

MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



Whitehall, Anne Arundel County, from the Garden

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BALTIMORE

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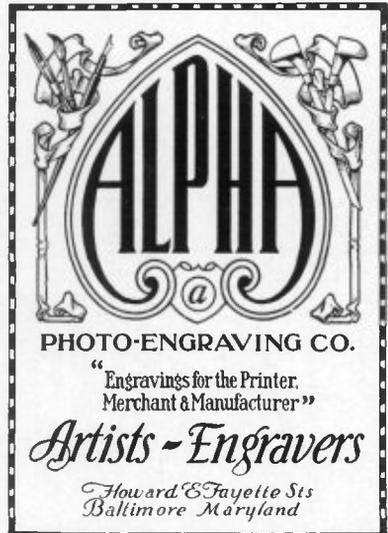


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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLVI

MARCH, 1951

Number 1

EXPANDING FIELDS FOR HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

By ARTHUR A. HOUGHTON, JR.

IT SEEMS to me that at the beginning of this New Year, at a time of no inconsiderable stress and uncertainty in the world, it might possibly serve some useful purpose for us to examine the work of the historian, the value of history, and the place of historical societies in relation to the larger framework of the conditions with which our nation is confronted today.*

At this moment, our country and our civilization are in danger. To meet this danger, we must mobilize our resources and eliminate every unessential activity. If our historical societies and what they represent are important and essential, they should be strengthened and put to work in the common effort. If they are unimportant and unessential, they should be dispensed with without delay until the day arrives when we can again afford luxuries.

It is my intent to examine with you this evening, in a most

* Address before a joint meeting of the Maryland Historical Society and the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities on the evening of January 9, 1951.

general fashion, the status of our historical societies: to re-assess their values, and to explore the possibility of their greater usefulness.

We are living in a modern age of specialization, and we can point with justifiable pride to the great accomplishments that have come from this specialization, and the great benefits that we have derived therefrom. But our age of specialization — a comparatively new incident in the history of the world — has brought with it not only blessings but also liabilities. It is, perhaps, on account of the accumulation of these liabilities that we find our civilization in its precarious position.

Each one of us in our work — whether we are a lawyer, an architect, an economist, a doctor, a businessman or a scientist — is originally trained in what our predecessors have learned. We pick up in our area of work where the previous generation left off. Such progress as each of us makes in our specialized field is recorded and makes an advanced starting point for the next generation. This process leads to continued sub-division of work and to new branches, categories and specializations, as the amount of accumulated knowledge increases.

Is it a case of losing sight of the forest for the trees? Are we losing sight of the value of the broad general knowledge of mankind for our individual specialized work? There are evidences that we have already arrived at this point. Today the organic chemist finds it difficult to talk with the inorganic chemist; the man of affairs looks upon the artist with suspicion; the surgeon views the politician with alarm.

Each of us increasingly views the world from a more and more specialized frame of reference. Even history has become a specialized subject, remote from life. We are apt to look upon it as one of the subjects that is taught to our children at school, or that is followed in some minute sub-division by the specialized scholar or archaeologist who writes technical books for other scholars and archaeologists to read.

The result is that history somehow seems less and less related to other subjects, and the study of history has become an impractical pursuit. An organization such as the Maryland Historical Society is viewed by the majority of the people as a sort of harmless club of specialists whose members read books of history and have occasional evenings of pleasant association. And on the surface

it has no relation to the other groups and organizations which, taken together, comprise the society of man.

The main point that I wish to bring out this evening is that history is *not* a detached subject. History must not exist as a specialized academic subject in a vacuum. It is, basically, the record of mankind, and in its ultimate it embraces the entire experience of man in all countries, at all times, and in all of his activities.

During the past century, with the rise of technological and physiochemical experiments, all accent has been placed upon the relation of man to matter. In this time, man has to a large extent become master of matter, enlarging his knowledge and understanding of the physical world to embrace it in all its aspects, from the great galaxies that are seen through the telescope at Mount Palomar down to the minute particles of matter seen through the electronic microscope. Man is master of matter, but man has lost mastery of himself. He has lost sight of himself in relation to existence, and this is the cause of our present fears and tribulations.

The symptoms that surround us in society, uncertainty, uneasiness and fear, are neurotic symptoms; — the symptoms that occur when an individual or a group of individuals is confronted with a situation that they do not know how to handle and that they do not understand. But fear always derives from a lack of knowledge. We are not afraid of the things that we know and the fear that we have today is not about matter but about man and his possible actions.

An example is our attitude towards nuclear fission. Our fear is not fear of the atom and its component parts, but fear about the possible application of man's mastery of the atom to our physical destruction.

We have great accumulated knowledge and information about man stored away in our libraries, which contain the records of man's thought; in our museums, which contain the evidences of man's work; — but we are not using this knowledge as a whole. There is a feeling that what went on in Greece, or Rome, or in the Middle Ages, or the 18th Century, has no relation to what is going on today. We do not realize that man does not change very much, and that the truths and wisdom of Plato or of Confucius or of Jesus Christ are just as real and just as applicable today as in the day in which they were first expressed.

There is only one way to know mankind, and that is to study the history of man. We lack knowledge of foreign people. Most of us have no knowledge of the culture and history and customs and traditions of people in foreign places. News comes to us over the radio or through the newspapers about events in different places in the world. We hear of these events and we do not understand the people that are concerned with them. We have little understanding of their history, their customs, their religions and beliefs. Lacking this understanding, we cannot find a meeting-ground of common interest.

We take pride in our educational system, in our great colleges and universities. And yet the study of many cultural and important people finds no place whatever in the curriculum of any American university. For example, the Central Asiatic Turks. We are ignorant of them, and yet we may soon have to deal with them. But how can we, intelligently, if we do not know them? Practically nothing is taught about China, the Near East, and Korea, where the searchlight is now on; or about Malaya and Siam, where it may be focussed shortly; or about Iraq, Iran and Turkey. In this country there are no good libraries of Turkish or Korean. As for Russia, the Library of Congress does not even have complete files of *Pravda* and *Izvestia*. We do not know our enemies; and, what is worse, we do not know our potential friends.

Even within our own western civilization, within our own country, we find the same situation. It has become so because we have become a group of unrelated specialists. We all use the English language, but as specialized groups we do not fully understand each other. Every specialized group has its own specialized vocabulary and jargon. It has its own technical publications which other people do not read. It has its own meetings which other people do not attend. It tries to force its own special interests through the political lobbies. The results are mutual misunderstandings, suspicions, distrusts. We know what we are doing; but we do not know what other men are doing, or why. We are suffering from a *dis-integration* of our society.

At the beginning of this year 1951, we are in a national emergency which has every prospect of becoming darker. We cannot meet it as a *dis-integrated*, *dis-organized* people. We must restore a common interest. We must understand the common ideals, hopes and aspirations that have run through the whole

history of mankind. It is these that we are fighting for, not our little, individualized "Ways of Life." It is these ideals, standards and purposes that, in turn, can be understood by all men of all nations. They should be the message of the "Voice of America." They alone can serve as a rallying point for all men against the little group of specialists in the Kremlin. We have potential allies by the million behind the Iron Curtain, even in the fastnesses of Russia. But there is only one call to which they will answer, the great call of mankind.

We are being called upon to mobilize all our resources, but in this scientific age all we do is mobilize our scientific resources. We cannot win a war without science, but will science alone be enough? We cannot kill all the Russians and all the Chinese and all of everybody else. And we should not, even if we could. This war is not merely a scientific war. It is even more an *ideological* war. It was not science that Russia used to conquer China. It was the power of ideologies spread among men who had no alternate hopes. It was not simply war matériel and science which enabled England to win the Battle of Britain. Scientifically speaking, England was defeated by June of 1940. It was a common understanding of common principles, the basic values of man stripped to the bone, which carried Britain through.

We have a great arsenal in our industrial system, but we have an equally great arsenal in our libraries and our museums, and in the whole field of history, but we are not utilizing it to the full. Our scientific research is applied so that man can utilize it and avail himself of its benefits, but historical research is not presently applied.

We have one weapon at our command which is the ultimate. It is not the hydrogen bomb. We have found that Russia can match every one of our scientific developments with its equal or better almost immediately. Our great and ultimate weapon which should be unsheathed and used is the Truth. It lies in the general accumulated knowledge of man, not in the specialized knowledge of physical matter. In this crisis, a dozen humanist historians who can lead and speak are worth a hundred divisions. Let us not forget the little group of Apostles two thousand years ago who spread a message that changed the world.

The principles of Democracy are based upon the principles of Truth as proven and demonstrated by history. Communism is

based upon the Lie. That is why there has to be an Iron Curtain. Stalin and the members of the Politburo maintain the Iron Curtain because they know that if the Truth were to permeate through it they would be overthrown. One of the greatest tools that the Communist party uses is that vicious handbook, *A Short History of the Communist Party*. Very few of us have ever seen a copy. But the Communists have distributed it in countless millions of copies, in over 200 languages and dialects. It is called a history, but it is not history. In it the Communists have re-written history, changing the Truth to the Lie, to mislead people, and that is all their new generations know. It is a situation much like that which George Orwell wrote about in his terrifying book *1984*.

I return to my original premise: that in the applied knowledge of history, in the accumulated experience of man based upon the truth, upon what has actually happened, is the greatest weapon that we have in time of war and the greatest assurance of progress that we have in time of peace.

Specifically, what can we do? What can we, as the members of the two representative historical societies of Maryland, who are gathered here tonight, do about the situation? It is not an impossible task if we know and realize what we are attempting to accomplish.

We have two responsibilities. The first and minor responsibility is clearly indicated by the name of Maryland in the name of these societies. This first responsibility is to see that there is accumulated, and protected, and made available, — not just for ourselves, and not just for the people of Maryland, but for all of society, — the most comprehensive and accurate record of the history within our State. This includes written history in the nature of books, manuscripts, letters and documents; the portable evidences of history in the accumulation in our museums and collections of the evidences of man's life and work in Maryland; and the preservation of those historical evidences that cannot be moved, such as representative pieces of architecture. All of this material must be preserved with care. It must be properly sorted, classified and made available for research purposes. We can add to the amount of available and useful material presently existing by encouraging professional research in the study of these collections and in publication of the results of such research. This responsibility is already,

thanks to the support of the members of these societies, well in hand. And this work must be continued.

Our second and greater responsibility is that we ourselves should make a more conscious effort to look upon history as a whole rather than as a lot of fragments. We should be sympathetic and understanding of all work that goes on in any area of history. We must endeavour to look through the books that we read or the objects we examine or the architecture that we view, and find within them the relationship of these objects to mankind. We must look upon them not just as precious rarities or aesthetic objects, but as the instruments of knowledge which can tell us more about man and his nature. We must learn to have a consciousness of history, which in turn will give us a greater consciousness and understanding of the present.

We must broaden this second and great responsibility beyond ourselves, and encourage and assist our fellow men to derive the same great advantages. We must encourage the wider teaching of history in our schools and colleges, not as fragmentary specialized courses, but as the organized and comprehensive study of man. We must attempt to bring the values and the lessons of history to the public, using every means of communication, not only by exhibitions and by writings within professional historical journals, but by the more popular mass mediums of the newspapers, magazines, radio and television.

We must study the ways whereby the lessons and values of history can be exploded out of the schools and libraries and museums and historical societies, and be made an integral and working force, a meaningful force, for mankind.

We have a great responsibility. And I am asking you to consider it seriously. Society can lose certain of its specialized areas of knowledge without losing the battle. But if our country and Western Civilization lose the knowledge of history and the consciousness of history, the whole war is lost. And we, the few people gathered here this evening, are not simply the trustees of the history of Maryland, but, more important, co-trustees of the history of man.

GOVERNOR HORATIO SHARPE'S WHITEHALL

By CHARLES SCARLETT, JR.

WHERE the lane to Whitehall turns abruptly aside at a fenced enclosure, the visitor can see the high double stairway of the old Georgian mansion through the deep shade of overhanging trees. The long sweep of the house seems lost in green foliage as he crosses the lawn, and blank bull's eye windows above the arches of the arcades joining the wings to the central structure give marked individuality to an otherwise apparently conventional brick manor house of the eighteenth century.

Rounding the building to the right—low windows open into basement bedrooms here, with floors below the ground level, rotting away from the damp—the visitor, climbing a little rise, sees the southward sweep of the Chesapeake. Borders of flowers and shrubs fall away from the house toward the Bay, and toward the creeks that bound the estate on either side are the locust, lilac, willow and crepe myrtle walks that were the delight of the colonial governor who designed and planted them nearly two hundred years ago.¹

On the garden front of the house one is struck by the scale and elegance of the high Corinthian portico, although the central section is now seen to be only one room deep. This seemingly pretentious mansion, its dependencies set well back and its basement lost from sight beneath the grade, has from here assumed almost modest proportions.

Whitehall was built at the close of the French and Indian War by Maryland's bachelor governor, Horatio Sharpe, and it has long

¹ Mrs. J. P. Story in 1895 attempted to develop the colonial aspects of her garden. She was told that the quadrangles on either side of the center borders were once laid out in formal designs. The *Harbor of Annapolis*, U. S. Survey of the Coast (1846), shows profile of shoreline and "Whitehall Poplars" located presumably at ends of present borders; also shown is the large square garden area to south of house.

been the tradition that he planned it with the hope, which turned out to be illusory, of charming into matrimony the young daughter of Governor Samuel Ogle. It was designed and built under his personal supervision, as were the surrounding gardens and parks. The superb wood carving was said to be the work of a young redemptioner who died of consumption, his identity unknown, as he finished the work by which he was to earn his freedom. Soon afterwards, the story ran, letters from England showed that he had been condemned for a crime of which he was innocent.

After being retired as Governor in favor of Lord Baltimore's young brother-in-law, Robert Eden, Colonel Sharpe spent several years at his plantation, enjoying his gardens, his race horses, and the gay life of Annapolis. He sailed in 1773 for a visit to England and never returned, the property passing on his death to his secretary, John Ridout. Ridout had married Mary Ogle, for whom Colonel Sharpe is said to have built Whitehall, and who thus became its mistress in a way he had not altogether planned.

Little more of its early history has been recorded. Ridout descendants farmed the plantation until 1895, when the house was bought with some sixty acres of land by Mrs. John P. Story of Washington, D. C. Mrs. Story devoted herself, with a love of beautiful things of the past, to preserving this remote and neglected remnant of Maryland's colonial history, bringing to it once again an air of bygone days. Time and change have severely challenged the innate charm of the stately old house, but the charm endures today much as in the past.

In 1659 Captain William Fuller, Puritan soldier and Chief Executive of the Province of Maryland at the time of Oliver Cromwell, obtained a patent to approximately 150 acres of land near the town of Providence on the Severn River which he called Fuller.² In 1695 Nicholas Greenberry, deputy governor and one of Maryland's most illustrious citizens, purchased the plantation from Fuller's son, then living in Virginia, and added it to his Greenberry Forest holdings.³ At this time improvements included "houses, tobacco houses, outhouses and tenants [*sic*], garden and orchards." But William Fuller's association with Claiborne, along with his Puritan faith, made his memory anything but pleasant

² Patent Book IV, f. 486, Hall of Records.

³ Anne Arundel County Deeds, I. T., No. 5, f. 1-3, Hall of Records.

in the Colony;⁴ so the Greenberrys changed the name Fuller to Whitehall of London fame.

Colonel Charles Greenberry inherited the property from his father,⁵ and on his death in 1713, bequeathed Whitehall to the vestry and churchwardens of St. Margaret's Westminster upon the demise of his wife, Rachel Stimson.⁶

On November 17, 1763, at the instigation of Governor Sharpe, the Legislature passed an act⁷ allowing for the setting aside of Colonel Greenberry's will and the sale of Whitehall at public auction to the highest bidder for a price of not less than £300. The deal was concluded after the opening of the sale by the Governor's sporting £305. offer.⁸ But on September 3, 1764, the day preceding settlement, he had sold to the vestry and churchwardens of St. Margaret's Westminster an equal amount of land, or 144 acres, farther inland on the peninsula, for the sum of £305.⁹ This new glebe land was part of an adjoining 814 acres that Sharpe had bought from Mr. John Hesselius on October 4, 1763,¹⁰ and this 144 acre strip he leased back from the church for £18. a year.¹¹ So in the late summer of 1764 Sharpe was established on his 1000 acre plantation, bounded to the east and west by Scotcher's (Meredith) and Homewood's (Whitehall) Creeks and on the south by an estuary of the Severn, then known as Half Pone Bay (Whitehall Bay). The site for his new dwelling was that occupied by an old barn then standing, the foundation of which may still be found a few feet from the house on the garden side.¹²

Horatio Sharpe was born near Hull in Yorkshire in 1718, the youngest of a family of nine boys. In 1745 he was commissioned

⁴ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1879), I, 225.

⁵ Will Book 7, f. 314, Hall of Records.

⁶ Will Book 13, f. 542, Hall of Records.

⁷ Bacon's *Laws of Maryland*, Chapter XX (1763).

⁸ Anne Arundel County Deeds, B. B. No. 3, f. 261, Hall of Records. Four of Maryland's early governors or acting governors have held title to Whitehall: William Fuller (1659), Nicholas Greenberry (1696), Horatio Sharpe (1764), and Benjamin Ogle (1782).

⁹ Anne Arundel County Deeds, B. B. No. 3, f. 259, Hall of Records.

¹⁰ Provincial Court Judgments, D. D. No. 3, f. 107, Land Office Records, Annapolis.

¹¹ Plantation accounts in possession of writer.

¹² Survey run by John Frederik Augustus Priggs for Sharpe in ca. 1763 sights "to the Locust Post, the beginning of White Hall. / from the locust post to the center of the barn on close to which spot the house will be built, S 47° W. 132P." Copy in possession of writer.

captain in the marines and shortly afterward lieutenant-colonel of foot in the West Indies. It was this experience in military and colonial affairs that enabled his brother William, as guardian to the young proprietary, Frederick Calvert, to obtain for him the governorship of the province of Maryland. The new Lieutenant-Governor arrived in Annapolis on August 10, 1753, on the *Molly*, and settled down in this elegant little capital city, described as the richest and most luxurious upon the Continent, to a task much to his liking and for which he seemed extremely well fitted.¹³

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 between England and France had left unsettled the boundaries between their possessions in North America, and trouble was already brewing. By the spring of 1754, the French had invaded the Ohio River in large force, having engaged the Chippeways, Ottaways and Arundacks to take up the hatchet against His Majesty's subjects settled there. King George despatched a commission to Governor Sharpe "appointing him Commander-in-Chief of all the forces that are, or may be raised to defend the frontiers of Virginia and the neighboring colonies."¹⁴ When the gravity of the situation increased and news of Major Washington's sound defeat at Great Meadows was received, Major General Braddock with two regiments and a great train of artillery embarked for America to take charge of the situation. It was significant of the times in Annapolis that the Maryland Governor could provide the ill-fated General with his English chariot for six horses in which he was to ride on his exploits into the wilderness and against the enemy at Fort Duquesne.¹⁵

With the close of the French and Indian War in 1763, the Governor once again found time for the things that were nearest his heart. He owned an island in Rhode River, but this was too remote from Annapolis to be easily accessible for the entertainment of his many friends and personages visiting the province.¹⁶ Gardening was his great love, and although the large house he had rented in town was surrounded by several acres of gardens, and equipped with a greenhouse,¹⁷ he wanted the privacy and

¹³ Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 10.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 449.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 457.

¹⁶ Family tradition, Mrs. C. Nelson Dugan.

¹⁷ Joseph T. Wheeler, "Reading Interests of Maryland Planters and Merchants, 1700-1776," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVII (March, 1942), 40.

freedom of the extensive lawns, walks and parks he had known at home in England. The old glebe plantation, Whitehall, almost surrounded as it was by water and little more than a half hour from town by boat, suited his purpose admirably. Since this was entailed church property, it would require his influence with the Legislature to have laws passed setting aside the terms of Colonel Greenberry's will. So certain he was that this would be done, he bought the adjacent land in the fall of 1763, almost a year prior to his settlement for Whitehall. In all likelihood plans and materials for his new place had been worked up during the interim, and the house was under way by the fall of 1764, for by 1765 a French traveler reported on June 22nd, "Crossed the severn (which is about 2 miles broad) and waited on the governor in company with both Galloways. he lives about 6 m. from town where he was bought a farm and is building a prety box of a house on the Bay side, which he calls white hall."¹⁸

A careful examination of the structure of Whitehall reveals that the central block was completed as a unit, with brick retaining walls near the south corners of the building to allow for the exposure of the basement on the north side. One needs but thumb through the volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus* to find its prototypes and components in the architectural drawings of Colin Campbell.¹⁹ Sharpe was erecting in the center of his English gardens a pavilion or garden house in the form of a Roman Temple—a tribute to the growing things about him and such a one as could have been found on many of the great country estates in Britain.

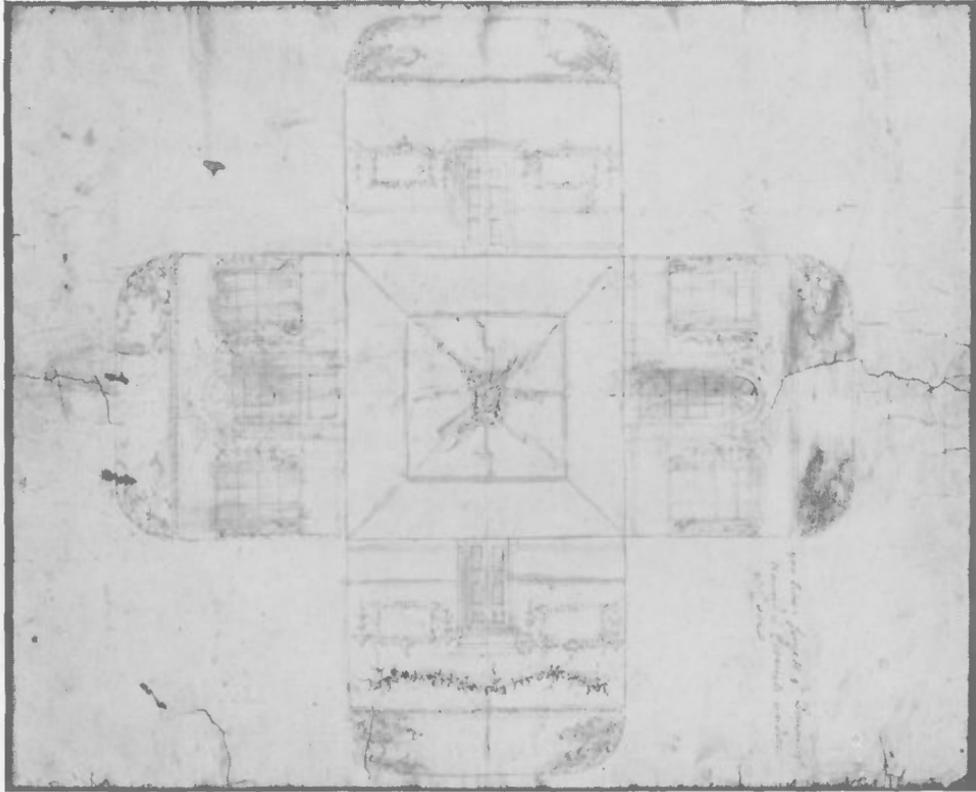
The great square hall or salon occupies the full depth of the house, and its high coved ceiling extends into the roof space. Centered in the ceiling is a gilded phoenix, embodiment of Egypt's sun god, rising from blue gray ashes amid bolts of lightning and surrounded by a circle of twelve gilded stars set in a black field. The stars are to commemorate the twelve rebirths of this miraculous bird, supposed to take place in Syria once every five hundred

¹⁸ Anonymous, "Diary of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765, II," *American Historical Review*, XXVII (1921-1922), 72. See also "Journal of an officer's [Lord Adam Gordon's] travels in America and the West Indies, 1764-1765" in Newton D. Mereness (ed.), *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York, 1916), pp. 408-409: "The present Governour Horatio Sharpe Esq. has a house in town, but resides much at a little place he is now building at about 6 or 7 Miles up Severn River, which here falls into Annapolis Bay. . . ."

¹⁹ (London, 1717-1771), III, 49-50. For instance, "A new Garden Room at Hall Barn near Beaconsfield in the County of Bucks."



WHITEHALL—LAND APPROACH FROM THE NORTH



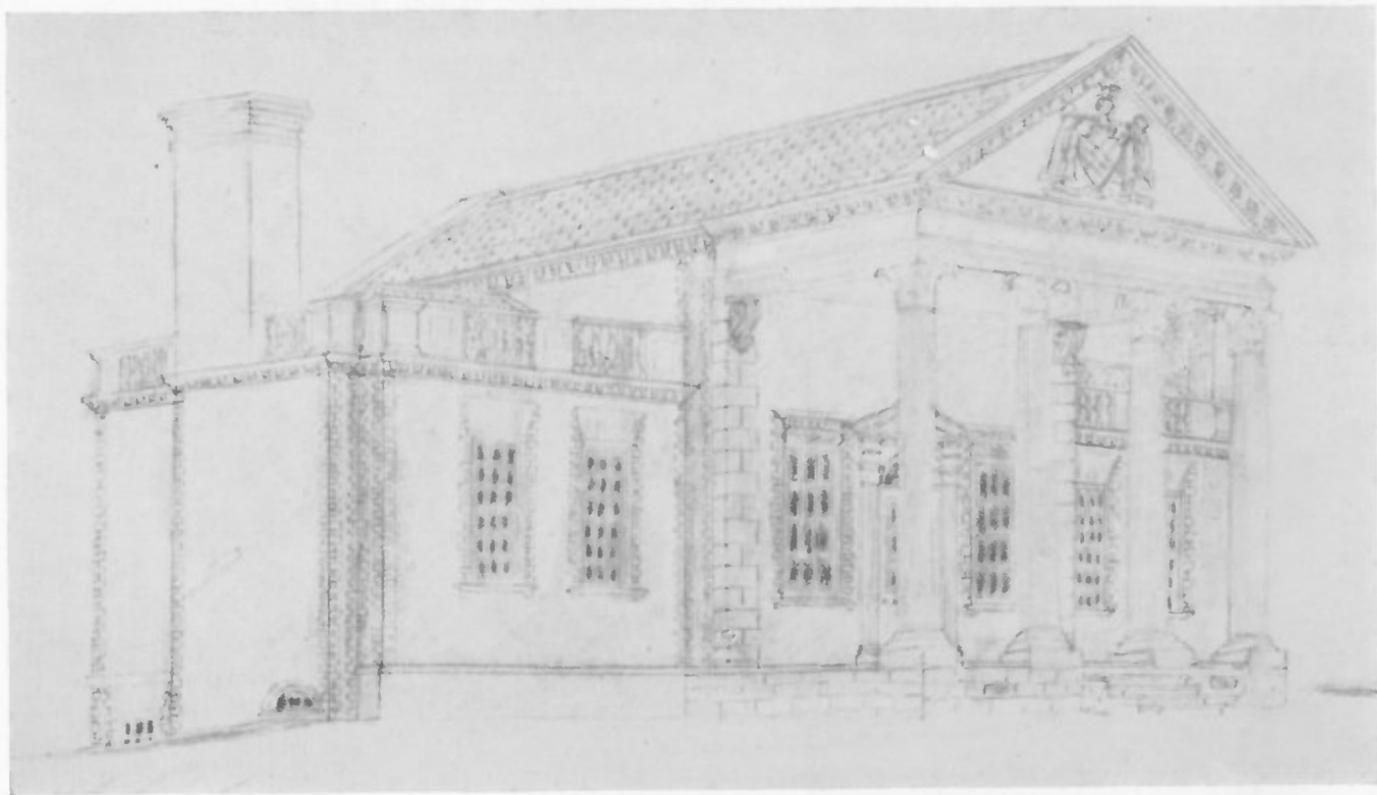
"A DRAFT OF THE ORNAMENTS FOR THE HALL AT WHITEHALL,"
Attributed to William Buckland



Carved Mask, One of the Four Winds in the Cove Ceiling of the Great Hall

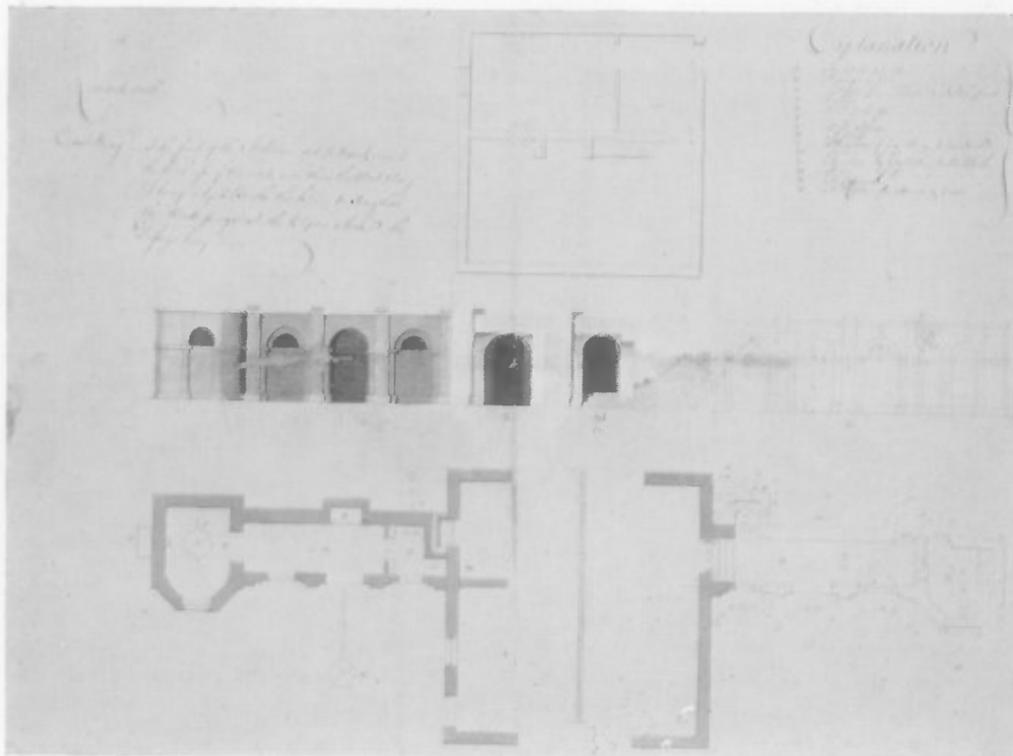


Door and Window Trim of the Great Hall; Probably from Buckland's Workshop

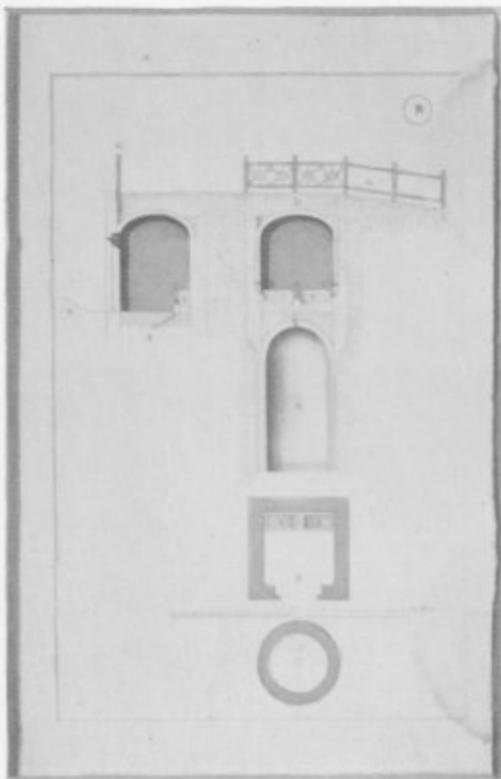


DRAWING OF GOVERNOR SHARPE'S GARDEN HOUSE, CA. 1765,

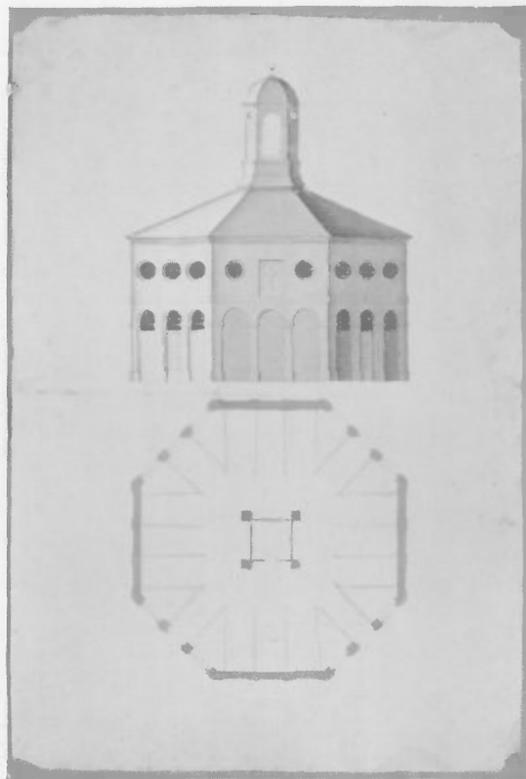
Prepared by the Writer



ANDERSON'S DRAWING FOR THE MISSING EXTENSIONS TO THE PAVILIONS



Anderson's Section and Plan of the Water Closet
for the West Extension



Anderson's Elevation and Plan of the Octagonal
Racing Stable

years. In the angles formed by the coves are carved baroque masks representing the four winds, and below an elaborate plaster cornice once appeared on the red plaster walls delicately carved garlands and festoons of flowers and fruit. Spaces between doors and window frames were adorned with carved pendants, side wall spaces were supplied with pairs of these drops, and all were painted white. The entrance doorways to north and south are of a rich Corinthian order. Chair rails and base mouldings are heavily carved. The consoles of the window architraves are superb.

The front doors themselves, flanked by windows, were half glazed to bring into the room the gardens and court yard, and the window lights are reputedly the largest found anywhere in the Colonies.²⁰ The trim was white save for the two oak grained doors in the center of the two wall spaces which lead into the withdrawing rooms. There is strong evidence that the floor was of white marble tile edged by a dark slate border.

The east drawing room woodwork fairly drips with ornamentation and was painted a pale olive. The heavy plaster cornice was once gaily done up in yellow and white, with the various mouldings set apart by red lines, the shadows between the dentils being deepened by the use of purple paint. The whole is in the very finest mid-eighteenth century tradition, either in the colonies or in Britain. It has been suggested that this was the gentlemen's drawing room, for the carved window architraves and consoles made unnecessary any draperies which might be ruined by the smells and dirt from the rank green tobacco smoked by our forefathers.²¹

Through the door across the great hall one steps into the ladies' drawing room, which has similar mouldings but is much more restrained in its ornamentation. The trim and plaster walls here were done in white oil paint. As though unable quite to accept this attempt at relative simplicity, the plasterer has worked into his cornice sheaves of wheat and bunches of grapes, giving to the square ceiling an ornamental character as of a delicately bordered carpet. Unlike the east drawing room, this room is supplied with a simply framed door in the corner to the left of the fireplace. The door once opened onto a spiral stairway lead-

²⁰ Fiske Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* (New York, 1922), p. 106.

²¹ Suggestion of Dr. James Bordley, Jr.

ing down to the Governor's basement office or bedroom. These stairs were long ago removed.

The low ceiling of this basement room, the heavy muntins of the windows, the panelled window seats and shutters, and the high mantel over the fireplace,²² are in stern contrast to the airy rooms above. Leading from this room is a hallway where one passes the vaulted dungeons whose walls support the floor of the great hall above. The dungeon windows are barred for the securing of prisoners.²³ To the left, a pair of French doors look out under the north steps to what was once the courtyard. Through the door at the other end of this basement hall one enters the family dining room, much in character with the office just described, except that in place of the circular stairway, there was a sunburst wall cupboard with a skillfully executed glazed door. This feature has now been removed to an upstairs hallway to prevent its complete disintegration from the damp of the ground floor. Food from the kitchen either had to come through the doorway under the north stairs, or after the house was enlarged, be passed through the window to the left of the fireplace. At this stage of the building the old plantation farm house presumably still remained,²⁴ where supplies could be stored, food prepared and reserve accommodations provided for any who might require them.

Nor was any possible opportunity lost in embellishing the exterior of the Governor's retreat in the finest classical tradition. The well proportioned Corinthian columns of the portico supported a fully ornamented pediment, the highly stylized and gaily colored arms of the Province,²⁵ which all but filled it and proclaimed that here resided the supreme authority of the Government in Maryland. Window heads and door frame were richly carved, echoing in form the similar but simpler treatment of the north

²² Mantel many years ago moved to Miss Nancy Ridout's house about a mile away.

²³ "The lords of the manors could hold courts-leet and courts-baron on their own estates, and this was done, sometimes, upon some of the largest manors. The members of the privy council, together with the Lord Proprietary or Governor, could sit upon the bench of the high Provincial Court, whose functions were analogous to that of the King's Bench." Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 50.

²⁴ Undoubtedly this was the "little place" referred to in Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 408-409.

²⁵ The portico is part of the original building as shown by the original plan of the house and also by the presence of the original slate roof under the present one. Fragments recovered indicate complete rendering of the arms with supporters, ermine mantle, etc.

façade.²⁶ To cover the angles formed by the projection of the house to receive the portico, were placed wooden quoins, similar to those bordering the D- window in the pediment of the Scott House in Annapolis. Over the uppermost three quoins on each corner, to give needed support to the beams above, ornamented scroll brackets were doubtless placed.²⁷

The balustrade²⁸ around the roofline of the wings containing the drawing rooms all but hid from view the lead roofs behind. The central pedimented structure was covered with slate,²⁹ those slates near the crest being nine inches below the coping of the gables but flaring at the base to be flush with the crown mould of the cornice, thus emphasizing the temple aspect that was so much desired.

The old clay bank and fragments of the water table found elsewhere on the plantation indicate that the bricks were burned on the place. They are of a rich red color and a full nine inches in length, the joints finished in a finely tooled white oyster shell mortar. To soften the union of brick and painted wood as well as to further excite the eye, the brick dressings at the corners of the building and around the projecting architraves of the windows are painted white.³⁰

Dominating the north side that faced the park was once a high sandstone double stair, which, after descending to either side of the entrance doorway, turned on semicircular landings and returned on itself at the ground level.³¹ In all probability the

²⁶ The missing door frame under the portico will be replaced by a reproduction of that at the north entrance but ornamented in keeping with the portico window heads. The original pilaster bases are extant and suggest that the pilasters were fluted. Assuming uniformity of treatment, an accurate reconstruction is possible.

²⁷ The location of the inset panel of the lintels indicates that such supporting features were used. This same treatment is found within the portico of St. Paul's Chapel of Trinity Church in the City of New York, the foundations of which were laid within a few months of Whitehall's.

²⁸ Balustrades are indicated by the presence of rough masonry on the sides of the pedimented central block to a height that would be concealed by them. The flashing marks of the original roof line were also found under the plaster of the added upstairs rooms, denoting inside gutters. The Ridout House in Annaolis was originally supplied with a "walnut balustrade" above the cornice, front and back; Mrs. C. Nelson Dugan. Anderson's two separate State House elevations show similar treatment.

²⁹ Much of the original slate roof remains beneath the present tin one.

³⁰ Isaac Ware, *Complete Body of Architecture* (London, 1756), p. 61, discusses the transition from the use of white painted wood to brick, by using gray stock brick dressings. Similar brick paintings were not uncommon in England.

³¹ Examination of the stair area has not been completed, but indications point to

balusters were again of wood, turned in urn shape, in keeping with those above the roofline.

It is perhaps well here to develop one of the most perplexing enigmas found at Whitehall. A traditionally English building had been ordered erected on the verge of a wilderness but without traditional materials to do the job. Portland and Bath stone had made the great classical building period possible at home, but here was to be found at best a darkish and structurally unstable sandstone from Aquia Creek below Alexandria, and this was not too easily obtained. The local sandstones, as used for quoining the corners of McDowell Hall in Annapolis ca. 1743, were of a red rust color and of little ornamental value. So except for the facing and floor of the south porch—even here the coping around the edge of the porch seems to have been originally of wood—and the terminal step that was necessary to keep the wood treads from the ground, there was no other sandstone utilized above ground on the garden front. The decorative details were of carved wood imitating stone. An attempt had apparently been made to put up the portico quoins in stucco, as seen around the basement windows and corners of the Brice House in Annapolis, but this rather difficult process was abandoned in favor of the use of hard pine, abundant in the neighborhood.

The designs for the present State House in Annapolis, now at the Johns Hopkins University, have been attributed to William Anderson by one of Maryland's early historians, Thomas W. Griffith, who stated in his book published in 1821: "Mr. William Anderson was the architect, but it received its present finish several years after by Mr. Joseph Clarke."³² When these drawings were

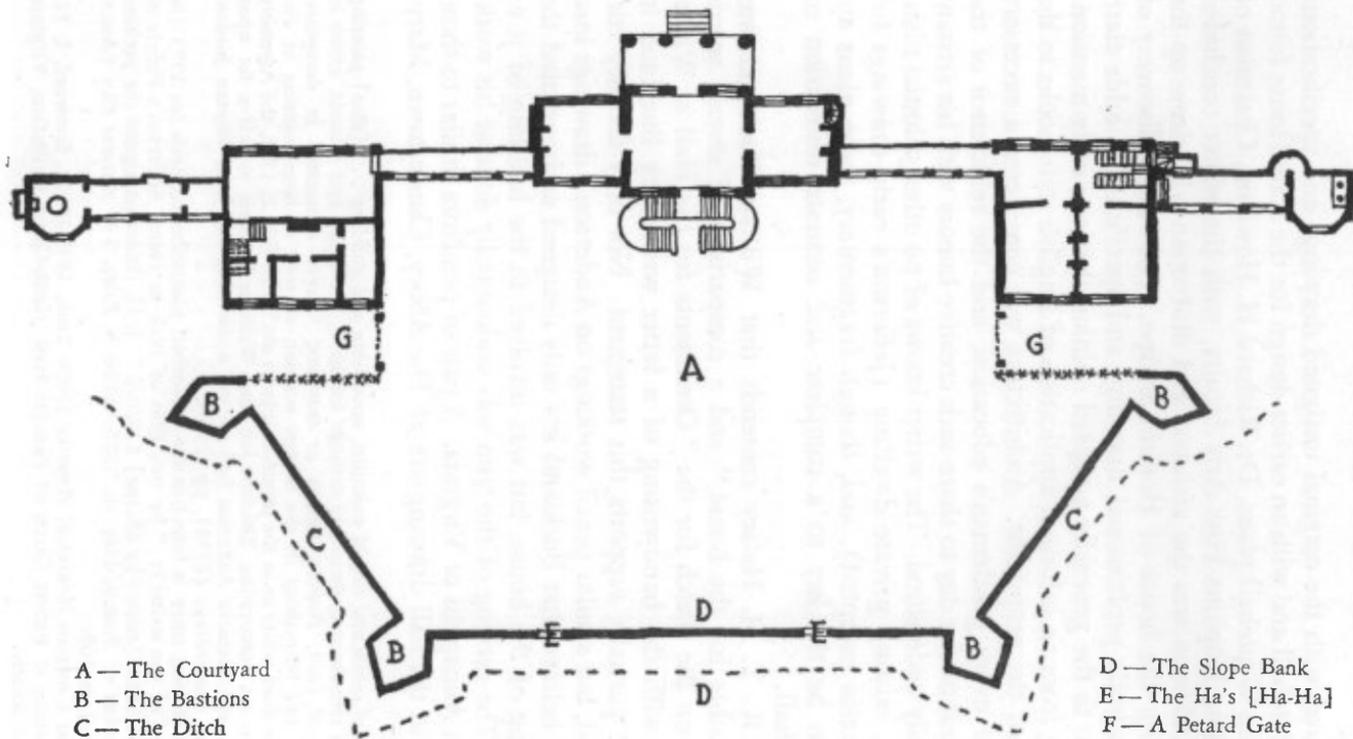
the form outlined by Anderson in his ground plan for Whitehall. Prototype: "General Plan and Elevation for Lowther Hall" in Campbell, *op. cit.*, II, 78-79.

³² *Sketches of the Early History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1821), p. 62.

The drawings consist of front elevation and floor plans.

In the Wallace, Davidson and Johnson letters (Vol. I, dated London, December, 1771) in the Hall of Records, this sentence is found: "You tell me the house eclips's even Chases (now Lloyds) pray tell me whether or not it is agreeable to Anderson's plan or Noakes's." This reference is probably to the State House, for which plans, according to the *Maryland Gazette*, January 4, 1770, p. 4, had to be submitted by April 17, 1770.

The dearth of information regarding *William Anderson*, architect, designated only by Griffith as the architect of the State House, raises the question whether it was not actually the Annapolis architect and builder, *Joseph Horatio Anderson*, whose name appears in the *Maryland Gazette*, January 6, 1774, p. 3. The advertisement of Samuel Rustboth, "late pupil to Robert Maberly, Esq. coach and herald painter and varnisher to their Majesties and royal family," proposes "under direction of Joseph Horatio Anderson, Architect in Annapolis to carry on all the various



GENERAL PLAN OF WHITEHALL AS RECONSTRUCTED BY THE WRITER
 FROM ORIGINAL DRAWINGS AND SPECIFICATIONS

compared with the original unsigned drawings and specifications for Whitehall and with an earlier design for the State House found with the Whitehall plans, Dr. Richard H. Howland, Chairman of the Johns Hopkins Fine Arts faculty, with the writer concluded that Anderson was the architect and draftsman who drew up the plans for the house of Horatio Sharpe. The recent discovery of these wholly professional drawings and specifications adds clarification to the generally accepted opinion that our early mansions sprang from an informal application of English style books to the needs of the proprietor. Architecture was considered a necessary part of every gentleman's education, and the reluctance of the aristocrat of the day to share such creative honors with his artisans is readily understood. The writer knows of no other colonial plans for an existing private dwelling (Jefferson's early drawings for Monticello excepted), and, though fragmentary, these plans appear to be the key to a complete and accurate restoration of Whitehall.

Dr. R. T. H. Halsey contends that William Buckland was responsible for the house,⁸³ and a comparison of several words found on the sketch for the "Ornaments for the Hall at Whitehall" with the handwriting of a letter written by Buckland in 1771⁸⁴ partially supports this statement. Not only do they correspond, but similar pencil workings on Anderson's drawings lead one to believe that Buckland not only designed and executed the finishing of the house, but was involved in the building of it as well. The carving of the trim was undoubtedly done at his workshop in Annapolis or Virginia. A pair of pendants similar to those found in the hall drawing are at The Abbey, Chestertown, Mary-

branches of coach and herald painting, varnishing and gilding . . . [also] painting in fresco cire-obscure, decorated ceilings for halls, vestibules and saloons, either in festoons of fruit, flowers, figures or trophies. Carved ornaments in deception, gilding and burnishing in the neatest manner, as well as housepainting in distemper or dead white as in the common colours etc." On July 2, 1773, the Assembly passed an act authorizing Thomas Jett and William Bernard to sell a lot upon which Joseph Horatio Anderson had erected a dwelling for John Morton Jordan. *Votes and Proceedings* (1773), pp. 25-26.

The following entry is found in the Whitehall plantation accounts for 1773 (in possession of the writer): "By two BbIs of Pork to Horo. Anderson's People at the Glebe house [rented by Sharpe] £12/0/0." J. H. Anderson signed the petition for the relief of Boston, May 30, 1775. Elihu S. Riley, *The Ancient City* (Annapolis, 1887), p. 168.

⁸³ *Great Georgian Houses of America* (New York, 1933-1937), foreword, I, 12.

⁸⁴ Buckland to Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, Keith-Carter Collection, Virginia Historical Society.

land. When this room was removed to the Baltimore Museum of Art, the initials "WB" in cipher were found on the underside of the wainscoting, which further strengthens this claim insofar as the finishing of the house is concerned.

This garden house did not long restrain the Governor's ambitions to create in the land of his adoption a seat that not only he but the people of his province could look upon with pride. The Government House in Annapolis had long stood incomplete for lack of necessary appropriations by the Legislature and was referred to as "Bladen's Folly," the State House and office buildings were a sorry sight, and the Governor himself was housed in rented quarters. Marylanders with civic pride could hardly walk with ease in Williamsburg where funds for the maintenance of Government had been dispensed with a lavish hand by the Crown. In fact, the plans that had been drawn up for the Governor were of such nature that, using this building as the main block, the house could be extended to its eventual 258 feet of length.

Provoked by the indifference of the General Assembly to provide for proper housing of the executive branch of Government and pleased with the prospect of spending the remainder of his days in so delightful a situation, Sharpe proceeded with the completion of his mansion.³⁵ To it were added balancing pavilions that were joined to the central structure by closed passageways; these were supported by arcades at the basement level on the north side. These connecting members are unique in their concept, since they were not to allow access to the central building but only into the new pavilions. Their function was oramental, but they could also serve as elevated parapets³⁶ for defence of the premises against possible Indian³⁷ attack from the land side.

³⁵ The general plan seems to have been chosen from Robert Morris, *Select Architecture* (London, 1757), Plate III.

³⁶ As designated in original plans: "The Eastern [Western] Parapet and Balustrade Fronting Garden."

³⁷ Considerable evidence is available to show that Indian attacks were considered a real possibility. Tradition (Charles D. Ridout) has it that the blank bulls-eye windows were once used as openings or embrasures for defense against the Indians. This in itself has been disproved by examination of the brick work, which showed that they were always blank. However, on November 6, 1755, the citizens began to fortify Annapolis and in 1756 scalping parties were within 30 miles of Baltimore. Scharf, *op. cit.*, I, 472, 480.

Washington wrote to John Robinson, April 24, 1756, "You may expect, by the time this comes to hand, that, without a considerable reinforcement, Frederick county will not be mistress of fifteen families." John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Writings of Washington* (Washington, 1931-1944), I, 332.

In 1756 "the defenceless inhabitants [of Baltimore] were greatly alarmed lest

The roof was a shed type rising from the base of a balustrade on the garden side to the top of the parapet of the north wall. Riflemen stationed here could cover by crossfire down natural firelanes the entire width of the peninsula, from creek to creek.

From the bedroom pavilion³⁸ on the west side extended another arcade of three arches which terminated in a semi-octagonal building containing the water closet.³⁹ This 36-foot extension was completely below the grade level of the garden and was topped by a Chippendale railing. The seal troughs⁴⁰ themselves,

the Indians should reach the town; and we learn . . . that the women and children were put on board of boats or vessels in the harbour to be rescued by flight down the bay if necessary, while the inhabitants of the adjacent country were flying to town for safety." Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1824), p. 37.

"The Peace of Paris was signed in 1763, but in the colonies there was still unrest, for Pontiac's fiery spirit had roused the Indians, and blazing farms and desolated hearths, and ruined forts, marked the path of the avenger of his people. . . . Suffice it to say that from 1763 to 1766 . . . the frontiers of all the colonies were in constant dread and peril." "In 1764 a treaty was made by Sir William Johnson with all the Indian tribes of the Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Michigan. The Shawanese and Delawares on the frontiers of Maryland and Virginia had not joined in the treaty. . . ." "The *Gazette* has the following letter describing the state of affairs on the Maryland frontier:

'Frederick Town, 19th July 1763.

'Every day for some time has been offered the melancholy scene of poor distressed families driving downwards through this town who have deserted their plantations, for fear of falling into the hands of our savage enemies, now daily seen in the woods, and never was panic more general or forcible than that of the back inhabitants whose terror at this time exceeded what followed on the defeat of General Braddock when the frontier lay open to the incursions of both French and Indians.' "Lady Edgar, *A Colonial Governor In Maryland* (London, 1912), pp. 200-202.

In 1767 work was suspended on the Mason and Dixon Line because of hostile Indians.

³⁸ The interior pine trim of the bedroom pavilion and alleyway is, or was till recently, unpainted. This was quite unusual for a sophisticated dwelling of the period.

³⁹ A complete description of this facility is a part of the original specifications and seems to precede the earliest known specifications for the modern type water-seal closet by some six years. Glenn Brown, in his book, *Water Closets; A Historical, Mechanical, and Sanitary Treatise* (New York, 1884), shows a cut by Mr. S. S. Hellyer of a water closet taken from Osterly House which he considered the type "used in England one hundred to one hundred and fifty years ago" (*i. e.* 1735-1785). This is identical with the Whitehall plumbing. Brown also states, p. 27, that a Frenchman, A. J. Roubo, in his book, *L'Art Menuisier* (Vol. II, 1770), showed several views similar to the Whitehall water-seal type. The first English patent for a water closet was issued in 1775. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 20. No patent was issued in America until 1835. Brown *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

Sir John Harrington's book, *The Metamorphosis of Ajax* (London, 1596), describes a water closet of his invention, erected at his seat at Kelston near Bath. This, however, was a Pullman car type and did not make use of the water seal.

Water closets appear in Joseph Diamond's drawings for the President's house in Washington, ca. 1791, Maryland Historical Society.

⁴⁰ Toilet bowls.

still extant at Whitehall, were fed by a cistern supplied by rain water from the roofs, and were discharged into a cesspool below. They are cut from solid blocks of marble and arranged as a pair side by side. In all probability the floor was of marble and the walls laid in English Delft tile.⁴¹

The eastern dependency not only contained the basement kitchen and store rooms, but on the main floor was to be a high ceiled banquet hall or council chamber. This room was never finished because of the untimely retirement of the Governor. Instead it later served as a spinning room.

Beyond the kitchen wing was a similar semi-underground arcade and hexagonal end building housing the well. A cistern outside the well-house provided water for the horses and stock in the paddock, which lay to the east of the house. Within these confines were to be found the octagonal racing stable with its 15 standings, the little hip-roofed dairy, the corn house and a military monument or obelisk proclaiming the exploits of the Governor.

Perhaps the most unusual feature of this fantasy in brick and mortar was to be the courtyard laid out within a fortification, semi-octagonal in form and boasting of such components as angular bastions, ditches, ha-has, glacis, rampart slopes, chevaux-de-frise fences and petard gates, and north of the fort at the turn of the lane was, or was to be, still another military obelisk—all this drawn up as part of the architectural treatment of the house.⁴² For its inspiration we may look to Sharpe's love of the dramatic and his desire for the baronial effect and a standing testament to his military prowess; for its justification, to precautions against an Indian attack from the wilderness, then some fifty miles away beyond South Mountain.

Evidence exists for a summer house, which once adorned the mound over the old ice house some distance to the west, and of a garden house to balance the old well on the lawn.

How pleasant for even such a sophisticated colonial as Colonel

⁴¹ A large marble tile, two inches thick, was found and probably went with the marble seal troughs as flooring. The Delft tile, presently appearing as facing for the upstairs west bedroom fireplace which was added by using material from the extensions, is the same as that taken from the water closet at Epsom, the home of Frederick, Lord Baltimore, after fire of 1935.

⁴² Described in the original architectural specifications and drawing. The entire north front was regraded some time after 1803 (buried coin found) to provide surface drainage for this area. Spot diggings suggest remnants of the fortifications, but excavations in the near future are planned.

Washington,⁴³ to draw up to old Stone Landing at the mouth of the Homewood's Creek in his Excellency's barge pulled by eight liveried Negroes, to cross through the gardens to the hospitality of this gracious house and inspect some of the finest racing stock in America; or perhaps dance in the great hall to the tune of Benjamin Franklin's musical glasses.⁴⁴

Such was the nature of a Maryland villa, modestly referred to by its builder as his "small elegant lodge."⁴⁵ William Eddis, a cultivated resident of Annapolis for some years prior to the Revolution, wrote home to England in October 1769:

In the vicinity of Annapolis are many pleasant villas, whose proprietors are eminent for their hospitality. Colonel Sharp, the late Governor, possesses a most delightful retirement, about seven miles distant [from Annapolis]; his house is on a large scale, the design is excellent, and the apartments are well fitted up, and perfectly convenient. The adjacent grounds are so judiciously disposed, that utility and taste are everywhere happily united; and when the worthy owner has completed his extensive plan, Whitehall will be one of the most desirable situations in this, or in any of the neighbouring provinces.⁴⁶

And so evolved in our part of the world a Palladian dwelling which in all probability marked the beginning of the full classic revival in America.⁴⁷ Taken to heart and fostered by Thomas Jefferson, it was to become the foundation of our national architecture.⁴⁸

Momentous things were in the making across the sea by 1768, even before the house could be completed, for not only had our

⁴³ "[April] 15, [1773], Dined at Colo. Sharpe's and Returned to Annapolis." John C. Fitzpatrick (ed), *The Diaries of George Washington 1748-1799* (Boston and New York, 1925), II, 107.

⁴⁴ "There is a story told that John Ridout's handsome sister Mary crossed the ocean to pay a visit to her brother, and that George Washington was her partner at a dance, while Benjamin Franklin played the tune on musical glasses . . . this is the legend that is attached to a portrait that hangs in a country-house near Bristol." Edgar, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

⁴⁵ Horatio Sharpe to his brother, Dr. [Gregory?] Sharpe, December 10, 1768, MS Division, Library of Congress.

⁴⁶ *Letters from America* (London, 1792), p. 20.

⁴⁷ *Great Georgian Houses of America*, I, 16.

⁴⁸ Thomas Jefferson first visited Annapolis in May 1766. *Archives of Maryland*, LXI (1944), 15-16. He was in Annapolis from November 25, 1783, to May 11, 1784 while a member of the Continental Congress. Edith Rossiter Bevan, "Thomas Jefferson in Annapolis" in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLI (1946), 115-124. "It must have been at Whitehall that he [Jefferson] first saw the temple form of architecture, such an outstanding feature at Monticello." *Great Georgian Houses of America*, I, 17.

pleasure seeking Proprietor, Frederick, Lord Baltimore been casting a longing eye in the direction of little Miss Sarah Woodcock, the milliner, but he seems to have pressed his affections beyond the point of propriety. The rape case that ensued held all English society by the ears for several seasons, and although His Lordship was quite understandably exonerated on the grounds that Miss Woodcock had afforded him provocation, he felt the need of a complete change of climate. His seat at Epsom was put up for sale, his young brother-in-law, Robert Eden, was despatched to Maryland to take over the Governorship and relieve him of any concern about the province, and Sharpe was urged to return to London to assist in the sale of the proprietorship of Maryland to the Crown.⁴⁹ The profligate Frederick died in Naples on September 14, 1771.

Colonel Sharpe was much hurt by this turn of events. Again in the words of Eddis:

This gentleman does not seem to entertain any idea of returning to his native land, but appears inclined to spend the residue of his days, within the limits of a province, which he has so long governed with honour to himself, satisfaction to the people, and fidelity to his sovereign.⁵⁰

He set sail for England by the ship *Richmond* on the 10th day of July, 1773, for a visit with his family, only to become involved in the legal entanglements brought on by the death of the Proprietor and in the ever worsening relations between the mother country and the colonies, all the while hoping and expecting to return to Maryland as Governor.⁵¹ But the outbreak of the Revolutionary War settled these problems forever.

John Ridout, his friend and former secretary, had looked after affairs at Whitehall during his absence and had helped save it from confiscation by taking advantage of the expressed concessions granted to Sharpe under the Confiscation Act of 1780.⁵² Hard

⁴⁹ Horatio Sharpe to Joshua Sharpe, December 10, 1768, MS Division, Library of Congress.

⁵⁰ Eddis, *op. cit.*, p. 20-21.

⁵¹ Sharpe's return to Maryland as governor, as he stated in a letter dated December 4, 1774, to John Ridout, "solely depends on Governor Eden quitting the Government, which he had not resolved on when he left London. Though his brother the Secretary, has since assured me that he will not tarry in Maryland, but of this be also silent." Edgar, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-261; also family letters in possession of Mrs. Dugan.

⁵² *Laws of Maryland* (October 1780), Chapter XLV, "VIII. Provided, That the property of Horatio Sharpe, Esquire, within this state, shall not be seized or confiscated in consequence of this act, if he shall return to this state on or before the

times were in store. There is structural evidence to support the tradition that even the leaded portions of the roofs were removed before the close of the war for making shot, thus exposing it to the weather. This must have been a severe blow to a building so highly architectural, ornamented primarily through the use of wood.

By the end of the Revolution the Colonel's health was lacking its old time vigor, and a long sea trip to these shores was not felt advisable. He seemed content in the hope that he would one day return to America and retained the keenest interest in his old friends on this side and the progress at Whitehall.⁵³ On his death in England on November 9, 1790, it was revealed that all his property in Maryland was to be transferred to the Ridouts. It was the long-standing affection between the two men which prompted this generous gesture of esteem, and not unrequited love for Mrs. Ridout, as has been so often related. The Ridouts had been married prior to commencement of the building of Whitehall, and letters from Sharpe, at the Ridout House on Duke of Gloucester Street in Annapolis, will attest to his lack of any desire to see her in later years.

It can be conclusively demonstrated by a comparison of the plantation accounts⁵⁴ with the structural remains, that the house existed without the additions of the bedrooms over the wings and stairwells as late as 1781. The description of the house as contained in the assessment records for Anne Arundel County show it to have been substantially in its present form in 1798.⁵⁵ It can be reasonably concluded that John Ridout between 1791 and 1798 brought about the removal of the extensions to the house and the outbuildings to gain material for the raising of the roof, increasing the practical liveableness of the house but removing from

first day of March seventeen hundred and eighty-two, and within one month thereafter take and subscribe the oath of fidelity and support to this state, or dispose of his property to some subject of this or another of the United States. . . ."

⁵³ Horatio Sharpe to John Ridout, June 22, 1783, MS Division, Library of Congress; Sharpe to Dr. Upton Scott, July 31, 1785, May 1 and July 22, 1786, and other family letters in possession of Mrs. Dugan.

⁵⁴ The Whitehall plantation accounts in possession of the writer cover the period June, 1773, through December, 1780.

⁵⁵ "Ridout Mary—Brick Dwelling House. 2 story 50 by 20—2 Wings Joined by passage each 20 by 22—1 old Brick Stable 30 by 20—1 Smok House 13 by 10. 1 Grist Mill Wood 2 Story 30 by 22." Anne Arundel County Assessment Records (Broad Neck and Town Neck hundreds, assessed by Richard Menkin, "No. 8," p. [4]), Maryland Historical Society.

it as well much of the elegance that had but little place in the austerity that followed the war.⁵⁶

It would be remiss to close without a word on behalf of the young woodcarver, who is said to have worked himself into an early grave that Whitehall might stand supreme in its ornamentation. Undoubtedly he did exist and, as the story goes, was indentured directly to the Governor. We look again at Buckland's drawing for the unusual hall ornaments and at the delicately carved designs that have evolved from piecing together fragments from the dirt of the garret over the east pavilion. They had been carefully stored away, wrapped in cotton and paper after removal from the walls, and exist today in sufficient quantity to make a successful restoration possible.

When inquiry was made of Sir Leigh Ashton of the Victoria and Albert Museum on the subject of how wooden ornaments would have been applied to plaster walls without the use of nails or cabinet maker's glue, the reply was received that it just was not done in England. Plaster ornaments were sized to plaster walls and wooden ornaments glued or nailed to wooden surfaces or panels. Here again in this far off part of the world there were perhaps no casts from which such decorations could be moulded or no plasterer in the vicinity who could execute the work. This impractical and tremendously intricate task of ornamenting the walls and ceiling was assigned to the gifted young redemptioner who had caught the fancy and the admiration of Governor Sharpe, and the carvings were sized to the plaster walls as though they had been made of plaster.⁵⁷

The house, grounds and original furnishings that Mrs. Story had acquired from the Ridouts were purchased by the late Francis P. Garvan in 1929 as part of his plan for the restoration of Annapolis, with the intention of offering the estate as a summer White House for the President. Since that time the old house has stood unoccupied and the furnishings have been dispersed. For a few years in between, the gardens bloomed again under the friendly

⁵⁶ "It would seem to have been an article of faith in the immediate post-revolutionary period in this province to disdain all beauty of religion or of the arts and crafts for an ultra-republican simplicity . . . ;" Henry J. Berkley, "A Register of the Cabinet Makers and Allied Trades in Maryland, as Shown by the Newspapers and Directories, 1746 to 1820" in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXV (1930), 2.

⁵⁷ A gelatinous sizing still appears on the back side of many of the fragments, but the rosettes for the frieze of the wooden door frames shown glue on the under side.

care of Miss Sarah Henderson, and so it went till acquired by its present owners in 1946. The cycle has now been completed and, though changed, Whitehall again stands as a garden house serving as it did nearly 200 years ago: to please those who care for it and those of their friends who care to come and enjoy with them this lonely remnant of Maryland's all but forgotten Golden Age.

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In carrying forward this work of preservation and exploration the writer is indebted to Mrs. C. Nelson Dugan of the Duke of Gloucester Street, Annapolis, and to Mr. Charles D. Ridout of St. Margaret's, Anne Arundel County. As collateral descendents of John Ridout, their contributions have been invaluable and their sincerity a measure of the truth so necessary in such an undertaking.

THE BALTIMORE COMPANY SEEKS ENGLISH SUBSIDIES FOR THE COLONIAL IRON INDUSTRY

By KEACH JOHNSON

IN 1731 five of Maryland's leading citizens—Dr. Charles Carroll, Daniel Dulany, Benjamin Tasker, Charles Carroll and Daniel Carroll—formed a partnership in order to build a furnace on the Patapsco River and produce iron. This was the beginning of the Baltimore Company which became one of the largest and most important industrial organizations in colonial America and continued in operation well into the nineteenth century.

The members of the Baltimore Company were among the most powerful and prominent men in Maryland. All of them possessed substantial wealth and belonged to the small group of merchants and planters who dominated the economic and political life of the colony. Ambitious, aggressive and influential, they were representative of the new capitalistic class that was rising in the thirteen colonies. They were men of broad and diversified interests which touched every phase of Maryland life, the capital which they invested in the Baltimore Company being drawn from a variety of sources: land, trade, public life, the professions and money-lending. Thus, Dr. Carroll, who became one of the principal leaders of the "country party" which formed the nucleus of the opposition to Lord Baltimore and the proprietary group, was a merchant, land speculator and moneylender as well as a professional man.¹ In 1754 Dr. Carroll valued his estate, together

¹ Dr. Carroll's Account and Letter Books, which have been published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (volumes XVIII-XXVII, 1923-1932), throw a flood of light on his multifarious commercial activities and are the best source of information available concerning his activities as a businessman. They begin in 1716 soon after Dr. Carroll came to Maryland and with the exception of the period from 1734 to 1742, continue without interruption until his death in 1755. Remarkably full and complete, they are an invaluable source of information for all phases of economic life in Maryland during the first half of the eighteenth century.

with that of his son, at £15,000 sterling.² Charles and Daniel Carroll, who were brothers and were distant cousins of Dr. Carroll, belonged to one of the great land-owning families of the province, their father possessing about sixty thousand acres of land at the time of his death in 1720.³ In 1764 Charles Carroll placed a valuation of £88,380 on his possessions, adding that his annual net income was not less than £1,800.⁴

No figures are available to show how much Benjamin Tasker and Daniel Dulany were worth, but they were two of the wealthiest and most influential men in Maryland. Enjoying the favor of Lord Baltimore, they were prominent members of the inner circle which governed the colony, holding most of the important offices in the province during the course of their long and distinguished careers.⁵ Dulany, moreover, was one of the leading lawyers in Maryland and the colony's principal speculator in western land, establishing the town of Frederick and bringing in German immigrants to settle his holdings in western Maryland.⁶ At the time of his death in 1753, Dulany owned over 47,000 acres of land, of which 40,000 acres lay in Frederick County, the westernmost county in the province.⁷

When the partners organized the Baltimore Company, they hoped that Parliament could be persuaded to encourage the growth of the American iron industry. They felt that the need for action

² Dr. Carroll to William Black, May 8, 1754, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVII (1932), 218.

³ Kate Mason Rowland, *Life and Correspondence of Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (New York and London, 1898), I, 6, 11.

⁴ Charles Carroll to his son, January 9, 1764, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XII (1917), 27. This is one of the letters written between Charles Carroll and his son, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, which have been published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (volumes X-XVI, 1915-1921), as "Extracts from the Carroll Papers." Extending from about 1750 to 1775, these letters deal mainly with personal and political matters and refer only incidentally to the commercial interests of the family.

⁵ Beginning as a member of the council, Tasker was appointed agent and receiver-general, officiated for a time as president of the council and, following Governor Ogle's death in 1752, served as acting governor of Maryland from May 4, 1752, to August 10, 1753. Dulany also served as councilman and receiver-general and, in addition, was appointed commissary-general, attorney-general, and judge of the admiralty court. *Maryland Historical Society, Fund Publication*, No. 34, Preface; *Archives of Maryland*, XXVIII (1908), 537-538, XXXI (1911), 3; Richard Henry Spencer, "Hon. Daniel Dulany, 1685-1753," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIII (1918), 22.

⁶ Charles Albro Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940), 23-24.

⁷ Paul Henry Giddens, "The Public Career of Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Maryland 1753-1769," (Thesis, State University of Iowa Library), 82.

by Parliament was particularly urgent in the case of bar iron which, under the existing English tariff schedule, was burdened with a high import duty. Whereas the duty on colonial pig iron imported into England was only £0-3-9½ per ton,⁸ the duty on colonial bar iron was £2-1-6 per ton⁹ which, in the words of Dr. Carroll, was "So high as would Intirely Sink the proffits."¹⁰ The partners, accordingly, urged upon their English correspondents the necessity of removing the duty and the desirability of obtaining, if possible, the payment of bounties on the importation of colonial bar iron.¹¹

The proposal that Parliament should take steps to promote the development of the American iron industry was by no means original with the members of the Baltimore Company. It had been a major issue in England for a decade before the company was formed. Soon after the close of the War of the Spanish Succession, colonial agents and representatives, joined by Englishmen who were interested in the colonial iron industry, began to urge the Board of Trade to recommend the removal of all duties from colonial iron and the payment of bounties. The rapid growth of the colonial iron industry during the next few years coupled with troubled relations with Sweden, the source from which the English iron manufacturers drew most of their bar iron, confronted Englishmen with the necessity of defining their attitude toward American iron and of formulating a policy. Whether this policy should be designed to encourage or restrain the colonial ironmasters precipitated a heated debate which was to continue a number of years.¹²

Those who favored the growth of the colonial industry argued

⁸ Arthur Cecil Bining, *British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry* (Philadelphia, 1933), 46.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Letter to Charles Chiswell, March 31, 1736, n. n., Carroll-Maccubbin Papers (hereinafter referred to as C-MP), Maryland Historical Society. This letter is in Dr. Carroll's handwriting.

¹¹ Samuel Hyde to Benjamin Tasker and Company, January 31, 1737; draft of a letter to Samuel Hyde written by Dr. Carroll on April 20, 1737 and subsequently copied and sent to Hyde by Benjamin Tasker; C-MP.

¹² Bining, *op. cit.*, 32-48. This book is an excellent study of the attempts that were made by England to regulate the colonial iron industry during the period, 1715-1775. Bining devotes much attention to the attitudes of the various groups in England which were affected directly and indirectly by the rise of the iron industry in the colonies and shows how their conflicting views and interests complicated the problem of regulation and delayed action for a number of years. His monograph has been of great value in the preparation of this article and will be cited frequently in the next few pages.

that, if properly encouraged, the colonial ironmasters were capable of supplying England with the iron which she needed, thereby relieving her of her dangerous dependence on foreign sources, notably Sweden.¹³ Pointing out that England imported, on an average, about 20,000 tons of bar iron annually and that Sweden took only a small amount of English goods in return, the advocates of a policy of encouragement estimated that this unfavorable trade balance resulted in the loss of £180,000 annually. This loss of wealth could be avoided, they declared, if steps were taken to promote the development of the colonial iron industry, as the colonists, lacking manufactures, would exchange their iron for finished products. Consequently, the national wealth would be increased, as there would be no outflow of specie, while trade and industry would be stimulated by the expanding American market and the increased demand for manufactured goods. In case of war or other difficulties, moreover, England would be assured of an uninterrupted supply of iron.¹⁴

Englishmen who opposed the growth of the American iron industry feared that the colonists, if permitted to continue the establishment of ironworks, would become dangerous competitors of the mother country in the production of pig and bar iron. They pointed out that the iron industry, next to the manufacture of woolens, was England's greatest industry, supporting at least 200,000 people. To encourage the production of iron in the colonies, they averred, would be to ruin the English industry and to bring suffering and distress to many classes of people. They

¹³ England also imported some bar iron from Russia and Spain. Only a few thousand tons were obtained from Russia, however, while the amount purchased from Spain was very small. *Ibid.*, 55.

¹⁴ Memoranda, "Reasons (wch may be objected against the manufacturing of Iron in the Plantations) Answer'd; and the benefit arising thereby consider'd" and "Reasons for incouraging the Importation of Iron, in Bars, from His Majesty's Plantations in America," n. d., n. n., William Wood MSS, 1730-1745, Library of Congress. The arguments presented in these memoranda are typical of those advanced by the proponents of a policy of encouragement. See Bining, *op. cit.*, 41-43, 45, 49-51, 56-57, 58.

The William Wood manuscripts cited above evidently are the papers of an English ironmaster of this name. Wood was a prominent and controversial figure during the period under consideration, attracting much attention with his scheme to control the English iron industry, and his claim that he had solved a problem which had occupied the attention of English ironmasters for a number of years—the substitution of mineral fuel for charcoal in smelting pig iron. See Thomas Southcliffe Ashton, *Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester, 1924), 24-26; also Paul Joseph Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1929), rev. ed. tr. by Marjorie Vernon, 295-296.

argued, therefore, that the colonial ironmasters should be restricted rather than encouraged and urged that the duties on all iron imported into Great Britain should be increased.¹⁵

It was against this background that the members of the Baltimore Company began to consider the possibility of obtaining assistance from Parliament. Aware of the struggle which had been going on in England and of the possibility that Parliament might restrict or suppress the production of bar iron, they proceeded cautiously, exploring the arguments which might be used in favor of colonial iron and discussing the best approach to take in presenting their case to the proper persons in England.

Apparently in order to bring together and summarize these preliminary discussions, Dr. Carroll prepared a memorandum in which he suggested a number of reasons why Parliament should encourage the production of American bar iron. In forwarding this paper to his associates for comment, Dr. Carroll informed them that it represented his thoughts "on the head we talked of." If they approved his arguments, Dr. Carroll suggested that Tasker send the memorandum "to Mr. Bladen¹⁶ who no doubt will let him have his Sense thereof."¹⁷

In arguing that Parliament should encourage the colonists to produce bar iron, Dr. Carroll contrasted the great natural wealth of the colonies with the growing scarcity of raw materials in Great Britain. He observed that the forests of Great Britain and Ireland were depleted and that wood had grown scarce, forcing many ironworks to shut down. The woods which remained, he asserted, should be preserved or used for more valuable purposes than the making of charcoal. Virginia and Maryland, on the other hand, as well as the colonies north of them, possessed in abundance all of the raw materials which were needed to make iron: "great Quantety of the best Kind of Iron ore & Such as makes the Toughest & best Kind of Iron for ship & many other

¹⁵Bining, *op. cit.*, 35-36, 42, 59.

¹⁶Evidently Colonel Thomas Bladen who was Benjamin Tasker's brother-in-law. He was also the brother-in-law of Charles, fifth Lord Baltimore, who was the proprietor of the province from 1715 to 1751. See "Tasker Family" and "Bladen Family" by Christopher Johnston, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, IV (1909), 191-192, V (1910), 297-299; also "The Calvert Family" by J. B. C. Nicklin, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVI (1921), 50-59.

Colonel Thomas Bladen was a native of Maryland but left the province and went to England to live. He was Governor of Maryland from 1742 to 1747 and was later a member of Parliament for Old Sarum.

¹⁷Dr. Carroll to Charles Carroll, January 1, 1733, C-MP.

works" together with a plentiful supply of wood and "commodious Runs" to furnish water power for furnaces and forges. The American colonies, therefore, "with Suitable Judgment & Labour" were capable of supplying "in a great measure" the bar iron which England needed provided they were given "Suitable Encouragement."¹⁸

Turning next to the reasons why Parliament should help the colonists to develop their resources, Dr. Carroll alluded briefly to the difficulties and problems involved in establishing ironworks in a new country. Pointing out that "Labour is Dear from the Scarcity of People" and that "our Navigation [to the English market] is Long and Freight Consequently Dear," he declared that colonial ironmasters, despite the wealth of raw materials at hand, were compelled to bear high production and transportation costs. Dr. Carroll placed most of his emphasis, however, on the many advantages which Great Britain would realize from the development of the colonial iron industry. Chief among these would be the stimulus given to trade and industry, as the production of iron would swell the exports of the colonists to Great Britain, thereby adding to their purchasing power and increasing their consumption of British merchandise. Moreover, having the means to buy British manufactured products, they would abandon their attempts to manufacture these goods at home.¹⁹

Arguing that the colonists turned to manufacturing from necessity rather than choice, Dr. Carroll asserted that the colonies to the north of Maryland had resorted to the production of woollens " & other arts Interfering with the trade & product of their Mother Country" because they had "no certain Staples to Make Remittance to Great Britain whereby they May be Suplyd in Return with Necessary's." A similar situation prevailed in Maryland and Virginia where "the Low State of their Staple Tobacco is Such & has been for Some time that it does not Suply the makers with Common necessarys, their Lands in Many places theroley Rendered Useless and Several Famelys Intirely Ruined. . . ." Consequently, the planters were compelled to raise flax and wool and to manufacture cloth. These activities along with the "many other Shifts" to which the planters had turned in their "certain Poverty" had considerably reduced Great Britain's exports to

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Maryland and Virginia.²⁰ On the other hand, when the price of tobacco was high enough to enable the planters to buy their necessities in the British market, "they Intirely laid by Such Manufactures of their Own & Chose to be Suplyd from Great Britain."²¹

In view of these facts, Dr. Carroll felt that there was little basis for the British fear that the colonists, if encouraged to produce bar iron, would manufacture it into finished products. Referring again to the fact that there were few artisans in the colonies and that their labor was "Extream Dear," he thought there was little likelihood of competition with the British manufacturers who enjoyed the advantage of cheap labor. Colonial forge owners, he averred, would find it to their advantage, espe-

²⁰ Dr. Carroll does not seem to have exaggerated the economic distress which prevailed in Maryland, although he may have magnified the extent to which the inhabitants were raising wool and flax and making their own clothing. In this connection it is interesting to note the different viewpoints expressed in two statements which were made while the Assembly was in session in 1731, one by the Lower House in a message to the Upper House and the other by the two houses in a joint report which they prepared on the economic life of the province in answer to various questions which had been submitted by the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

The message of the Lower House was occasioned by the fear that Great Britain might take steps to interfere with the production of woolen and linen cloth in the colonies. Calling attention to the fact that the House of Commons had recently considered a motion "to prevent the setting up, or to Discourage the Improvement" of woolen, linen, and iron manufactures in the colonies, the Lower House reminded the upper house that tobacco was Maryland's only staple " & the produce of that Comodity the only Dependance the People have of getting Common Necessarys for themselves & their Familys from Great Britain." The Lower House then stated, "That at present & for some Years past, the produce of Tobacco has been so far from being Sufficient to furnish People with Clothing even of the Coarsest sort, That great Numbers of the Inhabitants might have gone Naked had they not Manufactured a little Wooll & Flax, and by their Industry that way made up in some Measure the Deficiency of the Necessary's wch their Cropps of Tobacco would not Supply them wth." This being the case, the Lower House declared that if Parliament attempted "to hinder the People here from making such Necessarys for themselves . . . their Condition would be as deplorable as can be conceived." August 26, 1731, *Archives of Maryland*, XXXVII (1917), 267-268.

In their joint report, on the other hand, the two houses, although stating that tobacco did not provide the inhabitants of Maryland "with one halfe of the Necessarys of Life," tended to minimize the amount of cloth being manufactured in the province, declaring that the people had continued "in the old beaten Tract so long" that they were incapable of carrying on "any considerable Trade or Manufacturers." Although "some of the Poorer Sort of People in Severall parts of the Country" had been driven by "Extreme want and Necessity" to make "some Small quantities of Coarse Linnen & Woollen" for their own use, very few, if any of them, according to the two houses, made enough to supply their own needs and, as a consequence, no cloth was exported from the province. September 4, 1731, *ibid.*, 291-293.

²¹ Dr. Carroll to Charles Carroll, January 1, 1733, C-MP.

cially if encouraged by the payment of a bounty, to ship their bar iron to England and import manufactured goods in return. In any event, however, Dr. Carroll argued

that the want of Export to great Britain from the Plantations Hurt the Nation More in Lessening the Export of Wollens to those Plantations who mostly Stand in need of them then any ill consequences that would Ensue Makeing Barr Iron in his Majesty's Plantations & Encourageing the Same under Proper Restrictions & these Such as may Enable the Makers to get reasonable Proffit adequate to the Great Risque & charge that attends.²²

Concluding that Great Britain stood to gain much more than she would lose, Dr. Carroll declared that it was clearly to her interest to encourage the production of bar iron in the colonies. Summarizing the benefits which Great Britain would receive from the adoption of such a policy, he stated that it would bring about "an Additionall Importation of Wealth," from the colonies, stimulate commerce and industry, furnish work for many of the unemployed and provide additional outlets for the investment of capital. Dr. Carroll pointed out that some English capitalists already owned ironworks in the colonies and predicted that many more would invest in such enterprises if the industry were properly encouraged. Finally, Great Britain would be relieved of her dependence on foreign sources and would be sure of a supply of iron in case of war with Sweden or Spain.²³

Having outlined the case for American iron and suggested the arguments which might be used in presenting it to the authorities in England, Dr. Carroll raised several questions regarding the measures which might be adopted to encourage the production of bar iron in the colonies and Parliament's attitude toward these measures. Would Parliament be willing to grant a bounty to the importers of bar iron produced in the colonies and imported in British vessels? Would colonial bar iron "Imported as Before tho no Bounty allow'd" be subject to the duty on foreign iron and if so, could Parliament be induced to remove the duty? Was it "the Sense of the Nation in Parliament" or of the Board of Trade that the production and importation of colonial bar iron would injure British trade and industry? Was it to be apprehended that Parliament would prohibit the erection of forges in the colonies?²⁴

²² *Ibid.*²³ *Ibid.*²⁴ *Ibid.*

When Dr. Carroll submitted his memorandum to the other members of the company, Dulany found his arguments "very rational" and "of great consequence" but urged the need for caution. In view of the struggle going on in England over the question of American iron, Dulany advised his colleagues to prepare the ground carefully before taking any action. Suggesting that their first step should be to obtain Lord Baltimore's support, he doubted that it would be wise to send Dr. Carroll's memorandum to England "in order to have it communicated to people of weight" until they had shown it to "his Lordship" who, he hoped, would recommend it to the proper officials. As for Dr. Carroll's suggestion that Tasker might send the memorandum to Mr. Bladen, Dulany thought that it would be well for Tasker to write Bladen in order to ascertain "the Sense of people at the helm, or indeed of the Parliament" concerning the question of encouraging or restricting the production of bar iron in the colonies. Pointing out, moreover, that the memorandum might be expanded and additional arguments included, he suggested that they consult Colonel Spotswood, "Who is a man of Sense, Interested in the thing, and has an opportunity (which no doubt he made use of) to Inform himself of a great many things that we are Strangers to."²⁵ If the members of the Principio Company were interested in the question, it would not be amiss to write to them for assistance.²⁶ Dulany warned his associates in conclusion that hasty action might do more harm than good,

²⁵ Colonel Spotswood, who served as lieutenant-governor of Virginia from 1710 to 1722, played an important part in establishing the iron industry in that colony. The London Company had built a furnace at Falling Creek near Jamestown in 1619, but it had been destroyed by the Indians in 1622. No further attempt was made to produce iron in Virginia until Colonel Spotswood erected a furnace at Germanna on the Rapidanna River about 1716. Kathleen Bruce, *Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era* (New York and London, 1931), 6-11.

Dulany's proposal to consult Colonel Spotswood evidently sprang from the fact that the latter had been quite active in the movement to persuade the English authorities to subsidize the production of American iron. He had achieved a measure of success, as it was partly as a result of his efforts—and those of William Byrd—that the English duty on American pig iron was only £0-3-9½ per ton. Bining, *op. cit.*, 39, 46, 49.

²⁶ The Principio Company consisted of a group of English ironmasters, capitalists and merchants who started the iron industry in Maryland. During the period 1715-1725, they erected a furnace and two forges at the head of Chesapeake Bay in the area around Principio Creek and the Northeast River. For an account of the Principio Company, see Henry Whitely, "The Principio Company," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XI (1887), 63-68, 190-98, 288-95; also, Earl Chapin May, *Principio to Wheeling, 1715-1945* (New York and London, 1945), 1-38.

declaring that he was inclined to act "with ye greatest caution in this Affair, lest the truthes in the paper, for want of being well recommended, Should be overlooked or disbelieved and the parliament instead of doing any thing to help us, be awaken'd to hasten the Restraint we are afraid of."²⁷

Whether the company took any action on Dr. Carroll's memorandum or Dulany's suggestions is not evident, as there is no further reference to the proposals of the two men. Perhaps the members decided to postpone action for the time being and to wait until circumstances in England were more favorable to their cause. In any case, there is nothing to indicate that they took any further steps until Dr. Carroll went to England on behalf of the company in 1734-1735.

Dr. Carroll's visit coincided with a renewal of the controversy over American iron which broke out again in 1735.²⁸ Several factors were responsible for the re-opening of the question. Once again relations with Sweden had an important bearing on the issue. In 1734 Sweden forbade the importation of various kinds of English goods and placed a duty that was almost prohibitive upon all other imports except woolen hose and yarn, thereby strengthening the demand that the duties on American bar iron be removed. Secondly, the importation of bar iron from the colonies first became important in 1735 when Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia shipped fifty-five tons—a relatively large amount—to England. The uneasiness which these shipments aroused among English forge masters, already apprehensive over the possibility of colonial competition, was probably enhanced when the navy yards tested the American iron and found, with one exception, that it was equal in quality to the best Swedish iron.²⁹ Finally,

²⁷ Daniel Dulany to Benjamin Tasker, January 2, 1733, C-MP.

²⁸ The material in this paragraph is taken from Bining, *op. cit.*, 54-57.

²⁹ The tests conducted by the navy apparently were made chiefly with Maryland iron imported by the Crowley Firm which carried on extensive operations near Newcastle and manufactured iron on a large scale. On July 11, 1735, in response to an order from the Navy Board, John Banister, the manager for the Crowley Firm, sent six of twenty-five tons of bar iron that he had imported from Maryland to the navy yard at Deptford which kept one ton and sent the balance to the other five yards. The officers of the six yards agreed unanimously that the iron equalled, if it did not surpass, the best Swedish bar iron. Their reports were confirmed by the Crowley factory at Swalwell where Banister had shipped most of the remaining Maryland iron. The factory expressed a desire for more of this iron, describing it as "very good, sound, Iron, and Tough enough for any sort of Ware that was made there."

A year later the navy made another test of iron which the Crowley Firm had

and probably most important of all, in 1735 the British iron industry entered a depression which the iron manufacturers and merchants attributed to the loss of American markets. Declaring that the colonists were keeping their iron at home and manufacturing it into finished products, the manufacturers and merchants renewed their demands for the suppression of all colonial iron manufactures and for legislation to encourage the colonists to ship their pig and bar iron to England.

Despite the renewed interest in American iron, Dr. Carroll advised his colleagues that there was little likelihood that Parliament would do anything to encourage the production of iron in the colonies. Writing from London on March 3, 1735, he appraised the situation in the following terms:

There is no Carrying anything here without the force of money or aplycation of Politicks to answer tho never So consistent with reason. Is reason Justice refined, or Justice reason refined.

Private Intrest here Renders the Plantations a Strange Raw Head and Bloody Bones as if all that hear talk of them were Children and to be frightened. By what I can collect in general you Stand a Poor Chance Unless things are better represented in your favour or indeed represented at all for I hear of no friend of consequence you have.

I believe you Must Expect Nothing to be done this Session in favour of Iron.³⁰

Dr. Carroll's prediction proved to be correct, as Parliament

imported from the colonies. On June 10, 1736, Banister sent 2,006 bars of American iron weighing about twenty-five tons to the navy yard at Deptford. With the exception of four tons imported from Philadelphia, all of it was Maryland iron "and from the same Work, as the Iron delivered in July 1735." This time, however, the officers at Deptford rejected the iron, reporting that most of it was brittle and too much like cast iron to be fit for the navy's use.

The results of this test did not discourage Banister who felt that the flaws which were revealed were due to careless workmanship rather than to any deficiency in the iron itself. He thought that if the iron had been properly "drawn," it would have turned out as well as that tested in 1735. "6 March 1736 Mr. Bannistr concerning some Plantation Iron Imported by Mrs. Crowley"; "Officers Report of Iron Imported from America," 1735-1736; William Wood MSS, 1730-1745, Library of Congress.

Although Banister did not say who produced the iron which he imported from Maryland, it was probably made by the Principio Company. It is possible, however, that some Baltimore iron was included in the tests conducted by the navy. Several years later, in assuring Samuel Hyde that the bar iron which the Baltimore Company sent him was "of the Best Tough Sort" which could be made, Dr. Carroll stated "that about the year 1735 a Report was made from the Kings Docks (I think to the Board of Admiralty) in favour of the Quality of this Iron and in wch Report it was Said to be Equal to the best Swedish Iron. . . ." Dr. Carroll to Samuel Hyde, October 27, 1740, C-MP.

³⁰ Dr. Carroll to Charles Carroll, London, March 3, 1735, C-MP.

took no action in 1735. This did not settle the matter, however, and the controversy grew in intensity during the next few years as the depression in the English iron industry became more acute.³¹ The champions of American iron continued their agitation for free importation, Samuel Hyde, one of the principal London correspondents of the Baltimore Company, writing the partners on January 31, 1737, that if the attitude of the ministry proved encouraging, "it is proposed to apply to Parliament this Session to Import Barr Iron duty free." Hyde assured the partners that he would not be remiss in promoting "whatever may be for the benefit of Maryland," adding that he would advise them if the movement to remove the duty seemed likely to succeed.³²

Wishing Hyde success in "So Laudable an Endeavour," Dr. Carroll replied that if the ministry understood clearly "the Great advantages" which the increased importation of iron from the colonies would confer on England, they would not only try to remove the duty but would also seek to encourage "the first Undertakers" by granting a bounty to the importers of colonial iron.³³

In order to further the efforts of their friends in England, the members of the Baltimore Company contributed from time to time to the funds which were raised to finance the movement on behalf of colonial iron. After a while, however, despairing of favorable action by Parliament, they discontinued these payments, instructing their correspondents in England to pay no more "Towards Aplycation to Parliament for Liberty to Import Iron Duty Free for its vain to Burthen our Selves with Expences for a matter wch is realy the nations Intrest in generall, Since Theres no probability of Success."³⁴

The deadlock which had existed in England for thirty years over the question of American iron was not broken until 1750 when the menace of war led Parliament to pass a measure to encourage the production of pig and bar iron in the colonies. Growing tension with Sweden which had become an ally of

³¹ Bining, *op. cit.*, 56-62.

³² Samuel Hyde to Benjamin Tasker and Company, January 31, 1737, C-MP.

³³ Draft of a letter to Samuel Hyde which was written by Dr. Carroll on April 20, 1737 and was copied and sent to Hyde by Benjamin Tasker, C-MP.

³⁴ Copy of a letter from Dr. Carroll to William Black, July 22, 1742, C-MP. Dr. Carroll's instructions to Black were the result of a decision made several months before when Charles Carroll proposed that the payments be discontinued and the other members approved his proposal. Charles Carroll to Benjamin Tasker and Company, March 18, 1742, C-MP.

France, the threat of hostilities in the Baltic between Sweden and Russia whom Britain was obligated to support under certain conditions, and the fear that England might become involved in another great struggle were the principal factors which ended the stalemate and tipped the balance in favor of the iron manufacturers, merchants, and other protagonists of a policy of encouragement.³⁵ Their victory was not complete, however, as the act of 1750 was a compromise. Although the duty on pig iron imported from the colonies was removed, the tax on colonial bar iron was lifted only in the case of London, being retained for all of the other ports of Great Britain. Moreover, the bar iron shipped to London could not be carried more than ten miles from the city except to the navy yards.³⁶

The provisions of the act relating to the manufacture of finished products in the colonies also represented a compromise, as they were designed to restrict rather than suppress. Existing colonial manufactures were not affected by the act, but the erection of additional works such as slitting mills, plating forges, and steel furnaces was forbidden.³⁷

The act of 1750 was a disappointment to the members of the Baltimore Company who thought that it did not go far enough. Although the partners welcomed the lifting of the duties on pig and bar iron, they were critical of Parliament's failure to provide for the payment of bounties on the importation of American iron. Believing that the payment of bounties was necessary for the growth of the colonial iron industry, they felt that the act of 1750 was inadequate and would fail to achieve the purposes which it was intended to accomplish. Their views were admirably summed up by Dr. Carroll who saw in the act of 1750 another instance of Great Britain's failure to appreciate the value of

³⁵ Ashton, *op. cit.*, 118-119; Bining, *op. cit.*, 64-65.

³⁶ Parliament seems to have granted the privilege of free importation to London and its environs because the city was remote from the chief producing areas of England and was largely dependent on Swedish iron. Consequently, in permitting the admittance of colonial bar iron into the London area duty free, Parliament hoped to strike a blow at Sweden without causing much injury to the English forge masters. Ashton, *op. cit.*, 119-120.

London did not long retain the privileged position which it enjoyed under the act of 1750. Merchants and iron manufacturers in other cities soon began to petition Parliament to extend the free importation of American bar iron to all the ports of Great Britain. This was done shortly after the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, a law being enacted in 1757 which permitted colonial bar iron to enter all the ports of Great Britain without the payment of duties. Bining, *op. cit.*, 74-76.

³⁷ Bining, *op. cit.*, 70-74.

America's raw materials and to take adequate steps to exploit them.

Dr. Carroll believed that America's resources could not be fully developed without the aid of the British Government. A prototype of the American businessman of the nineteenth century who believed in subsidies as well as rugged individualism, he asserted that the colonists did not have sufficient capital to perfect their resources and that Great Britain should subsidize the growth of American industry and agriculture. Arguing that such a policy would be as beneficial to the mother country as to the colonies, he declared that England had not given proper consideration to the development of America's resources and that the measures which Parliament had enacted to that end were inadequate. Citing bar iron and hemp as examples, Dr. Carroll observed that it was "Surprizing to Consider that so wise & great a nation as Britain is have not more perfectly Encouraged Two so Useful and necessary Materials for Supporting the Arts of peace and War," particularly in view of her dependence on Sweden and Spain for these materials. He declared that experience had demonstrated that the bounty which Parliament had granted for American hemp—six pounds a ton—was insufficient to encourage the production of that commodity in the colonies and predicted that Parliament's attempt to encourage the importation of American pig and bar iron by removing the duties would prove to be equally unsuccessful.⁸⁸

Elaborating his prediction, Dr. Carroll stated that under existing conditions, the American iron industry was incapable of freeing England from her dependence on Sweden and Spain for bar iron. He pointed out that Pennsylvania, New York, and New England required a great quantity of bar iron for farming, "Land Carriage," and shipbuilding and that the furnaces and forges in those colonies were hardly able to do more than meet local demands. Much the same situation prevailed in Maryland. Aside from the Principio Company which exported some bar iron to England, the forges in the province did little more than supply

⁸⁸ Dr. Carroll to his son (Charles), n. d. (probably January or February 1753), *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXV (1930), 66. Dr. Carroll's son became known as Charles Carroll the Barrister and, as one of the leaders of the opposition in Maryland to British policy during the period 1763-1775, played a prominent part in public life during the Revolution.

local needs. In Virginia there was only one forge and that produced but little.³⁹

Dr. Carroll then declared that there was little possibility of increasing production along the seaboard because of the growing shortage of raw materials in that region. Wood was beginning to be scarce along the navigable rivers and streams, land had become too expensive to purchase "for such use as Iron Works," and there was an acute shortage of ore in some places. Most of the furnaces and forges in Pennsylvania were located forty miles or more from the tidewater. In Maryland there was "no Certainty of Ore near the navigable water" except along the Patuxent, Patapsco, and Back Rivers, and these deposits had already been appropriated.⁴⁰

Conditions were worse in Virginia and the Carolinas. In the former colony, Colonel Spotswood was the only one who possessed a supply of ore near the tidewater. The Principio and Bristol Companies had been forced to abandon the furnaces which they had built in Virginia because of the lack of ore. Aside from Colonel Spotswood's works, the only other furnace in operation in Virginia was the one owned by Colonel Taylor who was compelled to import ore from Maryland in order to maintain production. In the Carolinas where the soil was sandy and did not provide a "suitable Bed for Iron Ore it Requiring a stiff marle or Clay," there was no ore except in the mountains which were 120 miles from any point where it could be transported by water.⁴¹

In the light of these conditions, Dr. Carroll thought that the removal of the English duties on American pig and bar iron would have little effect and that more vigorous action was required. He declared that Great Britain could obtain an adequate supply of bar iron from America only if she encouraged the expansion of the iron industry by subsidizing the erection of new works in the interior where there was an abundant supply of raw materials. Asserting that there was ore in "the Back parts" of all of the colonies from New York to North Carolina, Dr. Carroll stated that during his travels in the interior of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, he had seen "severall good appearances" of ore on both sides of the easternmost range of the mountains. He pointed out, however, that it would be difficult and costly to utilize these deposits, as they were located from 60 to 120 miles

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 67-68.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 68-69, 74.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 68, 75.

from the coast and could not be exploited until roads were built to connect them with the navigable streams.⁴²

In view of "The great Difficulty which would attend the first undertakg in Iron works in those remote parts in Relation to the Expençe of Carriage Scarcety of Workmen & Dearness of Labour," Dr. Carroll advocated that Parliament grant a bounty of three pounds a ton for thirty years on all American bar iron shipped to London. He also urged that Parliament set up a fund of thirty or forty thousand pounds which would be administered by the Board of Trade and lent at interest to those who desired to produce bar iron or hemp in America. All persons "of Repute & Credit" in the colonies and the mother country would be eligible to borrow from this fund provided they would agree to ship the bar iron or hemp which they produced to Great Britain and could provide adequate security.⁴³

Asserting that the adoption of these proposals would provide the stimulus which was needed for the development of agriculture and industry in the colonies, Dr. Carroll pointed out that the bounty would defray the cost of transporting the bar iron and hemp from the interior to the seaboard, while the fund would furnish the colonists with the liquid capital which they needed to take advantage of their resources. Laying particular stress on the need for liquid capital, Dr. Carroll declared:

I know of persons in this province of Undoubted Reputation & Credit that Could and would give good Landed & personal Security to the Value of five or Six Thousand Pounds who have lands & convenient Scituations with ore for erecting one or more Furnaces with Two or three Forges which in four or five Years would turn out three Hundd Ton of Bar Iron Yearly to be imported into Gr. Br. and these scituations are near the Mountains about Sixty Miles Cartage to Navigable Water, but must be useless for want of money to Carry them on, and many more there are who are possessed of extraordinary Land suitable for Hemp in the Back Parts, and Cannot Cultivate such Lands to the Purpose for want of Credit to Purchase servts or slaves tho' capable of giving good security.⁴⁴

Dr. Carroll then turned to the benefits which England would derive from the program which he advocated. It would promote national security by providing England with "a considerable supply" of bar iron and hemp. It would conserve England's supply of specie and stimulate her commerce and industry. It

⁴² *Ibid.*, 67, 69.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 67, 69, 71-72.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 72.

would encourage the colonists to settle the interior, a matter of no small importance in view of the activity of the French along the frontier and the danger that they might seize control of the Ohio Valley, thereby connecting their settlements on the Mississippi and St. Lawrence Rivers and "Intirely Surrounding on the Back the English Collonys." Dr. Carroll argued, in short, that his program would strengthen England economically, financially, and militarily.⁴⁵

Whether Dr. Carroll's program would have achieved the results which he outlined is, of course, a matter of conjecture. Although some of the English merchants and iron manufacturers urged that bounties be paid on pig and bar iron imported from the colonies, Parliament took no further action to encourage the importation of American iron after removing the duties in 1750 and 1757.⁴⁶ These measures, as Dr. Carroll predicted, proved to be inadequate and failed to free England from her dependence on foreign sources. Although the amount of pig and bar iron which the colonies exported to the mother country during the fifties and sixties was somewhat larger than it had formerly been, it remained relatively small and met only a fraction of England's need.⁴⁷ During the period 1750-1775, as before, England was forced to rely heavily on Sweden and, to a lesser extent on Russia and Spain, for the bar iron which she needed.⁴⁸ In short, events justified Dr. Carroll's prediction that the removal of the duties would be ineffectual and that England must take more vigorous action if she hoped to obtain an adequate supply of bar iron from the colonies.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 69, 73-74; Dr. Carroll to his son (Charles), June 22, 1753, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVI (1931), 55-56.

⁴⁶ Bining, *op. cit.*, 78-80.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 81-85.

⁴⁸ Toward the close of the Seven Years' War an English writer stated that in 1760 England imported 30,000 tons of bar iron from Sweden, 12,000 to 15,000 tons from Russia and about 1,000 tons from Spain. No figures are available to show how much iron England obtained from the colonies that year, but in 1761 she imported only 2,805 tons of American iron—2,766 tons of pig iron and 39 tons of bar iron—as against 42,328 tons of foreign iron, all of which consisted of bar iron. *Ibid.*, 78-85.

EBENEZER HAZARD'S TRAVELS THROUGH MARYLAND IN 1777

Edited by FRED SHELLEY ¹

EBENEZER HAZARD (1744/5-1817) may have received his first vivid impressions of Maryland when his father, a Philadelphia merchant, returned from a trip through the back country in 1755.² Soon Ebenezer began his studies at Dr. Samuel Finley's school, subsequently West Nottingham Academy, near the Maryland-Pennsylvania border. Benjamin Rush, Jacob Rush, and Dr. John Archer were among his classmates at this famous school. When Hazard completed his studies there, he went to the College of New Jersey (now Princeton) where he was graduated in 1762. Three years later he took his A. M. degree. He spent the decade 1765-1775 first as an apprentice to Garrat Noel, a New York bookseller, and later as his partner.³ New York newspapers frequently carried advertisements inserted by Noel and Hazard.⁴ Hazard spent a year, 1770-1771, in Great Britain and Scotland for reasons he nowhere explains. Probably he spent part of his time ordering books and stationery for the New York

¹ Acknowledgement is gratefully made to Mr. R. N. Williams, 2d, Director of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, who permitted this use of the journals now owned by the Society; to Mr. Oliver W. Holmes of the National Archives and a member of the Maryland Historical Society for many indispensable suggestions concerning inns and taverns of early Maryland; to Mrs. Edith Rossiter (William F.) Bevan, Mr. William B. Marye, Mr. J. G. D. Paul, Miss Elizabeth Merritt, Mrs. Francis F. (Rosamond Randall) Beirne, Mr. Raphael Semmes, Mr. Henry J. Fickus, Mr. and Mrs. Marion V. Brewington, and the Editor for valuable comment and useful suggestions; and to Catherine M. Shelley who did much of the research necessary for identifying obscure names and places.

² Samuel Hazard to General Thomas Pownall, January 14, 1756, Hazard Letter-book, Princeton University Library. His trip covered 1,800 miles on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. Of the effects of the French and Indian War he wrote in part, "I saw great numbers of houses left desolate, fields of corn destroyed, and both going out and returning home I met droves of people who had fled from their habitations travelling with what little effects they could take with them to seek safety elsewhere."

³ Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America* (Worcester, 1810), II, 445.

⁴ *New York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury*, November 18, 1771, January 13 and 27, 1772, for example.

shop. He kept a two volume account of this journey.⁵ In a third volume he recorded the events of a trip to Hartford, Pittsfield, and Albany, and return in 1772 and a trip up the west side of the Hudson River to Albany and Schenectady and return down the east side of the river in 1773.⁶

In the opening days of the Revolutionary War Hazard accepted an appointment as Postmaster of New York, a position he retained until his promotion two years later to Surveyor (*i. e.*, Inspector) of the Post Office. William Goddard of Maryland, the first Surveyor whom Hazard replaced, returned to Philadelphia and appeared to give up the whole American cause when he met General Washington retreating with the army from Newark. His resignation was immediately accepted.⁷ Hazard spent the early months of 1777 finding reliable riders and trustworthy postmasters for the route from Philadelphia to Falmouth (Portland, Maine). Inflation, the necessary drain of manpower to the army, and the occupation of much of the coast line and the better roads near the coast by the enemy made the task difficult, but a reliable communication between the Continental Congress and the armies in the field was vitally necessary. Richard Bache, the Postmaster General, then directed Hazard to put the postal service from Philadelphia to Savannah in good order. "Mr. Hazard is now gone southward," John Adams wrote to Thomas Jefferson, "in the character of surveyor of the post office, and I hope will have as good success as he lately had, eastward, where he put the office into very good order."⁸

This assignment gave Hazard his first opportunity to see Maryland (aside from his youthful sojourn at Dr. Finley's academy) and the South. The two volumes containing the account of his Southern trips—from which these three extracts are taken—were presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1945 by Mr. Spencer Hazard and are now a part of that Society's manuscript collection.⁹ Undoubtedly Hazard intended the two volumes

⁵ Manuscript group number 1398, *Guide to the Manuscript Collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (2d ed., Philadelphia, 1950).

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Richard Bache to John Hancock, January 18, 1777, Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 61, I, 1-4, Library of Congress.

⁸ May 26, 1777; Charles F. Adams (ed.), *Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1850-1856), IX, 467.

⁹ Manuscript group number 1398, *Guide to the Manuscript Collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (2d ed., Philadelphia, 1950).

as a means of recalling observations that might later prove useful in the volume on American geography he was contemplating. Lacking the time to write the volume on geography, he permitted his friend, Jedidiah Morse, to use the journals.¹⁰ While in Annapolis, he may also have copied some of the Maryland documents that appeared eventually in his *Historical Collections*.¹¹ Hazard traveled from Philadelphia to Edenton, North Carolina, and back between May 15 and July 8, 1777. His second trip took him from Philadelphia to Savannah between October 8, 1777, and March 5, 1778. Hazard spent the next few years in New England as postal Surveyor before his term as Postmaster General of the United States (1782-1789). He is not known to have returned to Maryland or the South until 1816, the year before his death, when he visited his son who had settled in Huntsville, Alabama.

The three extracts used here show Maryland in 1777 through the eyes of an experienced traveler, eager to see and to understand. It is thought that this description has never before been used by anyone interested in Maryland history. The story speaks largely for itself. Raised letters have been brought down to the line, and script s's have been eliminated. Abbreviations and variant spelling have been allowed to stand as in the original.

I: Elkton to Alexandria, May 16-22, 1777.

May 16th. Passed the Head of Elk,¹² and through Charlestown to Susquehannah Ferry. The Day has been rather sultry & very windy. The Head of Elk is a small Village situated on Elk River which empties itself, a few Miles from hence, into Chesopeak Bay. This Bay, as I am informed is about 250 Miles in Length, & its mean Breadth about 20. At the Head of it is Charlestown, situate upon a sandy or clayey Hill which commands an extensive & beautifully variegated Prospect. Before we came to Charlestown we crossed North-east, a Creek which empties into Chesopeak; there are Iron Works upon it, called the Principio Iron Works,¹³ belonging to a Company in London. Between Charlestown & Susquehannah I passed an old Iron Work.¹⁴ Charlestown is a small Country Town, & much

¹⁰ Jedidiah Morse, *American Universal Geography* (Boston, 1793).

¹¹ In two volumes (Philadelphia, 1792-1794), I, 327, 594, 621, 623, 628.

¹² Elkton, Maryland.

¹³ The well known iron works which date from the early 18th century. Accounts of the Company and its operations are to be had in Henry Whitely, "The Principio Company," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XI (1887), 63-68, 190-198, 288-295; James M. Swank, *History of the Manufacture of Iron in All Ages* (2d ed., Philadelphia, 1892), pp. 240-257; and E. C. May, *Principio to Wheeling, 1715-1945* (New York and London, 1945).

¹⁴ Probably part of Principio Company operations. Not shown in Christopher Colles, *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America* (1789), Plates 55-56.

decayed; the Land about it is but little cultivated, & I should think would not repay the Trouble & Expence of Cultivation. Charlestown is surrounded with Shrubs, but as you recede from it the Timber is larger. Susquehannah Ferry is a wild, bleak Place within about a Mile of Chesapeake Bay; it is about a Mile & a quarter wide; the Depth at low Water about 5 Fathoms. Met a Company of Virginians going to Phila.—they have been inoculated lately. Lodged at Rodger's at Susquehannah Ferry. A very good House.¹⁵

[May] 17th. Rode through Harford Town¹⁶ (formerly called Bush Town, a very small shabby Place, though a County Town) past Onion's¹⁷ & other Iron Works, to Baltimore. Harford Town is situate on a Creek commonly called Bush River. At Onions Iron Works (now converted into Mills) is a very dangerous Ford. A good Tavern is kept on the Road to Baltimore by a man who has the singular Name of *Godsgrace*.¹⁸ The Road has been exceeding good today, the Country in general sandy. Baltimore is a very small Town, situate upon Patapsco River. The Houses generally of Brick. A little above it is Fell's Point, a Neck of Land on which are a Number of Houses. Lodged at Grant's, a good House.¹⁹ Met a Company of Maryland Troops today, on their way to Phila.²⁰ Baltimore is the Capital of Baltimore County.

[May] 18th. Crossed the lower Ferry over a Branch of Patapsco River; this Ferry is about half a Mile wide, & I am informed there is a sufficient Depth of Water to admit a Vessel with 4 or 500 Hhds. of Tobacco on board. The Harbour of Baltimore is fortified, & a Frigate commanded by

¹⁵ Colonel John Rodgers (ca. 1726-1791), the father of Commodore John Rodgers, opened a tavern in Susquehannah Lower Ferry (now Havre de Grace) in 1774. About six years later he moved to Cecil County across the river where for some years he kept a tavern. It is the latter tavern which appears on Griffith's 1794 map of Maryland and which is now marked. C. O. Paullin, *Commodore John Rodgers* (Cleveland, 1910), pp. 16-19.

¹⁶ Harford Town, on Bush River, seven miles southeast of Bel Air, was the county seat of Harford County from 1774 to 1781. It had population of 130 in 1798. Walter W. Preston, *History of Harford County* (Baltimore, 1901), pp. 67-69, 268; a photograph of the site is reproduced opposite p. 64.

¹⁷ At the head of tidewater on Little Falls of Gunpowder River at or near present crossing of the older of the two present Philadelphia roads. It was founded by Stephen Onion who died in 1754. Obituary appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis) for August 29, 1754, p. 2; see also Swank, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-243.

Onion's does not appear in Colles, *op. cit.*, Plates 58-59, but the Nottingham and Kingsbury ironworks do.

¹⁸ Red Lion Inn, 13½ miles from Baltimore on the main road to Philadelphia, believed to have been built about 1760. *Godsgrace* was one of a series of proprietors. Clement Skerrett advertized the reopening of the tavern in the *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), November 12, 1784, p. 4.

¹⁹ The Fountain Inn on Light Street, identified by a "limpid, gushing sign," the best tavern in the city. J. T. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 513, and Mathew Page Andrews, *The Fountain Inn Diary* (New York, 1948), pp. 11-85.

²⁰ Probably a unit of one of the five regiments of militia raised by Maryland in 1777; Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), II, 308-309.

Capt. Nicholson lies there at present.²¹ Rode past the Head of Severn to Annapolis. The Road is sandy & hilly; the Land in many Places very deep; the Country between Baltimore & Annapolis in general barren, producing only Shrubs & Pines. The Woods through which I have rode since I left Charlestown are beautifully decorated with wild Flowers of various Kinds, such as Honey Suckles, a kind of blue Flower, yellow white, & red Flowers, & a Kind, which from their Appearance I take to be a Species of Tulip.²² The Road I have travelled today runs through several Fields, at each Side of which is a Gate. Annapolis is the Capital of Maryland, situate in Ann Arundel County, on the Bank of the River Severn. Though an old City it is but small, but a Number of the Houses are elegant, built of Brick. The State House is a large Brick Building 119 Feet long & 99 wide; it is two Stories high; on the Top of it is a Cupola, covered with Copper, as I am informed the whole of the Roof has been, but the Copper has been taken off.²³ This Building is not yet finished. Lodged at Mrs. Johnson's.²⁴

[May] 19th. Went to view the City; it is fortified with three Batteries, on which a suitable Number of Cannon is mounted: A Creek waters it on each Side, & in the Front of it the River Severn empties itself into Chesapeake Bay; a Canal of about a Mile in Length would completely insulate the Point of Land on which it stands. There is a Play House & an Assembly Room here: the former being locked up I could not view the inside of it (am informed it is used at present as a Church.) the latter is Spacious & neat, & I think well calculated to answer the Purpose for which it was built; the orchestra is elevated in the Manner of a Gallery,

²¹ Captain James Nicholson (ca. 1736-1804), then senior captain in the U. S. Navy and in command of the Frigate *Virginia* which had been built in Baltimore. The *Virginia* was lost to the British in the spring of 1778. Nicholson, born in Chestertown, Maryland, was living on the Eastern Shore when the Revolution began. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII, 502-503.

²² Mrs. Bevan kindly supplied the following information about these flowers: "In mid-May you will find in the woods of Harford and Baltimore counties quantities of wild azalea (*Rhododendron nudiflorum*) a dwarf shrub with striking flowers in shades of deep rose, pink, and white. I have heard this called wild honeysuckle in New England. The blue flower was probably wild blue phlox (*Phlox divaricata*), for it blooms the same time and in the same kind of woods. The red flowers were without doubt columbine (*Aquilegia canadensis*) for it too blooms the same time and in the same places and is the only red flower that blooms in the Spring. The low-growing Trout Lily, often called Dog Tooth Violet (*Erythronium americanum*) grows in dense patches in the same woods and resembles a specie of wild tulip. So many of our Spring flowers are white or yellow that it is impossible to identify what he saw, but no doubt he saw bloodroot (*Sanguinaria canadensis*) one of the loveliest, starriest flowers that grows in great drifts in rather open woods."

²³ See "A Description of the State-House at Annapolis, the Capital of Maryland" in *The Columbian Magazine*, III (February, 1789), 81-82, and Elihu S. Riley, *The Ancient City* (Annapolis, 1887), pp. 161-164. A picture of the Capitol and other public buildings as they appeared about 1841 may be found on the cover of the June 1946 issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLI (1946); descriptive remarks about the picture are on page 171.

²⁴ Apparently Mrs. Johnson was not a well known tavern-keeper nor does it seem likely that she kept one of the larger taverns of the time.

& the Musicians go into it by a private Stairs. At the opposite End of the Room, over the Fire Place is an elegant whole Length Picture of Mr. Pitt, done by Peal. He is habited like a Roman; his right Hand points to a Figure of the Goddess of Liberty, with her Wand & Cap, & in his left he holds Magna Charta. Near him is the Altar of Liberty, from which a Flame arises, & near the Flame lies a Wreath of Laurel. On the Side of the Altar is this Inscription, "Sacer Amor Patriae dat Animum."²⁵ At each End of this Room is a small one for Retirement & Cards. Some of the Gentlemen's Houses & Gardens are elegant; particularly the House of a young Gentleman of the name of Hammond,²⁶ & the Garden of Charles Carrol Esqr. of Carrolton; this latter is most delightfully situated.²⁷ Near the City are the Ruins of an elegant House, which was intended for the Residence of the Governor, but serves now only for a Monument of the Extravagance & Meanness of a former Assembly.²⁸ It was begun about 20 Years ago, & the Walls, which were of Brick, were carried to their full Height, but as the House was built upon a little larger Plan & would cost more money than the Assembly expected, they would not finish it, but suffered it to go to Ruin. There was some Rain yesterday, & this Day has been very wet. The State House in Annapolis is built in the Center of a circular Piece of Ground, & the Streets of the City proceed from the Circumference of the Circle, like a Continuation of its Radii. There is now no Place of public Worship in the City, the Church having been pulled down that a new one might be built in the Place where it stood: Materials for the new one are collected, but the Building is not yet begun.²⁹

[May] 20th. Much Rain fell last Night and this Morning; when it ceased I set out for Upper Marlborough which is a small Village in Prince George's County, Maryland. Crossed South River about 3 Miles from Annapolis; it is, as near as I can judge, three Quarters of a Mile wide, rises about seven Miles above the Ferry, & empties into Chesapeake Bay within Sight of it. Dined at Rawlin's³⁰ 8 Miles from the Ferry, & after

²⁵ "The holy love of country lends courage." The portrait still hangs in the State House.

²⁶ The Hammond-Harwood House, built by Matthias Hammond (1748-1786). See Riley, *op. cit.*, pp. 306-307, and Rosamond Randall Beirne and Edith Rossiter Bevan, *The Hammond-Harwood House and Its Owners* (Annapolis, 1941), pp. 5-35.

²⁷ For comment on the Carroll garden, see Edith Rossiter Bevan's "Gardens and Gardening in Maryland" in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLV (1950), 256-257.

²⁸ "Bladen's Folly," begun ca. 1742 as the Governor's Mansion but left unfinished until after 1784 and now McDowell Hall, St. John's College. See David Ridgely, *Annals of Annapolis* (Baltimore, 1841), pp. 237-238; Riley, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 208; and Rebecca Key, "A Notice or Some of the First Buildings With Notes of Some of the Early Residents" in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIV (1919), 262-263.

²⁹ St. Anne's Episcopal Church. The rebuilding of the church was not completed until 1792. This structure was destroyed by fire in 1858. See Riley, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-76, and Ethan Allen, *Historical Notices of St. Ann's Parish* (Baltimore, 1857), pp. 84-98.

³⁰ Usually spelled "Rawlings," this tavern appears on Griffith's 1794 map of Maryland and in Colles, *op. cit.*, Plate 63.

riding 4 Miles more came to another Ferry about a Quarter of a Mile wide, across Patuxent, which divides Ann Arundel & Prince George's Counties. I should have been rowed across this by two young Women if I had not taken the Oar from one of them.

The Road today has been very hilly & sandy; the Sand deep, & had it not been for the Rain, the Traveling would have been very tedious. Passed through thirty two Gates today. Saw in my Way a small red Bird, such as I do not remember to have met with to the Northward. Houses for curing Tobacco in (called here Tobacco Houses) begin to be more plenty than in the Parts of Maryland I have travelled hitherto. They are generally large, & consist of only the outside Shell; in Appearance they resemble our Barns. The Business of Farming is carried on by Negroes, who have an Overseer appointed them; his Business is to see that they do the Work which he directs to be done. These Overseers are a cruel Set of Fellows, who either have very little Humanity in their Composition, or know not how to exercise it, for slight Faults they frequently punish the Negroes with the greatest Severity. There are sometimes several hundred Negroes belonging to one Man, who is as absolute as the grand Turk. It is astonishing that Men who feel the Value and Importance of Liberty as much as the Inhabitants of the southern States do that of their own, should keep such Numbers of the human Species in a State of so absolute Vassalage. Every Argument which can be urged in Favor of our own Liberties will certainly operate with equal Force in Favor of that of the Negroes: nor can we with any Propriety contend for the one while we withhold the other.

In Consequence of the Continental Soldiers being inoculated, the Small Pox has spread through a great Part of Maryland; it is in every House in Upper Marlborough, except one, if I am not misinformed. The Inhabitants appear to be as little acquainted with it, & as much afraid of it, as those of the New England States. Lodged at a Tavern in Upper Marlborough, kept by Mrs. Gibson.³¹ C'est ne pas grand Chose [*sic*].

[May] 21st. The Post Master being at his Country Seat at the Woodyard, I visited him there, & was received and treated with the greatest Politeness & Hospitality.³² This Seat is really elegant, & the Gardens & vastly neat: an agreeable Air of Grandeur runs through the whole. Mr. West has here a Manufactory of Linen both flaxen & hempen, Cottons, & Woolens; a small Brewery, Distillery, &c. Among his Machines for manufacturing is one for spinning Cotton in which one Wheel turns 22 Spindles & as many Threads are spun at once. Lodged at Mr. West's.

³¹ Advertisements of sales to be held at Mrs. Gibson's appear in the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), for September 15, 1774, p. 3, and August 10, 1775, p. 2.

³² Stephen West who died in 1790. His marriage was noticed in the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), March 8, 1753, p. 3, and an obituary appears in the *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), January 5, 1790, p. 2. The estate, Woodyard, was built ca. 1692 as the home of Henry Darnall. John Ross Key of Washington, D. C., painted a view of the house a few years before it was destroyed by fire. Pictures of the painting are reproduced in Hester D. Richardson, *Side-Lights on Maryland History with Sketches of Early Maryland Families* (Baltimore, 1913), II, 75, and *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*, XLIX (October, 1916), 255.

[May] 22d. Left the Woodyard & went to Alexandria the first Town, upon my Road, in Virginia: it is situated upon the Bank of Patomack, a very large River which divides Maryland & Virginia, & is navigable for large Vessels above 200 Miles. At Alexandria it is $1\frac{3}{4}$ Miles wide: large Vessels can go as high as George Town about 10 Miles above Alexandria. The Wind was so high that my Horse could not be brought across the River before Evening.³³

II: Fredericksburgh to Wilmington, July 2-7, 1777.

July 2d. Left Fredericksburgh, after having seen the Hill upon which Genl. Washington was born: it is pleasantly situated on the north Bank of the River, a little below Fredericksburgh . . . Lodged at Dumfries, where I saw Mr. Carrol (the Priest) who kindly invited me to his House; he lives near George Town.³⁴

[July] 3d. Went to Alexandria where my Companions³⁵ staid; I proceeded to George Town on Patowmack, a small Town in Maryland, built on a Hill. The Situation I like the best of any I have seen; it commands a fine Prospect. The Patowmack is $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile wide at George Town, & is navigable for a Vessel of 300 Tons Burthen. There is a very fertile Island in the River, opposite the Town.³⁶ Lodged at the Widow Orme's, a pretty good House.³⁷

[July] 4th. Rode to Bladensburgh to Breakfast. One Bradford keeps a good House here.³⁸ Saw the Rev. Patrick Allison³⁹ who told me that my Company desired I would wait for them as they would be at Bladensburgh very soon after him. Went to see my old Schoolmate the Revd. Mr. Hunt,

³³ Hazard was unable to visit Mount Vernon or Lord Fairfax's estate as "they both lay out of my Road." On the next day, enroute to Dumfries, Virginia, he "Rode in Company with Mr. Carrol, [The Rev. John Carroll (1735-1815), future Roman Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore] a Priest who went to Canada last Year with the Commissioners from Congress,—a polite, sensible Gentleman."

³⁴ The Rev. John Carroll (1735-1815), future Roman Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore.

³⁵ Identified only as "a Mr. Miles of South Carolina & a Mr. Appleton Junr. of Boston."

³⁶ Anolostan or Mason's Island, now Roosevelt Island.

³⁷ John Orme presented a petition to keep a tavern in Georgetown in 1760 (Frederick County Judgement Records, 1758-1760, p. 546), and appears to have been in business by September of that year (*Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], September 25, 1760, p. 3). Following Orme's death in 1772, his widow, Lucy, kept the tavern for about six years. Her last tavern license was granted in 1777 (Montgomery County Court Record, Liber A, p. 6).

³⁸ The "house where Henry Bradford formerly kept tavern in Bladensburgh" is advertised for sale in the *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), March 31, 1778, p. 3. On September 14, 1779 (supplement), p. 2, notice is given that Thomas Rose from Alexandria operates the tavern kept by Bradford.

³⁹ (1740-1802), at the time of his death senior pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Baltimore. See *Federal Gazette* (Baltimore), August 23, 1802, and J. T. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), pp. 544-547.

who lives here.⁴⁰ This is a neat pleasant Town. Forded a Creek, called Rock Creek a little on this side of George Town; & another (over which there is a Bridge) at Bladensburgh, called the North Branch; both empty into Patowmack. The Post Master at Bladensburgh is a furious Politician.⁴¹ A Col. Ingraham⁴² of the North Carolina Troops, passed, with his Men, through Bladensburgh; where it was discovered that his Name was Ingraham Johnston, that he ran away with, & married, a rich Heiress in England, for which he was tried, convicted & transported; that he was sold to a Mr. Berry⁴³ of Bladensburgh, who employed him as a School Master; that when he had compleated the Education of Mr. Berry's Children, Mr. B. proposed to sell him for the Remainder of his Time; that for Fear of this he ran away, taking one of his Master's Horses with him; that he returned the Horse, & 10 Guineas for his Time; & went to North Carolina, where he married again (his first Wife being dead) supported a good Character, gained a great Reputation & the Friendship of the People, & was appointed to the Command of a Regiment. Upon this Discovery some of his Officers refused to serve under him, but I understand it is left to Congress to determine whether he shall continue in Office or not.

I am credibly informed that a Col. Bunkham⁴⁴ of the North Carolina Troops was very drunk here, & was seen in the same Condition afterwards on the Road. I am also told that he was so drunk at Grant's at Baltimore, as to fall over the Bannisters in going down Stairs at Night & that he is so unwell in Consequence of it as to be unable to proceed to Camp.

Passed Snowdens Iron Works & lodged at one Jones' about a Mile on this Side of them.⁴⁵ He keeps a bad House.

⁴⁰ James Hunt (1731-1793), who headed a "flourishing classical school in Maryland," was a member of the class of 1759 of the College of New Jersey (Princeton); John Maclean, *History of the College of New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1877), I, 202. He was senior pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Bladensburgh for many years; *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), June 25, 1793, p. 2.

⁴¹ Not further identified.

⁴² James Ingram or Ingraham was a member of the North Carolina provincial congress which met in November 1776. He was appointed a lieutenant colonel of the Eighth North Carolina Regiment on November 28, 1776, and served until his resignation on July 8, 1777. *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh N. C., 1886-1890), X, 914, 915, 946; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army During the War of the Revolution* (Washington, 1914), p. 313; and John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Writings of Washington*, (Washington, 1931-1944), IX, 81, 359. No reference to the incident has been found in the printed *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1904-1937) for the years 1777 and 1778 or in Edmund C. Burnett (ed.), *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1921-1936), for the same years.

⁴³ Not further identified.

⁴⁴ Probably Col. Edward Buncombe of the Fifth North Carolina Regiment; *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, *op. cit.*, X, 206, 516-517, 520.

⁴⁵ Possibly the tavern kept by Thomas Rose in 1783 (*Maryland Journal* [Baltimore], May 6, 1783, p. 3), and subsequently owned by John Snowden, (*Maryland Journal* [Baltimore], October 17, 1783, p. 1).

Snowden's Ironworks appears in Colles, *op. cit.*, Plate 64, but Jones' tavern does not.

[July] 5th. Set out early for Baltimore. Called at the House of a Mr. Thomas Dorsey⁴⁶ (which is pleasantly situated) to request a Draught of Milk & Water; this Gentleman politely insisted upon our breakfasting with him; & both he & his Lady entertained us with great Hospitality. They live very genteelly. Dined at Baltimore, where we lodged. Col. Bunkham dined with us; he appears to be very feeble in Consequence of his Fall; it is surprising that he was not killed by it, for he fell at least 30 Feet perpendicularly. Sammy & Ebenr. Finley are at Baltimore, the latter as a Lieut. of Artillery, & commands the Fort; the former as a Surgeon in the Hospital.⁴⁷ Met with Mr. Luther Martin, an old Acquaintance at College.⁴⁸ The Road from George Town, through Bladensburgh, to Baltimore is bad; being in many Parts very hilly & in others sandy, & the Sand is deep.

The Day has been excessively hot.

July 6th. Left Baltimore & rode to Rodger's at Susquehannah lower Ferry where we lodged.⁴⁹ This House, and Stephenson's on the East Side of the River are in my opinion the two best Houses (public) between Phila. & Edenton. We have had cloudy Weather & a great Appearance of Rain all Day, but no Rain; the Air has been very cool, which made the Travelling very pleasant. Was informed at Harford Town that the Enemy had got back to Staten Island, & that we are in Possession of Amboy.

[July] 7th. Clear Weather. The People of Charlestown, I am told, are so much offended at the Post Office having been removed to Susquehannah Ferry, that they have stopped up a Road which led thither (without going through Chas. Town) directly from North East. When we came to the Road & saw the Pains they have taken to stop it, by felling Trees across it, we determined not to go to Charles Town, but take the North East Road at all Events. We met with more Trouble than we expected, being very frequently obliged to ride through the Bushes, & some swampy Places, but

⁴⁶ Undoubtedly Col. Thomas Dorsey (d. 1790) of Elkridge. J. D. Warfield, *The Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1905), pp. 342-344; Harry Wright Newman, *Anne Arundel Gentry* (Baltimore, 1933), pp. 112, 118-119; and Maxwell J. Dorsey, Jean Muir Dorsey, and Nannie Ball Nimmo, *The Dorsey Family* (1947), pp. 39, 157, 238, 244.

⁴⁷ Possibly Samuel Finley (1752-1829), nephew of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Finley (of West Nottingham Academy and the College of New Jersey), who served with distinction in the Virginia cavalry and rose to the rank of major; *Appleton's Encyclopedia of American Biography*, II, 461.

The relationship of Ebenezer Finley (d. 1822?) to either Samuel above is not certain but must have been close. His military record is found in the *Archives of Maryland*, XVIII, 365, 477, 573, 579. Probably he is the Ebenezer Finley living in Baltimore when the 1796 *Directory* (p. 26) and later Directories were compiled; whose wife's death is recorded in the *Federal Gazette* (Baltimore), March 28, 1809, p. 3; and whose obituary was published in the *Baltimore American*, September 17, 1822, p. 2.

⁴⁸ (Ca. 1748-1826). Martin was graduated from the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1766. He served as Attorney General of Maryland, a member of the Continental Congress, a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and as defense attorney for Samuel Chase in 1805 and for Aaron Burr in 1807.

⁴⁹ Rodger's tavern was located on the west side of the Susquehannah River from 1774 to about 1780; Paullin, *op. cit.*, 16-19.

got safe through at last. I think there must be near 100 Trees across the Road; some of them are very large. Breakfasted at Bird's or Byrn's, at North East, 7 Miles from the Head of Elk; a good house.⁵⁰

III: York to Alexandria, November 5-11, 1777.

Novr. 5th. Cloudy & showery. Set out for Baltimore: crossed the Codorus by a Bridge, 5 Miles from York. The Country is mountainous, poor, & but thinly settled; the Road solitary & tedious. Lodged at Kaign's; the People civil, but keep a bad House.⁵¹ The Line between Pennsa. & Maryland runs by Wiley's.⁵²

[November] 6th. Country & Road as yesterday. Crossed the Falls of Gunpowder at Rodger's Mill. Was kindly entertained & politely treated by Mrs. Rodgers with whom I dined.⁵³ Rained hard last Night & some of this Morning but cleared up towards Noon. Had no Company on the Road from York to Baltimore. Lodged at Grant's.

[November] 7th. Got to Annapolis. Road very bad.

[November] 8th. At Annapolis. The stucco Work in the State House is very elegant: the Assembly is now sitting. They have voted 2000 additional Troops, and given Leave to bring in a Bill for seizing the Proprietary Estate, & another for seizing all Debts due to British Merchts. to be applied to the Indemnification of such Persons as have suffered by the British Fleet & Army. I understand Samuel Chase Esqr.⁵⁴ & some other Gentlemen won 900 Dollars last night at Billards.

Several new Compaines are forming for making Salt.

I was charged 2/6 for once Shaving.

[November] 9th. Rained much last Night. Rode to the Woodyard & lodged with Stephen West Esqr.

[November] 10th. Went to Bladensburgh where I was detained all the Afternoon by the Rain. Lodged at Bradford's; bad Attendance; the Master of the House has been from home a Week attending Horse Races.

[November] 11th. So intense was the Cold last Night that the Ground froze excessively hard & the Rivulets are covered with Ice. The Air is remarkably keen this morning. Rode to Alexandria. . . .

⁵⁰ Bird's tavern appears in Colles, *op. cit.*, Plate 55.

⁵¹ Probably Kean's Tavern, advertised for sale in the *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), March 17, 1778, p. 4, and several subsequent issues.

⁵² Not further identified.

⁵³ Could this be Mrs. John Rodgers, wife of Col. John Rodgers who, with a partner, owned "a sawmill, mill-dam and mill-race, and built a grist-mill," ca. 1776-1777; Paullin, *op. cit.*, 17-18.

⁵⁴ (1741-1811), the signer of the Declaration of Independence, then a member of the Continental Congress from Maryland and subsequently an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The American Mind. By HENRY STEELE COMMAGER. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1950. 476 pp. \$5.

The history of ideas in America has come to command more and more attention in recent years. Mr. Commager's book, whose sub-title reads "An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's," is explicitly devoted to this ineffable but quite powerful dimension of American history. With marked courage, the author attempts to subdue the intellectual course of this nation for the past seventy years, and follows that course in its greatest width. His essays range over the nation's philosophy, religion, literature, and the separate social sciences (economics, political theory, law, sociology). There is even a slight diversion to architecture as the most important "social" art.

In addition to summary chapters characterizing the "Nineteenth-Century American" and the "Twentieth-Century American" there are chapters devoted to outstanding developments in the major fields of knowledge and sizeable chapters on the individual thinkers who formed "The Mind" of this period. Mr. Commager puts forward ambitious intellectual biographies of thinkers like John Fiske, spokesman for evolutionary philosophy; William James, advocate of pragmatism; Lester Ward, formulator of the new "science" of sociology; Thorstein Veblen, promoter of "Institutional" economics; Pound and Holmes, the "Masters of the New Jurisprudence"; and the historians who have most significantly interpreted American history in the first half of our century—Turner, Parrington, and Beard.

The mere recital of the extensive scope of this book should suffice to indicate several relevant points about its effectiveness and worth. Only a many-faceted genius at creative interpretation could do justice to the diverse fields of knowledge considered here; and only a person trained in handling philosophic ideas could make valuable judgments about the many original minds appraised.

Mr. Commager, although considerably more knowledgeable than is the average American historian, does not convince this reader that he has made the materials of this complex study altogether his own. One persistently feels, perhaps because of the too frequent presence of commonplace views both about "the times" and the individual thinkers discussed, that the primary scholarship of others has been borrowed by the author with less than the customary return. Chiefly, one must grant that Mr. Commager has re-written his borrowings into more facile prose than monograph studies ordinarily offer; but very few fresh insights are pro-

vided for the serious student of the history of ideas in America. Nevertheless many readers who do not care to struggle with more authentic and philosophic accounts of these interesting seventy years in the formation of the modern American mind will find considerable enlightenment in Mr. Commager's valorous essays.

ADRIENNE KOCH.

New York University.

Seat of Empire. The Political Role of Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg.

By CARL BRIDENBAUGH. Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1950. x, 85 pp. \$1.75.

This book is about the aristocratic families that ruled Eighteenth Century Virginia. The author is much impressed by a social class capable of producing leaders of such worth and integrity as those who led the resistance to Britain. In explanation he portrays the training in management of affairs and men which they acquired in supervising plantations—actually small communities. He outlines their duties as vestrymen, justices of the peace, and members of the House of Burgesses—offices which were the prerogative of their station. These gentlemen thought that politics was their proper vocation. They had aristocratic pride and were accustomed to rule.

The Revolution in Virginia, according to Mr. Bridenbaugh, was the outcome of a political situation. Determined to rule their own colony, the planters opposed Britain. In this cause they were united; differences existed, but as to means, not ends. Internal conflicts brought about a shift of political power in Virginia, but only from one planter group to another. The spread of tobacco culture to the Piedmont after 1750 created a new aristocracy which was denied an effective part in government by a Tidewater oligarchy headed by the Robinson and Randolph families. Sensing their opportunity, the new Piedmont planters embraced the resistance to Britain with ardor and succeeded in capturing leadership of the movement and with it the leadership of the colony. Combining with discontented Tidewater families, notably the Lees, they broke the sway of the Robinson-Randolph alliance. Before long, however, political differences were composed and Virginia entered the Revolution under united planter leadership.

This short and easily-read volume is the first of a series of popular histories of Eighteenth Century Virginia to be published by Colonial Williamsburg. Its author is an eminent social historian who writes with grace and insight. The book, however, might give an incomplete impression to a reader who is not familiar with other works on the subject. Virginia's single importance in the Revolutionary movement, for example, was hardly as great as the author implies. A more serious fault is the lack of reference to economic factors, about which much has been written elsewhere. The author does not describe the fierce competition of planters to increase their lands. Nothing is said of Virginia's exclusion from the opportunities for land speculation in the western territory, nor does the book mention

the planters' growing and almost hopeless indebtedness to British merchants. Some of these were no doubt considerable factors in the Revolutionary movement. Moreover, though one can agree that class or sectional conflicts were not important in colonial Virginia, they nevertheless existed and were to emerge more clearly during the Revolution. By ignoring such topics, the author paints a scene somewhat more idyllic than the one which probably existed.

These criticisms, however, must be set against the wisdom and familiarity with which the author touches the things he does write about. Everyone will enjoy this book and learn something from it. Those who have an antiquarian interest will be pleased to have an informed account written in a spirit of reverence for the Old Dominion.

E. JAMES FERGUSON.

University of Maryland.

The Confederate States of America, 1861-65. By E. MERTON COULTER.

Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1950. xiv, 644 pp. \$7.

The Confederate States of America is volume seven of *A History of The South*. It is not a military history. The story of the campaigns and battles is limited to a single chapter. While the war is constantly recognized as all-engrossing for the people of the South, military problems in the usual and somewhat narrow sense were but part of the struggle for existence. In this struggle other factors were easily discernible, *i. e.*: industrial weakness, crumbling transportation, shrinking supplies, soaring prices, growing hunger, and gnawing heartache. In the preface the author warns the reader of his intention to present the whole picture of the South in which the war must necessarily be relegated "to its proper relative position."

Not least among forces demanding immediate attention, if they were to be controlled at all by the infant Confederacy, were the emotional responses suggested by the phrase states' rights. States' rights so tenderly nourished by Calhoun and brought to bloom in the Charleston convention of December, 1860, attained during the next year a noxious growth scarcely less dangerous to Davis and the Confederacy than to Lincoln and the United States. Witness the formation of West Virginia, aborning as the Confederate government moved to Richmond and the narrow and obstructionist activity of Vice-President Stephens and Governor Brown of Georgia.

Professor Coulter evidently believes the author owes the reader his considered judgment as well as his best care in presenting facts. On page 83 the author declares: "Morale was the most potent weapon the South had . . . they lost this weapon, and, therefore the war." Later (page 566) he sums up into "one fact" the forces leading to the defeat of the South: "The people did not will hard enough and long enough to win." Fortunately, a full page later, he added "And it must also be remembered that it was the Federal armies, aided by these forces, which actually destroyed the Confederacy." When one recalls that the South with a white

population of five and a half million lost perhaps 250,000 soldiers in death and that the United States boasting a population of 140,000,000 during the 1940s lost scarcely more than 260,000 men in death, one wonders could flesh and blood have willed more or more devotedly supported morale than those who fought outnumbered, hungry, ragged, and almost without arms or those who waited at home, if indeed home survived.

A few minor mistakes may be found such as the inclusion on page 570 of the Barbara Frietchie dwelling in a list of *antebellum* houses currently to be seen. In the index Mrs. Rose O'Neal Greenhow is reported on two pages instead of four.

In the estimation of this reviewer Professor Coulter has in great measure accomplished his expressed purpose to paint a picture of the whole South. He has made a wide study of sources and has presented his material in a temperate spirit manifestly guided by the determination to show the good and the bad. Nowhere is there special pleading. It is splendid history and should help any who read the better to know and evaluate this period.

THEODORE M. WHITFIELD.

Western Maryland College.

John Wesley Jarvis, American Painter, 1780-1840. By HAROLD E. DICKSON. New York: New York Historical Society, 1949. xx, 476 pp. \$10.

This carefully documented and detailed life of the artist, John Wesley Jarvis, is a fine piece of work from several points of view. One notes the lack most frequently felt in books on "early American" painters for with few exceptions these artists, although not illiterate, appear so from the scarcity of letters or diaries—material of prime necessity for biographical study. Without the last limitation, no fault of the author's, little can be said except in praise. As usual the personality of the gregarious Jarvis follows William Dunlap's version and some few others in similar vein but never as good; from these and a few letters Jarvis emerges as much a man as could be summoned up when but little is left of his own words.

Economic, intellectual and social cycles are ably used for background material and the flavor and appearances of the varied communities in which he worked, from Boston to New Orleans and over the mountains into the new states, agreeably presented and integrated with the outlined life. Numerous names and anecdotes of Jarvis' fellow painters are woven into the tale and the sources cited (many of them local memoirs and transient periodicals) suggest lines which other biographers of artists might find well worth investigating.

In Chapter XXIII—"Jarvis the Painter: Analysis"—the opening paragraph succinctly defines the scope of the work; those following present

the author's feeling, which really echo the opinion of the artist's friend and contemporary Neal, who wrote that Jarvis was "remarkable for the strong individuality of his favorite heads—bold natural composition, manner and attitude."

Mr. Dixon's closing paragraph is succinct and temperate: "There are no masterpieces of art among the panels and canvases painted by Jarvis, but many of them he made forceful documents, painted images of his American contemporaries as effective as many a marble one of a Roman citizen. And he thus becomes a figure of consequence in the long tradition of American realistic portraiture."

The chronology and bibliography are models of form and the illustrations are excellent. If criticism could be made by this very thorough job, one would only be able to suggest that the material might be a bit over-expanded; although the style is most pleasant, a somewhat briefer presentation might have achieved the same end.

ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE.

Yale University.

Confederate Leaders in the New South. By WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE.

Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1950. xi, 147 pp. \$2.50.

Professor Hesselstine has attempted to discover what happened to the leaders of the Confederacy after Appomattox. Too often, as he has pointed out, hundreds of biographies have been written about the Southern leaders but with a few exceptions, all ended abruptly with the close of the war. For this reason, he has studied the post-war careers of 585 of the top-ranking military and civil leaders in an effort to trace their influence on the New South.

The Confederate leaders were not, as Northern propagandists have charged, completely in accord with the purpose of the Confederacy and the conduct of the war. This conflict of ideas did not end with Appomattox. During the Reconstruction period, Southern leaders were divided into two groups. The one followed the lead of General Robert E. Lee in striving to build a New South, while the other adhered to the ideas of Jefferson Davis who attempted to hold to the values and traditions of the Old South. Although a compromise between the two ideas had to be worked out, nevertheless this conflict of ideas has continued in Southern thought until the present time.

Professor Hesselstine has explored the activities of three of the most important groups of Confederate leaders in great detail. These were the ministers, the educators, and the new industrialists. Other groups are also considered, but he does not give them major emphasis. He regards the first named groups as an illustration of the problem of adjustment which was faced by the South by relating the activities of these leaders to the conflict of ideas.

This small volume, one in the series of the Walter Lynwood Fleming

Lectures in Southern History, is an informal study of the later activities of the Confederate leaders and possesses few of the earmarks of a scholarly publication. A more comprehensive treatment of the subject would have involved endless research and would have produced a tome many times larger than this volume. Hesselstine's book, however, has no index which reduces its value to the serious student. None of the Maryland leaders are mentioned although it would not have been too difficult to trace the later career of Gen. I. Ridgeway Trimble, for instance. Nevertheless, his treatment of the Election of 1877 as a "compromise" is unique. Above all, this volume should stimulate further research and publication of better biographies of these hitherto neglected leaders.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Appeal to Arms. By WILLARD M. WALLACE. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951. viii, 274 pp. \$4.50.

The author of this work is both a trained historian and a veteran of World War II. In *Appeal To Arms* he has admirably blended the knowledge and insight of his professional training and his military experience. The result is a military history of the American Revolution which is at once interesting to read and generally sound in its historical interpretations and conclusions.

The literary style is good, easy, and even gossipy at times. A generous and judicious use of apt and highly descriptive diction lends to the volume a certain charm and spice without distracting the reader's attention unduly from the basic theme. Technical military terminology has been kept to a minimum. There are no footnotes but those who require documentation and evidence of wide research will find both in notes which, by chapters, have been carefully collected on pages immediately following the end of the text. There is also an adequate index. The maps which are appropriately distributed throughout the volume will also be greatly appreciated by the reader.

While much has been omitted and much that is included is not new the most serious violence to proportion, or "balance," is done by limiting the story of the war in the south to only 71 of the 274 pages of the text. Two of these 71 pages are all that are required for the peace negotiations and settlements which brought the war to its official conclusion! If, however, the reader should be inclined to feel that the book seems to end rather abruptly let him remember that so, too, did the war itself.

Competent critics in the field of historical writing can hardly be expected to consider this work a monument to great scholarship. Moreover, the ablest students of military science may discover many shortcomings in its pages. Be this as it may, *Appeal To Arms* should have great "popular" appeal and be highly prized by the less technically minded general reading public as an account of the Revolutionary War which places great em-

phasis upon the "human element" in the war; carries a great deal of valuable information; is delightfully refreshing and well worth the reading.

EDWARD M. COLEMAN.

Morgan State College.

Side Wheel Steamers of the Chesapeake Bay: 1880-1947. Rev. Ed. By JOHN A. HAIN. Glen Burnie: Glendale Press [1951]. \$3.

This little book (now available in a revised and more complete edition) is welcome as the first attempt to produce an illustrated list of some of the three or four hundred steamboats which have plied the Chesapeake from 1813 until the present day. While it covers only side wheel steamers and only a portion of them, it does cover those which are most interesting in the memories of those who have survived the steamboat era. It forms a desirable supplement to the incomplete histories in John H. K. Shannahan's *Steamboat'n Days* and Fred. Erving Dayton's *Steamboat Days*. Dayton completely ignores the lines which were eventually merged into the Baltimore, Chesapeake and Atlantic R. R. and the Maryland, Delaware & Virginia R. R. These two lines, which were under the same management, operated the largest fleet of steamboats on the Bay. Until the appearance of a complete history of the Chesapeake steamboats, every steamboat fan should have a copy of this book. Every steamer mentioned is illustrated, and many of the pictures are very rare.

W. C. STEUART.

Western Gateway to the National Capital (Rockville, Maryland). By NOMA THOMPSON. Washington, D. C.: Stewart Printing Co., 1949. 122 pp. 9 illus. \$2.50.

The compiler's chief purpose in writing this book was to prepare a reference tool covering the history of Rockville, county seat of Montgomery County, Maryland, from its beginnings in the eighteenth century to 1939. The book is chock-full of names of residents and dates of their participation in local activities. It lays special emphasis on brief outlines of town and county offices, and of religious, political, social, commercial, and fraternal organizations. Within this limited sphere the compiler has assembled a wealth of material.

The lack of many specific citations may limit the usefulness of the book. The few "select references," for example, contain such general entries as "newspapers, Washington, Maryland, 1775-1939." But perhaps of greater usefulness would have been either a general index, instead of the present alphabetized listing of chapter headings, or a full name index. The former would have given the reader a key to such materials as data on the Worthington family, now indexed under "Appendix." The latter would have given the reader a key to names on such lists as the list of 49

persons who formed a committee in 1876 to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the founding of the community. Such materials about individuals may or may not be of value to the reader but if they are worth including they are worth indexing.

Ever since Donald Parker and Bertha Josephson wrote *Local History, How to Gather it, Write it, and Publish it*, the student has had an invaluable guidepost in preparing a local history. A book or article on local history may develop an interest among members of a community in the story of its past, it may give the professional historian background data, or it may encourage other local researchers to write in detail about some aspect of community life. If it succeeds in any one of these points, it has filled a worthwhile need. It is hoped that Miss Thompson's book not only fulfills her objective of aiding others in research work on Rockville, but that it stimulates others to undertake such work.

MEREDITH B. COLKET, JR.

The National Archives.

A Rhode Island Chaplain in the Revolution: Letters of Ebenezer David To Nicholas Brown, 1775-1778. Edited by JEANNETTE D. BLACK and WILLIAM GREENE ROELKER. xxxi, 82 pp. Providence: The Rhode Island Society of Cincinnati, 1949. \$5.

To the historian of the American Revolutionary era every new publication of source material is worthy of attention; and to the historian whose interest is even more localized these twenty, hitherto unpublished, letters of a Revolutionary chaplain to a Rhode Island merchant certainly merit reading. The letters themselves, owing to the meticulous transcription with which the editors have precisely preserved the eighteenth century spelling and punctuation, may prove less enjoyable. But the introductory settings which precede each group of letters, and the explanatory notes which follow the individual letters, make it possible for even the uninitiated to catch something of the flavor of the period and comprehend the cryptic style of the writer, Ebenezer David.

Ebenezer David was a Seventh-Day Baptist minister who served with the 1st Rhode Island Regiment and the 25th Continental Regiment from Massachusetts. In that capacity he saw something of the action around Boston, New York City, and Ticonderoga in 1776. The following year he was attached to the 2nd Rhode Island Regiment and eventually reached Valley Forge. On March 19, 1778, David died in the hospital at Lancaster Pennsylvania, another victim of that harrowing winter of 1777-1778, which has now become so famous in history.

David's twenty letters to his merchant friend, Nicholas Brown, were written over a period of months beginning in June, 1775, and ending on February 3, 1778, when the last one was penned at Valley Forge. The names of the great and near-great wander in and out of the narrative, and

the reader catches tantalizing allusions to Washington, Charles Lee, Israel Putnam, and many others.

In a certain sense these letters are very disappointing. Coming as they do from some of the most spectacular fields of combat, the historian scans the terse comments for some new and breath-taking revelations that could lead to revisions of points of view now traditionally held. The letters add very little to the now enormous sum of knowledge available to the reading public. The real value of the letters lies in their tendency to re-emphasize the common denominators of wars, in whatever era they are fought. The typical army chaplain, he reported on the run-of-the-mill interests of army life. He noticed that the depreciation of the currency was as much felt and dreaded by the soldiers as by the civilian. Officers families, he found, suffered as desperately as the others. He deplored the quarrels among the officers in command at Fort Mifflin. He saw the trial of spies, and the reprieve of men who resisted their officers. He was keenly aware of the harsh criticisms of Washington's leadership and said sardonically, "You know most [men] are too fond of taking upon themselves Generalship."

The format of this small group of letters is excellent and every effort has been made to set off the letters like jewels in precious metals. The editorial work is of fine scholarship and almost exceeds the letters in value. Certainly anyone who has an interest in the military aspects of the American Revolution will find his time well-spent in looking over this fine little volume.

ANNABELLE M. MELVILLE.

*St. Joseph's College,
Emmitsburg, Maryland.*

Brandywine Springs. The Rise and Fall of a Delaware Resort. By C. A. WESLAGER. Wilmington: Hambleton Company, Inc. xiii, 124 pp., 21 ill. \$2.50.

When they were first noticed by a Delawarian in the early 1800's the springs to which the title of this book refers were foul-looking pools of yellow water oozing in an unkempt New Castle County meadow. When they were last noticed by a Delawarian—if that was not Mr. Weslager then it certainly was one of his Delaware readers—the springs were once again foul-looking and yellow and oozing, and the meadow was just as unkempt.

What happened to these springs in the 100 or so intervening years is the subject and substance of this study. Mr. Weslager, writing with the ease, the color and the dramatic sense one associates with the better historical novelists, tells how in the 1820's a vast hotel was erected near the chalybeate (iron-impregnated) springs by a group of Wilmington worthies jealous of the Virginia watering-places; how the *haut monde* of Wilmington, Philadelphia and Baltimore, drawn by or because of the "magic"

waters, made the place one of America's most fashionable, most comfortable and most exciting spas; how the hotel faltered and declined until, its curative waters all but forgotten, it became a boy's school and a boarding house; how, after most of the hotel burned, the spa later became a picnic grove and a rather raffish amusement park and how, thirty years ago, that was abandoned.

This book does more than carefully, lovingly and dramatically chart the wistful saga of a particular spa. For its story is the story of America's health springs—and that story is a little explored and important chapter in the history of American medicine, recreation and manners.

WILLIAM STUMP.

Twenty-seventh Report. Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland. Baltimore: 1950. 80 pp.

The *Twenty-seventh Report*, in a series now issued occasionally rather than annually, presents a significant contribution to the history and bibliography of printing in Maryland. Dr. Felix Reichmann, Assistant Director of the Cornell University Library, is author and compiler of the chief article entitled "German Printing in Maryland: A Check List, 1768-1950." Written as a bibliographical appendix to Dieter Cunz: *The Maryland Germans* (Princeton University Press, 1948) which was reviewed by Ralph Charles Wood in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLIV (March 1949), 58-60, the check list includes a succinctly written account of some of the problems printers and booksellers faced—importation of books directly from Germany and publication by subscription, for instance; the types of books published; the flourishing decades in the latter half of the 19th century and the subsequent decline. The 812 entries in the bibliography are concise. The first records the issuance of a broadside of 1768 in German and English petitioning the removal of the jail and courthouse from Joppa to Baltimore; the last, a book of themes, forms and ideas in German literature published by the Johns Hopkins University Press in 1950. Several tables showing subject analysis, chronology of publications, German almanacs, etc., and a useful section on newspapers and magazines are included.

The remainder of the *Twenty-seventh Report*, which is dedicated to the late Albert B. Faust, is devoted to an account of Goethe celebrations in Maryland in 1949 and to routine business of the Society.

F. S.

Seigniorship in Early Maryland. By HARRY WRIGHT NEWMAN. Baltimore: King Brothers, 1949. 69 pp. \$1.50.

This brochure was published by The Descendants of Lords of the Maryland Manors and is limited to one thousand copies.

Historians have treated the "Lord of the Manor" phase of Maryland's

existence with scant notice. In Mr. Newman's brochure, we are given an unusually entertaining and edifying account of the early Maryland manors and their Lords. There is a romantic atmosphere about this segment of life in the Province, but it had a substantial foundation in Maryland's Charter where it appears as one of the plans of the first Lord Baltimore. In the granting of Maryland's Charter, King Charles proved himself a canny personage by inserting in the document a proviso that the "Lords of the Manor" in that Province (who were of the "Gentry class") should not emulate the status of those Lords in England (who, by birthright, belonged to the Nobility). Mr. Newman, evidently, has devoted a great amount of research work to the study of the subject, and this monograph is the result.

The book contains an alphabetically arranged list of manors, with the names of the original grantees; this is succeeded by a cross index of original manor lords, followed by the names of their respective manors. The book contains a few illustrations which are very well executed.

FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER.

Bulwark of Liberty, Early Years at Dickinson. (The Boyd Lee Spahr Lectures in Americana, Vol. One, 1947-1950.) Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1950. \$3.50.

This small volume of essays on the early history of Dickinson College was prepared as a part of the college's tribute to its eminent alumnus Boyd Lee Spahr on the fiftieth anniversary of his graduation from Dickinson. Prominent among Mr. Spahr's many contributions to Dickinson has been his work in collecting materials relating to the college's history and his efforts in behalf of its library. Along with these interests has gone a lifelong enthusiasm for the study of American history.

In 1947 the college instituted the Boyd Lee Spahr Lectures in Americana. The first series of these lectures, three of which have already appeared in print, are now published in *Bulwark of Liberty*. L. H. Butterfield, who delivered the initial Boyd Lee Spahr Lecture in 1947, tells the story of Benjamin Rush's role in the founding of the college at Carlisle. Rush, a staunch advocate of higher education, led a group of Pennsylvania conservatives who disapproved the new administration of the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia. Charles Nisbet, the first college president, who with Rush and John Dickinson laid the foundations of the frontier institution, is the subject of a biographical essay by Mr. Spahr. Other officials of the college contribute essays recalling interesting phases of early Dickinsonia. Two famous sons of Dickinson, Roger B. Taney and James Buchanan, are briefly treated by Carl B. Swisher and Roy F. Nichols. Their essays, however, add little to what they have already published elsewhere on their subjects.

Primarily addresses about Dickinson delivered before college audiences, the lectures in *Bulwark of Liberty* also should prove of interest to students

of local and early American history. Though somewhat repetitive in narrating the same anecdotes of the birth of the college, the essays or lectures are all eminently readable and interesting.

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.

The American University.

Colonial Williamsburg: Its Buildings and Gardens. By A. LAWRENCE KOCHER and HOWARD DEARSTYNE. Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1949. vii, 104 pp. \$2.75.

This volume is an account of the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg. In addition to the description of Virginia's colonial capital, the authors have also included excellent sketches of the buildings and builders of Williamsburg, the gardens, and the furnishings of the buildings. There are also many well-chosen and interesting photographs and architectural drawings which add greatly to recapturing the flavor of the times.

The purpose of the authors in compiling this book has been that of retelling the history of 18th century Williamsburg and its society. With this in mind, they have included excellent background material which portrays all phases of colonial life. Such topics, for instance, as interior decorations, paints and the uses of color, and the examples of garden layouts, are described in intimate detail and greatly enhance the value of the book.

Colonial Williamsburg is to be congratulated for the publication of such a handsome volume. It is an excellent example of good printing. It is attractively bound and its end-pages immediately arouse interest in the volume. Its photographs are all in good taste. It possesses an excellent bibliography and an index which is well done. It is to be regretted that no comparable volume exists for Maryland's colonial capital at St. Mary's City.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Official Document Book. New York State Freedom Train. Distributed by the New York State Library. Albany: 1950. 72 pp.

The newcomer to Maryland is struck by the riches of the Free State heritage and the modesty with which Marylanders proclaim their history. One can think in a moment of half a dozen states with a fraction of Maryland's past which by blatancy and persistence have fixed their lesser claims in the mind of the general public. Our neighboring State, New York, has shown us a way to advertize state history dramatically but without crassness. With the well known national Freedom Train as a model, a state freedom train commission was directed by the state legislature in 1948 "to provide for the exhibition throughout the state of original documents, manuscripts and other historical materials . . . reflecting the traditions of liberty and freedom and the historical heritage of the people of the state." The New York Central and Pennsylvania railroads provided six railway cars which

were specially fitted to safeguard valuable records. The Commission selected representative documents from 1641 to 1948 for display. The train toured the state during most of 1949 and part of 1950.

A permanent memorial of the tour, the *Official Document Book* presents the New York story under such headings as "Government by the People," "Freedom of Religion," "Freedom of Speech and Press," and "Freedom of Person." Many of the documents such as the Charter of Liberties and Privileges issued by the Duke of York in 1683, the Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery of 1799, and an act of 1948 relating to education are illustrated. A brief history of the train and a descriptive List of Exhibits complete the volume.

Maryland might well consider such an effective means of showing in documents its great history to its own people and perhaps to the citizens of other states. No task to be saddled either on the Hall of Records or the Maryland Historical Society (unless their present budgets be bolstered adequately), these two institutions might join leading citizens of the State in presenting the idea to the public and to the Governor and the State Assembly. *Freedom and the knowledge of freedom are matters of supreme importance in 1951 as in 1776.*

F. S.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Creole Folk Tales. Stories of the Louisiana Marsh Country. By HEWITT L. BALLOWE. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948. xx, 258 pp.

Indians of the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia. By C. A. WESLAGER. (Reprinted from *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia*, ed. by CHARLES B. CLARK. New York: Lewis Hist. Publ. Co., 1950.)

The Origin of Frederick County, Maryland. A Bicentennial Address. By EDWARD S. DELAPLAINE. Washington: Judd & Detweiler, Inc., 1949. 23 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Historic Sites and Buildings—The third "Institute in the Preservation and Interpretation of Historic Sites and Buildings," will be offered from June 11 through June 29. Under the direction of Donald Derby of The American University, meetings of the Institute will be held in Washington during the first two weeks of the course and in Williamsburg during the last week. Lectures and field investigations will be planned by Ronald F. Lee, Chief Historian of the National Park Service, and by Edward P. Alexander, Director of Interpretation of Colonial Williamsburg.

Genealogical Research—The "Institute of Genealogical Research," first offered in the summer of 1949, will be repeated from June 11 through June 29. The Institute will be given with the cooperation of the National Archives and Records Service and will provide lectures on sources and methods of genealogical research and laboratory work. Meredith B. Colket, Jr., of the National Archives and Records Service will be director of the Institute.

Further information concerning the above two courses may be obtained from the Office of the Director, School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs, The American University, 1901 "F" Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Automatic Can-making Machine—We are gathering material on the first automatic can-making machine. Two men of Baltimore, Smith and Wick, appear to have used automatic can-making machinery in their plant in 1885. We would like to obtain pictorial material concerning early can making operations (Smith and Wick's, if at all possible), reproductions of the setting in which these early operations took place, photographs of the men actually credited with the invention and any text describing the events.

Miss Eleanor Harvill, Editorial Assistant, "Steelways"
350 Fifth Ave., New York 1, N. Y.

Forester—Information is requested in respect of (1) the parents, date and place of birth of George William Forester, Rector of Shrewsbury Church, Kent County, Md., from 1735-74; (2) the parents, date and place of birth of Elizabeth Henrietta _____, first wife of said George W. Forester. Their daughter, Elizabeth, married William Haley in 1755.

Stanley Rich,
461 Maple Street, Winnetka, Ill.

Homewood—I am gathering material for a book on "The Architectural History of Homewood," the famous Baltimore landmark, now on the Johns Hopkins University campus. If anyone has access to articles, letters, early prints, or other material concerning the architecture, derivation, or influence of Homewood, his assistance will be greatly appreciated.

Bennard B. Perlman,
3508 Powhatan Ave., Baltimore 16.

Jacob, Hoffman, Ory, Weber, and Strasbach—Information is wanted on these German families who settled in Maryland. Samuel Gautier of Biloxi, Miss., and New Orleans, La., married Alice Cassard in New Orleans, September 20, 1880. His father, Auguste Gautier, Jr., was born in New York, N. Y., 1820, married in Louisiana, May 1, 1852, Euphermie Ory, born in Louisiana, December 3, 1819, died November 27, 1863, in Louisiana. Euphermie Ory was the daughter of Jean (John) Baptiste Ory, Jr., supposedly of Hagerstown, Md., married in 1801 Madeline Webre (Weber). She was born May 16, 1791[?].

John (Jean) Baptiste Ory, of Hagerstown, Md., married 1781 Eva Hoffman, daughter of James Hoffman. John Baptiste Ory was the son of Nicholas Ory of Hagerstown, Md., who married Anne Strasbach of Hagerstown, Md. Who was Anne Strasbach's father and mother?

To go back to Eva Hoffman, she was the daughter of James Hoffman and Sophie Jacobs. Who were the father and mother of Sophie Jacobs? I am seeking information on these lines to establish qualifications for membership in the Sons of The American Revolution, Society of Colonial Wars, and Colonial Dames of America.

Beale Howard Richardson, IV,
1041 Robert St., New Orleans, La.

Woodville—I am working on Richard Caton Woodville, Sr. (1825-55), the American *genre* painter. Many of his paintings have disappeared and cannot be traced. Any assistance in locating paintings and drawings by the artist and manuscript material about him and letters from him will be greatly appreciated.

Marvin C. Ross,
Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore 1.

CONTRIBUTORS

MR. HOUGHTON is a distinguished scholar-in-business who has won the gratitude of Marylanders by restoring St. Luke's Episcopal Church at Wye Mills and assisting other causes of historical and educational character. He is an officer of the Corning Glass Works of New York. ☆ Owner of Whitehall since 1946, MR. SCARLETT is a graduate of Princeton University, and a member of a Baltimore shipping firm. He has carried on his investigation into the origin and development of Governor Sharpe's residence over many years and into innumerable manuscript collections. ☆ DR. JOHNSON, an instructor at the University of Maine, some time ago made an extensive study of the Carroll-Maccubbin Papers at the Maryland Historical Society, in preparation for his doctoral degree granted by the State University of Iowa in 1949. ☆ MR. SHELLEY, Librarian of the Society since September, 1950, has been appointed Associate Editor of the *Magazine*.
