, discusses this question and points out parallels in List's work. Neill's analysis strongly indicates that List owed Raymond a large and unacknowledged debt; [Daniel Raymond], *The American System* (Baltimore: Lucas and Deaver, 1828).

²⁹ [Daniel Webster], *Speech of Mr. Webster upon the Tariff; delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, April 1824* (Washington, 1824).

³⁰ Dorfman, *op. cit.*, II, 573.

³¹ Samuel Raymond, *Genealogy of the Raymond Families in New England* (New York, 1886), p. 43.

³² James T. Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (II, 1353).

³³ Dielman biographical file, Maryland Historical Society.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

Frederick. After some years in Frederick he moved to Westminster, Carroll County, where he remained until his death on January 27, 1858.³⁵ In 1844 he was elected to a term in the House of Delegates, and in 1847 was appointed State's Attorney.³⁶ He wrote three books, one of which was a digest of Chancery decisions in Maryland.³⁷

In 1837, Daniel Raymond was married a second time to Miss Delilah Mattock or Matlock, a Virginian said to be of old Revolutionary stock.³⁸ The next few years of his life are unclear, but he is known to have removed to West Virginia, where he became interested in iron manufacturing, but in this enterprise he met severe financial reverses.³⁹

In the interim, in 1836, came the third edition of his book on political economy, again in two volumes, and practically a reprint of the edition of 1823.⁴⁰ This was published in Baltimore, as was the fourth edition, a veritable copy of the one-volume first edition, but retitled *The Elements of Constitutional Law and Political Economy* (Baltimore 1840). It was prefaced by an exposition of the U. S. Constitution in true Raymond style, running to thirty pages. It came in for a goodly share of criticism on the floor of Congress, when John Quincy Adams offered a motion to have the work placed in the library of the House of Representatives.⁴¹ The motion was tabled after a spirited discussion started by the Southern faction who were always vehemently in opposition to Daniel Raymond's theories.⁴²

At the beginning of 1845, he went to Cincinnati, Ohio, where his son, William Hillhouse Raymond, was born on May 12th, 1845. His law offices were at Main and Walnut Streets, and his

³⁵ Information supplied by Alumni Registrar of Yale University.

³⁶ *Biographical notices of Yale College Graduates (1816-1884)* (New Haven, Conn., n. d.).

³⁷ His publications were: *Digest of the Maryland Chancery Division* (New York, 1839); *Prize Essay on the Comparative Economy of Free and Slave Labor in Agriculture* (Frederick, Md., 1827); *Political or the Spirit of Democracy in '56* (Baltimore, 1857).

³⁸ Samuel Raymond, *Genealogy*, pp. 43-44.

³⁹ *Progressive Men of Montana* (Chicago, n. d.), p. 813.

⁴⁰ Daniel Raymond, *The Elements of Political Economy in Two Parts*: (3rd ed., 2 vols., Baltimore: Fielding Lucas, Jr., 1836).

⁴¹ Raymond presented a copy of this 4th edition to John Quincy Adams, as evidenced by an inscription in the Adams copy, now in the Orlando Weber Collection, Firestone Wing, Princeton University Library. The inscription reads: "Presented to the Honorable J. Q. Adams with the compliments of the Author."

⁴² Neill, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-29, *fn.*s.

residence at East Spring St., near Liberty.⁴³ He is said to have engaged in journalistic work in Cincinnati, in addition to his law work, but beyond a memorial to the U. S. Congress, a political pamphlet of some 16 pages, written while he was still in West Virginia, and a short article in the *American Whig Review* of April 1848, the only thing of note from his pen was a 126-page commentary on Constitutional Law, published in Cincinnati in 1845.⁴⁴ The memorial to Congress (written possibly in 1840 or 1841) clearly shows that he had lost none of his old attitude regarding nationalistic policies and government controls; while the article in the *American Whig Review* was a strong attack on the Democratic Administration for suggesting a decrease in the price of public lands in order to raise additional revenue. Raymond pointed out the fallacy of trying to stimulate the sale of something for which there was no demand at any price, and advised the raising of the needed revenue by a protective tariff. This was his last appearance in print.

He died of cholera in Cincinnati, on July 14th, 1849, leaving his widow, Delilah Raymond, with the care of four small children the youngest, Winthrop Raymond, being but two years old. He was originally buried in the Methodist-Protestant Cemetery in Mount Auburn, but the body was removed to the famous Spring Grove Cemetery, in Cincinnati, on October 10th, 1876.⁴⁵ In 1851, Mrs. Raymond moved into Missouri, where she lived until 1865. She removed to Montana in that year, accompanied by her two youngest sons, William Hillhouse Raymond and Winthrop Raymond; and her daughter Sarah. Sarah Raymond was the first school teacher in Montana Territory, in Virginia City and was the author of an interesting tale of over-land travel, the story of the journey of the Raymond family across the plains from Missouri to Virginia City, Montana Territory, in 1865.⁴⁶

A recent writer on economic history, the late J. F. Normano, former lecturer on economics at Harvard University, in his *The*

⁴³ Cincinnati, Ohio, directories for 1846 and 1849.

⁴⁴ Daniel Raymond, *The Bankrupt Law, the Fiscal Agents and Auction Duties*, Library of Congress Political Pamphlets, vol. 118. The date is unknown—possibly 1841; *American Whig Review*, VII (April 1848); Daniel Raymond, *The Elements of Constitutional Law* (Cincinnati, 1845).

⁴⁵ Information supplied by Mrs. Alice P. Hook, Assistant Librarian, Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

⁴⁶ Sarah Raymond Herndon, *Days on the Road, Crossing the Plains in 1865* (New York, 1902).

Spirit of American Economics has aptly summed up Raymond's role in the history of economic thought:

Raymond felt his own tragedy more than did his future critics and interpreters. In the preface to *The Elements of Political Economy*, he remarked that "It would indeed be a wonder if a book on any subject, written on the wrong side of the Atlantic, with the author's name to it, should be favorably received by the public generally. Our independence is not yet sufficiently established for that." One can vividly imagine the development of Raymond's critical and creative abilities, and his eventual influence on the right side of the Atlantic at that period. He certainly would be a participant of Ricardo's breakfasts, a member of the Political Economy Club, would have intellectual associations; his books would be read, his thoughts discussed. One can imagine Raymond in the British Parliament as a worthy counterpart or ally of David Ricardo. But Raymond was born in Connecticut, and the solitude and dullness of his law office in Baltimore were the only immediate causes of his interest in political economy.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ (New York, 1946), pp. 85-6.

SHARPE'S CONFIDENTIAL REPORT ON MARYLAND, 1765

Edited by Aubrey C. Land

Horatio Sharpe (1718-1790) held the office of chief magistrate in provincial Maryland during a particularly crucial period of our colonial history. Arriving in the colony in 1753 immediately before the first skirmishes of the border warfare which merged into the French and Indian War, he remained governor throughout that conflict and on into the turbulent days of the Stamp Act until Robert Eden, a relative of the Lord Proprietor, superseded him in 1769. The very length of Sharpe's term of service, sixteen years, speaks persuasively for his administrative talents. Biographers have praised the personal qualities of tact and perseverance he displayed in attempting to carry out policies which were becoming increasingly distasteful to a rapidly maturing province. Both Lady Matilda Edgar and Professor Paul Giddens have portrayed Sharpe as a man whose public and private life gained him the respect even of his opponents.¹

Aside from the two studies of his career in Maryland, Sharpe is unusually well revealed in his official correspondence published in volumes VI, IX, XIV, and XXXI of the *Archives of Maryland*. These letters to the Lord Proprietor, to Secretary Cecilius Calvert, and to various British officials concerned with American affairs present the intricacy of colonial administration in detail. But Governor Sharpe's personal reactions to the discharge of his office perforce rarely appear. In his private correspondence he went beyond the flowery insinuations of his letters to British officialdom.

¹ Lady Matilda Edgar, *A Colonial Governor in Maryland, Horatio-Sharpe and His Time, 1753-1773* (London, 1912); Paul H. Giddens, "Land Policies and Administration in Colonial Maryland, 1753-1769," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVIII (1933), 142-171, "Maryland and the Earl of Loudon," *ibid.*, XXIX (1934), 268-294, "General Horatio Sharpe Retires," *ibid.*, XXXI (1936), 215-225, "Governor Horatio Sharpe and His Maryland Government," *ibid.*, XXXII (1937), 156-193.

The following letter to his brother, William Sharpe, written when the Stamp Act troubles had reached a climax in Maryland, deals frankly with the practices of Cecilius Calvert, secretary of the province and factotum of Frederick Lord Baltimore, on the one hand and with the difficulties of a provincial governor who faced a refractory populace on the other. The letter explains why Maryland had not protested the Stamp Act earlier and accurately predicts future political trends in the colony.

A draft of this letter, with many strike-overs and interlineations, is preserved in the Personal Miscellany of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. It is here printed without changes in orthography or punctuation. From internal evidence the draft has been dated between the 7th and 21st of October.

Annapolis October the — 1765.

Dear Brother ²

Expecting that I shall within these few Days have an Opportunity of transmitting Letters to London by a Vessel bound thither from this Place I now take a Pen in hand to express to You once more my Acknowledgments for the many Proofs You have given me of Your Affectionate Regard & Solitude to serve me, & particularly for those You mention in the Letter you were so kind as to favour me with the 26th of April last. I am very glad Your Application last Spring to Mr. Grenville³ procured my Friend Doctor Scott⁴ the Comptrollers Office of North

² William Sharpe (d. 1767) was the first clerk to His Majesty's Council in Ordinary. His official position gave him an opportunity to perform many favors for Governor Sharpe.

³ George Grenville (1712-1770) had become first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1763 after a phenomenal rise in the British political world. During his tenure of office he proposed the stamp duties which the American colonists violently opposed. Among the offices under his patronage was the Potomac Controllership which Sharpe had solicited for his protégé, Dr. Scott.

⁴ Upton Scott (1722-1814) came to Maryland as Sharpe's physician. In 1765 Scott succeeded his father-in-law, John Ross, as clerk of the provincial council, a position he retained until the separation from England. Governor Sharpe had previously asked the Lord Proprietor to give Scott the Collectorship of Patuxent. When Walter Dulany received the position instead, the governor was obliged to ask William Sharpe's aid in securing the less valuable controller's office for Scott. Since these offices were actually executed by deputies at a fraction of the total income in fees, they were sinecures for the nominal holders. Scott acted an ambivalent role during the Revolution. In 1776, or shortly thereafter, he went to England where he remained until 1780. When he returned to Maryland on a passport furnished by Benjamin Franklin, the revolutionary Council of State refused his request to take the oath of allegiance (*Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 227-228). By 1782, however, he was working with the new state regime which in that year paid accounts due him. In the same year he turned over to the Council of State all books and papers of the old proprietary Council (*Archives of Maryland*, XLVIII, 62, 208). His residence, the Upton Scott House, is one of the remaining colonial mansions of Annapolis.

Potowmack, which as those Officers have now a Right to demand certain Fees will probably be as good as a hundred a Year to him, I can assure you that no One in the Country is more deserving of the Favour, & that he is not wanting in Gratitude to You for so kindly interesting Yourself on his behalf. I did I think some time ago mention to Brother Philip⁵ the Names of three or four London Merchants who would if called on have given Security for the Doctor but I suppose he had forgot it, which I am sorry for because it seems to have occasioned some trouble to You.

I am exceedingly concerned to find by Your Letter that Brother Phill had for some time been in an ill State of health, which his long Silence indeed made me apprehensive was the Case. I most sincerely wish him better, & that You & the Doctor⁶ may be long able to give so good an account of Your own health as You do in the Letter now before me. Such Intelligence whether it comes to me Directly from Yourself or thro some other Channel will (Believe me) be the most agreeable I can receive, & while Brother Philip is so kind as to correspond with me I cannot knowing how You are circumstanced desire You to take the trouble of writing to me Yourself, I shall nevertheless from time to time take the liberty of addressing a Letter to You as if You still favoured me with Your Correspondence, & when I write to him You will be also acquainted with the purport of my Letters.

Whether I am reimbursed my Travelling Expences or not I shall always consider myself under the greatest Obligation to You for the several Steps You have taken to get the Money for me but am afraid I shall lose the whole thro the mean part which General Amherst⁷ acted towards me when my Claim was transmitted & I was referred to him for payment.

I am glad to learn from You that Lord Baltimore⁸ is so well after his

⁵ Philip Sharpe, brother of Governor Horatio Sharpe.

⁶ Gregory Sharpe (1713-1771) was an elder brother of Governor Sharpe who referred to him as the "Doctor" in correspondence. Dr. Sharpe was a noted savant and controversialist of the mid-eighteenth century. His great learning brought him the appointment as Master of the Temple, a position of dignity which allowed him to pursue his scholarly career. During his lifetime he published thirteen works and corresponded with eminent men of letters and science of England and the continent. His skill in oriental languages was uncommon for his day.

⁷ Sir Jeffrey Amherst (1717-1797) had been promoted to major general by William Pitt who gave him command of the expedition against the French in North America in 1758. Amherst's striking success in the operations against New France was followed by his appointment in 1760 as governor-general of Virginia. After his failure to cope with Pontiac's rebellion he returned to England in 1763 without serious loss of prestige. He advanced in favor with the passing years receiving greater honors until his death. Amherst was not cordial to Sharpe's request for payment of expenses incurred in colonial defense.

⁸ Frederick, sixth and last Lord Baltimore (1731-1771), had just returned from continental travels described in his book, *Tour in the East in the Years 1763 and 1764, with Remarks on the City of Constantinople and the Turks* (London, 1767). His reputation during his lifetime has not been qualified by subsequent apology. Winckelmann calls him "one of those worn-out beings, a hipped Englishman, who had lost all moral and physical taste." His wife, Lady Diana Egerton, daughter of the Duke of Bridgewater, died without issue. By his will Lord Baltimore bequeathed the province of Maryland to Henry Harford, one of his illegitimate children.

Travels, he has since his Return to England favoured me with a Letter expressing himself well satisfied with my Administration of Affairs here during his Absence from Great Britain, & assuring me of the Continuance of his Esteem & Friendship. I think myself much obliged to Mr Calvert⁹ for his friendly Intentions & Declaration, but at the same time I must repeat to You that he has certainly a strange Way of supporting me as he terms it, for tho he tells You that Complaints are frequently made against me & must consequently know who the Persons are that make them & on what Occasions, he keeps me entirely in the dark with regard to both the One & the Other, so that if I am complained of I have no Opportunity given me to vindicate myself or a Clue from his to lead me to a discovery of any Enemies.

I was in hopes that when Peace was restored the Administration of Publick Affairs in these Colonies would become easy & that I in particular should have no farther Occasion to contend with the Representatives of the Inhabitants of the Province which is entrusted to my Care, but I begin to apprehend that the Governors troubles are rather increasing, & that our Obedience to the Acts of Parliament lately made in Great Britain for Restraining the Trade of & imposing a Stamp Duty on His Majesty's American Subjects will render Us more obnoxious than ever to the people & be a means of lessening our Authority over them. You will I presume hear before this can reach You what lengths the New England People have gone in Opposing the Execution of the Stamp Act, & probably Mr Calvert will likewise have told You how ready our People were to follow the Example. They not only signified their Resentment agst & Abhorrence of their Countryman Mr. Hood¹⁰ for accepting the Office of Distributor of the Stamps by burning him in Effigie but also pulled down a House he had hired in this place for the Reception of a Cargo of Goods he had brought from England for Sale, & obliged him to fly for Safety to New York; at least he did not think himself in Security till he got thither & as he is afraid to return was the stamp paper now to arrive here there is no person authorized to receive it. Had Mr. Hood been a Person of any Note in the Province or connected with people of any Consequence he would not probably have been treated with so great Indignity as he was upon his arrival here, but I believe that while the people remain in the Temper they are in at present it would be dangerous for any Person what-

⁹ Cecilius Calvert (1702-1766) was the youngest son of Benedict Leonard, fourth Lord Baltimore, and consequently an uncle of Frederick. Cecilius became secretary before 1753 and retained that position during the remainder of his life. He died unmarried, leaving Frederick Lord Baltimore the only representative in the direct male line.

¹⁰ Zachariah Hood, Maryland merchant, went to England in the summer of 1765 to get the embossed paper for his office as distributor under the Stamp Act. When he returned his acquaintances at first treated him coldly but were soon burning him in effigy. On the evening of 2 September 1765 a mob destroyed the house he had fitted out for his place of business. Hood fled first to New York, then later to the West Indies where he found a refuge. He petitioned the crown for an allowance to recompense him for the loss of property and the ruin of his business in Maryland. See, Paul H. Giddens, "Maryland and the Stamp Act Controversy," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVII (1932), 83-86.

ever to distribute or even take Charge of the Stamp paper destined for this Province, & therefore the Gentlemen of the Council have advised me to recommend it to the Commander of one of His Majesty's Ships on this Station to receive & keep it on board till farther orders can be received from England; which Measure I observe is also pursued by the several Governors of the Northern Colonies.

It seems I think by the Ministry's giving no Instructions to any of the Governors about receiving & securing the Stamp paper that they never expected any opposition would be made to the Stamp Act's being carried into Execution; but they have I suppose been informed before this that no sooner did an account of it's being passed into a Law reach America than the Inhabitants as it were with one Voice exclaimed against it as a Violation of their Liberties & dearest privileges, & that the Gazettes in every Colony were weekly filled with Pieces calculated to inflame the People & persuade them that Obedience to such an Act was a Surrender of all the Rights they had hitherto enjoyed as British Subjects. The Act being particularly hard on the Lawyers & those concerned with the Courts of Justice They you may be assured took great Offence at it, & their Influence in these Colonies is really very great, the Mercantile People too have been very loud in their Exclamations against the Act, & the Assemblies have entered into Resolves declarative of their sole Right to lay Impositions on their Constituents; nor are any Persons to be found who are inclined or who will venture to say a word in vindication of the late Ministerial Measures or who will in any respect countenance those whose Duty it is made to see the Stamp Act carried into Execution. That you may see a Specimen of the Pamphlets which have been published in Defense of what is called North American Liberty I send You one that hath very lately made its Appearance here & is I understand well approved of.¹¹

What may be the Issue of the Question now in Debate between Great Britain & her Colonies & of the Uproar which has been raised I know not, but it has already had this Effect that even in this Province Numbers of People out of Resentment to the Mother Country are actually preparing & have already begun to make Cloathing for their Families, & in order to encourage the Inferiour Class to do so many Gentlemen will this Winter cloath themselves with the Manufactures of Maryland, & as the Materials may be easily raised here it is not very improbable that the Demand for a Importation of Goods from Great Britain will from this period gradually decrease.

There is I perceive a Remark in one of the pamphlets that were published with you last Winter in Defence of the Stamp Act &c " that of all

¹¹ Daniel Dulany's *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies, for the Purpose of Raising a Revenue, by Act of Parliament* [Annapolis, 1765] appeared 14 August 1765 and immediately made a favorable impression both in the colonies and in England. Several editions were printed during the controversy over the Stamp Act. Dulany argued that the Stamp Act was both unconstitutional and impolitic. His bold attack on the theory of "virtual representation" effectively disposed of a favorite argument put forward in behalf of the act.

the Colonies Maryland alone had any pretence under her Charter to claim an Exemption from being taxed by the Legislature of Great Britain, & the Remarker concludes from our Assembly's making no Opposition to the Passage of the Stamp Act that they gave up the Point, when in fact the Reason of their not presenting a Memorial against it was that they had no agent at home to advise them of the Ministry's Intention, that by reason of the small pox's being here last Winter they did not meet in time enough to transmit any Memorial to parliament, & that they had no Agent at home to present a Memorial on their behalf. Had My Lord or Mr Calvert instead of remaining silent & indifferent as it were when a Bill of such Consequence to Maryland as well as the other Colonies was depending made some little Stir & exerted their Endeavours to prevent it's passing into a Law they would have made the people here conceive a much more favourable Opinion of them than they have been used to entertain, & would in all probability have been considered by the Assembly in a better light than that of meer Agents in provincial pay (especially as some of those are suspected of playing their Constituents false on Occasion of the Stamp Act) but I expect our Assembly will be now more eager than ever for the Appointment of a Provincial Agent¹² & I dont know but the Upper House or at least many of the Members are inclined to gratify them, & have already laid a Foundation by concurring with a Resolve of the Lower House that three of *their* Members should have £500 to expend for the Good of the Province & go the Beginning of this Month to a Congress at New York,¹³ where in Consequence of an Invitation from the House of Representatives for the Province of Massachusetts Bay a few Members from almost all the Assemblies in N America are met in order to make a joint Representation to His Majesty or the British Parliament of the present Circumstances of the Colonies, the priviledges they respectively claim, & of the destructive Consequences to both them & the Mother Country which must attend the further pursuit or continuance of such Measures as have been lately adopted by the Legislature of Great Britain. As I don't know but the Governors of the Provinces from which such Deputies are gone to N York may be censured for giving their respective Assemblies an Opportunity of sending them, I must observe to You that in some of the Colonies the Assemblies have a Right to meet on their own

¹² The Lord Proprietor and his officials on the Council in Maryland had for many years thwarted efforts of the "country party" to retain an agent in London for the purpose of representing colonial grievances to the crown. Such an agent would have taken an anti-proprietary stand on many measures had he been responsible to the Lower House of the Assembly. The proprietary officials, therefore, continually vetoed bills for raising money to support an agent (*Archives of Maryland*, LVIII). As a pretext the proprietary party had claimed that Lord Baltimore best represented the colony because the happiness and well being of his tenants would be to his own best interest. This fiction had already grown so thin that it was rarely stated. Sharpe's feeling that Lord Baltimore and Secretary Calvert had missed an excellent opportunity to demonstrate concern for the colony was sharpened by his apprehension of a vigorously renewed demand for an agent.

¹³ Nine colonies responded to the call for the Stamp Act Congress which assembled in New York the second week in October. The three delegates from Maryland were William Murdock, Edward Tilghman, and Thomas Ringgold.

Adjournments or whenever they may think fit upon extraordinary Occasions, & as many of the principal Gentlemen of this province being met at our Provincial Court represented to me by a Petition that the Inhabitants unanimately desired & were extreme Anxious to have the Assembly called before the Day appointed for the Congress at New York I could not in prudence nor without giving Occasion for general Discontent & Disturbance in the province refuse to comply with their Request & therefore with the Council's Advice made a Virtue or Merit of Necessity by convening the Assembly immediately. Having now given You a brief Account of what has passed here since I last troubled You with a Letter & apprehending I have already wrote enough to tire Your patience I shall only add that I beg You will present my Love & Compliments to Your Lady the Doctor & Brother Philip

& that I remain with the most sincere Regard

Dear Sir Your obliged & Most affectionate Br.^r

LETTERS OF A FREDERICK COUNTY FORTY-NINER ¹

The news of the discovery of gold in California in 1848 gave rise all over the United States to visions of great wealth that could easily be garnered by those adventurous enough to undertake the hazards of a voyage to California. No matter what route the traveller selected—whether around Cape Horn, overland, or via the Isthmus of Panama—the journey was by no means an easy one. Among the thousands who were encouraged by the prospect of wealth were the members of the Cronise family of Monrovia, Frederick County, Maryland. In 1849 William H. V. Cronise, who had recently been involved in a business failure, set out for California by way of the Isthmus of Panama, the most popular of the three routes.²

In Panama, like all the other adventurers, he was detained because of the shortage of shipping on the Pacific side. William Cronise was more fortunate than most in that he was able to augment the money he had brought with him while waiting. Others, less fortunate, saw their funds dwindling while they waited in vain for passage. Many were compelled to turn back in despair. The two letters which he wrote his father, Jacob Cronise, while awaiting passage provide an unusually interesting account of the conditions at Panama. They also cast light upon his character, showing his deep devotion to his family, his fixed determination to pay off the debts still outstanding against him, and his ability to better his own conditions as the opportunity offered.

¹ These letters are at present in the possession of William Gray Harman, Plainfield, N. J. Mr. Harman, a member of the Society, has kindly consented to permit them to be published in the *Magazine* and has supplied the information in the footnotes from his family records.

² William H. V. Cronise was the son of Jacob Cronise founder of Monrovia, which was named after the capital of Liberia. The African Monrovia derived its name from James Monroe, President of the U. S., 1817-1825. The Cronise family owned extensive tracts of land in Frederick County. William Cronise was a partner in the mercantile business operating under the name of Cronise and Cecil. His older brother Jacob also seems to have been a partner.

Panama Monday April 9th 1849

Dear Father:

There is so little probability of any letters reaching you which are sent out on the regular mail that I had determined not to write by the "Maria Burt" which is to leave Chagres in a few days for New Orleans, however, the expense is not much, the only difficulty being that I may write important things in letters which you may not receive, and so may wait in vain for answers to my enquiries.

I still remain in as good health as I ever enjoyed. The climate is delicious, the weather not excessively warm, with a gentle breeze at all hours, the nights so cool that I have a counterpane on my bed, and am not troubled with insects of any kind. There is no sickness here at all at present.

The "California" has not yet arrived and there is no telling when I shall be able to get off tho' the Panama and Oregon will be both due in the course of 2 or 3 weeks, on one of which should the California not arrive I will certainly get off. There are nearly 3,000 persons now on the Isthmus and in consequence of the bad prospect of leaving here many have returned, I suppose 200—However since Saturday evening 4 small Schooners, 2 Brigs and 1 Ship have come in and there are 2 more Brigs which will be here in a day or two, which with others which will doubtless shortly arrive will carry off the greater portion of those now on the Isthmus.

As I wrote you in a former letter, my particular friend, Mr. Mills, has gone down to Callao to charter vessels to come here for passengers for San Francisco, they will return here in about 2 weeks, during their absence I act as their agent as you will perceive by the Panama Star, a copy of which I send you by mail in consideration of which and out of Friendship, &c. he sold me his ticket for 350\$—I re-sold it yesterday for 600\$, making 250\$ upon it less 20\$ I had to pay for the use of the money.

My expenses since I have been here have been quite heavy, and yet I have now clear 200\$ and a good gold watch, with a prospect of making more. Mills & Davis offered me a free passage on their vessel to San Francisco and had I not to return as soon as the 1st November, I would stay and go up with them, and by thus selling my own ticket I might be able to send home nearly or quite 1,000\$ which would assist very materially in compromising Clarks mortgage or would pay off 4 or 5,000\$ of my old indebtedness and while I am on that subject I would say that I want Jacob to ascertain wether my application cannot be continued until the March court, and if that cannot be done, I wish *him* to write at once to all my creditors and ascertain wether a compromise cannot be affected by which I will be enabled to remain in California longer than I otherwise would should I be successful and it is desirable for me to do so.³ The rainy season does not commence until the 1st November, and as I will be late in getting there I should like to remain as long as I could make money and return home about the 1st of Jan'y 1850. Of course all creditors would prefer taking 20 per cent with the prospect of more

³ Jacob Stoll Cronise was his older brother.

should I be successful in California to compelling me to *return home* and obtaining a final discharge out of which they cannot keep me {torn} Jacob will of course know how to proceed in the matter. Perhaps it would be much the best for him to visit Balto. My application I believe can be withdrawn any time before it is *published* so do not publish it until it is necessary in July. From Clark & Kellogg I have a *personal* discharge and all my other debts together apart from Cronise & Cecil will not amount to over 12,000\$ I think. Jacob can get a list of them from the Insolvent Court in Frederick. I will amply pay him if he will attend to this promptly and properly and if they will take 20 per cent and give me a full discharge and give us until the 1st Nov. or Decr. to pay the amount I would at once send on all the money I could raise by loan or otherwise and arrange the business—please dear Father get him to attend to this at once and write me both by return mail to San Francisco and also to this place for there is no telling when I may get off from here, but as long as I do remain here I shall try and make a little over my expenses at all events and considering that I came here with only enough money to pay a week's board, I feel pretty well satisfied that I have paid board and have 250\$ besides. We have had great times here during the past two weeks with religious processions &c. of which I will send you a full description in the letters which I shall write per the Falcon which you will receive some two weeks after this.

Don't fail to get Jacob to attend to my business for me and let me know definitely as soon as you possibly can whether I must be home by the 1st Novr. or not. If I can do nothing in California I would of course return but I will find it a difficult matter to get in with a good company with permission to leave them as soon as 1 to middle of September.

I will write you by every opportunity, give my warmest love to all friends, send the enclosed letter to Mary Octavia, the postage is 30 cents each which I save by enclosing it.⁴

All well, Your Affec. Son,
Wm. H. V. Cronise.

Panama Nueve Granada South America
Lords Day 22st April 1849

Dear Father,

I have written you repeatedly both by regular mail and by Gentlemen returning to the states to be deposited in the P O either in New York or New Orleans. I have been in Panama Five weeks today and yet there are no signs of the Steamer California, and all that we have heard from her is via New Orleans, by which we learn that she has arrived at Acapulco 8 Dys out from here.

The "Panama" will be here within a week or 10 Dys at the farthest, and all those having tickets for the "California" of an *early date* will doubtless get off on her. Since I have been here I have bought a ticket dated Jan'y 4th which would have entitled me to a passage on the

⁴ Mary Octavia was his wife.

"Oregon" had I got here 3 Dys sooner, but by which I shall assuredly get on the first Steamer that arrives in the Port.

We have had quite a number of sailing vessels in Port, three of which the "Two Friends" "Solidad" & "Josephina" have sailed taking about 300 persons in all, the coming week the "Mantic" & several small craft will sail carrying about 4 to 500 more and in about 10 Days the "Humbolt" carrying 400 & the "Capiapo" carrying about 150 will leave making in all some 13 to 1500 persons that are provided with passage apart from the persons in this City holding Steamer Tickets which amt to some 3 to 400 more. There are also quite a number of other vessels past due at the Port, which when they arrive will I think be amply sufficient to carry off all the emigrants that may be upon the Isthmus unless the Steamers from New York & New Orleans should bring out a large quantity of Passengers which I think very improbable. Steamer Tickets have declined from 600 for State Room & 450 for Steerage to 400 for State Rooms & 275 for Steerage passage. Many of those holding Steamer Tickets preferring to sell them at heavy premiums upon the original cost and buy Tickets in sailing vessels, for myself, however I think I should prefer returning to the States to going up this coast in a sailing vessel, as it may be of 3 months duration.

There has been very great dissatisfaction upon board the vessels which have sailed in consequence of their crowded condition and miserable accommodations. Yesterday a party of 19 who had engaged passage on one of the vessels, and the best one in Port returned to Town and sold their Tickets preferring to wait here and take the chances to going on in the "Josephina." They will crowd 80 to 100 persons on board a small schooner not capable of carrying over 30 persons comfortably and many of them without berths and consequently compelled to sleep on Deck, and those that have berths have to crawl in to them on their hands and feet they being only 3 to 4 feet in height. However persons are so anxious to get to California that they will venture upon any kind of craft and there will consequently be much misery and many deaths.

The British Steamer from Southampton via Jamiaca [*sic*] to Chagres and the British Steamer from Callao are both due tomorrow and as I shall not send this letter until Wednesday per Mr. Williams of New York, who returns on the Crescent City and will deposit this letter in the office in New York or New Orleans, I can perhaps give you some additional news.

I also expect my friends Mess. Mills & Davis to return upon the Steamer from Callao.

The weather since we have been here has been very fine and pleasant, and but little sickness, however within the last 24 Hours there have been two deaths one Coln. Carmichael of Johns Town New York and another whose name I have not learned, they it appears bought a small vessel to go down the Bay in order to intercept and charter vessels for a company of theirs. The wind and the tide kept them from shore and for 6 Dys they were without water and almost without food hence their sickness and death, and so almost with all cases of sickness upon the Isthmus, it is

the result of dissipation and exposure. A few deaths however render the Americans more careful. We have had several Concerts and Lectures one by Coln. Fuller of Ohio the N. O. Commissiner [*sic*] and from subscriptions and other sources several hundred Dolls. have been collected, by which we are enabled to keep a hospital for the sick and destitute, we have also some of the best Physicians of the Country who daily attend without making any charges at all for services although it occupies nearly the whole time.

We are now raising subscriptions for purchasing a Grave Yard for those who may die here, and intend having an Iron railing put round it. There was from 300 to 400 persons I should think in the burial procession last evening, and every respect and attention are and have been paid to all who have been so unfortunate as to be sick in this strange land away from friends and kindred.

We have had but one heavy rain since I have been here, although the season is approaching, yet the natives tell us that it is full as healthy as the season which is now near its close. The fruit season is coming on, that is the season in which it is most abundant, as at all times they have fruit of almost every variety. We never eat fruit except in the early part of the day at Breakfast or Dinner. I have become very fond of Bananas for Breakfast and Pine Apples for Dinner they are very lucious and harmless when eaten in moderation.

I notice among the Americans here many old men from 45 to 60 years of age, the Gent. who died yesterday, was about 50 years old and left a wife and 5 children.

I have been quite actively engaged ever since I have been here, in any operation that promised to pay me for my trouble. I have bought some things that I will require in California, and my expenses here at the Hotel are considerable amounting in all to not much less than 200\$ which I have paid and have some 200\$ on hand, so that I have averaged nearly 100\$ per week profit since I have been here. I had some idea a few weeks since of selling my Steamer Ticket and going up on a sailing vessel, by this means I could raise some 7 to 1000\$ which I might have sent home or have taken with me for operations in California, but I think now that I shall wait for the Steamer, and hope that that will not be long.

I have very pleasant company and associates and am getting along very well indeed and the time has passed very pleasantly indeed yet I should much prefer being upon my road to California. I have been so much engaged that I have made very slow progress in Spanish, but hope when I once get on the Pacific that I will employ all my leisure time in the acquirement of a language which should I keep in my present mind will doubtless be of great importance to me hereafter. I hope also that Albert & Titus and my dear friend Cecil will turn their attention to the Spanish language, with the assistance of "Ollendorf's" Grammer [*sic*], they will be able to acquire such a knowledge of the language that with a very little practice here they could be able to speak it fluently.⁵ Tell them when I

⁵ Albert and Titus were younger brothers.

return I expect to speak scarcely anything else to them than Spanish and that about next January I want to leave Monrovia for San Francisco with the whole of them in Company.

I very much regret that you did not write to me to this place, and hope that anticipating a delay you may write per the mail which will be in in a few days.

I will write on in separate letter about business matters and I do hope that Jacob will give immediate attention to the suggestions thus made, so that I need not be compelled to return as early as the 1st of Novr. unless I find that I can do nothing in California.

I wish also to give you some description of the Religious processions in this place, however Lent being past, there are not so many demonstrations of their Piety.

Your Son Wm. H. V. Cronise

William Cronise seems to have prospered in California, not in the gold fields, but as a merchant. Late in 1849 he returned to Frederick, to settle his affairs and to purchase goods for his enterprise. When he went back to California he was accompanied by his older brother Jacob and his younger brother Albert. Several other friends from Frederick County completed the party.⁶ The second journey was marred by tragedy, for young Albert Cronise died on board the steamship *Panama* shortly after it sailed from Panama City.⁷ After arriving in San Francisco, William again wrote his father concerning the careers of his relatives and of his friends.

San Francisco Thursday January 31st 1850—

My dear Parents, —

You have I presume ere this received Jacob's and my letters sent over Mexico, announcing the most melancholy intelligence of Albert's death— This was to us and will I know prove to you my dear Father and Mother and all our family and acquaintances prove a most severe dispensation of Providence—But he met death with such calm resignation, so entirely submissive to the will of his Heavenly Parent, that I feel assured that "our loss is his eternal gain" I wrote you at considerable length, and Jacob, Cecil and Jesse wrote at great length per this mail, giving you all the particulars attending his death &c that I will not being much pressed at for time—and I can write but briefly at present. We brought his remains up with us intending to send them home by this steamer, but after we had them conveyed for a few days to one of our Houses that in conse-

⁶ It has not been possible fully to identify these, but "Cecil" was probably his former partner.

⁷ William informed his parents of the death of Albert in a moving letter written Jan. 7, 1850, on board the *Panama* off Acapulco. Letter in possession of Mr. Harman.

quence of the very inferior quality of the Spirits we found that decomposition had commenced and that we would be compelled to inter his remains here until decomposition was completed, when according to his request his remains shall be conveyed home and placed in the Pleasant Hill Burying ground.⁸ I much regret that we could not send them home at once, but I suppose that all is for the best. You may rest assured my dear Parents that I will not leave California until I bring his remains with me and that you shall have the satisfaction of seeing them resting with the rest of your family, and where I wish my remains to be placed at my death. We were compelled consequently to have his remains buried on Monday just as the sun was setting in the Grave Yard here. Mr. Wheeler of the Baptist Church read the services at the grave & and his remarks and prayer was most affecting indeed—

We arrived here on Monday the 20th instant, in the midst of a tremendous rain, which continued all day and somewhat dampened the spirits of some of the Emigrants—Mr. Collins was soon on board and was very much pleased at my return—I was somewhat fearful however that when he learned how much money I had expended when home and how little had been devoted to the purchase of Goods &c. that he would be dissatisfied—I soon had an interview with him—he seemed perfectly satisfied, expressed much sympathy, and said that he anticipated that I would have much difficulty, and almost feared that I would be unable to get back. Altogether I found things full as well as I expected—in addition to the money I have expended and some 5 or 600 expenses since I left the Isthmus and the expenses growing out of Albert's decease, I would probably have some 10,000 with a prospect now of making money very rapidly indeed—We made the acquaintance of Mr. Bennett of Arkansas coming up here—a gentleman of means &c. and I have rented a fine store room and tomorrow Jacob & him go into business—we to share equally in the profits, I to give the business all the attention I can so as not to interfere with our business. I put in about 1000 to 1500\$.

Cecil & Walker are also going it strong—selling and peddling goods on the street &c. I have 1/6 of their profits and Cecil 3/6—they have averaged nearly 10\$ a day, and will I doubt not do very well indeed—Jacob also. I wish Titus was out here⁹—Suppose you send him, or Shipley or Louis out in the Spring—or would not Harman come out and bring Mary Octavia with him—Were I sure that she could get any one to come out with her I would send home the money at once to pay the expenses, but if Harman wants to come and will bring her and Mrs. Abbott out with him I will cash the Bill the day of his arrival here and give him 250\$ for his trouble¹⁰— I think that we will all remain out

⁸ Albert's remains were eventually placed in the Pleasant Hill Graveyard at Monrovia, where the marker still stands.

⁹ Titus Fey Cronise later went to California. He was the author of one of the early descriptions of the state, *The Natural Wealth of California*. . . . (San Francisco, 1868.)

¹⁰ Shipley and Harman were brothers-in-law of William Cronise; Louis F. and Edward Edington Detrick were his nephews.

here about one year, by which time I think that we can all return with snug little fortunes—How would you like to come yourself next summer and remain a few weeks—I would pay your expenses, and I have no doubt but the trip would be a pleasant one—

Your letter of the 9th Decr. we rec'd. I was glad to hear that you had received assurances from Dill that he would pay you—That amt. will last you I suppose until next steamer when I shall make you a remittance—perhaps also some for David¹¹—The proceeds of Albert's instruments and clothing I will of course send you¹²—will try and sell them so as to send them per next steamer—They will sell for as much as they cost in the States I hope, although they are a great Drug—

I have so much to attend to, am so much pressed for time, and Jacob and the rest writing lengthy letters to you at my request, that I will bring this letter to a close, expecting to write more at length per the next steamer which will be in Two weeks.

With Love to all friends and Relatives, I remain

Your Affec Son

Wm. H. V. Cronise

¹¹ Possibly David Reinhart, miller at Monrovia and a brother-in-law.

¹² The deceased brother Albert had been a medical student.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Gentleman's Progress. The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744.

Edited by CARL BRIDENBAUGH. (Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va.) Chapel Hill, N. C.: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1948. xxxii, 267 pp. \$4.00.

Early in 1744 a brilliant and successful young physician of Annapolis, Alexander Hamilton, found himself faced with the double menace of ill health and boredom. An "incessant cough" refused to yield to treatment; the turmoil and mud-slinging of local politics, in which he had been led to take part, had got on his nerves; and hard ahead lay the Maryland summer, of which his frail constitution had dire experience. Change of scene, change of climate was the obvious prescription. It is a measure of the man that instead of boarding a ship for Europe and the amenities of the Old World, he decided on a long trip on horseback through the Northern colonies in order to know better their people, their politics, and their land. On May 30th he set forth from Annapolis with a Negro servant on a journey that was to take him 1624 miles through Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The diary kept along the way (called by Hamilton "Itinerarium," and now relabelled, with incomplete felicity, "Gentleman's Progress") is probably the wisest and wittiest existing account of American colonial life in the mid-eighteenth century.

It is hard to temper one's enthusiasm over this admirable book, recently liberated from the bleak exclusiveness of "collectors' items" by the Williamsburg Institute of American History and Culture, under the able editorship of Dr. Carl Bridenbaugh.¹ Hamilton was a highly educated man, born into the intellectual aristocracy of Edinburgh, and an honor graduate of its famous University and Medical School. The discipline of this education rested easily on a strong, free-thinking mind, which was infinitely curious regarding ideas, people, and the world of nature. His attitude toward life had a singularly Gallic cast, and casual references prove his intimate familiarity with great French writers, such as Montaigne and Rabelais. Add to this a keen sense of humor, a lively interest in the abnormal, and a shrewd sense of values, and you have a splendid equipment for a man setting forth on a voyage of appraisal. As Dr. Bridenbaugh says: "Hamilton was foreign enough to be interested in all aspects of the American colonies and yet sufficiently familiar with their civilization

¹ The "Itinerarium" was first brought out in 1907 by the late W. H. Bixby of St. Louis, in a sumptuous edition of 487 copies "issued only for private distribution."

to look beyond the spectacular and the temporary and seize upon its fundamental and enduring traits."

Next to its wisdom, perhaps the most striking quality of the *Itinerarium* is its fresh, undated quality. The secret of this lies partly in the Doctor's youthful gayety, partly in the sharp realism and uninhibited language of the narrative, to which our present-day literature has effectively broken us in. But it is chiefly due, one feels, to Hamilton's deep interest in people in the humbler walks of life. In Annapolis, of course, he moved *par inter pares* among the provincial aristocracy, and when he set out on his journey he was amply supplied with letters that would open to him the doors of the well-placed and consequential all along his way. In many cases, however, when he could have availed himself of the comfortable hospitality of these people he chose the salty promiscuity of the taverns and ordinaries, nourishing his keen interest in his fellow-man (and his sense of the ridiculous) on the strange folk he came across there. The quality of Hamilton's mind reminds one of Sir Thomas More, of whom Erasmus wrote: "If he has to do with the learned and intelligent, he is delighted with their cleverness; if with stupid and ignorant people, he finds amusement in their folly."

The end of September saw Hamilton back in Maryland. Dining at Treadway's tavern, he found his old friend the landlord "very much indisposed with fevers. He told me it had been a very unhealthy time and a hot summer. This I should have known by only observing the washed countenances of the people standing at their doors and looking out at their windows, for they looked like so many staring ghosts. In short I was sensible I had got into Maryland, for every house was an infirmary, according to ancient custom."

And what did the Doctor bring back with him? Again let him speak: "I compassed my design in obtaining a better state of health, which was the purpose of my journey. I found but little difference in the manners and character of the people in the different provinces I passed thro', but as to constitutions and complexions, air and government, I found some variety. Their forms of government in the northern provinces I look upon to be much better and happier than ours, which is a poor, sickly, convulsed state As to politeness and humanity, they are much alike except in the great towns where the inhabitants are more civilized, especially at Boston."

A word should be said about the romantic history of the manuscript of the *Itinerarium*, now come to rest in the Huntington Library at San Marino. An inscription shows it to have been presented to that mysterious and pliant Italian gentleman, Onorio Razzolini, whose name crops up to often in the chronicles of mid-eighteenth century Annapolis. When Razzolini returned to his native town of Asolo he took with him the manuscript, which gathered dust for a century in the library of his descendants until a persuasive bookseller came along. It then gravitated naturally to Mr. Sabin of London, who in turn sold it to Mr. Bixby. As it is now presented to us, it is supplemented by an excellent preface and

explanatory notes by Dr. Bridenbaugh, and garnished with amusing illustrations from the hand of Dr. Hamilton, whose minutes of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis are among the treasures of the Maryland Historical Society.

J. G. D. PAUL.

Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682-1773. By FREDERICK B. TOLLES. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, 1948. xiv, 292 pp. \$5.00.

The terminal date of this excellent work might better have been placed at 1756: when the Quaker grandees retired from public life rather than support an Indian war.

It is a study of the interaction of religion and life among those who in 1682 had undertaken the adventure of living in the world, yet remaining not of it. The events of 1756 show us both the failure of this experiment and the final decision of the Quakers themselves. Unable to make the best of two worlds, they now forsook the realm of mundane affairs for that of the spirit or, as George Fox would have put it, abandoned their outer plantation that they might be free to cultivate the inner one. Yet their "holy experiment" was not in vain, for in its course the Quakers had achieved a notably rich and humane way of life and had contributed abundantly to the commercial and cultural progress of our greatest colonial city.

Mr. Tolles has brought to his work an exhaustive knowledge of the relevant sources, a wide acquaintance with the religious literature of the period, and a most urbane and fluent style.

He has wisely elected not to treat of those matters for which reasonably adequate studies exist: the Quaker role in local politics and Indian affairs, in public education, and in the agitation against slavery. He does give us what may be, within its own limits, a definitive account of their geographical and social provenance, of their ideological background, of their business principles and practice, of their social life among themselves, and of their singularly happy and fruitful contributions to learning and philanthropy. In a twenty-four page Bibliographical Essay he adds a thorough but readable account of the chief sources both manuscript and printed.

The book itself has a detailed index and numerous illustrations and is most handsomely executed.

DONNELL M. OWINGS.

Rebel Raider: Raphael Semmes' Cruise in the C. S. S. Sumter. Edited by HARPUR ALLEN GOSNELL. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948. 218 pp. \$3.75.

The exploits of Raphael Semmes, Maryland-born officer of the Confederate Navy, are well known in connection with the feats of the famous raider *Alabama*; here is the fascinating account of the cruise in his first Southern command, the C. S. S. *Sumter*. This account has been condensed from his *Memoirs Afloat*. By removing Semmes' long excursions into international law, the narrative has been given a fresh and lively pace.

As the first real man-of-war to fly the Confederate States flag, the *Sumter* was to undertake the monumental task of driving Northern commerce from the seas—a staggering task for a small ex-packet steamer capable of carrying only an eight-day fuel supply and barely accommodating its crew of over one hundred men. And, amazingly enough, its commander was to do just that!

The capture and burning of the *Sumter's* first prize, the golden Rocket; the nocturnal escape from the U. S. S. *Iroquois* off the French island of Martinique, the capture of eighteen Federal ships and overhauling of forty-seven neutrals, and final blockading by vessels of the Northern Navy at Gibraltar—all attest that this exciting tale of sea adventure is one that should not be forgotten, covering as it does, an important part of Confederate Naval History.

E. M. STRAUSS, JR.

The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush. His "Travels Through Life" Together with His Commonplace Book for 1789-1813. Edited by GEORGE W. CORNER. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1948. 399 pp. \$6.00.

George W. Corner has edited the first complete text of Benjamin Rush's autobiography, *Travels Through Life*, since Louis Alexander Biddle, Rush's great-grandson, published an expurgated text in a limited edition in 1905. Of the original ten notebooks in which Rush compiled his memoirs, nine have survived and are fully published in this volume, accompanied by Mr. Corner's detailed and scholarly notes. Three commonplace books supplement the autobiography.

Taken together these varied examples of Rush's literary activity provide an excellent insight into Rush's manifold character. Although best remembered today as the outstanding American physician of the late eighteenth century, Rush's medical activities comprise but a minor portion of the interest in this volume. Rush played an active role in Pennsylvania politics throughout his lifetime, and his comments upon the political scene are shrewd and discerning. Rush was endowed with an unusually inquisitive mind, one which was on the whole open, consequently the material found in his notebooks and commonplace books provides an

intimate and revealing commentary upon the social and intellectual life of his day. Students in all fields of American history will be grateful to the American Philosophical Society for making possible the publication of this volume, and to Mr. Corner for his excellent editorial work.

HERBERT ROSENTHAL.

Explorations, Descriptions, and Attempted Settlements of Carolina, 1584-1590. Edited by DAVID LEROY CORBITT, for the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C. 1948. 136 pages.

This booklet is a convenient and well printed compilation of documents relating to Sir Walter Raleigh's effort to colonize in North Carolina. As the former compilation of these sources by Tarbox in 1884 is now out of print this work supplies a need. The editor takes most of his material from Hakluyt and adds some documents from Spanish sources. It would seem that a work of this sort should cover its ground completely. The city charters issued by Raleigh, and printed long ago in Hazard's *Collections*, are missing. So also is the account, in Hakluyt's first edition, of the abortive relief expedition of 1588, which failed the little colony in its hour of greatest need. Both of these would help in understanding of Raleigh's efforts. The failure of the editor to insert either a table of contents or an index is to be deplored.

LOUIS DOW SCISCO.

Lincoln's Secretary. A Biography of John G. Nicolay. By HELEN NICOLAY. New York: Longmans, Green Co., 1949. x, 363 pp. \$5.00.

Although this book is primarily the biography of John G. Nicolay, it is dominated almost entirely by the personality of Abraham Lincoln. Beginning in 1856, Nicolay was to culminate a lifetime of service by writing the ten-volume biography some thirty odd years later. To Nicolay, Lincoln measured up to the standard of greatness. This fact is very clearly brought out by Miss Nicolay who uses her father's hitherto unpublished journals and letters to his fiancée Therenia Bates. Consequently, the book is another Lincoln book, but the Civil War years are given a more intimate and personal touch.

The greater part of the book is devoted to the war years. Nicolay describes to his fiancée, for instance, the tension in Washington during the period between the inauguration and the firing on Fort Sumter. In addition, he tells her of the political, social, and personal life in the nation's Capital during those years.

Nearly everyone will find this book refreshing and fascinating to read. Miss Nicolay brings out many sidelights which will be of interest to Lincoln scholars. Of particular significance is her account of the writing of *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years* by her father and John Hay. She

has presented her material with all possible fairness both to her father and to Lincoln. As such, her biography of John G. Nicolay is of great value to students of Civil War history and biography.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Roots in Virginia: An Account of Captain Thomas Hale, Virginia Frontiersman, his Descendants and Related Families, by NATHANIEL CLAIBORNE HALE. Philadelphia, 1948, xviii, 227 pp. \$8.00.

"Roots in Virginia" is aptly chosen by the author as a title for this book. Mr. Hale is a native of the "Old Dominion" and, although a resident of Pennsylvania, it is evident that his love of the old home place has not abated in the slightest degree with the march of time. The book is made especially interesting by the picture which it presents of life on the southwest Virginia frontier, where Captain Thomas Hale had settled shortly before the American Revolution.

The genealogical portion of this interesting volume embraces such families as Hale, Claiborne, Cabell, Nelson, Early, West, Croshaw, Tobin, Jordan, Lacy, Saunders, and Latrobe, the last name being of particular interest to Baltimoreans. The allied families of Taliaferro, Crockett, Goode, Dabney, *et al.* are also mentioned among the supplemental ancestral lines.

Mr. Hale's work is illustrated with reproductions of family portraits, pen drawings of typical southern homes, and a map of the southwest Virginia frontier serves as the frontispiece. There is an adequate index; and a bibliography and list of authorities are appended. An excellent reference book! Copies may be obtained from Suite 442, 123 South Broad Street, Philadelphia 9, Pa.

FRANCIS B. CULVER.

The American Presidency in Action: 1789, A Study in Constitutional History. By JAMES HART. New York: Macmillan Co., 1948. xv, 256 pp. \$4.00.

In this volume Professor Hart presents an analysis of the events in the formative year of this American presidency. During 1789 precedents were established, extra-constitutional devices adopted and an all-important impress was given the presidential office as a result of the character and views of president Washington. Of course, the functions and powers of the president were not all established in this one year and many practices of Washington were not repeated by his successors. This latter aspect of the presidency is in many ways the most interesting part of the story.

Although this study provides a wealth of material useful as reference it will appeal but slightly to the general reader. Its chief defect from the general reader's point of view is the use of the encyclopedic method of organization with each chapter divided into subsections, each preceded by

bold capitals and then subdivided with the use of smaller capitals. This method deprives the book of both fluidity and continuity. With a subject as interesting as this it is regretted that Professor Hart did not employ a freer method of treating the results of his meticulous scholarship.

H. A.

Studies in the History of Maryland. By BENJAMIN H. HARTOGENSIS.
Arranged and edited by Dr. Simon Cohen, D.D. [Baltimore:
privately printed. 109 pp.]

It is not necessary to accept the point of view of the late B. H. Hartogensis in order to realize that it is a point of view, held by at least one intelligent, educated man, therefore as much entitled to a hearing as any other. In this slender volume Dr. Cohen has collected from the writings of his friend those papers which he thinks represent Mr. Hartogensis' beliefs most clearly, thus entering them upon the permanent record.

Mr. Hartogensis argued that in the matter of religious toleration Marylanders have been claiming a good deal more than is actually our due. He points out that the Act of 1649, for instance, restricts its immunities to one sect, namely, the Christian, and argues, logically enough, that tolerance restricted to one faith is no genuine expression of religious freedom. Therefore he regards our claims to credit as pretty fraudulent.

His error is in ignoring the factor of relativity. It is undeniably true that the Act of Toleration did not establish religious toleration fully, freely and completely. It is also true that in 1692 (as soon as William and Mary were firmly established on the throne) the Church of England was made the official church throughout the realm, and in Maryland dissenters, including Catholics, Quakers, Baptists and Jews, fell under disabilities, many of which lasted until 1776, and some of which have never been completely erased.

But that isn't the point. The point is that when people voluntarily accept an instrument binding them to tolerate what they had not been inclined to tolerate before, the instrument, however limited, is an Act of Toleration. Christians had to learn to tolerate each other before they could be expected to tolerate other faiths. The Act of 1649 may have been a step, rather than a seven-league stride, but it was a step, and the first one.

So, although it should not be accepted completely, Mr. Hartogensis' book has a definite and considerable value as an antidote against too much complacency.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

Calendar of Maryland State Papers. No. 3. The Brown Books. By ROGER THOMAS. Annapolis: Publication of the Hall of Records Commission, No. 6, 1948. vii, 180 pp.

This calendar covers the 811 documents in the "Brown Books" papers in the Maryland Hall of Records. It makes available in excellent form a collection of military records chiefly for the period of the American Revolution and the Quasi-War with France. Many of the letters were intercepted and reveal the loyalist point of view and the difficulties of their position. The calendar entries are extremely complete and quote many of the significant passages from the documents. Some judicious use of abbreviations, such as state names, military titles and the like, would have shortened the text without loss of clarity.

HELEN DUPREY BULLOCK

Manuscript Division, Library of Congress

NOTES AND QUERIES

MAJOR HALL'S SCHOOL, BALTIMORE

Recent articles on old Baltimore schools called to mind the school my brother George and I attended in the late 1880's, and I wanted to write just a few lines about it before it fades from my memory.

It was Major Wilbur Hall's School, located on the North side of Hoffman Street between Linden Avenue and Eutaw Street (No. 310); the building being now occupied by a colored, religious organization.

Major Hall was a South Carolina gentleman of the old school. He had been an officer in the Confederate Army and when the surrender came, in his despair at the downfall of the Confederacy he, like some other Confederate officers, left the country. He went to Egypt and became an officer in the Khedive's Army, which was then controlled by the British. Later on, he returned to America and opened his school on Hoffman Street. Despite his military career he was a kindly, patient man possessing a sterling character which made itself felt even on us thoughtless boys.

On the way to school, up Preston Street, I recall a planing mill at the southeast corner of Preston and Cathedral Streets, and just opposite where the Bryn Mawr School building stands was a railroad freight yard; switching engines often crossing the street. Farther west where the Fifth Regiment Armory stands was "Bolton," the imposing mansion of W. W. Spence, standing high above the street in a beautiful setting of lawn, trees and shrubbery. Irvin's Confectionery was at the southeast corner of Linden Avenue and Preston Street, and the boys amused themselves by poking sticks at a pugnacious dog in the side yard. Riddlemoser's stables were

nearby, and at the northwest corner of Hoffman and Eutaw Streets was Doebereiner's Confectionery where at recess time we got hot buns.

Our leading student was Laurence Hall Fowler, the well known architect, who helped those of us who were dull with our tasks before school began. How anxiously therefore most of us awaited the arrival of Laurence and David McIntosh who came in from Towson on the old narrow gauge railroad, the predecessor of the present Maryland and Pennsylvania Railroad. After the boys assembled in the school room (the second floor front in that old residence), Major Hall would appear, and all of us would stand while he said a prayer.

Albert Cabell Ritchie, four times Governor of Maryland, became our most famous pupil. David McIntosh, too, was President of the Maryland Senate and prominently mentioned for the Governorship. Walter Abell was the best dressed boy and had the best manners. Of the Goldsborough boys, Billy is dead, Bob left Baltimore to go with the Pennsylvania Railroad, and Frank ("Puck") is a doctor in Buffalo, New York. Walter Wickes ("Zippy") also practiced medicine. Julian Carter was the son of that great lawyer and leader of the Maryland Bar, Bernard Carter—a big man mentally and physically. Who are the leaders of our Bar today?

Our two best runners were Charles Ridgely Howard and Pembroke Bonsal; they excelled in "Prisoner's Base," one of our games. Both have passed on, as has William D. Poultney; leaving a son "Jimmy" Poultney who is both a scholar and a gentleman. Augustine Hopper ("Ducky") is now in the brokerage business in New York. Then there was "Louie" McKim, still alert and snappy. He afterwards played on the University of Virginia baseball team and was a well known rider at the Elkridge Fox Hunting Club which is now, alas, a golf club. What a fine figure he cut in his "pink" coat, sitting erect on his hunting horse.

Recently I was fortunate in obtaining the report book of the late L. Wardlaw Miles whose heroism in World War I, for which he was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, reflects glory on the old school. He attended the school in 1886-1887, just ahead of my brother and me, and his report book is the only one I know of in existence. He was then thirteen years of age. His courses were Arithmetic, Algebra, History, Latin, and Orthography, and many notes in the Major's handwriting tell of his standing and manliness and give suggestions for home study. Particularly interesting are the lectures described in the report book; the purpose of most of them being to excite admiration for good character and manly actions. Thus, the incorruptibility of Scipio Africanus the Younger is compared with the conduct of the Duke of Marlborough. Camillus is lauded for his contempt of treachery. The characters of Philip of Macedon and others are discussed, and it was related of Philip that he punished an ungrateful officer for ingratitude to parents. In addition, there were lectures on the Pyramids and the Sphinx and the statue of Memnon with the ancients' views of Memnon's music. The Constitution of the United States was examined in some detail, and there were also lectures on the Heavenly Bodies.

And so to conclude, I have brought together in this short sketch what

I remember of Major Hall's School in order that the character of the school, and indeed its very existence, shall not be completely forgotten in this city where it was founded and where at last it came to its end.

It seems to me that at that old school we got as good or better schooling than falls to the lot of boys in the private or public schools of today. In addition, we got the association with a high-minded Southern gentleman whose thought was of honor, courage, and duty; and experience in a long life leads me to the view that the Gods of The Copy Book Headings have much to recommend them, especially for the times in which we are living.

WALTER H. BUCK.

King-Gantt Family and Early Washington—For some years I have been working on a book of the early builders of Washington, D. C., especially the lesser known but important men as Nicholas and Robert King, surveyors and cartographers in Washington from 1795 to 1831.

I would like to contact descendants of Nicholas King, who flourished in Washington from 1795 to 1812. He married Margaretta Gantt, daughter of John M. Gantt, original proprietor who sold lands to Thomas Peter and Samuel Davidson. Nicholas King's children were Samuel Davidson, Mary Gantt, Susan and James D(avidson). His grandchildren were William W. King, Zebulon M. P. King and Mary Albertina King Kuehling. Please address any information to

Mrs. M. Dwight Harbaugh,
230 Aurora St., Hudson, Ohio

Carrico—Basil Carrico, son of Peter and Margaret (Gates) Carrico, born at Bryantown Hundred, Charles County, Md., circa 1745, died circa 1810, probably in Nelson or Spencer County, Kentucky. Information is desired as to whom he married, where and when, also names of issue.

Homer E. Carrico,
6703 Country Club Circle, Dallas 14, Texas

Frazier—My great grandfather, William Frazier, was born March 14, 1773, in Baltimore County, Md., and I would like to know the names of either one or both of his parents. We surmise the Christian name of his father was John, William or Daniel. Whom or where the great grandfather married we do not know; however, we do know that he was married and living in Bedford County, Pa., in 1801. We think his wife's Christian name was Urith, or perhaps he married Mary McClain. His wife apparently died about 1805.

Clyde Frazier,
P. O. Box 558, Coffeyville, Kansas

Coppedge (Coppage) Family—A general meeting of the Coppedge Family Association will be held at the Phoenix Hotel, Lexington, Ky., on August 20, 1949, according to a notice issued by A. Max Coppage, President, Box 166, Hale, Mo.

CONTRIBUTORS

DR. TILGHMAN, formerly on the faculty of St. John's College, is a great-great grandson of Colonel Tench Tilghman. He is a member of the Department of English and Foreign Languages at Virginia Polytechnic Institute. ☆ Mr. BERNARD is a candidate for the doctorate at the University of North Carolina. His chief interest is the history of France during the seventeenth century. ☆ A native Marylander, Mr. BREWINGTON is the author of *Chesapeake Bay Log Canoes* (1937) and *Chesapeake Bay Bugeyes* (1941) and editor of *American Neptune*. ☆ A lawyer by profession and a bibliophile by avocation, Mr. MACGARVEY has taken a special interest in the history of economic thought. He is a graduate of London University and a member of the Royal Economic Society. ☆ Dr. LAND, at present Assistant Professor of History at Carnegie Institute of Technology, has written a doctoral dissertation on the life of Daniel Dulany the Elder.

PRICE TO NON-MEMBERS ADVANCED

Annual subscription to the *Maryland Historical Magazine* advanced June 1, 1949, to \$4.00. The previous rate was \$3.00. Members will receive the Magazine as before. Single issues are now priced at \$1.00 instead of 75 cents. Back issues will be sold at \$1.00 except in cases of scarcity when higher prices are in effect. The sharp rise in the costs of paper and printing has necessitated the change.