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Richard Walsh, Editor

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THE PATTERN OF BALTIMORE COMMERCE DURING THE CONFEDERATION PERIOD*

By RHODA M. DORSEY

IN THE two decades before the American Revolution, Baltimore began the growth that would ultimately make it the leading commercial center of the Chesapeake Bay.¹ What Middleton has called its "meteoric rise" in these years was due chiefly to its geographical location, in particular its proximity to the expanding wheat lands of northern and western Maryland and the Susquehanna Valley. Baltimore's trade in grain, flour, and iron, marketed by local merchants contrasted sharply

* The substance of this article was delivered at the meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Memphis, November 11, 1966.

¹ Clarence P. Gould, "The Economic Causes of the Rise of Baltimore," *Essays in Colonial History Presented to Charles McLean Andrews* (New Haven, 1931) is the standard work on the subject.

with the older trade in tobacco shipped by English and Scots factors from the Bay, but in the period before the Revolution both trading patterns existed profitably and independently side by side. Baltimore's growth came from the expansion of wheat and flour exports; its merchants took little part in the tobacco trade.

The years of the Revolution and Confederation did not change the fundamental nature of Maryland trade. The critical need for profitable exports shored up the Southern Maryland tobacco trade, already declining due to the effects of soil exhaustion, just at the time when most of the traditional handlers of the trade had left the Bay.² The opportunity thus presented was not lost on Baltimore merchants. While expanding their trade in foodstuffs through the differing conditions but continuous demand of war and peace, they also attempted, with considerable success, to move into the tobacco trade of the Bay.

To use a political period to delimit an examination of economic development is always conducive to questions for economic change has a habit of occurring without reference to exact terms of office or reigns or constitutions. Many aspects of the commerce of Baltimore to be dealt with in this paper began in the first years of the Revolution and spilled over into the early years of the new government established in 1789. The port records which supply the only available concrete evidence about the amount and direction of Baltimore trade are, however, from the Confederation period. In 1780 a customhouse was established in Baltimore for the first time. The first groups of its entrance and clearance records begin in 1780 and with some gaps to be noted below, run to 1787.³ When fuller records are resumed in the 1790's, they reveal a pattern of trade different in a number of respects from that of the 1780's. For these reasons the present discussion has been focussed on the years of Confederation.

² Arthur P. Middleton, *Tobacco Coast* (Newport News, 1953), p. 182. Avery O. Craven, *Soil Exhaustion as a factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860* (Urbana, 1925), pp. 72-78.

³ All of the entrance, clearance and ownership information in this paper is based on *Records of the Bureau of Customs: Collector of Customs at Baltimore*, Record Group 36, National Archives. The transcription of these records from microfilm was done by Mrs. Leslie Kayne and was made possible by a grant from the Research and Publications Committee of Goucher College.

It is perhaps wise to say a word at the outset about the Baltimore port records. They consist of a record of ships entered and cleared at the port with the following information about each: date, name, captain, tonnage, size of crew, point of departure or destination, name and nationality of owners, place of registration, and a brief statement of cargo, especially dutiable articles. Unfortunately the Baltimore records are far from complete. They cover the following dates only:

	<i>Entrances</i>	<i>Clearances</i>	
1780		Jan-Dec	
1781		Jan-Dec	
1782	Aug-Dec	Jan-Mch,	Aug-Dec
1783	Jan-Dec	Jan-Dec	
1784	Jan-Dec	Jan-Dec	
1785	Jan-Nov	Jan-May	
1786	May-Dec	Jan-Apr	
1787	Jan-Dec		

Moreover, there is no way of knowing whether, on any given date covered, all ships entering and clearing were in fact noted. Since the figures are fragmentary they must be taken as illustrative rather than conclusive in most instances. At the same time, the significance of the factual information they do embody should not be underestimated. It is not easy to locate precise information on trade during the Confederation period and the comparatively long run of Baltimore figures is correspondingly important.

The first two years of Confederation were the last years of a wartime trade that had already proved profitable to Maryland. During most of the war the state's geographical position enabled her not only to continue the export of tobacco and foodstuffs to Europe, the West Indies, and other states, but also, when fighting moved into the Middle and Southern States, to enter the field of military supply.⁴ Baltimore's share of this trade cannot be estimated exactly, but the waterborne part of it is shown in the port records of the time: that is, in entrance figures for August-December, 1782 and clearance figures for 1780, 1781, January-March and August-December, 1782.

⁴ Harold S. Pinkett, "Maryland as a Source of Food Supplies During the American Revolution," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVI (September, 1951), 157-172.

Entrances and Clearances at Port of Baltimore, 1780-1787

Year	Europe		West Indies		United States		Total Foreign		Total	
	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C
1780		21		84		131		105		236
1781		4		27		8		31		39
1782	6	10	40	95	193	27	46	105	239	132
1783	62	99	122	124	276	281	186	214	462	495
1784	84	83	107	107	223	376	192	199	515	575
1785	59	19	124	32	390	106	186	53	576	159
1786	56	7	97	33	320	135	155	42	475	177
1787	67		150		397		222		619	

European Entrances and Clearances by Country

Year	Great Britain		Ireland		France		Spain		Portugal		Neth. and Belgium		Germany		Atl. Islands		Others	
	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C
1780					12		3				6							
1781					3		1											
1782					4	7	1				2	1			1			
1783	12	19	3	10	17	16	7	1	3	5	11	20	3	4	5	2	1	2
1784	36	28	17	15	5	11	2	5	7	3	10	11	4	7	2	2	1	1
1785	20	6	9	2	10	1	2	3	9	2	3	5	2	0	3	0	1	0
1786	11	1	10	2	15	2	3	1	7	1	5	0	2	0	3	0	0	0
1787	17		9		22		3		5		3		5		3		1	

American Entrances and Clearances by Area

Year	Chesapeake Bay		Southern States		Middle States		New England	
	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C
1780		122		9				
1781		4		4				
1782	181	16	11	10			1	1
1783	162	166	31	31	42	36	41	48
1784	186	231	61	67	18	22	58	56
1785	189	56	116	23	20	2	65	25
1786	160	83	89	28	15	3	56	21
1787	147		123		47		80	

Ownership of Ships Engaged in Foreign Trade

Year	Baltimore		Maryland		Philadelphia		Virginia		New England		Foreign	
	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C
1780		63		28		5						7
1781		16		3		4						1
1782	24	51	2	9	10	21					1	8
1783	54	80	3	10	6	13	3	6	4	12	106	71
1784	61	79	1	2	2	4	6	3	12	10	98	89
1785	61	24	13	3	5	1	1	1	13	7	82	11
1786	55	22	3	2	3	0	6	0	9	6	76	11
1787	69		5		9		1		25		109	

Ownership of Ships Engaged in American Trade

Year	Baltimore		Maryland		Virginia		South		New England		Foreign	
	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C
1780		24		25		67		8				1
1781		1		2				4				
1782	26	4	6	1	135	5	10	10	3	1	1	1
1783	48	73	14	26	115	98	25	20	46	38	10	20
1784	60	104	17	45	114	87	50	48	62	60	12	22
1785	87	35	50	15	82	18	81	11	71	24	8	1
1786	113	49	24	14	59	27	63	13	55	28	2	2
1787	124		37		44		72		92		8	

In 1780, total recorded clearances from Baltimore amounted to 236 of which 21 were to Europe (France, Spain and the Netherlands); 84 to the West Indies (chiefly to the Dutch islands); and 131 to the states, of which 122 were to the Chesapeake Bay region. To Europe went tobacco, to the West Indies tobacco and some foodstuffs, to the Bay ports a wide variety of cargoes in which bar iron, rum, metal goods, and foodstuffs for French troops figured prominently. From Europe direct or via the West Indies came chiefly manufactured goods, often originally from Britain; from the West Indies, European manufactures, West Indian products and specie; from the Bay ports, tobacco, timber products, and some foodstuffs.

In 1781 and the first half of 1782 Baltimore trade suffered severely from the intermittent blockade of the Bay imposed by British privateers and armed barges,⁵ but by the end of 1782 some revival had come. Entrances for August to December only in 1782 show a total of 239 entries of which 40 were from the West Indies (chiefly the French islands); 6 from Europe; and 193 from American ports, of which the Bay again provided the bulk, some 181. Total clearance figures for all of 1782 are low due to the absence of American clearances but show a rise in clearances since 1781 for the West Indies to 95 and for Europe to 10.

Although the lack of similar figures for the prewar period makes comparison impossible, yet these figures by themselves indicate that wartime maritime trade in Baltimore was brisk, particularly since most of the West Indian and European trade was carried in Baltimore owned ships. Baltimore commerce prospered in these years; the newspapers were crowded with ads for European and West Indian goods; and as part of the general growth in population a number of merchants who emerged as outstanding commercial leaders in the postwar years removed from Europe and other parts of the United States to settle in Baltimore. One list noted the arrival of 17 merchants between 1775 and 1778, among whom were William Patterson, Robert Gilmor, Michael Diffenderffer, and Christian

⁵ Available figures reveal clearances falling to 39 in 1781, of which 27 were to the West Indies and 4 to Europe, but the virtual absence of clearances to American ports makes this fall appear more precipitous than the actual decline probably was.

Raborg, and somewhat later a number of French houses that specialized in supplying French troops and trading with the French West Indies.⁶

In his *Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era*, Robert East has detailed the wartime activity of many Baltimore merchants⁷ so that only a summary statement of some of the results of this activity is necessary here. The new arrivals and the older merchants—the Smiths, Purviances, McKims, Hollingsworths, Ellicotts—shared alike in the opportunities presented by wartime trade, privateering, and military supply.⁸ Despite the risk involved, many of this group emerged from the war years richer than they had entered them. To all, the war gave a broader range of mercantile experiences, particularly in connection with the tobacco trade, now handled regularly by Baltimoreans.

In addition, the wartime trade tightened the close bonds that already united Baltimore and Philadelphia, the older, larger, and richer trading center from which so many of the Baltimore merchant group had originally come.⁹ Wartime connections took the form of formal partnerships, of joint trading and privateering ventures, and a variety of arrangements by which Robert Morris and his associates in both their public and private capacities utilized Baltimore merchants as agents for the procurement of supplies and tobacco. Lacking adequate facilities of their own, Baltimore merchants also turned to Philadelphia for banking and marine underwriting services. Even with the advantages conferred by location and products, it is doubtful that Baltimore would have prospered as it did during the last years of the war without the aid and direction that came from Philadelphia.

Lack of entrance and clearance figures for other Maryland

⁶ Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore*, (Baltimore, 1833), pp. 81-82, 102.

⁷ Robert A. East, *Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era* (New York, 1938), chaps. VII, X and Part III.

⁸ For details on privateering ventures, see Bernard C. Steiner, "Maryland Privateers in the American Revolution," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, III (June, 1908), 99-103.

⁹ East, *Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era*, chap. VII; James W. Livingood, *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry, 1780-1860* (Harrisburg, 1947), chap. I; and Jane N. Garrett, "Philadelphia and Baltimore, 1790:1840: A Study of Intra-Regional Unity," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LV (March, 1960), 1-13 cover various aspects of the Baltimore-Philadelphia connection.

ports makes it impossible to tell with certainty how they fared from 1780-1782. Most of these ports—like Bladensburgh, Piscataway, Port Tobacco, and Oxford—had grown under the warehousing requirements and factorage system of the colonial period. The war brought a sharp decline as British factors left, warehouses were destroyed by the enemy, and the warehouse system languished until reestablished by state action in 1780. Certainly the amount of tobacco exported from Baltimore in these years, and the amount of Bay shipping that arrived with tobacco and cleared in ballast indicate that Baltimore engrossed a considerable part of the trade that would previously have been handled in other Maryland ports.

At least one "outport" firm, however, continued in business through the war and has left ample records of its operations.¹⁰ Wallace, Davidson and Johnson was an established tobacco export house in Annapolis before the war. Although it had few large accounts it handled enough small consignments of tobacco to merit the removal of one of its members, Joshua Johnson, to London in 1770 to handle the selling of tobacco and the purchase of English goods. With the coming of war, Johnson moved to Nantes and while acting as an agent for Maryland to purchase goods in Europe, continued the business of the house. Significantly enough, however, the Baltimore shipping records for 1780-1782 show Wallace, Davidson and Johnson both sending and receiving cargoes from Baltimore and, in this trade, associating themselves with Robert Morris and other Philadelphia firms.

With the coming of peace in 1783, Maryland entered a period of generally continued prosperity. Although the state did have serious financial problems in the next years,¹¹ the nature of its trade was such that it was not exposed to the major crises faced by the commerce and hence by the economy of an area like New England.¹² The postwar British trading regulations, for instance, that played havoc with New England, hurt Mary-

¹⁰ Wallace, Davidson and Johnson Collection, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland. Davidson Collection, Maryland Historical Society.

¹¹ The most detailed discussion of the economic conditions in Maryland at this period is to be found in Philip A. Crowl, *Maryland During and After the Revolution* (Baltimore, 1943).

¹² Rhoda M. Dorsey, "The Resumption of Anglo-American Trade in New England, 1783-1794," unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1956.

land hardly at all. Markets existed through these years—in Britain, the West Indies and the American states—for the old staple, tobacco, and the new staple, grain, and, in order to supply them, trade grew and the steady rise of Baltimore continued.

Even before peace was officially declared in April, 1783, Baltimore merchants were writing abroad to reestablish old or to find new business connections.¹³ The exact terms of trade proposed in these letters varied widely but one condition was standard, viz, the request for the longest possible terms of credit. This request, based on past experience with the American market in war and peace, was made with even greater urgency in following years when the scarcity of specie and the lack of bills of exchange or both made prompt collection and/or prompt remittance impossible. Other than this, any and all conditions of trade were proposed by the Baltimoreans. They were willing to undertake commission work, shipping only, joint voyages, partnerships, and complicated arrangements for sending goods from port to port until remittance was possible. Credit on imported goods must be long, however, and the amount invested in each enterprise reasonably low so that investment and risk could be wide spread.

Too few answers to the soliciting letters remain in the mercantile records available to gain any idea of their effect. In any case, a far better indication of what happened to the trade of Baltimore in the postwar period may be found in the shipping figures of the port. Entrance and clearance figures for this period are much more complete than those of earlier years; entrances run from January, 1783 through November, 1785 and from May, 1786 through December, 1787; clearance figures run from January, 1783 through May, 1785 and from January to May, 1786. The total entries rise from 462 in 1783 to 576 in 1785 to 619 in 1787. There is some decline in 1786 but it is hard to assess its size since entrance figures are missing for the first part of the year and clearance figures for the last

¹³ A particularly good selection of such letters may be found in the Smith Letterbooks, 1774-1818, Maryland Historical Society. In April Samuel Smith who with his brother John took over their father's business at the beginning of 1783, sent out a total of 40 letters to prospective correspondents in England, the Netherlands, France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy. Many had dealt previously with Smith Senior.

half. If the entries are divided into the three major categories of Europe, West Indies and America, the European entries remain fairly steady except for the boom year of 1784; West Indian entries mount slowly; and the major increase is due to the rapid rise in entries from American ports. It is not possible to consider all these figures in detail but by looking briefly at the major trading areas of Baltimore through these figures and contemporary mercantile correspondence¹⁴ some of the major developments of these years may be seen and some of the later generalizations made about these developments may be corrected.¹⁵

Baltimore merchants had much to hope for from France as a post war trading area and in general the figures indicate that France did not disappoint them. In 1783, 17 entrances and 16 clearances were registered; the following year trade slipped, probably reflecting the influx of English trade. Thereafter a slow but steady growth brought entrances to 22 in 1787. Although figures are missing after 1784 clearances probably also remained high due to the marketing of Maryland tobacco in France. This trade was carried on by French and other merchants in Baltimore and also by a number of Marylanders who at various times between 1783 and 1789 settled in France for this purpose.¹⁶ At the same time and probably more important for Baltimore, the city became one of the headquarters for agents involved in Robert Morris' tobacco contract with the French Farmers. In 1784 Tench Tilghman came to Baltimore as a partner of Morris and immediately began collecting the tobacco samples on which the contract decision was based, as well as sending shipments of tobacco to France.¹⁷ At his death in 1786 Samuel and John Smith, heretofore chiefly interested in the flour and grain trade, began to purchase tobacco through-

¹⁴ All statements about material in mercantile correspondence are based on collections found in the Maryland Historical Society, the Hall of Records at Annapolis, and the Library of Congress.

¹⁵ Jared Sparks, "Baltimore," *North American Review*, XX (January, 1825), 99-138 is a good example of the mixing of fact and fiction about trade during the Confederation and one that has been often copied during the years.

¹⁶ Richard K. MacMaster, ed., "The Tobacco Trade with France," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LX (March, 1965), 26-55.

¹⁷ Tench Tilghman Papers, Maryland Historical Society and Homer Bast, "Tench Tilghman—Maryland Patriot," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLII (June, 1947), 71-94.

out Maryland for Morris.¹⁸ There were difficulties with the French trade. French manufactures were not English and did not come on sufficiently long credit. Exports of tobacco to France faced competing markets in England and the Low Countries where prices were often better than the terms of the contract and the manipulation of Morris allowed them to be in France. When the contract expired there is evidence that tobacco trade with France increased but even then there were complaints about low prices.¹⁹

Great Britain appeared on the Baltimore trading scene with 12 entries and 19 clearances in 1783, bringing in manufactured goods of all kinds and taking away chiefly tobacco and some timber. In 1784 Baltimore was flooded with British goods as 36 ships entered and 28 cleared. Thereafter, reflecting the crashes of American houses in Britain, entries dropped, so that by 1786 and 1787 they fell slightly below those of France. The pattern of trade relations between Baltimore and Britain in this period is in many respects parallel to that found in other seaboard cities. To meet the popular demand for British goods, British and Baltimore firms hastened to reestablish old connections and in quest of new ones, Baltimoreans travelled in the manufacturing cities of England and manufacturers' representatives from England arrived in Baltimore with their samples. English debt collectors also arrived, or were appointed, but their impact in Maryland did not fall heavily on the merchants of Baltimore. There was some popular outcry against the collection of British prewar debts between 1786 and 1787, but it took its most violent form in the agricultural areas.²⁰ The Baltimore papers have none of the attacks against British commerce and merchants common in the press further north in 1785 and the retaliatory action that was taken against the trade in the form of legislation imposing discriminatory tonnage and duties did not, if one may judge from the shipping figures, keep British ships or British goods out of Baltimore.

The prewar connection between Baltimore and Ireland was based largely on the exchange of American flax for Irish redemptioners and manufactures, and was carried on by a num-

¹⁸ Smith Letterbooks. Maryland Historical Society.

¹⁹ Richard K. MacMaster, ed., "The Tobacco Trade with France," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LX, 27.

²⁰ Philip A. Crowl, *Maryland During and After the Revolution*, chap. III.

ber of Baltimore merchants who were Irish or of Irish descent. Beginning again with three entries in 1783, this trade blossomed to 17 entries and 15 clearances in 1784 and then settled to an average of 9 entries thereafter. Cargoes remained the same and personal ties with Ireland were strengthened through the establishment in Baltimore of firms with Irish members such as Oliver and Simms, William Patterson and Brothers, Stewart and Plunket, and Wilson and Maris.

Many Baltimore hopes for expanded foreign trade centered after the war on Northern European Ports. Wartime experience had shown these ports capable of supplying many of the manufactures Americans wanted and of taking American tobacco, timber products, and some foodstuffs. In expectation of a flourishing trade, a number of German merchants arrived in Baltimore after the war and one Dutch merchant, Adrian Valck, was named Dutch consul in 1784.²¹ Shipping figures indicate that, at least in these years, expectations were not fulfilled. 1783 and 1784 were good years with an average of 14 entries and 21 clearances per year but in 1785 the trade fell to about 8 entries a year. Much of this trade consisted of redemptioners. By 1784 they were numerous enough and the German merchants in Baltimore were strong enough that a German Society was formed to protect the interests of Germans coming into Maryland. One factor which undoubtedly discouraged trade with this area was the short credit and stringent payment requirements which merchants from these countries insisted upon, especially after the 1784-1785 failures in England.

A second area in which expectations were not met was Southern Europe. In the years before the Revolution this area had been accounted the most profitable of Baltimore's foreign trade. ²² Average clearances to Southern Europe from the customhouse at Annapolis between 1769 and 1773 averaged 28 ships per year of which the bulk came from Baltimore.²³

²¹ Dieter Gunz, *The Maryland Germans* (Princeton, 1948), pp. 155-181.

²² Thomas Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore*, p. 48. William S. Sachs, "Agricultural Conditions in the Northern Colonies Before the Revolution," *Journal of Economic History*, XIII (Summer, 1953), 285 discusses the growth of this trade in Philadelphia.

²³ Averages taken from the discussion in Clarence P. Gould, "The Economic Causes of the Rise of Baltimore," *Essays in Colonial History Presented to Charles McLean Andrews* (New Haven, 1931).

These figures were probably not equalled after the war: an initial average of 10 entries dropped to 8 in 1787, but the lack of complete clearance figures makes it impossible to assess the amount of the trade. Mercantile correspondence indicates that by 1785 the activity of the Algerine pirates had made trade with Spain particularly difficult, had led to the concentration of most Southern European trade in Portugal, and was curtailing even that because of the prohibitive cost of insurance.

The large West Indian trade of Baltimore in the postwar years represented a continuation and expansion of both pre-war and wartime trade. Entries mounted slowly but by 1787 had reached 150 from the 122 of 1783. For the years in which clearances are available they nearly equal the entrances for the West Indies, so that the overall trade to this area looms as a significant segment of Baltimore's commerce. The particular islands to which trade went varied and depended on a number of factors such as cargo, weather, mercantile connections, and government regulations. For the postwar period as a whole, however, it is clear that trade with the British islands resumed at once and, after 1783, more entries came from these than from any of the other islands.

A sizable proportion of the shipping in both the European and West Indian trade, varying from 60% in 1783 to 50% in 1787, was foreign owned. The proportion of Baltimore shipping in this trade remained at about 30%. Baltimore shipping and foreign shipping combined about handled Baltimore's foreign trade. Ships from other American states took part in the West Indian trade but their number was small except in the case of New England. New England owned bottoms in West Indian entries rose from 4 in 1783 to 25 in 1787.

The single factor most responsible for the increase in Baltimore trade during these years was the growth in the American trade of the port. In 1783 American entries were 276; in the next two years they rose to 390 and remained at about this level. In 1783 over half of the American entries came from ports along the Bay and the rest from New England, the Middle States and the South, in that order. By 1787 the Bay trade was only approximately one-third of the total entries; the Middle States and New England together represented a third; and from the South came the remaining third. In this extra-

ordinary rise, entries from the South, largely from North Carolina carrying skins, naval stores, and shingles went from 31 in 1783 to 123 in 1787.

In 1783 the domestic trade entering Baltimore was to a large extent carried in non-Baltimore bottoms—the Bay trade in Virginia owned ships, and the Southern trade in North Carolina bottoms. In succeeding years Virginia ships lost pre-eminence in the Bay traffic and this was largely taken over by Baltimore. The first interlopers in the Southern trade were New Englanders; by 1786 some Baltimore shipping had begun to move into this area and to go, as well, to the Middle States and New England, although throughout the years under examination, the trade with New England was largely confined to New England bottoms. The rise of Baltimore shipping engaged in the American trade of the port is indicative of the expanding interests and capabilities of the city. Significantly enough, however, it was paralleled by the rise of New England bottoms engaged in trade with Baltimore. By 1787, 124 of the entries in domestic trade to Baltimore were locally owned and 92 were New England bottoms.

The outward and visible signs of the steady growth of Baltimore revealed in the figures discussed above—the building, the paving, the harbor improvements, the general bustle of commercial activity—were obvious to visitors to the city at this time. Equally apparent was the “genteel eclipse” of the capital of Maryland, Annapolis.²⁴ It was too early, however, for Baltimore to be yet regarded as Queen of the Bay—a fact that is clear in the jealousy harbored in Baltimore against a city deemed to be a serious potential rival, Georgetown.

In the years after the war Georgetown reestablished itself as an important tobacco port for both Maryland and Virginia growers along the Potomac, its population grew,²⁵ and it was

²⁴ No entrance and clearance figures for Annapolis exist at this time, but indirect evidence of the smallness of the trade may be found in the lists of ships entering the port and recorded from 1789 to 1793 in *Naval Office of Annapolis: Journal, Liber B*, Record Group 36, National Archives. The phrase “genteel eclipse” is taken from John Hemphill II, “Annapolis: Colonial Metropolis and State Capitol,” Morris L. Radoff, ed., *The Old Line State*, I (Baltimore, 1956), where the process is described in more detail.

²⁵ Avery Craven, *Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland*, 78; Grace D. Ecker, *A Portrait of Old Georgetown* (Richmond, 1951); and the *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, *passim* discuss aspects of the rise and fall of Georgetown.

the base of one of the most active postwar Maryland tobacco firms, Forrest and Stoddert.²⁶ This firm, established in 1783, has unfortunately left few records and one learns of it chiefly through the outpourings of a harassed competitor, Wallace, Johnson and Muir of Annapolis.²⁷ Forrest was in France at the end of the war; he set up a branch in Bordeaux and one in London which was ultimately handled by an able associate, William Murdock. Initially business prospered but the brief fling of Forrest and Stoddert, like the brief fling of Georgetown, was destined to come to naught. There are some reports that the firm went bankrupt. In any case by 1789 Forrest was back in this country, Stoddert was helping to arrange the purchase of land for the new federal capitol, and both were investing in Washington real estate. Georgetown had three or four more years of prosperity; then its trade, too, collapsed.

The pattern of the Baltimore, Maryland trade during the Confederation was not wholly but to a considerable extent, the pattern of Baltimore trade, and that was, as we have seen, a mixture of the old and the new, of grain and tobacco, of the Bay trade and the South, of France and of Britain. Products for export, markets for these products, and energetic merchants to bring products and markets together—all these Baltimore continued to have during the Confederation period as it had immediately before the Revolution, and having them, prospered, at the expense of older ports along the Bay. It was still a weak political force in the state, it was still a small trading center compared to Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, and it was still closely linked to Philadelphia banks, insurance companies, and business firms, but the growth of trade during the Confederation period laid the groundwork for developments that in the next decade would change all this.

²⁶ Harriot S. Turner, "Memoirs of Benjamin Stoddert, First Secretary of the United States Navy," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, XX (Washington, 1917), 141-166; Cordelia Jackson, "People and Places in Old Georgetown," *Ibid.*, XXXIII-XXXIV (Washington, 1932), 133-162; Allen C. Clark, "Daniel Carroll of Duddington," *Ibid.*, XXXIX (Washington, 1938), 1-48; George A. Masters, "Biographical Notices from the *Maryland Gazette*," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLII (September and December, 1947), 164, 277-278.

²⁷ Wallace, Johnson and Muir Letterbook, 1784-1785, Maryland Historical Society.

THE LETTERBOOKS OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON, PISCATAWAY FACTOR

PART III, 1775-1776*

(Continued from December, 1966)

Edited by RICHARD K. MACMASTER AND DAVID C. SKAGGS

INTRODUCTION

“Too much Scoticism!” exclaimed the fiery Ezra Stiles of Yale College, typifying the American attitude towards the Scots during the late colonial period. For too long the colonists felt that choice patronage positions had been given Scotsmen over deserving Americans and that Scottish mercantile firms had monopolized colonial economic welfare to the detriment of American interests. Years of pent-up frustration found expression in charges leveled against these “foreigners” in the years of the Revolution.¹⁶⁷ For the Scot factors on the Potomac, the period between the outbreak of hostilities in Massachusetts and the Declaration of Independence was one of extreme trial. They were compelled to choose between a defense of their economic investments on the one hand and their personal liberty on the other.

The investment of James Brown & Co. of Glasgow consisted primarily of debts owed the firm by various Maryland planters and of the stock in its stores at Bladensburg, Lower Marlboro, and Piscataway. As the company’s principal factor in the colony, Alexander Hamilton¹⁶⁸ of Piscataway, Prince George’s County, sought to avoid confiscation of the store goods and cancellation of the debts by having James Hoggan, factor at

* Professor Skaggs wishes to express his appreciation for financial aid supplied in the research of this article by the Faculty Leaves and Research Committee of Bowling Green State University.

¹⁶⁷ Ian C. C. Graham, *Colonists from Scotland* (Ithaca, New York, 1956), pp. 128-183.

¹⁶⁸ For a detailed study of Hamilton, his letterbooks, and James Brown & Co., see the introduction to Part I of this series (*Md. Hist. Mag.*, LXI [June, 1966] pp. 146-166). Part I, containing Letters 1-4 and notes 1-85, and Part II (*Ibid.*, LXI [December, 1966] pp. 305-328) containing Letters 5-11 and notes 86-166, will be referred to as *supra* in subsequent notations.

Bladensburg, and Walter Wilson, his assistant at Piscataway, join the revolutionary militia and sign the Association of Freemen of Maryland.¹⁶⁹ Meanwhile Hamilton refrained from such action, probably on the grounds that if the British emerged victorious the company's assets would not be confiscated for disloyalty. While many of his fellow factors felt so harassed that they left the province, Hamilton stayed as long as possible in Maryland to protect the firm's investments there.¹⁷⁰

Hamilton no longer made pleas for more goods to restock the stores. His sole concern was for some means to insure that as much of his firm's liabilities in Maryland would be recovered as possible. In 1775 the debts alone amounted to over £500 in store goods, £9,600 currency, £1,000 sterling, and 20,000 pounds of tobacco. He constantly lamented the fact that no collections were made due to "these unhappy Disputes betwixt Britain & her Colonies . . ." In each successive letter of this part of the series the chances of debt collection appear more remote.¹⁷¹

In another effort to recoup the company's assets, Hamilton tried to get as much tobacco as possible out of the country before the nonexportation agreements went into effect September 10, 1775. The diligence with which he pursued this object is no better illustrated than in the case in which he found eight hogsheads loaded aboard the *Potowmack* damaged in a hurricane of September 2, 1775. He had the tobacco dried, repacked, and reshipped. Since all of this could not be done before the expiration of the exportation period, he and Henry Riddell, chief factor for John Glassford & Co. in Maryland, secured permission of the Charles County Committee of Observation to allow them to ship their damaged tobacco after the nonexportation agreements went into effect.¹⁷² The work of the factors in seeing that large exports of tobacco were sent to Glasgow paid off handsomely to their parent companies who profited from a phenomenal price rise occurring after the nonexportation agreements went into effect. In some cases the

¹⁶⁹ See Letter 18 and notes 231 and 232, *infra*.

¹⁷⁰ See Letter 22, *infra*.

¹⁷¹ Quote Letter 12, *infra*; for debts, see Glassford Papers, vol. 142, fol. 1-16.

¹⁷² See Letteres 19, 20, 22, 25, *infra*.

profits were so immense that companies were able to cover their losses in goods, property, and debts in America.¹⁷³

In order to protect the real property in Maryland owned by other Scottish firms, Hamilton combined with Riddell on several maneuvers in Prince George's and Charles counties which saw the transfer of property (mostly town lots in Nottingham and Benedict) from John Glassford & Co. and James Gordon & Co., using Riddell as their agent, to Hamilton. The price of each of these transactions involving several acres of land and many buildings was five shillings apiece. Hamilton then sold all the property thus acquired (October 23, 1776) to Riddell, only one day after its purchase, for the same price he paid for it. The two men waited several months after making these deals before recording them.¹⁷⁴ James Brown & Co. owned no real property in the colony, but James Brown personally held title to town lots in Piscataway and Carrollsburg. Hamilton made no effort to transfer this property before Maryland's confiscation acts went into effect, but immediately after the war he began to make arrangements with Brown to preserve his title to these lots. Hamilton's scheme was to have Brown write a letter, post-dated April 1775, transferring the property to Hamilton. The ten-year delay in making the transaction public would be excused on the grounds that communication between Scotland and Maryland had been so disrupted by the war that Brown had been unable to send the letter.¹⁷⁵

The total amount of harassment that the Scot factors had to endure from the local patriots is not apparent from these letters. Because epistles were censored before they left the colony, Hamilton could not divulge the full extent of his troubles. Some of his frustrations do appear, however. The pressure to sign the Association of Freemen was so intense that he commented on how his "situation becomes every day more disagreeable." More indicative of his troubles is the description of a Virginia county committee meeting in Robert Munford's comedy *The Patriots*, written about the time Hamilton noted

¹⁷³ M. L. Robertson, "Scottish Commerce and the American War of Independence," *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, IX (1956), pp. 124-126.

¹⁷⁴ Land Records, Charles Co., Liber V #3, 1775-1782, fol. 141-145, HR; Land Records, Prince George's Co., Liber CC #2, 1774-1780, fol. 322-325, 326-328, HR; see also Part I of this series, pp. 153.

¹⁷⁵ A Hamilton to James Brown, May 20, 1785, Glassford Papers, vol. 34. LC.

his uncomfortable position. In the scene three Scotsmen, M'Flint, M'Squeeze, and M'Gripe (note the reputation of these individual's expressed in Munford's names), were called before the committee for failure to support the American cause. One committeeman exclaimed: "The nature of their offence, gentlemen, is that they are Scotchmen; every Scotchman being an enemy, and these men being Scotchmen, they come under the ordinance which directs an oath to be tendered to all those against whom there is just cause to suspect they are enemies." When one of the accused objected to the censure on grounds that there was no proof of any offense against the revolutionary movement, another committee member shouted: "Proof, sir! we have proof enough. We suspect any Scotchman: suspicion is proof, sir." Under such conditions it is no wonder that for many of his friends the departure of the Glassford & Co. ship *Potowmack* in October 1775 signaled the last opportunity to flee oppression. Hamilton warned his employers: "As soon as I can get your business in a Situation that may put your debts on a better footing, and there is not any alteration in the present Contest for the better, I will leave the Country."¹⁷⁶

He never left the Potomac valley, however. This willingness to remain in America did not wholly stem from his loyalty to James Brown & Co. Part of the estate of his father, John Hamilton of County Ayr in Scotland, was involved in a debt owed by John Semple of Dumfries, Virginia, to John Hamilton. The protection of this portion of his inheritance, which was secured in part by title to an iron forge and flour mills on Occoquan Creek, Prince William Co., Virginia, was certainly an important factor keeping Alexander Hamilton in the New World.¹⁷⁷ Another part of the security involved Keep Triste Furnace run by his brother Francis Hamilton at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Once the property of Semple, it soon became part of

¹⁷⁶ Courtlandt Canby, "Robert Munford's *The Patriots*," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, VI (1949), pp. 458-462; Letters 18, 19, 26, *infra*.

¹⁷⁷ John Semple's Will, Prince William County (Va.) Will Book, Liber G, fol. 469-470; Alexander Hamilton's will, Liber T #1, fol. 430, Orphans' Court of Prince George's County; Hamilton to James Brown, May 20, 1784, November 24, 1784, May 20, 1785, Glassford Papers, vol. 34; Fairfax Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William* (Berryville, Va., 1964), p. 428, 437.

Francis Hamilton's estate and eventually constituted one of the foundation stones in the establishment of the United States arsenal at Harpers Ferry.¹⁷⁸

It was to "Keep Triste" that Alexander Hamilton fled when his failure to actively support the revolutionary cause made life difficult in Prince George's County. The exact date of Hamilton's departure is uncertain. His personal ledger account shows an entry for wages of £80 sterling for 1777 and brief notes appear for work done during 1778 and 1779. He made no charges to James Brown & Co. for work done between November 18, 1779 (when he "went to Portobacco") and December 31, 1783 (when he again rented a house in Piscataway). After the death of James Hoggan in 1777, Hamilton placed Joseph Noble Baynes in charge of the Bladensburg store. Charges to this store's account indicate that it was probably operated through mid-1778, although in June 1779 the establishment paid an "assessment" of £17.7.6 currency. The purpose of this assessment" is unknown. The ledger accounts show that very little business was done at either store in 1777 and virtually none in 1778. It is highly probable that Hamilton left Maryland in early 1778 and returned periodically (such as the trip to Port Tobacco in 1779) to attend court sessions in an effort to collect part of the debt owed James Brown & Co.¹⁷⁹

In editing this group of letters the same editorial techniques have been used as in the previous parts of this series. This particular section contains all the letters in the period before the Declaration of Independence except for some repetitious epistles containing the same intelligence sent by different ships. The letters of March 16, 1776 (Numbers 29 and 30) are the last ones appearing in the Glassford Papers before 1783. All the letters contained herein are drawn from the source previously cited in Part I of this series.

¹⁷⁸ *Md. Gazette*, May 29, 1766; *The Writings of George Washington*, John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), (39 vols., Washington, 1931-44), XXXVII, p. 380; Part I of this series p. 154.

¹⁷⁹ Glassford Records, vol. 143, fol. 203, 217, *passim*.

THE LETTERS, 1775-1776

12

To James Brown

Piscattaway 16 May 1775

Dear Sir

I refer you to my last, since which I have received your favour of the 2d February and 1st March by the Pallas & Peggy.¹⁸⁰ Inclosed is a state of your debts to the 1st January which on Perusall I hope you will find Right, should any Mistake appear you'l please inform me. Your Debts come in verry slow, and I am under the necessity of taking the payment as the Debtors can raise it, as they are Customers to the store I cannot press them further. I think the greatest part of them are good. The debt due by Mr. Hoggart¹⁸¹ he informs me he has paid you, if so, you will please inform me, that it may be settled here. Inclosed is Mr. Henry Riddles¹⁸² first of Exchange on Mr. Glassford & Company of this date at 30 days sight in my favour & indorsed by me to you for £226. .6. .5. And I gave drawn on you the following orders being all the money I have received from your Brother¹⁸³ & J. B. & Comys¹⁸⁴ Debtors since the first of January beside what is allready remitted

¹⁸⁰ *Pallas*, James Noble, master, and the *Peggy*, William Barron, master, regularly carried goods for Scottish merchants (Hamilton to Brown, May 22, 1775, Glassford Papers, vol. 34; April 18, 1775, Port of Annapolis, Entry Records, 1756-1775, Md. Hist. Soc.; *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*, William B. Clark [ed.], [Washington, 1964], I, pp. 286-288, 1246-1247).

¹⁸¹ Charles Hagart, a Scot factor living in Maryland (see notes, 54 and 112, *supra*). He represented Glassford, Gordon & Montieth at Philadelphia in 1778, returning to America, February 28, 1778, aboard the *Lady Margaret*, Capt. William Noble (Glassford, Gordon & Montieth Journal, fol. 32, New York Hist. Soc.).

¹⁸² Henry Riddell, chief factor for John Glassford & Company in Maryland (see note 35, *supra*).

¹⁸³ John Brown, partner with his brother James, in John Brown & Co., which conducted factoring operations in Virginia (Part I, *supra*, p. 150). He married (June 11, 1784) Ketura Henry, daughter of Col. John Henry (d. 1781) and his wife Dorothy Rider of Somerset County. (Annie Walker Burns, comp., *Dorchester County Marriage Licenses, 1780-1843*, p. 9; J. Winfield Henry, comp., *Letters and Papers of Governor John Henry of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1904), p. 125). The Henry family appears to have known John Brown as early as 1778 (*Arch. Md.*, XXI, p. 76). The connection between Brown and Hugh McBryde (note 186, *infra*) of Dorchester County leads one to believe that John Brown's pre-revolutionary activities were on Eastern Shore of Maryland rather than in Virginia (see Part I, p. 150, *supra*).

¹⁸⁴ James Brown & Co.

Favour of John Brown & Comy @ 30 days	160..3..5
“ of Bogle Scott & Compy ¹⁸⁵ @ 30 days	55..3..7
	<u>215..7..</u>
The Balance	10..19..5

You will please place to the Credit of your Effects in my hands. From the Promises made your Brother & me by H. M. & Coy I expected to have it in my power to have made you a much better remittance, but they have not come near their Promises, I am really at a loss what to do with them, Mr. Craig seems to be very desirous of paying these Debts, and has repeatedly wrote to H. M.¹⁸⁶ to pay every farthing he can collect to the payment of these Claims but he does not give that attention to his request that he ought to do, and his promises made me hope he would, to sue them at this time will not answer any good purpose, such Confusion & violency's has these unhappy Disputes betwixt Britain & her Colonys thrown all good order & Government into. I sincerely wish that no unjust advantages may be taken of these Confusions, and unless some firm & Lasting settlement is made I am greatly affraid of the consequences. I intend [to go] over to the Eastern shore in a few days to try what can be done with these People. If I can get matters properly Accomodated when there, I think your Brother may go home in the Jenny. or Moore,¹⁸⁷ he is indeed losing¹⁸⁸ his time to very little purpose here. He writes the

¹⁸⁵ Robert & Robert Bogle and Scott, a Glasgow mercantile firm.

¹⁸⁶ Presumably "Mr. Craig" in John Craig, factor for Cuninghame, Findlay & Co. at Port Tobacco (see note 115, *supra*). "H. M. & Co." apparently refers to Hugh McBryde of Dorchester County, merchant. This letter does not concern a debt owed James Brown & Co., but rather one due Murray Sanson & Co. and its Maryland successor Scott, Brown & Co. The McBryde debt was supposed to be collected by John Brown of Vienna, Virginia, brother of James Brown of Glasgow. Since John Brown was not diligent in the collection of debts due him, James Brown turned to Hamilton for help (see letters of Hamilton to James Brown, May 20, 1784, May 20, 1785, August 3, 1786, Glassford Papers, vol. 34; Hamilton to John Brown, December 7, 1784; Hamilton to William Robb, Baltimore merchant, May 18, 1785, in Alexander Hamilton Letterbook, LC; all of these letters will be published in subsequent parts of this series). Hugh McBryde was strongly committed to the revolutionary cause, being a captain in the Dorchester County militia and operator of several privateers. He was associated with Craig in the privateer schooner *Beggars Benison* which was granted a letter of marque and reprisal in 1778 (*Arch. Md.*, XI, p. 553, XXI, pp. 23, 144, 269, 493). By 1784, McBryde had relocated his business operations in Baltimore (Hamilton to John Brown, May 18, 1785, Alexander Hamilton Letterbook, LC).

¹⁸⁷ The *Jenny*, Capt. James Cochran, and the *Moore*, Capt. James McLeish, regularly brought goods to the James Brown & Co. stores in Maryland (notes 101 & 155, *supra*).

¹⁸⁸ Apparently Hamilton means "using" instead of "losing."

Company on this subject, also about a state of his Affairs, to which I refer you.

I sent Mr. Hanson¹⁸⁹ his letter. [I] am obligated to you for the News Papers, and should be obliged to you for a Continuance of them and also for an Edinburgh Almanack. I am much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken in my own affairs, and make no doubt of your doing everything for me you can. I have not had any answer from my Brother¹⁹⁰ to any of my letters, nor have I heard anything at all what Mr. Tait¹⁹¹ is doing in the Dispute with Mr. Lawson.¹⁹² I refer you to the Compys Letter for their Business, and must beg you will Let me hear from you by every opportunity. I have only to add that I am

Dear Sir
Yours Sincerely
A. H.

Mr. Jas Brown
By the Lady Margaret Captn Wm Noble¹⁹³

13

To James Brown and Company

Piscattaway June 30th 1775

Messrs James Brown & Compy.

Gentlemen

I refer you to my last of the 16th ultimo by the Lady Margaret and Pallas, and since which I have received your favour of the 14th April by the Renfrew and Copy of the same by the packet,

¹⁸⁹ Probably this is a letter from James Brown to one of the members of the Hanson family of Charles County.

¹⁹⁰ Gavin Hamilton (1751-1805) with whom Alexander was involved in a long quarrel over the disposal of their father's estate (Part I, p. 148 & Hamilton's will, Liber T #1, fol. 430, Orphans' Court of Prince George's County).

¹⁹¹ John Tait was a Scottish lawyer in charge of settling the estate of John Hamilton (A. Hamilton to James Brown, May 20, 1784, November 24, 1784, May 20, 1785, Glassford Papers, vol. 34).

¹⁹² James Lawson of Glasgow, formerly a factor in Charles County, who was also involved with the debts relative to John Hamilton's estate (Hamilton's will, Liber T #1, fol. 430, Orphan's Court of Prince George's County, *Va. Gazette* [P & D], July 18, 1771; note 220, *infra*).

¹⁹³ The *Lady Margaret*, William Noble, captain, frequently called at Piscataway (e.g., Letter 11, *supra*; *Md. Gazette*, June 15, 1775).

and the 10th May by the *Jeanie*,¹⁹⁴ all of which I have carefully observed. I am very glad you have received the payt. of Gavin Hamilton Smith's Bill, and hope you will also receive the payment of Mr. Wm. Digges' bill.¹⁹⁵

The Moore got to her Moorings about the first of the Month, and the Jenny about eight days after her. Mr. Riddell had Tobacco enough to load her when she arrived, part of it lay in Wicomico, and as he expected a Vessel into Britons Bay,¹⁹⁶ he would not send of that up to Nanj[emo]y,¹⁹⁷ but rather chose to let the Moore lay untill he could Collect it, after putting what Mr. Mundell¹⁹⁸ and his Factors above Portobacco had on hand, on board. I showed him the Paragraph of your Letter. He said he had no such advice from Mr. Glassford, and added that she should meet with all the dispatch in his power.¹⁹⁹ By a letter from the Capt.²⁰⁰ of the 27th Instant, he informs he had on board 241 Hhds., from which, I think, she will not sail before the middle of July.

The harvest of Rye and Wheat is come on, the greatest I have ever seen since I came to the Country; there will be little Tobacco brought to the Warehouses untill it is over. The Jenny has on board 257 Hhds. and without²⁰¹ Tobacco comes in faster will not sail before the Middle of July at soonest; had Tobacco come in as usual she would have been clear to sail before this time. I am in great hopes that Tobacco will not get so high as 20/—Stg., that price is the utmost of the Planters' Expectation, at least I have not heard any of them speak of more, and many of them say they will be content with 30/—[Currency]. We have got to 25/— here and

¹⁹⁴ The brig *Jeanie*, Capt. John Kirkwood, cleared the James River Naval office, June 23, 1775 (*Naval Docs.*, Clark [ed.], I, pp. 1390). No reference to the Renewal has been found. The editors wish to express their appreciation for the assistance Mr. Richard H. Randall, Sr., chairman of the Committee on the Maritime Collection of the Md. Hist. Soc., gave in helping to identify many of the vessels appearing in these letters.

¹⁹⁵ See Letter 10 and note 162, *supra*.

¹⁹⁶ Wicomico River and Breton Bay, St. Mary's Co.

¹⁹⁷ Nanjemoy Creek, Charles Co.

¹⁹⁸ Robert Mundell, Glassford & Co., factor at Port Tobacco, Md. Like Hamilton, Mundell apparently remained in America during the Revolution for he served as an administrator of the estate of Thomas Hawkins in 1779. Hawkins was in debt to John Glassford & Co. and Mundell was still acting as their agent in this suit (Charles County Wills, Liber AF #7, 1777-1782, fol. 371, HR; Magruder, *Abstracts*, II, p. 80).

¹⁹⁹ Apparently James Brown & Co. felt they had permission to load part of his tobacco on the *Moore*, a Glassford-chartered ship, and they told Hamilton to do this. Since the Glassford factors could fill the vessel, they refused to allow any Brown & Co. tobacco to be loaded. For more on this matter, see Letter 13, *infra*.

²⁰⁰ James McLeish, master of the *Moore*.

²⁰¹ Apparently he means "unless" instead of "without."

propose to make a stand at that, but I am greatly afraid we shall not be able to accomplish it. Mr. Robert Dick²⁰² is of opinion that the Tobo. here is equall in quality to the lowest quality at Bladensburgh Warehouse. This has been his opinion hitherto, and as that Quality there is settled at 27/6, I wish he may not be for raising the price here. I am also afraid of Mr. Baynes²⁰³ raising the price. He has a commission from Mr. Robt. Watters of Whitehaven to purchase him 800 Hhds. on Pomonkey and Upwards. He is the only Cash purchaser that has yet appeared, and from the scarcity of Cash, shipping and the lowness of Exchange, I apprehend there will not be many of these Gentlemen to Plague us; however, I hope 27/6 will be our highest price here. I am informed Messrs. Glassford & Compy., Messrs. Cuninghame & Compy. and Messrs. James and Robert Buchanan,²⁰⁴ have made their purchases at 25/— but the second of these Gentn. by their factor Mr. Matthew Blair at Newport,²⁰⁵ and Mr. John Anderson at Allansfresh for Messrs. George & Andrew Buchanan,²⁰⁶ have and are still giving 27/6. At Portobacco they have not yet given more than 25/— and at Bladensburgh and George Town they have fixed the prices at 27/6, 30/— and 32/6 to 35/— and they say they can and are determined to go through their Collection at that. For my own part I am of opinion that we ought not to go higher than the prices I have quoted, Because, should an accomodation take place, it will be found to be too much, and on the other hand should not an accomodation take place for some time to come, we should most strenuously and unanimously endeavour to make the most of

²⁰² Robert Dick, a Scot factor at Bladensburgh. He was 40 years old in 1776 (Census of 1776, Box 2, folder 18, fol. 20, HR). He, too, apparently remained in Maryland during the war, witnessing James Hoggan's will in 1777 (Prince George's County Wills, Box 12, Folder 54, HR) and collecting debts for Glassford & Co. after the war (Dick to Robert Fergusson, September 23, 1784, N. Y. Hist. Soc.).

²⁰³ Col. John Baynes of Piscataway, a consignment agent for Whitehaven tobacco merchants (see Letter 5, note 107, *supra*, and the Introduction to Part I, p. 151) for whom he frequently sold goods at Piscataway (*Md. Gazette*, September 1 and December 15, 1774). Baynes was in considerable trouble with the Prince George's and Charles County committees over alleged violations of the Articles of Association (*Md. Gazette*, June 15 and July 13, 1775).

²⁰⁴ All are Glasgow tobacco merchant houses operating factoring posts in Maryland.

²⁰⁵ Matthew Blair represented Cuninghame, Findlay & Co. in Maryland before the Revolution and their successor, Findlay, Hopkirk & Co. thereafter as a full partner. His will, dated December 21, 1798 and probated January 10, 1799, disposes of holdings in the Port Tobacco area (Charles Co. Wills, Liber AK #11, 1791-1801, fol. 474, HR). Newport is in Charles Co.

²⁰⁶ John Anderson was the factor at Allens Fresh, Charles Co., for George & Andrew Buchanan of Glasgow. He later became a member of the firm of John & Alexander Anderson of London (see Letter 7, note 138).

the present remittance, as it will be the last for some Considerable time, if not for ever. The Debts that are now good, and would be received was the exportation to continue, must many of them turn out bad; we therefore ought to look on this Collection, as an equivalent for all the Debts that are now due, and as such endeavour to make it turn out. Exchange at present 50 per Cent, and no money to be got. What Tobacco we may have on hand after the quantity you mention is made up, shall be sold or shipped, but I am affraid we shall not be able to get it shipped on the terms you mention, for from the present appearances there will not be shipping enough to carry the Tobacco home. I am affraid the Letters I may write you by the Packet will be opened.²⁰⁷ I am informed it has already been done, and as there will be opportunities frequently untill the fall, I shall not write by the Packet. This has been a very favourable year for planting, most people having done, and though some have put their Tobo. ground into Corn, yet if the Weather is favourable hereafter there will be an average Crop made. I cannot say whether it may be carried to the Warehouses. I have Credited you by myself for £ 20 Stg. as of the 8th day of May.

The Congress is still sitting at Philadelphia. They have resolved that all exportations to Quebeck, Nova Scotia, the Island of Saint Johns,²⁰⁸ Newfoundland, Georgia and the East & West florida do cease the 17th May last, and that no provisions or any other thing Whatever be furnished the British fishery on the Banks; and of the 27th They have resolved that no provisions or necessarys of any kind, be exported to the Island of Nantucket, except from the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and that Colony is desired to furnish them with as much provision as will be necessary for their Internall use & no more, and deeming it of the greatest importance to N. America that the British fishery be not furnished with any provisions through Nantucket, recommend it earnestly to all Committees a vigilant execution of the above resolve; and of June the 2d, They resolve that no Bill of exchange, draught or order of any officer in the Navy or army, their agents or Contractors, be received or negotiated or any money supplied to them by any person in America; That no provisions or necessarys of any kind be further

²⁰⁷ During 1775 the county committees began to interrupt and inspect the correspondence of persons whose ideas they felt might be inimical to American interests. As a Scot trader, Hamilton was especially liable to such investigations. About the same time as this letter (July 25, 1775) a member of Gov. Robert Eden's staff noted: "Speech is become dangerous; letters are intercepted; confidence betrayed; and every measure evidently tends to the most fatal extremities (William Eddis, *Letters from America* [London, 1792] pp. 215-216).

²⁰⁸ Now Prince Edward Island.

furnished or supplied to or for the use of the British army or Navy, in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, & that no Vessell employed in transporting British Troops to America or from one port of N. America to Another or Warlike stores or provisions for said Troops, be freighted or furnished with provisions or other Necessarys, untill further orders from the Congress. These are the only resolves that have yet been published,²⁰⁹ But it is said²¹⁰ they have voted 800 Rifle Men from the frontiers of Virginia, Maryland & Pennsylvania to be immediately raised & Marched to the assistance of the Provincial Army at Boston; they are to receive for pay, a Capt. £ 7. .10 Penny. Curry, pr month, a Lieut, £ 6, an Ensign £ 5, a Serjeant £3, a Corporall £ 2. .15, & a private Man £ 2. .10. They are to Emitt one Million of Paper Dollars for the use of the Army. Colonel George Washington is appointed Generall & Commander in chieff of the army at Boston, and three Generalls are appointed under him, Colonel Lee, Major Gates & Colonel Putnam,²¹¹ the Two first British officers on half pay. They went from Philadelphia to Boston about the 10th of this month. I inclose you a Copy of a hand bill which came here on the 25th by which you will see there has been another engagement at Boston.²¹² As there is no press open but for one side of the present dispute, it will be some considerable time, before the particulars comes out. However from this hand bill one may conclude the Provincials have got a severe drubbing. You see there is but small hopes of an accomodation soon. The ports will be shut the 10th Sepr. Affairs every where here carry a most Gloomy Aspect. I shall make out a Copy of this years Ledger and if I cannot get it home to you, will endeavour to secret it in case of any Misfortune befalling your other books. I will write you again by next opportunity & have only to add that I am Gentn.

Your Most Obt. Servt.

A. H.

By the Betsey Captn. Wood ²¹³

4th July 1775 Sent Copy of the above by the Jeany Captn. McGill.²¹⁴

²⁰⁹ For the substance of these resolutions, see Worthington C. Ford (ed.), *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (34 vols., Washington, 1904-1937), II, pp. 54, 59-61, 78.

²¹⁰ These rumors were true, as such were the resolutions of the Continental Congress on June 14, 15, and 16, *Ibid.*, II, pp. 89-93.

²¹¹ Charles Lee, Horatio Gates, and Israel Putnam.

²¹² Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775.

²¹³ Snow *Betsey*, William Waud, master, entered Annapolis from Isle of May, April 8, 1775 (Port of Annapolis, Entry Records, Md. Hist. Soc.).

²¹⁴ A brig *Jeanie*, John Kirkland, master, cleared the James River for Glasgow, June 23, 1775 (see note 194, *supra*). Whether this is the vessel used by Hamilton is unknown.

14

To James Brown and Company

Piscataway 15th July 1775

Messrs. James Brown & Coy.

Gentlemen

I refer you to my last of the 30th ultimo by the Betsey and copy by the Jeanie, Since which I have not been favoured with yours.

Mr. Henry Riddell informed me the 13th instant that the Margaret, Captn. [Robert] Spiers, had that day arrived off the Mouth of Wicomico [River], and that he had ordered her to proceed immediately up to the Mouth of this Creek,²¹⁵ where she is to load, and he has given me notice that the Charter of 250 Hhds. you have taken in one of Mr. Glassford's Ships is to be supplied with in her. She has forty Lawfull working days, and by the time she gets up here and is ready to take her Cargo in, this month will be so far gone, as will make her lay days extend to the 10th of September. There is not any Letters appeared by her except those for Mr. Glassford's factors.

The Moore wants still about fifty six Hhds. and by what I can learn she will not get these on board before the last of the Month. The Jenny has now on board 209 Hhds. and will carry 79 more, which I cannot assure you will be on board before the last of this, or beginning of next Month. I have on hand twenty of this quantity, but people are so extremely backward that I cannot promise myself with any certainty when I shall get the next. I am in hopes Mr. Hoggan will be able to make out betwixt 20 & 30 Hhds. by the Last of next week; if he does, it is possible she may get away a little sooner. We shall endeavour to get the Margaret's quantity on board, as soon as possible, that she may get away before Matters get to their Hight. They appear to me to be growing worse every day.

The Congress have resolved, (after repeating to the public that their petition to his Majesty has been rejected, and that an armed force is sent out to reduce them to Slavery,) that troops be immediately raised throughout the Colonys for defence of their liberty, and that they be prepared for a bloody War.

There is yet very little alteration on Tobacco matters, but it appears to me that the price will rise here. Exchange is still as low

²¹⁵ Piscataway Creek.

as 50 pr Cent. I am very much distressed for want of Cash to Supply the Ships, and to make my Collection. I lose many good bargains at 25/— Curry. for Tobo., (for I think that price will afford a great profit with you,) and I am affraid will not get paid some of my debts, because I have not Cash to pay up the ballance, and the people, notwithstanding the Credit they have heretofore got, will not give the Traders any Credit. I sincerely wish I could make my Collection turn out 300 Hhds. and all of it shipped home to you before September. I shall write you again by next opportunity and have now only to add that I am

Gentlemen

Your most Obt. Servt.

A. Hamilton

By the Active, Captn. Miller.²¹⁶

15

James Brown and Company

Piscataway 2d August 1775

Messrs James Brown & Compy.

Gentlemen

I refer you to my last, Copy of which you have Inclosed, and since which I have received your favour of the 26th May, & observe the Contents.

Inclosed is Invoice of 142 Hhds. Maryland Tobacco weigh[in]g clear of Cask 135,562 lbs. at your debit, also bill of lading for the same. She²¹⁷ has been a long time in the Country, but we have done everything in our power to dispatch her. Have not now any Tobacco on hand and altho' it is near the last of the Inspection, there is not more than one half of the Tobacco brought to this Warehouse. It is now pretty certain that my collection will turn out short of what I expected. Many of my customers have been obliged to part with some of their Tobacco for Goods to supply their families, and some of them Villanous enough to take advantage of the times, knowing that they cannot be compelled at this time to do justice. It is imagined this August Court will be the last in this province; in some of the Courts it has been little better for this some time past. Matters are growing daily worse, and there is no knowing to what lengths a few Violent people may carry their

²¹⁶ The *Active*, Capt. William Miller, previously shipped goods to Piscataway from Glasgow in August, 1774 (see note 124, *supra*).

²¹⁷ The *Jenny*, Capt. James Cochran, was regularly used by James Brown & Co.

Malice & Ill nature against a few foreigners, who cannot by the Smallness of their Numbers, make any resistance. Our Provincial Convention is now sitting, and unless the Moderate part get the ascendancy, I am greatly affraid I shall be obliged to pay you a visit as well as many others. The most unexceptionable Conduct will not screen any Man. The cry is now if they will not fight for us, they are against us, no neutrality now. I sincerely wish for an accomodation and peace lasting and agreeable to both partys, and soon. I am greatly affraid your debts will suffer much; in times of Anarchy & Confusion people's principles as well as Estates grow worse. However I am determined to stick by them untill I am drove off.

Tobacco has got to a Pistole here,²¹⁸ but it is not yet Public, and I can find that the people begin to rise in their demand and some of them ask 30/—. I hope it will not be more than 27/6. There will be a verry fine Crop of both Corn & Tobacco, if the Weather continues favourable, especially of the former; of the latter there is not so much planted as usual, but it will be much better tended and it is on their best ground, so that I think it will be a good average Crop. There has been an amazing large & good crop of Wheat made. I never saw such a plenty of grain of every kind. It must go verry much against the Inclinations of the People to see their Crops ly in their houses wasting and destroying by Vermin. I believe none will be exported.

Mr. Riddell, before yours come to hand, informed me that the Margaret, Capt. Spier, was at the Mouth of this Creek, and she would be ready in a few days to take in her Cargo, and that we must put our charter of 250 Hhds. on board of her, to which I agreed. The Potowmack went to patuxent [River] & the Patuxent went to the Branch.²¹⁹ She was very leaky, and was hove down at Alexandria, & her leak found & stopped.

Mr. Robert Lawson²²⁰ has shipped on board the Jenny 1,751

²¹⁸ Scottish Equivalent to 20 shillings sterling. Note how the price of tobacco rises during 1775 as wartime inflation begins and as various merchants begin to speculate on a rise in price of exported goods due to the nonexportation agreements due to go into effect in September.

²¹⁹ The Anacostia River was known as the Eastern Branch of the Potomac. The *Potowmack* and *Patuxent* frequently called at Piscataway.

²²⁰ Robert Lawson of Glasgow, "late merchant in Virginia," died in 1788 (*Scottish Record Society Publications*, VII, p. 273). He was the brother of James Lawson (note 192, *supra*) and nephew of John Semple of Dumfries, Virginia (Semple's Will, Prince William Co. [Va.] Will Book. Liber G, fol. 469-470). The iron mentioned in this sentence could have been manufactured at the Occoquan Forge owned by Semple in which both the Lawsons and the Hamiltons had an interest (see Introduction of this set of letters).

Barrs of Iron consigned to Mr. James Lawson who is to pay therefore, freight five Shillings per Ton and Tonnage two Shillings & Sixpence pr Ton. Inclosed is Bills of Lading for Tobacco Shipp'd on board the Jenny by Mr. Hoggan & myself, 222 Hhds. I hope it will come to a good Market & net you at least 4d pr lb clear of all Charges.

I have taken Captn. Cochran's Sett²²¹ on you of this date in my favour for £ 90. .10. .5 Stg. I have now only to add that I am

Gentlemen

Your most Obt. Servt.

A. Hamilton

By the Jenny, Captn. Cochran.

16

To James Brown and Company

Ledlers Ferry²²² 4th Augt 1775

Messrs James Brown & Coy

Gentlemen

Above is a copy of my last, I have now only to advise you that I have just cleared out Captains Cochran & McLeish, and have taken Captn McLeish's bill on you for £ 93. .9. .0 Stg p[aya]ble on Lon-

²²¹ A bill of exchange was normally written in a "sett" or "set" of several copies. Each copy was numbered and sent by a different vessel in order to insure the arrival of the bill in Britain. The creditor used the one arriving first, discarding the others. The word is used in this same manner in Letters 9, 28, and 29 in this series. The editors are indebted to Prof. Virginia B. Platt of Bowling Green State University for her help in accurately defining this term. For a similar use of "sett" see: Frances N. Mason, (ed.), *John Norton & Sons, Merchants of London and Virginia* (Richmond, 1937), p. 388.

²²² Laidler's ferry was near "Blenheim," home of the Lee family in Charles County. Located at the mouth of Port Tobacco River, it was the site of Richard Lee's Naval Office of the North Potomac. The ferry ran to the home of Col. Rice Hooe in Westmoreland County, Virginia (Bowie, *Across the Years*, p. 521). George Washington used the ferry in July 1771 and in August 1768 he anchored his schooner off "Captn. [John] Laidler's" (John C. Fitzpatrick, [ed.], *The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799* [4 vols., Boston, 1925], I, p. 285, II, p. 25). Philip Vickers Fithian utilized Mrs. Elizabeth Laidler's (sometimes spelled "Leidler's) ferry and its ordinary in May and October 1774. The first time it cost 6 shillings, the second 7½ shillings. He noted on his last stop: "Here I dined on fryed Chicken, Ham, with good Porter—Accommodations good" (Farish, [ed.], *Journal and Letters of . . . Fithian*, pp. 146, 272; *Md. Gazette*, December 16, 1773).

don at 30 days. One Mr. Walker who lived with Doctr James Craik ²²³ goes home in the Moore. I have only further to add that I am

Gentlemen

Your most Obt. Servt.

A. Hamilton

By the Moore Captn McLeish

17

To James Brown and Company

Messrs. James Brown & Coy.

Piscattaway 20th August 1775

Gentlemen

I refer you to my two last by the Jenny & Moore, and since which I have not been favoured with yours. My Collection falls short of what I expected this year. I do not believe I shall reach 300 Hhds. I think it is in a great Measure owing to the Notion that the Common people have entertained, that there will not be any Law to compell them to pay their debts, and also to the Many adjourned Courts in Charles County and which has kept the business very backward. Many who owe live in that County and they have taken advantage of the times. Tobo. has got to 30/- Curry. here, 2/6 more than I expected it would have reached and the purchase will be over by the last of this week. I do not think it will be possible [to get] all the Tobacco on board and several vessells that is to carry it out of the Country by the 10th day of Septemr., which day our Convention has fixed for its all being on board. You will

²²³ A Mr. John Walker, "Englishman," is listed in the James Brown & Co. records as owing £1.16.6 currency in 1776. Also in debt at the same time for £5.9.9 currency (Glassford Papers, vol. 143, fol. 1 & 9) was Dr. James Craik (1730-1814) a prominent Charles County, Maryland, and Alexandria, Virginia, physician. Doctor Craik was a native of Dumfries Shire, Scotland, who had received his medical training at the University of Edinburgh. He was closely associated with George Washington, both as his personal physician and as a military surgeon. He was justice of the peace in Charles County, 1770-1775 (Henry J. Berkley, "The Port of Dumfries, Prince William Co., Va.," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2nd series, IV (1924), p. 116; Commission Records, 1726-1786, fol. 180-181, 192, HR; Fitzpatrick, (ed.), *Diaries of . . . Washington, passim*).

see by the Newspapers that go home by this ship that our Convention have some resolves respecting the Administration of Justice,²²⁴ which, if properly adhered to, may be a means of keeping the people within bounds in these times of distress. They have also drawn up an association, which is, in a short time to be offered by [them for] every body to sign.²²⁵ The Associators engage themselves in the most solemn manner to oppose with their lives & fortunes the measures adopted by the Administration; That all who are capable to bear arms from 16 to 50 are to muster & learn the Military Exercise and that one fourth of that number is to engage themselves to march whenever requested to any part of the Continent. They are to receive pay, when they enter on actual duty, and that they may be well prepared they are to muster two days in the week. These are called Minute Men.

I am told that every body is to have ten days to Consider before he signs the Association, and those who refuse to sign it are to be returned (their names) to the Council of Safety in the recess of the Convention, and to the Convention if they are Sitting. I have not yet heard the resolve, if there is any, against those who may refuse to sign.

Such bad payments and so contrary to my Expectation have obliged me to Sell Captains Cochran & McLeish's²²⁶ bills on you for Cash and at so low an exchange as 40½ pr Cent. I was in hopes of getting enough for my Collection to answer my purpose without selling these bills.

I hope the Margaret will be clear to sail by the last of next week. I shall write you again by next opportunity and have only to add that I am

Gentlemen

Your most Obt. Servt.

Alexr. Hamilton

By the Jean Captn. Ritchie.²²⁷

²²⁴ See *Arch. Md.*, XI, pp. 31-33.

²²⁵ The Association of the Freemen of Maryland, July 26, 1775 (*Md. Gazette*, August 24, 1775).

²²⁶ Capt. James McLeish, master of the *Moore*, and Capt. James Cochran, master of the *Jenny*, both ships regularly used and apparently owned by James Brown & Co. (Glassford Records, vol. 141, fol. 160, 171, 228, 229, 232) and both of whom had accounts with the Piscataway store.

²²⁷ The *Jean*, John Ritchie, master, cleared the James River Naval Office for Glasgow, January 10, 1775 (*Naval Docs.*, Clark [ed.], I, p. 1387). Probably this is the same vessel on another voyage.

18

To James Brown and Company

Piscataway 29th August 1775

Messrs. James Brown & Co.

Gentlemen

I refer you to my last and since which I have not been favoured with yours.

The Margaret will sail in a few days having all her Tobo. on board. Mr. Hoggan & myself will have between 80 and 100 Hhds. Tobo. more than the Margaret's Quantity; and I have been lucky enough to get a Charter in the Diana for that quantity, if we can get it on board before the 10th day of September is over, which I am in Great hopes we shall be able to do. The Diana was chartered by Thomas Eden Esqr. & Company of London from William Miller master and part owner of her at £ 7 Stg. pr Ton and two thirds port Charges. My charter is agreeable to theirs except that the Tobacco is to be consigned to you and that I pay the Craft here on board,²²⁸ and it is not to be accounted as any part of the port Charges. The Captain is also changed and his Name is John Smedon. You will, if you think proper to insure, pay attention to the alteration of the Captain in your policy.

My situation becomes every day more disagreeable. The Convention is broke up, and they have resolved that every male from the age of 16 to 50 shall muster, and that every person shall sign the Association and engage himself to fight against the British troops whenever he is called upon, if a minute man, anywhere on the Continent, if of the Militia any where in the Province, and that the Committees do immediately offer the Same to be signed, and make a return of the recusants to the Convention, if they do not sign in ten days after [it] is offered to them, that they may take order therein, so that we are altogether in the dark in respect of the Consequences of a Refusal. I have endeavoured to find out what is to be done with those who refuse, but have not yet been able to do it. I applied to Mr. Daniel Dulany²²⁹ through my good

²²⁸ Freight paid by Hamilton in Piscataway. No additional information has been found on the *Diana*. The new captain's name is spelled "Smerdon" in Letter 22.

²²⁹ Daniel Dulany, the younger (1722-1797), an economic, legal, and political leader of the proprietary faction in Maryland (Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland* [Baltimore, 1955]).

friend Mr. Addison,²³⁰ and Mr. Dulany told him that he had taken every method in his power to find it out, but had been unsuccessful, and told him that he should set off for New York immediately in expectation of finding an Asylum in these convulsed times, and if he could not get it there, he would with his family go to Britain. Many others will take the same step. I have prevailed on Mr. Hoggan to Sign the Association, and as he is very lame and not likely to get over it, he will be excused from mustering & turning out to fight.²³¹ I shall endeavour to make him acquainted with the Situation of the business of this store, that he may be able to get the debts put on the best footing the times will allow, and while I am allowed to stay, I shall use my utmost endeavours for that purpose, that when this unhappy Contest is settled, no disputes may arise to the person who may have the Collection of them. I have ever since our first Convention openly & candidly declared that I would not take up arms to fight against my sovereign, and that Country that gave me birth, and lately when there was a false alarm spread through the County that some British troops were landed on Patuxent, I was called upon and I refused to fight. I am pointed out and I expect, and with abundance of Anxiety, every moment that the Association will be offered to me to sign. I wish it may not be before the tenth day of September, or before I get all your Tobacco on board. However I will stay as long as I can and with any degree of safety.

This will be delivered to you by Mr. Wilson²³² who has desired me to allow him to go home, to which I readily consented. I hope you will approve of it. He has behaved himself very well ever since he came into the Country. To keep him here at this time would be

²³⁰ The Rev. Henry Addison (1717-1789), scion of a prominent Prince George's County family who married Dulany's (above) sister Rachel. He was a rector of St. John's Parish, Piscataway, from 1742 until 1775 when he fled to England because of the opposition of local patriots to his loyalism (Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church*, pp. 113-114, 155-156; see also Letters 19 & 20, *infra*).

²³¹ In this effort to get the company's Bladensburg factor, James Hoggan, and his assistant Walter Wilson (see below, note 232) to join the militia, one sees the beginnings of efforts by Hamilton and other Scot factors to protect the interests of their Glasgow firms from property confiscation by the revolutionaries.

²³² Walter Wilson came to Piscataway in 1772 "as an assistant to a considerable factor there" and served in the Maryland militia for nine months before returning to Britain when required to fight for the Americans (PRO, CO., class 5/116, 17). Wilson received £10 sterling per annum as Hamilton's assistant in 1774 but his wages were raised to £15 per annum the following year. He left August 31, 1775 (Glassford Records, vol. 140, fol. 66, vol. 142, fol. 87). The editors are indebted to Mrs. Katharine A. Kellock of Washington, D.C. for her kind help in providing the information from the Public Record Office.

burthening you with a needless expence. I shall write you again soon and have only to add that I am

Gentlemen
Your most Obt. Servt.
Alexr. Hamilton

By the Clyde.

Inclosed is a Copy of the Charter, one half of the freight is to be at the delivery of the Tobacco & the other half in three months thereafter.

19

To James Brown and Company

Piscattaway 8th September 1775

Messrs Jas. Brown & Coy.

Gentlemen

I refer you to mine by this same opportunity. The Margaret went ashore on Saturday night the 2d instant in a most violent hurricane that ever I saw; however on the 8th she got off by taking out 55 Hhds. Tobacco, her water casks & provisions, without receiving any damage, & is now ready to proceed on her voyage in good order. The 8 Hhds. I wrote you was to go on board the Potowmack was in this hurricane drove ashore at Chickamuxen²³³ and I am affraid totally lost. I have engaged people to shack²³⁴ them out & put in order, and to repack & prize²³⁵ them again, and if liberty can be procured from the Convention, I am in hopes they will be sent you by the Potowmack. I had 41 Hhds. of very good Tobacco on board two flats in this Creek going down to the Diana; they must be a good deal defaced by the rain, but I do not think

²³³ Chicamuxen Creek, Charles County.

²³⁴ "To shack," means to place the tobacco in a shed for drying. Had Hamilton said "shack them up" instead of "shack them out" this definition would easily be acceptable. But in the manner in which he wrote this letter he may have used an individualistic 18th century spelling for "shake" instead of "shack." If such is the case, Hamilton would have had the hands of tobacco, wet from the storm, separated, shaken out, and dried, probably in the sun.

²³⁵ "To prize," or reprise in this case, one presses the dried hands of tobacco into the casks. The editors wish to correct an erroneous definition of this term in note 47, and they wish to thank Mr. Edwin Tunis of Reisterstown for his kind correction.

they have received any other damage. Mr. Hoggan writes me he sends you 43 Hhds., and I have put on board 45 Hhds. and two more are ordered from Portobacco, which I hope will get on board in time, which will make in the whole 90 Hhds. Mr. Glassford has had upwards of 70 Hhds. destroyed in this same manner as mine, as also Messrs. Cuninghame & Co., George & Andrew Buchanan & many others. The Ships Potowmack & Patuxent were driven ashore, but it is expected they will get off by taking out some of their Cargoe without any other damage. It happen'd extremely lucky for me that these eight Hhds. were the lightest Tobacco I had shipped, & one half of it reprized, weight only 6,905, and I was also fortunate in not losing the Tobacco in this Creek,²³⁶ for I expected every moment to hear of their being sunk, so violent was the wind & rain.

The association was yesterday offered to me to sign. I refused and desired that my name be given in to the Convention. I am resolved to stay as long as I can. As soon as I can get your business in a Situation that may put your debts on a better footing, and there is not any alteration in the present Contest for the better, I will leave the Country.

The Revd. Mr. H. A. [Henry Addison] leaves the Country next week & goes for London. He cannot approve of the behavior of the present leaders, and by which he is looked on as a friend of Government, and therefore Obnoxious, and if he continues here he may be treated harshly. I need not ask the favour of you to Show him all the Civilitys in your power. He has been a Constant friend to the business here & at Bladensburg. He proposes to stay in London this winter. His son Daniel [Dulany Addison] attends him, a very good Young Man. I shall draw on you in his favour payable in London which you will please to honour. I shall write you again soon and have only to add that I am

Gentlemen
Your most Obt. St.
A. H.

N B Inclose [d] is Mr. Wilson's note of Bond for £ 30. .14.4 Stg which you will please receive & pass to the Credit of this Store.

By the Margaret Captn. Speir²³⁷

²³⁶ Piscataway Creek.

²³⁷ The *Margaret*, Capt. Robert Spear, cleared Chestertown, December 19, 1774. It was registered in Greenock, Scotland to John & George Buchanan and four others (Port of Annapolis, Clearance Records, 1756-1775, Md. Hist. Soc.). Apparently this is the same vessel.

20

To James Brown and Company

Piscataway 11th September 1775

Messrs James Brown & Coy

Gentlemen

I Refer you to my last by the Margaret & since which I have been favoured with yours by the New Yor[k] packet dated 2d June and have observed the Contents. I have Regulated my conduct consistent with your directions as near as I could. The nonexportation took place yesterday and will be strictly adhered to. You will no doubt get the very best price for your Tobacco, for without an accomadation, you will get no more Remittances from this place for some Time. The Tobo. in this Province that is now growing has suffered very much in the Late storm and should an accomodation take place, the Remittances in that commodity will be short to what it would have been.

I have drawn on you the 9th Instant at 60 Days sight payable in London favour to the Revd Mr. Henry Addison for £ 12..4..1 Stg which you will please honour & pass to the debit of this Store. I must beg the favour of you on Receipt of this to write to your correspondents in London to have this Bill accepted without putting Mr. Addison to the Trouble of Sending it to Glasgow. He sails in the Choptank²³⁸ frigate which is consigned to Messrs Thos Eden & Co. of London & will be found by inquiring at the House of Messrs Hanbury & Lloyd. Should your Mr. Brown go to London to see the Tobo. shipped there or on any other business, Mr. Addison would be very glad to see him.

²³⁸ Concerning this particular voyage Gov. Robert Eden wrote Lord Dartmouth, August 27, 1775: "Many other Gentlemen of property, Character, & Family are leaving America, and I should be unjust to a particular Friend of mine, were I to omit mentioning and recommending to Your Lordship the Revd. Mr. [Jonathan] Boucher, who is driven from his parish [Queen Anne's, Prince George's County] and possessions here, and goes home in the *Choptank* Frigate from Patowmack, in about ten days. He has ever been a firm Supporter of the Church as well as of Government, and being particularly connected with me, can communicate to Your Lordship the Principle Occurrences in this province for some time past; and knows very well every thing relative to all the great Men in Virginia—He is a very sensible and intelligent Man, meriting the Patronage of Government to which he is steadily attached, and Your Lordship will find his Abilities very usefull" (*Naval Docs.*, Clark [ed.], I, p. 1245).

The Committee has allowed Mr. Riddell & others & myself to the 2d of October to have our Tobo dried & put in order for Shipping again & then to be taken on Board the ship for which it was intended. I have only to add that I am

Gentlemen
Your most obt. Servant
Alexr Hamilton

By the brig Potowmack Captn Rowe²³⁹

21

To James Brown and Company

Piscattaway 14th September 1775

Messrs James Brown & Coy

Gentlemen

Inclosed is a copy of my last & Copy Invoice of 46 Hhds Maryland Tobacco Amounting to 44,247 lbs. Nett at your debit and a Bill of Lading for 142 Hhds by the Margaret. I have not yet got my Bill of Lading for the above 46 Hhds or I should have inclosed you one of them. You will see that there is two hhds in Portobacco Short Shipped and which was occasioned by the Neglence of the Captain who undertook to have them put on Board, had not this neglect happened I should not have had a pound on hand. There is not any help for it now, for all the intention of Congress was that all the last years Tobacco should be shipped, yet so strict are the Committees that they will not Suffer any to be put on Board after the 10th even under the circumstances that this is.

I am in hopes your debts will be considerably reduced by this years Remittance and what I may Collect betwixt [now] and the first day of January. My time will be taken up Clearly untill that time in Settling, and Collecting the Debts, on the best terms our present situation will permitt, and if I am permitted to stay. I shall be very diligent in getting a state of this stores business made

²³⁹ The brig *Potowmack* was not the same as the Glassford & Co. vessel of the same name. Further identification of Captain Rowe has not been found (see notes 160 & 164, *supra*, and Letters 25 & 26, *infra*). A brig *Potowmack*, John Mitchell, master, owned by Thomas Eden & Christopher Court of London, entered Annapolis July 19, 1775. It is probable that the brig of this letter and that on the Entry Records are the same vessel with different masters.

out and send it to you, if any opportunity should offer. No doubt you will be very anxious to Know how it stands, and what Subject you may have in this Country. I am greatly affraid, if this unhappy Contest continues a few years, you will lose many of your debts, which if it had not happened, would have been very good. You must make the most of what has been Remitted this year, to making good what is left behind; from the present appearances there is no hopes of an accomadation and I am greatly affraid there will be much blood shed before that is Brought about.

The Crop of Tobo, now growing has been much damaged in the Late storm, and will in all probability be greatly Short of what it otherways would have been & should an accomadation take place, may help to keep up the price.

There was some talk among the factors on this River of a packett being necessary betwixt Glasgow & this Country. Should it take place, I think it would be very usefull, for without something of this kind we shall not be able to correspond with you on any certainty, and shall be at a very great Loss for want of instructions which it may be very necessary for us to Receive from you. Perhaps we may be able to make you some Remittances & [although] the uncertainty by the Packett may prevent it, for such is the situation of the Country to the Nor[th]ward that I should not be surpris'd at Letters either going to or coming from you miscarrying, for in all [the northern colonies] Civil Convulsions [exist, making it so] matters of that Kind are little attended to, nor can anything else be expected.

This will be delivered to you by Mr. Robt. Fergusson,²⁴⁰ your Mr. Brown's old friend and acquaintance. I have taken the Liberty of reccomending him to your good offices and friendship. He is a good sensible, well behaved man. To him I Refer you for News. He is a very good hand at politics. I have only to add that I am

Gentlemen

Your most obt Servant

Alexr Hamilton

By the favour of Mr. Robt Fergusson in the Dunlop²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ Robert Fergusson (d. 1813), factor for Glassford & Co. at Georgetown before the Revolution, returned to Maryland after the war and settled at Port Tobacco where he was an agent for several Scottish firms (see note 32, *supra*). He was closely associated with Alexander Hamilton in this post-war period and became both legatee and executor of Hamilton's will (Wills, Liber T #1, fol. 430, Orphans' Court of Prince George's County).

²⁴¹ No further identification of this vessel is available.

22

To James Brown and Company

Piscattaway 19th September 1775

Messrs James Brown & Co.

Gentlemen

I refer you to my last by the Favour of Mr. Robert Fergusson in the Dunlop, inclosing Invoice of 46 Hhds Maryland Tobo Shipped on Board the Diana, Capt John Smerdon, for London [and] Consigned to you. Inclosed is bill of Lading for these 46 Hhds also bill of Lading for 46 hhds from Mr. Hoggan & a Letter from him and copy [of a] Charter party, all which I wish safe to hand and to a good markt. The eight hhds I wrote you was damaged in the Storm of the 2d Instant, will be shipped in the Potomack and I expect they will be Ready by the last of this or tenth of next month. The two hhds I wrote you was not Shipped must lye untill the Exports are opened, unless I can sell them, of which I do not at present see any probability.

The Exports were stoped the 10th instant, and it is said will be strictly adhered to. The farmers who will immediately feel it, may grumble, but it is Supposed [that] will be all. The Congress is now Sitting, nothing of what they are about has yet transpired. The Virginia Convention has Received a memorial from the Traders & others, foreigners, requesting them to take it into Consideration which they have done, and they are permitted to Live in the Colony as heretofore provided they do not Interest themselves in the Present dispute & pay their proportion of the Taxes.²⁴² As I am a recusant, it is very probably I shall be obliged to go to Virginia as an Assilum. However, I will stay [in Maryland] as long as I can with Safety. I shall write you again by the Potomack & have only to add that I am

Gentlemen

Your most obt Servant

Alexr Hamilton

By the Diana John Smerdon

²⁴² For some merchants' petitions see, John P. Kennedy (ed.), *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1773-1776* (Richmond, 1805), pp. 233-237.

23

To James Brown

Piscattaway 28th September 1775

Dear Sir

I Refer you to my last of the 1st August by the Jenny. Since which I have not been favoured with yours.

I now inclose you my first exchange on the Company at 60 days sight in your favour for £ 57..10..7 Stg. and which is all I have been able to collect from your debts since my last remittance of May 16th. And I am greatly affraid it will be the last untill this unhappy contest is amicably Settled.

I wrote you some time ago about the Ballance due by Mr. [Charles] Haggart, you will please to Let me know how it is Settled, that it may not appear against him here in case of any misfortune befalling me. I will write you again by the Potomack, who will carry home many of your old acquaintances, and am

Dear Sir

Yours Sincerely

Alexr Hamilton

For Mr. James Brown, Senr. by the Mermaid, Capt. Montgomerie²⁴³

24

To James Brown and Company

Piscattaway 28th September 1775

Messrs James Brown & Co.

Gentlemen

I refer you to my last by the Diana, Since which I have received your favour of the 30th June by the New York Packet, and observe the Contents. In this years transactions I have regulated my Conduct as near as I could to what you have desired in these two Letters.

²⁴³ Ship *Mermaid*, John Montgomerie, master, owned by Dunlop & Wilson, merchants in London (Bill of Exchange, March 1, 1771, Stone Family Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.).

Inclosed is Invoice of the Hhds Tobacco shipped in the Diana & 2d bill of Lading therefore.

I have drawn on you of this date

Favour of Messrs John Brown & Coy at 60 days sight	75 . 15 . 8
do of Mr. James Brown, Senr. at 60 days sight	... 57 . 10 . 7
	133 . 6 . 3

which you will please honour & Charge to your Piscattaway Store. I Expected to have been able from my Collection to have paid these two debts without troubling you, having as much against due on Execution, but Such an Effect has the present dispute on the people, that the Courts of Justice for the recovery of Debts are in a manner Shutt up; And from a recent example in Charles County, where a number of the Relations & friends of the prisoner, who was in on execution for a very considerable Sum of Money, broke open the prison & Lett him at liberty, litle or no payments may be expected. They did not pay any regard to the resolves of the Convention, nor to the Committee of the County then Sitting. And I am affraid, as the Situation of the times has made the Convention alter in some degree the Constitution, that little regard will [be] paid to the Laws, and unless a stop can be put to such riotous proceedings, this once happy & flourishing province will become a scene of horror & bloodshed.

I shall Continue my best endeavours to collect your debts, and shall write you again by the Potowmack, who will carry home to you my drowned Tobo. I am

Gentlemen
Your most obt Servt.
A. H.

By the Mermaid Captn. Montgomerie

25

To James Brown & Company

Piscattaway 10th October 1775

Messrs James Brown & Co.

Gentlemen

I refer you to my three last, copys of which you have inclosed and Since which I have received your favour of the 28th July and observe the Contents.

Inclosed is Invoice of 7 Hhds. Tobo Nett 6160 lbs. which was damaged in the Storm of the 2d ultimo and bill of Lading therefore; They were eight Hhds. damaged, and the loss has reduced them to Seven, four or five of them are pretty good, on the whole. I hope you will be able to sell them for as much as will pay what they cost and every expence attending them and get a small profit beside. By these eight Hhds. turning out seven; the quantity shipp'd on Mr. Glassford's ships—the Margaret and Potowmack—is short of the Charter one Hhds., and the non-exportation having taken place I cannot be allowed to replace that Hhd. In settling with Mr. Glassford you will take notice that his agents had more Tobacco damaged than would fill up the Potowmack, and that Hhd. I am short in shipping is put on board out of their damaged Quantity.

The weather since my last has been very wet and has hurt the standing Tobo. and also that on scaffolds very much. I do believe there will not be half a crop in Maryland, and in the lower parts of Virginia it is said there will be a good Crop, on the whole it will be greatly short of an average one. The Corn in many places has also received Considerable damage.

I am affraid that my Collection in money will turn out greatly Short of my expectations. On the strength of receiving several very considerable sums, which are in Judgement & Execution, I bought some Tobacco. Should I not receive the payment of them, I shall be greatly plagued to comply with my Bargains. Many take advantage of the times and now there is no compelling them to pay, for the Courts for Civil business are in a manner shut up. There is a Committee for Licensing Suits, composed of seven of the Committee of Observation, appointed in every County, to them application must be made before any writ can be issue[d]. This Committee is nominated by the people and is to Continue for one year. You may judge from this appointment, what will be the fate of applications from the British traders & also, if this Contest Continues a few years, the situation your debts will be in. I shall continue to collect as long as I can be permitted [to] & write you by the New York Packet. I have only to add that I am

Gentlemen

Your most obt Sert.

Alexr Hamilton

By the Potowmack Captn. Bruce

26

To James Brown

Piscattaway 10th October 1775

Dear Sir,

I refer you to my last copy of which you have inclosed, also second copy of my exchange on the Company for £ 57..10..7 Sterling.

In the Potowmack goes passengers Messrs Archd Campbell²⁴⁴ & his Childeren, Charles Hagart,²⁴⁵ Peter Campbell,²⁴⁶ Chas Buchan,²⁴⁷ Rose Campbell,²⁴⁸ Richd Lee, Junr.,²⁴⁹ John Briscoe,²⁵⁰ & three other Gentlemen. You will oblige me much by shewing them every Civility in your power when you see them. They will be able to give you a very good accot. of the present state of this Country, particularly Mr. Lee, who is not only very sensible & descriptive, but well acquainted with the unhappy Contest. To Mr. Hagart I recommend you for a knowledge of the Situation of us poor recusants who are left behind. Peter, whom you knew was allways a great favourite of the Ladys, & who leaves this Country with an exceeding good Character and very deservedly, will furnish you with all the entertaining anecdotes of the parish.²⁵¹ You will be able to spend sometime very agreeably in their Company.

²⁴⁴ Archibald Campbell, factor for Glassford & Co. at Leonardtown (see Part I, p. 152) who had earlier been in trouble with the St. Mary's Co. Committee of Observation (*Arch. Md.*, XI, pp. 41-44).

²⁴⁵ Charles Hagart, Scot factor in Maryland (see notes 54 & 181, *supra*).

²⁴⁶ Peter Campbell, factor for Glassford & Co. in Prince George's County (see note 79, *supra*). In addition to his factoring duties, he apparently conducted personal economic activities in Maryland for "Peter Campbell & Co." had an account with James Brown & Co. at Piscataway owing the firm £26.6.0 sterling, January, 1776 (Glassford Papers, vol. 143, fol. 5). Peter Campbell, Archibald Campbell, and Charles Hagart all represented Glassford interests in Philadelphia during 1778 (Glassford, Gordon & Montieth Journal, fol. 32, 62, 76, 85, and 89, N. Y. Hist. Soc.).

²⁴⁷ Charles Buchan, otherwise unidentified.

²⁴⁸ Rose Campbell cannot be positively identified. A Mr. Rose Campbell was a Baltimore merchant in 1802 (Power of Attorney, Rose Campbell to Gabriel Wood, January 4, 1802, Acq. 198, Elcutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Delaware).

²⁴⁹ Richard Lee, Jr., eldest son of Richard Lee of "Blenheim," Charles Co., had been an unpopular sheriff and presumably was fleeing the wrath of Charles County patriots (Bowie, *Across the Years*, pp. 522-523; note 69, *supra*).

²⁵⁰ Probably "John Briscoe, merchant" of Chaptico, St. Mary's County (*Arch. Md.*, LXII, pp. 256, 264, 292, LXIV, p. 368). He was an agent for James Buchanan & Co. of London (Account of James Eden to Buchanan & Co. dated April 4, 1777 and signed by Hanson Briscoe, Stone Family Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.). An endorsement of this bill was signed by John Briscoe, August 3, 1787.

²⁵¹ St. John's Parish, Piscataway.

I shall Continue my best endeavours to collect your debts, & what of them I may get in, remitt to you by the N. York packet. Your Brother writes you by this opportunity. I have only to wish all kinds of health & happiness to you & to assure you that I am

Dear Sir
Yours Sincerely
A. Hamilton

By the Potowmack Captn. Bruce

12th Oct.

P.S. The Inclosed bill you will please apply to Mr. Hoggan's Credit. Wm. Lyles²⁵² of yesterdays date on West & Hobson [London Merchants] at 30 days on my favour for £ 10 Stg.

*P.S. I have drawn on you of this date favour of Captn. Jas. McLeish an order for £ 2..17..7 Stg, which you will please pay & charge to your Piscattaway Store.

27

To James Brown and Company

Piscattaway 30th October 1775

Messrs James Brown & Co.

Gentlemen

I refer you to my last of the 10th instant by the Potowmack, Captn. Bruce, and Since which I have not been favoured with yours. I observed to you at that time, that I thought I should be able to Collect as much money in time this fall, as would pay what money I owed on acct of my purchase. But it comes in very Slow, and my Creditors are very pressing and which is now the

²⁵² William Lyles, Jr., age 26, his wife Sarah, and 25 slaves lived in Prince George's County in 1776 when he owed the Piscataway store £18.8.9 currency (Census of 1776, Prince George's Co., fol. 39, HR; Glassford Papers, vol. 143, fol. 3; *Md. Gazette*, March 2, 1775). He was appointed a major of the lower battalion of the county's militia in 1777 and a "Col. William Lyles" lived in the area in 1808 (*Arch. Md.*, XVI, pp. 104, 113, 356; Bowie, *Across the Years*, p. 51). This particular bill was returned protested after the war and Hamilton had to request Col. William Lyles of Alexandria, Va. for proper payment (Hamilton to James Brown, May 20, 1784, Glassford Papers, vol. 34; Hamilton to Lyles, May 25, 1784, Alexander Hamilton Letterbook, LC).

cause of my drawing on you the following Bill of this date favour of Mr. John Anderson²⁵³ £ 200 Sterling at 30 days sight which you will please to honour and Charge to your Piscattaway store.

I yet hope to have it in my power to refund this sum by the first day of January. But as every means of raising money is taken from the people by this unhappy Dispute, I cannot give you any Certain assurances of it. At present there is not the least appearance of an accomadation, If it is so with you, Tobacco will undoubtedly rise, and you will, I dare say, make the most of it. While the Contest continues I shall be able to make you little or no remittance. I have only to add that I am with great respect

Gentlemen

Your most obt. Sert.

Alexr Hamilton

By the New York packet.

28

To James Brown and Company

Piscattaway 9th Feby. 1776

Messrs. James Brown & Co.

Gentlemen

I refer you to my two last of the 11th October by the Poto[w]-mack, and the 30th October by the New York packett and since which I have not been favoured with any of yours.

This accompanys under cover of your direction, and to the Care of Messrs Murrell & Moore, Merchants in London, the following papers, Vizt. Inventory, List of Debts, and your own accot. for Piscattaway store, and List of debts and your own accot. for Lower Marlboro' store, all which I hope you will Receive Safe & in good order. I have not been able to get copyed the Cash, Charges on Merchantdize, & my own Accot. to send you by this opportunity, but shall by the next one. I have continued my former method of

²⁵³ John Anderson was a factor for George & Andrew Buchanan of Glasgow at their store in Newport, Charles County (see Letter 7, and notes 138 & 139, *supra*).

Classing the Debts, and I think it a more distinct manner than formerly, their Situation & Security.²⁵⁴ I wish I could give you still further Satisfaction in respect to your debts. But that Cannot be done without I was with you. The goods on hand are, many of them, very unsaleable. I shall do the Best I can with them. And Perhaps from the Sale of them I may be able to pay some of the Debts due by you. At all events I will pay none except by this way & my Collection. The debts due to the Rum Store I am In hopes will be sufficient to make good the Severall Ballances due the Partners. But if this unhappy Contest continues two or three years longer, I am very much affraid they will be greatly injured, and at present we have not the Smallest prospect of an accomadation.

I have inclosed to Messrs. Murrell & Moore, Oliver Burche's²⁵⁵ first Sett on Messrs. West & Hobson, Merchants in London, at 30 days sight in my favour for £ 10..1..7 Stg. dated the 11th ultimo & indorsed to them, and have wrote them to advise you of the fate thereof; my Reason for inclosing it to them is that it will be immediately presented for acceptance and will also save some postages. Should this not be proper, you will please inform me of it and I will regulate myself accordingly.

[A detachment of the Grand Continentall Army under the Command of Brigadier General Montgomerie had some time ago invested Quebec, And on the 31st december attempted to Storm it but were Repulsed with Loss. The Generall, his Aid de camp, Severall officers, and a number of privates fell, and many officers & privates taken Prisoners. The Accounts of this Attack, at least

²⁵⁴ The list of debts for 1776 may be seen in vol. 143 of the Glassford Records. Hamilton has classified the debts into three categories on the basis of his estimation of their collectability.

²⁵⁵ Two men named Oliver Burch appear on the records. The first, age 28, with his wife Verlinda, son Colmore, two other children, and two slaves lived in St. John's Parish, Piscataway, during the period mentioned (Louise J. Hienton, *Piscataway or St. John's Parish: Index to Register* (Hyattsville, Md., 1961), p. 34; Census of 1776, Prince George's County, fol. 24, HR). The second was a resident of Charles County where he had extensive land holdings (Charles County Deeds, Liber S #3, fol. 468, 603, 274, Liber V #3, fol. 217, Liber AK #11, fol. 294). His will was probated in 1795 and listed a wife Ann, sons Justinian, Richard, Walter, Henry and daughters Millisent, Martha, Agnes, and Kezia. (Marilyn B. Smallwood, *Birch, Burch Family* (Adel, Ga., 1957), I, pp. 205-213). It is probably the first of these that Hamilton mentions, since this Oliver was the younger son of Johnathan Burch of Piscataway Parish who owed Brown & Co. £9.6.4 currency, January 1, 1776, which Hamilton Noted as "since paid" before sending the List of Debts to Glasgow (Glassford Papers, vol. 143, fol. 1; Debt Books, Prince George's County, 1771, Md. Land Office; Vestry Proceedings, St. John's Parish, Piscataway, HR).

I have seen, are very indistinct & contradictory. It is probable, before this reaches you, that you will have a more Certain Account of it.]²⁵⁶

Below is a copy of my last. I have only to add that I am

Gentlemen
Your most Obt. Servant
Alexr. Hamilton

By the Nancy Captn. Sund²⁵⁷

29

To James Brown and Company

Piscattaway 16th March 1776

Messrs. Jas. Brown & Co.

Gentlemen

Above is a copy of my last and since which I have not been favoured with any from you. This will be delivered you by Mr. Andrew Buchanan²⁵⁸ with the following papers inclosed under your direction, vizt.: List of Debts, Cash, Charges on Merchandise, your & my own accots. for Piscattaway Store, List of Debts, and your own accot. for Lower Marlbro' Store; by which you will see the Situation of your affairs here under my direction. The ship [Nancy] by which I wrote you last is not yet Sailed, though she was to have sailed by the Middle of last month, and it is now uncertain whether she will be allowed to sail at all.

Inclosed in Oliver Burch's second [set] of Exchange on Messrs. West & Hobson of London in my favour at 30 days sight dated 11th January last for £ 10. .1. .7 Stg. indorsed by me to you. The

²⁵⁶ The futile campaign of the brilliant Richard Montgomery against Canada and the able assistance he received from Col. Benedict Arnold rank among the most heroic exploits of the Continental Army (Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution* [2 vols., New York, 1952], I, pp. 140-201). This particular passage was of such a nature that Hamilton wrote beside it in his letterbook "For fear of giving offence, this is left out." Obviously, he knew his letter would be censored by the revolutionaries before it reached its destination, so he decided that discretion warranted the removal of this description of the Quebec engagement from the letter he sent to Glasgow.

²⁵⁷ The brig *Nancy*, Capt. Gabriel Sund, regularly traded between Maryland and London (*Md. Gazette*, August 17, 1775, January 18, 1776).

²⁵⁸ Andrew Buchanan was a partner in the firm of George & Andrew Buchanan of Glasgow (see note 139, *supra*).

first Sett, as I wrote you in my last, was inclosed to Messrs. Murrell & Moore, and in case the Ship by which it was to go should not be allowed to Sail, I have thought it prudent to inclose the Second copy to you. I have also inclosed your copy of my letter to Messrs. Murrell & Moore for your perusal, and must conclude that I can only add that I am with respect

Gentlemen
Your very hble servt.
Alexr Hamilton

By the favour of Mr. Andrew Buchanan

P. S. The same postscript as to Mr. Brown's.²⁵⁹

30

To James Brown

Piscataway 16th March 1776

Mr. James Brown

Dear Sir

I refer you to my last since which I have not been favoured with any from you. Inclosed is List of Ballances due you, and your acct., which will be delivered you by Mr. Andrew Buchanan to whom please be refered. Your Brother is here at present and is very well. I can only add that I am

Dear Sir
Yours Sincerely
Alexr Hamilton

P.S. Mr. Buchanan is yet uncertain whether he goes home by this opportunity. Should he not, he has promised me to recommend it to the particular care of some of the passengers.²⁶⁰

Concluded

²⁵⁹ See postscript to Letter 30, *infra*.

²⁶⁰ Hamilton noted that this letter and the one to the company of the same day were both delivered by John Riddell, a Dumfries, Virginia, merchant, who left in June 1776 on the H. M. S. *Fowey* (see note 33, *supra*).

THOMAS THURSTON, RENEGADE MARYLAND QUAKER

By KENNETH L. CARROLL*

ONE OF the more intriguing figures in early English and American Quakerism was Thomas Thurston who from the beginning appears to have been something of a stormy petrel. Even in England he raised a certain amount of doubt about himself. Once he *settled* in America, Thurston developed into a real stumbling block for his fellow Quakers.

Thomas Thurston was a Gloucestershire man, closely connected with Thornbury near Bristol. Thurston was born about 1622,¹ probably at Thornbury where his brother Samuel's family was still living in 1692.² Just when Thomas Thurston became a Quaker is unknown, but it was certainly some time before his 1656 religious journey to New England. *The First Publishers of Truth* records that he and Christopher Holder were the first to preach Quakerism in the city of Gloucester. Although no date is given for this development, it appears that this was most probably in 1654.³

Just one month after Mary Fisher and Ann Austin landed in Boston only to be imprisoned, a second cargo of Quakers arrived there on July 27, 1656. Among these eight arriving

* Kenneth Carroll, Professor of Religion at Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, is the author of *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites* (1962) and editor of *The Creative Centre of Quakerism* (1965).

¹ Charles Frederick Holder, *The Holders of Holderness: A History and Genealogy of the Holder Family and especial reference to Christopher Holder* (Pasadena, 1902), p. 23.

² Annapolis Wills, Liber 6, folio 23 [Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland]. The Marriage Register of the Quarterly Meeting of Gloucester and Wiltshire [Friends Reference Library, London] shows the marriage of a Thomas Thurston and Sarah Hathy of Thornbury at Frenchay Monthly Meeting in 1667. This Thomas Thurston, a baker, was probably the nephew of Thomas [Vaughn?] Thurston of Maryland. Thomas and Sarah Thurston of Thornbury had five children born between 1668 and 1676. One 1666 Maryland record lists Thurston with the middle name of Vaughn-Cf. Talbot County Land Records, Liber 1, folio 15, Easton, Maryland.

³ Norman Penney [editor], *The First Publishers of Truth* (London, 1907), p. 109, n. 8.

on the "Speedwell" were Thurston (aged 34), William Brend (40), and two other male and four female Friends (all ranging from 20 to 28 years of age).⁴ The whole group was imprisoned until it was decided to banish them as soon as possible.

Samuel Gorton's very rare 1657 volume *An Antidote Against the Common Plague of the World* contains several letters that passed back and forth between Gorton and the small band of Quakers. Thurston, Brend, Christopher Holder, and John Copeland, writing from "the Common Gaol in Boston this 28th of the seventh, 1656," told Gorton (a minister who had earlier been expelled from Boston),

The Lord hath drawn forth our hearts, to this place in much love, knowing in the light, that he hath a great seed among you, though scattered up and down; and are as a sheep without a shepherd, and you are travelling from Mountain to Hill in your wisdom and imaginations, the resting place not yet knowne. . . .⁵

This letter to Gorton, signed by the four male members of the valiant Quaker band, closed with the note that it was

From the Servants and Messengers of the Lord, whom he hath sent and brought by the arm of his power into these parts of the wor[ld], for which we suffer bonds and close imprisonment, none suffered to speake or confer with us, nore scarce to see us, being locked up in the inward prison, as the Gaoler pretends, because we do not deliver our Ink-horns, although he hath taken away three from us already, and will not suffer us to burn our owne Candles, but takes them away from us, because we shall not write in the night, though we are strangers to thee, and others in this place, yet seen and knowne in the light, . . .⁶

In this letter Thurston and his companions express a preference to remain in New England but also acknowledge the likelihood of their being sent back to England. They state a determination to be obedient to whatever "the Lord desires"

⁴ Holder, *op. cit.*, p. 23. William Sewel, *The History of The Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers* (London, 1795), I, 295. George Bishop, *New England Judged* (London, 1661), pp. 4, 7, 41.

⁵ Samuel Gorton, *An Antidote Against the Common Plague of the World* (London, 1657), p. 275.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

for them. This particular letter was actually in response to a September 16, 1656, one from Gorton, who had been moved by reports of these Quakers and the message which they had been proclaiming. He had offered to have a ship ready to take them off the vessel which was to carry them back to England, if these eight wanted to remain in New England. This second vessel would set them where they might "enjoy" their liberty.⁷

On October 6, shortly after receiving the Quaker reply to his initial letter, Gorton wrote once more—showing his real unity in spirit with the Quakers. He also mentions that he has just learned that two Boston men are being sent back with the ship on which they are being banished, "so that we perceive God hath diverted our desired designe."⁸ After eleven weeks of imprisonment Thurston and his companions were returned to England, with the ship's master—Robert Locke—compelled to carry them back "on his own charge" and to land them only in England.⁹

Thurston's movements in England, following his return at the end of 1656, are unknown. It was perhaps during this period that Thurston produced his letter "To all you Parents & Children, & Masters of ffamilies, & Servants whom Ye Lord hath called, and made y^e witnesses of his Eternall power." Thurston states his theme at the very beginning—see that "nothing bee brought forth but God's glory, & [that] you keep in y^e unity of the Spirit, and in y^e bond of peace."¹⁰ Parents should not provoke their children and children should not provoke their parents, but all should live in the love and service of God. The same should also hold true of masters and servants.

Before long Thomas Thurston began to think of returning to the American colonies where there was a "great seed" among the people. In company with Josiah Coale, one of the First Publishers of Truth in Gloucestershire, Thurston returned to America in the autumn of 1657. Their ultimate destination appears to have been New England from which Thurston

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 270-272.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

⁹ Sewel, *op. cit.*, I, 295

¹⁰ George Fox, Collected Papers T, in Box E, Friends Reference Library, London. This letter is included in a collection where all the dated letters are from 1656 to 1660, with the majority being in 1657 and 1658.

previously had been banished.¹¹ Yet their immediate goal was the Chesapeake Bay area of Virginia and Maryland.

Josiah Coale and Thomas Thurston arrived in Virginia in November and were imprisoned almost immediately. On November 27, 1657, the General Court of Virginia ruled that "*Thomas Thruston* [Thurston] and *Josiah Coale quakers* [were] to depart on a ship and in the meantime committed to custody and not to have pen, ink, or paper, or correspond with citizens."¹² Their imprisonment continued for some weeks, for a letter written by Robert Clarkson of Maryland to Elizabeth Harris on January 14, 1658, says,

The two messingers which thou spokest of in this letter is nott yet come to this place; wee heard of two come to virginia in the fore pt of the winter but we heard that they were soone putt in prisson, by the powre of the Beast, & nott suffered to passe; wee heard further that they desired liberty to passe to this place, but it was denyed them whereupon one of them answered that though they mought not be suffered yett they must come another tyme; we have heard that they are to be kept in prisson, till the ship that brought them be ready to depart the Country againe, & then to be sent out of the Country.¹³

Finally the Virginia Court decided that Thurston and Coale might be freed, provided that they immediately leave Virginia for Maryland.¹⁴ Thomas Thurston, while still a prisoner in Virginia, had become convinced that he would be allowed to continue on to Maryland to visit the small but growing Quaker

¹¹ A letter written by Josiah Coale to Margaret Fell in 1657 is as follows: "dear harte when J was with thee J saw Little of my going to verginey with Tho: Thurstone; but since J have bine made sensible of y^e gronings of y^e opresed seed in that place: unto which my soules Love dearly reacheth: & am much presed in Spirit to goe theare; and so to pas through the indians Contrey amongst them & soe to goe into new Jngland; & it is soe upon my deare brother Tho: Thurstone to goe through with mee." This letter is located in the Swarthmore MSS, I, 377 [Transcripts, I, 614], Friends Reference Library, London. A printed copy of this letter (with modified spelling) is found in James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America* (London, 1850), I, 342.

¹² H. R. McIlwaine [ed.], *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia* (Richmond, 1924), p. 506.

¹³ The original of Clarkson's letter to Elizabeth Harris, as copied in the letter of Thomas Hart to George Taylor and Thomas Willan, is found in the Swarthmore MSS.

¹⁴ McIlwaine, *op. cit.*, p. 506.

body that Elizabeth Harris¹⁵ had brought into existence around Severn [Annapolis], Kent, and Patuxent. We are told by Francis Howgill that,

the Word of the Lord came unto Thomas Thurston as he was in Prison [in Virginia], saying, I will deliver thee among the people that I sent thee to at the first, wch was to Seavern in Mariland: Which accordingly was fulfilled in a few daies, having faith given him to believe in it over all the Powers of darkness.¹⁶

Early in 1658, Thurston and Coale, finally liberated by Virginia officials, crossed over into Maryland. Howgill's account of Thurston's [and Coale's] labors continues in this way:

And after some few daies we came into the Province of Mariland, and when we had passed a little while upon the land, this word came to Thomas Thurston, The Fields are white to harvest, and that the Lord had a Noble Seed to be gathered in that place; and so after a while we had bin there, much People their ears were open to hear the Truth, and their hearts to receive it, and many were turn'd from iniquity, then began the enemies of God to appear, as formally they have done in all ages, and gone on in this manner, Prisoning, Persecuting, Banishing, and Whipping the servants of the Lord.¹⁷

Thomas Thurston and Josiah Coale were very successful in their proclamation of Quakerism in the spring and early summer of 1658. By July, however, the opposition to their work had jelled—under the leadership of Edward Lloyd (“notwithstanding he was a great Professor, and one of an Independent Church so called”), Nathaniel Utie [Uty], and several others.¹⁸ Coale and Thurston had been in the province for more than a month, without giving any notice of their stay to the Governor or the Secretary and without taking any oath of fidelity. In addition to this Thurston had written

¹⁵ Concerning the work of Elizabeth Harris, see Kenneth L. Carroll, “Persecution of Quakers in Early Maryland,” *Quaker History*, LIII (1964), 67-70, and “Maryland Quakers in the Seventeenth Century,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVII (1952), 297-299; J. Reaney Kelly, *Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1963), pp. 10-28.

¹⁶ Francis Howgill, *The Deceiver of the Nations Discovered and His Cruelty Made Manifest* (London, 1660), p. 14. This account probably was furnished Howgill by Josiah Coale.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

¹⁸ Carroll, “Persecution of Quakers in Early Maryland,” pp. 71, 74.

a presumptuous letter . . . to the Governor & Assembly diswadeing him & them from imposeing the engagement, by the articles of 24th of March last agreed vpon to be taken for the establishment of Peace and vnity amongst the inhabitants of this Province, & likewise that all those who pretended to be of theyr church of Judgement did refuse to subscribe the said engagement notwithstanding the late Act of Assembly provided in that case, and also that diverse who before had subscribed the engagement nowe vpon theyr Joyneing them selves to the said Thurston & Cole did renounce & disowne the said engagement and all benefitt that by theyr subscriptions did acrowe to them.¹⁹

The Council, meeting at Patuxent on July 8, 1658, ordered a warrant for the arrest of both Thurston and Coale. The decision to arrest the two Quakers grew out of a double fear or alarm—the threat of an Indian uprising and “the increase of the Quakers whos denyall of subscribing the engagement, nowe established by act of assembly, gives cause sufficient of Jealousies” (leading to an unsettled condition of the militia).²⁰ The July 16 meeting of the Council at “Ile of Kent” learned that Thurston was already a prisoner but that Coale was “at Annarundell seduceeding the People & diswadeing the people from taking the engagement.”²¹

Meeting on July 23, the Council (with the Governor, Secretary, Edward Lloyd, and Nathaniel Utie present) discussed “the insolent behaviour of som people called Quakers” who not only stood in court with their heads covered but also refused “to subscribe the engagement.” This refusal of the engagement was viewed as a “breach of the Articles of the 24th of March last,” and Quaker principles were thought to tend “to the destruction of all Government.” As a result, the Council then issued a proclamation that all people must subscribe to the engagement by August 20 or else depart the province by March 25 “following vpon paine due to Rebellers & Traitors if found within this Province after the said 25th of March.”²²

Thurston was brought before the Governor and Council on July 25. He agreed that he would leave Maryland by August

¹⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, III, 348.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 347.

²¹ *Ibid.*, III, 349-350.

²² *Ibid.*, III, 352.

2 and was therefore freed—with the promise that he would not be molested. Josiah Coale, who had been arrested in the meantime, was to be kept a prisoner until Thurston's departure. Coale was then to be freed on August 2 and was to depart from the colony immediately. The Governor and Council ruled that “. . . if they or either of them shall be found within this Province after the aforesaid second day of August (vnless made vnable to depart by sickness) they or either of them be apprehended and proceeded against according to law.”²³

Shortly after Thurston and Coale had arrived in Maryland, they had been joined in their missionary endeavors by yet another Quaker, Thomas Chapman, who does not appear to have suffered arrest as did Thurston and Coale. Yet he joined them when they set out by foot for New England early in August. Thurston (who previously had been banished from Boston) and his two companions now took this method of entering Massachusetts by a “back door”—for laws had been made to prevent all vessels from bringing Quakers into the colony.²⁴

An account of their journey from “Virginia” (a name frequently used for all that area opening upon the Chesapeake Bay) to New England was written by Josiah Coale, who describes the difficulties of traveling three hundred miles or more through the wilderness and woods. Friendly Indians carried them across rivers, guided them through the forests, and provided for their needs—. . . in all times of need they were made helpful to us Both to cary us through Rivers of water and alsoe to Suply us with food Sufitient, (though they made a hard shift for it) when ther was nesity, in soe much that wee had noe want of anything they Could gett for us.”²⁵ When the party had travelled about three hundred miles, and reached the place where most of the Indians dwelled, Thomas Thurston became quite ill—being both sick and lame to such a degree that sixteen days passed before the three Quakers and their Indian guides were able to continue their journey. During this time the Indians often made long trips into the forest

²³ *Ibid.*, III, 353.

²⁴ J. Saurin Norris, *The Early Friends (or Quakers) in Maryland from its First Settlement to the Restoration, in 1660* (Baltimore, 1862), pp. 5-6.

²⁵ A. R. Barclay MSS, XIII (Tr. I, 44-47), Friends Reference Library, London.

to shoot wild turkeys in order to make broth for Thurston. On one occasion they even traveled to a neighboring group of Indians to obtain needed provisions.²⁶

Thurston and his two companions finally made it to the Dutch settlements at New Amsterdam and were almost immediately put into prison. After a few hours in prison the three were then banished to a small island which contained a number of Dutch families, all of whom were warned to have no real contact with the three Quakers—neither entertaining them nor carrying them off the Island. Finally some Indians, traveling in their boats around that Island, were persuaded to carry Thurston, Coale, and Chapman to Long Island. The three Quakers found “more favor and Christian Like Car[ri]age amongst them [*i.e.*, the Indians], who Releevd us in our nesesity, then wee did amongst y^e dutch (Caled Christians) who Banished us, and denied to Lett us have one nights Lodging in theyr towne, . . .”²⁷

Ill health forced Thomas Thurston to remain on Long Island for a time, so that he was preceded into New England by Coale and Chapman. The arrival of all three, however, was to the “astonishment of the persecuting Professors there, to whom their passage seemed scarce possible, that way being deemed unpassable for any but the Indians. . . . So that even their Adversaries admired at their Preservation, in which a more than human Power was manifested.”²⁸ What suffering and persecution Thurston and his companions received is not recorded, so that one is left to his imagination. Other people who returned after being banished were treated in a very cruel manner, as were many Quakers now putting in their first appearance in New England.²⁹

Accompanied by Christopher Holder, Thomas Thurston returned from New England to Maryland about First Month [March], 1659. After these two had held their second public meeting in Maryland, the Sheriff at Severn was given a warrant “to take Thomas Thurston and to keep him without bail or

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers* (London, 1753), II, 196.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 182-196; Mary Hoxie Jones, *The Standard of the Lord Lifted Up* (New England Yearly Meeting, 1961), pp. 70-83.

main prise, not mentioning any crime or laying anything to his charge."³⁰

When Thurston was finally brought before the court at Patuxent, where he was examined by the Governor and Council, we are told that he—"being accused for disturbing the present Government, and breaking of the Peace"—demanded that his accusers be produced. When no accusers appeared and nothing could be laid against him, his opponents "saw that they had nothing to insnare him with to hide themselves [so] they asked him whether he would take the Ingagement." Thurston answered that he "could not swear nor ingage to be a servant to man, but if that he had done wrong to any man woman or child in that Province, let them come forth and declare it, but none appeared nor spoke word to accuse him of any harm done to any."³¹ The Attorney General, saying that Thurston and his followers or disciples were the only ones to break the law, desired the court to proceed with judgment. The Court thereupon ruled "th^t according to the Act [which provided for the Ingagement] the s^d Thurston remaine in the Sheriff's Custody close Prisoner wthout bayle or mainprize for a Twelvemonth from this day, unless the Gov^r & Council shall see cause to release him sooner."³²

Thurston's imprisonment in the custody of Sheriff William Coursey actually was much shorter than the year's term first assessed. During a period of nine weeks he had eight different keepers and was without a keeper twice. Upon both of these occasions Thurston sought out and found the Governor with some difficulty and told him that his keepers had left him and that he "knew not whom to come to but to him to know

³⁰ Howgill, *op. cit.*, p. 15. *Archives of Maryland*, XLI, 268-269, records that Nathaniel Utic issued a warrant for Thomas Thurston to be detained until the Provincial Court at St. Leonards in Patuxent met on April 20.

³¹ Howgill, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

³² *Archives of Maryland*, XLI, 287. Cf. p. 286 where the Attorney General asked that Thurston "answere for himselfe, ffor th^t in contempt of his L^{ps} Lawes he refused formerly to subscribe to take the Ingagem^t (according to Act of Assembly provided) for w^{ch} hee hath bene already banished. Yett notwithstanding hee hath presumed againe to come into this prouince & refuseth still to comply & fulfill the Law, & take oath of fidelity to his L^p as is in th^t Case prouided, uppon his returne into the prouince againe. Whereuppon the Prisoner being demanded what he hath to say in that he hath broken the Law? & not giuing notice of his arryuall &c. To w^{ch} He sayth, he ought not, & cannot swaere, & that being pressed wth an Oath, sayth, thereby he is denyed his liberty, & the liberty of a Subject."

whether he were a freeman or not." After some time the Governor "took him to his own house and dealt kindly with him, and at length set him at liberty, as the Order from him will manifest, that none should molest nor trouble him."³³

Thurston was at large for ten weeks—during which he and Christopher Holder, now joined by Robert Hodgson and William Robinson, were responsible for "considerable convincements" which took place in the late spring and early summer of 1659. As a result, "some of the Chief of the Province with the Governor, as Edward Lloyd, who alwaies was forward to lift up his hand against the innocent, with Nathaneel Uty, Philip Calvert Secretary, and others"³⁴ caused the Governor and Council to issue the following order:

Whereas it is well known in this Province that there haue of late bin seuerall vagabonds & Idle persons knowne by the name of Quakers that haue presumed to com into this Province as well diswading the People from Complying with the Military discipline in this time of Danger as also from giving testimony or being Jurors. . . . And that the keeping & detayning them as Prisoners hath brought so great a charge vpon this Province the Governor & Councell . . . doe heereby . . . Require and command all & euery the Justices of peace of this Province that so soone as they shall haue notice that any of the foresaid Vagabonds or Idle persons shall again presume to come into this province they forthwith cause them to be apprehended & whipped from Constable to Constable vntil they shall be sent out of the Province.³⁵

Thomas Thurston may have been outside the province of Maryland about the time that this order was issued, most probably having made a short trip down into Virginia. Shortly after his return to Maryland Thurston was called before the court, being charged with having "presumed to return hither again" after having been banished from the province. The charge also included "Deluding the people wth uisions & such like fancies uery preiudiciall to his L^{ds} peace and government, & no small disturbance to the quiet of the whole province."³⁶

³³ Howgill, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³⁵ *Archives of Maryland*, III, 362. Cf. Howgill, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

³⁶ *Archives of Maryland*, XLI, 322.

It was Thurston's contention that he had not been in the province at the time the order had been drawn up and that he had not done anything "since his arryuall, preiudiciall to the peace of his L^p, or quiett of the Prouince." He likewise felt that he had not been formerly banished.³⁷ Thurston still possessed the earlier order from the Governor giving him liberty, so that he denied the warrant which had proceeded from Nathaniel Utie. This led to still another confrontation between Thurston and the forces of government:

So the Sheriff John Norwood who was once a Member of an Independent Church so called, sent to Nathaneel Uty for armed men, and the said Uty came with armed men in great rage and fury, and asked him why he would not obey his warrant, Tho. Thurston answered him that he had an Order to passe the COUNTRY without let or molestation, and until he saw an order from the Governour to the contrary, he should not obey; Then Nathaneel Uty answered that the Governour had done more than he could answer, and presently called to the Sheriff John Norwood and bad him do his office, and there was his assistance who was alwayes ready to do the works of darknesse; so the Sheriff commanded the armed men, that if the said Thurston would not go down, they should drag him down the stairs, so they laid hands on him, and one Richard Deavour fell on him like a wilde beast, and so they dragged him down the stairs on his back, and abused him more like a Dog then a man; so when they had drag'd him down, the Power of the Lord was over them all, and they set him at liberty.³⁸

On August 3, when Thurston was brought before the Governor and Council by a warrant from Nathaniel Utie, the Council agreed that he was not "within the letter" of the July 23 order. They nonetheless ordered that Thurston be

for euer baunished [from] this Province, & that if he be found within this Province at any time 7 days after the date heerof or shall at any time after returne again into this Province that he be by the next Justice of the peace caused to be whipt with 30 lashes & so sent from Constable to Constable till he be Conveyed out of the Province. And that if he shall then at any time

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Howgill, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

again presume to returne into this Province that he be whipt with 30 lashes at euery Constables & be againe sent out of the Province as aforesaid.³⁹

This same order that called for Thurston's banishment from Maryland also attempted to make it impossible for him to stay in the Province by ordering that no person whatsoever was to "presume to receaue harbour or conceal" Thurston after August 10. A fine of five hundred pounds of Tobacco would be assessed every time "they shall so Receaue harbour or Conceal the said Thomas Thurston."⁴⁰

In spite of all the threats to his freedom and his physical well-being, Thurston's conscience did not permit him to leave the colony. As a result,

they went according to their order, and sent the said Thomas Thurston from Constable to Constable, and the Constable near the Governours, whose name is Christopher Russel, who a little before took one of his Children by one arm and threw it on the ground in great wrath, and broke one of his principle bones, so that he went by Crutches; and when Thomas Thurston was brought to this Russels house he told him that he must whip him; he asked the Constable whether he had an order to whip him on the bare back, he told him that he knew how men was whipt, Tho. Thurston told him he had no order for what he did, and bid him take heed what he did without order; so this Constable sent this warrant to the Governour, and incens'd the Governor against him and caused the warrant to be enterlined, and to be whipt (on the bare back) and accordingly this cruel man caused him to be whipt with 30. lashes, and at the same time he was not in health in his body, and so sent him to the next Constable who carried him out of the Province.⁴¹

Some time after this banishment Thomas Thurston again returned to Maryland and was at a Friends meeting where he was seized once more and brought before Edward Lloyd. Lloyd ordered the Constable to give Thurston thirty lashes, but the Constable "told Edward Lloyd that he could not do it, nor would not." Lloyd, not to be balked, told the Constable that

³⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, III, 364. In this meeting before the Council it was argued that Thurston was *already in the colony* when the order was made.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 364.

⁴¹ Howgill, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

"if he would not do his office, he would send him to the Sheriff John Norwood, so he brought the Constable under slavery and bondage, and caused him to do that which he would not have done, and said that it was no persecution."⁴²

After being dealt with "brutishly" by still another constable (William Tolson) and having to lie in the field all night, Thurston was almost banished once again by Edward Lloyd and Nathaniel Utie who persuaded Sheriff John Norwood "to presse a Boat and men to carry him away to the Northward amongst the Indians, intending to have destroyed his body." One of the men, who had been pressed to go, told them that he refused to do so, let them do what they would to him—"so their power faild them, and their wicked intent came to nothing."⁴³

Still once more in 1659, after a short visit to Virginia, Thurston returned to Maryland—in spite of a threat (witnessed by Samuel Chew) by Nathaniel Utie to hang him if he ever came in the province once more. Although arrested at this time, he was soon released by an "honest Magistrate."⁴⁴ This appears to have been Thurston's last trouble with Maryland officials before his return to England. Before his departure from the province late in 1659 many Maryland Quakers suffered for "presuming to receive, harbour, and conceal" Thurston. On October 4 Richard Preston, William Allenby, Henry Osborne, William Berry, and John Day were each fined five hundred pounds of tobacco for entertaining and harboring him—knowing the orders of Council published on July 23 and August 3, 1659 prohibiting these acts.⁴⁵ Richard Emser [Ensal], Samuel Chew, and James Pascall all had money taken from them to pay for the imprisonment of Thurston.⁴⁶ John Holyday, who had already been fined for refusing to "appear in arms," was now "cruelly whipt for not assisting the Sheriff to apprehend

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 18. Concerning Edward Lloyd, the Puritan who left Virginia for Maryland where he was frequently in opposition to Lord Baltimore, see Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County, Maryland, 1661-1861* (Baltimore, 1915), I, 132-146.

⁴³ Howgill, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Archives of Maryland*, XLI, 331. Besse, *Sufferings of the People Called Quakers*, II, 381 lists the suffering of Preston, Berry, Osborne, and Day but omits that of William Allenby. He includes these sufferings under 1658 rather than 1659 where they really belong.

⁴⁶ Besse, *op. cit.*, II, 379-380.

Thomas Thurston."⁴⁷ Philip Morgan was fined one thousand pounds of tobacco and a cask for refusing to help the Sheriff of Anne Arundel to apprehend Thurston, as well as for refusing to obey the Sheriff's order to appear on August 3 at the Provincial Court because of this.⁴⁸

Two others charged with favoring Thurston were acquitted. Henry Woolchurch denied that he had "harbored" Thurston *since* the publishing of the orders. The Court was uncertain of the evidence and acquitted him—although warning him that any future harboring would bring a five hundred pound fine plus another five hundred for the former charge.⁴⁹ John Bagby was charged with rejecting his duty as constable by refusing to search for Thurston, saying that *if* he were constable, he would refuse to do so. Bagby was acquitted after he explained that he believed that he had been relieved of the office when the Commissioners Court had nominated Ishmael Wright (who had not yet been sworn) for that post. His assurance that had he understood he was still occupying that position he would have obeyed all lawful authority led to a dismissal of the charges against him.⁵⁰

In all probability Thurston returned to England late in 1659 and remained there for some time before appearing in Maryland once again. A warrant for Thurston's arrest was issued to the Sheriff of Calvert County on December 10, 1661, calling upon him to apprehend and hold Thurston "without bayle or Maynprise." Later that same day, shortly after being arrested, Thurston was delivered "to Richard Preston to Maynprise."⁵¹ How long he stayed in Maryland and what other American colonies he may have visited are not known. In 1662, however, Thurston was back in England where he became one of the

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 380. Other Quakers known to have been whipped in Maryland in 1658-1659 include Thomas Thurston, Edward Coppedge ("a very poor man, having a wife and two small children"), and Richard Keen (who "was abused by the Sheriff, who drew his cutlas and therewith made a pass at the Breast of said Richard, and struck him on the Shoulders, saying *You dog, I could find it in my Heart to split your Brains.* This Sheriff's Name was Coursey.") Cf. Howgill, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-24. These examples make us reject the oft repeated and mistaken view that there are no known cases of Quakers being whipped in Maryland.

⁴⁸ *Archives of Maryland*, XLI, 339.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, XLI, 333.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, XLI, 322.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, XLI, 508.

ten ministers to sign George Fox's appeal for money to support the overseas work of the rapidly expanding Quaker movement.⁵²

Thomas Thurston returned to Maryland as an immigrant in 1663, arriving with his wife Bridget and his two daughters Elizabeth and Ann. In addition to bringing in his family, he also transported twenty servants at this time and received land rights for these.⁵³ Thurston and his family settled in Anne Arundel County, probably in Broad Neck along a branch of the Magothy River. He was still dwelling in Anne Arundel several years later when he began to purchase property in Baltimore County (where he later moved) and on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.⁵⁴

During his 1658 and 1659 visits Thurston and his companions were largely responsible for the rapid growth of Quakerism in Maryland. But the nature, extent, and success of his 1661 visit are unknown, so that no definite judgment can be made concerning his work then. It would seem, however, that he still remained in "mainstream" Quakerism as late as 1662 when he was one of the ten prominent Friends who endorsed George Fox's appeal for money.

It must have been at the end of 1662 or the beginning of 1663 that Thomas Thurston fell under the influence of John Perrot, the great Quaker schismatic who, after his two-year imprisonment by the Inquisition in Rome, returned to England for over a year before going to the West Indies in 1663. During his imprisonment in Rome Perrot had written a letter which advocated *complete subjection to the leading of the Spirit*, with the consequent putting aside of all "forms." In his epistle this principle was applied only to the practice of taking off the hat in time of prayer—an act which Perrot viewed as a "form" carried over from earlier and imperfect religion. Once the principle of *complete subjection to the leading of the Spirit* (and the rejection of all "forms") had been put forth, it was only

⁵² Friends Reference Library Portfolio 24, item 27, Friends House, London. Cf. Kenneth L. Carroll, "George Fox's 1662 Appeal for Money," *Journal of Friends Historical Society*.

⁵³ Land Records, Liber 19, folio 258 in the Land Office, Annapolis, Maryland.

⁵⁴ Kelly, *op. cit.*, shows a Broad Neck dwelling for Thurston on the maps at both ends of his book. See also Talbot County Land Records, Liber 1, folios 15, 25, 26, and Baltimore County Deeds, Liber RM No. H. S., folios 65, 75, 76, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

natural that Perrot and his followers should develop other expressions of this attitude. Before long they rejected the valued Quaker practice of shaking hands at the end of the meeting for worship. These two positions seem minor, although they were really attacks upon Fox and others who had helped shape early Quakerism. The next step was so drastic that it threatened the destruction of the whole Quaker movement, as Perrot and his schismatic party advocated meeting for worship *only* when so led by the Spirit rather than gathering at a pre-arranged hour.⁵⁵ This last view almost led to the complete suspension of meetings for worship in Virginia.

These three disruptive practices were part of what Thomas Thurston picked up from John Perrot—along with the spiritual pride that often accompanies those who receive a new and “higher” revelation of “Truth.” There is no wonder that Thurston’s return to Maryland in 1663 had nearly disastrous consequences for Maryland Quakerism as Thurston, one of the founding fathers of the Tidewater Quaker movement, now spread, with all of his old zeal, his fragmenting ideas and divisive practices along both shores of the Chesapeake. Josiah Coale, writing to Maryland Friends in September, 1664, says,

And what is the cause of the Strife, and Divisions, and Contentions, that of late hath been amongst you? Hath not the Evil One stepped in, and drawn you into Reasonings and Consultations about Differences which hath been occasion’d by Dissenting-spirits, and thereby vail’d the Understandings of some of you, and so brought Night upon them; and in the Night season sown the seed of Sedition amongst them.

Well, My Heart is griev’d within me for your sakes; and I am oft-times afflicted in spirit because of these things which have happened amongst you: for indeed, some there be, that have made the Hearts of others sad, whom God never made sad, because of their unsoundness, and unsteadfastness in the Truth, which in much simplicity, fear, and reverence was made known unto you by us, who labour’d amongst you in the Word and Doctrine.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ The author spent three months in England in 1966 doing research on John Perrot and expects to publish a monograph on Perrot in 1968.

⁵⁶ [Josiah Coale], *The Books and Epistles of the Faithful Servant of the Lord Josiah Coale* (n.p., 1671), pp. 58-59.

Although Josiah Coale (who knew Maryland Quakerism well from his visits in 1658, 1659, and 1660) does not name the "Dissenting-spirits" caused this difficulty in 1664, it appears clear that Thomas Thurston was the chief culprit. John Burnyeat, who was in Maryland during the summer of 1665, records in his Journal,

But a sore Exercise I had with one *Tho. Thurston*, and a Party he drew after him for a while, so that both I and faithful Friends were greatly grieved, not only with his Wickedness, but also his Opposition that he made against us, and the Disturbance that he brought upon us in our Meetings; and great was the exercise and travel [travail] that was upon my Spirit both Day and Night, both upon the Truth's account, that suffered by him, and also for the People that were betrayed by him to their hurt, who were under a great mistake. But through much labour and travel in the Lord's Wisdom and Power, that both I and other faithful Friends of that Province had to search things out, and to clear things to their Understandings, both as to what related to Truth, and also Matter of Fact, which he was guilty of, it pleased the Lord so to assist us, and bless our endeavours, in manifesting the Wickedness and Wrongness of the Heart and Spirit of the Man, that most of the People came to see him, and in the love of God to be restored, into the Unity of the Truth again, to our great comfort, Truth's honour, and their Everlasting happiness. But he himself was lost to the Truth, and became a Vagabond and Fugitive as to his Spiritual Condition; and little otherwise, as to the outward.⁵⁷

Burnyeat's view that Thurston was the chief culprit was apparently shared by George Fox who was both shocked and grieved that Thurston, one of the first "Publishers of Truth," should have adopted the Perrotonian position and disrupted Maryland Quakerism. Fox, in a 1666 letter no longer extant, wrote to Thurston, "O Tho. Thurston, I am grieved, that ever thou shouldst fall into such . . ." [grave errors and evil practices?]⁵⁸ Fox, like Burnyeat, would have looked upon Thurston as a "vagabond" or one who does not dwell in the Light but wanders in the Darkness. The Spirit that motivated Thurston

⁵⁷ [John Burnyeat], *The Truth Exalted in the Writings of that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Christ John Burnyeat* (London, 1691), pp. 33-34.

⁵⁸ Henry J. Cadbury (ed.), *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers, Compiled in 1694-1697* (Ann Arbor, 1939), p. 86 [item 18, 5E].

(and Perrot) was seen as Cain's Spirit rather than the Spirit of Truth, It was largely because of the pretensions, claims, and increasingly "libertine" behavior of Perrot, Thurston, and some of their following, that Fox and other mainstream leaders developed the system of men's and women's meetings, whereby the individual's light might be tested or checked by the experience and insights of the group.

At the same time that Thomas Thurston was creating so much havoc within Maryland Quakerism, he was also coming under scrutiny once more by the provincial authorities. In February, 1664, Thurston had attacked the authorities' treatment of William Fuller—whom the Governor had ordered imprisoned in January, 1660 [O.S.]. Thurston had said that "it was a thousand pittyes" that Fuller should "be kept out of his Estate and from his wife and family." An additional charge brought was that Thurston (and others) had concurred in John Holmewood's statement that he "could also freely spend his blood for this mans sake now, as he could doe when he was one of the world."⁵⁹ The context in which such a statement was made and the reasons why and method in which his blood might be *spent* are not recorded.

George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, made his great religious journey to America in 1672 and 1673—traveling in Maryland on several different occasions (largely to set up men's and women's meetings, as well as to proclaim Quakerism to those who might listen to the message). Early in April, 1673, after laboring on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, Fox and his party crossed over the Chesapeake Bay to the Western Shore. On April 9 Fox sent for Thomas Thurston—"to bring the Truth over his actions"—and had several meetings with him.⁶⁰

Fox undoubtedly attempted to draw Thurston away from his disruptive influences on Maryland Quakers, as well as to get him to condemn his "vagabond ways" and his slip into immorality—all of which had scandalized Maryland Quakers. That George Fox was successful to some degree is shown by the following condemnation which, for some unknown reason, came to be lodged in the records of Virginia Quakers:

⁵⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, III, 394, 400-401.

⁶⁰ [John L. Nickalls, ed.], *The Journal of George Fox* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 655.

I doe in the freedome of the lord & in the knowledg of his Righteous Judgements Confesse my fault & Error as touching Sarah fuller of Maryland & whatsoever Els may Justly bee layd unto my Charge. The lord by his Righteous Judgments hath overtaken mee & hath passed by my trangressions & hath forgiven mee my sins & my desire is that all honest friends will doe the same for the lord knows my hart whoo hath throughly searched itt & what I doe here write is without deciett or defraud but in uprightenes unto the lord & his people that the Scandall may bee taken of[f] from them for in [...?...] I have suffered the vengeance of the Everlasting God for all that ever I have done Contrary to his holy power & Spiritt & allthrough there is a Gapp open at this time that many are taken their liberty to oppose the holy order & Government of the Churches the lord hath sett me the more Earnestly that this difference may bee putt to y^e End although noe question I might have sheltered for A tyme Amongst y^m with this spirit butt itt was never in my hart to Oppose the lord & frends in that blessed way w^{ch} is now Revealled although I have had many oportunities And so I hope this will bee satisfaction to all the upright in heart with whom I desire to dwell & walke while I have a day to live upon the earth.⁶¹

This condemnation by Thurston, dated First Month 25th, 1675,⁶² carries George Fox's notation that "Tho Thurston in tenderness & brokenness of heart Gave mee this Testimony of Condemnation & Repentance Ag^t himselfe."

Thurston, whose first wife Bridgit had died some time before, transported his "wife" Mary into Maryland in 1674.⁶³ It seems probable that his conscience troubled him for he soon

⁶¹ Minute Book of Lower Virginia Monthly Meeting, p. 38. This manuscript volume is at Homewood Friends Meeting House, Baltimore, Maryland. A microfilm copy (M814) is on deposit at the Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

Thurston's relations with Sarah Fuller (wife of William Fuller) probably provided the basis for the two strong attacks upon Thurston by Francis Bugg, *The Pilgrim's Progress from Quakerism to Christianity [Etc.]* (London, 1698), p. 139, and [?], *Saul's Errand to Damascus: Or the Quakers Turned Persecutors* (London, 1728), p. 31. It should be noted that these two scandalous attacks upon Thurston, appearing in highly partisan anti-Quaker documents, make the same basic charges against him—although the first of these two writings places the event in America and the second in England!

⁶² It would seem that this 1675 date is the time the testimony was entered in Virginia records—probably when Thurston left Maryland for a time. A 1673 date, corresponding with Fox's efforts to bring Thurston into line, appears more probable.

⁶³ Land Records of Maryland, Liber 15, folio 534, Land Office, Annapolis.

made sizeable gifts to his children by his first marriage. In 1676, Thurston, who had moved to Baltimore County prior to 1669, gave two seats of land in Talbot County to Miles Gibson (husband of Thurston's daughter Ann, who may possibly have died by this time). Thurston's second daughter, Elizabeth (wife of George Skipworth), of West River received all of Thurston's "singular goods and chattles, debts, Leases, Plate, Household Stuff, Apparel, Utensiles, Brass Pewter, Bedding, & all of my substance in the province of Maryland whatsoever . . . in Consideration of the natural affection & Love which I have & do bear to my daughter Elizabeth Skipwith."⁶⁴

The nature of the gift to Elizabeth Skipworth suggests that Thomas Thurston was leaving Maryland—as does the recording of "testimony of condemnation" in the records of *Virginia Quakers*. His absence from the province (possibly involving stays in Virginia, Barbadoes, and England) probably lasted for a number of years, for it is not until 1683 that he appears in Maryland records again. Maryland Friends, in their 1683 Epistle to George Fox, wrote

Another evil Instrument is Thomas Thurston, who is come again into this Province, a very wrong Spirited Man, who have made it some of his work to abuse and belye Friends, as thee may see by y^e copy of a Letter that was sent to him, which is here Inclosed.⁶⁵

It was about this same time that Elizabeth and George Skipworth [Skipwith] made a deed of gift to Thomas Thurston—returning all the goods that Thurston had given to Elizabeth in 1676.⁶⁶ Thurston's 1683 behavior had not only brought about a rupture of relations with the Society of Friends but also with his daughter, whom he some years later disinherited in his will.

⁶⁴ Baltimore County Deeds, Liber TR No. RA, folios 262, 263-264. These records are now in the Hall of Records, Annapolis. The name appears as Skipworth, Skipwith, and Skipwirth.

⁶⁵ *Epistles Received*, I, 1. These manuscript copies of early letters, received by English Friends, are in Friends Reference Library, London. This same warning was sent by William Richardson and Richard Johns to Friends in Pennsylvania and Barbados. Cf. *Minutes of Meetings Held at West River, 1680-1688*, p. 34. A microfilm copy of these minutes (M571) is on deposit at the Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁶⁶ Baltimore County Deeds, Liber R. M. No. H. S., folios 60-61.

Thomas Thurston seems to have caused Friends much grief in 1683—joining John and Margaret Lynam in their separatist movement for a time.⁶⁷ By 1685, Maryland Quakers were able to report to George Fox that “Tho: Thurston is in Maryland but Comes not amongst friends.”⁶⁸ Before long, however, he was up to his old tricks once again—taking a more active role in disrupting regular worship and business meetings. On the 27th of 12th month, 1686/87 Thomas Thurston and Margaret Lynam went to the home of William Richardson where “friends & Sum People of y^e world ware Pesabley meat together to waight upon y^e Lord.” Thurston was so enraged by one Friend’s speaking that he “brock out in great Rage & Pashon” and attempted to drown out the speaker. Maryland Friends wrote to Fox as follows,

if we should penn down y^e base & wicked Actions and Practisis in Particular way or manner w^{ch} wee know of in these Partes consarning Thu[r]ston they would fill sum sheetes of paper w^{ch} wee see noe servis in but to spoyle peoples mindes onely this one matter may bee of servis for friends to cleere them selves of & y^t is a woman w^{ch} hee hath had 3 or 4 Children by & yett wee never heard of his Being married to hur by Prest or Magistrate in these Partes wheare itt is Reported hee had y^e furst Child by hur shee being his sarvant: & wheare he dwelt in England wee know not & if friends knowes of his tacking this woman they may doe well to Lett it be knowne to friends & people heere, for wee know not sume here may be Called to Account by y^e people of y^e world touching this woman and it may bee well for friends to clere themselves of Such Shamfull things w^{ch} may be Cast in friends fasis by y^e Enemeys of truth hee not being Denied publickly by friends: & Deare George thou & freinds knowes how Thurston hath for a Long time Rouled & Roufed from Place to Place and from Contry to Contry Vaggabond Licke. And how he hath Abused ffriends boath in England, Barbados, & in Maryland & Else wheare & thyselve in peticular: & yett noe publick testimony as wee here of is out against y^t spirit of his but what hath bin dun here, truly wee thinck itt might be nesasery y^t friends Att London doe sumthing in this matter boath touching him & y^e Rest of those of his spirite who growes worse And worse

⁶⁷ Kenneth L. Carroll, “The Anatomy of a Separation: The Lynam Controversy,” *Quaker History*, LV (1966), 67-78.

⁶⁸ *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, V (1908), 137.

& are Licke soe to bee if they Repent not. Friends here are clere of them sum yeares agoe and now they Rage & fome Casting up mire & Durte and may bee trublesum if y^e Lord Restraine them not.⁶⁹

Fox's advice, which reached Maryland Quakers early in 1687, was to "write after Thurston wherever he goes."⁷⁰ Maryland Friends, without doubt, wasted no time in carrying out this advice.

In spite of the reputation which Thurston had developed among Quakers, he was elected to the Lower House in the colonial Assembly in 1688. Upon presenting himself at the Assembly, Thurston still identified himself as a Quaker (ignoring the testimonies against him by Maryland Friends) and refused to take an oath to qualify. The House allowed the oath to be dispensed with, so that Thurston took his seat and attended its meetings in November and December.⁷¹

Thurston had so far fallen from his other Quaker testimonies and outlook that he became the principal military officer of Baltimore County in 1692—having been placed in charge of the Magazine of the County. When Captain Thomas Richardson went to demand it, he was shocked at Thurston's behavior, so that he reported "the said Thurston did unnecessarily fall upon many idle and reproachful Words and Discourse and did abuse the Deponent in such manner as he never was used to before."⁷² Thurston also verbally attacked the colonel of the county, saying that he was only half a colonel, even though he was big enough to make two if split in half.⁷³ Thurston was acquitted of the charge of unruly and disorderly actions and behavior towards the inhabitants of Baltimore County, but he was ordered "to deliver quickly into the hands and possession of the Military Officer now there" all the "publick ammunition" which he still held.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ A. R. Barclay MSS, LVI. This letter has been printed in the *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, XXXV (1938), 93-94.

⁷⁰ Minutes of Meetings held at West River (M571), I, 94.

⁷¹ *Archives of Maryland*, VIII, 63; XIII, 163, 184, 185, 191, 195, 200, 202, 209. Some followers of Perrot ceased to have any relationship with organized Quakerism but still thought of themselves as Quakers (and sometimes as the only true Quakers).

⁷² *Ibid.*, VIII, 338.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, VIII, 378.

Thurston drew up his last will on December 21, 1692 and died early in 1693—with his will being probated on April 13, 1693.⁷⁵ In this document he listed his three children by his “wife” Mary: Thomas, Jr. (to be of age in 1695), Elizabeth (wife of Charles Rumsey), and Sarah. In addition to these children by his last union, Thurston also mentioned his daughter Elizabeth widow of George Shipworth. Her portion was to be one shilling and sixpence—for “shee had been unnatural & proud & plundered my Estate.” This small token of an inheritance was to be given to Elizabeth Skipworth seven years after Thurston’s death! The “natural affection & Love” which the father had possessed for the daughter in 1676 had evaporated in the intervening years.

Mary Thurston soon followed her husband in death, so that the executor of the estate paid four hundred pounds of tobacco for two coffins—one for “Colonel Thomas Thurston” and the other for his wife.⁷⁶ In addition to his land holdings, Thurston, the “Cordwinder,”⁷⁷ left his last three children a personal estate of about one hundred and thirty-five different types of items worth £176:4:7. Neither his will nor the inventory of his estate give any indication that he was once a prominent Quaker—willing to travel far and undergo great hardships for “Truth’s sake.” His bitter feeling toward his first Elizabeth, a pillar of Maryland Quakerism,⁷⁸ makes clear that Thurston never repented or asked to be received back into the good favor of Friends. Only the possession of “1 Bible” suggests any remaining interest in religion at all. It was indeed a sad finish for one who had been among the “First Publishers of Truth” on both sides of the Atlantic!

⁷⁵ Annapolis Wills, Liber 6, folios 22-23. These are located in the Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁷⁶ Accounts, Box 1, Folder 15, Hall of Records, Annapolis. The executor of the estate was Thurston’s “good friend” Samuel Browne.

⁷⁷ Inventories and Accounts, Liber 10, folio 282, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁷⁸ Kelly, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 36, 39, 40, 48, 56, 61, 65, 126. Elizabeth Thurston married three times: (1) George Skipworth [Skipwith, Skipwirth], (2) William Coale, Jr., and (3) Samuel Chew, II. All three of her husbands were prominent Maryland Friends.

SIDELIGHTS

JOHN FRANCIS MERCER: TWO ELECTION BROADSIDES, 1792

By DOROTHY M. BROWN

G OVERNOR, legislator, planter, John Francis Mercer thrived on controversy. In the crucial questions of the new nation, he was committed and counted. A teen-age volunteer in the Revolution, Mercer was aide-de-camp to General Charles Lee before his courtmartial, served under Lafayette and contributed to the siege of Yorktown. In the Constitutional convention, Maryland delegate Mercer refused to sign the completed document and returned to his Anne Arundel estate a staunch Anti-Federalist. In the first Washington administration, dominated by a growing Hamilton-Jefferson clash, Mercer moved to the center of the political maelstrom.¹ A freshman Congressman in 1791, Mercer had fought with the adherents of his old law mentor Jefferson to prohibit any further assumption of state debts. His opposition to Hamilton made him a prime Federalist target in the 1792 Congressional hustings in Maryland's 2nd District.

Two broadsides in the Maryland Historical Society's collection indicate the virulence of the campaign. Stung by the accusation that he was no fit political character, Mercer marshalled the issues in "An off-hand REPLY to Voter, &c."² He defended his stand against further assumption of state debts, explained his war record, reminded voters of the esteem Washington held for his family, reemphasized his concern for the poor and finally stressed his loathing for profiteering speculators.³ The skillful timing in issuing the broadside in rebuttal was underscored in "Mr. Mercer considers Mr. Ross's publication against him in no other respect worthy of a reply."

By the end of his bitter but victorious campaign, Mercer's efforts

¹ *DAB*, XII, 543-44. See also "Letters of James Mercer to John Francis Mercer, John M. Jennings, ed. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LIX (1951), 89-102.

² Federalist opponent David Ross asserted Mercer was not a "proper political character" since he had attacked Hamilton and accused him of buying and selling stock. *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Extra, Sept. 28, 1792.

³ For debate on the key issue of speculation between "Valerius" and "Planter" see *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Aug. 24 and 31, 1792.

had prompted a letter from Washington decrying the unauthorized use of his name and incurred a heated debate with Hamilton that threatened to erupt into a duel.⁴

I

An off-hand REPLY to Voter, &c.⁵

Mr. Mercer has had too much experience to expect to make a livelihood of politics—This is a mean dirty suggestion of some speculator, who dreams of nothing but the money he has cheated the widow, orphan, and soldier of, and is not applicable to a man who has spent thousands of his patrimony in the public service, and who, the last session of Congress, spent near five hundred dollars more than his pay.

Mr. Mercer opposed the farther assumption of state debts, because, by the first assumption, Maryland had but 800,000 dollars allowed her, and of that she could only avail herself of about 300,000 dollars, whilst North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia, had seven millions allowed them, and the other states in proportion, although Maryland does now pay as much of the interest, and will pay as much of the principle within a trifle, as those three states put together—She pays 340,000 dollars taxes yearly and they only about 350,000—The farther assumption, which Mr. Mercer, by great exertions got rejected, was intended to give North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia four millions more, whilst Maryland, in reality, would not have had one penny addition, as she could not fill even the former assumption.⁶ Mr. Mercer then prevented, by his conduct, the citizens of this state from being saddled with eleven millions of other state's debts, for which some speculators now want to cut his throat.

Mr. Mercer has brought upwards of 5000l. into the state of Maryland since he settled in it, and he never carried a shilling out of it.⁷

Mr. Mercer, it is true, was aid-de-camp to general Lee, about four months before that general officer was suspended— which was but a short education, and hardly sufficient to undo a long and

⁴ George Washington to John Francis Mercer, Sept. 26, 1792, cited in W.C. Ford (ed.), *The Writings of Washington* (New York, 1891), XII, 194. John F. Mercer to Alexander Hamilton, March 26, 1793, Mercer MSS, Virginia Historical Society.

⁵ John Francis Mercer, "An off-hand REPLY to Voter, &c." Annapolis: F. & S. Green, 1792, broadside collection p. 290, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁶ The Report of the Committee of Claims, House of Delegates, indicated that of 300,000 assigned Maryland quota for assumption of state debts only 113,446 had been subscribed. Maryland, *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates*, November session, 1791, p. 88.

⁷ A Virginian, Mercer married Sophia Sprigg and moved to the Anne Arundel estate of his wife, Cedar Park, in 1785. *DAB*, XII, 543-44.

intimate connexion between general Washington and Mr. Mercer's father and brothers, for Mr. Mercer was only a child of 18 years of age at that time. Mr. Mercer would prefer any other occasion of declaring, that not from base adulation, but from long acquaintance, and close observance, he has more confidence in the President of the United States than in any man breathing. If there is any ill disposition of the President towards him, Mr. Mercer knows it not, there certainly is none on Mr. Mercer's part.

Mr. Mercer did mention, that he commanded a battalion of Grenadiers at the siege of York and Gloucester—They were composed of select Virginia militia, and are styled the *Grenadiers of Mercer*, in the public thanks in orders of the President of the United States, then commander in chief.

Mr. Mercer is certainly too poor himself to hate the poor—The story that was propagated, that he proposed, or wished, to sell insolvent debtors, or send them to the wheel-barrow, in the legislature of Maryland, is one of that million of lies that this low, dirty, infamous, speculating banditti, have propagated against him—it was disproved before the people by Walter Bowie and Thomas Clark, Esquires, delegates from Prince George's and Allen Quynn and John Kilty, Esquires, can also disprove it at Annapolis—But Mr. Mercer saved our citizens the benefit of the supersedeas act, and the right of relieving insolvent debtors, which, but for him, would have been destroyed in Congress.

Mr. Mercer did not plan the change of the constitution: he was one of the committee, it is true, but every change was prepared and fixed before he ever saw them.⁸

Mr. Mercer expects innumerable lies to be printed by these speculators, who have money and no conscience or truth—Mr. Mercer has since heard of some contradiction Captain Campbell has published to what Mr. Mercer said before Mr. Jenings—this can also be proved affirmatively by 200 or 300 persons, present at Marlborough—and also respecting what Mr. Mercer said as from the President of the United States—Captain Kilty was present when the report was told to Mr. Mercer, and Mr. Goldsmith when Mr. Mercer related it and they will prove that Mr. Mercer only accurately related what he heard a few hours before.⁹

JOHN F. MERCER

⁸ Press reaction to proposed amendments to Maryland's Constitution is in *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Sept. 7, 1792 and *The Maryland Herald*, and *Eastern Shore Intelligencer*, Oct. 19, 1790. Measures were considered in Senate and House of Delegates sessions in November, 1790. See Maryland, *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate*, November session, 1790, p. 4.

⁹ Yet it was asserted that John Kilty was not certain that Washington did speak well of Mercer. He had only heard someone state that the President had favorable words for Mercer. [Annapolis] *The Maryland Gazette*, Oct. 4, 1792.

II

Mr. Mercer considers Mr. Ross's publication against him in no other respect worthy of a reply¹⁰

Mr. Mercer considers Mr. Ross's publication against him in no other respect worthy of a reply, than as it contains one continued tissue of misrepresentation of sentiment and mistatement of fact, it may possibly mislead those who have not been present when Mr. Mercer delivered his reply to those charges that were publicly made against him—— To obviate such imposition which a publication, delayed till so late a period before the election, is evidently calculated to effect, Mr. Mercer was desirous of committing to the press an immediate reply, but was informed by the Printers that their paper was then full—— He then requested a meeting of his fellow-citizens of Anne-Arundel county and Annapolis (it being court-day) at the stadt-house, where he read Mr. Ross's publication, and replied to it paragraph by paragraph; and if the warm and continued expressions of applause which he received from his constituents, are evidence of approbation, he may safely infer, that if Mr. Ross's publication needed any other refutation than what its own innate and apparent demerit affords, the observations made of it, both with respect to its truth and argument, rendered it as contemptible to them in substance as it is defective in every other claim to the attention of the public; the substance of which observations, Mr. Mercer pledges himself to submit to his fellow-citizens as soon as they can be printed.

Annapolis, September 15, 1792

¹⁰ John Francis Mercer, "Mr. Mercer considers Mr. Ross's publication against him in no other respect worthy of a reply," Annapolis: Fr. Green, Sept. 15, 1792, broadside collection p. 337, Md. Hist. Soc. Federalist leader David Ross was Mercer's early rival Congressional candidate before giving preference to Federalist John Thomas. He remained Mercer's most articulate critic, causing Mercer to complain that it was cruel in his state of health to force him into a newspaper controversy. *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Extra, Sept. 28, 1792 and Annapolis: *The Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 27, 1792.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Hinton Rowan Helper, Abolitionist Racist By HUGH C. BAILEY.
University of Alabama Press, University of Alabama, 1965, xi,
256 pp. \$6.95.

Every serious student of the Civil War and Reconstruction Period of American History is familiar with the name Hinton R. Helper, the southern born writer, and his scourging attack on slavery in his *Impending Crisis*. But beyond this little is known of the man and his career. It is this gap which Hugh Bailey so effectively fills in the present study. The task was not an easy one; for Helper was a man of contradictions. Nor could it have been very enjoyable, for Helper ends his life by self destruction. Yet, it is a work long overdue and the author, despite the idiosyncrasies of his subject, has rendered an objective appraisal.

In ten balanced chapters, Bailey carries Helper from struggling youth to old age as an intercontinental railway promoter stopping on the way to explain his writings and their criticisms, his career as Consul at Buenos Aires, and his militant racism. One half of the book is devoted to Helper's *magnus opus*, *The Impending Crisis*. Not only does the author detail the history of that work but he furnishes a chapter each on contemporary and modern criticism of the classic. That Helper encountered great difficulty in publication, that his work was used by the abolitionists to support their cause but rejected by the South, that he argued just as vehemently for colonization of the American Negro as he did for the abolition of slavery, are all part of the story and were not unexpected. That the work embarrassed the Republican Party, precipitated a long debate in Congress over the speakership of the House of Representatives, and presented statistics and statements which withstood the arguments of the pro-slavery adherents of that day as well as those of the racists of today, are another part of the story and are unexpected.

Throughout the book, Helper keeps the center of the stage. It is difficult to see how he remains an ardent racist after quoting the founding fathers as being opposed to slavery, building a strong case against slavery as being the cause of the backwardness and all other ills of the South, and gaining sixty-eight Republicans, some of whom were prominent in the abolition movement, as endorsers of his work. But he did. Moreover, of the seven other books which he wrote no less than three are devoted to his racist stance. Perhaps

his statement to the effect that the South was conditioned to hate not slavery but the Negro explains his attitude. But, ironically, Helper hated both slavery and the Negro.

Helper's literary efforts, however, were not remunerative in spite of the impact made by *The Impending Crisis*. After some travelling, he turns to a career in South America first as American Consul to Buenos Aires and later as a personal envoy to settle American claims. While in South America he becomes obsessed with the idea of an intercontinental railroad. This he begins to promote, culminating his efforts with extensive studies and reports as to possible routes and the nature of the terrain. When the Federal Government appropriated money for a three man commission to make surveys of the proposed routes and report to the American public, Helper, back in Washington, was thrilled. But when he learned that he was not to be a member of the commission and that further planning of the project would proceed without him, he became a broken man. Deserted by his wife (a Latin American, a people upon whom he looked down) and friends, while at the same time reduced to dire straits financially, he took his life on March 8, 1909 in Washington at age 80.

Hugh Bailey enhances the value of his account with a ten page appendix of the summary of statistics in *The Impending Crisis*, a full bibliography on the subject, and an efficient index. That students and laymen interested in the period can ill-afford to ignore this book is patent.

Morgan State College

ROLAND C. McCONNELL

American Maps and Map Makers of the Revolution. By PETER J. GUTHORN. Monmouth Beach, New Jersey: Philip Freneau Press, 1966. 48. \$6.95

With April 19, 1975, less than a decade away, we will be inundated with books about the Revolution that repeat much of what has been written. Dr. Guthorn's study of a neglected Revolutionary subject should thus interest us, despite the book's defects.

The author's topic is American Revolutionary map makers. A short introduction in the book precedes an alphabetical grouping of map makers in which each cartographer's career is summarized and a list of his maps is given. The map lists form the significant part of the volume. The data for each map in a list generally consists of the map's title, a brief description of the map, and its location. A list of anonymous maps and a list of spy maps conclude the book.

Revolutionary devotees will find the book interesting. The author's discussion of Robert Erskine, geographer and surveyor-general to the Continental Army, and the list of the numerous maps made by him, or under his direction, are particularly important. The inclusion of maps drawn by French military men who served in the Continental Army also is an asset.

But caution must be maintained in using the book. The author, for example, displays carelessness in citing map titles. On pages 10 and 11, he prints two maps drawn by Michael Capitaine du Chesnoy and incorrectly reproduces their titles in the list of maps made by the Frenchman—see (3) and (6) on pages 10 and 11 respectively. In the caption for the map on page 11, the author also demotes "Indians" to "indians." On page 38, he lists a "Map of Stone Point, Verplanks Pt. Etc." without indicating if "Stone" should not read "Stony." Dr. Guthorn also gives incomplete or inaccurate information in describing some maps. On page 7, he lists "A New and Correct Plan of the Town of Boston And Provincial Camp" and states that "This is very much like a map published in the *Gentlemen's* [sic] *Magazine*, London, January, 1775." He does not explain, however, that what differentiates the new map from the earlier map is the inset in the lower right hand corner that shows the American lines around Boston (see Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, VI, 207, Note F). On page 30, the author describes Etienne de Rochefontaine's map of the Continental Army's 1779-80 winter encampment near Morristown, New Jersey, without stating that Morristown is in New Jersey and that the map depicts only the encampment area. It does not show Morristown.

If the author plans another work on Revolutionary maps, scholars would welcome footnotes, references to printed editions of the maps, and a bibliography.

National Endowment for the Humanities

S. SYDNEY BRADFORD

The Old Land and the New: The Journals of Two Swiss Families in America in the 1820's. Edited and translated by ROBERT H. BILLIGMEIER AND FRED ALTSCHULER PICARD. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965. 281. \$5.75.

This translation of two reports by Swiss immigrants which were originally published in German in Switzerland in 1823 and 1826 adds another valuable source book to the growing shelf of immigration history. Johannes Schweizer and Johann Rütlinger wrote frank and comprehensive accounts of their experiences and observations

during the journey to America and the period of adjustment to American life. Schweizer came in 1820 and Rütlinger followed him three years later, no doubt encouraged in his desire for emigration by his friend's writings about the New Land. Both journals deal with the "middle period" of immigration, the time between the large colonial influx of people from German-speaking countries and the new waves which reached American shores from Central Europe from 1845 on. Schweizer's account is certainly of general interest but we have reasons to be particularly grateful to Rütlinger for the description of his arrival in Baltimore and his first home in America, the little town of Middleburg in Frederick County. Rütlinger, a trained teacher, selected the farm lands of Western Maryland because he was hopeful to organize a German school among the large population of German descent. Besides, the town itself with its "forty attractive houses and two handsome churches" struck him as a friendly place where his American life could start off well. Little did he know that all those German farmers had been Americans for one or two generations already and were rapidly losing their ancestral language. Anglicization had taken its toll by 1823 and he never gathered more than a handful of pupils for his German classes. We find schoolmaster Rütlinger earning his livelihood by binding the settlers' stately German Bibles that had fallen into disrepair because bookbinders seldom came into the Maryland hinterland. His wife became an expert bonnetmaker. Reports from the West lured him away soon but before he moved on to greener pastures in Ohio, he left us a lyric description of nature's seasons in Western Maryland, a vivid eye-witness account of a German camp-meeting of the United Brethren and impressions of Harper's Ferry. Such testimony will enliven future books on local history. Subsequent generations may have forgotten how their immigrant ancestors felt about arrival in America: "It was the first place where we stepped on American soil and it was hallowed to us. If I had been alone, I would have fallen down and kissed the good earth," Rütlinger wrote three years after his arrival in Baltimore, three years that had been full of hard toil but also had brought him freedom from want. Besides the items of Maryland interest, the book makes pleasant reading for its unique reporting on various phases of American life.

Society for History of Germans in Maryland

KLAUS G. WUST

Slavery and Methodism: A Chapter in American Morality, 1780-1845. By DONALD G. MATHEWS. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965. xi, 329. \$7.50.

Donald Mathews, in the preface of this book, speaks right up and states his purpose—to shed more light on the anti-slavery movement, its opponents, and the milieu in which it thrived. He accomplishes his purpose.

Slavery and Methodism does not attempt to deal with the anti-slavery movement in its totality. It focuses on the movement within American Methodism. The early American Methodists had outlawed slavery and slaveholders within the church. As the years wore on, the church began to equivocate as the southerners and abolitionists struggled to win over the conservatives. Ultimately the abolitionists won, although they split the church in the process. How they won and how Methodists returned to their antislavery heritage is the story this book has to tell. Its heroes are single-minded men, like Orange Scott, who kept up their unrelenting pressure so that American Methodism would not compromise its essential character.

Mathews restores Scott to his place in the history of America's struggle to foster basic human rights. He also discusses in depth *The Mission to the Slaves* and its originator, William Capers. Another contribution of the book is a strong chapter devoted to the colonization movement.

One is impressed with the thorough research Mathews has done. Official church records have been used and the documentation reveals an extensive examination of periodicals, manuscripts, and contemporary works. One can only wonder, however, why Mathews did not use Bishop Thomas Coke's *Journal*.

Does Mathews wrongly emphasize the split between the preachers and slaveholders from 1784 to 1800? Were not both groups badly divided? What does Mathews mean when he says, "After 1808, most antislavery activity in the United States became limited to the area north of South Carolina, and to a mere handful of the thousands who swept on to their dreams of wealth?" Why does Mathews discuss the important role of the Northern conservatives as contrasted to the abolitionists, and yet continually lump the Southerners together as being one-minded. Were not there strong, discordant factions among the Southern Methodists? Why does Mathews state that the Tennessee Methodists held strong anti-slavery sentiments and make such a weak and contradictory case for his contention?

Objectivity seems difficult for the author when he discusses the slaveholders. He finds the abolitionists to be "the conscience of the Church and the nation" while their opponents are treated unsympathetically. They "tramped upon the Methodist antislavery

tradition." "The righteous remnant," the abolitionists, triumph, however, and convince the national church to disassociate itself from slavery. The in-fighting among the Methodists, particularly in the 1840's, is a fascinating reflection of the sectional battles of the nation as a whole and a remarkable preview of the splintering of America's political and social bone and marrow a decade later.

St. Mary's Episcopal School

N. C. HUGHES, JR.

Montague of Virginia: The Making of a Southern Progressive.

By WILLIAM E. LARSEN. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965. xiii, 314. \$7.50.

The local aspects of Southern progressivism in the early twentieth century often receive superficial treatment from historians more interested in the excitement of the Populists and the middle-class reformers of the North. Professor Larsen has helped redress the imbalance. Based primarily on the Montague papers, this is a solid, scholarly, and valuable piece of work. The author does not try to make a vibrant, national leader out of a man who was a relatively colorless state politician, but Andrew Jackson Montague did typify the Southern progressive.

Larsen demonstrates that, for Montague, the prime evil to combat was the lack of education in the South and particularly in Virginia. In an oversimplification common to many middleclass reformers, he believed that all the problems of the day could be cured by the creation of an educated electorate. Not surprisingly, his greatest contribution to reform while governor of Virginia was his effective leadership of the Ogden ("good schools") movement. Larsen believes that this commitment to education is one of the factors which distinguished Southern from Northern progressives, the latter being more concerned with the problems of municipal government and corporate power.

As with most Southern progressives, Montague's desire for an educated, and therefore supposedly incorruptible electorate brought him to support the disenfranchising of Negroes. This was not essentially a racial matter to Montague, for he applied the literacy laws to white voters, in spite of campaign promises made in 1901 to the contrary. Interestingly, it was the old established Democratic machine and the Republican Party, both operating with heavy railroad support, which opposed this "purification" of the franchise, since much of their strength came from bought votes. The author notes that while the success of this curious as-

pect of "reform" ended the Republican Party as a political force in Virginia for over fifty years, the conservative Democrats retained their power by adopting the more popular progressive programs as well as by maintaining a highly efficient grass-roots political organization.

Larsen brings out some striking similarities between the progressives, North and South, in spite of their somewhat different emphasis on education. Both generally fought for the "democratizing" of local and national elections via such proposals as direct primary and Senatorial elections, although in the one-party South the primary was most important. Both had to fight vested corporate interests, with railroads being the main opponent in Virginia. Both sprang largely from the urban centers rather than the Populist rural areas, and each depended largely on middle-class leadership.

Since recent research has shown that the urban workers of the North, through their political bosses, oftentime provided the crucial support for welfare type reforms, one wonders whether the workers of Richmond and Norfolk played a similar role in obtaining such items as a workmen's compensation law. Although the progressive coalition in Virginia may well have excluded the urban worker, Larsen never really examines the nature of that coalition. As a biographer, he has done what he intended, but in the process has pointed up the need for a comprehensive study of Southern progressivism. That Teddy Roosevelt may have asked Montague to be his vice-presidential candidate on the Bull Moose ticket is an indication of the importance, not of Montague as a person, but as a representative of the Southern progressives.

The University of Georgia

WARREN F. KIMBALL

Genealogical Research Methods and Sources by the American Society of Genealogists. MILTON RUBINCAM, Editor; JEAN STEPHENSON, Associate Editor; Committee on Publication: Arthur Adams, Meredith C. Colket, Jr., Donald Lines Jacobus, published, Washington, D.C., 1960. \$5.50

This is a most scholarly work which should be of great assistance to American Genealogists and, in part, should interest the general public. It is divided into five parts, as follows: Part I: "General Considerations," divided into six chapters which bear the following headings: I "Adventures in Genealogy"; II Tradition and Family History"; III "Interpreting Genealogical Records"; IV Genealogy and Chronology;" V "The Rules of Evidence: A Standard for Proving Pedigrees"; VI "Preparing Genealogical Manuscripts for

Publication". Chapter I is the work of Mr. Rubincam. Chapters II, III, IV and VI are the work of Mr. Jacobus, one of the most capable and experienced genealogists in the United States. As one would expect, Mr. Jacobus is also the author of a chapter on genealogical research in Connecticut his chosen field (p. 124 et seq.) Here, he is truly at home. Chapter V is the work of Noel C. Stevenson, Author of "Search and Research" (1959); Editor of *The Genealogical Reader*", and a member of the State Bar of California. Part 2—"Materials for Research" will be of value to the novice. Part 3 is perhaps the most helpful of all the parts into which this remarkable work is divided, including, as it does, articles on genealogical research in the West and Canada, but more particularly the Eastern states, viz, the six New England states; New York State; New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. My confidence in the reliability of this special part as a whole is strengthened by my personal acquaintance with several of its authors, namely, my friend and distant cousin the late Mrs. P. W. Hiden (chapter on Virginia); Mr. Jacobus and Mr. Dorman (chapter on Maryland). Part 4 is divided into ten chapters, namely: I "Feudal Genealogy"; II "Royal and Noble Genealogy"; III England and Wales (Anthony R. Wagner, author); IV Scotland; V Ireland; VI Germany; VII The Netherlands; VIII "France" IX "Switzerland" and X "Scandinavia." Part 5 has chapters on "Heraldry"; Genealogy and the Law", and on British and European Surnames.

In concluding this review, this writer feels called upon to say that the chapter on genealogical research in Maryland, which, in general, is excellent, would be improved by a reference to a most useful work, Mrs. Annie Walker Burns' abstracts of Maryland wills, 1744-1772, inclusive, which all but bridges the gap between Jane Baldwin Cotten's *Maryland Calendar of Wills and Magruder's Maryland Colonial Abstracts 1772-1772* (wills and administrations).* Neither the library of the (Maryland) Hall of Records, nor that of the Maryland Historical Society has a full set of Mrs. Burns' valuable work, but I am under the impression that a volume which will not be found in the one, will be found in the other.

*The last will in Baldwin's *Maryland Calendar of Wills* is that of Richard Wethered, probated Oct. 6, 1744, and recorded at The Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md., in Will Book 23, at folio 597. This will book runs to 700 folios.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

- Democratic Politics and Sectionalism: The Wilmot Proviso Controversy.* By CHAPLAIN W. MORRISON. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967. viii, 244. \$6.
- Robert Johnson, Proprietary & Royal Governor of South Carolina.* By RICHARD P. SHERMAN. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1966. xii, 203. \$6.75.
- Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D.C., 1963-1965.* Edited by FRANCIS COLEMAN ROSENBERGER. Washington, D. C.: Columbia Historical Society, 1966. xx, 513. \$12.50
- Pennsylvania Politics, 1872-1877: A Study in Political Leadership.* By FRANK B. EVANS. Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1966. vii, 360. \$5.
- Benjamin Franklin and Nature's God.* By ALFRED OWEN ALDRIDGE. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1967. 279. \$7.50.
- Before and After, or The Relations of the Races at the South.* By ISAAC DUBOSE SEABROOK. Edited and with an introduction by JOHN HAMMOND MOORE. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967. vii, 157. \$5.50.
- The Centennial Years, A Political and Economic History of America from the Late 1870's to the Early 1890's.* By FRED A. SHANNON, edited by ROBERT HUHNS JONES. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc. 1967. xx, 362. \$6.95.
- The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years, 1790-1860.* By NEILL HARRIS. New York: George Braziller, 1966. xvi, 432. \$7.50.
- The English on the Delaware, 1610-1682.* By C. A. WESLAGER. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1967. xiii, 303. \$7.50.
- The Wethered Book.* By BRANDON BARRINGER and L. WETHERED BARROLL. Peterboro, N.H., Richard R. Smith Publishers, 1967. Limited edition. ix, 201. \$15.

- A Memoir of the Late Washington Platt, October 6, 1890-May 19, 1965, Brigadier General, United States Army.* By L. WETHERED BARROLL. Peterborough, New Hampshire: Richard R. Smith Co., Inc., 1967. Limited ed. 30. \$5.
- The History of the United States.* Vol. I. By OSCAR HANDLIN. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967. xvi, 640. \$9.95.
- The Writings of Christopher Gadsden, 1746-1805.* Edited by RICHARD WALSH. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 1967. xxviii, 342. \$10.
- Social Reform in the United States Navy, 1798-1862.* By HAROLD D. LANGLEY. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1967. x, 309. \$8.50.
- The First Ten: The Founding Presidents and Their Administrations.* By ALFRED STEINBERG. Garden City, N. Y. Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1967. lx, 492. \$6.50.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The undersigned has been designated editor of this department of the *Magazine*. Contributions should be directed to him at the Society.

Edward G. Howard

NOT IN SEMMES II

J. Valentin Hecke—*Reise durch die Vereinigten Staaten . . .* 2 vols. 1820-1821

This is the second in a series of brief descriptions of books relating to Baltimore that were not included in Semmes, *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860* (published by this Society in 1953).

Volume 1

[Fractur] Reise/durch/die Vereinigten Staaten von/Nord-Amerika/in den Jahren 1818 und 1819./Nebst/einer kurzen Uebersicht der neuesten Ereignisse auf dem/Kriegs-Schauplatz/in Sud-Amerika und West-Indien./Von/J. Val. Hecke,/Königl. Preuss. Lieutenant vom ehemaligon 13ten schlesischen Landwehr-/Infanterie-Regiment./[rule]/Erster Band./Mit einem Kupfer./[ornamented tapered rule]/Berlin,/in Commission bei H. Ph. Petri./1820.

Volume 2

[Fractur] Reise/durch/die Vereinigten Staaten von/Nord-Amerika/und/Rückreise/durch/England./Nebst/einer Schilderung der Revolutions-Helden, und des/ehemaligen und gegenwartigen Zustandes/von St. Domingo./[author's name and description as in vol. 1]/[rule]/Zweiter und letzter Band./[plain tapered rule]/Berlin,/in Commission bei H. Ph. Petri./1821.

Collation: (7 11/16" x 4 9/16") : vol. 1: π^4, x^1 , 1-14³, 15²; vol. 2: π^3 , 1-20³, 21⁴.

Signing: first and second leaves of each numbered gathering signed, the latter with numeral prefixed by asterisk (except 15 in vol. 1, where only 15i is signed). Catchword on verso of last leaf of each numbered gathering in eights. Numeral "II" appears at lower left of first leaf of each numbered gathering in vol. 2.

Pagination: vol. 1: 119 leaves: pp. [i-iii], iv-viii, [ix-x], [1]-228; vol. 2: 172 leaves [i-iii], iv-vi, [vii]-x, [xi-xiii], xiv-xvi, [1]-326, [327-328] (p. 176 misnumbered 178).

Contents: vol. 1: p. [i] title, p. [ii] blank, p. [iii] Subscribenten-Verzeichniss., p. [ix] Inhalt, p. [1] Vorbericht., pp. 15-228 text, consisting of 16 chapters. "Ende des ersten Bandes." on p. 228 followed by rule and one-line colophon "Gedruckt bei A. W. Sebade, alte Grünstrasse Nr. 18."; vol. 2: p. [i] title, p. [ii] blank, p. [iii] Nachtrag zu dem Subscribenten-Verzeichniss., p. [vii] Inhalt., p. [xi] Das Bücher-Dediciren an grosse Herren scheint . . ., p. [xiii] Vorrede., pp. 1-326 text, consisting of 20 chapters numbered consecutively with those of vol. 1. "Ende." on p. 326 followed by one-line colophon within rules "Berlin, gedruckt bei G. Hann.", p. [327] Litterarische Anzeige., p. [328] Neuigkeiten/von H. Ph. Petri in Berlin. . .

Paper: fair quality laid paper, watermarked "A" (in outline).

Illustration: copperplate frontispiece to vol. 1 (reproduced herewith) entitled "Paly (Mary) eine Quarteron Sclavin in Maryland" [Polly (Mary) a quadroon slave in Maryland]. Measurements (plate marks): 6 7/16" x 4". In some copies this plate is colored (? by the publisher).

Binding: boards fully covered with gray-brown marbled paper with leather label on spine.

Note: the disjunct contents ("Inhalt") leaf designated x in the collation is sometimes found bound before the list of subscribers, but its proper place is thereafter, as shown in the collation, since the list is numbered and the contents leaf is not.

This is a rare work, sought after today because it contains the first considerable discussion of Texas by a German. It is little known as a Maryland book, having been omitted not only by Semmes but also by B. C. Steiner (*Descriptions of Maryland*, Baltimore 1904). I am not aware of a copy in Maryland apart from that recently acquired by the Maryland Historical Society and a copy of volume 1 in my possession. *References:* Sabin, *Dictionary of Books relating to America* 31202; Howes, *U. S. Iana* H-388; 2 Clark, *Travels in the Old South* 205; Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas* 1078 (locating 9 copies). The National Union Catalog locates 5 copies.

Hecke, who had served with a Silesian regiment in the Prussian army, hoped to join the revolutionary forces of Venezuela under Bolivar. He found himself in the United States in pursuit of this end, which he ultimately failed to accomplish. His journey to Maryland began, as did those of so many travelers of his time, with a trip from "the shabby state of Delaware" via Frenchtown.¹

Hecke was tremendously impressed by Baltimore's favorable geographic location, its vast trading area, and the vitality of its commercial life. These things, in fact, drew him to the city. On closer inspection, however, Baltimore was less impressive. "As for the style of building in this city, it is laid out on the same plan and in the same style almost as Philadelphia; and if the environs of that city are dreary and dull, then are they at Baltimore far more so. Sandy knolls and sandy fields on which not a tree is to be seen form the environs of the city. Nowhere is a garden or a grove of trees to be seen, and from that I drew the conclusion that the American throughout has no feeling for Nature's beauty. Good drinking water is also lacking here, and good beer is not to be found in all of Baltimore, where there are no more than 5 breweries. Porter and ale are imported from Philadelphia, and therefore sell for a much higher price than there. Also the cost of living is much greater here. Baltimore is even a more unhealthy place in which to live than is Philadelphia; for if a very hot summer occurs, yellow fever

¹ I am greatly indebted for the translation of the Maryland portions of Hecke's work to Mr. John McLeod, Cataloguer of the Bureau of Railway Economics, Association of American Railroads, Washington. Mr. McLeod also very kindly checked my transliteration of the Fraktur script in which the work is printed and thereby saved me from a number of embarrassing errors.



*Polly (Mary) eine Quartersen-Sclavin
in
Maryland.*

FRONTISPIECE TO REISE DURCH DIE VEREINIGTEN STATEN

also sets in. The land on the Chesapeake Bay and along the entire Atlantic coast is a most dreary, arid and sand wasteland, sparsely populated by pale yellow people who wander like living corpses. The many swamps and the lack of good drinking water may well be the principal causes for their lassitude."

There were, however, some consolations. "Just as at Philadelphia at the 'King of Prussia' tavern, and the German harmony found there, so was 'The Red Ox' here, operated by Mr. Oppermann (a Saxon), the gathering place of the Germans where beer was drunk, cards played, and tobacco smoked. These three characteristics and the love of sociability immediately distinguish the Germans in America from the Irish caste. The latter sit in the taverns, usually with legs crossed, the whiskey glass and the water can before them, their mouths stuffed full of tobacco, with the juice sometimes trickling out of the corners of their mouths and down their chins. And arguing amongst themselves whether the Whigs or the Tories (federalist or democratic parties) will keep the upper hand."

Hecke thought Frederick more attractive than Baltimore and evidently enjoyed the companionship of its German population. Even they, however, had become in some measure corrupted by Maryland manners, for at a Frederick tavern kept by a German "I had only too many opportunities for learning to know the slovenliness of the American class of common people from the ground up. From morning until night they were drinking brandy—in which activity the innkeeper matched the best. Young and free Negro lads had to drink from their bottles in the courtyard, although they were much better dressed and educated than the white drunkards. Here I also had sufficient opportunity to convince me that the Germans also, in the towns as well as in the country, indulged themselves in excessive drinking, and the Pennsylvanians likewise."

Near Hagerstown Hecke met Mary, the quadroon slave of his charming frontispiece. She was then 14 or 15 years of age and Hecke conjectured from physical resemblances that she was the granddaughter of her German master. She was well-treated, well-dressed, and apparently assured of freedom at her master's death.

BERNARD DE BRUYN

Baltimore

AN UNRECORDED BALTIMORE IMPRINT

I have recently acquired a Baltimore imprint of 1811 that is neither recorded in any bibliography known to me nor listed in the National Union Catalog. It can be described as follows:

SPIRITUAL SONGS/SUITABLY ARRANGED/FOR THE
Religious of all Denominations./[Bible and heart device above two
 lines of verse by "Steel"]/[long thin-thick rule]/BALTIMORE:/
 PRINTED AND SOLD BY WARNER & HANNA /At the Bible
 and heart Office. [Gothic]/[row of dots]/ 1811.

Collation: (5 1/16" x 3 1/8"): gathered in twelves and sixes, thrice repeated in that order, and irregularly signed.

Signing: the first and fifth leaves of the gatherings in twelves (except the first—title—page of the first gathering) and the first and third leaves of the gatherings in sixes are signed as follows: 1st 12: 1st leaf _____, 5th leaf A2; 1st 6: 1st leaf D2, 3d leaf A4; 2d 12: 1st leaf B, 5th leaf B2; 2d 6: 1st leaf E3, 3d leaf B4; 3d 12: 1st leaf F, 5th leaf F2; 3d 6: 1st leaf F3, 3d leaf F4.

Pagination: 54 leaves: [1-3], 4-105, [106-108], Arabic numerals centered at top of page, enclosed in parentheses or brackets indifferently.

Contents: p. [1] title, p. [2] blank, p. [3] text, headed SPIRITUAL SONGS., continuing through p. 105, p. [106] A TABLE [of first lines].

Binding: boards covered with flowered yellow and black wallpaper. Pastedowns on covers and two free endpapers at both front and back consist of conjugate leaves from an almanac.

On the theory that these leaves must have been waste products of another Warner & Hanna printing of about the same date, I checked various of their almanacs in Baltimore libraries and eventually discovered that the source of these endpapers is *The Farmer's Almanack, for . . . 1812*, By Father Abraham, Baltimore [1811], printed and sold by Warner & Hanna. This little book is itself rather rare. Shaw & Shoemaker, *American Bibliography* (22800) and Drake, *Almanacs of the United States* (2408) locate six copies between them, including two in Maryland, at the Enoch Pratt Free Library and the Peabody Institute Library.

The use of pages from an 1812 almanac (printed late in 1811) for binding purposes suggests that *Spiritual Songs* was printed very late in 1811, presumably for the Christmas trade.

EDWARD G. HOWARD

Baltimore

ERRATA

There were three errors of substance in the bibliographical notes printed in the December 1966 issue (Vol. 61, No. 4) of the *Magazine* (pp. 369-372).

Page 369: "25" in the second line of the "Signing" paragraph should read "25".

The word "blank" should be inserted after the reference to p. [xviii] in the first line of the "Pagination" paragraph.

Page 372: The locations of the fifth and sixth copies listed in the table should be transposed.

E. G. H.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Diocesan Manuscripts—The Diocese of Maryland of the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Maryland Historical Society announce that the Diocesan Manuscripts, formerly housed in the Peabody Institute Library in Baltimore, will be moved to the new Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building of the Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument St., and will be available for research and reference about June 15, 1967. The manuscripts will remain the property of the Diocese of Maryland.

This large collection comprises many official records of the Diocese and the correspondence of the first six Bishops of Maryland, from Bishop Thomas John Claggett (1742-1816) to Bishop William Paret (1826-1911). Particularly voluminous are the papers of Bishop James Kemp (1764-1827) and Bishop William Rollinson Whittingham (1805-1879). Virtually every Episcopal clergyman resident in Maryland between 1780 and 1880 is represented in the collection, often by substantial correspondence. Some of the colonial clergy and those subsequent to 1880 are also represented, as well as many Maryland laymen and many clergymen from other parts of the United States and Great Britain. There are also letters from every Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church from the first, Bishop Samuel Seabury (consecrated 1784) to about the year 1880.

All items relating to Maryland up to 1840 have now been indexed, and several thousand manuscripts of later date have also been processed. The card catalogue at present contains over sixty thousand entries. Unindexed materials have been sorted and classified to facilitate research.

Parish registers, and similar records of births, marriages, and deaths, are not included, so that the papers are of only incidental genealogical interest. There is, of course, a wealth of biographical material and the collection is a prime source for the history of the Church in Maryland and throughout the United States, as well as much local and national history.

Inquiries should be addressed to Mr. F. Garner Ranney, Curator, Maryland Diocesan Manuscripts, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21201.

The Papers of John Marshall—A scholarly edition of the papers of Chief Justice John Marshall (1755-1835) is being prepared under the sponsorship of the College of William and Mary and the Institute of Early American History and Culture. While Marshall's letters, political writings, diplomatic correspondence, and legal papers have long been of interest to American scholars, it was not until grants from the National Historical Publications Commission and the Commonwealth of Virginia were made to the sponsors in the summer of 1966 that this effort could begin in earnest. Because many of John Marshall's papers have been destroyed or scattered it is imperative that meticulous care be exercised in attempting to recover all that remains of the manuscript and printed record. Information concerning documents written by or addressed to John Marshall or other records bearing directly upon his life will be gratefully received and permission to edit and publish them acknowledged in the printed volumes. The publisher of the Papers of John Marshall will be the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

THE PAPERS OF JOHN MARSHALL

Stephen G. Kurtz, Editor

Box 220, Williamsburg, Va. 23185

The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History—The Association will hold its Fifty-second Annual Meeting at the Voyager Inn, Greensboro, North Carolina on October 12-15, 1967. The Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina is the host institution. Those interested in proposing papers, or sessions, or other participation should contact the program chairman: Dr. Walter Fisher, Morgan State College, Coldspring Lane and Hillen Road, Baltimore, Maryland 21212.

Constitutional Convention of 1776—In the process of a quantitative analysis of the Maryland Constitutional Convention of 1776, I am trying to find as much personal data as possible relative to the delegates. It would be greatly appreciated if anyone might supply me with information relative to the delegates listed below especially in those categories where doubt or error exists in the identification of persons, occupations, or dates.

<i>Name</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Occupation</i>
Archer, Dr. John	Harford	1741-1810	Physician
Barnes, Richard	St. Mary's	-1804	Planter?
Bayley, William, Jr.	Montgomery	1741-1824	Planter?
Beall, Samuel, Jr.	Washington	-1778	Manufacturer
Bishop, Dr. Smith	Worcester		Physician
Bond, Jacob	Harford		Planter?
Bowie, Walter	Prince George's	1748-1811	Merchant?
Brevard, Benjamin	Cecil	-1793	Merchant
Bruff, William	Queen Anne's		Farmer?
Chaille, Peter	Worcester	1725-1802	Planter?
Chamberlaine, James Lloyd	Talbot	1732-1783	Planter
Chase, Jeremiah Townley	Baltimore Town	1748-1828	Lawyer
Dent, [Gen.?] John	Charles	1733-1809	Planter?
Deye, Thomas Cockey	Baltimore	-1808	Planter
Dickinson, Henry [Jr.]	Caroline	-1789?	Planter
Earle, Joseph	Kent	1739-1799	Lawyer
Edelen, Christopher	Frederick	1723-1796	Planter?
Edmondson, Pollard	Talbot	-1794	Planter
Ennals, John	Dorchester		Planter
Ennals, Joseph	Dorchester	-1845?	Planter?
Ewing, Patrick	Cecil		Farmer?
Fenwick, Ignatius	St. Mary's		
Col. Ignatius?		-1776	Planter
or		-1796	Planter
Capt. Ignatius?			
Fischer, Dr. Adam	Frederick	1736-1787	Physician
Fitzhugh, Col. William	Calvert	1721-1798	Planter
Gibson, John of Tuckahoe	Talbot	1729-1790	Farmer
Gilpin, Joseph	Cecil	1727-1790	Farmer
Goldsborough, Robert III	Dorchester	1733-1788	Planter
Grahame, Charles of Lower Marlboro	Calvert	-c.1790	Lawyer
Hall, Benjamin	Prince George's	1710?- ?	Planter?
Hall, John of the Vineyard	Anne Arundel	1729-1797	Lawyer. Planter
Hammond, Rezin	Anne Arundel	1745-1809	Lawyer, Planter
Handy, Samuel	Worcester		Planter?
Hooe, Robert Townshed	Charles	1743-1809	Planter
Horsey, William	Somerset		
Hughs [Hughes], Samuel	Washington		Manufacturer
Johnson, Thomas, Jr.	Caroline	1732-1819	Lawyer, Planter
Jordan, Jeremiah	St. Mary's		Farmer?
Kent, James	Queen Anne's	-1808?	Farmer
Lee, Thomas Sim	Prince George's	1745-1819	Planter
Love, John	Harford		
John of Spesutie?		-1793	Planter?
or			
Dr. John?		1749-1831	Physician
Lowcs, B[ennett?]	Somerset		Farmer?
Mackall, Col. Benjamin IV of Godsgrace	Calvert	1723-1795	Planter

Mackall, John of St. Leonards?	Calvert	1740-1799?	Planter?
Marbury, Luke	Prince George's	c.1745-1809	Planter?
Mason, Richard	Caroline		Farmer?
Mitchell, Josiah	Worcester		Farmer?
Murray, [Dr.?] James of Hunting Creek?	Dorchester		Physician, Planter
Parnham, Dr. John	Charles	1740-1800	Physician
Plater, Col. George III	St. Mary's	1735-1792	Planter
Potter, Nathaniel	Caroline		
Richardson, William Capt. William?	Caroline		Planter
or			
William of William?			Farmer
Ridgely, Capt. Charles	Baltimore	1733-1790	Merchant, Planter
Ringgold, Thomas	Kent		
Thomas, Jr. of Chestertown?		-1776	Merchant
or			
Thomas of Cox's Neck?		1714-1794	Planter
Ringgold, William of Eastern Neck	Kent	1729-1790?	Planter
Robins, John Purnall	Worcester	1742-1781	Planter
Schnebely, Dr. Henry	Washington		Physician, Planter
Schriver, [Shriver], David	Frederick	1734-1826	Farmer
Scott, George [Day?]	Somerset		Farmer
Scott, Gustavus of Cambridge	Somerset	1753-1801	Lawyer
Semmes, Thomas	Charles	c.1750-1832?	Planter
		or	
		1754-1824?	
Shepherd, Peter	Baltimore	-1787	Farmer?
Sheredine, Upton of Midhill	Frederick	1740-1800	Planter
Smith, David	Cecil	1739-1813	?
Smith, John	Baltimore Town	-1794	Merchant
Smyth, Thomas	Kent	1730-1819	Planter
Sprigg, Osborn	Prince George's	c.1740-1815	Planter?
Stevenson, John of Edward? of Popular Hill?	Baltimore		Planter?
Stull, John [Jr.] of Hagerstown	Washington	-1791	Planter
Tilghman, Matthew	Talbot	1718-1790	Planter
Williams, Elisha Col. Elie?	Montgomery	1750-1822	Farmer
Wilson, Henry, Jr.	Harford	1744-1800?	Farmer?
Wilson, Jonathan	Montgomery		Planter
Wootton, Thomas Sprigg	Montgomery		Planter?
Worthington, B. T. B.	Anne Arundel	1727-1794	Planter?
Wright, Solomon	Queen Anne's	1717-1792	Planter
Wright, Turbutt	Queen Anne's	1741-1783	Planter

I have arbitrarily called "Planter" those owning more than 400 acres of land according to the debt books in the Maryland Land Office. "Farmers" are those having less acreage according to these same records.

David Curtis Skaggs
Department of History
Bowling Green State University
Bowling Green, Ohio 43402

Manuscript Society Conference—The annual conference of the Manuscript Society will be held in Baltimore from September 14 to 17. On Thursday, September 14, the Maryland Historical Society will host the Conference. There will be two sessions in the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building (Jacob and Annita France Auditorium). In the morning there will be a discussion on the preservation and treatment of manuscripts. In the afternoon a panel will discuss the question of correct descriptions in auction catalogs, under the title *Caveat emptor*. Leading auction houses, dealers and collectors will take part in the discussion. On Saturday members of the Manuscript Society will join the Historical Society on the annual Bay cruise.

CONTRIBUTORS

RHODA DORSEY is Professor of History at Goucher College. She is a student of early American, particularly Confederation Period, history. At present the recipient of a Fulbright-Hays grant, Dr. Dorsey is lecturing in American History at Monash University, Clayton, Australia.

DAVID SKAGGS is assistant Professor of History at Bowling Green State University, Ohio. His co-editor is completing his doctoral dissertation at Georgetown University on the history of the antebellum slave trade.

KENNETH CARROLL is Professor of Religion at Southern Methodist University. He has written several articles on the Quakers of Maryland for this and other Magazines. He is the author of *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites* (1962) and editor of *The Creative Center of Quakerism* (1965).

DOROTHY BROWN is assistant Professor of History at Georgetown University.

PUBLICATIONS

Studies in Maryland History

- His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland.*
By Donnell M. Owings. 1953 \$ 6.00
William Buckland, 1733-1774. By Rosamond R. Beirne and John
H. Scarff. 1958 \$ 7.50

Texts and References for School Use

- The War of 1812 On The Chesapeake Bay.* Illustrated paperback.
By Gilbert Byron, 1964 \$ 2.00
My Maryland. By Kaessmann, Manakee and Wheeler. History of
Maryland, Revised edition \$ 4.50
The Star-Spangled Banner. Illustrated booklet. Description of the
writing of our National Anthem by Francis Scott Key . . . \$.50
Indians of Early Maryland. By Harold R. Manakee. 1959 . . . \$ 1.80
Maryland in the Civil War. By Harold R. Manakee. 1961 . . . \$ 4.50
Early Explorations of the Chesapeake Bay. By Gilbert Byron, 1960 \$ 1.00
Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History. (24 titles) . . . each \$.10

Miscellaneous

- A History of the University of Maryland.* By George H. Callcott.
Illustrated. 1966. \$ 7.50
Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland.
By J. Reaney Kelly. Illustrated. 1963 \$ 5.50
The Maryland Press, 1777-1790. By Joseph T. Wheeler. 1938 . . \$ 4.00
History of Queen Anne's County. By Frederic Emory. 1950 . . . \$ 7.50
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Chesapeake Bay Sailing Craft. By M. V. Brewington. Illustrated
pamphlet \$.50
Semmes and Kindred Families. By Harry Wright Newman. 1956 \$10.00
*The Hollyday and Related Families of the Eastern Shore of Mary-
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The Regimental Colors of the 175th Infantry (Fifth Maryland).
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World War II

- Maryland in World War II: Vol. I, Military Participation, 1950;*
Vol. II, Industry and Agriculture, 1951; Vol. IV, Gold Star
Honor Roll, 1956. H. R. Manakee, comp. each \$ 3.25
History of the 110th Field Artillery, with Sketches of Related Units.
By Col. John P. Cooper, Jr. Illustrated. 1953 \$ 5.00
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5 vols. each \$20.00

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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.

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