

MSA SC 5881-1-249

MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED BY
THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY



VOLUME LXIII

BALTIMORE

1968

ILLUSTRATIONS

A Map of the Most Inhabited Part of Virginia Containing the Whole Province of Maryland with Part of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and North Carolina. Drawn by Joshua Fry & Peter Jefferson in 1775Cover, March	
Federal Ticket, January 1789, First Congressional Election. Broadside, M. H. S. Collection	2
Otho Holland Williams, 1749-1794. Painting by Charles Willson Peale. M. H. S. Collection	15
James McHenry, 1751-1816. Engraving by St. Memin. Hayden Collection, M. H. S.	17
Benjamin Chew Howard, 1711-1872. Watercolor by T. W. Wood. M. H. S. Collection	56
Governor Robert Bowie, 1750-1818. Engraving by St. Memin. M. S. 718. M. H. S.	64
Philip F. Thomas, 1810-1890. From a Daguerreotype by Pollack, Baltimore. Engraved by H. S. Sadd	66
Binding and ticket by F. M. Wills & Co., Baltimore, 1809-1810 (actual size)	69
Bas Relief by Lenore Thomas which decorates the Center School in Greenbelt, Maryland	Cover, June
Rexford Guy Tugwell, 1891-	109
Greenbelt, Maryland. Photograph by Raymond Faass	117
Garden walk in Greenbelt. Photograph by Raymond Faass	120
Statue of mother and child, by Lenore Thomas. W. P. A. The Center, Greenbelt, Maryland. Photographed by Raymond Faass	132
Archbishop John Carroll. 1735-1815. Painting by Gilbert Stuart, Georgetown University	139
"The Most Rev. Leonard Neale, Second Archbishop of Baltimore," 1746-1817. Published by John Murphy, Baltimore. Hayden Collection, Maryland Historical Society	143
"The Most Rev. Ambrose Marechal, Third Archbishop of Baltimore," 1768-1828. Painting by Bardley. Engraved by J. Sartain. Published by John Murphy, Baltimore. Graphics Collection, Maryland Historical Society	148
Frank R. Kent, 1877-1958. Sunpapers, Baltimore	160
Frank R. Kent, 1936. Sunpapers, Baltimore	166
"The Massacre of Wyoming (Pa.)," July 3-4, 1778, by Alonzo Chappel	Cover, Sept.
Colonel Tench Tilghman, 1744-1786. Md. Hist. Soc. Prints Collection	245
Rigobert Bonne, Carte de la Partie Nord, Des Etats Unis de L'Amerique. Septentrionale. From Guillaume Thomas Raynal's Historie Philosophique (Geneva, 1780). Courtesy of the Library of Congress	254
Horatio Gates, 1728-1806. Johnson, Fry & Co. Publishers, New York. Engraved from a painting by Alonzo Chappel. Md. Hist. Soc. Prints Collection	260

A map of the Provinces of New York and New Jersey, with a part of Pennsylvania and the Province of Quebec. From the Topographical Observations of C. J. Sauthier. (Augsburg: Engraved and published by Matthew Albert Lotter, 1777). Courtesy of the Library of Congress	266
Plan of the Township of Harper and its vicinity at Cape Palmas by John Revey, Colonial Secretary. M.S. 571. Md. Hist. Soc.	279
Dr. James Hall, 1802-1889. Md. Hist. Soc. Graphics Collection	285
Map of Maryland in Liberia. M. S. 571. Md. Hist. Soc.	287
John H. B. Latrobe, 1803-1891. Md. Hist. Soc. Graphics Collection	293
Hampton-Ridgely House. Towson, Maryland. Md. Hist. Soc. Graphics Collection	301
Joseph Charles Paul Napoleon—"Plon Ploj." Bust by Iselin, Paris, 1858. 15" high. Md. Hist. Soc. Collection	306
Building by Walter Giles, Baltimore, ca. 1850	312
Ticket of Walter Giles, ca. 1850	313
Publisher's binding by Louis Bonsal, Baltimore, 1846	315
General Samuel Smith, 1752-1839. (A Painting by William E. West after Gilbert Stuart). Maryland Historical Society Collection	Cover, Dec.
General Charles Goodloe Harper, 1763-1825. By St. Memin. Md. Hist. Soc. Collection	344
Benjamin Stoddert, 1751-1813. Courtesy of the U.S. Navy	348
Gabriel Christie, 1757-1808. Miniature. Md. Hist. Soc. Collection	350
Thomas Jefferson, 1743-1826. Painting by B. H. Latrobe. Md. Hist. Soc. Collection	354
James Asheton Bayard, 1767-1815. By St. Memin, Md. Hist. Soc. Collection	357
St. James Church, Anne Arundel County. Md. Hist. Soc. Graphics Collection	363
St. Andrew's Church, Md. Hist. Soc. Graphics Collection	369
St. Anne's Church, Annapolis, Md. Hist. Soc. Graphics Collection	371
St. James Herring Creek. Anne Arundel County. Historic American Buildings Survey	376
The Maryland Institute for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts. Baltimore, 1851. Broadside Collection. Md. Hist. Soc.	381
Barnum's City Hotel, Calvert and Fayette Streets, Baltimore. Md. Hist. Soc. Graphics Collection	384
Winfield Scott, 1786-1866. Engraving by J. C. Buttre, New York. Md. Hist. Soc. Graphics Collection	390
Eutaw House, Baltimore, 1859. From a photograph by Gurney. Md. Hist. Soc. Graphics Collection	395
Millard Fillmore, 1800-1874. Published by E. & H. T. Anthony, New York from a photograph by Brady. Md. Hist. Soc. Graphics Collection	399
Holliday Street Theatre. Baltimore. Md. Hist. Soc. Graphics Collection	421
Ford's Grand Opera House [Ford's Theatre]. Fayette Street, Baltimore, 1872. Md. Hist. Soc. Graphics Collection	424

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE
 VOL. 63, No. 1 MARCH, 1968



CONTENTS

PAGE

Maryland and the Federalist: Search for Unity <i>Dorothy M. Brown</i>	1
Post-Revolutionary Letters of Alexander Hamilton, Piscataway Merchant, Part I, Jan.-June, 1784 <i>Edited by Richard K. MacMaster and David C. Skaggs</i>	22
Jacksonian Democracy on the Chesapeake: Class, Kinship and Politics <i>W. Wayne Smith</i>	55
Bibliographical Notes Edited by <i>Edward G. Howard</i> <i>Signed Maryland Bindings II</i> by Edward G. Howard <i>Plays by Marylanders, 1870-1916</i> by Edgar Heyl	68
Reviews of Recent Books 78 Wright, et al., <i>The Arts in America: The Colonial Period</i> , and Ludwig, <i>Craven Images: New England Stonecarving and its Symbols, 1650-1815</i> , by Jack P. Greene. Pearson and Hendricks, <i>Liquor and Anti-Liquor in Virginia, 1619-1919</i> , by W. Harrison Daniel Gipson, <i>The British Empire before the American Revolution. Volume XI, The Triumphant Empire: The Rumbling of the Coming Storm, 1766-1770; Volume XII, The Triumphant Empire: Britain Sails into the Storm, 1770-1776; Volume XIII, The Triumphant Empire: Part I: The Empire beyond the Storm, 1770-1776, Part II: A Summary of the Series, Part III: Historiography</i> , by Jean H. Vivian. Conway, <i>The Reconstruction of Georgia</i> , by Richard R. Duncan. Chambers, et al., <i>Salt Water and Printer's Ink: Norfolk and Its Newspapers, 1865 to 1965</i> , by Donald W. Curl. Dos Passos, <i>The Shackles of Power: Three Jeffersonian Decades</i> , by David Curtis Skaggs. Hutchinson and Rachal, ed., <i>The Papers of James Madison</i> , Vols. 3-5, by Wilson Smith. Hindle, <i>Technology in Early America: Needs and Opportunities for Study</i> , by Robert P. Sharkey. Prince, <i>New Jersey's Jeffersonian Republicans: the Genesis of an Early Party Machine 1789-1817</i> , by Edward G. Roddy, Jr.	
Notes and Queries	97
Contributors	100

Annual Subscription to the Magazine, \$4.00. Each issue \$1.00. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.

Richard R. Duncan, Editor
Nancy Schneider, Assistant to the Editor

Published quarterly by the Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, Md. 21201. Second-class postage paid at Baltimore, Md.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF COMMITTEES OF THE
MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

elected at the Annual Meeting, February 12, 1968

President

COLONEL WILLIAM BAXTER

Chairman of the Council

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE

Vice-Presidents

J. GILMAN D'ARCY PAUL

BRYDEN BORDLEY HYDE

C. A. PORTER HOPKINS

Corresponding Secretary

WILLIAM B. MARYE

Recording Secretary

H. H. WALKER LEWIS

Treasurer

SAMUEL HOPKINS

Trustees of the Athenaeum

CHARLES L. MARBURG, *Chairman*

HOWARD BAETJER

HUGO DALSHHEIMER

EDGAR W. GARBISCH

A. A. HOUGHTON, JR.

LUCIUS R. WHITE, JR.

Committee on the Gallery

FRANCIS H. JENCKS, *Chairman*

MRS. MICHAEL A. ABRAMS

J. R. HERBERT BOONE

WILLIAM V. ELDER, III

MRS. HAROLD DUANE JACOBS

MRS. H. IRVINE KEYSER, 2ND

R. MCGILL MACKALL

ELISABETH C. G. PACKARD

RICHARD H. RANDALL, JR.

MRS. GEORGE WEEMS WILLIAMS

Committee on the Library

DR. HUNTINGTON WILLIAMS, *Chairman*

THOMAS F. CADWALADER

PAUL S. CLARKSON

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

HARRY S. DICKEY

ARTHUR J. GUTMAN

EDWARD G. HOWARD

LESTER S. LEVY

THOMAS G. MACHEN

A. RUSSELL SLAGLE

G. ROSS VEAZEY

Committee on Finance

ROBERT G. MERRICK, *Chairman*

BENJAMIN H. GRISWOLD, III

ROGER BROOKE HOPKINS

J. WILLIAM MIDDENDORF, JR.

JOHN E. MOTZ

THOMAS S. NICHOLS

TRUMAN T. SEMANS

Committee on Publication and Maryland History Seminar

CHARLES A. BARKER, *Chairman*

ROYDEN A. BLUNT

MISS RHODA M. DORSEY

JACK PHILIP GREENE

C. A. PORTER HOPKINS

WILBUR H. HUNTER, JR.

AUBREY C. LAND

J. RIEMAN MCINTOSH

MORRIS L. RADOFF

Committee on Membership

CHARLES P. CRANE, *Chairman*

GARY BLACK

JAMES W. McELROY

JOHN P. PACA, JR.

MAJ. GEN. WILLIAM C. PURNELL

GEORGE M. RADCLIFFE

ROBERT LEE RANDOLPH

Committee on Education

THOMAS G. PULLEN, JR., *Chairman*

HARRY BARD

THE RT. REV. NOBLE C. POWELL

FREDERICK W. BRUNE

LT. GEN. MILTON A. RECKORD

RICHARD F. CLEVELAND

A. RUSSELL SLAGLE

Committee on the Maritime Collection

RICHARD H. RANDALL, SR., *Chairman*

MARION V. BREWINGTON

ROBERT E. MICHEL

S. VANNORT CHAPMAN

ROLFE POTTBERG

CHARLES P. CRANE

G. H. POWDER

R. HAMMOND GIBSON

J. DAWSON REEDER

FREDERICK E. HECKLINGER

CHARLES E. SCARLETT, JR.

WILLIAM E. HILL

JOSEPH L. STANTON

JAMES A. KNOWLES, JR.

WILLIAM C. STEUART

WILLIAM B. MATTHEWS, JR.

FREDERICK L. WEHR

H. GRAHAM WOOD

Building Committee

ABBOTT L. PENNIMAN, JR., *Chairman*

MARTIN E. BOESSEL, JR.

RICHARD STEPHENS

BRYDEN B. HYDE

MRS. W. WALLACE SYMINGTON, JR.

J. GILMAN D'ARCY PAUL

LUCIUS R. WHITE, JR.

FRANCIS H. JENCKS

MRS. GEORGE WEEMS WILLIAMS

Women's Committee

MRS. W. WALLACE SYMINGTON, JR., *Chairman*

MRS. WILLIAM G. BAKER

MRS. NICHOLAS B. MERRYMAN OF J

MRS. FRANCIS F. BEIRNE

MRS. B. FRANK NEWCOMER

MRS. MARCUS M. BERNSTEIN, JR.

MISS ELISABETH C.G. PACKARD

MRS. KENNETH A. BOURNE

MR. WILLIAM H. PITCHER

MRS. WALTER B. BUCK

MRS. EDWIN C. POND

MRS. EDWARD K. DUNN

MRS. J. CREIGHTON RIEPE

MRS. SWEPSON EARLE

MRS. RICHARD C. RIGGS

MISS LOUIS M. GARY

MRS. J. NICHOLAS SHRIVER, JR.

MRS. W. T. DIXON GIBBS, JR.

MRS. PAUL P. SWETT, JR.

MISS JEAN H. GILMOR

MISS MARY GORDON THOM

MR. BRYDEN BORDLEY HYDE

MRS. CHARLES A. WEBB

MISS PECHIN INGLE

MRS. GEORGE W. WILLIAMS

Special Projects Committee

C. A. PORTER HOPKINS, *Chairman*

THOMAS M. ANDERSON, JR.

JOHN W. NOBLE, JR.

HOWARD BAETJER, II

ORLANDO V. RIDOUT, IV

HUGH BENET, JR.

ARTHUR W. SHERWOOD

WALTER W. BREWSTER

W. CAMERON SLACK

PLEASANTON L. CONQUEST, III

JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

GEORGE D. HUBBARD

ROBERT L. WEINBERG

W. BOULTON KELLY, JR.

WILLIAM CUSHING WHITRIDGE

HAROLD R. MANAKEE, *Director*

Honorary Members

THE EARL OF AVON

DR. LAWRENCE C. WROTH

BENEFACTORS AND CONTRIBUTORS TO THE FUNDS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1967

Amateur Gardeners' Club—For Women's Committee	\$ 600.00
<i>Ark and Dove Society</i> —Toward restoration of Leutze's "Founding of Maryland"	200.00
Miss Elizabeth W. Baker—For restoration of Baker portraits	500.00
Mrs. Harry Clark Boden—Toward restoration of Leutze's "Founding of Maryland"	700.00
Commander and Mrs. Marion V. Brewington—For Maritime Collection	1,000.00
Dr. George Callcott—Toward publicity for "History of the University of Maryland"	75.00
Edwin M. Fleischmann Foundation, Inc.—For Dr. and Mrs. Edward F. Lewison and Mrs. Mary Louise Sachs—Unrestricted	100.00
Jacob and Annita France Foundation—Unrestricted	2,500.00
Harford County Historical Society—For arrangement of Harford County historical papers	100.00
The Misses J. Pechin, Margaret and Eliza Ingle—For restoration of Pechin portrait	400.00
William B. Marye—For work on parish registers	50.00
Bessie D. Massey—Unrestricted bequest (Endowment Fund)	1,000.00
Mrs. Hooper S. Miles—Unrestricted	25.00
Middendorf Foundation—Unrestricted	2,500.00
J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul—For work on Harford County papers	100.00
Abbott L. Penniman—Unrestricted	90.00
A. Russell Slagle—For library purposes	200.00
National Society of the Daughters of Colonial Wars—For manuscript repair	50.00
Society of the Cincinnati in Maryland—Unrestricted	200.00
National Society of the Daughters of Founders and Patriots—For Key papers	50.00
Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland—For repair of the books of the Society	25.00
Woman's Eastern Shore Society—Unrestricted	100.00
Julia E. Spilcker—Final distribution of unrestricted bequest (Endowment Fund)	659.71
United Daughters of the Confederacy Baltimore #8 Chapter Maryland Division—For purchase of mannequin for Admiral Buchanan's uniform	150.00
United Daughters of the Confederacy, in memory of Norris Harris by his wife, Winifred Mitchell Harris—For the Confederate Room	2,000.00
Mrs. John Campbell White—For the library	2,000.00

For the gift of objects, books and papers, far too numerous to list here, which have been received in the century and more since it was founded, the Society records this expression of its lasting gratitude. These contributions from countless members and friends have made the Society a major storehouse of state and national treasures.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume 63

DECEMBER, 1968

Number 1

MARYLAND AND THE FEDERALIST: SEARCH FOR UNITY

By DOROTHY M. BROWN

POLITICAL factions were in transition in the first years of the Washington administration. The great divisive issue of the Constitution seemed decided and dead. The victorious Federalists had won the ratification struggle and earned the right to implement the new system of government. Deprived of the major cause for existence, the Anti-Federalist opposition faced a period of decline and disintegration. Yet, ironically the Federalist success filled them with apprehension and foreboding. From Mount Vernon President-elect George Washington confessed a mind "oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than he had words to express."¹ On the Eastern Shore, Maryland's first United States Senator John Henry lamented

¹ Cited by Edward Channing, "Washington and Parties, 1789-1797," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, XLVII (1913), p. 35.



FEDERAL TICKET.

<i>Wm</i> 165	First District,	MICHAEL J. STONE, Esq;
<i>169</i>	Second District,	JOSHUA SENEY, Esq;
<i>175</i>	Third District,	BENJAMIN CONTEE, Esq;
<i>183</i>	Fourth District,	WILLIAM SMITH, Esq;
<i>190</i>	Fifth District,	GEORGE GALE, Esq;
<i>197</i>	Sixth District,	DANIEL CARROLL, Esq;

ELECTORS.

Colonel GEORGE PLATER,	} Western- Shore.
JOHN ROGERS, Esq;	
<i>179</i> ALEXANDER C. HANSON, Esq;	
<i>179</i> Doctor PHILIP THOMAS,	
<i>191</i> ROBERT SMITH, Esq;	} Eastern- Shore.
<i>179</i> Colonel WILLIAM RICHARDSON,	
<i>177</i> Wm. TILGHMAN, Esq; Chester,	
<i>174</i> Doctor WILLIAM MATTHEWS,	

Federal ticket
(January, 1789. First Congressional Election.)
Broadside. M.H.S. Collection.

being drawn into "the Tumult and vexations of public life." It was all extremely painful and disagreeable.² Indeed, seldom had political triumph seemed more unsettling.

As the new administration was inaugurated, the crucial and immediate task of the Federalist leaders would be to devise an economic program and a political organization broad enough to solidify and to build party support strong enough to stimulate national growth and prosperity. Hamilton's reports on the public credit and manufactures were an attempt to find a new basis for political unity. Basically, the Secretary of the Treasury developed a plan to win the political confidence and interest of the creditor, the merchant and the planter. To accomplish this alignment of respectability behind the Federalist government, Hamilton proposed funding the foreign and domestic debt of the Confederation at face value. As a second step in wooing creditor support, he urged federal assumption of debts incurred by the states during the Revolution. To further stabilize fiscal affairs and to provide a stable currency, Hamilton suggested the establishment of a Bank of the United States. To meet the revenue problem and to encourage manufactures, he advised a protective tariff, but eventually compromised on moderate duties supplemented by an excise tax. Tightly encompassed in this comprehensive program, were the issues that would politically divide the nation and the Congress.

Decidedly Federalist in the ratification struggles, Maryland would provide a good proving ground for Hamilton's attempt to win consistent backing from local men of influence. The Free State delegation to the first Congress was an all-Federalist model of respectability. In the House, Maryland's six Congressmen were planters, merchants and lawyers with broad experience. All had patriotically served in some way during the Revolution; all had been delegates to the Continental Congress, the House of Delegates, or the Maryland Constitutional ratifying convention.³ In the Senate, John Henry's Federalist credentials were even more impressive. A Princeton graduate, he studied

² John Henry to Otho Holland Williams, March 5, 1789, Vol. V, Otho Holland Williams MSS. MS. 908, Md. Hist. Soc.

³ The 1st District (St. Marys, Charles, Calvert) returned Michael Jenifer Stone. A 42 year old landowner, brother of Thomas Stone, he had been a member of Maryland's Constitutional ratifying convention.

The 2nd District (Kent, Talbot, Queen Annes) sent 33 year old Joshua Seney. A planter from Church Hill, Seney graduated from the University of Pennsyl-

law in Britain's Middle Temple; later he returned to practice in Easton and to supervise his agrarian interests. He was a frequent delegate to the Continental Congress. However, most impressive was Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Senator Carroll, reputedly the wealthiest of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, had served the revolutionary cause and had been elected to the first Maryland Senate.⁴

In spite of such pervasive respectability, Maryland's Congressional delegation reflected the national debate roused by the Hamilton program. The votes of the Free State Federalists are a study in fractures. United only in their support of the Constitution, the Marylanders divided on almost every major issue. The only consistency in their erratic voting pattern was in their support of local and personal self interest.

In the debates on tariff schedules, this Free State division was obvious. Baltimore merchant William Smith argued against setting too high an impost rate. Citing local statistics, he noted that Baltimore's imports in 1788 had totalled £258,163. Other districts in the State had accrued another £185,537. If these figures were multiplied by twelve, the supposed national proportion of Maryland would total over £5,324,400. This, contended Smith, was certainly more revenue than the government needed.⁵ Speaking in the House on the same day, Eastern Shore

vania, became a lawyer and served as a delegate to the House of Delegates and to the Continental Congress.

The 3rd District (Anne Arundel and Prince Georges) was represented by Benjamin Contee. Educated in private school, the 33 year old Contee had served as a captain in the 3rd Maryland battalion and as a member of the House of Delegates and the Continental Congress.

The 4th District (Hartford, Baltimore City and County) returned merchant William Smith. Father-in-law of political leader Otho Holland Williams, the 61 year old Smith had served in the Continental Congress.

The 5th District (Somerset, Dorchester, Worcester, Caroline) sent 33 year old landowner George Gale. A war veteran, he had also served in the Maryland convention ratifying the Constitution.

The 6th District (Frederick, Washington, Montgomery) was served by 59 year old landowner Daniel Carroll. He had been a delegate to the Continental Congress, the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention, and the Maryland Senate. For brief sketches see *Biographical Directory of the American Congress: 1774-1949* (Washington, 1950), pp. 842, 996, 1507, 1543. *The Biographical Cyclopaedia of Representative Men of Maryland and District of Columbia* (Baltimore, 1879), pp. 107, 358.

⁴ Matthew Page Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland* (Chicago, 1925), I, pp. 9-11, 57-58.

⁵ U.S., *Annals of Congress*, House of Representatives, 1st Congress, 1st Session (Washington, 1834), I, p. 144.

representative George Gale warned that a proposed nine-cent duty on beer would give a monopoly to local brewers.⁶ Yet two days later, Daniel Carroll urged that some tariff protection should be given to encourage the glass manufacturers in his district.⁷

A more crucial issue and debate involved Hamilton's plan to fund the national debt at face value. To the Secretary of the Treasury, this measure was basic to his drive to secure the support of men of wealth and influence. To the opposition led by Virginia's James Madison, Hamilton's program seemed an unfair giveaway to speculators and capitalists who had snatched up depreciated government securities at bargain rates.⁸

Congress divided behind these two leaders and viewpoints. In the House, Free State representatives Daniel Carroll and George Gale supported Hamilton's funding plan, while Joshua Seney, William Smith and Michael Stone voted with Madison. In the Senate, Marylanders Charles Carroll and John Henry acted with the Administration.⁹ On the whole, however, this national debt issue had little impact on the local politics of the Free State. In the campaigns of 1790 it was lost in the shadow of the related problems of the assumption of state debts and the location of the national capital.

Though there had been disagreement as to the funding of the national debt, there was at least a common recognition that this debt should be met. There was not even such minimal

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 167. In addition to tariff protection, Marylanders sought a navigation act to protect their shipping from British competition. William McCreery and Baltimore shipwrights directed a petition to the House of Representatives, May 4, 1789, indicating the local needs. See U.S., *American State Papers*: Vol. VII *Commerce and Navigation* (Washington, 1832), I, pp. 5-6. William Smith of Baltimore spoke for a rate of fifty cents a ton on British shipping, U.S., *Annals of Congress*, House of Representatives, 1st session, I, p. 284.

⁸ Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (New York, 1920), IV, p. 60. See also John C. Miller, *The Federalist Era, 1789-1801* in *The New American Nation Series*, ed. H. S. Commager and R. B. Morris (New York, 1960), pp. 36-45. Over half of the \$900,000 debt held in Maryland was owned by sixteen persons. Most politically prominent of these speculators was the firm of Benjamin Stoddert and Uriah Forrest, which owned 11% of the total. E. James Ferguson, *The Power of the Purse, A History of American Public Finance, 1776-1790* (Chapel Hill, 1961), pp. 275-77.

⁹ U.S., *Annals of Congress*, Senate, 1st Congress, 2d Session, I, p. 1028. William Smith explained his negative vote was due to fears that the "very unexpected" measure would alarm the citizens. Smith to Otho Holland Williams, Feb. 25, 1790, Vol VI, Otho Holland Williams MSS, Md. Hist. Soc. Charles Carroll saw payment as a government obligation. Charles Carroll to Mrs. Mary Caton, April 14, 1790, Carroll-McTavish MSS, Md. Hist. Soc.

agreement on Hamilton's controversial proposal that the federal government assume the war debts of the states. Massachusetts and South Carolina burdened with large debts obviously championed the measure. Virginia and Georgia were very reluctant to be taxed to pay the debts of their more prodigal sisters.

Again in this debate, the Free State, though her share in the government debt was comparatively small, reflected the national division.¹⁰ A six vote majority was the largest the Federalists in the House of Delegates could muster in a series of Free State resolutions and proposals backing Hamilton's program.¹¹ In Congress, there was a similar split. Senator Charles Carroll, author of the Senate's assumption bill, naturally supported his own measure. But John Henry, disillusioned by Senatorial cabals and bargains, voted in the negative. In the House, Marylanders split in the April test vote that defeated assumption 29-31.¹² Despairing of its passage, Charles Carroll of Carrollton feared that the frustrated minority would try to tie the State assumption to the still undecided issue of funding the national debt.¹³

Balked in their first attempts to pass the assumption measure, the debtor states, led by Hamilton, devised the first major political deal of the Washington administration. Meeting with Virginia statesman, Thomas Jefferson, Hamilton tied the issue of assumption neatly to the question of the location of the national capital. If Madison and the Virginia opposition were prepared to deliver some votes for the assumption plan, Hamilton would move to insure a Potomac site for the capital. It was this bargain that had the most powerful impact on Free State politics in the first years of the Washington administration.

Since the ratification of the Constitution, Marylanders, recognizing their central geographic position, had pointed out the advantages of locating the national capital in the Free State rather than in New York. Annapolis, Georgetown, and Balti-

¹⁰ Report of Governor John E. Howard to Alexander Hamilton, Jan. 11, 1790, Executive Letterbook, Hall of Records, Annapolis. Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-53.

¹¹ Maryland, *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates*, November session, 1790, pp. 86 and 104-5.

¹² U.S., *Annals of Congress*, House of Representatives, 1st Congress, 2d Session, pp. 1712 and 1716. Carroll, Gale and Stone generally supported the measure on test votes. Contee, Smith and Seney voted negative.

¹³ Charles Carroll to Mrs. Mary Caton, April 14, 1790, Carroll-McTavish MSS, MS. 220, Md. Hist. Soc.

more pressed Maryland's claims most insistently. As early as February 10, 1789, Baltimore's *Maryland Journal* reported "with pleasure that the merchants and others of this place are subscribing to a provisional loan for the purpose of erecting in this town, a house for holding the sessions of Congress, and other proper buildings for the great offices of the United States." In May, 1790 Baltimoreans subscribed over £20,000 in a frantic two weeks of fund raising in a last effort to attract the attention and support of the Congressional politicians before the final vote on the Potomac site.¹⁴

Although the assumption-capital compromise had been settled behind the scenes, there still remained the technical problem of delivering the promised votes. On both issues, Maryland's Congressmen would play important parts. In the Senate, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, chairman of the committee on assumption, pushed through approval in a manner that disgusted his colleague John Henry. The Eastern Shore Senator complained to Pennsylvanian William Maclay that Carroll had written in the approval of the committee members before they even met. He concluded morosely that apparently "all great governments resolve themselves into cabals." Senator Maclay was not so disillusioned as irritated by this Federalist rigging. He noted: "We did not need this demonstration to prove that the whole business was prearranged. . . ."¹⁵

More intricate was the problem of securing the vote for the Potomac site. Increasingly as the jockeying for votes and favors progressed, the location of the permanent national capital became involved with a debate over the location of a temporary home for Congress while the permanent buildings were readied. Baltimore's representative William Smith described the dicker-ing: "to wit, if you will consent to let the temporary seat of Congress be at N.Y. or Phila we will vote for Trenton, Susqha, or Potomack, as the case may be for the permanent seat."¹⁶ In the active logrolling, Marylanders followed their local and personal interests. Potomac landowner Daniel Carroll praised a

¹⁴ J. T. Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1876), pp. 260 and 566.

¹⁵ E. S. Maclay (ed.), *The Journal of William Maclay* (New York, 1927), p. 319.

¹⁶ William Smith to Otho H. Williams, Aug. 31, 1789, Vol. V, Otho H. Williams MSS, MS. 908, Md. Hist. Soc.

site on that river, while Eastern Shore delegate Joshua Seney plumped for a capital along the Susquehanna River.¹⁷ Baltimorean William Smith pressed for that city as the temporary home for Congress, but could get little support from other Free State delegates.

Congressmen Joshua Seney and Michael Stone explained Maryland's fragmentation. As a Marylander, reasoned Stone, he would vote for Baltimore. However, as an American, he realized that the best permanent seat for the government was on the Potomac. Maryland was in the position of Tantalus, torn between two appealing alternatives.¹⁸ Reiterating this dilemma, Seney observed that Maryland's division merely reflected the national confusion.¹⁹

In the final voting, the majority of the Free State delegation sided with the Congressional majority to approve Philadelphia as a temporary residence and the Potomac site as the permanent location of the capital. Charles Carroll of Carrollton explained the outcome with some equanimity. Like William Smith, he would have benefited from having the capital at Baltimore, but Baltimore had never really been seriously put forward. It was used merely to bargain against the Potomac interests to keep the capital in New York for three or four more years. By that time New Yorkers hoped that they could make removal of the Congress impossible and impractical. It was this fear that had prompted the Maryland representatives to vote for Philadelphia as the temporary seat of government. As for the Potomac choice, Carroll pointed out the advantages: "Maryland will be greatly benefited by having the permanent seat of the Govt within its limits; this seat of Govt of the U.S. will give a consequence and opulence to our State, which will put it on a par with either of its neighbors, and being more compact and more united it will enjoy advantages superior to those of any other State in the union."²⁰

The Maryland General Assembly concurred with this opinion. The House of Delegates in a close 37-30 vote appropriated

¹⁷ U.S., *Annals of Congress*, House of Representatives, 1st Congress, 1st Session, I, p. 880; 2d Session, II, pp. 1678-80.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1st Congress, 2d Session, II, p. 1664.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Mrs. Mary Caton, July 11, 1790, Carroll-McTavish MSS, MS. 220, Md. Hist. Soc.

\$72,000 to be advanced to the President of the United States in three annual payments for buildings in the national capital. Subsequently, laws were passed condemning land to make way for the public construction and ceding the land at the proposed site to the Federal government "in full and absolute right, and exclusive jurisdiction."²¹

On other national measures, including the establishment of the Bank of the United States, Maryland's Congressmen split once again. Federalist Michael Stone warned Americans to be alert against such a usurpation of power that "unexpectedly tricked" the people out of their Constitution. Arguing against the whole doctrine of implied powers used by Hamilton to defend the bank, Stone asserted:

But gentlemen tell us, that if we tie up the Constitution too tightly, it will break; if we hamper it, we cannot stir; if we do not admit the doctrine, we cannot legislate at all. And with a kind of triumph, they say that implication is recognized by the Constitution itself in the clause wherein we have power to make all laws, to carry, &c This clause was intended to defeat those loose and proud privileges of legislation which had been contended for. It was meant to reduce legislation to some rule. In fine, it confined the Legislature to those means that were necessary and proper.²²

When he attempted to recommit the bank bill to committee in the House, Stone was defeated 23-34. Voting with him on recommitment were Maryland representatives Daniel Carroll, Benjamin Contee, George Gale, and William Smith. On February 8, 1791 on House passage of the bill, Carroll, Contee, Gale and Stone, staunch Federalists all, voted with Madison in the negative. In the Senate, Federalist money-lender Charles Carroll consistently sided against the measure.²³

Obviously in the voting for Hamilton's major proposals,

²¹ Maryland, *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates*, November session, 1790, p. 23. Maryland, *Laws of Maryland*, November, 1791, Ch. XLV. Vote split showed Baltimore vs. Potomac interests.

²² U.S., *Annals of Congress*, House of Representatives, 1st Congress, 3d Session, II, p. 1934.

²³ U.S., *Annals of Congress*, Senate, 1st Congress, 3d Session, II, pp. 1766 and 1769; House of Representatives, 1st Congress, 3d Session, II, p. 1893. In 1790, Samuel Smith, Otho Holland Williams and merchants Robert Gilmore and James Paterson were the principal backers of the Bank of Maryland set up in competition with the BUS. Maryland, *Laws of Maryland*, 1790, Ch. V.

Maryland's national representatives were not yet following any administration lead or local dictates. While the national debt question had been pending, William Smith had written Baltimore Federalist leader, son-in-law Otho Holland Williams, that the Free State representatives were completely in the dark as to how their constituents wanted them to vote.²⁴ The main arbiter for decision-making seemed the individual conscience and personal interest of the Congressman.

However, a sensitivity in reverse did emerge as the local voters reacted to the Hamiltonian programs in the 1790 election for Congress. In spite of a wealth of national issues, the capital decision alone made an impact on Maryland politics. In the 1790 campaigns, the Federalist and Anti-Federalist labels completely disappeared. Instead two new, geographically based, factions formed as Baltimore's frustrated politicians led a vendetta against the Congressmen who had consistently rejected the city as a national capital.

The plan to punish the Potomac supporters was detailed by "A Marylander" in the *Maryland Gazette*. In the state-wide system of voting for Congress, he reasoned, a few heavily populated areas acting together could control the election of an entire State ticket. Looking back to the big 1,167 vote Federalist majority turned in by western Maryland in 1789, "A Marylander" made his point, explaining: "If Baltimore-town and county, Harford and Anne-Arundel move together with the same unanimity as Washington and Frederick, when they supported the federal ticket, they are certainly more numerous and can effectively show their resentment to such of their servants as are opposed to their interest. . . ."²⁵ What the urban leaders in Baltimore sought was an alignment of the big counties of the Chesapeake area. These areas tied commercially to the bay and the port of Baltimore could forcibly register their displeasure at the creation of a Potomac capital that might replace Baltimore as the entrepot for Free State trade.

The intensity of this local issue allied former bitter Baltimore antagonists as Samuel Chase and Robert and Samuel Smith. A letter bearing the signature of all three went to Eastern Shore

²⁴ William Smith to Otho Holland Williams, Feb. 25, 1790, Vol. VI, Otho Holland Williams MSS, MS. 908, Md. Hist. Soc.

²⁵ *The Maryland Gazette; or the Baltimore Advertiser*, June 25, 1790.

leader William Vans Murray asking his "strenuous support" for the Chesapeake ticket. Yet, realizing the delicacy of this request from the city faction to the parochial Eastern Shore, the petitioners noted: "Our Constituents presume not to dictate, but we hope that offering their sentiments on a Subject, in which they are so deeply interested, cannot give offence to their fellow citizens."²⁶

The Chesapeake ticket finally proposed at a Baltimore town meeting carried a varied assortment of former Anti-Federalist and Federalist veterans. Prominent lawyer William Pinkney and Anti-Federalist Baltimore brewer Samuel Sterrett were combined with moderate Federalist incumbent Joshua Seney and arch-conservative lawyer-planter Philip Key. The complete slate listed by districts included:

1st district	Philip Key
2nd district	Joshua Seney
3rd district	William Pinkney
4th district	Samuel Sterrett
5th district	William Vans Murray
6th district	Upton Sheredine ²⁷

Meeting this Chesapeake challenge, the politicians in the Potomac counties and the more ardent backers of the Administration's policies caucused in Annapolis under the chairmanship of Governor William Smallwood. From their deliberations came a rival state-wide entry, the Potomac ticket. Like the Chesapeake slate, it was a somewhat incongruous mixture. Paired with incumbents Stone, Gale, Contee, and Carroll were

²⁶ Yeiser, Engelhart, Smith, Chase *et al.* to William Vans Murray, Sept. 24, 1790, Vertical File, Md. Hist. Soc.

²⁷ *The Maryland Gazette; or the Baltimore Advertiser*, Sept. 24, 1790. Like the Federalists they sought to depose, these candidates represented solid influence and respectability. Philip Key had studied in Britain and served in the House of Delegates and on a local Committee of Correspondence during the Revolution. William Pinkney studied the classics, medicine, and finally law. Helped by Judge Chase he had served in the House of Delegates and the state constitutional convention. Samuel Sterret, Baltimore merchant, had graduated from the University of Pennsylvania and served as secretary to the President of Congress, 1789 and as a Maryland state senator. William Vans Murray, after studying law in Britain, settled on the Eastern Shore. His father's holdings made up one-third of the present site of Cambridge. Upton Sheredine's landholdings were in Liberty, Frederick County. He had served in the state constitutional convention and the House of Delegates. Median age of the candidates was 38 years old, four less than the incumbents. See *Biographical Directory of the American Congress: 1774-1949*.

Eastern Shore planter James Tilghman and the ubiquitous Samuel Sterrett. By districts the slate suggested:

1st district	Michael Jenifer Stone
2nd district	James Tilghman of James
3rd district	Benjamin Contee
4th district	George Gale
5th district	Samuel Sterrett
6th district	Daniel Carroll ²⁸

The balloting in this geographical contest was heavy, but apparently there was no great violence at the polls. In Baltimore, riot-haven, the veteran politicians brought a record 99 per cent of the electorate to the polls. Of the 3,048 votes cast only twelve supported the Potomac ticket. The previous year, when the Federalists and Anti-Federalists could appeal to the life and death issues of constitutional order and class tyranny, only a thousand Baltimoreans had bothered to vote, and these had split fairly evenly. In the more populous Chesapeake counties, Baltimore and Harford, over 50 per cent of the electorate voted and gave overwhelming support to the Chesapeake ticket. Harford County's unanimous total of 1,281 votes was almost triple the 1789 balloting. In Baltimore County, the Chesapeake ticket brought out 2,486 voters, three times as many as the Ridgely family faction had managed to coax to the polls in the Federalist-Anti-Federalist struggles. Potomac counties, Montgomery, Prince Georges, Charles, Frederick, Washington and Allegany turned out a sizeable and almost unanimous electorate in southern and western Maryland. On the Eastern Shore there was a more mixed response to the geographical tickets. Only Dorchester County, where native son William Vans Murray was a candidate, gave overwhelming support to the Chesapeake slate. Neighboring Worcester County, however, was just as positive for the Potomac ticket.²⁹

²⁸ *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Sept. 28, 1790. The spelling of the name of Samuel Sterrett has changed since the 1789 tickets.

²⁹ For voting percentages see J. R. Pole, "Constitutional Reform and Election Statistics in Maryland, 1790-1812," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LV (December, 1960), p. 285. Election returns in Executive Archives, Hall of Records, Annapolis. The biggest majority was amassed by Samuel Sterrett, who ran on both tickets. With 16,420 votes he stood six thousand ahead of the other candidates and was ten thousand ahead of Daniel Carroll, top vote-getter in 1789. The second highest candidate was William Pinkney, but his success was contested on the basis of residence requirements. Governor Howard argued that Pinkney could not be

When all the votes were tallied, the Federalist incumbents had been given a severe drubbing and a rude jolt by the Chesapeake renegades. The conservative rural leaders were faced with the nightmare of continuing Baltimore control of the State's Congressional delegation. In self-defense the Potomac leaders and administration supporters marshalled their forces.

Elected by a separate county vote and still dominated by rural forces, the House of Delegates in its November 1790 session passed a measure to alter the voting regulations for Congressional elections. Henceforth, the Maryland electorate could vote only for candidates in their own district. The numbers of Baltimore City and County and Harford County would all be dissipated in the election of a single Congressman. Only the vote for Presidential electors would remain on a state-wide basis. In the case of a tie for Congress or the electoral college, the Governor and his Council would choose the winning candidate by lot.³⁰

Thus undercut by the legislature, the Chesapeake faction disappeared as quickly as it had arisen. Yet the Chesapeake-Potomac political pattern did linger. In earlier Constitutional struggles, the opposition minority had centered in the bay area of the State. The 1790 campaign had reinforced this Chesapeake cooperation. In the 1792 elections, though the issues had changed, this geographical alignment remained virtually intact. The Potomac counties in southern and western Maryland voted

elected from the Third District while living in the Fourth. Pinkney eventually resigned and landowning Anti-Federalist John Francis Mercer was selected for the vacancy. John Eager Howard memo, Corner Collection, MS. 1242, Md. Hist. Soc.

³⁰ Maryland, *Laws of Maryland*, 1790, Ch. XVI. In 1791, the Assembly, acting on the census returns of 1790 and the Congressional apportionment for the different states, divided the Free State into new districts. Two plans were outlined since it was doubtful whether Maryland could return eight or nine delegates. If allowed nine, the districts would be: 1) St. Marys, Charles, Calvert; 2) Prince Georges, Anne Arundel, Annapolis; 3) Montgomery and Frederick to the Monocacy; 4) Frederick, Washington, Allegany; 5) Harford, Baltimore City and County; 6) Cecil, Kent, Queen Annes; 7) Caroline, Talbot, Dorchester; 8) Somerset, Worcester. The Fifth District would send two Congressmen. If the State could return only eight members, the first four districts would remain as above. The others varied: 5) Baltimore City and County; 6) Harford, Cecil, Kent; 7) Queen Annes, Caroline, Talbot; 8) Dorchester, Somerset, Worcester. For electors the voter could ballot for ten candidates, six from the Western and four from the Eastern Shore. *Ibid.*, 1791, Ch. XLII.

staunchly Federalist, while Baltimore City and her environs registered more and more sympathy for the opposition forces of Madison and Jefferson.

In the hiatus between the Congressional elections of 1790 and 1792 local developments of a varied nature occupied the Free State. Generally, it was a period of growth and prosperity. According to the 1790 census, Maryland was the sixth most populous of the American states.³¹ Economically, the State's ports made Maryland the largest importer of French and Dutch goods; second-ranked in German imports, and fourth in British trade. She shared in the large national export volume of wheat and tobacco.³² Reflecting this boom, Maryland's exports in the next fourteen years soared from two to fourteen million dollars.³³

In the political interim between 1790 and 1792, the Maryland Federalists sought to shore up local party support through federal patronage. The years 1789-1792 are full of requests for rewards for service to the Washington regime. More persistent petitioners were local politicians Otho Holland Williams and James McHenry. Their success would encourage others.

Local fulcrum for party correspondence was General Otho Holland Williams, revolutionary war hero and treasurer of the Maryland Society of the Order of Cincinnati, who was one of the first to apply to the administration. Seeking Congressional appointment to the post of Collector of the port of Baltimore, he asked the intercession of Henry Lee with Senator William

³¹ U.S., Bureau of the Census. *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States taken in the Year 1790; Maryland* (Washington, 1907), p. 8. Its population of 319,728, including 103,036 slaves, put it behind Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, Pennsylvania and North Carolina.

³² U.S., *American State Papers*, VII, p. 7. See also Samuel Blodget, *Economica: A Statistical Manual for the United States* (1806), pp. 122-23 and 142 for export totals and prices current. The wheat country of the Eastern Shore was alluded to by one touring expert as "the best farming country in America." Charles A. Clark (ed.), *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia* (New York, 1950), I, p. 485.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 441. Blodget's statistics quote the rise to sixteen million dollars. Blodget, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-23. This economic picture was fitfully mirrored in the General Assembly debates. Passed in this period were measures supporting a rash of road building, repairs of public buildings, and deadline extensions to the Potomac and Susquehanna companies in their efforts to improve navigation on those rivers. However, the passage of a series of general and specific debtor relief bills indicated that the economic outlook remained somewhat spotty after the 1786 recession. Maryland, *Laws of Maryland, 1790*. Resolutions and list of laws.



Otho Holland Williams. 1749-1794.
Painting by Charles Willson Peale.
M.H.S. Collection.

Lee of Virginia.³⁴ On the same tack, he wrote to Pennsylvanian Robert Morris, citing his "small share in the revolution in the Government of my native Country."³⁵ Later, Williams wrote directly to Washington. Pointing out his qualifications, he rested his "hopes of your Excellencys approbation entirely upon my experience and knowedge of the business."³⁶ Such persistence was not to be denied. Williams received the post.

Even more actively involved in seeking patronage for himself and other Maryland Federalists was James McHenry, supporter of the Constitution at the Philadelphia convention. In close correspondence with leader Alexander Hamilton, McHenry fished for a diplomatic post in London or Paris. In October, 1791, he was still petitioning. Elected to the Maryland Senate in that year, McHenry wrote the Secretary of the Treasury that he would still prefer overseas duty. A sea voyage might help to revive his sagging health and vitality. Perhaps feeling that the

³⁴ Otho Holland Williams to Henry Lee, Jan. 3, 1789, Vol. V, Otho Holland Williams MSS, MS. 908, Md. Hist. Soc. Williams had held this post during the Confederation period.

³⁵ Otho Holland Williams to Robert Morris, Jan. 3, 1789, *ibid.*

³⁶ Otho Holland Williams to George Washington, April 16, 1789, *ibid.*

Marylander could help the party more at home, Hamilton was unmoved.³⁷

Yet indicating the esteem that party leaders had for McHenry, Washington wrote seeking the advice of the Free State leader on local appointments. Distressed that Federalists Robert Hanson Harrison and Thomas Johnson had turned down appointments to Federal judgeships, the President explained that he was reluctant to appoint another Maryland judge unless first assured of his acceptance.³⁸ Underscoring the transition stage of Free State politics, McHenry suggested William Paca, signer of the Declaration of Independence and former Anti-Federalist champion, for the post. Paca received and accepted the appointment.

On the whole Washington's administration was fairly generous to Maryland supporters. Richard Potts, faithful Frederick lawyer, was named United States Attorney for Maryland; Nathaniel Ramsay, a Federalist bumped from the 1789 Congressional ticket, was mollified by an appointment as United States Marshall.³⁹ Robert Purviance, local aristocrat down on his luck, received a minor position in the port of Baltimore through the intercession of McHenry.⁴⁰

Having attempted to strengthen the sinews of party, the Federalists prepared for the Congressional and Presidential elections of 1792. The issues centered on Hamilton's policies and the resulting flood of fiscal speculation. Maryland stood fifth in the listing of holders of public securities.⁴¹ Prominent Federalists like Otho Holland Williams and William Smith had caught the nationwide speculative fever that saw "the merchant, the man who lives upon the interest of his bonds, the tradesman, and the farmer convert their whole into money, to engage in this lucrative business."⁴² The election of 1792 would pit those

³⁹ J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (Baltimore, 1879), II, pp. 561-62.

³⁷ Bernard L. Steiner, *The Life and Correspondence of James McHenry* (Cleveland, 1907), pp. 122-23, 130-31.

³⁸ George Washington to James McHenry, Nov. 30, 1789, cited in W. C. Ford (ed.), *The Writings of Washington* (New York, 1891), XI, pp. 447-50.

⁴⁰ James McHenry to John Henry, May 3, 1789, McHenry MSS, MS. 647, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁴¹ Channing, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 93. Maryland ranked behind Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania.

⁴² Otho Holland Williams to Dr. Philip Thomas, Jan. 26, 1790, Vol. V, Otho Holland Williams MSS, MS. 908, Md. Hist. Soc. William Smith to Otho Holland Williams, Jan. 31, 1791, Vol. VI, *ibid.*



James McHenry. 1751-1816,
Engraving by St. Memin.
Hayden Collection, M.H.S.

who had caught the disease against those who bitterly decried the demoralization of rampant speculation.

Writing in the *Maryland Journal*, "Valerius" was the most prolific defender of the Federalists and investors. Brushing aside the criticism of speculators, "Valerius" warned of red herrings and issued his own warnings against the machinations of the "old cheap money boys" and "tacit consenters" to the Constitution.⁴³

Using the more direct method of personal correspondence, the Federalist leaders impressed upon party lieutenants the need for decisive efforts. James McHenry cautioned Eastern Shore leader William Perry to be alert against the Antis, who would be active under many names and guises. Dreading an Anti-Federalist resurgence, the Baltimorean urged Perry to work for the election of lawyer-planter William Hindman in his district and not to "let the vessel sink for want of a little help." Almost

⁴³ *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Aug. 24, Aug. 31 and Sept. 28, 1792.

as a postscript, McHenry reminded Perry of the possible rewards for party work, observing that his friend in Philadelphia (probably Hamilton) had indicated that if an opportunity arose he would not forget Mr. Perry.⁴⁴

In August, McHenry made a Maryland progress report to Hamilton. He suggested that an effort should be made to run Charles Carroll of Carrollton in Anne Arundel County, not because he would win, but to detach him from his current admiration of Jefferson. Samuel Smith, erstwhile leader of the Chesapeake faction, was described as a good Federalist and given the odds to defeat persistent candidate Charles Ridgely of Baltimore County. However, in all the electioneering, McHenry indicated that he would remain behind the scenes, acting more from "the interest Hamilton felt in it, than from any other consideration."⁴⁵ Perhaps now Hamilton would supply a suitable post.

In the campaign of 1792 there were two noticeable changes in the Free State. Since the Congressional voting was by districts, there were no state-wide tickets. Also, for the first time candidates for Congress and the House of Delegates would be elected simultaneously in the first week of October. In this districted and local election then, though the issue of fiscal speculation lingered in the background, the campaigns devolved mainly into local personality duels.

Perhaps most heated was the Anne Arundel-Prince Georges Congressional fight. While the vote in Baltimore City tumbled from 99 to 35 per cent in 1792, Anne Arundel's percentage arched upward from 7 to 54 per cent and Prince Georges from 46 to 57 per cent.⁴⁶ In both counties and the city of Annapolis, controversial John Francis Mercer was under heavy Federalist attack. Born in Virginia, graduated from William and Mary, Mercer had served in the field and in the Continental Congress during the Revolution. Moving to Maryland, the Anne Arundel planter had served the State at the Philadelphia Constitutional proceedings, but had refused to sign the finished document. A friend of Jefferson, he had been an administration critic in his

⁴⁴ James McHenry to William Perry, July 15, 1792, McHenry MSS, MS. 647, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁴⁵ Cited in Steiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-37.

⁴⁶ Pole, *loc. cit.*, p. 285.

brief term in Congress. His record made him a prime Federalist target. He was "no fit political character" since he had impugned the abilities of Hamilton and had continually voted with the Virginia Madison-Jefferson faction.⁴⁷

Indicating the onus of an anti-administration label, Mercer hotly defended his record. He explained that he had voted against Hamilton's measures to fund the debt because he was convinced that they would not benefit Maryland. His intentions were good, but he expected and was resigned to "innumerable lies to be printed by those speculators, who have money and no conscience or truth. . . ."⁴⁸ Plaintively Mercer decried the Federalists' insensitivity to his poor health as they forced him to stump the counties to silence unfair attacks. The Federalists were unimpressed and maintained their attack.

Particularly, they criticized the Mercer handbills that attested to the support of Washington. The President himself in a September 26 letter to Mercer condemned this use of his name for electioneering purposes.⁴⁹ Though Washington tried to remain scrupulously out of the local fracas, Hamilton's influence was evident. After a heated correspondence in which he accused the Secretary of the Treasury of meddling in the election, Mercer huffily informed Hamilton that he would await any summons from the Federalist leader.⁵⁰

In spite of the heat and accusations in the Mercer struggle, the only threatened violence in the 1792 polling was in Baltimore City. Peppercot Samuel Chase held center stage. A judge of the election, he reputedly acted in such an arbitrary manner that a group of mechanics gathered at the door of the polling place bearing a chair to transport Chase to the docks for a dip in the Patapsco. They were dissuaded by some "prudent persons," and so ended the physical phase of the 1792 voting.⁵¹

After their earnest campaigning, the results of the 1792 Congressional vote must have been discouraging to the Maryland

⁴⁷ Annapolis, *The Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 20, 1792.

⁴⁸ John F. Mercer, "An Off-hand REPLY to Voter, &c.," broadside, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁴⁹ George Washington to John Francis Mercer, Sept. 26, 1792, cited in Ford, *op. cit.*, XII, p. 194.

⁵⁰ John F. Mercer to Alexander Hamilton, March 26, 1793, Mercer MSS, Va. Hist. Soc.

⁵¹ William Smith to Otho Holland Williams, Oct. 8, 1792, Vol. VII, Otho Holland Williams MSS, MS. 908, Md. Hist. Soc.

Federalists. Fighting on a local level against a disjointed opposition, the party could only eke out a five to three superiority in Congressional seats. Particularly galling was the relatively easy victory of John Francis Mercer.⁵²

Although the Congressional vote had eaten into the Federalist hold on Maryland's representatives, the electoral balloting presented no real challenge to party supremacy. With George Washington heading the ticket, the party seemed assured of Maryland's ten electors. Nevertheless, Federalist Governor Thomas Sim Lee feared that the opposition would somehow influence votes away from John Adams for the vice-presidency. The Anti-Federalists did suggest Charles Carroll of Carrollton for the second spot, but they could not crack the solid Federalist backing for Adams.⁵³ Carroll acted swiftly to defeat this stratagem by announcing that he would not serve if elected.⁵⁴

Still the Federalists fretted and worried that the Antis would try some devilment. Writing to elector Richard Potts instructing him to come to Annapolis to vote, Governor Lee warned: "Exertions, I suspect, have been secretly made by those unfriendly to Adams' reelection—the friends of the Genl Governmt will be glad of yr attendance here. . . ."⁵⁵ Only on December 5, when the ten Maryland electors cast their votes for Washington and Adams, did the Free State Federalists relax their vigilance.⁵⁶ In spite of this victory, it was obvious that the Federalists' hold on the State's important offices had been loosened between 1789 and 1792. The magic name and influence of Washington had

⁵² In the 1st District, Federalist lawyer George Dent defeated fellow Federalists Philip Key and John Parnham. Mercer defeated Federalist John Thomas in the 2nd District by 400 votes. In the 3rd District where only 7% turned out wealthy Uriah Forrest, the Federalist candidate, won. Influential moderate Thomas Sprigg was unopposed in the 4th District. In the 5th District contest, merchant Samuel Smith, viewed as a Federalist, defeated Charles Ridgely. The 6th District balloting elected Anti-Federalist Gabriel Christie over Federalist William Matthews. In the 7th District, Federalist backed William Hindman edged former Potomac candidate James Tilghman. In the 8th District, Federalist William Vans Murray was easily elected. Election returns, Executive Archives, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁵³ *The Baltimore Daily Repository*, Oct. 15 and 16, 1792; *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Oct. 23, 1792.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1792. Statewide tickets, indicating backing for Adams or Carroll, were suggested for the ten Maryland electors.

⁵⁵ Thomas Sim Lee to Richard Potts, Nov. 29, 1792, Potts MSS, MS. 1392, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁵⁶ Scharf, *History of Maryland*, II, p. 575.

been a solid party rallying point. The Federalists might well view his eventual retirement with apprehension.

In these busy years of the first Washington administration, Hamilton's hopes of solidly uniting men of influence behind the Federalist program were only partially fulfilled in Maryland. Without the benefit of patronage or unified national leadership, the opposition to the administration remained. Ominously for the future, the discontented were centered in the most populous bay area of the State—a strange mixture of old Anti-Federalists, Chesapeake politicians, anti-speculators and local traditionalists. Unorganized and lacking statewide leadership, they provided a rich potential for the emerging Jeffersonian Republicans.

What was obvious was that Maryland politics had only been stirred by those national decisions which had immediacy in the Free State. Her Congressmen remained Maryland-oriented in their views and votes. While Hamiltonian policies had laid the basis for new political divisions, it would take the catalyst and impact of the French Revolution finally to forge effective and disciplined parties in the nation and in Maryland.

POST-REVOLUTIONARY LETTERS
OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON,
PISCATAWAY MERCHANT
PART 1, JANUARY-JUNE 1784

Edited by DAVID C. SKAGGS AND RICHARD K. MACMASTER*

INTRODUCTION

“PEOPLE pay me nothing but promises,” wrote an exasperated Alexander Hamilton during a frustrating year of trying to collect pre-revolutionary debts owed the small Glasgow firm of James Brown & Company. After spending much of the War of Independence in voluntary exile in Berkeley County, Virginia, Hamilton returned to the hamlet of Piscataway in Prince George’s County in an effort to collect the debts due his employer and with hopes of re-establishing his tobacco factory on the Potomac tidewater. In both of these aspirations 1784 was a disappointing year.

Debt collecting he found to be “a damnable” business of which he wrote: “I cannot get anything, scarcely a renewal” of an old note. He found several reasons for this situation, among which were the surprise of the planters at the provisions of the Peace of Paris requiring payment for all pre-war debts, the opposition of all debtors to the paying of interest for the war years, and the fact that “Death, Bankruptcy, and Immigration to the South & West” had deprived the company of many possible collections.¹

Hamilton’s position as a factor for Scottish merchants was jeopardized by at least three economic developments of the

* The Alice Ferguson Foundation of Accokeek, Md., graciously provided the editors financial support which assisted in the research for this series of letters.

¹ Quotations from Letters #17, #32, #18, #2, *infra*; Philip A. Crowl, *Maryland During and After the Revolution: A Political and Economic Study* (Baltimore, 1943), pp. 64-82, gives an extended discussion of the problem of debt collection.

period. The first was the growing influx of American factors into the tobacco trade replacing the traditional English and Scottish firms that had monopolized much of the Chesapeake region's colonial commerce.² A second trend saw the concentration of commercial development away from the tobacco inspection stations at places like Piscataway, Bladensburg, Port Tobacco, and Chaptico in Maryland and Colchester and Dumfries in Virginia to more urbanized trading communities like Baltimore, Georgetown, and Alexandria.³ Finally, the Scottish tobacco lords had received a severe economic jolt as a result of the American War of Independence and turned much of their capital investments away from trade with the former colonies to other opportunities in the British West Indies or into manufacturing enterprises in Scotland.⁴ Although Hamilton did not in the beginning realize what was happening, his failure to secure either goods or continue his old factoring arrangement or credit so that he might open his own establishment at Piscataway was probably in part due to these post-war economic developments.

For Hamilton these business problems were complicated by several personal financial obligations. Among these was his continuous worry over the estate of his father and the tangential problem of settlement of the estate of John Semple of Prince William Co., Virginia, whose complicated fiscal operations were linked to his paternal legacy.⁵ Also important were attempts to resolve matters relative to the estate of James Hoggan, a factor for James Brown & Co. at Bladensburg, slaves which Hamilton had kept for Andrew Buchanan after Buchanan's departure for Britain in 1775, and merchandise which Glasgow merchant John Pagan left in Maryland for Brown & Co. to sell.⁶

² Robert A. East, "The Business Entrepreneur in a Changing Colonial Economy, 1763-1795," *Tasks of Economic History in Journal of Economic History*, VI (1946), pp. 1-27; R. Walter Coakley, "Virginia Commerce During the American Revolution" (Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Va., 1949), pp. 375-382.

³ Joseph C. Robert, *The Tobacco Kingdom* (Durham, N. C.: 1938), p. 11; Stuart W. Bruchey, *Robert Oliver, Merchant of Baltimore, 1783-1819* (Baltimore, 1956), pp. 31-35; Rhoda M. Dorsey, "The Pattern of Baltimore Commerce During the Confederation Period," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LXII (June, 1967), pp. 119-134.

⁴ Henry Hamilton, *An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 268-290; M. L. Robertson, "Scottish Commerce and the American War of Independence," *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, IX (No. 1, 1956), pp. 123-131.

⁵ See Letters #1, #9, #27, and notes 15, 63, 78, *infra*.

⁶ See Letters #1, #9, #16, #21, #24, #27, #31, and notes 16, 53, *infra*.

The author of these letters was the eldest son of John and Jacobina (Young) Hamilton of Mauchline, Ayrshire, Scotland. He was probably born in the early 1730's as his younger brother Gavin Hamilton was born in 1737 at Mauchline.⁷ John Hamilton (d. 1773) was a practicing attorney and writer to the Signet. He was descended from the Hamiltons of Kype, a landowning family in Lanarkshire. Besides Gavin who remained in Scotland as an attorney, there was a third brother Francis Hamilton who settled in Berkeley County, Virginia—now Jefferson County, West Virginia—sometime before 1773. Francis Hamilton lived at "Keep Triste," a large estate originally the property of John Semple and on which was located the Keep Triste Furnace as well as a farm on which was grown forage, grain, and cattle. It was to his brother's home that Alexander Hamilton fled during the war, probably to escape the wrath of his patriotic neighbors who resented his neutrality during the Revolution and to escape payments from the creditors of James Brown & Co. who wanted to pay their debts in depreciated currency.⁸

Upon his return to the lower Potomac Valley, Hamilton found himself in a peculiar situation. Most of his company's creditors felt him to be a "foreigner" collecting debts for an alien firm, debts which for nearly a decade they had not expected to pay. On the other hand, James Brown & Co. now considered their former factor a foreigner since the peace treaty made him an American citizen. In fact, Hamilton's own letters reflect this dualism. In his opening letter to Glasgow he refers to himself as an American "*Subject*" demonstrating his continued use of British terminology to describe his status. By the end of the year, however, he tells his Scottish employer that "I really do not understand *your* laws."⁹ Thus the reader finds that through-

⁷ Alexander Hamilton of Piscataway (d. 1799) is not to be confused with either the famous Secretary of the Treasury (1755-1804) or the prominent Annapolis physician and writer (1712-1756) of the same name. None of the three men appears to be closely related despite their common Scottish ancestry.

⁸ Berkeley County Court, Martinsburg, W. Va., Deed Book #2, f. 142; the editors of these letters previously edited the pre-war epistles of Hamilton in a series entitled, "The Letterbooks of Alexander Hamilton, Piscataway Factor" in the *Md. Hist. Mag.*, "Part I, 1774," LXI (June 1966), pp. 146-166, "Part II, 1774-1775," LXI (December 1966), pp. 305-328, and "Part III, 1775-1776," LXII (June 1967), pp. 135-169. In Part I, pp. 148-154, and Part III, pp. 138-139, the editors have provided the background for Hamilton's earlier career. All subsequent references to these letters will be cited as "Letterbooks," I, II, or III with reference to the appropriate page or footnote numbers.

⁹ Letters #1, #27, *infra*, italics ours.

out this series of letters the Scot factor slowly becomes an American merchant.

His disappointment—"mortifying" he described it—at the James Brown & Co. refusal to continue their operations in Piscataway caused Hamilton to use a simple letter of introduction as a device for soliciting possible employment elsewhere. He informed the London firm of John & Alexander Anderson "that my present employment, not one of the most agreeable, is that of Collecting J. B. & Coys. old debts" and that he "should be very glad to hear from you [John Anderson], and to do you any service I can on this side of the water."¹⁰

All those letters included are presently in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. The ones written to either James Brown & Co. or to James Brown personally are in volume 34 of the John Glassford & Company Papers. The editors have included in Parts I and II of this series all the letters written during 1784 from this volume. The letters to various Marylanders and Virginians are found in the Alexander Hamilton of Maryland Letterbook. Since several of the first pages of this manuscript are badly torn or mutilated, making them largely unintelligible, the editors have omitted all epistles written before the letter of May 19, 1784 to Hugh Lyon (#3, *infra*) which is the first letter reasonably undamaged. All subsequent letters from this source are herein included.

In editing these letters, care has been taken to preserve Hamilton's original spelling and punctuation, except that dashes are replaced by commas or periods and superscript letters are brought to the line. Where sense required it, additional punctuation and capitalization have been introduced for clarity. No omissions have been made in the text of the letters.

¹⁰ Letter #22, *infra*.

THE LETTERS

I

TO JAMES BROWN AND COMPANY

Piscattaway 25th Janury 1784

Messrs Jas. Brown & Co.

Gentlemen

I refer you to my last and have now to inform you that I got down here the first of this month. The weather has been so very bad ever since, that I have not had any opportunity of talking to your debtors about the payment of their debts. I shall comply with your desire on doing what I can on collecting them, tho[ug]h my expectations on that are not very promising. I expect if you find it for your interest, you will in the spring send me out goods, but should you not be disposed to carry on business here, you will please to give me as early information as you can. There is not any storehouse at present here that I can get; on the event of your doing business here, one will be wanted and ought to be provided. Goods have Sold very high here this last year and considerable profits have been made by them. Large quantities are expected this year which may reduce the profits as low as they have ever been in your remembrance. British [goods] are in greater estimation and preferred to any other European manufacturers. Tobacco has sold on this river last year from 30/ to 35/ all Cash and may be purchased at these prices now. Yet the peoples expectations are very sanguine that it will be higher when the great quantity of shipping arrives that is expected from Europe, and that business will be carried on in the same manner it was during the former connection with Britain and goods as cheap as they have been ever sold. You have not said anything to me about taking Tobo. in payt. of your debts, but, supposing you have left it to my judgt., I think it will be prudent to take it at the Cash price, and sell it either for Cash or good Bills of Exchange and remitt to you or otherwise as you may advise. I think I mentioned to you in my last about renewing your debts by Bonds or otherways as I can (the copy is in my chest, which lyes weather bound in Alexandria ever since I came down). I see by the definitive

treaty that all British debts are to be paid, but nothing is said about what debts may hereafter be contracted by British traders in the course of their business, and no act of assembly of this state providing for a recovery of these debts is contracted, & as the British traders are not subjects, I do not know in what light the Laws may hold them as to their right of recovery. If your debts are recovered in your own name, a question may arise whether they come under Article the fourth of the definitive treaty, I think it would not be prudent to give room for such a question. [I] shall therefore insert a Clause in what renewals I make "that this debt was contracted and became due before the treaty was signed and stands entitled to all and every right given to British Subjects by the said treaty", or some other clause that you may deem more expediant. If they are renewed in my name, they would stand as Country debts, and in case of Bankruptcy come in as such, and the debtors be lyable at any to be sued, as I am deemed a Subject. You will please to consider this matter in every light and give me your Instructions fully on it and also I am of the opinion that any business, in which you may be concerned in any of the American States, be wholly transacted in the Name of persons employed either as factors or Partners.

As all the agents or factors of the Glasgow trade that remained in the Country will no doubt have wrote their respective Employers on this subject, it certainly would not be amiss to lay your heads together (as the planters used to do of old in keeping up the price of Tobacco) and form some general plan for the settling & collection of your debts in this state, and which might be inviolably adhered to. If such a meeting for this purpose should take place, You cannot be at a loss for want of advice, Mr. Henry Riddell¹¹ & Mr. Robert Findlay¹² are good judges both by their abilitys & experience, and I believe are both much interested.

Inclosed is a copy of an act of assembly, made this fall Session by which you will see the Politics of this state. What effect it

¹¹ Henry Riddell was chief factor for John Glassford & Co. in Maryland prior to the Revolution, who apparently had returned to Scotland prior to 1784 ("Letter-books," I, p. 153, III, p. 137).

¹² Robert Findlay, Jr. was a partner in Cuninghame, Findlay & Co. of Glasgow and the company's chief factor in Maryland prior to the Revolution ("Letter-books," I, p. 155).

may have on your side of the water I do not know. People judge of this differently some approving and others disapproving it, the most liberal and Sensible are of the last opinion. It is not adopted by the Virginians. I have not heard if any other of the States have adopted this or any other similar Law. If they have not, it will operate to the disadvantage of this State and in all probability will be repealed next Session. You will no doubt attend to the provision for goods imported by Citizens and regulate yourself accordingly, when you send out goods. There was a Law enacted November Session '82 laying a duty on certain enumerated articles, and also one pCent *ad valorem* on all other goods imported, without any distinction of Foreigners or Citizen, for certain purposes mentioned in the act.¹³ The Legislatures of the rest of the United States passed Laws to the same purposes. This makes a duty of three per Cent on all British goods imported into this State.

I have since the year 1780 been involved in a troublesome Lawsuit with Mr. Richd. Henderson¹⁴ for part of a small piece of Land on which I lived, part of the Estate of the deceased John Semple.¹⁵ I expected to have got it tried last October but

¹³ The 1783 statute was "An Act laying a duty on British vessels and for other purposes" which levied a five shilling tonnage duty on British merchantmen and a two per cent *ad valorem* duty on all British goods entering the state. The intent was to attack the British navigation acts denying the American carrying trade entry into the British West Indies (*Laws of Maryland, Made Since M,DCC, LXIII*, compiled by A. C. Hanson [Annapolis, 1787], chap. XXIX of the November 1783 session). A year earlier the Assembly in "An Act for the defence of the bay and to impose certain duties on imported articles" imposed a one shilling tonnage duty on foreign vessels and, except for special duties on enumerated articles like Madeira wine and coffee, required a one per cent *ad valorem* duty on all imported goods (*The Laws of Maryland*, compiled by William Kilty [2 vols., Annapolis, 1799], chap. XXVI of the November 1782 session). The attempt at discrimination against British shippers was similar to the sliding tonnage duty proposed by James Madison in his draft of the Tariff and Tonnage Act of 1789 (John C. Miller, *The Federalist Era, 1789-1801* [New York, 1960], pp. 16-17).

¹⁴ Richard Henderson represented John Glassford & Co. at Bladensburg from 1759 or earlier (*Md. Gazette*, July 3, 1760) and held extensive land interests in Montgomery and Frederick counties. He was a partner with Col. Samuel Beall, Jr. of Frederick Co. and Dr. David Ross of Bladensburg in the Frederick Forge on part of the "Keep Triste" and "Little I Thought It" tracts along Antietam Creek and the Potomac River (Beall's Will, Washington Co. Wills, Liber TS #1, ff. 19-24; Frederick Co. Land Records, Liber J, ff. 793-805, HR). Henderson's contentious personality also got him into long "paper wars" with Levi Gantt (*Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, February 18, March 4, April 1, April 4, 1783) and with Alexander Clagett (*ibid.*, April 23, 1784). For more on the size of the Beall, Ross, and Henderson holdings see, Frederick Co. Debt Books, 1771, f. 25, Md. Land Office.

¹⁵ John Semple was a gentleman of Scottish birth whose speculation in various

it was put of[f] 'till March. Had it been tried in October I intended [to go] home this fall but am prevented 'till it is done away [with] and I hear from you.

The inclosed you will please put a wafer in and send to Mr. Hoggans sister.¹⁶ I received a letter from her about her deceased Brothers affairs. That letter is in my Chest, and I have forgot her Christian Name. You will please put the direction on it.

This will be delivered [to] you by Mr. Mungo Fairlie¹⁷ one of Mr. Glassfords factors at Piscattaway to whom I refer you and beg leave to introduce him to your acquaintance.

I am

Gentlemen

Your most Obt. Servt.

Alex. Hamilton

Virginia and Maryland land and manufacturing schemes was to plague Hamilton until his death. Semple (d. ca. 1783) joined his brother-in-law James Lawson in a firm at Port Tobacco in 1757. By 1763 this partnership dissolved and Semple moved to Occoquan, Prince William County, Virginia, where he took control of forges and grist mills formerly owned by his creditor John Ballendine (*Md. Gazette*, April 23, 1776; Fairfax Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William* [Berryville, Va., 1964], pp. 428, 437). By 1763 Semple acquired control of "Keep Triste" furnace (named after the Semple family motto) on both sides of the Potomac near Harpers Ferry and the large "Merryland" tract on the Maryland side of the river (*Md. Gazette*, May 29, 1766; notes 63 and 78, *infra*). Semple became involved with George Washington and other developers of the upper Potomac Valley in schemes to make the river navigable which eventually led to the Potowmack Company project of 1783 (Grace L. Nute [ed.], "Washington and the Potomac: Manuscripts of the Minnesota Historical Society, 1769-1796," *American Historical Review*, XXVIII [April 1923], pp. 499-505). Soon Semple overextended himself and called upon Lawson, John Hamilton, and some Glasgow merchants for financial support, eventually giving all his lands as security (Frederick Co. Land Records, Liber M, ff. 418-424, HR). With the death of John Hamilton in Glasgow his two sons in America were drawn into the quarrel by being both the bankrupt Semple's creditors and executors of his will (Semple's Will, Prince William County Will Books, Liber G, ff. 469-470, Court House, Manassas, Virginia). Apparently the lawsuit Hamilton mentions was over title to the Virginia portion of "Keep Triste" where Hamilton lived during the war.

¹⁶ James Hoggan was the factor for James Brown & Co. at Bladensburg from 1774 to 1777, when he died. Hamilton is left with the responsibility of clearing up this estate for Hoggan's heirs which included a sister, Mary Hoggan Deane, who thought there was a large legacy ("Letterbooks," I, p. 154n, p. 158n, II, pp. 306-307, 323; Chancery Records, Book 27, ff. 92-111, Md. Land Office; Letters #9, #21, and #29, *infra*.)

¹⁷ Mungo Fairlie was a factor for John Glassford & Co. before the Revolution and during the war years managed the firm's 400-acre "Nanjemony" farm on Tom's Creek in Charles County. He apparently returned to Scotland to stay, for he does not appear in the 1790 census for Maryland (Robert Mundell Account Book, ff. 43-44, LC; *Md. Journal*, October 1, 1784).

TO JAMES BROWN AND COMPANY

March 10th [1784]

This has been the most severe winter known since the year 1740. The rivers have been all froze up since 1st January & it continued Snow on the ground. Tobacco has rose in price, it's now at 35/ & 40/ all Cash and the planters refuse to take these prices. They expect 50/ & some 60/ pCt. If these prices now giving continue, the people who are willing may pay part of their debts, but I am affraid nothing but Law will make them do it. When the weather permitts the getting Tobacco layd [in] Warehouses, I shall be better able to judge of the inclinations of the debtors to pay. Collecting debts in this world was att all times a very fatiguing as well as a disagreeable business, it is now greatly more so. A relaxation of Law always vitiates the Morals of Mankind. Here this has not only been the case during the War but it has been strongly encouraged by too many acts of the Legislature. As it was the generally received opinion that there would be a totall annihilation of all British debts, the being obliged by the treaty of peace to pay, that that too in Sterling money, is a Stroke so unexpected that it has created a general amazement. It will be very difficult to persuade them to pay. Yet I am on hopes the high price of Tobacco will not only encourage them but enable them to pay, and that the Legislature will not take any step to encourage nonpayments.

What opportunity I have had, which has been but little by the extreme severity of the weather, to inquire into the situation of your debts here and at Bladensburgh, I find that Death, Bankruptcy, and Imigration to the South & West has made a Considerable gap in them. Two months hence I shall be better able to give you an acct. of them.

I now enclose you a Scheme of a Cargoe of goods which if you have not allready sent out, may be sent by the first opportunity, if you continue to do any business here, but should you not, and it would be convenient for you to give me a Credit for a Cargoe, It would put me in a way of doing something for myself. Tho' I cannot expect such a favour, I cannot give you any security in Britain or here. My expectations of getting into

business of any Consequence was from what I expected from my fathers Estate. As I am ignorant of its situation, I can expect no credit on that Score nor on what little the Estate owes me, as, by your letter it's uncertain whether I shall even get it. So that at present my prospect of getting Credit can only be on the opinion of my Integrity, assiduity, and attention to business. Tho' I cannot flatter myself that will be sufficient inducement. The loss that the British Traders have suffered by people here ought reasonably to make them very Cautious of Crediting a Citizen of America. Notwithstanding, large quantities of goods are expected this spring & summer by Citizens of this State from London, many of whom never were in business before. If I stand so well in your opinion as to get this Credit, It will be a very great favour done one. I have only to add that I am

Gentlemen

Your most obt. Servt.
Alexr. Hamilton

Messrs. James Brown & Co. Glasgow
by the favour of Mr. Fairlie on the
Capt. Street¹⁸ for London

¹⁸ Hamilton left a blank space for the vessel's name in the letterbook. On May 16, 1784 the *Two Friends*, commanded by a Captain Street, passed Gravesend on the Thames River bound from "Virginia" (*Md. Gazette*, August 5, 1784). This may have been the same master and his vessel. Concerning the severe weather conditions on the Potomac, an Alexandria correspondent wrote on March 18: "Sunday last the ice on the river Potowmack began to break up, and on Monday ran very rapid, exhibiting an appearance of such vast bodies of ice and timber as was never known by the oldest inhabitants here. Our apprehensions for the shipping, wharves and stores were great; but luckily neither have received much damage, and we are in hopes the river will soon be clear. We hear that much damage has been done at Georgetown by the breaking up of ice in this river" (*ibid.*, April 1, 1784).

3

TO HUGH LYON

Piscattaway 19th M[ay 1784]

Sir

At Court I left with you Bills of C[redit on] John Robertson¹⁹ and John Wynn,²⁰ his special Bail, [and] you w[ere to] have made me out a transcript of the Judgement agt. Wynn so I may get it proved & the Executors to pay it. You have forgot it. Please send it by the return of the post with the bills above; also a state of the sui[ts] that were pending in your Court in 1775 brought by James Hoggan of Bladensburgh for James Brown & Co.

I am

your most obt. sevt.
A. Hamilton

To Mr. Hugh Lyon,²¹ Clerk
of Prince Georges County

By Post.

N.B. I was desired by a Mr. [William] Pile of Berkeley County Virginia to inform him of the determination of a suit bro[ugh]t by him agt. Richard Belt²² in 1774 or 1775 in your Court. Please send me a state of it, and if a judgt. is obtained a transcript.

¹⁹ Presumably this is the same John Robertson that Hamilton discusses in a later letter (Number 8, *infra*) who becomes a factor for Glassford interests at Port Tobacco in 1784. In the 1790 census he is listed as the head of a family with three males under 16, two females, and twenty-four slaves (*Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Maryland* [Washington, 1907], p. 53). Robertson died about 1810 (Chancery Records, vol. 143, f. 556, Md. Land Office).

²⁰ Probably John Wynn, Sr. who took the Oath of Fidelity to the State of Maryland in 1778 (Oath of Fidelity, 1778, Prince George's Co., Box 4, Folder 31, p. 6, HR) and whose will was probated on November 27, 1782, listing a wife Ann and children John Wynn, Jr., William Smallwood Wynn, Hezekiah Wynn, Lucy Ann Wynn, Pricilla Ann Wynn, and Eleanor Ann Wynn (Prince George's Co. Wills, Box 14, Folder 19, HR). Wynn, Sr. owed James Brown & Co. an open account debt of £18.6.1¼ and a bond dated August 1772 for £96.19.6. Wynn, Jr.

4

TO FRANCIS HAMILTON

Piscattaway 19th May 1784

Dear Brother

You will receive by Mr. Thos. Hart²³ your Sadle & Bridle and great Coat. The debts I gave you Note of and desired you to take the Bonds in my Name, you will now, if you have not before receipt of this taken them as directed; take them in the Coys. name. I received letters from them since I got down in which I am directed to take the Bonds in their Name.

They received my first letter on the 6th Febr'y last and say it was too late to send out goods, but that if my next letter to them was such as they hoped for, they would send me out goods about the last of the summer. I am at a loss what to think of such advices, the expressions appear to be not only doubtfull but equivocal. They surely cannot expect that I will continue to collect their debts, if any better business offers or that may be more to my inclination. Be it as it may, I shall continue to do their business for this year, it is probable they will be more clear in their next Letters. They advise me not to come home for I cannot be of any Service in my fathers affairs.

Jacky²⁴ is well. Do not forget his shirts and the buckwheat by the first opportunity.

I am Dr. Bro.

Yours Sincerely,

A. Hamilton

Mr. Francis Hamilton
Keeptriste, Berkeley County
Virginia

owed a note for £1.3.3 dated August 1775 when Hamilton summarized the company credit situation in January 1776 (Glassford Papers, vol. 143 f. 191, LC).

²³ Hugh Lyon is probably a member of a Charles County family of that name, and his first recorded residence in Prince George's County is on a 1781 list of taxpayers (*Md. Gazette*, July 29, August 5, 1784; Chancery Court Records, Book 22, f. 325, Md. Land Office). He died by 1786 (Testamentary Papers, Prince George's Co., Box 26, Folder 54, HR).

²² There is no further identification available for William Pile and Richard Belt.

²³ Apparently Thomas Hart, Sr. was a prominent citizen of Berkeley Co.,

TO WILLIAM HANSON

Piscataway [?] May [1784]

[Sir]

I received yours on monday last dated a[t this pl]ace. On Examination I find that you gave the Revd. Mr. Henry Addison²⁵ an order on me for a sum of money which was more than I owed you. I assumed to pay Mr. Addison whatever Sum I fell in your debt and with which assurance both you & Mr. Addison were satisfied at that time. The Sum due you by my Books £28..10..7 1/2 was in 1776 applyed to Mr. Addisons credit by your acct. I doubt not you will be satisfied with this state of the affair.

I find on examination into my suits on Charles County some defaults agt. the sherriff in your time. You will please look into them that I may get paid, otherwise I shall be obliged to take the usual steps on these cases agt. you.

I am

Sir

Your most hble servt.

Alr. Hamilton

Mr. William Hanson,²⁶ Chas. CountyBy the favour of Mr. Edwd. Edelen²⁷

Virginia, who was frequently involved in estate litigation in the county (*Will Book No. 1 of Berkeley County, Martinsburg, West Virginia, dated 1768-1788* [Martinsburg: Shenandoah Valley Chapter, DAR, 1960], pp. 166, 363, 374).

²⁴ "Jacky" is John Alexander Hamilton, son of Francis Hamilton and nephew of Alexander Hamilton with whom he was apparently living at Piscataway. Eventually John A. Hamilton becomes a principal heir of his uncle (Will, Liber T #1, f. 430, Prince George's County Orphans' Court).

²⁵ Rev. Henry Addison (1717-1789), scion of a prominent Prince George's County family and rector of St. John's Parish, Piscataway from 1745 to 1775, fled the wrath of his patriotic parishioners in 1775 but returned to his home shortly before his death (Nelson W. Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church* [Baltimore, 1955], pp. 113-114, 155-156). Hamilton called him "my good friend," and he recommended his Scottish friends show the clergyman "all the Civilitys in your power" while Addison was in exile in Britain ("Letterbooks," III, pp. 153-154, 156, 157).

²⁶ William Hanson (d. 1796) was a member of a prominent local family who served on the local Committee of Observation in 1774 (Charles County Wills, Liber AK #11, f. 322; Margaret Brown Klapthur, *History of Charles County* [La

6

TO WALTER PYE

Piscatty 14th May 1784

Sir

I wrote you the 23d February last to which pleased [be] referred. I must again intreat you will pay me your debt, if not the whole at least the Interest of it. It is very inconvenient for the Compy. to ly out of their money and very disagreeable to me to be troublesome to those who owe by teasing them for payment. Those things you will please think of and do all you can for me.

I am

Your most hble. st.
A. Hamilton

Mr. Walter Pye²⁸

By Mr. Edwd. Edelen

7

TO DR. WILLIAM BEANES

Piscattaway 19th May 1784

Sir

I wrote you the 25th March last inclosing a Memorandum of your debts to James Brown & Co. to which I have not received any answer. You will please inform me by the return of the

Plata, 1958], p. 52; for a possible earlier reference to him see "Letterbooks," III, p. 142).

²⁷ Possibly the Edward Edelen listed in the 1790 Charles County census as head of a family with three males under 16, one female, and eleven slaves (*Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md.*, p. 49.) The James Brown & Co. accounts show bills due the company in 1776 from both an Edward Edelen, Jr. for £61.17.11 and an Edward Edelen of Thomas for £3.14.3 (Glassford Records, vol. 143, ff., 184, 189). An Edward Edelen living near Newport advertised for a runaway slave (*Md. Gazette*, July 29, 1784).

²⁸ Walter Pye of Charles County is listed in the 1790 census as head of a household with two other males, one of which is over 16, one female, and fourteen slaves (*Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md.*, p. 52). He owed James Brown & Co. £257.10.1 in January 1776 (Glassford Papers, vol. 143, f. 186).

post your determination in this affair. There is only Mr. William Digges²⁹ and your debt that depreciated paper has been offered to me in payt. of and I wish how soon, as I cannot behold the offer as a payt., that the business be brought to a Conclusion.

I am

Your humble Sevt.

Alr. Hamilton

Doctr. William Beanes³⁰
Upper Marlboro, by Post.

8

TO JAMES BROWN AND COMPANY

Piscattaway 20th May 1784

Messrs. James Brown & Co.

Gentlemen

I refer you to my last by the Mr. Fairlie, a copy of which you have inclosed, since which I have received your favours of the 16th July & 10th October on the 3d April & of the 16th feby (a copy) & 23d March by the Jeany Captn. McGill³¹ on the 14th Current. Those of the 28th feby and 28th March 1783 are not yet come to hand. The 23d March inclosed Burch's³² protested bill for £10..1..7 Stg. I laid out £1000 in land in Compy. with Mr. Riddell at £5 p[er] acre and a considerable sum in im-

²⁹ Presumably it was a reference to William Digges (1713-1783) of "Warburton Manor," Prince George's County, from whom Hamilton was having difficulty collecting debts owed the firm as early as 1775 ("Letterbooks," II, p. 325).

³⁰ Dr. William Beanes, Jr. (1749-1823) of "Academy Hill" near Upper Marlboro married Sara Hawkins Hanson in 1773 and served in the Revolution as a surgeon. He headed a family which in 1790 included two other males, one of which was under 16, three females, and forty-five slaves (Effie G. Bowie, *Across the Years in Prince George's County* [Richmond, Va., 1947], pp. 663-664; *Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md.*, p. 92). Hamilton's records indicate Beanes owed Brown & Co. £44.8.9½, sterling, in 1776 (Glassford Papers, vol. 143, f. 183).

³¹ The *Jeany*, Capt. William McGill of Glasgow, called at Piscataway prior to the Revolution (Letter 19, *infra.*; "Letterbooks," III, p. 146).

³² Probably Oliver Burch of Prince George's County who presumably paid in January 1776 a debt owed James Brown & Co. with a bill of exchange which was returned protested by West & Hobson, merchants in London, upon whom it was drawn ("Letterbooks," III, p. 167).

provements, and which is yet unsold. Mr. Fergusson³³ is now agreed to have it sold, when that may be, for cash, is uncertain. The Country is to pay all debts due by forfeited Estates, next Octr. is appointed to give in the Claims. I shall make out Mr. Bouchers³⁴ accts. here and at Bladensbg. and present them for payment. What Tobacco I can collect shall be turned into Cash or Bills or shipped agreeable to your orders.

What Notes and Bonds I have taken has been in my own name, being of opinion that was the most eligible way untill I heard from you. What I have taken since the 14th is in your Name. Annexed is a Note of those taken in my name, that in case of my death without a Will or assignment, may be known to be your property as will by this letter as your books. If you deem an assignment be necessary, please advise and it shall immediately be made.

Payments come in very Slow, though I get some settlements I am putt of[f] by sorry excuses, and I dare not yet use threats exopt to some whom I know well. You must have patience, for the Collection will be a work of time. I am affraied you will get but a small remittance this year, altho' the fatigue will be very great. I wish I may keep my health so as to hold it out this season.

In 1779 I was very suspicious that British property would be forfeited, therefore I conveyed away by deed your lott & storehouse in Bladensbg. It was advertised for sale by the Commis-

³³ Robert Fergusson (sometimes spelled with one "s") was a Glassford factor at Georgetown from 1763 until he fled in September 1775. Fergusson (d. 1813) returned with peace to "Mulberry Grove" near Port Tobacco where he began settling affairs of the Glassford partners while engaged in his own mercantile activities with Alexander Henderson (see note 49, *infra*) and John Gibson under the firm name of Henderson, Fergusson & Gibson (Charles County Wills, Liber AH #9, f. 359, Liber HB-BH #14, f. 234, HR; *Md. Gazette*, December 22, 1763; "Letterbooks," I, p. 153n; III, p. 159). He and Hamilton were closely associated in the post-Revolution years in various debt collections in the lower Potomac Valley, and Fergusson was both legatee and executor of Hamilton's will (*Md. Journal*, October 1, 1784; *Md. Gazette*, September 30, 1784; Hamilton's Will, Liber T #1, f. 430, Prince George's County Orphans' Court). Advertising his return to America in January 1784, Fergusson quickly re-established his mercantile activities after the Revolution, and by the latter part of the year he was doing a brisk business at his Port Tobacco store (*Md. Journal*, January 6, 1784; Glassford Records, vol. 86, *passim*). In 1790 his household consisted of two other white adult males and four slaves (*Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md.*, p. 49).

³⁴ Rev. Jonathan Boucher (1738-1804), former rector of Queen Anne's Parish, Prince George's County, fled to Britain in 1775 and eventually became rector of Epsom, Surrey.

sioners for forfeitures but the Conveyances being made before the Law took place has preserved it. I was affraied to say anything about it or the lands in Frederick in case of any accidents befalling any letters before the definitive treaty was signed. I believe they are now safe, the deed for the land is jointly in Mr. Riddel[*I*]'s & my name.³⁵

People in general are of opinion that last years crop and what was in the Country before will not be above two thirds of a Crop. As I am in a great measure a stranger here and has been these some years passed, [*I*] cannot give you any accot. More especially as there is no termination to the Inspt. of Tobo. by the Law, [inspection] being open through the whole year. The Current price here 35/ all Cash & 4 pCt. for the Hhd. and the upper warehouses the same; upper Patuxent 40/ to 42/6—the planters say it is too litle.

In your letters of Janury. and April 1783 you say you will send out an assortment of goods in July and Oct. You say nothing about it the 16th Feby. last. You say you are very desirous of sending them out but you did not receive my letter until the 6th Janury. and that you will send them out in the fall, if your expectations are answered. There is nothing said about a Commercial treaty by last assembly here. I imagine you will know if any takes place long before we shall know of it here. I have no store house here nor can I get one, and it will be rather expensive in building one on the uncertainty you seem to be in and it is as well I did not rent one as it would have been so much money thrown away. I am at a loss what to do and must continue so untill I hear from you again.

However my present opinion, and it is founded on the observations I have yet been able to make, is; that your not sending out goods before this time may not in the end be any loss to you, as in all probability the price of Tobacco here will be greatly above what it will bring in Europe, at least from the sales I have seen from London of Tobacco better than Common. [*give*] Credit, people in general are so much in debt. If they

³⁵ The exact piece of property to which Hamilton alludes is hard to determine, but probably it consists of three Frederick County tracts called "Alexander's Prospect," "Doutherts Chance," and "The Resurvey on Almary's Mistake," totaling 395 acres, which Hamilton and Fergusson sold to Samuel Cleland in 1785 (Frederick County Land Records, Liber WR #6, ff. 201-202, and Liber WR #11, ff. 254-255, HR).

List of Renewals of Bonds &c in my Name

			old balance	Present debt Bonds on Int.
1784				
January 23	Jacob Martin, ³⁶ on acct.		3. .1. 8	4. .8. 1
Febry 2	William Bayden, ³⁷ accts. & note		2.11.	3.12. 1
March 22	James Gauntt, ³⁸ accot.		12.17. .7 1/2	18. .9. .3 1/2
" 25	William Hugar, ³⁹ sealed note		17.16. .2 1/2	26. .8.
" "	Nicholas Miles, ⁴⁰ Note		1. .3. .	1.13. .9
" 26	John Keech, ⁴¹ Bond, Note & acct pd. & settled by Bond		32.18.11 1/2	52.19. 4
April 8	Elisha Arvin, ⁴² Bond		10.10. .3	15.16. .
" "	Henry Pageatt, ⁴³ do		10. .2. .7 1/2	15.10. .3
" "	James Havies, ⁴⁴ Note & ballance		2.19. .9	4.2. .1
" 10	Elias Arvin, ⁴⁵ Note		1.15. .8	2.13.10
" "	John Turton, ⁴⁶ do		7.14. .	11.13. 4
			103.10. .9	157. .6. .0 1/2

For Bladensbg old

	curry	stg	Stg	Curry
May 5				
John Hillary ⁴⁷	£57.17. .7	& 21.13. .2 on acct	31. .3.10 &	83. .6.11
May 5				
Joseph West ⁴⁸	32. .8. .8	acct		46.14. .1
				130. .1. .0

³⁶ Two Jacob Martins are listed in the 1790 census of Washington County, but further identification is unavailable (*Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md.*, pp. 115, 122).

³⁷ A William Baden of Prince George's County is listed as head of a household with seven males under sixteen and two females in 1790 (*ibid.*, p. 92). He owed an open account debt of £1.9.5 and a note dated October 1774 for £1.2.7½ to Brown & Co. in January 1776 (*Glassford Papers*, vol. 143, f. 188).

³⁸ James Gant, age 22, lived with his wife Anne, age 16, and ten slaves in Prince George's County in 1776 (1776 Census, Prince George's County, folder 41, HR).

I do not approve of your sending goods out in the last of summer unless you can conveniently wait 'till market 1785 for a remittance, for before they get here the purchases will be over, and the sales for Cash will not be much, and it will never do to were here early in the spring, say April or the beginning of May, it would answer as well. Should they come in and if I can

By 1790 Gant's household included one female, one male under 16, and eleven slaves (*Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md.*, p. 94). His debt to James Brown & Co. amounted to £11.13.1½ in January 1776 (Glassford Papers, vol. 143, f. 187).

³⁹ William Hugar, age 33, is listed in the 1776 census but not in 1790 (1776 Census, Prince George's County, folder 39, HR).

⁴⁰ In 1776 Nicholas Miles, age 35, and wife Ann, age 28, with two children and two slaves lived in Prince George's County (1776 Census, Prince George's County, folder , HR). During the period 1774-1779, Miles was a tenant at "Hickory Plains" and "Marburys Meadows" owned by John Glassford & Co. (Robert Mundell Account Book, f. 27, LC). His household contained one white male under 16, one female, and no slaves in 1790 (*Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md.*, p. 52).

⁴¹ Prince George's County census of 1776 records a John Keech age 40, wife Clotilda, age 41, three children and one slave (1776 Census, Prince George's County, folder 13, HR). He died about 1783; the debt in the 1784 Brown & Co. account book is under the name of Clotilda Keech (Glassford Records, vol. 26; Inventories, Prince George's County, Box 27, Folder 31, HR). Keech owed £0.7.6 on open account, £30.19.0 on bond of January 1774, and £1.12.5½ on note of October 1774 in January 1776 (Glassford Papers, vol. 143, f. 189).

⁴² In the household of Elias Harvin there was an unnamed free male, age 23, in 1776 (1776 Census, Prince George's County, Folder 81, HR). This might have been Elisha Harvin (Arvin).

⁴³ Henry Padgett was listed as the head of a household in 1790 containing one male under 16, three females and one slave in Charles County (*Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md.*, p. 52).

⁴⁴ James Havis, age 39, wife Catherine, age 23, and three children are living in Prince George's County in 1776 (1776 Census, Prince George's County, Folder 81, HR). He had an open account debt of £0.10.9 and a note dated September 1775 for £2.9.0 with Brown & Co. in January 1776 (Glassford Papers, vol. 143, f. 189).

⁴⁵ An Elis Harvin, age 25, wife Mary, age 24, two children, and an unidentified white free male lived in Prince George's County in 1776 (1776 Census, Prince George's County, Folder 81, HR). The problem with the Arvins or Harvins is complicated by the fact that in 1789 and 1793 Hamilton received title to land in Charles County from a Thomas Arvin and a Joshua Arvin (Land Records, Charles County, Liber D #4, ff. 593-594, and Liber N #4, ff. 35-36). The family name is spelled "Arvine" in the 1776 debt list (Glassford Papers, vol. 143, f. 188).

⁴⁶ A John Turton is listed in Prince George's County in 1776 (1776 Census, Prince George's County, Folder 6, HR).

⁴⁷ In 1776 John Hillery (Hillery), age 35, wife Mary, age 24, and two infant children, Thomas and Eleanor, lived in Prince George's County (*ibid.*, folder 15). By 1790 Hillery's household had two males under 16, four females and no slaves (*Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md.*, p. 95).

⁴⁸ A Joseph West took the oath to the State in 1778 (Oaths of Fidelity, 1778, Montgomery County, Box 4, Folder 7, p. 2, HR). The estate of a Joseph West of Frederick County was evaluated at more than £1,257 in 1802 (Administration Accounts, Frederick County, Liber GM #2, ff. 186-187, HR). Since this debt was due the Bladensburg store, this might be the correct individual.

get a reasonable profit, might it be as well to sell them by wholesale. If you intend business here, do it before people get a habit of dealing at certain places or stores. Altering their Customs and inclinations in that respect cannot be done but by superior prices, which is not very eligible.

You will please to consider that I have not any assistance on the present business, and a great many accots. to draw of [f] as well as those to make out for renewals & payments, which with riding about gives one very little spare time. However, I shall write you as frequently as possible, to make out states of your business here and at Bladensbg. At present [this] will take me off too much from the Settling and Collecting. I think it will be more for your interest to wait for these things untill the fall.

It is yet impossible for me to give you an accot. [of] what losses you have sustained in your debts at both stores. I am endeavouring to inform myself as fast as possible, and hope when I send you states of your debts, [I] shall be able to give you some knowledge of them. I have allready discovered that the loss will not be small.

The partners of the deceased Mr. Glassford have assumed a New firm and have sent out pretty large quantities of goods to Messrs. Alexr. Henderson in Virginia and Robt. Fergusson in Maryland, whom they have taken in as partners.⁴⁹ Mr. A. H. has fixed a store at Dumfries under the direction of Mr. George Gray,⁵⁰ late factor for Messrs. John and Jas. Jamison at

⁴⁹ The reorgnization of John Glassford & Co. into the firm Henderson, Fergusson & Gibson saw the first two individuals conducting operations in Virginia and Maryland. Alexander Henderson (d. 1815) was the son of the Rev. Richard Henderson of Blantyre, Scotland (*Scottish Record Society Publications*, XXXV, p. 252). He and a man, apparently his brother, Archibald Henderson, sold goods at Colchester and Dumfries, Virginia as early as 1762 (*Md. Gazette*, August 5, 1762). They were apparently kinsmen of Richard Henderson (note 14, *supra*). Henderson married Miss Sallie Moore of Maryland in 1775, and Washington, who attended the wedding, described the bride as being "remarkable for a very frizzled head, and good singing, the latter of which I shall presume it was that captivated our merchant" (John C. Fitzpatrick [ed.], *The Writings of George Washington* [39 vols., Washington, 1931-1944], III, p. 115). For a Scot he was readily accepted by the Virginia gentlemen. He became a vestryman of Truro Parish, Fairfax County, a frequent companion of Washington's before and after the Revolution, a member of the Virginia legislature, and one of the Virginia delegates to the Mount Vernon Conference (Philip Slaughter, *The History of Truro Parish in Virginia* [Philadelphia, 1908], pp. 108-109; John C. Fitzpatrick [ed.], *The Diaries of George Washington* [4 vols., New York, 1925], I, pp. 301, 302, 335, II, pp. 352-354).

⁵⁰ George Gray was factor for John Jamieson & Son of Glasgow who had stores at Port Tobacco and Newport in Charles County and at Vienna in Dorchester

Portobacco, & Mr. Fergusson, has fixed one at Leonardtown in St. Marys County under the direction of Messrs. J. Glassford & Coys. old factor Mr. James Jordan⁵¹ and another under his own immediate management & under his direction. Baillie Robertson's son John, a Nephew of Mr. Jamisons, manages at Portobacco.⁵² Whither and where Mr. Henderson has fixed any other Store I know not. I doubt not of their doing well on their management for in my humble opinion their is not for their business two more experienced and capable men in the United States of America.

I have never in my remembrance saw a better prospect for a large crop of Tobacco. Plants excellent and innumerable to what they were in general years and not a smallest complaint for want of them. No fly has plagued them this year, and a few weeks more of this seasonable weather will plant one of the largest crops that ever was stuck in the ground without some unforeseen accident. The Country to the Westward of the Blue Mountains in Virginia, say from 70 to 90 miles from Navigation (They bring two Hhd. in each waggon to Alex[and]r[ia], Colchester, & Dumfries, and make their trip to those places and back again in 5 & 6 days), will produce as much if not more Tobacco this year than it has done since it was settled. The grounds are fresh and the Tobacco large, brown & leafy.

I think of nothing else to say to you at present than I am

Gentlemen

Your very hble. Servt.

Alex. Hamilton

Messrs. James Brown & Co.
Merchants in Glasgow

County (*Md. Gazette*, March 4, 1773). Gray eventually returned from the Dumfries, Virginia post to Port Tobacco where he lived in 1790 as the head of a family containing three white females (*Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md.*, p. 50).

⁵¹ James Jordan advertised himself as a representative for James Gordan & Co. of Glasgow (Gordan was also a partner in John Glassford & Co.) in St. Mary's County (*Md. Gazette*, May 24, December 6, 1770). In a letter to Archibald Campbell of Baltimore, dated October 23, 1792, Robert Fergusson wrote of the "late" James Jordan of St. Mary's County and of a Dr. James Jordan of the same county who was apparently the merchant's son (*Glassford Records*, vol. 122).

⁵² Nothing has been found on Baillie Robertson, but his son John Robertson (note 19, *supra*) became closely associated with Hamilton in the collection of several debts for the Glassford heirs (Land Records, Charles County, Liber D #4, f. 215, Liber K #4, f. 179, HR) and was eventually named an executor of Hamilton's will (Liber T #1, f. 433, Prince George's County Orphans' Court).

9

TO JAMES BROWN

Piscattaway 20th May 1784

Dear Sir

I was favoured with yours of the 16th July, and copy of the 29th August, and 10th October on the 3d April and the 23d March on the 14th Current, the 25th September I have not yet received. The goods belonging to Mr. Pagan⁵³ I think I received from Mr. Craig⁵⁴ and sold them. I remitted you on the 14th November 1774 Dyson & Gardner's⁵⁵ Exchange dated the 7th of same month on Mr. James Russell⁵⁶ merch. in London favour of Philip Richd. Fendall⁵⁷ £85.15. 8 and the remainder of his Effects you will see by the List of Ballances is due him by

⁵³ John Pagan of Glasgow had a store at Chaptico, St. Mary's County before 1759 where he was represented successively by Alexander McFarlane and Capt. Thomas Francis. He was one of the first Scottish merchants to settle at Alexandria and his association with George Mason (see Letter #16) probably dates from his Virginia residence in the 1750's (*Md. Gazette*, February 4, 1762).

⁵⁴ John Craig was factor for Cuninghame, Findlay & Co. at Port Tobacco before the Revolution. Apparently Craig was personally indebted to James Brown, and problems relative to his obligations were the subject of earlier letters between Hamilton and Brown ("Letterbooks," II, pp. 310-311, III, p. 141).

⁵⁵ Nothing has been located concerning the firm of Dyson & Gardner.

⁵⁶ James Russell was a London merchant with extensive business and family connections in Maryland as the result of his marriage to Anne Lee, daughter of Philip Lee of Charles County. His brothers-in-law were Hancock Lee (with whom he was in partnership until Lee's death in 1759) and Richard Lee of "Blenheim," Charles County. Russell owned stores along the Patuxent and was also active in Virginia with the aid of his Lee relatives. Philip Richard Francis Lee, his nephew, supervised many of the firm's operations in America. Russell was a partner in the Principio Company, and his lots and houses in Nottingham and Upper Marlboro were confiscated as British property during the Revolution (*Md. Gazette*, August 17, 1769; *Virginia Gazette*, [Purdie & Dixon], January 28, 1773; Edmund J. Lee, *Lee of Virginia* [Philadelphia, 1895], pp. 143, 160; Commissioners Ledger and Journal of Confiscated British Property, ff. 19, 206, Md. Land Office; "Letterbooks," II, p. 308).

⁵⁷ Philip Richard Fendall (b. 1734), the son of Benjamin and Elinor (Lee) Fendall, married his first cousin Sarah Lettice Lee, daughter of Richard Lee of "Blenheim," September 20, 1759 (*Md. Gazette*, October 4, 1759). He subsequently served as clerk of Charles County Court, represented the county in the provincial convention of 1775, and participated in revolutionary committees in the county (Klaphur, *Charles County*, pp. 52-55; C. G. Lee, *Lee Chronicle* (New York, 1957), pp. 108, 350). After the Revolution Fendall resided at Upper Marlboro collecting debts due James Russell or Messrs. John and Gilbert Buchanan, all London merchants (*Md. Journal Extraordinary*, June 25, 1784; *Md. Gazette*, May 20, 1784). By autumn of 1784 he had moved to Alexandria and advertised his 7,000-acre Charles County plantation for sale (*Md. Journal*, October 1, 1784).

the Company for which they received value in 1774. The balance that was due Hugh McBryde⁵⁸ by the Bladensburgh store was paid your Brother by Mr. Hoggan in Cash the 20th Novr. 1776. The protested Bill on Murray, Sansom, & Coy.⁵⁹ was delivered him, what he has done with it I cannot at present tell. I have wrote your Brother⁶⁰ who lives in Vienna, twice, desiring him to write you how your John Brown & Coy. & Brown, Scott & Coys. affairs are, and in what Situation Hugh McBryde is. I cannot at present give you any Satisfaction concerning these affairs not having seen McBryde for these seven years past, and having a great many years ago delivered J.B. [John Brown] all the papers. Your last inclosed Lyles⁶¹ & Marbury's⁶² protested bills which I shall try to get payment of in the best manner I can. I shall send the Company a state of Mr. Hoggan[']s accots. as soon as I can and I think you ought to send one an authentic copy of your accot. agt. him that I may be enabled to settle his Estate so as to satisfy his Sister.

The prospect of Collecting is very indifferant, and I am really affraid that your chance this year for a remittance is but small.

⁵⁸ The nagging problem of debts owed by Hugh McBryde, a Dorchester County merchant, was to plague Hamilton for some time. Correspondence between Hamilton and James Brown over his debt began in 1775 and continued during the post-war years. Apparently the debt was not due to James Brown & Co. but rather to James Brown personally, to John Brown & Co., or to Brown, Scott & Co. Theoretically, collection of this debt fell upon John Brown, but James Brown put the matter in Hamilton's hands because of his brother's apparent failure in getting valid payment ("Letterbooks," III, p. 141).

⁵⁹ Robert & John Murray & Co. was a pre-Revolutionary firm in New York City which was forced to close in March 1775 due to harassment from local Patriots, who charged them with violating the Articles of Association ([Williamsburg] *Virginia Gazette* [Pinkney], April 6, 1775; *ibid.* [Purdie], April 7, 1775). After the war the Murray firm was reconstituted as Murray, Sansom, & Co. in which Robert Murray (d. 1786), Quaker merchant of New York City, was a leading figure (*Collections of the New York Historical Society*, XXXVIII [1905], pp. 30-34). This corrects an erroneous notation relative to this firm in "Letterbooks," III, p. 186.

⁶⁰ John Brown, brother of James Brown of Glasgow, was a partner in the firm of John Brown & Co. which had a store in Vienna, Dorchester County, Md. The mutual lamentations between John Brown and Hamilton are the subject of Letter #32 of this series. His marriage in 1784 to Ketura Henry made him the brother-in-law of state senator and future-governor John Henry of Dorchester County ("Letterbooks," III, p. 140).

⁶¹ Formerly of Prince George's County, Col. William Lyles opened a tavern in Alexandria shortly after the Revolution, and George Washington sometimes dined there as well as invited Lyles to "Mount Vernon" (Fitzpatrick [ed.], *Diaries of . . . Washington*, II, pp. 417, 451, III, pp. 106, 239, 270; *Md. Gazette*, May 27, 1784). Subsequently Hamilton sent Lyles a letter asking for satisfaction of this bill (Letter 13, *infra*; "Letterbooks," III, p. 165).

⁶² No further identification is available.

I shall do what I can to settle and collect and remitt the produce.

I see by the Companys letters that the debt due by fathers Estate to me is confiscated. [I] Should be obliged to you to send me a state of it in the manner in which it is confiscated with an attested copy before a proper Majestrate. I am at a loss to account for Mr. Tates conduct, it seems he has spent of the Estate upward of £1700 stg. and Mr. Lawson £1400 stg. in a very ridiculous Lawsuit, at least on the part of Mr. Lawson. My father never was a partner of John Semple. Mr. Lawson took a mortgage from Mr. Semple in 1769 on which was reci[p]ted the debt due to my father and Mr. Lawson there acknowledged that he was security for it. If he was, and I think no man in his senses after seeing the mortgage can deny it, the mortgage was proper enough, if he was not, what business had he with the debt at all[?] I was attorney in fact for my father, and this transaction of his totally precluded me having any claim agt. John Semple or his estate for the natural answer that Mr. Semple would have given me, if I had required a Security of him, would have been that he did not owe my father anything, for that Mr. Lawson had assured him that he was security, and that he had given him a Mortgage on his estate for it. The money they have thrown away would have paid half of the debt. I find by the disposition my father made, this money I shall sustain the loss of. I am certainly under great obligations to Mr. Tait for his regard to my Interest in this management, as well as for his polite & genteel behaviour in sending out a power of attorney to Mr. Alexr. Henderson about this business without informing me of it. Such contemptuous treatment is well enough at the distance of 3000 miles by water. I should not be much suprised to hear from Mr. Henderson that Mr. Tait had desired him to take out a Writ of Lunacy agt. me. Was I in your Country he would very easily before your old wisemen, the Lords of Council & Session, get me ordered within the bare walls of some private madhouse there to spend the remainder of my days on Bread & water. You will please to excuse me troubling you with matters of this kind. I really cannot help feeling such unmerited insults.⁶³

⁶³ John Tait (or Tate) was a Scottish lawyer entrusted with the settlement of the estate of John Hamilton, father of the author of these letters. The estate involved a note signed by Hamilton concerning the affairs of a Scottish-born

Inclosed is a state of what debts are due you on acct. of your negroes. Inform me respecting Mr. Hagarts.⁶⁴

I am

Dr. Sir

Your very hble. Servt.
Alexr. Hamilton

Dr. Wm. Thompson of John ⁶⁵	on Int. fr. 16th Augt. 1775	£15. .1.3	Stg.
“ John Brown of John ⁶⁶	on do fr. 1st Janry 1776	50. .	Curry.
“ John Green of Frans. ⁶⁷	on do fr. 11 July 1775	35.15. .8	1/2 Stg.
“ James Mudd ⁶⁸	on do fr. 25th do '75	15.14. .8	“
“ John Wynn Junr.	on do fr. 1st Septr. '72	20.	
“ Wm. Robertson ⁶⁹	on do fr. 6th Janry '73	3.18.10	
Charles Hagart		£13.19. .1	3/4 Stg.
all the rest bad & doubtfull.			

Virginia and Maryland speculator named John Semple. The complicated investments and notes signed by Semple to keep his vast enterprise afloat also included notes to Robert Lawson of Glasgow, formerly a Virginia merchant. Lawson apparently claimed that one of the notes endorsed by John Hamilton obligated the Hamilton estate to pay for Semple's now-defunct speculations. The whole affair prohibited Alexander Hamilton from enjoying any of his father's legacy, caused him to interject personal feelings into these letters, and kept the courts of Maryland involved in a complicated case over Semple's estate until 1815 (Hamilton's Will, Liber T #1, f. 430, Prince George's County Orphans' Court; Semple's Will, Prince William County [Va.] Will Book, Liber G, ff. 469-470; "Letterbooks," III, pp. 138-139, 142, 220; Letter 27, *infra*; Chancery Records, Book 46, ff. 161-268, HR). It would appear Hamilton's contention relative to his father's obligation to Lawson was correct. The agreement between Lawson and Semple, dated April 1, 1769, acknowledged that Semple owed George Pagan and Mathew Craford of Glasgow, merchants, £2546.19.2, sterling, and John Hamilton, writer in Mauchline, £4397.2.11, sterling. The agreement then continued: ". . . and whereas the said James Lawson is anserable to the said George Pagan and Mathew Craford and also to the said John Hamilton as a Security to them in Behalf of the said John Semple . . ." (Frederick Co. Land Records, Liber M, f. 420, HR).

⁶⁴ Charles Hagart was a former Scot factor on the Potomac who fled in 1775 and whose affairs were apparently managed by Hamilton thereafter ("Letterbooks," I, p. 157, III, pp. 181, 164).

⁶⁵ A William Thompson family with three males over 16 and four white

Wynns debt I obtained a judgement for in 1775, and this last I secured by a good mans bond payable to myself thirty guineas. He was about to remove, and to prevent it before I was paid, I had a *feri facias*⁷⁰ served on him. There is some due yet which I hope to secure. The reason for taking the bond in my name is the same as I have given the Company. I am still of the same opinion, though yours, which is different will be my guide w[ith] respect to your business.

AH

10

TO GODWIN SWIFT

Piscattaway 20th May 1784

Dear Sir

I sent down w[ith] your letter & with one of my own by Harry⁷¹ with two horses for your Negroe Woman & Children.

females lived in Montgomery County in 1790 (*Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md.*, p. 88).

⁶⁶ John Brown of John, age 31, and wife Elizabeth, age 24, with a two-year-old daughter and forty-year-old female slave lived in Prince George's County in 1776. Further identification is impossible (1776 Census, Prince George's County, Folder 28, HR).

⁶⁷ John Green of Francis lived in Port Tobacco Parish, Charles County prior to the Revolution (1776 Census, Port Tobacco, Charles County, Liber X #3, f. 635, HR) and after the war the household contained one male under 16, two white females, and two slaves in the same county (*Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md.*, p. 50).

⁶⁸ Probably James Mudd, Jr. who resided at "Bryerwood" on Mattawoman Creek, Charles County. After his death in 1797, his wife, *nee* Ann Swan, was fined for not obeying a summons to testify in the case of James Brown & Co. vs. James Mudd, Jr. (Richard D. Mudd, *The Mudd Family in the United States* [Ann Arbor, Mich., 1951], pp. 145-146). A James Mudd, Sr. owed Brown & Co. £7.13.1 and James Mudd of James owed £9.4.11 in January 1776 (Glassford Papers, vol. 143, f. 185).

⁶⁹ Presumably, John Wynn, Jr. was the son of John Wynn (d. 1782) (see note 20, *supra*). A William Robertson lived in the vicinity of Browns Corner in Montgomery County 14 miles from Bladensburg (*Md. Gazette*, September 30, 1784).

⁷⁰ Writ of *feri facias* compels a sheriff to satisfy a judgment of debt or damages by selling the goods and chattels of the defendant in the amount claimed

He returned without them with a verbal answer from Mr. McConchie & Miss Stone;⁷² from the *first* that he could not make her go, but he should turn her off his plantation, and that you had wrote him that you had given her freedom to her, [and from] the *other* that she could not make her go, that she would very willingly buy her but that she could not pay for her, and she would sell you her husband at a reasonable price. My Instructions to Harry was to coax her to come if she appeared unwilling, and that she would live much better with you than where she was, but it availed nothing, & that if you forced her away without her husband she would destroy herself, and that you had sett her free and other such topics used on these occasions.

I think you had better ride down with Joe, or without him if you can do it to sute the time of some of your Neighbours waggons being at Alexandria, and try to get her up. You probably may prevail on her yourself to go with you or may purchase or hire her husband for a time, and when you get her up the difficulty will be over, for I am perswaded after she gets accustomed to your kindness to your servants, she will be happier than where she is. When you come down I will give you every assistance in my power to Alexandria, and when at Piscatty it will not cost you anything. Harry tells me she has five Children the oldest a size bigger than my boy Grillon⁷³ at the furnace. The Girl is a fool, with so many children she ought to be thankful in having a master who will take care of her & children.

against him. Hamilton used this device to secure many of the debts due Glasgow merchants.

⁷¹ "Harry" was Hamilton's personal slave and was frequently sent on errands for his master.

⁷² William McConchie was the son of the Rev. William McConchie (d. 1742) of Port Tobacco Parish, and he had four males over 16, three under 16, seven females and fifty slaves in his Charles County home in 1790. This made him the fourth largest slaveholder in the county (*Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md.*, p. 52). A Miss Mary Stone of Charles County (d. 1795) headed a household containing one other white adult female, one white male over 16 (her overseer?), and twenty-three slaves (*ibid.*, p. 53; Wills, Charles County, Liber HK #11, ff. 313-314, HR).

⁷³ "De Grillon," age 9, was the son of "Linda" a slave owned by Andrew Buchanan who with her three children was kept by Hamilton when Buchanan fled to Britain. Hamilton bought "Linda" and her three children for £100, sterling (Letters #24, #31, *infra*), and specifically willed "De Grillon" to his nephew, John Alexander Hamilton in 1799 (Wills, Liber T #1, f. 431, Prince George's County Orphans' Court).

I was obliged to pay a dollar for horsehire, having only one of my own. Receive by Mr. Hart one half Johannes & seven dollar[s].⁷⁴ My Compliments to Mrs. Swift.

Yours &c

Alexr. Hamilton

Mr. Godwin Swift⁷⁵

11

TO THOMAS HART, SR.

Piscattaway 20th May [1784]

Sir

Mr. McKnight⁷⁶ will deliver you a letter for our friend Mr. Swift with one half Johannes & Seven dollars which you will please deliver him. He will also give you a saddle & bridle & great coat for my bro[the]r which you will oblige me to inform him to send for. I have applied for his Negroe Wench and Children but they will not go, I am very sorry that I could not get her to go up with you for I think she would have been better under your care than any other person.

I am

Your most humble sevt.

Alexr. Hamilton

Mr. Thos. Hart Senr. &
care of Mr. Robt. McKnight, Alexandria

⁷⁴ This amounted to £3.3.6 sterling. A Spanish Johannes or Joe was worth £3.12.0 sterling and a Spanish dollar worth £0.4.6 sterling. For an interesting table converting Spanish coin to English sterling and Massachusetts currency in 1775, see S. Sydney Bradford (ed.), "The Common British Soldier—From the Journal of Thomas Sullivan, 49th Regiment of Foot," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LXII (September, 1967), p. 243.

⁷⁵ Definite information of Godwin Swift of Berkeley County, Virginia is hard to secure, but he was appointed in 1785 to be the executor of the estate of one John Watson, Sr. who called Swift one of his "well beloved Friends." (*Will Book #1 of Berkeley Co.*, p. 344).

⁷⁶ Robert McKnight was apparently an Alexandria, Va. merchant.

12

TO WILLIAM WILSON

Piscattaway 20th May 1784

Sir

The inclosed letter was delivered to me by Doctr. Briscoe⁷⁷ of Berkeley County to forward to you.

If you have any debts due you on Berkeley County or on the Merryland Tract⁷⁸ in Frederick County Maryland, I should be glad to collect them for you by my Brother Francis Hamilton in Berkeley.

I am

Sir

Your very hble servt.

A. Hamilton

Mr. William Wilson⁷⁹

Alexandria

⁷⁷ Dr. John Briscoe who formerly lived in the lower Potomac Valley migrated to Berkeley Co., Va. where he speculated in western lands. In 1773 he conceded to George Washington a conflicting claim to lands along the Ohio Valley (Fitzpatrick [ed.], *Writings of . . . Washington*, III, pp. 104, 152). For Briscoe's debts to Brown & Co. see Letter #29, *infra*.

⁷⁸ The 6,300 acre "Merryland" tract was part of the estate of John Colville which his brother, legatee, and executor Thomas Colville sold to the ubiquitous John Semple. At the time of Thomas Colville's death in 1770 Semple had not paid the £2500 he agreed to give Colville. The executors of the estate, Frances Colville (Thomas' widow), George Washington, and John West, Jr., petitioned the Maryland assembly to pass a law authorizing the sale to Semple or, if Semple did not pay the sum shortly (which he did not), allowing them to sell the tract at auction so that "the Wills of John and Thomas Colvill [sic] might be complied with." Semple, however, transferred title to Adam Stewart (or Steuart) of Georgetown, Thomas Montgomerie, and Cumberland Wilson of Alexandria. Because the other executors had died, George Washington had to try to settle this estate after the Revolution and final disposition of it was delayed until 1793 (Fitzpatrick [ed.], *Writings of . . . Washington*, III, p. 53, XXIX, pp. 394-395, XXX, pp. 275-276, XXXI, pp. 137-138, 149-150, XXXII, pp. 332-333, 390-391, 410-411, 450-453; *Arch. Md.*, LXII, pp. 110, 132-133, 293-295; *Va. Gazette* [P & D] January 30, 1772).

⁷⁹ William Wilson was a patriotic pre-war merchant in Alexandria listed as a "seller of British goods who buys tobacco" (*Va. Gazette* [P & D], November 10, 1774; *William and Mary Quarterly*, XI [1915], p. 245). He was apparently related to Cumberland Wilson (above) and was involved in the "Merryland" tract settlement of the Colville estate (Fitzpatrick [ed.], *Writings of . . . Washington*, XXXII, pp. 410-411). Wilson was also a frequent dinner guest at "Mount Vernon," 1785-1798 (Fitzpatrick [ed.], *Diaries of . . . Washington*, II, p. 455, IV, pp. 258, 259, 264, 280, 281).

13

TO WILLIAM LYLES

Piscataway 28th May 1784

Sir

I have now re[ceiv]ed your bill on West & Hobson⁸⁰ protested, a state of which you have inclosed. I think it is stated on the principale of Equity and justice and hope you will be of the same opinion and do the needful by paying it.

I received yours of the 5th April on my way to the backwoods, have since examined the Interest and cannot discover any error I have made in the Calculation. Mr. Jo. N. Baynes⁸¹ cannot make it convenient to pay the Cash. You will oblige me by paying this with the arising Interest, along with the bill. I have only to add that I am w[ith] respect

Your very hble Servt.
Alexr. Hamilton

Bill on West & Hobson dated 11th Octr. 1775			
at 30 days in my favour	£10. . . .		
Protested 16th Janry 1776 charges	9. .3		10. .9.3
Interest from the date of the bill to this date		5. .3.	1/2
do on the Charges from 16th Janry 1776 to this date		4.6	
			<hr/> 15.16.9 1/2

Col. William Lyles, Alexandria

⁸⁰ The West & Hobson partnership included Stephen West (1727-1790) of "The Woodyard" near Upper Marlboro and his partner a "Mr. Hobson" of London (*Md. Gazette*, July 28, 1763, April 29, May 20, September 16, 1773; Katharine A. Kellock, *Colonial Piscataway in Maryland* [Accokeek, Md., 1962], pp. 36-37).

⁸¹ Joseph Noble Baynes of Prince George's County, son of Col. John Baynes of Piscataway, was associated with Hamilton before the Revolution ("Letter-books," II, p. 309). After the war the association continued with Baynes, and Hamilton was involved in debt collection for Glassford interests (Land Records, Charles County, Liber #2, ff. 476-478, HR).

14

TO GEORGE COLE

Piscattaway 12th June 1784

Sir

I have been here ever since January last in great hopes of seeing you about the payment of your debt to me. I hope you will on receipt of this take the time to ride up and have it settled, for it will not be in my power to go down to you. I understand Mr. Joseph & Nathaniel Hatton⁸² are in debted to you a considerable Sum of money and it may be settled in that way if you was here. Your two Brothers Fras. & Thomas⁸³ were both indebted to me. I shall be very glad if you can inform me whether I shall get paid. Below is a state of your debt to Jas. Brown & Coy. besides what you owe myself.

I am Sir

Your most hble Servt.
Alexr. Hamilton

Debt	44. .9.	
Int. fr. 1st Sepbr. 1776		
to 1st July 1784	20.17.10	
	<hr/>	
	65. .6.10	besides a debt to myself.

P.S. Please to Contrive⁸⁴ the inclosed Letter
Mr. George Cole, St. Marys County

⁸² Census of 1776 shows that a Joseph Hatton, age 55, his wife Mary, age 53, nine adult children, and nineteen slaves were living in Prince George's County. No record for him exists in the 1790 census. In the same 1776 census, Nathaniel Hatton, age 55, wife Mary, age 63, no children, and twenty-five slaves lived in the same county. The same household in 1790 consisted of Hatton, one free white female, and thirty-five slaves (1776 Census, Prince George's County, ff. 85, 87, *Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md.*, p. 95). Joseph Hatton, Sr. owed Brown & Co. £2.13.3; Joseph Hatton, Jr. owed £52.7.7; and Nathaniel Hatton owed £2.9.1 in January 1776 (Glassford Papers, vol. 143, ff. 184-185).

⁸³ Of the three Cole brothers mentioned in this letter only the addressee, George Cole, left any record. In 1790 his St. Mary's County household contained two males under 16, three females, and ten slaves (*Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md.*, p. 105).

⁸⁴ "Contrive" in this sense means to "forward" the enclosed letter to Caleb Hebb (Number 15) or to "contrive" some means for it to be delivered.

15

TO CALEB HEBB

Piscattaway 12th June 1784

Sir

You stand indebted for dealings with me at this place, and as I am now in want of the money you will contrive me the payment immediately as it will be out of my power to go down to you for the payment. If it is not done soon I shall be under the necessity of bringing a suit for it which I hope you will prevent by a speedy payment and oblige

your humble Servant
Alexr. Hamilton

Debt	5 . 9 . 1
Int. from 1st Sept 1776 to 1st July 1784	2.11. .3
	<hr/> 8 . 0 . 4

Mr. Caleb Hebb,⁸⁵ St. Marys County

16

TO GEORGE MASON

Piscattaway 14th June 1784

Sir

I received yours of the 11th instant but did not see your son.⁸⁶

There was a parcel of Linnens left with me belonging to Mr. John Pagan which were sold & at differant times in the best manner I could, being very indifferant in their quality, and linnens at that time a very great drag.

⁸⁵ Caleb Hebb served in the St. Mary's County militia during the Revolution and still lived in the county in 1790 (Intendants Orders, No. 1, f. 15, July 3, 1782, HR; *Heads of Families . . . 1790: Md.*, p. 106).

⁸⁶ George Mason (1725-1792) of "Gunston Hall" in Fairfax County, Virginia was one of the leading planters, land speculators, and patriots of the Potomac Valley. He is best known for his authorship of the Virginia Declaration of Rights. It is difficult to determine to which of his several sons Hamilton refers in this sentence.

I received a letter sometime ago from Mr. Brown informing me that Mr. Pagans son would call on me for information respecting these goods and to settle whatever balance there might be due. I wrote Mr. Brown informing him that I had remitted him for Mr. Pagan in November 1774 a bill of Exchange for £85.15. 8 Stg. being received for part of the goods sold and that there was due Mr. Pagan by James Brown & Coy. £71.10.10 Stg. which he would see by the list of Balances transmitted then by me yearly, and which arose as well from goods sold as from some money I received for a debt due to Mr. Pagan.

I am very willing to pay the money to you or any other persons properly authorized to receive it, as soon as I can collect it from the debts due the Company, as it is owing by them not by me. If you should want any further information respecting this affair you may apply to me and I will give you every satisfaction in my power. I have not looked into the accot. of this business for these eight years past and as all the books and papers of Mr. Pagans were packed away about that time I cannot at present lay my hands on the Invoice of the Linnens. I am with respect

Sir

Your very hble servt.
Alexr. Hamilton

George Mason, Esqr.
Gunston Hall, Fairfax County
Virginia

JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY ON THE CHESAPEAKE: CLASS, KINSHIP AND POLITICS*

By W. WAYNE SMITH

RECOGNIZING that a social analysis of the political leadership may offer a clue to the character of a party, historians in recent years have scrutinized the political elite of the American past. While studies of the revolutionary leaders, abolitionists, civil service reformers and progressives have shed new light on these eras of the nation's history, the analytic examinations of Jacksonian politics have challenged the traditional interpretations that the party battles reflected a struggle between democracy and aristocracy. Instead historians have concluded that a myriad of interests underlay Jacksonian politics, and in some areas the line between the Whigs and Democrats was indistinguishable.¹

This study presents the conclusions of several examinations of voting patterns and analyses of the political elite in Maryland during the Jacksonian period. The primary objective was to discern if the party battles reflected class interests, but during the research other factors motivating political behavior became apparent and were examined. While the results offer no definitive explanation for political behavior, they illuminate the character of party leadership during the Jacksonian period in Maryland.

* This is the second of a series of two articles by W. Wayne Smith on Jacksonian democracy in Maryland; the first appeared in the December, 1967 issue.

¹ Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy* (Princeton, 1961); Thomas B. Alexander *et. al.*, "Who Were the Alabama Whigs?" *The Alabama Review*, XVI (1963), pp. 5-10; Grady McWhiney, "Were the Whigs a Class Party in Alabama?" *The Journal of Southern History*, XXIII (1957), pp. 510-522; Richard P. McCormick, "Suffrage Classes and Party Alignments: A Study in Voter Behavior," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVI (1959), pp. 397-410; Mark Haller, "The Rise of the Jackson Party in Maryland, 1820-1829," *The Journal of Southern History*, XXVIII (1962), pp. 307-326, are the pioneer works in this context.



Benjamin Chew Howard. 1791-1872.
Watercolor by T. W. Wood.
M.H.S. Collection.

Maryland's party battles in the Age of Jackson were keenly fought, and the margin of victory was uncommonly slim. Yet, fortune smiled most frequently on the Whigs for that party usually won the Presidential electoral votes and dominated the state legislature. Because the Whig party's victories in Maryland are attributed in part to their strength in the rural areas, it is tempting to ascribe to the Whigs the character of the wealthy, slave-owning conservative class. Such an analysis is too simplistic and distorts the character of politics. To properly understand American politics in any period, a more careful investigation of the voting patterns and leadership is necessary.

A method commonly used to examine voting patterns is the Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient Formula. Essentially this formula correlates voting results with another variable to discern if a close relationship between the two factors exist. In applying this formula to Maryland 1850, a year of a federal census and a gubernatorial election was chosen. It was felt that this election would better indicate the pockets of Whig strength than the 1840 Presidential election, also a census year, because

the Whigs in 1840 carried the state overwhelmingly. Additionally, the data from the 1850 census was more complete.²

	<i>Maryland</i>	<i>Balt. City</i>
Estimated Per Capita Wealth	.06	.58
Estimated Farm Real Estate Value	-.16	—
Estimated Pct. Slave Population	.61	.81
Estimated Pct. Catholic Population	.04	—
Estimated Pct. Foreign Population	-.62	.22

The small correlation between Whig vote, estimated per capita wealth, and farm real estate values demonstrated rather persuasively that the Whig party in Maryland was not a party based on wealth. The moderately high correlation between slave population and Whig strength suggested an occupational correlation between tobacco planters and the Whig vote. The investigation further revealed that religion on a statewide basis had little effect on voting patterns. Since many immigrants in Baltimore were Roman Catholic, voting patterns might have been more distinct there. But, unfortunately, no data revealing the strength of Catholics in the various wards in Baltimore has been uncovered. The high inverse correlation between the Whig vote and the percentage of foreign population revealed the nativist attitudes that had gained sway among the Whig areas. The Whig opposition to immigrants became quite obvious in the 1840's.

In Baltimore City, the correlation between Whig vote and per cent of immigrant population is more significant. Immi-

² The Spearman formula produces a range from +1 for perfect correlations to -1 for opposite ranking. The nearer to +1, the more the theory that the Whigs were a party of wealth is sustained; the nearer to -1, the more completely the reverse is true. A range between +.5 and -.5 suggests that little relationship existed between the tested factor and party alignment. If a high correlation existed between the staunch Whig counties and per capita wealth, for example, the results would tend to suggest that the Whigs represented the wealthier class.

To determine the per capita wealth and the percentages of Catholic and foreign born, only nonslave population was used in the computation. The Catholic estimates relied upon church capacity in 1850.

The computer time for this project was supported in full through the facilities of the Computer Science Center of the University of Maryland. Data was compiled from *The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*; U. S. Bureau of the Census, *History and Statistics of the State of Maryland*; *Ordinances of the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, 1850* (James Lucas, 1850), p. 126; Thomas J. Pressly and William H. Scofield (ed.), *Farm Real Estate Values in the United States by Counties, 1850-1959* (Seattle, 1965).

grants, especially Germans, comprised nearly one-fifth of every ward. Hence, it would be difficult to determine by statistics if the naturalized citizens in Baltimore City voted against the Whigs.

As the data revealed, a higher correlation between per capita wealth and the Whig vote existed in Baltimore City than on the statewide basis. The two wealthiest wards in Baltimore voted consistently Whig. However, before one can conclude that the Whig party in Baltimore reflected class divisions, he must note that the ninth ward in the city, a Democratic one and the third wealthiest area, included what John H. B. Latrobe regarded "as the fashionable centre of the town."³

Besides the use of socio-economic factors, another approach to define a party's character was to consider its leadership. But, a comparative analysis of the Jacksonian and Whig leaders revealed little differences between the parties. This scrutiny included the Senatorial, Congressional, gubernatorial and Baltimore mayoralty candidates.⁴ The results showed that both parties relied heavily on the professional class—lawyers and physicians—to provide the leadership. Even in the rural areas, only four Whigs and two Democrats were considered planters. The leaders were native born, came from well-to-do families and were well-educated. The Whigs did not represent an older age group, and, from the available sources, one observes little difference in religious groupings among the parties' leaders. Generally, the Eastern Shoremen were Methodist, and the leaders from other areas were primarily Episcopalian. Only three leaders of each party were Catholic. Consequently, as one might imagine, both parties drew from the cultivated, well-to-do class.

A consideration of the party leaders has its limitations. Ordinarily, one would suppose that the leaders were better educated and independently wealthy. Hence, a study of the chiefs re-

³ John H. B. Latrobe, "Reminiscences of Baltimore in 1824," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, I (1906), p. 116; Henry Stockbridge, "Baltimore in 1846," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, VI (1911), p. 23.

⁴ Biographical data was drawn from the *Congressional Directory*; *The Biographical Cyclopaedia of Representative Men of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879); Heinrich Buchholz, *Governors of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1908); Wilbur F. Coyle, *The Mayors of Baltimore* (reprinted from the Baltimore Municipal Journal, 1919); J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882); Thomas J. C. Williams, *A History of Washington County, Maryland* (n. p.: John M. Rienk and L. R. Titsworth, Publishers, 1906).

vealed little about the braves, and thereby limits one's understanding of the party's complexion. In order to resolve this problem, this study focused on the officers of the ward organizations and delegates to city conventions in Baltimore City. Unfortunately, with the sources available the historian must be satisfied with a comparison of occupational groups prior to 1850. The ward boundaries changed in 1841 and 1845 which necessitated three samplings. From chart A, one can see the results of the comparison and discern that the Whigs did not rely more on the lawyer, banker, or merchant than did the Jacksonians. While this offers a collective picture, one might question if the leadership differed in particular wards. Again, the analysis indicated no difference in ward leadership. In the wealthier wards, both parties included lawyers and merchants. In the poorer wards, tradesmen tended to be the officers of the ward committees. Significantly, it was revealed that both parties drew alike from the same occupational group, the tradesmen and merchants.

The several methods used to determine if the Whigs or Democrats constituted a definite economic group demonstrated that neither party in Maryland represented class interests. Both parties drew from the wealthier classes for the leaders and depended upon the common folk to fill out the ranks. Consequently, the reasons for party divisions and loyalty to a party in Maryland as in other states were more complex than a simplistic socio-economic motive.

The 1850 census, which provides the historian with considerably more personal data, affords a fuller picture of political leadership and possibly some clues to political motivation. Fifty Whigs and fifty Democrats, who were officers in the ward organizations or delegates to the city conventions from 1848 to 1851, were selected at random. Since there were twenty wards with a total city population of 169,054 people, the immensity of the records nearly precludes a thorough analysis. Therefore, an analysis of the ward organizations for the five strongest Democratic wards and the five strongest Whig wards from 1848 to 1851 was made.

First, from chart B, one must note that little difference in the economic make-up of the ward organizations is discernible. In this survey, the Whigs appeared to own more real estate, but

CHART A

Distribution of Ward Leaders According to Occupations⁵

	Number of Persons	Professional Class	Merchants Bankers Editors Innkeepers	Tradesmen	Shipbuilders Seamen	Municipal Officers
1834						
Whigs	60	8.3%	43.3%	37.1%	3.3%	6.6%
Democrats	57	12.0%	40.5%	40.5%	5.0%	2.0%
1844						
Whigs	61	14.7%	45.9%	29.5%	1.6%	7.2%
Democrats	60	10.0%	48.3%	33.3%	1.6%	6.6%
1849-51						
Whigs	63	11.1%	30.2%	47.5%	4.7%	6.3%
Democrats	60	6.6%	26.6%	51.6%	8.3%	6.6%

⁵ R. J. Matchett, *Baltimore Director*, 1835, 1845, 1850.

the disparity was not so great as to substantiate the thesis that one party represented the wealthier class. Moreover, the historian who utilizes the 1850 census as a guide to an individual's wealth should be wary because in this survey the census records listed several wealthy politicians as owning no real estate. Slave ownership should indicate wealth, and this sample revealed more Democrats owning slaves than Whigs. Generally, the politicians at this level were too poor to own and care for slaves. The Democrats, from this analysis, appeared to have drawn more from the tradesmen, but it is possible that this is due to the restricted sample. In short, the party organization so far as it is reflected in this random sample did not reflect any class differentiation between Whigs and Democrats.

Perhaps, then, the study reflects other reasons for participation in a party. For example, nearly one-half (42%) of the persons of both parties were in the 31-40 year-old group. This is an age when men have learned their skills, taken a wife, and settled in the community. They begin to broaden their horizons by joining fraternal associations and becoming interested in civic affairs. Since our culture defines a good citizen as one who takes an active interest in public affairs, it would seem that the partymen were assuming the responsibilities of good citizens.

Furthermore, most came from the middle class and were just beginning to build their fortunes. Some were obviously political appointees; others perhaps saw the party as a means to acquire a more profitable position. Among this group, for example, were several young lawyers who may have seen the party as an avenue to gain more legal business, or to be appointed to a minor political office. Additionally, one can see some immigrants among the party workers. Recognizing society's hostility toward them, one can understand that they possessed few avenues for social ascent. One such avenue was the political party, and many pursued that road.

In a study of politics the historian frequently encounters a family that provided several leaders for a particular party. Family ties have exerted a considerable influence on American politics. During the colonial period when politics was a restrictive area great families dominated the field. But, the removal of property qualifications on officeholding and voting in the nineteenth century enabled more people to enter into politics,

and the power of the established gentry was gradually undermined. Still, families continued to dominate in some areas, and the Whig party in Maryland offered some excellent examples.

CHART B

Baltimore Ward Participants, 1848-51⁶

	<i>Whigs</i>	<i>Number of People</i>	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Number of People</i>
<i>Age Groups</i>				
20-30	24%	12	16%	8
31-40	42%	21	42%	21
41-50	22%	11	24%	12
over 50	12%	6	18%	9
<i>Married</i>				
yes	84%	42	92%	46
no	16%	8	8%	4
<i>Occupation</i>				
lawyer	14%	7	6%	3
merchant	30%	15	18%	9
tradesman	40%	20	58%	29
city employee	10%	5	18%	9
physician	4%	2	—	—
retired	4%	2	—	—
<i>Value of Real Estate Owned</i>				
none	76%	38	82%	41
up to \$5,000	12%	6	8%	4
\$6-\$10,000	4%	2	2%	1
\$10-\$20,000	6%	3	2%	1
\$20-\$50,000	2%	1	2%	1
<i>Number of Slaves Owned</i>				
none	88%	44	82%	41
1-2	12%	6	18%	9
<i>Place Born</i>				
Maryland	82%	41	74%	37
North	10%	5	4%	2
South	—	—	8%	4
Europe	8%	4	10%	5

⁶ MSS Official Census Schedules, 1850, Record Group 29, National Archives.

In Prince George's County, which bordered on the nation's capital and where tobacco plantations speckled the landscape, the historian consistently encounters the Bowie family in politics. On the lower Eastern Shore in Talbot and Dorchester counties, the Goldsborough family played a large role in Whig politics. All three counties were staunch Whig areas, and if one pursues family patterns, he soon discovers that practically speaking the Whig organization was the party of a few families.

The central figure in the Bowie network in Prince George's County was Robert William Bowie, who served as a Whig on the Governor's Council and in the General Assembly.⁷ He inherited the mantle of leadership from his father, Robert Bowie, a Jeffersonian Democrat who served as Governor of Maryland from 1803 to 1806 and then again in 1811-12. Robert W. Bowie linked his political influence with that of ex-Governor Samuel Sprigg, when Bowie's daughter married Osborn Sprigg. Osborn, the only son of ex-Governor Sprigg, entered into the Bowie organization and frequently represented Prince George's County in the House of Delegates. Bowie's brother-in-law, Philemon Chew, and his son-in-law, William H. Tuck, also served in the Prince George's County organization. Bowie had several nephews, Robert Ghislin, William T. Wootton, and Thomas Fielder Bowie, who were members of the county organizations. Nieces of Robert W. Bowie tied the family organization to prominent Whigs in other counties. Walter B. C. Worthington of Prince George's County, Thomas S. Alexander, prominent Whig lawyer in Anne Arundel, and Reverdy Johnson, Whig leader in Baltimore City, married nieces of Bowie. A cousin to Thomas Fielder Bowie became the son-in-law of John Selby Spence, a Worcester County Whig leader and United States Senator. Thus, intermarriages and blood-relationships created an intricate web of consanguinity that dominated the Whig organization in Prince George's County and extended its influence into Anne Arundel and Worcester counties as well as Baltimore City.

A second branch of the Bowies played a prominent role in adjoining Montgomery County. Richard J. Bowie served as

⁷ For the Bowie family, I have relied upon the biographical data found in Effie A. Gwynn Bowie, *Across the Years in Prince George's County* (Richmond, 1947).



Governor Robert Bowie, 1750-1818.
Engraving by St. Memin. M.S. 718. M.H.S.

Congressman from that county, and his brother, Thomas J. Bowie, and a cousin, Allen Bowie Davis, served in the county organization. Another cousin of this Bowie branch, John Bowie "of Bladensburg," was numbered among the Prince George's County Whigs.

On the Eastern Shore, the Goldsborough network was less complicated simply because the family was less prolific.⁸ Nonetheless, the family's influence was immense. In Dorchester County, one branch included William T. Goldsborough, son of the Federalist Governor of Maryland, Charles Goldsborough. William was the Whig candidate in the gubernatorial campaign in 1847. Interestingly enough, William married the daughter of Edward Lloyd, extensive farmer at Wye House in Talbot County, former Governor, and a United States Senator, but who was a Democrat!

In Talbot County, a second branch of the Goldsboroughs included Robert Henry Goldsborough who reigned as the chief

⁸ Eleonora Goldsborough W. Goldsborough, *The House of Goldsborough*, unpublished typescript, 6 vols., 1932; George Hanson, *Old Kent* (Chestertown, 1936); Elias Jones, *Revised History of Dorchester County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1925); Henry F. Thompson and A. S. Dandridge, "Hon. Robert Goldsborough," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, X (June, 1915), pp. 100-109.

anti-Jacksonian and, in 1834, was elected United States Senator. His nephew, Howes Goldsborough, served the party, and Howes had distant cousins, John C. Goldsborough, Henry Hollyday Goldsborough, and Nicholas Goldsborough, who served in the Talbot County Whig organization.

The two Goldsborough branches were united when ex-Governor Charles Goldsborough married for his second wife, the sister of Robert Henry Goldsborough. The issue of this Goldsborough union was a girl, who, in 1828, married John Leeds Kerr, who later became a United States Senator. Furthermore, the Kerr-Goldsborough marriage resulted in a son, Charles Goldsborough Kerr who married the daughter of Reverdy Johnson, the Baltimore Whig.

Yet, family loyalty was not equally shared, and resistance to family-operated machines compelled some members to create their own organization. Perhaps Philip Francis Thomas, a Talbot County Democrat, is the best example of the political maverick in this context. His father, Dr. Tristram Thomas, a prominent physician and a former Talbot County Federalist, had married into the Goldsborough clan, thus linking Thomas with that Whig network. The younger Thomas had other ties with the Eastern Shore Whigs through his marriage with the niece of John Leeds Kerr, Whig Senator from Talbot County. But rather than following the precepts of respectability and conservatism which the Thomases felt the Whig party symbolized, Philip Thomas pursued an independent course. He pieced together a Democratic organization, and indifferent to the ripples of consternation sweeping through Talbot County's social circles, he ran for office as a Democrat and defended the "Glorious Nineteen" during the 1836 electoral battle. In 1839, he raised Whig eyebrows again when he unseated the popular James Alfred Pearce in the Congressional race. After one term as a congressman, Thomas retired temporarily from politics to devote full time to his law business. But, politics was in his blood, and he won a seat in the state legislature in 1843, which he held until his election as governor in 1847.⁹

⁹ Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1915), I, pp. 583-587; Richard Henry Spencer, *Thomas Family of Talbot County, Maryland, and Allied Families* (Baltimore, 1914), pp. 31-32; Heinrich E. Buchholz, *Governors of Maryland From the Revolution to the Year 1908* (Baltimore; 1908), pp. 151-152.



Philip F. Thomas. 1810-1890.
From A. Daguerreotype by Pollack, Baltimore.
Engraved by H. S. Sadd.

The sons of John Eager Howard, Revolutionary War hero and Federalist politician, offer another interesting illustration of political divisions within a family. George Howard became a prominent Whig in Anne Arundel County and was elected governor in 1832. His brother, Benjamin Chew Howard, became one of the Jacksonian leaders in Baltimore City, and served as a Jacksonian Congressman at the same time that

George Howard was the anti-Jacksonian governor.¹⁰ Additionally, a third strain of the Bowie family were prominent Democrats in Prince George's County. Walter W. W. Bowie served in the General Assembly, and his cousin's son, Oden Bowie, served in the Mexican War and became the governor of Maryland.¹¹

It is evident that party politics in Maryland, at least in the older and more stable section of the state, continued to reflect the interests of powerful family groups well into the early national period. Particular families had monopolized the political leadership in their counties for generations. The family had assumed civic leadership as their social obligation, and such notions were accordingly drilled into the minds of their children. The sons were expected to follow in the sires' footsteps to positions of influence in Maryland's political structure. The political party—Whig and Democrat—became the vehicle by which the generation of the Jacksonian period satisfied this social expectation.

Politics and party leadership in Maryland, as viewed from the available data, failed to mirror class divisions or to conform entirely to family ties. Both parties relied upon the educated, well-to-do gentleman-politicians for the upper echelon leaders, while the small entrepreneurs, tradesmen and farmers attended to the yeoman duties of the parties. While kinship was a significant political factor in some counties, it was no guarantor of party loyalty. The parties, then, were strikingly similar in their social composition. In Maryland, as in other states, Jacksonian politics must be explained in terms other than those of class and kinship.

¹⁰ Buchholz, *Governors of Maryland*.

¹¹ Mrs. George Ross Veazy Chart, *Colonial Dames of America*, Chapter No. 1, Md. Hist. Soc.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

SIGNED MARYLAND BINDINGS II

The Society's library has yielded another signed Baltimore binding, and one of considerable interest. Unfortunately it is also one that has suffered from both mistreatment and neglect.

It appears on a miscellany entitled *The reader's cabinet*, published in Baltimore in 1809 by John Kingston, bookseller of Market Street, and printed by Samuel Magill, of South Street, Baltimore. It was bound by F. M. Wills & Co., whose elegant engraved ticket (reproduced herewith) appears in the upper left corner of the front marbled-paper paste-down. The ticket is $\frac{3}{8}\frac{7}{2}$ " square.

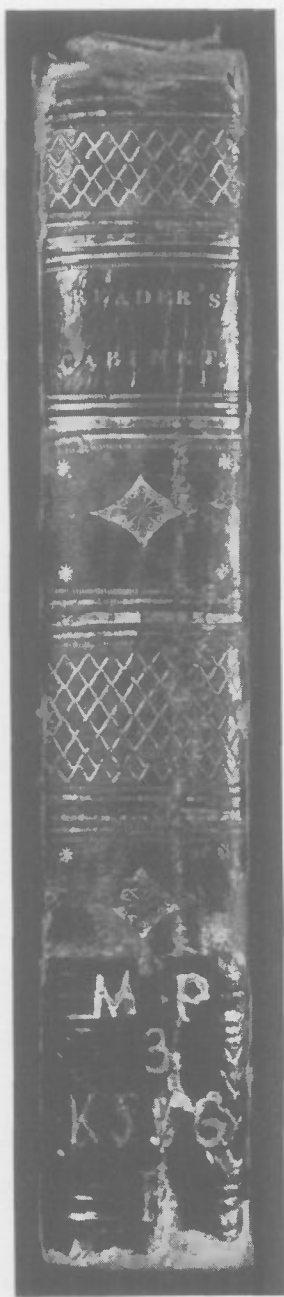
The binding is of full mottled brown calf, $6\frac{1}{16}$ " \times $4\frac{3}{16}$ " \times 1", with red and white headbands. The covers are entirely plain, but with a beaded gilt roll on all edges. The spine (pictured herewith) is divided into six panels by a series of gilt rules and hachures. One panel contains a red skiver label with the title in gilt. Three panels are cross-hatched in gilt by means of an angle tool; two panels contain gilt stars at the corners, and a centered gilt diamond device applied by a single tool.

The binding can be dated with fair precision. The firm of F. M. Wills & Co., located at the corner of East Street and Calhoun's Alley, Baltimore, was formed by Francis M. Wills together with George Dobbin and Murphy on August 5, 1809, and was dissolved on August 7, 1810.¹ Samuel Magill, the printer of the book, was in business under his own name only between April 1, 1807, and November 23, 1809, since on or about the latter date he became a partner in the printing firm of Magill & Clime.² The notice on the verso of the title of *The reader's cabinet*, moreover, records the deposit of the title for copyright on September 4, 1809; and the book was advertised as "now ready" in the *Baltimore American* of November 22, 1809.³ It is virtually certain, therefore, that the binding was executed between November 1809 and August 1810.

¹ Rollo G. Silver, *The Baltimore Book Trade, 1800-1825* (NYPL 1935) p. 55.

² *Ibid.*, p. 39.

³ See Roger P. Bristol, *Maryland Imprints, 1801-1810* (Charlottesville 1953) 749.



Binding and ticket by F. M. Wills & Co., Baltimore, 1809-1810 (actual size).

Wills worked as a Baltimore binder under his own and various firm names from 1807 until 1829.⁴ He died at his shop and residence on Centre Street west of Calvert on September 18, 1829.⁵ This example of his work was given to the Society by John W. M. Lee, its librarian, in 1878.

It is perhaps advisable to say here that the Society no longer varnishes the spines of books such as this as a means of affixing shelf marks.

Baltimore

EDWARD G. HOWARD

PLAYS BY MARYLANDERS, 1870-1916
(continued from the December 1967 issue)

DANELS, JOSEPH D.

Rival sisters; a drama in 4 acts, by J. D. Danels.

© Joseph D. Danels, Baltimore; 1875:2550, Mar. 19.

DAVIS, WASHINGTON

Syndic (The); a comic opera in 3 acts, by W. Davis, composed by D. S. Hollingshead. Baltimore, The Sun job printing office, 1902. 43 p. 12°. [Libretto only]

© Washington Davis, Baltimore; D:1604, Mar. 19, 1902; 2c. Apr. 22, 1902.

Plays © in other states - 7.

DAY, HALLOCK DRAKE

Guardian (The); a play in 4 acts, by H. D. Day.

© Hallock Drake Day, Upper Falls, Md.; 1897:50778, Sept. 11.

Way (The) of the wheel; new and original play in 4 acts, by H. D. Day. [3], 152 p. 4°. Typewritten.

© 1c. Oct. 30, 1913; D:34896; Hallock Drake Day, Baltimore.

DAY, WILLARD G.

Amico (L') Fritz (Friend Fritz); opera by Pietro Mascagni, English version by W. G. Day. [Vocal score, English and Italian]

© Willard G. Day, Baltimore; 1891:31369, Sept. 4; 1c. June 13, 1892; 2d copy also received.

⁴ Silver, *op. cit. supra*, pp. 19, 43-44, 55-56; Baltimore directories for 1824, 1827, and 1829.

⁵ *Baltimore American*, September 19, 1829.

Jack Sheppard; a romantic opera in 3 acts, the libretto by W. Day, music by Adam Itzel, jr.

© Willard G. Day, Baltimore; 1885:25063, Nov. 30.

Maid (The) in white (La dame blanche); produced by the Hinrichs grand opera co., Gustav Hinrichs, director, music by A. Boieldieu. American version by W. G. Day.

© Willard G. Day, Baltimore; 1893:32325, July 8.

Othello (Otello); lyric drama in 4 acts, by Giuseppe Verdi, libretto founded on Shakespeare's tragedy, by Arrigo Boito. English version by W. G. Day.

© Willard G. Day, Baltimore; 1891:31367, Sept. 4.

Pagliacci (Clowns); drama in 2 acts, music and Italian words by R. Leoncavallo, English version by W. G. Day. Baltimore, 1892. 31 p. 8°. [Libretto, Italian and English, contains airs to 2 numbers]

© Willard G. Day, Baltimore; 1892:48882, Dec. 1; 2c. July 10, 1893.

Rustic (The) cavalier; music by Pietro Mascagni, English version by W. G. Day.

© Willard G. Day, Baltimore; 1890:33097, Oct. 24; 2c. June 15, 1891.

Sigurd; opera by Ernest Reyer, English version by W. G. Day.

© Willard G. Day, Baltimore; 1891:31368, Sept. 4.

Zanetto and Cavalleria rusticana; Italian libretto by G. Targioni-Tozzetti and G. Menasci, English tr. by W. G. Day [music by] Pietro Mascagni. New York, F. Rullman, 1902. 1 p. 1., 8, [3], 4-8, [1] p. 8°. [Libretto only. Italian and English]

© Edoardo Sonzogno and Willard G. Day, Baltimore; D:2435, Oct. 11, 1902; 2c. Oct. 11, 1902.

DEANE, FRANCIS HENRY

Best (The) man; by Francis Deane

© F. Henry Deane, Baltimore; D:2475, Oct. 21, 1902.

Liz, a stage girl; a dramatic composition, by F. H. Deane.

© Francis Henry Deane, Baltimore; D:108, Feb. 2, 1901.

DE BARRIL, ROBERT, see BARRIL.

DE LEON, T. C.

Cheat; a comedy of American life in 4 acts, by T. C. De Leon.

© T. C. De Leon, Baltimore; 1870:2777, Oct. 13.

Edwin Drood, his mystery, its solution; in 5 acts, dramatized from Charles Dickens, by T. C. De Leon.

© T. C. De Leon, Baltimore; 1870:2778, Oct. 13.

DENINGER, CHARLES AURELIUS

Rienzi; or, love and empire, by C. A. Deninger, from Lytton's *Rienzi*.

© Charles Aurelius Deninger, Baltimore; 1898:8227, Jan. 28.

DIDIER, EUGENE L.

Grandpa's baby; sketch in 3 scenes, by E. L. Didier. 20 p. 4°. Typewritten.

© 1c. Jan. 19, 1911; D:23131; Eugene L. Didier, Baltimore.

DIMMIT, CHARLES RIDGELY

Hunks of Dan's Mt.; an American drama in 4 acts, by Ridge Waller [pseud. of C. R. Dimmit].

© Charles Ridgely Dimmit, Baltimore; 1885:12759, June 9.

Lost love; an American drama in 6 acts, by Ridge Waller [pseud. of C. R. Dimmit].

© Charles Ridgely Dimmit, Baltimore; 1885:8777, Apr. 14.

Maryland (The) mestizo; a drama in 4 acts, by Ridge Waller [pseud. of C. R. Dimmit].

© Charles Ridgely Dimmit, Baltimore; 1885:4850, Feb. 26.

DODGE, ESTHER

Arden; an idyll in 2 acts, by E. Dodge. 20 p. f°. Typewritten.

© 1c. Feb. 20, 1913; D:32371; Esther Dodge, Landover, Md.

DONOGHUE, ANDREW

Desmond Hall; by A. Donoghue. Typewritten.

© Andrew Donoghue, Baltimore; 1894:8379, Feb. 3; 1c. Feb. 3.

Heiress (The) of Desmond hall; by A. Donoghue. Typewritten.

© Andrew Donoghue, Baltimore; 1893:15761, Mar. 30; 1c. Mar. 30.

DOUGHTY, FRANCES ALBERT

Virginia (A) sorceress; play in 1 act, by F. A. Doughty. 15 p. 4°. Typewritten.

© 1c. Feb. 5, 1910; D:20119; Frances Albert Doughty, Baltimore.

DOWNIN, JOHN ERNEST

Pearl of Panama; a comedy of the Panama revolution, by J. E. Downin.

© John Ernest Downin, Baltimore; D:4258, Nov. 16, 1903.

DREY, SYLVAN

Cupid and cupidity; an original comedy in 3 acts, by S. Drey.

© Sylvan Drey, Baltimore; 1893:16833, Apr. 5.

New (The) Pygmalion and Galatea; an original comedy in 1 act, by S. Drey. New York, Samuel French; London, Samuel French, ltd., 1903. (On cover: French's international copyrighted ed. of the works of the best authors, no. 62.) 15 p. 12°.

© Sylvan Drey, Baltimore; D:3097, Mar. 6, 1903; 2c. Aug. 17, 1903.

Woman's rights; a strictly original comedy in 3 acts, by S. Drey.

© Sylvan Drey, Baltimore; 1883:167, Jan. 3; 2c. Jan. 9.

EAGAN, H. W. and J. S. EDWARDS

Falls (The) of Niagara; a drama in 3 acts, by H. W. Eagan and J. S. Edwards, adapted from *La maison du pont Notre Dame*, a drama by Barrière and de Kock.

© H. W. Eagan, Baltimore; 1874:4493, Apr. 4.

EDESON, GEORGE R.

Elevator (An) in a hotel; a sensational scene, adapted to the use of the stage, by G. R. Edeson.

© George R. Edeson, Baltimore; 1873:2934, Mar. 24.

House that jack built; a pantomimic opening, by G. R. Edeson.

© George R. Edeson, Baltimore; 1872:3877, Apr. 12.

Jack the giant-killer; a pantomime, by George R. Edeson.

© William E. Sinn, Baltimore; 1871:11733, Dec. 12.

EDWARDS, J. S., see EAGAN, H. W.

EVERSMANN, FRED, JR.

All-of-it; a burlesque on *Olivette*, arr. and dramatized by F. Eversmann, jr.

© Fred Eversmann, jr., Baltimore; 1881:4876, Mar. 31.

Baltimore's big boom; or, The lights and shadows of the sesqui-centennial, a comedy drama in 3 acts, by F. Eversmann, jr.

© Fred Eversmann, jr., Baltimore; 1880:15953, Oct. 20.

Fritz the detective; a comedy drama with a prologue and 3 acts, by F. Eversmann, jr.

© Fred Eversmann, jr., Baltimore; 1881:3595, Mar. 11.

Moral (A) crime; drama in 5 acts, by F. Eversmann, jr.

© Fred Eversmann, jr., Baltimore; 1885:27526, Dec. 26.

My chum; a comedy in 5 acts, written and dramatized by F. Eversmann, jr.

© Fred Eversmann, jr., Baltimore; 1881:3594, Mar. 11.

Our senators; farcical comedy in 5 acts, by F. Eversmann, jr.

© Fred Eversmann, jr., Baltimore; 1884:22726, Nov. 13.

Polly pie; or, the Mormon bill; burlesque opera, by F. Eversmann, jr.

© Fred Eversmann, jr., Baltimore; 1884:22727, Nov. 13.

FARRAR, HERBERT NASH. Also see OTTENHEIMER, JACK L.; FRANKLIN, BEN.

Girl (The) in the mantilla; a comic opera in 2 acts, book and lyrics by H. N. Farrar, music by Harry Patterson Hopkins. 85 p. 4°. Typewritten. [Libretto only]

© Herbert Nash Farrar, Baltimore; D:10830, June 24, 1907; 2c. June 24, 1907.

Moon (The) hunters; a comic opera in 2 acts, book and lyrics by Herbert Farrar, music by Robert G. Boarman. 86 p. 4°. Typewritten. [Libretto only]

© H. Farrar, Baltimore; D:12282, Jan. 31, 1908; 2c. Jan. 31, 1908.

Twin (The) king; a comic opera in 2 acts, book and lyrics by H. N. Farrar, music by Robert G. Boarman. [7], 103 p. 4°. Typewritten. [Libretto only]

© Herbert Nash Farrar, Baltimore; D:7391, Jan. 26, 1906; 2c. Jan. 26, 1906.

Plays © in other states - 5.

FARRAR, HERBERT NASH and SIMON NOOT

Girl (The) in the mantilla; book and lyrics by H. N. Farrar and S. Noot, music by Harry Patterson Hopkins. 77 p. 4°. Typewritten. [Libretto only]

© Herbert Nash Farrar and Simon Noot, Baltimore; D:13487, Aug. 3, 1908; 2c. Aug. 3, 1908.

Lady (The) and the tenor; a musical episode, by H. Farrar and S. Noot. 6 p. 4°. Typewritten. [Libretto only]

© Farrar and Noot, Baltimore; D:14128, Oct. 23, 1908; 2c. Oct. 23, 1908.

Twin (The) king; revised and rewritten book and lyrics by H. Farrar and S. Noot, music by Robert G. Boarman. 71 p. 4°. Typewritten. [Libretto only]

© Herbert Farrar and Simon Noot, Baltimore; D:14067, Oct. 15, 1908; 2c. Oct. 15, 1908.

FAST, EDWARD G.

Gentleman (The) of color; or, Washington in 1876, a burlesque in 3 acts, by Ben Horst [pseud. of E. G. Fast].

© Edward G. Fast, Baltimore; 1872:1369, Feb. 10; 2c. Jan. 13, 1874.

Gentleman (The) of color; or, Washington reconstructed, a burlesque in 3 acts, by Ben Horst [pseud. of E. G. Fast]. Baltimore, John Woods, 1874. 48 p. 8°.

© Edward G. Fast, Baltimore; 1873:14730, Dec. 22; 2c. Jan. 13, 1874.

FERGUSON, BARNEY

McCarthy's mishaps; an Irish comedy in 3 acts and 3 scenes, by B. Ferguson. 3 v. 4°. Typewritten.

© Barney Ferguson, Baltimore; 1887:32390, Dec. 15; 2c. Mar. 3, 1888.

Plays © in other states - 3.

FLAMME, A.

Funny (A) side of life; or, Stung, play in 1 act, by A. Flamme. 3 p. 4°. Typewritten.

© 1c. Mar. 7, 1912; D:29462; Stanton and Flamme, Cumberland, Md.

FLEMMING, CHARLES H.

After seven years; a thrilling, sensational melodrama in 4 acts, by Charles H. Flemming.

© Daniel A. Kelly, Baltimore; 1887:19321, July 27.

Little Polly; a sensational melodrama in 4 acts, by Chas. H. Flemming.

© Carrie V. Rock, Baltimore; 1894:53160, Nov. 15.

Living (A) lie; a thrilling, sensational, exciting and emotional drama in 4 acts, by Chas. H. Flemming.

© Harry Amlar, Baltimore; 1882:16247, Oct. 2.

Shadow (The) detective; or, Leonie the waif, a thrilling, sensational drama in 4 acts, by Charles H. Flemming of Baltimore.

© Dan A. Kelly, United States; 1881:16693, Oct. 28.

Under a cloud; or, The murder in the snow, a drama in prologue and 3 acts, by C. H. Fleming [sic].

© W. P. Wilson, Baltimore; 1874:6251, May 8.

Plays © in other states - 12.

FORD, ANNIE E.

Berthe, the daughter of Roland; a historical romantic play in 4 acts, from the French of Henri de Bernier, tr., arr. and adapted for the English stage by A. E. Ford.

© Annie E. Ford, Baltimore; 1876:6109, May 18.

FORD, CHARLES E.

Nell Gwynne; the story from Moncrieff's musical comedy of the merry days of King Charles the Second and the fast men of the olden time, adapted for operatic uses by C. E. Ford.

© Charles E. Ford, Baltimore; 1884:9419, May 7.

FRANCISCO, W. W.

Sketches; by W. W. Francisco. 15 p. 8°.

Contents: *The new cook*. — *The old maid's temperance meeting*. — *Miss Squash from Squashville*.

© Apr. 10, 1911; 2c. Apr. 28, 1911; A:286536; W. W. Francisco, Baltimore.

FRANKLIN, BEN and HERBERT FARRAR

Wind (The) up; by B. Franklin and H. Farrar. 8 p. 4°. Type-written.

© Ben Franklin and Herbert Farrar, Baltimore; D:13536, Aug. 12, 1908; 2c. Aug. 12, 1908.

FREEMAN, CHESTER M.

Shade (The) of Epictetus; by C. M. Freeman.

© C. M. Freeman, Baltimore; D:1372, Jan. 30, 1902.

Ways (The) of man; by C. M. Freeman.

© Chester M. Freeman, Baltimore; D:1938, May 27, 1902.

FULTON, ALBERT K.

Behind a mask; a drama in 5 acts, by A. K. Fulton.

© A. K. Fulton, Baltimore; 1882:21067, Dec. 12.

Bungstarter (The); a farcical, satirical comedy in 3 acts, by A. K. Fulton.

© Albert K. Fulton, Baltimore; 1883:19645, Oct. 25.

Castaway (The); a melodrama in 9 tableaux, by A. K. Fulton.

© A. K. Fulton, Baltimore; 1883:9891, May 31.

Duplicity; a melodrama in 5 acts, by A. K. Fulton.

© Albert K. Fulton, Baltimore; 1884:17853, Sept. 3.

Her foe; a romantic play in 4 acts, by A. K. Fulton.

© A. K. Fulton, Baltimore; 1882:21066, Dec. 12.

Jack Sheppard; an opera in 3 acts, libretto by A. K. Fulton, music by A. Itzel, jr.

© A. K. Fulton and Adam Itzel, jr., Baltimore; 1885:5056, Feb. 28.

Nettle (The) and the rose; a picturesque comedy in 4 acts, by A. K. Fulton. 104 p. 4°. Typewritten.

© Albert K. Fulton, Baltimore; 1890:2087, Jan. 15; 2c. Feb. 15; 1c. rev. ed. Jan. 2, 1892.

Nina the wild flower; a comedy drama in 4 acts, by A. K. Fulton.

© A. K. Fulton, Baltimore; 1883:7353, Apr. 19.

Orange blossoms; a comedy in 3 acts, by A. K. Fulton. 110 p. 4°. Typewritten.

© Albert K. Fulton, Baltimore; 1889:35630, Nov. 22; 2c. Dec. 10, 1890; 1c. rev. ed. Nov. 19, 1891.

Sibyl; a comedy in 5 acts, by A. K. Fulton.

© A. K. Fulton, Baltimore; 1883:9890, May 31.

Turn (The) of the tide; a drama in 4 acts, by A. K. Fulton.

© A. K. Fulton, Baltimore; 1880:13949, Sept. 13.

Baltimore

(To be continued)

EDGAR HEYL

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Arts in America: The Colonial Period. By LOUIS B. WRIGHT, GEORGE B. TATUM, JOHN W. MCCOUBREY, and ROBERT E. SMITH. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966. xvi, 368. \$15.00.

Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and its Symbols, 1650-1815. By ALLAN I. LUDWIG. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1966. Pp. xxxi, 482. \$22.50.

These two generously illustrated volumes—the first contains 267 black and white plates and the second over 500—are very different in their purpose and thrust. Intended primarily for the general reader, the first is a comprehensive and expert survey of the arts for all of the colonies, while the second, directed mainly toward specialists, is a meticulous and detailed examination for the form and content of one art, stonecarving, in one area of colonial America, New England.

In addition to a concise social and intellectual portrait of colonial America by Wright, the first volume contains essays on architecture by Tatum, painting by McCoubrey, and the decorative arts (particularly furniture and silver) by Smith. The emphasis in each of the essays is upon changing styles: in architecture from the austere and heavy "medieval" style of the seventeenth century to the ever more elegant and lighter classical styles of the eighteenth century; in painting from the crude portraiture of the early limners to the elaborate history paintings of the late eighteenth century; in the decorative arts from the simple to the more complex. In every area of the visual arts the tendency was toward more elaboration and more Anglicization as colonial artists, builders, and craftsmen, supported by the new colonial wealth, self-consciously tried to imitate as well as their talents, resources, and situations would permit the changing fashions of the dominant parent culture in Britain. The result was an art that, despite a distinctive local flavor, was thoroughly provincial; and, one might add, its patrons, wealthy colonials who were responding to the traditional imperatives of provincial societies to duplicate as closely as possible the culture of the mother country, would not have had it any other way.

The Ludwig volume is also concerned with changing styles and also emphasizes the derivative character of New England stonecarving. Tracing the development of the art from the early "provincial baroque" through the neoclassical style, the author shows both the sensitivity of New England stonecarvers, especially near the coast, to changing tastes and forms in Britain and their dependence upon

British engravings, woodcuts, and emblem books for models. Yet, perhaps even less than other arts in colonial America, New England stonework was not completely mimetic. Particularly in rural areas, there was until the final triumph of the neoclassical style in the early nineteenth century a "primitive directness," "linear purity," "economy of line," and absence of "dissembling clichés" that gave American stonework a "blunt freshness" that distinguished it from English stonework.

Even more interesting for historians will be Ludwig's discussion of the importance of the visual imagery of the stones for an understanding of New England puritanism. That imagery, he argues, reveals not only that American puritans, in contrast to the traditional interpretation, were much less iconophobic than their English forebearers but also that there was a latent tension within the American puritan community between the cold rationalism represented by sermons and the suppressed emotionalism that found expression in the visual symbols on the stones. Moreover, the author concludes, the continued popularity of the stones through the eighteenth century tends to substantiate what historians have long suspected from other sources: that the frequently noted decline of interest in formal theology beginning in the closing decades of the seventeenth century was not accompanied by a decline in popular piety. Most important of all are the author's conclusions about the symbolic meaning of the graven images. Categorically rejecting the conventional assumption that these images were purely "decorative and without meaning," the author argues persuasively that they can be used to look "into the hearts of the people" and to penetrate the emotional content of puritanism. For a careful reading of the visual imagery on the stones, he contends, indicates that they had an important psychological function. Made necessary by the inability of discursive language to "give the 'invisible world' meaningful expression," they were the only medium through which the puritans could directly face and convey their apprehensions about the "awful immensity of death and the long voyage of the soul" through eternity.

What these two apparently dissimilar volumes have in common, then, besides a mutual interest in colonial art is a concern for showing what the study of the visual arts can reveal about the social imperatives and psychological needs of any culture. Each in its own way reminds historians of the importance of non-verbal evidence to any comprehensive understanding of almost any segment of the past.

Liquor and Anti-Liquor in Virginia, 1619-1919. By C. C. PEARSON and J. EDWIN HENDRICKS. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1967. Pp. ix, 342. \$8.75.

Throughout his career at Wake Forest College, Professor C. C. Pearson gathered materials and began the preparation of a manuscript on temperance activities in the Old Dominion. Six years after his death J. Edwin Hendricks, an associate professor of history at Wake Forest, undertook the task of completing the study. "My contribution," he relates, was to bring "the research up to date . . . to edit some portions and to revise and rewrite others."

The central thesis of the authors, and it is restated several times throughout the volume, is that anti-liquor sentiment and agitation in Virginia was essentially a concern of the middle classes. "The upper classes," they contend, "liked their liquor, felt they knew how to control its use, and rejected any idea of restrictions on themselves and their drinking." The lower classes simply drank and opposed anyone who said they should not. The middle classes, centered mainly in the Methodist and Baptist Churches, believed that the evils and abuses associated with the liquor traffic and excessive drinking were detrimental to the welfare of society, and they sought to alleviate these evils.

Throughout the colonial era and into the nineteenth century most Virginians held that "liquor was a good thing" and claimed that it prevented disease, tempered sorrow, stimulated work, and enlivened leisure. Despite ante-bellum temperance propaganda, liquor regulations prior to the Civil War were limited to licensing of drinking places, regulating prices, restricting sales to freemen, and prosecution for drunkenness.

From the early nineteenth century organized temperance societies were active in Virginia, and the authors have traced the activities and described the programs of such groups as the American Temperance Society, The Washingtonians, The Sons of Temperance, The Independent Order of Good Templars, Friends of Temperance, the WCTU, the Anti-Saloon League, and others. Most of these organizations received a sympathetic reception from Baptist, Methodist, and some Presbyterian churchmen. The religious press published the proceedings of temperance conventions and many local societies were permitted to meet in church buildings. These groups helped to make Virginians cognizant of the "liquor problem" and were instrumental in gradually arousing hostility to alcohol. However, it was not until the twentieth century that the anti-liquor forces in the state were able to achieve their aim. The authors note that by this time the middle classes in the state were

more affluent, better educated, and more politically conscious than formerly. The Baptist and Methodist Churches now included many lawyers, physicians, and business men, persons of influence in their communities. The lay and clerical leaders of the evangelical churches, working through their denominational agencies and the anti-saloon league together with a faction in the Democratic Party, brought prohibition to Virginia in 1916.

Students of Virginia history and American social history will find this a useful volume; however, the relationship between temperance activities in Virginia and temperance efforts elsewhere in the nation receives slight attention. The study is well documented, and the notes are placed at the bottom of the pages. The fourteen page bibliography is an adequate guide to Virginiana, but it omits Charles E. Wynes, *Race Relations in Virginia, 1870-1902*, and the name of the author of *The Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1901-1902*, R. C. McDanel, is misspelled in the citation on page 227 and in the bibliography.

University of Richmond

W. HARRISON DANIEL

The British Empire before the American Revolution. Volume XI, *The Triumphant Empire: The Rumbling of the Coming Storm, 1766-1770*; Volume XII, *The Triumphant Empire: Britain Sails into the Storm, 1770-1776*; Volume XIII, *The Triumphant Empire: Part I: The Empire beyond the Storm, 1770-1776, Part II: A Summary of the Series, Part III: Historiography.* By LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965, 1965, 1967. Pp. lxxxii, 579, Index; lvii, 372, Index; xlii, 454, Index. \$10.00 each.

When Great Britain emerged from the world war of 1754-1763, the Peace of Paris endowed the triumphant Empire with vastly enlarged territories and comparably expanded problems. In North America, the responsibility of maintaining defenses along a frontier of continental proportions had to coincide with the control of western settlement beyond the mountain barrier. In the mother country, revenues had to be found to retire an unprecedented national debt of £146,000,000 which annually consumed interest payments of £4,700,000. At the same time, many of the older English dominions in the New World, aided in part by Parliamentary reimbursement, proceeded to liquidate their wartime debts with seeming ease and rapidity. Small wonder, then, that Whitehall determined to have the colonies shoulder a measure of the cost of their own security.

Yet the laws enacted by Parliament to meet this need evoked a torrent of colonial opposition that brought into question the very nature of the constitutional relationship between colony and mother country and precipitated a crisis that culminated ultimately in the dissolution of Britain's first empire. The eleventh and twelfth volumes of Lawrence H. Gipson's august study trace the critical decade between the reaction to the repeal of the Stamp Act and the formal declaration of American independence. The thirteenth volume surveys contemporary developments in those colonies beyond the pale of revolution, summarizes the entire series beginning with the state of the Empire in 1748, and presents discerning historiographical essays on those British, Canadian, and American writers whose works have most influenced "the public view" of the Empire before the War for Independence. A promised fourteenth volume is to be devoted entirely to a bibliographical guide.

Gipson concentrates in volume XI upon the growth of American resentment toward the Townshend Acts, the presence of British regulars in Massachusetts Bay, and the Boston Massacre. Skillfully interwoven is the narrative of events in England and their influence upon the Empire: economic depression, the Wilkes controversy, the rise of urban reform agitation, and the piecing together of a succession of short-lived Ministries. Secondary themes which receive substantial attention include intercolonial rivalries, the implementation of land and Indian policies in the transmontane region, and political strife within several colonies.

The author finds the Rockingham administration to have been genuinely concerned with restoring imperial harmony, and he muses about what might have been the course of empire had Rockingham retained the confidence of the King in 1766. Having affirmed in the Declaratory Act of the right of Parliament to levy taxes upon the colonies, the Ministry, Gipson believes, would have contented itself with the statement rather than the exercise of that right. On the other hand, the succeeding Chatham administration revived the dormant imperial crisis with the Townshend revenue program, whose passage in 1767 at once indicated the ascendancy of Townshend's influence in Parliament and contravened Pitt's position against taxing the colonies. To Gipson, the Pitt of 1767 was far from the heroic if brash figure of a decade earlier, for the King's chief minister no longer possessed the physical and mental strength to provide the requisite leadership.

While the resurrection of the tax issue served to bind American colonials together in the non-importation associations, some colonies still found more to divide than to unite them. Witness the Regu-

lator movements in the Carolinas or the numerous, protracted, and sometimes violent boundary controversies. Of these the author singles out as representative the disputes involving the province of Pennsylvania and of New York. The Penn-Calvert disagreement dragged on almost interminably, even after James II favored Penn by curtailing appreciably the territorial limits defined in the original charter grant to the Lords Baltimore. In general, however, the New York experience with the competing boundary claims of neighboring colonies was more typical in that "the government of Great Britain, acting through the Privy Council and Board of Trade, showed a spirit of impartiality and . . . wisely insisted that in so far as was possible differences should be settled between the contending parties themselves, rather than through exertion of Crown authority" (XI, pp. 359-360).

In his twelfth volume Gipson examines the sequence of events from the *Gaspee* incident in 1772 to the Declaration of Independence. The exposition seems somewhat wanting here; the path toward London is perceptively surer and more rewarding than that toward Philadelphia. The fullness of treatment accorded the several proposals for accommodation, which Parliament debated before the final rupture, contrasts markedly with the hurried consideration given the May 10, 1776, resolution of the Continental Congress advising the rebelling colonies to establish their own governments. One suspects, moreover, that Gipson ascribes far greater authority and supremacy to the Congress than it actually was able to command. The *Peggy Stewart* episode notwithstanding, the extent to which Maryland "set the pace for its neighbouring colonies to the south" after the autumn of 1774 may also be questioned (XII, p. 198).

Although not denying the advantages in diversity of approach, the author believes that the Revolution stemmed ultimately from the outcome of the Great War for the Empire. That conflict effectively and for the first time removed Canada as a threat to the security and expansion of British possessions on the continent. Thereafter, "when politically minded colonials had become convinced that Americans must no longer be subservient to the domination of a Parliament in which they were not and could not be properly represented . . . they gave increasing attention to such fundamental matters as the rights of Englishmen under the common law, human rights derived from natural law, and the relation of the individual to the government" (XIII, p. 193). Gipson would agree with John Adams that the colonial denial of the right of Parliament to legislate for the colonies in all cases whatsoever—a right never denied before 1760—constituted the *real* American

Revolution. In essence, Britain was unable to grant what colonial leaders insisted upon by 1768: that their relationship to the Crown precluded Parliamentary control of their destinies. To adopt such a position was to ignore the meaning of the Glorious Revolution and more than a century of English constitutional development.

Professor Gipson is counted among the proponents of the so-called imperial school of historians. Five decades of research in public archives and private libraries, conducted with a diligence, dedication, and physical endurance rarely equalled, have convinced him that the coming of the Revolution can best be understood within the context of the entire Empire, for, to presuppose the existence of the United States and to search among thirteen diverse Atlantic colonies for primigenious strivings toward that destiny is to read history in reverse. Subscribing to the imperial approach does not mean, however, as some writers have charged, the negation of the Revolutionary position in favor of the British case. Whitehall's delinquency, according to Gipson, was in its being purblind to the political maturity of the older dominions and in not adjusting the constitutional framework to correspond to changed conditions. When the final schism came, "American colonials revolted not to create a new social order but to free themselves from interference by the government of Great Britain" (XIII, p. 215).

Why did British officials not anticipate the approaching storm and take steps to secure the Empire? The author marshals extensive evidence to demonstrate just how often, since the seventeenth century, Parliament had legislated for the imperial possessions and how often Americans, including even James Otis, had acknowledged that right. Therefore, no Ministry between 1763 and 1775 really believed the colonial system needed drastic and fundamental revision, so that all official proposals for reconciliation fell short of colonial demands. Opposition factions, had they managed to unite on the American issue, could not have commanded a majority in Parliament, and, Gipson hastens to point out, by 1774 neither the plain-spoken Edmund Burke nor the declining William Pitt fully appreciated the reasonings, contentions, and fears which animated the statements and arguments of the Revolutionary leadership. When war came the following year, it was intended not to remove the colonies from the Empire but to ensure their autonomy within it. "But there was no place for adult commonwealths in the orbit of the eighteenth-century British Empire, with its constitution premised on colonial dependence and the rule by command and obedience typical of the relationship of parent to immature offspring" (XII, p. 42). For England to have acceded, Gipson is con-

vinced, would have required a wisdom and statecraft not displayed until the establishing of the Commonwealth of Nations some few decades ago.

If the signal failure of the architects of imperial policy lay in not perceiving the need for autonomy, the author would remind his readers that the Revolutionary leaders who penned the cries of tyranny and oppression were "the freest, most enlightened, most prosperous, and most politically experienced of all colonials in the world of the eighteenth century" (XIII, p. 205). Indulgence, not tyranny, and recognition of imperial diversity, not single-minded irresponsibility, most characterized the efforts of those who walked the corridors of power in London. Gipson does not hesitate to criticize the many deficiencies of the Empire—the discrimination and government corruption in Ireland, the mismanagement of the United East India Company, or the horrors of the slave system in the West Indian sugar islands—but he finds on balance no other nation whose dependencies enjoyed the free press, individual liberties, or extent of local government which distinguished the colonies of England.

It is appropriate that Gipson's monumental study, the product of a lifetime of devoted scholarship and the most comprehensive treatment of its subject yet produced, should conclude with a masterful series of sixty-two historiographical essays. Together they constitute the jewel of the penultimate volume. Once more he demonstrates his penetrating knowledge of the literature and the particular contribution of each author, from Horace Walpole to Namier, Thomas Hutchinson to Bancroft, from contemporary interpreters to the present generation of historians. The student wishing to investigate the manner in which men have appraised and appreciated the epochal events of this period might well begin here. Yet he would be remiss not to include the edifying contribution of Lawrence H. Gipson.

American Historical Association

JEAN H. VIVIAN

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

Almost thirty years ago Professors Francis Simkins and Howard K. Beale called for a re-examination of Reconstruction history. Since that time scholars have produced an increasing volume of revisionist studies on the era. Fortunately, state studies have not been neglected, and for the first time in fifty years, we have a new work on Georgia by Alan Conway, senior lecturer in American

history at University College of Wales. Conway's book challenges the older Dunning school of interpretation in C. Mildred Thompson's history, but it does not succeed in becoming the definitive account. Both books have their merits, and students now have two contrasting interpretations to balance their judgment.

For Conway the destruction, loss of capital, and physical exhaustion were not the war's real cost to Georgia. He feels rather that it was in terms of the ominous complexity of racial adjustment that was made necessary by emancipation. Actual destruction was confined to a small area in the last year of the war, although a severe blow had been inflicted on the state's economic sinews. Economic revival was soon in evidence in centers such as Atlanta and in the rebuilding of the Central of Georgia Railroad, but fear and uncertainty of the Negro's position dominated the political situation. The benevolent paternalism of the old slave system frequently gave way to racial hatred. Conway feels that the basic reason for Georgia's secession had not changed in the post war period: Georgians were determined to preserve white supremacy and were opposed to any recognition of equality for the Negro. Without an economic base he had no chance for political equality. Hostility and the refusal to grant any real concessions to the Negro became the tragic legacy of the Civil War for Georgia.

Military authorities had hoped to transfer quickly their duties to civil officials, but both sides were somewhat naive over the problem of loyalty. A civil government was established and reluctantly accepted the conditions of the Johnsonian program. Unfortunately, it also elected to Congress such men as Alexander Stephens, who could not take the Test Oath. Federal officials experienced increasing difficulties with Governor Jenkins, and finally General Meade removed him and appointed Rufus B. Bullock as provisional governor. The final denouement came when Bullock requested the military to assume control again. Bullock's administration never received public support. The state's Republican party suffered from chronic instability, and by the 1870 election Negroes were increasingly reluctant to risk their lives and property in its support. With few troops, federal authorities could offer little protection against the growing use of intimidation. Democrats effectively used charges of financial irregularities to discredit Bullock's administration, but Conway feels that historians have overemphasized the corruption and in doing so have distorted the period's history.

Not all will agree with Conway's conclusions, but the reader will enjoy a stimulating book. His style of presenting contrasting interpretations along with his narrative makes for provocative reading.

A fuller and more detailed treatment would have strengthened its value, and it is unfortunate that Conway did not have the advantage of more recent studies on the Radicals. Nevertheless, *The Reconstruction of Georgia* is a welcome addition for a fuller understanding of a much maligned era.

Georgetown University

RICHARD R. DUNCAN

Salt Water and Printer's Ink: Norfolk and Its Newspapers, 1865 to 1965. By LENOIR CHAMBERS, JOSEPH E. SHANK, and HAROLD SUGG. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967. Pp. viii, 418. Illustrations, chart, notes, bibliography, and index. \$7.50.

Newspapers and their histories have long attracted both journalists and historians. Thus the historical literature is voluminous. It includes such works as Frank Luther Mott's monumental *A History of American Journalism*, Bernard A. Weisberger's survey *The American Newspaperman*, volumes written by and about editors, and innumerable monographs covering particular eras, such as the press during the Civil War. Moreover, hardly a newspaper in the United States has passed its century anniversary without a "biography." The present volume is also a commemorative work, but it is unique in that rather than covering the story of a single newspaper, it is the history of newspapers in Norfolk for the last century.

The authors claim that Norfolk journalism of the modern era can be dated from the birth of the *Norfolk Virginian* on November 21, 1865. They argue that the pre-war newspapers had not survived the conflict and that the reconstruction sheets, due to their "Yankee origins," had not found public support. From this "bleak time" the story is told of the mergers and combinations that finally produced the morning *Virginian-Pilot* and the evening *Ledger-Star* of today. The history of newspapers in Norfolk is much like the history of newspapers in other American cities. Technological advances, increased costs, competition from first radio and then television, have all been responsible for their seemingly always contracting number. In the case of Norfolk, a dozen newspapers finally produced the two journals of today.

The authors' job in writing this volume was not easy. Their era begins at the time when the counting room's importance had started to outweigh that of the editorial room. Thus they can not recount the story of an editor of national significance who dominated the life of Norfolk journalism over a long period, but must chronicle the intricate web of internal politics surrounding publishers, busi-

ness managers and editors. While this sometimes produces sections that border on a catalogue of names, the often spritely journalistic style and the interesting story of news gathering coups and accomplishments in local reforms allows for a highly readable book. Mr. Sugg's final chapter is in particular a delightful synthesis of the extremely important generation for Norfolk newspapers following the Second World War.

Florida Atlantic University

DONALD W. CURL

The History of the Mary Byrd Wyman Memorial Association. By BETTY ANN SCHMICK HOWARD. Pp. 16.

This small but noteworthy pamphlet presents for the first time the story of the Mary Byrd Wyman Memorial Fund which has awarded scholarships to hundreds of young people to assist them through school.

Basically the fund was intended for the children of clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland and Virginia, but its Trustees always have operated within a substantially wider scope. Founded by Samuel Gerrish Wyman in 1883 in memory of his wife, Mary Armistead Byrd Wyman, the fund has continued to the present the couple's known sympathy and affection for the needy and deserving.

Maryland Historical Society

HAROLD R. MANAKEE

The Shackles of Power: Three Jeffersonian Decades. By JOHN DOS PASSOS. ["Mainstream of America Series," edited by Lewis Gannett.] Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1966. Pp. 426. \$6.95.

The literary excellence and incisive character analysis that have made John Dos Passos a favorite American author for nearly half a century are evident here. He introduces the players in this history of the early nineteenth century with a series of biographical flashbacks. Thomas Jefferson, Aaron Burr, John Marshall, John Randolph of Roanoke, Tecumseh, "Dusky Sall" Hemings, Gen. James Wilkinson, James Madison, Thomas Mann Randolph, George Ticknor, Madame de Staël, John and John Quincy Adams, Alexis de Tocqueville, Gustave de Beaumont, and others both famous and infamous, great and small make their appearance. These characterizations, based upon considerable reading in primary sources, are full of illuminating and trivial material on the persons concerned. For some reason the infamous lead deviant sex lives—*e.g.*, Burr is

too amorous, John Randolph is impotent. Sometimes Dos Passos' summaries attempt to evoke a sense of literary grandeur. For instance, in an analysis of Madisonian diplomacy, he writes: "Like a heavily laden ship trying to beat out of some bay against wind and tide, the administration zigzagged between British aggression and French spoliation. Every tack found the President's policy nearer the rocks on one side or the other."

But the devotion to biography leaves the author open to criticism on the grounds of organization, emphasis, and choice of characters. A quarter of the book is devoted to the amorous, political, and economic vacillations of Aaron Burr. Dos Passos becomes as gullible as Jefferson in believing the conspiracy yarn of General Wilkinson and as vindictive as the President in wanting to destroy Burr regardless of the veracity of the charges against him. Whatever the joys of reading the colloquies between Adams and Jefferson, history had bypassed the sages of Quincy and Monticello; Dos Passos should have done the same. Too much of the work is an exercise in trivia reaching a peak with the description of the British occupation of Copenhagen in 1807. No analysis is given of the Great Migration into the black belt of the southwest and the corn belt of the northwest, the industrialization of New England, or the rapid urbanization of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. All of these are reasons for the decline of Virginia which seems to pain Dos Passos as much as it did Jefferson.

A few minor errors were found. It is the Maumee River not the Miami that empties into the western end of Lake Erie (p. 204), it was through "Upper Marlboro" not "Marlborough" that the British marched enroute to the capital (p. 246), and it was to the Maj. Charles Carroll residence, not the "Carrol" home in Georgetown, that Dolly Madison fled in 1814 (p. 249). These little mistakes are probably due to an overdependence on manuscript and printed primary sources and a lack of reading in a host of scholarly monographs that throw light on the new nation. One searches in vain to find evidence of study in the writings of Bray Hammond, Leonard D. White, Bradford Perkins, George R. Taylor, Paul W. Gates, Douglass C. North, Raymond Walters, Robert V. Remini, Noble E. Cunningham, Francis S. Philbrick, and George Dangerfield.

This book will be popular because of Dos Passos' fame, the topic, and the brilliant characterizations contained therein. It is a pity that such talent was wasted in a paean to Thomas Jefferson rather than the presentation to the public of the first great literary treatment of the era of the first Republicans since Henry Adams' masterful history of the same age. That such a combination of literary

style and scholarly analysis can occur has been amply demonstrated in James Thomas Flexner's *George Washington: The Forge of Experience*. Dos Passos' grand theme allowed a similar occasion for the presentation of the pedantic scholarship of the academe. It is an entertaining work, but one which does no credit to a series containing such studies as Bruce Catton's *This Hallowed Ground*. Instead of a concern for the "Mainstream of America" we are given a rivulet sprung from Monticello.

Bowling Green State University

DAVID CURTIS SKAGGS

The Papers of James Madison. Volume 3, 3 March 1781—31 December 1781. Edited by WILLIAM T. HUTCHINSON and WILLIAM M. E. RACHAL. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963. Pp. xxv, 381. Illustrations, index, \$10.00.

The Papers of James Madison. Volume 4, 1 January 1782—31 July 1782. Edited by WILLIAM T. HUTCHINSON and WILLIAM M. E. RACHAL. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965. Pp. xxviii, 486. Illustrations, index, \$12.50.

The Papers of James Madison. Volume 5, 1 August 1782—31 December 1782. Edited by WILLIAM T. HUTCHINSON and WILLIAM M. E. RACHAL. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967. Pp. xxx, 496. Illustrations, index, \$12.50.

So meticulous are the editors in identifying all the names, relationships, and circumstances within these papers that probably we cannot expect to see more than one volume published a year. The three most recent volumes have come out only once every two years between 1963 and 1967. Nor in each volume should we expect to find documentation of great public occasions or of Madison's breadth of intellectual interests. These three volumes cover only twenty-two months in Madison's thirty-first and thirty-second years. They see him establishing himself as a working legislator and efficient committeeman in the Continental Congress, one who carefully represents the needs of Virginia while looking to the union of states only in terms of a strict federation. His papers of this period, which include the victory at Yorktown and the initial negotiations with England to conclude the war, are chiefly committee reports, resolutions, motions, and correspondence between Virginia governors and congressmen. Inescapable throughout them are the two themes of sectional rivalries and Congressional concern with anxious creditors of the young republic.

Since under its present inclusive editorial policy this series can run to well over four score volumes, not each of which will captivate

the "general" reader of history, there is perhaps little reason to report the publication of each volume to readers of this journal. What I think is needed at this time, however, is a defense of the editorial policy itself. Some professional historians have sharply criticized the policy for the profusion, lengthiness, and irrelevance of some of the documents and annotations—a fair example in the first volume is the notice of the loss of Madison's horse. Historians have complained that many of the papers in these recent volumes, especially committee items, have little or really nothing to do with Madison himself. They are sorry that the editors reprint items that already have appeared, carefully annotated, in the Jefferson Papers. From a present-minded, practical, and narrowly professional point of view these grievances are fairly stated. But I should venture to suggest that this point of view is untenable if we are to have a definitive edition of Madison's papers. These are, after all, his *papers*, not only his writings, let alone his public statements. A man's papers should indeed reflect his life *and* his times as these surely do. While I agree that it is wasteful to reprint here the letters to Madison that are being printed in current editions of papers of other founding fathers, and surely that it is unnecessary to annotate such items repetitiously, generally the reviewer votes for the present editorial policy of this series. Who knows what another generation of scholars, lawyers, political theorists, government officials, writers, antiquarians, or interested citizens will want to find or to learn from the papers of one of our great enlightened Americans of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries? Society's demands upon historical knowledge change. The interpretations of today's historians are not necessarily the themes that the editorial policy of a fine series of papers should follow. Greater selectivity in editing would make the series as outdated for future Americans as today are the once popular but thesis-ridden interpretations of some of our past historians. The charge that no one is ever likely to read these volumes is, to me at least, astounding. Who can possibly know this? The early years of our republic are so frequently being reassessed by scholars and by graduate students that the charge on this score alone is groundless. Nor are microfilmed reproductions of papers like these the answer to pleas for "practicality." It is only practical to publish the papers with the necessary and meaningful editorial work. As long as we have the paper and the funds and the scholarly care and patience for editing the entire papers of our important statesmen, I say let enterprises like this one continue. The editors of the Madison Papers have made a superb beginning.

Technology in Early America: Needs and Opportunities for Study.

By BROOKE HINDLE with a Directory of Artifact Collections by LUCIUS F. ELLSWORTH. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by The University of North Carolina Press, 1966. Pp. xix, 145.

This book is the fifth publication in the Needs and Opportunities for Study series of the Institute of Early American History and Culture. Earlier volumes have explored such areas as early American science, education, arts, and American Indian and white relations. This study is devoted to early American technology and contains an essay, "The Exhilaration of Early American Technology" by Brooke Hindle, a bibliography on the subject by the same author, and a Directory of Artifact Collections by Lucius F. Ellsworth.

Brooke Hindle's thoughtful essay serves admirably to place the subject of American technology through 1850 in proper perspective. In the earlier pages it reads a bit like a conference report, which is not surprising since it was presented at a conference held late in 1965 and sponsored jointly by the Institute and the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation. But the extent of Hindle's learning is impressive, and he is particularly adept at making the reader aware of the basic importance of his subject, one which has been all too often neglected by historians interested in words, ideas, and statistics but all too prone to neglect and denigrate things and how they were made. David Potter has argued forcefully that while Americans have long been virtually obsessed with the notion that foreigners must be instructed in our democratic faith, the only thing American they have ever been consistently interested in is our technology. With such a realization one is inclined to react sympathetically to Hindle's assertion that such frequently studied phenomena as the westward movement, the Age of Jackson, and battles over the tariff ". . . are understandable only in terms of the technology which rebuilt the floor under the pontificating senators even as they declaimed and which shaped and reshaped the tools required to conquer a continent and to erect a variant civilization."

Hindle points out a number of areas of investigation which should yield fruitful returns. One is the extent to which the internal character of technology is deterministic. He argues that "At any given moment some 'inventions' are possible and some are simply impossible until more elements have been added to the complex." In the process of development "certain changes and adaptations grow logically out of the state of the technology." If such an argument would seem to work to diminish the stature of those heroic

"inventors" who fill so many pages of our historical works, Hindle restores some of their luster when he emphasizes the exhilaration in their work felt by early American inventors and manufacturers such as Oliver Evans and William Norris. This exhilaration, he surmises, had little to do with monetary profit but rather with a ". . . great human urge to do everything that developing means permit man to do."

Brooke Hindle demonstrates convincingly that the study of early American technology will yield increasing returns to historians in years to come. His excellent bibliography of some sixty-five pages and the Directory of Artifact Collections compiled by Lucius F. Ellsworth should help students to find the way.

The George Washington University

ROBERT P. SHARKEY

New Jersey's Jeffersonian Republicans: the Genesis of an Early Party Machine 1789-1817. By CARL E. PRINCE. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967. Pp. xvi, 266. \$7.50.

Here is another addition to the growing collection of monographs sponsored by the Institute of Early American History and Culture. The outgrowth of a doctoral dissertation done under the direction of Richard P. McCormick in 1963, the present work reflects both the advantages and liabilities of such studies. The research is thorough, and Prince is to be commended for his use of such manuscripts as the Gratz collection which sheds much light on the early political history of New Jersey for the scholar who is patient enough to sift through this mass of material. As for the author's style, Thomas Carlyle's phrase "dry as dust" is quite descriptive. Perhaps the very nature of such a detailed examination of the political growing pains of New Jersey's Jeffersonian Republicans—historical figures who never come alive in Prince's pedestrian treatment of them—makes for dull reading. More annoying to this reviewer is the book's subtitle: "The Genesis of An Early Party Machine: 1789-1817." In a study of over 250 pages, less than forty pages deal with the crucial period from 1789 through 1799. The remaining chapters are admirably detailed in their analysis of the years 1800-1816, but the sketchy treatment of the earlier decade is more than unfortunate.

Prince's study is strongest in its examination of "the two most significant manifestations of Republican party organization in New Jersey": the first continuous statewide nominating convention (first meeting in 1800) and the mixed legislative caucus which developed during the ensuing half decade. The genesis of Jeffersonian Republican organization in New Jersey seems to follow the general

pattern which Noble Cunningham so ably delineated in his earlier studies. Party managers, newspaper propaganda, new electioneering techniques contributed to the Jeffersonians capture of the state government in 1801. Until 1815 Republicans successfully maintained party discipline against the less well organized Federalists. Only in 1812 did the latter manage an ephemeral political victory. After the conclusion of the war, party lines blurred, and the structural decay of Republican party machinery commenced. In New Jersey, as elsewhere in the young nation, the following years were an "era of good feeling."

Despite the book's shortcomings, Prince has amassed significant material which contributes still more to our understanding of the birth of the American political system at the state and local level.

Merrimack College

EDWARD G. RODDY, JR.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

- The Age of Discovery.* By WILCOMB E. WASHBURN. Washington, D.C.: The American Historical Association, 1966. Publication No. 63, Service Center for Teachers of History. Pp. 26. \$50.
- Seven Wise Men of Colonial America.* By RICHARD M. GUMMERE. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967. Pp. xi, 114. \$3.95.
- Land Ownership Maps: A Checklist of Nineteenth Century United States County Maps in the Library of Congress.* Compiled by RICHARD W. STEPHENSON. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1967. Pp. xxv, 86. paper. \$70.
- The Delaware Canal: A Picture Story.* By ROBERT J. McCLELLAN. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1967. Pp. xv, 111. \$7.50.
- Presidential Reconstruction in Mississippi.* By WILLIAM C. HARRIS. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967. Pp. x, 279. \$8.00.
- The Emergence of the New South 1913-1945.* By GEORGE BROWN TINDALL. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967. Vol. X in "A History of the South" Series. Pp. xv, 807. \$12.50.
- The American Revolution and the British Press 1775-1783.* By SOLOMON LUTNICK. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1967. Pp. xi, 249. \$6.
- The Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina 1865-1872.* By MARTIN ABBOTT. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967. Pp. viii, 162. \$5.
- Talbot Past and Present: As Expressed in the Historical Society of Talbot County.* Easton, Maryland: The Historical Society of Talbot County, 1967. Pp. 56. Illustrated. Paper. \$1.25.
- Moravian Architecture and Town Planning: Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Other Eighteenth-Century American Settlements.* By WILLIAM J. MURTAGH. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967. Pp. viii, 145. \$8.75.

- America's Historic Houses and Restorations.* By IRVIN HAAS. New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1966. Pp. 271. Illustrated. \$12.95.
- Andrew Jackson and the Bank War.* By ROBERT V. REMINI. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1967. Pp. 192. \$4.50.
- An Index of the Source Records of Maryland.* By ELEANOR PHILLIPS PASSANO. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1967. Pp. x, 478. \$15.
- Organs for America.* By WILLIAM H. ARMSTRONG. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967. 154. \$5.95.
- The Federalists vs. the Jeffersonian Republicans.* Edited by PAUL GOODMAN. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967. Pp. 122. \$1.95.
- The Peace Prophets, American Pacifist Thought, 1919-1941.* By JOHN K. NELSON. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967. Pp. viii, 153. \$4.50.
- The National Waterway: C & D Canal, 1769-1965.* By RALPH D. GRAY. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1967. Pp. xi, 279. \$8.95.
- Sidelights on Maryland History.* By HESTER D. RICHARDSON. Cambridge, Maryland: Tidewater Publishers, 1967. Pp. 564. \$15.
- The Battle of Princeton.* By SAMUEL STELLE SMITH. Monmouth Beach, New Jersey: Philip Freneau Press. Pp. 44. \$4.95.
- The History of the United States.* By OSCAR HANDLIN. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston. Vol. 2. Pp. xiv, 688. \$10.50.
- Resurgent Republicanism.* By C. A. STERN. Ann Arbor, Michigan: privately published by the author; Edwards Bros. Inc., 1968. Pp. xi, 97. \$1.25.
- A Century of Commerce 1867-1967.* Edited by JAMES K. SANFORD. Richmond: Richmond Chamber of Commerce, 1967. Pp. xvii, 266.

NOTES AND QUERIES

With this issue, for the first time since 1958, there is a change in the *Magazine's* editorship. With increasing publication commitments and academic duties, Dr. Richard Walsh felt compelled to resign as editor, and it was with much regret that his resignation was finally accepted. The Society, its members and friends, and the editorial staff wish to express their gratitude to Dr. Walsh for his devoted service in making the *Maryland Historical Magazine* a nationally prominent state journal for the last decade.

Colonial Quaker Neck, Kent County, Maryland—A map of colonial Quaker Neck, Kent County, Maryland, has just been published. It shows the lines of the approximately 60 tracts into which this section was divided through grants made by the Lords Baltimore between 1659 and 1772. The area covered is bounded on the east by Radcliff Creek and Chester River, on the south by Chester River, on the west by Langfords Bay and its East Fork, and on the north by the Chestertown-Fairlee Road.

The map carries an index giving the name of each tract, the year of patent, the name of the patentee and the acreage. An accompanying leaflet contains a brief introduction.

The authors and publishers are Thomas DeC. Ruth, H. Norman Grieb and Bartus Trew. The printers are A. Hoen & Company, Baltimore. The edition is limited. Printed in color and suitable for framing the map is priced at \$7.50 per copy including postage and tax. Order from H. Norman Grieb, P. O. Box 254, Chestertown, Maryland 21620; make check or money order payable to H. Norman Grieb, Special Account.

H. M.

Association for the Study of Negro Life and History—The 53rd Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History will be held on October 3-6, 1968 at the New York Hilton Hotel. Persons interested in proposing sessions or papers, or other participation, should write the Program Chairman, Walter Fisher, of the Department of History, Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland 21212.

Charles County Courthouse—With the stimulus of limited financial assistance from Annapolis and from Charles County, plans are being developed to reconstruct Charles County's third courthouse which served the county from about 1819 to August, 1892, when it was partially destroyed by fire. Some of the exterior architectural details have been uncovered during the past 20 years, but there is only conjecture as to roof style, number and style of chimneys and windows in the main structure. The research group has excellent photographs taken in 1915 of the flanking wings. However, with the exception of two photographs showing the details of the main front entrance, the researchers have yet to find any picture, drawing, or detailed description of either exterior or interior of the main building. Preliminary site survey and archaeological digging has indicated that the wings measured about 22' x 22' and the main structure 44' x 44'. The entire building was made of brick and had slate roofing. A Coast and Geodetic Survey of 1862 indicates that there was a cupola on the roof.

During the year of accelerated research just completed in the Charles County area, the courthouse restoration group could not locate any additional details on the main building.

Charles County hopes that reconstruction of the courthouse will constitute the first major step toward the restoration of the village of Port Tobacco, one of the few communities along the eastern seaboard that can boast of having been a living community for over three centuries.

However, Port Tobacco cannot be re-born without the courthouse which in turn cannot materialize until the researchers locate enough details about the structure to allow an architect to prepare working plans. Any information that might help in this undertaking should be sent to John M. Wearmouth, Star Route 2, La Plata, Maryland. Any descriptive material or photographs about Port Tobacco in general will be welcome, and, if requested, will be returned. Donors will be reimbursed for postage.

Information needed—Mr. Donald F. Kresie of 914 West 9, Topeka, Kansas (66606) is interested in securing the names of the children of Christopher Randall and Anne Crandall, who were married in Baltimore on November 12, 1788.

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission—William Penn Memorial Museum has announced its annual "summer seminars" for June 19, 1968 at the Pennsylvania Farm Museum, near Lancaster. There will be seminars on social history, antiques, wild-

flowers, and archaeology. Reservations and information may be obtained from the Landis Valley Associates, P.O. Box 969, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 17108.

The New York State Historical Association has announced that its Seminars on American Culture in 1968 will be held from June 30th through July 13th. This is the twenty-first year that this unique study program has been sponsored by the Association in Cooperstown.

Quite different from anything offered by university summer schools, or graduate workshops, the seminars are designed for the interested amateur as well as for the spirited professional. The curriculum includes courses in American history, folk culture, art, technology, museum techniques, and workshops in early American crafts. The faculty is chosen for its ability to translate scholarship into terms which can excite and enlighten. Courses are taught through discussion, demonstration, field trips, and actual participation.

The three museums administered by NYSHA—Fenimore House with its important collection of folk art and fine art; The Farmers' Museum and its Village Crossroads depicting the life of early New York settlers; and the new Carriage and Harness Museum—are the workshop-classrooms for the many diversified courses. Cooperstown is situated at the tip of Otsego Lake, made famous by the novels of James Fenimore Cooper.

Registration fees and cost of room and board are moderate. Twelve courses will be offered; six each week. For further information write to Seminars on American Culture, Cooperstown, N.Y. 13326; a brochure describing in detail each facet of the program will be sent out in March.

COVER—The cover of this issue is the cartouche of an early map, illustrating the shipping of tobacco at that time. The cartouche describes "A Map of the most Inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole Province of Maryland with Part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina Drawn by Joshua Fry & Peter Jefferson in 1775."

Maryland House and Garden Pilgrimage—The schedule for 1968 is as follows: *Thursday, May 2*: Woodbrook Walking Tour (Baltimore Suburban); *Friday, May 3*: Green Spring Valley (Baltimore County); *Saturday, May 4*: Anne Arundel County;

Sunday, May 5: Charles County; Tuesday, May 7: Kenwood, Chevy Chase (Adjacent to Washington, D.C.); Thursday, May 9: Harford County; Friday, May 10: Cecil County; Saturday, May 11: Kent County; Sunday, May 12: Talbot County; Saturday, June 1 and Sunday, June 2: Chesapeake Bay Cruises and Walking Tour of St. Michaels.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (*Act of October 23, 1962; Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code*) 1. Date of Filing: Sept. 28, 1967. 2. Title of Publication: Maryland Historical Magazine. 3. Frequency of Issue: Quarterly. 4. Location of Known Office of Publication: 201 West Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. 5. Location of the Headquarters or General Business Offices of the Publishers: 201 West Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. 6. Names and Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor. Publisher: Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201; Editor: Dr. Richard Walsh, Department of History, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 20007; Managing Editor: Harold R. Manakee, 201 West Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. 7. Owner: Maryland Historical Society. No stock—non-profit organization. 8. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages or Other Securities: None. 9. The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes have not changed during preceding 12 months. 10. A. Total No. Copies Printed (Quarterly): 4,000. B. Paid Circulation (1.) Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors and Counter Sales: None; (2.) Mail Subscriptions (Memberships): 3,285. C. Total Paid Circulation: 3,285. D. Free Distribution (Schools and Libraries): 460. E. Total Distribution: 3,745. F. Office Use, Left-over, Unaccounted, Spoiled After Printing: 255. G. Total: 4,000.

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Harold R. Manakee, *Director*

CONTRIBUTORS

DOROTHY M. BROWN is an Assistant Professor of History at Georgetown University and is a frequent contributor to the *Magazine*.

RICHARD K. MACMASTER is a graduate student at Georgetown University and is currently working on a doctoral dissertation on the ante-bellum slave trade.

DAVID SKAGGS is an Assistant Professor of History at Bowling Green State University.

W. WAYNE SMITH is Assistant Professor of History at the Southern Connecticut State College, New Haven. His article, "Jacksonian Democracy on the Chesapeake: The Political Institutions," was published in the December issue.

★ ★ ★ ★

★ "Fraternity Freddie" says:

For Over

★ HALF A CENTURY

... SAVERS

★ ... HOME BUYERS

★ ... REALTORS



Have enjoyed fast, efficient service

on

ECONOMICAL MORTGAGE LOANS

GOVERNMENT-AGENCY-INSURED SAVINGS

(earning those EXTRA dividends)

... and friendly service-with-a-smile at



FRATERNITY FEDERAL Savings

AND LOAN ASSOCIATION

Main Office:

764-770

Washington Blvd.

Balto. Md. 21203

Branch:

Normandy Shop. Center

Route 40 West

Ellicott City, Md.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

★ EXTRA-HIGH Dividend Savings Certificates ★
 now available: \$3,000. up, certificates earning
 ★ very high dividend; \$12,000., up, earning the ★
 HIGHEST dividend permitted by the Federal
 ★ Home Loan Bank. ★

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

- ✓ THREE Drive-Up Windows—main office
- ✓ Speedy SAVE-by-MAIL (postage-paid envelopes FREE)
- ✓ Spacious Customer PARKING LOTS—both offices
- ✓ SAFE DEPOSIT BOXES—both offices

IN 1908_____

when we reached the age of 29

The first collection of poems by James Ryder Randall, "Maryland! My Maryland! and Other Poems," was published in Baltimore.—March 28.

Eight newly-chosen bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church were consecrated in Baltimore.—May 31.

Henry Phipps gave \$500,000 to the Johns Hopkins Hospital and announced plans for a psychiatric clinic.—May 30.

In 1965_____


... we occupied our new office and warehouse especially constructed to utilize the most modern equipment and techniques.

MOVING—We are Maryland's largest agent for Allied Van Lines, with the experienced personnel and facilities for any moving job—local or long distance. Our expert packers prepare anything from household furnishings to precious art treasures for safe handling in transport or in storage, using customized containers and new, clean packing material.

STORAGE—Our especially designed one-level storage warehouse reduces handling to a minimum. All goods are packed into room-size portable containers, sealed against light, dust or moisture and stored in the sprinkler-protected, fireproof building that permits lowest possible insurance rate.

Our motto is: "WE CARE"

Agent for Allied Van Lines, the World's Largest Moving Organization

Monumental-
**Security STORAGE CO.**

3006 Druid Park Drive, Baltimore, Md. 21215
Phone 664-1664

Salisbury, Md. Office & Warehouse: 815 Benny St.
Phone: PI 9-7117

Serving Maryland and the Nation Since 1879

AN ILLUSTRATED GENEALOGY
of
THE COUNTIES OF MARYLAND
AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
AS A GUIDE TO LOCATING RECORDS

by
MARY ROSS BROWN

For anyone interested in Maryland or the District of Columbia, particularly the historian, teacher and genealogist, this is a useful work.

\$4.00 postpaid

Available at
the Society

**TONGUE, BROOKS
& COMPANY**

I N S U R A N C E

Since 1898



**213 ST. PAUL PLACE
BALTIMORE**

**TRADITIONAL
FURNITURE**

*From America's outstanding
sources . . . in wide open
stock selection.*

Our workroom offers complete restoration service . . . cabinetwork, refinishing and reupholstering.

FALLON & HELLEN
11 and 13 W. Mulberry St.
Baltimore, Md. 21201
LExington 9-3345

Coins, Gold Coins, Obsolete Paper Currency and
Political Items Urgently Needed.

MASON-DIXON COIN EXCHANGE

THOS. P. WARFIELD, Member, Professional Numismatic Guild, Inc.

208 W. Saratoga St., Baltimore, Md. 21201

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING

PHOTOGRAPHY

Since 1878

HUGHES CO.

Copy and Restoration Work a Specialty.

Black and White or color.

Phone: 889-5540

C. GAITHER SCOTT

115 E. 25th Street

Baltimore, Md. 21218

FAMILY COAT OF ARMS

A Symbol Of Your Family's Heritage From The Proud Past

Handpainted In Oils In Full Heraldic Colors — Size 11½ × 14½ — \$15.00

Research When Necessary

ANNA DORSEY LINDER

PINES OF HOCKLEY

Annapolis, Maryland 21401

Phone: 263-3384

166 Defense Highway

PLUMBING — HEATING — AIR CONDITIONING

M. NELSON BARNES & SONS, INC.

Established 1909 Phone: 252-4313 2011 Greenspring Drive, Timonium

BOOKBINDING

TU 9-7847 — TU 9-5095

Magazines, Books & Records

JOSEPH RUZICKA, INC.

3200 Elm Avenue (11)

Restoration of Rare Volumes
