
MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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Popularizing the Revolution: Internal
Conflict and Economic Sacrifice in Mary-
land, 1774-1780

Ronald Hoffman

A Patriot Dilemma: The Treatment of
Passive Loyalists and Neutrals in Revolu-
tionary Maryland

Richard A. Overfield

Fettered Loyalism: A Re-evaluation of
Robert Proud's and George Chalmers'
Unfinished Colonial Histories

Peter Hoffer

Economic Analysis and Loyalist Strategy
During the American Revolution: Robert
Alexander's Remarks on the Economy of
the Peninsula or Eastern Shore of
Maryland

Edward C. Papenfuse, Jr.



THE HORSE AMERICA, throwing his Master.

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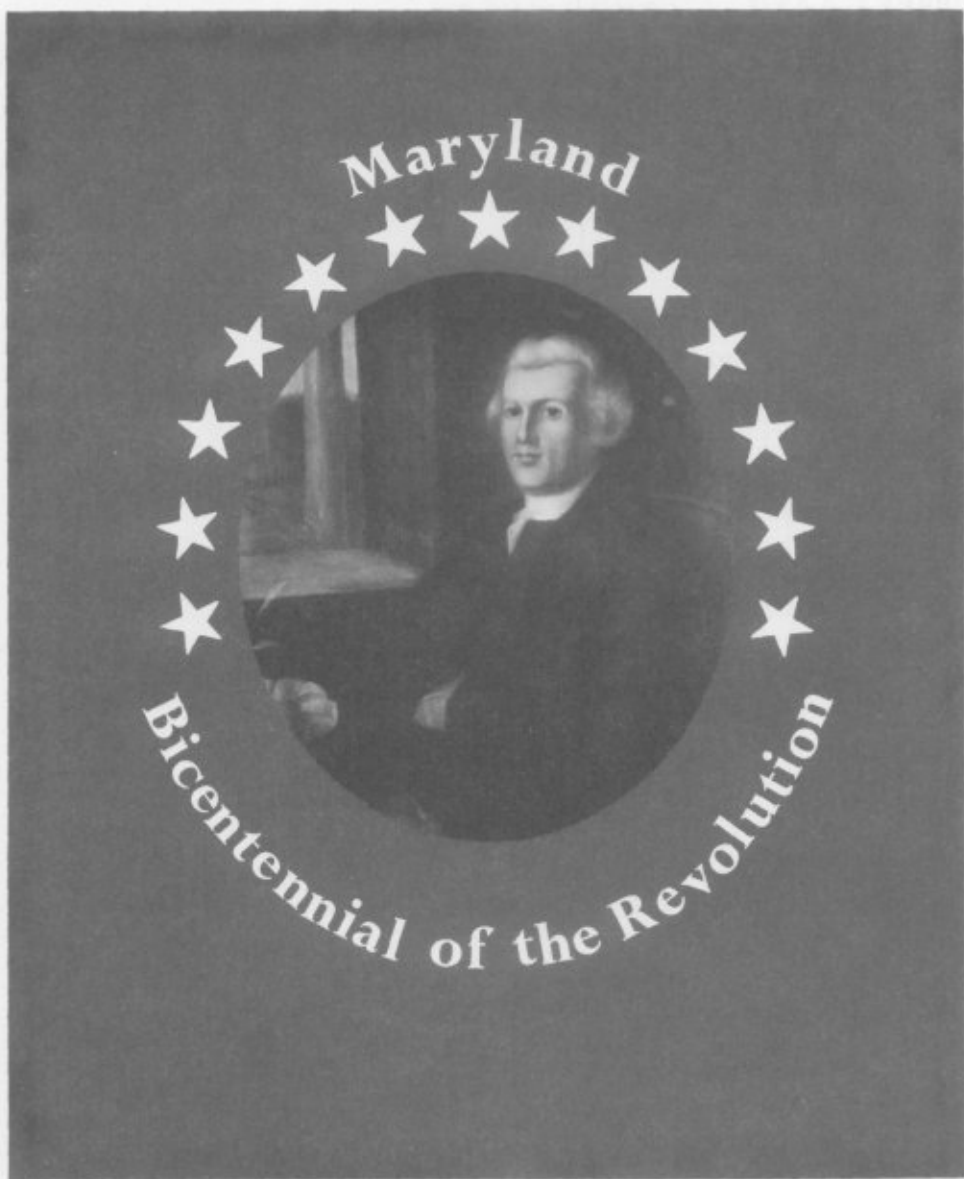
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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Charles Carroll the Barrister



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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

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Popularizing the Revolution: Internal Conflict and Economic Sacrifice in Maryland, 1774– 1780*

RONALD HOFFMAN

BY THE AUTUMN of 1776 Maryland's revolutionary leadership faced a crisis of alarming dimensions. Most of these men had not wanted independence. They had foreseen that uncontrollable chaos might result, but with other colonies agreeing to separation they could not remain behind. Now their worst apprehensions were being realized. Since the previous fall, disorder within the colony had steadily mounted. The deterioration had been especially rapid since July. From the last months of 1776 through most of 1778 the revolutionary aristocracy knew intimately the agony of fear and uncertainty. At times its leaders gave in to despair as waves of discontent and social violence seemed close to engulfing them. Reports from all parts of the province continually told of insurrectionist activities among blacks and whites, servants and slaves, some indigenous, others instigated by the British. Accompanying these accounts were numerous communiques from frightened militia commanders emphasizing the extent of desertion and disobedience which had rendered their commands ineffective. Some, believing they would be murdered, dared not even issue arms. The breadth of the insurrections, the chaos within the military, the brazen defiance of men who openly repudiated the Revo-

* This paper was presented at a session of the Organization of American Historians meeting held in Chicago, Illinois, April 12, 1973.

lution, the presence of British ships sailing in the Chesapeake Bay at will—all of these elements gave rise to apprehensions of anarchy among the political elite. Most believed it imminent; a few felt it had already arrived.

The Maryland leadership had learned an important lesson by the time of independence: that revolution without some anarchy was impossible. In earlier more naive days they had been gloriously euphoric about the future, but they soon grew somber and considerably wiser. Unlike many historians who have written of that era, they recognized the potentiality for convulsive social violence. The conflict with England had eliminated the presence of a strong visible authority and, in the process, created a political vacuum. That conflict had also unleashed previously suppressed social forces. Together this absence of authority and these expressions of discontent were producing a condition of terrifying disorder.

Conditions had been much different when Maryland's revolutionary leaders—they were called the "popular party" by their contemporaries—had first assumed power in 1774. By skillfully exploiting two related provincial arguments concerning the proper salaries for public officials and clerics, they had acquired control of the assembly's lower house. Flushed with their victory at the polls these men—Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Samuel Chase, Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson and William Paca—had anxiously anticipated enjoying the traditional advantages of power—money, prestige and influence. Basically they were a conservative lot; they desired the benefits of authority within the existing society. The strain in Anglo-American relations had not been an immediate factor in their ascendancy and, in fact, with the exceptions of Chase and Tilghman, their attitudes on imperial issues were not widely known. Chase possessed the reputation of an incendiary while Tilghman's conduct in the house indicated he was a reasonable man. The attitudes of Johnson, Paca and Charles Carroll of Carrollton were not a matter of public record though they were assumed to be sympathetic to the colonial cause. But once in power they were forced to contend with the Anglo-American conflict. The structure of politics required them to take a stand because other ambitious elements hoped to exploit the imperial controversy. Thus the very shape of the imperial conflict and the prodding of certain violent political forces caused the popular party to make decisions and take actions which most of its members regretted.¹

By June 1776 the practical problems of holding popular support had become formidable. The delegates' actions on 28 June symbolized their dilemma. During the morning session they discussed the growing disaffection throughout the colony and the particularly bad situation on the Eastern Shore where resistance had

¹For a comprehensive discussion of political and social conditions in Maryland during the Revolutionary Era, see my forthcoming book *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics and the Revolution in Maryland*, to be published by The Johns Hopkins University Press this coming fall. This study will initiate a monograph series assisted by the Maryland Revolutionary Bicentennial Commission.

reached the stage of open rebellion.² Hoping to stabilize conditions they ordered further militia action. But they had compelling reasons for doubting the success of this move since some of the militia currently operating in the area had laid down their arms and refused to obey their officers' orders.³ That afternoon these same delegates voted unanimously for independence.⁴ In so doing they overturned the previously unanimous decision of 21 May which had forbidden Maryland's representatives at the Continental Congress from agreeing to independence.⁵ Such a reversal took considerable courage since independence meant that even greater demands would be made on the people than the comparatively mild tyranny being overthrown.

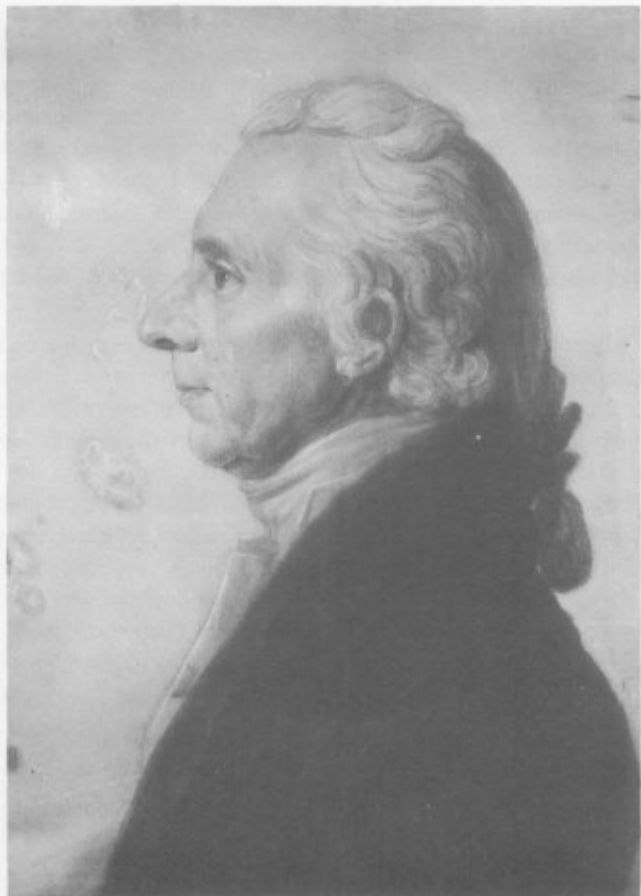
Within a few short months a number of Maryland's leaders were convinced that independence had been a tragic mistake. None believed this more firmly than Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Because of the rapidly deteriorating military situation and the continually worsening social conditions, he reached the painful conclusion that some accommodation with England had to be found. On 4 October he wrote his father, "We are miserably divided, not only colony against colony, but in each colony there begins to appear such a spirit of disunion and discord that I am apprehensive, should we succeed against Great Britian (which I think very improbable under our circumstances) we shall be rent to pieces by civil wars and factions . . ." Under such conditions it was obvious that no free government could be established, and so he advised if "safe and honorable terms can be had, we had better return to our old connections and forms of government under which we were once happy and flourished

² Vivid descriptions of the chaotic conditions in Maryland can be found in: Peter Force, ed., *American Archives* . . . (4th series, 6 vols., Washington, 1837-1846), "Letter from Chairman of the Committee of Observation, Worcester County to Eastern Shore Council of Safety," Nov. 1775, III, p. 1574; Deposition of Mary Robbins, Force, *American Archives*, III, p. 1574; Deposition of Littleton Ayres, Dec. 1, 1775, Force, *American Archives*, III, p. 1584; "Extracts of a Letter from a Clergyman in Maryland to His Friend in England," Aug. 2, 1775, Force, *American Archives*, III, p. 10; William H. Browne, et. al., eds., *Archives of Maryland* (68 vols.: Baltimore, 1883—), Deposition of Barclay White, Nov. 30, 1775, XII, p. 377; Deposition Concerning Isaac Atkinson, Nov. 7, 1775; Benton Harris, Chairman Worcester County Committee of Observation to Council of Safety, Nov. 17, 1775; Deposition of Isaac Hammond, Nov. 20, 1775, Adjutant General Papers, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis; Peter Walters to Council of Safety, Nov. 21, 1775, Executive Papers, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis; Dorchester County Court Papers, Gilmore Papers, Md. Hist. Soc. Report of Dorchester County Committee of Inspection, Fall, 1775, Gilmore Papers; George Woolsey to George Salmon, Jan. 25, 1776, Woolsey and Salmon Letterbook, Library of Congress; Governor Robert Eden to William Eden, April 28, 1775; also to Lord George Germain, Jan. 25, 1776, Fisher Transcripts, Md. Hist. Soc.

³ Committee of Observation, Caroline County to Council of Safety, June 8, 1776, *Archives of Maryland*, XI, p. 481; see also Committee of Observation, Somerset County to Council of Safety, June 25, 1776, Maryland State Papers, Red Books, II, 101, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis. For a guide to the Maryland State Papers, see the extremely useful *Calendar of Maryland State Papers* (8 vols.: Annapolis, 1943-1958), prepared under the direction of Morris L. Radoff, Gust Skordas and Roger Thomas. These impressive calendars are an excellent guide to the extensive materials located at the Maryland Hall of Records.

⁴ *Proceedings of the Conventions of the Province of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1836), pp. 175-176.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.



Charles Carroll of Carrollton (1737–1832). By St. Mémin. *Maryland Historical Society*.

than hazard civil wars among ourselves and the erection of a despotism as a sure consequence.”⁶

Carroll’s worst moments came during the last half of October. On the 18th of that month he composed a long letter characterized by pessimism and despair. Because of the continuing “distractions” and threats of “civil war,” he prayed that “this winter some negotiations will be set forth which will lead to peace on safe terms to the colonies.”⁷ He was optimistic that a settlement might be arrived at with the English authorities. Spain’s declaration of war against Portugal might soon bring peace to the Empire. The outbreak of fighting on the continent, he reasoned, would “be

⁶ Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Carroll of Annapolis, Oct. 4, 1776, Charles Carroll of Annapolis Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Oct. 18, 1776.

an inducement to the ministry to accelerate a peace with the colonies and to grant them full security for the enjoyment of their rights and liberties provided they will return to their former state of allegiance and dependence." If such a reconciliation did not take place soon, he felt certain that the colonies would "be ruined not so much by the calamities of war as by the intestine divisions and the bad governments which I foresee will take place in most of these united states: they will be simple Democracies, of all governments the worst and will end as all other Democracies have, in despotism."⁸

From what Carroll wrote at the time he obviously believed that his kind of people, his style of leadership, and his ideas were threatened with extinction. To prevent this development he and his allies were moving forcefully that fall to achieve a measure of security through the establishment of strong institutional controls. After agreeing to independence in June the delegates had ordered that a convention be elected to draw up a constitution. At that meeting, which had begun on 30 September, the popular party was forging the most conservative of all the new state constitutions. A committee consisting of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Matthew Tilghman, William Paca, Samuel Chase, Robert Goldsborough and George Plater had prepared a plan of government. When they presented their proposal, a small radical minority launched a series of strenuous attacks. But these efforts were largely a symbolic exercise and all were voted down. The heart of the constitution adopted by the convention made the possession of extensive property the fundamental basis of government. No one could participate in public life without large amounts of material wealth. To qualify for membership in the lower house a man had to own a minimum of £ 500 real or personal property. Seats in the upper house were to be held by individuals possessing a minimum of £ 1000. The governor's position was to go only to a man holding an estate valued at or above £ 5000. Eligibility for the governor's executive council, the position of congressional delegate and the local office of county sheriff required estates of £ 1000. The following chart, based on a thorough examination of Maryland's tax lists, presents figures that indicate the number of free, white, male voters eligible for office in both the lower and upper houses because of these property qualifications.

The constitution similarly outlined an election method designed to insure the selection of an aristocratically oriented government. This process, combined with the property requirements, made it a certainty that the rich and well-born would rule. Voters could directly elect individuals to only two positions: the lower house and county sheriff. The election of a sheriff constituted something of a reform since, prior to this time, he had been appointed. Yet with a property qualification of £ 1000 attached to the office, the concession to popular rule seems hardly dramatic. Senate members were to be selected by an electoral college. The voters could choose only electors who had estates valued at a minimum of £ 500. These

⁸ *Ibid.*

People Eligible for Holding Office**

| County | No. of Free White Males | Eligible for L. House | | Eligible for U. House | |
|---------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|
| | | % | No. | % | No. |
| Worcester | 1735 | 8.2 | 143 | 3.8 | 65 |
| Somerset | 1638 | 12.7 | 208 | 7.4 | 122 |
| Talbot | 1478 | 10.0 | 147 | 6.9 | 102 |
| Kent | 1495 | 13.7 | 205 | 9.2 | 138 |
| Dorchester | 1828 | 9.1 | 167 | 6.2 | 113 |
| Caroline | 1293 | 7.2 | 93 | 3.2 | 42 |
| Cecil | 1200 | 11.2 | 135 | 6.2 | 74 |
| Charles | 1725 | 14.3 | 247 | 9.7 | 167 |
| Montgomery | 2160 | 10.9 | 236 | 5.6 | 120 |
| Baltimore | 3165 | 9.5 | 302 | 7.6 | 239 |
| Harford | 2243 | 7.8 | 175 | 5.4 | 121 |
| Anne Arundel | 2229 | 15.3 | 342 | 13.3 | 297 |
| Calvert | 894 | 11.3 | 101 | 11.1 | 99 |
| State Average | | 10.9 | | 7.4 | |

** Satisfactory population and tax statistics for four Maryland counties, St. Marys, Frederick, Prince Georges and Queen Annes, were not available for this analysis.

electors, in turn, selected the Senate. Nine members of that body were to come from the Western Shore and six from the Eastern Shore. An election to the Senate was to be held every five years. Lastly, the governor of the state was to be selected annually by the legislature. He could continue in that office no longer than three successive years.

While the delegates labored worriedly in Annapolis, disorder and chaos were rapidly replacing the traditional forms of authority. A radical few in the convention hoped to ride the crest of this upheaval to power, but the majority of men in attendance were, with good reason, deeply concerned. A full scale insurrection was underway on the Eastern Shore and as the disorder continued, it became increasingly difficult to raise militia there. Only a handful demonstrated any real enthusiasm for the revolutionary government, while most of the region's inhabitants were either indifferent or sympathetic to those resisting the new state leadership. Local military personnel favored the British as much as the Annapolis government. An occasional zealous officer sent in by the state might attempt to assert some authority but this only worsened the situation. When convenient, the people signed the loyalty oath, but as one of them said it meant nothing "more than a blank piece of paper."⁹ George Dashiell, commander of the Somerset County militia, realized the completeness of the disaffection. By early 1778 he reported that it was impossible to order out the men of his command because of "there being more than three to one disaffected." Annapolis had to face the hard reality, said Dashiell, that "it is a fact not to be controverted that three-fourths of the Somerset militia are unfriendly to our

⁹ Depositions of John Taining, Daniel Bryan, Levin Langroff, William Bishop and Daniel Spring, Executive Papers, Box XI, Maryland Hall of Records.



Cartoon, 1782. Library of Congress

cause.” So desperate was the situation that he dared not issue arms to the men since “we are well assured that it is their desire to act against us.”¹⁰ In the spring of that year Governor Thomas Johnson dispatched Luther Martin on an inspection tour of the region. He traveled much and saw nothing he liked. The disaffected inhabitants “have arrived to so daring heights of insolence and villainy,” he observed, “that there appears but very little security for the lives or property of any person who from political or other reasons are obnoxious to them. Bodies of armed men pass unhampered through the country and disaffected leaders openly recruit followers.”¹¹ Anyone who opposes them, Martin continued, puts his own life in danger. Just the other night a militia captain had been shot “though it is hoped not mortally” for attempting to carry out his orders. For the state government officials the situation had reached the point, he concluded, where their lives were in constant danger. To survive they must be always on the alert, moving only in certain areas and avoiding large sections nominally under their jurisdiction.¹²

¹⁰ Col. George Dashiell to Governor Thomas Johnson, March 12, 1778, Executive Papers, Portfolio IV, Folder 60Y, Maryland Hall of Records.

¹¹ Luther Martin to Governor Thomas Johnson, March 18, 1778, Executive Papers, Portfolio IV, Folder 60Z.

¹² *Ibid.*



Luther Martin (1748–1826). By David Edwin. *Maryland Historical Society*.

Similar, though less desperate, disorder plagued the Western Shore. The most serious incidents occurred in the fall of 1777 when an uprising in Baltimore County forced Governor Johnson to issue a proclamation of insurrection. These tensions, produced by a dispirited and unruly militia along with restive servants and slaves, were aggravated by the bravado of the non-associators or non-enrollers. These men, who refused to sign any loyalty oath to the revolutionary government, made no effort to conceal their contempt for the American cause. For not taking the oath they were supposed to pay a fine, but being too numerous to penalize, they were generally left alone. No one could be sure what they might do if, in response to the prevalent disorders, their neutrality developed into open hostility. Their brazen defiance of authority created a serious morale problem for the militia. As one officer reported, “the militia threaten to lay down their arms unless the fines of non-enrollers who daily insult them are strictly collected.”¹³

But when confronted, the non-associators often resisted forcibly. The case of Vincent Trapnell and James Bosley is instructive. Bosley, a collector of fines for the Baltimore Committee of Observation, left his home on November 14, 1776 to begin what was for him a very bad day. When he came to the home of Trapnell, the latter “swore he would blow my brains out,” and he, screaming that he would not pay the fine, “picked up a large stick, swearing and cursing, and with both hands struck my head.” Considering a retreat in order, Bosley began running, but

¹³Samuel Purviance to the Council of Safety, Nov. 18, 1776, *Archives of Maryland*, XVI, p. 87.

Trapnell continued hot on his heels, "swearing he would kill me." Finally making his way off Trapnell's farm, Bosley turned and intrepidly screamed that he intended to acquaint the committee of this reception. Trapnell responded that "the committee and I might kiss his arse and be damned, pulling his coat apart behind." In his opinion they were all "a parcel of roguish, damned, sons-of-bitches and if they came here, he would use them in the same manner as I have done you."¹⁴

The unruly conduct of men such as Trapnell, the growing insubordination among the slaves, the lack of discipline among the militia, and the pronounced "spirit of violence and opposition" to the government—all of these conditions were best summed up by a worried and disgusted colonel in St. Mary's County, Richard Barnes. In December 1777 he wrote the Annapolis authorities that the men under his command were openly threatening "that they will shoot several of their field officers: it really begins to be high time," he pressed "to put our government in full force and some examples made or nothing but anarchy and destruction must ensue."¹⁵

In an effort to preserve order the state's leaders followed two different strategies. Regular military forces and militia units were periodically ordered into the disaffected areas but these efforts generally proved unsuccessful. Acts to "Prevent the Growth of Toryism," to insure the "Better Security of the Government," and to "Prevent and Suppress Insurrections" were also passed.¹⁶ Despite the harsh penalties authorized by these measures their impact was minimal because they were generally ignored. The more astute among the Revolutionary leaders knew they would be. Conditions had deteriorated so substantially that the threat of punishment no longer commanded respect. Most of those disobeying the government felt secure in their actions. With the uncertainty of authority evident and with the broader community sharing their hostility, they believed themselves protected from any real punishment.

For Maryland's revolutionary leaders the task before them was clear—they had to popularize themselves and the revolutionary cause. They and their supporters constituted the society's wealthy elite; they had the most to gain or lose on the outcome of the next few years. With this in mind they passed a legal tender law at their very first legislative session, which met during February and March of 1777. From that session until July 1780 this law remained in force. Its purpose was simple. By authorizing the payment of pre-war debts, including sterling debts with depreciated paper money, the measure in effect voided the bulk of all internal credit obligations. Naturally the wealthy were not enthusiastic about the measure since it penalized their financial interests dearly. But the entire upper class, including both houses of the assembly, repeatedly endorsed the legislation. They be-

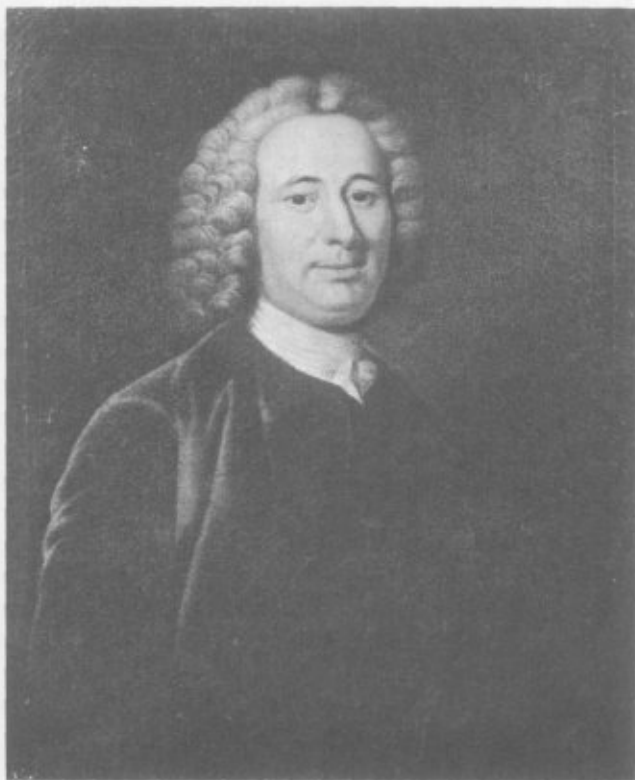
¹⁴ Testimony of James Bosley before the Committee of Observation, Nov. 14, 1776, *Archives of Maryland*, XVI, pp. 87–88.

¹⁵ Col. Richard Barnes to Governor Thomas Johnson, Dec. 20, 1777, Maryland State Papers, Red Books, XVII, p. 192, Maryland Hall of Records.

¹⁶ William Kilty, *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1779), Feb. 1777, Chapter XX; Oct. 1777, Chap. XX, March 1778, Chap. VIII.

lieved that the legal tender act was demanded by the turbulent conditions if their class were to survive as a leadership force. They were convinced that the estranged, the aggrieved and the disgruntled had to be detached from the hard core resistance elements. All of them agreed on this and each time the measure came up for renewal it went through without dissent.

Some real insight can be gained into the aristocracy's attitude on this question by a close examination of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, one of the tender act's principal advocates. Immediately after the measure's passage he and his father, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, entered into a bitter dispute that lasted over three years. The elder Carroll, after working hard all his life to amass one of the greatest fortunes in North America, now saw much of it—possibly over 25 per cent—disappearing under a flood of worthless paper money. His son, though equally grieved because of the financial loss, strove unsuccessfully to convince his father that it was one of the basic social requirements demanded by a popular revolution. On occasion the dispute came close to driving them apart. One thing however was certain—both men knew they were fighting for survival in a Revolution that had both



Charles Carroll of Annapolis. By Wollaston. *Maryland Historical Society.*

external and internal dimensions. Knowing this they were much wiser than many of those who have since written of them.

Unfortunately it is not possible to detail this remarkable correspondence here, but some of Charles Carroll of Carrollton's most perceptive observations clearly illustrate his attitude. After receiving a particularly insulting letter from his father, which accused him of courting popularity, Carroll urged the old man to reflect "that the number of offenders lessens the ignominy of the crime; a common reproach is no reproach; perhaps there are not in this state more than 500 men who disapprove of the law although thousands would acknowledge the injustice of it. The reason is obvious, *virtus laudatum, et alget*; the bulk of mankind admires that virtue, that justice, that rectitude in others which they themselves find it inconvenient to practice." Carroll then brilliantly conceptualized what he believed to be the demands forced upon the rich:

The law suits the multitude, individuals must submit to partial losses; no great revolutions can happen in a state without revolutions or mutations of private property. Were the injury more personal and fewer interested in the doing of it, or applauding it when done, you might be right in stigmatizing the authors.¹⁷

A few days later the younger Carroll wrote cautioning his father on the danger of expressing unpopular opinions and offered some additional guidelines on the ways of revolutionary politics:

If no consequence should happen to your person very many, I am sure, would happen to our property. There is a time when it is wisdom to yield to injustice and to popular heresies and delusions. Many wise and good men have acted so—when public bodies commit injustice, and are espoused to the public and can not vindicate themselves by reasoning, they commonly have recourse to violence and greater injustice towards all such as have the temerity to oppose them, particularly when their unjust proceedings are popular.¹⁸

At times when the feisty Charles Carroll of Annapolis tired of his son's "meekness of temper," he turned to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, a family ally and president of the Maryland Senate. But Jenifer's advice invariably paralleled that of the younger Carroll. After receiving a bitter letter from Charles Carroll of Annapolis, in which the old man censured all those who condoned the act, Jenifer replied with a trace of sarcasm, "Are you not opprobrious in your epithets bestowed on those who were for the bill? I still think that all our money must go to support the war and if our liberty be established (which I doubt) and we can keep our lands and Negroes we shall be well off—no people ever yet procured their liberty so as to be benefitted themselves—to do it for posterity to reap the advantage is what has ever been aimed at."¹⁹ A short time later the Senate president, placing it explicitly within the

¹⁷ Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Carroll of Annapolis, Nov. 8, 1777, Charles Carroll of Annapolis Papers.

¹⁸ Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Carroll of Annapolis, November 13, 1777, *ibid.*

¹⁹ Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer to Charles Carroll of Annapolis, April 16, 1778, *ibid.*



Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer. From *The Critical Period of American History* by John Fiske.

context of the society's aggravated conditions, reiterated the same advice: "Altho the Senate may reprobate the tender law which the violence of the times might induce it to pass; yet as the same threat of temper has not abated it would at this time be dangerous to attempt at repeal of the law."²⁰

Beginning with the warmer weather in the spring of 1778, the long ordeal faced by the Maryland government began to pass. Nonetheless caution was in order. Disaffection within the state continued strong and the Eastern Shore remained turbulent. Slowly the government began to assert its authority. In April 1778 the state's second highest court, the General Court, convened for the first time at Easton on the Eastern Shore. In May the same court met in Annapolis. Since cases for treason, insurrection and riot fell within its jurisdiction, the General Court's primary purpose was to bring about a return to order and stability.

During the court's first year the judges proceeded carefully. A number of men came before the court charged with treason, insurrection and riot. They were invariably found guilty, charged with minor fines and released. For treason the court outlawed only those persons who had already gone over permanently to the British. For those who remained, the fines imposed ranged from £ 10 to £ 30. Persons found guilty of riot or insurrection normally received fines of £ 5 to £ 20. The reasoning behind the light penalties, which were payable in the badly depreciated current money, was simple. The judges, wishing to assert their authority, realized they could do so

²⁰ Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer to Charles Carroll of Annapolis, June 10, 1778, *ibid.*

only by taking those actions acceptable to a hostile population. Thus they acted with restraint. Only once they miscalculated. The case involved John Tims, who on April 20, 1778 led an attack on the Queen Annes County Court House to free the men held prisoners there. The judges sought to make an example of Tims and ordered him "to be drawn to the place of execution and be there hanged by the neck and cut down alive and that his entrails be taken out and burnt before his face and his head cut off and his body divided into four quarters and his head and quarters disposed of at the pleasure of the state."²¹ The people were to know that the law could be harsh. Such a tactic appeared deliberately planned, since the court had been lenient with all the accused except Tims. But the theory behind the tactic proved wrong. Tims could not be executed because the local community refused to allow it. William Wright, the county sheriff, charged with carrying out the sentence understood the situation and appealed on his prisoner's behalf to the governor's council. Tims, he said, was a good family man with "two small children." More important the judgment could not possibly be carried out in his county because "near two-thirds of the people were Tories ingrained."²² The council agreed with Wright's assessment, reversed the General Court's decision, and issued Tims a pardon in March 1779.²³

Proceedings of the Eastern Shore's General Court 1779-1781

| | April 1779 | September 1779 | April 1780 | September 1780 | April 1781 |
|---------------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------|
| Riot | 51 | 21 | 16 | 2 | 1 |
| Treason | 5 | 15 | 17 | | |
| Breach of Duty | 12 | | 4 | | |
| Assault and Battery | 1 | 2 | 1 | | 3 |
| Contempt | 1 | | 1 | 2 | 5 |
| Felony | | 1 | | | |

The General Court's moderate conduct helped greatly to stabilize conditions by the end of 1779. The disaffected and the government seemed to arrive at a tacit acceptance of one another. For the moment both sides were content to live in a state of mutual animosity and tolerance. Disruptions still continued but at a sufficiently reduced level that the legislature confidently decided to rescind the legal tender law during the summer of 1780.

Maryland's inarticulate citizens, it thus seems, did not remain inarticulate during the revolutionary years. The more immediate factors that precipitated their unrest can be easily isolated and described. Certainly some opponents to the new govern-

²¹ The State vs. John Tims, September 1778, Eastern Shore General Court, Criminal Prosecutions, Maryland Hall of Records.

²² William Wright to Governor Thomas Johnson, Sept. 29, 1778, Maryland State Papers, Red Books, XX, p. 13.

²³ *Archives of Maryland*, XXI, March 20, 1779, p. 325.



George Platel (1735-1792). *Maryland Historical Society.*

ment were persuaded by a sense of loyalty to Britain, as well as by the British agents sent in to encourage opposition. Enemies of the revolutionary government frequently expressed their support of the crown. But an equal number vigorously maintained that they opposed the British. Some of them claimed the mantle of true revolutionaries more committed to the rebellion than the lordly gentlemen whose homes they sacked. Similarly, the traditional categories of patriots and loyalists are no help in explaining the intense division present in the militia units and the wider society as underlined by the non-associators' open defiance.

But amidst the confusion one point can be clearly seen. All the differing forms of disorder were characterized primarily by a strong resentment of authority. As the established standards of conduct began to erode under the social disarray and emotionalism created by the Revolution, the traditional leadership came under attack. People in the lower orders, possibly a majority in some Eastern Shore communities, having lived with the economic and psychological disadvantages of being a subordinate class, now lashed out in anger at those figures dominating their immediate lives. The actions expressing this hatred varied. Some actively aided the British by taking up arms. Others pillaged locally with no particular direction. The majority openly, indeed defiantly, refused to be disciplined and showed contempt when their betters demanded respect and deference. Because of such a diverse pattern the resistance movement had the appearance of an undirected social eruption so intensely passionate and yet so chaotic that it was not susceptible to any one form of explanation or to any clear political channeling.

A second point is also clear: order and stability returned to Maryland because of the governing elite's cautious extension of new authority. They were frightened though sensible men who concluded that they could not govern effectively unless their rule was acceptable to the people. To acquire popular support and to prevent what they foresaw as civil if not class warfare, they consciously implemented a

program of radical fiscal legislation. At the same time, by using the courts in a moderate manner, they gradually asserted authority and secured a sense of permanence and legitimacy. These policies, Charles Carroll of Carrollton was convinced, were the "price of Revolution." If the wealthy refused to acquiesce the Revolution would have no hope of success and his class no hope of survival. The vast majority of the elite agreed and willingly submitted. They feared that a "revengeful democracy" had been unleashed. If this democracy were not pacified, they believed the province might well be "dyed with the blood of its best citizens."²⁴

²⁴Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Carroll of Annapolis, Aug. 20, 1776, Charles Carroll of Annapolis Papers.

A Patriot Dilemma: The Treatment of Passive Loyalists and Neutrals in Revolutionary Maryland

RICHARD A. OVERFIELD

IN DEALING WITH loyalists, historians have long emphasized the complexity of determining their numbers, activities, and motives. Patriot and loyalist were good enough for most early writers, but even Alexander C. Flick, in 1901, talked of ultra-Tories, liberal Tories, moderate loyalists, and conservative loyalists. More recently, William H. Nelson referred to oligarchic Tories, moderate Tories, Whig-Loyalists, the Tory rank and file, and neutrals.¹ What complicated determining the numbers and nature of loyalism, therefore, was the great variety of allegiances and the refusal by many persons to make a clear commitment. These differences in loyalty were also recognized by patriots who wanted to make distinctions in the treatment of those persons refusing to support the American Revolution. Of particular concern was how to treat those who were neutral or who, while loyalists, were inactive and therefore not subject to arrest and trial for treason.

From the time of the Stamp Act protests Marylanders had disagreed among themselves regarding the methods and extent of opposition to Parliament. Opposing the acts of Parliament became the test of patriotism, yet disagreement over subscription for weapons, non-importation, and enforcement of the associations brought forward the question of the right to dissent from particular aspects of the patriot movement. Moderates argued that the radical patriots, with their conventions, committees, and mobs, were suppressing all legitimate opposition in the name of American liberty and were ending constitutional government and individual rights.

Because of the incomplete patriot organization and the disagreement over treatment of dissenters, the provincial convention and the committees of observation were inconsistent in applying fines and punishments. The Maryland convention did not regard non-associators or non-enrollers as a major threat if they were not influential and did not try to corrupt others. The patriots were more interested in gaining support than in inflicting penalties. But in January, 1776, the provincial convention system-

¹ Alexander C. Flick, *Loyalism in New York During the American Revolution* (New York, 1901) and William H. Nelson, *The American Tory* (New York, 1961).

atized the operation of the association and clarified the rules on enrollment in the militia.² The object was increased control over the province and more uniform enforcement. While they imposed more penalties than before, still during 1776 the committees did not appear to levy or collect fines uniformly. Maryland patriots continued to make allowances for passives and neutrals as long as they paid fines or posted required bonds.³ To clarify their stand, the convention delegates instructed the committees of observation to "pay particular attention" to distinguishing between the truly disaffected and those who refused to enroll for religious principles or any motives other than opposition to the patriot movement. In July, 1776, the convention further eased the burden on passives and neutrals by instructing the committees of observation to cease requiring bonds for good behavior and to halt any other proceedings against non-associators and non-enrollers, except for fines. The convention had defined treason against the new state and had assigned trials and punishments to the courts soon to be established under the new constitution.⁴

The convention found that definition alone did not solve all problems. Delegates sharply disagreed about treatment of persons who did not violate the Treason Act of 1776 but who had not signed the provincial association. Moderates desired to leave these neutrals unmolested except for militia fines, but the radicals desired to exclude them from the new government, punish them, and thus force them to take a stand. To resolve their differences, the delegates appointed a committee to prepare resolutions to prevent non-associators from "endangering the peace of this state." Consequently, the delegates excluded non-associators from attending the convention during discussion of the new constitution, and they prohibited anyone whom the committees of observation had published as an enemy to America from voting for delegates to the convention. The moderates, however, defeated an attempt led by Samuel Chase to prohibit non-associators from holding office under the new government.⁵ Thus, before 1777, when the new state government was organized, Maryland patriots were concerned only with the active and with the influential dissenter. Patriots were lax in collecting fines and were generally willing to forgive an offender who recanted or did not try to corrupt others.

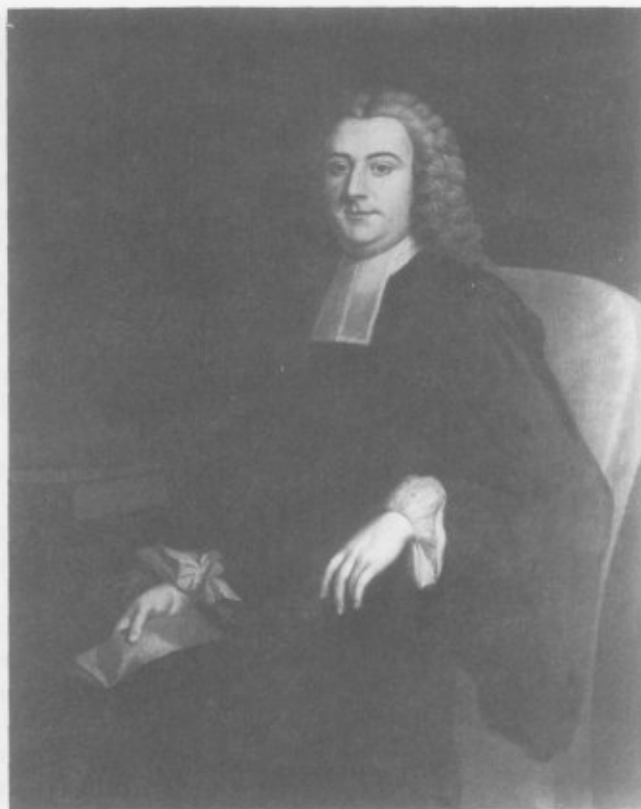
In 1777 a fresh turn of events resurrected the old problem. Loyalist activities stepped up, and the new state government quickly responded. A proposed "Act to punish certain Crimes and Misdemeanors, and to prevent the Growth of Toryism" embodied the essentials for controlling active loyalists. But many patriots still saw the

² Journal of the December Convention, Jan. 4, 16, 1776, Maryland Hall of Records (hereafter cited as MHR), Annapolis.

³ The conclusions on enforcement of the associations are obtained from "Journal of the Committee of Observation of the Middle District of Frederick County," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XI (Sept., 1916); "Committee of Observation for Elizabeth Town District (Washington County)," *ibid.*, XII (Dec., 1917); Proceedings, 1774-1776, Baltimore County Committee of Observation, *Md. Hist. Soc.*, Baltimore; Walter W. Preston, *History of Harford County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1901); Journal of the Council of Safety, William H. Browne, et al., eds., *The Archives of Maryland* (72 vols. to date, Baltimore, 1883 to present), XI.

⁴ Journal of Proceedings of the Convention, July 3, 5, 6, 1776, MHR.

⁵ *Ibid.*; Journal of Proceedings of the Convention of Maryland, 1776, Sept. 7, Nov. 8, 1776, MHR.



Daniel Dulaney the Younger (1722–1797). *Maryland Historical Society*.

greatest danger from neutrals and passive loyalists who, while not actually guilty of treason, undermined American unity by refusing to aid the revolution.⁶

Debate on the Tory bill revealed that the two houses of the General Assembly differed in their concern for loyalists.⁷ The House of Delegates desired harsher treatment of loyalists. Most members believed that their presence was dangerous to the war effort and prevented certain persons from declaring themselves for the patriots. Furthermore, to these men, there was no neutrality. The senators, on the other hand, opposed nearly all punishments of passive loyalists and especially of neutrals. In the proposed Tory Act, for example, the senators opposed punishment of anyone who

⁶ This act is hereafter referred to as the Tory Act.

⁷ While the House-Senate split is considered here, it is secondary to the division among patriots in general over the treatment of political dissenters. For a more complete discussion of the Senate-House split in Maryland see Jackson T. Main, *The Upper House in Revolutionary America* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1967), pp. 101–114.

merely tried to persuade Marylanders to renew their loyalty to Great Britain or who proposed reconciliation short of independence. In the Senate's view, such punishments were too restrictive of freedom of speech. In their own eyes the senators were merely holding to the line advocated by Marylanders since the start of the trouble with Great Britain, that is, that independence was not necessarily the objective of American resistance.

On the matter of an oath of fidelity the two houses also held divergent views. The lower house members believed an oath would uncover the inactive and "secret" loyalists. The delegates saw the greatest danger in undercover acts of the loyalists and not in their actual armed uprisings. They wanted to stigmatize as a Tory and to silence anyone who related the hardships of soldiering to potential recruits, who disunited the colonies by exaggerating New England's control of the patriot movement, or who spread rumors against the new state government. The provincial association had been a test of patriotism, but since it was now defunct, the lower house wanted a new test. The delegates desired to punish those who refused the oath by barring them from holding office. On their side, the senators objected to any general test of allegiance. According to the Senate, justice and adherence to the Declaration of Rights did not allow the government to "dive into the secret thoughts of its subjects."⁸

The House of Delegates generally had its way in the Tory Act. The act contained punishments for a variety of activities against the state, yet its penalties were not as sweeping as the delegates had desired.⁹ The only political disabilities placed upon inactive loyalists and neutrals by the Tory Act was that officeholders, lawyers, and voters had to swear an oath of allegiance or affirm their allegiance.¹⁰ The General Assembly did not intend the oath to be a general test of loyalty, although some counties used it for such in detaining suspected loyalists.¹¹ As later events were to prove, debate concerning the Tory Act was just a beginning of the dispute over proper treatment of political dissenters.

The question of the proper treatment of passive and secret loyalists also concerned patriots outside the General Assembly. Many patriots agreed with the House of Delegates that bolder action was necessary to suppress anyone who refused to support

⁸ *Votes and Proceedings*, Feb. session, 1777, House of Delegates, pp. 40-42, 76, 79, 90-96, 101-102; House of Delegates to Senate, April 10, 1777, Red Books, III, p. 4, MHR; Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Carroll, March 28, April 15, 1777, Carroll Papers, nos. 206, 207, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁹ William Kilty, *The Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1799) I. Feb. sessions, 1777, chap. XX.

¹⁰ Absentees (non-associators who had left after August 14, 1775, when the provincial association had been initiated) had one year after the passage of the Tory Act to return and to take the oath of allegiance or be permanently barred from officeholding. Non-associators in the state had until August 1, 1777, to take the oath before being barred from officeholding. A person could take the oath at any time and be eligible to vote. The patriots would tolerate the presence of nonjurors and returning absentees, but they would not permit them to hold a state office unless they took the oath of allegiance by the deadlines.

¹¹ Memorandum [Aug. 26, 1777], George Somerville, George Isler, and William Ford to Governor, Sept. 6, 1777, Executive Papers, Misc., MHR; Job Green to Governor, Dec. 19, 1777, James Calhoun to Governor Johnson, Dec. 19, 1777, George Somerville to Governor Johnson, Aug. 14, 1778, Red Books, XIV, pp. 59, 70, XXI, p. 101, MHR; Proceedings of the Council, Aug. 15, 1778, *Archives of Maryland*, XXI, p. 187.

independence and the war actively. Local patriots since the beginning of the controversy with Great Britain had seldom displayed reluctance to go a step beyond the resolves of the convention and force a Tory to seek safety elsewhere, but few had the strength and organization of the radicals of Baltimore Town.

Radicals had early dominated the patriot movement in Baltimore, and the local committee of observation had led in making life uncomfortable for dissenters. The Baltimore radicals were outspoken in their desire to push the revolution faster than most Maryland patriots desired. With the Declaration of Independence, they moved quickly to get rid of any loyalist or moderate influence. Several suspects, including the sheriff, Robert Christie, Jr., two justices of the peace, William Smith and Francis Saunderson, and Daniel Dulany II, received warnings to leave the province or face death.¹²

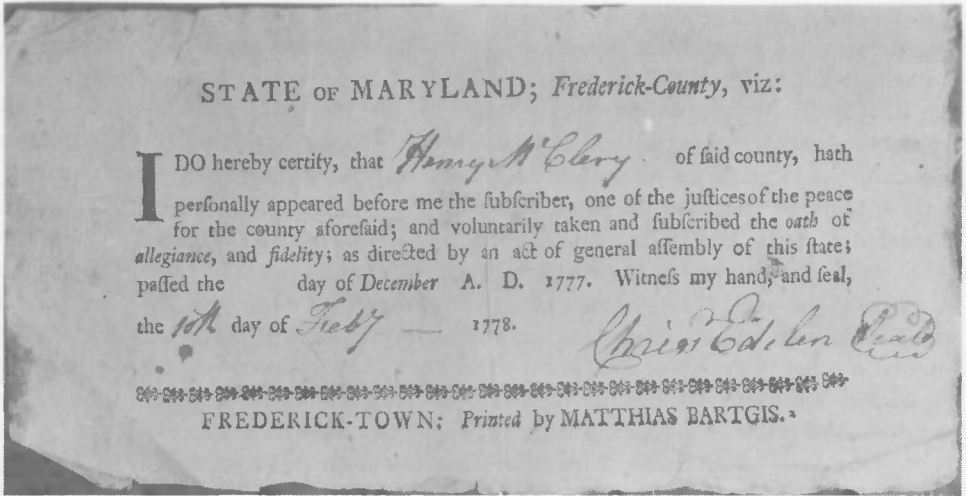
The Baltimore radicals organized the Whig Club late in 1776. They were apprehensive that the new state government would not provide adequate local control or would not conduct the revolution with the vigor of the now extinct committees of observation. The members, bound by oath to "detect all traitors without favour or affection," held that "artful villains" and "disguised Tories, under the cloak of moderation," found ways of avoiding punishment under the law. Moreover, they asserted, these "secret and disguised enemies" were being "fostered in our bosoms" and were "doing everything in their power to effect our destruction" because of the laxness of the government in enforcing the treason law.¹³

The Whig Club had a short existence. Its zealotry quickly antagonized the more cautious General Assembly. Believing the local printer not to be displaying the proper patriotic spirit, the Whig Club used two articles by General Charles Lee, printed in the *Maryland Journal*, as an excuse to call William Goddard to account for his actions. Instead of fleeing as had the earlier victims of the Whig Club, Goddard journeyed to Annapolis where he appealed to the Council of Safety and the General Assembly. In his memorial, Goddard concluded that the Whig Club was "Whiggism run mad" for it was arbitrary and unconstitutional. Supporting Goddard, the General Assembly, concluding that the activities of the club violated the Declaration of Rights and was dangerous to legal government, censured the Whigs and ordered the discontinuation of the club.¹⁴

¹² Council of Safety to Robert Christie, Jr., Dec. 17, 1776, Robert Christie, Jr., to Council of Safety, Dec. 13, 1776, Robert Christie, Jr., to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer [Dec., 1776], Council of Safety to Baltimore committee of observation, Dec. 13, 1776, *Archives of Maryland*, XII, pp. 517, 526, 527, 536; Proceedings of the Loyalist Commissioners, 1785-1790, Audit Office Transcripts, Class XII, Vol. VIII, pp. 73, 77, VI, 110, 112, Library of Congress; Journal of Proceedings of the Convention of Maryland, 1776, Oct. 16, 1776, MHR; Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1955), p. 321.

¹³ Robert Purviance, *A Narrative of Events Which Occurred in Baltimore Town During the Revolutionary War* (Baltimore, 1849), pp. 66-67; *Baltimore Maryland Journal*, Feb. 11, 1777.

¹⁴ Committee of Aggrievances, n.d., William Goddard to Governor Johnson, April 14, 1777. Benjamin Galloway to Ninian Pinkney, August 19, 1812, Red Books, I, p. 5, III, pp. 40, 45; William Goddard, *The Prowess of the Whig Club, and the Maneuvers of Legion* (Baltimore, 1777); William Goddard, *Mr. David Rusk!* (Baltimore, 1777); *Votes and Proceedings*, March session, 1777, House of Delegates, pp. 33, 35, 83.



Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity. April 25, 1778, Frederick County. *Maryland Historical Society.*

Local enthusiasm to harass suspected loyalists was not restricted to Baltimore county. It occurred in all areas of the state throughout the war. In these incidents, local enthusiasm and impatience with the moderates who desired the restoration of order and legal government made life extremely unpleasant or unbearable for any suspected political dissenter.¹⁵

Meanwhile the militants pushed for more controls, strengthened in their argument for stronger measures by continuing activities of the loyalists. In response, the General Assembly passed a new enrollment act which provided for complete reorganization of the militia with regular drill days and heavier fines. It supplemented this with an act to provide for better collection of fines on such penalties.¹⁶ The climax came with the introduction in June, 1777, of an "Act for the better Security of Government."¹⁷

The proposed Security Act was a lower house attempt to implement their belief

¹⁵ For example, in 1776, some patriots of Anne Arundel County delivered notes, similar to those of the Whig Club, that ordered various persons in Annapolis to leave the city. Aside from several instances in Bladensburg, reported instances of harassment were scattered throughout the province. In the instances reported to the government, civil authorities protected the suspected loyalists. Journal of the Council of Safety, Dec. 19, 23, 30, 1776, *Archives of Maryland*, XII, pp. 539, 548, 560; petition of Richard Henderson, Aug. 7, 1775, Proceedings of the Convention, 1775, *Archives of Maryland*, XI, pp. 11, 39, 49-50; Christopher Lowndes to Colonel Joshua Beall, Sept. 12, 1777, Joshua Beall to Governor Johnson, Sept. 15, 1777, Red Books, XVII, pp. 178, 179, MHR; Joseph Beall to Governor Lee, June 21, 1780, James Beall to Governor Lee, Dec. 3, 1780, Executive Papers, Misc.

¹⁶ Beverley Waugh Bond, Jr., *State Government in Maryland, 1777-1781* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, XXIII, nos. 3-4; Baltimore: 1905), p. 44; Kilty, *Laws*, I, June session, 1777, chap. V; *Votes and Proceedings*, June session, 1777, House of Delegates, pp. 114-155, 120.

¹⁷ This act is hereafter referred to as the Security Act. *Votes and Proceedings*, House of Delegates, June session, 1777, p. 110.

that dissenters and absentees should be identified and punished. Actually the proposal boiled down to a general test act. The ardor of the extremists appeared in a provision requiring all clergymen to take an oath of fidelity or be forever barred from preaching. This provision met defeat. Nevertheless the bill that passed the lower house reflected the general desires of the militant element.¹⁸ At the same time, the bill tried to allow for Senate scruples about a general test. Not everyone had to swear the oath, but any judge or justice of the peace had the authority to issue a warrant for anyone suspected of being disaffected or dangerous. The suspect was required to take the oath or to be bound over to the next meeting of the county court when he would again be tendered the oath. If he still refused to acknowledge his allegiance, the court was to proclaim him an outlaw. Absentees had twelve months to return and take the oath of fidelity in order to maintain their good standing. If they returned but refused the oath, the penalty was imprisonment for life and forfeiture of estate. By imposing such strong penalties, the militant patriots intended to force the neutral to take a stand. By requiring the oath on suspicion alone, they hoped to control the secret Tories. Finally, with the restrictions on absentees, they hoped to prevent a return of their enemies.¹⁹ The Senate, however, refused to approve the Security bill. Senators continued to oppose a test that deprived a person of political rights, occupation, and property solely for opposing the revolution.²⁰

The members of the House of Delegates promptly carried their case to the people. Frustrated by the Senate, they resorted to a technique reminiscent of anti-proprietary days—articles in the *Maryland Gazette*. “Rationalis” argued that disaffected Americans were largely to blame for the war with its great expense and destruction. One might expect Englishmen in America or even Scotchmen to be traitors to America, explained “Rationalis,” but “a native traitor is a villain of the blackest hue.” To “Rationalis,” “legal whigs” and neutrals were more dangerous than active loyalists who took up arms for the British. The “legal whigs” technically stayed within the law, but they disunited the people by their secret activities. The “legal whigs” reminded the people of good times under the old government, of the futility of America trying to fight Great Britain, of the danger of allying with Catholic France and Spain, and of the danger of civil war and domination by New England if America achieved independence. They also exaggerated and falsified American failures in the war and attempted to inflate the currency. “Rationalis” concluded that the neutrals, under a “garb of moderation,” claimed that all patriotic actions were too violent and excessive. “Rationalis” recognized the talents and contributions of the neutral to the early revolutionary movement, but the neutral, being sympathetic to the old government and being naturally timid in his actions, was actually a coward in a time of crisis when all “honest men” were taking a stand. For men like “Rationalis,” to let such coward-

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 115, 123.

¹⁹ Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, July 10, 1777.

²⁰ *Votes and Proceedings*, House of Delegates, June session, 1777, p. 123.

ice go unnoticed was a bad example for many who hesitated to serve in the army or who were reluctant to make the sacrifices necessary to win the war.²¹

In opposition to "Rationalis," "Sidney" adduced the arguments of the Senate. In particular, "Sidney" concentrated on the provisions concerning absentees. This part of the bill, he argued, was *ex post facto* because leaving the state in 1775 had not been illegal. Moreover, the bill would exile persons who would not know of the law within twelve months, yet after that time they would not have access to the courts to appeal their cases. Finally, "Sidney" claimed that the records were not complete enough to prove which men had signed the association before leaving the state. These reasons, combined with the dislike of a sweeping test of patriotism, constituted the opposition to the Security Act.²²

The test act and the punishment of Tories revived in October, 1777, when the lower house passed a revised Security Act. Still on the defensive, the senators defeated an attempt to confiscate two-thirds of the property of those persons who refused to take the oath of fidelity. They also voted down a clause that provided for the use of confiscated British property to compensate creditors of British subjects and Marylanders who had losses to the British army and navy.²³ But the lower house won the day. Despite the opposition of the Senate, the delegates obtained most of their demands in the Security Act that finally passed in December, 1777.

The act required every male citizen above eighteen years of age to go before the local justice and swear the prescribed oath or affirm his fidelity to the new state government before March 1, 1778. Thus, the radicals anticipated identifying all loyalists and neutrals and punishing them. Nonjurors had to pay a triple tax on their real and personal property for life. Nonjurors could neither bring suit in a Maryland court, nor pursue the occupations of merchandising, law, medicine, surgery, apothecary, preaching, or teaching. The act continued the political disabilities of the Tory Act by prohibiting nonjurors from voting and officeholding. Absentees had until September 1, 1779, to return. Upon returning, absentees had one month to take the oath of fidelity before being subject to the triple tax and the political and occupational disabilities. Finally, the courts were to consider convicted any person indicted by a grand jury for treasonable activity who refused to submit for trial at two consecutive courts. Upon conviction, the state was to consider these persons outlaws and confiscate their estates.²⁴

The Security Act, as finally approved, carried more severe punishments than the bill defeated by the Senate in June. It added the triple tax, increased the penalties for

²¹ *Maryland Gazette*, July 17, 1777; *Maryland Journal*, July 22, 1777.

²² *Maryland Gazette*, July 31, 1777.

²³ *Votes and Proceedings*, Senate, Oct. session, 1777, pp. 16, 21-22, 32, and House of Delegates, October session, 1777, p. 51; council to Nathan Nicholson, February 16, 1778, *Archives of Maryland*, XVI, p. 501.

²⁴ Kilty, *Laws*, 1. Oct. session, 1777, chap. XX; *Votes and Proceedings*, House of Delegates, Oct. session, 1777, pp. 13, 19, 48-51, 56, 57.



BRITANIA And Her DAUGHTER.

A Song

*Miss America North, so News-paper records,
With her Mother Britannia one day had some words,
When behold Monsieur Louis, advanc'd a new whim,
That she should leave her Mother for to live with him.
Derry Down.*

*The Damsel consented but quickly found out,
That her Paramour was not sufficiently stout;
Besides he was poor, and she wanted fine things,
So he sent to Don Carlos for Cash and Gold-rings;
Derry Down.*

*Says Monsieur to the Don, if you take my advice,
Then you of young Miss may come in for a slice;
The Don being amorous was easy brought o'er,
And he Cuddled, and Kiss'd, as Monsieur did before,
Derry Down.*

*Britannia beheld her with tears in her eyes,
O Daughter return to your duty she cries,
But she replies no I'm a Woman full grown,
And Long for to keep a good house of my own.
Derry Down.*

Published as the Act directs March 8. 1780. by J. Mills N^o. 1. Ratcliff Row near the French Hospital Old Street.

*If you'd used me kind when I was in your power,
I then had loved with you at this very hour,
But now on my Lovers so much do I doat,
That we'd Arm'd and I'll help 'em to cut your throat.
Derry Down.*

*Then with Hatchet, and Scalping-knife Miss did advance
On one side of her Spain on the other side France,
Britannia thus threaten'd does all three oppose,
And how it will end the Lord above knows,
Derry Down.*

*Britannia of late sent out one of her sons,
Who has given Don Carlos a thump o'the Munn,
Knock'd out Five of his Teeth, all double ones too,
And keeps 'em to help Old Britannia to chow.
Derry Down.*

*Now for the Old Lady let all of us pray,
May Monsieur, and the Don, for their perfidy pay,
May young Miss, return to her duty agen,
And may Britons be Free in despite of Base Min.
Derry Down.*

** Rodney*

outlaws, included absentees in the outlawry proceedings, and prohibited nonjurors ministers and teachers from pursuing their professions. Moreover, the act expanded the test. The earlier bill had required the oath only from persons suspected of loyalty whom the magistrates actually confronted with the oath. The final bill required the oath of all male citizens above eighteen years of age. The campaign of the lower house had certainly been successful, but one matter remained unsettled.

Controversy erupted again over passives and neutrals, and again aligned the two houses of the legislature on opposite sides. The delegates believed that confiscation was another way to punish the British and their American allies for initiating an unjust war. Supporters of confiscation stressed that many Marylanders still thought of themselves as British subjects.²⁵ To "Publicola," passive loyalists and nonjurors were "robbers, murderers and cutthroats" as much as the active loyalists, for they encouraged British tyranny and weakened the defense of the state. Therefore, they had to be treated as aliens.²⁶ As "An Independent Whig" explained: "It is our misfortune, that we have already too many *strangers* among us, who, although by remaining in our government, must be considered as *subjects*, yet are *Britons* in their hearts." These people, he continued, "will betray our secrets; counteract our measures; oppose our laws; and propagate the seeds of sedition." According to "An Independent Whig," the patriots should not display any leniency towards absentees, those "wretches, who had not one spark of the love of liberty in their bosoms."²⁷

Thus, the proponents of confiscation believed that the present situation in Maryland called for bold measures, not the timid ones proposed by the Senate. Pursuing these ideas, the supporters of confiscation chided their opponents for wanting to help the enemies of America. They suggested that the Senate and its followers were motivated either by fear of taking the necessary strong measures to win the war or by Tory sentiments. To "A Sentry," the talk of the senators that a state could not take the property of its enemies was "damned toryism."²⁸ While many supporters of confiscation did not go so far as to accuse the senators of being Tories, they did imply that the senators' actions reflected an attempt to protect friends who were absentees, nonjurors, or British citizens.²⁹

On the other side, the senators held firm. They resisted what they considered a harsh and unjust treatment of dissenters. They argued that the persons affected lost their property merely for refusing to support the revolution or for being British citizens. They believed that only those persons convicted of treason should suffer from confiscation. If the state were unable to prosecute loyalists under the Tory Act, then it should not punish them by confiscation.³⁰

²⁵ *Votes and Proceedings*, Senate, Nov. session, 1779, pp. 26, 30–31, House of Delegates, Nov. session, 1779, pp. 106, 108.

²⁶ *Maryland Gazette*, Feb. 25, 1780.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, March 24, April 28, 1780.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, March 3, 1780.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, March 17, April 7, 1780.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 11, 1780; *Votes and Proceedings*, Senate, Nov. session, 1779, p. 26, and House of Delegates, March session, 1780, pp. 83–87.

As finally resolved, confiscation in Maryland applied only to British property, and absentees were the only loyalists who were considered British subjects.³¹ Although the state confiscated all absentee property that was discovered, much of this was never sold. With the sharp disagreement over confiscation, the patriots were reluctant to sell property so near the end of the war. Moreover, most estates were heavily encumbered with debt and conflicting claims of ownership. By the time the confiscation commissioners cleared property for sale, sentiment had shifted and only the continuing problem of debt motivated a second rush of sales in 1785. Fortunately for some loyalists, by this time the General Assembly had returned some of the confiscated property to the families.³²

During the dispute over confiscation, the patriots continued their efforts to force conformance with what they considered desirable conduct and to penalize anyone who deviated. The state collected the triple tax and other assessments from nonjurors, but the records are lacking to show whether they gathered them uniformly. Several sources, however, indicate a general enforcement, at least in 1778 and 1779. The numerous petitions to the General Assembly for the relief from the triple tax indicate that most persons subject to the tax were paying it. In 1778, one tax collector from Washington County received £4671 from the triple tax, which was about one-third of his total collection.³³ At Quaker meetings for sufferings, many members reported paying fines after 1777 for not enrolling and attending muster and for refusing to go to war. The Quakers also paid triple taxes in 1778, 1779, and some in 1780, even though the General Assembly suspended the triple tax from July, 1779, until October, 1780. Starting in 1780, many Quakers paid double assessments for support of the war, and many paid fines for refusing to allow the state to assess their estates.³⁴

Thus, through much of the war the patriots confronted the dissenter with a variety of special taxes, fines, and assessments which, as the patriots intended, were burdensome penalties. These were in addition to the restrictions that kept the nonjurors from using the courts to collect debts and from earning a living in the designated professions and occupations.

The restrictions on profession were disabilities that greatly affected some nonjurors. William Cooke, a lawyer, had to turn to farming as a source of livelihood and had

³¹ Kilty, *Laws*, I, Oct. session, 1780, chap. XLV.

³² The state confiscated the property of at least 103 individuals and companies during 1781 and 1782. Later confiscation raised the total to over 150 individuals and companies. Of this number, only 115 had all or part of their property sold and only 42 had property sold before 1785. At the time of the confiscation of 1781, the patriots, although divided in opinion, generally indicated that they were not going to sell all the confiscated property. Rather, they intended to hold the property, rent it, and sell only what they needed to meet the emergency costs of the war. Primarily, they intended to sell property in the state that belonged to British citizens, such as the property of merchants or estates inherited by British citizens. They planned to supplement British property with the estates of absentees who were in the process of being outlawed. Thus, under this arrangement, the patriots would confiscate but not sell the property of most absentees. Commissioners Ledger and Journal of Confiscated British Property, T. A. S. Com'r., *passim*, MHR; List of Claims Against Confiscated British Property, T. A. S. Com'r., *passim*, MHR.

³³ Account of Daniel Beall, September 24, 1780, Executive Papers, Misc.

³⁴ Meetings for sufferings of Friends, 1779-1783, Quaker Records, Stoney Run (microfilm), MHR.



View of Baltimore (1796-1797). By Beck *Maryland Historical Society*.

difficulty supporting his family. David Rigby had to discontinue his work as a merchant. David Love had continued to preach in Anne Arundel county even after the convention discontinued his salary in 1776, but by refusing to take the oath of fidelity, he had to relinquish his parish and what little compensation he derived from it. Moreover, Love claimed that the little money he had was soon paid in triple taxes.³⁵ Despite the restrictions of the Security Act, some men attempted to continue in their occupations. The courts indicted Robert Lambden and Robert Holliway for teaching school without taking the oath, and Lambden paid a fine of £118.³⁶ Much more numerous were violations for preaching without the oath, especially among the Quakers and Methodists.

In addition to fines, taxes, and professional disabilities, the nonjuror labored under other burdens during the war. Generally to meet their requisitions for cattle, horses, and wagons, county commissioners applied first to nonjurors who were required to sell

³⁵ Audit Office Transcripts, VI, p. 156; VIII, pp. 67, 385, 388; LXXX, p. 12.

³⁶ Aug. session, 1778, Harford County Court, Minutes, 1778-1779; Nov. session, 1778, Somerset County Court, Judicial Record, 1775-1784, MHR.

these articles. The state supposedly paid fair prices for the goods, but there were incidents of men trying to hide their horses from the commissioners.³⁷

The pressure of fines and disabilities forced many passives and neutrals to appeal to the General Assembly for relief. These appeals kept alive the issue of how dissenters should be treated. About ten to twelve thousand, or 30–35 per cent, of eligible citizens did not take the oath of fidelity. Some persons, through carelessness or unconcern rather than loyalty to Great Britain, neglected to meet the requirement, but, despite their reasons, to the government they were nonjurors. As early as March, 1778, the General Assembly received a petition from residents of Washington County who had not taken the oath of fidelity. They explained that their neglect was not due to any opposition to the new government but to religious objections to taking an oath.

The assembly continued to receive petitions from nonjurors asking for relief, particularly relief from the triple tax. The petitions came from varied sources, from men who had taken the oath, but in other than their home county, to men who were insane. One petitioner from Charles County asked the assembly to excuse him from taking the oath because he had property in Scotland which he feared the British might confiscate if he took the oath in Maryland. Nine men from Kent County pleaded ignorance of the requirement. They stated that “designing men” had informed them that the British were soon to occupy the Eastern Shore and would require the residents to take an oath to the king. Some blamed the clergy for misleading them. Many others used the excuse that they simply did not understand what the oath was all about. A group of Germans stated that they were unable to read the law and that they lived remotely and had few persons to translate for them. Others claimed that they had been sick, lame, in jail, or out of the county at the time the justices administered the oath.³⁸

In evaluating the early petitions, the House of Delegates was reluctant to accept any excuses except sickness or insanity. One delegate reported that “our leaders said that as these people [nonjurors] have given us evidence of their inimicality, we are determined to make them feel the weight of our offended zeal.”³⁹ Critical of any attempt to relax the law and to allow additional persons to take the oath, the assembly ordered the removal of the justices of Talbot County for administering the oath after the deadline. The General Assembly also disallowed an election in Talbot County because the sheriff allowed nonjurors to vote.⁴⁰ As a result of this resoluteness, the

³⁷ James Hindman to [Governor Lee], July 28, 1780, H. Hollingsworth to Governor Lee, Sept. 17, 1780, John Chaires to governor and council, July 25, 1781, William Ennals Hooper to Governor Lee, July 30, 1781, Executive Papers, Misc.; Samuel Smith to Governor Johnson, April 1, 1778, Executive Papers, Portfolio 4, folder 70p; council to Henry Schenebely, Sept. 2, 1780. Daniel Jenifer to Governor Lee, June 30, 1781, *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, p. 274, XLVII, p. 324; *Maryland Gazette*, Jan. 5, 1781.

³⁸ *Votes and Proceedings*, House of Delegates, March session, 1778, pp. 76, 93–94, June session, 1778, p. 136, Oct. session, 1778, p. 42, June session, 1779, p. 145, Nov. session, 1779, p. 51; Robert Goldsborough to James Hollyday, 1778, quoted in Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County, Maryland, 1661–1861* (Baltimore, 1915), II, p. 86.

³⁹ Robert Goldsborough to James Hollyday, 1778, quoted in Tilghman, *Talbot County*, II, p. 86.

⁴⁰ *Votes and Proceedings*, House of Delegates, June session, 1778, p. 137, Oct. session, 1778, p. 10.

assembly granted relief to only twenty-five persons of the more than 320 who petitioned during the session of June, 1778. This relief allowed the petitioners to take the oath, removed all fines and disabilities, and returned any fines already collected. In the October session, the assemblymen granted relief to sixty-two men out of over 100 additional appeals. Five of these men were insane. One, because of his isolation, did not know of the time limit until after the court had adjourned. Since he had actively supported the patriots, the assembly allowed him to take the oath and returned all the money collected from him in triple taxes. There were no reasons listed for allowing relief on the remaining petitions, but the assembly apparently continued to reject pleas where the petitioners gave "ignorance and inattention" or "scruples of conscience" as the reason for not taking the oath. The General Assembly passed another act in March, 1779, "for the relief of certain nonjurors," but there is no indication of the number included or the reasons for granting relief.⁴¹

The desire of the House of Delegates to deny relief to anyone whom they regarded as merely attempting to avoid the triple tax and disabilities reached a climax in mid-1779. Most delegates feared that the acceptance of conscience and ignorance as excuses allowed too many of the disaffected to hide their true feelings and to avoid penalties. In June and December, 1778, the lower house approved a bill to force the collection of the triple tax from persons whom the courts or justices had allowed to take the oath after the deadline unless such persons had been unable to take the oath because of an "unavoidable accident." The delegates believed that some persons were avoiding penalties by presenting undated certificates to the tax commissioners that showed they had taken the oath. The Senate rejected the bill during both sessions. The senators believed that prosecuting persons who had been allowed to take the oath late was *ex post facto* and that judging relief was the duty of the courts rather than the legislature.⁴²

In the session of March, 1779, the opponents of the oath of fidelity attempted to grapple with the problem of determining which persons deserved relief and which did not by proposing that the General Assembly completely eliminate the triple tax. The measure was defeated, yet it appeared again in July, 1779. By August, 1779, the number of petitioners exceeded one thousand. The committee of the lower house that handled the petitions, unable to judge each petition individually, recommended a relaxation in allowing relief. They stated that "some mode of general relief to nonjurors ought to be adopted excepting such only who by their actions have tried to prevent or overturn our freedom and independence." The majority of the lower house rejected the suggestion, however, and censured the committee for recommending legislation when they were supposed to be evaluating petitions.⁴³

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Oct. Session, 1778, pp. 42-43; Kilty, *Laws*, I, Oct. session, 1778, chap. XXIV, March session, 1779, chap. XVII.

⁴² *Votes and Proceedings*, House of Delegates, June session, 1778, pp. 124, 134, 136-138, 230, Oct. session, 1778, pp. 66-67, 78, 83, 85-86.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, June session, 1779, pp. 131, 145; *Maryland Gazette*, July 30, 1779.



Samuel Chase (1741–1811). By Charles Willson Peale. *Maryland Historical Society*.

The senators did not easily give up the effort to ease the penalties connected with the oath of fidelity. They passed a bill allowing nonjururing Anglican clergymen to take the oath and resume preaching. The lower house, however, overwhelmingly defeated the proposal. The Senate had more success with a moderate resolve in which they proposed relieving the “misguided” nonjuror. In agreeing to the resolve, the House of Delegates fixed the procedure whereby the nonjuror had “to give evidence of his attachment to America,” first by taking the oath of fidelity and then by petitioning the General Assembly.

The assembly still was to consider each petition on its individual merit. After the nonjurors had taken the oath and had been granted relief by the assembly, they were placed in one of two categories: one, if they originally had not taken the oath because of “sickness or other unavoidable accident,” they were free of all penalties and disabilities; and two, if originally they had not taken the oath because of “being ignorant of the duty they owe their country” or if they had been influenced by the “advice and example of designing men,” they were free of the triple tax and all disabilities except officeholding and voting. These measures, of course, only relieved the person who was willing to take the oath, and it did not relieve the loyalist, neutral, or religious objector who still refused.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ *Votes and Proceedings*, Senate, July session, 1779, pp. 69–70, House of Delegates, June session, 1779, pp. 151–155.

Although militant members of the lower house eased their position on nonjurors, they resisted a general relaxation of penalties and prevented a complete repeal of the triple tax. Enough delegates opposed the tax, however, to pass a law that suspended its collection from the July session until November 10, 1779. This pause allowed the members further time to consider a complete repeal.⁴⁵

The persistence of the senators finally proved fruitful. With petitions for relief continuing to deluge the legislature, the assembly passed nine laws during the remainder of 1779 and in 1780 for the "relief of certain nonjurors." The General Assembly had passed similar laws before, but the relief had been limited to small numbers of nonjurors who clearly had been unable to take the oath by the deadlines. These new laws resulted from the inability of the assembly to handle individually such large numbers of petitions, but the laws also reflect a desire to offer nonjurors a second chance. Although the number of persons are generally not included in the journals of the General Assembly, one act involved only two men, while another covered 39 nonjurors, another 185, and a fourth 584.⁴⁶ Relaxation of the Security Act added at least an additional 1000 persons to the juror lists. How many of these men were loyalists who merely wanted to avoid the penalties is not known. Until the petition committee became flooded with appeals, the lower house was extremely careful to investigate the petitions and prevent relief to such persons. Now the assembly seemed forced to accept the word of the petitioner that he was not a loyalist. In these acts, most of the men who were relieved came under the provision of ignorance and being deceived, and thus they were not free of all the disabilities. For the majority, however, the most important fact was that they no longer had to pay the triple tax.

Among nonjurors, religious dissenters continued to be a major problem for the patriots. While feeling an obligation to allow for religious objections to war, the patriots knew that some men used religious conscience as a means of hiding loyalist sympathies. General William Smallwood, for example, observed that although many of the disaffected of the Eastern Shore claimed that they refused to support the war because of religious principles, he believed that they merely disguised their Toryism.⁴⁷

Despite their hardships, the Maryland Quakers, in consultation with the Pennsylvania Friends, resolutely agreed to continue to reject an affirmation of fidelity. The Maryland Friends also resolved not to allow the government to assess their property because the state used the taxes to execute the war.⁴⁸ Many Quakers abided by the dictates of the quarterly and yearly meetings, but not all did. Only 150 to 300 persons affirmed their allegiance to the new stage. Although not all affirmants were Quakers,

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, House of Delegates, June session, 1779, p. 154; Kilty, *Laws*, I, July session, 1779, chap. XIV.

⁴⁶ *Votes and Proceedings*, Senate, Nov. session, 1779, p. 16; Kilty, *Laws*, I, March session, 1780, chap. XXVI, June session, 1780, chap. XVIII, Oct. session, 1780, chap. XXIV.

⁴⁷ Thomas O'Brien Hanley, "The State and Dissenters in the Revolution," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVIII (Dec., 1963), p. 327.

⁴⁸ Letter to the meeting for sufferings in Philadelphia, June 29, 1778, Meeting for Sufferings, Kent county, June 29, 1778, Quaker Records, MHR.



Cartoon. *Library of Congress.*

undoubtedly some were.⁴⁹ The courts punished Quakers for not paying taxes and fines, and there are numerous cases before the courts of Methodists, Baptists, and Quakers preaching or teaching without having stated their loyalty to Maryland. Yet, more Quakers reported paying assessments than reported paying fines for refusing to assess their estates or for refusing to pay the triple tax.⁵⁰

Believing their hardships to be increasing, in November, 1778, and again in November, 1779, Quakers petitioned the General Assembly for exemption from bearing arms and for an alleviation of the penalties. In response the petition committee recommended a bill to relieve Quakers of responsibility for military duty, but the lower house rejected the proposal. In justifying their rejection the delegates stated that Quakers were not dangerous and deserved relief, but the critical need for money and

⁴⁹ The Security Act required justices to keep two separate lists of jurors, those who swore the oath and those who affirmed their fidelity. The affirmation lists contain 152 names, but the oath of fidelity records are not complete. These lists are found in the Maryland Hall of Records and the Maryland Historical Society.

⁵⁰ Court proceedings against preachers are scattered throughout the minutes of the General Court, particularly of the Western Shore. For example, in the May session, 1780, twenty-eight such cases were before the court. Information concerning penalties of Quakers is found in: *Meetings for Sufferings*; *Minutes, Baltimore Quarterly Meetings*; *Minutes, Gunpowder Monthly Meetings*; *Minutes, Third Haven Monthly Meetings*, *passim*, *Quaker Records, MHR.*

supplies, combined with the fear that relaxation only encouraged others to claim religious immunity, forced the government to maintain a rigorous enforcement of fines.

The practical problem involved in excusing Quakers from military service was that the government had no way to judge which persons sincerely objected to war and which did not. As a result, a majority in the General Assembly determined that they were unable to relax the military obligations until the end of the war. The delegates handled petitions from individual Quakers in a similar manner. Since they had no definite proof that the petitioner was a Quaker, the delegates refused to grant a release from bearing arms because "every disaffected might avail himself of the same exemption."⁵¹

Much of the hesitancy by the patriots to relax penalties resulted from the refusal of religious bodies to budge from their neutrality and to acknowledge even passive approval of the new government. The General Assembly, in 1781, tried to persuade Quakers to sign a paper stating that they were "friends to the now established government." Also, the Quakers were to declare that loyalty to Great Britain was not their reason for refusing to affirm the oath of fidelity and to provide accounts of their property. Despite its moderation, the Quakers refused to approve the paper and stated that "we have already expressed to the legislature that we cannot enter into any solemn engagements or test of this kind in the present unsettled state of public affairs."⁵²

In attempting to make allowances for the religious dissenter during the revolution, the patriots had more trouble with the Methodists than with the Quakers. Because of the recent and rapid growth of Methodism in Maryland, government officials were less familiar with them than with Quakers. Methodists appeared more openly hostile to the revolution, and patriots regarded them as more aggressive in persuading persons, other than their own members, not to support the war. Particularly, the patriots blamed Methodists for much of the disaffection on the Eastern Shore and in Delaware. One Eastern Shore official reported:

The spirit of Methodism reigns so much amongst us that few or no men will be raised for the war . . . it is a general practice that when there is any call for raising men for their preachers to be continually attending their different posts day and night, which I am fully persuaded is the greatest stroke the British ministry ever struck amongst us.

The official concluded that "through that channel I fear we have more internal than external enemies doing everything that lies in their power to dissuade men from going into the service."⁵³

⁵¹ *Votes and Proceedings*, House of Delegates, Oct. session, 1780, pp. 5, 33, Nov. session, 1781, p. 56.

⁵² Meeting for Sufferings, May 7, 1781, Quaker Records.

⁵³ Nathaniel Potter to Governor Lee, July 23, 1780, *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, p. 23. Freeborn Garrettson, one of the most active Methodist clergymen on the Eastern Shore, has some interesting accounts of the problems Methodists faced during the American Revolution. He believed the actions of only a few loyalist clergymen caused the resentment against Methodists. Nathan Bangs, *The Life of the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson: Compiled from His Printed and Manuscript Journals, and Other Authentic Documents* (New York, 1845), pp. 64-66, 102.



William Goddard. *Maryland Historical Society.*

As a result of their suspicions, the patriots actively prosecuted Methodist clergymen under the Security Act. Between 1778 and 1780 the general court indicted thirty-four nonjurors for preaching. In addition, the counties brought suits. Most offenders were Methodists from Baltimore, Anne Arundel, and Harford counties. Some avoided arrest and trial, but the general court levied fines against seventeen of the preachers, some for more than one count of preaching.⁵⁴

Although reluctant to grant special concessions to religious dissenters, the patriots near the end of the war finally relaxed the penalties and made a distinction between the true loyalist and the neutral and religious nonjuror. In November, 1779, the General Assembly passed special bills that allowed three Anglican ministers to swear the oath of fidelity and resume their clerical duties.⁵⁵ As noted, in July, 1779, the assembly temporarily suspended the collection of the triple tax. The suspension continued each session until October, 1780, when a complete revision of the triple tax provisions greatly reduced the number of persons who were subject to it. The revision provided that the state was to collect the triple tax only from absentees and from nonjurors whom the county commissioners judged to be attached to Great Britain.⁵⁶ In most instances, this act relieved both the religious nonjuror and the neutral. In fact, the General Assembly believed the county commissioners were often too generous in granting suspensions of the tax. By 1781, seven counties reported relieving some nonjurors of the triple tax. For example, the commissioners of Washington County granted 6 suspensions, Talbot County 37, and Caroline County 220 because of reli-

⁵⁴ May and Oct. sessions, 1778, May session, 1780, Western Shore General Court, Dockets and Minutes, 1778-1779, 1780; Oct. session, 1779, Western Shore General Court, Judgments, T.B.H., No. 1, 1779-1781; Oct. session, 1781, Western Shore General Court, Judgments, T.B.H., No. 2, 1781-1782; March session, 1778, Harford County Court, Minutes, 1778-1779; Oct. 25, 1785, Proceedings of Governor and Council, 1784-1788, MHR.

⁵⁵ *Votes and Proceedings*, House of Delegates, Nov. session, 1779, pp. 5, 16.

⁵⁶ Kilty, *Laws*, I. Oct. session, 1780, chap. XLVI.

gious principles. Frederick County relieved 169 persons as religious dissenters and 79 as neutrals.⁵⁷

In 1781, the General Assembly removed most remaining disabilities by allowing nonjurors to use state courts, to engage in trade, and, with the exception of Methodists who were not included until the following year, to preach without taking the oath of fidelity. That is, the assembly relieved the nonjuror unless he had "manifested a disposition inimical to the present government."⁵⁸ In 1782, the assembly ended the triple tax completely.⁵⁹ This left the restrictions on practicing law and on voting and officeholding as the only remaining impositions connected with the Security Act. A move to allow nonjurors to vote and to hold office occurred in November, 1784, but the bill was defeated, as was a compromise effort to allow nonjurors merely to vote.⁶⁰

Not until November, 1786, did the assembly remove another barrier blocking participation in politics by nonjurors. The Act of 1786 kept the oath as a prerequisite for voting and officeholding, but it allowed nonjurors to take the oath regardless of their earlier reason for not doing so.⁶¹ Thus, by the late 1780's, the state had removed all legal restraints except the oath, and even loyalists who carried arms and committed treason against Maryland were free to renew their former residences and occupations unless their neighbors made life too uncomfortable.

While every state faced a problem of how to handle political dissenters, Maryland patriots believed their problem particularly acute because so few of their loyalist opponents were active. While Pennsylvania had more of a religious problem, probably one or two in ten nonjurors in Maryland were religious dissenters. In resisting strong measures against these groups, the senators, in part, were fulfilling their role as protectors of individual rights. The two houses were at odds on most problems during the war, and this most aristocratic of senates believed that property and individual rights must be protected by law. With the formation of the new government, the senators wanted an end to extra-legal committees and vigilante groups. They believed that a treason law was enough to provide for internal security and that the courts were the proper body to punish loyalists. While the Senate was able to moderate the most violent demands of the radicals, still the test of allegiance in Maryland was more general than in many other states and the penalties for nonjurors were among the most severe.

⁵⁷ *Votes and Proceedings*, House of Delegates, May session, 1781, p. 154, Nov. session, 1781, p. 56.

⁵⁸ Kilty, *Laws*, 1, Nov. session, 1781, chap. XVII, Nov. session, 1782, chap. XIII.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1, Oct. session, 1780, chap. XLVI, Nov. session, 1782, chap. XIII.

⁶⁰ *Votes and Proceedings*, House of Delegates, Nov. session, 1784, pp. 99, 106-107, 111-116.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Nov. session, 1786, pp. 41, 47, 49; Kilty, *Laws*, II, Nov. session, 1786, chap. XIV.

Fettered Loyalism: A Re-evaluation of Robert Proud's and George Chalmers' Unfinished Colonial Histories

PETER HOFFER

NO SUBJECT RAISED such heat and animosity among America's loyalist spokesmen as their suffering at the hands of the rebels. Condemnation of the revolutionaries' conduct became a virtual compulsion along loyalist historians—with two notable exceptions. Robert Proud of Pennsylvania and George Chalmers of Maryland, although they had more time, more encouragement, and easier access to documents than almost all of their fellow loyalist scholars, abruptly ended their histories before the final crisis. Proud's *History of Pennsylvania in North America* (1797), a massive two-volume work subsidized by the Quaker community of Philadelphia, became incoherent as its author approached the revolutionary period. George Chalmer's still more imposing studies of colonial life, a two-volume *Political Annals of the Present United Colonies* (1780), and a second two-volume *Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies* (1782), although designed to span the whole of colonial history, were deliberately left unfinished. The answer to this intriguing puzzle reveals more than Proud's and Chalmers' own dilemma; their histories' incompleteness bear witness to the awful fetters some loyalists were forced to wear in 1776.¹

Proud's inability to complete his history drew severe criticism from later generations of Pennsylvania historians. These successors of Proud have passed solemn judgement on his "scholarly failure . . . and maladjustment." One long-term secretary of the Pennsylvania Historical Society pronounced Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*: "a perfect example in both conception and execution of what this Association ought not to do in preparing a new history of the state." Seen in a more sympathetic light, however, Proud's weaknesses were the inevitable result of his religious biases; indeed

¹ As the bicentennial of the American revolution approaches, the number of works on the loyalists seems to grow asymptotically. Wallace Brown, North Callahan, G. N. D. Evans, Thomas H. Nelson, and Page Smith have all written group biographies of the exiles within the past ten years, and more excellent studies, including Mary Beth Norton's recently released *The British-Americans* (Boston, 1972) and Lawrence Leder, ed., *The Colonial Legacy* (New York, 1971), I.

his historical effort was in reality a theological inquiry into the rise and fall of Pennsylvania's "golden age."²

Proud came to Philadelphia in 1759, a mature scholar of thirty-one. A Quaker teacher and versifier from the north of England, Proud idealized Pennsylvania as a Quaker paradise, until financial embarrassments disillusioned him. Yet Proud's academic reputation was sufficiently esteemed among a number of leading Philadelphia Quakers for them to urge upon him an imposing scholarly task. In 1776, they entrusted Proud with the late Samuel Smith's notes on the history of Pennsylvania and asked him to turn the manuscript into a finished product. In the midst of a revolution whose violence terrified him and left him a virtual prisoner in Philadelphia, Proud began to thoroughly revise Smith's dry narrative into a moving religious chronicle. A loyalist out of personal conservatism, religious conviction, and fidelity to the old proprietary cause, Proud believed William Penn's religious sanctuary had disintegrated into a factious and oppressive anarchy. Proud's deliberate "blandness" of style, his near obsession with the smallest religious matters, and his adoration of William Penn, although condemned by later writers, were all essential ingredients in Proud's conception of history's purpose. History's function was the instruction and improvement of the reader. Proud's refusal to extend the narrative up to the revolution was thus a product of a sincere religious revulsion: Proud's unwillingness, and perhaps his psychological inability, to recall the violence and disorder of the rebellion.³

Proud's long and intricate introduction to volume I spelled out his own religious principles, and identified them with the convictions of Pennsylvania's first settlers:

The restoration and enjoyment of those natural civil rights and privileges . . . was the great end for which the predecessors of the present inhabitants of Pennsylvania at first peaceably drew into this *retirement* [my italics] from those who, at that time, either appeared to have lost or too partially distributed them; and the preservation thereof was the original design of the civil government and constitution of the province . . .

Proud gave the word "retirement" two meanings, both crucial in his thinking. In the first place, retirement meant immigration: leaving England for America, fleeing European corruption and faction for the innocence of the New World. Retirement also meant a religious retreat into a pious and harmonious community. Thus, Pennsylvania was not just a colony filled with immigrants from Europe, but a unique and ideal civilization populated by a special people:

²J. H. Powell, "Robert Proud, Pennsylvania's First Historian" *Pennsylvania History*, XIII (April 1946), p. 87. John A. Neuenschwander, "Chronicle of a Scholarly Failure: Robert Proud" *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XCII (Oct., 1968), pp. 494-506.

³Robert Proud to William Proud, Dec. 1, 1777, "Letters of Robert Proud, the Historian," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXIV (1910), p. 63. Smith's history of Pennsylvania was a dry collection of documents and biographies; see *History of the Province of Pennsylvania* (ms., 1760) ed. William Mervine (Philadelphia, 1913).

In the first rise and early progress of this province, there manifestly appears a remarkable extraordinary example of that excellent wisdom, industry, and moderation whose effects are replete with useful instruction to posterity

For Proud, the Quaker retirement was not passive nor quiescent but active and instructive, “not proved by the boasting of mere theory and anticipation, but by a happy experience for many years.”⁴

The central figure in these two volumes was William Penn, the founder of the colony, and to Proud, a living inspiration to its inhabitants. Proud embraced Penn’s teachings, and the early pages of volume one read like a manual of religious instruction. Yet Penn preserved “good order” by his example as well as his instructions; he was a “reformer and improver . . . of justice, mercy, and all rational liberty . . .,” and Penn’s biography seems a justifiable part of Proud’s account. Nevertheless, Proud identified himself so closely with Penn’s cause and involved himself so deeply in Penn’s philosophy, that each blow to the Quaker Proprietor’s ideal became a personal agony to Proud.⁵

Ironically, Penn’s own close ties with James II endangered the Quaker retirement from the moment of its establishment. When this last Stuart was deposed, James’ opponents “infamously aspersed and abused” the Quaker leader. What was more, between 1689 and 1694 Penn’s forced absence from the colony permitted the inexperienced provincial council and assembly of Pennsylvania to fall to constant bickering. The so-called lower counties, later to become the colony of Delaware, demanded political autonomy. Added to this, George Keith, a Quaker minister, began to admonish the government of Pennsylvania for encouraging “the slackness” of Quaker piety. Both the displeasure of the lower colonies and Keith’s remonstrances were “magnified” in London by the Quaker Proprietor’s enemies.⁶

Penn’s reinstatement as proprietor neither quelled the disturbances within the colony nor shielded it from external threats to its charter. The factionalism raised within the Assembly during the period of Penn’s absence continued to fester. Penn attempted to listen to all sides and redress all grievances, but the continuous quarreling “rendered more uneasy and disagreeable” the proprietary government. Plainly factionalism did not fit Penn’s plan, and consequently Proud was reluctant to relate these events. Proud was loath to admit that the retirement ideal was dissolving while Penn still lived, and thus while Proud chastized the assembly for its disorderliness, he then turned about and excused them for their “youthful” folly:

But absolute and unlimited perfection is not to be expected of human nature and if the wisest counsels of men sometimes err, how much more may a young Assembly of honest and well-meaning colonists be reasonably supposed liable to mistakes of their own real interests⁷

⁴ Robert Proud, *The History of Pennsylvania in North America* (Philadelphia, 1797–1798), I, pp. 3–6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 7–13, 14, 15.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 309, 360.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 416–417.

*Freedom, Peace, Plenty, all in vain advance,
Spurn'd by Britannia's Children, dupes to France:
Aspiring Chiefs in congress scourge the land,
All Lairs subverting to usurp command.*



*Tyrants they prove, while Patriots they appear,
And Popish Jaques mark their absurd career.
May Heav'n in timely mercy make them wise,
Ere French and Spanish Chains their crimes chastize.*

Cartoon. Library of Congress

Still more vexing to Proud to retell, for he knew it would be the more dangerous of the two kinds of pressure on the new colony, was the threat posed to Quaker ideals by the competition for empire among Europe's giants. The Quakers refused to participate in England's wars against the French. As he had when recounting internal politics of the colony, Proud shed all pretense of disinterestedness. He pled the case for the Quaker pacifists, and their peaceful community:

The cultivation of peace and civilization and of the articles of trade and commerce, in which the Quakers were known to excel, must be acknowledged to be no less important and necessary to render a fate happy and prosperous than weapons of war . . .

He boasted of the Quakers' "fidelity . . . their punctuality in paying their taxes and their conscientiousness in strictly declining all illicit trade."⁸

Throughout the first volume of the *History of Pennsylvania*, there was thus a tension between illusion and reality, between the author's impassioned pleading for the ideal of retirement and his unhappy admission of the increasing discord in the colony. So long as Penn lived, the original spirit of the Quaker retirement lived. Yet Penn died, as Proud wrote in the first pages of volume two, a broken man in mind and body, and the saddened historian knew he had then to face the progressive decay of the great Quaker's dream. The remainder of volume two catalogued the divisive political struggles between governor and assembly, and the confusion of the well-meaning but easily misled majority, which made possible the anti-proprietary party's gains. Proud conceded that the very liberty which Penn dispensed so generously permitted his enemies to overthrow his work.⁹

As the second volume drew to a close, Proud's writing disintegrated into a haphazard chronology. Proud's guiding design, derived from Penn's ideals, could not survive the apparent breakdown of the founder's system. Proud himself was aware of his inability to maintain scholarly objectivity, especially as he watched the proprietary government steadily lose ground to the forces of disorder. "Liberty itself than which nothing is more desirable, when carried beyond a certain point degenerates into licentiousness . . . producing the worst kind of tyranny . . ." It is clear that Proud simply could not bring himself to contemplate the final revolutionary collapse of the retirement. Yet, that his readers might still learn from the fall of Penn's community, Proud added a brief conclusion to the history. He conceded that no community could forever withstand the capacity for evil in "human nature" itself. "A large number will always be found, especially where much liberty abound . . . whose interest as well as pleasure it will ever be to favor revolutional consequences."¹⁰

Proud longed for a return to a "golden age," a time when religious harmony and peace in the New World, guided by the divinely inspired hand of William Penn, and built upon the tenets of Quakerism, flowered in Pennsylvania. But reality stranded

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 466-468.

⁹ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 44, 54.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 227, 229, 230, 234-236.



Cartoon. Library of Congress.

Proud in the wake of the upheaval, denying him an important role in Pennsylvania’s post-revolutionary intellectual life. The Quaker historian’s tragi-comic efforts to defend his work after its publication bore witness to his inability to adjust to the cultural and political values of the new republic.

While Proud was writing his history, Chalmers was establishing himself in London, diligently seeking a post commensurate with his pride and ambition. In temper, the ex-Marylander hardly resembled Proud but the former’s brash self-assurance seemed to impress London officialdom as much as Proud’s reticence had pleased the Quakers of Philadelphia. It had taken Chalmers a scant year after his arrival in Maryland, in 1762, to involve himself in the colony’s politics at the highest level; it took the Scottish loyalist somewhat longer to become the secretary to the Board of Trade. It was an excellent administrative post for a loyalist who came to London without connections some seven years before.¹¹

The secret of Chalmers’ rise was simple; if Proud was a religious philosopher,

¹¹ On Chalmers’ career, see Grace Cockcroft, *The Public Life of George Chalmers* (New York, 1939), *passim*. Chalmers’ reputation, unlike that of Proud, has remained high in this country. Compare Robert Walsh, *An Appeal from the Judgements of Great Britain Respecting the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1819), p. 28, with Jack P. Greene, “The Role of the Lower Houses . . .” in Sidney Fine, ed. *The American Past* (New York, 1970), I, p. 74.

Chalmers was an astute political partisan. Chalmers' two long histories of the colonies evidenced both his "natural attachment" to authority, especially to the authority of Parliament, and a sure grasp of the art of publicity. The first volume of the *Political Annals of the Present United Colonies*, published in London in 1780, was a work of haste, sardonic humor, and obvious political bias. Yet Chalmers' haste was well-judged; the English-reading public possessed, in addition to "a natural curiosity" about their vast colonial holdings, a whetted appetite for explanations of the current rebellion. Chalmers had hurried to "lay before the public something as an introduction to the history of a war, the most singular in many respects to be met with in the annals of recorded time." Chalmers' high estimation of his own intellectual powers and his distrust of those who did not share his opinions appeared early in his preface. Other authors had "thrown . . . a shade over the whole, either by . . . inattention or misrepresentation." Chalmers' panoramic history of the colonies, buttressed by his copious use of the Board of Trade papers was to be "the truest of histories." Of course, as Chalmers promised at the end of his preface, he would never seek to embarrass the authors of these original documents. "He, who is naturally attached to established authority, would act inconsistently with himself if he did not implicitly submit to the decisions of those who preside over the republic of letters."¹²

Yet Chalmers' self-proclaimed fidelity to the sources, "sufficient to gratify even the utmost avidity of an antiquarian," and his submission to authority, were far from perfect. His objectivity was undercut continually by his bitter personal hatred for the leaders of the rebellion. "In a little more than a century and a half," he warned his readers, "we shall behold the posterity [of the first settlers] unsheath the sword against the most potent nation on earth; which had given them being, nursed their childhood, [and] reared them to manhood." The first volume of *Political Annals* regularly digressed to "compare the whole circumstances of [earlier colonial] proceedings with the administration of the colonies during the present times," and offered the intelligent reader "abundant cause for reflection."¹³

Along with this portentous hindsight, Chalmers indulged his anger with pointed criticism, homilies, and ironic twists of phrase. Examples of sarcasm abound in the *Political Annals*, such as this estimate of the London Company's first grant of liberties to the Virginia colonists:

Yet little was there in it, alas! favorable to the interests of freedom, or declaratory of the general privileges of the subject. Vain was it to assure the colonists of being considered as Englishmen if they were by the same instrument deprived of English liberties.

Chalmers subjected the puritan colonizers of Massachusetts to even more scathing ridicule. For example, the Antinomian controversy was one "proceeding from

¹² George Chalmers, *Political Annals of the Present United Colonies* (London, 1780, reprinted New York, 1968), I, Preface.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, Preface, pp. 19, 163.



George III. *Library of Congress.*

religious disputes and subtleties altogether unintelligible, while the fear of God and the love of their neighbors were too much neglected by everyone . . .”¹⁴

Chalmers directed his sharpest barbs, however, at the English monarchy, for continually exercising its prerogative where only Parliament, in Chalmers’ estimate, might legally and effectively intervene. The *Political Annals* was above all a brief in favor of Parliamentary superintendency of the colonies. The work’s refrain echoed in almost all its chapters: “Whatever the opinion or the practice of James I and his immediate successor, a King of England at no period of its annals could legislate for his people without the consent of the state.” Only when Parliament legislated for the colonies, as it did in 1628, did Chalmers believe the rights of both the nation and the colonists fully protected.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 14, 163.

Had the Parliament continued to legislate for them, with regard to all the minute particulars which new habits, different situations and change of circumstances required . . . the colonists would have enjoyed similar rights, and have been equally free, as the numerous fellow-subjects which remained within the realm.

The commons' "spirit was prodigious" but its power paled before the Kings' "extraordinary and illegal" activity.¹⁵

The first volume of the *Political Annals* ended with the year 1688, but Chalmers planned a continuation to carry the story through the year 1763. Adverse political reaction to the first volume, however, dissuaded him from completing the second. Chalmers' sensitive political antennae warned him that his advocacy of Parliamentary rule had antagonized leading English politicians. Nevertheless, colonial history still attracted him, and a glance at the fragmentary manuscript of volume two suggests the compulsive nature of his interest. Chalmers' recollection of American embarrassments so galled him, that he saw the illegal organizations of 1776 at work in the seventeenth century. When in the 1690's the Massachusetts puritans battled with the Crown, the New Englanders created a "Committee of Safety." When the inhabitants of Maine and New Hampshire, still loyal to the Empire, fell prey to the ravages of the northern Indians, the government of Massachusetts Bay treated the refugees as "loyalists." "The numerous refugees who were compelled to desert their habitations filled Massachusetts with their complaints and at the height of their anguish exclaimed that the men who from native ambitions or revenge had deprived them of the blessings of government, were answerable to God for the blood that was shed and owed to the undone commiseration and relief." Yet, no redress was given these first loyalists by the incendiary government of Massachusetts, according to Chalmers. The analogy to the loyalists' treatment in 1776 was an obvious one.¹⁶

Though dissuaded from bringing out a continuation of the *Political Annals*, Chalmers would not abandon the project of a complete colonial history. Two years after he shelved volume II of the *Political Annals*, he published the first volume of the *Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies*. This second study was more carefully prepared and subtly argued than its predecessor, and Chalmers intended it to include the final crisis. He opened the new work with the reminder that the crisis still raged, and that "each statesman received successive warnings and the present generation now feel the consequences." Chalmers still advocated increasing the power of Parliament, and, in addition, noted the assistance given Parliament by his new employer, the Board of Trade. Chalmers had not forgotten that to criticize past generations of leading politicians was to tread upon the feelings of those very men to whom he owed his position and future. Similar considerations had dissuaded him

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 15, 45, 115.

¹⁶ *Political Annals* (1780 ms., published New York, 1868), II, pp. 13, 52, Lawrence H. Gipson in "George Chalmers and the *Political Annals*," *The Colonial Legacy*, ed. Lawrence H. Leder (New York, 1971), I, p. 33, finds the abrupt ending of the *Annals* "to be regretted," but offers no reason for Chalmers' decision.

from finishing the *Annals*, but internal evidence from the *Introduction* suggests that Chalmers thought he had found a solution to this dilemma.¹⁷

Throughout the *Introduction*, Chalmers focused upon the colonists themselves and their apparent irrationality, rather than the English government's misadministration. Such an indirect approach might not offend the King's friends. Of course, Massachusetts' Puritans appeared most perversely and enthusiastically irrational. "A new race of men appeared in America whose peculiar principles will be found . . . to have entailed on the colonies numberless woes, and on the parent company, the most perplexing embarrassments." To prove the irrationality of the puritans, Chalmers even introduced anachronisms, for example, pretending to believe that England accepted the doctrine of toleration in the early seventeenth century and thus that the Puritans introduced religious persecution themselves. "They disregarded the laws of their fathers . . . and their fathers' religious toleration."¹⁸

Chalmers employed the history of his own colony of Maryland as a foil to Massachusetts' demonic irrationality. "Because they did not consider themselves as emancipated by emigration" the Maryland colonizers "prudently engrafted the jurisprudence of the Kingdom on the system of the colony." There was none of Massachusetts' "Jewish jurisprudence" and the original habits of the Maryland colony prompted a love of order and adherence to established institutions, a submission to law absent from all of New England.¹⁹

Yet even Maryland opposed those English regulations which threatened her economic security: "Maryland evaded what she found contrary to her interest." To explain this form of colonial resistance, Chalmers introduced a complexity into his thesis: the colonists were not really irrational, but narrowly self-interested. "So long as men form their opinion from their interests or their situation, they must continue to think differently on the subject of public and private measures." In Pennsylvania and Maryland, where satisfactory economic policy aligned the colony with the interest of the Crown, the colonists did not disobey nearly as much as those of Massachusetts, whose economic interests rivaled those of English merchants. Chalmers agreed with the Whig commonplace, that man was by nature self-interested and factious. He lamented, however, the colonists' sad ignorance and misunderstanding of their place in the Empire which led them to work against the growth of the Mother Country.²⁰

Subtly, Chalmers had reintroduced the argument of the *Annals*, without the former work's overt animosity. Instead of wise direction, the colonists received only confused and self-interested instructions from London. "The provincials watched the factious contests of the parent who designed to derive from her distractions every advantage to themselves." "Without design," King William had permitted the colonies to

¹⁷ Chalmers, *An Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies* (London, 1782, reprinted Boston, 1845), I, pp. 3-4, 50.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 39, 43.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 75-78.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 86, 152.

QUERIES to the WHIGS of MARYLAND.

IS not that man a Tory, who, since the Declaration of Independence, has been for Reconciliation with Great-Britain, and averse to the Independence of this State?

What Members of the Senate were advocates for a Reconciliation with Great-Britain, since the Declaration of Independence, and which of them was for giving it up, last winter, in violation of his duty and Oath?

Are not the principles of men to be judged of by their actions, and the company they keep?

What Members of the Senate voted for John Stevens, as a Delegate for Talbot County, whose political character was justly suspicious, and whose election was warmly supported by the Tories and Non-jurors of that County; and in his declaration that he would now give a sum of money, if he had not so voted, a sufficient apology and evidence of his repentance and return to Whigism?

What Members of the House of Delegates voted for, and warmly supported the election of, John Stevens, and have they recanted?

What Members of both Houses frequently dine at Tory-Hall, in Annapolis?

What Members of both Houses associate with, and pay particular attention to, the Tories of Annapolis?

How many Whigs are there in the Senate?

What Member of the House of Delegates defended the people of Talbot County from associating, to defend their liberties by arms, and travelled with his law books to prove such a violation an act of Treason and Rebellion?

What Member is an advocate for the Tories and Non-jurors, of Talbot County?—What Member advised the Non-jurors of that County not to pay the Treble-Tax, and countenanced a party to intimidate the Sheriff from doing his duty?

Was not the above Member recommended to the House as a gentleman of great abilities, an expert draftsman, and whose assistance could not be dispensed with; and was he not nominated as a Delegate to Congress?

What number of men of abilities and business are in the House of Delegates; who are the principal orators and leading Members; who compose the Committee to whom all business is referred, and how is the public business transacted?

How many Tories are there in the House of Delegates?

Who is the greatest and leading Tory in this State, and what Members of either House are under his influence?

Who are the principal Tories and Non-jurors in each County?

Who are the principal persons in each County against Independence?

Did not the Tories and Non-jurors, and the Friends to Reconciliation, and opponents to Independence, busy themselves in the late elections?

Did not a person stand in St. Mary's County, and was within a few votes of being elected, who it was known had, and was accused at the Polls of having, publicly drunk, in Philadelphia, "Confusion to General Washington, and bankruptcy to the Continental Currency?"

Are not the Whigs wholly engrossed in schemes of speculation to amass imaginary riches; are they not entirely neglectful of the Common Cause and public affairs, and in a state of lethargy, and is it not high time for them to awake?

Answers to these Queries will be in my next.
A QUERRIST.

Querr. Who is the author of the above Queries?

Inquirer

Queries to the Whigs of Maryland 1779. From the *Maryland Journal*. Maryland Historical Society.

achieve a sort of autonomy. Any administrator, Chalmers argued, ought to have known that "men who emigrate because they are impatient of control, will naturally urge insurrection when experience has proven that inclination may be gratified without dread of punishment." But England's imperial authorities lacked the energy, intelligence, and insight to deal with factious and self-interested colonists. The American colonists, seeking their own best interests, had been deluded and confused into believing those interests lay outside the imperial system, or at least in disobedience to its regulations, because these regulations had never been properly explained or enforced in America. All the while, the Crown refused to admit its own mistakes and all of its agents' "arguments were filed away in a corner." The Board of Trade struggled to enlighten the monarchy, and Parliament struggled to find a suitable colonial policy, to no avail.²¹

With criticism of William of Orange, who was too busy to engage himself with the colonies, and Anne, who was too ignorant to understand them, and the Georges'

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 170.

lamentable and corrupt mishandling of colonial problems, the second volume of the *Introduction* continued the story of the first. The Hanoverians, the latest royal line, “removed governors and other officers however experienced and approved, to make room for numerous dependents who claimed participation in their good fortune.” The expertise and prestige of the Board of Trade was “degraded” and the laws which Parliament had established for the colonies were ignored. In all the colonies, the want of royal intelligence and energy left its mark in confusion and disobedience. As one governor of New York wrote to the Board of Trade: “Popular factions and powers have become so prevalent that unless his Majesty’s ministers give their assistance in a different manner from what has hitherto been done, it will not be in the power of the governors to support royal power . . .”²²

Despite his vigorous defense of the Parliament and his own employers, the Board of Trade, Chalmers was discovering that he could not avoid berating the conduct of at least some politicians who were still active enough to have resented his criticisms personally. The closer the *Introduction* came to the revolution, the more numerous and active these politicians were likely to be. Indeed, as he wrote the last pages of the second volume of the *Introduction*, Chalmers must finally have realized that even Parliament, whose leaders he had largely absolved from blame, had to share responsibility for the rebellion. The duties and regulations enacted after 1763 came from Parliament and not the monarchy. If the revolution was the product of English blunders, it was the leadership of Parliament who were to blame, and this, Chalmers knew, he could not do. Chalmers thus ended his *Introduction* not with the year given in the title, 1763, but with the year of the accession of George III, 1760. It would not have been impossible for Chalmers to manipulate the events of the last years of crisis, the years after 1763, to exculpate the Parliament and indict the new monarch, but such a course would surely have meant as swift an end to Chalmers’ political career, as any attack upon the leaders of Parliament.

Just as Proud was robbed of his influence and power to act, so Chalmers had to mask his own feelings in order to prosper during the rebellion. These unfinished histories, of Proud and Chalmers, testify to the fact that by 1776 two important options had been closed to the American loyalist. If these options, seeking religious immunity and continuing political bargaining, were yet open, many reluctant loyalists might have chosen to remain in the colonies and perhaps might have influenced the course of the protest against England. By 1775, however, the religious rights of Quakers and Anglicans, as the histories of Samuel Peters and Jonathan Boucher suggest, were drastically reduced; neutrality on religious grounds often surrendered to mobs and committees of safety demanding oaths of political allegiance. The area of political maneuver also was rapidly diminishing and experienced colonial politicians like Joseph Galloway and Thomas Hutchinson found they had to make irreversible

²² *Ibid.*, 11, pp. 4, 105, 112–114. Working with external sources, rather than the *Introduction*’s structure, John A. Schutz, “George Chalmers and the *Introduction to the History of the Revolt*,” *Colonial Legacy*, I, p. 42, finds many evidences of Chalmers’ political acumen.

choices between America and England. In the end, Proud and Chalmers chose loyalism, but the religious and political conditions of the crisis had severely limited their ability to act, and their final decision had little effect upon the course of events. That loyalty to old ideals, and to an outmoded imperial system, fettered these men, is what their histories tell us.²³

²³ Jonathan Boucher, *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist* (London, 1780), p. 93; Samuel Peters, *General History of Connecticut* (London, 1780), *passim*; Joseph Galloway, *Letter to a Gentleman on the Conduct of the War in the Middle Colonies* (London, 1780), pp. 3-4; Thomas Hutchinson, *History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay* (1780), ed. Lawrence S. Mayo (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), III, pp. 236, ff.

Economic Analysis and Loyalist Strategy During the American Revolution: Robert Alexander's Remarks on the Economy of the Peninsula or Eastern Shore of Maryland

EDWARD C. PAPENFUSE, JR.

BETWEEN NOVEMBER 1778 and July 1779, Parliament investigated General Howe's conduct of the war in America. The evidence of Major General Charles Grey, in particular, gave credence to the statement that the American Rebellion would be difficult, if not impossible, to crush.¹ Grey's testimony infuriated American Loyalists. They decided it was time a lobby was organized to combat Parliamentary opposition and to encourage more effective prosecution of the war. To do this it would be necessary to supply concrete data on the resources available to the British army in North America and to promote the idea that the rebels were in fact a militant minority rather than a majority in the colonies.

By December of 1779 the news of General Grey's testimony reached Loyalists in New York. Voicing the concern of his fellow refugees, Anthony Stewart, formerly of Annapolis wrote to another Maryland Loyalist, George Chalmers, in London to tell him of plans to establish a committee designed to collect and disseminate information favorable to the Loyalist cause.

The evidence of General Grey was certainly the most flagrant piece of injustice ever exhibited against any set of men. And it appeared the more striking when delivered by a man who had generally gained the good Opinion of the Refugees. The Departure of General Vaughan from this country afforded us an opportunity of expressing our Sentiments on that Occasion. Our Address to him and his Answer I make no doubt you have seen which will sufficiently explain our Idea of that Matter. The glaring Misrepresentation of General Grey

¹ Paul H. Smith, *Loyalists and Red Coats* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1964), p. 118.

with that of others who were examined before the House of Commons on the Enquiry into General Howe's conduct induced the Refugees to think of Some Method to oppose the arts of their Enemies and of Course those of Great Britain and America [...] For this Purpose we determined at a general Meeting, that the Refugees from the several revolted Colonies should chuse Representatives to sit in general committee to watch over their mutual Interests. The committee have been chosen and have addressed the Commander and Chief for his approbation which they have obtained and now sit under that Sanction. Mr. Alexander and myself represent the Refugees from Maryland. There is yet arisen little business of any consequence as our Board [is] but now in its Infancy . . . But [we] at the same time endeavour to convey a true state of the present Situation of America and the practicability of conquering this country by pursuing proper measures . . .²

Robert Alexander, the 'Mr. Alexander' referred to in Stewart's letter, was to play an important part in the activities of the committee. When Governor Franklin, head of the committee, testified to the Loyalist Claims Commission after the war about Alexander's "service to the Government," he explained that "Mr. Alexander had an opening of obtaining Intelligence which he communicated to Head Quarters" and believed that Alexander "was in confidence at Headquarters."³ One of Alexander's functions on the committee was to gather data on the resources of various regions which would be likely sites for military operations. He drew up an account of the "State of the Country of South Carolina" previous to Sir Henry Clinton's expedition there in February of 1780.⁴ But the project in which he had the most interest and in which he had a vital stake was the proposal that the British should capture the peninsula between Delaware and Chesapeake Bays and utilize it as a base of operations and a source of supply.

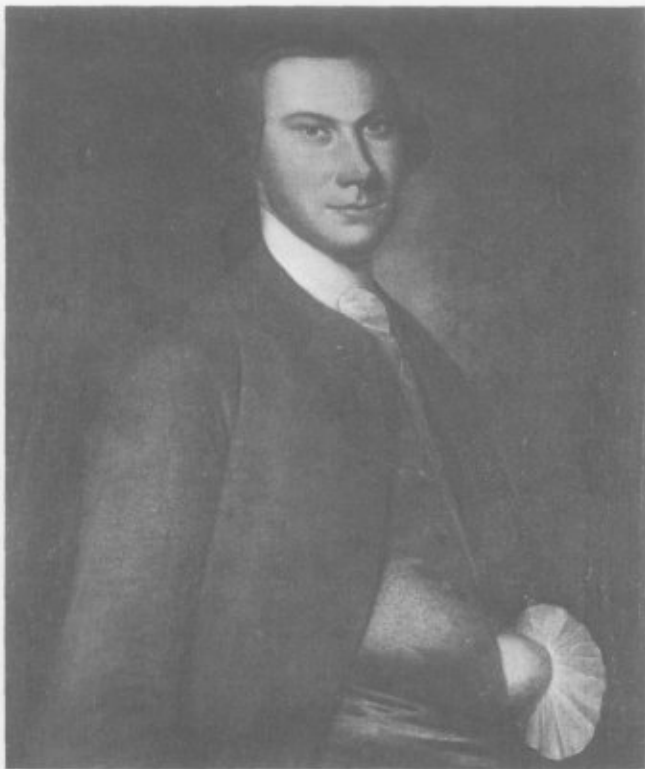
The economic importance of the peninsula between the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays, known today as the DelMarVa Peninsula, was a persistent theme in Loyalist advice to the British. As early as March, 1777, Joseph Galloway discussed the merits of the region with Thomas Robinson, a prominent Delaware Tory, and in June, 1778, Galloway wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth that the peninsula "is full of every article of provisions for an Army."⁵ In January, 1778, a similar observation had been made by Henry Stevenson in a letter to Sir William Howe. Stevenson reasoned that by taking Baltimore, Howe could "secure the Eastern Shores of Maryland and Virginia, and the three Lower Countys on Delaware by which the In-

² Anthony Stewart to George Chalmers, Dec. 8, 1779, Chalmers Papers, IV, 79-80, New York Public Library. Hereafter cited as Chalmers Papers.

³ Deposition of Governor William Franklin, American Loyalist Audit Office Transcripts, vol. 36, p. 195, New York Public Library. Hereafter referred to as Loyalist Transcripts.

⁴ Memorial and Papers relating to Robert Alexander, *ibid.*, p. 174.

⁵ For information on Thomas Robinson see below. Robinson saw Galloway on March 19, 1777. See *The American Journal of Ambrose Serle, Secretary to Lord Howe 1776-1778*, edited by Edward H. Tatum, Jr. (San Marino, California, 1940), p. 200. See also Joseph Galloway, "Reasons against Abandoning the City of Philadelphia and the Province of Pennsylvania" in B. F. Stevens, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America 1773-1783* (25 vols., London, 1889-1895), XXIV #2096, p. 5. Hereafter cited as Stevens, *Facsimiles*.



Governor Thomas Johnson. By John Hesselius. *Maryland Historical Society*.

habitants will cheerfully supply the whole Army . . . with more provisions than they can consume for three years besides Fish.”⁶ But it was Alexander who collected the data and constructed a rational argument as to the resources of the area which helped convince General Clinton of the viability of taking the DelMarVa peninsula.

Alexander was well suited to the task of analyzing the importance of the peninsula. He was born and raised in Cecil County on Maryland’s Eastern Shore. By the time of the Revolution, he owned considerable property in the county and had established himself as a lawyer in Baltimore where he was engaged in collecting debts owed merchants.⁷ The association with the merchants added much to his

⁶ Henry Stevenson, “Hints submitted to General Sir William Howe, 12 January 1778” in Stevens, *Facsimiles*, XXIV #2076, p. 1.

⁷ Janet Bassett Johnson, *Robert Alexander, Maryland Loyalist* (New York, 1943), 7ff. Alexander had 1200 acres of which 100 were meadow. In 1785 430 acres were kept by Mrs. Alexander. The rest were either sold by the State or claimed by others. Memorial and Papers relating to Robert Alexander, *Loyalist Transcripts*, pp. 176–183.

knowledge of trade on the Chesapeake, while his own activities as a planter undoubtedly made him familiar with the productivity of the peninsula. When the Revolution came, he was to find all of this experience useful.

Like a number of Loyalists, Alexander at first joined the Rebellion. For a time he was a delegate from Maryland to the Continental Congress, but by June of 1776 he was excusing himself from active participation in Revolutionary politics because of a "wound" in his ankle. Although in the same letter explaining his absence he wrote that "Duty to my Constituents and Inclination both prompt me to join in the Counsils of my Country and more especially at this very interesting period" in September, 1776, he fled from Baltimore to his plantation in Cecil County to escape signing a loyalty oath. For almost a year he lived in peace, but with the encampment of the British Army about his home in the summer of 1777, he decided to abandon his family and join the march to Philadelphia.⁸

During the winter of 1777-1778 Alexander probably gave some thought to the capture of the peninsula and his triumphant return home. He drew up "an account of the State of the Country about Wilmington" for the use of Commander-in-Chief Sir William Howe and perhaps he talked with Galloway, Robinson and others, but the evacuation of Philadelphia in the following summer disrupted his work.⁹ With the evacuation Alexander momentarily lost confidence in the Loyalist cause. Writing from aboard a transport in the Delaware Bay to his friend Thomas Johnson, Governor of Maryland, he sought permission to return home.

Alexander's pleas were to no avail, however, and he continued to New York. At first he was depressed. As his friend Anthony Stewart expressed it in a letter to London, "The Alderman of Baltimore is sitting cheek by Jowl at this present writing."¹⁰ But soon Alexander had joined in the activities of the Loyalist committee and had revived what ideas he had about the military importance of the DelMarVa peninsula. He and James Chalmers, Commander of the Maryland Loyalist regiment, set about gathering data on the peninsula. Chalmers was sent to Chestertown "to collect a true state of the Eastern shore". In August of 1780 Chalmers wrote his distant cousin George Chalmers, in London, a glowing account of the peninsula's resources.¹¹

New York, August 23, 1780

... Maryland, especially the 13 counties of the Peninsula formed by Chesapeake and Delaware is by its maritime situation and variety of happy circumstances excellently adapted to be possessed; to shut up Delaware River, and to command Virginia.

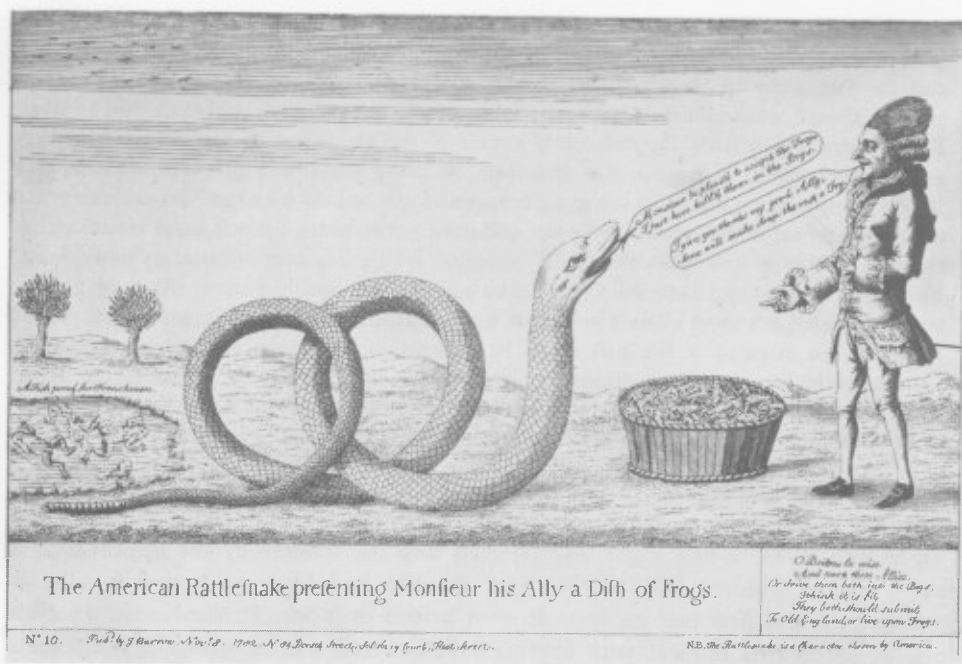
If according to General Grey this is a war of Posts, the last mentioned district is

⁸ Robert Alexander to (?), June 26, 1776. *Adjutant General's Papers*, Box I, Hall of Records, Annapolis and Johnson, *Robert Alexander*, pp. 105-106.

⁹ Memorial and Papers relating to Robert Alexander, Loyalist Transcripts.

¹⁰ Stewart to Chalmers, Dec. 8, 1779.

¹¹ Reverend J. J. Wilmer to Governor Johnson, July 28, 1779, Red Books, #4, p. 460, Hall of Records, Annapolis, I am indebted to Professor Ronald Hoffman of the University of Maryland for this reference.



Cartoon, 1782. Library of Congress.

UNQUESTIONABLY the first post to be occupied by Great Britain in America. It incontestably injures rebellion more than the loss of any other Province, and proportionally increases the resources of Great Britain, by supplying amply her West India Islands giving bread to all her Armies and Navies, and the attainment of the commerce of Chesapeake—more consequential at this period than all the remaining commerce of the Revolted Colonies.

Deprived of these Valuable Provinces the Revolters in effect must depend on New London for external Supplies and on part of Pennsylvania and Jersey for provisions—Most certain it is tha[t] the New England Provinces, never produced sufficient Grain for the inhabitants. The Rebellious part of New York, at present, affords little Indian Corn or Wheat[,] Jersey in tranquil times exported no considerable quantity and it is a truth most evident that a large share of the provisions formerly exported from Philadelphia were previously extracted from Virginia, Maryland and the Delaware Governments.¹²

In the same month Alexander finished his summary of the peninsula's worth and sent the report to Sir Henry Clinton. The potential of the region much impressed Clinton. Looking back on the summer of 1780 he wrote:

¹² James Chalmers to George Chalmers, Aug. 23, 1780, Chalmers Papers, IV, pp. 81–87.

... there was a district which, being locally friendly to the masters of the sea, I had long had my eye upon and wished much to possess. I mean the peninsula between Chesapeake and the Delaware—a large tract of very fertile land abounding with secure harbors on both its shores, whose inhabitants were numerous and in general strongly attached to Great Britain, and which from the defensible nature of the ground at its gorge (neck) and the general healthiness of its climate, and from its being plentifully provided with supplies for the army and having many other advantages, might be held with their assistance against the united power of the whole continent, and even a temporary French naval superiority of those seas. For it was most plentifully provided with every supply an army could want, had a free access from both the Chesapeake and the sea, and had many other advantages which rendered it a most eligible post. But without at least 6000 men, in addition to what I then had, no attempt of the sort could be thought of under my present circumstances. Consequently I could only represent its importance, together with a sketch of the plan I had formed, should government be disposed to augment my army and secure my operations in that quarter from being molested by another visit from a superior fleet.¹³

In fact, Clinton had written to Germain in August of 1780 requesting the necessary troops and naval support, but it was not forthcoming.¹⁴

In March, 1781, a new vigor was injected into the scheme by the appearance in New York of Colonel William Rankin. Rankin had been an active loyalist in Pennsylvania and had just escaped from a prison in York, Pennsylvania. In New York he associated himself with leading loyalists and was an outspoken advocate of an attack on Philadelphia. He and Alexander were in basic agreement about the value of the peninsula.

Rankin's plan emphasized the military prospects of a loyalist uprising in the region and the need to recapture Philadelphia. He brought promises of the necessary military support to be drawn from discontented Loyalists in the region. In the summer of 1780 Clinton had felt he needed 6,000 men to take the Peninsula and now Rankin argued that at least that many troops were available.¹⁵

¹³ Sir Henry Clinton, *The American Rebellion*, edited by William B. Willcox (New Haven, 1954), p. 211.

¹⁴ Clinton to Germain, Aug. 25, 1780, *ibid.*, p. 455. The letter, in all likelihood, contained the summary of Alexander's estimate of the produce of the DelMarVa peninsula. The summary, entitled "Remarks on the Peninsula or Eastern Shore of Maryland", is now in Vol. 17, undated reports, Germain Papers, William Clements Library, and is noted by George W. Kyte, "Some Plans for a Loyalist Stronghold in the Middle Colonies," *Pennsylvania History* XVI (July, 1949), pp. 187-188. Kyte assigns a date of 1779 or 1780 to the plan.

¹⁵ Historians have long recognized that Rankin's proposals figured in the debate between Clinton and Cornwallis over who lost the war, but until the discovery of Robert Alexander's proposals, nothing was known about the part of other loyalists in the argument. Although a "Mr. Alexander" had been mentioned in the correspondence between Clinton and Cornwallis, historians were misled by Benjamin F. Steven's edition of the letters into thinking Alexander was a code name for Rankin. Some of Clinton's corrections of the printed versions of the letters might be interpreted this way except that Alexander did draw up the economic argument. It is possible that instead of replacing Alexander's name Clinton meant to identify Rankin's part as well. It is clear that Rankin's proposals dealt only with the military aspects of the plan to capture the peninsula if the originals in the Clinton Papers are consulted. See especially April 27, 1781, Col. R. ——— Proposal. Rankin's flight to New York is detailed in "The memorial of William Rankin, late of York County . . . Pennsylvania", also in the Clinton Papers

In the meantime Alexander went to great lengths to verify his analysis of the peninsula's resources. In the spring of 1781 he wrote to three merchants, Nicholas Slubey, Thomas Robinson, and Neil Jamieson, who were familiar with the trade of the region and asked for the estimates as to the peninsula's productivity. The replies only further strengthened his argument.

Nicholas Slubey, merchant of Chestertown, Maryland, supplied the most exhaustive statistics of the three. He and his brother were in business prior to the Revolution and when the war began each chose a side. The brother remained in Chestertown and Slubey joined the loyalists in New York. There Slubey was active in intelligence work. At home he attained some notoriety for his efforts. "He was privy to the infamous James Chalmers . . . who was sent by the British Commander to collect a true state of the Eastern Shore" wrote Reverend J. J. Wilmer to the Governor of Maryland in July, 1779.

In his letter to Alexander, Slubey provided a complete picture of the trade patterns of Maryland's Eastern Shore, as well as an "aggregate of wheat, flour and Indian corn annually exported from . . . 1770 to 1775." He listed all of the principal ports of the region, the usual destination of cargoes, and the amounts exported. Slubey's estimate makes clear the rivalry between Baltimore and Philadelphia for the grain trade and demonstrates that direct trade to foreign markets was third in importance. The detail he presents suggests that he had access to the Port records of Chestertown which have since vanished.

After the war Slubey returned home and re-established himself as a grain merchant. But by 1788 the grain trade from Chestertown direct to European markets had declined. Slubey estimated that, in 1788, 50,000 bushels of wheat, half of his 1781 estimate, were available for the "Straights market" from Chestertown and in order to continue trading he removed his business to Baltimore.

Thomas Robinson was a prominent Delaware Loyalist. He was a native of the colony and at first supported the Revolution. He soon became alienated, however, and fled to New York for refuge. In 1783 he followed many Loyalists to Nova Scotia, but Robinson returned to Delaware in 1786, where he soon died. In his letter to Alexander he records the principal ports in Delaware and accounts for a wider variety of goods exported than Slubey does. It is not likely that he had access to port records but his figures were as "near" as he could judge from his "knowledge of the vessels that sailed ought of them ports. . . ."

Neil Jamieson was a prominent Norfolk merchant before the Revolution and was resident partner of a well-known Glasgow firm, Glassford, Gordon, Mon-

of the Clements Library. See Benjamin F. Stevens, ed., *The Campaign in Virginia, 1781: An Exact Reprint of Six Rare Pamphlets on the Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, . . . (2 vols., London, 1888), esp. II, 34N9, 56N21, and 114N7. Also Clinton, *The American Rebellion*, 523N65. Rankin's role is discussed in Carl Van Doren, *Secret History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1941), pp. 130-134, 219-224, 415-417; Paul H. Smith, *Loyalists and Red Coats*, pp. 158, 162-3; and George W. Kyte, "A Projected British Attack on Philadelphia in 1781," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (Oct., 1952), LXXVI, pp. 379-393.



General Howe. *Library of Congress.*

teath and Co. In 1776, after he had sought asylum with Lord Dunmore's fleet, he went to New York where he continued in tobacco shipping and general merchandizing. After the war he returned to Britain permanently. Jamieson's answers to Alexander's inquiry dealt more with the trade and future of Norfolk than with the trade of Virginia's Eastern Shore, although he pointed out the importance of the lumber trade from that region and provided general statistics encompassing its exports.¹⁶

The interest of the British in the DelMarVa Peninsula was known in Maryland, and fear of invasion was widespread. By March of 1781, the British had blockaded the Chesapeake and communications between the State's Eastern and Western shores had been disrupted. In order to maintain control over the Eastern Shore, a special council was activated by proclamation.

¹⁶ See: References to Nicholas and William Slubey in *The Red Books*, especially XXIII, p. 131, Hall of Records, Annapolis. Slubey's estimates are in the Chalmers Papers, I (Maryland), 52. See also Nicholas Slubey and Co. to Richard Fydel and Co., Chestertown, Maryland, Nov. 19, 1788, Public Record Office, London (Chancery Masters' Exhibits), Papers of James Rogers, Letters, 1788C 107/7 part II. I am indebted to Alan Day, University of Edinburgh, for this reference from the Rogers Papers. Clarence Gould used Slubey's and Alexander's data in his analysis of the rise of Baltimore, "The Economic Causes of the Rise of Baltimore" in *Essays in Colonial History Presented to Charles McLean Andrews by his Students* (Freeport, New York, 1966), p. 246 N67. Information concerning Thomas Robinson is taken from Harold Hancock, "Thomas Robinson: Delaware's Most Prominent Loyalist," *Delaware History* (March, 1950), IV, pp. 1-36. For his letter to Alexander see *ibid.*, pp. 25-26. Neil Jamieson is discussed in Wallace Brown, *The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of the American Loyalist Claimants* (Providence, R.I., 1965), p. 180, and James H. Soltow, *The Economic Role of Williamsburg* (Charlottesville, Va., 1965), 76N/3. Many of Jamieson's manuscripts are in the Library of Congress and a sketch of his career is given in *Handbook of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1918), pp. 181-182.

March 29, 1781

Whereas by an Act entitled an Act to embody a number of select Militia and for immediately putting this State in a proper Posture of Defense M[atthew] T[ilghman], W[illiam] P[aca], R[ichard] T[ilghman], and W. B[ruff] are appointed a Special Council.

And whereas the Enemy with a powerful Land and Sea force have taken possession of Portsmouth in Virginia and are fortifying the said Town and erecting strong works around it with an evident Intention of establishing it as a permanent Port and whereas a considerable British Naval force has for some Time past entered the Bay of Chesapeake within the Limits of this State and taken such Stations as preclude all effectual Communication between the two Shores: from which Movements and Proceedings of the Enemy the strongest Presumption results that they mean to direct a Part of their Operations against this State . . .

Imprest with the necessity of taking without Delay the most vigorous measures for putting the good people of this Shore in a Capacity of defending themselves and repelling the Enemy should the Invasion take place which present appearances immediately threaten, we have this day taken on ourselves the Power of Government to be exercised on the Eastern Shore of this State and do therefore issue this our Proclamation notifying and declaring the same . . .¹⁷

In May intelligence was received by the Special Council of the Eastern Shore that British troops had embarked from New York with the object of taking the DelMarVa peninsula. The Council recognized the strategic importance of the area and ordered that public stores and surplus commodities in private hands be removed.

[May] 1780

Order for the Removal of Cattle

Whereas his Excellency the President of Congress by his Letter of the 9th of April did communicate to this Board that . . . an Embarkation of a body of Troops was in forwardness at New York the Object of which was the taking Possession of the Neck of Land lying between the Head of Chesapeake Bay & the River Delaware, and in consequence thereof had ordered that the Board of War take immediate Measures for the Removal of the public Stores within the said peninsula, and recommended to the Executives of the States of Delaware, Maryland and Virginia to take the like Measures with respect to all the provisions & forage belonging to the said States respectively, & to the Citizens thereof which would not be necessary for the Consumption of the Inhabitants, . . .

It is therefore Ordered that all Beef Cattle & provisions and Forage collected and stored within any County on the Eastern shore of this state be removed out of the peninsula lying between the Bays of Chesapeake and Delaware and that the Commissaries of Provisions of each County be and are hereby directed to take proper measures to effect such removal, having regard to the necessary uses and Consumption of families, making proper Reservations, in parts least exposed to the ravages of the Enemy, of such supplies as may be wanted for the use of the militia who may be called into actual Service and as-

¹⁷ "Proclamation re Special Council", March 29, 1781, Executive Papers, Box 31, Hall of Records, Annapolis.



Sir Henry Clinton. *Library of Congress.*

certaining by Certificate delivered to the Owners thereof the number, quantity and quality of the property so removed . . .¹⁸

The task of removing the stores from the peninsula was not a small one. In the winter of 1777–78, when it was feared supplies in Delaware, Cecil and Harford counties were in danger of falling into the enemy’s hands “unless speedily removed,” it was estimated 125 wagons working constantly for at least ten days would be needed to complete the evacuation. The calculation of the supplies and provisions

¹⁸ “Order for the Removal of Cattle”, May 1781, *ibid.*

TABLE I

“An Account of Stores and Provisions now laying in the States of Maryland & Delaware, which from their present situation appears to be in danger of failing into the Enemy's Hands unless speedily removed—” 1778

| Where laying | Bushels Wheat | Barrels Flour | Barrels Bread | Barrels Beef | Pork | | | Bundles Salt Fish | Barrels Tallow | Barrels Lard | Barrels Beans | Salt | | Hhds. Rum | Hhds. Molasses | Bushels Corn | Bushels Oats |
|---|------------------|------------------|--|-----------------|------|----|-------|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|---------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | | | | | Hhds | | Barr. | | | | | Bushels | Barrels | | | | |
| Appoquinimink Delaware State | 7000 | 760 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Durhams Mill on the road from Middle town to Red Lyon | | 100 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Charles Town North East Elk and the Mills in that Neighbourhood | 10,000 | 650 3000 | 358 | 52 | 10 | 28 | 523 | 250 | 1 | 6 | 1 75 | 2041 100 40 | 7 | 6 | 2500 | 1000 | |
| Harford | | 600 | a large quantity of wheat ordered there from the Eastern Shore to be manufactured. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 17,000 | 5110 | 358 | 52 | 10 | 28 | 523 | 250 | 1 | 6 | 76 | 2041 | 140 | 7 | 6 | 2500 | 1000 |

awaiting removal in 1778 clearly demonstrates the economic importance of the peninsula to the war effort and helps to explain the alarm expressed three years later when another invasion seemed imminent. In addition to the provisions listed in Table 1 the report also noted 12,000 lbs. of salt fish on hand and the fact that mills in the neighborhood of Elke [sic] (Cecil County) were constantly employed in manufacturing flour from wheat and Indian corn arriving daily from points on the Eastern Shore.¹⁹

Knowledge of the plan formulated by Alexander and Rankin and backed by Clinton had convinced the Special Council of the Eastern Shore that invasion was imminent, but when the plans were presented by Clinton to his Commander in the South, General Phillips, they met determined opposition. In a letter of June 30, 1781, General Cornwallis replied to the proposals. General Phillips had died before answering, and when Cornwallis assumed command, he felt obliged to express an opinion.

Being in the place of General Phillips, I thought myself called upon by you, to give my opinion with all deference, on Mr. Alexander's proposals, & the Attempt upon Philadelphia. Having experienced much disappointment on that head, I own, I would cautiously engage in measures, depending materially for their success upon active assistance from the Country; and I thought—the attempt upon Philadelphia, would do more harm than good to the cause of Britain . . .²⁰

Perhaps Cornwallis was referring to Alexander's earlier analysis of South Carolina, but whatever the reasons, his objections effectively blocked any plans for securing the peninsula.

By September Cornwallis was mired in Virginia and the Special Council of the Eastern Shore had turned its energies to the movement of troops to Washington's Army. As the Council expressed it to a county Lieutenant:

The present happy Concurrence of Circumstances afford the most rational Hopes that the whole of Cornwallis's Army may fall into our hands if we are not Wanting in ourselves in making every Exertion in our power to get down the Troops now going to Virga under the Command of our great Genl . . .²¹

The Council's hopes were not in vain. In October Cornwallis surrendered and the war was brought to an end.

II

Alexander and Clinton's plans for the peninsula were frustrated by Cornwallis's opposition and ultimate defeat, but the analysis of the produce of the region remains as a remarkable achievement, important to the economic history not only of the peninsula, but also of Baltimore and Philadelphia. Hampered by fragmentary

¹⁹ Portfolio #4, 60 (L), Executive Papers.

²⁰ Stevens, *The Campaign in Virginia*, II, p. 34.

²¹ Special Council to George Dashiell, Sept. 11, 1781, Box 31, Executive Papers.

data Alexander used many different approaches to construct a plausible picture of the peninsula's resources. In order to derive a reasonable estimate of productive capacity, he first tried to determine how much land was under cultivation. There were no figures available and he made his own estimates on the basis of the size of the land mass with due allowance for meadow and unimproved land. He then estimated the amount of grain grown in each year based upon an average yield per acre. While rough, such calculations were undoubtedly derived from his own extensive knowledge of the region and in particular, the example of his own plantation.

To check his figures, Alexander next attempted to estimate exports. Drawing on his conversations with merchants in Philadelphia, data supplied by James Chalmers, and his own knowledge of Maryland and Virginia trade, he calculated the amount of produce exported from the peninsula. To exports he added the amount of grain consumed at home which he extracted from an ingenious combination of population figures and consumption patterns. He concluded that, if anything, his first estimate of production was too low. When some people in New York challenged his calculations, Alexander sought the advice of three other Loyalists familiar with the trade of the peninsula. Their figures were even higher than his own and strengthened Alexander's belief that the peninsula was worth using as a refuge and supply base for the British army.

In so far as Alexander's estimates can be checked they are impressive. The projected population is compatible with that of the 1790 Census. The projected yields per acre and total acreage are in accord with contemporary estimates and the Maryland property assessments of 1782-83.²² More significantly, Alexander's data provides the only substantial statistical information now available for the period and the region. For example, his figures for exports from Maryland's Eastern Shore compensate for lost port records and make it possible to show the magnitude of the area's grain trade as well as the important bi-polarization of its domestic market between Baltimore and Philadelphia.

Coupled with the plausibility of the data and its uniqueness, Alexander's analysis also appears to be one of the few comprehensive views of regional production in colonial America. Others had made rough observations on the produce of Maryland, Virginia, or Delaware, but none was as carefully constructed as Alexander's and most were based upon highly impressionistic evidence.²³ Alexander was the first to combine reasonable estimates of arable land, population, per acre production, per capita consumption, and export figures in an estimate of productive capacity.

²² For these and other indications of Alexander's accuracy see the notes to the text below.

²³ See John Mitchell, *The Present State of Great Britain and North America with Regard to Agriculture, Population, Trade, and Manufactures, impartially Considered* (London, 1767); Harry J. Carman, ed., *American Husbandry* (New York, 1939 (1775)), also probably written by John Mitchell and Robert Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America Containing a Description of the Several British Colonies on that Continent, including the Islands of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, etc.* (London, 1765).

The Plan of the Peninsular Survey was proposed by Mr. De la Roche in the Year 1757, viz. 1758
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Map of Delmarva Peninsula. From the Clinton Papers. By permission of the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Yet Alexander's work is not exhaustive. In his "Estimate" he concentrated on grain production to the exclusion of another important industry, the raising of black cattle. As early as 1684 Philemon Lloyd of Cecil County contracted with William Penn to supply cattle to Philadelphia and by 1782 there were 104,160 head of Black Cattle on Maryland's Eastern Shore alone.²⁴ A great portion of these were destined for consumption in Philadelphia and Baltimore or for the provisioning of ships and were an asset in feeding an army. In reporting on supplies available in Somerset County in 1781, the county Lieutenant, George Dashiell, wrote "... a considerable quantity of black cattle may be procured, belonging principally to the disaffected and are much exposed to the depredations of the enemy [the British], under these circumstances, yr. Excellency will judge of the Expediency of securing them for the use of the state." Sir Henry Clinton also recognized the importance of black cattle when, in his journal for April, 1781, he again wrote favorably of the peninsula.

Its climate is benign and most of the habitable situations remarkably healthy, while its numerous Plantations yielded annually, as reported to me, above 1,300,000 bushels of grain besides 12,000 hogsheads of tobacco and abounded so amply in black cattle, sheep and hogs as well as forage, that they could have conveniently fed a very considerable army even without the aid of foreign resources.²⁵

The discussion of black cattle was Alexander's only major omission and it was understandable. The black cattle industry was a matter of internal trade and until the property assessment of 1782-3, there were no reliable figures on the numbers raised. Grain could be estimated on the basis of per capita consumption and acreage yield, but there was no way for Alexander to estimate the number of black cattle on the peninsula. He could only refer to it in passing.

Alexander's work, even with its omissions, has more than local significance. It provides information not otherwise available about a region which was important to Philadelphia and contributed directly to the growth of Baltimore, and it also makes clear at least one effective aspect of the loyalist intelligence network centered in New York.

Alexander and his colleagues did their work carefully and their arguments were substantive. Their goals were realized partially. A persuasive lobby was organized and reliable information was presented to the Commander-in-Chief that convinced

²⁴ Cecil County Judgments, 1683-1692, pp. 122-123, 139, Hall of Records, Annapolis. I am indebted to Russell Menard of the University of Iowa for this reference. Figures for the number of black cattle in 1782 are taken from "Summary Accounts of the Valuation of the Assessments... 1782", Vertical File, Md. Hist. Soc.

²⁵ Black cattle was a generic term applied to cattle of any color raised for beef. "An English writer in 1765 noted that among the chief exports of New Jersey were 'black cattle', which they drove in great number to Philadelphia, on whose rich pastures they are generally grazed for some time before they are killed for market." Carl Raymond Woodward, *Ploughs and Politicks: Charles Read of New Jersey & his Notes on Agriculture 1715-1774* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1941), p. 231. George Dashiell to Governor Lee, July 25, 1781, Box 28; Executive Papers, Clinton, *The American Rebellion*, p. 275.



General Lord Cornwallis. *Library of Congress.*

him an attack on the DelMarVa peninsula was warranted. The map facing p. 187 in all probability was the one referred to in Alexander's report and contains the notation in Clinton's hand which in part reads: "the district which S[ir] H[enry] C[linton] had proposed for operation... very healthy, safe against naval superiority, perfectly friendly, and from whence the Enemy's supplies in great measure came. In short in every particular differing from a plan L[ord] Cornwallis formed and recommended... and by the adoption of which [Cornwallis's plan] we were undone." It was left to Washington's army to reap the benefits of the district's wealth, a fact he acknowledged in a letter to the Governor and Council of Maryland written on October 10, 1781: "Give me leave to return you my sincerest thanks for your exertions on the present occasion. The supplies are so liberal that they remove every apprehension of want."²⁶

III

The original document is in the Chalmers Papers of the New York Public Library, Volume II (Papers Relating to Maryland) and is divided into two parts with an "addenda" to the second. The first is a polished argument for the capture of the DelMarVa peninsula including Alexander's observations about the produce of the

²⁶ Extract of several letters from Gen. Washington and Gen. Gates to the Governor and Council of Maryland, October 12, 1781, Adjuvant General's Papers, Box 1, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

region. A copy of the first part is to be found among the Germain Papers at the Clements Library and probably was sent by Clinton to Germain in August 1780.

The second part is a detailed account of how Alexander made his calculations with the "addenda" comparing the estimates of Slubey, Robinson and Jamieson with his own.

In editing the manuscript, the procedure outlined in the introduction to *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* and in William B. Willcox's edition of *The American Rebellion* have been a guide.²⁷ Spelling has not been altered, but the use of capital letters follows modern standards. Abbreviations for measures have been expanded as Alexander used no standard form. Alexander's prose style is complex, and punctuation has been added for clarity at necessary intervals. Such additions have been kept to a minimum, however, especially where the meaning of a passage is doubtful. The document is reprinted by permission of the New York Public Library and the map with permission of the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor. The Clements Library also provided a great deal of assistance in tracking down Alexander material in its collections.²⁸

Remarks on the Peninsula or Eastern Shore of Maryland by Robert Alexander

I

The country commonly known by the name of the peninsula or Eastern Shore of Maryland lies between the bays of Chesapeak and Delaware on the west and east and the Atlantic Ocean on the south. On the north it joins the province of Pensilvania where the two bays approach so near that from the tide waters of the rivers, making out from the head of Chesapeak, the portage from thence to the Delaware is, at different places, from 8 to 12 miles.²⁹

This country lying in temperate latitudes from 37 to 40 north and the soil being in general fertile and of different kinds; its products are various consisting of tobacco, wheat, Indian corn, rye, oats, buckwheat, peas, and beans; containing also a large quantity of improved meadow; black cattle and sheep are in great abundance and pork is raised in large quantities for sale.

The exports from that country usually were as follows: of tobacco, from 8 to 10,000 hogsheads; wheat in grain and flour, 5 to 600,000 bushels; Indian corn, from 2 to 250,000 bushels; oats, 150,000 bushels; of lumber, very large quantities of all kinds, the country abounding with white and other kinds of oak, cypress, cedar and pine trees.

The possessing of this country, it is apprehended, will be productive of many great and singular advantages to the parent state and that for the following reasons.

²⁷ Leonard W. Labaree, ed., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, (New Haven, 1959), 1, xl-xliv and Clinton, *The American Rebellion*, pp. x-xi.

²⁸ The map is in the Clinton Papers Map, #259. Another copy, although altered somewhat, in detail, is in Stevens, *Facsimiles*, #1237.

²⁹ In 1781 the peninsula contained eight counties in Maryland, two in Virginia, and all of Delaware. The counties of Maryland were Cecil, Kent, Queen Anne, Talbot, Caroline, Dorset, Somerset, and Worcester. The counties of Virginia were Accomack and Northampton. Delaware had three counties, New Castle, Kent, and Sussex.

Supplies of provisions of many kinds, as well for the army and navy as the loyal inhabitants in New York and other garrisons, can be obtained at moderate prices, compared with the expences of importation from Ireland.³⁰

The British islands in the West Indies can be furnished from thence with flour, Indian corn, beans, pork, and lumber; articles at present in great demand and the want of which have compelled the planters in some of the islands to turn part of their sugar lands to the raising [of] bread corn for the support of their servants.

Timber of many kinds for shipping, such as white oak timber and plank, locust masts, yards, and spars, with pine boards, can be obtained in large quantities.

In this country the distressed loyalists from every part of America, may find an assylum in which they may enjoy life at a moderate expence.

Superadded to these reasons is the effect which the possession of this country will have on the measures of the leaders in rebellion with those of their allies.

A leave inspection of the map will show that by securing this country the existence of Philadelphia (in a comercial and political view) is at an end; the Delaware being so confined at New Castle that all navigation above that place will be impracticable.

The Chesapeak, the navigation of which is now well known, will be secured by the many rivers and harbours on the eastern shore of that bay into which the British cruisers may at all seasons of the year enter.

The tobacco trade, one of the great objects with France, will be in part secured to Great Britain and the remainder rendered very precarious to the French.

Privateering, by which the trade to New York, [even] under the greatest exertions of the British Navy, has suffered much, will be considerably checqued. As all vessels bound from England or Europe endeavour to make the coast near the capes of Virginia, they are now liable to be intercepted by small Privateers from the Chesapeak, Sinepuxent, and Chingoteague Inlets, Delaware, and Egg Harbour. All these harbours, save the last, will be secured.

The inland navigation of the Chesapeak and Delaware Bays have been, and still are, of the greatest service to the rebels in transporting provisions and stores, and it is a fact that Washingtons army, when Sir Wm. Howe lay in Philadelphia, drew their supplies from the country in question. His [Washington's] foreign supplies of rum, salt, arms, &c., were imported into Sinepuxent and Chingoteague Inlets and from thence by a portage of 12 miles sent to Snow Hill on [the] Pocomoke River from whence they were water born to the Head of the Elk within 60 miles of his camp. . . . While they enjoy the free navigation of these bays they can transport troops or stores to and from Trenton on the Delaware to Suffolk in Virginia, a distance not less than 350 miles with a portage of only 10 miles.

By holding of this country the whole province of Pensilvania and great part of Jersey are cut off from any intercourse with the sea; the western shore of Maryland and Virginia would have a small and very precarious trade.

The rebel army, if they continued in the middle colonies, must be cut off from their foreign supplies of salt &c., or obtain them at a very exorbitant additional expence of land carriage, as they only could be imported into the New England provinces or the Coast of North Carolina (especially if Egg Harbour was blocked up also).

And last, tho not least among the many reasons for possessing this country, is the withdrawing of one entire colony and great parts of two others and thereby dissolving the boasted American Union; a measure more dreaded by the Congress than a defeat to Washingtons

³⁰ For problems relating to the supplying of troops from the British Isles see Piers Mackesy, *The War for America 1775-1783* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), pp. 65-66, 222-224.

army; a measure that would annihilate their currency, drive the Congress and their adherents from Philadelphia, and in all probability finish its existence as a body and all authority under it, south of the Delaware.

With respect to the practicability of taking this country, (great difference [deference?] being due to military experience) remarks on the method of effecting it may be thought impertinent. I shall therefore only surmise what may be proper after the post is taken.

In this country there are more loyal inhabitants than in any part of America of the same extent, proofs of which have been given and are too notorious to render a repetition necessary.³¹

The greatest part of the inhabitants are members of the Church of England. If, on taking possession of the country, the violent were dissarmed, the men of property (the greatest part of whom are loyal, or if apparently otherwise, are only so from necessity) were called on and arms put into the hands of the loyal, a civil government might be established (by restoring the constitution under which they formerly lived) productive of the most happy effects.

Articles wanting for the navy or army might be obtained at stated prices by requisitions pointing out the places, either on the Delaware or Chesapeake, at which to be delivered; leaving the collection to persons appointed from among the inhabitants. By this mode ample supplies may be obtained and all complaints against commissaries, contractors, and agents (perhaps only founded on prejudice) obviated.

Under the idea of civil government I would beg leave to explain, as I am aware of an objection.

The Delaware counties forming a complete province, their government may be established in the full extent.

The remaining 10 counties being only component parts of Maryland and Virginia, full government in extant cannot be restored (by this is to be understood the power of legislation), but I conceive government sufficient for all purposes may take place without legislation for a time.

The old laws of the provinces still remain in full force (tho' the existence of them may be suspended by the rebel authority). These laws being sufficient, I apprehend that the magistrates under the old government may be called on to act (their commissions not being vacated but only suspended) and that government may be restored adequate to all purposes for 3 or 4 years in which period, it may be hoped, a restoration of government under the authority of Great Britain will take place in all North America.

II

An Estimate of the Produce of the Peninsula between Chesapeake & Delaware Bays

The lengths of the isthmus from Wilmington to Accomack Court House is 160 miles, the breadth from New Castle to Chesapeake is 25 miles. From Dover to that bay at the mouth of Chester River is 60 miles and below that part the isthmus widens until you get down to the mouth of Annemessex River.

³¹ It is difficult to estimate Loyalist strength in the peninsula, but there is no doubt that there were strong Loyalist sympathies on Maryland's Eastern Shore. See J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (Hatboro, Pa., 1967), II, pp. 297-304. See also George Dashiell to Governor Lee, May 18, 1781, Box 27, Executive Papers. Dashiell refers to "Disaffection which prevails among the inhabitants" of Somerset County.

The coast of the ocean from the Capes of Delaware, tending to the westward of south, . . . contracts to apoint at the mouth of Chesapeak known by the name of Cape Charles.

To ascertain its contents, I have measured its length from an east and west line at New Castle to a paralel line at Accomack 130 miles . . . Taking a mean breadth between 25 miles at New Castle and 60 at Chester Town, I calculate it at 30 miles so that an oblong square on the map of that country of 130 miles by 30 will be found to contain less of water than is thrown out of land by points and irregularities in the course of the bays and coast of the Ocean.

| | |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| miles in length | 130 |
| in breadth | <u>30</u> |
| | 3,900 square miles |

of 640 acres to each mile:

| | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| | 3,900 |
| | <u>640</u> |
| | 156000 |
| | <u>23400</u> |
| quantity of acres | 2,496,000 in gross |

of improved land supposed one half of meadow ground, 1/25 or
4 acres in each 100

| |
|-------------------------------|
| 1,248,000 (acres) |
| <u>49,920 (**)</u> |
| 1,198,080 acres ³² |

I calculate . . . one fourth of the quantity of improved land to be tenced in grain of different kinds in each year and the average produce to be only 8 bushels per acre.³³ One fourth of 1,198,080 is

| |
|---------------------|
| 299,520 (acres) |
| <u>8 (bushels)</u> |
| 2,396,160 (bushels) |
| gross |
| produce in |
| grains of |
| all kinds |

³² According to the 1782 assessment there were 1,770,907 acres of land in Maryland's portion of the peninsula, "Summary Accounts . . ." If anything, Alexander's estimate is low. On the basis of a careful study of the 1783 tax lists for Talbot County, Maryland, Greg Stiverson of Colonial Williamsburg has concluded that slightly more than half the land in the county was arable. Arable land in Talbot: 73,970 acres; unimproved land: 65,514 acres.

³³ This estimate undoubtedly is based upon Alexander's own experience, but it may be too low. In 1755 Dr. William Douglass wrote that "good land in Maryland and Virginia may yield per acre 15 bushels wheat, or 30 bushels Indian corn, which casts whiter than that of New-England, . . . the Maryland and Virginia Wheate weighs some 56 lb. to 60 lb. wt. per bushel and casts white; that from Pennsylvania does not weigh so much; . . ." *A Summary, Historical and Political* . . . (Boston, 1755), p. 375. James T. Lemon estimates wheat and rye production in Pennsylvania at this period to be approximately 10 bushels to an acre. See "Household Consumption in Eighteenth-Century America and its Relationship to

Wheat and Indian corn are the principal species of grain raised in that country. Next to these are rye and oats; barley, buckwheat, peas and beans are also cultivated in small quantities. I estimate the proportions of the different grains as follows:

| | | |
|-------------|---------|-------------------|
| wheat | 5/12ths | 998,400 (bushels) |
| Indian corn | 4/12 | 798,720 (“) |
| rye | 1/12 | 199,680 (“) |
| oats | 2/12 | 399,360 (“) |
| | | <u>2,396,160</u> |

The articles of barley, buckwheat, peas and beans, I do not bring into the calculation as they are chiefly consumed in the families that raise them. Barley can be had, as I have known quantities of that grain brought to the breweries in Baltimore, and peas and beans were frequently exported to the West Indies and western islands.

That my calculation does not exceed the quantity of grain produced, but is indeed less, will appear by the following facts: This country being bounded by two large bays, the produce, save the article of tobacco, was exported from Philadelphia on the Delaware, and Baltimore Town, Chester Town, and Norfolk on the Chesapeake.

At Philadelphia I was well informed by the merchants of that city that one fifth part of their exports in flour and wheat, and one half of their Indian corn and lumber, came from the istmuss and that they annually received from thence about 50,000 bushels of oats for the consumption of the city.

From Baltimore about one sixth of the exports came from the Eastern Shore, . . . [as well as] oats for consumption (about 50,000 bushels).

From Norfolk in Virginia they export corn and lumber brought from the counties of Accomack and North Hampton (of corn about 100,000 bushels and . . . oats about 50,000 bushels).

In the year 1774 the exports were nearly as follows: From Philadelphia, gross exports³⁴

| | | |
|---------------|---------------|---------------------|
| barrels flour | bushels wheat | bushels Indian corn |
| 300,000 | 200,000 | 200,000 |

From Baltimore, gross exports

| | |
|---------------|---------------|
| barrels flour | bushels wheat |
| 120,000 | 250,000 |

From Chester Town

| | | |
|---------------|---------------|---------------------|
| barrels flour | bushels wheat | bushels Indian corn |
| 20,000 | 100,000 | 50,000 |

Production and Trade: The Situation Among Farmers in Southeastern Pennsylvania." *Agricultural History*, XL1 (Jan., 1967), p. 69. Wheat had lower yields than any of the other grains mentioned here. Based upon contemporary sources, Stevenson W. Fletcher estimates yields in Revolutionary Pennsylvania as follows: wheat at 8 bushels per acre, corn at 30 bushels for a "fine crop," and oats at 20-25 bushels per acre. *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life 1640-1840* (Harrisburg, 1950), pp. 124, 150, 152.

³⁴On the basis of official records, Joseph Galloway estimated the exports of Philadelphia in 1773 as follows: 265,967 barrels of flour, 182,391 bushels of wheat, and 179,217 bushels of Indian corn. Stevens, *Facsimiles*, IV, #2087.

From hence it will appear that the exports in 1774 were as follows:

| | | oats | Indian corn | wheat |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|---------|----------------|-------------------|
| Philadelphia | 1/5 of wheat | | | 40,000 (bushels) |
| | 1/5 of flour, 60,000 barrels equal to | | | 300,000 (bushels) |
| | 1/2 of corn | | 100,000 | |
| | oats consumed | 50,000 | | |
| Baltimore | 1/6 of wheat | | | 40,000 (") |
| | 1/6 of flour, 20,000 barrels equal to | | | 100,000 (") |
| | oats consumed | 50,000 | | |
| Chester Town | Wheat | | | 100,000 (") |
| | flour, 20,000 barrels equal to | | | 100,000 (") |
| | Indian corn | | 50,000 | |
| From Norfolk | (oats) | 50,000 | | (") |
| | (Indian corn) | | 100,000 | (") |
| (Totals) | | 150,000 | 250,000 | 680,000 (") |

In the 13 counties I compute 39,000 taxables, taking the county of Cecil, which is small in extent, as the average. In 1774 that county contained 3,000 taxes (taxables).³⁵ As taxables only include males above 16 years of age, and negroe women above that age, I take the proportion of souls to be as 3 to 1. On the principle the gross number of inhabitants will be 117,000 in the whole.³⁶

In Europe they estimate the quantity of grains consumed by every inhabitant in animal and vegetable diet at 12 bushels per head.³⁷ Following that estimate, 117,000 at 12 bushels per head is

| | | |
|----------------------|-----|--|
| 1,404,000 (bushels). | | |
| <u>1,080,000</u> | (") | quantity calculated to be exported annually |
| 2,484,000 | (") | (total production of the peninsula in grain) |

Over and above the produce of grain, the counties lying in Maryland raise tobacco, and annually shipped to Great Britain about 10,000 hogsheads.

³⁵ In 1766 there were 2970 taxables in Cecil County. Portfolio #3, 12d, Executive Papers. Alexander's taxable figure could be based on the actual court records now lost. When Sir William Howe invaded Cecil County in 1777 he confiscated some of the court records. Perhaps he did so at the instigation of Alexander. On the loss of the records see Morris L. Radoff, Gust Skordas, and Phebe R. Jacobsen, *The County Courthouses and Records of Maryland Part Two: The Records* (Annapolis, 1963), pp. 91-92.

³⁶ Three to one is the standard population-to-taxable ratio for a slaveholding region. See Arthur E. Karinen, "Numerical and Distributional Aspects of Maryland Population" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1958), p. 10. In 1790 the peninsula had a population of 187,553.

³⁷ James T. Lemon estimates that 10 to 15 bushels of grain were necessary per person per year. Lemon, "Household Consumption . . .," p. 68. Edward M. Cook, University of Chicago, estimates that 12 bushels of grain per year were necessary for one person in Dedham, Massachusetts. Alexander's estimate of the total production of grain would have been higher if he had considered the amount of grain saved each harvest for sowing.

(Addenda)

Since I made the above calculations, having shown them to some gent. in New York who expressed their doubts on the estimate, I was induced to apply to Mr. Nicholas Slubey (a merchant of Kent County in Maryland and being employed in the export trade of that county), to Mr. Robinson from Lewis Town on Delaware, and (to) Mr. Neil Jamieson of Norfolk in Virginia. From each of these gent. I have obtained estimates, from the result of which, it will appear, my calculation is under the true quantity considerably, as the following state(ment) will evince. Mr. Slubey's acct only takes in the 8 counties of Maryland, and Mr. Robinson's the county of Sussex, part of Worcester in Maryland and Kent in Delaware. As this gent's acct may include part of the quantity mentioned by Mr. Slubey, I have deducted from the amount all such quantities as are specified in Mr. Slubey's acct... said to be sent to the creeks on Delaware Bay named in Mr. Robinson's estimate.

| | wheat | flour | corn |
|---|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Mr. Slubey's estimate | 613,000 (bushels) | 29,000 (barrels) | 243,000 (bushels) |
| Mr. Robinson's | 200,000 (") | | 240,000 (") |
| New Castle County & of Kent in Delaware | 170,000 (") | | |
| Northampton & Accomack by Mr. Jamieson | | | 100,000 (") |
| 29,000 barrels of flour at 5 bushels of wheat per barrel is | 145,000 (") | | |
| (totals) | 1,128,000 (") | | 583,000 (") |
| my calculations only amount to | 680,000 (") | — | 250,000 (") |
| Excess by the calculations of Mssrs' Slubey, Robinson, and Jamieson | 448,000 (") | | 333,000 (") |

Notes on Maryland Historical Society Manuscript Collections

NANCY G. BOLES, Curator of Manuscripts

A Checklist of Loyalist Manuscripts in the Maryland Historical Society

WHILE THE MANUSCRIPT holdings on loyalists in the Society are not extensive, the collections which follow all pertain—some completely, others in part—to this bicentennial topic. The holdings described below have substantial material relating directly or indirectly to loyalist activity in the state before, during, and after the Revolution. Other references to individual loyalist items in scattered collections are not cited here but may be found in the manuscripts card catalog.

Addison Papers (MS. 3). The letters of the Reverend Henry Addison (1717–1789) in this collection of Addison family letters and land papers provide some of the richest material on the problems loyalists faced in the state after the Revolution. Addison wrote to political figures urging their support and described conditions faced by loyalists. He even listed those politicians who were sympathetic and those who were not. 200 items, 1663–1906.

Cooke Papers (MS. 195). William Cooke (1746–1817) was a prominent attorney and tobacco commission merchant in Baltimore and a close family friend of such influential Marylanders as the Carrolls and the Dulanys. An avowed loyalist during the Revolution, he acted as agent for other loyalist families like the Taskers and the Dulanys after the war to help them regain their property. Some of the material in this collection concerns the problems involved in settling their estates. 3 boxes, 1750–1819.

Dorchester County Loyalist Notes (MS. 308). This volume of Andrew Burnaby's *Travels Through North America* (about 1775) was apparently annotated about 1777 with interesting comments and notes by an unknown Dorchester County loyalist residing on the Choptank River. However, little of the marginalia relates to politics. 1 volume, c. 1775–1777.

Dulany Family Papers (MS. 1919). This primarily nineteenth century collection does contain some miscellaneous letters among friends and family referring briefly

to their social experience as loyalists during the Revolution and the desire of those in England to return to America after the war. 3 boxes, 1737-1897, 1920.

Dulany Papers (MS. 1265). This collection contains essentially family and business papers of various members of the Dulany family. Several of the business and personal letters of Daniel Dulany the Younger do reveal some of the difficulties encountered by a person refusing to support the patriot cause. The letters have little or no political content, however. 320 items, 1659-1799.

Fisher Transcripts (MS. 360). In the early twentieth century Richard D. Fisher gave the Society his personal copies of many of the papers in the Treasury and Public Record Office, London, that related to Maryland. There are three groups which pertain to loyalists: the Maryland Loyalist Papers, 1771-1790, are transcriptions of claims made by Maryland loyalists to the British after the war; the Sir Robert Eden Correspondence, 1769-1777, and the Anthony Stewart Papers both contain information on the situation and problems of loyalists as the Revolution began. 12 volumes, c. 1755-1851.

Frederick County Treason Papers (MS. 576). This collection relates in large measure to a loyalist insurrection plot in Frederick County which was discovered before it could be implemented. Caspar Fritchie and the other leaders were tried and sentenced, and these papers include warrants for execution and petitions for clemency, depositions of some of the witnesses, and the reaction of some Maryland officials like Luther Martin. 1 box, 1777-1781.

Hamilton Papers (MS. 1301). A Scottish tobacco merchant, Alexander Hamilton conducted business in Maryland before the Revolution. After the war he returned to collect debts owed him. Some of his correspondence reveals the problems involved. 40 items, 1760-1800.

Harford County Historical Society Papers (MS. 2000). This extensive collection belonging to the Harford County Historical Society, on deposit here but regrettably destined to be returned, contains two lists, 1776 and 1780, of non-associators or non-jurors. These documents name the persons living in Harford County who refused to swear allegiance and loyalty to the state government during the war. c. 36,000 items, c. 1660-1936.

Lloyd Papers (MS. 2001). This large, well cataloged, and recently micro-filmed collection depicts the activities of six generations of an important and prosperous Eastern Shore Maryland family. Included in the section of Legal Cases are papers concerning the China Clow loyalist rebellion and the alleged role of James Tilghman in that Tory insurrection. There are eight relevant folders in Box 2 of the Legal Papers. 30,000 items, 1650-1910.

Maryland Loyalist Muster Rolls (MS. 548). These are photocopies of muster rolls of Maryland loyalists (the originals of which are located in the Archives of Canada) giving the names of Marylanders who enlisted in the British Army in Canada. 400 items, 1777–1783.

Revolutionary War Collection (MS. 1814). This large body of manuscripts, all pertaining to the Revolution, was once part of the Vertical File but was removed, made a separate collection grouped around the theme of the Revolutionary War, and arranged chronologically. The collection has been completely indexed and the scattered loyalist references are easy to locate in the card catalog. A sampling of the material in this rich collection includes: six 1782 muster rolls of various Maryland loyalist companies (Captain Daniel Dulany Addison's, Captain James Frisby's, Captain Philip B. Key's, Captain Patrick Kennedy's, Captain Caleb Jones's, and Captain Levin Townsend's); a rough draft of Paul Leicester Ford's introduction to an orderly book of a Maryland loyalist regiment; Levin Townsend's papers, which are transcriptions of documents in the Public Record Office, London, relating to the claims of a Maryland loyalist after the Revolution; extracts of an orderly book of a loyalist regiment about 1775 kept by C. Jones; Journal of Commissioners to Preserve Confiscated British Property, which is a seventy page journal from February 23, 1781 to November 26, 1785, of the commission appointed to manage and sell confiscated property (includes applications for escheat warrants, notices of sales ordered, persons appointed to value property, and bonds ordered and received); and a series of letters dated throughout 1781 to and from George Dashiell and others (in a folder labeled George Dashiell to Matthew Tilghman) describing the Revolution on Maryland's Eastern Shore. Other items in this collection can be found under "Loyalist" in the card catalog. 21 boxes, pre-1776—20th century & n.d.

Thomas Ridout Reminiscences (MS. 367). Thomas Ridout (1754–1829), Surveyor-General of Upper Canada and a member of Her Majesty's Legislative Council, was half-brother of John Ridout, secretary to Governor Sharpe. This explains his visits to Maryland, and his reminiscences contain in part his descriptions of business experiences in the state during the war. 1 volume, 1769–1788.

Scharf Papers (MS. 1999). Included in this mammoth collection is material on confiscated British property and loyalist political activity during the Revolution. Because this collection is so vast and is in the midst of a long range reorganization, sometimes items cannot be located easily. By a decision of the Hall of Records Commission in December 1972, it was agreed to xerox this collection so the Hall of Records may include copies in its holdings. c. 50,000 items, 16th–19th centuries.

GENEALOGICA MARYLANDIA

THE FIRST BATTALLION OF MARYLAND LOYALISTS

Mary K. Meyer and Virginia B. Bachmann

As in several later wars fought by the United States, the citizenry at the time of the American Revolution were sorely divided in opinion and loyalty. Historians have cited numbers and percentages as to just how these opinions and loyalties lay, but such attempts at quantification are only approximately correct. The genealogist is not concerned with percentages or numbers but rather with the individuals: their names, where a particular person's opinion and loyalty lay, how it affected his life and the lives of his descendants.

Little attention has been paid to the Loyalists of Maryland even though a batallion of Loyalist troops was recruited from the province and wherever else a volunteer could be procured. The initial recruitment took place in and near Philadelphia, and the first Muster Rolls are dated there. Later Muster Rolls are dated at various places in New Jersey, New York (Long Island), and Florida. Although many students of the Revolutionary period contend that this batallion was made up for the most part of newly arrived immigrants, the student of genealogy will recognize the names of a number of old Maryland families. A number of the Muster Rolls of this Batallion are extant and are located in the Public Archives of Canada, photostatic copies of which were purchased by the Maryland Historical Society in 1948.

The following lists taken from these photostats show only the names of the men who served with the Loyalist Batallion, the Company in which each served, and the highest rank attained. The original orthography has been retained as nearly as possible. In some cases several different spellings were found for the same name and in such cases the most correct has been used. The lists do not give all the information shown—date of enlistment, desertion, resignation, death, wounds or capture. The Muster Rolls are, however, available to the student of history or genealogy for research in the Manuscript Division of the Maryland Historical Society (MS. 548).

CAPTAIN GRAFTON DULANY'S COMPANY

LIEUTENANT COLONEL

JAMES CHALMERS

COMMANDANT

LIEUTENANT COLONEL

Chalmers, James

MAJOR

McDonald, John

CAPTAIN

Dulany, Grafton

LIEUTENANT

Boswell, _____?

ENSIGNS

Bowles, William

Henly, James

Sterling, William

ADJUTANT

Miller, Joseph

CHAPLAIN

Peterson, _____?

QUARTER MASTER

Garnett, Joseph

SURGEON

Sinclair, William

Ho . . . ne, William

SURGEON'S MATE

Houston, William

SERGEANTS

Brown, William

Conden, Philip

Deighton, John

King, Samuel

Miller, James

Selby, John

Welch, Thomas

White, Robt. Thos.

CORPORALS

Boatman, Steph.

Dicky, John

King, Samuel

McComb, James

Moore, William

Shelly, Abraham

DRUMMER

Calahan, Dennis

PRIVATES

Anderson, John

Baker, Thomas

Berry, William

Bouquet, John

Brandt, Christian

Brown, John Sr.

Brown, John Jr.

Brown, Matthew

Brown, William

Calahan, Thomas

Carrol, James

Carrol, John

Carrol, Patrick

Carrol, Thomas

Casebolt, Robt.

Chessey, Henry

Crelly, August

Crezott, Benjamin

Davenport, Joseph

Dennis, John

Dickinson, John

Donaville, James

Donavon, James

Dart, Michael

Fallon, Joseph

Farrel, Cornelius

Fisher, John

Fitzpatrick, William

Fukes, Daniel

Gratton, Thomas

Griffiths, John

Haberly, Frederick

Hardy, Robert

Harter, Charles

Heritage, Thomas

Hughs, Torence

Kessolt, Robt.

King, James

Kirkwood, James

Kirkwood, Thomas

Lenute, Peter

Levindle, Alexander

McClachan, John

McCloud, Fergus

McEvoy, Daniel

McIlwain, Wm.

McLane, Patrick

McLoclin, John

Malone, John

Marshal, Wm.

Merril, Joshua

Messit, Lawrence

Miles, Ambrose

Miller, James Thos.

Morgan, Charles

Morgan, John

Morrison, Adam

Morrison, Allan

Neily, David

Nelson, Annonius (?)

O'Neil, Michael

Oxford, Godfrey

Page, Thomas
 Pain (?), Zachariah
 Powell, John
 Reade, John
 Rhodes, John
 Rogers, Jacob
 Ross, John
 Ryan, James
 Schnieder, John
 Shay, Danl.
 Snither, John
 Sterling, Southy

Stone, John
 Story, Robert
 Talent, Joseph
 Turner, Barius
 Twells, John
 Warren, William
 Wells, William
 White, John
 White, Joseph
 Wilkinson, George
 Young, Thomas

CAPTAIN PHILIP B. KEY'S COMPANY

MUSTER MASTER GENERAL

Winslow, Ed.

CAPTAIN

Key, Philip B.

LIEUTENANT

Townsend, Levin

ENSIGNS

Bowles, William

Henley, Jas.

Jones, William

Stewart, John

SERGEANT MAJOR

Fettyplace, George

SERGEANTS

Cohee, James

McGinnis, Thomas

Merrill, John

Quinn, James

Welsh, Thomas

CORPORALS

Brown, Matthew

Campbell, William

Conden, Philip

Cohee, Lemuel

Dicky, John

Fleming, John

Moore, William

Savage, William

Woodward, Samuel

DRUMMERS

Calahan, Dennis

Rogers, Samuel

PRIVATES

Agan, William
 Allen, John
 Allender, Jno.
 Applebie, William
 Baner, John
 Baner, William
 Baynard, John
 Baynard, William
 Bennet, Matthew
 Carlisle, Samuel
 Clark, David
 Cochran, Peter
 Coughrin, Peter
 Cohee, Vincent

Cohee, Peter
 Curry, John
 Curry, Robert
 Dilworth, James
 Draper, John
 Dryer, John
 Farrill, John
 Harvey, Patrick
 Henderson, John
 Ink, Jno.
 Irwin, Thomas
 Jasper, John
 Jones, Isaac
 Kelly, Jas.

Kiley, John
 Locke, Moses
 Lock, Norris
 McBride, Hugh
 McCarty, Sylvester
 McLain, Patrick
 Morris, Peter
 Munro, Finley
 Nixon, Will
 Owens, John
 Perry, George
 Ragen (?), Samuel
 Rokwell, Jacob
 Ryan, James

Ryley, Jno.
 Shaddock, John
 Sewell, John (volunteer)
 Twells (?), Jno.
 Smith, Christian
 Start, John
 Stephens, John
 Thorndon, Andrew
 Wade, Thomas
 Waggoner, Mathias
 Wells, William
 White, Jno.
 White, Joseph
 Young, Thomas

CAPTAIN JOHN STERLING'S COMPANY

CAPTAIN

Sterling, John

ENSIGNS

Chalmers, John
 Vaughan, Levin

SERGEANTS

Ingles, Thomas
 Owans, William

CORPORALS

Cottingham, Ephraim
 Skinner, Robert

PRIVATES

... , James*
 B... , Benjamin*
 Beauchamp, Stephan
 Cayton, John
 Chesey, Henry
 Couple, Richard
 Harriss, Isaac

Johnson, _____?*

King, Robert
 MacDonald, Hue
 Mitchell, John
 Ring... , Robert*
 Savage, William
 Williams, John

CAPTAIN CALEB JONES' COMPANY

CAPTAIN

Jones, Caleb

LIEUTENANTS

Miller, James
 Parker, Thomas Hall
 Sterling, John

ENSIGNS

Cannon, Winder
 McDonald, Archibald

SERGEANTS

Bailey, Zachariah
 Harris, Joshua
 Henley, James
 Noble, John
 Rogers, Jacob
 Selby, John
 White, John

CORPORAL

Harris, Robert

DRUMMER

Clements, John

* Illegible.

PRIVATES

Abdell, Littleton
Avery, James
Baker, Thomas
Beal, Samuel
Bozman, Curtis
Brown, Andrew
Brown, Peter
Burk, William
Byrnes, William
Cameron, William
Campbell, Archibald
Carty, Michael
Charnock, Abel
Charnock, John
Chessey, Henry
Clark, Henry
Collins, Zadock
Conklin, John
Costin, Levin
Cotton, John
Curry, Robert
Dickinson, Joshua
Dicks, Richard
Driggers, Benjamin
Dykes, James
Ferrill, John
Gray, Benjamin
Gray, John
Hallworth, Henry
Harrison, William
Hayden, John
Henderson, John
Henley, Jas.
Hilford, Pritchard
Irvin, Thomas
Johnston, Richard
Kennihorn, Thomas
Laws, Robert
Leadbetter, George
Leger, Nathaniel
Love, James
Lowell, William (Lovell?)
McBride, Hught
McCowan, Felix
McDonald, Hugh
McGivins, Thomas
McGready, Andrew
McLean, Elijah
McManan, John
McNeer, Mark
Macklin, Eli
Madden, John
Man, James
Marr (?), James
Matthews, George
Melvin, Robert
Merill, Joshua
Millingtone, John
Murphy, Cornelius
Murphy, James
Murray, James
Newburn, Joseph
Nole, Christian
O'Neil, Michael
Osborne, Elisha
Owens, Williams
Parker, William
Parks, John
Payne, Zachariah
Pepper, William
Perry, George
Pettit, Thomas
Pratsman, Henry
Rig(g)in, Darby
Robertson, James
Rorrison, Robert
Ryan, John
Shannan, John
Shepard, John
Shockley, Benjamin
Simpson, William
Smith, John Jr.
Smith, John Sr.
Smith, Obadiah
Start, Jas.
Steeples, Thomas
Sterling, Southy
Story, Tobert
Sullivan, Noble
Summers, Benjamin
Taylor, Elisha
Thornton, Nathan

Timmons, Zaddock
 Townsend, John
 Townsend, Joshua
 Wallace, James
 Walston, Joshua
 White, Henry

White, John Jr.
 White, Thomas
 Williams, John
 Wilson, Thomas
 Wright, Thomas

CAPTAIN PATRICK KENNEDY'S COMPANY

LIEUTENANT COLONEL

Chalmers, James

MAJORS

Dulany, Walter
 MacDonald, John

CAPTAIN

Kennedy, Patrick

LIEUTENANT

Ingles, James

ENSIGNS

Bowles, William
 Jones, William
 McPherson, John

ADJUTANTS

Henley, James
 Miller, James

CHAPLAIN

Patterson, John

QUARTERMASTERS

Garrett, Joseph
 Walsh, Thomas

SURGEONS

Kidd, Alexander
 Skiene (?), _____

SURGEON'S MATES

Houston, William
 Stafford, William

SERGEANTS

Campbell, Arthur
 Dickey, John
 Dunbar, John
 Hughes, James
 Merrill, Joshua
 Rogers, Jacob
 White, John
 Willson, Thomas

CORPORALS

Butler, Patrick
 Cullen, Isaac
 Forster, Bernard
 Orchard, John
 Riffin, Cannon

DRUMMERS

Bosewell (Roswell?), Jacob
 Kerr, Robert

PRIVATEES

Bartell, Thomas
 Barton, Thomas
 Boyde, James
 Bechan, Frederick
 Birney, John
 Brady, Christr.
 Brock, Nicholas
 Butler, Patrick
 Callaghan, John
 Carroll, Bryan
 Carroll, Joseph
 Carroll, Patrick Sr.
 Carty, Danl.

Conolly, Thomas
 Copper, John
 Cross, Michael
 Cullin, Isaac
 Cummins, James
 Dawson, George
 Down, John
 Dougherty, Dennis
 Dunbar, John
 Gardiner, Richard
 Gill, Thomas
 Gray, Thomas
 Griffin, William

Griffiths, Andrew
 Gwyns, Thomas
 Hall, Jesse
 Hand, Thomas
 Hazelton, Abraham
 Hepburn, John
 Holmes, Thomas
 Humphrey, David
 Humphrey, Simon
 Johnston, Samuel, Jr.
 Johnston, Samuel, Sr.
 Kelly, John
 Kelley, William
 King, John
 Leadbeater, George
 Lock, Moses
 Logan, Thomas
 McAnelly, Patrick
 McCarty, Sylvester
 McClean, John
 McDonald, James, Sr.
 McDonald, James, Jr.
 McDonogh, Redmond

McLeod, Fergus
 McNair, Mark
 Main, Henry
 Melia (Mealey), Martin
 Moore, John
 Murphey, Cornelius
 O'Neil, Peter
 Orchard, John
 Orkatt, John
 Powell, John
 Prust, Thomas
 Ratcliffe, John
 Ringler, Jacob
 Smith, William
 Stephens, John
 Sullivan, John
 Taylor, Archibald
 Thompson, Joseph
 Urquhart, John
 Waggoner, Matthias
 Watkins, Jonathon
 Weldon, James
 Williams, David

CAPTAIN ISAAC COSTEN'S COMPANY

CAPTAIN

Costen, Isaac

LIEUTENANTS

Boswell, John

Miller, James

ENSIGNS

Cottman, John

Henly, James

SERGEANTS

Condon, Philip

Deighton, John

Gill, Thomas

Moore, William

Stayton, Horatio

Tull, James

Vaughn, Levin

Wright, Robert Thos.

CORPORALS

McComb, James

Morgan, Jno.

Riggin, Cannon

Selby, William

DRUMMERS

Callaghan, Dennis

Robertson, James

Robinson, James

PRIVATES

Baker, Benjamin

Beauchamp, George

Benson, Benjamin

Benston, Thomas (volunteer)

Bevans, John

Brandt, Christian

Brown, William

Butler, Benjamin

Callin, Isaac

Carroll, James

Carroll, John

Carroll, Patrick

Carroll, Thomas

Cauley, William

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Creilly, August | Messit, Lawrence |
| Crezat, Benjamin | Miles, Ambrose |
| Crozier, Marmaduke | Miles, Samuel |
| Collins, Zadock | Miller, Henry (volunteer) |
| Cottingham, Levi | Miller, James Thomas |
| Cottingham, Elisha (volunteer) | Morgan, Charles |
| Cottman, Joseph (volunteer) | Morrison, Allen |
| Cullen, Isaac | Newton, Job |
| Delute, Peter | Newton, Selby |
| Denston, Isaiah | Nichelson, Elisha |
| Denston, Solomon | O'Deer, Levi |
| Dorman, George (volunteer) | Orchard, James |
| Eshon (?), Daniel | Parker, John |
| Evans, George (volunteer) | Parker, Thomas |
| Fallon, Joseph | Peausy, Lankford |
| Ferral, Cornels | Powell, John |
| Fisher, John | Riggin, Darby |
| Floyd, John | Riggin, Jacob (volunteer) |
| Fukes, Daniel | Robinson, William |
| Gray, Isaac | Robertson, William |
| Green, Levin (volunteer) | Savage, William |
| Griffiths, John | Schnider, John |
| Hall, Thomas (volunteer) | Selby, Daniel |
| Harris, Isaac | Selby, Henry |
| Harris, James (volunteer) | Shay, Dan'l |
| Harter, Charles | Shelly, Abram |
| Hayman, David (volunteer) | Smuling, Nathl. (volunteer) |
| Hughs, Terrence | Smulling, Randolph (volunteer) |
| Jones, Elijah | Tallent, Joseph |
| King, James | Tilghman, Ephriam |
| King, Robert | Tindel, Jas. |
| King, Samuel | Tull, Levin |
| McAvoy, Daniel | Watson, John |
| McGlaughlin, John | Whaley, Henry (volunteer) |
| McGuire, James | Wilkerson, George |
| McDonald, William | Woods, Levi (volunteer) |
| Malone, Jno. | |

VACANT COMPANY

(Later referred to as Captain Townsend's Company)

LIEUTENANT

Townsend, Levin

ENSIGN

Sterling, William

SERGEANT

Gill, Thomas

CORPORALS

McComb, James

Morgan, John

DRUMMER

Callaghan, Dennis

PRIVATES

Brandt, Christian
 Carroll, John
 Carroll, Patrick
 Carroll, Thomas
 Fallon, Joseph
 Fukes, Daniel
 Griffiths, John
 Harter, Charles
 King, James
 McEvoy, Daniel

McGuire, James
 Malone, John
 Morgan, Charles
 Miles, Ambrose
 Morrison, Allen
 Messitt, Lawrence
 Morgan, Charles
 Snider (Snyder), John
 Tallent, Joseph
 Wilkerson, George

CAPTAIN DANIEL DULANY ADDISON'S COMPANY

CAPTAIN

Addison, Daniel Dulany

LIEUTENANT

Sterling, John

ENSIGN

Stewart, John

SERGEANT

Diamond, Hugh

CORPORAL

McCausland, Mark
 Tilghman, Ephriam

PRIVATES

Barber, Andrew
 Barcus, Lewis
 Clay, Thomas
 Coland, James

Friday, John
 McCausland, Mark
 Morris, William
 Ramson, Jacob

CAPTAIN JAMES FRISBY'S COMPANY

CAPTAIN

Frisby, James

LIEUTENANTS

Miller, James

Stirling, John

ENSIGNS

Bowles, William

Stirling, William

SERGEANTS

Bevins, John

Dickinson, Elisha

Gill, Thomas

Hughes, James

Owens, William

Vaughan, Levin

CORPORALS

Beauchamp, Stephen

Riggin, Cannon

Stuart, Robert

Thomas, English

DRUMMER

Hilford, Pritchard

PRIVATES

Adair, Levy
 Adams, Barthelime
 Alford, William
 Baker, Thomas
 Beauchamp, George
 Butler, Benjamin

Byrne, Bryan
 Campbell, James
 Campbell, John
 Cash, John
 Caton, John
 Chessey, Henry

Colbourn, Solomon
 Copple, Richard
 Cottingham, Ephriam
 Dickinson, James
 Dickinson, Joshua
 Fisher, John
 Foster, Barnard (Bary)
 Griesby, Joshua
 Harris, Isaac
 Hayden, John
 Hayman, Nehemiah
 Johnston, Richard
 Johnston, Oliver
 Jones, Daniel
 King, Robert
 Lowe, James
 McDonald, Hugh
 McGill, William
 McHonny, Henry
 McKinney, John
 MacMahan, John
 Millington, John

Mitchell, John
 Mitchell, Thomas
 Moore, Stephen
 Murphy, Henry
 Murry, James
 O'beir, Francis
 O'Neil, Michael
 Osbourn, Elisha
 Prattman (Pratsman), Henry
 Rowle, James
 Savage, William
 Smythe, John
 Skinner, Robert
 Thomas, George
 Tilghman, Ephriam
 Tindel (Tindell), James
 Tull, Isaac
 Tull, James
 Welman, Jacob
 Williams, John
 Wright, Thomas

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER MIDDLETON'S COMPANY

CAPTAIN

Middleton, Alexander

LIEUTENANT

Ingles, James

ENSIGN

Allen, Adams

SERGEANTS

Downing, Patrick

Fittyplace, George

PRIVATES

Bellis, John
 Callahan, Patrick
 Camell, William
 Coast, Joseph
 Collins, William
 Fishback, Dominick
 Flout, Antony
 Friday, John
 Gilmore, James
 Higgins, Peter
 Hitner, Frederick
 Howe, William
 Laird, William
 Lithiff, Francis

McCarty, Daniel
 McLure, Hugh
 McFarrin, William
 McKinley, John
 McMullen, Daniel
 Moore, John
 Norvel, Michael
 Prowce (?), William
 Spaldwin, Andrew
 Whitaire, Thomas
 Wilkinson, John
 Williams, John
 Williams, Thomas

CAPTAIN LEVIN TOWNSEND'S COMPANY

CAPTAIN

Townsend, Levin

LIEUTENANT

Sterling, William

SERGEANT

Morgan, John

CORPORAL

McComb, James

DRUMMER

Calagan, Dennis

PRIVATES

Carol, John

Carrol, Thomas

Fukes, Daniel

Harter, Charles

King, James

McEvoy, Daniel

Malone, John

Messit, Lawrence

Miles, Ambrose

Morgan, Charles

Morrison, Allen

Tallent, Joseph

Wilkinson, George

CAPTAIN WALTER DULANY'S COMPANY

CAPTAIN

Dulany, Walter

LIEUTENANTS

St. Clair (Sinclair), James

Boswell, Jno.

Sterling, John

ENSIGNS

Monro, William

Stewart, John

SERGEANTS

Diamond, Hugh

Downing, Patrick

Fettiplace, George

McCausland, Mark

CORPORALS

Gill, Daniel

Gill, Thomas

King, Samuel

Moore, William

Skinner, Robert

Tilghman, Ephrm.

DRUM MAJOR

McDonald, Hugh

PRIVATES

Barber, Andrew

Barcus, George

Barcus, Lewis

Barnet, Turner

Barnus, Lewis

Bellis, John

Birney, John

Blake, William

Brail, Andrew

Brown, Jno. Sr.

Brown, Jno. Jr.

Bryan, James

Burbage, Isaac

Chambell, William

Clay, James

Clay, Thomas

Coast, Joseph

Coland, James

Collins, John

Collins, William

Conland (Colin)?, James

Cullen, Isaac

Cupolt, Robert

Cunningham, Mark

Dallas, William

Daugherty, Mark

Dawson, George
 Diamond, John
 Donavan, James
 Float, Anthony
 Foster, George
 Fox, Patrick
 Friday, John
 Galloway, Benj.
 Gilmore, James
 Griffin, William
 Hart, John
 Heath, Jeremiah
 Hughs, Henry
 Hutton, Samuel
 Johnson, Oliver
 Kelly, James
 Larkins, Paule
 Lattiff, Francis
 Lewis, Francis
 Loftis, George
 Lun . . . il (?), Thomas
 Lynch, Michael
 McCausland, Mark
 McClannaghan, William
 McClure, Hugh
 McCord, Petir
 McKinly, John
 Mires, Nathan (or Mathew)

Moor, John
 Morris, John
 Morris, Richard
 Morris, William
 O'Bryan, Dinnis
 Perry, William
 Purcell, Hiaram
 Quixell (?), Thomas
 Ramson, Jacob
 Rankins, Andrew
 Reed, John
 Robisson, James
 Saunders, William
 Seafler, George
 Shoe, Daniel
 Skinner, Robert
 Spaldwin (Spalding?), Andrew
 Stuart, Daniel
 Sullivan, Mathew
 Swindle, Alex.
 Thealy (?), Daniel
 Thomber (?), Charles
 Williams, Thomas
 Welch, John
 Welch, Peter
 White, Charles
 Williams, Thomas
 Wilnor, Ludwick

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REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America. By James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972. Pp. x, 255. \$14.50.)

It is difficult to review a "bad" book in the limited space that most journals can afford to allocate for an adequate demonstration of such a contention. Still, let me try to say why, in part, I find the present volume inadequate. Any study which deals with shipping should reflect sufficient understanding of the basic measure of shipping activity, the cargo ton; any study which deals with maritime trade should sort out the different currencies of the various trading partners; and any study which deals with economic development should get its numbers right.

Serious flaws are greatly to be deplored because the book has such promise. The authors began their work as two doctoral dissertations under the direction of Douglass C. North. The application of economic theory and analytical statistical techniques—well done—could help us understand a great deal about the structure of the colonial economy as it developed during the eighteenth century. Shepherd and Walton address themselves to a major problem, the colonial balance of payments, and to sorting out especially the credits and debits in the current account. They suggest that there were significant changes over time in the relative size of the various elements of the current account and draw attention to the "invisibles," particularly shipping earnings, as a source of colonial credits. They discuss as well the causes for the increased efficiency of this sector as an earner of credits. Of prime importance is their conclusion that there was little or no deficit in the colonial balance of payments.

One of the potentially most valuable chapters of the book argues that much of the large deficit usually pointed to in the colonial balance of trade with the mother country was offset by the "invisible" earnings from the colonists' own commercial activity and most particularly by monies earned by the colonial shipping industry. The authors estimate these earnings basically by multiplying average freight rates times cargo tonnage. The method is sound enough, given reasonable values for the multiplier and multiplicand, but the authors have seriously confused both factors in their calculation. Look first to their statements about tonnage. They have regularly equated the average vessel's cargo tonnage with her registered tonnage. At the same time they rightly note that measured tonnage amounted to fifty percent more than registered tonnage. And Ralph Davis—a respected authority on these matters and one on whom Walton and Shepherd are frequently dependent—contends that by the 1770s the average vessel's cargo tonnage was much more than measured tonnage. There is evidence to support him and to suggest that, on average, cargo tonnage was twice registered tonnage. One cannot escape the conclusion that the authors have greatly underestimated the cargo tonnage of vessels employed in colonial trade and, therefore, the value of shipping earnings in the colonial balance of payments.

Nor have they got all the freight rates right. They say that their freight rates are quoted in pounds sterling. This is necessary since we need to have our figures in the same money so that they may be compared; for the colonial period it is customary to reduce colonial currency into

sterling. Yet the freight rates they use remain as they copied them from their sources and some of them were set down in colonial currency (see, e.g., those quoted from the freight book of Nathan Simson of New York).

Lastly, the authors' ability to perform standard mathematical calculations comes into doubt if we check them. One can, of course, concoct as many crude estimates as one can defend but the crudeness belongs in the concoction and not in any subsequent calculations. We are told in one instance that the authors have estimated that one set of contemporary data understates the "real" values by five percent. Fair enough, but we should expect that calculations resulting from such an estimate be true to the elementary law of mathematics. The authors simply cannot equate the missing five percent at the real value with five percent of the admittedly lower contemporary figure. The result of this mistake is that their figure for the value of English exports to the colonies is as much as about eight percent lower than it might have been if their calculations had been accurate. The cumulative impact of underestimates and computational errors reduces their reconstruction of the colonial balance of payments to a sham.

Misunderstandings, misconceptions, and miscalculations interfere with our acceptance of anything Shepherd and Walton have to say. We are left still waiting for a useful analysis of the shipping, the maritime trade, and the economic development of colonial North America.

Institute of Early American History and Culture

JOHN J. MCCUSKER

The Journal of John Fontaine. An Irish Huguenot Son in Spain and Virginia 1710-1719. By Edward Porter Alexander. (Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972. Pp. xii, 190. \$4.95.)

John Fontaine, sent by his Huguenot preacher father to spy out Virginia as a future land of promise for some of his seven children, did his work well. John's two clerical brothers found posts there, and a land grant in King William County was settled by brother James and sister Mary Anne Maury, who was the mother of James Maury, plaintiff in the Parson's Cause and teacher of Thomas Jefferson, and great-grandmother of Matthew Fontaine Maury, the oceanographer. During his four years in America (1715-1719), Fontaine added to a diary which he had begun in 1710 during his tour of duty with the British Army in Spain. This journal was copied in England in 1840 by Mary Anne Maury's great-granddaughter, Ann Maury, and published by her, with certain excisions, in 1838 and 1853. Her transcript, in turn, has been brought to light by the persistent search of Professor Edward P. Alexander of the University of Delaware, who now presents it in its entirety with a full dress treatment of introduction and notes.

A dramatic confrontation of Protestant officer and Inquisition, despite the title, is not to be expected in the Spanish section; Fontaine's sporadic entries over four years take up only eight pages, and are of the tritest character. So too, the account of his first attempt to sail to America is a curious combination of navigational observations and pious reflections in the face of imminent shipwreck. These last contrast oddly with the more mundane tone of the subsequent section, written while waiting for a new passage and treating mysterious young ladies with oranges ("money ill spent"). Historically far more important is Fontaine's rollicking report of what a pleasure it was to cross the mountains as a Knight of the Golden Horseshoe; and of equal interest, to anthropologists especially, are the pages devoted to his

visit to the Indians of Fort Christanna, where Professor Alexander has restored the Indian vocabulary omitted by the spinster editress. The fourth journey to New York, and back through the Delmarva peninsula, offers little on Maryland but presents a sophisticated contrast to the frontier atmosphere of the preceding two itineraries.

Professor Alexander's substantial, sprightly introduction relates Fontaine to the setting of his refugee family in their peregrinations to England and Ireland, and traces his post-American experiences as watchmaker and silk weaver in London before he settled down like a Henty hero as a country gentleman in Wales. Alexander also deals concisely with the varying theories as to the route of Governor Spotswood over the Blue Ridge. Detailed linguistic treatment of the Indian vocabulary is reserved for the footnotes. These, happily provided with page references in the running heads, are also jam-packed with the harvest of the editor's years of genealogical and geographic research in archives and in the field, and will reward those looking for information on many eighteenth-century subjects besides Fontaine. The book is accurately printed, embellished with family portraits, and furnished with elegantly drawn maps by its designer, Richard J. Stinely.

Charlottesville, Virginia

LUCRETIA RAMSEY BISHKO

The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania. By James T. Lemon. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1972. Pp. xviii, 295, \$12.00.)

The Best Poor Man's Country is more than an admirable historical geography of southeastern Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century. Cautiously and persuasively, James Lemon has developed a coherent regional interpretation which intertwines the middling social origins of its immigrants; the opportunities for social and economic mobility, perceived and real; and the nascent liberalism, with its focus upon individual and household rather than the corporate community, which evolved in a pre-industrial but commercial agrarian society. The penultimate suggestion is that this area served as the hearth for the peculiarly American society and landscape which subsequently unfolded in the midwest. None of these ideas is particularly new, but their blending in a regional setting is so smoothly accomplished that the result seems novel.

These overarching theses are probably too grand but they provide a clear structure within which a host of subthemes may be evaluated, and it is here that Lemon excels. Complementing traditional sources with numerical data, arrayed in ninety-three tables, graphs, and maps, the author revises many sacred notions about colonial settlement, land use, and economic behavior. In order, he considers the environment and people, land occupation, migrations, rural and urban settlement, the agricultural system, and regional variations in land use. A fresh perspective is provided on ethnic groups in pluralist Pennsylvania—differences between national groups were less significant than sectarian differences. Successful farmers were more likely to be Mennonite or Quaker than German or English.

The loose-knit rural communities are interpreted as flexible arrangements within a society and a land in development and change, while urban settlements in Pennsylvania mirror present-day underdeveloped nations, with the dominance of a single city and an incomplete hierarchy of towns. As the eighteenth century waned, Lemon notes diminished opportunities reflected in increases in tenancy, greater social stratification, and associated out-migration of

those near the bottom of the social ladder. The agricultural system is conceived as pre-industrial, exhibiting few innovations in implements, work organization, or soil enrichment which would have increased output. Nor was there excessive specialization in marketable commodities; farmers emphasized wheat for the world market, but produced many other crops for home consumption or local sale. Lemon is critical of agricultural reformers who failed to see that Pennsylvanians sought a mixed farming system which satisfied household needs rather than maximized returns. Farm diversification is further evidenced in the failure of specialized concentric land use zones to develop in the Philadelphia hinterland, as land use theory would seem to indicate.

Lemon's rather loose use of location theory will raise a few critical eyebrows. Specifically, his discussion of the urban system of Pennsylvania assumes a hierarchy rather than proves it, and Von Thunen's model of agricultural land use seems clearly distorted by the numerous towns of southeastern Pennsylvania. The argument also that agriculture was extensive and relatively unchanging could have been buttressed by data on crop yields over time. Though the stagnation of the agricultural economy may be attributable to preindustrial conditions, Lemon avoids the major interpretive problem which is resolving the mixed farming system with the ideas of liberalism. I suspect that the economic diversification of the household was more than satisfying behavior, diversification served as a hedge against uncertain world market conditions which contributed to a halfway liberalism, hesitant to be guided solely by fickle invisible hands. Finally, I voice one disclaimer for the many poor Pennsylvanians whose migrations suggest that their best country had fallen into alien hands.

A brief review cannot do justice to this work; despite my reservations on many details, the total product ranks high in its genre of area studies. The clarity of structure and prose, the fresh insights and the consummate fluidity in progressing from theoretical concepts to operational measures are sufficient to recommend this book to the inquisitive amateur or the professional scholar.

University of Maryland, Baltimore County

CARVILLE V. EARLE

The Howe Brothers and the American Revolution. By Ira D. Gruber. (New York: Atheneum, published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, 1972. Pp. xv, 396. \$14.95.)

If Great Britain was to subdue her rebellious American colonists, by far her best opportunities came in the early years before the American Revolution expanded into a world war, when General William Howe commanded Britain's land forces against the rebels, Admiral Richard Lord Howe her naval forces, and both held credentials as peace commissioners. The opportunities were indeed so great, and the Howe brothers came so tantalizingly close to seizing them, that the brothers' final failure has long been a subject of fascinated speculation about motives—going to the length sometimes of suggestions that the Howes could have failed only because they wanted to throw the game away.

The best study of the subject, and on the whole the most sympathetic to the Howes, has long been Troyer S. Anderson, *The Command of the Howe Brothers during the American Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1936). Ira D. Gruber's book now takes its place as at least the equal of Anderson's in cogency, though not in sympathy for the Howes;

this reviewer finds the conclusions drawn by Gruber from a careful piecing together of evidence from many sources—in the absence of a body of Howe personal papers—generally more convincing than Anderson's. Anderson argued that the efforts of the Howes to suppress the American Revolution were fatally flawed by the requirement of their government that they be conciliators as well as warriors. Gruber, building his study around the relationships of the Howes with the Lord North ministry, argues rather that the ministry instructed the Howes to concentrate upon a vigorous military suppression of the rebellion, to make peace only after the rebels surrendered. He holds that it was the Howes' own conciliatory inclinations, which Admiral Howe concealed from most of the ministers in order to get his commissions, that ruinously diluted the military efforts the government expected of them. Gruber believes that General Howe in fact intended initially to make the destruction of George Washington's army his primary objective, which probably would have destroyed the Revolution; but that after the arrival in America of Admiral Howe, the admiral persuaded the general to avoid ruthless battle in favor of conciliatory efforts. Admiral Howe's plan was on the verge of success, carried along by a combination of conciliatory overtures with seemingly implacable but not excessively ruthless British military advances, when Washington's counterstrokes at Trenton and Princeton upset it all by destroying the image of military invincibility that American circumstances required if the Howes' conciliatory gestures were to succeed; Trenton and Princeton broke the stick of the Howes' carrot-and-stick policy.

Thereafter, Gruber argues, General Howe became both oppressed by the awareness of how much his careless dispositions in New Jersey had sacrificed and obsessed with an effort to vindicate himself by proving that the inhabitants of the Delaware valley were mainly loyalists and that accordingly his scattering of garrisons before the Trenton and Princeton battles had been justifiable after all, because the territory had been friendly. The obsession carried the Howes irrationally through the Chesapeake and Maryland and into Pennsylvania in search of loyalists in 1777, at the expense of the Burgoyne campaign in the north. Gruber's obsession theory as an explanation of the campaign of 1777 is the least convincing part of the book and, unfortunately, occupies a pivotal place. But it is not necessary to accept this resort to amateur psychology to accept Gruber's main argument that the Howes themselves, and not debilitating instructions from London, wrecked their opportunities to suppress the American Revolution.

Temple University

RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY

The Partisan Spirit: Kentucky Politics, 1779-1792. By Patricia Watlington. (New York: Atheneum, published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, 1972. Pp. x, 276. \$12.95.)

This well-researched study is a useful addition to the growing number of monographs about local politics in late-eighteenth-century America. It describes the dynamics of the statehood movement in Kentucky by focusing on the great migration of 1779, the origins of the various settlers, the thorny issue of disputed land claims, the political divisions of the 1780s, the complicated role of the Mississippi question, and the writing of the Constitution of 1792. Although much of this was already known to specialists, it is synthesized in a sensible way and used to raise some interesting questions about political developments during the post-Revolutionary era.

The author's main thesis is that three not two parties, as is usually assumed, fought for power during the statehood movement. Two of these groups were made up almost entirely of Virginians and represented Kentucky's "articulate center." But personality conflicts, disappointments in the pursuit of local offices and other honors, and different views of Kentucky's future forced the "articulate center" to divide into a "country party" that favored a cautious legal separation from Virginia while remaining part of the United States and a "court party" that wanted an immediate and abrupt separation from Virginia and even considered becoming part of the Spanish Empire to ensure navigation of the Mississippi River. The third group was the "partisans," landless settlers from North Carolina and Pennsylvania who were weak on the leadership level but had considerable popular support, and who at first denied Virginia's claim to Kentucky because they believed the federal government would give them land, but then reversed themselves when it became clear that the Virginian dominated "articulate center" had gained control of the statehood movement. Furthermore, it is the author's contention that these divisions continued on into the 1790s.

Ms. Watlington effectively takes issue with the exaggerated emphasis many recent historians have placed on understanding the rise of political parties as simply a response to national issues during the 1790s. It is becoming clear, from this and other studies, that the sources of political division during the 1790s were much more complicated. Local issues definitely continued to be important and created lasting alignments. This really should not be surprising, for while the United States Constitution took many powers from the states there nonetheless remained many areas over which political battles could be fought: land policy, the kinds of taxes to be levied, judicial reform, and patronage considerations to name only a few. Also of value in this study is the author's stress upon the significance of the different points of origin of the various settlers, for this was a very important source of tension in all the newly emergent states during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Finally, there is a useful bibliographical essay which interestingly sings the praises of Theodore Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West* but inexplicably makes no mention of William E. Connelley and E. Merton Coulter's balanced and knowledgeable *History of Kentucky*.

This book definitely has its share of weaknesses. The relationship between anti-slavery feeling and politics in 1792 is superficially treated. Words like "liberal," "radical," "conservative," and "frontier" are strewn around with wild abandon and no attempt is made to define them. The author's use of the terms "court party" and "country party" is idiosyncratic in that it does not relate to the way other members of the historical profession are currently using them and this should cause some needless confusion. And at a number of key points the argument is asserted rather than proven. But if this book is somewhat disappointingly executed and not a model for how this kind of history should be done, it nonetheless contains a number of ideas that students of the early national period will have to take into account.

University of Virginia

RICHARD E. ELLIS

Prince George's Heritage: Sidelights on the Early History of Prince George's County from 1696 to 1800. By Louise Joyner Henton. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society [1972]. Pp. 223, \$12.50.)

Although the title indicates this book contains only sidelights on the history of the eleventh oldest county in Maryland, the chapter titles reveal that most aspects of the county's history

have been treated. Although Mrs. Hinton is not a native Marylander, she has investigated the history of Prince George's County prior to 1800 thoroughly and professionally, and has written a scholarly and enjoyable history of the county.

The chapters cover such topics as the erection of the county, the county seats and other ports and towns, the Anglican and Presbyterian churches, the hundreds of the county, Indian alarms, the free school, and the military activities of county residents in the colonial and Revolutionary wars. A special feature of the book is a map of land grants laid out in Charles and Calvert Counties, prior to April 23, 1696 (when the county was erected), in the respective portions of the two counties that later became Prince George's.

Mrs. Hinton's book will serve as a model for county histories in the future. She has used primary sources, such as the *Archives of Maryland*, the county court records, land records, wills, and parish registers, and has woven her material into a well documented and readable book. Lest her material become too dry for her readers, she includes humorous anecdotes and human interest stories about the early county residents such as John Smith of Mattapany Hundred who, when commissioned to act as a county justice, protested that he wasn't fit to hold this office as he couldn't get on a horse without help, and anyway he thought another John Smith was meant.

While the book does not include a genealogical section containing the noble deeds and illustrious descents of the "First Families" of the county, Mrs. Hinton does mention family relationships where relevant, and includes so many biographical sketches and colorful stories about the early inhabitants of the county that genealogists as well as historians will want to have a copy.

This reviewer recommends the book for those interested in Maryland and Prince George's County history, genealogists, and anyone interested in the long neglected art of writing scholarly and enjoyable local history.

Baltimore

ROBERT BARNES

E. I. du Pont, Botaniste. By Norman B. Wilkinson. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972. Pp. xi, 139. paper, \$3.95.)

This monograph is short, well illustrated, delightful to read, carefully researched, and devoid of interpretation or annotation. It reports on why E. I. du Pont listed himself as a "Botaniste" when he left France for America in 1799, and on how the horticultural traditions which his family began in France have been continued in the United States down to the present time. Thus we are given glimpses of the du Pont gardens at their home in France, the Bois-des-Fosses; at their homes in Delaware, Hagley, Nemours, Louviers, Upper Louviers, Eleutherian Mills, and Winterthur; and at Longwood Gardens, Kennett Square, Pennsylvania. The book will be especially valuable for anyone interested in natural history, horticulture, trans-Atlantic cultural history at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the du Ponts, and the extant gardens described by Wilkinson.

Institute for Environmental Studies
University of Wisconsin, Madison

KENNETH R. BOWLING

A Bibliography of American Children's Books Printed Prior to 1821. Compiled by d'Alté A. Welch. (Worcester and Barre: American Antiquarian Society and Barre Publishers, 1972. Pp. lxvi, 516. \$45.00.)

The late d'Alté Welch spent a lifetime collecting American and English children's books, studying those in public and private collections here and abroad, and compiling this bibliography. His energy, enthusiasm for, and knowledge of the field is reflected in this work which is a tribute to his memory.

Originally the book appeared in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, 1963-1967. Welch's notes for incorporation in the work in book form were completed before his death and are included. The major change in the text was the elimination of large numbers of descriptions of the English editions that preceded the American. In this work only the first English editions are cited. The missing material is incorporated in a manuscript bibliography which, it is hoped, will also be published.

The preliminary matter, which adds to the work, begins with a 24-page "Chronological History of American Children's Books." Origins of many of the major American titles are given, be they copies of English or European works, or original here, thus providing a sound background for the text. In conjunction with this is a discussion of the general nature and extent of the holdings of the major institutional and private collections. Following is the extensive list of "Works Consulted" and then the "Method of the Work." In this Welch describes what he considers to be children's books, a highly personal judgment, but this is as it must be in this field, and users of the bibliography will have to keep the limitations, which are not many, in mind. Similarly, Welch's system of collation is his own, and although it has come under some criticism, for it is not entirely a standard bibliographical technique, it is easily understood. Its purpose is to provide the largest amount of information on a type of publication that often is not easily described.

The body of the text consists of descriptions of over 4100 titles and editions. For each entry the author is listed, where known, followed by a full transcription of the title-page text, the collation, a concise description of the original English edition if there were such, the location in one or more collections, institutional or private, and bibliographical references. In many cases defects in copies seen are noted, and comparisons are made between copies in which minor variations were found. In addition, the text is amply supplied with the necessary cross references. In all, this represents a vast body of well-organized information.

In its original form the work was not indexed. For the book the publishers have provided a lengthy index of printers and publishers. However, there is no geographical breakdown, so that interest in the publications of an area can be satisfied only by reading the whole index. Further, and unfortunately, a random and not extensive check of the index showed 20 errors, primarily wrong entry numbers. Also, a number of typographical errors were noted in the text. Finally, since Welch went to the trouble of providing information on illustrators wherever possible, the lack of an index of them is a drawback.

Despite these flaws, this is still an important contribution to American bibliography.

The Career of Mrs. Anne Brunton Merry in the American Theatre. By Gresdna Ann Doty. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972. Pp. xiii, 170. \$7.95.)

Anne Brunton had a significant theatrical career on two continents. Covent Garden touted her, when she was only sixteen years old, as the coming rival of Sarah Siddons. She never quite lived up to that billing, but for a decade she held a leading position on the London stage. Her first husband's financial problems and liberal sympathies led the couple to the United States in 1796, where she quickly became the new nation's leading actress, a position held until her death in 1808. Highly versatile, but most successful as Shakespeare's gentler heroines and in sentimental drama, she was the leading lady in the Philadelphia and Baltimore theaters and starred occasionally in other parts of the country, especially New York. Gresdna Ann Doty has written the first analysis of Brunton's life and theatrical importance.

The scholarship and writing of the biography are carefully done. Because Brunton was too respectable and untemperamental to become an anecdotal figure, Doty's account is essentially annalistic. Year by year the reader is informed of Brunton's roles and of critical response to her acting, and, where information is available, of details of her personal and theatrical life. The chronicle of her career is held together loosely by two themes: that Brunton's personal repute contributed to the respectability of the acting profession in the United States and that her performances "developed new standards consistently higher than those of any other performer" on the American stage. The latter claim is dubious; America had many able performers at this time—James Fennell, John Harwood, Ann Oldmixon, Thomas Cooper, and especially John Hodgkinson—who were equally influential artistically. But Doty's conclusions are generally modest and sound, and she sketches well the difficulties of the eighteenth-century performer's life. The many new roles to learn because of constantly changing bills, the uncertainties of salaries, the hardships of travel, the difficulties of drawing crowds for summer seasons in villages like Annapolis or Georgetown were all wearing—even for a performer successful and respectable enough to keep her own coach.

The weaknesses of the book are largely those of omission. Its focus is narrowly theatrical; little attention is given to historical events or to developments in drama. More important, Brunton's theatrical life is detailed but never evoked; even the character of the actress and of her successive husbands—poet, wit, and spendthrift Robert Merry and Philadelphia actor-managers Thomas Wignell and William Warren—remain shadowy. Most disappointing, Doty seldom pushes beyond her chronicle to consider intellectual questions implicit in the study such as the relationship or contrasts between the English and American stages in these years.

Theatrical biography is frequently a difficult genre, largely because the performer's art comes to the historian filtered through the impressions of critics or fellow players, whose comments tend to be vague, contradictory, or lifeless. This is often seeing through a glass darkly indeed. Unless the performer wrote vivid letters or diaries or was a figure around whom anecdotes proliferated, the biography, no matter how meticulously done, possesses a disembodied quality. Brunton, Doty makes clear, was a highly able actress and a charming woman; the biography also reveals that her special qualities are hard to capture historically. Yet having the details of the life of this important theatrical figure so carefully compiled is welcome and worthwhile.

The Diary of Edmund Ruffin. Volume 1. Toward Independence. October, 1856–April, 1861.
Edited by William Kauffman Scarborough. Foreword by Avery Craven. (Baton Rouge:
Louisiana State University Press, 1972. Pp. xlviii, 664. \$20.00.)

In editing and preparing for publication the voluminous diary of Edmund Ruffin, Professor Scarborough has performed an important service for students of southern history, who will find in this, the first of two projected volumes, both a valuable first-hand account of important developments in the South during the momentous years 1857–1861 and the remarkable portrait of an unusual man.

Born in Virginia in 1794, Edmund Ruffin was a man of extraordinary ability and interests. His fame derives from the highly significant contributions he made to scientific farming in the ante-bellum South. Editor of the *Farmers' Register*, one of the outstanding agricultural periodicals of his day; author of the universally acclaimed *Essay on Calcareous Manures*; and progressive farmer who never tired of conducting experiments with crop rotation, deep-plowing, drainage, and fertilization, Ruffin was the foremost agricultural reformer of the nineteenth century. He was also a political extremist, an ardent defender of slavery, and one of the most vocal of the southern secessionists. It is with this phase of his career following his retirement from farming in 1855 that the diary is concerned.

A man of prodigious energy, Ruffin traveled extensively in the South during the five years preceding the Civil War, attending numerous agricultural, commercial, and secessionist conventions, both as a participant and observer. His candid though partisan observations on the proceedings of these assemblies, along with his evaluation of prominent congressmen, governors, and other principals involved, are of value. His eyewitness accounts of John Brown's execution in December, 1859, and of the bombardment of Fort Sumter in April, 1861, are unsurpassed. As a chronicle of political attitudes and moods that characterized the South in the late 1850s, and for its exceptional depiction of the southern mentality, as typified by Ruffin, the diary, though it will lead to no significant reinterpretation of the period, should be of great worth to historians. Together with the publication of other similar primary source documents, it will make possible a better understanding of the personalities and developments which led the nation to disunion and civil war.

Professor Scarborough has maintained a high level of scholarship in preparing this volume for publication. The text is notably free of both grammatical and factual errors. The editor's introduction provides a good biographical sketch of the subject, and the index is complete enough to serve as a useful research tool. Although scholars will find his annotation adequate—it consists primarily of identifying persons of marginal importance—nonspecialists will wish for more explication of events.

The editorial methodology is excellent. Confronted with the delicate task of reducing the length of the original manuscript, which comprised more than 1,300 pages, Scarborough may be faulted by some readers for not having pared enough. Admittedly, many of the entries are routine and sometimes monotonous, but the decision to include personal and even trivial items, along with those of unquestionable political, social, or economic value, was wise, for it gives Ruffin a human dimension which he otherwise would have lacked.

The Anatomy of the Confederate Congress: A Study of the Influences of Member Characteristics on Legislative Voting Behavior, 1861-1865. By Thomas B. Alexander and Richard E. Beringer. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1972. Pp. xi, 435. \$10.00.)

Thomas B. Alexander and Richard E. Beringer, who have individually contributed valuable quantitative and biographical studies of mid-nineteenth century politics in recent years, have combined their talents to provide the first systematic analysis of voting patterns in the Confederate Congress, 1861-1865. Utilizing social and economic data for the 267 men who served in the Congress as well as similar data for the counties they represented, the authors have correlated personal characteristics of Confederate congressmen with 1,490 of the 1,900 recorded roll call votes.

Analysis of votes on single issues, such as conscription, impressment, suspension of habeas corpus, economic and fiscal problems, as well as multiple issues, such as determination or defeatism, provides instructive generalizations on the nature of the Congress. Foremost among these generalizations, summarized by the authors in the concluding chapter, was the lack of any type of party discipline, either formal or informal. "Lawmaking was every man for himself, for the Congress was an amorphous body in which it seemed that almost every atom behaved according to its own rules." (p. 332) Even so, former party affiliation was a more significant indication of voting behavior in the Congress than the economic background of the individual congressman or the county represented. The congressman's stand on secession in 1861 and whether a member's district was occupied by Federal forces were even more significant indicators of voting behavior in the Congress. These characteristics "became more important as the Confederacy approached final defeat." (p. 337)

The Anatomy of the Confederate Congress is a volume rich in raw data. Maps showing congressional districts, slaveholding patterns, land values, and occupied status of these districts, over sixty tables, and six appendixes providing a biographical directory of the Congress, performance scores, scale positions, session dates and membership figures, measures of strength of association, and summary identification of roll calls make this a book which every student of the Civil War and nineteenth century politics will want to include among his reference works. It is the type of volume which will be read and re-read for new and additional insights into a fascinating period of American history.

Lamar University

RALPH A. WOOSTER

The Naval Aristocracy: The Golden Age of Annapolis and the Emergence of Modern American Navalism. By Peter Karsten. (New York: The Free Press, 1972. Pp. 462. \$10.95.)

Unquestionably Peter Karsten's study of "Mahan's messmates," as he preferred to call them in his original Wisconsin doctoral dissertation, is one of the finest and most thought provoking monographs on the United States Navy to appear in many years. Professor Karsten brought unique qualifications to his project, having served for three years as a naval officer before undertaking historical training. The reviewer, in fact, is inclined to speculate (half seriously at least) that Karsten may not have been a very good junior officer; he is too good a scholar. He asks too many questions, analyzes too deeply, and was probably eager (to use hackneyed maritime parlance) to "rock the boat."

Essentially, Karsten has provided a rich and detailed study of America's naval aristocracy from the 1840s through the 1920s. The viewpoint is from the inside, with primary attention to

how naval officers viewed themselves and the rest of the world. It is likely that the author has not endeared himself to his own former messmates, at least the career officers, since the picture that emerges is at least as unfavorable as it is positive. To be sure, naval officers appear at times as patriotic, dutiful servants of the nation; frequently, however, they emerge as undemocratic, belligerent, racist prigs who were more concerned with status and prestige for themselves and their profession. Although the author leaves no doubt as to his difference in values from the "band of brothers," it is to his credit as a scholar that he avoids sweeping moral judgments. When Karsten's subjects are condemned, it is by their own freely offered admissions, conveyed by well-documented quotations.

The finest chapters of the book are probably the fifth and sixth which deeply fathom the "naval mind," providing fascinating insights into the officers' conceptions of such abstractions as personal honor, glory, national interest, national darwinism, and human nature. The least satisfactory chapter to the reviewer is the fourth, on the Navy's role in diplomacy. Karsten has too readily accepted the nearly monocausal economic interpretation of his University of Wisconsin mentors. It may be that economic considerations overrode all other motivating factors behind America's diplomacy and, thus, narrowly defined the Navy's primary mission. Such a conclusion, however, must rest on more than the "healthy sampling of Archival materials" that Karsten offers as evidence. The indispensable State Department series, *Foreign Relations*, which contains dispatches from naval officers as well as diplomats, does not even appear in the book's notes or bibliography. There is a lesson here for all of us who try to understand the diplomacy of this period. Naval historians cannot rely solely on naval records, nor can diplomatic historians confine themselves to State Department dispatches as in the past. When we thoroughly research *both* kinds of records simultaneously, we will be more certain of our assumptions and generalizations.

If the book has any other flaw, it is in Karsten's lack of attention to the politics of the building of the "New American Navy." The reader leaves the volume with the impression that Washington Irving Chambers, Stephen B. Luce, Alfred T. Mahan, and other officers built the steam-steel fleet. As Marshall Smelser showed for an earlier period in his pathbreaking *Congress Founds the Navy*, civilians in the Congress were actually responsible for much of the Navy's direction. To ignore men like Hilary A. Herbert, Eugene Hale, and Charles Boutelle in the building of the New Navy is to accept at face value some of the unrealistic elitism of Mahan's messmates. Admittedly, however, to carry this point too far may be to criticize Karsten for a book that is needed but one he did not intend to write.

One the whole, this is a superb study, beautifully written and handsomely bound and illustrated. Karsten has read and digested most everything of importance on the Navy of this era. The notes and bibliography are comprehensive, almost to the point of being overwhelming. The bibliography alone is worth the purchase price for anyone who wants to study seriously the history of the United States Navy.

Ithaca College

HUGH B. HAMMETT

The South and the Concurrent Majority. By David M. Potter. Ed. by Don E. Fehrenbacher and Carl N. Degler. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972. Pp. x, 89. \$4.95.)

The nature of American sectionalism was a topic of profound interest to the late David M. Potter, and it was altogether appropriate that he should have chosen a significant manifestation of sectionalism in the United States as his theme in presenting the Walter Lynwood

Fleming Lectures at Louisiana State University in April 1968. Potter's major purpose in the three chapters that comprise this book is to consider the political devices employed by the American South for almost a century to maintain a position of power in the national government and thereby safeguard its basic sectional interests despite adverse majorities in the nation as a whole. Thus southern politicians were able to perpetuate what John C. Calhoun had called "a concurrent majority," that is, "the power of preventing or arresting the action of the government." The reason for this, Potter contends, was that the South found it possible to turn certain conditions in the national political arena to its own advantage: first, the organization and procedural structure of the United States Congress, and second, the "peculiar circumstances" that characterized the Democratic party for more than half a century following Reconstruction.

Potter begins by reviewing the establishment of the congressional system of committees and the growth of party organization during the early national era and the antebellum period. He then describes the process by which the South, following Reconstruction, came to use the one-party system as a means of attaining a concurrent voice in national affairs. From 1875 to 1932 the southern wing of the Democratic party was almost always larger than the northern wing; the South was a majority faction within a minority party. During this long period Southerners dominated the committee system in Congress and perfected the "devices of obstruction and of strategic control" which had begun to develop before the Civil War. In the last chapter Potter turns to the period since 1932, when the South suddenly found itself a minority faction within a majority party. The southern region no longer dominated Democratic party councils, and the party no longer served as its vehicle of political power. Nevertheless, southern congressmen were still able to employ obstructionist tactics, frequently against their own national leaders, to protect regional interests. Senate filibusters, the seniority system, and the autonomy of committee chairmen made it possible for them to win concessions in most important legislation.

Potter shows, in this ingenious and instructive study, that power in the United States was seldom exercised by the numerical majority without restraint, for the minority constituted a separate concentration of power that had to be reckoned with. Indeed, the principle of the concurrent majority has been "one of the dominant facts of American political life throughout most of our history." (p. 8) This point needs further elucidation. Unfortunately, the need to present his argument in three relatively brief lectures prevented Potter from elaborating his theme by discussing the actual operation of the concurrent majority. It would also have been helpful to have a fuller treatment of certain aspects of modern southern political behavior, including the functioning of the conservative coalition in Congress. The volume contains neither a bibliographical essay nor an index, and the writing lacks the polish that Potter would undoubtedly have given it had he lived to prepare the manuscript for publication. Yet the book has the distinctive mark of David Potter's extraordinary scholarship: his ability to find new meaning in the familiar, to relate his insights to broader perspectives, and to suggest interpretations that help us understand and reconstruct larger segments of the past.

Vanderbilt University

DEWEY W. GRANTHAM

Dare To Be Different: A Biography of Louis H. Levin of Baltimore. By Alexandra Lee Levin. (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1972. Pp. 319. \$7.50.)

Rare is the book, whether fact or fiction, that selects as its leading character an individual dedicated to the service of society. A Florence Nightingale, a Jane Addams—we remember

the names with respect. Louis Hiram Levin was cast in the same mold as these heroines: a bit more earthy, perhaps, but equally devoted to the amelioration of human misery.

The author of *Dare To Be Different*, Alexandra Lee Levin, never had the opportunity of knowing her unusual father-in-law personally. But she had complete access to his papers, as well as those of his wife, the former Bertha Szold, and the other members of that gifted family, including her remarkable sister, Henrietta.

"Zandra" Levin has used her material judiciously and delightfully. As one reads of Louis Levin's career as a newspaperman, his occasional retreats to the simple pleasures of country life, his steadfast pursuit of easing the burdens of the helpless and downtrodden, one realizes that *Dare To Be Different* is more than a matter-of-fact biography. It is truly a labor of love. As we read we are touched not only by beneficent efforts to right wrongs, but by the devotion and togetherness of the Levin and Szold families, and the humanistic qualities which shine through the recounting of their everyday activities.

Louis Levin himself, modest, soft-spoken, had a gift for the written word, for saying what he thought in language both uncomplicated and convincing. As editor of the *Baltimore Jewish Comment*, his editorials were meaty, often salty, but always flavorful. The numerous Levin quotations form an engrossing portion of a warm, well-deserved tribute to a Baltimore pioneer, who, in his life, exemplified the words of Rabbi Ben Ezra: "Write me as one who loves his fellow-men."

Baltimore

LESTER S. LEVY

Portrait of a Decade: Roy Stryker and the Development of Documentary Photography in the Thirties. By F. Jack Hurley. Photographic Editing by Robert J. Doherty. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972. Pp. ix, 196. \$12.95.)

In 1935 Roy Stryker went to Washington to head the Historical Section of the Resettlement Administration (RA), later the Farm Security Administration (FSA). Although he was neither a New Deal ideologue nor a photographer, he was to jolt the conscience of a nation and revolutionize documentary photography. F. Jack Hurley, Assistant Professor of History at Memphis State University, has produced, with an able assist from Robert Doherty, a valuable documentation of Stryker's work. In a plain but pleasing style, Hurley traces Stryker's background, his interest in photography, and his New Deal years. While this treatment is sketchy, Hurley's purpose is not biography. He uses Stryker to focus on the work of the Historical Section and the development of the documentary style by its photographers.

The Historical Section had the task of recording the activities of the RA and FSA to justify continued funding of the agencies as well as to satisfy the curiosity of historians. Stryker, an acerbic and unassuming economics professor, believed the photograph was the best means of dramatizing this work, but he was determined to record more than housing construction or ribbon-cutting ceremonies. Desiring to acquaint the public with the problems of rural poverty, he urged his photographers to "capture" the people and the land. In the process he educated a nation, revealing both its liabilities and assets.

For this project Stryker assembled a superb team of young photographers who went on from FSA to become some of America's best cameramen—Carl Mydans, Arthur Rothstein, Dorothea Lange, Walker Evans (who with James Agee produced *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*), Ben Shahn, and Gordon Parks. Hurley's cameos of these artists and their relationship with Stryker, while brief, suggest Stryker's contribution to their future development. Said

Mydans, "He doesn't know how to take pictures, but he taught us what should be in a good picture." The combination of talent and teacher produced, in Hurley's words, "the finest collection of American documentary photographs ever assembled." FSA photos received nationwide acclaim, being featured in photographic exhibitions, magazines, and books; the collection eventually totalled 130,000 pictures.

These pictures, more than one hundred of which are included, make *Portrait of a Decade* a valuable library addition. They vividly portray the despair and poverty found in depression-struck rural areas—the haggard migrants, dustbowls, shanties, and sharecroppers. But they also depict the strength of the people, the beauty of the land, and the stark simplicity of life in the Thirties. For those who can remember, these photographs are sharp reminders of a less comfortable, yet perhaps more neighborly time. For the generations born since 1930 they remain our best means of fully comprehending the Depression experience and its impact upon America. We are indebted to Roy Stryker for this memory.

Hampden-Sydney College

RONALD L. HEINEMANN

The American Mail: Enlarger of the Common Life. By Wayne E. Fuller. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972. Pp. 378. \$8.95.)

It is possible that no other single activity has had as much effect on American life as the mail system. As Mr. Fuller points out in his book, for almost three hundred years the postal system was virtually the only means widely scattered Americans possessed for communicating with one another and with friends and relatives in the lands of their birth. Not only did the American mail service reflect the nation's progress and development, it promoted and contributed to that progress.

Beginning with the establishment of the first "post office" in the English colonies in 1639, in reality only a place of deposit in Boston for letters brought from overseas, Mr. Fuller traces the development of the postal system up to the supplanting of the Post Office by a government corporation, the United States Postal Service, in 1970. Far from just recounting the history of the system, this book points up the numerous extraneous factors which influenced the development of the system, particularly those of a political and economic nature. For example, the regular passage of post roads bills by the Congress in the first half of the nineteenth century illustrated only too well the legislators' proclivity for extending the postal system to satisfy far-flung constituents without regard to the sheer cost of the expansion. As the author points out, the intention from the first had been for the Post Office to pay for itself and there were times when it did, but by mid-nineteenth century the principle of self-support was a thing of the past, and congressmen were boldly asserting that there was no more reason for the Post Office to be self-supporting than for the army and navy to pay their own way. The postal act of 1851 stipulated that the postmaster general could not discontinue, curtail, or refuse to establish mail service because of postal deficits. From then on Congress appropriated money from the Treasury, when necessary, to make up annual deficits. The significance of this milestone is demonstrated by the fact that only thirteen times from 1851 to 1968 did the Post Office take in more money than it spent.

The chapter entitled "Diffusion of Knowledge" is a particularly fascinating one, summarizing as it does the effects of congressional franking privileges and extraordinarily low rates for mailing newspapers and periodicals. Hundreds of small newspapers sprang up, mainly in rural communities, in the early 1800s and their editors depended upon the free ex-

change of papers and congressional documents, also freely franked, as a source of editorial material, as well as the cheap newspaper postage rates, to stay alive. The pressures they were able to exert upon Congress, combined with the desires of the congressmen themselves, who recognized the tremendous potential for the dissemination of their speeches and committee reports the rural papers offered, guaranteed for many years the preferential rates the newspapers enjoyed.

Excellent chapters on the country's expansionist policies and their effect on the postal system, the Post Office's activities as a guardian of the nation's mails and morals, and the effects of pure politics on the Post Office, round out the book very effectively. Finally, there is an excellent epilogue on the postal reorganization act of 1970 which replaced the Department with a government corporation, the United States Postal Service. It remains to be seen how effective this change will prove to be.

The American Mail is the latest, and a worthy addition to the fine series, "The Chicago History of American Civilization," edited by Daniel J. Boorstin and published by the University of Chicago Press. The subject could easily have been dull for the average reader, but Mr. Fuller did not permit this to happen; he has researched his subject effectively and written both an authoritative and *very readable* book.

Baltimore

DENWOOD N. KELLY

The State House at Annapolis. By Morris L. Radoff. (Annapolis: The Hall of Records Commission, 1972, Pp. xiii, 128. \$5.00.)

Maryland's State House, built in the 1770s, is America's oldest state capitol to have been in continuous service for the purpose for which it was built. But it has greater claims to fame than hoary antiquity. Its beautiful dome, unlike anything in the English-speaking world, fascinates architectural enthusiasts. Events of world-wide importance have taken place within the State House walls. During a session of the Continental Congress in Annapolis, Washington resigned his commission as commander in chief of the Revolutionary army in the Senate chamber on December 23, 1783. The Congress just fifteen days later ratified in the State House the treaty that made peace with the mother country and established the United States as an independent nation. A limited convention took place there in 1786 to consider a closer union among the states—the forerunner of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia and the formation of the separate states into one union under the Constitution.

Particularly to honor Washington, the old Senate chamber has been carefully restored to its state at the time of his resignation. Every year on February 22 when the General Assembly is in session ceremonies in honor of the greatest of Americans are held by both houses, those of the Senate in the old Senate chamber. The simple but moving words of Washington's resignation speech are then sometimes read. The building itself has been spared from the vandalism regrettably practised in the past in the ancient city of Annapolis by federal and state governments, and currently being still planned by the state government.

A historic monument of such unquestioned importance deserves the perpetuation of the record of its original building, the changes made in it since, and the historic tablets which it contains. Just such a record, done with a scholar's accuracy and thoroughness, is *The State House at Annapolis* by the Archivist of Maryland, Dr. Morris L. Radoff. It will always be of

value to students of the venerable scene of outstanding events in the history of Maryland, of the nation, and of the world.

Baltimore

DOUGLAS GORDON

Origin and History of Howard County. By Charles Francis Stein, Jr. (Baltimore: Published by the author and printed by the Schneidereith Press, 1972. Pp. 383. \$19.50.)

The author has given a well-constructed and authentic history of one of Maryland's most lovely and productive counties. Through the participation of the members of the Howard County families in the vicissitudes of the nation, he has presented a balanced, readable, and brief history of our country from the establishment of Anne Arundel County, the parent of Howard, to the present time.

The armorial section listing twenty-nine coats-of-arms in full authentic colors is heraldic art at its best and contains the armigerous bearings of the principal families that have been associated with the social, economic, and political history of the county. The arms are those which are distinctive of the family names in Britain, but it is a matter of historic record that the Carroll, Greenberry, Hammond, Hopkins, Howard, Ridgely, Watkins, and Worthington families all used armorial trappings during the colonial period.

The genealogical histories of the early families are given with secondary sources as documentation. The photographs of the old houses and their history are features which should not be overlooked and should be of keen interest to the antiquarian. The location of the early plantations with their names and those of the original proprietors along the Severn and the Magothy will acquaint many of the present land owners with the history of their realty holdings, with the peculiar names given them at the time Lord Baltimore issued the letters-patent.

The technical features could not be improved upon. The book will find its place on the top shelf of all publications devoted to the state of Maryland.

Annapolis

HARRY WRIGHT NEWMAN

Those Incredible Methodists: A History of the Baltimore Conference of the United Methodist Church. Edited by Gordon Pratt Baker. (Baltimore: Commission on Archives and History, Baltimore Conference, 1972. Pp. ix, 597. \$6.95.)

This volume is a superior example of a familiar genre, the diocesan history. An annual conference, basic unit of Methodist geography as well as a fellowship of clergymen and lay leaders, seeks to perpetuate its past. It chooses one of two paths. The designated historian, a senior minister filled with interesting reminiscences, uses as model the Books of Judges or Kings and as source the printed conference journals. What emerges is a review of business at the annual sessions, studded with names and too few of the interesting reminiscences, a chronicle which is at best the stuff for more serious scholars to analyze later. Annual conference histories of this sort have been produced within this generation.

Yet, happily, a second path has led to more comprehensive narratives. A committee plans, assigns writing responsibilities—now to a single individual, again to several—and monitors the resulting study. The Book of Acts may serve as pattern, aided by seminary-caught wisdom from

followers of James Harvey Robinson, William Warren Sweet, Sidney E. Mead, and John Tracy Ellis. Emboldened by promised freedom of expression, writers vigorously share their sometime controversial views. The result may even add significantly to our awareness of organized religion's contribution to American life.

Baltimore Conference Methodism as here described is truly central to the denomination's history. Within these borders—Maryland, central Pennsylvania, and Virginia to the Rappahannock and from the Blue Ridge halfway across West Virginia—the American movement originates (a claim still not completely relinquished by New York), here it takes organized denominational form, here its preachers customarily meet in the early annual conferences, here its delegated General Conference originates and for years convenes. Even its chief schism, the Methodist Protestant Church, comes to life here. Baltimore Methodism likewise shares in the travail over slavery and the Civil War, promotes educational and missions work, has a significant development of parallel Methodism among blacks.

Equally diverse are the several strands of Methodism whose account this is, for the Baltimore Annual Conference has embraced the Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Protestant, and Methodist Episcopal South branches; the merged identity of these three into The Methodist Church (1939); and the unification which brought the Evangelical United Brethren into the present United Methodist Church in 1968. The narrative, mainly extending to 1965, climaxes when the Washington Conference of The Methodist Church's Central Jurisdiction joins Baltimore Conference.

Seventeen authors share in the writing. Many are senior and several retired, including two bishops. One writer, Edward G. Carroll, was elected bishop in July, 1972, after publication. Others have university or seminary affiliations, and a few are lay persons, including Florence Hooper, author of the spirited chapter on Methodism's persecuted majority, the women. Two, irrepensible Edwin Schell, executive secretary of the Conference historical society, and diplomatic historian Homer L. Calkin, are members of the denomination's Commission on Archives and History.

The volume has sixteen chapters averaging thirty pages, with any unevenness in quality redeemed by freshness of information or viewpoint. Schell draws the first controversial section, vigorously defending through Robert Strawbridge, Irish immigrant of the 1760s, the Maryland claim for priority of Methodist work in America. Likewise sharp is Schell's characterizing the separation of 1844-1846 as the "secession" of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, with accompanying southern "aggression" against Old Baltimore. Douglas R. Chandler in three chapters sensitively analyzes organic growth of Baltimore Conference Methodism between 1774 and 1820. Calkin brings to chapters on missions and slavery his usual thorough research and sensitive awareness of the larger national scene. Equally noteworthy is the account of Black Methodism, related by Bishop Edgar A. Love, the aforementioned Bishop Carroll, the Reverend N. B. Carrington, and layman Edward N. Wilson. Morgan College, founded and supported by Washington Conference before being taken over by the State in 1939, figures largely. The longest chapter, sixty pages by Asbury Smith, well summarizes social concerns since 1865, although his ten pages on the secular background could have been omitted without serious damage. The middle and concluding chapters deal with the theme of disunity—separations and divisions—and unity.

The hundred pages of "back material" contain the usual lists: conference sessions, general conferences held within the boundaries, bishops related to the conference, general conference delegates (ministerial and lay) from 1812 to 1970, and two pages of "Selected Statistics." Fifteen pages of "References," thirty-five of endnotes, a thirty page analytical index, and seven

pages giving brief sketches of authors, attest to the scholarly effort. Two endpaper maps and a dust wrapper engraving are the sole illustrations. A dozen typographical and minor factual slips mar only slightly, being redeemed by a healthy glimmer of doubt about preachers' statistical accuracy. (p. 98)

The note of wonder in the title, echoed in phrases such as "the heroic period," "these amazing folk," and a recurring "never have . . . never have . . . never have . . .," seems strained. Yet Baltimore Conference support of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, beleaguered by the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1953, and the evidence of a consistent thread of Methodist pacifism since the 1770s, are but two examples of appropriate social concerns. More might have been done with the perennial problem of the Church—to what extent does it merely reflect, and to what extent does it lead, society? One answer perhaps indicates much about this denomination, a century ago hailed as the "most American," in the region where its members number a tenth of the total population. To the 1965 Uniting Conference joining the black and white annual conferences, Bishop John Wesley Lord (his name alone is superb!) detailed these obstacles to church unity: "bustle, bigness, bureaucracy, bishops." The narrative of *Those Incredible Methodists* concurs.

Oklahoma State University

THEODORE L. AGNEW

BOOK NOTES

We have all become accustomed to the seasonal publication of giant coffee-table books, lavishly illustrated, immoderately priced, at best momentarily significant. But occasionally exceptions appear. *American Civilization: A Portrait From the Twentieth Century*. Edited by Daniel Boorstin. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972. Pp. 352. \$35.00.) stands head and shoulders above the folio crowd. Thirteen eminent authors address themselves to the question, what does it all add up to? Each contributor examines a separate thematic topic, from William H. Goetzmann's "Exploration's Nation: The Role of Discovery in American History" to Ernest R. May's "Missionary and World Power: America's Destiny in the Twentieth Century." Though the essays vary in quality, in general they are most perceptive. Each strives to elucidate the distinctiveness of the American experience. The result is a remarkably vivid word portrait of American civilization. Each essay is preceded by a dazzling melange of photographs, engravings, and maps—139 in full color, 565 in all. Picture books are now ubiquitous, and we have become almost jaded. These pictorial essays, however, are so well done that they do speak volumes. Seldom have text and illustrations been so complementary. This volume is a triumph, and we only hope that its success will allow it to be soon reissued in paperback at a less outrageous price.

Almost exactly a century ago the publishing firm of D. Appleton & Co., New York, commissioned teams of writers, artists, and engravers to roam the United States recording in prose and stunning engravings the natural and manmade wonders of this land. Two hefty volumes of *Picturesque America* subsequently appeared in 1872 and 1874. *America Was Beautiful*. Edited by Alice Watson. (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishing Company, paper edition, 1972. Pp. 116. \$5.95.) presents over a hundred of these beautifully delicate engravings (with appropriate commentary) for the modern reader, tastefully selected, and moderately priced. The result is a picture book of quiet distinction.

The Invention of the American Political Parties: A Study of Political Improvisation. By Roy F. Nichols. (New York: Free Press Paperback edition, 1972. Pp. xii, 416. \$3.95.) Narrative political history, which for many decades dominated the field of history, has lately slipped in popularity among academic historians. One of the ablest practitioners of the genre was Roy F. Nichols, who in 1967 summarized and synthesized years of scholarship in this book. Although it presented few interpretations of startling originality, it was filled with fresh details. Nichols avoided the gamesmanship of fancy methodology and arcane terminology as he concentrated on portraying clearly the vicissitudes of party development in the United States. Specialist and beginner alike will appreciate the erudition and style of Nichols's distillation. The paperback format is most welcome.

The Bosses. By Alfred Steinberg. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972. Pp. 379. \$8.95.) As one would expect of a successful writer of "popular" history and biography, Steinberg has authored a fast-paced, breezy account of six political bosses who flourished

during the 1920s and 1930s: Frank Hague, James Curley, Ed Crump, Huey Long, Gene Talmadge, and Torn Pendergast. His basic thesis, as summarized by the title of his introduction, is: "Some They Beat; Some They Bought; All They Swindled." Those who like muckraking and the exciting smell of political scandal will enjoy Steinberg's bloodhound approach. Those who desire a deeper understanding of the political and social forces that produced "bossism" will want to look elsewhere.

The Last Campaign: Grant Saves the Union. By Earl Schenck Miers. (Philadelphia & New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1972. Pp. 213. \$7.95.) Miers, who has written many books on the subject and personalities of the Civil War, here applies his skills to the final year or so of the conflict, describing the last great campaign from the Wilderness to Appomattox. The result—a volume in the Great Battles of History series—is colorful history written with verve. Although it suffers by comparison to such works as Bruce Catton's, it will deservedly find a place on the shelves of young Civil War fans.

For many Marylanders who were vaguely aware of the state's colonial literary heritage, J. A. Leo Lemay's recent *Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland* (soon to be reviewed in this *Magazine*) has awakened an interest in this often obscure literature. Such readers will be pleased to learn that what Lemay terms "a jewel in the genre of promotion literature" has been reprinted: *A Character of the Province of Mary-Land.* By George Alsop. (Bainbridge, N. Y.: York Mail-Print, Inc., 1972. Pp. xxvi, 125. \$6.75.) It is a facsimile of the John Gilmary Shea edition (1869) reprinted in 1880 by the Maryland Historical Society as *Fund-Publication* No. 15. The facsimile includes a brief introduction by Professor Robert A. Bain, who summarizes the bibliographical history of the text and discusses the literary interpretations of various scholars. A modern critical edition of the work is still to be published. Alsop was a roguish Royalist who came to Maryland as an indentured servant in late 1658 and returned to England in late 1663 or early 1664. His vivacious book broke loose from the stereotyped confines of promotional literature and is a satirical, bawdy, sometimes scatological account of England, the colony of Maryland, its inhabitants, and the prospects for immigrants. It also contains an interesting chapter on the local Indians. Guaranteed to intrigue and amuse contemporary readers. The reprint is for sale at the Maryland Historical Society.

Journey through a Part of the United States of North America in the Years 1844-46. By Albert C. Koch. Translated, edited, and with an Introduction by Ernst A. Stadler. (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972. Pp. xxxv, 177. \$12.50.) German-born Koch operated a museum in St. Louis—much like those of Barnum and Peale—filled with a wide assortment of natural (and unnatural) wonders. But his real love was paleontological exploration in which, though an amateur, he earned a remarkable reputation. In the mid-1840s he traveled the United States from Massachusetts to Louisiana in search of the remains of a gigantic sea serpent. His journal, filled with careful observations of geological formations, towns, American folkways, and a kaleidoscope of other topics, was excerpted and published in Germany in 1847. Mr. Stadler's sensitive translation makes the unusual travel account available to a wider audience. Stadler has provided a well-research sketch of Koch's career, and annotates the text with precision. Twenty-eight pages of nearly contemporary photographs enhance the edition.

Folk Medicine of the Delaware and Related Algonkian Indians. By Gladys Tantaquidgeon. (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Anthropological Series Number 3, 1972. Pp. 145. Cloth, \$4.00, paper, \$2.50.) This is a useful compilation of notes and commentary by a Mohegan Indian on the prevalent food use and curative application of a wide variety of plant life among four groups of Indians: the Oklahoma Delaware, the Delaware of Ontario, Canada, the Mohegans of Connecticut, and the Nanticokes of Sussex County, Delaware. Attention is also given to the general folk knowledge and beliefs of these people, including the prominence of signs, omens, and dreams. The material on the Mohegans was originally published in 1928; that on the Delaware first appeared in 1942. [Douglas Martin]

St. Ignatius, Hickory, and Its Missions. By Clarence V. Joerndt. (Forest Hill, Md.: St. Ignatius Church, 1972. Pp. 536. \$11.00 plus \$.50 for handling. The volume may be purchased from the church at 535 East Jarrettsville Road, Forest Hill, Md. 21050.) The author, originally from Wisconsin, settled in Harford County a few years ago. He immediately became interested in St. Ignatius Church, the oldest Catholic church in the Archdiocese of Baltimore, and has spent much time preparing its history. This book, published on the church's 180th anniversary, is the result. It is more than a history of one church; Mr. Joerndt has given 100 pages of copious details on its six daughter churches. Almost another 200 pages contain biographical sketches of St. Ignatius' priests. The volume is well researched and amply provided with footnotes and other evidences of authentication. It is a remarkable book, made more remarkable from the fact that Mr. Joerndt is a retired bank executive and not a trained historian. Would that such enthusiastic chroniclers existed for other religious edifices! [P. W. Filby]

Musical Journal. Edited by Benjamin Carr. 2 vols. (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1972. \$60.00.) The *Musical Journal* was a collection of music, issued from about 1800 to about 1804 in five volumes of approximately 100 pages. There were two sections, vocal and instrumental, one number (or four pages) of which was issued alternatively every week for 24 weeks. Some libraries and private collectors have fragmentary parts of this journal, but probably only the Library of Congress and the Free Library of Philadelphia hold a complete set, and therefore this reprint (from the Philadelphia set) is most welcome, and should be in any library boasting a music collection. [P. W. Filby]

The Palingenesis of Geoffrey Gambado & Other Reflections. By H. L. Straus. (Baltimore: Alumni Relations Office, The Johns Hopkins University, 1972. Pp. 94. \$12.50.) In 1808 a London publishing house issued *An Academy for Grown Horsemen*. It purportedly contained the recovered writings of the fictitious character, Geoffrey Gambado. Under the nom de plume Expositor, H. L. Straus, an official of the American Totalisator Company and a noted horseman and Master of the Fox Hounds in Maryland, has used Geoffrey Gambado for several satires. The manuscript was recently discovered and its publication in a limited edition of 250 copies will allow Harry Straus's many Maryland friends to enjoy once again his delightful sense of humor. Felicitous illustrations by Priscilla Fuller Menzies add to the charm of the book. [P. W. Filby]

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