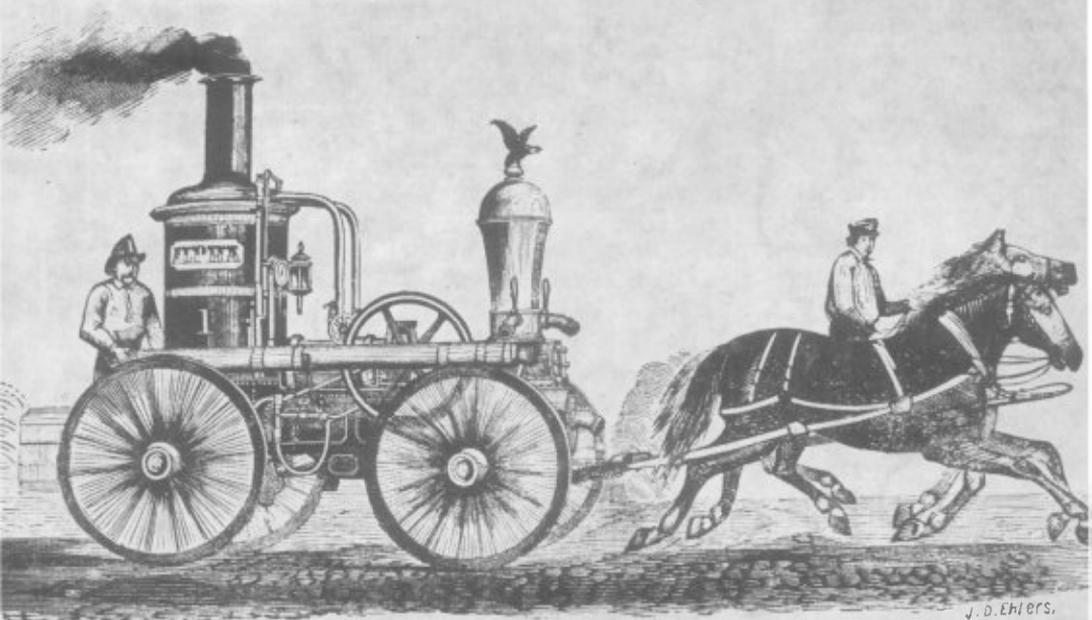


MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

NO. 1 STEAM FIRE ENGINE.



Builders, Reaney & Neuffie, Philadelphia. Pump, 6 in. (double acting)—stroke 14 in. Weight 9,050 lbs.

(1865) Courtesy The Peale Museum

(see p. 257)

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

September · 1966

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Activities

Provides library reference service to about 4,000 patrons yearly—scholars, writers, genealogists, students, collectors, artists. Mail and telephone inquiries double the figure.

Conducts lecture tours of its museum for an annual average of about 8,000 school students. Another 10,000 casual visitors, including tourists, view the collections, in addition to many museum students, collectors, hobbyists and authorities in given fields who utilize stored items for study.

Advises and assists 23 local historical societies in the counties, the work culminating in an Annual Conference of the Association of Maryland Historical Societies.

Maintains liaison with such allied groups as patriotic societies.

Acts as consultant to civic and governmental groups relative to publications and commemorative occasions.

Publishes the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, and *Maryland History Notes*. Circulation over 3,500 each.

Publishes scholarly works and low-cost school books and leaflets on Maryland history—over 50 different titles.

Holds meetings, open to the public, for lectures by authorities in various fields, including prominent government officials.

Stages special exhibits with timely themes.

* * *

For the Government of the State at cost

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Conducts a program of marking historic sites with roadside signs.

Indexes important, original papers relating to Maryland history.

Preserves and publishes data pertaining to Maryland's contribution to World War II.

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THE FAMILIAR LETTERS OF GOVERNOR HORATIO SHARPE

Ed. by AUBREY C. LAND

HORATIO SHARPE is a singularly attractive figure in the colonial history of Maryland. His administration covered the eventful years when colonies and mother country joined to expel the French from continental North America and half of the following decade when America and England divided on the issue of imperial control. Specifically Sharpe came to Maryland as Lord Baltimore's governor in August of 1753 and remained in office until June of 1769. His administration of sixteen years was the longest term served by any of the eight governors sent by the Lords Baltimore to preside over their Chesapeake palatinate during the sixty-one year period between 1715, when they recovered their governmental rights from the crown, and 1776, when revolutionary provincials took authority into their own hands. Called upon to lead Maryland first through the French and Indian War and imme-

diately after through the Stamp Act and Townshend acts crises, Sharpe conducted his office intelligently. Though he could be resolute, he more often used the art of conciliation and compromise with the sometimes intransigent assembly and with subordinate administrative officers, who battled among themselves for place and power. At the end of his term he left office with the respect and affection of all but a handful of irreconcilables.

The inner workings of Sharpe's administration are well documented, more fully than for any other Maryland governor of the provincial period. The Sharpe letter books contain a voluminous official correspondence with the Lord Proprietor, various British boards and secretaries, other colonial governors, and the military commanders dispatched by Britain during the war years.¹ The letters show him as a conscientious administrator, careful and well-informed. His problems, and they were many, peep through a few of them. But for the most part Sharpe spoke the flowery language of eighteenth-century officialdom.

His familiar letters suffer less from the conventions imposed by official style. To his brothers Sharpe speaks more directly, names his opponents freely, and reports his reading of behind the scenes maneuvers, which he shrewdly detected but could not document. The governor's covert battle with the proprietary circle in England over patronage can be reconstructed piecemeal from the official correspondence. In the confidential letters Sharpe brings into clear focus not only the cost of this battle to successful administration but also his personal frustration at seeing his best efforts countered by uncomprehending superiors back home. Governor Sharpe wrote many letters to his brothers as the text of the few printed here indicates. These whet the appetite for the missing letters, which have not come to light and may not have survived.²

Ideally we would like to know more about Brothers John, William, Gregory, Philip, and Joshua with whom Sharpe corresponded. To American students they are a backdrop, visible

¹ *Arch. Md.*, VI, IX, XIV, and XXXI.

² Lady Edgar quotes many letters not listed elsewhere. Unfortunately her biography of Sharpe is not documented. Lady Matilda Edgar, *A Colonial Governor in Maryland, Horatio Sharpe and His Time, 1753-1773* (London, 1912).

mainly because related to an outstanding provincial governor. But singly and as a group they are interesting for themselves. Actually we know more about their physical appearances than about their lives. The family picture, a genre known as the "conversation piece," painted by Gawin Hamilton (1730-1797) has preserved their likenesses—the strong English faces of these talented brothers and their sisters.³ They look like what they were in fact, the backbone of British society of the Augustan age. They belonged to the important stratum just below the great men who made policy but above the mass of nameless petty clerks and scribes that peopled the bureaucracy. Briefly they were progenitors of the permanent civil servant who gave stability and continuity to British public life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Of the five brothers we are most fully informed about Gregory—"the Doctor" in Governor Sharpe's letters—who rates a sketch in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Gregory Sharpe (1713-1771) was the family scholar, noted for his mastery of classical and oriental languages. In his lifetime he published a dozen works and translated Aristophanes's comedy *The Frogs* for *The Greek Theatre* besides contributing frequently to the *Monthly Review*. He took the LL.B. at Cambridge in 1738 and a few years later the LL.D. After taking holy orders he became prebendary of Salisbury cathedral and in 1763 was elected Master of the Temple. His scholarship brought him other honors—election as Fellow of the Royal Society and appointment as a director of the Society of Antiquaries. Admirers published a volume of his sermons in 1772, the year after his death.⁴

John Sharpe, eldest of the brothers, had connections with the proprietary family as far back as 1728.⁵ A barrister at

³ This family picture was for many years attributed to Hogarth, the foremost painter in this genre of the early eighteenth century, W. Roberts, *The Sharpe Family by William Hogarth* (London, c. 1920). When this canvas was purchased for the State of Maryland in 1951 it was conclusively established that the artist was Gawin Hamilton (c. 1697-1737), a Scottish painter in the prevailing style. The picture now hangs in the state dining room of the Executive Mansion, Annapolis. I wish to acknowledge the courtesy of Governor and Mrs. J. Millard Tawes for permitting me to see this "conversation piece" when preparing these notes on the Sharpe family.

⁴ *DNB*, XVII, 1361-62.

⁵ His grandfather, Thomas Beake, had been Principal Secretary of Maryland from 1714 until his death in early 1733.

Lincoln's Inn, he acted as adviser on legal matters to young Charles, fifth Lord Baltimore. After the death of Lord Charles in 1751 John Sharpe and Arthur Onslow, speaker of the House of Commons, became guardians of Frederick, the last lord of the line. As guardian and confidant of the youthful Lord Proprietor John was in position to use his good offices for advancing his younger brother Horatio when the governorship of Maryland became vacant on the death of Samuel Ogle in May 1752. Brother John had due return in letters from Horatio, but letters that were formal rather than familiar, the sort that a young man would write to a brother thirty years older than himself. John handed copies of Horatio's letters to ministers of state, eager for trustworthy accounts of the misfortunes that occurred in the opening months of the French and Indian War.⁶

On the death of John in 1756 Brother William, next in age, became the head of the family. In his post as first clerk in ordinary to the Privy Council William also lent his younger brother a helping hand. On one occasion he obtained a sinecure for John Ridout, Governor Sharpe's private secretary.⁷ Another time he did a similar favor for Dr. Upton Scott, the governor's physician.⁸ Such a friend at court eased Governor Sharpe's difficult patronage problems considerably. Horatio Sharpe's letters to William have the same formal tone as those to John. In fact during the early years of his administration Horatio had his secretary use the same draft for separate letters to John and William.⁹ The letter to William in the group printed here is rather restrained, still the tone of a younger man to a well-established older brother. The draft of another, and longer, confidential letter to William dated 1765 shows Horatio's care for expression in writing Brother William: his draft is a mass of strikeovers and inter-

⁶ Extracts from three letters to John Sharpe, all dated 1755, are found in the Newcastle Papers, British Museum. Additional Manuscripts 32858 (Library of Congress Transcripts). These described Braddock's defeat and the colonial reaction to this disaster.

⁷ See the letter to Philip Sharpe, 8 December 1758, below.

⁸ "Sharpe's Confidential Report on Maryland," Aubrey C. Land, ed., Horatio Sharpe to William Sharpe, October-1765, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLIV (June, 1949), 124.

⁹ *Arch. Md.*, VI, 109-111.

lineations.¹⁰ William's death in 1767 deprived him of a powerful protector in the great official world of Whitehall and in the lesser proprietary circle.

After William's death Governor Sharpe looked mainly to Gregory and Philip to keep his political fences in repair, though from Joshua he seems to have had a steadier flow of letters. For Gregory the post of honor and profit, Master of the Temple, meant time for scholarship and for the controversial tracts that delighted his heart. Yet in a crisis he could make a special trip to see Lord Baltimore for the sake of Horatio.¹¹ Philip too could speak with the weight of a man of position. He had succeeded to a pair of offices, clerk of the Privy Council and keeper of the Privy Council Records.¹²

But the sands were running low for Governor Sharpe after fifteen years. The combined pressure of his brothers at home could not fend off another bidder, a brother-in-law of Lord Baltimore, for the post of governor of Maryland. In 1769 Horatio Sharpe stepped down in favor of his successor. He remained in Maryland as a private gentleman until mid-summer of 1773 when he sailed for England, taking Samuel Ridout, his secretary's young son, to put him in school. Only the brother we know least was still alive, Joshua, a successful solicitor who had once considered bettering his lot in America. The "Doctor" had died in 1771 and Brother Philip in 1772. Their deaths and Horatio's departure from the American scene ended a revealing correspondence as it also terminated the unspectacular but responsible role that the talented Sharpe family had played in public affairs in the great period of the old British empire.

The letter to Samuel Ridout, though neither written from America nor to a blood relation, belongs in the familiar correspondence. More than any of the others it shows a Sharpe careful of his relations with others and responsible to his charge. The touch of nostalgia and affection for his American friends cannot pass unnoticed.

¹⁰ *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLIV, 123-129.

¹¹ See the letter to Gregory Sharpe, 10 December 1768, below.

¹² Either of these was considered a suitable political plum. After Philip Sharpe's death in 1772 these posts were given to separate persons. *Gentleman's Magazine*, XLII (1772), 600.

Editorial procedure followed here aims at making the letters—some of them drafts only—as readable as possible. Sharpe abbreviated frequently, particularly in drafts, which were to be copied in a fair hand by his secretary for final signature. I have extended the abbreviations, e.g., Br. to Brother. Sharpe's punctuation is somewhat haphazard: occasionally he uses a dash at the end of a sentence, sometimes nothing at all. I have supplied periods, when the sense is certain, without the eye-offending brackets. Otherwise the text reproduces the originals, misspellings and capitalized nouns included.

Annapolis the 8th Day of¹³
December 1758

Dear Phill

It is now more than a Year since I wrote to Brother William intreating him to use his Interest with the Duke of Newcastle¹⁴ for the Reversion of an Office which his Grace has the Disposal of in this province and which I should be glad at any Rate to procure for Mr. Ridout.¹⁵ I am the more anxious about it because I am afraid it will not be in my power to serve him in any other manner notwithstanding I am supposed to have the Disposal of several Offices by Virtue of my Commission from Lord Baltimore which are more desirable than that which I am now solliciting. The inclosed will shew You what I have wrote to Brother William on this Affair and I communicate it to You in hopes and Confidence that if you can by any Means assist me in obtaining what I apply for You will readily do so. Having a good Opportunity by a Gentleman of this Place that is going to London I shall with this Letter remit You seven Bills of Exchange amounting together to £715..2..4 to which you will be pleased to add what Money of Mine you may have already in your hands & then lay out the

¹³ To Philip Sharpe, duplicate letter signed, Personal Miscellany, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

¹⁴ Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle (1693-1768), whose name was synonymous with political spoilsmanship, was at this time first lord of the treasury.

¹⁵ John Ridout (1732-1797), personal secretary to Governor Sharpe. Sharpe's diligence in seeking a suitable sinecure for Ridout was matched only by Calvert's ingenuity in saying no. Eventually Sharpe had to turn to Newcastle.

whole in such manner as You shall think best for my Advantage. From the last Advices which have been received from the Westward we conclude that General Forbes¹⁶ is at this time either before or very near Fort Duquesne with about 4000 Men more than 80 of whom are friendly Indians. His Van was within 20 miles of the Fort the 18 Inst. The Weather has been very favourable ever since that time and if the Enemy had defeated him on his March ill News might & would have been brought Us in three or four Days. I find by some Letters which a Gentleman of this place has lately received from London that eight or nine hundred Men were to embark at Portsmouth in September or October for this part of America but if they did I am afraid all the Transports will not be suffered to reach their Port for there is a French Frigate cruising on the Coast between N. Carolina and New York that hath in about two Months taken two and twenty Vessels and she sails so remarkably well that none of our Privateers have any Chance of coming up with her.

I am told that Mr. Wayne¹⁷ has escaped the Enemy & is arrived at London, if that be the Case I flatter myself he has brought the Tobacco to a good Market but as my 36 hogsheads were consigned to Messrs Devonshire Reeve & Loyd Merchants in Bristol & the Bill of Lading that was given to me by the Master filled up accordingly, I do not Understand how the Tobacco is to be disposed of or who is to pay for it. I am not however without hopes that You will see Mr. Wayne & fall on some Method to secure me, to hear that you have done so would give great pleasure to

Dear Phill

Your most Obliged and
Affectionate Brother

Horo Sharpe

P. S. I will be obliged to
You for a good Pointer.

Annapolis the 29 December 1763¹⁸

Dear Brother

The Letter by which You were pleased to introduce Mr. Stiles¹⁹ to Me was lately presented by that Gentleman to whom I shall

¹⁶ John Forbes (1710-1759), brigadier general commanding the expedition that took Ft. Duquesne on 25 November 1758.

¹⁷ Not certainly identified, but presumably captain of a tobacco ship.

¹⁸ To Joshua Sharpe, copy in the hand of John Ridout, Personal Miscellany, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

¹⁹ Captain Samuel Stiles, master of the *Sharpe*, a sloop engaged in the carrying trade to England and the West Indies.

on Your account shew every Civility in my power. I have also received the Letter You were pleased to favour me with the 7th of June last & am obliged to You for the Information You give me relative to the Summer Ducks that I last Year sent my Cousin Sharpe,²⁰ whose Loss occasioned by the Mistake you mention I shall endeavour to make good as soon as possible by sending him another Pair & if I can a few other Birds. I did some time ago see an Account in the publick Papers of Brother Philip's being appointed one of the Clerks in Ordinary of the Council & also of the Doctor's²¹ Preferment which gave me the most sensible Pleasure as will every Circumstance that can contribute to either Your or their happiness. It was not without some Degree of Surprize & Concern that I read the latter part of Your Letter wherein You express some Uneasiness at Your own Situation in Life & an Inclination to quit the Business You have hitherto followed & to leave England in case You could obtain any Office in America that would enable You to live in a better manner here than You can do in London with your present Income. I do not for my part see how Your Profession can be an Obstacle to Your getting any of the American Governments since several of Your Profession have been at times appointed to the Chief Command in some or other of these Colonies & there are at present among us but few Military Gentlemen, but at the same time I much question whether the Rubs you may probably meet with in such a Situation & at Your time of Life would not make You repent that You ever left England & Your Attorney's Business for the Title & Employment of an American Governor. The Age & Infirmities of the present Governors of North Carolina Bermuda & new Providence make it probable that One or more of those Governments will very shortly become vacant & the Revenue of either would I apprehend support a Person very genteely, but for my own part was I in England & in Business by which I could live comfortably I would not for the sake of getting something more make my happiness dependant on the Caprice of others as is the Ease & happiness of every Governor in America. What lucrative Offices there are in the other Colonies which make it necessary for the Possessors to have some knowledge of the Law I do not know. I think I have heard that the Chief Justice in Nova Scotia has a Salary of £500 a Year which is I believe more than any other Chief Justice gets in America but I cannot think You are so much dissatisfied with your present Condition as to wish Your-

²⁰ Not identified.

²¹ Gregory Sharpe.

self in that Part of the World with such an Annual Income. The Officers of the Maryland Troops having sometime ago on receiving the Money that Sir Jeffery Amherst²² had thought fit to allow them on Account of their Arrears of Pay deposited six hundred & fifteen Dollars in my hands for your Use as an acknowledgment for Your Services in Negotiating their Affair, I now remit you Bills of Exchange for the same. I presume You know how all the hopes I had myself entertained of being reimbursed by the General what I had been obliged to expend during the War in the Government's Service were frustrated by Sir Jeffery's declining to concern himself with my Account & indeed he was so extremely saving or as they say went so near the Wind in the Adjustment of the other Accounts referred to him that our Officers were obliged to be content with a Sum far short of what the three Generals had reported to be due to them & which I think in Equity they ought to have been allowed. I am sorry to inform You that Your old Friend Mr. Bordley²³ was so affected last Summer by a Stroke of the palsy that I am afraid he will Scarcely ever recover it. That you may long continue to enjoy a good State of Health with every thing else that can contribute to make you happy is the sincere Wish of Dear Sir Your most affectionate Brother & humble servant

Horo Sharpe

List of Bills of Exchange inclosed	£	stg
William Smith's on John Wilkenson for.....	21..	6.. 0
James Christie's on Messrs. Christie for.....	17..	17.. 9
Henry Wards on Messrs. McLean & Son for....	26..	0.. 0
Henry McLachlan's on Do for.....	14..	3.. 4
Henry McLachlan's on Do for.....	54..	10.. 6
My own Draft on Brother Philip for	4..	9.. 11
615 Dollars at 4/6 each are equal to	£138..	7.. 6

Annapolis 20 November 1766²⁴

Dear Brother

It is indeed some time since I wrote to You but as my Silence has been owing to my having Nothing worthy of Notice to com-

²² Jeffrey Amherst (1717-1797), governor-general of British North America, had recently departed for England following the end of the French and Indian War.

²³ Stephen Bordley (1710-1764), commissary-general of Maryland and member of the council, had suffered "a stroke of palsy" that proved fatal.

²⁴ To William Sharpe, unsigned holograph in Horatio Sharpe's hand, inscribed on verso "From the Govr to Wm Sharpe," Personal Miscellany, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

municate You will I flatter Myself readily excuse me. Your Favour by Mr. Jordan²⁵ was delivered to Me in June last by that Gentleman whom His Lordship as You intimated hath thought fit to join with Mr. Dulany²⁶ & Myself in two Commissions One empowering Us to examine & make a Settlement of the Agents Accounts for some Years past & the other authorizing Us to sell to the best Bidders several Mannours which having been heretofore laid out & reserved by the Lords proprietary had been leased at low Rents. Soon after Mr. Jordans Arrival we proceeded to the first part of Our Duty & made some Progress but have not yet finished the Affair. We have also during the Course of the Summer put up several of the Mannours to sale in pursuance of His Lordships Instructions but by reason of the present scarcity of Cash in the province & some other Causes have as yet sold very little so that I am afraid His Lordships Expectations as well as Mr. Jordans will in a great Measure be disappointed. Agreeable to your Desire expressed towards the Conclusion of the Letter you favoured me with the 7th of last November I now send You inclosed the First of a Sett of Exchange for one hundred Pounds which You will I hope receive about Christmas notwithstanding I am so late in remitting it, the Ship having been detained here a Fortnight Longer than was expected. As Nothing can give me so much pleasure as I should receive from hearing that You & my other Brothers enjoy a good share of Health I hope some or other of You will be so kind as to let me know from time to time how You are. I am indeed indebted to the Doctor²⁷ for a Letter which I will very shortly answer but Mr. Drieg's²⁸ writing to Me about some Business instead of Brother Phil increases my Apprehension of his being in danger, for my own Part I continue to enjoy a pretty good State of Health tho I do not Now entirely escape the ill Effects of this hot Climate. I beg You'l present my respectful Compliments & Love to Your Lady & my Brothers & be assured that I remain

Dear Sir Your obliged
& most affectionate Brother

²⁵ John Morton Jordan (d. 1771), one of the adventurers who came to Maryland with Lord Baltimore's favor, had been included in a joint commission with Sharpe and Dulany to sell the proprietary manors and reserved lands around them.

²⁶ Daniel Dulany, the Younger (1722-1797).

²⁷ Gregory Sharpe.

²⁸ Not identified. The context suggests that he was Philip's associate or possibly a senior clerk.

December 10th 1768²⁹

Dear Brother

In a Letter I was some time ago favoured with You observed that They who never write may love their Friends & Relations as dearly as those who send Letters by every Opportunity & I am convinced by what passes in my own mind as well as by Your Behaviour that it is as true a Doctrine as the Master of the Temple can deliver from his Pulpit. In a Letter I received lately from Brother Joshua dated the 6th of August he informs me of the kind part you acted at the time you were advised of Lord Baltimore's having nominated his Brother in Law³⁰ to succeed me in the Government of Maryland. This taking so long a Journey at such a time purposely to have an Interview with His Lordship in order to render me every possible Service was truly affectionate & demands from me the most grateful acknowledgments. Presuming that you saw the long Letter I address't last Spring to Brother Phil & will also before this reaches you have read or heard the contents of One I wrote the 17 of last Month to Brother Joshua I need not tell you that notwithstanding the Reason His Lordship was pleased to give you for so suddenly appointing Captain Eden his Lieutenant Governor in my stead appearances are very strong that such nomination was at least as much owing to the misrepresentations & practices of some others who very unworthily in my opinion stand extreme high in his Lordships Favour as to any Fraternal affection he may entertain for his Sister or my Successor. Had His Lordships Design been only to provide for his Brother in Law how came he to send in a Commission dated in August last appointing Mr. George Lee³¹ a Factor of Mr. Jordans Surveyor General of the Western Shore, an office which in fact is a Sine Cure & has been held by the lieutenant Governor ever since His Lordships ancestors was restored to the Government; does such a Proceeding manifest any extraordinary Regard for Captain Eden? or is it not calculated to shew the People here that in order to promote Mr. Jordans interest as a Tobacco Merchant & induce the

²⁹ To Gregory Sharpe, unsigned holograph in Horatio Sharpe's hand, Personal Miscellany, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

³⁰ Robert Eden (1741-1784), a captain in the Coldstream Guards, had married Caroline Calvert, sister of Frederick, sixth Lord Baltimore. Eden arrived at Annapolis in June 1769 to succeed Sharpe.

³¹ George Lee of Charles County took this office 28 November 1768. As Sharpe indicated the post was a sinecure which he had held since his arrival in 1753. For the first seven years of his administration Sharpe allowed his secretary, John Ridout, the profits of this office, for lack of any other place, as a reward. Lee lost the office when his patron, Jordan, died in 1771.

People here to consider him as the *Domine factotum* I am to be partly ship't before my Successors Arrival & he during his administration to be deprived of Emoluments that have without Intermission been enjoyed by his predecessors. What think you too of Mr. H's Man's³² getting as a Present from My Lord about the time that Captain Eden was nominated a Manour & Reserved around it that is now worth £20000 sterling & to an order for this Grant Captain Eden has subscribed his Name as a Witness, a Present in my Opinion vastly preferable to the Government. It is I am told wrote from London that he has dropt hints that he should succeed Mr. Hamersley as His Lordships Secretary but hitherto they seem to have acted in Concert & I have little room to think Mr. Hamersley has acted a more candid or Friendly part by me than the other. You would see by the Copy of a Letter of his dated the 20 July which I inclosed to Brother Joshua how far he went in my Commendation at the time he was apprizing me of Captain Edens Nomination tho in another Letter bearing Date the 18th of that Month he had been censuring my Conduct very freely for having done what I could not have declined doing without disobeying His Lordship's Instructions by himself communicated to me; what I allude to is the appointment of Mr. Allen³³ to be His Lordships Agent & Receiver General. When this Mr. Allen came from England about two years ago he was by Mr. Hamersley recommended to me as a Gentleman for whom His Lordship after an acquaintance of many years had the greatest Friendship & most affectionate Regard, he was represented to me as a Clergyman of very great natural & acquired abilities, of most engaging manners & meriting the Utmost that could be done for his Service. In Consequence of such Recommendations I was solicitous to provide for him to his Hearts Content, but soon found that his Expectations were unreasonable; & because I hesitated about doing in order to put Money in his pocket what I did not think justifiable he represented me as I have reason to believe as unwilling to fulfill

³² Mr. H. was Hugh Hamersley (d. 1789), who succeeded Cecil Calvert as Principal Secretary of Maryland in 1765. Hamersley's man was John Morton Jordan. According to the minutes of the Board of Revenue Jordan was granted a patent for the unsold portion of Conococheague Manor, 7753 acres. At the time Sharpe wrote, Jordan was in England where Lord Baltimore had appointed him Supervisor of Accounts, Lands and Revenues. News of this appointment had leaked back to Maryland. *Arch. Md.*, XXXII, 409-410.

³³ Bennett Allen (c. 1737-1814), one of the truly astonishing characters of late colonial history, came to Maryland as a clergyman bringing Lord Baltimore's orders to provide for him. His escapades in Maryland between 1766 and 1775 are recounted in Josephine Fisher, "Bennett Allen, Fighting Parson," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXVIII (Dec., 1943), 299-322 and XXXIX (Mar., 1944), 49-72.

His Lordship's pleasure. Upon this Mr. Hamersley in every Letter reiterated My Lords Instructions in his favour, & in November 1767 wrote me the Letter of which I inclose You an Extract. Soon afterwards the Intimacy which has hitherto subsisted between him & Mr. D. Dulany³⁴ was put an End to by a Difference that arose between Mr. Allen & Mr. Walter Dulany³⁵ the latter having refused to assist the other in a Design he had of holding two parishes & Mr. Allen having also endeavoured to get the Commissary's Office which was then enjoyed by Mr. Walter Dulany. They soon afterwards engaged in a paper war & handled each other very roughly. Both parties at the same time desirous to stand well with His Lordship & Mr. Hamersley writing home in Vindication of their Conduct & at first His Lordship or Mr. Hamersley seem'd rather to favour Mr. Allen but when Mr. Jordan whom Mr. Dulany had it seems secured in his Interest arrived in England he turned the Scale & then Mr. Hamersley wrote the most Complaisant or rather Letters of adulation to the two Brothers highly censuring Mr. Allens Conduct speaking of him as a vain Superficial pretender to Knowledge, a Skimmer of the Surface, & imprudent to the last Degree, at the same time telling them that His Lordship was very much displeas'd at my having gone such lengths to serve him, intimating that I had no Instructions for what I had done, & that he presumed I was willing to outrun any Intentions His Lordship could entertain in Mr. Allens favour. So that according to his account Mr. Allen was only endebted to Me for his preferment, when in fact I considered him as unworthy of the Countenance I had thought myself oblig'd by His Lordships & Mr. Hamersleys Letters to shew him. Mr. Hamersley did not I dare say expect that I would be acquainted with the Contents of such his Letters to Messrs Dulanys' but you may be assured I do Not exaggerate, & I leave you to judge what share of my Esteem & Regard he is hereafter entitled to. No longer ago than November 1767 I was reprehended by Mr. Hamersley for having appointed Mr. Walter Dulany Commissary General & tho he had put things in such a Train that I could not do otherwise, he told me that His Lordship had destined that office for Mr. Allen but he now gives Mr. *Dulany* to understand that It was always intended for *him*, so that if I had confer'd it on anyone else my appointment would it seems have been set aside. Were the several Letters Mr. Hamersley has wrote to different persons here or even those he has

³⁴ Daniel Dulany, the Younger.

³⁵ Walter Dulany (1723-1773), younger brother of Daniel, had acquired the office of commissary-general in 1767 as a result of pressure politics.

at different times wrote to myself published in what a light would he appear to the people of this province? I will venture to say that if he had acted more candidly & on the square with all of us he would have served His Lordship full as well as by ces sinuosites d'un politique tortueuse. As Mr. Allen took care to let almost every Body that came in his way know in what high Esteem he was with my Lord & Mr. Hamersley by reading as it were publickly all the Letters that he till of late received from both of them Mr. Hamersley writing of him now slightlyly can answer no End but to shew with how little Judgment My Lord & he choose their Friends & how little their Friendship & promises are to be relied on; Since the Receipt of Mr. Hamersleys last Letters Mr. Walter Dulany has actually caned Mr. Allen in the open Street & the Man so lately His Lordships avowed Favourite is become the Contempt & Scorn of his Enemies, while the Messrs Dulanys seem to have the game in their own hand & tis reported that Letters from London say Mr. Jordan had hinted that Captain Eden would be perticularly recommended to them. This too in my opinion is not very well judged for however great Mr. Daniel Dulany's Talents may be Captain Eden should on his arrival wish to be considered as free from all Influence & Prejudices, for there are many Gentlemen in the province who will not perhaps readily admit that Mr. Dulany is so very much superiour & will ill brook to be slighted or considered of little Consequence; It is possible that all the Measures latey adopted shoud have been seriously considered & approved of by His Lordship, or have not those about him think you taken the advantage of his being in a confused state of Mind occasioned by his Troubles & prevail'd on him to do what at another time he would never have thought of.³⁶ If Mr. Jordan preserves the ascendancy he has at present over My Lord I shall never be sorry that I am dismissed so early in his Ministry, for I should have thought it dishonourable to Serve under his Controul or Direction, & I now quit the Station I have filled here with as much applause as I could ever have expected to do; at the time the first Intelligence of my being superceded was published in the Pennsylvania Gazette copied from a London News paper our Provincial Court happened to be sitting & the Judges & All the Gentlemen of the Bar (among them some of the most respectable people in the province on account of their

³⁶ Frederick, Lord Baltimore had been indicted for raping a young woman of honorable family and was threatened with the "rigour of the law" as one correspondent put it. For some weeks Baltimore played hide and seek with his pursuers.

Characters Interest & Fortune, & no less than Ten Members of the Lower House of Assembly) Immediately agreed to address Me on the Occasion which they accordingly did in words that I think reflect honour on my administration & the more so as some of the Subscribers were in ye Opposition at the time. I had some Contests with the Assembly when His Majesty's Service & the Prerogative Rights of Lord Baltimore were the Matters in Question. Since that of the provincial Court other addresses have been presented to me from the Justices & Grand juries of almost all the Counties in the Province expressive of great Respect & Regard for me as you will see by the sample in the inclosed Gazettes for the Judges & Justices did not think it enough to address me but ordered their several addresses to be recorded & also to be printed. Had I obtained the good opinion of the people here at the Expence of any Right of His Lordships or by not discharging my Duty to the Crown & punctually obeying the orders communicated to me from time to time by his Majesty's Ministers I should consider the Compliments now paid me as a Reflection on my Conduct, but I am confident I cannot be accused of any such Fault & the Journals of the Lower House of the Assembly will shew how strenuously I have opposed that Branch of the Legislature when at times the members have shewn a Disposition to make Encroachments & that in 1755 particularly when I received the Kings Commission to command the Forces that might be raised in the Colonies for an Expedition against Fort DuQuesne I would not break thro an Instruction of His Lordships tho by doing so I might have obtained from the Assembly a very considerable Sum. In a word I have endeavoured to act in my public Capacity like an honest Man & am under no apprehension lest any thing should be laid to my Charge that I may be ashamed of, or if put to the Tryal be unable to justify, & for acting such a part I am sure of yours & the approbation of my own mind. Captain Eden having purchased of the Owner in England the House in which I dwelt since I came to the province & sent hither some workmen to repair it against his arrival I shall immediately remove my things to my Farm about seven miles from Town on which I have a small elegant Lodge³⁷ but my place of abode during the winter at least will be in Annapolis in a House Mr. Ridout has built here since he married, so that I can act handsomly with regard to Captain Eden by quitting his House immediately without putting myself to any Inconvenience. As I have mentioned Mr. Ridout to you it

³⁷ "Whitehall," one of the ornaments of Georgian architecture, on Whitehall Creek, northeast of Annapolis.

is but Justice to him to tell you & to desire you to inform the Gentleman who was the Means of his being recommended to me for a Secretary that his Behaviour on all occasions from that time has been agreeable to my wishes. About seven years ago I appointed him Naval Officer of this port which brings him in more than £200 a Year & as he is also a Member of the Council will probably be continued tho if Mr. Jordan is to have the Sole Direction I shall not be surprized at his finding some other nephew or dependant to supply Mr. Ridouts place. I perceive by an Extract in one of the public papers from the London Magazine for July that I am glanced at as a Stickler for violent proceedings against the Colonies & as having adopted the measures Governor Bernard has been pursuing at Boston. How little did the author of that Paragraph know of my Inclination or Sentiments! For altho I thought it my Duty to communicate last May to the Assembly the Contents of Lord Hillsboroughs Letter³⁸ & to press them to a Compliance with His Majesty's Requisition thereby signified I wish't at the time that now such Requisition had been made, & tho the Assembly took Occasion from my Message to express their Sentiments very freely they were not offended at me & knew how to make a Distinction between my discharging my Duty as Governor & being officious or desirous to bring on the Province his Majesty's Displeasure. Had I said less to the Assembly than I did the Ministry might perhaps have thought me more solicitous to please & humour the people than studious to execute His Majesty's Commands, & my Enemies at home may then have said twas high time for another Governor to be appointed lest I should sacrifice at the Shrine of Popularity the Rights of Government which by the Lord proprietary had been committed to my Care. Should not an End be speedily put to the Disputes & Jealousies now subsisting between Great Britain & her Colonies lucky indeed will that Governor be that can act in such a manner as not to incur Censure either in America or at home,

³⁸ Sharpe's message communicating Hillsborough's instruction was a masterpiece of political adroitness. He waited until two days before the session ended before informing the delegates that he would be obliged to dissolve the assembly if the representatives took official notice of the Massachusetts circular letter. In turn the delegates delayed. Just before noon recess on the last day the lower house sent Sharpe a message saying flatly that they held the right of petition—jointly with Massachusetts or any other colony—essential to their liberties. At the same time they informed him that they had completed their legislative work and had no other business before them. After lunch Sharpe sent for the delegates, sealed 29 bills enacted, and ended the session quite amicably. *Arch. Md.*, LXI, 399, 413-14, 419-20. Sharpe's explanation here shows both his insight and his tacit understanding with the assembly.

for my own part I think a private Station with a moderate Fortune is at such a time preferable to a Government especially to one where the Governor is responsible to so many. My Brother Joshua in his Letter intimated to me that at the time Lord Baltimore explained to you his Motives for appointing Captain Eden to succeed me he told you that if I should return to England & could serve him effectually in the Sale of the Government of Maryland to the Crown he would amply recompence it, but I cannot see how it would be in my power to serve him in the Matter. If you think it would & he will vest me with full & sole powers to act therein on his behalf I shall have no objections to doing any thing in my power³⁹ but the Intimation seemed I think to be rather too vague to hasten my Return to England nor shall I think any more of it unless You think it a proposal worthy of my serious Consideration & that I should be able to succeed in the Negotiation. It gives me vast Concern to learn that Brother Phil was in so bad a State of Health, twould shock Me much to see him in the Condition Brother Joshua describes him to have been when He went abroad but I hope he has received great Benefit from the German Spa & is now returned to . . .⁴⁰ in better health. I sincerely wish too that your Disorder may become less severe & troublesome & that nothing will ever happen to disappoint you or interrupt your happiness. If Brother Phil is returned be pleased to present my Love to him & tell him I will write to him very shortly & believe that I am Dear Brother most sincerely & affectionately Yours.

Maryland May 27..1771⁴¹

Dear Brother

The last Letter I had the satisfaction to receive from you was that you were pleased to favor me with the 29th of August 1769 so that I do not know what Addition has been made to my Stock in the publick Funds in Consequence of the request I made in my Letter to you of the 9th of March 1770 but as the Interest which would become due at Christmas 1769 on my £4300 in the three per Cents would according to my Calculation amount to £387 and I find by a Letter from Brother Joshua that you received the £150 on my draft upon Lord Albemarle I presume my Stock in the Three per Cents is now £5000 at least which Sum it is my

³⁹ Illegible interlineation at this point.

⁴⁰ Illegible place name.

⁴¹ To Philip Sharpe, holograph endorsed in Sharpe's hand, "Draft of a Letter to Brother Philip," British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 154-89 (Library of Congress Transcripts).

Intention to continue to hold; but if you have still any Money of mine in your hands I should be obliged to you for paying it to Messrs William and James Anderson⁴² Merchants on Tower Hill to be by them placed to my Credit, or if there shall when this comes to hand be any dividend due on my Stock Be so kind as to receive and pay it to that House on my account, Mr. William Anderson is it seems lately Dead but as the Firm of the House continues that Event makes no difference with respect to my Account. Mr. James Anderson the surviving partner lives in Harpur Street and will upon receiving an Intimation from you wait on you at any time for the Money, or if you please to empower him will attend the Bank to receive the Dividends that may become due which will be easing you of some trouble.

Brother Joshua informed me some time ago that you had agreeable to my Desire paid him on my Account £30 for J-G-⁴³ a further Contribution might perhaps be requisite, in that Case, you will be pleased to retain so much of my dividends as you shall think proper for that purpose. By a Ship lately arrived here from London I received a Letter from Brother Joshua communicating to me the Melancholy News of the Death of our Brother the Doctor which it seems was thought to be hastened by his endeavouring to check the regular Fits of the Disease under which he so long laboured. As the same Letter from Brother Joshua gives me a more unfavourable Account of your Health than his former did I am afraid this unhappy Event had too much affected your Spirits but I live in hopes that I shall very soon receive a more agreeable Account either from him or yourself which would indeed Afford me the greatest Consolation. Would to God you could have such a share of Health as I generally enjoy which is probably in some measure owing to the Climate but I am I believe much indebted for it to Exercise as I scarcely let a Day pass without walking a good deal about my Farm and Garden which is now become my principal Amusement. I have this Spring passd a week or two in Virginia by way of varying the Scene: They are it seems to continue some time Longer without a Governor Lord Dunmore⁴⁴ declining to succeed Lord Botetourt⁴⁵ tho the

⁴² The house of William and James Anderson was an established firm in the Maryland tobacco trade. William was the senior partner and the firm was frequently referred to as William Anderson and Company.

⁴³ Not identified.

⁴⁴ John Murray, fourth Earl of Dunmore (1732-1809), Governor of Virginia from 1770 to 1776.

⁴⁵ Norborne Berkelay, Baron de Botetourt (c. 1718-1770), Governor of Virginia from 1768 to 1770.

Salary and Emoluments to a Governor in Chief of Virginia do not fall short of £5000 sterling a year & I think the People are as easily pleased as any in his Majesty's Dominions. They now expect I am told to have Colonel Tryon for their Governor and I presume will be as well pleased with him for there is evidently a strong prejudice throughout that Colony against Scotchmen. Governor Tryon too will I apprehend be quite happy at exchanging North-Carolina for Virginia for his Health I am told has been much impaired since he came to Carolina and he seems to have a Disagreeable Time of it by reason of those Riotous Regulators⁴⁶ on the Frontiers who some time ago as it were invested the Seat of Government and against whom he is now obliged to March at the Head of an Armed Force. The repeal of the Act of Parliament which imposed a Duty to be paid in America on paper Prints, Colours et cetera imported from Great Britain seems to have pretty well pacified the Americans but during the Non importation Agreement Many applied themselves to Manufacturing and will I believe persevere. I received lately a short Letter from Lord Baltimore dated at the since⁴⁷ which time he has I understand been shifting his Quarters very often and is now gone to Venice,⁴⁸ so that I do not know where to address a Letter to him. Governor Edens I presume find their Way thro' the hands of Mr. Hamersley but my Correspondence with that Gentleman is at an End and I have no Inclination to renew it. Affairs here remain in pretty much the same state the Governor has not as yet met with much to please or Disgust him but I think he is hardly as happy as he expected to be and that a different kind of Life would be more to his Taste. We continue on a good understanding and visit without Ceremony, but as to Jordan I never go near him, he is indeed alive & that is all for he is scarcely able to Crawl about & has not been for some two Months together much better since he returned to the Province, so that if Lord Baltimore had any Expectations of Service from him he must be plaguedly disappointed. The Mannor which he got from his Lordship for £4000 he lately sold for near £12000 to a Gentleman of this Province which is enough to shew My Lord whose Interest he had most at Heart. You will probably

⁴⁶ The Regulator Movement had come to a crisis in 1771. Unless the news had come by express messenger Sharpe would not have known that the Regulators had been crushed at the Battle of Alamance on 16 May.

⁴⁷ Left blank in the draft.

⁴⁸ Lord Baltimore had left England to avoid public hostility and was in Italy when Sharpe wrote. He died in Naples on 14 September 1771. His body was brought back to England and lay in state at Exeter Exchange, London. As soon as it was removed for burial the populace plundered the room in fury.

in the Course of the Summer meet at Bath or Tunbridge a Mr. Carroll⁴⁹ of this Province who with his Wife went to England about three Weeks ago in hopes of receiving some Benefit from those Waters. I did intend to have transmitted a Letter by him but my visit to Virginia prevented and therefore I take this Opportunity to intimate to you that he is a gentleman I visit and whom I wish very well.

I shall by this same Conveyance write also to Brother Joshua and therefore have only to add that my best Wishes ever attend you and that I am Dear Brother most sincerely and Affectionately

Yours

Philip Sharpe Esquire

London 11th May 1784⁵⁰

With this my Dear Sam you will receive the Account that was sent me so long ago as the 19th of October last. I have frequently taken it up, looked at it and, laid it down again with real concern. But no more of that. The reasons why I now return it to you after so long a Silence are these. The uncertainty of your having kept a Copy and, to give you an opportunity of drawing it out again in a less exceptionable manner; So that it may do you Credit whenever it shall be called for; That this will come to pass you may take my word for it. However I will just hint to you that when your Father casts his eye on the article of £60 advanced by me on your departure to Bologne his curiosity (natural to a fond parent) will certainly lead him to make the demand and certain I am you would not wish that he should meet with disappointment.

You may either state it as an account or perhaps it may be better to call it Memorandums relative to the Disbursements of £60 received of Mr. Sharpe the 21st of May 1782. Under which the several charges are to be set down in the same order as they have occurred—for instance

Memorandums &a (as above)

1782

Month & Date	Paid for my passage from Margate to Ostend & the Carriage of my Baggage from the Vessel to the Inn..	---
	Ditto my expenses while there.....	---

⁴⁹ The Carroll mentioned here must have been Charles Carroll, Barrister; Charles Carroll of Carrollton was in the province all summer. These were the two, among many Carrolls, that Sharpe knew well.

⁵⁰ To Samuel Ridout, autograph letter signed, Personal Miscellany, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

Month & Date To a Diligence (or Post Chaise) from
Ostend to.....with my Expences
the Road

— — —

And so on from place to place till you arrive at Bologne; When there you will as I before observed set down the several disbursements in the same order as they occurred, be attentive to your Dates and particularly carefull not to introduce any Article of Expenditure of the year 1783 till you have fully closed and done with the year 1782.

If this sketch would not be sufficiently clear, your uncle will (if applied to) lend you his assistance.

As this Letter will perhaps be the last I shall have Occasion to write to you, at least for some time to come, I cannot conclude it without a little touch of my former office by making the following friendly observation—to be poor is to be in sorrow; so that some degree of Riches are necessary and to attain this, remember that few things are Impossible to Industry and Skill. And now permit me to assure you there is no one will be better pleased to hear of your success in life than myself and I most sincerely wish you every Blessing that we Mortals can enjoy—perfect happyness is not to be expected.

With the greatest regard I am my Dear Sam
Your affectionate Friend & humble servant
Horo Sharpe

I had almost forgot to tell you that the Letter I mentioned to you some time past, will be put into your Uncles Trunk under a cover addressed to you and I will be greatly obliged to you for the delivery of it to your Father

Should we never meet again Sam—Why—Farewell—

FEDERALISM AT HIGH TIDE: THE ELECTION OF 1796 IN MARYLAND

By MALCOLM C. CLARK

I

DURING the autumn of 1796, the voters of Maryland were faced with the responsibility of choosing Washington's successor. This was no easy task, for their political accord had been destroyed. A serious cleavage had been wrought by the Hamiltonian program, the Jacobin frenzy, and the Whiskey Rebellion. These issues were further inflamed by the publication of the Jay Treaty.

Men of property were especially anxious that the Treaty be gracefully accepted. One representative declared that nine-tenths of the gentlemen in the General Court of the Eastern Shore approved it.¹ But the opposition was determined and resourceful: Congress and the President were flooded with protests. Citizens were warned by the Federalist press that anyone bearing a petition against the Treaty must be "a Jacobin, or the Dupe of a Jacobin."² At the end of April, 1796, when appropriations for the Treaty finally passed the House by a narrow margin, four Congressmen from Maryland had been coerced into standing with the Administration. By means of continuous agitation, economic pressure, and hysterical journalism, the Federalists managed to preserve Jay's handiwork.³

¹ William Vans Murray, Cambridge, E. S., to Oliver Wolcott, Oct. 2, 1795, George Gibbs (ed.), *Memoirs of the Administration of Washington and John Adams, Edited from the Papers of Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury* (New York, 1846), I, 249. Several times during the summer Murray reported to Wolcott on the treaty agitation in his district. *Ibid.*, 213, 222, 228-29.

² "COMMON SENSE" in *The (Easton) Maryland Herald*, Oct. 27, 1795.

³ Manning J. Dauer, *The Adams Federalists* (Baltimore, 1953), p. 290; Stephen G. Kurtz, *The Presidency of John Adams: The Collapse of Federalism, 1795-1800* (Philadelphia, 1957), pp. 159-60; Irving Brant, *James Madison, Father of the Constitution, 1787-1800* (Indianapolis, 1950), pp. 438-439. The struggle in Baltimore town and county between the "respectable citizens" (i.e., bankers, lawyers and underwriters) and the independent mechanics and manufacturers may be followed in the (Baltimore) *Maryland Journal* from April 22 to May

The political importance of the Old Line State could be seen in the President's frequent attempts to fill vacant positions with reliable Maryland Federalists. The War Department was turned down by several able men, including the former Governor, John Eager Howard. Unfortunately, it finally went to the Baltimore physician, James McHenry, whose unfitness for the office Washington was later to acknowledge.⁴ On the state level, the defenders of the *status quo* were almost invariably aligned with the Federalist Party. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, long the recognized leader, was to make a bid for Presidential elector. George Dent, a wealthy landowner in Charles County, was virtually unchallenged for the Congressional seat in the first district. James Winchester, a distinguished lawyer and an influential voice in Baltimore politics, had declined all public service at this time. He was indicative of those who felt the demands of private interest more keenly than the attractions of elective office.⁵ From Cambridge, on the Eastern Shore, came the political observations and the campaign literature of William Vans Murray. Refusing to be polled for a fourth term in Congress, he was soon to reënter public life as Minister to The Hague.⁶

The Republican opposition, though still weak in this period, had enlisted several vigorous and persistent advocates. General Samuel Smith, the prosperous merchant and Congressman from Baltimore, retained an undiminished popularity with the artisans and mechanics even after the Federalists had forced him to vote for implementing the Jay Treaty. The democratic

4, 1796. See also James Winchester, Baltimore, to James McHenry, April 22 & May 1, 1796, Bernard C. Steiner (col.), "Maryland Politics in 1796—McHenry Letters," *Publications of the Southern History Association*, IX (Nov., 1905), 375-77. Hereafter: Steiner, "McHenry Letters."

⁴ George Washington to James McHenry, Jan. 20, 1796, John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799* (Washington, 1931-44), XXXIV, 423-24. McHenry accepted in his reply of Jan. 24th. *Ibid.* For the judgment, see Washington to Hamilton, Aug. 9, 1798, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 394.

⁵ Winchester to McHenry, April 22, 1796, Steiner, "McHenry Letters," p. 375.

⁶ For recent studies of Murray's political thought and diplomatic service, two articles by Alexander DeConde are excellent: "William Vans Murray's *Political Sketches: A Defense of the American Experiment*," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLI (Mar., 1955), 623-40; and "William Vans Murray and the Diplomacy of Peace, 1797-1800," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVIII (Mar., 1953), 1-26.

cause was also aided by the oratory and pamphleteering of Gabriel Duvall of Annapolis. During the debate over the appropriations for the Treaty, he had resigned his seat in the House in order to become a judge in the Maryland Supreme Court. But judicial impartiality was not to prevent his appearance in the fall as a Presidential elector "decidedly in favor of Mr. Jefferson."⁷ Finally, there was the enviable position of the one who had been elected to complete Duvall's unexpired term: Richard Sprigg was destined to receive the unqualified endorsement of his constituents.

II

The twentieth anniversary of American independence—July 4, 1796—was an occasion for many celebrations throughout Maryland. At Baltimore the festivities were elaborate. Flags decorated countless buildings while ensigns fluttered on the masts of ships moored in the harbor. Salutes were fired from Fort Whetstone Point, and the town militia paraded for Governor Stone, General Smith and other officers. "At night," continues one description, "a most brilliant and splendid illumination took place at Gray's gardens. . . ."⁸ The temptation to use this holiday for partisan purposes was seldom resisted. It is not surprising that the conservatives disliked the toasts and oratory which invariably accompanied the numerous banquets and barbecues. The Baltimore Republican Society, for example, proclaimed as one of its toasts: "The Fourth of July, may it ever prove a momento to the oppressed to rise and assert their rights."⁹ Another celebration at Citizen Rohrer's spring near Elizabethtown also featured a long series of toasts after guests had "partaken of a truly Republican dinner." Accompanied by the discharge of cannon and musketry, Washington, Jefferson and Madison were appropriately eulogized, and strong approbation given to France.¹⁰ "A numerous and respectable

⁷ (Annapolis) *Maryland Gazette*, Oct. 20, 1796, *et. seq.*

⁸ (Baltimore) *Maryland Journal*, July 5, 1796.

⁹ *Baltimore Telegraph*, July 6, 1796. Quoted in Eugene P. Link, *Democratic-Republican Societies, 1790-1800* (New York, 1942), p. 151.

¹⁰ *The (Elizabeth-[Hager's] Town) Washington Spy*, July 6, 1796.

company" also commemorated the anniversary at Tan-Yard Spring near the port of Nottingham on the Patuxent.¹¹

Congress had scarcely adjourned before some of its members were preparing for the hustings. In the seventh district,¹² the Federalist incumbent, William Hindman, had indicated his availability as early as June 21st. By the latter part of August, he was out on the stump vigorously defending his record.¹³ In the local newspaper, he attempted to justify his negative vote on the Bill for the Relief and Protection of American Seamen which had passed during the last session of Congress. As a true conservative, he felt that such welfare legislation was "unnecessary, and would . . . furnish an improper precedent."¹⁴ "A REPUBLICAN" responded by printing Hindman's voting record on a number of bills in the same session. Particularly in the case of the Seamen's bill, he argued, Hindman's attempt to vindicate himself implied that Congress and the Executive had violated the Constitution. The critic concluded that "this fixes the great seal to his own condemnation."¹⁵ After three columns in Hindman's defense, "A VOTER" proclaimed that it was the Congressman's support which promoted the Jay Treaty in the Committee of the Whole: "Mr. H's vote upon that occasion shou'd ever claim our kindest regards. . . ."¹⁶ Although the result was never really in doubt, Hindeman's Republican opponent, Robert Wright, did carry Queen Anne's by a slim majority of forty-seven votes.¹⁷ Apparently Hindman campaigned heavily in this county, for his colleague reported—perhaps extravagantly—that "the great Hindman has lately divided a regiment in Queen Anne's & left his opponent in a small minority. H. addressed them—he is an excellent man."¹⁸

¹¹ *Bartgis's Federal Gazette* (Frederick), July 21, 1796.

¹² Queen Anne's, Caroline and Talbot.

¹³ *The (Easton) Maryland Herald*, June 21, 1796; Murray to McHenry, Aug. 21, 1796, Bernard C. Steiner, *Life and Correspondence of James McHenry, Secretary of War under Washington and Adams* (Cleveland, 1907), p. 197. Hereafter: Steiner, *James McHenry*.

¹⁴ *The (Easton) Maryland Herald*, Aug. 23, 1796.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 30, 1796.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Reports by County Sheriffs of the Returns for Representatives in Congress, Oct., 1796, MSS in Executive Archives, Hall of Records, Annapolis. It will be understood that further statistical evidence in the text and notes have been drawn from these official reports.

¹⁸ Murray to McHenry, Aug. 21, 1796, Steiner, *James McHenry*, p. 197.

When the ballots were counted, it was found that Hindman had carried Caroline by only twenty votes, but his overwhelming victory in Talbot had given him a comfortable eight to five margin.¹⁹

In the fourth district,²⁰ General Thomas Sprigg chose not to stand for reëlection. A Republican, Samuel Ringgold, was the first to come forward,²¹ but within two weeks he was challenged by George Baer who proclaimed that his political sentiments were, "decidedly, for the federal government. . . ." Moreover, Baer regarded any change as extremely hazardous in view of the widespread prosperity.²² During the canvass, it was rather ironic that the Republican should have been attacked on the grounds of his wealth. One writer suspected that it was the purpose of "MODERATUS" to "infuse into the minds of . . . the freemen of this district a suspicion that Samuel Ringgold is not deserving of their patronage, because he happens to be in possession of more acres of land than the generality of citizens." Voters were assured, however, that he would act in the best interests of "the Confederated American Republic, and when instructed, accommodate his conduct to the voice of his constituents."²³

An absurd incident related to this contest appeared a few days after the election. O. H. Williams informed the readers of the *Washington Spy* that during the campaign he had heard Mr. George Jenings assert that "Mr. Samuel Ringgold and his party had said, there was not a German in the district (or county) fit to represent the district in Congress, or, the county, in the General Assembly of this state." Williams communicated this assertion to Ringgold, supposing his election and character endangered. Jenings denied repeatedly having made such an accusation. Thereupon Williams considered it necessary to append a sworn statement from a witness affirming that such a declaration had been made by Jenings at Ragan's Tavern on September 5th.²⁴ But Jenings was not to be outdone. In his

¹⁹ Hindman, 1665; Wright, 995.

²⁰ Allegany, Washington and part of Frederick.

²¹ *The (Elizabethtown) Washington Spy*, Aug. 17, 1796.

²² *Ibid.*, Aug. 31, 1796.

²³ "4th of July, 1776," *ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1796.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1796.

rebuttal, he again denied Williams' accusation and supported his contention with *four* sworn statements from others who testified that they were also present at the tavern on the night in question. Regarding the debate between Williams and Jenings at the tavern, one witness declared that "there was nothing said which appeared to me of material consequence. . . ."²⁵ This squabble illustrates the political passion which encouraged irresponsible public utterances on the character of candidates. The historian must admit that while a severe libel law during the eighteenth century might have introduced a measure of decorum to electioneering, the newspapers would never have contained so much that is both fascinating and instructive.

It is doubtful whether this controversy had much effect on the election, unless possibly to antagonize a few Germans. Except in Washington County where he was only sixteen votes short of a majority out of 1252 ballots cast, Ringgold was decisively beaten by a ratio of over five to two.²⁶ Elsewhere in the state, the Federalist victory was complete in the first and the eighth districts in which George Dent and John Dennis were unopposed.²⁷ The race was very close in the sixth district where William Matthews defeated the Republican incumbent, Gabriel Christie, 1387 to 1307. It was closer yet in the third district. Here William Craik, the Federalist, managed to slip ahead of Benjamin Edwards by only twenty-five votes: 660 to 635. Of the eight Congressional districts in 1796, two returned Republican representatives. In each case, the victors came from areas increasingly Jeffersonian in sentiment, but it was regrettable that the Federalists entered no candidates. In the second district, Richard Sprigg received 1400 votes, and in the

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1796.

²⁶ Baer, 1792; Ringgold, 695. The remaining Congressional districts were as follows:

First: St. Mary's, Charles and Calvert.

Second: Prince George's and Anne Arundel, including Annapolis.

Third: Montgomery and the rest of Frederick.

Fifth: Baltimore Town and County.

Sixth: Harford, Cecil and Kent.

Eighth: Dorchester, Somerset and Worcester.

²⁷ Philip Key, a Federalist in the first district, received two votes out of 787 cast. Dent had a moderate voting record in Congress but was obviously satisfactory to his constituents. Cf. Dauer, *The Adams Federalists*, p. 290. In the eighth district, Dennis polled the official total of 743 votes. Since no figures are recorded from Somerset, it is possible that he received more.

fifth district, Samuel Smith was reelected with 337 votes. In spite of the animosity which Baltimore's representative had aroused over the treaty issue, his voting record in the previous session of Congress did not seriously disturb the Federalists—at least not enough for them to offer a rigorous party man of their own. In the course of nine roll calls, Smith had voted with the Administration four times and with the opposition twice.²⁸ At that time party lines were still vague, but during the stormy years ahead they became more sharply prescribed.²⁹ Soon it was obvious that one could cross them only at his peril.

III

The appearance of Washington's Farewell Address was the signal for continuous eulogy in the Federalist press.³⁰ The address also released the last restraints upon electioneering, and the Presidential campaign rolled into high gear. The timing of its publication and the maxims which it contained led many to believe that it was basically a partisan device for preventing the Republicans from attaining power.³¹ Other observers were apprehensive. Governor John H. Stone described the President's retirement as "a crisis which all good men will lament."³² Most of Washington's fellow-citizens regretted his decision to leave the public scene, but the outburst of panegyric suggests a deliberate attempt to use his prestige as a bulwark against change.³³

²⁸ Dauer, *The Adams Federalists*, p. 290.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 298-99; 304-306; 311-12; 317-18

³⁰ The text was published in the (Baltimore) *Federal Gazette* and in the (Baltimore) *Maryland Journal*, Sept. 21, 1796; also in *Barigis's Federal Gazette* (Frederick), Sept. 29, 1796. Eulogies appeared in the *Maryland Journal*, Sept. 22 & 26, 1796.

³¹ Alexander DeConde, "Washington's Farewell, the French Alliance, and the Election of 1796," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIII (Mar., 1957), 648-50. Another scholar has called it "a sizzling party paper . . . full of hot phrases, smoking with indignation . . ." Marshall Smelser, "The Jacobin Phrenzy: Federalism and the Menace to Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," *The Review of Politics*, XIII, (Oct., 1951), 476.

³² (Baltimore) *Federal Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1796.

³³ J. H. Stone, Annapolis, to George Washington, Dec. 16, 1796 [inclosing unanimous resolutions of gratitude and approbation from the Maryland Senate and House of Delegates], Washington MSS, 282/18-19, Library of Congress. Memorials and addresses in praise of the President and his valedictory came from thirteen legislatures, counties and lodges. Cf. the (Baltimore) *Maryland Journal*, Sept. 17, 22 & 26, 1796, and the (Baltimore) *Federal Gazette*, Nov. 5, 1796, reprinted from *The Gazette of the U. S.*

Well before the public announcement, however, it was generally understood by the major political leaders that Washington would not be a candidate. To whom, then, should they turn? Early in September, William Vans Murray was confiding to the Secretary of War that "the timing of the exertions of the Fedd. party seems to me very important." Assuming that leadership would come from McHenry, Wolcott and Pickering, he modestly observed that Adams might be their wisest choice.³⁴ Indeed, support for the Vice-President was very strong in New England and in certain other states, particularly Maryland. As a result, his enemy Hamilton was obliged to make a show of accepting Adams as the principal contender. But behind the scenes, the New Yorker quietly began an attempt to persuade the electors to choose instead the nominal candidate for Vice-President, Thomas Pinckney. For this purpose, Adams was harshly criticized in the Administrative organ, *The Gazette of the United States*.³⁵

In contrast to his mild but distinct encouragement of the Republican press in 1800, Jefferson remained aloof from the campaign of 1796. "Secluded at Monticello," comments one authority, ". . . Jefferson said nothing, did nothing." He was obviously enjoying his retirement and would have been perfectly content to have seen Madison as the Republican candidate.³⁶ Moreover, it was chiefly through Madison's direction that the loose political association of 1793 was gradually transformed into the compact and partially organized party which awaited Jefferson's return in 1797.³⁷ Since the waning of the treaty fever, the Sage of Monticello had found no comparable issue to arouse and sustain his political ardor. He neither coveted nor accepted any nomination, but simply yielded to

³⁴ Murray to McHenry, Sept. 9, 1796, Steiner, *James McHenry*, p. 197.

³⁵ Joseph Charles, *The Origins of the American Party System: Three Essays* (Chapel Hill, 1956), pp. 57-58; John C. Miller, *Alexander Hamilton: Portrait in Paradox* (New York, 1959), pp. 445-48; Dauer, *The Adams Federalists*, pp. 94-101.

³⁶ Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., *The Jeffersonian Republicans: The Formation of Party Organization, 1789-1801* (Chapel Hill, 1957), pp. 107-108; Dumas Malone, *Jefferson and His Time*, Vol. III: *Jefferson and the Ordeal of Liberty* (Boston, 1962), pp. 273-76; 467.

³⁷ Cunningham, *The Jeffersonian Republicans*, p. 88. The expression, "Madison's party," was used by Samuel Smith in his letter to Otho Holland Williams, Mar. 20, 1794, Williams MSS, 9/866, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

the inevitable. At the end of September, with the election less than six weeks away, Madison revealed to Monroe that he had not seen Jefferson and had thought it best "to present him no opportunity of protesting to his friends against being embarked in the contest."³⁸ Thus we are faced with the peculiar spectacle of one candidate who felt that his talents and services merited the ultimate honor of the Presidency, but who was clandestinely assailed by a powerful member of his own party. Yet we see the leader of the opposition shrewdly preventing his candidate from resisting the call of duty.

IV

An indication of the growing significance of political parties in Maryland was the tendency of electoral contestants to declare their preferences. Judge Gabriel Duvall and Dr. John Archer were both in favor of Mr. Jefferson.³⁹ On the other hand, the Federalist John Lynn asserted that "if elected I will certainly . . . give my vote in favor of Mr. Adams."⁴⁰ Not every candidate hastened to receive a party brand. William Deakins, for example, promised that he would learn as much as possible about all of the Presidential aspirants and cast his vote for the one who should appear best qualified. "But I shall not," he warned, "nor will I be made a party man."⁴¹ It was a brave manifesto, but practical considerations demanded an immediate stand. When David Craufurd pledged himself to vote for both Adams and Jefferson, Deakins and another contender, Walter Bowie, resigned in Craufurd's favor. Then on October 31st, John Mason declared for Jefferson. Two days later, Francis Deakins, noting that the conduct of Bowie and William Deakins had given "very general dissatisfaction in our district," announced his support for Adams.⁴² In the same way, John Tyler wished to refute the charge "industriously circulated" that he was attached to the opposition party or to any

³⁸ James Madison to James Monroe, Sept. 29, 1796, Madison MSS, 19/91a, Library of Congress. Quoted in Brant, *James Madison, Father of the Constitution*, p. 444.

³⁹ (Annapolis) *Maryland Gazette*, Oct. 20, 1796, *et seq.*; (Baltimore) *Federal Gazette*, Nov. 3, 1796; Cunningham, *The Jeffersonian Republicans*, pp. 94-95.

⁴⁰ *The (Elizabethtown) Washington Spy*, Oct. 26, 1796.

⁴¹ (Baltimore) *Federal Gazette*, Oct. 20, 1796.

⁴² *The Washington (City) Gazette*, Oct. 26 & Nov. 5, 1796.

other faction. His leanings were evident when he promised, if elected, to vote for one who had been "decidedly and uniformly attached" to the Federal Government.⁴³

A number of the party leaders were energetically preparing tracts for the public prints. Since many articles appeared under a *nom de plume*, it is not always possible to identify their authors. "A Farmer," "A Voter," or "A Republican" may have disguised the work of an obscure local politician. According to Murray, the writings of Wolcott were read with relish on the Eastern Shore.⁴⁴ Under the pseudonym of "UNION," Murray himself was "scribbling short vindications of Mr. A," stressing the Vice-President's services during the Revolution "as most unquestioned & most splendid & long past."⁴⁵ It was common for a political piece to extend for two or three columns. In one instance, literary philippics were dropping into the office of the Baltimore *Federal Gazette* so fast that correspondents were politely requested to "convey their ideas in the space of half a column."⁴⁶ Many Federalists were probably disappointed when the editor announced that "Phocion," which had attracted considerable attention in *The Gazette of the United States*, could not be reprinted because it had become "entirely too lengthy for the limits of this paper."⁴⁷

In the absence of a party platform, the Federalists endeavored to take credit for the widespread prosperity and to associate their leadership with the ideas of experience and stability. Baltimore, as one writer described it, was growing at a rapid rate. As evidence, he pointed to a flourishing commerce, an expanding trade, and an increase in banking services. Thoughtful provisions had also been made for "the improvement of

⁴³ *Bartgis's Federal Gazette* (Frederick), Oct. 27, 1796; *The Washington (City) Gazette*, Oct. 26, 1796.

⁴⁴ Murray to McHenry, Nov. 2, 1796, Steiner, "McHenry Letters," pp. 382-83.

⁴⁵ Murray to McHenry, Oct. 28, 1796, *ibid.*, p. 381; also Steiner, *James McHenry*, p. 202. "UNION" appeared in the (Baltimore) *Maryland Journal*, Nov. 7 & 10, 1796.

⁴⁶ (Baltimore) *Federal Gazette*, Oct. 24, 1796.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* "Phocion" was a pseudonym of William Loughton Smith, a representative from Charleston, S. C., and a supporter of Hamilton. Other articles by Murray in the *Gazette of the U. S.* were printed with "Phocion" in pamphlet form. Dauer, *The Adams Federalists*, pp. 100-101. Cf. George C. Rogers, Jr., *Evolution of a Federalist: William Loughton Smith of Charleston, 1758-1812* (Columbia, S. C., 1962), pp. 292-93.

the rising generation."⁴⁸ Even old sailors were appreciative. "TOM BOWLING" proclaimed that the prosperity of American commerce "proves that our old Mate, Jack Adams, has taken good observation, and kept true reckoning—And shall we turn out an old, long tried seaman . . . for one of your cabin-window gentry? Sliver my timbers, if we do." Brother tars were urged to give the "*Long Pull*, the *Strong Pull*, and the *Pull all together*" for candidates committed to Mr. Adams.⁴⁹ The alternative, if Jefferson were elected, was a hazardous, untried system of politics which might be the ruin of the country.⁵⁰ Fearing that democracy was only a euphemism for mobocracy, the wealthier lawyers, merchants and bankers deplored the spread of "faction." There is reason to suppose that this view was shared by certain members of the Episcopal clergy. One gentleman of the cloth, in addressing his superior, observed that the choice of Washington's successor came at a critical moment for America: "May He who guides the Planets in their Orbits, be pleased still to direct the common Interests of this our happy Nation calmly and evenly, without the Jarring of *discordant Parts*, along the Path of Time!"⁵¹ Prosperity, experience, harmony—these were the watchwords among the friends of order.

The more the Federalists tried to rout their opponents, the more they resorted to blatant demagoguery. The issue of peace or war had been hurled at the Republicans at the time when they were faced with the dilemma of whether to defeat the Treaty and destroy the prestige of the House, or to pass the Treaty and hope to prevent disaster to their party by other means. The issue was not allowed to die. "A FARMER" advised his fellow-citizens that if their Congressman had sided with the partisans of war, they should "turn him out without respect to his person, and elect the Friend of Peace."⁵² In Annapolis, the Federalists made an unfavorable comparison

⁴⁸ (Baltimore) *Maryland Journal*, Oct. 22, 1796; *The* (Elizabethtown) *Washington Spy*, Oct. 26, 1796.

⁴⁹ (Baltimore) *Federal Gazette*, Nov. 18, 1796.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. 5, 1796, reprinted from the *Gazette of the U. S.*

⁵¹ The Rev. Joseph Jackson, Oxon Hill, to Bishop Thomas Jno. Claggett, Oct. 26, 1796, MS in Maryland Diocesan Archives, Peabody Institute Library, Baltimore.

⁵² *The* (Easton) *Maryland Herald*, July 26, 1796.

of Madison's current views on the treaty-making power with those he had held in 1787. The charge that he had altered his opinions was very disquieting to one Maryland legislator. He asked Jefferson for "a correct sketch of all the arguments of any importance" that had been in the Constitutional Convention. Thus armed, he might be able to rescue Madison from attacks that apparently did not cease with the election.⁵³

The interference of the French Minister in the Presidential campaign produced the inevitable reaction. Angered by Jay's Treaty, the unscrupulous Directory had suspended the functions of Pierre Adet and ordered French cruisers to prey upon American commerce. Adet's entreaties, punctuated by threats to vote for Republican candidates were timed to have the maximum effect on the election.⁵⁴ Their audacity provoked universal contempt. One observer reported that "he has lost all character and irretrievably diminished that good will felt for his Government & the people of France by most people here."⁵⁵ A spokesman for a large group of Maryland farmers insisted that they did not want to kill a single Frenchman, but confessed that if their appeal to the people of France should fail, "we must . . . appeal to our RIFLES."⁵⁶ Adet's meddling angered Murray into exclaiming that "we must *unite* or die as an independent people!"⁵⁷ Yet it remained for Mrs. Adams to deliver the sharpest rebuke: "What American but must spurn the wretch who thus insults us!"⁵⁸ Adams himself found a later note well calculated to reconcile him to private life.⁵⁹ Charles

⁵³ Peregrine Fitzhugh, Annapolis, to Thomas Jefferson, Mar. 25, 1797, Jefferson MSS, 101/17329, Library of Congress.

⁵⁴ Pierre Adet to Minister of Foreign Relations [Nov., 1796], Frederick Jackson Turner (ed.), "Correspondence of the French Ministers to the United States, 1791-1797," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1903* (Washington, 1904), II, 969-70.

⁵⁵ Philip Key to James McHenry, Nov. 28, 1796, Steiner, *James McHenry*, p. 202.

⁵⁶ (Baltimore) *Maryland Journal*, Nov. 23, 1796.

⁵⁷ Comment by Murray, Nov. 24, 1796, on a letter from McHenry, Nov. 19, 1796, William Vans Murray MSS, Library of Congress. Other strictures on French duplicity and pretensions are found in Murray's letters to McHenry, Oct. 9 & Nov. 2, 1796, Steiner, "McHenry Letters," pp. 379-82.

⁵⁸ Abigail Adams, Quincy, to John Adams, Nov. 4, 1796, Adams MSS, microfilm reel 382, Library of Congress.

⁵⁹ John Adams, Stratford [Conn.] to Abigail Adams, Nov. 27, 1796, *ibid.* The printed text is found in Charles Francis Adams (ed), *Letters of John Adams Addressed to His Wife* (Boston, 1841), II, 229-31.

Carroll even suspected that some of the enemies of the Administration had stimulated Adet to his undiplomatic actions in the hope of influencing the election.⁶⁰ But Republican leaders also resented Adet's interference, as Madison revealed when he wrote to Jefferson that the French Minister's note was "working all the evil with which it is pregnant. Those who rejoice at its indiscretions, and are taking advantage of them, have the impudence to pretend that it is an electioneering manoeuvre, and that the French Government have been led to it by the opponents of the British Treaty."⁶¹

In addition to the artificially inspired issues of prosperity, peace and French intrigue, the Federalists often resorted to character assault. Fortunately for Jefferson, fear and desperation had not yet driven them to the disgraceful abuse of his religious convictions.⁶² The Maryland press appears to have made little mention of his reputed unorthodoxy. The quasi-War, the Alien and Sedition Acts, and the party division over the question of a second mission to France were still beyond the horizon. The Maryland electorate, however, was incessantly reminded of Jefferson's conduct as Governor of Virginia in 1781. He was accused of having abandoned his post in the face of a threatened advance by the British: "Jefferson (it is well authenticated) would, then, rather have sold his country than endangered his own safety—Let no such man be trusted!"⁶³ Other literary demagogues resorted to a textual criticism of the *Notes on Virginia* and apparently found what they wanted: Jefferson lacked "firmness"; he was "an ADVOCATE for DESPOTISM and MONARCHY"! He even entertained "a very low opinion of the manufacturing, or mechanic part of our community."⁶⁴ Immediately the Republicans sprang to their leader's defense regarding revived charges against his governorship. In Annapolis, Baltimore and Fred-

⁶⁰ Carroll to McHenry, Nov. 28, 1796, Steiner, *James McHenry*, pp. 202-203.

⁶¹ Madison to Jefferson, Dec. 5, 1796, Madison MSS, 19/104, Library of Congress. Quoted in Cunningham, *The Jeffersonian Republicans*, p. 101.

⁶² The best survey of this vituperation is Charles O. Lerche, "Jefferson and the Election of 1800: A Case Study in the Political Smear," *William & Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., V (Oct., 1948), 467-91.

⁶³ (Baltimore) *Maryland Journal*, Oct. 27, 1796; *The (Elizabethtown) Washington Spy*, Oct. 26, 1796.

⁶⁴ (Baltimore) *Maryland Journal*, Oct. 29 & Nov. 8, 1796.

erick, the newspapers carried spirited replies. Long excerpts were quoted from the proceedings of the Virginia House of Delegates clearing Jefferson of the accusations against his administration and vindicating his "ability, rectitude, and integrity, as chief magistrate of this commonwealth. . . ." ⁶⁵

In their offensive strategy, the Republicans concentrated almost exclusively upon the charge that Adams was an advocate of monarchy and hereditary distinctions. Traces of pomp and ceremony under Washington, and the known desire of some leaders for a strong central government made the cavil seem plausible. Adams' book on the *Defense of the Constitutions of the United States* was carefully scrutinized. "SAFETY" informed the people that it was useless to rationalize Adams' "monarchic aristocratic principles." ⁶⁶ The shrill tone of the attack is exemplified by the warning:

Beware of political apostates, those wolves in sheep's clothing. . . . *Monarchy in the wane, and Republicanism triumphant*: It would be insanity itself to elect a man as President who has shown such attachment to *Monarchy*, in preference to Mr. Jefferson whose love for a *Republican Government* will not be denied by his most *inveterate* enemies. ⁶⁷

It was also said that Gabriel Duvall, flinging aside his judicial robe, had ridden about with Adams' book, "misinterpreting it to the people." ⁶⁸ In their numerous rebuttals, the Federalists invited the voters to read the work and to judge for themselves. They were confident that Adams would then be seen "in a favorable light." ⁶⁹ One correspondent, as quoted from the *Minerva*, declared that the French Constitution followed the ideas of Adams, and that France was "more friendly to our government, than our own democrats." ⁷⁰

⁶⁵ (Annapolis) *Maryland Gazette*, Nov. 3, 1796; (Baltimore) *Maryland Journal*, Oct. 27, 1796; *Bartgis's Federal Gazette* (Frederick), Nov. 3, 1796.

⁶⁶ (Baltimore) *Federal Gazette*, Nov. 1, 1796.

⁶⁷ "4th of July, 1776," *The* (Elizabethtown) *Washington Spy*, Oct. 26, 1796.

⁶⁸ Murray to McHenry, Nov. 23, 1796, Steiner, "McHenry Letters," p. 385.

⁶⁹ (Baltimore) *Federal Gazette*, Oct. 25, 1796.

⁷⁰ (Baltimore) *Maryland Journal*, Sept. 24, 1796. See also *The* (Easton) *Maryland Herald*, Nov. 1 & 8, 1796; (Baltimore) *Federal Gazette*, Oct. 29, 1796; (Annapolis) *Maryland Gazette*, Nov. 17, 1796. Two monographs examine the ideas, sources and composition of the *Defense*: Alfred Iacuzzi, *John Adams, Scholar* (New York, 1952), pp. 59-134; and Zoltán Haraszi, *John Adams and the Prophets of Progress* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), pp. 155-64.

Elsewhere the Republicans reviewed Jefferson's achievements by means of a catechism.⁷¹ They maintained that the interests of the National Capitol would be safer in his hands.⁷² It was time, they concluded, to replace the rotting portions of the bridge of state with "staunch republican timbers."⁷³ The Vice-President's waspish temperament was also lampooned. A Baltimore versifier called on heaven to prevent the New Englander, "with pamper'd pride," from ever taking the seat Washington had so gloriously occupied.⁷⁴ Throughout the campaign, Adams remained relatively composed, saying very little about it. To his son he remarked dryly: "Electioneering goes on, with as little Bitterness as can be expected, but exactly as you would anticipate."⁷⁵

As the date for naming the electors approached, Murray gave assurances that the men from the Eastern Shore would be good Federalists. "In this county," he wrote McHenry, "I think I never knew an election so much of *principles*."⁷⁶ After the polls had closed, he was delighted with the results. There had been no noise, riots or seduction. In Dorchester, the Adams candidate, General John Eccleston, had received 582

⁷¹ *The* (Elizabethtown) *Washington Spy*, Nov. 30, 1796, reprinted from *The* (Easton) *Maryland Herald*, Nov. 8, 1796.

⁷² *Bartgis's Federal Gazette* (Frederick), Oct. 27, 1796.

⁷³ *The* (Elizabethtown) *Washington Spy*, Aug. 24, 1796.

⁷⁴ (Boston) *Independent Chronicle*, Nov. 24, 1796, reprinted from the *Baltimore Telegraph*. Quoted in Donald H. Stewart, *Jeffersonian Journalism: Newspaper Propaganda and the Development of the Democratic-Republican Party, 1789-1801* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1951), p. 999.

⁷⁵ John Adams, Quincy, to John Quincy Adams, Oct. 28, 1796, Adams MSS, microfilm reel 382, Library of Congress. For a fine analysis of the polemical literature of the 1790's, the student should not overlook Marshall Smelser, "The Federalist Period as an Age of Passion," *American Quarterly*, X (Winter, 1958), 391-419.

⁷⁶ Murray to McHenry, Oct. 28 & Nov. 2, 1796, Steiner, "McHenry Letters," pp. 381-82. In 1795, Maryland was apportioned into ten electoral districts. From that time until 1833, Presidential electors were chosen by district ticket. The districts in 1796 were as follows:

First: St. Mary's, Charles and Calvert.

Second: Prince George's and Montgomery.

Third: Frederick.

Fourth: Washington and Allegany.

Fifth: Anne Arundel, Annapolis and Baltimore Town.

Sixth: Baltimore County and Harford.

Seventh: Cecil and Kent.

Eighth: Queen Anne's and Talbot.

Ninth: Caroline and Dorchester.

Tenth: Somerset and Worcester.

votes while his Jeffersonian opponent, General William Whitely, had polled only one. "I assure you," he informed his friend, "I never saw an election before, in which real good sense appeared unmixed."⁷⁷ In spite of Eccleston's unpopularity in the county, partisan demands had triumphed over personal considerations.⁷⁸ Although he was defeated in Caroline, his victory in the ninth district was achieved by the overwhelming ratio of thirteen to two.⁷⁹ In other parts of the state, the Federalists returned six additional electors. Votes for Adams came from John Plater, Francis Deakins, George Murdock, John Lynn, John Roberts, and John Done. In the first district, there were three candidates, one of whom polled all of his total in Charles County while the victor, John Plater, amassed all of his majority in St. Mary's and Calvert. When the electors cast their ballots in Annapolis on December 7th, Plater gave his second vote to Jefferson.⁸⁰

In the fourth district, there was a bitter contest between John Lynn, the Adams elector, and Adam Ott, the former sheriff and state assemblyman who was for Jefferson. Lynn managed to win by a majority of only four votes out of a total of 2684. It was later charged by James Callender, the notorious Republican journalist, that Ott had been defeated by "negligence on one side, and knavery on the other." According to his account, the Republicans closed their poll "as soon as they had a considerable superiority of the whole number of genuine voters that they knew to reside in the two counties. . . ." Their

⁷⁷ Murray to McHenry, Nov. 9, 1796, Steiner, *James McHenry*, p. 201.

⁷⁸ Murray to McHenry, Nov. 2, 1796, Steiner, "McHenry Letters," p. 382.

⁷⁹ Eccleston, 651; Whitely, 94. Reports by County Sheriffs of the returns for Presidential Electors, Nov., 1796, MSS in Executive Archives, Hall of Records, Annapolis. It will be understood that further statistical evidence in the text and notes has been drawn from these official reports.

⁸⁰ Carroll to McHenry, Dec. 5, 1796 [addendum of Dec. 8, 1796], Steiner, *James McHenry*, pp. 204-205. By districts, the results were as follows:

First: John Plater, 519; John Campbell, 437; John Mitchell, 171.

Second: Francis Deakins, 1412; John Mason, 1124.

Third: George Murdock, 1121; John Tyler, 796.

Fourth: John Lynn, 1344; Adam Ott, 1340.

Eighth: John Roberts, 672; Robert Wright, 447.

Tenth: John Done, 157 (unopposed).

Until the ratification of the Twelfth Amendment in 1804, the two men receiving the highest and the second highest number of votes in the electoral college were declared President and Vice-President, respectively, regardless of party. Plater's vote for both Adams and Jefferson was perfectly legitimate even though it ignored the obvious political division.

opponents in Allegany "did not stop theirs—they brought over a crowd from Pennsylvania and Virginia, and by this means made up a majority of four."⁸¹ Even though the Sheriff of Allegany did refer to the "Contrariety of opinion . . . with respect to the time of closing the polls," he reported that they had remained open until 11:30 on Saturday, the fourth and final day of the election. Since the three votes for Ott had all been cast on the first day, Callender was probably correct in saying that the Republicans had put an early end to their poll. Certainly the Federalists did not: Lynn had 442 votes on Wednesday but a total of 646 by Saturday night. In Washington County, both candidates must have continued their polls until officially closed by the sheriff at 12:00 on Saturday. This is evident from the fact that at the end each had about twice the number of votes as he had polled on the first day. Unfortunately, there appears to have been no evidence in the contemporary press about the alleged fraud. The *Washington Spy* merely announced the winner but did not give the returns from Allegany.⁸² The truth of Callender's charge must be inferred from what is known about the political practices of the time. That such tricks were occurring elsewhere is beyond dispute. One election judge in Washington City declared that his critics at the poll were trying "to infringe the law, by introducing illegal voters."⁸³ Shortly after the Congressional race, William Hindman complained that his opponent had been ahead in Queen Anne's "where I am convinced He was fairly beaten, as one of his Men had the Effrontery to declare, that He had voted five times for Mr. Wright under different Names."⁸⁴ Even after allowance is made for Callender's reputation, it does not seem presumptuous to conclude that a few of

⁸¹ James Thomson Callender, *The Prospect Before Us* (Richmond, 1800), pp. 24-25. The charge was repeated verbatim in John Wood, *The Suppressed History of the Administration of John Adams, from 1797 to 1801, as printed and suppressed in 1802* (Philadelphia, 1846), pp. 32-33.

⁸² In its issues of Nov. 16 & 23, 1796. A dispute over who was to serve as election judge prompted the Sheriff and the Conservators of the Peace to forward the "whole poll"—presumably the complete list of voters. Apparently the Governor was satisfied with the regular summary since this is the only official document that survives. The Sheriff's unusual action strongly suggests a row over the legality of many of the ballots.

⁸³ *The Washington (City) Gazette*, Nov. 12, 1796.

⁸⁴ William Hindman, Bellfield, to James McHenry, Oct. 13, 1796, Steiner, *James McHenry*, p. 199.

Lynn's votes in Allegany were cast by gentlemen residing outside of that county.⁸⁵

In the fifth, sixth and seventh districts, the Jeffersonian candidates were victorious. With "no current popularity," Charles Carroll was described as "not a little mortified at his defeat" by Gabriel Duvall.⁸⁶ Incidentally, one commentator believed that since the Judge was then filling a place of "trust and profit," his election was invalid.⁸⁷ After John Eager Howard had lost his contest with Dr. John Archer, the former Governor may have felt properly compensated by his reelection to the Senate of the United States.⁸⁸ Another Republican, John Gilpin, scored a decisive triumph over Lambert Beard by a ratio of three to one.⁸⁹

In that uncertain interval following the popular balloting, there was much speculation among the party leaders as to how the electors would vote. Murray thought that strenuous exertions were justified, suggesting that letters be written to every seat of government urging the electors "to run Pinckney as Vice, that we may have two strings."⁹⁰ Indeed, the newspapers contained a number of favorable references to the South Carolinian. In view of the close race between Adams and Jefferson, said one, would it not be better to choose either Pinckney or Dickinson? A second believed that a deadlock among the chief contenders would result in the surprise election of Pinckney.

⁸⁵ For a recent appraisal, consult Charles A. Jellison, "That Scoundrel Callender," *Virginia Magazine of History & Biography*, LXVII (July, 1959), 295-306. John Wood was a publicist of the same stripe. See the sketch by Maude H. Woodfin in *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-36), XX, 464-65. I am indebted to Mr. John Haeuser, a fellow-student at Georgetown University, for his kindness in bringing Callender's charge to my attention.

⁸⁶ Murray to McHenry, Oct. 28, 1796, Steiner, "McHenry Letters," p. 381; Winchester to McHenry, Nov. 16, 1796, *ibid.*, p. 384.

⁸⁷ (Baltimore) *Maryland Journal*, Nov. 23, 1796.

⁸⁸ Carroll to McHenry, Dec. 5, 1796 [addendum of Dec. 9, 1796], Steiner, *James McHenry*, p. 205.

⁸⁹ By districts, the results were as follows:

Fifth: Gabriel Duvall, 834; Charles Carroll, 322.

Sixth: John Archer, 798; John Eager Howard, 551.

Seventh: John Gilpin, 886; Lambert Beard, 280.

For an estimate of population in each county and the percentage of free adult white males who voted in the Presidential election of 1796, see J. R. Pole, "Constitutional Reform and Election Statistics in Maryland, 1790-1812," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LV (Dec., 1960), 286-87.

⁹⁰ Murray to McHenry, n. d. [probably between Nov. 22 & 28, 1796], Steiner, *James McHenry*, p. 202. Cf. the remarks of Murray, Winchester and Samuel Chase to McHenry in Steiner, "McHenry Letters," pp. 383-88.

After reviewing the virtues of the former diplomat, "A REAL FEDERALIST" inquired gravely, ". . . can you hesitate in your choice?"⁹¹ As the Maryland electors were gathering in Annapolis, Carroll confessed that "great anxiety" prevailed. The friends of the government dreaded the election of Jefferson because they feared that he would pursue a radically different policy.⁹² When the count was complete, Adams had seven votes and Jefferson four. Pinckney also received four votes, Aaron Burr trailed with three, and John Henry, a "favorite son," followed with two.⁹³ Considering the New Englander's narrow victory in the electoral college,⁹⁴ Maryland Federalists should have deplored the loss of the central counties. It was an ominous portent. Yet at no time since the emergence of discernible parties had the fortunes of Maryland Federalism been as high. The new President might be reminded that he held office by only three votes, but the "heir apparent" had become the heir in fact.

V

The election of 1796 strengthened the Federalists and gave them a slight majority in the House of Representatives. A comparison of the overall voting records of the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Congresses indicates a steady decrease in the number of moderates associated with either party.⁹⁵ The acrimonious debates over the Alien and Sedition Bills, and the tensions resulting from deteriorating relations with France called for a tightening of party lines. Maryland reflects this general trend. In the Fourth Congress containing four Republicans and four Federalists, labels did not usually signify fixed positions. Elected as a Republican, Samuel Smith voted predominantly as a Federalist. His colleagues, Gabriel Christie and Jeremiah

⁹¹ *Bartgis's Federal Gazette* (Frederick), Dec. 8, 1796; *The* (Elizabethtown) *Washington Spy*, Nov. 30, 1796; (Baltimore) *Maryland Journal*, Nov. 22, 1796.

⁹² Carroll to McHenry, Dec. 5, 1796 [addendum of Dec. 8, 1796], Steiner, *James McHenry*, p. 205.

⁹³ Electoral votes (4A-H1), Maryland, 1796, Records of the U. S. Senate, 4th Congress, Record Group 46, National Archives. The (Baltimore) *Federal Gazette*, Dec. 9, 1796, reported erroneously that it was Patrick Henry who had received two votes.

⁹⁴ Adams, 71; Jefferson, 68.

⁹⁵ From 29 in the 4th Congress (Mar., 1796–Mar., 1797), to 19 in the 5th Congress (June, 1797–Mar., 1799), to 13 in the 6th Congress (Jan. 1800–Mar., 1801). Dauer, *The Adams Federalists*, pp. 297, 316, 326.

Crabb, tended to be Republican moderates. Among the Federalists, George Dent was more inclined than any other to stand with the opposition. In the Fifth Congress, in which Federalists were returned from six districts, Dent remained bipartisan. Smith, crossing over, now became a Republican moderate, but his new colleague, Richard Sprigg, emerged as a strict party man. By the Sixth Congress, Dent had a voting record almost identical with that of Smith, siding with the Republicans nearly twice as many times as with his Federalist cohorts.⁹⁶

The source of Federalist power in Maryland continued to be the coalition between the urban commercial interests—the more prosperous merchants, shipowners, lawyers, bankers—and the conservative agrarian exporting sections. The rural strongholds of Federalism were in the eastern, western and southern portions of the state. Particularly in the eastern sector, the proximity to water transportation encouraged the widespread cultivation of money crops which could be delivered conveniently to market. Here, too, we find the highest proportion of slave-holding planters who needed an ample supply of labor. The original Catholic congregations had long since become a minority, but they could count among their membership the most influential of these wealthy landowners.⁹⁷ Though neither the Episcopal nor the Catholic Church could be called affluent, each held more property than any other denomination.⁹⁸

The core of Republican strength was found in the Tidewater counties of the Western Shore—Baltimore, Anne Arundel, Prince George's—where there was a heavier proportion of small farmers. As a rule, the evangelical denominations, with their emotional emphasis and informal organization, tended to appeal more strongly to their temperament.⁹⁹ In the town of Bal-

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 294, 312, 323. Dent was the only Maryland Federalist to vote for Jefferson when the election was thrown into the House in 1801. Edward G. Roddy, "Maryland and the Presidential Election of 1800," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LVI, (Sept., 1961), 263.

⁹⁷ Dauer, *The Adams Federalists*, pp. 27; 279-80.

⁹⁸ [William Duke], *Observations on the Present State of Religion in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1795), p. 34.

⁹⁹ The Rev. William Duke, an Episcopal Clergyman, seemed to recognize this when he wrote: "I have thought ever since the revolution, that if the Episcopalians would adopt a more independent scheme of church-polity, they would comport better with our civil constitution, give less offense to other societies, and manage their own affairs with more advantage." *Ibid.*, p. 37.

timore, soon to be incorporated as a city, Republicans were generally in a majority. When enfranchised, the small merchant, mechanic, artisan or common laborer usually gave his support to Jefferson. But it should not be forgotten that this was the commercial and banking center of the state. On issues that were vital to the propertied interests, the Federalists of Baltimore could exert decisive pressure, as Samuel Smith had learned to his sorrow. In spite of the increasing strength of Republicanism among the urban masses, Baltimore remained a stronghold of Federalism throughout the 1790's.

The eventual success of the Republicans depended upon whether they could develop a moderate program that would attract the middle rank of farmers within the Federalist Party. This they did. By modifying their suspicion of the banking system, they assured a fiscal arrangement capable of meeting the expanding needs of the young nation.¹⁰⁰ In 1798 the tide of Federalism began to ebb. Maryland Republicans gained two seats while their opponents captured only one.¹⁰¹ For his support of the Alien and Sedition Acts, William Hindman became the first stalwart to be swept permanently from office.¹⁰² Two years later, only three Federalists were returned to the House of Representatives. By this time the organization of county committees for nominating candidates and for directing campaigns had grown to remarkable complexity. Combined with their singular skill in electioneering, the Republicans scored their first major triumph.¹⁰³ One of the last bastions of Federalism after 1800 lingered in the southern area of the Eastern Shore—the very district that had been represented so staunchly by William Vans Murray.

¹⁰⁰ Dauer, *The Adams Federalists*, pp. 263-64.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 306, 318, 328.

¹⁰² Hindman was defeated by Joshua Seney who died a few days after the campaign. In a special election on Nov. 26, 1798, Joseph H. Nicholson, an ardent young Republican, overcame his Federalist rival, John Goldsborough, by only 73 votes. The Hindman-Seney campaign is described in Samuel A. Harrison, *A Memoir of the Hon. William Hindman* (Baltimore, 1880), pp. 30-31; 35-49.

¹⁰³ Cunningham, *The Jeffersonian Republicans*, pp. 158-59; 191-94.

MILITARY LAND BOUNTIES DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY AND CONFEDERATION PERIODS

By JEAN H. VIVIAN

THE War for Independence, as with any period of internal crisis, brought perturbation and change to the American states. The years after 1776 represent in many respects an abandonment of the old order and a gradual working out of the new. Having been in operation scarcely eight years, government under the Articles of Confederation was superseded by the establishment of the federal union under the Constitution. Since then, two major interpretations of the Confederation Period have emerged as efforts to explain the advent of this famous document. The first, advanced by many of the original framers and given wide currency during much of the nineteenth century, pictures a "critical period" during which the nation was rescued from impending disruption and anarchy only by a drastic revision of the framework of national government. The second, and contrasting, view tends to uphold the protestations of the anti-Federalists, who were convinced that the conditions of the time were not nearly so grave as their political opponents maintained. The conclusion of "stagnation and decay" reached by the one school concerning the years 1781-1789, in other words, is offset by the postulation of the second school which finds in the decade a time when the "spirit of exuberant optimism [was] everywhere," even though "the shrill cries of politicians," taken at face value, might indicate otherwise.¹ Yet, despite the welcome efforts

¹ Merrill Jensen, *The New Nation. A History of the United States During the Confederation. 1781-1789* (New York, 1950), pp. 424, 85 et passim; John Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History, 1783-1789* (Boston and New York, 1888), passim; see also Richard B. Morris' historiographical article, "The Confederation Period and the American Historian," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIII (April, 1956), 139-156.

to enhance this latter conception of the Confederation Period, one might well wonder if, in the zeal with which the task has been undertaken, oversights have occurred in investigating those aspects and problems which might not support other, more optimistic findings. The Confederation experience with military land bounties may be taken as a case in point.

Twice during the Revolutionary War delegates to the Continental Congress passed legislation allowing veterans of the Continental Lines to claim western lands, either to induce enlistment or to reward military service. The first major legislation, in 1776, failed to attract sorely-needed recruits. The second resolves, in 1780, achieved their avowed intention—partial compensation for military service—only to a limited degree during the Confederation Period.

Yet the Congressional experience with military land bounties was not wholly unfruitful. When the initial law went into effect in 1776, the central government possessed no lands with which to satisfy the soldiers' claims. Before the commitment could be honored the members of Congress had to secure title to at least part of the West. Therefore the bounty land issue became dependent on state cessions of unoccupied transmontane areas and with Congressional negotiations for Indian lands. Once the national government possessed sufficient territory, it would be necessary to establish a method of allocating tracts to the veterans. This would involve surveying the interior and providing for civil government there, perhaps the two most important components of a general land policy.

The following is a study of the land offers of the Congress, the pressure of former military men for satisfaction of their land claims, and the policies adopted to implement the Congressional pledges. Although it would be fallacious to consider the bounty land question as the major motive compelling the formulation of a national land policy, the military lands do deserve attention as one force among many.

I

The deficiencies of the Continental Army in 1775 and 1776 prompted the first offer of bounty lands. Upon being appointed commander-in-chief in June, 1775, Washington

faced the prospect of having no Continental establishment to command. In the ensuing months the number of enlistments in the Continental Lines continued to be inadequate, a situation he attributed to the shorter terms of service required for the state militias. With all state enlistments due to expire by January 1, 1776, Washington would, in effect, need to recruit a new army.² Twenty-six regiments remained to be filled as of January, and Washington began pressing for a financial inducement of twenty to thirty dollars for each man who enlisted in the Continental Army for the duration of the war,³ while at the same time he complained privately to Joseph Reed of Pennsylvania, "I no longer entertain a hope of completing the army by voluntary enlistments, and I see no move or likelihood of one, to do it by other means."⁴

Congress postponed action on Washington's requests for several months, because, as James Duane of New York recorded, the members feared any standing army that would result from a money bounty.⁵ Nevertheless, under continued pressure from the commander-in-chief, and upon news of the arrival of General John Burgoyne in North America, the delegates finally agreed, on June 26, 1776, to offer ten dollars to every soldier and non-commissioned officer who would enlist, not for the duration, but for three years.⁶

² Washington to John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress, September 21, 1775, in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799* (Washington, D.C., 1931-1944), III, 505-506, hereinafter cited as *Writings of Washington*.

³ Washington to Hancock, January 24 and February 9, 1776, *ibid.*, IV, 274 and 317-318, respectively.

⁴ January 14, 1776, *ibid.*, IV, 241.

⁵ Notes on Congressional Debates, February 22, 1776, in Edmund C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, D.C., 1921-1936), I, 360, hereinafter cited as Burnett, *Letters of Congress*. Louis C. Hatch advanced a further plausible explanation that the Army in 1776 was composed primarily of New Englanders; few men from the southern or middle states procured commissions. The non-New England delegates therefore opposed any increase in financial obligations because each state would have to contribute its share of the money bounties, most of which would go to New Englanders. See, Louis Clinton Hatch, *The Administration of the American Revolutionary Army* (New York, 1904), pp. 71-72.

⁶ Hancock to Washington, June 26, 1776, Papers of the Continental Congress, 1775-1789, MSS in the National Archives (204 microfilm rolls, Washington, D.C., 1957-1959), Item 12A, Letterbooks of the Presidents of Congress, 1775-1787. John Hancock, 1775-1777, Roll 23, I, 201-202, hereinafter cited as PCC; Worthington C. Ford, et al., eds., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, D.C., 1904-1937), V, 483; hereinafter cited as Ford's *Journals*.

The money bounty constituted no panacea, however, due to rising prices, tepid enthusiasm for the war, and offers of twenty to thirty dollars for enlistees in the state militias. These circumstances elicited Washington's first mention to the Congress of a land bounty. On July 27 he wrote John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress, that an offer of lands "could be attended with salutary consequences" for enlistment.⁷ Samuel Adams reinforced this view after a visit to the encampment at New York by suggesting that, if Congress expected to have an army in the field for the ensuing campaigns, one hundred acres of land as well as twenty dollars should be awarded for each minimum three-year enrollment.⁸ Yet John Adams reported that the majority in Congress disagreed, and, although he himself favored Continental bounties, he had to admit, "it may cost us more, and we may put now and then a battle to hazard by the method we are in, yet we shall be less in danger of corruption and violence from a standing army, and our militia will acquire courage, experience, discipline, and hardiness in actual service."⁹

The exigencies of war favored those convinced of the need for land bounties. After the revolutionaries achieved few successes against the British during the summer of 1776, it became evident that the war could be won only with a relatively permanent regular army, rather than with autonomous state militias. Thus on September 2 Washington again admonished the Congressional delegates on the evils of short-term enrollment and reiterated his desire for a standing establishment, observing that the "addition of Land might

⁷ According to the endorsement, the letter was read in Congress but not referred to any committee. PCC, Item 152, Letters from George Washington. 1755-1784, Roll 166, I, 301-303.

⁸ Samuel Adams to John Adams, August 6, 1776, *Writings of Washington*, VI, 107n.

⁹ Adams to Samuel Holden Parsons, August 19, 1776, Burnett, *Letters of Congress*, II, 57. Washington later claimed this "fatal jealousy (under our circumstances) of a standing Army, by which means we neglected to obtain Soldiers for the war when zeal and patriotism run [sic] high . . ." extended the conflict, impaired military discipline, caused constant turmoil due to expiring terms of enlistment, and greatly increased the cost of the war. Washington to Fielding Lewis, July 6, 1780, *Writings of Washington*, XIX, 131. At one point he blamed British success in the South on the inadequacies of short-term enlistments; Washington to Horatio Gates, October 8, 1780, PCC, Item 154, Letters from Maj.-Gen. Horatio Gates. 1775-1782, Roll 174, II, 349.

have a considerable Influence on a permanent Inlistment [sic]."¹⁰

This time the mood in Philadelphia was amenable. "Congress," wrote Elbridge Gerry, "seem now determined to have an Army of some Duration and to give sufficient Bounties for the purpose . . ."¹¹ Less than two weeks after receipt of Washington's letter, the representatives acceded to his request by enacting the first of a number of resolutions concerned with military land bounties. Along with provisions to create some eighty new battalions, Congress pledged on September 16, 1776, varying amounts of land, depending on rank, to all officers below generals and to all enlisted men who would serve until the cessation of hostilities or until discharged, and to the assignees of all men who died in service. The greatest quantity tendered was five hundred acres for colonels; the smallest was one hundred acres for non-commissioned officers and enlisted men. Since the Continental Congress then had no jurisdiction over any lands, it also resolved to acquire sufficient territory to fulfill the offers, with the cost to be "paid and borne by the states in the same proportion as the other expenses of the war. . ."¹² Two days later the resolution of September 16 was extended to cover all personnel already serving in the Army, and on September 20 land bounties were made non-

¹⁰ Washington to Congress, Writings of Washington, VI, 5-6.

¹¹ Gerry to Joseph Trumbull, September 12, 1776, Burnett, *Letters of Congress*, II, 84.

¹² Ford, *Journals*, V, 762-763. Allocation of lands to the soldiery was not an innovation of the Continental Congress. British veterans of the French and Indian War chose sections of unappropriated land, as a reward for military service and encouragement to populate the frontier. The expense of maintaining an army in the area, it was argued, would thereby be reduced if not eliminated. Amelia C. Ford, "Colonial Precedents of Our National Land System as It Existed in 1800," *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*, II (1910), 423-427.

The September, 1776, offer of lands was not the first made by the Congress. Responding to British encouragement of American desertions, the members of Congress, on August 14, had promised fifty acres to each Hessian or other mercenary who would desert the British. Two weeks later they set up a scheme of acreage allotments proportionate to rank, ranging from one thousand acres for colonels—twice the amount later offered Continental Line colonels—to one hundred acres for non-commissioned officers. Although Charles Frederick Führer, the distributor of the Congressional promises to the Hessians, later claimed "Numbers of them deserted and joined the Americans," only one deserter, a Hessian, ever claimed a land grant, and he had to wait until March 27, 1792, to do so. Ford, *Journals*, V, 653-655, 707; Führer Petition, PCC, Item 42, Petitions Addressed to Congress, 1775-1789, Roll 54, III, 76; Payson J. Treat, *The National Land System* (New York, 1910), pp. 231-232.

transferrable so that individuals could not dispose of them during the war.¹³

The several resolves failed to accomplish their intended purpose: the immediate recruitment of a stable, long-term Continental Army. Few men joined the Continental Lines during the remainder of the year,¹⁴ and, because the 1776 establishment was to disband December 31, Washington declared, "In the course of a few days I am to be left with a handfull of Men."¹⁵ The crisis was stayed only through his exercise of emergency authority, under which the Congress had empowered him "to use every endeavour, by giving bounties and otherwise . . ." to convince the soldiers to continue in service. Washington paid ten dollars over and above the regular salary to each man who would remain on duty for an additional six weeks.¹⁶

Nor does it appear that the land offer produced substantial military enrollments at any time during the war. Recognizing the possibly exaggerated entreaties of Washington and the fact that other circumstances severely hampered recruiting,¹⁷ the Continental Army usually was of insufficient strength.¹⁸ Only after Yorktown did the Congress refuse to grant land in order to augment the Army. A Polish Count, Bemousky, offered in

¹³ Ford, *Journals*, V, 781, 788.

¹⁴ See, e.g., Washington to Hancock, December 20 and 24, 1776, *Writings of Washington*, VI, 409, 431-434, respectively.

¹⁵ Washington to General William Heath, December 21, 1776, *ibid.*, VI, 417.

¹⁶ December 27, 1776, Ford, *Journals*, VI, 1043; Washington to the Officer Commanding at Morristown, December 30, 1776, *Writings of Washington*, VI, 455.

¹⁷ The state practice of offering money bounties higher than those of the Congress certainly did not encourage Continental enlistments. See, e.g., Washington to Jonathan Trumbull, Governor of Connecticut, February 1, 1777, *ibid.*, VII, 86; Washington to Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, November 13, 1777, *ibid.*, X, 54-55; Washington to John Jay, President of the Continental Congress, March 15, 1779, *ibid.*, XIV, 242; Report of the Board of War to Congress, March 11, 1780, Ford, *Journals*, XVI, 248-250. It would seem, quite naturally, that men were more interested in money than land when they enlisted. For example, when funds gave out early in 1777, recruiting virtually came to a standstill. Washington to Henry Laurens, President of the Continental Congress, January 22 and 31, 1777, *Writings of Washington*, VII, 51, 81, respectively.

¹⁸ E.g., see Hancock to Washington, September 6, 1777, PCC, Item 12A, Roll 23, II, 266; Israel Putnam to General Horatio Gates, June 5, 1778, PCC, Item 154, Roll 174, I, 429; Dickinson Committee Report, April 23, 1780, PCC, Item 27, Reports of Committees on the War Office and the Department of War, 1776-1788, Roll 34, 161.

1782 to provide a corps of legions if the United States would grant each legionnaire an unspecified amount of land in compensation for his services; owing to the military situation and Washington's opposition to the idea, the delegates to Congress declined the offer. Legislation such as that of September, 1776, no longer was needed.¹⁹

While the first military land grant legislation came as a result of the inadequate size of the Continental Army, the second major offer of unappropriated backlands stemmed from pressure exerted on Congressional representatives by Army personnel not covered by the September, 1776, resolutions. Acting through their intermediary, Major General Alexander McDougall, generals on the Continental establishment petitioned for bounties, claiming they deserved a reward for services rendered to their country. McDougall told a committee of Congress that the generals "have a Just Clame on the Community for a part of that which they Protect for it, and . . . there are Lands of the Crown and Trators which will far Surpass any Copesation [sic] which the Army wish or ask for with out breaking in upon privet property."²⁰

Congress responded on August 12, 1780, by expanding the resolutions of 1776 to include an eleven hundred acre grant for each major general and an eight hundred and fifty acre tract for every brigadier general. For similar reasons the legislators on September 22 also guaranteed lands to officers in the hospital department of the Army, in amounts ranging from four hundred acres for surgeons mates to eleven hundred acres for the director of the department.²¹

¹⁹ Bemousky Proposal and Washington to Congress, April 27, 1782, PCC, Item 19, Reports of Committees on Applications of Individuals, 1776-1789, Roll 26, I, 269-270, 283, 297.

²⁰ Notes delivered to Congressional Committee composed of Roger Sherman, Samuel Adams, Henry Laurens, Joseph Jones, Abraham Clark, and Thomas McKean, August 1780, in Rowena Buell, comp., *The Memoirs of Rufus Putnam* (Boston and New York, 1903), 182; Officers Petition of July 11, 1780, in Ford, *Journals*, XVII, 689.

²¹ *Ibid.*, XVII, 726-727; XVIII, 847-848. None of the land bounty legislation set aside any demesne for the commander-in-chief. Although the members of Congress considered a committee report which would have given a ten thousand acre bounty to Washington or any other man who might serve as commander-in-chief during the war, the delegates never acted on the report. Committee Report dated December 1, 1779, PCC, Item 21, Reports of Committees. 1775-1788, Roll 30, 217-218; Ford, *Journals*, XV, 1336-1337.

These, then, were the commitments made to men serving in the Continental Lines. No record is extant of the number of veterans entitled to receive land under the several resolutions. Although at one time such a list was prepared under the auspices of the Secretary at War, it was lost in the fires which destroyed the War Office files early in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, it is estimated that 16,683 bounty land warrants, laying claim to 2,666,080 acres of land, were issued to Revolutionary veterans, their heirs, or assignees.²² Before the Continental Congress could discharge its obligations to warrant holders, a public domain had to be acquired. Such acquisition was to cause strife within the Congress, delay in the ratification of the Articles of Confederation, and impatience on the part of soldiers.

II

The issue of military bounty lands triggered antagonisms among the seven states which claimed western lands under charter rights, conquest, or treaty²³ and the six non-landed states which plumped for the formation of a federal public domain.

Maryland assumed the lead on behalf of the landless states. During the fall of 1776, in reply to the initial offer of lands to encourage enlistment in the Continental Lines, the Maryland Convention resolved that "this State ought not to Comply with the proposed Terms of granting Lands to the Officers and Soldiers, because there are no lands belonging Solely and exclusively to this State. . . ." Arguing that Maryland could ill afford to purchase enough land to satisfy the Continental bounties, the Convention declared it would substitute a ten dollar money bounty for all Marylanders who enlisted in the Army.²⁴ Congress in turn informed the Convention on October

²² Secretary at War Henry Knox to Congress, March 10, 1788, PCC, Item 150, Letters from Maj. Gen. Henry Knox, Secretary at War, 1785-1788, Roll 165, III, 101-108; J. B. Ofner, "Military Grants in the United States—Part I," *Americana*, V (December, 1910), 1105.

²³ Connecticut, Georgia, Massachusetts, New York, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. See Benjamin Horrace Hibbard, *A History of the Public Land Policies* (New York, 1924), pp. 7-9.

²⁴ Resolve of the Maryland Convention, dated October 9, 1776, PCC, Item 70, Maryland and Delaware State Papers. 1775-1789, Roll 84, 59-62.

30 that the intended money bounty would "prove extremely detrimental to these states . . ." by raising demands from recruits for increased monetary allowances in all the state Lines of the Continental establishment. To dispel the fear of each state having to secure the necessary backlands, the members in Congress reminded the Convention that "it was the intention of Congress to provide the said land at the expense of the United States. . . ." ²⁵

To this Maryland replied that if Congress would "specify any Land belonging to the *United States* as a common stock to be divided amongst the soldiery in their service," then the state enlistment commissioners would recruit for the Continental Army under the terms of the land bounties. Should the Continental Congress fail to specify any common domain, the Maryland commissioners would proceed to recruit on money bounties alone. In conclusion the Convention warned that if representatives of the national government had to buy lands from the individual states, some states, "by fixing their own price on the Land, [may] pay off what of their quota of the publick debt they please, and have their extensive territory settled by the soldiery of the other States . . ." while the landless states might be "so weakened and impoverished, that they can hold their liberties only at the will of their powerful neighbours." ²⁶

The Continental Congress answered this latest missive from Maryland by asserting that the state commissioners could enlist men either for three years, thus avoiding the land grant, or for the duration, thereby necessitating a land bounty. The conflict was resolved temporarily when the Maryland legislators decided not to offer the ten dollars in lieu of land and instructed the enlistment officers to say nothing of the land bounty in their recruiting drives. ²⁷

There the matter stood for two years, during which time the

²⁵ Ford, *Journals*, VI, 912-913.

²⁶ Resolution of the Maryland Convention, dated November 9, 1776, in Peter Force, comp. and ed., *American Archives* (5th series, Washington, D.C., 1837-1853), III, 177-178.

²⁷ Benjamin Rumsey to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, November 13 and 24, 1776, Burnett, *Letters of Congress*, II, 151n and 162-163, respectively; Samuel Chase to Maryland Council of Safety, November 21, 1776, *ibid.*, II, 161-162; Hatch, *The Administration of the American Revolutionary Army*, p. 74.

Maryland delegates to Congress emphatically refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation until they contained some provision allowing members of Congress to determine the western boundaries of the states so that a federal public domain would be secured.²⁸ As of December, 1778, the fate of the Confederation was still in doubt, since Maryland and Delaware had yet to sign the Articles. At this juncture the Virginia House of Delegates, in order "more effectively to enable Congress to comply with the promise of a Bounty in Lands . . ." volunteered to donate "in Conjunction with each other of the United States . . ." as owned vacant lands, some of Virginia's territory in the Ohio country "to the Troops on Continental Establishment of such of the . . . [landless states] as already have acceded [sic], or shall . . . acced to the Confederation. . . ."²⁹

The Maryland delegates to Congress made no reply to the Virginia offer, indicating that by this time the bounty land issue was but a facade for less selfless interests, principally those of land speculators who could realize private gain only if Virginia relinquished her claims to the Ohio country.³⁰

²⁸ October 15, 1777, Ford, *Journals*, IX, 806-807; November 11 and 13, 1777, *ibid.*, IX, 890, 900; June 22 and 23, 1778, *ibid.*, XI, 632, 638-639. The Articles of Confederation, as finally ratified March 1, 1781, did not give Congress the power to designate the western limits of the states, although an elaborate system was set up whereby, upon petition of state authorities disputing any boundary, arbitration could settle the conflict. *Ibid.*, XIX, 217-218.

²⁹ Resolution of the Virginia House of Delegates, December 18, 1778, PCC, Item 71, Virginia State Papers. 1775-1788, Roll 85, I, 209-210.

³⁰ An older view, advanced by Herbert B. Adams and others, attributed the intransigency of the Marylanders to lofty motives, principally the desire for a stronger national government. Merrill Jensen has pointed out that those who praise the foresight of the Maryland officials overlook their immediate concern with land speculating companies. For example, Samuel Chase and Governor Thomas Johnson of Maryland were members of the Wabash Company, whose claims conflicted with those of Virginia speculators. Adams, "Maryland's Influence Upon Land Cessions to the United States," *Johns Hopkins University Studies* (4th series, Baltimore, 1885), III, 23-24; Shosuke Sato, "History of the Land Question in the United States," *ibid.* (1886), IV, 132; Jensen, "The Cession of the Old Northwest," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXIII, (June, 1936), 22-48, and *The Articles of Confederation. An Interpretation of the Social-Constitutional History of the American Revolution, 1774-1781* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1940), 205; Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution* (New York, 1959), p. 171; St. George L. Sioussat, "The Chevalier De La Luzerne and the Ratification of the Articles of Confederation by Maryland, 1780-1781," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LX (1936), 391-418.

It is worth noting that Maryland in 1777 and 1778, at the time her delegates to Congress protested that the state had no unoccupied territory with which

Thus the impasse continued. Finally, on March 1, 1781, after Virginia had again offered with reservations to cede her western domain to the national government, the Maryland deputies in Congress signed the Articles of Confederation to complete the union of the thirteen states.³¹ Yet the members of the Continental Congress, influenced largely by powerful land companies, delayed in accepting the Virginia cession until March 1, 1784, exactly three years after the original offer.³² A national domain existed at last. Provided Congress could devise a means of allocation, the guarantee of lands to war veterans could be honored.

III

The officers and men of the Continental Army fully intended to receive their due in back pay and land. Many

to satisfy the national land bounties, offered military land grants to enlistees and recruiting officers in the state militia. Ofner, "Military Grants in the United States—Part I," 1110.

³¹ Ford, *Journals*, XIX, 214. In ceding their claims, Virginia officials stipulated (1) states of one hundred to one hundred and fifty square miles each would be carved out of the ceded realm, to be admitted to the Union on an equal footing with the original states, (2) the United States should reimburse Virginia for her military exploits in the Northwest during the Revolution, (3) up to one hundred fifty thousand acres of land should be reserved for the troops of George Rogers Clark, "to be laid off in one tract, the length of which not to exceed double the breadth, in such place on the northwest side of the Ohio as the majority of the officers should choose . . .," (4) should the lands set aside for Virginia troops on the south side of the Ohio prove insufficient, such troops would be able to claim land between the Little Miami and Scioto Rivers, north of the Ohio, (5) all other lands ceded by Virginia "should be considered as a common fund . . ." of all the states, and therefore any private purchases from the Indians were invalid. September 13, 1783, *ibid.*, XXV, 560-563.

³² The bounty land reservations were retained, as well as the provision that territory ceded form part of the common fund of the nation "and shall be faithfully and *bona fide* disposed of for that purpose, and no other use or purpose whatsoever." *Ibid.*, XXVI, 114-115. See also, Jensen, "The Creation of the National Domain," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVI (December, 1939), 325-327, 341.

The question of Indian lands cannot be overlooked. On the basis of two committee reports, the congressmen resolved, October 15, 1783, "although motives of policy, as well as clemency, ought to incline Congress to listen to the prayers of the hostile Indians for peace, yet in the opinion of the committee [Daniel Carroll, Richard Peters, Benjamin Hawkins, Arthur Lee, and James Duane] it is just and necessary that lines of property should be ascertained and established between the United States and them . . ." because, among other things, "the faith of the United States stands pledged to grant portions of the uncultivated Lands as a bounty to their Army. . . ." PCC, Item 30, Other Reports of Committees of Congress, 1776-88, Roll 37, 229-233. Copies of several treaties by which the central government acquired Indian lands in the Ohio country are in PCC, Item 174, Copies of Indian Treaties. 1784-1786, Roll 194.

veterans returned home impoverished after being discharged in June of 1783, since by its own estimate Congress owed those on the Continental establishment \$10,635,618 in back pay and interest.³³ Postwar pressure for lands consequently became combined with appeals for pecuniary remuneration. On the basis of the memorials and remonstrances presented to Congress during the Confederation Period, it seems that monetary recompense was the primary concern. This is understandable, since hard cash would be more attractive than undeveloped, unsurveyed land in the wilderness. The overwhelming majority of addresses from veterans to the Congress dealt with the monies owed them.³⁴

Yet land represented an economic and social asset, and the veteran would seek to claim his due no matter what the present value of a tract in the backlands. No definite statement as to the intensity of agitation for bounty lands is possible, because under the Land Ordinance of 1785 the Secretary at War was to determine the eligibility of claimants for bounties, and one again is confronted with the unavailability of evidence which would decide the question—the destroyed War Office records. The most concrete indication of the extent of the pressure exerted by the veterans is to be found in a letter dated April 26, 1787, from Secretary at War Henry Knox to the Congress, wherein he wrote of the “incessant enquiries respecting the lands due to the late army. . . .”³⁵

Actually, the agitation for lands began prior to the formal disbanding of the Army in 1783, but only after it became evident that some time would elapse before the central government could retire the debt owed the Army. In November of 1782, the members of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, and New York Lines drafted an address to the Congress concerning the settlement of accounts, in which they stated that the “uneasiness of the soldiers, for want of pay, is great and dangerous; any further experiments on their patience

³³ Estimate as of August 19, 1783, PCC, Item 12, Book of Estimates. April 18, 1781-December 31, 1786, Roll 22, 75-76. See also, E. James Ferguson, *The Power of the Purse* (Chapel Hill, 1961), pp. 170-171, 179-183.

³⁴ PCC, Item 41, Memorials Addressed to Congress, 1775-1788, Rolls 48-52, Item 42, Petitions Addressed to Congress, 1775-1789, Rolls 53-56, and Item 43, Remonstrances and Addresses to Congress, 1776-1788, Roll 57.

³⁵ PCC, Item 150, Roll 164, II, 319.

may have fatal effects."³⁶ Thereupon, at the suggestion of the grand committee to whom the petition was referred, members of Congress resolved, January 23, 1783, that the Army, "in common with all the creditors . . ." of the United States, had a right to expect security for the sums of money owed them.³⁷ This placed the Army in the same position as the other creditors of the nation and in effect promised the officers and their commands no special consideration. Discontent continued to run high, reaching a peak in March of 1783, when the "Newburgh Addresses" circulated through the camp at Newburgh, on the Hudson River. The second of the several letters urged the men to retain their arms until Congress acceded to the demands of the military. Should the legislators refuse, "you will retire to some unsettled country. . . ."³⁸ On March 11, Washington ordered "disapprobation of such disorderly proceedings" and requested the general and field officers, together with one man from each company, to meet with him on March 15.³⁹ At that time, asking their patience with the slowness of Congress, he disparaged any ideas of occupying "some unsettled country," leaving the nation to defend itself: "But who are they to defend? Our wives, our children, our farms and other property which we leave behind us? or, in this state of hostile separation, are we to take the two first (the latter cannot be removed) to perish in the wilderness with hunger, cold, and nakedness?"⁴⁰ The attending officers and men then drew up five resolves to send to Congress, emphasizing their confidence that the just claims of the Army would be met.⁴¹

Shortly after the Newburgh affair several New England officers advanced a more constructive land program than that of the inflammatory addresses. On April 7 the Quartermaster

³⁶ Ford, *Journals*, XXIV, 291; PCC, Item 42, Roll 55, VI, 61-64. A detailed description of the proceedings is in Sidney Kaplan, "Pay, Pension, and Power: Economic Grievances of the Massachusetts Officers of the Revolution," *Boston Public Library Quarterly*, III (January-March, 1951), 129-134.

³⁷ Ford, *Journals*, XXIV, 94. The content of the resolution is usually attributed to Alexander Hamilton, a member of the grand committee.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, XXIV, 297.

³⁹ *Writings of Washington*, XXVI, 208.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, XXVI, 222-227. Copies of the Newburgh Addresses, the transactions of the March 15 meeting, and Washington's letters on the subject to Congress are in PCC, Item 152, Roll 171, XI, 105-154.

⁴¹ Ford, *Journals*, XXIV, 306-311.

General, Timothy Pickering, who had been present at the officers meeting on March 15, wrote to his immediate subordinate, Richard Hodgdon, that several prominent officers had devised a plan for setting up a new state in the Ohio country. If the men-at-arms approved of the idea, at a projected meeting, application would be made to the Congress. Pickering sent along a rough draft of the plan and indicated that Generals Rufus Putnam and Samuel Huntington also had copies.⁴²

The officers proposed the United States should secure title to the Indian lands lying west of the Pennsylvania boundary in order to form a state approximately two-thirds the size of present-day Ohio. In this region soldiers entitled to tracts under the 1776 and 1780 resolutions of Congress would be allowed to settle. If the veterans removed to that country within one year after its procurement from the Indians, then additional grants, ranging from six hundred to twenty-four hundred acres, depending on rank, were to be assigned. Furthermore, in order that settlement be *bona fide*, each grantee would be obliged to build a house and have a certain amount of his demesne cleared within an as yet unspecified number of years. Pickering's draft also provided for the extension of land bounties to all who had served not less than three years, instead of the original requirement of Congress that recipients must have served through the end of the war. The United States government was to furnish all former officers and men with arms and ammunition to insure security against the Indians, the requisite tools and livestock, a suit of clothes every year for each man, and "one ration of bread and meat per day" for every man, woman, and child over a three-year period. Pickering did not ask for a colossal give-away but suggested the cost of these services be deducted from the total arrearages owed each veteran. Surplus land was to be sold for the benefit of the new state.

The plan also called for the establishment of civil government. Before moving to the West, at least two-thirds of the

⁴² Octavius Pickering and C. W. Upham, *The Life of Timothy Pickering* (Boston, 1867-1873), I, 457, 459. Hodgdon answered that he believed the members of Congress would be unsympathetic to the idea.

military associators would draw up a constitution, to include the prohibition of slavery in the new state and to provide for an elected assembly. The associators were also to select delegates to the Continental Congress. Thereafter, "the State, so constituted, shall be admitted into the confederacy . . . and entitled to all the benefits of the Union, in common with the other members thereof."⁴³

The general meeting of officers on the Continental establishment, of which Pickering spoke in his letter to Hodgdon, met and drafted on May 7, 1783, a petition ever since called the Newburgh or Army Plan. More than half of the nearly three hundred petitioners were from Massachusetts, while the rest lived in nearby New England states. The signatories asserted they knew that no state claimed the tract of land bounded by the western limits of Pennsylvania, the Ohio River, and a line extending from a point twenty-four miles west of the mouth of the Scioto River along a meridian intersecting the Miami (Maumee) River and, finally, along that river to its mouth on Lake Erie.⁴⁴ The region was sufficiently large and arable, the petitioners continued, "as may induce Congress to assign, and mark it out, as a tract, or territory suitable to form a distinct Government (or Colony of the United States) in time, to be admitted *one* of the Confederated States. . . ." Therefore, the military men asked that, whenever the delegates to Congress

⁴³ *Ibid.*, I, 546-549. The Continental Congress already had stipulated that if the states ceded their land claims, the national domain would "be settled and formed into distinct republican states, which shall become members of the federal union . . ." on an equal basis with the original thirteen states. Ford, *Journals*, XVIII, 915.

⁴⁴ This is substantially the same area suggested in Pickering's draft plan of April, 1783. Pickering and Upham, *The Life of Timothy Pickering*, I, 546-547. Contrary to the officers' intimation, Virginia claimed the country in question, since the Continental Congress had not yet accepted the offer of cession.

Dorsey Pentecost, a militia officer in Washington county, Pennsylvania, wrote to Congressman James Wilson at the end of June, 1783, and suggested the founding of a state, inhabited by veterans, in almost the exact location requested by the Newburgh petitioners. Pentecost argued that such a settlement would facilitate communications with Detroit and bring civil government to the Northwest. Pentecost to Wilson, June 26, 1783, in E. Douglas Branch, ed., "Plan for the Western Lands, 1783," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LX (1936), 287-292. It is not known whether Pentecost was aware of the Newburgh Plan. He was in Washington county and was not a Continental establishment veteran, and his plan is not identical to that of the Newburgh memorialists. Yet, by the latter part of June he could have received word of the plan.

should secure these lands from the Indians on behalf of the central government, the territory be surveyed and located for those officers and soldiers wishing to satisfy their bounty claims there.⁴⁵ The Pickering draft proposals for transportation and sustenance, to be supplied at the expense of the United States, did not appear in the May petition.

The memorialists entrusted their address to General Rufus Putnam, who transmitted it to General Washington in June, a few days after the disbandment of the Continental Army. Requesting Washington's "patronage" of the plan, Putnam explained the "expectations which the petitioners have respecting the conditions on which they hope to obtain the lands." The desired tract, he said, was estimated at 17,418,240 acres, 2,106,850 of which could be claimed under the Congressional bounty land acts. There would be 756 townships, of six square miles each, in which plots would be reserved for religious, educational, and municipal purposes. The government was to survey the territory at no expense to the settlers. Unlike the Pickering draft, Putnam wrote, "nor do they [the veterans] expect to be under any obligation to settle these lands, or do any duty to secure their title in them. . . ." In an effort to induce such settlement, however, Putnam declared the petitioners hoped for additional grants of some 8,000,000 acres to be parceled out to actual colonizers. Finally, he predicted that many veterans planned to occupy their bounty grants and that their migration would entice others to follow them into the wilderness, thereby securing forever the territory for the United States.⁴⁶

After reading the Newburgh Petition and Putnam's commentary on it, Washington dispatched both to the Continental Congress under a covering letter. He endorsed the Plan and listed the advantages to be accrued from the projected state:

⁴⁵ The original Newburgh Petition is in PCC, Item 42, Roll 55, VI, 65-69.

⁴⁶ Putnam to Washington, June 16, 1783, PCC, Item 152, Roll 171, XI, 325-328; Charles M. Walker, *History of Athens County, Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1869), p. 30. The size of the tract and the additional amounts of land requested to encourage settlement raise the possibility of land speculation as a motive of the veterans. No doubt Putnam was aware of this when he cautioned that the "petitioners, at least some of them, are much opposed to the monopoly of the lands . . ." Even the smallest acreage designated by Congress in 1776, the one hundred acres offered to soldiers and non-commissioned officers, was more than ample for a contemporary family farm.

contact with the frontier, orderly progression of settlement, and defense against the Indians by men well suited to the task.⁴⁷

In Congress the documents came under the consideration of a grand committee which had been created on May 30, 1783, a month earlier, to deliberate ways and means of "carrying into execution the engagements of the United States for certain allowances of land to the Army. . . ." ⁴⁸ Alexander Hamilton of New York had urged the establishment of the committee, since Washington had warned him that Congressional delay in honoring commitments of back pay and lands would be expensive and might cause the Army to "break up in disorder; go home enraged, complaining of injustice, and committing enormities on the innocent Inhabitants in every direction."⁴⁹

Since the central government still possessed no national domain, the committee reported on June 4 that each man entitled to bounty lands should receive a warrant specifying his rank, regiment, and the number of acres due him. Because of lack of consensus on a lesser question of making warrants transferable, Congress took no action on the report, thus failing to reaffirm its original commitment to the veterans.⁵⁰

The following day Theodoric Bland of Virginia introduced the so-called Financiers' Plan for satisfying the Army claims and simultaneously liquidating a large portion of the national debt. This, too, was referred to the grand committee of May 30.⁵¹ This plan called for acceptance of the pending Virginia act of cession. From the Ohio country, also ceded to the United States in the preliminary peace treaty with Great Britain, an unsettled tract was to be set aside and surveyed at government expense. Besides gaining the bounty land promised in 1776 and 1780, every veteran was to receive thirty acres in

⁴⁷ Washington to Elias Boudinot, President of the Continental Congress, June 17, 1783, PCC, Item 152, Roll 171, XI, 321-324, and *Writings of Washington*, XXVII, 16-18.

⁴⁸ Committee members were Samuel Holten, Jonathan Arnold, Oliver Ellsworth, Alexander Hamilton, Abraham Clark, James Wilson, Gunning Bedford, John Francis Mercer, Benjamin Hawkins, and John Rutledge. Ford, *Journals*, XXIV, 376; PCC, Item 21, Roll 30, 356.

⁴⁹ Washington to Hamilton, April 22, 1783, *Writings of Washington*, XXVI, 351-352.

⁵⁰ Ford, *Journals*, XXIV, 383; James Madison, "Notes on Debates," June 4, 1783, *ibid.*, XXV, 968.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, XXIV, 384-385.

lieu of each dollar owed him either in arrearages or commutation of half-pay.⁵² The entire debt owed the Army would be discharged at one stroke. When any district attained a population of twenty thousand males, it was to be admitted as a state on equal terms with the thirteen original states. The central government would retain ten per cent of the land, "the rents, issues, profits and produce of which lands . . . to be appropriated to the payment of the Civil List of the United States, the erecting of frontier forts . . ." and the support of educational institutions.⁵³

The grand committee took no action on the Financiers' Plan before receiving the Army Plan on July 3. Nor did the choice between two plans speed the process of assigning bounty lands. Nothing could be done unless the Virginia offer of cession was accepted and peace made with the Indian tribes of the Ohio country. Washington worried that so long as the cession remain unaccepted, "Land jobbers and lawless Banditti . . ." might provoke an Indian war or settle the Ohio country themselves, compromising seriously the cause of the veterans.⁵⁴ The Army "is extremely impatient to obtain the lands that were promised them, and without the Virginia cession we had nothing to give . . .," lamented the North Carolina delegates.⁵⁵ Confronted with this state of affairs, the Congress had little choice but to drop consideration of both the Army and Financiers' Plans during the autumn of 1783. Thus the first major attempt on the part of the central government to satisfy bounty rights had failed to effect any tangible results.⁵⁶

⁵² On October 21, 1780, the Congress voted to give half-pay for life to all officers of the Continental Army. On March 22, 1783, the members decided to commute half-pay for life to full pay for five years, in money or six per cent certificates. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 958; XXIV, 207.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, XXIV, 384-386.

⁵⁴ Washington to Knox, September 23, 1783, *Writings of Washington*, XXVII, 162-163.

⁵⁵ Letter to Alexander Martin, Governor of North Carolina, September 26, 1783, Burnett, *Letters of Congress*, VII, 313.

⁵⁶ Endorsement of the Newburgh Petition, PCC, Item 42, Roll 55, VI, 71.

Early in October Brigadier General Charles Armand-Tuffin, under advice from Washington, petitioned on behalf of his corps for an assignment of bounty lands and promptly was told the Congress could not then "make any appropriations much less . . . assign certain Districts to any particular Corps." Committee Report and Congressional Resolution, October 29, 1783, PCC, Item 19, Roll 26, I, 93-94; Washington to Armand-Tuffin, October 1, 1783, *Writings of Washington*, XXVII, 172.

Nor did the outlook appear brighter during the following year, even after the Virginia cession finally was accepted and the first land ordinance passed. The Ordinance of 1784 concerned the establishment of civil government in the West but provided no mode of transferring land from public to private ownership.⁵⁷ A second proposed ordinance received the support of just one state, North Carolina, when brought to a vote. Had it been enacted, veterans could have proceeded to claim their lands. To gain his bounty, a commissioned officer or his heir was to present a certificate from the War Office, designating rank and term of service, to the United States loan officer in the state to whose Continental Line he belonged. Each non-commissioned officer, enlistee, or his representative was to obtain similar certification from the captain of his particular company, validated by the commanding officer of the regiment. Upon receipt of the required document, the loan officer was to issue a warrant specifying the amount of land to which the individual was entitled.⁵⁸

Another year was to pass before the members of Congress set up the machinery whereby veterans could receive their bounties, and then the requisite legislation was enacted only because the national government, in increasingly desperate financial straits, was forced to resort to its one concrete source of revenue—western lands. In March of 1785 the proposed ordinance of the previous year was resurrected, read, and debated, and sent to a grand committee.⁵⁹ The group submitted its first report to the entire Congress on April 12. That portion dealing with bounty lands differed significantly from

⁵⁷ Ford, *Journals*, XXVI, 274-277; Jay A. Barrett, *Evolution of the Ordinance of 1787. With an Account of the Earlier Plans for the Government of the Northwest Territory* (New York, 1891), pp. 17-27.

⁵⁸ PCC, Item 30, Roll 37, 59-66; May 28, 1784, Ford, *Journals*, XXVI, 453. On April 5, 1784, Putnam wrote to Washington, "there are thousands . . . who will emigrate to that country [Ohio] as soon as the honorable congress make provisions for granting lands there . . ." He warned further delay might result in officers and men "fixing themselves in business somewhere, as soon as possible, as many of them are unable to lie longer on their oars . . ." Putnam also suggested final debt certificates, then selling for as little as four shillings on a pound, might well double in value if delegates to Congress would vote to accept the certificates for lands. Buell, *The Memoirs of Rufus Putnam*, pp. 223-224. Washington replied, "Congress are differing about their powers . . ." and adjournment was so near that any action on the Newburgh Petition of the previous year was unlikely. June 2, 1784, *ibid.*, 226-227.

⁵⁹ March 4 and 16, 1785, Ford, *Journals*, XXVIII, 114 and 165n, respectively.

the comparable section of the unadopted ordinance of the preceding year. From the townships or parts thereof, which were to be laid out in accordance with the new report, the Secretary at War was to choose an as yet unspecified portion for military bounty lands. He was then to ascertain the names of all those eligible under the 1776 and 1780 resolves and to send certificates, bearing the name, rank, dates of service, and number of acres to which each was entitled and the township out of which the plots were to be taken, to the United States loan officers, who were to administer the sale of the national domain in addition to receiving the bounty certificates. For reasons not pertinent to the veterans' claims, the report was recommitted and did not again come before Congress until April 26.⁶⁰

The revised report stipulated that as soon as the first five ranges or tiers of townships were surveyed and registered, the Secretary at War would reserve one-seventh of the entire region for Continental bounties. Tracts were to be impartially assigned by lot. Upon receipt of the necessary certificates attesting to *bona fide* claimants, the United States loan officers would proceed to issue the appropriate deeds. An amendment to the report extended the same procedure to all subsequently-surveyed ranges, until such time as all military grants would be located.⁶¹

Another month of debate ensued before the Ordinance of 1785 became law. The articles dealing with bounties remained unchanged from the draft of April 26, except that seven rather than five ranges had to be surveyed before the process of distribution could begin.⁶²

IV

As a result of the survey and registration procedures set down in the Ordinance of 1785, it was evident some time would pass before military claimants could procure their bounties. At least one group of veterans decided, if at all possible, not to wait until the provisions of the law were effected. The

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 268n.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 299-301.

⁶² *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 375-381.

former men-at-arms planned instead to band together and purchase a large tract in the Ohio country. Perhaps the principal figure behind the group was Rufus Putnam, who had long cast a covetous eye on western lands.⁶³ Putnam accepted the job of surveyor for Massachusetts under the Ordinance of 1785, only to change his mind shortly and resign. As he secured former Brigadier General Benjamin Tupper to replace him, while Putnam himself went out to survey vacant lands in Massachusetts, it seems evident that they intended to compare findings and decide which of the two areas offered the better prospect for settlement.⁶⁴

Fresh from their excursions into the wilderness, Putnam and Tupper met during the winter of 1785-1786 and decided to promote the settlement of the Ohio country. "General Tupper & others brought a very favorable report of the country, Northwest of the Ohio river," Putnam recorded in his memoirs, "and haveing [sic] no expectation that anything more favorable would be don[e] by Congress for the army then [sic] what was comprised in the Land ordinance of the 20th of May 1785, I concluded to join in Setting on foot an association for purchasing of Lands in that country. . . ." ⁶⁵ In January of 1786 Putnam and Tupper sounded a call for all veterans entitled to Congressional bounty lands and "all other good citizens who wish to become adventurers in that delightful region . . ." to select representatives who were to convene March 1 at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston.⁶⁶

Eleven men attended the meeting, five of whom had signed the defunct Newburgh Petition. Now they contracted to form the Ohio Company, shares of which would sell at one thousand

⁶³ Putnam had been active in the Military Company of Adventurers, the members of which sought unappropriated territory from the British in reward for service during the French and Indian War. Alfred Mathews, "Organization of the Ohio Land Company," *Magazine of Western History*, I (November, 1884 - April, 1885), 33. It will also be remembered that Putnam sent the Newburgh Petition of 1783 to Washington.

⁶⁴ Buell, *The Memoirs of Rufus Putnam*, pp. 100-101; Archer B. Hulbert, comp. and ed., *The Records of the Original Proceedings of the Ohio Company in the Marietta College Collections* (Marietta, Ohio, 1917), I, xxxvii-xxxviii.

⁶⁵ Buell, *The Memoirs of Rufus Putnam*, p. 102.

⁶⁶ "Information," published in several Massachusetts newspapers in January and February, 1786, in Hulbert, *The Records of the Original Proceedings of the Ohio Company*, I, 1-4.

dollars each, the money to be "apply'd to the purchase of Lands . . . north westerly of the River Ohio. . . ." ⁶⁷

Acting through an agent sent to Congress, Samuel Holden Parsons, the Ohio Company associators petitioned, May 9, 1787, for an expanse of land to cost from five hundred thousand to two million dollars. Military rights were to constitute one-seventh of the entire purchase. Within the tract, "such of the Associators as by the Resolutions of Congress are intitled to receive Lands for their military services may have their lands assigned them. . . ." ⁶⁸

Because Parsons' efforts were unsuccessful, the Reverend Manasseh Cutler and Winthrop Sargent again presented the Ohio Company proposals before the Congress. After several months of discussion, during which time Congress passed the famous Ordinance of 1787, Cutler, Sargent, and members of the Board of Treasury signed a contract on October 27, wherein the Ohio associators agreed to purchase a tract approximately equal in size to the first seven ranges being surveyed under the Ordinance of 1785. One-seventh of the entire area, in accordance with the original proposal, could be claimed in military bounties. The price agreed upon was \$1,000,000, which amounted to eight or nine cents an acre in depreciated currency. The cash value of the bounty rights in the purchase totalled \$142,857. The dire need for funds and the possibility of retiring part of the national debt had moved the Board of Treasury, in effect, to suspend the provisions of the Ordinance of 1785 even before they went into operation. ⁶⁹

Encouraged by the negotiations between the Ohio Company and the central government, another group of speculators, headed by John Cleves Symmes, likewise petitioned to buy a second part of the national domain. Although this group hoped to acquire two million acres between the Great and

⁶⁷ Articles of Agreement, accepted March 4, 1786, *ibid.*, I, 6-11.

⁶⁸ Parsons Memorial, May 9, 1787, PCC, Item 41, Roll 51, VIII, 226-227.

⁶⁹ Ohio Company Contract with the Board of Treasury, Hulbert, *The Records of the Original Proceedings of the Ohio Company*, I, 29-31, 126-127. Within a month after completing the negotiations with the Board of Treasury, the directors of the Company resolved that the associators could purchase shares with bounty rights at the value of one dollar per acre. *Ibid.*, I, 20-21. Julia P. and William Parker Cutler, *Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler* (Cincinnati, 1888), I, 290, 365; Hibbard, *A History of the Public Land Policies*, pp. 45-50.

Little Miami Rivers, Congress decided on October 14, 1788, to sell them only half that amount. The cost in currency was approximately \$571,400. As in the Ohio Company purchase, one-seventh of the price could be in bounty rights.⁷⁰

The Ohio Company purchase of 1787 and the Symmes purchase of 1788 constituted the sole means by which veterans of the Continental Army could receive land bounties during the Confederation Period. True, the Land Ordinance of 1785 had provided for the allocation of a part of the public domain to retired and discharged officers and men. But because of financial difficulties, Indian unrest, and the sheer magnitude of the task, less than four of the first seven ranges had been surveyed by early 1787.⁷¹ Clearly, further delay was inevitable, since all seven ranges had to be laid out before the Secretary at War could withdraw the stipulated one-seventh of the whole for the use of the late Army.

The "incessant enquiries respecting the lands due . . ." the veterans prompted Secretary Knox to warn Congress in April of 1787 that so much time would pass before enough land was surveyed and made available under the Ordinance of 1785, that many of the veterans undoubtedly would have died in the interim. Bounty lands represented the one hope of solvency for many of the men, a good portion of whom were approaching old age and "Uninformed of, or not comprehending the cause which prevent a delivery, they pine and murmur at a four years delay. . . ." Nor could such individuals compete with land speculators, "which in some degree must be the case, if they shall not have a particular tract assigned to them. . . ." To combat this unfair situation, Knox urged the setting aside of a district somewhere in the Ohio country, of such dimensions

⁷⁰ Symmes Memorial, August 29, 1787, PCC, Item 42, Roll 56, VII, 295-297; Hibbard, *A History of the Public Land Policies*, pp. 50-53; Treat, *The National Land System*, p. 54. Whereas the Ohio Company allowed bounty sites to be selected at any place within the purchase, Symmes set off the entire third range of townships to satisfy the claims of the veterans, only to regret the decision when it turned out he had given away the best land to the "military gentlemen." Symmes to Jonathan Dayton, October 12 and November 25, 1788, in Beverley Waugh Bond, Jr., ed., *The Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes. Founder of the Miami Purchase* (New York, 1926), pp. 44 and 49, respectively.

⁷¹ Edward Carrington Committee Report, April 25, 1787, PCC, Item 30, Roll 37, 119-127; Ford, *Journals*, XXXII, 238-240.

as to honor all Army claims. Again, the cost of the survey was to be borne by the central government.⁷²

Congress channelled Knox's suggestions to a five-man committee in May. Then, four months later, just before conclusion of the Ohio Company purchase, the committee proposed the creation of a military district for satisfaction of bounty claims.⁷³ Congress resolved, on October 22, to set aside one million acres, lying due west of the first seven ranges and north of the soon-to-be-completed Ohio Company purchase, and a second expanse of several million more acres in the Illinois country. Not another claim to land in the military sectors was to be honored until all veterans' bounties were located. The Secretary at War was to determine valid claimants, and the Geographer of the United States, under the Secretary's supervision, was to survey the two regions.⁷⁴

Five months after the creation of the military districts, Knox informed Congress that the Commissioner of Army Accounts was compiling from the muster rolls a list of all eligible claimants, which would be available in June of 1788. At the same time, Knox counseled that the Geographer could not survey the military districts because of the failure of the Board of Treasury to appropriate funds for that purpose. The Secretary had decided upon a temporary expedient and had instructed Brigadier General Josiah Harmar, commander of American troops in the West, to have his officers mark out the exterior boundaries of the district in the Illinois country, even though they would receive payment for their unusual services only after the sale of unappropriated lands there.⁷⁵

Another four months elapsed before the delegates to Congress took any action, and when they did, it was to authorize on July 9, 1788, the appointment of one surveyor for each of the two districts. Within each, any veteran with a land grant warrant from the Secretary at War was obliged to select his lands independently, provided the surveys "shall run east and west, north and south . . ." and "in every location there

⁷² Knox to Congress, April 26, 1787, PCC, Item 150, Roll 164, II, 319-321.

⁷³ Carrington Committee Report, read October 12, 1787, PCC, Item 27, Roll 34, 347-348; Ford, *Journals*, XXXIII, 666.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 695-696.

⁷⁵ Knox to Congress, March 10, 1788, PCC, Item 150, Roll 165, III, 101-105.

shall be a combination of as many warrants as shall make the same at least six miles square, and no interstices shall be left between surveys less than six miles wide." The surveyors were to keep accurate accounts of the lands marked off and to transmit the located warrants to the Board of Treasury within the year. Should any Continental establishment veteran or his representative desire to locate a claim in the townships of the first four ranges already surveyed under the Ordinance of 1785, he was to send a written request and his land warrant to the Secretary at War by July 1, 1789. The Secretary would then see that the request was satisfied. Thus, the legislation of 1788 repealed that portion of the 1785 land law, which directed the Secretary at War to select one-seventh of the first seven ranges to satisfy military bounties.⁷⁶

Time prevented the surveys of the military districts from being run during the Confederation Period, so that aging veterans, unwilling to wait for tracts within the newly-established sectors, had no choice except to claim their due not from the government but from private associations, the Ohio Company or the Symmes speculators.

For their part, the members of the Continental Congress had had more than a decade of frustration with military land bounties. The original offer of lands in 1776 had not produced the desired result: significant numbers of long-term enlistments in the Continental establishment. Perhaps a cash bounty was more attractive to the new recruit than an uncertain guarantee of a plot in the distant wilderness, to be allocated at the end of the war. With no domain under the direct control of the national government at the time of the original commitment, the enlistee had no idea if the transmontane region could be wrested from the British or, for that matter, when the war would end and with what results. Then, too, the rival claims of the individual states and the necessity of gaining clear title to the Indian lands could operate only to make the offer less inviting. Certainly, a money bounty would entice more enlistees, and, because the state monetary induce-

⁷⁶ Ford, *Journals*, XXXIV, 305-310; see also, Abraham Clark Committee Report, March 19, 1788, *ibid.*, XXXIV, 95-100 and 105, 180, 184-185, 277-281; Supplement to the Ordinance of May 20, 1785, dated July 9, 1788, PCC, Item 175, Roll 194, 135-141.

ments were considerably greater and the required length of service appreciably shorter than that which Congress provided, not many men joined the Continental Lines as a result of the 1776 legislation.

Still, the commitment had been made. And, although the prime consideration behind the enactment of the Confederation land ordinances was the sale of the backlands in order to raise revenue and retire the national debt, the members of Congress at least attempted to honor their pledges. Their failure must be attributed to the severe weaknesses and restrictions of the national government under the Articles of Confederation. No matter how many resolutions looking toward the assignment of bounties passed the Congress, little could come of them until money was available for the survey and administrative disbursement of the lands. Moreover, even if the states had contributed adequately to the financial support of the Congress, it remains doubtful that under the Articles the central government could have elicited the co-operation necessary to muster a force sufficient to pacify the Indian tribes of the old Northwest. For the lack of progress in any of these directions—progress that would come only after inauguration of government under the Constitution—the veteran had to wait.

SIDELIGHTS

Fighting Fires the Baltimore Way— A British View of 1862

By CHARLES L. WAGANDT

Two hundred years ago shouts of "fire! fire!" sent Baltimoreans scurrying into the streets. The alarm alerted the residents to grab their leather buckets and race to the blaze. These water carriers, simple instruments though they be, provided the primary means for extinguishing the flames. Such primitive methods soon yielded to a more sophisticated approach as citizens created volunteer fire companies with hand-operated engines. The first of these came into being before the 19th century.

Unfortunately the volunteers did not long confine themselves only to extinguishing fires. Unsavory elements engaged in the activities of the volunteer fire companies, thereby helping to justify Baltimore's nickname, "Mobtown." Not that the city was alone in expressing urban growth and unrest by riotous action, but certainly it achieved a high degree of notoriety. Rowdies set fires to draw rival volunteer companies together for a fight. Pitched battles erupted, attracting more attention than the fires.

Politics and whiskey permeated the atmosphere of many companies. Bloody fights occurred not only at fires but also at elections. By the late 1850s citizens grew tired of the expensive antics of the volunteers. Encouragement for reform came from the successful experiments in the 1850s of the steam fire engine and the police and fire alarm telegraph. Professionalism was now needed.

The year 1858 saw Mayor Thomas Swann sign into law ordinances providing for these changes. The city quickly set up a paid fire department and a police and fire alarm telegraph. This put Baltimore in the front ranks of American cities in the art of fighting fires.

Baltimore's fire protection system so impressed the British consul in this city that he took time off from his accounts of the outbreak of the Civil War to write a detailed account. Frederic Bernal was his name. Though a British subject, he came out of a Jewish and Spanish background. Educated at Eton, he worked in the House of Commons before seeing service abroad. He came to Baltimore as consul for Maryland in January, 1861, and left after the war for France to serve in a similar capacity. His father and elder brother also served Britain, both being members of Parliament.

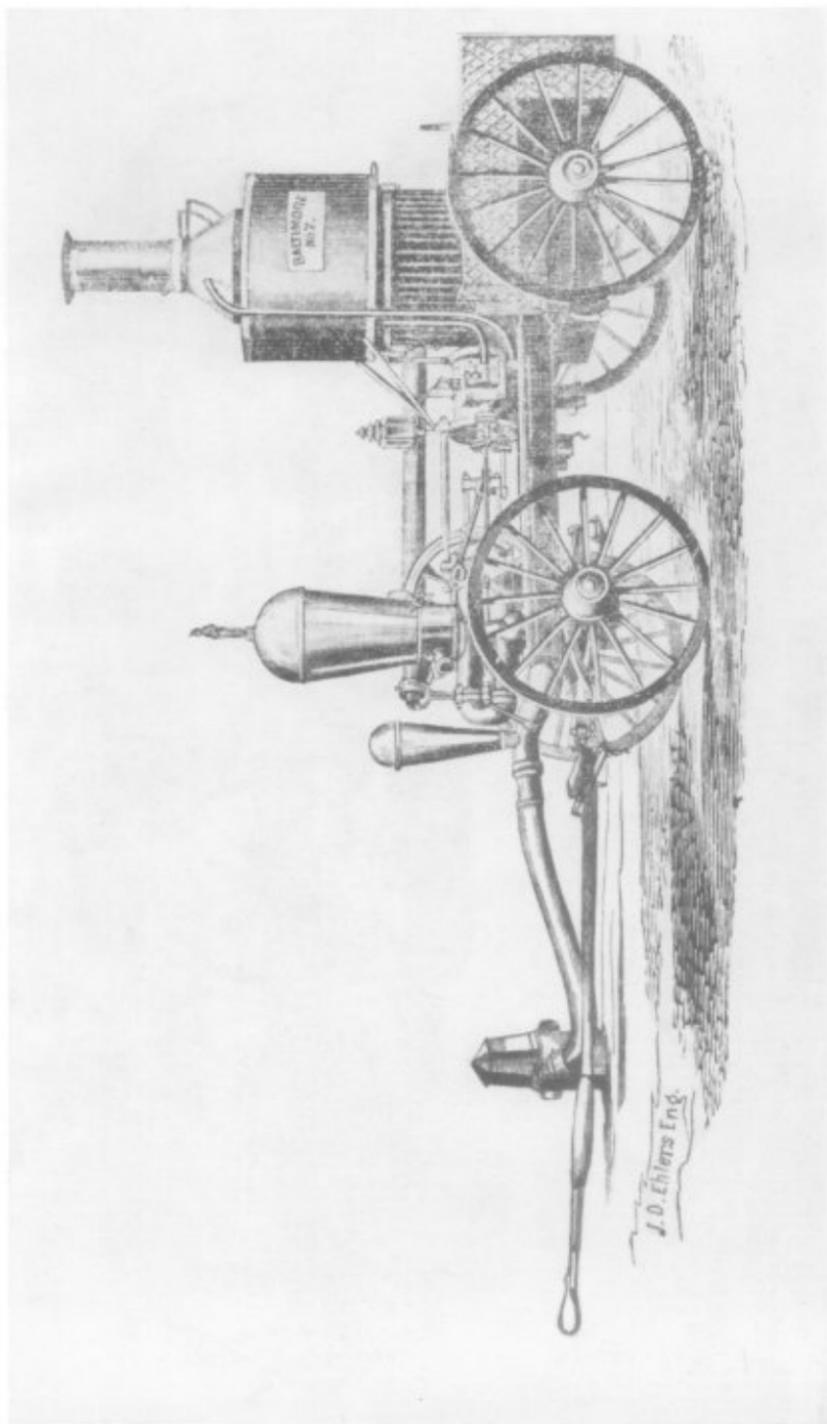
TO RIGHT HON. JOHN RUSSELL, M.P.
BRITISH CONSULATE FOR THE STATE OF MARYLAND
Baltimore, May 23rd. 1861.

My Lord,¹

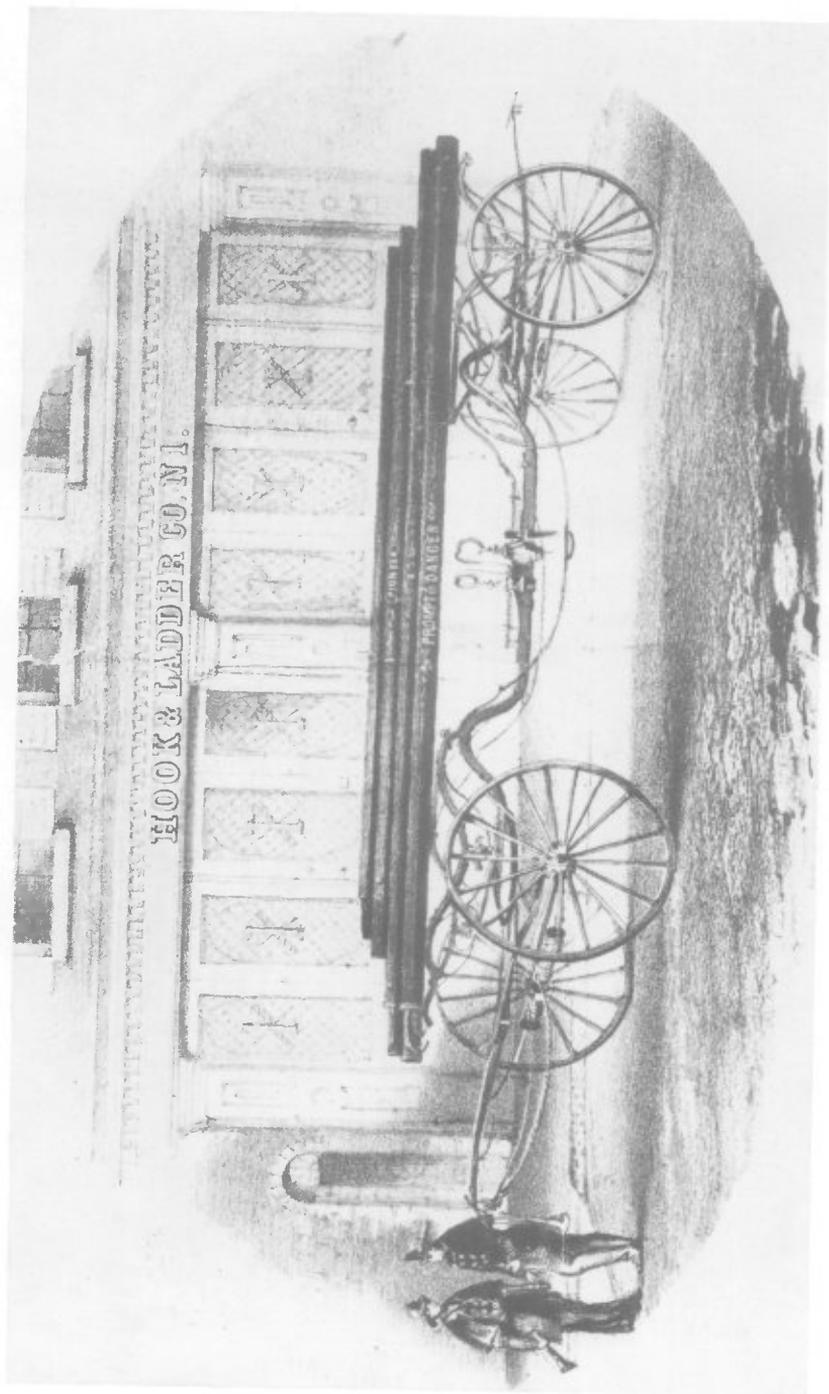
At a time when events of such transcendental importance are occurring in this Country, it may seem somewhat inopportune to trouble Your Lordship with an account of the Fire Department of the City of Baltimore, but so perfect is the organization—so simple, but efficient, is the working of the system—and so rare the occurrence of any large conflagration, that I think it a matter of sufficient importance to report upon to Your Lordship.

Until the year 1858 the Fire Department of the City was composed (as is still the case in New York, Philadelphia, & elsewhere,) of Volunteer Companies, many of them made up of the very worst characters. So great was the jealousy existing between the different Companies, that every fire was the scene of a sanguinary conflict between rival districts, and cases often occurred of wilful arson, perpetrated solely for the purpose of bringing on a fight. Sunday was a favorite day for this amusement, and matters came at last to such a state, that Baltimore, and its rowdies, were a byword, and reproach. At length the City Council took up the question, and after a deal of opposition, (for these Companies had great political influence—) and much discussion, abolished the

¹The letter was addressed to the Right Honorable Lord John Russell M.P. (1792-1878), who was then serving as foreign secretary to Prime Minister Henry John Temple Palmerston. The letter is in the Foreign Office Papers, Public Record Office, London, England.



Baltimore No. 7. Courtesy Baltimore Equitable Society,
Early Fire-Fighting Museum.



Baltimore No. 1. Early Fire-Fighting Museum.

Volunteer System, establishing in its place the present paid organization.

The Fire Department for the current year consists of seven steam Engines, of which the subjoined is a description.

Name of Engine	Steam Diam:	Cylr. ² Diam:	Capacity of Pumps per Revolution	Pumps		Fire Surface	Weight ready for Service	Pumps
				Diam	Stroke			
No. 1. Alpha.	10½ in	14 in	gals 3,426	6 in	14 in	ft 292.6	lbs 8,400	Double Acting
No. 2. Home.	9 "	10 "	2,056	5½ "	10 "	184	5,750	Worthington
No. 3. Comet.	9 "	12 "	2,040	5 "	12 "	156	6,800	Double Acting
No. 4. J. Cushing. ³	11 "	12 "	2,948	4½ "	12 "	207.5	5,200	Fulton
No. 5. I. Swann. ⁴	12 "	12 "	3,998	7 "	12 "	312.6	8,600	Worthington
No. 6. Deluge.	12 "	12 "	3,998	7 "	12 "	312.6	8,600	Worthington
No. 7. Baltimore.	11 "	12 "	2,948	4½ "	12 "	239.5	5,500	Fulton

Note. Nos. 5, and 6, are considered too large, and unwieldy, and will be disposed of.

Each Engine is drawn by two horses, has thirteen men attached to it; also a drum on two wheels,⁵ carrying the hose, drawn by one horse, and a tender with fuel, likewise drawn by one horse.

There are also two hook, and ladder, Companies, with fourteen men, and three horses, each.⁶ There is no fire escape department.

Steam Cylinder

² This should read: Diam | Stroke See *Annual Reports of the Board of Fire Commissioners and the Chief Engineer, of The Baltimore City Fire Department, to the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1860), p. 28.

³ John Cushing, president of the Board of Fire Commissioners.

⁴ Thomas Swann, the mayor of Baltimore who signed into law the ordinance for the paid Fire Department. Swann later became governor of Maryland and a United States Congressman.

⁵ Not all were two wheels. Some were double two wheel, and some were four wheel. See *Annual Reports* for 1859 and 1861.

⁶ According to the *Annual Reports* for 1861, p. 27, No. 1 hook and ladder company had only two horses though the No. 2 company did use three. The same report, p. 23, showed twelve and thirteen men instead of the fourteen noted here.

The estimate of expences for the current year (the said expences being paid by the City,) is—

Running expences.	\$53,400 ⁷
Purchase of ground for No. 7 house.	2,000
Balance of unpaid Bills of 1860 (Construction account)	6,000
	<u>\$61,400</u>

In round numbers £12,300, for a City of some 230,000 Inhabitants.⁸

This contrasts favorably with the City of Philadelphia, where the Fire Department is on the Volunteer System, with all its attendant demoralization, and rowdyism, and cost for 1860, \$165,000.

Intimately connected with the successful working of the Fire Department is the admirable system of Fire Alarm Telegraph adopted here.

Directly a fire is discovered the system is called into operation by applying to the signal box nearest to the spot. The signal box itself is a solid cast iron box, attached to the side of an Engine House, or on a pole, & communicating by wires enclosed in a wrought iron pipe with the signal circuit over head. The Box is locked but the key may be found at the house nearest to it, and each police, and fireman, carries one with him. On opening the box a crank is seen within. On turning this the number of the Box itself is instantly communicated to the Central Office, & the longer the crank is turned the more the same signal is repeated. These signals are received, and recorded on a slip of paper by an improved Morse Register, peculiarly adapted for this purpose. At the same time a call Bell is struck to give Notice to the Operator. Each signal box is also furnished with a telegraph key for police purposes, and, by a simple set of signals, any policeman can communicate with any portion of the City. As soon as the notice of a fire is received, it is immediately notified at all the signal boxes, and also upon two large alarm bells at Nos. 1, & 3, Engine Houses. These bells can be rang independently of each other, but are

⁷The actual running expences, which consisted mostly of salaries, was \$58,213.04 for 1861. See *Annual Reports* for 1861, p. 8. Estimated annual expences for the last fifteen years of the volunteer system were:

"Annual and special appropriations	\$22,600
Honorary membership dues	10,000
Contributions from active members	5,000
Contributions from citizens	5,000
	<u>\$42,600"</u>

See Clarence H. Forrest, *Official History of the Fire Department of the City of Baltimore Together with Biographies and Portraits of Eminent Citizens of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1898), p. 100.

⁸The census for 1860 credited Baltimore with a population of 212,418. See *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census*. (Washington, D. C., 1864), p. 214.

generally done so simultaneously. Should, for instance, an alarm come from Box No. 3, the bells, and signal boxes, would strike three blows, pause, & repeat. If from No. 23, two blows, pause, three blows, and repeat.

The mode of striking the blows is as follows. The Clerk at the Central Office on receiving the notice turns immediately to the "key board." The mechanism of this starts at once, and, by telegraphic communication, causes the alarm bells in the Towers to strike the number of the box, and continues to do so as long as required. Should the clerk only want to ring one of the alarm bells he disconnects by a "switch" one of the circuits from the "key-board," and the corresponding bell is silent. While the "key board," and its mechanism, are doing their work on the bells, the clerk turns to one of the finger keys which communicate back with the signal boxes, & taps on this the number of blows corresponding with the number of the box from which the alarm has been sent. A little magnet, and armature, gives a blow on a small bell in each box for every tap, and the firemen, or other persons, who run to the nearest box, and listen, know that the alarm comes from such a number, and their pocket card tells them exactly where the fire is.

The arrangements of this system prevent interruptions either from accident, or design, and it works with uniform regularity, and promptitude, both by day, & night.

The Police Telegraph is worked on a separate wire, connecting the Central, with the outlying, Stations.

So perfect is the working of the above system that four Engines can be started with fires lighted, and men equipped for duty in from one and a half, to two, minutes from the time of giving an alarm, and an instance is on record of an Engine reaching a fire three quarters of a mile from its house, with steam up, and ready for service, in six minutes from the striking of its signal bell, and, had it been necessary, four engines could have been in full operation in less than ten minutes after getting the alarm!

I may add in conclusion, that since the establishment of the present Fire Department a reduction of twenty five per cent has been made, on an average, by the Insurance Companies.

I have the honor to be
My Lord,
with the highest respect,
Your Lordship's
Most obedient
humble servant
FREDERIC BERNAL
Consul

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Second American Party System: Party Formation in the Jacksonian Era. RICHARD P. MCCORMICK. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966, x, 389. \$7.50.

Historians have come to expect that the winner of the annual award of the American Association for State and Local History be a work of perceptive scholarship. Prof. McCormick's 1964 prize winning manuscript does not disappoint us. As an incisive analysis of the development of the second American party system between 1824 and 1836, it is an heir to the pioneer studies of Ostrogorski, Ford, Stanwood and Leutscher. This is not to suggest, however, that the Rutgers historian agrees with all of the conclusions of these earlier writers. McCormick's approach to the subject of party formations in the Jacksonian era is, in his own words, "admittedly unconventional." With Maurice Duverger, he insists that political parties in the United States are above all electoral machines engaged in nominating and electing candidates. Accordingly, he devotes a major portion of his attention to the matter of party structure and constitutional forms. He sees the Federal Constitutional environment of the 1790s as making possible the gradual emergence of the three American party systems. The first appeared in the last decade of the eighteenth century. By 1815 the Federalists were marching to their self-erected tomb in Hartford. Within five years the Republican party had all but dissolved in the midst of "the era of good feelings."

Of the second party system, which is the object of McCormick's research, he reasons that it was conceived in the heat of the 1824 election and matured during the twenties and thirties. By 1840, the Democrats and Whigs achieved an equilibrium of forces nationally and politics in every state were conducted on a two-party basis. The third party system, which came to frightful fruition in the fifties, is understandably beyond the limits of his study. As this reviewer sees it, Prof. McCormick considers the second party system as unique in its origins, its national balance and the fatal flaws which brought about its early disruption. He traces, in an overly general fashion, the formation of the second American party system in twenty-three of the twenty-four states (the exclusion of South Carolina is both understandable and annoying).

For the readers of this journal, his analysis of Maryland politics should prove interesting if not sensational. He notes that the new

parties, aligned behind Jackson or Adams, assumed clear form in 1827. In this year the first state conventions ever held in Maryland carried forward the organization of the nascent parties. The outcome of the presidential election proved a standoff. Adams won six electoral votes and Jackson five. The margin between them in the popular vote (which was unprecedented in sheer numbers) was less than a thousand in a total vote of over fifty thousand. Jackson's strength centered in Baltimore and its environs; the remaining state districts were for Adams. McCormick sees a sectional pattern (the result of a gerrymander) that pitted the Baltimore area against the rest of the state. Equally interesting is his suggestion that the transition to the second party system in Maryland was facilitated by the readiness with which former Federalists and former Republicans laid aside old animosities and merged in the new parties.

McCormick's study lends support to the thesis that the dominant impetus to party formation in these years was supplied by the contest for the presidency. In Chapter VII (a marvelous summary of the entire work) he argues somewhat convincingly that the circumstances which most affected the sequence of party formation was the sectional identification of the presidential candidates. "Between 1824 and 1840, the 'presidential question,' rather than doctrinal disputes was the axis around which politics revolved . . ." (p. 353) The relatively brief duration of this second party system can be explained in terms of its "artificiality." Prof. McCormick argues that it could survive only so long as explicitly sectional issues could be avoided. By the fifties, when such issues had to be faced, the system "foundered disastrously."

The customary impedimenta of historical documentation are surprisingly few in McCormick's study. The index is only adequate. The bibliography is (on the whole) a potpourri of secondary sources and the author employs footnotes as though they were going out of style. These caveats notwithstanding, the work is as scholarly as it is readable.

EDWARD G. RODDY

Merrimack College

Lord Dartmouth and the American Revolution. By B. D. BARGAR.
Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1965. pp. ix,
219. \$6.50.

When the Earl of Dartmouth succeeded Lord Hillsborough as Colonial Secretary in 1772, colonial observers expected with good reason that the change in men would signal one in measures.

Dartmouth was an ally of the Rockingham whigs, had advocated repeal of the Stamp Act, and exhibited tact and pragmatism in dealing with imperial affairs. Yet within three years the Empire was rent by fresh controversies, and Dartmouth had joined in support of the Coercive Acts which pushed the controversy beyond the reach of the reconciliation he longed to effect. The contrast between the colonists' admiration for Dartmouth in 1772 and their defiance of the ministry in which he served in 1775 raises perplexing questions about the influence and abilities of the Staffordshire nobleman. Franklin remarked in 1773, "Lord Dartmouth is a truly good man and wishes sincerely a good understanding with the colonies, but does not seem to have the strength equal to his wishes," (p. 88) a view shared by most historians. Professor Bargar has written a tightly reasoned and thoroughly documented revision of Franklin's caricature.

The book is most successful in delineating Dartmouth's place in the web of English politics. Drawn into politics by family obligation, he accepted the post of Colonial Secretary, in large part, to avoid antagonizing his stepfather. Lacking control over Staffordshire politics, he never became the leader of a Parliamentary faction. His assets were less tangible: discretion, persuasive speaking ability when he chose to use it, extensive correspondence with colonial figures who considered him sympathetic to their interests, and friendship with men as disparate as Newcastle, Rockingham, and North. His appointment as Colonial Secretary reflected the delicate balance within factional politics at that time. North probably wanted Dartmouth to offset the disruptive attempts of the Bedfordites to influence colonial policy; at the same time the Rockingham whigs were too weak to make him their own agent. Bargar infers that Dartmouth understood well his niche in this precarious arrangement.

Indeed, the author's basic problem is his need to conjecture frequently about Dartmouth's feelings and attitudes. He has made exhaustive use of the Dartmouth papers in Staffordshire and Ottawa—collections described in a useful bibliographical essay—which contain an abundance of letters and other documents sent to Dartmouth but only a handful of his personal writings. Bargar tackles this problem directly by reconstructing in detail the conditions in which Dartmouth worked, the information he had at hand, and the pressures and practical necessities he must have felt. In treating Dartmouth's anomalous conduct after the Boston Tea Party, the book depicts him as the victim of his own open-mindedness: aware of the irresistible pressures on North to punish Boston,

hastily improvising in hope that the Coercive Acts would give the colonists pause and enable him to draw their leaders into negotiation.

The book stresses Dartmouth's steady belief in the supremacy of Parliament over the colonies. Though hardly a novel thesis, Bargar reveals some of the depth and complexity of that conviction. Especially revealing is the discussion of Dartmouth's unorthodox personal letter in June 1773 to Thomas Cushing, Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. The most heavily revised passage in the original manuscript sought to reconcile Parliamentary supremacy with colonial sensibilities. "The exercise" of that power, Dartmouth hoped, "should be suspended and lie dormant" until "expediency and necessity" compelled its use. A discarded choice of words declared that it should be "for ever relinquished, except in cases which should justify their own expediency." (p. 89) Dartmouth's sense of the awesome nature of Parliamentary power, his preference for leaving it "dormant," his lack of any rationale, save "expediency and necessity" governing its use suggest the tensions within his reflective yet unsystematic mind. Such passages in this book invite comparison with Bernard Bailyn's recent study of the intellectual difficulties which power and sovereignty created for colonial leaders. For Dartmouth too, the spectre of power held terrors no less difficult for the mind to grasp.

ROBERT M. CALHOON

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Fisher Ames: Federalist and Statesman, 1758-1808. By WINFRED E. A. BERNHARD. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. ix, 372. \$8.75.

Fisher Ames of Massachusetts is a provocative figure. Eminently quotable as a gloom and doom high Federalist, he defended the Constitution while vigorously denouncing democracy. Though his forebearers were yeomen, he was consistently identified with aristocratic merchant interests. A champion of strong national government, he was convinced that what was good for New England was good for America. Trying desperately to rally an effective cadre of Federalists, he condemned faction as the "assassin of liberty."

It is Professor Bernhard's purpose in this prize winning full length biography of Ames to probe the traditional stereotypes and to discover the contribution of a model of Federalist consistency.

The difficulty in resuscitation lies in the combined scarcity of Ames' letters and the ample record of his speeches in Congress and essays in the press. What emerges is a problem in balance. The public person fully emerges; Ames the man remains somewhat in shadow.

Clearly drawn, however, is the metamorphosis of a high Federalist. Frightened by Shay's rebellion and the French Revolution, Ames agonized over the rise of the mob. As a young lawyer, he argued that Shay's supporters should be tried for treason for "they would rather not rebel than be hanged." The enemy was democracy supported by a people "blind and incredulous." The struggle with the Jacobins was black-white "like the good Christian's with the evil one." At the center of the difficulty was the nature of man. As Ames lamented in 1797, "We rest our hopes on foolish fanatical grounds—on human nature being different from what it is."

In the Massachusetts ratifying convention and in the Congresses of the Washington administration Ames upheld his suspicions of unfettered democracy and supported Hamilton's national programs. In debates with Madison and his backers over duties on molasses, commercial retaliation against the British and assumption of state debts, Ames is seen as a consistent winner. Indeed, Madison seemed to sink into confused illogic when faced by the redoubtable Ames. The author most emphasizes this giant stature in the House fight over the Jay Treaty appropriations. As Professor Bernhard introduced the scene: "A Jupiter was needed who could hurl thunderbolts and confound the enemy. Federalists turned to Ames. Could this frail man preserve the day for Federalism and ensure a victory which some Federalists still expected?" Of course Ames could. Though the impact on Congress of petitions from constituents is noted (and seemed most telling on Maryland's delegates), it is Ames' speech that is given strongest weight.

On other controversial issues, Professor Bernhard defends Ames against charges of undue speculation in 1790-92. He indicates that the Federalist from Massachusetts was not in sympathy with Hamilton's party-splitting condemnation of Adams. In addition, he concludes that Ames did not support the separatist rumblings of the Essex junto in 1804.

A confessed "zealot" in politics, Ames kept other aspects of his life consistently Federalist. Economically, he invested in merchant ventures in the Far East trade. But he continued to scientifically farm his small acreage to have a source of sustenance after the Republicans ruined the country. Socially, Ames heatedly debated

his Republican brother on the streets of Dedham, fought for the appointment of a Federalist Congregationalist minister, and invited only Federalists to his social gatherings.

It is Professor Bernhard's skill that he does evoke sympathy for this rigid politician. Struck by a mysterious illness at thirty-eight, a semi-invalid the rest of his life, Ames' emotions registered lows that are obvious in his gloomy political predictions. A despondent Ames is familiar. Less well known is the man writing of life with a new two-week-old son, who could observe: "I'm well again, except that the child William is a terrible bedfellow and squalls so jacobinically towards day break that I am done over as if I had been out half the night at a tavern. He is a good boy except when he is *very* bad."

These tantalizing glimpses leave the complete Ames like the Cheshire cat still only partially revealed. Yet the author by full use of the available sources has provided the fullest insight yet into this dedicated Federalist.

DOROTHY M. BROWN

Georgetown University

The Revolution of American Conservatism: The Federalist Party in the Era of Jeffersonian Democracy. By DAVID HACKETT FISCHER. New York: Harper & Row, 1965. XV, 455. \$8.95.

In two hundred pages of heavily annotated text, Mr. Fischer argues that Federalists, after their defeat in 1800, learned how to play the political game. They did not win too often, but that was not the fault of "The Young Federalists" who rejected the outdated practices and presuppositions of the old timers, the Gentlemen of the Old School. The younger men adapted themselves to the end of deference politics and the advent of the American egalitarian age. They paid serious attention to the electorate and its whims, they established newspapers, they learned how to organize themselves from township or ward on up to the state level, they looked for issues, and in the process they created the Federalist Party.

Unfortunately for the Federalists and for Fischer, who had devoted an immense amount of labor in pursuing this investigation, the going was rough. As the author notes, a bit ruefully perhaps: "they labored in vain, unless they found a message which appealed to the public. After 1800 they set out in search of an issue which would carry them to victory and power. They never found one. . . ." (p. 150) Nevertheless, Fischer finds significance in the

search. The attempt was "another measure of the expansion of democracy in America." After 1800 all American political parties had to speak in Jeffersonian terms.

Three appendices are longer than the text. One of them lists the political affiliations of newspapers in 1800, as well as the Federalist press 1800-1820. The second appendix runs to almost two hundred pages. It is a biographical directory of Federalist leaders, 1800-1816, compiled by state, and divided into Old Schoolers, Transitional Figures, and Young Federalists. The compilation is useful, of course, but one wishes that some of the effort and space devoted to it had been shifted to the tantalizingly short first appendix, "Patterns of Partisan Allegiance, 1800." This essay confronts the "difficult problem of defining Federalism in social terms." But its inclusion seems almost an afterthought since it "was not central to this project." (p. 201) Fischer reports that he found no single pattern of party allegiance, but he does note that the "established elites in most states were Federalist; their challengers were Jeffersonian." (p. 203) Several of the correlations made between social and economic patterns and political behavior might well have been developed more fully. Fischer observes wisely that such patterns "are descriptive and not necessarily causal."

The book is a substantial contribution to our early national history, and joins a growing shelf of recent works which have superseded the comfortable but intellectually sterile polarities of the older Jefferson vs. Hamilton historiography. The thirty five year period following adoption of the constitution was the take-off phase in the development of egalitarian politics, and the era well deserves the attention it has lately commanded.

FRANK OTTO GATELL

University of California, Los Angeles

The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778.

Edited with an introduction by JACK P. GREENE. Charlottesville. 1965. The University Press of Virginia. Volumes 4 and 5 of the Virginia Historical Society Documents. XVI + 1204. 2 vols. \$25.00.

Landon Carter was the builder of Sabine Hall, the husband successively of Elizabeth Wormley, Maria Byrd, and Elizabeth Beale, the father of seven children who lived to grow up, the owner of 35,000 acres of Virginia land, vestryman, presiding Justice and County Lieutenant of Richmond County, Burgess from 1752 to 1768, and probably the most published pamphleteer in Virginia

from 1750 to 1775. Yet, far more than most men, he felt that he lived in the shadow of his father. He was the fourth son of that Robert Carter of Corotoman, who for his ownership of a third of a million acres, his services as Speaker of the House of Burgesses, Treasurer and Councillor, and his "proud and imperious" ways was called "King" Carter. Yet Landon's niche in History is, and will be increasingly, larger. Landon kept a diary.

A small portion of Carter's diary, mainly comments on the beginning of the Revolution in 1774-1776, was printed in the *William and Mary College Historical Magazine* 1st Series XIII-XVI (1904/1905-1912/1913). The present publication consists of what may be called a biographical character analysis by Professor Greene, Carter's private journal of the proceedings of the House of Burgesses from February 1752 to June 1755, which is to those sessions almost as illuminating as Madison's *Notes* are to the Constitutional Convention, Carter's farm record book for 1756-1758, his daybook for 1763-1764, the diary and daybook for 1766-1767, and his increasingly detailed and personal diary from 1770 to 1778.

The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter will henceforth be considered indispensable for understanding pre-Revolutionary Virginia. It is a mine of information on plantation life (including the rat which died behind the wainscoting in the hall and "stunk prodigiously," in spite of tar burned in the room), farming (in which Carter favored the hoe over the plow), relations between master and slaves (mutually frustrating), and colonial medicine, of which Carter was an active and well-read amateur practitioner. Incidentally he was commendably reluctant to use the lancet but he had a heavy hand in prescribing "purges" and "vomits."

As this reviewer can testify, Landon Carter is not an easy writer to transcribe. Faded ink, foxed paper, wear and torn places have added difficulties to a hand never caligraphic. Whether doubtful or alternate readings should have been indicated more frequently is a question of taste. Serious writers will of course, check with the originals and be grateful that the printed version leads them to the proper location therein. The more of the original one reads, the more grateful he will be for the printed *Diary*.

The editing can be described as unobtrusive and spare rather than full and informative. It may be somewhat captious to point out that Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter's neighbor, was the fourth and not the sixth son of Thomas Lee (p. 255), and that the William Lee identified under the date of July 1, 1764 as a "merchant in London" (p. 273), did not go to England until 1768 or become a merchant there until 1769, and it is certainly pedantic to complain

that Hugh, Lord Percy, who is identified as a lieutenant general on the twenty-eighth of February 1776 (p. 990), did not attain that rank until the twenty-ninth of August 1777. On the other hand, Carter's "Col. Fayette" (p. 1133), was from his entrance into American service, Major General and not "Col. le Marquis de La Fayette."

The two volumes are beautifully manufactured, with a refreshing absence of typographical errors. There are twenty-five well-chosen illustrations, and a good map of the region. The index is usefully complete.

JOHN CARTER MATTHEWS

Towson State College

Jonathan Worth: A Biography of a Southern Unionist. By RICHARD L. ZUBER. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1965. v, 351. \$7.50.

This is a good biography, well-paced, thoroughly researched, and well balanced. It is the sort of study so needed in many of the states today: a judicious study of a personality and his work in a significant state during a pivotal period of history.

Jonathan Worth was a Quaker, with a modesty of dress and conduct, but a keen eye for financial opportunity and public service. His investments made him a moderately wealthy man before the Civil War. Born in the Piedmont, he seemed to represent that section's attitude toward the aristocratic east and the mountainous west in the Tarheel State. His Quaker heritage and marriage to a Presbyterian girl seemed to wed him to the principles of thrift, careful credit, and wise investments. This financial credo brought ventures in land, slaves, mines, turpentine distillery, cotton mills, railroads, and steamboats.

He seemed, unfortunately, to be destined to lead losing causes: Whig politics, unionism in 1860, state rights in the midst of the Civil War, and moderation during Reconstruction. In each instance, however, he carried his role courageously and proudly, without any sacrifice of principle. The secession mania did not strip him of his love for the Union, nor did it cause his neighbors to lose respect for his integrity. But when North Carolina did leave the Union, he decided to support that step and became state treasurer. In that post, he and Governor Zebulon B. Vance engaged in some unique and delightfully intricate schemes to finance the state's wartime activities. This involved shipping cotton through the blockade and floating loans of many varieties. His financial

abilities were remarkable and he managed to stave off monetary chaos longer than most treasurers in the Confederate States.

At the end of the war, he grappled politically with W. W. Holden, who had headed a substantial "peace movement" in the state, late in the conflict. When Holden became the Provisional Governor, Worth remained as treasurer, then defeated Holden in the campaign for governor. His administration saw a cautious and tenuous period of difficulty with occupation commanders, during which Worth attempted to re-established the rule of law and to uphold the sanctity of property and contracts, causes most dear to him throughout his life.

This volume obviously resulted from careful research in many manuscript collections, particularly the extensive Worth materials at the North Carolina Archives. Not enough errors were found in the printing to mention and the style of the author is commendable. He wisely chose to concentrate most of his narrative upon the last two decades of Worth's career, when this almost colorless man was a central figure in North Carolina affairs. Review of this volume cannot help but bring credit upon the author and encourage other scholars to look for equally significant leaders in their own regions who deserve studies as valuable as this biography of Jonathan Worth.

HASKELL MONROE

*Texas A&M University and
The Papers of Jefferson Davis*

The Poverty of Abundance: Hoover, the Nation, the Depression.

By ALBERT U. ROMASCO. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965. 282. \$6.00.

"We are a nation of progressives," the Republican candidate during the 1928 presidential campaign declared; "we differ as to what is the road to progress." The following March, Herbert Hoover entered the White House as the nation's leading exponent of the supposed road to progress that was marked "the new individualism." As summarized by Professor Romasco, this Hooverian brand of individualism had been tailored to fit the more interdependent urban-industrial society that America had become in the twentieth century. It "no longer required that one must go it alone. It meant—and it was fostered by—individuals working together in voluntary co-operative organizations." Business organizations, trade associations, farm co-operatives, charitable and social uplift societies—these were the forms of voluntary self-help that

Hoover looked to as the chief agents for promoting his ideal of "equality of opportunity" for all Americans. But the government had an affirmative, if limited role, too: "What the Government can do best," the President declared, "is to encourage and assist in the creation and development of institutions controlled by our citizens and evolved by themselves from their own needs and their own experience and directed in a sense of trusteeship of public interest. . . ."

When the stock market crash, followed by economic recession and deepening depression, began blighting Hoover's hopes just a few months after his inauguration, the President held fast to the tenets of his "New Era" philosophy. Rejecting the laissez-faire counsel of old-fashioned conservatives who urged that the depression be allowed to "run its natural course," Hoover tried to arrest the descent through active government encouragement and assistance to the private institutions and agencies which, in his view, constituted America's first line of defense against adversity. But as Romasco demonstrates in successive chapters, by the middle of 1931 the nation's private business leadership had reached the limits of the voluntary co-operation the President urged it to exercise in resisting wage-cuts, layoffs, and other cut-throat competitive practices; the private banking community had proven incapable of voluntarily pooling its resources in a way that might avoid freezing or destroying the nation's capital assets; farmers, though urged by Hoover's Federal Farm Board to restrict crop production voluntarily, had shown themselves unable to grapple with an unmanageable surplus; and neither private charities, the cities, nor the states were adequately handling the growing burden of outright relief for unemployed and destitute.

Even when Hoover's anti-depression effort entered a second and even more active phase in the winter of 1931-1932, a phase signalled by creation of government-instigated credit agencies like the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Home Owners Loan Corporation, seemingly novel departures could still be squared with his underlying philosophy. The government sought to assure an adequate supply of capital to businessmen on favorable terms; but it was still up to the private enterprisers to utilize it. They failed to do so, and gradually the inefficacy of the President's approach became patently clear to most Americans—though never to Hoover himself.

Up to a point, Romasco contends, Hoover led the nation as in 1930 and 1931 he actively tried to combat the problems of recovery and relief within the framework of his "New Era" philosophy.

Thereafter, however, the President fell behind as the currents of American opinion tended in directions away from "voluntarism," and toward greater reliance on direct federal economic planning, regulation, pump-priming spending, and reform. Because of his concentration on Hoover's position the author does not adequately describe or examine these tendencies and the alternative positions they represented; nevertheless he does make it clear that the President's devotion to his principles had become a roadblock to the growing number of Americans who were ready to try new "roads to progress." But "before extreme measures can even be considered," Romasco concludes, "more conventional ones must first be tried"—and found wanting. "It is primarily in this important sense that Herbert Hoover prepared the way for Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the New Deal."

Despite its occasional shortcomings, Romasco's book provides a study of the Hoover Administration that is instructive and, in the opinion of this reviewer, fair. It rises above mere partisanship, avoids the easy but cliché-ridden "labeling" process in which others have indulged themselves, and appropriately fits the Hoover government into that framework of "New Era" welfare-capitalist ideas that proved so alluring to many Americans—not only conservatives, but some progressives, too—in the decade of the 1920's. It is a welcome addition to the literature of "the invisible scar" that was America's Great Depression.

J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER

Rutgers University

My First Eighty Years. By CLARENCE POE. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963. 267. \$4.75.

This autobiography of Clarence Poe, with its informal reminiscence of the post-Civil War South in which he grew to manhood is a fitting epitaph for a crusader. Poe saw the era as a period of struggle when the South with all of its family and religious traditions, sought to adjust to a changing social and economic pattern. As editor of the *Progressive Farmer*, he wrote about changes that should be made in the South and actively promoted agricultural improvement, especially soil conservation and diversification in production.

He cooperated with political, educational, and other leaders who were interested in the betterment of the South. Thus he became a close friend of Seaman A. Knapp, the promoter of extension work in the South, and Hugh H. Bennett, the soil conservationist. He knew Liberty Hyde Bailey, dean of agriculture at Cornell Uni-

versity, where graduates of many Southern agricultural colleges had taken postgraduate work. He became acquainted with many of the political leaders of North Carolina. He especially admired Brantley Aycock for his achievements as a lawyer and Governor of the State of North Carolina, and as an advocate of universal education. But Poe's contacts went far beyond his home State. In the course of his career, he met and consulted with various Presidents of the United States, including Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Herbert Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and Dwight D. Eisenhower. Nevertheless, he refused to be considered for political appointment.

The North Carolina journalist's crusades reached out beyond the limits ordinarily encompassed in such drives. He actively worked for private, State, and Federal programs to increase medical and hospital facilities in the South. He stressed the need for improved educational facilities for all rural people, if the South was to keep up with the rest of the Nation, when many of his contemporaries saw little reason for such a program.

Poe paid special tribute to W. F. Massey, who has been called the "Grand Old Man of Southern Agriculture." Massey zealously preached the moral duty of soil-saving, proclaiming, "We are tenants of the Almighty." Poe's press published and distributed Massey's garden books, used by many Southern farmers. After years as associate editor, Massey took the less demanding post of contributing editor and retired to live in Salisbury, Maryland.

Poe's interesting account, stressing local and regional subjects, gives little attention to activities of the Federal Department of Agriculture, the way in which these affected the region, or the attitude of the agricultural journalist toward them.

His intimate recollection of the changing South reflects his long experience and the effect of his foreign travel in intensifying his appreciation of his own country and in deepening his awareness of potential opportunities. Through his book he has given us a broader understanding of what should be done to improve Southern life.

VIVIAN WISER

U.S. Dept. of Agriculture

Savage, Maryland. By VERA RUTH FILBY. Baltimore: P. W. and V. R. Filby, 1965. 38. \$1.50.

The town of Savage, in Howard County, is the subject of this little book. It is difficult to know whether there is anything note-

worthy about this mill town, or whether it is made to seem so by the author. Mrs. Filby has lavished scholarship and affection on her book. The staff of the Hall of Records saw her at work on the earliest patents and conveyances, and the rest of her work reflects the same care and attention as she showed then.

There is everything historical about Savage, and much more: the Volunteer Fire Department, the Schools, the Churches, the Savage and Baldwin families, the hopes for the future, the Daily Double at nearby Laurel Raceway. It is a neat package, handsomely wrapped, and one we hope will be duplicated by many towns and villages in Maryland. It is a very necessary task which Mrs. Filby has done and she has done it well.

MORRIS L. RADOFF

Maryland Hall of Records

The Enterprising Colonials: Society on the Eve of the Revolution.

By WILLIAM S. SACHS and ARI HOOGENBOOM. Chicago: Argonaut, Inc., Publishers, 1965. xii, 236. \$8.50.

The title of this engaging volume is somewhat misleading. That the Anglo-Americans were enterprising is well-known and well-documented both by Sachs and Hoogenboom and by a host of other scholars who have delved into our colonial past. However, to claim, as the authors do in the sub-title, that this joint venture is a study of "Society on the Eve of the Revolution" is at best a misnomer and at worst a deception. Only in the broadest sense does *The Enterprising Colonials* deal with colonial society in any meaningful fashion. For a scholarly treatment of this subject, the reader would benefit more from a reading of Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker's *The Shaping of Colonial Virginia* or of more recent vintage Jackson Turner Main's *The Social Structure of Revolutionary America*.

As to interpretation, the assertion that "this nation, conceived in liberty, was from the time of its conception dedicated to the proposition of free enterprise" is one which is so firmly and irretrievably implanted as to constitute historical orthodoxy. Equally as non-controversial are the authors' observations that "it behooves us to examine our cultural and idealogical foundations" and that the period 1748-1776 "was indeed a formative one in American history." Thus this well-written book adds little to conventional understanding.

Despite these shortcomings, *The Enterprising Colonials* has several redeeming features. First and foremost the authors demonstrate

considerable skill in presenting history as it should be written. With fluent pens and a familiarity with secondary sources (a large percentage of footnote citations are to secondary works), they describe with superb artistry the eventful years from the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to Lexington and Concord. Moreover as a synthesis of recent historical investigation, the book has merit for the layman who seeks a business-oriented view of the two and a half decades before the Revolution. Part I is a totally inadequate survey of economic history from settlement to the 1770's. A perusal of any general colonial history (in fact the authors themselves have cited Curtis P. Nettels' well-known text *The Roots of American Civilization* several times in this first sub-division) would be of more value to most readers. To me Part II represents the study's chief contribution. In its six chapters, the authors ably describe "the social and economic relationships among various social and geographic groups, in order to show how these ties made the growth of free enterprise inevitable. The final Part is a brief summary of British Imperial policy and its effect on the colonial businessman. For the non-specialist this synopsis would be adequate, but the specialist would want to consult the works of Andrews, Beer, Dickerson, or Harper for a more detailed analysis.

Although most of the general conclusions made would be difficult to refute, I do take issue with the assertion that economic bondage to the mother country was the prime cause for the political break with England. This is an over-simplification of a complex problem. Even so, an adequate index, several illustrations, numerous footnotes (lamentably placed at the back of the book), and a rather extensive bibliography all enhance this book's value as an introduction to the further study of the economic and social life of the American colonies.

JOSEPH C. MORTON

Waynesburg College

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

The Marietta and Cincinnati Railroad, 1845-1883: A Case Study in American Railroad Economics. By JOHN PIXTON. The Pennsylvania State University Studies No. 17. University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University, 1966. 94. Paper, \$1.

The Overseer: Plantation Management in the Old South. By WILLIAM KAUFFMAN SCARBOROUGH. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966. xv, 256. \$7.50.

Thomas Mann Randolph, Jefferson's Son-in-Law. By WILLIAM H. GAINES, JR. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966. vii, 203. \$7.50.

Cannibals All! or Slaves Without Masters. By GEORGE FITZHUGH. Edited by C. VANN WOODWARD. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966. xxxix, 261. Paper, \$1.95.

The Catawba Indians: The People of the River. By DOUGLAS SUMMERS BROWN. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 1966. viii, 400. \$10.

The Great Rogue: A Biography of Captain John Smith. By PAUL LEWIS. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1966. 306. \$5.95.

The Prisoners of Algiers: An Account of the Forgotten American-Algerian War, 1785-1797. By H. G. BARNBY. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966. xii, 343. \$7.50.

The Reconstruction of Georgia. By ALAN CONWAY. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1966. vi, 248. \$6.50.

The Verse of Floride Clemson. Edited by HARRIET R. HOLMAN. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1965. xv, 85. \$3.25.

NOTES AND QUERIES

American Negro Literature—Prince George's County Memorial Library is building a collection of American Negro literature to be placed in a special room to be named for Sojourner Truth, the remarkable ex-slave evangelist who lived during the Civil War era. The room will be located in a new library building under construction. The Library is interested in collecting or borrowing any materials about Sojourner Truth. She lived for the early part of her life in Ulster County, N. Y., where she was born before 1800. In 1817 she was freed. Her legal name was Isabella Van Wagener but she was known throughout the country as Sojourner Truth. She traveled as an evangelist and spokesman for abolition, stopping overnight in the homes of Quakers and other abolitionist friends. Her travels took her to New England, the Middle West, Maryland, and Washington, D. C. She was associated with Lucrecia Mott, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and was presented to Abraham Lincoln in 1864 by Lucy Colman. In her later years, after the Civil War, she worked in the District of Columbia, ministering to and helping freed slaves living in deplorable conditions in slum areas. Write: Prince George's County Memorial Library, 6532 Adelphia Road, Hyattsville, Md. 20782.

The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (repeated from June) will hold its Fifty-first Annual Meeting in Baltimore at the Sheraton-Belvedere Hotel, October 21, 22, and 23, 1966. Persons interested in attendance or participation are invited to contact Roland C. McConnell, Chairman of Arrangements, or Walter Fisher, Program Chairman; Morgan State College, Hillen Road and Coldspring Lane, Baltimore, Maryland 21212.

History of Garrett Park—The Town Council of Garrett Park has asked a group of citizens of the Town—several of whom are professional historians or editors, and others who have local experience and memories reaching back to the 1890's—to write a history of the Town. We have in mind not just a chronicle of

official events since Garrett Park was incorporated in 1898, but a broader panorama which will include a brief picture of the immediate vicinity in colonial, Revolutionary, and Civil War days; and some detail on the way life has been lived here since the first settlement. While not committed to a rigid schedule, we are collecting information throughout the summer of 1966 and will begin writing about in October. We hope to achieve publication in the spring of 1967. Any suggestions or information, including pictures and documents (subject to careful handling and prompt return) which you can contribute to this project will be greatly appreciated.

Town of Garrett Park
P.O. Box 84
Montgomery Co., Md.

Revised History of Dorchester County, Maryland—I am interested in securing a copy of this work, either new or used, by Elias Jones, Read-Taylor Press, Baltimore, 1925.

Mrs. S. J. Topping
178 Ridge Road
Rutherford, N. J.

Watercraft on Chesapeake Bay—While searching the papers of the United States Fish Commission for me in 1943, Mrs. M. V. Brewington found a small homemade note book, undated and unidentified, filled with entries concerning the types of watercraft used on Chesapeake Bay. The notes, perhaps by Ernest Ingersoll, appear to have been made about 1880 in the course of investigating the oyster fishery for the great report, *The Fisheries and Fishery Industries of the United States*, Washington, 1884-1887. Seemingly they were used in preparing the definitions included in the section entitled "The Oysterman's Dictionary."

Among the vessels mentioned here two have completely disappeared from the memory of octogenarian watermen: the *balmorel* and *jowrie*; the name *jobat* has been lost although the boats themselves are still common; the *nancy* is gone but the word and boat remembered; the *skipjack* is not mentioned (earliest known use here was 1884), neither is *sloop*: it was in no way distinctive from the common type elsewhere.

Unfortunately, no sketches of the vessels are included.

The notes are printed in full, verbatim.

"Vessel Notes."

Pungey.

Coulbourns Creek, Somerset County. A schooner, sharp bow, square stern, and keel.

Madison, Dorchester Co. No centerboard, round bottomed with keel.

Deils Island. No waist, a thin log instead. No centerboard, a keel.

Hill's Pt Dorchester Co. Very deep & sharp. Round bottom, deep draft, keeled.

Schooner.

Deils Id. Has a waist always a centerboard and a gaff topsail.

Bateau.

Coulbourns Creek, Somerset Co. a square sterned flal bottomed boat, a centerboard 1 mast.

Fairmount, Somerset Co. Flat bottomed, square sterned centerboard 2 masts. Ave. value \$40. range \$15 to 80.

St. Peters (Oriole P.O.) Sometimes called also jobats, nancies, or jowries.

Tilghman's Island, Talbat Co. Only 1 mast (flattie 2).

Skiff. Deils Is. Same as bateau.

St. Michaels Talbot Co. A little flat boat with square ends, some with sharp ends but are there called bateau skiffs.

Whitmans. A bateau, not decked.

Flattie.

A decked bateau with a bottomed not flat but shaped so V. Others say nothing in this distinction.

Tilghmans Talbot Co. Two masts (Bateau 1 mast)

Jobat.

St. Peters (Oriole P.O.). Flat bottomed, sharp at both ends.

Kent Id. Queen Anne Co. A bateau sharp only at one end.

Barges.

Nanticoke River. Flat bottomed boats worth \$12. Sharp at both ends. Have a little sail usually. Some centerboards.

Above Delaware Line on same? Are square at one end.

Secretary Creek, Flat, sharp at both ends.

Canoes.

Fairmount, Somerset Co. Sharp at both ends. Round bottomed or keeled. One or two masts. Sometimes three masts, i.e., 2 masts & jib sprit. ave. value \$75. Range \$20 to 250.

Tilghmans. Small enough to unship masts.

Deils Island. Not decked.

Crapo., Dorchester Co. Is open.

Cambridge. Cabin forward. . . . Masts moveable.

Brogan.

Coulbourns Creek, Somerset Co. Two Masts, sharp at each end, a centerboard.

Fairmount. Same. Sharp or "mutton leg" sails, perfectly flat bottomed.

Deils Island. Same as bugeye, but under size. Really no difference.

Bugeye.

Madison, Dorchester Co. Always has centerboard & is decked.

Hills Point. Flat bottomed, with centerboard.

Cambridge. Cabin aft, masts fixed.

Royal Oak., Talbot Co. decked all over.

Tilghmans Is. Talbot Co. Masts dont come down.

Punt.

St. Michaels. A kind of small canoe.
 Broad Creek Neck, Talbot Co. A dugout canoe.
 Somerset Co. Also.
 Chester River Also.

Sharpie.

Oxford. Flat bottomed boats, called by some "flatties."

Balmorel.

Decked forward and open aft.

Yacht-bateau.

McDanielstown. Sharper in the bows than a bateau.

Seine-bateau.

Not so sharp as an oyster bateau but wider. That fixed for sailing, but this propelled by oars.

Cat-boat.

Kent. Id. Cat-boat. Like a yawl, but built of logs & the yawl of planks.
 Pine Neck near Edesville. Has a centerboard and yawl not. The latter smallest. Yawl is kitten to cat-boat.

Yawl.

Burresville above Centertown, Queen Anne Co. Clinker built, round bottomed with both keel and centerboard \$30. an old boat.

Up-Bay Gilling Skiffs.

Betterton & elsewhere. Larger than yawl, smaller than cat-boats. Have centerboard & 2 masts instead of 1 mast at forward end.

M. V. Brewington
 Peabody Museum
 Salem, Mass.

CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES L. WAGANDT, a native Marylander, is author of *The Mighty Revolution: Negro Emancipation in Maryland*, published by the Johns Hopkins Press in 1964, and his article, "Election by Sword and Ballot" appeared in the June, 1964 issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

AUBREY C. LAND, Professor of History at the University of Maryland was a Fulbright scholar and a Guggenheim fellow. In 1955 the Society published his *Dulanys of Maryland* as No. 3 in its "Studies in Maryland History" series. He has contributed articles to various historical journals, his principal interests being American colonial and general economic history. Dr. Land has held a seminar in Colonial America at Columbia University this summer.

MRS. JEAN H. VIVIAN, a former instructor in History at Harford Junior College, is now on the staff of the American Historical Association. Her field of interest is primarily Revolutionary and Confederation history. Her article is an outgrowth of work begun during graduate study.

MALCOLM C. CLARK is Assistant Professor of History at the College of Charleston. His field is early American history, with emphasis on the study of transportation.