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Volume 80
Number 2
Summer 1985
ISSN-0025-4258

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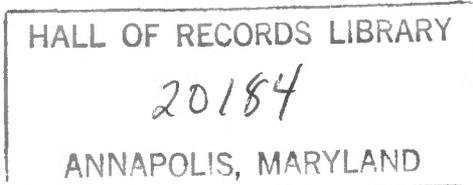
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Maryland Fraktur. Baptismal Certificate of Johan Valatin Ehrhart, born and baptised 1765, son of Georg Ehrhart and Catharina Laur, Deep Run, Frederick Co., MD. Printed 1784 [by Henrich Otto], block printed border decoration, hand-colored, 33.7 x 41.8 cm.

Gift of Judge Francis Neale Parke, 1933.
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The Civil War Courtship of Richard Mortimer Williams and Rose Anderson of Rockville

GEORGE M. ANDERSON, S.J.

RICHARD MORTIMER WILLIAMS (1841–1882) and Rose Anderson (1844–1910) were married in Rockville on November 15, 1864. Sometime between that date—perhaps even earlier—and the time of his death only eighteen years later, Williams sat down to describe in considerable detail the various stages of the courtship which preceded his wedding.

A major portion of this account, from which extracts appear at the end of the present introduction, has survived in a manuscript of over sixty pages written in Williams' own hand.¹ Although the first few pages are missing, along with page forty-five and whatever pages may have formed the conclusion, the manuscript stands as a relatively complete documentation of the courtship's inception and progress over a period of six months, from the spring of 1863 to January, 1864.

Williams was anxious "that every incident relating . . . to our marriage engagement . . . be included in this impartial sketch."² The result is an unusually full description of the comings and goings of young Rockville people and their middle-class elders, presented against the background of the Civil War which—in one way or another—touched the lives of all of them.

The interest of the manuscript is therefore three-fold. It sheds light on courtship conventions among prosperous Montgomery County families in the early 1860s; it provides glimpses into the daily life of those residing in the county seat at that period; and finally, it conveys a sense of the dis-

ruptions caused by the Civil War in a community of divided allegiances. The latter are repeatedly alluded to because the family of Rose Anderson was pro-South, while Williams himself was loyal to the Union.

The chronology of the courtship is recorded with exactness. Phrases like "Saturday morning, July 11th, '63"³ are frequent. They suggest that the manuscript was either written while the events of the courtship were still of recent occurrence, or else that Williams kept a diary which he could have referred back to at a later period in writing the fuller account.

The account, or sketch, as Williams calls it, was evidently intended for his immediate family, as a record of his love. But there may have been another reason for setting the story down on paper: he was a man with pronounced literary leanings. Mention is made of these leanings in the long obituary that appeared in the *Montgomery County Sentinel* of June 23, 1882. It is noted there that his father, Richard Walter Williams (1814–1890), a well-to-do farmer near Poolesville,⁴ wanted his son to follow in his footsteps and pursue a career in agriculture. According to the obituary notice, however, young Richard's tastes were "decidedly literary and averse to agriculture."⁵ Williams senior consequently allowed him to attend St. James College near Hagerstown (now known as St. James School), and then to move to Rockville as a law student in the office of Judge Richard Johns Bowie (1807–1881), "consumating thus the desire of his heart."⁶

The fact that he was accepted into the chambers of a local figure of the stature of Judge Bowie⁷ indicates that Richard was

Father Anderson lives in Washington, D.C.

perceived as a young man of ability. Even taking into consideration the kinds of encomiums common to nineteenth century obituaries of prominent citizens, there is the suggestion of a factual basis in statements like the following:

At the Bar he [Williams] directly gained a prominent position. In the practice of his profession he was honest and discreet as a counsellor . . . He always attracted the attention of his contemporaries at the Bar, as well as the consideration of the Court for his lucid and profound analysis of the law.⁸

It was probably more than Williams' abilities alone, though, which prompted Judge Bowie to accept him as a student and later to propose a co-partnership arrangement.⁹ Like Williams, he was staunchly pro-Union.¹⁰ The two thus shared the same political outlook at a time of national crisis, a circumstance which would have made a mutual liking and respect all the more understandable. So trusted was he on the personal level by both Judge Bowie and his wife, that Mrs. Bowie—apprehensive over the unsettled state of affairs in the county—requested him to spend a night at their home, Glenview, during a brief absence of the Judge's.¹¹

To some in the community, Williams' pro-Union stance was a source of friction. He seems to have expressed his views quite openly. Near the end of the manuscript, he writes:

I had made it my business to study, in a spirit of anxious and honest inquiry after truth, the merits of the unhappy contest—had taken my position with coolness and deliberation, and would never be shaken from it.¹²

But in exchange for adhering strongly to his position, he received a certain amount of mockery from other young Rockville men who were Southern sympathizers. Some tried to lessen him in Rose's esteem, without success:

She [Rose] . . . would frequently evince much mirth and merriment while relating some of the ridiculous and puny attempts of some of her admirers to depreciate me in her estimation. The particular "hobby"

of most of these appreciative gentlemen, who were generally very fair specimens of rural gentry to the manor born, was my political position. The only hope one of them had, as he told her, was, that I was "such a strong Union man," while another would like me prodigiously, and would never blame her for loving me, if I was "only a Southern man," as if domestic happiness was a thing to be regulated by planks in the platforms of political parties.¹³

Williams was quite aware of the awkwardness of being at variance with the political opinions of Rose's family, and acknowledges it: "It was my misfortune to differ with her father and many of her friends upon the great questions for the settlement of which an appeal had to be made to the dread arbitrament of war."¹⁴ But neither the difference of viewpoint with regard to Rose's family, nor the sarcasms of his peers, deflected him from his choice of a future wife.

Rose's father was Dr. John Wallace Anderson (1804–1867), who was himself the son of a Rockville physician, Dr. James Anderson (ca. 1770–1836). In 1831 John Anderson married Myra Magruder (1813–1872), who bore him eight children. The 1860 census for the Rockville (fourth) district lists them as follows, with their ages at that time: Julia, 20; Mary, 18; Rose, 16; James, 12; Fannie, 10; William, 8; and Ada, 2.¹⁵

The same 1860 census data identifies John Anderson as both doctor and farmer. The latter designation was made with reference to his farm of several hundred acres outside Rockville, near what is now Montgomery Junior College. It adjoined the farm of his brother, James Wallace Anderson.¹⁶ The tracts represented the brothers' shares of the 1200 hundred acre property originally owned by their father.

But John Anderson also owned a house in Rockville itself, at 100 South Washington Street, and it was here that the family spent most of its time. Identified by the name of its owner, it appears in the detailed inset map of Rockville at the top of Martenet and Bond's 1865 map of Montgomery County,¹⁷ at the corner of Jefferson Street and diagonally across from the Court

House. John inherited the house from his father.

The Martenet and Bond inset map is invaluable in understanding Williams' manuscript, because public buildings, hotels, stores, offices, as well as private residences, are all identified by name.¹⁸ When Williams speaks, for instance, of Miss Ursula Wilcoxon (1800–1876),¹⁹ one can quickly locate her house at the corner of North Washington Street and what has since become West Montgomery Avenue (then still a part of Commerce Lane). By the same token, his law office is to be found next to the Court House, clearly marked "R.M. Williams Atty." From the Court House, or from Montgomery House at which he may have had his rented room, he needed to walk only a few hundred yards to visit Rose at her father's home. Rockville in 1863 was indeed a small and self-contained world.

Dr. Anderson's home did double-duty as an office. Besides his private practice, he was also physician for the county jail two blocks away, near Monroe Street. In the *Montgomery County Sentinel* of July 25, 1862, it is noted in the annual statement of expenses of the Office of the Commissioners of Montgomery County that Dr. John Anderson had been paid \$16.65. In addition, the previous year's report of the Commissioners states that as a judge of the Orphans Court, he had received an annual payment of \$240.²⁰

Neither amount reflects the fact that Dr. Anderson was a man of substantial means. In the 1860 census the value of his personal estate is given as \$8000;²¹ his real estate was valued at \$16,000. Financially, then, he was almost at the same level as Richard Mortimer Williams' father. The census for the Medley (third) district in the same year lists Williams senior as having personal assets of \$11,420, and real estate valued at \$20,625. The total of over \$32,000 represented considerable wealth by the standards of the day. It is consequently not surprising that a match between two of the children of these men should have met with no disapproval on either side.

At the time of the courtship Williams was twenty-two, and Rose nineteen. As

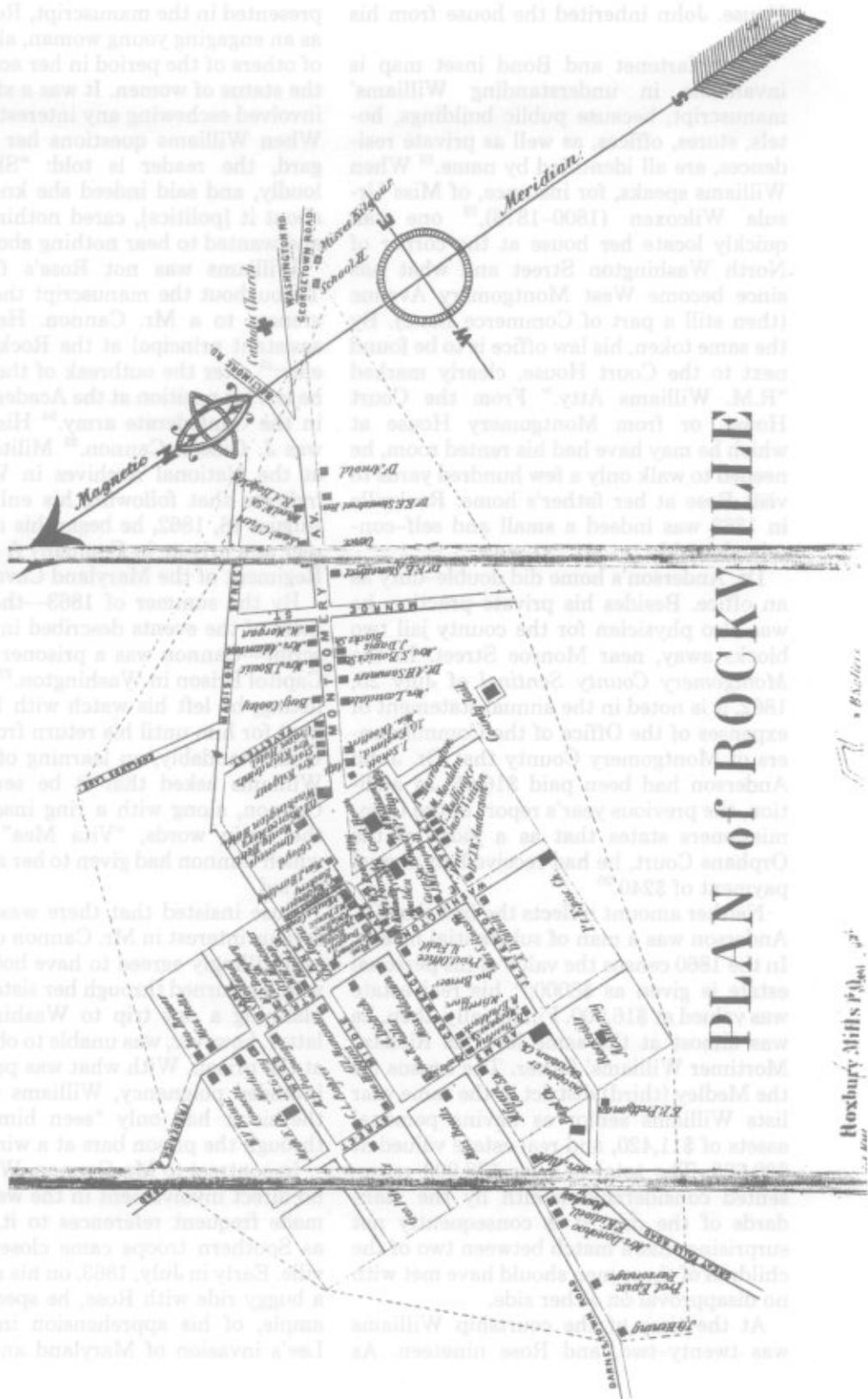
presented in the manuscript, Rose emerges as an engaging young woman, albeit typical of others of the period in her acceptance of the status of women. It was a status which involved eschewing any interest in politics. When Williams questions her in this regard, the reader is told: "She laughed loudly, and said indeed she knew nothing about it [politics], cared nothing about it, and wanted to hear nothing about it."²²

Williams was not Rose's first suitor. Throughout the manuscript there are references to a Mr. Cannon. He had been assistant principal at the Rockville Academy;²³ after the outbreak of the Civil War he left his position at the Academy to enlist in the Confederate army.²⁴ His full name was J. Gibson Cannon.²⁵ Military records at the National Archives in Washington indicate that following his enlistment on August 18, 1862, he began his military career as a private in Company A of the First Regiment of the Maryland Cavalry.²⁶

By the summer of 1863—the period of most of the events described in the manuscript—Cannon was a prisoner at the Old Capitol Prison in Washington.²⁷ Before enlisting, he left his watch with Rose, to be kept for him until his return from the war. Understandably, on learning of the watch Williams asked that it be sent back to Cannon, along with a ring inscribed with the Latin words, "Vita Mea" (my life), which Cannon had given to her at an earlier period.

Rose insisted that there was never any serious interest in Mr. Cannon on her part, and willingly agreed to have both ring and watch returned through her sister, who was planning a day trip to Washington. The latter, however, was unable to obtain a visit at the prison. With what was probably unintended poignancy, Williams writes that the sister had only "seen him [Cannon] through the prison bars at a window."²⁸

In contrast to Mr. Cannon, Williams had no direct involvement in the war.²⁹ But he made frequent references to it, especially as Southern troops came closer to Rockville. Early in July, 1863, on his return from a buggy ride with Rose, he speaks, for example, of his apprehension in regard to Lee's invasion of Maryland and Pennsyl-



PLAN of ROCKVILLE

Hoxbury Mills P.A. 1870

vania. But his apprehension immediately changed to elation when, entering the Court House, he saw a copy of the *Washington Star* that announced Lee's defeat.³⁰

Life in Rockville suffered few major disruptions during the Civil War, but individual instances of brutality in the surrounding county area served as constant reminders of how close the conflict was. The murder of an elderly Montgomery County man named Thomas Wilson by three Massachusetts soldiers caught stealing his pigs, is a commentary on the proximity of real violence. The *Sentinel's* caption to the story, "Another Murder by Soldiers," implies, moreover, that this type of incident was not rare:

We regret to learn that on Thursday afternoon of last week, three soldiers, belonging to the 22nd Massachusetts Regiment, went on the farm of Mr. Thomas N. Wilson, residing on the Washington and Brookeville turnpike, near the tollgate, in this county, and attempted to steal some of his pigs; but the old gentleman discovering them, rode out and expostulated with them, when he was knocked from his horse and bayoneted through the neck by one of the party, from the effects of which wound he died the next morning. Mr. Wilson was one of our most respectable and enterprising farmers, and highly esteemed by all who knew him.³¹

More typical of what was happening in Rockville itself was an incident which occurred at the time of General J.E.B. Stuart's raid on a federal supply train near the town late in June of 1863. Three prominent Union sympathizers (including Judge Bowie) were arrested by Confederate soldiers and detained in the Episcopal church on South Washington Street. Alluding to the episode, Williams speaks admiringly of Rose's taking the prisoners "food prepared with her own hands."³²

But such drama was unusual. In July, 1863—less than a month after General Stuart's appearance in late June—life in Rockville went on by and large as it always

had, even with respect to its purely social aspects. Toward the end of the manuscript, Williams remarks: "As the summer [of 1863] advanced I was with her [Rose] frequently in much company, and at rural picnics and places of pleasure."³³ The Debating Society continued to meet at the Academy as usual,³⁴ and in September "a festival was given in a large hall in the Agricultural Fair Grounds near this village for the benefit of the Protestant Episcopal Church."³⁵

In view of Williams' literary bent, a few words on his style may be in order. At times the writing in the manuscript is marked by a somewhat ponderous quality, in part because of a fondness for words of Latin origin like *perambulate* and *egregiously*. It is a fondness which would have stemmed from his classical education. Overall, however, he writes with grace and clarity. Dialogue is deftly handled—an important consideration for one as given as Williams was to reporting conversations with Rose and other Rockville figures.

From deletions in the manuscript of words still legible, it is plain that he tried hard to achieve what he felt to be the proper turn of phrase. At the moment of his proposal, for instance, he had originally said of Rose: "She lifted her heavenly blue eyes."³⁶ Apparently sensing that the pair of adjectives, "heavenly blue," weakened rather than strengthened the sentence as a whole, he struck them out.

In a number of places there are descriptive touches which point to a sensitivity for perceiving significant detail. During the afternoon of Monday, July 6, 1863, Williams called on Rose at her father's house. As she entered the room, he noticed "a few slight marks" on one side of her face, and realized that she must have just been awakened from a nap by the servant who had admitted him.³⁷

Williams' striving for authentic detail is not always successful. Of one occasion during a buggy ride—the majority of his longer

FIGURE 1.

Inset map of Rockville, from Martenet and Bond's 1865 map of Montgomery County. Richard Mortimer Williams' law office can be seen near the center, next to the court house. Dr. Anderson's home is below, just to the left.



FIGURE 2.

Photograph taken on June 18, 1893, of the Rockville home of Dr. John W. Anderson. Rose Anderson Williams is at the far right. The other figures, from left to right, are: Jennie Williams (Rose's daughter), Sallie Griffith, Captain James Anderson, James Anderson Jr., Julia Anderson (Rose's sister), and Rose Anderson (Rose's daughter). At the time of the photograph, Rose had been a widow for eleven years. It was taken by the younger of her two sons, Walter, then in his late teens, shortly before the house was razed.

conversations with Rose take place in the desired privacy of a slow-moving vehicle in isolated surroundings—he says of her:

She had torn some leaves from the branches of a tree under which we passed, and was biting and chewing them, when I paused. She raised her eyes again, and as she looked at me a sweet smile stole over her countenance, and she gently threw the leaves in my face.³⁸

The image of chewed leaves thrown in a suitor's face may, to some, seem infelicitous. But on the whole Williams' choice of the details is apt. They give to the story of the courtship a concreteness which helps present—day readers to enter more fully into the lives of two young people who fell in love with each other in Rockville in the spring and summer of 1863.

EXCERPTS FROM RICHARD MORTIMER
WILLIAMS' ACCOUNT OF HIS COURTSHIP
OF ROSE ANDERSON

[The account³⁹ opens with Williams' description of a conversation with Rose at the conclusion of

a "singing circle" during a social gathering at the home of young friends in Rockville in the spring of 1863. Although they had already known each other for several months, this encounter marks the point at which their relationship assumed a serious character. During the conversation, reference is made to their views on the Civil War, referred to as "the national troubles."]

I entered immediately into conversation with the young lady, and found her most agreeable indeed—evincing as much affability and geniality of feeling as I imagined I possessed myself. Since the commencement of the national troubles many old friends and associates had by political differences of opinion become estranged and separated from each other—society in this locality had become very much agitated and divided—and this entertainment attended as it was by many persons of both political parties, was a kind of reunion of the har-

mony and friendship that existed before the war.

This was one of the first subjects that engaged the conversation which was now growing interesting between the young lady and myself. We agreed exactly; our sentiments and feelings upon this unhappy subject seemed to be identical. She thought it extremely foolish, she said, in any person because he could not view any subject as others did, to therefore entertain feelings of animosity against them, and refuse to associate with them. She regretted exceedingly the extent to which these differences and animosities had been carried in this community, and hoped the time was now at hand when they would be abandoned and discontinued.

She fully concurred with me also in thinking it the duty of young ladies in particular to abstain from participation in all discussions and conversations of a political character. For herself she would say that she knew, and cared to know very little about the subject, and had never indulged in any harsh feelings toward anyone on account of his opinions but that she deplored the terrible civil strife in which the country had become involved, and ardently desired the restoration of peace and good feeling everywhere.

I was as much surprised as pleased to hear her express such sentiments as these, as I had been led to believe from what I had frequently heard, that all of her father's family were most violent and strenuous in advancing their political doctrines. We conversed at length upon several subjects, and I regarded her according to my humble judgment as a young lady of very fine sense—in short her ideas were so good, so candid, so liberal, and so well expressed, that she made upon me a most favorable impression, and I resolved if it proved agreeable to *her*, to seek her company soon again.

* * *

[Williams initially began visiting Rose's home with a friend.]

At length with a young gentleman I called upon her. I remember most distinctly the words of cordial welcome with which she

received us. I spent the evening very pleasantly, and upon taking leave was invited to call again. A few weeks after this I sat in my room one evening with my chum,⁴⁰ and began to debate with myself on the propriety of visiting this young lady again . . . I had thought something of becoming, if she should allow me, one of her regular visitors; but that there was an obstacle, and that was a fear I entertained that my zeal in pursuit of her might lead me to neglect my business.

"Not a bit of it," became his [the chum's] accustomed reply. "I like you both," said he, "and should like to see you interested in each other." "Miss Rose is a good girl," he reiterated, "and is well worthy of your admiration. As to your business," he continued, "I know you well enough to know that you will have the resolution to attend properly to that, while you ought occasionally to relieve your mind with a little pleasure and recreation. No man ought to think all the time of study."

* * *

[The first mention is made of a previous suitor, J. Gibson Cannon.]

From this time I visited her occasionally, and always with the greatest pleasure. She gave me every reason to admire her the more, and every encouragement that I could desire. Although I had frequently heard that she was engaged to be married to a young man who had joined the Southern army, I thought my senses must be egregiously perverted, if her treatment to me did not indicate more than ordinary civility. I had known something of this young man, and although he was very kind and very gentlemanly to me, I confess that after I had formed her acquaintance, I could not be induced to believe that she had ever intended to marry him.

* * *

[A picnic at Veirs' Mill⁴¹ is described.]

On the afternoon of Sunday May 23rd '63 we were taking a walk. On the next day which was Whitsuntide Monday, there was to be a picnic or fishing party at Veirs' Mill about three miles from the village, which

we both expected to attend . . . Monday morning May 24th '63, the weather was cloudy, and gave promise of rain, but grew something brighter towards the middle of the day, and by twelve o'clock [*sic*] there was quite a large collection of ladies and gentlemen at the appointed place for pleasure. It was a beautiful lawn covered with the green grass of Spring, well shaded, and encircled on one side by a running brook of deep, clear water. Here it was that those first favorable impressions which I have described, began to grow and ripen into something more serious.

* * *

[During the outing at Veirs' Mill, Williams borrows a buggy and goes for a ride with Rose. On their return, he enters into conversation with Miss Lizzie Beall, an unmarried older woman well known in Rockville.]⁴²

We found ourselves back to the company. I helped her from the buggy, and a gentleman, another of her admirers whom I had never seen before, coming up, and shaking hands with us both, I left her in his charge, and sought the company of our friend, Miss Lizzie Beall. Miss Lizzie was commonly known as "a rich old maid" residing in Rockville. She was a most kind, genial, and charitable lady, as well as one of superior sense, cultivation, and intelligence—a perfect enthusiast upon the subject of her "Rose" and myself, and a sincere and devoted friend of mine . . . She seemed to dote herself on the prospect of an attachment between her "Rose" and myself, and was never so happy as when we seemed to be cultivating a real fondness for each other. As I approached her on this occasion she said, "I have been watching you, sir. You have been very sly in your movements, but I found you out long ago, and now other people are finding you out . . ."

I had a most agreeable walk home in company with Miss Lizzie, who soon began to manifest the deep interest she felt in the attention which I had paid to her "Rose." It was quite interesting, indeed, to observe how ingeniously she framed her inquiries to ascertain in an innocent way, if "Rose" and myself had become engaged that evening. She spoke constantly in praise of

"Rose," saying repeatedly that she was one of the most sweet and sincere girls she ever knew, and that she would suit me exactly. "You know," said she, "that Rose has had many admirers." "So I have understood," I answered. "Well, I told her this evening I thought she had got the right one at last." I thanked her most profoundly for the high compliment she had paid me, and said I expected Miss Rose could hardly be persuaded to that belief. "Yes indeed she can," said Miss Lizzie most earnestly, "she thinks a great deal of you." And in this vein the conversation went on . . . From this period my visits became still more frequent. The young lady showed me every favor, and it seemed to be understood, as well by ourselves as others, that a deep and lasting attachment was growing up between us.

* * *

[Williams describes the appearance of J.E.B. Stuart's troops in Rockville on Sunday, June 28, 1863—about a month after the picnic at Veirs' Mill. His description of the enthusiasm of many residents suggests that a majority were Southern sympathizers. The arrest of Judge Bowie and two others is noted.]

On the 28th day of June, 1863, a Confederate raid on a grand scale, was made through the County, and Gen. Stewart [*sic*] with three or four thousand men, remained in this village nearly all that day. Many persons, and particularly ladies, were very much excited, and behaved in a very unbecoming manner, but this young lady [Rose] preserved remarkable calmness and coolness, and exhibited her usual good sense and good judgment in every emergency. Instead of hussaing for "Jeff Davis," and waving flags and handkerchiefs, she sought those in distress, and like an angel ministered to their wants. Messers Bowie, Dawson, and Higgins,⁴³ prominent Union citizens, were under arrest in the Episcopal church, and while she gave them food prepared with her own hands, she betrayed the [words deleted] of her nature. Said the first named gentleman to me a few days afterward, "Her conduct was most charming indeed."

A few evenings after this raid . . . I met her at Mrs. Forrest's⁴⁴ in company with

several persons of both political sects, and the events of the previous Sunday formed, of course, the one main topic of a warm and animated conversation. I observed that everyone present had something to say on the subject but herself—she was silent. I walked home with her, and on the way she told me of a report that was circulating to the effect, that on the day of the raid I had become very much alarmed for my safety, and sought refuge in Mr. George Peter's⁴⁵ house, begging him to take care of me until the Confederates should take their departure. She said she paid no regard whatever to the story, and had only repeated it to let me know that it had been put afloat. I thanked her, and simply remarked that so far from my having concealed myself on that day, I had endeavored to maintain a perfect coolness, and made it a point to keep myself among the soldiers, and in conversation with them.

* * *

[A few days after J.E.B. Stuart's appearance in Rockville, Williams and Rose go for another buggy ride to visit the family of Mr. Hodges, a few miles outside the town. As they pass the Rockville Academy, at which Mr. Cannon had taught until the outbreak of the Civil War, he remarks on a pun on Cannon's name.]

As we passed the Academy where Mr. Cannon more than a year before had held sway as pedagogue, I was reminded of a singular pun which a negro had that morning played off on Mr. C's name at my expense. He said he had noticed me quite often of late in his part of the town "waiting on Miss Rose," and if I was not careful, I would find on some evening a big brass thing on four wheels coming down from the direction of the school house after me. I related the negro's joke to her, at which she laughed quite freely, and said she presumed that "big brass thing on four wheels" would never be seen again in that region.

[A summer storm overtakes them before they reach the Hodges.]

We came to a tobacco house on the road, but as we were already well drenched, and as the residence of Mr. Hodges⁴⁶ was now in sight, we concluded to reach it in defi-

ance of the storm, which now appeared to be increasing. There were five or six gates on the road leading directly up to the house, and it must have been very trying to the young lady's patience to "stand the storm," while I got out from the buggy, and in no great haste opened each one as we came to it, and led "Dixie" through. Our friends met us cordially, and joined us in the laugh over our misfortune. Miss Ginnie Hodges was kind enough to invite her friend, Miss Rose, into her wardrobe, and a toddy a piece which Mr. Hodges forced (!) us to take, soon made us forget the trials through which we had just passed.

[Because of the storm, Williams and Rose remain at the Hodges until the following morning—July 5, 1863. On the ride back to Rockville, Williams questions Rose about the ring she is wearing.]

Here I took her by the left hand, and pretended an attempt to remove from her finger a plain gold ring, which I noticed she had been wearing for some time. She withdrew her hand, took off the ring herself, and asked me to read the inscription in it. I took it and read, "Vita Mea"—"My Life," and said it was a very neat motto. She then asked if I knew whose ring it was. I said I did not. "Can't you guess?" she asked. "I cannot indeed," I answered, "if it is not your own." She then told me that it belonged to Mr. Cannon; that a very few days after he had been acquainted with her, he had sent it to her accompanied with a note, requesting her in the most earnest manner to accept it, and adding that it would place her under no obligation whatever to him. She had never accepted it, she continued, and had made it a point never even to wear it in his presence. I remarked that it appeared to me to be altogether an extraordinary proceeding.

We were now near the village. We had of course travelled very slowly, and were overtaken and passed by Mr. Hodges' carriage on its way to church. I told her that if it would be agreeable to her, I would seek an early opportunity to resume the conversation we had commenced, and asked her what day would be likely to suit her convenience if she felt inclined to do so. Said she looking up, and laughing, "Then you

are not afraid of that 'big brass thing on wheels?'" "O no," I answered, "I don't think that Cannon will ever hurt anybody." "Any day then," said she, "that is suitable to you, will be satisfactory to me."

[Having left Rose at her father's house upon their return from the Hodges, Williams goes to the Rockville Court House, where he learns of General Lee's defeat.]

I helped her from the buggy—declined going in, but turned, and drove slowly down the street. I felt of course a sense of relief. I had just been fully confirmed in the belief that this young lady was willing to trust me with her affections. I said to myself as I went along that I had found a safe avenue to her heart—I had "broken the ice"—I had paved the way, and could now talk freely to her upon any subject without a "flutter of spirits," or a fear of reproach.

But amid all this joy and satisfaction there was one saddening thought. The Confederate army under Gen. Lee had invaded Maryland and Pennsylvania, was concentrated within the borders of the latter State, and according to latest accounts a pitched battle was imminent there which would perhaps decide the fate of the nation. What will the delights I have felt this day be worth, I thought, if the Federal army should be defeated, Washington City sacked and destroyed, and the State of Maryland overwhelmed with carnage and revolution?

I gave the horse and vehicle in charge of the ostler, and walked up to the Court house door where several gentlemen were sitting. The Washington Star of the evening before lay on a chair. I took it in my hands, and glanced casually down its columns. Soon they met in large capital headings the memorable words, "Glorious Victory of the Federal arms!" "Lee defeated and in full retreat for the Potomac!" I read eagerly the meagre accounts, which were as cheering as a loyal man, and patriotic Marylander, could desire, gave devout thanks to God for the fortune that had smiled on me that day, and with a tranquil mind, and gladsome heart, prepared for church.

[Apprehensive because of the proximity of Con-

federate troops, Judge Bowie's wife asks Williams to stay overnight at Glenview during the judge's absence from Rockville. Before going to Glenview, Williams pays a brief visit to Rose.]

On Monday [July 6, 1863] about twelve o'clock Mrs. R.J. Bowie called on me, and requested that as her husband, Judge Bowie (with whom I was studying) was absent, I should spend the night with her at Glenview, her home. I could not with propriety decline or refuse. It was not, however, a clear afternoon, and I felt very well satisfied, under the circumstances, to defer a little longer the solemn interview which had been appointed. Accordingly, about three o'clock I called at Dr. Anderson's and asked the servant for "Miss Rose."

In a few moments she appeared, and said she presumed from her appearance that I needed not to be told that she had been asleep. I perceived that her slumbers had been abruptly disturbed, and that they had given one side of her face a few slight marks, but yet I could hardly help remarking that she was beautiful. She was attired in a neat calico dress, her dark brown hair wore a rich gloss, and round her [word unclear] neck there was a delicate gold chain, to which was suspended a little gold cross . . . I remained with her for an hour or two, spoke of our conversation of the day before and of my anxiety to resume it, but said that with her permission I would defer it a short time further, to comply with Mrs. Bowie's request.

[Williams accompanies Judge Bowie on a trip to Washington on July 10, 1863. That evening he attends an "Exhibition" by the students at the Academy.]

Friday I accompanied Judge Bowie to Washington. On our return the clouds disappeared, the sun shone out brightly, the atmosphere was mild and balmy, and about five o'clock it was as beautiful an evening as I had ever witnessed. We arrived at Rockville in time for me to attend an Exhibition⁴⁷ which was to be given that evening by the boys of the Academy in the Court house. I saw the young lady there, but could not get an opportunity to speak to her, as I was in charge of Mrs. Bowie.

* * *

[Two other local figures are introduced, John Dickerson Poole⁴⁸ and Billie Veirs.⁴⁹]

Saturday morning, July 11th '63, the sky was cloudless, the temperature was warm, and everything wore an exhilarating and cheerful aspect. I had seen my friend, Mr. John Dickerson Poole, in Washington the day before, who had made an engagement to come by Rockville on the next day (Saturday), and accompany me to Poolesville, my native village, about eighteen miles from Rockville. Mr. Poole arrived about two o'clock and as the day was warm, we decided to take the cool of the evening for our ride, and arranged to start at four in the afternoon. I asked him if he wished to call at Dr. Anderson's before leaving town. He said he did, but that I could not go with him, unless I would "take Miss Rose out riding." This gentleman's reasons for imposing this condition may be easily imagined, when it is remembered that "Miss Rose" had two very interesting sisters yet single, older than herself.⁵⁰ I very readily agreed, therefore, to this suggestion to go out riding, and said we would call together at half after twelve o'clock.

In the meantime I proceeded to secure a horse and buggy for the proposed ride, and was overheard making inquiries to that end in the "Montgomery House" by my *ardent* friend,⁵¹ Billie Veirs Esq., who pressed me to join him in a julep, and declared that I might, could, would, and should take his horse and buggy, use it as *long* as I pleased, ride as far as I pleased, and return it *when* I pleased. I thanked him for his kind offer, and said I could not consent to use his horse and buggy while he might be wanting it himself. To this he answered that he did not *not* want it himself, that I *must* take it, and ordered the ostler to have it ready immediately. Under such pressing manifestations of genuine kindness I of course had to yield.

At the appointed hour my friend, Mr. Poole, and myself were at Dr. Anderson's. In a few moments I proposed the ride to the young lady, and she assented. I departed and returned in a short time with Mr. Veirs' fine black horse in a no-top

buggy. We took the road leading from this village to the Great Falls on the Potomac.

* * *

[During a ride to Great Falls on Saturday, July 11, 1863, Williams proposes marriage and is accepted.]

"My dear girl, if you have given the subject your deep and earnest reflection, and have deliberately and firmly made up your mind upon it, *I am willing*, if you are this evening, to form a solemn engagement for marriage." She lifted her eyes, and as she looked lovingly and calmly in my face, she said, "*I am willing*." "Do you believe," I asked, "that it is in my power to make you always happy, and that you will always love me most ardently, earnestly, and faithfully?" "I do." "Do you believe that I will always love you with all my heart, and that it will always be the chief end and aim of my life to make you happy?" "I do." "Do you confide in me so far as to be willing to pledge your love and your life to me without knowing anything of my ability to take proper care of you?" "Yes," said she, "and even farther . . ."

When we had gone a little farther, I said, "Shall I mention the subject of our engagement to your father?" "You may do so if you think proper," was her reply. "But there will be plenty of time for that," I resumed, "and perhaps it would be better to defer it a few months." To this she agreed also, and I then alluded to the subject of "a time" when it would be proper to carry our engagement into execution. She said she could say nothing as to that matter at this time. I simply remarked that her own convenience and not mine in respect to a proper time, was to be consulted, and here the matter dropped . . .

"Let us," said I, "endeavor to keep our promise of marriage to ourselves, and not reveal to any human being what has occurred between us this evening." "Yes," said she, "we will keep it as quiet as Mr. White and Miss Sarah Ellen did their engagement."⁵² No one knew of their contemplated marriage a week before it came off." "I hope," said I, "that unlike the vast majority of your sex, you will prove yourself capable of keeping a secret, and worthy of the del-

icate trust which I have committed to your keeping. The practice of keeping what are called *confidants* is a humbug, and is only an excuse and a license for gossips and tattlers." "I agree with you exactly," said she; "I never had a confidant—on the contrary, I am often scolded by my sisters for the obstinacy with which I refuse to talk about things which do not concern me."

* * *

[On the return trip from Great Falls, the matter of Mr. Cannon's watch is raised.]

We were now passing the Academy in return when she remarked that there was a little matter upon which she presumed she ought to have my opinion. I asked what it was, and she went on to tell me that a short time before Mr. Cannon went to Dixie he offered her his watch, saying that if he took it with him in all probability it would be lost, or taken from him, and that as he liked her better than anyone else, he desired her to keep it in her possession. She positively refused to comply with his wishes, declaring that she did not want his watch, but that when he crossed the river [the Potomac] he persisted in giving it to Henry Hodges,⁵³ who was with him, and requested that gentleman to bring it to her. She disliked very much to take it from Mr. Hodges, but her mother was of the opinion that she could not well do otherwise, and thus she was forced to do so.

Mr. Cannon was then a prisoner of war in the Old Capitol at Washington, and she was anxious, she said, to dispose of the article in some way, and desired to know what I thought of it. I expressed some surprise, and responded that there would be time enough to think over the matter, but my first impressions were that she ought to send it to the owner at Washington, if she could, or at least get rid of it in some way as early as practicable.

It was four o'clock when we arrived at her father's house. We found Miss Mary, her sister, alone, who desired to know *where in this world we had been*, and said that Mr. Poole had directed her to say to me on my arrival that I must come immediately down to the hotel where I would find him. I bade the young ladies farewell, and was soon

with my friend, but he had determined as the evening was very warm not to start for Poolesville until next morning. I spent a week at Locust Grove (my father's residence) near Poolesville, and returned once more to see if my Rose was still blooming, and still radiant and sparkling with the dews of Heaven.

* * *

[Later in July, 1863, Williams discusses with Rose the question of religious affiliation.]

I did not hesitate to say that I entertained a preference for the Protestant Episcopal Church. I had heard Presbyterian proclivities attributed to her, but knew nothing of the truth of them. It was plain that a disagreement on this subject might be the source of much trouble and difficulty to us both, and was important enough to deter parties otherwise well suited to each other, from joining themselves in marriage. She answered that she had not the slightest inclination to become a Presbyterian, but on the other hand she was an ardent and devout lover of all the institutions of the Episcopal Church.

* * *

[In response to a question by Williams, Rose denies that she ever led Mr. Cannon to think his affection for her was reciprocated.]

"Well indeed," said she, "I never treated him badly. I never deceived him. I did tease him a little sometimes for fun, but I never intended to do him a wrong. The poor creature was forever running after me, and no matter where I went, I could get no peace from him. I repeatedly told him I cared nothing for him, and never wanted to see him, but he would not stay away from our house, and Mamie and Ginnie Hodges were always encouraging him, and telling him that I was going to have him. What could I do?" she asked.

* * *

[Williams visits Miss Ursula Wilcoxon, an elderly spinster. An anonymous letter is discussed.]

[I went to] Miss Ursula Wilcoxon's,

where I was in the habit of spending Wednesday evenings pleasantly in instructing a small class of girls and boys in the rudiments of the Latin language. This evening, in consequence of the ride I had taken, I was a little later than usual, and found a portion of the class preparing to leave. I gave them all their lesson, however, and after sitting a few moments, began to bid them adieu, when Miss Wilcoxon said she desired me to read a letter which she handed me. I glanced my eye hurriedly over it, and found that it was an anonymous communication, addressed to her, of a most vulgar, villainous, and slanderous nature.

I was spoken of as a "young lawyer" [*sic*], paying my addresses to Miss Anderson, while Miss Wilcoxon was represented as slandering that young lady in the interest of her own niece, who was denominated a "brazen brat" for presuming to expect any attention from me. It was evidently the work of a vicious, depraved, and degraded mind, having for its ultimate object a complete rupture between my girl and myself. Miss Wilcoxon complained very bitterly that she should be singled out, and treated in this way . . .

* * *

[Rose's sister makes her unsuccessful attempt to return the watch and the "Vita Mea" ring to Mr. Cannon at the Old Capitol Prison in Washington.]

It was a week at least after our arrangements had been made respecting Mr. Cannon's watch, and ring, before her sister made the visit to Washington. We were walking one evening shortly after her sister's return, when I asked if she had sent the watch according to our understanding, with a copy of the note I gave her. She answered that upon a careful perusal of it after her arrival at home, she had concluded that I was right in thinking it too strong, and that she had written a brief one of her own instead, but that her sister out of sympathy for Mr. Cannon, without knowing even what were its contents, had refused to be its bearer.

I told her that, after all, I was gratified that the note I prepared had not been sent, and that I had frequently thought, since

giving it to her, that it would be better to postpone any kind of letter or communication to him till after his release. She said her sister had been unable to have an interview with Mr. C., although she had seen him through the prison bars at a window, and that therefore she had brought back the watch which was again in her possession.

* * *

[In September, 1863, during a benefit for the Episcopal church in a hall on the grounds of the Montgomery County Agricultural Society, Williams persuades Rose that the time has come for her father to be informed of their engagement.]

Sometime in the month of September there was a festival given in a large hall in the Agricultural Fair Grounds⁶⁴ near this village for the benefit of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It was well attended by the young and the gay, and was an occasion of much pleasure. It was announced that on the second evening in order to secure many purchasers for the remaining articles, there would be an inducement in the nature of "tripping it on the light fantastic toe." It proved to be a most spirited and delightful little entertainment. My girl and myself after "tripping it" until we were tired, withdrew ourselves to a secluded corner of the building, and took our seats side by side in a window. It was here that I told her I wished to inform her father of the engagement between us, and to ask his approbation.

She hesitated at first to give her assent to the arrangement, and I entered upon a regular lecture to convince her of its necessity. I told her that if her mind had been solemnly made up to marry me, there could be no possible reason why her father, who would naturally possess a deep interest in the matter, should not know all about it; that it was necessary in order to be assured that there would be no objection and opposition on the part of her mother; that it would secure to me the privilege of visiting her when I pleased, and every other privilege which the nature of my position would justify; and that our engagement, though sealed with our own adjurations of love and constancy, was not consummated until it

was stamped with the approval of every member of her father's family . . .

* * *

[The topic of informing Rose's father arises again a month later; Williams alludes further to the difference of political opinion existing between him and Dr. Anderson.]

A short time after this (in the early part of October [1863]), we took another buggy ride to Mr. Hodges', and spent the evening. On our return I mentioned once more the subject of seeking her father's views upon our intended marriage. I repeated the considerations which appeared to be to make that course proper, and politic, and said I should never let her determine the matter for herself. She promptly agreed that it would be proper to inform him, and I said that I would avail myself of an early opportunity to do so, and would tell her the result the next time I saw her.

It was a calm Autumn evening, and as we rode slowly along, we rehearsed many incidents relating to the origin and progress of our engagement, and both expressed ourselves as thus far perfectly satisfied with the conduct of each other. With respect to the subject of politics, however, I told her I had heard her make use of expressions which while they were in themselves entirely inoffensive, might lead some persons to infer that she was something of a politician, and I wished that she would be particular in the future to maintain herself wholly non-committal upon the subject of the unfortunate strife now convulsing the country. She said she recollected nothing of the expressions alluded to, and would hereafter be careful to give no person reason for judging her sympathies to be on one side or the other.

A scrupulous maintenance of this resolution, I reminded her, was especially important because it was my misfortune to differ with her father and many of her friends upon the great questions for the settlement of which an appeal had been made to the dread arbitrament of war, and while I respected her father personally as much as a man could, and honored him highly for the calmness and liberality with which he was wont to advance his political

belief, it was plain that I could not harmonize my views with his. In the same way, I continued, I had differed with my own father, and all the relations I had in the world, and while I did not for a moment question their sincerity and candor, I could not suffer them to prescribe a theory and a doctrine for me.

* * *

[Later in the same month—October, 1863—Williams formally asks Dr. Anderson for Rose's hand in marriage. The conversation takes place in Judge Bowie's office in the Court House.]

In a few days I met her father in the office of the clerk of the Court, and asked him to come, when he found himself at leisure, in Judge Bowie's office, where I was studying. In a few moments he appeared. I gave him a seat, took one myself, and proceeded to make known my business with him. I told him that his daughter had done me the honor to favor my addresses, had acknowledged an attachment for me, and a willingness to marry me, and that she had concurred with me in deeming it proper to acquaint him with the facts, and to seek his approbation.

He answered that he had no objection, that she was old enough to make a choice to suit herself, and that there would not be the slightest obstacle interposed either by himself, or any member of his family. In giving her to me he would express the hope that she would be well taken care of,⁵⁵ and he thought it well enough to add that there would be no property given with her. I promptly replied that I wanted no property, that I had asked only for her, deeming her alone worthy enough to be asked for, and that with respect to taking care of her I would only say that I had not entered into this matter without a due sense of the solemn responsibility under which it placed me, and he might rest assured that it would even be the special pride and purpose of my life to honor her and to make her happy. I next requested him to mention the matter to Mrs. Anderson, which he said he would do, and soon bade me good evening.

* * *

[A few days later, Rose reports her mother's initial reaction to the news of the engagement.]

Before taking my departure [from Dr. Anderson's house at the time of the next visit] I asked if she had heard anything of the conversation which had taken place between her father and myself. Nothing, she answered, but one little remark made by her mother respecting it. "What was that?" I asked. After a few moments' hesitation, she said her mother had approached her a few days before, saying, "Rose, you don't know what's hanging over your head—Mr. Williams has been talking to your Pa about you."

At this she ran, made good her escape, and that was the last of it. I told her I much regretted she had not remained and held a serious conference with her mother on the subject. At some convenient time, I told her, I would relate at length her father's conversation with me—for the present I would only say that his consent and approbation had been most freely given. Time passed on, and nothing worthy of special mention, touching our engagement, occurred till near the middle of the month of December. We met often, and the intercourse between us was always of the most warm, and genial, and affectionate character.

* * *

[1863 comes to an end; the engagement is increasingly strengthened.]

The year 1863 was now drawing rapidly to a close. Nearly six months had elapsed since that simple but beautiful and expressive phrase, "I am willing," had been written in letters of love upon our hearts, and nothing had yet deranged or disturbed in the slightest degree, the sacred relations we had cultivated toward each other. I was with her almost at all times when not occupied with the duties appertaining to my intended profession, and it was a matter of no little satisfaction and felicity to me to know that the fondness with which I sought her company, was always appreciated with welcome and cordial affection.

Christmas day I spent with her most pleasantly at her home. A few days after,

in compliance with previous arrangements, we spent another day at Mr. Hodges'. This was the third or fourth visit we had paid there together—and the third or fourth time we had conversed on our way in return, upon matters touching our prospective marriage. I related all the particulars of the interesting interview held with her father relative to his opinion and approbation, and once more asked if in all her reflections and anticipations of the future her mind had ever entertained a single solitary doubt of my entire ability to make her a happy girl. "Never; no, never," was her felicitating answer.

A short time before this she had told me of the earnestness with which her mother had pressed her to favor the visits of "a wealthy young man," and I deemed it my duty to question her a little farther about this matter. "If it be true," said I, "that your mother prefers that you should give your hand in marriage to this young man, may she not regard me as an obstacle to the fulfillment of her purpose—and may not my visits be repugnant and unwelcome to her? I am extremely sensitive upon this point, and trust that you will answer me in the full frankness and freedom of your nature."

"No, indeed," said she, "Ma knew long ago that I would never agree to marry Remus Dorsey⁵⁶—long before either she or I ever knew you. I do assure you," continued she, "that she likes you very much—she thinks a great deal of you, and will never oppose our marriage. You know," she resumed in a few moments, "I would not deceive you." "Yes," answered I, "I know that, and I have not a word more to say on the subject."

* * *

[A date for the wedding, and the selection of an engagement ring, are subjects of discussion.]

I had not spoken to her for months before upon the subject of "a time" suitable for executing our vows, and this occurred to me as a very favorable opportunity. Accordingly, I asked if she had lately given that subject any reflection. She answered that she had not, but she thought we were both young enough to wait a year or two yet, if

necessary. That was true, I said, but we might both be made more content and happy by entering upon married life, and if there was no good and immediate reason to present, we ought to begin it as soon as practicable. "Almost any time then," said she, "will suit me . . ."

One evening during the first week in January ('64) I was one of a number of guests at her father's house, and while some of the company were preparing to leave, she and I, standing by the piano, and looking over some pieces of music, began a soft but merry little chat. I had just returned that afternoon from Washington, and was giving her a little running history of my trip. "I saw," said I, "some very handsome plain gold rings—and I came very near bringing one with me for this dear little finger," I added, touching the third finger of her left hand. "What!" said she, affecting surprise and looking smilingly up in my face, "it's well you didn't." "What would you have done," said I, "if I had?" "Why," said she, "I would have had you beaten." A few evenings afterward while visiting her again, I playfully remarked that she had better commence that beating, as I had made up my mind to get that ring . . .

I thought it befitting to have some inscription upon so sacred a piece of metal, and asked how she would like the motto, "Vita Mea." "Not at all," said she, laughing, "I have had enough of "Vita Mea." She steadfastly refused to suggest another, however, and said she would leave that also to me. I thanked her, and said I presumed our simple initials, R.M.W.—R.A., without learning or Latinity, would suit both our tastes, and express the purport of the symbol as beautifully as we could desire.

On the 29th day of January, '64, I was called to Washington on business, and returned on the evening of the same day, bringing with me our veritable "Engagement Ring," inscribed with the above initials. On the next evening, Saturday January 30th, I carried it, and placed it upon her finger *never*, as she declared, to be removed by any act or wish of hers. The ceremony was simple. I asked if she . . . [the extant portion of the manuscript ends at this point].

* * *

CONCLUSION

Four children were born to Rose and Richard Mortimer Williams. The 1880 census gives their names and ages as: Jennie, 13; Maurice, 7; Rose, 8; and Walter, 5. As noted in his obituary in the *Montgomery County Sentinel* of June 23, 1882, at some point after passing the bar Williams entered into partnership with Richard Johns Bowie. The partnership, however, may not have been formed immediately. The 1865 Martenet and Bond inset map of Rockville shows the building by the court house marked simply "R.M. Williams Atty." It would thus appear that Williams initially began the practice of law on his own. When he did enter into partnership with Bowie, they advertised in the *Sentinel*. The following advertisement in the issue of January 13, 1871, was repeated many times in a column headed "Professional Cards:"

Bowie and Williams, Attorneys at Law, Rockville, Maryland. Practice in this, the 6th Judicial Circuit of Maryland, and in the Court of Appeals. All business committed to them will be promptly and carefully attended to. Office in the Court House yard.

The partnership ended when Judge Bowie took his seat on the bench of the Court of Appeals late in 1871.⁵⁷ From then until 1875, the same advertisement was printed with Williams' name alone. The last advertisement to appear was in the *Sentinel* of July 16, 1875. It was soon after this time, presumably, that Williams became too ill to continue practicing. His death seven years later, at the age of forty-two, occurred at Mount Hope, an institution near Baltimore run by the Sisters of Charity.

REFERENCES

1. The handwriting of the manuscript matches that of a letter written by Williams to Dr. John Anderson's brother, James W. Anderson, recommending Ezekiel Hughes for the position of principal of the Rockville Academy. The letter is dated April 13, 1863, and thus was written at about the same time that Williams was beginning his courtship of Rose Anderson.

2. Manuscript, p. 61.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
4. The farm of Richard Walter Williams was called Locust Grove; Richard Mortimer refers to it by this name on p. 38 of the manuscript. Williams senior was married three times and had thirteen children. Richard Mortimer, third oldest of the thirteen, was a child of his father's first wife, Charlotte Larned (1815-1844).
5. *Montgomery County Sentinel*, June 23, 1882. Richard M. Williams did not, however, turn away from agriculture entirely. In 1870 he was recording secretary for the Montgomery County Agricultural Society; but even in this role, he had an opportunity to write.
6. *Ibid.* During the period of his studies in the office of Judge Bowie, Williams lived in a hotel room which he shared with a young man identified simply as "my chum." There were several hotels in Rockville at the time. The only one mentioned by Williams is Montgomery House, located near the Court House. He alludes to it on p. 32 of the manuscript in the context of renting a horse and buggy for a ride with Rose. It may have been at Montgomery House that he had his room, particularly since the proprietor, Jarret Almoney, was a Union sympathizer like Williams and Judge Bowie. In an advertisement that appeared in the *Montgomery County Sentinel* on November 1, 1861, Almoney thanks both citizens and "federal troops who have visited this place . . . for the liberal patronage heretofore extended and would invite a continuance of the same."
7. Judge Bowie served in the Maryland Senate from 1836 to 1838. He was elected to Congress in 1849 and again in 1851. In 1863 he became a member of the Court of Appeals and eventually its chief judge. (J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), vol. I, pp. 755-56).
8. *Montgomery County Sentinel*, June 23, 1882.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Scharf writes of Judge Bowie that "the outbreak of the Civil War awoke him . . . to the old active spirit, and as a devoted Union man he caused his voice and counsel to be heard and felt." (*History of Western Maryland*, vol. I, p. 756).
11. Manuscript, p. 30. Judge Bowie's home, Glenview, was located just outside Rockville on the Norbeck Road (Route 28), near the Protestant Cemetery in which Williams and Rose—as well as others mentioned in the manuscript—lie buried. The Bowie property is now the site of the Rockville Civic Center.
12. Manuscript, p. 55.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
15. Another child, Elizabeth (Bettie) Anderson (1834-1868) was not included in the 1860 census as one of Dr. Anderson's children, because by then she was already married to Philemon Griffith (1835-1885).
16. Articles on James W. Anderson and his family have appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* in 1980, 1981 (2), and 1983.
17. *Martenet and Bond's Map of Montgomery County, Maryland*. From Actual Surveys by S.J. Martenet and Associates. Drawn and published by Simon J. Martenet C.E. No. 6 South Street, Baltimore. 1865. Scale 1 mile in 1 inch.
18. It was Martenet's intention that the map serve not only as a map per se, but also as a directory. As early as 1859, he placed an advertisement in the *Montgomery County Sentinel* (May 13, 1859) to give notice that preparations for the 1865 map had already begun. He points out that because residents' names are to appear on it, it would, upon completion, form "a complete Directory to the citizens." Realizing the importance of Martenet's project, the *Sentinel's* editor, Matthew Fields, in the same May 13 issue, urged readers to encourage Martenet in his undertaking. The fact that the map was advertised in 1859 but was not published until 1865, suggests a long delay to the project's completion caused by the Civil War.
The map's usefulness to present-day readers of Williams' manuscript is not confined to the inset map of Rockville. Examining the map of Montgomery County as a whole, one can see, for example, the exact location of the farm of Williams' father, just south of Poolesville. Similarly, the adjoining farms of Dr. Anderson and his brother James are to be seen northwest of Rockville; Judge Bowie's home to the northeast.
19. Scharf mentions Ursula Wilcoxon as being among those buried in the Rockville Protestant cemetery. (*History of Western Maryland*, vol. I, 749). The 1870 census for Rockville describes her as "keeping house;" she had assets of \$12,000.
20. *Montgomery County Sentinel*, July 12, 1861.
21. Personal assets (in contrast to real estate assets) would have included slaves in census information through the census of 1860.
22. Manuscript, p. 42.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 18. J. G. Cannon is listed as assistant principal at the Rockville Academy in the following advertisement that appeared in the *Montgomery County Sentinel* on November 16, 1860: "This institution will be open for the admission of pupils on Monday, November 12, 1860. Circulars will be sent to those who desire it." The same advertisement, jointly signed by the principal, C.D. Luckett, and by J.G. Cannon, also appeared in the *Sentinel* on November 30 and on December 14. The Academy had a staff of only two, the principal and the assistant principal. For further information on the history of the Academy, see George M. Anderson, S.J., "The Rockville Academy: Applications for the Position of Principal in April, 1863," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, forthcoming.
24. On p. 18 of the manuscript, Williams refers to Cannon's having given up his post at the Academy more than a year prior to the courtship events of the spring and summer of 1863. It may be, then, that the following advertisement in the *Montgomery County Sentinel* of December 19, 1862, was placed as a result of the vacancy created by Cannon's departure. In any event, the advertisement gives a clear idea of what his duties and salary would have been:

Teacher wanted. An assistant teacher is wanted in the Rockville Academy. He will be required to teach fully all the branches of a thorough English education. The salary is \$300 per annum, and two-fifths of all the tuition fees. There are now about thirty pupils in the Academy, and a fair prospect of an increase. Applications must be made in person, or by reference, on or before Saturday the 3rd of January, on which day a selection will be made. Application in person would be preferred. By order of the Board of Trustees. John W. Anderson, Treasurer.

It is worth noting that the advertisement was placed by Rose's father, Dr. John W. Anderson, who served as treasurer of the Academy until his death in 1867. As a member of the Academy's board of trustees (of which his brother, James W. Anderson, was president), he must have therefore known Mr. Cannon during the whole time of his employment. It may have been through this circumstance that Cannon initially came to know Rose.

In the correspondence of Rose's uncle and aunt, James and Mary Anderson, Cannon is mentioned twice. On March 18, 1861, Mary wrote to her husband: "William and Mr. Cannon spent Saturday evening here. They came early. James [son] received them in the parlor, and after sitting some time, they asked for Mary [daughter]. She went down and spent the evening with them." It is possible that for "William," Mary Anderson actually meant to write "Williams." Prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, Williams and Cannon were on friendly terms.

The second reference to Cannon occurs in another letter from Mary to James Anderson—undated, though internal evidence suggests 1860 or 1861 as the year. Two of Mary's grown children, having returned from a visit to neighbors, report having heard that Cannon's attentions to Rose were intense, but very unwelcome to Rose's mother: "James Noland was there and gave them [the children] an amusing account of things in general and the marriages that are to take place, in particular. I will tell you that. . . Rose and Cannon's are spoken of as certain. . . Mira [Rose's mother] drove Cannon from the house Thursday night, Mr. Noland, says, and a good many amusing things besides."

25. The military records at the National Archives in Washington indicate that Cannon was the only man of this name from Maryland to have enlisted in the Confederate army.
26. Confederate Archives, Ch. 6, File no. 20, p. 248. No one by the name of Cannon appears in the 1860 census of Montgomery County, a fact which suggests that he may have come from elsewhere specifically to take up the position of assistant principal at the Rockville Academy.
27. The Old Capitol Prison was located on the site of the Supreme Court.
28. Manuscript, p. 50.
29. A first cousin of Rose's, James Anderson, son of her uncle, James W. Anderson, was very much

involved in the Civil War. Like Cannon, he enlisted in the Confederate army at the outbreak of the Civil War, although with the Virginia rather than with the Maryland cavalry (35th Battalion): James' mother, Mary Minor, was a Virginian, and there were strong family ties with that state. He began his military career as a lieutenant and advanced to the rank of captain. He was captured by Union troops on October 23, 1862. For letters written during the period of his confinement as a prisoner of war, see George M. Anderson, S.J., "A Captured Confederate Officer: Nine Letters from Captain James Anderson to his Family," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 76 (Spring 1981).

30. Manuscript, pp. 29–30. The *Star* was pro-Union in its coverage. The *Montgomery County Sentinel*, on the other hand, hoped for a Southern victory. Early in the war, the *Sentinel* noted with satisfaction the large numbers of defeated Union soldiers that passed daily through Rockville; the issue of August 2, 1861, carried the following notice:

Since the defeat of the "Grand Army of the Union" at Bull Run, not a day has passed but more or less of the Federal troops have passed through our village en route for home. Most of them are in the most pitiable condition—without money and compelled to beg. "Nobody hurt yet, Abe?"

The *Sentinel's* owner, Matthew Fields, had little good to say at any time of "Lincoln's minions"—the latter phrase is used in the issue of July 26, 1861, with reference to the arrest of a Poolesville resident, Jesse T. Higgins, by Union troops. In the spring of 1864, Fields was arrested himself by Union troops and detained until June; his arrest put a temporary halt to the publication of the *Sentinel*. (Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, vol. I, p. 741.)

31. Later in the war, the *Sentinel* makes reference to gangs of bandits "breaking open and robbing private residences of the valuables found therein" (August 21, 1864). In the spring of 1863, there was a problem with livestock running loose because so many fences had been destroyed:

In view of the fact that much of the fencing having recently been destroyed in this county, it is advisable that every person having live stock, should keep them, as far as practicable, in their own enclosures. A little attention, in this respect, would go far to prevent much heart burning that might otherwise occur among neighbors. (*Sentinel*, April 24, 1863)

The tactfully made allusion to "heart burning . . . among neighbors" suggests the kind of frayed feelings that could occur among the owners of adjacent properties in Montgomery County when—because of wartime depredations—too few fences were left standing to prevent cattle from straying from one property to another.

32. Manuscript, p. 16.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
35. Here and throughout the manuscript Williams speaks of Rockville as a village. The *Sentinel* itself ran a column in its issue of June 13, 1862, under

- "Local Affairs," which was headed "Our Village." Although Rockville had been incorporated as a city by the Maryland General Assembly in 1860 (Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, vol. I, p. 741), such references suggest that residents continued to think of their locality in terms of the small dimensions implied by the term "village." The 1865 Martenet inset map of Rockville shows fewer than ninety buildings; for all its standing as a city and as the county seat, Rockville was still a community of modest proportions.
36. Manuscript, p. 35.
 37. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
 38. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
 39. Except for a few instances in which there seemed a need for more clarity, Williams' own punctuation has been followed. Williams made virtually no use of paragraphing in this manuscript; it has therefore been added—again, for the sake of clarity.
 40. Sharing a room would have been less expensive, for both Williams and his "chum;" and the hotel in which they lived would have been more like a boarding house. Advertisements of Rockville hotels of the period in the *Sentinel* sometimes make reference to boarding arrangements by the week and by the month. An example is M.H. Letton's advertisement for his newly opened Union Hotel in the *Sentinel* of February 11, 1859.
 41. Viers' Mill was owned by Samuel Clarke Veirs (1798–1872). Veirs Mill Road (Route 586) is now a major artery linking Rockville and Silver Spring.
 42. Jane Elizabeth Beall (1815–1863) was the second daughter of Upton Beall (d. 1827) who built what is now known as the Beall-Dawson house, headquarters in Rockville of the Montgomery County Historical Society. It is located at the corner of North Adams Street and West Montgomery Ave. (then still known as Commerce Lane). "Miss Lizzie" died only six months after Williams' conversation with her at the picnic at Veirs' mill, on November 3, 1863. She is buried in the Rockville Protestant Cemetery.
 43. In her book, *Rockville: Its History and Its People* (Rockville, 1976), Mary Deegan Dunham quotes on pp. 18–19 an interesting letter written by Mrs. Dora V. Higgins to her mother, in which the arrest of R. J. Bowie, Lawrence Dawson, and John Higgins is described.
 44. In the Martenet and Bond 1865 inset map of Rockville, Mrs. Forrest's house can be seen on Commerce Lane (now West Montgomery Ave.), near the corner of South Washington Street. She may have been the Ann M. Forrest who is mentioned in the 1860 census of the Rockville district; in 1863 she would have been sixty-four years old.
 45. George Peter (1829–1893) was the eldest son of Major George Peter (1779–1861) of Montanverde. He studied law in Rockville with John Brewer, with whom he subsequently entered into partnership. He was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1864, and served as States Attorney from 1868–72. (*Portrait and Biographical Record of the Sixth Congressional District* [New York, 1898], pp. 640–41.) Martenet and Bond's 1865 map shows his house on North Adams Street between Middle Lane and Wood Lane; it still stands. At the time, it was the only house on the west side of the block.
 46. B. T. Hodges is listed in the 1860 census of Montgomery County as a farmer. The 1865 Martenet and Bond map of the county shows that he had a "steam saw mill" just south of the Darnestown Road (Route 28), about halfway between Rockville and Darnestown. The father of eight children, he too was a landowner of substance, with a total worth—according to the 1860 census—of \$49,700. Rose's friend, Ginnie Hodges, would have been twenty-one at the time of the courtship in 1863.
 47. A description of one of the Rockville Academy's "exhibitions" is given in the *Montgomery County Sentinel* of July 23, 1858:
The Court-House was filled to overflowing on Tuesday night last, to witness the exhibition of the students of the Rockville Academy. The great delight of the audience, the showers of bouquets [sic], and the great applause, attested the approval of this large audience, and we congratulate the young gentlemen upon their complete success. The room was beautifully decorated with flowers and evergreens, the tasty work of some of the ladies of our village. The zeal manifested by Mr. McLain, assistant teacher, in preparing for and conducting this exhibition, is worthy of all commendation.
It was apparently the custom to have the exhibition on the day after an actual examination. The above paragraph from the *Sentinel* is immediately preceded by: "The Rockville Academy. An examination of the pupils of this institution took place, on Monday last, in the presence of the trustees and a number of ladies and gentlemen. The prompt and ready answers were highly gratifying to all present, and reflected great credit upon their teachers."
 48. John Dickerson Poole (1828–1876) is mentioned by Scharf on p. 736 of his *History of Western Maryland* (vol. I) as being among those buried in the Monocacy Cemetery at Beallsville. He was thirty-five at the time of Williams' courtship.
 49. William A. Veirs was the youngest son of Samuel C. Veirs, who owned Veirs' mill. According to his obituary in the January 6, 1892 issue of the *Montgomery County Sentinel*, he died in his room at Montgomery House at the age of 66. He would have been thirty-seven at the time of the courtship. The obituary says of him:
In early life he was engaged in the mercantile business here, and afterwards removed to Florida, where he spent several years. On his return to this county in 1861, he engaged in farming and was for several years Collector of Taxes for the 4th District [Rockville]. At the time of his death he was Officer of Registration for this district.
A reference to Billie Veirs occurs in a letter from Mary Anderson to James Anderson, dated May 11, 1861:
Say in your next whether you have seen or heard

- anything of Billy Veirs. His family here seem to be uneasy about him. They think he is in Baltimore or Washington. His wife and children got here day before yesterday, having travelled all the way from Florida by themselves.
50. Rose's two older sisters were Julia and Mary. At the time of the 1860 census, Julia was listed as twenty, and Mary as eighteen.
 51. The word *ardent* is used here punningly, with an allusion to ardent spirits.
 52. Sarah Ellen was the wife of Benjamin S. White. She died at the age of only twenty-five. The following brief obituary appeared in *Montgomery County Sentinel* of May 31, 1856: "Died, in Poolesville, in this county, on Thursday, the 15th instant, Mrs. Sarah Ellen, wife of Benjamin S. White, aged 25 years and 2 months." Benjamin Stephen White's obituary was printed in the *Sentinel* on March 27, 1891. He survived her by thirty-five years. In his obituary, he is described as having been a merchant in Poolesville before the Civil War. During the war, he served as a major on the staff of General J. E. B. Stuart. He moved to Baltimore after the war, but eventually returned to Montgomery County.
 53. Henry Hodges was the eldest of B. T. Hodges' children. He would have been twenty-two at the time of the visits of Rose and R. M. Williams.
 54. The fair grounds were near St. Mary's Catholic Church, at the bottom of Montgomery Avenue.
 55. Although Richard Mortimer Williams was the son of a comparatively wealthy father, he was one of thirteen children and therefore could not have expected to receive a large inheritance—a circumstance of which Dr. Anderson would have been aware. On the other hand, as a young man about to embark on a legal career under the guidance of Judge Bowie, his future was promising—again, a factor which Rose's father would have taken into account when granting his consent to the marriage.
 56. The Remus Dorsey referred to as a suitor whom Mrs. Anderson would have liked for Rose, was Remus G. Dorsey. The 1860 census of Montgomery County lists him as a twenty-six year old farmer. His assets were not great (\$5500), but he was the only son of a rich father, Remus Dorsey, whose assets totaled nearly \$50,000. The Martenet and Bond map of Montgomery County shows the adjacent properties of Remus and Remus G. Dorsey as lying to the north of Gaithersburg, in the Cracklin (first) election district.
 57. The *Montgomery County Sentinel* of December 8, 1871, notes that on December 6, Judge Bowie left "to take his seat on the Bench of the Court of Appeals" in Annapolis.

An Eighteenth-Century Episcopalian Attack on Quaker and Methodist Manumission of Slaves

KENNETH L. CARROLL

THERE EXISTS A RATHER REMARKABLE 1797 report from the vestry of St. Peter's Parish in Talbot County, Maryland, which throws a great deal of light on religious, social, and political developments in Maryland at the close of the eighteenth century. To appreciate the document fully, it is necessary to know something of what was taking place in Quakerism, Methodism, and Episcopalianism at that time, especially in so far as slavery was concerned.

Slavery was already a part of the Maryland way of life when Quakerism first made its appearance there in 1656. No protest against the system appears to have been raised before the visits of George Fox in 1672-1673 and William Edmundson in 1672 and 1676.¹ There were occasional manumissions by the wills of individual Quakers from 1674 onward, but slavery itself seems to have continued to grow among Maryland Friends until the early 1760s—both by the conversion of non-Quaker slaveholders and the embracing of the practice by some who were already Quakers. It should be noted, however, that many Quakers resisted the temptation to hold their fellow men in bondage and some few individuals freed those they already possessed. On the whole, however, it would seem that the institution of slavery was fairly well established among both Eastern and Western Shore Quakers in 1760.²

Just after the middle of the eighteenth century, a number of factors combined to awaken the collective conscience of the So-

ciety of Friends in Maryland to the evil of slaveholding. Among these were 1) the publication of John Woolman's *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes* in 1754, 2) the rising voice of American Quaker "reformers," 3) travels by Irish and English Quaker ministers, 4) epistles from London and Philadelphia Yearly Meetings, 5) the journeys of John Woolman into Maryland, especially his "walking journeys" of 1766, 1767, and 1768, and 6) contact with other American Quakers at Maryland Yearly Meeting at Third Haven (near Easton) and West River (near Annapolis), as well as numerous visits of Maryland Quakers to Philadelphia.³

Talbot County Quakers began to manumit their slaves early in 1767, shortly after Woolman's foot-journey in May 1766.⁴ Joseph Berry freed Hannah and Abraham early in 1767,⁵ while his brother Benjamin Berry manumitted three minor slaves by August of that year.⁶ Still another brother, James Berry, liberated one in February 1768, and his sister-in-law Sarah Powell manumitted four female slaves two days after James freed Harry. Benjamin Berry then freed the remainder of his slaves on April 16, 1768.⁷ Members of the Troth, Neal, and Register families also released their slaves in 1768, with Isaac Dixon and William Warren liberating theirs in 1769.⁸ After this there was a steady stream of Quaker manumissions, so that by the early 1780s Third Haven Monthly Meeting (containing all the Quakers in Talbot County) became free of slaveholding, except in the estates of some minors.

Methodism made its way to America about 1765, coming to both New York and

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Maryland through the efforts of Irish Methodists who had settled in those two places. Almost all of the early Methodist leaders were opposed to slavery. John Wesley produced his "thoughts on Slavery" pamphlet in 1774 in order to strike "at the root of this complicated villainy." He wrote, "I absolutely deny all slave-holding to be consistent with any degree of natural justice, mercy, and truth."⁹ Shortly before his death in 1791 Wesley called American slavery "the vilest that ever saw the sun."¹⁰ Bishop Francis Asbury, who became the leader of the American Methodist movement, was in Talbot County a number of times starting in 1778, and was very strongly opposed to slavery. In 1778 Asbury wrote, "I find the more pious part of the people called Quakers, are exerting themselves for the liberation of the slaves. This is a very laudable design, and what the Methodists must come to, or, I fear, the Lord will depart from them."¹¹

Methodism appears to have reached Talbot County in 1777 when William Walters preached in Thomas Harrison's barn, between St. Michaels and Whittman (or when Joseph Cromwell of the Kent Circuit may have been in the area). Freeborn Garretson was active in Talbot County in 1778 and again in 1783.¹² Garretson, a Maryland slave owner who at the time of his 1775 conversion freed his slaves, said "It was God, not man, that taught me the impropriety of holding slaves; and I shall never be able to praise him enough for it. My very heart has bled, since that, for slave-holders, especially those who make a profession of religion."¹³

Joseph Hartley, one of the more colorful of the early Methodist preachers, arrived in Talbot County in 1779. He is best remembered for being arrested for "preaching the Gospel, contrary to the Act of Assembly," and not having taken the oath of allegiance to Maryland. During the several months (from July to October, 1779) that he was a prisoner in the Easton jail, Hartley frequently proclaimed his message through the jail window to the curious crowds which gathered outside. Many of them were converted, so that he laid the foundation for Easton Methodism. Hartley "located" in

1781, remaining in Talbot County until his death sometime after Asbury preached in his house in 1783. Other Methodist preachers came into the county, and the movement there continued to grow—so that Talbot Circuit was set up in 1781.¹⁴ It is estimated that of the 13,740 Methodists in the United States in 1783 about one-twentieth of them were in Talbot County. In 1786 the Talbot Circuit was the largest circuit in Methodism, containing 1,077 white members and 524 blacks.¹⁵

During the period of great growth the Methodist movement continued its anti-slavery attitude, taking quite strong positions in 1780 and 1784. At the 1780 spring conference of Methodist preachers in Baltimore Asbury brought about the adoption of a statement which declared slavery contrary to divine, human, and natural justice, a violation of the Golden Rule, and inconsistent with "pure religion." It also imposed upon the preachers the duty of trying to bring about the manumission of slaves and called upon all Methodists to work toward that end.¹⁶ At the 1784 Christmas Conference at Lovely Lane Methodist Church in Baltimore, the Methodist Church was organized as an independent body. Here, under the leadership of Asbury and Francis Coke (an Anglican priest as well as a Doctor of Civil Law and an extreme enemy to slavery, recently sent over by Wesley to serve with Asbury as superintendent of the new church), passed a very strong rule on slavery. Although they were not yet to be expelled from the church, slave-owning Methodists were not to be permitted to take communion. Also, every Methodist was to sign a legal document promising to liberate his or her slaves at the end of a certain period of service, being given a year in which to comply or to leave the church. In addition, all new converts had to accept this rule before admission into the church. This rule (apparently the work of Coke, Asbury and others—perhaps including Wesley himself), provoked a tremendous backlash, so that it was suspended six months later and the Methodist Church said little on the subject of slavery for the next decade.¹⁷ After nearly a dozen years the anti-slavery spirit experienced a re-

vival, when the Methodist General Conference of 1796 declared that it was more than ever convinced of the great evil of slavery. It therefore ruled that all who held official positions in the church must free their slaves, that any slaveholder who sought membership must be spoken to by the minister about slavery, that members were permitted to buy slaves only on the condition that the slaves and their offspring would be liberated after a limited period of service, slave sellers must be excommunicated, and travelling preachers must free their slaves (where state law permitted it).¹⁸

Large numbers of slaves were liberated by Talbot County Methodists between 1780 and 1800, so that between Quaker and Methodist manumissions there were 1,076 free Negroes in 1790 and 1,591 in 1800.¹⁹ Great numbers of slaves remained (4,777 in 1790 and 4,775 in 1800) in Talbot, especially after the Methodists weakened their stand and the Episcopalians (who counted the largest landholders and slaveowners in their membership) continued to justify the institution of slavery.

The American Revolution, coupled with the rapid growth of Methodism, had almost disastrous effects upon the Episcopal Church. The old laws of establishment, which had originally made the Church of England the State Church, were swept away. The "40 lb per poll" tax, later reduced to thirty pounds of tobacco per poll, could no longer be forced from Quakers and other dissenters for the support of the Episcopal Church. Although there was a strong effort early in the 1780s to re-enact the Establishment it was doomed to failure. The spirit of liberty in the land, the opposition of Quakers, Catholics, and other dissenting groups, the siphoning off of large numbers of members into the rapidly growing Methodist movement (which, no longer content to be an Anglican appendage, became a fully independent church in 1784), and the widespread attitude in the minds of many people that the Episcopalian/Anglican Church had been against the American Cause (and was, therefore, "unpatriotic"), all combined to defeat this effort at re-establishment.

Loss of revenue stemming from disesta-

ishment, rapid decrease of membership, shortage of clergy (many of whom, being loyalists, fled to Britain) laid the Episcopal Church low. A number of churches and chapels of ease were abandoned. Those parishes which continued to exist often found themselves rather weak, both financially and numerically. This was very true of St. Peter's Parish in Talbot County, which at the end of the eighteenth century was left with White Marsh Church (a century-old building in great need of repair) and a congregation of some seventy families. The small chapel it had once possessed had been abandoned and was finally pulled down by the neighbors who used the bricks for chimneys and the wooden pews to make fowl and animal pens. The small membership residing in Easton was forced to hold its worship in the courthouse, with no hope of building in the foreseeable future. There is small wonder that some Talbot Episcopalian, especially those of the slave-holding class, were both angered by Quaker and Methodist calls for freeing of slaves and jealous of the growth of Methodism. The call to free slaves, based upon religious arguments, seemed to be an attack on the very morality of the large Episcopalian landowners. It also, they believed, opened the door for other possible "evils" down the road.

In 1797 the vestry of St. Peter's Parish received a list of questions from the Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church. That body which answered these questions was composed of John Goldsborough, Thomas Hayward, John Mulliken, John Singleton, Edward Stephens [Stevens], and Thomas Stevens.²⁰ The 1790 Talbot Census shows Edward Stevens holding six slaves and six other members of the Stevens' family possessing from two to sixteen (with only Quaker William Stevens holding none).²¹ John Singleton owned thirty slaves.²² John Hayward is not listed in the 1790 Census by name, but William Hayward (whose family contained four males over sixteen) owned sixty-two slaves and another William Hayward owned twenty-eight.²³ John Goldsborough also does not appear by name in the 1790 Census, but all the Goldsboroughs listed were slaveholders—possessing

from three to thirty-seven.²⁴ John Mulliken likewise is unlisted in this census, but three of the six *Mullican* families included owned slaves (from five to seven).²⁵ Keeping in mind that some (if not all) of the vestry were slave-owners and that all of their families were closely tied to the practice of holding their fellow men in bondage, its response to the questions asked becomes more understandable.

Under the heading "Of the Condition of the Parish," there were four questions: 1) "What is the number of adults in your parish?" 2) "Does it appear to you to increase?" 3 & 4) "Do the other religious denominations gain ground among you? & which of them?—Do they increase in consequence of their zeal or the influx of strangers?" The answers to the first two questions were brief: 1) "as Subscribers to the Support of a Minister, clerks have not generally entered their own and their families names on the Register, 'tis not possible to answer with certainty what is the number;" and 2) "We are not sensible of such addition as to warrant an answer in the affirmative."²⁶ The vestry then went on to "Questions 3 & 4" and limited its answer to the only two organized religious groups in the county: Quakerism (which had four long-established meetings at Bayside, Choptank, Third Haven, and Tuckahoe) and Methodism (which had grown rapidly for a time, but seems to have paused in 1797—perhaps as a result of the renewed anti-slavery position). Its answer follows.²⁷

II

"Quakerism [here] has been of long standing—perhaps earlier than the division of the county into parishes.²⁸ By the mentioning of this sect we are led to speak of a matter of importance and in which we conceive that the [Episcopalian] clergy have been and are remiss in their duty to God, their Country, & themselves: and the rather [matter?], as in a few years more, if not committed to writing will be out of the knowledge of the living: as is already a circumstance to be told, viz. that—from report—there lived in this county a negro woman (a preacher among the Quakers) who envyed against the keeping of negroes in slavery and that the Quakers then

[being] owners of slaves, opposed the doctrine, & silenced her as a preacher.²⁹

"In the knowledge of some of the present Vestry and other inhabitants now attending, there lived in the parish, a quaker named Daniel Powell³⁰ whose property consisted chiefly in lands and negroes³¹ & who died leaving his daughters to inherit them from him.³² About this time that the eldest³³ became marriagable James Berry,³⁴ a son of another Quaker family in this parish, who had squandered his patrimony³⁵ in gay dress, debauching and extravagances³⁶ and was hunted by the sheriff,³⁷ laid by his laced hat and waistcoat & assumed the appearance & deportment of a rigid Quaker³⁸ courted and married the elder & became the guardian of the younger daughter of S^d Powell³⁹ & being an artful designing and enterprising man quickly became a leader & at the head of the Quaker party.⁴⁰ Afterwards a vessel with servants arriving and taking her station near Berry's house, communicated the jail fever to his family, whereby many of the negroes were lost and the whole neighborhood concluded him a ruined man. Far otherwise have they seen, for by paying off his sister-in-law with the remainder of the negroes & by reviving⁴¹ & with his power in the meeting maintaining the doctrine [of freeing slaves] that the negro woman had failed in, he not only eased himself of her claim, but attached the negroes to him, by persuading her to manumit them⁴² and then engaging them as hired servants⁴³ obtained their labor at cheaper rate than when he held them as slaves,⁴⁴ playing however the tyrant over them for 'tis well remembered that his rule was with niggardliness & severity & that they did not then stroll about as others have since done.⁴⁵ Now it was that the [Quaker] preachers became loud against holding negroes in slavery & Berry was to be seen accompanied [*sic*] them⁴⁶ going from one Quaker house to another and with unremitting diligence laboring to effect what he had taken in hand:—that African dialogues were to be met with in the Philadelphia newspapers, that readings out of meeting⁴⁷ were to be more frequently heard of, and re-admissions sure to be accompanied with the manumission of slaves—&

that old negroes were to be seen shifting as they could.—When we reflect how pleasing it must have been to the [Quaker] preachers ([whose] dress had been worn thread bare) to be furnished with a subject quite applicable to the passions, whereon they with but little ingenuity might descant by the hour & acquire fame: & how grievous the 30 [pounds of tobacco] pr poll⁴⁸ was to the Quakers generally—tis not to be wondered at that such a man as James Berry was should be able to prevail with almost every one of them to manumit their negroes⁴⁹ and also that he should be very assiduous in it, as it tended to the drawing of Veil over his conduct toward his Sister-in-law⁵⁰ & went very far toward exempting him from contribution to the public charge, or that such a man as, report informs us, Warner Mifflin⁵¹ of the Delaware State is should from Berry take it in hand & with vehemence pursue in this state what turns so greatly to his own involvement in getting his meadow and other land cleared & put in order—runaway negroes who want concealment, protection and a pass undoubtedly do work cheap⁵²—but that the clergy admitting that it is a delicate business heretofore to interfere in what immediately concerned themselves the 30 per poll⁵³—should then & still take no pains to set in a clear point of view the scriptural duty of masters (the term slave being an accidental one that has grown into use long since the scriptures were written)⁵⁴ on which the honor of our forefathers & the welfare & happiness of both white & black so much depended and doth depend is really astonishing, nay a general lethargy seems to have taken place on Berry's success: for the Quakers, those consciencious folks, that would be thought always to be acting with propriety, thereby almost entirely evaded public contribution, as well as the 30 per poll⁵⁵ and assembly men never perceived it. 'Tis a dangerous thing to depise an adversary however contemptible he may at one time appear—for besides the mischief to be apprehended here, 'tis not impossible that our James Berry may have been the first mover of what lately has gone to the agitating of the British parliament in the Question of the slave trade.⁵⁶—Would-be-

thought Christians seem to think that a chance of gaining heaven is too dearly purchased at the price of slavery:—in Truth the poor African who is carried where Quakerism & Methodism prevail & where [Episcopal] church ministers neglect or would probably lose their livings if they did their duty, has a greater chance of becoming disobedient & a thief than he has of becoming a Christian.⁵⁷ Therefore of the two it is a far better reason for prohibiting the trade; & neither is it impossible that one James Berry as Mifflin's setter on, if the intimacy between Mifflin and Brissot⁵⁸ tended any what to the French convulsions,⁵⁹ has claim to them also—God grant that they may never return home to us.

“Methodism took deep root in the Parish during the contest with Great Britain: attributed by some to Lord Dartmouth,⁶⁰ who, they supposed sent them to preach non-resistance⁶¹ by others to the impolitic conduct of the [Anglican] clergy then too generally ceasing to officiate on account of the oath required by the government⁶²—not so did the Methodists. One [Joseph] Hartley would preach & he would not take the oath, he was committed into the sheriff's custody, dieted and lodged at a tavern & o[n] days when there was a collection of people, preached through the iron windows of the prison—“a saint in durance vile”—after sometime, perhaps a year more or less, when the matter was brought to issue and he must either take the oath, be silent, or be locked up, he drew from his pocket a certificate of having taken a similar oath in the Delaware State, before he had been questioned here on that account, it was considered to be sufficient & he was discharged,—to preach abroad, what he called the gospel.⁶³ Of this we are certain that he preached himself into the good graces of a young heiress⁶⁴ and took care that the ceremony was legally performed by the parson of the parish.⁶⁵ Methodism gave occasion to many extravagant Stories about kickups & a good deal like that Carver met with amongst the Indians, and about our Lord's appearing.⁶⁶—One appearance took place here that was different from the Common, & does not seem to have been preconcerted for the purpose of imposition.—A poor un-

happy man very near what is called an idiot, had the knack of fixing himself in the branches of a tree by the heels & continuing a considerable length of time with his head & body hanging downwards, & having a liking to a young woman of the neighborhood, he went & fixed himself to attract the notice of his sweet heart:—Some one of the family got a glance at him & being full of the Lords appearing, & of consternation at the sight,—assured the rest that he actually was come:—none dared to look out, but all fell down in profound adoration. After a while the poor man went off unperceived by any of them & had he not had sufficient of Sense & recollection to make a full Explanation when the report of the certain appearance of our Lord was noised abroad, this business, purely accidental, 'tis probable would have added not a few Methodists to the number we now have;—for the family were such, & the visit considered while it remained unexplained as a perfect mark of approbation of Methodism, as well as of high honor to the family to which it was vouchsafed.

“Their [Methodist] preachers⁶⁷ unhappily for us relished the manumitting subject as highly as the Quaker preachers & spread the evil far & wide—a kind of temporary compromise with Eternal justice is in full practice. Some give manumissions to take place after 25 years of age; some 30, some 35⁶⁸ &c &c and some seem willing to hope, perhaps are taught to depend upon it as a meritorious act, that all account will be blotted out by willing them free,⁶⁹ or after this & the other child has had a specified number of years service:—Some that they be sold, to be free after a number of years directed by the will, thus laying a foundation for discontent & disturbances & doing as they would not have wished their forefathers to have done by them—abusing the very precept that they expect they are honoring.⁷⁰—rescue—oh rescue them from such error & abuse—appearances of sanctity are very attractive to some whose minds are religiously disposed, and for want of discipline in the church being enforced, ably cultivated: Such are easily gained by attentions paid to them by travelling preachers⁷¹ & retained by their frequent

visits & flattering commendations although they find no fault with the [Episcopal] church & sometimes attend its service.—An accident, a misfortune, or ill health, bringing severe reflections to the gay, the giddy, the voluptuous or the wicked, who have been baptized in & suppose themselves to belong to the church, feel their consciences eased & themselves in a manner Exculpated by laying the whole blame on it [the Church], never taking into account that for want of power to enforce discipline it has no control over them,—if in such moods they fall in with subtle preachers, they become not only attached to their sects, but are made inveterate enemies of the Church, believing it the certain road to destruction; as while in it they never tasted of their present ecstasies: not distinguishing between those that arise out of success at performing good & those that arise out of success at performing evil actions, or being aware of the power of Satan at Deception.—Of such 'tis probable are the bulk of the [Methodist] preachers, it being a very common thing with them to make a display of their Vileness while they belonged to the church, never dreaming that a visible means of showing obedience was one of the great purposes of the Apostles gathering the Church & that Society of it has not a greater has to the full [sic] as great & as good a claim to reparation for injury received as an individual & that to delay to make it is unchristian, to heap injury on injury, diabolical.—Those who have been brought up to business or professions are to[o] apt to join with those amongst them who they are most likely to succeed best and the religion of not a few seems to be guided by their wives & sweet hearts apron strings, too many of whom inherit the curiosity of Lot's wife⁷² & the confidence of their old Mother Eve—Upon the whole, the strong fort of the sectaries seems to have lain on ones obviously directing that pride which every one (in some degree or other) feels at being a free agent, and that it is now operating, as disadvantageously to themselves, as they have occasioned it to operate against the church, for 'tis not perceivable that either Quakerism or Methodism have advanced any what

latterly & the opinion of some is that they decline—Other denominations have not increased so much amongst us as to form themselves into Meetings, the few Presbyterians that there are commonly attend church and behave well.”⁷³

[Questions 5–21, when they produced any answers whatsoever, are of no relevance for this treatment of the vestry’s attitude toward Quaker and Methodist manumissions. Question 22, however, called forth another attack on Quakers. The question was “Do you find any defects in the Vestry Act & of what Nature?”⁷⁴ The vestry’s answer follows.]

“The Vestry laws suppose that every man will act & do what is reasonable & right—they would do very well with an alteration in our [State] Constitution if instead of Subscribing a belief in the Christian religion, it were required that the holders of all officers of trust and profit, the followers of Professions, trades and businesses, all to whom oaths and affirmations are administered & all who vote at elections be acknowledged members of some Society in the State recognized by its laws as Christian. Were it possible to obtain some such alteration in the Constitution and an act or acts of Assembly requiring annual lists of their Members from Societies of all denominations recognized by the laws as Christian & that it be essentially necessary in the qualifications of all officers & their continuing to be such and of jurors and voters that their names be found on such annual lists—and prohibiting all preaching on slavery in a manner adverse to the Scriptures⁷⁵ by preachers living and residing in the State and all foreign preachers before they exercised [sic] their talents in this State to give security for the due observance of such act & that they will not advise or persuade to the Election of any character whatsoever as fitting or proper to represent the inhabitants thereof in Congress or assembly or in any manner whatsoever meddle with or interfere in the government thereof during their Sojourning therein. That manumitted slaves & their descendants be not permitted to run about from county to county or to leave that in which their Manumitter resided unless to

quit the State entirely & not to possess their Manumissions or any copy thereof, so as to be able to furnish runaway Slaves therewith, who assume their names, and (for the clerks fee) obtain another certificate of manumission, that they all be entered in the parish registers and that bastardy among them be punished by the laws that on conviction for any offence, the charge of prosecution incurred by the County be levied on their Manumitters and the Representatives of them & that generally the manumitter by that act bind him or herself therein for the good behavior of the Slave manumitted & his or her progeny—& that Warner Mifflin for his mischievous interference in the affairs of this state & for the injury he has done to the inhabitants thereof by harbouring employing & giving passes to their Slaves be prohibited from coming into it under pain of being by the Sheriff tarred & feathered & conducted to the border of his own state so often as he shall persevere in entering this state, whereby we conceive the welfare & happiness of the Inhabitants of this State would be much assured & the danger from all kinds of foreign influence much diminished.”⁷⁶

REFERENCES

1. Thomas E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (New Haven, 1950), pp. 5–10.
2. Kenneth L. Carroll, “Maryland Quakers and Slavery,” *Quaker History* LXXII (1983): 27–42.
3. *Ibid.*; Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, pp. 65–68, 81–82.
4. Minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends, II (1746–1771), 400. In addition to Woolman and John Sleeper, James Daniel and William Broadway (of Salem, N. J.) were also present on a religious visit at this time. Cf. Philips P. Moulton (ed.), *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman* (New York, 1971), pp. 145–148.
5. Talbot County Land Records, Liber 19, folios 414, 515. These records are now at the Hall of Records, Annapolis. I have used the photostatic copies in the Clerk of the Court’s Office, Talbot County Court House, Easton, Maryland.
6. Third Haven Minutes, II, 429. They were to be freed at maturity, one in 1777, one in 1779, and one in 1785. This deed of manumission was not recorded at the Talbot County Courthouse within the required six months, and it was apparently replaced by a much fuller document which Benjamin Berry executed on April 16, 1768, when he manumitted his entire holding of nine slaves—Cf. Talbot County Land Records, Liber 19, folio 496.

7. Talbot County Land Records, Liber 19, folios 474-475, 496.
8. *Ibid.*, Liber 19, folios 498, 499, 543; Liber 20, folios 3, 4, 41, 47. Cf. Liber 20, folio 82, where James Berry liberated an additional eight. The reason for this delay is uncertain, but probably they had only recently come under his control or perhaps only now had his wife given consent.
9. L. C. Matlack, *The Antislavery Struggle and Triumph in the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, 1881), p. 40.
10. John Nelson Norwood, *The Schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1844: A Study of Slavery and Ecclesiastical Politics* (Alfred, N.Y., 1923), p. 9.
11. Elmer T. Clark (ed.), *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury*, 3 vols. (Nashville, 1958), I, 25.
12. E. C. Hallman, *The Garden of Methodism* (n.p., n.d.), p. 282; Nathan Bangs, *The Life of the Rev. Freeborn Garretson: Compiled from His Printed and Manuscript Journals, and Other Authentic Documents* (New York, 1838), pp. 48-49.
13. Bangs, *Garretson*, p. 40. Concerning his conversion Garretson wrote, "Although it was the Lord's day, I did not intend to go to any place of worship; neither did I desire to see any person, but wished to pass my time away in total solitude. I continued reading the Bible till eight, and then, under a sense of duty, called the family together for prayer. As I stood with a book in my hand, in the act of giving out a hymn, this thought powerfully struck my mind, "It is not right for you to keep your fellow-creatures in bondage; you must let the oppressed go free." I knew it to be the same blessed voice which had spoken to me before—this then I had never suspected that the practice of slave-keeping was wrong. . . . I paused a minute, and then replied, 'Lord, the oppressed shall go free.'" (*Ibid.*, p. 39).
14. Hallman, *Methodism*, pp. 336-337.
15. Robert W. Todd, "A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Easton," pp. 3, 5. I have used the photostatic copy of the manuscript at the Hall of Records, Annapolis. The original is with the papers of St. Mark's United Methodist Church, Easton, Maryland.
16. Donald G. Matthews, *Slavery and Methodism* (Princeton, 1965), pp. 8, 295.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11, 295-298; Norwood, *The Schism*, pp. 13-16; Matlack, *Antislavery Struggle*, 58-59; Dwight W. Culver, *Negro Segregation in the Methodist Church* (New Haven, 1953), pp. 45-46.
18. Norwood, *The Schism*, p. 16; Culver, *Negro Segregation*, p. 46; Matthews, *Slavery and Methodism*, pp. 19-21, 298-299.
19. Jeffrey R. Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland: A Study of the Institution of Slavery* (Baltimore, 1889), p. 176; Kenneth L. Carroll, "Religious Influences on the Manumission of Slaves in Caroline, Dorchester, and Talbot Counties," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LVI (1961), 177.
20. Ethan Allan, "History of Eastern Shore Parishes," Vol. I, notes on St. Peter's Parish, p. 28. Xerox copies of these notes, as well as the manuscript volume itself, are on deposit at the Hall of Records, Annapolis. The "notes" are fuller than the account in the bound volume and contain great sections which have been crossed through (especially in relationship to Quakerism and Methodism—sections which Allan felt it would be better not to include).
21. *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Maryland* (Baltimore, 1965), pp. 112-113.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 112. These are the only Haywards listed.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 111, 113.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 112. William Mullican, who had six males over sixteen in his family, possessed five slaves. Patrick Mullican held five, and Jesse Mullican held seven.
26. Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-36.
28. Quakerism first appeared on Kent Island and on the Western Shore of Maryland in 1656. By 1659 it had made its way into Talbot County. Thus it preceded the establishment of the parishes (in the 1690s) by a generation. Cf. Kenneth L. Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore* (Baltimore, 1970), pp. 7-30.
29. I have carefully searched the records of Third Haven Monthly Meeting (which included all four of the meetings in Talbot County) and have found no references to the "Negro Quakeress." Although the vestry carefully labels this as "report" and dates it before the knowledge of the living, it seems to me quite possible that such a person did exist and that there is a historical kernel to this report. Probably this episode would have occurred in the first half of the eighteenth century.
30. Daniel Powell, son of Howell and Esther (Bartlett) Powell, was born the twenty-second of twelfth month, 1708 (O.S.) and died February 16, 1758. Daniel and Mary (Sherwood) Powell had a number of children: Daniel (1746-1747), Elizabeth (1737-1764), Howell (1740-1752), Mary (1743-1753?), and Sarah (1751-1795). Cf. Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore*, pp. 215, 225, 242, 243.
31. Cf. Inventories, Liber 74, folios 201-217 (Hall of Records, Annapolis) for the August 14, 1761, inventory of the "goods and chattells" of Daniel Powell. This seventeen page inventory lists a personal estate of £3,193:19:2½. Included in this listing, on pp. 211-212 and 216, are a total of thirty-six Negroes and one "mulatto Servant man" named James Bantom. Daniel Powell also held eight pieces of real estate, totalling 2,136 acres—Talbot County Debt Book 1757-1758, folio 47, found in Debt Books 49, Hall of Records, Annapolis. The 1756 Talbot County Debt Book shows only seven hundred acres.
32. Only two of his five children, Elizabeth and Sarah, survived Daniel Powell.
33. Elizabeth Powell was born in 1737 and was more than thirteen years older than her sister Sarah (born in 1751).
34. James Berry, son of James and Sarah (Skillington) Berry, was born in 1729 and died in 1785, at the age of 56.
35. James Berry was the second of four sons of James

- Berry: John (b. 1725), James (b. 1729), Joseph (b. 1731), and Benjamin (b. 1736). According to the father's will (dated 1739 and proved in 1746) each of the sons was to have his choice of lands when he arrived at the age of twenty—with Third Haven Friends making the division of the land (Annapolis Wills, Liber 24, folio 52, Hall of Records). The father left a personal estate of £504:12:6½ (Annapolis Accounts, Liber 24, folio 52) and real estate of 760 acres in "White Marsh" and fifty acres of "Rich Farm" (Talbot County Debt Book, 1756–1761, folio 8, in Annapolis Debt Books 49). It was "White Marsh" which was divided into four sections of 190 acres by the committee appointed by Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends. Third Haven Monthly Meeting Minutes, II, 71, record the 1752 division of the land and include a plat showing the four sections. These minutes are now in the Hall of Records, Annapolis. In 1756 James Berry sold his one-quarter of "White Marsh," at the head of Kings Creek, to his brother John—receiving £276 in Maryland money for it. Talbot County Land Records, Liber 18 (1751–1759), folios 372–373, contain both the deed of sale and James Berry's acknowledgement of receipt of the money.
36. Even before the 1756 sale of his inheritance James Berry had departed from the Quaker ways of his forebears. On January 27, 1755, Third Haven Monthly Meeting learned that he had taken an oath and appointed William Taylor to visit him on this matter. When visited by Taylor, James promised to be present at the February monthly meeting but did not appear. When he did not appear in March, the monthly meeting declared him to be out of unity and asked James Wilson to prepare a "testimony" against him. This testimony was approved at the April monthly meeting, and Isaac Williams was appointed to read it in Tuckahoe Meeting (to which James and the other Berrys belonged)—Third Haven Minutes, II, 71, 109, 111, 112, 114. It seems likely that James Berry's rejection of Quaker dress, simplicity, and behavior probably set in at this same time.
 37. The vestry's chronology is confused here, for this event did not happen until 1761 (after his marriage with Elizabeth Powell and his appointment as administrator of the estate of Daniel Powell). Also the phrase "was hunted by the sheriff" suggests a greater problem than was actually true. After the death of Mary (Sherwood) Powell, Daniel Powell had married Ann Brooke (already the widow of Christopher Birkett or Birchead, Samuel Sharpe, and William Brooke). She had issue by all three previous marriages: Christopher Birchead, Peter Sharpe, and Harrison Brooke. When Ann Powell died in 1758, she named Christopher Birchead her executor as well as one of the heirs of her share of Daniel Powell's estate. Ann (Birchead, Sharpe, Brooke) Powell had been named administrator of the estates of both Daniel Powell and William Brooke but had not administered either. It, therefore, fell to James Berry, now married to Elizabeth Powell, to administer the estates of both. In 1761 James Berry requested more time for the settlement of Daniel Powell's estate as it "cannot be fully settled until the Ballance of Wm Brooke's Estate is known, which must be paid out of it." Christopher Birchead, impatient for his share of his mother's estate had, on March 19, 1761, taken out a court order requiring the sheriff "to cite & summons" James Berry to appear before the Commissary General and Judge of Probate of Wills and to appear before the 'Prerogative Court' to be held in Annapolis in May 1761. For some reason this appearance did not take place, so that on June 12, 1761, the sheriff was ordered to "attach the Body of James Berry and produce him at Prerogative Court in Annapolis" in July. No record of further action has been found, so it would appear that matters worked out to the satisfaction of Birchead, Berry, and the Court. Cf. Testamentary Proceedings, Liber 37, folio 50; Liber 38, folios 119, 139, 149, 198; and Testamentary Papers, Box 63, folder 25 (all of these are found at the Hall of Records, Annapolis).
 38. James Berry and his wife Elizabeth, who once again were attending meeting, on May 28, 1761 condemned their earlier actions which had caused the monthly meeting to testify against both of them. A committee was appointed to "have an eye over him and report whether his life and conversation is such as friends can have unity with before it [the paper of condemnation] can be received as full satisfaction." Seven months later the committee reported that his "life & Conversation [are] such as friends may have unity with so far as [the committee] find." Cf. Third Haven Minutes, II, 276, 292.
 39. The marriage of James Berry and Elizabeth Powell must have taken place in May or June of 1758, for Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Women Friends appointed Sarah Regester and Ann Troth to visit Elizabeth Powell "that was" for her "outgoing in going to a priest for a husband." Several months passed before they reported back to the meeting that Elizabeth "slightly excepted of" the visit, and she was therefore testified against. Cf. Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Women Friends, 1705–1760, pp. 47, 49. James Berry had been dropped from membership several years earlier, as shown in note 36.
 40. After James Berry's reinstatement in the Society of Friends, Third Haven Monthly Meeting recognized his ability and began to appoint him to various committees starting in January 1762. At the close of 1762 he was appointed Clerk of the monthly meeting (replacing his brother Joseph), Clerk of the Eastern Shore Quarterly Meeting in 1763 (once again following his brother Joseph), and Clerk of Maryland Yearly Meeting in 1767. He was also a member of the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders and of the Meeting for Sufferings.
 41. James Berry, who was both a merchant and a planter, became well-to-do. The 1766 Debt Book for Talbot County lists five pieces of real estate, containing 782 acres (as do those of 1768, 1770, and 1772). Cf. Debt Books, Liber 50 (Talbot 1766–1772), *passim*.

42. It should be noted that James Berry and his brothers Benjamin and Joseph had already freed their slaves before Sarah Powell manumitted hers.
43. It was customary for Quakers (and Methodists later) to provide work for freed slaves rather than simply tossing them out into an unfriendly world. Some freed blacks worked for people other than their former owners. A look at the 1790 Talbot census shows fifty-six Quaker or Methodist families still having 202 "other free people" dwelling with them—that is, living on their property and many of the adults probably working for them. Cf. *Maryland Census 1790*, pp. 109–114.
44. This appears to be editorial opinion from a 1797 position rather than being based on any specific figures.
45. Many of the freed slaves, finding that they were recompensed for their work, became quite industrious. A 1787 document, written by Benjamin Parvin (husband of Sarah Powell) deals with David Wallace who was freed by James Berry when he was about twenty-one years old. Wallace died when he was about twenty-seven, after working a number of years for Archibald Patterson, a "Respectable Merchant of Cambridge." Parvin writes, "His being so long Employed in the Service of one Individual (I think) is a token of good behaviour. I have the Settling of his Estate & have not as yet found any more Debt Due to the Estate neither have any Debts appeared against it." The estate was valued somewhat above £50. John Dickinson IV, also in 1787, noted that his father Daniel Dickinson, late of Talbot County, had freed a thirty-nine year old Negro slave named Adam early in 1785 and that Adam "by his Industry and Steady Attention to business has Acquired property to the Amount of Forty Pounds and supports a good character as does many Others liberated by my s^d father, and lives I believe as well as many whites, brought up with the same mean Education" (See Collection of Pennsylvania Abolition Society, Papers R-W, Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia).
46. From its very beginning Quakerism depended upon ministers or "Publishers of Truth" to spread, strengthen, and hold together the Society. Those individuals who were viewed as having a special gift in the ministry were recorded as ministers. When they felt a call to travel in the ministry, they first sought the approval of their monthly meetings and, if traveling outside the bounds of their own areas, of their quarterly and yearly meetings. More than thirty such traveling Friends visited the area between 1766 and 1778, including Margaret Cook who made her 1778 journey especially to visit families which still owned slaves. Cf. *Third Haven Minutes*, III (1771–1797), 99.
47. Only at the end of the 1760s were members dropped for buying and *selling* slaves. Those who then sought readmission were required to repurchase the slave sold and manumit him or her. Those who bought slaves were required to manumit them. Those who already possessed slaves were not disowned until after the 1778 yearly meeting decision on this matter. Usually they were labored with at considerable length (often with real success) and were disowned only when they justified their practice of holding their fellow man in bondage. Some who were testified against for continuing in the practice of holding slaves eventually freed them and asked for readmission into the Society of Friends.
48. This "30 lb per poll" (reduced shortly before this time from the forty pounds per poll) had to be paid on slaves as well as adult white males. It went to the support of the Anglican clergy and the building and repair of Anglican Churches. The Quaker testimony against a "hireling" ministry made them resist the tax (to the point of having property distrained) and disciplining their members who went to the "priest" for marriage.
49. James Berry did have a great influence on many of his fellow Quakers. In addition to serving as one of the two required witnesses to the manumissions executed by his sister-in-law Sarah Powell in 1768, he also witnessed four other such documents (for eleven slaves) in 1770, 1771, 1777, and 1780. His brother Joseph Berry actually witnessed more between 1769 and 1777 (five deeds of manumission for thirteen slaves). Howell Powell (Daniel Powell's brother) and Benjamin Berry also witnessed a number.
50. The vestry probably made more of this "conduct" toward his sister-in-law than she did. Sarah Powell not only manumitted her slaves in 1768 (just before her seventeenth birthday) but also witnessed John Dixon's freeing of five slaves in 1775, being one of the few female witnesses to such deeds (Talbot County Land Records, Liber 20, folio 487). Her husband Benjamin Parvin, whom she married in 1770 when she was nineteen years old, soon became committed to manumission. He not only freed five slaves (perhaps belonging to his wife Sarah) three months after their wedding but also became a keen worker in the movement to get others to follow suit. In the period 1773–1780, after his settlement in Talbot County, Parvin witnessed six deeds of manumission for twenty-four slaves (*Ibid.*, Liber 20, folios 111, 332, 487, 523, 572; Liber 21, folios 140, 149). Benjamin Parvin also joined Joseph Berry and Isaac Jackson of Pennsylvania on a 1778 visit to Quaker slaveholders on the Western Shore. Parvin and James Berry (who served as a witness to Parvin's deed of manumission) appear to have been quite friendly and served jointly on many Quaker committees.
51. Warner Mifflin (ca. 1745–1798), descendant of Eastern Shore of Virginia Quakers, settled near Camden, Delaware, where he became widely known for his efforts on behalf of freeing slaves. Not only did he travel widely on behalf of this project but he was also in communication with many public figures on the slavery question. Concerning Mifflin, see "Warner Mifflin's Memoirs of His Life," *Friends' Miscellany*, V, 193–214; Drake, *op. cit.*, pp. 75–76, 105–113.
52. This charge is typical of the type levelled against abolitionists by slaveholders who sought to discredit the opposition by questioning their motives

- or slandering them. There is a good deal of this "spirit" in the attacks on James Berry, Warner Mifflin, and Joseph Hartley in this document.
53. This is a reference to the 1780s' Episcopalian attempt to have itself continued as the established church.
 54. The vestry makes no attempt here to go back to the Greek of the New Testament or the Hebrew of the Old Testament. The vestry undoubtedly emphasized those passages (used by so many Southern Christians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to justify slavery) found in Colossians 3:22-4:1; Ephesians 6:5-9; I Peter 2:18-25. Cf. H. Shelton Smith, *In His Image But . . .* (Durham, N.C., 1972), pp. 129-135.
 55. This is perhaps a reference to the charitable work done by the parish. One of the real problems Quakers throughout the Atlantic community had was how to distinguish between the small part of the church levies that went for this purpose and the overwhelming portion that went for the support of paid ministers (which was contrary to their religious principles) and the building and maintaining of churches which they could not and would not use. It may also refer to the lowering of the taxable base by the disposing of slaves.
 56. There existed a regular, annual correspondence between London Yearly Meeting (in a sense, the "mother church" of Quakerism) and the various American yearly meetings which had developed from the missionary activities of the "First Publishers of Truth" who had crossed the Atlantic to America. London Yearly Meeting tended in the 1760-1780 period to raise the question of American Quakers' freeing their slaves, and some American yearly meetings in turn brought up the matter of London Yearly Meeting's responsibility for trying to bring an end to the slave trade (largely in the hands of British merchants and possible only so long as Britain allowed it to continue). Cf. Drake, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92.
 57. The minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting are dotted with references to the needs (religious, educational, political, and economic) of the freed slaves and the efforts made to deal with these needs. The early Methodists were more successful in bringing Negroes into membership than either the Quakers (who had lost the proselytizing zeal of their earlier period) and the Episcopalians who, in this document, seem to think of religion as a way of keeping slaves docile.
 58. Brissot de Warville, who became quite interested in Quakers and their anti-slavery efforts, developed a close friendship with Warner Mifflin.
 59. The French Revolution frightened many of the "establishment" types in the United States in 1797. It is interesting to note that the vestry thinks of James Berry and Warner Mifflin as possibly being, at least in part, responsible for the French Revolution!
 60. "Lord Dartmouth" is William Legge (1731-1801), second Earl of Dartmouth.
 61. John Wesley, who tended toward pacifism, called upon his preachers to remain neutral during the American Revolution. Cf. Umphrey Lee, *The Lord's Horseman* (New York, 1954), pp. 184-197, concerning Wesley's attitude toward the American cause and the Revolution.
 62. Those preaching were required by Maryland law to take an oath of allegiance. Many of the clergy in the Anglican Church were from England and Scotland, were educated in England, and had their loyalties there. This tie was especially strengthened by the view that King George III (one of whose titles was "Defender of the Faith") was the head of the Church.
 63. Hartley was arrested in July and kept in jail until the October term of the criminal court. He was then released on bail (£500 current money), put up by Hartley, James Benson, and Thomas Harrison, which guaranteed that he would appear at court for trial. When he ultimately produced the paper showing the oath he had taken in Delaware, it was judged satisfactory and the grand jury did not indict him.
 64. Joseph Hartley "located" in 1781, probably at the time of his marriage, or shortly thereafter, and settled in Talbot County District 2 (Island, Tuckahoe, and King's Creek). The 1783 Tax Assessment for that district (Annapolis, Hall of Records), p. 5, shows Joseph Hartley with three hundred acres of land, three slaves, two ounces of silver plate, seven horses, fifteen cows, and other property (altogether worth a total of £788:10:0). It also shows a total of seven white inhabitants with him—Hartley, his wife, and perhaps a child or two and some of her family. Hartley did not live long after 1783 (when Asbury preached at his house) and was buried in Talbot County.
 65. John Wesley, born in an Anglican family and an ordained Anglican minister, had insisted that the Methodist Society was not a "rival church" to the Anglicans but, in a sense, was an appendage. He insisted that for the sacraments of baptism and communion one had to go to the Anglican church or priest as well as for marriages. Not until the establishment of the Methodist Church at the Christmas Conference of 1784 were the American Methodists an independent Church—ordaining their own clergy and performing the sacraments and marriages. Although John Wesley had somewhat reluctantly agreed to this development for his American followers, the Methodist Church in Britain did not come into existence until after his death. Cf. Lee, *Lord's Horseman*, pp. 198-214.
 66. Apocalyptic expectations, centering around the Second Coming and the Judgment, were widespread at this time.
 67. This appears to be true of Freeborn Garretson and others who were in the area in the 1780s but perhaps not of Hartley who, in 1783, owned three slaves (probably a part of his wife's inheritance).
 68. After the initial emphasis on outright manumission now, there was a rapid weakening of this position—so that, following the Old Testament practice of freedom after a specific number of years' service, there arose the practice of freeing them at an age which tended to be increased as the owners procrastinated in drawing up the deeds of manumission. Some even bought new slaves to

- replace the ones whose service was coming to an end. Cf. Carroll, "Religious Influences on the Manumission of Slaves," pp. 192-194.
- 69. Manumission by will was prohibited from 1752 and not reinstated until 1790. Cf. James M. Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634-1860* (New York, 1971), p. 57.
- 70. The love of comfort and "mammon" and the temptations of riches were often stronger than religious people believed.
- 71. The Methodist Church, in this early period, had itinerant preachers rather than ministers settled at each church.
- 72. Genesis 19:1-26.

- 73. The above answer to questions 3 and 4 occupies pp. 32-36 of Ethan Allan's notes.
- 74. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
- 75. As interpreted by the vestry, it would seem.
- 76. Allan's notes, p. 38. This section of the vestry's report shows its continuing desire for an established religion, now interpreted a bit more broadly than a century earlier. Other "Christian" groups would be tolerated, although restrictions would be placed upon the preachers and their sermons. Of interest here is the vestry's concern with *bastardy* among the manumitted slaves, something which did not extend to slaves themselves (where families ties were often ignored) when it came to the buying and selling of slaves.

Free Blacks in Old Somerset County, 1745-1755

THOMAS E. DAVIDSON

IN RECENT YEARS AMERICAN HISTORIANS have become more aware of the importance of the colonial period in the formation of Afro-American culture, and an increasing amount of basic research is now being done on the earlier phases of black history in America. While most new studies of colonial era blacks have concentrated on the topic of blacks as slaves, early free blacks have also received more attention over the last decade or so than they had been given in the past. As far as the Chesapeake Bay region is concerned the main focus of free black research has been the seventeenth-century Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia. Kimmel's work in Maryland, and the two major studies of Virginia Eastern Shore free blacks recently completed by Breen and Innes and by Deal, have demonstrated that a wealth of relevant documentary evidence is to be found in the early court records of the Eastern Shore counties.¹

Although research on Eastern Shore free blacks has been directed mainly towards the seventeenth century, the county court records of this region also preserve a great deal of information on eighteenth-century free blacks. Somerset County, Maryland offers a particularly rich field for the study of this topic. The county has a remarkably complete set of eighteenth-century records. Not only have the major series of judicial and land records survived, but a number of tax and levy lists from Somerset have also been preserved.² Tax and levy lists were prepared annually by all Maryland counties during the eighteenth century, but only a small proportion of these lists still exist.

The county tax list was a compilation of the names of all persons who were required to pay the poll tax in a given year; the county levy list recorded, among other things, the names of all untaxed persons receiving poor relief in the county. Somerset County has the most complete surviving set of tax and levy lists for the mid-eighteenth century of any county in Maryland, and these records permit quite detailed studies of the county's population during this period.

What follows is an examination of the composition of the free black population of Somerset County between the years 1745 and 1755. The names of any persons who can be identified either as free mulattoes or as free Negroes have been taken from the tax and levy lists for these years, and the names of other free mulatto and free Negro county residents who are mentioned in the Somerset judicial and parish records of the period have also been collected. All of the free black individuals whose names have been recognized in any of these sources are listed in Table I. Not all of the free blacks who lived in Somerset County between 1745 and 1755 have been identified. Many children and free mulatto women who were not liable to pay tax must have been missed. However, the 61 names that have been found probably include most of the free black adults living in Somerset during the 1745-1755 period. The one colonial Maryland census that enumerated free blacks on a county-by-county basis gave Somerset's total free black population in 1755 as 93 individuals, only 48 of whom were adults.³ If this 1755 figure is even approximately correct, then the majority of the free black inhabitants of Somerset

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TABLE I.
Free Blacks in Somerset County 1745-1755

Adults	Condition at Birth	Race
Bess, Free ¹	?	Negro
Betty, Negro ²	?	Negro
Game, Betty ³	?	?
Game, George ⁴	?	?
Game, Henry ⁵	slave	Negro
Game, Robert ⁶	?	?
Game, Rose ⁸	?	?
Harry, Free ⁷ (Wicomico)	?	?
Harry, Negro ⁷ (Pocomoke)	?	Negro
Horner, Arnold ⁴	free	mulatto
Horner, Charles ⁷	free	mulatto
Horner, George Jr. ⁹	free	mulatto
Horner, Matilda ⁴	free	mulatto
Horner, Robert ⁴	free	mulatto
Horner, Samuel ⁴	free	mulatto
Johnson, Abigail ¹⁰	free	mulatto
Jones, Jacob ¹¹	slave	Negro
Logan, Ann ¹²	?	mulatto
Magee or Game, Sue ¹³	?	mulatto
Malavery, Dorcas ⁶	free	mulatto
Matthews, Bessie ¹	?	?
Matthews, Samuel ¹	?	?
Nancy ¹⁴	slave	?
Nell, Mulatto ¹⁵	?	mulatto
Oney, Elinor ¹⁶	?	Negro
Peter, Free ¹⁷	?	?
Plina, Negro ¹⁸	?	Negro
Puckham, David ⁵	free	mulatto
Puckham, John ⁵	free	mulatto
Puckham, Mary ¹⁹	free	mulatto
Puckham, Matthew ⁵	free	mulatto
Puckham, Richard ⁵ Sr. (Manokin)	free	mulatto
Puckham, Richard ⁵ Jr. (Manokin)	free	mulatto
Puckham, Richard ⁵ (Wicomico)	free	mulatto
Puckham, Solomon ⁵	free	mulatto
Redding, Mary ²⁰	?	mulatto
Rose, Mulatto ²¹	?	mulatto
Rose, Elizabeth ⁷	?	?
Rose, Samuel ⁷	?	?
Sarah, Mulatto ²²	?	mulatto
Smith, Bridget ²³	?	mulatto
Somerset ²⁴	slave	Negro

Children	Condition at Birth	Race
Game, Daniel ²⁵	free	?
Game, Bridget ²⁵	free	?
George, son of Rose Mulatto ¹¹	free	mulatto
Kelsick, Grace ²⁶	free	mulatto
Logan, Lucy ¹²	free	mulatto
Magee or Game, James ¹³	free	mulatto
Magee or Game, Janney ¹³	free	mulatto
Magee or Game, Nelly ¹³	free	mulatto
Malavery, David ²⁷	free	mulatto
Malavery, Elijah ²⁷	free	mulatto

TABLE I.—Continued

Children	Condition at Birth	Race
Malavery, Harry ²⁷	free	mulatto
Oney, Lavina ¹⁶	free	Negro
Redding, Patience ²⁰	free	mulatto
Shaver, Leah ²⁸	free	mulatto
Smith, Johnson ²³	free	mulatto
child of Abigail Johnson ¹⁰	free	mulatto
child of Keturah Jones ²⁹	free	mulatto
child of Nell Mulatto ¹⁵	free	mulatto
child of Sarah Mulatto ²²	free	mulatto

¹ Somerset County List of Taxable Persons (1747), MdHR.

² Somerset County Judicial Record (1747-49): 112, MdHR.

³ Somerset County List of Taxable Persons (1749), MdHR.

⁴ Somerset County List of Taxable Persons (1752), MdHR.

⁵ Somerset County List of Taxable Persons (1754), MdHR.

⁶ Somerset County List of Taxable Persons (1750), MdHR.

⁷ Somerset County List of Taxable Persons (1753), MdHR.

⁸ Somerset County List of Taxable Persons (1752), MdHR; Cassius M. Dashiell, "Complete Index to the Old Parish Register of Stepney Parish, 1738-1838." (Ms., Wicomico County Library), p. 41.

⁹ Somerset County List of Taxable Persons (1748), MdHR.

¹⁰ Somerset County Judicial Record (1752-54): 221, MdHR.

¹¹ Somerset County Land Records, Liber A(1745): 55, MdHR.

¹² Somerset County Judicial Record (1754-57); 64, MdHR.

¹³ Cassius M. Dashiell, "Complete Index to the Old Parish Register of Stepney Parish, 1738-1838.", pp. 38, 44.

¹⁴ Somerset County Land Records, Liber B(1753): 85, MdHR.

¹⁵ Somerset County Judicial Record (1749-51): 221, MdHR.

¹⁶ Somerset County Judicial Record (1749-51): 293, MdHR.

¹⁷ Somerset County Judicial Record (1747-49): 143, MdHR.

¹⁸ Somerset County Levy List (1754), MdHR.

¹⁹ Somerset County Levy List (1746), MdHR.

²⁰ Somerset County Judicial Record (1749-51): 229, MdHR.

²¹ Somerset County Judicial Record (1749-51): 6, MdHR.

²² Somerset County Judicial Record (1747-49): 228, MdHR.

²³ Somerset County Judicial Record (1744-46): 159, MdHR.

²⁴ Harry Pringle Ford, *History of the Manokin Presbyterian Church*. (Philadelphia, 1910), p. 10.

²⁵ Cassius M. Dashiell, "Complete Index to the Old Parish Register of Stepney Parish, 1738-1838.", p. 41.

²⁶ Somerset County Judicial Record (1752-54): 122, MdHR.

²⁷ Somerset County Judicial Record (1747-49): 6, MdHR.

²⁸ Somerset County Judicial Record (1752-54): 107, MdHR.

²⁹ Somerset County Judicial Record (1754-57): 109, MdHR.

County for the years in question probably have been identified.

Further research was done on each of the free blacks who are known to have lived in Somerset during the 1745-55 period to determine, if possible, how each had attained free status. For blacks in colonial Maryland there were two major routes to legal freedom. First, blacks who either had been born as slaves in Maryland or who had been legally imported to Maryland as slaves

could be manumitted by their owners. Second, blacks born in Maryland who were the children of free mothers were considered to be free from birth, regardless of the race or status of their fathers. Illegitimate mixed race children born to free mothers were required to serve as indentured servants until age 31, but they were never made *durante vita* slaves during the eighteenth century in Maryland.⁴ The free blacks of colonial Somerset can therefore be divided

into two broad groups, those who owed their free status to descent from free parents and those who were free as the result of manumission. Sufficient information exists to classify 39 of the 61 Somerset free blacks as either free born or slave born.

Perhaps the most striking fact about the mid-eighteenth century free black population of Somerset County was that it very largely consisted of persons who had been free from birth. Of the 39 free blacks in the 1745–55 sample whose condition at birth could be determined, 35 were free born. Nearly all of these free born individuals were mulattoes rather than Negroes. It has long been recognized that free mulattoes outnumbered free negroes in Maryland prior to the American Revolution.⁵ However, there has been a tendency to assume that this free mulatto group came into being through manumission, as white fathers freed their mulatto children by slave women. In fact, none of the Somerset free mulattoes of the 1745–55 period whose origins are known were the children of slave mothers, although some had slave fathers. Manumission seems to have had relatively little impact on the growth of the mulatto segment of Somerset County's free black population during the period in question.

On the other hand, most of the Somerset free Negroes whose origins can be determined were manumitted slaves. Of the four persons known to have been ex-slaves in the 1745–55 free black population sample, at least three were Negroes. Accurate data on the frequency of slave manumissions in Somerset are not available before 1752, but in general the freeing of slaves seems to have rare practice there throughout the colonial period.⁶ Those slaves who were freed tended to be Negroes, but manumissions occurred so infrequently that Negroes seem to have made up only a small part of the county's total free black population at any one time. The conclusion that there were very few free Negroes in mid-eighteenth century Somerset is supported by data from the 1755 census, which records the presence of only 11 free Negroes in the county as compared to 82 free mulattoes.⁷

Not only was the mid-eighteenth-century free black population of Somerset

composed mainly of mulattoes who had been free from birth, but many of these free born individuals appear to have had a multi-generational tradition of freedom behind them. Almost half of the free black adults living in Somerset County during the 1745–55 period had the surnames Puckham, Horner or Game. All members of the Puckham and Horner families were classed as mulattoes, while the Game family included both Negro and mulatto individuals. Apparently, the Puckhams were both the largest and oldest free black family in the county. At least seven of the eight free blacks named Puckham were lineal descendants of Jone Puckham, a free Negro woman who married an Indian named John Puckham in 1682.⁸ The free black Horner family came into being a few decades later with the marriage of George Horner Sr. to a free mulatto woman named Matilda, who was born sometime prior to 1700.⁹ The Games were probably the descendants of Sambo and Betty Game, two Negro slaves freed in 1709.¹⁰

Several other free blacks of the 1745–55 period were the descendants of white women, typically indentured servants, who had children by negro servants or slaves in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries. Laws against inordinate copulation, or mulatto bastard bearing, were enacted in 1681 and again in 1692. It was not until 1728, however, that the provisions of these laws were extended to cover free mulatto women as well as white women.¹¹ The free black individuals in the sample with the surname Magee almost certainly descended from an Irish woman named Maudlin Magee through her mulatto daughter Fortune Magee.¹² Similarly Ann and Cassa Logan were probably the daughter and granddaughter of Elizabeth Logan, who was convicted of inordinate copulation in 1718.¹³ White women continued to be prosecuted for this offense throughout the colonial period. One free mulatto child in the sample, Grace Kelsick, was the daughter of Amey Kelsick, a white indentured servant woman who was prosecuted on three separate occasions for inordinate copulation.¹⁴

Six other children out of the total of 19

in the 1745-55 Somerset free black population sample were the sons and daughters of free mulatto mothers who had been convicted of inordinate copulation. In at least four of these cases the father of the child was specifically described as a Negro slave.¹⁵ In theory free mulatto women, like white women, could be prosecuted for inordinate copulation if they had children out of wedlock by a mulatto slave or by any Negro, whether free or slave, but in fact free mulatto women were not normally charged with this offense unless the father of the child was a Negro slave. A free mulatto woman who bore an illegitimate child by a free man of any race typically was charged with the lesser offense of fornication. If convicted she was fined or whipped, but she was not bound out as an indentured servant for seven years, the usual punishment for both white and free black women who were convicted of inordinate copulation. At least two of the free black children listed in Table I, Elinor Oney and Patience Redding, were the illegitimate daughters of free black mothers who were charged with fornication rather than inordinate copulation.¹⁶

The number of illegitimate free black children in this sample undoubtedly over-represents the true percentage of such children in the total free black population of Somerset county during the period between 1745 and 1755. The names of legitimate children born to free black parents would not normally have appeared in the county judicial records, or in the levy or tax lists. The parish records of the county, where such names should be recorded, are not complete for the early and middle years of the eighteenth century. It is notable that while the Puckham and Horner families together contain at least 15 free black adults, no children with these surnames have been located for the 1745-55 period. Most of the unidentified free black children living in Somerset during this period were probably born into already established free black families like the Puckhams and the Horners.

The evidence from mid-eighteenth-century Somerset county suggests that the colonial free black population there was grow-

ing mainly as a result of natural increase within a small group of free mulattoes who were themselves the descendants of free parents. Slave manumissions made only a slight contribution to the total increase in free black numbers within the county, and had no recognizable impact on growth within the mulatto segment of the free black population. Most manumitted slaves appear to have been Negroes, not mulattoes, and there is no evidence that white planters felt obliged to free their mixed race children by slave mothers. The free mulattoes of Somerset were not given their freedom, they were free by right of birth.

Prior to the American Revolution the free mulattoes of Somerset formed what was in effect a small separate unit within colonial society that stood apart both from the free white and the slave black populations of that county. If the Revolution had not fundamentally changed social and economic conditions in the region, it is possible that something resembling the three class system of social organization that characterized slave holding societies in other parts of the New World might have come into being on Maryland's Lower Eastern Shore.¹⁷ During the colonial period, however, Somerset free mulattos never developed either the numbers or the economic influence to form a significant intermediate class between free whites and slave blacks. Over the two decades following the Revolution slave manumissions became much more frequent in Somerset County, and a great increase took place in the free black population there. The nascent free mulatto class in Somerset disappeared as a separate entity and was replaced by a much enlarged and predominantly Negro free black class with closer affinities to the slave population of the region.

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I would like to acknowledge the advice and assistance given to me by Lois Green Carr in regard to the identification of free blacks from the Somerset tax lists. This paper is based on research conducted under a grant from the National Park Service.

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 3. *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, XXXIV (1764): 261.
 4. *Archives of Maryland*, ed. William Hand Browne, et al., 68 vols. (Baltimore, 1883-) 13: 546-49.
 5. James M. Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634-1860*. (New York, 1921), pp. 25-6.
 6. In 1752 the conditions under which slaves could be manumitted were made more stringent in Maryland. The Act of 1752 required that all future manumissions should be by deed and should be properly witnessed and recorded by the county courts. *Archives of Maryland*, 50: 76-8. Prior to that year there was no legal requirement that manumissions be recorded.
 7. *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, *ibid.*
 8. Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland*. (Baltimore, 1966), pp. 143, 399. Jone Puckham was the mother of Richard Puckham Sr. Somerset County Judicial Record (1698-1701): 162, MdHR. David, John, Mary, Matthew, Richard Jr. and Soloman Puckham all lived in the household headed by Richard Puckham Sr. prior to the establishment of their own households, and can be presumed to be his children.
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An Endowed King William's School Plans to Become a College

CHARLOTTE FLETCHER

IN 1732 KING WILLIAM'S SCHOOL received an adequate, though not princely, endowment. This was fortunate because a few years earlier it had lost all support from provincial taxes. The endowment was a legacy of young Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert, who willed the school one third of his estate. At mid-century, legislation to develop the Annapolis school into a college, and to establish another college on the Eastern Shore, was introduced in the General Assembly.

King William's School was chartered by an act of 1696.¹ It was planned that a school should be founded on the Eastern Shore at Oxford, Talbot County, after King William's School became self-supporting. And after that, one at a time, free schools should be established in the other counties of Maryland.

However, no county schools were founded under the act of 1696. They were not established until thirty years later by an act of 1723,² which divided into twelve equal parts all the monies collected since 1696 for the benefit of public schools. County school boards were appointed to serve in "perpetual succession" like the Rector, Visitors and Governors of King William's School. They were directed to use their portion of this money to purchase one hundred acres for a schoolhouse and for support of the masters. King William's School did not share in this distribution, nor did it receive any portion of the annual taxes earmarked thereafter for public schools. Although sometimes called the Annapolis Free School, it was quite distinct

from the county school called Anne Arundel County Free School established under the act of 1723.

A majority in the Assembly wanted local schools immediately. But a minority continued to think that the one-school-at-a-time procedure outlined in the act of 1696 would build better schools. Those who wanted a college or two for Maryland favored the earlier act. They thought that to distribute limited public funds for education among so many schools would give none enough support for it to develop into the kind of good school the province needed for its youth. Young Benedict Leonard Calvert, governor of Maryland in 1727-1732, belonged to this group and on March 18, 1728-29, wrote antiquarian Thomas Hearne at Oxford University that "wee have here settled a fund for a free school in the several 12 counties." But he said there would be a better chance for "Real Success in Education" if the limited funds had been spent on "our two older foundations," i.e. the school in Annapolis and the one proposed for Oxford by the Act of 1696, where there were accommodations for "Boarding Scholars."³

Soon after his arrival in Maryland in 1727, Calvert "in tender Consideration" of an application from the lower house, gave to the county schools half of the three-pence-per-hogshead tax reserved for the governor's use.⁴ This was the revenue that Governor Hart gave King William's School in 1720. The act renewing the revenue in 1723 provided for its expiration in 1726.⁵ Loss of the revenue from this tax almost wrecked King William's School.

The funds were sunk, the School had soon decay'd

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Unless supported by thy [Governor Calvert's] Bounteous Aid,⁶

rhymed poet and schoolmaster Richard Lewis. For what Calvert almost destroyed with his left hand, he saved with his right by seeking private benefactors to aid the Annapolis school.

Governor Calvert's "Bounteous Aid" came as one-third of his worldly goods, which he, mindful of failing health, bequeathed King William's School in a will written just before sailing for England in April 1732.⁷ Benedict Leonard Calvert, great-grandson of Charles I and the Duchess of Cleveland, and younger brother of the fifth Proprietor, Charles, Lord Baltimore, was only twenty-seven years old when he became Governor of Maryland. According to two discerning friends, he was scholarly and generous. Thomas Hearne, older than Calvert, had corresponded with him ever since Calvert's student days at Christ Church College, Oxford, in 1717. During his years in Maryland Calvert enjoyed the company of a contemporary, Richard Lewis, a poet and schoolmaster, who had entered Balliol College, Oxford, in 1718. Hearne often mentions Calvert in his famous diary;⁸ Lewis writes of him in his occasional verse. Both mention the Annapolis School.

Hearne confessed that he had tried to persuade Calvert to stay in England rather than go to what Calvert in his letter previously mentioned called an "unpolished part of the Universe." But while saying this, Calvert sent to Hearne, as if to show that conditions were changing in Maryland, a copy of Richard Lewis' translation of Holdsworth's *Muscipula: the Mousetrap*,⁹ recently printed on Maryland's new printing press. In the preface, Lewis called himself "one who is engaged in teaching Language;" Calvert described him as "a man really of Ingenuity, and to my judgment well versed in Poetry." Though he was best known as a nature poet,¹⁰ his occasional verses are of interest because they tell of Calvert's intention to build a college in Maryland. Of the bequest to King William's School, Lewis writes,

The Gift he gave was small to what his Mind

Had to advance good Literature design'd,
His pow'ful Entreaties would have mov'd
His Noble Friends who useful Learning
Lov'd,
To build a *College*, where our Youths might
find
Instruction to Adorn each studious Mind;
And for their Use his Books were all Design'd.¹¹

"His Books" refers to Calvert's well-stocked library, which it is believed Lewis consulted while preparing annotations to *Muscipula*. Evidently Calvert had intended to give his library to the college.

Lewis is commonly thought to have written *Proposals for Founding an Academy at Annapolis*.¹² Its author sounds like an experienced language teacher when he says Greek and Latin are often taught in a way "too dry, laborious & discouraging to the Capacities of Boys" and proposes that a better method be adopted for the Academy.

Lewis, if he is the author, proposes a faculty composed of a senior Lecturer, or Regent, "who shall be Professor of Divinity, Moral Philosophy & the Classics; a Master and sub-master or Usher who could teach the Classics, a Writing Master competent in Mathematicks, and an English Master who would also teach reading and Accounts." The author suggests that the Regent and the Greek master in the Academy be "clergymen as best qualified for Instructing the Young Gentlemen designed for Holy Orders," and he clearly means clergymen of the Church of England. Yet he recommends that "none of the Youth of this or the neighboring Provinces, of what Opinion soever they may be in Religion, shall be excluded from the Benefit of receiving their Education here, on Account of their Dissenting from the Establish'd Church." This liberality toward non-Church of England youths was later stated in much stronger language in the non-sectarian charters of Washington College and St. John's College of 1782 and 1784.

In conclusion the author writes,

the Proposer. . . is ready to attend Either of the Honourable Houses when Call'd upon, with all Integrity and Submission, being Prepar'd, as they shall Judge proper, to Enlarge or Contract the Design, and Accomodate the Whole to the Circum-

stance of the Province; The Genius of Whose Youths He has Remark'd to be naturally Very Good, and Capable of great Proficiency by a Suitable Cultivation.

This last remark suggests again that Lewis, a teacher in the Annapolis school and therefore familiar with the abilities of Maryland youths, was the author of the *Proposals*.

Unfortunately, the *Proposals to Found an Academy at Annapolis* were never introduced in the Assembly. The untimely deaths of the two men who would have been the most likely proponents may explain the failure: Calvert died at sea on June 1, 1732, and Lewis died two years later in 1734.

Without the income produced by Calvert's bequest, King William's School, as Lewis wrote, might indeed have "sunk." Until the Revolution it comprised seven-eighths of the school's entire income,¹³ not counting fees received from students. In his will, Calvert required that sound investment be made of the inheritance, that it

be put out at Interest upon good Security . . . towards the payment of the Salary or Support of the Master or Masters Usher or Ushers of the said School. And to no other purpose whatsoever. . . . If it should ever happen a Master of the said School should be wanting during the space of one whole year, so that children cannot be taught instructed educated at least as well as usual . . . it be paid to the church wardens & vestry of St. Anne's Parish . . . to apply in the purchase of a Tract of Land . . . for the use and benefit of the Minister of the time being and his Successors of St. Anne's Parish.¹⁴

The poverty of St. Anne's Parish helped make it possible for King William's School to operate continuously. St. Anne's Parish had no rectory for its clergy to occupy. The parish, being small, offered a meagre living to its rector from the tobacco tax of "40 per poll."¹⁵ This was recognized as early as July 12, 1709, when "the Governor and Council recorded that the Annapolis parish was deliberately made small so as to entail a minimum of parochial work for Commissary Bray [who had an additional salary], but that this arrangement provided such a small income that the governor had diffi-

culty in keeping it supplied."¹⁶ Years later in 1754, Governor Sharpe described the living as scarcely a decent subsistence because of the "Dearth of provision, Firing & Family necessaries, which the lack of glebe land and a rectory provide."¹⁷ For these reasons, it is likely that between 1732 and 1759, some, if not all, of the rectors of St. Anne's also served as masters of King William's School, living in the schoolhouse quarters and, as masters, receiving some additional income from Calvert's bequest. If this was the case, it was fortunate for the school, because the clergy were well-educated and the school therefore never wanted for masters.¹⁸

In 1754 Governor Sharpe wrote Lord Baltimore suggesting that money be raised to build a rectory for St. Anne's Parish by a plan like that proposed in 1724 by the Rev. James Henderson, acting commissary: money should be accumulated by not appointing a rector for St. Anne's for a number of years.¹⁹ And indeed, between 1754 and 1759, St. Anne's had no rector, but was served by a vicar only, the Rev. John McPherson. The money saved was used to build a rectory at 217 Hanover Street in 1759, which was the home of St. Anne's rectors until 1885.²⁰

After receiving Calvert's legacy in 1732, King William's School was independent of provincial funds. But the county schools, supported by the tax dollar, were at the mercy of the Assembly. In 1740 they lost the revenue from half of the three-pence-per-hogshead tax,²¹ and it was never replaced. A bill of 1742 to restore the revenue failed by a vote in the lower house of twenty-seven to eight.²² Throughout the 1740s assembly sessions were bitter confrontations between the lower house, which claimed an exclusive right to initiate money bills, and the governor, who demanded money for defense. Finally in 1746, Governor Bladen pressed too hard for funds to support His Majesty's troops in King George's War against the French and their Indian allies. In retaliation, the lower house withdrew all funds for the completion of the governor's house begun in 1733. As a result, it stood half-finished without a roof, slowly decaying, until renovated and com-

pleted as an academic hall for St. John's College in 1789.²³

A frequent turn-over of masters during the 1740s shows that the county schools suffered from loss of revenue. In 1745, 1746, and 1747, trustees from Anne Arundel, Calvert, Prince George's, Queen Anne's and St. Mary's counties advertised for many months for qualified candidates.²⁴

Elsewhere in the colonies during the decades of the thirties and forties, people were experiencing a moral and spiritual uplift known as the Great Awakening. Three colleges claim that they were established as a result of the moral enthusiasm of the period: The College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1746; the Academy, College and Charitable School of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania) in 1750; and King's College (Columbia) in 1754. Maryland was stirred in its own way by what Samuel Morison describes as "aggressive missionary work by the Church of England, and a quiet but pervasive growth of liberal Christianity."²⁵

Social clubs like the famed Tuesday Club and a newly founded masonic lodge flourished in Annapolis and were part of the liberal movement. Members of the Tuesday Club contributed toward the Talbot County Charity and Work School founded to educate poor black and white children in useful trades by a fellow member, the Rev. Thomas Bacon.²⁶ Both he and the Rev. John Gordon,²⁷ who left St. Anne's Parish in 1749 for St. Michael's Parish, Talbot County, belonged to the Tuesday Club. They, and the Rev. William Brogden, rector of All Hallow's Parish, Anne Arundel County, preached sermons in St. Anne's Church before the Society of Free and Accepted Masons of Annapolis at celebrations of the two St. John's days: Gordon on June 25, 1749, and Bacon on June 25, 1753, the feast day of St. John the Baptist. The Rev. William Brogden preached before them on the feast day of St. John the Evangelist on December 28, 1749.

But Annapolis' social clubs are more famous for their fun and frivolity than for their moral uplift and good works. Thanks to the historian of the Tuesday Club, Dr. Alexander Hamilton, we have a picture of

the King William's schoolroom where the predecessor of the Tuesday Club met weekly.²⁸ It was called the Ugly Club.

According to Hamilton's history

what chiefly gave this Society the name of the Ugly Club was the squalidness of the Room, where they sat, and held their meetings, it being a large ghastly apartment, of an old Building made use of for a School Room. The plaister of the walls and Ceiling was much decayed and cracked, moldy, dirty, and several places fallen off. Around the walls were many names engraved and done with Ink, Chalk, and marking Stone, and some human faces and figures of a strange wild fancy with monstrous noses, unconscionable mouths, and horrid staring eyes. The Ceiling was smoked in several places with a candle, and very much garnished with cobwebs, and the Clay nests of worms and wasps. Many panes of Glass in the windows were broke and cracked, the window sills and shelves covered with dust, which had been collecting there for half a century. The floor was squalid, full of spots and plaistered in many places with daubs of dirt, collected from chaws of tobacco, and such like plastic substances, which having been stood upon, adhered, and in a manner grew to the planks. The furniture of the Room consisted of a parcell of old forms and desks, which Served the members of the Club to sit and loll upon. There was only one antiquated elbow chair, which was Set apart for the president of the Club.

Thus was it Solely upon account of the Slovenliness of the members (who looked when met like a parcel of ragged philosophers), their affectation of odd gestures, and dirtiness and unseemliness of the Club room that this Society had the name of the Ugly Club, not from any bodily deformity in the members themselves, for, in that respect, some of them were proper enough men, and tollerably well made.

Among the members was Mr. Pedanticus,

a man of letters, having for some time exercised the office of Schoolmaster for the City of Annapolis, and exerted himself to admiration, in that conspicuous station. He was remarkable for wearing dirty linnen nightcaps in summer, and greasy worsted Ditto in winter. . . . He was an Hybernicum by birth, and was pretty well stocked in the sort of modest assurance which is reckoned peculiar to that nation. He had a particular



FIGURE 1.

The Ugly Club, predecessor of the Tuesday Club, meeting in the King William's schoolroom in the early 1740s.

turn to mechanics, and made such great strides toward the discovery of the perpetuum mobile and the longitude, that it is thought by many competent Judges, had his means or purse been sufficient, he would have effected them both. Like others of his profession he was positive, dogmatic and Imperious, treating all persons, as if they were his pupils or Schoolboys, much given to dispute, and always sure he was in the right, and Commonly needed to get the better of the argument, by quoting Greek and Latin authors, which few or none of the Club understood.²⁹

But contrary to Hamilton's comical descriptions and lampoons, many of the discourses at the weekly meetings of the Tuesday Club were far from nonsense. Smoothum Sly, Esq., was the Rev. John

Gordon, whose discourse on April 5, 1746, "was upon Civil Government, and had the approbation of the Club in general, excepting his honor the president, who alledged he spoke too much in favor of popular liberty."³⁰ On August 16, 1748, Gordon was high steward and therefore entertained the Club in his home, which was the schoolhouse.³¹

By 1747 the Assembly had mended its ways somewhat. After two decades of debate it passed an act for "amending the Staple Tobacco for preventing frauds in his Majesty's Customs and for limitation of Officers' Fees,"³² imposing regulations and inspection on the tobacco trade. These were necessary to raise the quality of Maryland tobacco, to make it competitive with the

Virginia leaf, which was already under strict regulation. Hoping to prevent the exportation of "bad and trash tobacco," the act set up numerous inspection stations at ports on the Chesapeake and its tributaries. In that same year the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle temporarily ended the conflict between England and France in Europe and concluded King George's War in America. With the coming of peace, trade was resumed with the continent, where Maryland's famous Orinoco tobacco was always in demand.

The Tobacco Law and peace raised hopes such as those expressed in an essay written in 1747 entitled "On the Means of Improving the Trade."³³ The author recommends that two ports be established, one on each shore of the Bay, to draw the grain trade. He predicted that these two ports would soon become "Seats of Learning as well as of Commerce." For, he continued, "Athens was the Center of the Commerce as well as of the Literature of ancient Greece."

Seemingly, the author's dream was shared by the trustees of King William's School, who readied themselves to play a leading role in making Annapolis a center of colonial learning. They gained permission from the Assembly to sell "certain lands and houses belonging to the free-school in the city of Annapolis called King William's School," which brought in little rent, and six hundred and fifty acres in Dorchester County, which brought in no annual profit and on which they had to pay quit rent. The Assembly required that any money realized from the sales must be invested "on good security" and bring in annual interest for support of the masters.³⁴ But having gained the necessary permission, the trustees were in no hurry to sell.

Evidently, they were awaiting the outcome of an action just begun in the May 1750 Assembly, whose purpose was to found two colleges with funds acquired through confiscating the property of the county schools. It was necessary first for the lower house to be polled on the question "Whether the County Schools will be suppressed, in order that a sufficient Fund may be raised for establishing a School, or College, on each Shore of this Province."

Thirty-five members voted in the affirmative, seventeen in the negative.³⁵ Just before adjournment the lower house appointed a Committee on Ways and Means and ordered that the proposed bill, when ready, should be published in the *Maryland Gazette* during the summer recess.

The bill as published abrogated the Act of 1723 and proposed to replace county schools with "One good . . . school for the Western Shore which should be King William's School with such succession of Rector, Governors and Visitors as directed by the Act of 1696," and one "good . . . school at . . . on the Eastern Shore."

The first master of King William's School should have a master's degree from Oxford University, and the first master of the Eastern Shore school should have his from Cambridge University, each to be appointed by the vice chancellor of his university, and the vice chancellors would, for the "Time Being" serve as chancellors of the two Maryland colleges. Two Maryland boys, designated Calvert's Scholars, should be educated gratis and be recommended for holy orders in England. "Money arising by . . . the Sales of the Land and Chattels belonging to the County Schools shall be . . . applied by the said Rector, Governors and Visitors of either School respectively to build suitable and proper Houses . . . all such Buildings shall be of Brick or Stone, with shingled Hip Roofs, and but one Story High . . . Three Rooms to each School . . . to be denominated First, Second and Third Schools." Standards were set for promotion within the various schools. For example, no boy should be admitted into the First School until he had read Tully and Horace in Latin and gone through the Greek Grammar, Homer, Theocritus in the Greek likewise.³⁶

According to this bill, King William's School was to develop into a "good school" or college, under the same board which had continued in perpetual succession since appointed by the act of 1696; and another "good school" or college was to be established on the Eastern Shore, whose location and governance were not stated in the proposal. This bill, however, was never introduced in the Assembly.

By 1750 wheat was becoming an important Maryland export. Many Maryland planters followed their grain northward to Philadelphia, causing Chestertown, on the way to Philadelphia, to enjoy a prosperity beyond that of Oxford to the south. One of the attractions of Pennsylvania's capital city was the Academy of Philadelphia, which opened January 1751 to teach

Latin, Greek, English, French, and German Language; together with History, Geography, Chronology, Logic, and Rhetoric; also Writing, Arithmetic, Merchants Accounts, Geometry, Algebra, Surveying, Gauging, Navigation, Astronomy, Drawing in Perspective, and other mathematical sciences; with natural and mechanic Philosophy, etc., agreeable to the Constitutions heretofore published, at the Rate of Four Pounds per Annum and twenty Shillings, Entrance.³⁷

The exodus of Maryland youths to the Academy, and later to the Academy and College of Philadelphia became so great between 1751 and 1754 that it occurred to one "Philo Marilandicus" that the money Maryland youths spent in Pennsylvania for their education could build a college on both the Eastern and Western Shores of Maryland, or at least one in Annapolis.

He wrote,

On Enquiry, it has been found that there are (at least) 100 *Marylanders* in the Academy of Philadelphia, and it is experimentally known, that the annual Charges, for Cloaths, Schooling, Board, etc. etc. amount (at least) to 75 £ Maryland Currency, 50 £ Sterling, for each Youth educated. Hence it is evident, that if this Practice continues but 20 years (at the moderate Computation of 5000 £ Sterling per Annum), there must be remitted from Maryland for the Benefit of the Pennsylvanians, the round Plumb, or Sum of One Hundred Pounds Sterling. Besides this 'tis well known, that vast Sums are every Year transmitted to France, etc. for the Education of our young Gentlemen of the Popish Persuasion, etc. Tho perhaps superior Politics, Interest and Influence may render the saving the Money in the latter Case (intirely lost to the Province), impracticable, yet certainly our Protestant Patriots might contrive Ways and Means for keeping within Maryland, Cash advanced (as afore-

said), for the Use of Pennsylvania, by establishing a College on each Shore, or one at Annapolis, at which (if duly cheaper, and more conveniently accomodated, and at the same Time) the Cash expended, would still circulate within the Province. If you think these Hints deserve public Consideration, by inserting them in your next, you will oblige,

Yours etc

Philo Marilandicus³⁸

Philo Marilandicus did not go unanswered. On reading this letter in the *Maryland Gazette*, Richard Brooke responded with an argument in favor of one college only. If youths of both shores were educated under one roof, he wrote, they would contract friendships which would wipe out some of the ancient jealousies between the inhabitants of the two shores; if one college only, it would certainly be at Annapolis, where Gentlemen have frequent opportunities to see their children while attending the Assembly and Court. To satisfy those who objected to Annapolis for moral reasons, since towns have disorderly elements, good regulations should be enforced. But if a town was considered too objectionable a situation for a college, it could be placed on the opposite shore of the Severn.

Brooke, a Protestant heir to "certain lands, which are detained from him by the Jesuits," suggested that the Jesuits be divested of their land, which could be sold to produce revenue for a college. "Here then," he wrote, "we have found a Fund equal perhaps or very near equal to a genteel Endowment for one College, but by no Means of two." In making this suggestion, to avoid any insinuating aspersions on his character, he made "a public Renunciation of any Right to those Lands."³⁹

The lower house did indeed write a bill to divest the Jesuits of their lands⁴⁰—not to build a college, but to pay Maryland's contribution to frontier defense in the French and Indian War. Since the foe was Catholic, some men feared that Maryland's Catholics might aid the enemy. The upper house, however, rejected the bill.

But in answer to Philo Marilandicus and others who wanted a Maryland college, and who expressed their desire in terms advantageous to Maryland's wealth, Governor

Sharpe replied in May 1754. He was aroused to action by the sight not only of the thriving college in Virginia, but also by the flourishing Academy and College of Philadelphia where many Maryland youths were spending Maryland cash. Speaking before the Maryland General Assembly in 1754 he said,

Shall I also take the Liberty of intimating what a considerable Benefit must accrue to the Inhabitants, and what Honour must redound to yourselves, from the Foundation of a more perfect and more public Seminary of Learning in this province; a Scheme this long since put in Execution among our Neighbors, to whom our Youth are still obliged, much to the disadvantage and Discredit of this Province, to recur for Liberal education.

If the assembly could not be shamed into founding a college, Governor Sharpe held out a carrot: "From my knowledge of what vast Pleasure and Satisfaction his Lordship receives from being able to contribute, and promote, the Reputation Honour and Prosperity of his Province, I will presume to encourage you to expect something more than his bare approbation of such a Proposal."⁴¹

In spite of placing little trust in "more than bare approbation" from the Proprietor, the Assembly responded to the governor's plea by again introducing a college bill, this time an act to establish *one* college, not two. Just as in 1750, proponents called for a vote on the question "Whether the Fund now appropriated for the several County Schools, and the money which may arise in the Sale of the Land and Houses, which appertains to the several County Schools, be applied toward the Erection of One public Seminary for Learning within this Province, or Not?" Again it was resolved in the affirmative, with thirty-eight ayes and thirteen nays. It was then ordered "That the Committee of Laws do make an Enquiry into Ways and Means to raise a Fund, for the Establishment of One Public Seminary for Learning in this Province and report the same to the House."⁴²

Taxes already levied for the benefit of the county schools were the following: "twenty shillings per Poll on Irish servants

being Papists, and on Negroes; the Duty of six pence per barrel on tar and twelve pence on pitch; and twelve pence on Port." The Committee recommended two more—one on ferry licenses and another one penny per gallon on all rum and wine. They also included the annual income received by King William's School from the bank stock bought with Calvert's bequest, ground rents on lots in Annapolis, and what could be realized from the sale of the Dorchester farm. They thought that the total amount would "be sufficient to defray the Annual Expense of a College." In addition, they calculated what the sale of county school property would bring. But they did not suggest selling the King William's schoolhouse, which "your Committee apprehend . . . may be converted to some Public Use."⁴³

This last remark has caused some speculation. One historian has called it "an innuendo doubtless full of significance."⁴⁴ This may be so. But on the face of it, it sounds more like a redundancy than an innuendo. The schoolhouse, from its completion in 1701, had known public use—by the Council, the Records Office, the Provincial Library, the church, the clubs.

In a final vote on May 28, 1754, a majority of *one* in the lower house voted *not* to refer the bill "For the Erection of One Public Seminary for Learning within this Province" for consideration in the next Assembly. Eighteen members from the Eastern Shore counties voted *for* consideration; eighteen men from the Western Shore counties voted *against* consideration in the next session. The deciding vote was cast *against* by the Speaker, Philip Hammond, from Anne Arundel county. The two Annapolis delegates present, Walter Dulany and Alexander Hamilton, voted *against*, as did three delegates from Anne Arundel county. Four delegates from Kent county voted *for*; the Talbot delegation split.⁴⁵ All this suggests that the bill of 1754 favored an Eastern Shore location—in all probability Chestertown, not Oxford—rather than Annapolis, where King William's School would have been developed into the Seminary. If this was the case, the innuendo may have been a recommendation that the King William's schoolhouse, like the

county schools, should be sacrificed for the development of one seminary. The trustees of the county schools, like those of King William's School, had been appointed in perpetual succession.⁴⁶ Undoubtedly, they wanted equable representation on the governing board of the new seminary, along with the trustees of King William's School. An acceptable governance of the *one* seminary obviously had not been worked out. Furthermore, the bill proposed in 1754 did not carry out the intention of the two earlier acts for the encouragement of learning, both of which were committed to the establishment of county schools.

In May 1754 Governor Sharpe wrote Lord Baltimore that the session just concluded had not been a propitious time to introduce "the scheme your Lordship was pleased to intimate for compleating the Governour's House." It had indeed been another unproductive session, producing no constructive legislation for defense or education. The lower house had again proposed the unthinkable, that the tax on ordinaries be diverted from the proprietor's income to the support of troops.⁴⁷

Yet, when sympathetic to a cause, the Assembly could find solutions. News came in July 1754 that young Lt. Col. George Washington (age 22) and his Virginia militia had surrendered to the French and their Indian allies. Governor Sharpe wrote Lord Baltimore, "Governour Dinwiddie renewed his solicitation for our assistance. . . . By this I was induced to meet our Assembly on the 16th Instant & prevailed them so far as to send up a bill for supporting the Virginians with 6000 pounds."⁴⁸

The lower house raised a significant portion of this amount by placing a surtax on ordinaries. Their attempts to attach the base tax on ordinaries, which the proprietor claimed as his own, had failed in the past. Thus, they considered the passage of the surtax a signal success, for they had been led to believe that the proprietor considered not only the tax on ordinaries, but ordinaries as a source of revenue, his peculiar preserve. Their success proved to be a step in the right direction toward financing a college.

During the visit of a victorious Washing-

ton to Annapolis thirty years later, the lower house chartered St. John's College, having chartered Washington College in Chestertown two years before. Included in the St. John's charter was a tax on Western Shore ordinaries to provide revenue for its support.

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1. Thomas Bacon, *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, Jonas Green, 1765) chap. vii (chaps. 12 & 13 of the Act of 1696 established an Oxford and county schools but were superseded by the Act of 1723).
2. *Archives of Maryland*, 34:740-746 (Act of 1723) [hereafter cited *Archives*].
3. Benedict Leonard Calvert to Thomas Hearne, March 18, 1728/29 in "Calvert Memorabilia," *Maryland Historical Magazine* [hereafter cited *MHM*] 11:282. "Wee have here settled a fund for a free school in the several 12 Counties, which have mostly masters, but I think the Province too young for such a separated Scituation of Studies; I would rather the funds appropriated for these 12 schools were settled on our two older foundations, viz., one a free school at Annapolis and at Oxford, a convenient Town over our Bay. I should then hope for some real success of Education amongst us; two schools well provided of Masters were better than 12 indifferently suited with one each, and inconvenient for Scholars, there being no Towns or accomodation for Boarding Scholars, where those 12 schools are fixed."
4. *Archives*, 36:357.
5. *Archives*, 24:70; 36:551; Bacon, 1720, chap. XV.
6. Richard Lewis, *Verses To The Memory Of His Excellency Benedict Leonard Calvert* (ms. in Nimitz Library, U.S. Naval Academy Library).
7. Bernard C. Steiner, "Benedict Leonard Calvert, Esq.," in *MHM* 3:192-200, 339-341.
8. Thomas Hearne, *Remarks And Collections* (Oxford, Printed for the Oxford Historical Society at the Clarendon Press, 1885-1921) 11 v. Passages relevant to Calvert are in "Calvert Memorabilia," *MHM* 11:282-5, 339-341. In 1703 the Bishop of London tried to persuade Hearne to emigrate to Maryland to oversee the libraries given by Dr. Bray. Hearne refused. Later he twice refused offers to become librarian of the Bodleian, Oxford University.
9. Edward Holdsworth, *Muscipula: The Mousetrap, or The Battle of The Cambrians And The Mice*, translated into English by R. Lewis (Annapolis, William Parks, 1728). Reprinted in *MHS Fund Publication #36, "Early Maryland Poetry,"* pp. 57-102.
10. J. A. Leo Lemay, *Men of Letters in Maryland* (Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, c 1972) p. 150. For life and works of Lewis see pp. 126-184.
11. Richard Lewis, *Verses To The Memory Of Benedict Leonard Calvert*, op. cit.
12. *Archives*, 38:456-461.
13. *Archives*, 50:491. Committee of Laws reported to

- lower house May 21, 1754 that interest on Calvert's Donation was 37,10 . . . pounds Sterling; ground rents on houses in Annapolis 4.0 . . . pounds sterling. The five hundred acres in Dorchester brought in no rent and cost ground rent; it was not sold until 1769.
14. Wills, Anne Arundel, 1732, 20:496,8 (in Hall of Records, Annapolis). For accounting of American estate, see Executor Edmund Jennings Testamentary Bond, etc. Anne Arundel, 1732-34, Box 37, Folder 41; Additional Account September 4, 1753. In 1763 Gov. Sharpe wrote Calvert's brother, Caelcius, the English executor, to send the residue of what was owing KWS still held in Jennings' estate, who had died in England in 1756.
 15. *Archives*, 6:54,55. Every freeholder was taxed 40 pounds of tobacco for support of the Anglican clergyman of his parish. This was commonly expressed as "40p per poll."
 16. Nelson Richtmyer, *Maryland's Established Church* (Baltimore, the Church Historical Society for the Diocese of Maryland, 1956), p. 42.
 17. Prior to Calvert's gift, St. Anne's Vestry Minutes record several attempts to provide decent housing for the rector, Samuel Skippon. The church wardens neither repaired two old parsonage houses nor built a new parsonage (MHM 7:167). After Skippon's death in 1724, the Rev. James Henderson, commissary of the Anglican Church on the Western Shore, proposed to the vestry that he and the neighboring clergy "serve the Parish for the present year in the best manner they can on condition that his Excellency the Governor and the rest of the Vestry do agree that the 40p poll for the present year be apply'd toward purchasing glebe land and improving the glebe for the use of the present Incumbent and his successors" (MHM 7:178).
 18. But in the next meeting of the vestry, Feb. 11, 1724/25 a candidate who had received the "bounty as a schoolmaster in Philadelphia" (Richtmyer 193) was presented to them. His qualifications and their need must have coincided. Their reply was "Forasmuch as the Reverend John Humphreys is willing to reside among us, we readily accept his offer, and desire that his Excellency the Governor will induct him into this Parish, (MHM 7:269). The money saved through using the services of neighboring clergy after Skippon's death was given him to defray "his Charges in Removing his Family to this City," and was not used to build a rectory. It is clear that they did not provide a place for him to live, because two years later in September 1726, Humphrey "acquainted this Vestry that he stands indebted for House rent twenty-four pounds currency" (MHM 7:279). He asked the church wardens to beg help "from the several parishioners toward Discharge of the Rent." On 4 August 1730 he was granted permission "to remove the house he built on the glebe lot," presumably at his own expense (MHM 8:157).
It is very likely that the Rev. John Humphreys was both rector of St. Anne's and master of King William's School after Michael Piper died, and that he occupied the schoolhouse living quarters after 1730. By education and experience he was well able to hold both offices. The next rector, the Rev. James Stirling, a poet and playwright, stayed only from 1739 to 1740 in which time Charles Peale was a master of King William's School. There are several hints that the Rev. John Gordon, who became rector in 1745, lived in the schoolhouse quarters. Three times during his incumbency—July 1 and August 18, 1746 (MHM 9:50,51) and Nov. 10, 1747 (St. Anne's Vestry Minutes, 302) the St. Anne's Vestry met in the schoolhouse. More significant, he was host of the Tuesday Club in the schoolhouse. He too, was well prepared by education to teach as well as to preach. See note 31.
 19. *Archives*, 6:54,55. See note 17 for Henderson's proposal.
 20. William F. Paynter, *St. Anne's, Annapolis, History and Times* (Annapolis, St. Anne's Parish, 1980), pp. 21,22.
 21. *Archives*, 40, 271.
 22. *Ibid.*, 42:344, 354-355.
 23. Morris L. Radoff, *Buildings of the State of Maryland* (Annapolis, the Hall of Records Commission, Publication #9, 1954), pp. 77-80.
 24. *Maryland Gazette*, Nov. 7, 1745, April 21, 1747, Sept. 27, 1747, June 2, 1745.
 25. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 150.
 26. For the Life of Bacon see Lemay, 303-342, and Oswald Tilghman *History of Talbot County, Maryland, 1661-1861* (Baltimore, Williams & Wilkins, 1915) 1:272-300; 2:477-495.
 27. For the Life of Gordon see Mary M. Starin, "The Reverend Doctor John Gordon 1717-1790" in MHM 75:167-191.
 28. Alexander Hamilton, "History of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club," opp. 118 (JHU film #2593), courtesy of Tuesday Club, John Work Garrett Collection, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, the Johns Hopkins University Library.
 29. *Ibid.*, 119-123.
 30. *Ibid.*, 249.
 31. *Ibid.*, 368.
 32. *Archives* 44:595-638.
 33. *Maryland Gazette*, Dec. 9, 16, 23, 30, 1747.
 34. *Archives*, 46:485,6.
 35. *Ibid.*, 46:384,5.
 36. *Maryland Gazette*, Aug. 1, 8, 1750.
 37. *Ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1751.
 38. *Ibid.*, March 21, 1754.
 39. *Ibid.*, May 16, 1754.
 40. *Archives*, 50:514-519.
 41. *Ibid.*, 50:472,3.
 42. *Ibid.*, 50:482,3.
 43. *Ibid.*, 50:490-492.
 44. *Ibid.*, 50:xxii.
 45. *Ibid.*, 50:506. Alexander Hamilton was Grand Master of the Annapolis A. F.&M Lodge as well as president of the Tuesday Club.
 46. *Ibid.*, 34:388.
 47. *Ibid.*, 6:56.
 48. *Ibid.*, 6:79,80.

Letters to and from Frederick, Maryland (1833–1848)

ALEXANDRA LEE LEVIN

THE HEAVILY-TRAVELED NATIONAL Pike was still in the process of construction early in 1833 when Jane Mary Ann Beall Pettit, the young wife of Henry Pettit, wrote to Frederick, her girlhood home, from Cumberland, Maryland. In 1811, during the presidency of James Madison, the National Government had initiated its first internal improvement project, the building of the National Pike. The road started at Cumberland, a town nestled high between two mountains. The arduous work of forging an important link between the settled East and the isolated West progressed slowly. Young Mrs. Pettit, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. William Murdoch Beall, of Frederick City, wrote to her younger sister, Frances Beall:

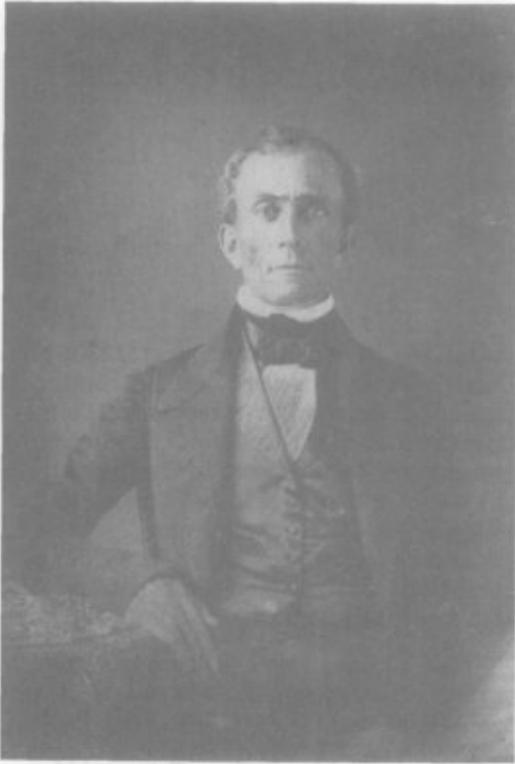
As Mr. Darral, one of the contractors on the National Road, leaves here on Friday on his way for goods, and as I am in want of a few small articles which I cannot procure here, I wish you to get them for me. I want an emery cushion—do not pay more than twelve and a half cents for one—also two black spools of white cotton; the black spools are generally best. I would be much obliged if Mama has any brown or whitened thread, also some old canton crape or pieces of worsted stockings to mend mine, not wishing to go to the expense of buying new for mending. I wish you would get for me the pattern of a yoked nightgown, also, if you can, a fashionable sleeve pattern, and cape or collar pattern. I suspect Mr. Darral will return the latter part of this month, and hope you will have those things ready for him. Dear Sister, write by Mr. Darral, and request Sister Martha to write and tell me all the news. I send enclosed 37 and a half cents.¹

Mrs. Levin, a local author, has published widely in the fields of local history and biography.

On July 16 of that same year, 1833, Mrs. Pettit's sister, Frances Zeruiah Susannah Beall, was married to John Knight, a merchant of Natchez, Mississippi. The wedding was such a social event in Frederick that the list of guests had to be drastically curtailed. Mary Pettit came from Cumberland for the occasion, but being in a "delicate condition" did not come downstairs. She sent her husband a description of the day:

Frances looked lovely in her white dress, white satin slippers, and lace veil. She carried a Berlin-work beaded bag and a handsome fan. There were no females out of the family except Mrs. William Tyler and Mrs. Samuel Tyler. Mr. Smith married them.² There was pretty much of a squeeze. All kinds of refreshments were provided in abundance, but no supper. The noise disturbed me until one o'clock when the house was finally still. I fell asleep and was awakened between one and two o'clock by music—they were serenading Frances—a clarinet and flute accompanied by two voices. They first played the "Arab's Daughter." The bride and groom left in the nine o'clock car for Baltimore on their way to New York, where they will stay three weeks.³

After their New York honeymoon the newlyweds returned to Frederick, gathered up their luggage, then left in an "extra," a coach specially hired for the trip to Cincinnati. The coaching agent had promised them the very best vehicles and horses throughout the entire route, but they were consistently put into old coaches with broken down or unmanageable horses. This resulted in continual delays plus a frightening and bruising upset at the foot of Sidling Hill, an exceedingly steep grade midway between Hagerstown and Cumberland. It was with relief that they finally reached Cincinnati where they took a boat for



FIGURES 1 and 2.

John Knight (1806–1864) and his wife Frances Zeruah Susannah Beall Knight (1813–1900), daughter of Mr. and Mrs. William Murdoch Beall of Frederick, Md., ca. 1844. Photographs taken from daguerreotypes.

Louisville. They arrived safely at Natchez on September 24.⁴

At Frederick the family waited for news from the couple. Frances's Aunt Zeruah McCleery Knox,⁵ widow of Dr. Samuel Knox, for many years president of the Baltimore College,⁶ wrote from Frederick on November 14:

We are all anxious to hear an account of the long and tedious journey. It could not have been for want of subject matter. Were there not several cities, little towns, villages and hamlets which would afford matter of amusement to those you have left behind? Was there no rural scenery worth noticing in the whole of your journey? Did no accident whatever befall you after leaving Cumberland? How were you pleased with your entertainment on the road? Were the people hospitable and kind? Were their modes of living like ours, or were they peculiar to themselves? Were their minds improved, their manners polite and affable? You must have remarked *some* pecu-

liarities in their style of living, manners and customs. If you did not, it was very strange. You must have been very much engrossed with yourselves.

Mr. Honfleur's pictures are now exhibiting in the City Hall.⁷ He expected to sell two hundred last night at auction.

A most curious occurrence happened yesterday morning between four and five: a continual shooting of stars, flaming streaks in the sky something like the Aurora Borealis. Various have been the conjectures about it. Some think it prognosticates war; others think that some new revolution in the heavenly bodies is taking place.⁸

Far from home at Natchez, Frances Knight was glad to receive family news. Her mother wrote on July 1, 1834:

Your sister Martha is to take her last music lesson on Friday next, as Miss Heb intends leaving the place. Your Pa says Martha can now improve herself as she has learned the introductory exercises, Battle of Prague,

variations of Auld Lang Syne, and Alice Grey, etc.

July 5th. I kept my letter unfinished expecting to have something interesting to communicate about the 4th. We had great ringing of bells yesterday, the procession moved up and down our street with Col. Shellman at their head.⁹ At 12 o'clock they started in cars from the head of Market Street to the Point of Rocks with the band playing. They made a handsome appearance as they passed. Your affectionate Mother F. Beall, Frederick City.

John Lee, a former member of Congress from the Frederick district,¹⁰ and a close friend of William Murdoch Beall, called at John Knight's Natchez store, bringing a packet of letters from Frederick. Knight wrote to his father-in-law on Christmas morning 1834:

Mr. Lee was accompanied by a Mr. Brawner of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. . . . He has a number of his slaves with him and contemplates settling them on a cotton plantation. Mr. Brawner proceeded to New Orleans with Mr. Lee, and has since returned in company with a Mr. Manning whom Frances recollects. He studied law with Mr. Richard Potts¹¹ of Frederick and says he is acquainted with you. He thinks of staying in Natchez with which both he and Mr. Brawner seem greatly pleased. This pleasure arises chiefly, I take it, from learning the facility and rapidity with which many have accumulated fortunes in this country, but more especially from the prospect they anticipate of realizing a goodly portion of the needful themselves.

From Frederick, Mrs. William M. Beall sent a letter with items of local interest to her sister, Mrs. Samuel Knox, who was visiting Frances at Natchez. Mrs. Beall had recently persuaded her husband to forego his favorite sport of betting on gamecock fights in town, and he, in turn, had requested her to give up taking snuff. Mrs. Beall wrote on February 12, 1836:

A minister, a man in indigent circumstances, has been staying at our brother Robert McCleery's for some days.¹² You know Robert is tender of such. The man amused us with his magic lantern, which was quite a new sight to me. The last scene

he showed was the House of Commons in flames with smoke rolling and ships sailing—by machinery. It was awfully grand. There has been a family exhibiting in our City Hall that has made a good deal of noise. They say the man carries his wife and all his children on his shoulders, and puts an iron bar down his throat. He says if twenty dollars can be made up, his little daughter will go from one steeple to the other on a rope, dressed in boys' clothes.

Mr. Beall added a few lines to his wife's letter. His message was intended for his son-in-law, John Knight:

My father has been a good deal indisposed for a few days, but is again convalescent. He has an iron constitution—his age is 90. Your Aunt Beall is, as usual, thin but in good health and spirits. She is frequently dancing and capering about me like a young volatile girl of 16.

On February 27, 1836, old Elisha Beall, a Revolutionary War veteran, sent a note to his son William from "Beallview," his farm some nine miles from Frederick:

It is my desire that my old woman Lucy be free as soon as possible as she is very uneasy about being set up to the highest bidder at my decease. I wish you to consult Richardson on the occasion & let me hear from you as soon as possible.

Elisha Beall, born in 1745, had been commissioned a first lieutenant on July 27, 1776, of Captain Meroney's Company, Colonel Griffith's Regiment, 1st Battalion Maryland Flying Camp commanded by General Rezen Beall. Later Elisha Beall was made a captain and served until the close of the war. On August 5, 1834, Roger Brooke Taney and his brother-in-law, Frances Scott Key, spent the night at "Beallview," Elisha's home. The following day an escort of over one hundred persons, mounted on horseback, turned out in Frederick to meet Taney, a distinguished former resident of the town, and conducted him to a dinner given in his honor.¹³

Elisha Beall's son, William, was a man of standing in the Frederick community. Elected one of the managers of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank when it opened its doors in 1817, he rose to be cashier,

second only to the bank's president. A staunch Jackson man, William M. Beall counted as his oldest and best friend Roger B. Taney. When Taney became Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, the second letter he wrote after hearing of his confirmation by the Senate was to Beall on March 23, 1836. His first letter was to President Andrew Jackson.

In March 1837 ex-President Jackson set out on his homeward journey to his residence, The Hermitage, near Nashville, Tennessee. Two days after Martin Van Buren took office on March 4, Jackson boarded the steam cars of the B&O which conveyed him to the western terminus of the railroad at Ellicott's Mills. From thence he was to coach to Wheeling. William M. Beall, Dr. William Tyler, and Judge Abram Shriver were chosen to greet him as he passed through Frederick. Taney accompanied Jackson to Frederick and introduced the Beall family to the old general.¹⁴

Elisha Beall, then in his ninety-third year, had come into town for the grand event. The inclement weather, however, proved too much for the aged gentlemen, and he was put to bed with a fatal chill. The Frederick *Herald* eulogized his life and works.

Frederick Town was a lively place during the winter of 1836-7. A military Court of Inquiry, headed by General Alexander McComb as president, was held there to investigate the failure of several army companies to overcome the Indians in Florida's Seminole War. In 1834 President Jackson had sent General Wiley Thompson to Florida to prepare for a possible forcible removal of the Seminoles, but Chief Osceola outwitted the U.S. troops for some time. On December 28, 1835, Osceola, with a small war party, killed and scalped General Thompson. That same day young Major Francis Dade and all but four of his detachment of one hundred men were massacred. The year 1836 closed with no prospect of peace, either by treaty or by the subjugation of the Indians.

At Frederick General McComb had been attended by many officers, both young and old, for whom at least twenty balls and parties were given. Having the soldiers ren-

dezvous at Frederick was a social windfall for the unmarried young ladies of the town.

Also, that winter, an affair of honor had occurred between two gentlemen, the Hon. William Cost Johnson, a member of Congress, and William Schley of the Maryland State Senate.¹⁵ The encounter became famous as the model duel because of the punctilio with which it was conducted. Each combatant begged the other to fire first, and when it was over, they shook hands and expressed regret for the misunderstanding. Schley sustained only a slight wound, while Johnson received a bullet in his leg. They afterwards became excellent friends.¹⁶

In January 1842, twenty-two-year-old Martha, youngest of the Beall daughters, was wed to Samuel Hunt, formerly of Frederick, but then a prospering leather-goods merchant on Baltimore's Market Street.¹⁷ Mother Beall sent a description to Martha's sister, Frances Knight, at Natchez. Apparently Jacob Nusbaum, the local confectioner, had let his imagination run away with his creations for the wedding.¹⁸ Mrs. Beall wrote:

The pies and the bride and fruit cakes were made by Mr. Nusbaum who had decorated the icing of one cake with a wreath of grapes and two doves. The other cake he had made in the shape of a chicken, which Martha thought shewed a decidedly curious taste on the part of Mr. Nusbaum. Mr. Peterkin¹⁹ performed the ceremony to the entire satisfaction of all, after which the guests partook with smiling faces of the cake, wine and lemonade. The company said Martha looked pretty and modest. Your Pa said Mr. Hunt looked to him like a scared pheasant.

In the summer of that year, John Knight was in New York, on his annual buying tour for his Natchez store. As a present for his wife Frances he engaged an artist, Edward D. Marchant,²⁰ who would go to Frederick and paint the portraits of Frances's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Beall. In his studio Marchant showed Knight his portrait of Henry Clay which Knight considered a superior likeness. So a bargain was struck. Knight notified his parents-in-law on August 15, 1842, saying that the artist agreed

to paint them, one hand each, for the price of \$250. Marchant's board and lodging was to be supplied by the Bealls while he worked in Frederick.

Mr. Beall wrote to Knight on September 21:

Mr. Marchant arrived here on the 5th and commenced operations the next day, finishing the pictures on the 17th. He stayed at our house whilst he was in our city. He left this morning for Baltimore after tendering your Aunt Beall and myself many thanks for our kindness to him. We were both pleased with him and found him a modest, unassuming, and intelligent gentleman. When Mr. Thompson,²¹ an artist who is painting in Frederick now, heard that you had selected Mr. M. he said he was astonished at your sending him, and that if you had selected Page²² or Henderson²³ you would most certainly have obtained good likenesses and fine painters. He thinks Marchant cannot paint, and that his pictures are gaudy. I, however, found Marchant remarkably sensitive, and these remarks of Thompson annoyed him excessively, saying that Thompson, in his opinion, was a strange fish and wholly irresponsible, and was so considered by all who knew him.

Marchant was about seven days engaged at my portrait. He says it was one of the most troublesome he ever took, owing to the variability of my countenance. Your Aunt's was completed in about three days, as he had but little trouble with hers in consequence of the uniformity of her face. He has given mine a serious, contemplative cast, or shall I say, a business expression, which he supposed would be more pleasing to you and would wear better than a smile. The eyebrows are consequently somewhat contracted and there is some little severity indicated in the expression, but he has painted me faithfully, for when my mind is engaged, my appearance is almost invariably austere and repulsive, yet the lips exhibit a sufficient degree of pleasantry to counteract the severity of the brows. Your Aunt's is amiability itself, consequently most accurately taken, for a sweeter woman does not live on this earth. On one side of my canvas he has an inkstand with two pens and several packages of papers sealed up, indicative of my profession. On your Aunt's he has a Bible in front of her on a stand, with a small slip of white paper projecting, showing the place where she had

been reading. While sitting, I wore my winter clothing, blue coat and blue-black velvet vest, while your Aunt wore her blue-black silk dress, crimped collar, a gauze scarf, and cap of Irish gauze with long tabs. Her left arm is resting on the top of the chair with the hand hanging down, the veins on the back of the hand painted to the life. He has given me an excellent forehead, better than I supposed I possessed; Marchant, however, says not.

The pictures produced considerable excitement and about seventy people visited here to see them. Some say that my likeness is good and your Aunt's couldn't be better, while others say the reverse. As evidence that they are both good, I will say that all the children in the neighborhood knew who they were the minute they laid eyes on them.

Artist Thompson, who had been so contemptuous of Marchant, completed Miss Schley's portrait a few days before Marchant finished his. Marchant took eleven days to do both of ours, while Thompson had spent three weeks on hers. I have seen her portrait, and you may rest assured that it bears no comparison to ours, for although she is a young, sprightly girl her picture does not exhibit one-fourth of the expression that ours do, notwithstanding our being grandparents and plain people. In addition, *his* picture is gaudy.²⁴

On April 23, 1847, William Murdoch Beall died. The *Frederick Examiner* announced the death "of one of the most useful, energetic and valuable of our fellow citizens. He was a member of the electoral college for the State Senate, was Sheriff of the County, for many years Cashier of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Frederick County, and at the time of his death President of the Mutual Insurance Company of Frederick County. In all the relations of life he was marked for his integrity, sound judgment, and solid worth."

In the summer of 1848 John Knight was in New York for his annual purchasing trip, then proceeded to Baltimore's Barnum's Hotel on Monument Square. There he had a "good stare" at Daniel Webster, a fellow guest. "I anxiously expected to hear him deliver one of his great speeches at the Whig rally meeting for Zachary Taylor that night," Knight wrote to his wife, "but the



FIGURES 3 and 4.

William Murdoch Beall (1789-1847) and his wife Frances McCleery Beall (1791-1852). Both portraits were painted in 1842 by Edward Dalton Marchant.

meeting was postponed on account of rain and so I was disappointed."

While in Baltimore Knight called on Samuel Hunt who took Knight on a tour of the city. They visited the new Athenaeum, just completed to house the Maryland Historical Society and the Mercantile Library, one of the fine free schools of Baltimore, and Lexington Market where the stalls had attractive displays of fruits, flowers, vegetables, flesh, fish and fowl. "Yesterday afternoon before tea, Mr. Hunt and myself took a delightful walk through the most elevated and improved portion of the city," Knight reported to Frances. "I was surprised to see so many fine and beautiful private residences, equalling, if not surpassing, any I have seen in the northern cities. Indeed, were it not for the climate, I think we could live here most pleasantly." Knight and Hunt also attended services at the handsome Catholic Cathedral where they were "bored with an unusually long and tedious sermon." Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney was there also, and according to Knight, "could hardly keep awake himself."²⁵

REFERENCES

1. Letter owned by Mrs. Christopher Webster, Raleigh, N. Caro.; Jane Mary Ann Beall Pettit (1811-1892) married 1832 Henry McEwen Pettit (1800-1847).
2. Rev. Joseph Smith (1796-1868) studied at Princeton Theological Seminary, then moved to Frederick ca. 1832 and became pastor of the Presbyterian Church. In 1844 was president of Franklin College, New Athens, Ohio, but resigned due to his conservative views about slavery. Resumed his former charge in Frederick and was head of the newly organized college there.
3. Letter postmarked Frederick, July 18, 1833, in John Knight Papers, Duke University Library. Unless otherwise indicated, all letters are in this collection. The *Frederick Herald* for July 20 carried an account of the wedding. John Knight (1806-1864), son of James and Mary McCleery Knight, was born in Brookville, Indiana Territory, to which his parents had emigrated from Frederick. His wife, Frances Beall Knight (1813-1900) was his first cousin, their mothers being sisters.
4. John Knight, Natchez, to Wm. M. Beall, Sept. 26, 1833.
5. Zeruah McCleery Knox (1783-1839), daughter of Henry and Martha Ritchie McCleery, married Rev. Samuel Knox, 1822; no issue. She was the elder sister of Mrs. Wm. M. Beall.
6. Dr. Samuel Knox (died Aug. 31, 1832) a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, was a friend of

- Thomas Jefferson who shared his views on education. His address, "On the Present State of Education in Maryland, delivered before the Honorable, the General Assembly, on Thursday the 31st of Dec. 1807," is in print. See Ashley Foster, "Samuel Knox, Maryland Educator," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Sept. 1955, 173-194.
7. According to the Richmond, Va., *Compiler* for May 5 & 6, 1835, a Mr. and Mrs. Honfleur of London and Paris advertised "Drawing and Painting from Nature Taught in six lessons; and Mathematical Perspective in three." See *Richmond Portraits in an Exhibition of Makers of Richmond, 1737-1860* (Valentine Museum, Richmond, 1949), 324.
 8. Mrs. Knox had witnessed an unusual astronomical event. See Henry N. Russell, Raymond S. Dugan, and John Quincy Stewart, *Astronomy* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1945) Vol. I, 459: "The greatest recorded meteor shower is probably that of the Leonids on November 12, 1833, when the number seen at some stations was estimated at 200,000 an hour."
 9. Col. James M. Shellman (1801-1851) of Westminster, Maryland.
 10. See Edmund Jennings Lee, *Lee of Virginia* (Baltimore, Md.; Genealogical Publishing Co., 1983), 392-3: Col. John Lee of "Needwood," (1788-1871), youngest child of Gov. Thomas Sim Lee of Md., served in U.S. Congress 1823-5; chairman of House committee appointed to escort the Marquis de Lafayette from Frederick City to Washington. He married 1832 Harriet Carroll, daughter of Charles Carroll, Jr.
 11. Richard Potts's father, also Richard Potts, was Chief Justice of the Fifth Judicial District, and a member of the U.S. Congress in 1781. See *The News*, Frederick, Aug. 5, 1969.
 12. Robert McCleery (1788-1840), architect, designed together with his brother, Henry, Frederick's Presbyterian Church and All Saints' Episcopal Church.
 13. See Alexandra Lee Levin, "Two Jackson Supporters: Roger Brooke Taney and William Murdoch Beall of Frederick," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (Sept. 1960), 221-229. Letter of Taney to Wm. M. Beall dated Aug. 1, 1834. On Oct. 25, 1801, an enrollment of the members of All Saints' Parish was made, and Francis Scott Key and Wm. M. Beall were on the list. Roger B. Taney's wife, Ann, was a devout member of All Saints' Episcopal Church. Taney, a Catholic, arranged with his wife that their sons were to be brought up in his faith and daughters in hers. See Ernest Helfenstein, *History of All Saints' Parish in Frederick County, Maryland, 1742-1932* (Frederick, Md.: Marken & Bielfeld, 1932), 30,40.
 14. Martha Beall, Frederick Town, to Frances Knight, March 1837. Judge Abram Shriver was associate judge of the Circuit Court for 40 years.
 15. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971* (Washington, D.C.: Govt. Printing Office, 1971), 1198: Wm. Cost Johnson, born near Jefferson, Fred. Co., Jan. 14, 1806, elected as Whig to 23rd Congress (Mar. 4, 1833-Mar. 3, 1835). Delegate to State Constitutional Convention, 1836; elected to 25th, 26th, 27th Congress (1837-1843). Died Wash., D.C. Apr. 14, 1860. See T. J. C. Williams & Folger McKinsey, *History of Frederick County, Md.*, 2 vols. (Baltimore Regional Publ. Co., 1979) I, 306: "William Schley ranks among the greatest of Maryland lawyers. He was born in Frederick City Oct. 31, 1799, and died in Baltimore Mar. 20, 1872. . . . In 1836 he was elected to the State Senate but resigned before the end of his term and went to Baltimore to practice his profession. . . ."
 16. *Ibid.*, 307.
 17. Portraits of Martha Beall Hunt (1819-1890) and Samuel Hunt (1816-1896) hang in the vestry rooms of Hunt's Memorial United Methodist Church in Riderwood, Maryland, in the Green Spring Valley.
 18. *Frederick Herald*, Jan. 26, 1833: "Jacob Nusbaum, Confectioner at North Market St."
 19. Rev. Joshua Peterkin, a native of Baltimore and graduate of the Virginia Theological Seminary, became rector of Frederick's All Saints' Church on May 9, 1841.
 20. Mantle Fielding, *Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors and Engravers* (New York, 1965), 228: Marchant, Edward Dalton, born in Edgartown, Mass, in 1806. Painted portraits in Philadelphia and New York for many years. . . . In 1833 was elected an Associate Member of the National Academy of Design. . . . Died in Asbury Park, N.J., in 1887.
 21. Henry T. Tuckerman, *Books of the Artists* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1867), 460: "Jerome Thompson is chiefly known for his rustic scenery, half landscape and half rural labors or sport." The July 15, 1842 edition of *The Citizen*, published at Frederick by Frederick A. Rigney, carried the following editorial: "Mr. Jerome Thompson, who, it will be recollected by our readers, spent a short time in this city during the early part of last spring, has again returned for the purpose of painting a few portraits which had been previously engaged. . . . We have recently seen a number of very favorable notices of this gentleman's productions in the journals of New York City, of which place he is a resident. . . ." Jerome B. Thompson (1814-1886).
 22. Regina Soria, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century American Artists in Italy, 1760-1914* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1982), 217: "Page, William, 'The American Titian,' b. January 23, 1811, Albany, N.Y.; d. October 1, 1885, Tottenville, Staten Island, N.Y. Portrait, Figure Painter. . . ." In the 1850s the John Knights visited Page's studio in Rome.
 23. George C. Groce & David H. Wallace, eds., *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1860* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1957), 308: "David English Henderson (1832-1887), native of Jefferson Co., Va.,

BOOK REVIEWS

The Early History of St. John's College in Annapolis. By Tench Francis Tilghman. (Annapolis, Md.: St. John's College Press, 1984. Pp. xiii, 199. Illustrations, index. \$13.00.)

When Tench Francis Tilghman wrote *The Early History of St. John's College* some forty years ago, he wanted to use it as a "kind of glass to view the changes in American education as they affected the smaller college." What emerges in the telling is a conservative St. John's, more faithful to a liberal arts curriculum adopted in 1789 than responsive to the winds of educational change blowing through other early American colleges. Referring often to passing educational fads in American colleges contemporary with St. John's, Dr. Tilghman details the insubstantial changes made in St. John's original curriculum until, following the lead of other American colleges, its board in 1923 adopted an elective program.

Dr. Tilghman writes wittily, irreverently and ironically about the college's trial and perils throughout one hundred and fifty years. He describes the state of student morals, faculty woes and board resilience amid the snares of sociable Annapolis, the "ancient city," which grew more provincial while Baltimore developed into the metropolis of Maryland. The book offers an entertaining slice of Maryland history, a chronicle of youth at the Western Shore college attended by many Eastern Shoremen, where students studied, drilled, frolicked and sported. Their life styles were influenced by a series of presidents, but most profoundly by three outstanding ones: John McDowell, a graduate of the College of Philadelphia, a gentle disciplinarian who led by example; the Rev. Hector Humphrey, a graduate of Yale, a stern disciplinarian with puritanical leanings; and genial Thomas Fell, educated at King's College, London University, Heidelberg and Munich, who presided when sports and dances became an integral part of college life at St. John's and other American colleges.

Private citizens and the Legislature made generous pledges to launch St. John's in 1784: the Legislature by charter promised it a perpetual grant of 1750 pounds per annum. When St. John's and King William's School merged in 1786 (Dr. Tilghman questions that it was a merger), the King William's board pledged two thousand pounds and agreed to close their school, called the Annapolis School, when the

college opened. Because of this agreement St. John's felt a special obligation to educate Annapolis youths, and in 1789 it opened a grammar school which operated as part of the college until 1923.

Between 1789 and 1805, years later called the "golden age", the college prospered. Then in 1806 a republican (Jeffersonian democratic) majority in the Legislature rescinded the charter provisions which promised St. John's and Washington colleges adequate tax-generated incomes "forever." The Republicans favored the founding of county academies over supporting the two colleges founded by the Federalists. Pres. John McDowell resigned in protest. Those who could have provided the needed financial support, though outraged by the perfidy of the Legislature, followed its example: they gave nothing from their personal wealth to run the college. Thereafter the board was forced to beg at each biennial session of the Legislature for what little money it received.

Twenty-five years later in 1830 the board (helped by an alumni association composed of men educated in the McDowell years) persuaded the Rev. Hector Humphrey to become president. Under his administration the buildings on St. John's campus known as Humphrey and Pinkney were built. He imposed strict rules of conduct on grammar school and college students alike. He continued a voluntary military program begun in 1826, partly for discipline, partly for exercise (there was no athletic program), and partly for career training. Like the grammar school, the military program, compulsory at times, continued until 1923. Dr. Tilghman believes that the grammar school and the military program hindered the development of St. John's as a college.

During the nineteenth century student fees and state grants plus fees received from the pasturage of cows at fifty cents a head per month, a fee later raised to two dollars, made up the college income. The board converted each grant into scholarships. For instance, in 1850, when the state granted \$15,000, the board offered one hundred and fifty scholarships worth one hundred dollars each. What a student was charged over and above the amount he received as a scholarship was reserved for faculty salaries, and a teacher was assigned the job of collecting it. Once in desperation an unpaid teacher suggested that scholarships be sold to produce rev-

enue. Dr. Tilghman remarks "How anyone could sell a scholarship, and yet have it remain a scholarship, is more than a little puzzling."

Our-of-state students would have brought money to the college but none enrolled. In 1853 Prof. E. J. Stearns resigned in disgust saying that St. John's remained a small provincial college because the faculty was horribly overworked and underpaid; antiquated text-books were studied instead of original works; and "young men will not come to be treated under school-boy discipline."

Yet the presidents and faculty were not provincial in either background or outlook. They came from respected colleges and universities, and when they left Annapolis many joined prestigious faculties elsewhere. St. John's offered "a complete and general education, that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war," like Milton's ideal college, a model cited in a letter written by Pres. Henry Barnard. In truth many St. John's alumni filled important offices in the state, church and military services.

The early college almost expired several times for lack of money. During the Civil War the college campus was commandeered as a Union parole camp and hospital. Until the college reopened in 1866 Prof. William Thompson held classes in town, thus fulfilling a college obligation by charter amendment to always teach at least five foundation, or charity, boys.

In 1809 the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled for Dartmouth College against the state of Massachusetts for breach of contract. The St. John's board, believing that the state of Maryland had acted unconstitutionally, like Massachusetts, when it refused in 1806 to continue an annual grant promised St. John's by charter, sued the state in 1859. Subsequently the Maryland Court of Appeals ruled that the state had indeed breached a contract, but because the college had continued to accept lesser state money under an "Act of Compromise" agreed to in 1830, it no longer had claim to the original grant. Years later, in 1880, the St. John's board declared that state pride alone prevented it from taking its case to the U.S. Supreme Court. This veiled threat worked: "The Legislature rose nobly to the occasion," restored the arrearage accumulated since 1861 and approved an annual appropriation plus a five year grant.

When Thomas Fell became president in 1886 the college consisted of sixty-eight students and a campus full of dilapidated buildings. The student body grew and three buildings—Woodward (the library), Randall (a dining-room and dormitory), and Iglehart (the gymnasium)—were

built during his administration. When he resigned in 1923 "he took with him the affection of hundreds of old students."

Dr. Tilghman divides the one hundred and fifty years of St. John's history into eight epochs and describes in detail the curriculums adopted in each. The first, designed by Pres. John McDowell and the Rev. Ralph Higginbotham, was the most rigorous of all. It required proficiency in the ancient languages, mathematics, natural philosophy and logic. To graduate, a student had to undergo a public examination. In the late 1860s Pres. James Clarke Welling introduced English literature with the reading of Shakespeare, Milton, Spenser, Hooker and Taylor; and he added Plato's dialogues and the Greek dramatists to the list of Greek classics read.

Dr. Tilghman treats the eighth epoch (1923–1937) very briefly. I hope some day someone will cover this period more fully. For in 1923 the board discontinued the grammar school and military program, making St. John's solely a four year liberal arts college. Four teachers appointed in this period—George Bingley, Ford K. Brown, John S. Kieffer, who served as both president and dean under the New Program, and Richard Scofield—steadied the college during the early years of the all required curriculum of the New Program instituted in 1937 by Pres. Stringfellow Barr and Dean Scott Buchanan, and during the tremendous enterprise under Pres. Richard Weigle to open a second college in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Dr. Tilghman's history and Rev. J. Winfree Smith's *The Search for a Liberal College* which covers the early years under the New Program, both published by the St. John's Press to celebrate the college's two hundredth anniversary in 1984, should be read together. Viewing St. John's of the New Program era through the glass Tilghman provides, we see the Dartmouth College case cited again in the 1940s by Pres. Barr when he defended the St. John's campus against encroachment by the U.S. Naval Academy. Repeated board efforts to unite two colleges within a university under the 1784 charter preceded the founding of a second St. John's college in New Mexico in 1960 under that charter. In 1890 a proposal that women be educated at St. John's was introduced by trustee-alumnus, Judge Daniel R. Magruder: Women were admitted to St. John's in 1950. In 1891 Pres. Thomas Fell unsuccessfully solicited private donors for an endowment: Pres. Weigle made many successful solicitations in his administration (1950–1980). A good curriculum undergirded the early college just as the curriculum known as the New Program undergirds today's college.

I disagree with Dr. Tilghman's view on the relationship between King William's School and St. John's College. I believe that a new corporation was created by a merger between the two entities in 1786 and that St. John's College is a continuation of King William's School. This view has been more fully developed in a paper that has been accepted for future publication.

CHARLOTTE FLETCHER
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Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790. Volume 2 Maryland. Compiled by Lathan A. Windley. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983. xiv, 437 pp. Four-volume set \$150.00.)

Lathan A. Windley, the compiler of a useful, posthumously published four-volume set of runaway slave advertisements, has contributed significantly to our understanding of slave resistance in the eighteenth century by making thousands of these advertisements readily available for researchers, teachers, and students. The second volume of the set is devoted exclusively to over one thousand advertisements culled from two weekly Maryland colonial newspapers: the *Annapolis Maryland Gazette* (1745-1790) and the *Baltimore Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* (1773-1790). With the exception of several dozen Virginia runaways advertised in these Maryland newspapers (including several fugitives being sought by George Washington), the vast majority of the nearly twelve hundred fugitives mentioned in the ads were held as slaves in Maryland sometime between 1745 and 1790.

Windley, an associate professor of history at Morgan State University at the time of his death, was one of over two dozen Black American historians who have come to be known as the Helen G. Edmonds scholars. Like the other Edmonds scholars, he had studied history at North Carolina Central University before pursuing the doctorate elsewhere. Windley's doctoral dissertation, completed at the University of Iowa in 1974, was a study of runaway slaves in Virginia and South Carolina. Unfortunately, Windley's only published analyses of these materials have been brief articles appearing in the *Negro History Bulletin* and the *Journal of Negro History*. He did not live to complete a full-scale analysis of the advertisements which he had so patiently collected.

The historical value of newspaper advertisements for runaway slaves has been recognized for a long time. Beginning not later than 1916 with a relatively unadorned compilation in the

first volume of the *Journal of Negro History* ("Eighteenth Century Slaves as Advertised by Their Masters"), these records of individual and group resistance against bondage have been known and occasionally utilized in reconstructing American social history. In the 1940s, Lorenzo J. Greene, a black historian associated with Carter G. Woodson, thoughtfully analyzed runaway advertisements in his book on the *Negro in Colonial New England* (1942) and in an article in the *Journal of Negro History* (1944). Further analysis of such ads was sporadic until the late 1960s and early 1970s when, as the pace of contemporary black resistance and activism intensified, historians redoubled their efforts to find the roots of black activism. The fruits of this renewed interest in runaway slaves as part of the larger concern about patterns of slave resistance can be sampled in the writings of Gerald W. Mullin, Elwood L. Bridner, John Donald Duncan, Peter H. Wood, Allan Kulikoff, and Daniel E. Meaders.

Although the compiler of *Runaway Slave Advertisements*, asserting that the advertisements "speak for themselves," made no effort to analyze or interpret them in the present work, he clearly knew some of the questions that would arise from examination of the raw materials. What meanings do they contain? What do the advertisements reveal about the perceptions of slaveholders? A number of kinds of data are routinely found in these sources including the name of the runaway slave or slaves, approximate age, gender, height, body build, county or place of origin, date of escape, and amount of reward offered. Almost invariably, the kind of clothes the runaways wore or carried when they fled was indicated in the ads. A more patient analysis and deeper knowledge of the terminology used to describe clothing in the eighteenth century would surely yield much enlightenment to economic historians. Less routinely, but still with enough frequency to be of interest, the ads contain statements about the occupational skills, speech patterns, physical marks, and even hairstyles of the fugitives. Because few ads mention the marital status of the runaways, these sources will provide little further illumination about the effects of bondage on slave family life, particularly the possible relationship between marital status and escape. Runaways were overwhelmingly young and male, with over two thirds between the ages of eleven and thirty. Not unexpectedly, one detects seasonal variation in the frequency of runaways, with bulges during the spring and summer and a noticeable decline during the winter.

Although about half of the notices made no mention of physical markings or impairments,

those that did were quite varied and revealing. Terry, a fugitive from Queen Anne's County in 1749, was "much pitted with large marks of the smallpox." Other physical marks, acquired before bondage in the United States, suggest ritual scarification. The "Guiney Negro boy, about 14 years of age, named Sancho" who had been "scored on both cheeks" had probably received the marks as part of a traditional rite of passage before leaving Africa. The Cecil County fugitive who had a scar on his shoulder in the shape of an "R" had probably been branded for identification either by a slavetrader or his owner.

The kinds and quantities of information contained in the advertisements for runaway slaves virtually beg for quantitative analysis such as the pilot study of almost one hundred Eastern Shore fugitives recently completed by Rebecca Johns, a graduate student at the University of Maryland Baltimore County. Such projects make plain the pedagogical value of having these advertisements conveniently compiled. Ultimately, however, the considerable insights to be gleaned from even the narrowest quantitative study of the runaway ads will be of limited value unless the results are woven into the larger tapestry of slave life which can be reconstructed from other sources. Studies of slavery which rest too heavily on a single type of source quickly reach the point of diminishing returns.

Yet, Windley's compilation ensures that runaway slave advertisements will take a prominent place among the sources used to tell the story of slavery in the United States. Students of eighteenth-century Maryland will find themselves returning to the second volume of this four-volume set again and again.

ROBERT L. HALL

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Baltimore: The Nineteenth Century Black Capital. By Leroy Graham. (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, Inc., 1982. ix + 307 pp. Notes, Selected Bibliography, and index. \$22.50, cloth; \$12.25, paper.)

In a 1980 article in the *Journal of Southern History*, John Kirby suggested "that there is a need for black urban histories which will reveal information about the character and structure of black communities in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries." Accepting the soundness of Professor Kirby's assessment, it was with great interest that I agreed to review Leroy Graham's *Baltimore, The Nineteenth Century Black Capital*.

Baltimore is particularly important as one examines nineteenth century black urban ex-

periences; for on the eve of the Civil War it had the largest free black population in the nation. It was within this community that a number of major institutions and organizations were born, laying the foundation for an enduring community.

With the rich history which characterizes the black experience in Baltimore, Leroy Graham's study falls short of what is promised in his title. The reader, whether scholar or lay person would certainly have been better served had there been an introductory chapter which provided a historical context for the lives of the four men (Elisha Tyson, white and Quaker; William Watkins, George Hachett, and Isaac Myers) who he feels had the greatest influence on the black community.

Although it is evident that Mr. Graham has a wealth of information which is the result of untold hours of research, what emerges is a series of narratives with little analysis of the impact of the individuals whose lives have been documented. The data is present, but the author provides limited interpretation. He seems to feel that his presentation of such information is sufficient to substantiate his selection of Baltimore as "the nineteenth century black capital." As a student of nineteenth century black life in Baltimore, it is clear to me that there is much evidence to support the fact that the black leadership played a major role in providing a sense of continuity, of racial pride and cooperation in a city with ties to both the North and the South, but this is never fully developed.

Finally, what could have been a valuable contribution to the growing number of black urban studies fails additionally because it is replete with errors of style and grammar, which speak to the poor editing by the University Press of America. With all of these criticisms, however, persons interested in the Baltimore black community of the nineteenth century will find much information on which to build future studies.

BETTYE J. GARDNER
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Protecting Historic Properties; A Guide to Research and Preservation (With Examples from the Delaware Valley). By The Brandywine Conservancy. (Chadds Ford, PA: Brandywine Conservancy, Inc., 1984. 151 pp., illustrations and appendices. \$15.00.)

The historic preservation movement has had great success in recent times. The membership and activities of the National Trust, its state agencies such as the Maryland Trust, and local preservation organizations such as Preservation

Maryland have increased rather dramatically. Supplemented by various programs at the local, state and federal levels (and especially the federal tax incentive programs) this interest has increased the number of public and private agencies involved in protecting historic sites and building renovations and recycling. It is an exciting field today, one which we in Maryland should know more about, and this book is a fine place to begin exploring one's interest in preservation.

What makes it a fine place to begin is its arrangement for novices. It combines much information: an introduction to the field; a brief chronology of architectural styles, advice on researching historic buildings, information about organizations that facilitate preservation, and a wealth of practical knowledge about beginning and continuing historic preservation. A bibliography, chapter by chapter, and three appendices that detail organizations concerned with historic preservation, research libraries and collections, and sample documents and forms also make this an even more important tool for the beginner.

Readers of this journal should not be put off by the subject references to the Delaware Valley. Many of its specifics apply to our Bay country, and we lack such a nice introduction to the field, and the book is deliberately structured to be useful to residents of other areas and states. Many,

many illustrations, for example, accompany the prose discussions of the grammar of historic preservation—its terms or jargon—and important legal documents are illustrated in whole or part. Also, readers should be aware that the Maryland Trust uses similar forms and concepts as the Pennsylvania Trust. Different readers will find different strengths in the volume depending upon the level of their knowledge of the subject. I found, for example, the definitions of the terminology used in old deeds useful and thought the suggested ways to research historic buildings very innovative. Others might find the information about how to nominate a property and meet the standards for the National Register useful; or perhaps the information about zoning tools used for protecting landmarks may be of interest. Both are discussed in larger frameworks that also bring wider resources to bear that may also be useful. Finally, for those familiar with the entire process, the discussion about using private preservation easements to protect historic properties may have a surprise or two. In this last case, an actual annotated easement document is illustrated for the reader.

All in all, this is an efficiently practical handbook for interested parties at a very reasonable price.

GARY L. BROWNE
University of Maryland
Baltimore County

Henry Harford—One of Maryland History's "Lost Ones" for 200 Years

VERA FOSTER ROLLO

WITH INCREASING EXASPERATION, those attempting to draw up a family tree of the Calvert family may find little data on George Calvert's second wife. In like manner, those attempting to write a complete account of Maryland's colonial history find that it ends, of course, with Henry Harford, the last Proprietor. Yet for 200 years there was virtually no information published on this mysterious young gentleman. He had no title yet was indubitably a Proprietor of Maryland. He lived in Maryland for several years following the American Revolution, yet there are only two small newspaper mentions of him in a time when newspapers were gossipy and complete in reporting activities of the gentry.

Yes, Henry Harford, it seemed, was to be one of Maryland's "lost ones," as is Calvert's second, nameless, drowned wife. When one mentions his name, people reply "Henry Who?"

Snug in the cabin of a Boeing 747, this writer set out across the north Atlantic, bound for London, and the following two years were most rewarding. Rich treasures in London were to reveal, for the first time, much about our "Henry Who" and his life, much about the Calvert family and why was he, though living in Maryland, over a year and a half, so markedly *unmarked* in the journals of the day? Why did the Maryland legislature treat him so harshly? Mysteries demand investigation and after some years of research and travel, the following story of the life of Henry Harford has come to light.

Harford's Father, Frederick Calvert

When Charles Calvert died in 1751, his son Frederick was nineteen years of age. Frederick had, by this time, left Eton and

was eager to be off to the Continent to travel and enjoy his newly acquired title and funds. At twenty-one Frederick Calvert came into his great fortune and life seemed full of promise for him.¹ The same year that he came of age he acquired a wife, Diana Egerton, daughter of the rich and powerful Scrope (Egerton) first Duke of Bridgewater. With suitable pomp and display the wedding took place on March 9, 1753. As was usual at the time, an elaborate marriage settlement was drawn up prior to the marriage and Maryland was mentioned in this document. It was formally agreed that children resulting from this marriage were to inherit the province as a part of their right to certain portions of the Calvert family fortune.²

As it turned out, the marriage produced no children, and in fact, the couple lived separately much of the time. As early as May, 1756, Lord and Lady Baltimore were separated because of, as Lord Baltimore wrote, "... a helpless disagreement of temper having had continual Vexations..."³ The possibility of children issuing from this marriage ended in the summer of 1758 when Lady Baltimore and her husband were riding "for an airing" in an open carriage. There was an accident and Lady Baltimore was thrown from the phaeton. She died shortly after the accident.⁴

Certain factors bring into question the accidental nature of her death. For example, before the fatal carriage ride, in fact as early as 1757, Frederick Calvert took a mistress, an Irish girl, Hester Rhelan. In the spring of 1758, on April 5, a male child was born in London and named Henry Harford.⁵ In view of the long-standing conflict between Frederick Calvert and his wife, the affair with Hester Rhelan "Harford," and

the juxtaposition of the birth of a male child in April with the death of Lady Baltimore in August—all these facts bring up the possibility that Frederick Calvert may have had something to do with the accident. His unsavory character, which later became evident, made this morally possible for him, yet was he physically daring enough to take such a risk? In any event, Lord Baltimore concealed the true date of his son's birth for years.

No legitimate child was born to the sixth Baron, and he was to have only one son, Henry Harford. Frederick Calvert did not marry again.

We know that Henry Harford eventually became Proprietor, yet how was this possible? His illegitimate birth would seem to have made him ineligible, for the province was held under entail. By the will of Charles Calvert, fifth Lord Baltimore, should Frederick Calvert die without legal issue, then the province was to go to Frederick's eldest sister Louisa. Next in line, in the event that she was not able to take over the proprietorship, was the younger Calvert sister, Caroline.⁶ (Louisa married John Browning, former secretary to the fifth Baron, and Caroline married Robert Eden who was later to be named Governor of Maryland.)

Frederick, Lord Baltimore, of course, knew of these provisions in his father's will. He was determined that neither of his sisters should inherit the province for he wanted his son, Henry Harford, to succeed him. To bring this about he began to execute various legal procedures. He applied to Parliament for a release from the entail on Maryland, which was denied.⁷ He executed a maneuver known as a "common recovery," a legal device which passed properties in question back and forth and from which procedure the property emerged not under entail, but held rather in fee simple. The sixth Baron also sent instructions to Maryland with deeds to be recorded there so that upon his death his son would be named Proprietor. Later he was to send a privately-instructed governor to the province to make even more certain that Harford would become Maryland's next Proprietor. All of these actions, added to the

will Frederick Calvert was to write, were to bring Henry Harford the Proprietorship.

The life style of his father had, no doubt, a strong influence on Frederick Calvert, setting a pattern that he tried to copy. Frederick was born in 1731. He grew up in the midst of the fifth Baron's opulent households. The fifth Baron was long associated with the hedonistic Prince of Wales. That prince and the fifth Baron each had country estates at Epsom in Surrey. Frederick Calvert witnessed the journeys, entertainments, dinners, and gambling parties in which the two older men indulged. He saw the profligate living in which they engaged. Frederick Calvert was, in fact, named for his father's patron.

To emulate his father, once he came into his title in 1751, Frederick set out on various journeys to the Continent and the near East. His lack of learning did not prevent him from making pretensions to scholarship and attempting to write books of verse and accounts of his travels. The books were beautifully bound and were prefaced by elaborate dedications, yet their content was so slight that they attracted only scorn and merriment from the critics at the sixth Baron's expense.⁸

Believing it his prerogative to maintain a mistress, Frederick Calvert even before the death of his wife, began a liaison with a lovely Irish woman, Hester Rhelan, as we have noted. At first he was most discreet even to the point of concealing the date of birth of his son (April 5, 1758). In actual fact, two children were born to Lord Baltimore and Hester Rhelan prior to the year 1760—the year selected to be presented as Harford's birth year. Frances Mary Harford was born, in London, on November 28, 1759.⁹

Letters from Cecilius Calvert, Secretary of the Province of Maryland, Frederick Calvert's uncle, to Lord Baltimore reveal that by 1762 the sixth Baron had left Hester Rhelan, alias Mrs. Harford, but that he continued to provide for her and their two children.

Frederick Calvert, more and more openly, took up and then abandoned a series of mistresses. In January, 1764, the unflappable uncle, Cecilius Calvert, com-

mented blandly in a letter that, "The new birth is an embarrassment [sic]," to be sure to the household of Frederick, but Cecilius expressed the hope that, "the mother and baby are well."¹⁰ The birth he mentioned was that of a daughter, Sophia Hales, born to Elizabeth Dawson of Lincolnshire.¹¹ Before the end of 1765 still another daughter was born of the liaison and named Elizabeth Hales.¹²

Lord Baltimore is Tried for Rape

Back in England later, Frederick Calvert found himself at odds with Elizabeth Hales and so cast about for amusement late in the year 1767.¹³ His eye chanced upon a lovely young woman who ran a millinery establishment in Epsom, the town outside London which was near the Calvert family estate, Woodcote Park. Her name was Sarah Woodcock and her small shop was located in King-street, by Tower Hill. She had been raised in a strict "dissenter" faith, lived with her elderly father and her sisters, and was engaged to marry a young man named Davis.¹⁴

Lord Baltimore employed one of his female servants to pretend to be a respectable matron in the town and to lure the young milliner away from her place of business. Unsuspectingly Sarah Woodcock entered a carriage. The fears of the young woman were allayed by various falsehoods until they arrived at a great mansion outside Epsom. The purpose of the ride became apparent and there followed seemingly interminable days and nights of terror for the young woman. Sarah Woodcock resisted Calvert for several days. At length, due to fatigue and despair, she was overcome. She was unable for one reason or another to effect her escape, though allowed to see her father. It was too late for her to redeem her reputation and her peaceful way of life in the town.¹⁵

The public opinion of Lord Baltimore's attack upon the young milliner agreed with the statement that it was, "an atrocious act of seduction, and the conviction of his guilt was universal."¹⁶ Sarah Woodcock's father sued Lord Baltimore for rape. Frederick addressed the court with "quite a pretty speech for a man universally known to be one of the most licentious of his times."¹⁷

What saved Lord Baltimore from conviction? It could have been his title and wealth, or perhaps the fact that after the assault poor Sarah Woodcock resigned herself to her situation, hoping only to salvage from it some compensation for her family from Lord Baltimore.

Set free by an acquittal, March 26, 1768, Lord Baltimore quickly prepared to leave England to live on the Continent and so escape the opprobrium of English society. The trial and its attendant publicity, when added to his previous reputation, had brought the name "Calvert" to a sad state.¹⁸

The scandal engendered by the trial confirmed Marylanders in their poor opinion of their Proprietor.

A Combination of Factors That Alienated Maryland Men From the Proprietor and Their Implications

Frederick Calvert managed to engender an ever-growing alienation of the people of Maryland and himself. He did this in several ways: by paying little attention to the business of the province and to the welfare of its inhabitants; by demonstrating his carelessness for the safety of Marylanders in refusing to allow his lands in Maryland to be taxed to help provide funds for defense against French and Indian War raids. He sold off Calvert lands in Maryland in a way that revealed an obvious desire to invest neither time, money, nor interest in Maryland, showing a wish only to withdraw from the province, taking with him all the cash that he could raise. The unsuitable Church of England appointments the Proprietor made again demonstrated his rapacity and insensitivity to the welfare of the palatinate. He could have, perhaps, made important friendships in Maryland had he visited the province but he did not make the journey. In neglecting to properly represent Maryland to object to the Stamp Act of 1765, and by refusing to allow the province an agent in London, he again showed his indifference to the colony. All of these factors, plus his own regrettable reputation made him a man the provincials could hardly admire. With such a marked lack of loyalty demonstrated by the Proprietor to his American province, there was little reason for the provincials to be loyal to him.

There was, as well, the fact that Maryland men tended to think of the proprietary and Parliament as being linked, as indeed they were. This served more and more to cause the two governments to be considered common opponents and oppressors of the inhabitants of Maryland.

Eden's Assignment

Baltimore was obviously concerned about the succession of the proprietary. A confirmed hypochondriac, he often lamented that he "wished that he had been more blessed with bodily strength than intelligence."¹⁹ Lord Baltimore anticipated an early death and indeed, he was to die at the relatively young age of forty. Baltimore therefore carefully instructed Robert Eden as to actions to be taken in the event of his death on behalf of the sixth Baron's only son, Henry Harford.

Eden's opportunities to further Lord Baltimore's designs were bolstered by his family connections. He was married to a daughter of the fifth Baron of Baltimore, and was the son of Sir Robert Eden as well. Further, he was young, personable, educated, and had been a member of the prestigious Coldstream Guards.²⁰

To the booming of a formal cannon salute, Robert Eden and his family arrived in Annapolis in June, 1769.²¹ Ostensibly he was sent only to carry on provincial administration but bore, as well, the secret instructions given him by Lord Baltimore.

Aside from his private assignment, Eden faced a formidable task in taking over the post of governor in Maryland at this time. There were knotty issues to be resolved that had long generated discontent with the proprietary. For example, a tobacco act with controversial fees involved was soon to demand Eden's attention. The state of the Church of England, too, was arousing criticism, as we have noted. Also, the imperial policies of the British Parliament would complicate Eden's attempts to keep the province calm and to continue its government under a Proprietor.

Eden was, for the most part, popular with the high-spirited Maryland gentry. At Government House he extended lavish hospitality and took an active interest in the society of Maryland. He often traveled

about the province and was frequently on hand for the horseraces that were so well liked in Maryland.

Even though glamorous, handsome, and hospitable, the governor had his critics because his style of living offended some of the more conservative Marylanders.²² "The governor had the reputation of being a lady's man—any lady's man—and his parties were notorious." Yet Eden managed to postpone the resolution of issues. The governor, it seemed, was successful in maintaining the proprietary government and continued to collect money for the Proprietor.

Eden Proclaims Harford as Proprietor

True, to his instructions, Eden, as soon as he learned of the death of Lord Baltimore, set about securing Maryland for Henry Harford. Following the sixth Baron's demise there was considerable delay in finding the will and having it sent to England. A copy was eventually sent to London and processed through the probate courts there. Proper announcements were eventually dispatched to the province and in the June session of the assembly of 1773 Governor Eden formally announced to the assembly that Frederick, Lord Baltimore, was dead and that his son, Henry Harford, was the new Proprietor of Maryland.²³ The assembly members made no objection to this and the transition of the proprietary from Frederick Calvert to Henry Harford slipped smoothly down the throats of the Assembly. The legal factor of *seisen* (seizure or possession of property) was accomplished for Harford just as planned by Lord Baltimore many years before.

To further bind Maryland to Harford, Eden set about the formation of a new county to bear the name, "Harford," in honor of the new proprietor. This legislation passed the assembly before the end of 1773. To further emphasize the legitimate nature of the Calvert family connection with Harford and with Eden's government, the governor eased through that same year the naming of a county in honor of his wife, Caroline Calvert Eden, i.e., Caroline County.²⁴

Eden was reappointed governor of Maryland in Harford's name by Harford's guard-

ians. He was directed to continue governing Maryland, to appoint men to office, and to collect revenues in exactly the same way as had been done under the proprietorship of Frederick Calvert. The formal document appointing Eden ended: "Given at London this second day of March in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy three and in the second year of the Dominion of the said Henry Harford. . ."²⁵ All this, too, went smoothly down with the Assembly, and no wonder, it was a most impressive document bearing as it did the signature of the Dean of Canterbury. The name Hugh Hammersley, too, was a familiar one in the province, for he had been Lord Baltimore's principal Secretary for Maryland following the death of Cecilius Calvert. Wasn't the document filed in the official records by their governor, Robert Eden, a man appointed to the post by Lord Baltimore himself? He was a familiar figure in the province and one of authority and legitimacy. So Maryland men did not question the continuation of Eden in office, nor the fact that Henry Harford was proclaimed their Proprietor.

Eden continued to remit sums to the Calvert estate, and substantial amounts they were (amounting to 52,397 pounds 12 shillings and 11 pence, from September 1771 to 1781).²⁶

Eden Unable to Save Maryland for the Proprietor

The Stamp Act had occasioned considerable out-of-door political activity in Maryland yet it was the news of the Boston Port Act of 1774 that accelerated change and caused active resistance to develop which was directed at both the Crown and the proprietary. Anti-proprietary forces were revitalized and now also had an anti-imperial, anti-Parliamentary focus. Schooled by their resistance to the Stamp Act and incensed by the developments in Boston, Marylanders soon learned to cooperate with other American colonies. There was a great reluctance to break with England but there was also no resisting the tide of revolution that was sweeping England's Atlantic seaboard colonies.²⁷

The government of Maryland and the management of Maryland affairs passed

into the hands of the extra-legal Maryland Provincial Convention.²⁸ Committees, filled with faces familiar in the Maryland Assembly, seized the lines of communication and voiced their opinions, purporting to speak for the people of the province. The public was slow to comprehend that these people, formerly members of the legitimate government, were now forming an extra-legal government. The *Maryland Gazette* was an important voice for the insurgents. Just as Lord Baltimore's men had done when placing Harford in the proprietorship, the committees left county officials virtually unchanged and with protestations as to the "people's rights," these self-appointed representatives smoothly took over the reins of government.²⁹ Eden used every legal means to try to save Maryland for Britain and for Harford. He tried to organize a gentleman's militia but all to little effect.

Eventually, after an elaborate farewell ball in Annapolis which was attended by most of the local gentry, Governor Eden was escorted aboard *H.M.S. Fowey* in late June of 1776 to return to England.³⁰

Eden had proclaimed Harford as Proprietor and had held Maryland right up to the last possible moment for the young proprietor. This was to further Harford's legal claim on the proprietorship in the courts of England.

Harford: His Early Life

Henry Harford was raised as the tacitly acknowledged son of Lord Baltimore and given the education of a gentleman at Eton and Oxford.

Harford arrived April 5, 1758, born in a Bond Street residence in London.³¹ His father was, as we have noted, Frederick, Lord Baltimore, and his mother was Hester Rhelan, from the kingdom of Ireland. She was given the alias, "Mrs. Harford," and the children were given the same surname.³² Henry Harford was no doubt still in London when his sister, Frances Mary Harford was born there November 28, 1759.³³ The liaison between Harford's father and mother seems to have lasted another year or so.

Our evidence that Lord Baltimore had left his mistress but continued to provide

for their support is found in a letter written in 1762 by the Secretary of the province of Maryland to Lord Baltimore. The Secretary reported that he had paid Mrs. Harford 120 pounds and that she, "returns all thanks for your Beneficence to her and children, they reside at Mortlake in Surrey."³⁴ The Secretary told Lord Baltimore in a January 1764 letter that he had paid Mrs. Harford 200 pounds and that, "All these persons well."³⁵ Lord Baltimore did not deny that Henry Harford was his son and the sums he gave Hester Rhelan Harford and her children made possible a high standard of living for them.

By 1764 Harford's father had definitely broken with Hester Rhelan Harford, for he was engaged in an affair with Elizabeth Dawson of Lincolnshire. Two children were born of this liaison and both in the same year! These were Lord Baltimore's daughters, Sophia Hales and Elizabeth Hales. As we have seen, in 1768 Frederick Calvert became embroiled in a trial accused of rape and as soon as he was acquitted he left England. On the continent Frederick Calvert formed his next liaison with Elizabeth Hope of the county of Munster, Germany. A daughter was born of this alliance in 1770 and named Charlotte Hope. Quite probably news of these associations and births filtered back to Hester Rhelan Harford living quietly in Surrey.³⁶

As the years passed the pattern of the sixth Baron's support of the Harford household continued, as demonstrated by the brief comments to be found regarding their well being and support contained in several letters written by Secretary Calvert to Lord Baltimore. The Harfords seem to have been near enough to the Calvert home in Epsom for Secretary Calvert to keep a protective eye on them.³⁷

Henry Harford was educated as a gentleman. Before the age of nine he went to be schooled under the supervision of the Reverend Dr. Loxton at Richmond School. This, too, was located not far from the Epsom area.³⁸

Henry Harford, Etonian

The years that Harford spent at Eton (1772-1775) were significant to his development.³⁹ At the beautiful old school he

learned the history of England and steeped himself in English tradition. Eton was a stronghold of ancient custom and tradition. Several American youths attended Eton and later found it possible to reject their loyalty to Britain, but in Harford's case he took Eton's lessons in loyalty to heart. He and the other students admired King George III, who often came to Eton, and who often strolled the fields nearby, stopping to chat with those Etonians he chanced upon. The English populace held their family-loving, hard-working king in great esteem.⁴⁰

King George III took more interest in the boys and the college than had any sovereign since the time of Henry VI, who founded Eton in 1442.⁴¹ The image of King George III has to this day been a distorted one in America. He has been envisioned as tyrannical and insane. Though he was of a strongly conservative, inflexible bent, yet he was a conscientious ruler.⁴² At the time of the American Revolution he was quite sane. It was only long after that stormy period that the king suffered from a disease associated with pigmentation that made him mentally incapable at times, totally so toward the end of his life.⁴³ Earlier he enjoyed his home in Windsor Castle and roamed the countryside on horseback and on foot at every opportunity.⁴⁴

In no manner, then, did Harford's Eton years prepare him to reject his loyalty to his king and his country in such a way as to impel him to throw in his lot with a group of rebellious English colonists, strangers, three thousand miles away in Maryland. One doubts that the possibility ever occurred to him as the American Revolution erupted. Even though the stakes inherent in such a move were later to become so evident and so high, Harford's years at Eton made such an action unthinkable for him.

An "Oppidan," Harford lived in the town rather than in the college as did the "Collegers." He boarded with a college "Dame" known as Mrs. Manby who ran one of the boarding houses that were located near the college.⁴⁵ Each student had, in addition to the teachers on the Eton faculty, a private tutor. (It would be interesting to know who

tutored Harford, but this information is unavailable.) Guiding the college was its Provost, and supervising the school portion of the college a Headmaster. During Harford's stay at Eton the Provost was genial, urbane Edward Bernard. This worthy very much enjoyed being seen chatting with King George III at Windsor Castle.⁴⁶

A less affable man and one closer to the students was the Headmaster of Eton when Harford arrived, John Foster. He was known to be ever ready to flog errant boys.⁴⁷ Foster's tenure as Headmaster comprised a reign of terror and enrollment dropped accordingly. However frightening and unpleasant was the Headmaster, however, the fourteen-year-old Harford managed to continue his studies at the college. Foster finally resigned in 1773, leaving Harford and his fellows to the milder supervision of Headmaster Jonathan Davies.⁴⁸

When Etonians could escape their heavy schedule of studies and chapel attendance they haunted the pleasant upper reaches of the Thames nearby. Then too, just across the footbridge was Windsor town, made all the more attractive to Eton boys by being, at least theoretically, off limits.

Life was not entirely Eton-oriented for young Harford. He signed such papers as were presented to him by his guardians involving his father's estate and the government of Maryland. Each year he made a ceremonial tribute of two Indian arrows, having them presented at Windsor Castle to the Crown. Since, by this time, Indian arrows were none too plentiful, the same arrows were used each year, being quietly returned after the formalities were observed.⁴⁹

John Browning, on behalf of his wife Louisa, was at this time disputing Henry Harford's right to the proprietorship. Harford's guardians explained to him the progress of this case as it made its way through the courts. Eventually the case came before the Lord Chancellor of England, who declared that it could not be further considered until the outcome of the war was decided. The case was tabled for the time being.⁵⁰ Harford was aware of the progress of the litigation.

Harford experienced family anxiety on

behalf of his sister in 1772. In the spring of that year his sister either eloped, or was kidnapped by one of her guardians, Robert Morris.⁵¹ Morris lured the young lady from her boarding school and took her off to the Continent. There he married the thirteen-year-old girl not once, but twice. Morris was attempting to make certain of both the person and the 30,000-pound fortune of Frances Mary Harford. Harford heard of the elopement and learned that the other guardians were in hot pursuit of the pair. The heiress was eventually returned to England, while Morris was disqualified to be a guardian of the Harford children, and was not allowed to continue as one of the executors of Lord Baltimore's will. This, of course, also disqualified Morris from benefiting from a cash bequest from Lord Baltimore's estate which he could have earned by serving as executor. All in all, it was a costly gamble Morris had taken in attempting to marry the Proprietor's sister.⁵²

Henry Harford: Oxford Years

The month before Governor Eden left Maryland (Eden was forced to depart in June, 1776) Harford matriculated at Oxford University. He could have chosen to abandon his studies upon leaving Eton, as his father had done, but Harford obviously enjoyed academic life enough to continue it. He took advantage of his opportunity to obtain an education to better himself to cope with future responsibilities. In 1776 he began his university studies at Exeter College, University of Oxford.⁵³

When Eden reached England he no doubt visited Harford and attempted to explain the rebellion in Maryland to its young Proprietor. The matter may well have been beyond Harford's conservative nature to understand and he may have only fully expected and hoped that the English lion might place a firm paw on the uproarious colonials.

Despite uncertainties pertaining to his inheritance of the proprietorship, and uncertainties as to the state of the province itself, Harford continued his studies at Oxford. He took his degree shortly before he came of age in the spring of 1779.⁵⁴

Harford's Brief Political Foray

In the year after he left Oxford, Harford turned his attention toward politics to run with a partner for a seat in Parliament for Lyme Regis. The election ended in a "double return" on September 9, 1780. Upon the matter being referred to the House of Commons, his opponent, whose family owned a great deal of property in the district, was awarded the seat.⁵⁵ Though Harford had made a creditable showing in his first attempt to obtain political office, the experience seems to have soured him, for he did not seek office again.

Instead he settled down in London to await the end of the American Revolution. He led the life of a well-to-do English gentleman. Both he and his sister (retrieved from Robert Morris by her other guardians by this time) sat for portraits by the eminent artist, George Romney, whose record book reveals that Harford sat for Romney from November 1779 until March 28, 1783.⁵⁶ One of the portraits of the Proprietor was a full-length view, but neither this, nor any other has come to light as yet. Two of the portraits of Frances Mary exist, however, one in the Frick Collection in New York.⁵⁷

Harford's Proprietorship Legalized

Sitting for his portrait, however, took only a part of Harford's time; far more of his hours were occupied with sitting with his attorneys. There was a great deal at stake, therefore Harford, Sir Robert Eden, and John Browning, spent much time making offers, counter-offers and consulting with their respective attorneys. Finally, an agreement emerged, being Articles of Agreement, dated June 15, 1780. The parties involved in this agreement then applied to Parliament to approve the agreement as a part of the Estate Act of 1781.⁵⁸

The Act, engrossed on one hundred pages of parchment, first related the legal history of the ownership of Maryland, together with mention of the various marriage settlements and wills that had affected the ownership of the proprietary and the province over the years.

Frederick Calvert's will had been a thorny issue for the various attorneys the

document reveals, for it was difficult for the courts to ascertain just what part of Frederick Calvert's remaining funds, at his death, were a part of his personal estate, and what part should be considered as part of the proprietorship of Maryland. John Browning at first contended that both Maryland and the funds received from the province since Lord Baltimore's death in 1771, plus incomes that might result in the future following a British suppression of the revolutionaries, belonged legally to his wife and her heir (her son, Charles Browning). In the agreement contained in the Estate Act of 1781 Browning relinquished this claim. In return for giving up his stand, Browning required substantial payment, plus the original 10,000 pounds willed to Louisa Calvert Browning by Frederick Calvert.

Eventually the terms of Lord Baltimore's will, with only the exceptions of Robert Morris' disqualification, one debt left unpaid because the person owed could not be found, and a few thousands of pounds added to the Browning and Eden legacies, were to be fully carried out.

The Estate Act of 1781 was passed by Parliament, and with it the Articles of Agreement dated June 15, 1780.⁵⁹ Henry Harford's claim to proprietorship of Maryland was now an entirely sound and legal one. It was a signal victory for Harford, though dearly bought in terms of time, effort, and money.

By the fall of 1781 Harford's hope of being reinstated in Maryland by the British government vanished with the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia, on October 18, 1781. Still, the work involved in getting the Estate Act of 1781 passed was certainly not wasted for now the Court of Chancery was able to turn over to Harford, after deduction and payment of the amounts agreed to in the Act, substantial amounts of cash and securities.

The sums turned over to Harford were in addition to those given him by the courts as a part of his father's personal estate. The sums involved in the Act were those related to the proprietorship of Maryland. About one-half of the 43,900 pounds capital consolidated 3 percent Bank annuities re-

mained to be given to Harford, plus 15,000 pounds which had been held by the Court of Chancery invested in 4 percent Bank annuities.⁶⁰

Harford's fight for the proprietorship ended in financial reward. He hoped, however, for much more financial gain from the victory, either from Maryland or from the government of Britain.

At this point, then, Henry Harford was hardly penniless, yet he wanted even more wealth. The American Revolution was ending, the province—now the state—of Maryland and its thousands of acres of proprietary land dangled to the west, tantalized the young ex-Proprietor with visions of yet more thousands of pounds to be had—perhaps only for the asking. Little wonder then that Harford planned to go to America the first moment possible.

The Pennsylvania Precedent

If Maryland treated Harford as well as Pennsylvania had treated the Penns, the proprietary family of Pennsylvania, it seemed that he had a very good chance of recovering a great deal of land and money.

John Penn of Stoke, assessed the value of the estate appropriated by Pennsylvania at 1,536,545 pounds. This included the value of 21,592,128 acres of land, arrears in current quitrent payments (over four million acres had been sold by the proprietary prior to the American Revolution), value of unsold lands, plus the value of the quitrent rights, capitalized at twelve years' purchase. Most of the sum was made up of the value inherent in the unsold lands. John Penn of Stoke and the other heirs of Pennsylvania's proprietary family petitioned the Pennsylvania assembly for redress of this loss.⁶¹

The legislature of Pennsylvania, acting in answer to the petition, passed by November 27, 1779, "An Act for vesting the estates of the late Proprietaries of Pennsylvania in this commonwealth." The act took away all rights of the proprietary to Pennsylvania soil, *yet excepted the private lands and the proprietary tenths, or manors*. Quitrents were cut off, and yet *130,000 pounds were to be paid*, one year after the war should cease, "to the widow and relict of the said Thomas Penn," or her heirs. The payments

were not to be more than 20,000 pounds in any one year nor less than 15,000 pounds a year.⁶² Thus, even though the Penns did lose giant tracts of land, the family still had a comfortable 553,784 acres in Pennsylvania which they were permitted to keep. Also, the Penns were to be paid the 130,000-pound sum.

The Virginia Precedent

Lands inherited by the heirs of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, a proprietor of northern Virginia, in Virginia amounted to well over 200,000 acres. The Virginia situation differed from that in Pennsylvania in that the Penns received cash compensation for their losses, while in Virginia the heirs were allowed only to retain manor lands and town lots that had formerly been held by Lord Fairfax. Yet in both Pennsylvania and Virginia the proprietary heirs were tendered consideration of land ownership.

The heirs of the Proprietor of Virginia lost unallotted land in Virginia, and were not compensated for the loss of quitrent incomes, yet they were vouchsafed an undisturbed ownership, as soon as Lord Fairfax's will was processed, of the thousand of acres of manor lands the Proprietor willed them.

In the Virginia case there were two items that differed from the situation in Maryland. As in Pennsylvania there was a pre-Revolutionary relationship with members of the proprietary family that led to a cordial post-Revolutionary climate in which heirs were to claim American lands. In Virginia, there was the further factor that Lord Fairfax had taken the precaution of making the titles to his lands legally unassailable.⁶³

The Treatment of Loyalists in Maryland

During the Revolution in Maryland, members of the new government debated the question of proper treatment to accord Loyalist Maryland residents and absentee owners of Maryland property who were loyal to Britain. The question was complicated by the many degrees of support given the Crown by Maryland's inhabitants. Some actively resisted the revolutionary movement by joining British Loyalist regiments. Others carried out guerilla-like op-

erations, a choice popular with Eastern Shore Loyalists. Still others fled to British-held American areas or to Britain. A sizeable number, however, simply stayed in Maryland refusing to lend support to the Revolution, yet not hampering the efforts of American patriots. Many made no clear commitment either way.⁶⁴

To determine the status of Loyalists in their midst, the Maryland revolutionary leaders passed various laws in 1777 and 1778. These attempted to obtain clear declarations of support for the revolutionary government from the inhabitants of Maryland. Thanks to the constraint exerted by the Maryland Senate upon the more radical House of Delegates, a certain leeway was allowed Loyalists. Even so, the Security Act of December 1777 was a severe one. It required absentee owners of property in Maryland to return by September 1, 1779. The latter date allowed time for the content of the act to become known in England. Upon their return, absentees had one month to take an oath of allegiance before triple taxes and other penalties would be imposed. This option was open to Henry Harford but his loyalty to his king and country made such an action inconceivable. Those refusing to return and take the oath were to be declared traitors by the Maryland courts and their property seized.⁶⁵ "As finally resolved, confiscation in Maryland applied only to British property, and absentees were the only Loyalists considered British subjects."⁶⁶

During the December 1779 session of the Maryland General Assembly, the Assembly passed a bill through the lower house authorizing confiscation of British property. Much of this land had been owned by the Proprietor. By 1780 property owned by British subjects was seized. The following year, after the defeat of Lord Cornwallis the hopes of those Britons who had expected the return of the old order were dashed. As late as the summer of 1781, Harford held such hopes, as expressed in several of the articles of the Estate Act of 1781.⁶⁷

Harford's Maryland Journey

Hard on the heels of the cessation of hostilities, on hearing that the negotiations

of the peace treaty between the United States and Britain were coming to a close, Harford set off for Maryland. The Browning and Eden claims were settled, Harford's mother and sister were living comfortably in London, and Harford had set his personal and business affairs in order.

The former Proprietor had every reason to expect at least some success in America. He planned to apply to the Maryland legislature for recompense for 116,642 acres of manor and reserved land, plus consideration for 125,130 acres of reserved lands to the west of Cumberland. These two land claims totaled 241,772 acres. Harford planned to remind the General Assembly, that Maryland had realized 116,000 pounds from the sale of a part of these confiscated lands. He also hoped to be recompensed for the loss of his quitrents due up to 1774, an important sum since the annual income from quitrents was estimated by the former Proprietor at 8,518 pounds valued at twenty years' purchase. The total value of the claim that Harford planned to present to the Maryland legislature added up to 327,441 pounds. (Later, in Britain, Harford was to set this figure of his total losses at 447,000 pounds.)⁶⁸

Sir Robert Eden accompanied young Harford, to assist in the negotiations with the Maryland legislature. The two men left England on June 7, 1783, aboard the ship *Harford*.⁶⁹ Nathaniel Richardson, captain of the vessel, acquainted them with recent events in Maryland. Eden spoke frequently of his rollicking days with the jovial members of the provincial gentry. The men discussed the possibility of violence greeting them in Annapolis, for the bitterness of the recent fighting must still exist and the active hostilities had only just ended.

Their worst fears seemed to be realized upon their arrival in Maryland's capital city when rough-spoken men ordered Captain Richardson to strike his British flag. They were rescued from the rough attentions of the crowd by a letter from Benjamin Stoddert in Council, Annapolis, who wrote to Richardson assuring him that the Anne Arundel County magistrates had been instructed to restrain the people from

interfering with ships of British registry and other foreign vessels.⁷⁰

With Harford's arrival in Maryland came the news that peace negotiations had been completed in Paris. Members of the Maryland legislature may well have groaned at the realization that they now had to face up to scores of Loyalist claims including the ex-Proprietor, the one with the largest claim of all.⁷¹

Dr. Upton Scott, a prominent man in Maryland, and a Loyalist who had been allowed to live quietly on his wife's Severn-River plantation, offered Eden and Harford his Annapolis town house. It was in the Scott house that the pair heard the news that the treaty of peace had been signed September 3, 1783.

Harford brought with him from England deeds to lands, unsold warrants for land, and other documents that would solidify his claim to parcels and tracts of land. Eden and Harford computed the amounts due the proprietary before the Revolution in unpaid quitrents. The value of much of the land was easily found, for the land had been sold after its seizure, and these transactions were registered in the land offices in Maryland. Once these tasks were done, the pair from England had to fill their time as best they could, for it promised to be a long time before they would be heard by the legislature.

The legislature was besieged with urgent matters to be attended to—armies were only now being disbanded, pleas for recompense of every nature poured into the Assembly. Money was an ever-present problem for the Maryland government, yet funds had to be found to pay officials, make required restitutions, to operate the various state services required. We are struck, when reading the journals of the legislature at this point in Maryland's history, by the fact that there seemed to be no screening of matters presented for solution to the Assembly. Matters involving a few pounds took up their time, while at the same time the legislators were obliged to concern themselves over the need for a workable, a new, and unique form of government at both the state and national level. Somehow the legislature coped with it all. While the

Assembly worked, Harford, Eden, and their attorneys wrote and re-wrote the memorial they planned to present, and then they waited.

Ironically enough, Maryland's ex-Proprietor, Henry Harford, and her ex-Governor, Robert Eden, were present when George Washington resigned his commission in Annapolis the last week of December, 1783. Congress was seated in the city at the time. In fact, Harford dined with the victorious general during the period of festivities that followed the formal ceremonies marking Washington's resignation.⁷²

Mrs. John Ridout wrote to her mother describing the occasions attending Washington's ceremonial visit to Annapolis, and added: "We have a very pretty and agreeable little man here, Mr. Harford. I hope the Assembly will do something handsome for him—they ought when they have taken such a noble estate from him. He is much liked . . ." ⁷³ Yet, however popular Sir Robert and Harford were with Annapolis society, in matters pertaining to land or money they found themselves less than popular.

Sir Robert in January of 1784 began issuing and signing patents for the sale of land that Harford claimed.⁷⁴ Learning of this the Assembly quickly ordered Eden to desist and this he was obliged to do.⁷⁵

Sir Robert had not been well for some time. This caused Mrs. Ridout to comment in a letter to her mother that Sir Robert, "no longer flirts," and that his health seemed to be poor.⁷⁶ Early in September, 1784, Sir Robert died at Scott's house at the age of forty-three. Harford was left to wrestle with his problems in Maryland without the ex-governor's guidance.⁷⁷ The last proprietor continued to work on his appeal with the aid of attorney John Clapham, a prominent Loyalist who had returned to Maryland from England at about the same time as had Eden.⁷⁸

A number of people in Annapolis, as Mrs. Ridout's letters have indicated, sympathized with the request of the former proprietor for recompense for his losses to be paid by the Maryland General Assembly. Had not the Treaty of Paris "earnestly recommended" that American properties be restored to Britons?⁷⁹ In any event, late

in November of 1785 a motion was made in the House of Delegates to consider Harford's memorial.

Harford immediately presented his carefully-worded memorial. He asked that the members of the legislature consider that Maryland had originally been settled by the proprietary family, his ancestors, at considerable risk and expense. Further, "Your memorialist respectfully represents, that he was a minor at the commencement of the late war, and placed during his infancy under the guardianship of the Chancellor of Great Britain, which prevented his leaving the Kingdom." Harford went on to say that legal suits against him had ended only in July of 1782.⁸⁰ The former proprietor filled his memorial with conciliatory phrases and expressed the hope that his most sanguine hopes would be realized.

Harford attached to the memorial a list of quitrents due, and a list of properties to which he laid claim. He requested a total sum from Maryland of 327,441 pounds.⁸¹

There is no mention of the precedents established in Pennsylvania and in Virginia with respect to those states' treatment of ex-proprietary family members. This is a puzzling omission and it appears that Harford missed making a telling point by omitting specific mention of these precedents.

The legislature seemed very much inclined to take Harford's claims seriously and by Friday, December 2, 1785, the House of Delegates, after hearing Harford's attorney present information on the ex-proprietor's behalf, made the motion that a message be prepared to be sent to the Senate proposing a conference on the subject of the Henry Harford memorial. Samuel Chase, John Hall, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton were named to a committee and charged with writing the message. The very next day Mr. Carroll delivered the proposed letter to the Speaker of the House. The message, couched in the florid language of the time, in brief expressed the wish that the Senate would assist the House in the matter of the Harfords' request for restitution of wealth lost with the loss of Maryland. The letter advised that the House had heard counsel on behalf of Mr. Harford,

"late proprietary of this State," soliciting compensation for his confiscated property.

"The case of Mr. Harford is attended with such very particular circumstances, as merit, in our opinion, the peculiar attention of the general assembly, and involves such difficulties, as require the united wisdom of both branches of this government to decide."⁸²

The House letter admitted that the law that allowed the confiscation of British property in Maryland was just but noted that few laws apply to every case. In the eyes of the world, the letter went on, it is important to discover how a new nation and its new states will comport themselves. Maryland must acquire a national character associated with justice, humanity, and benevolence, the message said.

Three paragraphs concluded the proposed message that was read to the House:

Actuated by these principles, this house have retained the memorial of Mr. Harford; and we propose a conference with your honours on the subject matter thereof.

We wish that the cause and calamities of the late war could be buried in perpetual oblivion; and *are willing to make a compromise with Mr. Harford*, as far as the present very distressed situation of our public affairs will permit. We are involved, in consequence of the late war, in an enormous and very heavy debt, foreign and domestic; and our creditors are very urgent and pressing for payment. *Our wishes far exceed our abilities*; and we must limit our humanity and beneficence by our necessities.

If your honours agree to the conference, *this house will afterwards determine what sum of money our finances will permit to be given to Mr. Harford, and the time and mode of payment.*⁸³

The House heard the proposed message December 6th and only eleven members of the body voted for it, while forty-four voted against it. The committee then retired to draft another message. Two prominent men of Maryland, Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Samuel Chase, supported Harford's right to compensation. Peregrine Letherbury and Joseph Dashiell, less prominent but important men, also favored his application.⁸⁴

Harford, his hopes raised by the letter

read to the House, then depressed by the rejection of the letter by the lower house, did not have long to wait for the presentation of a revised letter to be offered the House. Two days after the first message had been rejected, Carroll was back with another, less specific, message for the Senate:

May it please Your Honours,

This house have heard counsel at its bar on the memorial of Mr. Harford, late proprietary of this state, in which he solicits a compensation or retribution from this government for his confiscated property. We esteem the case of Mr. Harford very important, and of such nature as to require the united wisdom of both branches of the legislature to decide properly thereon, and do therefore propose a conference with your honours on the subject matter of the said memorial. Should the Senate accede to the proposed conference, we will nominate some of our members to meet such of your house as you may please to appoint for the above purpose.⁸⁵

When the House heard this proposed letter read, thirty men swung over to the affirmative: forty-one votes were now for sending the message to the Senate, and fourteen were against the action. Such prominent Maryland names as Goldsborough, Bowie, Stone, and Beall, were to be found in the list of those opposing the message.

Harford waited for two anxious weeks for an answer to the House message. The Senate then replied to the House in a message dated December 19, 1785. It was a long letter and in it the Senate clarified not only Harford's claim but those of other British subjects claiming special recompense as well.

In brief the long Senate message stated that Harford could not rightfully ask of the State of Maryland relief for his losses because the legislature's actions in passing laws to confiscate British-owned property in Maryland were just. Harford, the Senate letter continued, had remained attached to the British government during the whole war and ought now to seek recompense from Britain. He had had ample time, the Senate noted, to come to the state and claim his property and to make an oath of

loyalty to the revolutionary government.⁸⁶ The message went on:

The memorialist came of age in the spring of 1779, full twelve months after the measure had been warmly and generally agitated in this state, and must have been known in England . . .

This state of facts leaves not the smallest room to doubt that the memorialist, both from interest and inclination, continued a British subject, and devoted to his native country, which, although free, endeavored by lavishing its blood and treasure, to deprive us of our freedom. We cannot discover a single circumstance in the case of the memorialist, to distinguish him from other British subjects.⁸⁷

Likewise, the Senate sternly rejected the former proprietor's claim for quitrents past the date of the declaration of independence from Britain. Debts incurred and due to Harford previous to this date were apparently allowed by this statement. The Senate wrote on to blandly assure the House that it would always be happy to confer with that body, but that in this instance it would be a waste of time. The message ended with bald Senate resolution that the "memorial and application of the said Henry Harford, Esquire, be rejected."⁸⁸

House members heard the message from the Senate with its accompanying resolution, and adjourned for the Christmas and New Year's holidays without further action on the matter. This holiday season must have held little cheer for Harford, allowing him only an excess of time in which to contemplate to what a sorry state the great Calvert name and fortune had fallen in Maryland. There was little reason to hope that the House would oppose the Senate in the matter.

When the legislature reconvened in January, 1786, Harford's case again came before the House. House members heard the entire message read again on January 6th, and a vote was called for as to whether or not to accept it. The result was overwhelmingly against the former proprietor. Forty-nine members of the House voted not to consider the Harford appeal further, seven doggedly voted to review the matter. Among the seven Harford supporters re-

mained the names of Carroll, Chase, Dashiell, and Letherbury.⁸⁹ So the matter was closed and Henry Harford was denied all recompense for his losses in Maryland.

There is a curious absence of Harford's name in the newspapers of Maryland during the time of his visit. These gossipy journals, usually so quick to report every move of members of the gentry, totally ignored Harford after only two early mentions in 1783. It seems that pressure must have been brought to bear on the Maryland editors for such a total absence of news to have occurred. This indicates powerful opposition and hostility toward Harford. No item noting his departure is to be found in the *Maryland Gazette*, for example, though there is little doubt that Harford did depart for England, wearily enough, early in 1786.

Henry Harford left agents behind him in Maryland to collect the few debts allowed him by the laws of Maryland, sums due prior to the Declaration of Independence in Maryland.⁹⁰ These payments of relatively small amounts continued until the year 1818.⁹¹

Why Harford Failed in Maryland

Harford came to America in 1783 with every right to expect at least some compensation for his losses in Maryland because of the examples of the state legislatures in Virginia and Pennsylvania toward the heirs of their proprietary families. Yet Maryland's ex-proprietor left the state well over two years later without a pound's payment, save for those few debts contracted to him prior to the Declaration of Independence.

The reasons for his lack of success are: his illegitimacy, his minority at the time he became Proprietor, the fact that he was not the legal heir to the province, his refusal to consider coming to Maryland when he came of age to join the rebels, his own mild character, the loss of Eden's assistance, and most harmful to his chances of all—the hostile climate left for him by his father's poor management of the province of Maryland, Calvert's disgraceful life style which had engendered disgust in Marylanders, plus the hostility remaining from the fighting of the American Revolution which was directed at English citizens in general. Henry Harford apparently was not forceful,

knowledgeable, nor charismatic enough to rally support in the face of these factors against him.

Harford Appeals to the British Government

In Britain, Harford was vastly more successful in obtaining recompense for the loss of his Maryland lands and incomes. When the British Parliament passed the Estate Act of 1781, Harford was made, without any reservation, Proprietor of Maryland. This gave him firm legal grounds to expect equal treatment with others claiming compensation for losses from the British government, sustained as the result of the American Revolution. This proved to be the case.

Aided by his own persistent efforts and his considerable wealth, Harford managed to extract thousands of pounds from the British treasury. For example, Parliament passed a Compensation Act in July of 1783. This resulted in a five-man board being set up as a commission to judge claims filed by, "... all such persons who have suffered in their rights, properties and professions, during the late unhappy dissensions in America, in consequence of their loyalty to his majesty and attachment to the British government."⁹² The commissioners set to work, reading claims presented to them, and by 1785 payments began.⁹³

Henry Harford was one of the two loyal proprietors compensated, and received about 90,000 pounds. This was computed upon a figure of 447,000 pounds, which Harford claimed was the value of his losses in Maryland. Further sums of 10,000 pounds each were paid to two other claimants, one sum to Sir Robert Eden, and his wife Dame Caroline; and the second sum to Robert Browning and his wife Louisa.⁹⁴

Ironically, Maryland did have to make some compensation to her former proprietor, albeit an involuntary payment. The Bank of England held in Maryland's name stock purchased before the American Revolution, valued at 29,000 pounds.⁹⁵ Years of litigations over possession of this stock ensued following the American Revolution. The case was finally settled and much of the stock was returned to Maryland, but only after deduction of 10,000 pounds paid

to Henry Harford, and after the discharge of several other claims.⁹⁶

Harford's Later Appeals to the Government of Britain

Five loyalist claimants, Henry Harford, John Tyndale Warre, William Cuninghame, Henry Glassford, and John Nutt Davison, claimed under the various treaties made between Britain and the United States regarding the collection of debts contracted prior to the American Revolution in both America and in Britain, a sum of two and one-half million pounds. The English Crown, however, agreed to accept in cancellation of all these claims against Americans 600,000 pounds.

The case of the British American Claimants, quoted above, began years before. In January of 1802, armed with the knowledge that the British American claimants would agree to settle with the Americans for 2,500,000 pounds, the king's agents agreed to accept a payment "from America," as the United States was often termed, of 600,000 pounds in complete settlement of the British claims. The claimants were not consulted and soon objected to this state of affairs. They were to be paid by a committee, appointed in April 1803 by Act of Parliament, their various shares of the 600,000 pounds. The committee, however, came up with a total due the claimants of 1,420,000 pounds! Finally, 659,493 pounds were paid out to the claimants.

The "American claimants," that is Britons claiming more compensation for debts in America cancelled out by the British government, petitioned Commons January 22, 1812, where the matter went into committee, emerging March 1, 1813. The five claimants then wrote a letter to the Earl of Liverpool, dated May 8, 1813, advising him that their case was to be submitted before the House of Commons on May 13, and asking for the support of the Prince Regent's Government.⁹⁷

The case duly came before Commons and on May 20, 1813, a motion was made "that the petitioners have established such a case as forms an equitable ground for Parliamentary relief."⁹⁸ The motion was defeated in the Commons, however, and no further action was taken.⁹⁹

How much did Harford realize out of these various petitions to Parliament? He was originally adjudicated 43,401 pounds by the commission appointed in April 1803 to apportion out the 600,000 pounds from the United States. All in all, though the commission's total rose to 1,420,000 pounds—only 659,493 pounds were dispersed. Because 659,493 pounds is a little less than 47 percent of 1,420,000 pounds, we may estimate Harford's share as being paid at 47 percent of 43,401, or approximately 20,398 pounds. This was apparently paid to Harford after the committee eventually made its report in May 1811.

Summary of Reparations

In negotiations lasting from 1786 until 1813 the persistent Harford gained 90,000 pounds from the British government for losses incurred by his loyalty to that government during the American Revolution: 10,000 pounds from Maryland through the action of the British government in deducting that amount before returning Maryland's Bank of England stocks; and an estimated 20,398 pounds from the British government and the government of the United States to compensate him for losses due to uncollectable debts in the United States. Thus, Harford eventually gained over £120,000.

Henry Harford, the Man

Henry Harford demonstrated qualities of character and courage by traveling to America the moment the war ended. His staying powers were also shown in his pursuit of recompense from British sources. Several times he petitioned the British government for sums of money and several times he was rewarded, acquiring in all at least 120,398 pounds from the various actions of the British government.

In our hope of learning more about the last Proprietor himself, however, we are disappointed. No body of journals, letters, or diaries, has yet come to light. Harford remains a shadowy figure. He was a persistent man and a conservative man as his financial dealings demonstrate. During his lifetime he favored conservative investments, and made careful provision for his children.

Nor did Harford exhibit the fervid restlessness that caused his father to travel constantly from place to place. Harford lived most of his life at his county home, Down Place near Windsor; and in his house on New Cavendish Street, London.

Harford was a constant husband, not at all inclined to rove from woman to woman as had his father. In June of 1792 Henry Harford, the records show, married Miss Louisa Pigou, daughter of Peter Pigou. There was the usual involved marriage settlement which preceded marriages of persons of wealth and social standing. Harford was devoted to his wife.

The Harfords' first child, a son, was born in October of 1793 and named "Henry." Sadly, this child died young. In 1794 a daughter, Louisa Anne, was born, and two years later she was followed by another girl, Frances. Still a third daughter arrived in 1797, Frederica Louisa Elizabeth. In 1802 the long-desired heir, Frederick Paul, made his appearance. The birth seems to have cost Louisa her life, however, for in November of 1803 she died at Exmouth where she had gone in an attempt to restore her failing health. She was buried at Exeter Cathedral.¹⁰⁰

After three years without a wife, Harford married a second time. He chose Esther, the sister of Sir Nelson Rycroft, Baronet of Farnham, Surrey. The marriage took place June 5, 1806.¹⁰¹ Five children were born to Esther and Henry Harford: George, born May 9, 1807; Charlotte Penelope, born June 30, 1808 (she did not survive her father); Esther, born February 23, 1810; Charles, born March 1, 1811; and finally, Emily, born February 4, 1814.¹⁰² In his second marriage he again evinced loyalty and care for his wife.

Henry Harford died at Down Place in December, 1834.¹⁰³ In his will he made full and careful provision for the comfort and maintenance of his wife as he did for the eight children surviving him.¹⁰⁴ (Five children were born, and four survived, in each marriage.)

Both Harford's inheritance, his conservatism, his life style, and his marriages had placed him high on the social scale. His second wife's father was a Baronet, and her

sister married a Bishop. The last Proprietor's children had cause to be proud of their stable and conservative father. The children were to marry well and inherited substantial sums. They took their place in the British landed gentry, a social status maintained by the Proprietor's descendants to this day.¹⁰⁵

We have spoken of Harford's financially conservative bent. This brings up puzzling data. He received in his lifetime enormous sums of money yet died with an estate worth only 60,000 pounds. We have estimated that Henry Harford received from his father and from reparations made by the British government, about 190,400 pounds. We can account for considerable amounts—sums paid to the legal heirs, the Brownings and the Edens; settlements he made upon his eldest son; settlements made on his other seven surviving children. Then, too, Harford maintained two large and luxurious residences with attendant servants, carriages, quantities of plate, extensive furnishings. He lived well for nearly fifty years in England after his American trip. These items probably account for the apparent diminution of his estate.

Henry Harford was obviously more than a puppet of his guardians. He was a graduate of Oxford University. He showed resourcefulness and courage in his journey to Maryland as the Revolution ended. He was popular with his contemporaries, beloved by his family. All in all we have found Maryland's last Proprietary to have been an able and responsible person, a quiet and kindly man.

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2. Charles Browning, *An Appeal to the Citizens of Maryland*. (Baltimore: author, 1821), p. 1.
3. Richard J. Cox, "Notes on Maryland Historical Society Manuscript Collections: Some Personal Letters of Frederick Calvert, Last Lord Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 70 (Spring 1975): 103.
4. *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. 31, p. 506. Cecilius Calvert to Governor Horatio Sharpe, November 27, 1758, from London.

5. Lord Baltimore, Act (Estate Act of 1781), 21 George III, House of Lords, London., p. 30. Hereinafter, Estate Act of 1781.
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9. *English Consistory Reports, 1788-1821*, Harford v. Morris, pp. 792-797. Copies of this extract of the case are in the Vertical File, MS Div., Maryland Historical Society, dated December 2, 1776.
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11. John B. C. Nicklin, "The Calvert Family," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 16, (March 1921): 59.
12. *Ibid.*
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15. *Ibid.*
16. Morris, pp. 53, 54.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 38 (April 1768): 187.
19. Morris, p. 58.
20. Bernard C. Steiner, *Life and Administration of Sir Robert Eden*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1898), pp. 81, 82.
21. *Maryland Gazette*, June 8, 1769.
22. Steiner, p. 82.
23. *Archives of Maryland*, Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, April 15, 1761-September 24, 1770. William Hand Browne, ed. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1912), pp. 501-503.; Andrews, p. 292.
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29. David Ammerman, "Annapolis and the First Continental Congress: A Note on the Committee System in Revolutionary America," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 66 (Summer 1971): 179-180.
30. Scharf, II: 218.
31. Will of Frederick Calvert; Burial Register, Parish of Bray, Record Office, Reading, England, file number D/P23/1/11.
32. Will of Frederick Calvert; Charles Browning, *A Plea* . . . , p. 4.
33. *English Consistory Report, 1788-1821*, p. 792.
34. *Calvert Papers*, Vol. II, pp. 216-220. Cecilius Calvert to Frederick, Lord Baltimore, from London.
35. *Ibid.*
36. Nicklin, p. 59.
37. *Calvert Papers*, Vol. II, pp. 216-226.
38. Frederick Calvert, in his will, makes mention of this fact.
39. *Eton College Register: 1753-1790*, ed. Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh, (Eton: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co., Ltd., 1921), unpaginated, alphabetical entries. The Harford entry reads only: "Harford, 1772-1775, (Manby)."
40. John Brooke, *King George III*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1972), pp. 316, 317, 322.
41. Brooke, p. 287.
42. Brooke, preface, p. 317.
43. Brooke, pp. 336-337. The disease suffered by King George III, was a hereditary one, possibly Porphria, which is an ailment related to the body chemistry that produces pigmentation in the skin cells.
44. Brooke, pp. 285, 287.
45. Henry Harford's distant ancestor, George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, had attended Eton, as had Harford's father, Frederick Calvert. *Eton College Register: 1698-1752*. Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh, ed. (Eton: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co., Ltd. 1927). Harford entry *Eton College Register: 1753-1790*, op cit.
46. Christopher Hollis, *Eton: A History* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1960), pp. 160, 304.
47. Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte, *A History of Eton College (1440-1910)*, (London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1911), pp. 338, 342, 343.
48. Hollis, p. 11.
49. Receipts for some of these tributes are to be found in the Calvert Papers collection, MS div., Maryland Historical Society.
50. Estate Act of 1781, p. 29; Scharf, II: 139.
51. *English Consistory Report, 1788-1821*, p. 2; news of Frances Mary Harford's abduction reached Maryland, as the following letter indicates:
London June 13, 1772
". . . before this reaches you, you will have heard of the most villainous Breach of trust of R. Morris, in running away with his ward, Mifs. Harford. Whether he's actually married to her or not is uncertain, but it is very confidently

reported that he is. The young lady I understand is between thirteen and fourteen . . ."

Letter of Daniel (3d) Dulany, Jr. to Walter Dulany, from London. Dulany Papers, MS.1265, MHS.

52. Estate Act of 1781, p. 5; *Consistory Report*, op. cit., pp. 792-292.

53. Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1715-1886*, (Oxford: Parker & Co., 1887), p. 607. The entry reads: HARFORD, Henry, s Frederick, of Westminster, baron, EXETER COLL. Matric. 4 May 1776, aged 18; created M.A. 10 March 1779; unduly elected M. P. Lyme Regis 1780, died Dec., 1805.

The note regarding Harford's death is in error. Harford died in 1834. The age mentioned in the *Oxonienses* entry shows that Harford was born in 1758, not 1760 as is commonly cited as his date of birth.

54. "Henry Harford, Etonian," *Etoniana*, Vol. 109 (December, 1950), pp. 135, 136.

55. *Ibid.*

56. Appointments Book, George Romney, as reported in Ward and Roberts *Romney*, p. 71. Sittings are recorded for February 8, 15, 22, 29, and March 7, 15, 1780; December 3, 10, 14, 21, 1781; July 6, 10, and on November 4, and 9 of 1782; November 10, and 14, 1783.

57. Notes and Queries, "Portrait of Miss Harford," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 35 (March 1940): 87.

58. It seems strange that the Estate Act of 1781 has not been mentioned in American publications. This most interesting document contains a history of the ownership of Maryland; an accounting of the estate of Frederick Calvert, sixth Lord Baltimore; and the precise details of the transfer of all claims on the proprietorship of Maryland from Frederick, Lord Baltimore's sisters, Louisa and Caroline, the legal heirs under the will of the fifth Lord Baltimore, Charles Calvert, to Henry Harford, Esquire.

The document was located by this writer after a first clue as to its existence contained in the mention by Charles Browning of a settlement between his father and Harford, in Browning's, *Appeal to the Citizens of Maryland*, op. cit. A search in the catalogue of the Bodleian Library at Oxford University revealed a Harford reference that might be found in *An Analytical Table of the Private Statutes Passed, 1727-1812* composed by George Bramwell. Unfortunately the library staff at the Bodleian could not locate the book among their six million volumes. The writer had better luck at the Law Library, Library of Congress. In the book, however, was only a bare listing indicating that such a private statute had indeed been passed by Parliament in 1781. A letter to the House of Lords resulted in a microfilm copy of the 100 pages of the Act being sent to the writer.

59. Estate Act of 1781, Record Office, House of Lords, London, pp. 1-98.

60. *Ibid.* pp. 30, 39, 77.

61. Howard M. Jenkins, "The Family of William

Penn," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 21 (1897): 425, 426.

62. *Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania*, Vol. 16, (Harrisburg: State of Pennsylvania, 1853), p. 5. Also, Jenkins, p. 426. Also, Arthur Pounds, *The Penns of Pennsylvania and England*, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932), p. 306.

63. Josiah Look Dickinson, *The Fairfax Proprietary*, Front Royal, Va.: Warren Press, 1959), p. 126; Moncure Daniel Conway, *Barons of the Potomack and the Rappahannock*, (New York: Grolier Club, 1892), p. 215. Marshall W. Fishwick, *Gentlemen of Virginia*, (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1961), p. 262. "So popular was the English Lord that when the Revolution broke out he was voted all the privileges of Virginia citizens." Dickinson, pp. 130-131.

64. Richard A. Overfield, "The Patriot Dilemma: The Treatment of Passive Loyalists and Neutrals in Revolutionary Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79, (Summer, 1973): 140.

65. *Ibid.*

66. *Ibid.*

67. By 1781 "certain Articles of Agreement," were made between Henry Harford and the Browning heirs to the Calvert family palatinate. This was one of those private acts of Parliament that allowed certain cases to be settled. George Bramwell, *An Analytical Table of the Private Statutes Passed 1727-1782*, (London: np. 1837), not paginated, Harford entry. LC JN 688B8. Edward Jenks, *The Book of English Law*, (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1967), pp. 260-262. Also, Browning, *An Appeal . . .*, pp. 8, 9.

68. Scharf, II: 392-395: Henry Harford's Memorial, Vertical files, Manuscripts Div., Maryland Historical Society.

69. *Maryland Gazette*, August 14, 1783; noted: On Monday last arrived here the ship *Harford*, capt. N. Richardson, from London. She left England the 7th of June, and brings London prints to the fifth, but they contain nothing new. In this ship came several passengers, among whom are the late proprietor and governor of Maryland.

70. *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. 48, pp. 446, 447.

71. *Maryland Gazette*, August 14, 1783: "Yesterday the brig *Peace and Plenty*, captain Bradstreet, arrived in this port from England. Captain Bradstreet informs, that he understood the definitive treaty was signed a few days before he sailed." Scharf, II: 496.

72. *Maryland Gazette*, December 25, 1783; Scharf, II: 497-502.

73. Lady Matilda Ridout Edgar, A Colonial Governor in Maryland, (Longmans, Green and Co., 1912), p. 276.

74. *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. 47, preface, p. 447.

75. *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. 48, pp. 506, 508, 509, 517, 518.

76. Lady Edgar, p. 277. She said, "Sir Robert Eden seems in bad health. He no longer flirts. . . They are very agreeable neighbours to us. . . They live in Doctor Scott's house. The Doctor himself is in a state of ill health." (The Upton Scott house

- in Annapolis is being renovated by the present owners, members of the Dupont family.)
77. George A. Gipe, "A Moderator in Immoderate Times," *Maryland*, 6 (Spring, 1974): 27, 29.
 78. Scharf, II:502.
 79. Mary Beth Norton, *The British Americans: The Loyalist, Exiles in England, 1774-1789*. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972), pp. 178-180.
 80. Memorial of Henry Harford.
 81. *Ibid.*
 82. *Ibid.*
 83. *Ibid.* Italics added.
 84. *Ibid.*
 85. *Ibid.*
 86. *Ibid.*
 87. *Ibid.* Regarding the comment on Harford's age, we are again confirmed in stating that Harford was born in 1758.
 88. Memorial of Henry Harford.
 89. *Ibid.*
 90. *Maryland Gazette*, March 2, 1786:
Annapolis, Feb. 15, 1786.
The agent for the last PROPRIETARY of this state having returned, many of the farmers of quit-rents, and others in receipt of his then revenue, in arrears—to avoid expense and trouble, those concerned are requested to make immediate payment to
JOHN and JONAS CLAPMAN
Attornies for Henry Harford, Esquire
 91. Account book of Jonas Clapham for May 21, 1785, to Jan 21, 1718. Scharf Papers. Maryland State Archives, Annapolis.
 92. Norton, p. 192; Scharf, II: 392-393.
 93. Norton, p. 192; House of Lords, London, to Vera Rollo, Lanham, Maryland, dated July 24, 1975.
 94. Scharf, II: 394.
 95. Scharf, II: 504.
 96. Scharf, II: 504-506.
 97. Case of the British American Claimants, MS Room, British Museum, London, document #38252.F352, and #38252.F.353.
 98. Letter, H. S. Cobb, Deputy Clerk of the Records, Record Office, House of Lords, London, to Vera Rollo, Lanham, Maryland, dated July 24, 1975.
 99. *Ibid.*
 100. The names of the children born to Louisa and Henry Harford are: Louisa Anne, born 1794; Frances, born 1796 (implications of this name is that Harford was on good terms with his sister that year); Frederica Louisa Elizabeth, both 1797, and Frederick Paul, born in 1802.
Gentleman's Magazine, 73 (November 1803); J. W. Hewett, *A Complete Monumentarium of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter, Exeter*, (Exeter: Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, 1849), p. 24.
 101. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76 (June 1806): 582.
 102. Calvert Family Bible in the possession of the Misses Harford, Buckinghamshire, England, direct descendants of Henry Harford. The writer copied the entires from the fly leaf of this huge old Bible. The names begin with that of Frederick, Lord Baltimore; Louisa Calvert's name is roughly cut out; the Harford names follow. From this record and from the will left by Henry Harford we have the names and birth dates of his children.
 103. Burial Register of Parish of Bray, Burials 1813-1837. D/P23/1/11. "Henry Harford, Esq., Down Place, (buried) Dec. 16, 1834, age 77." Ceremony performed by W. Levette, Vicar. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 3, New Series, (Jan.-June, 1835): 218. "Obituary: Berks.—Dec. 8, Aged 75, Henry Harford, esq., of Down-Place."
Note the disparity in birth date assumption. The old lie told by Frederick Calvert that Harford was born in 1760 persisted for over seventy years.
Harford is sometimes called, "Sir Henry Harford" and his will is so recorded in the Public Record Office, London, however a letter from the Society of Genealogists, dated 28 October 1974, to Vera F. Rollo, and signed by the Secretary of that Society, C. M. Mackay, notes
London 10.28.74
It seems fairly clear that Henry HARFORD has styled, 'Esquire' always and there is no foundation for the idea that he was 'Sir Henry.' He is not mentioned in Shaw's *Knights of England* and was certainly not created a baronet. The addition of the title must have been a flight of fancy on the part of someone else.
 104. Will of Henry Harford, Vertical files, Manuscript Div., Maryland Historical Society.
 105. *Burke's Genealogy and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry*, 1937 edition, p. 1055.

BOOK NOTES

To Maryland From Overseas. By Harry Wright Newman. (1982) (Repr.: Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1985. 190 pp. \$20.00.)

This is the last book Harry Wright Newman published before his death, and contains clues and references to the overseas origins of some 1400 Maryland settlers who arrived in Maryland from 1634 to the early 19th century. Mr. Newman combed deeds, wills, pension applications, tombstone inscriptions, and numerous other published and unpublished sources to find information on the origins of Marylanders.

Except for lists of several hundred Scottish Jacobite supporters who were banished to Maryland after the uprisings of 1715 and 1746, the book consists of entries consisting the surname, a statement about the immigrant ancestor and whence he or she came, and most importantly the reference. This reviewer has had occasion to investigate the leads furnished for a number of the settlers, and in many cases has been able to extend the pedigree back one or more generations in England beyond the information supplied by Newman.

The book is so helpful that one hesitates to make any suggestions for improving it, but if a second edition is ever planned, the publishers would do well to consider adding an index of places for this reason: many Marylanders came from the same parts of Europe, and a locality index would make research in a particular county or parish more effective since the researcher could check for a number of settlers at the same time.

In spite of this one drawback, the book is highly recommended for all Maryland libraries and researchers.

ROBERT W. BARNES
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Catholic Families of Southern Maryland. By Timothy J. O'Rourke. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1985. 143 pp. Indexed. \$17.50.)

Mr. O'Rourke's book, originally published in 1981 as *Colonial Source Records: Southern Maryland Catholic Families*, gathers together in one place the tax lists, baptismal records, church censuses, oaths of fidelity, voting lists and petitions of Catholic families in St. Marys County, Maryland. The earliest of the records, which are arranged chronologically, is a list of Maryland Catholics who contributed to the fund collected

for the victims of the March 1760 Boston fire in which 350 buildings were burned. Baptisms and marriages from the congregations of St. Francis Xavier, St. Inigoes, and St. Josephs are included, as are presumed Catholic births in St. Andrews Episcopal Church.

Catholics in colonial Maryland were often persecuted and often disenfranchised. Until this time many researchers may have believed that Catholic records were hard to come by, if not completely non-existent. Mr. O'Rourke has compiled a valuable work which is a welcome addition to the body of Maryland genealogical material. This book is highly recommended.

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American Ancestors and Cousins of the Princess of Wales. By Gary Boyd Roberts and William Addams Reitweiser. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1984. 194 pp. Indexed. \$14.95.)

The title page instructs us that the book deals with the New England, Mid-Atlantic, and Virginia ancestors, close relatives, and notable distant kinfolk of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales. The authors have divided the book into five chapters and an appendix. Chapter I, on the New England Ancestry of The Princess contains a general essay, the descent from Dr. Joseph Strong to The Princess, an Ancestor Table of the said Doctor, and a list of 250 notable distant relatives of Her Royal Highness. Chapter II lists 50 additional notable distant relatives, and chapter III deals with The Princess's Mid-Atlantic Ancestry. Chapter IV deals with the Virginia ancestry and relatives of the Royal Family through Robert Porteus of Virginia, and the fifth Chapter lists the American relatives of The Princess. Marylanders will be particularly interested in the section of this chapter dealing with the descendants of Joseph Boude and Barbara Black. There are descendants of this couple living in Maryland today who will be able to claim a fairly close relationship to His Royal Highness, Prince William.

While not everyone may be interested in royal genealogies this book may be the exception that Marylanders, and the relatives of the Princess will want to have on their bookshelves.

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NEWS AND NOTICES

ART OF GARDENING EXHIBIT

As the profusion of Spring flowers peaks, a major exhibition celebrating the history of gardening in Maryland will open on Sunday, May 5th and continue through October 15th, at the Museum of the Historical Society of Talbot County in Easton, Maryland.

Premiering as part of the last day of the 48th Annual Maryland House and Garden Pilgrimage, the exhibition provides visitors to the Eastern Shore area with a retrospective view of gardening, from photographs of gracious early 20th Century landscapes to groupings of Victorian conservatory and garden furniture to rare books and letters documenting 18th Century plant material grown in Maryland.

The Art of Gardening: Maryland Landscapes and the American Garden Aesthetic, 1730-1930, first addresses the question of what remains of early gardens by exhibiting maps, estate sales of property along with inventories of books, paintings, tools, and personal letters. The emerging picture reveals that gardening interests formed a cultural bond crossing Colonial boundaries and extending political associations formed in the early days of the Republic by George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Maryland's Charles Carroll and William Paca, and other notable figures.

As an example of the most popular book with Colonial and Federal gardeners, the exhibit features a large and exceedingly fine edition of Phillip Miller's *Gardener's Dictionary*, published in London in 1733.

In addition to exhibiting some of the earliest gardening books published in America, the show incorporates a collection of historic gardening tools including a scythe, pitchfork, and plow dramatically displayed along with an enlarged photo-screen of tools reproduced from a 1725 publication.

The visual texture of Maryland's landscapes is depicted by Francis Guy, one of the most important artists to come to America from England, in his painting of the Baltimore garden "Bolton." Also exhibited is Charles Willson Peale's portrait of "William Bartram," the traveler and naturalist son of noted botanist John Bartram.

A second theme explored in the exhibit is the American garden aesthetic or the movement to beautify both house and landscape with plants and flowers.

Commercialism in a growing democratic society made gardening an everyday pleasure to the mass of 19th Century Americans. The expansion of nurseries is exhibited by colorful seed catalogues and poster advertisements, while the influence of decorative garden design is exhibited in wallpaper, china, costumes, and photographs. This section of the exhibit also features an 1881 etching of a New York City kitchen garden by Mary Nimmo Moran, wife of the American Artist Thomas Moran.

More than 150 items are contained in the exhibition, including objects loaned from the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, the National Agricultural Library, Dumbarton Oaks, the Independence National Historic Park, the Strong Museum, and the Maryland Historical Society. The exhibit is accompanied by an illustrated catalogue.

Hours for the exhibition, *The Art of Gardening: Maryland Landscapes and the American Garden Aesthetic, 1730-1930*, are daily, Tuesday through Saturday, 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. Sunday hours are 1 to 4 p.m. Closed Monday.

The Museum is located at 25 S. Washington St., Easton, Maryland, adjoining a municipal parking lot. Museum admission fee is \$2.00 for adults, and \$.50 for children.

RESEARCH GRANTS

The US Army Military History Institute will award approximately six Advanced Research Grants for 1986. Each grant carries a stipend of \$750.00 to cover travel and living costs while conducting research in the USAMHI library, archives, and special collections. Applicants must be scholars at the graduate or post-graduate level pursuing topics in the field of military history. Although the Institute supports significant research in all fields of military history, it is particularly interested in US and foreign operational level doctrine, combat operations, training, logistical and organizational systems, as well as research into command and leadership. The application deadline for grants to be awarded in 1986 is 1 January 1986. For information and application forms contact: Assistant Director for Historical Services, US Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, 17013-5008.

MARYLAND PICTURE PUZZLE

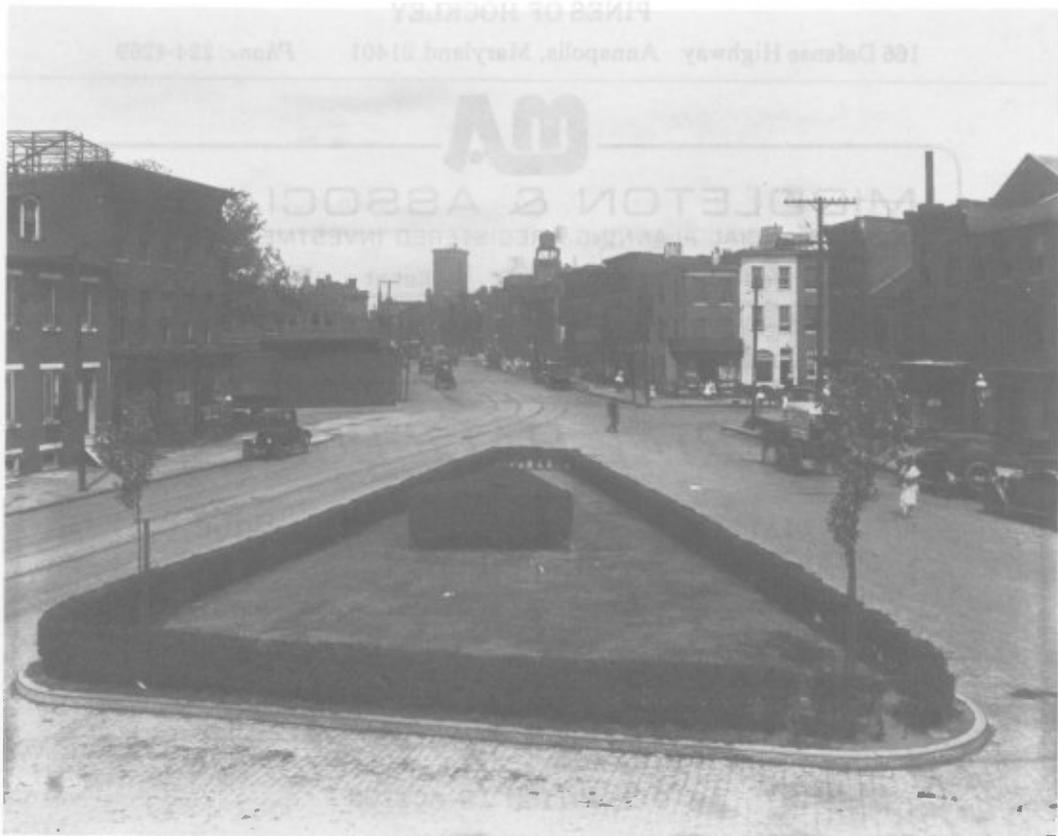
Each installment of the Maryland Picture Puzzle shows a photograph from the collection of the Prints and Photographs Division of the Maryland Historical Society. Test your visual skills and knowledge of Maryland by identifying this puzzling view.

The Winter 1984 puzzle depicted the southeast corner of Park Avenue and Saratoga Street between 1917 and 1923. The building on Saratoga Street is the Saint Alphonsus Hall. All buildings in this image are extant.

This issue's puzzle shows a Baltimore street scene. Try to identify the location and date of the image. Do you know which office building stands in the background?

Please address your reply to:
Picture Puzzle
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Maryland Historical Society
201 W. Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Congratulations to the following individuals for submitting correct responses to the Winter 1984 puzzle: Walter Fisher; James W. Lewis; Walter C. Dippold; C. McIntosh Gordan; Margaret H. Cooke; Alice L. Shugars; Mary K. Warwick; Paul Willem Wirtz; John F. Baesch; S. Vannort Chapman; Evelyn C. Hart; Mrs. J. Nolan Callahan; Patrick E. Mackie; Helen A. Maynard; Harry Scott; Rev. John Bowen; John Riggs Orrick; Douglas H. Gordon; Ruth F. Ring; Mr. and Mrs. R. Stein; and Howard Phillips.



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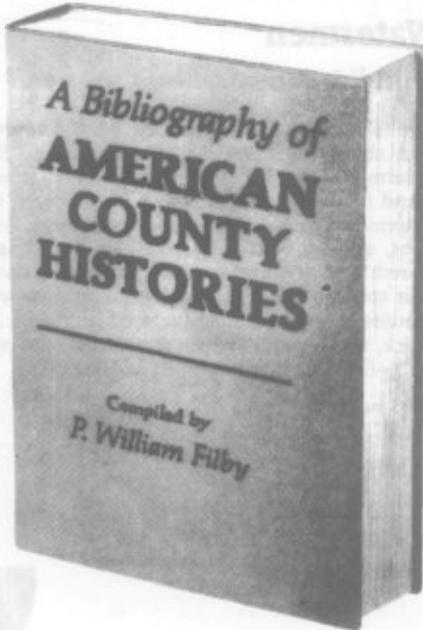
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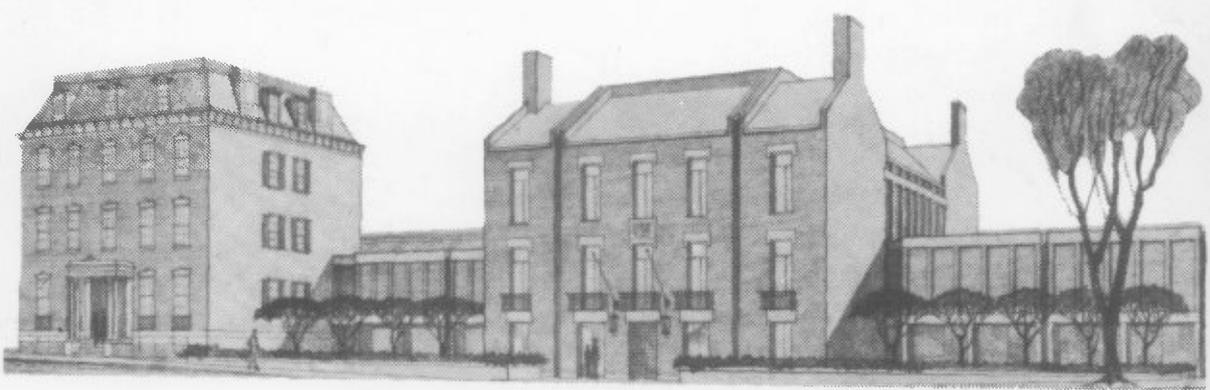
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