

From Colony to State



IN THE EMPIRE

The first fifty years of the eighteenth century were a time of institutional development and internal growth for the colonies. As Edmund Burke was to point out in 1775 as he looked back on what seemed better times, it was a period of “wise and salutary neglect” during which the colonies were allowed to go much their own way.¹ In Maryland the Calverts worked diligently to maintain political and economic control. After Benedict Leonard Calvert, Cecil’s grandson, renounced his Roman Catholicism and succeeded to the title as fourth Lord Baltimore in 1715, the king restored his right to direct the government of the province, which had been taken from his father by force in 1689. Benedict Calvert enjoyed his new power for only eight weeks. He died on 16 April 1715, and the title passed to his sixteen-year-old son, Charles. It was Charles’s task, once he gained his majority, to replenish the depleted family treasury from taxes that were his right under the Maryland charter. In this regard he and his son Frederick, who succeeded to the title in 1751, proved capable of choosing men who served them well as colonial administrators. One of the best was Horatio Sharpe, who governed Maryland from

1752 to 1769.² Like most of the British empire in North America, Maryland was left largely to its own devices until the 1750s. To be sure, there was a constant struggle for power within the colony. Both Lords Baltimore took an active interest in the affairs of their province and were forever at odds with factions in the General Assembly. This very conflict strengthened the colonial assembly’s capacity for self-reliance. It made it easier for Maryland to join the movement for independence in the 1770s, although the Proprietary, or “Court,” Party cultivated its interest with such care and acumen that the decision for independence was far more painful in Maryland than in most of the other twelve colonies.³

Cartographic knowledge of Maryland did not advance much beyond Herrman’s map, except for Walter Hoxton’s chart of 1735 (fig. n39), until the 1750s. As part of an overall policy of imperial reorganization and administration, the English Board of Trade, which was entrusted with monitoring the affairs of the empire, continued information-gathering activities and gradually built a formidable archive of maps and data on each of the North American colonies.⁴

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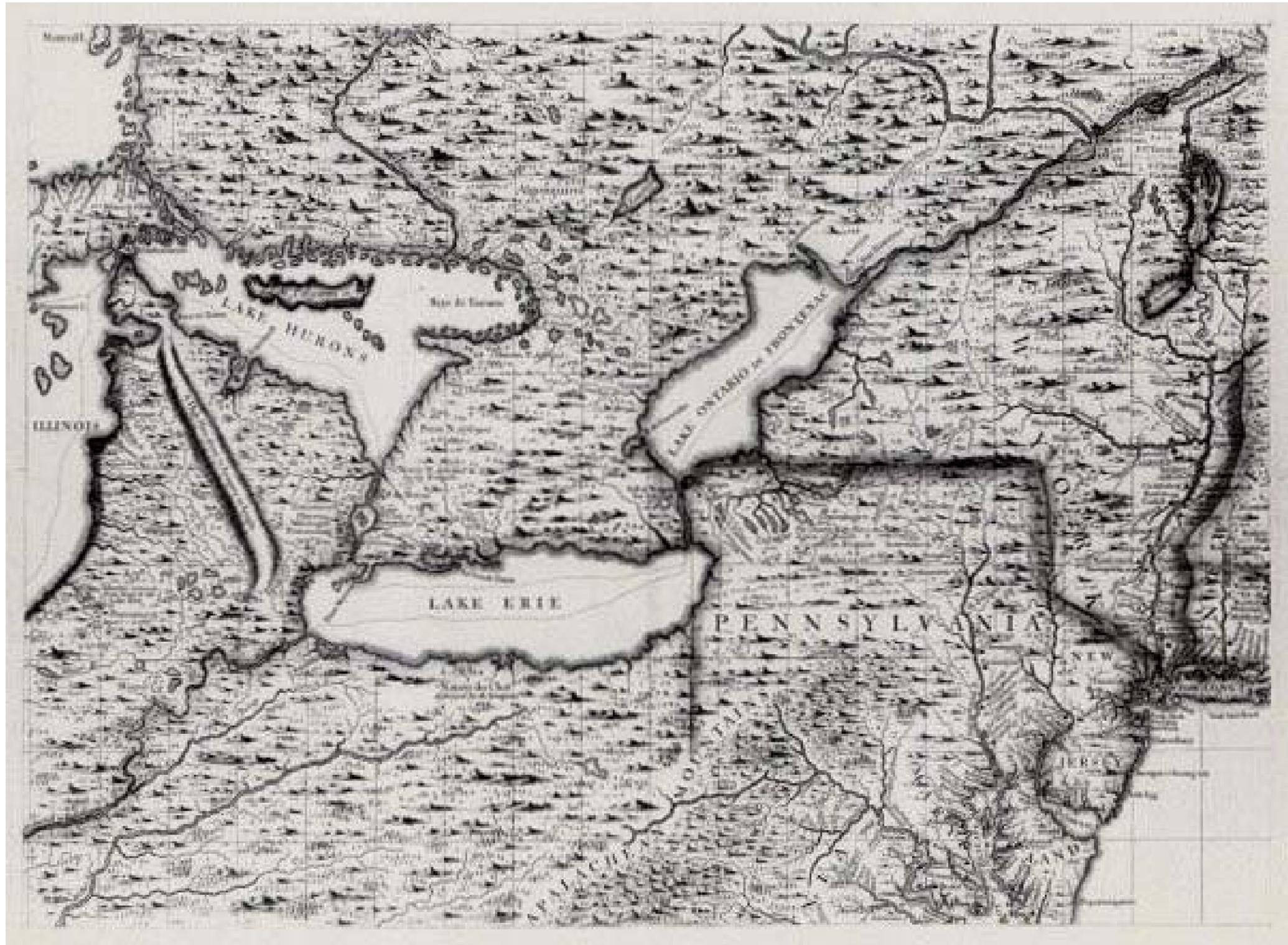
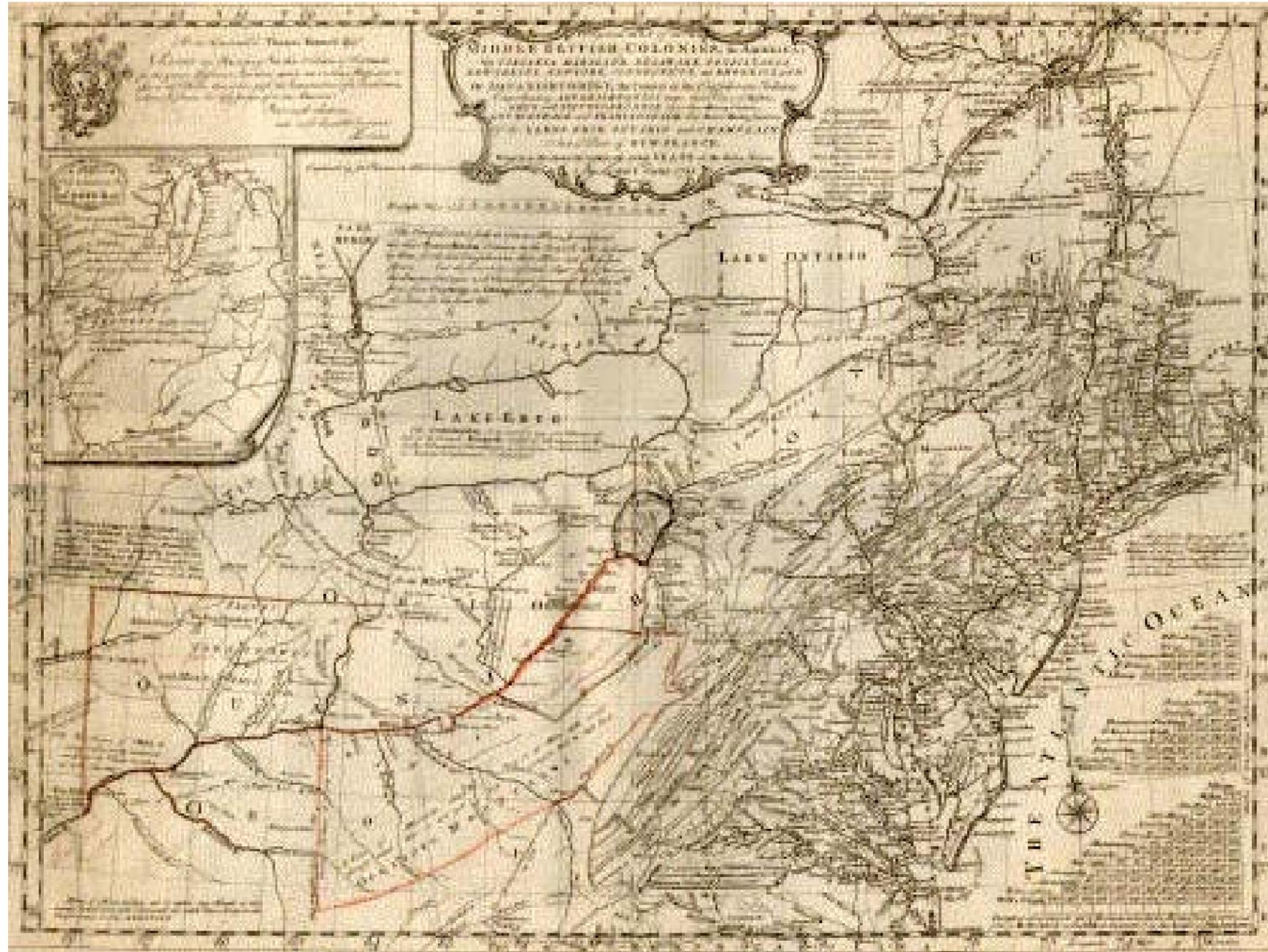


FIGURE 41
Detail from Henry Popple,
*A Map of the British Empire in
America*, 1733, Sheet 6, Pea-
body Library Collection of
the Johns Hopkins Universi-
ty, MSA SC 1213-1-299.



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HENRY POPPLE

In 1733 a former clerk of the Board of Trade, Henry Popple, published a charming atlas of the British empire in America, parts of which he had completed as early as 1727. It included a plate showing Maryland (fig.n41). Popple advertised that he had the support of his former employers in the undertaking, but his claim was disavowed in 1755 by the British government because the French had used his map to advance their claims to territory in the New World.

Popple's map was widely disseminated. Not only was it copied by other cartographers but it also appeared in the home of at least one prominent Marylander. Figure 41 is a plate from the set owned by Charles Carroll of Annapolis (1702–1782) and by his son Charles Carroll of Carrollton (1737–1832), the only Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence and a major force in Maryland's transition from colony to state.⁵

LEWIS EVANS AND JOHN MITCHELL

By the 1750s and the final phases of the Great War for Empire with France, the British authorities had begun to take a renewed interest in closer regulation of the colonies. From their perspective, the war with France was being fought for the security of the thirteen colonies and therefore the colonies should bear a major part of the cost. Opinion on both sides of the Atlantic was divided on the issue of paying for imperial defense. The controversy unleashed a torrent of

FIGURE 42
Detail from Lewis Evans,
*A General Map of the Middle
British Colonies in America*,
1755, Huntingfield Collec-
tion, MSA SC 1399-1-606.



FIGURE 43a (TOP)
 Upper portion of Joshua Fry
 and Peter Jefferson, *A Map
 of the most Inhabited part of
 Virginia containing the whole
 Province of Maryland . . .* ,
 1751 [1775], Huntingfield Col-
 lection, MSA SC 1399-1-61a.

FIGURE 43b (BOTTOM)
 Lower portion of Joshua Fry
 and Peter Jefferson, *A Map
 of the most Inhabited part of
 Virginia containing the whole
 Province of Maryland . . .* ,
 1751 [1775], Huntingfield Col-
 lection, MSA SC 1399-1-61b.



FIGURE 43C
Detail from the lower portion of Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, *A Map of the most Inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole Province of Maryland . . .*, 1751 [1775], Huntingfield Collection, MSA SC 1399-1-61b.

publications about the colonies and on the whys and wherefores of colonial administration. In 1755 the general state of cartographic knowledge of Maryland was summarized in two maps, one by Lewis Evans (fig.n42), *A General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America*, and the considerably less detailed *Map of the British and French Dominions in North America . . .*, by John Mitchell. The Mitchell map was drawn from maps in the archives of the Board of Trade and is most significant for the role it played in the Peace Treaty of 1783–84, which ended the War of the American Revolution. It was on the basis of Mitchell’s map that the boundaries of the new United States were set.⁶

THE EVANS MAP is more complete for Maryland and is derived from much the same sources as Mitchell’s. Evans was a surveyor in Pennsylvania. On one occasion he offered his services to Lord Baltimore in the dispute with the Penns over the northern boundary of Maryland, asserting that he could help substantiate the Calvert claim to the three lower counties of Pennsylvania, known collectively as Delaware. His offer was firmly rejected by Lord Baltimore in 1753 as “hardly worth notice,” and he published his map with the boundaries of Maryland substantially as they are today. In the printed *Analysis* that accompanied his map Evans admitted that he had not drawn Maryland well:

The greatest Part of VIRGINIA is composed with the Assistance of Messieurs Fry and Jefferson’s Map . . . I am obliged to the same Map, and Capt. Hoxton’s Chart of Chesopeak Bay, for MARYLAND. But this Colony is the worst done of all the Settlements in mine, yet the Bay from Annapolis to the Head I have lately had an Opportunity of adjusting; as well as to measure the Isthmus across from the Head of Elk to Delaware River, about three Miles below NewCastle. There is considerable Error in my General

*Map, which came Time enough to my Knowledge to be mentioned here, tho’ not to be rectified; and that is, the Breadth of the Peninsula from Fenwick’s Island to the South side of Little Choptank, which I make 65 Miles, whereas Mr. Parsons, one of the Surveyors, who ran the line across, informs me that it should have been 70.*⁷

JOSHUA FRY AND PETER JEFFERSON

For at least forty years after the publication of Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson’s *Map of the most Inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole Province of Maryland . . .* (figs.n43a and 43b) in 1753, there would be no new mapping of Maryland. During the American Revolution, our French allies simply published a French edition of Fry and Jefferson (1777, fig.n56). Not until Dennis Griffith published his map in 1795 (fig.n66) would be there anything better than Fry and Jefferson in its general outline or in many of its details. The emphasis of the Fry and Jefferson map is on Virginia, and, as Edward Bennett Mathews, the noted nineteenth-century historian of Maryland cartography, points out, “there is little indicated besides names and a few roads on the Maryland portion.” It even picks up erroneous information from earlier maps—placing Baltimore on the Bush River, for example. Despite its sparseness and some inaccuracies, however, the Fry-Jefferson map was to exert “a great influence on the cartographic representation of Maryland . . . from the time of its first publication . . . till the work of Alexander (1830–1840).”⁸

In the 1750s more became generally known about Maryland in print as well as maps. A number of accounts of the province were published, including William Douglass’s *Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements, and Present State of the British Settlements in North-America*, although none was written by a Marylander. Douglass was a New England doctor who abhorred some as-

pects of life in the South, especially the planting of the vile weed, tobacco, which he felt was as bad as spirituous liquors and the importation of convict labor as corrupting influences. “It is reckoned,” he wrote, that “there may be 300 to 400 felons or miscreants imported yearly to Maryland from England; this importation of vile levies is sufficient to corrupt any plantation settlement or improvement.”⁹ Nor did he think highly of one of Maryland’s better-regarded governors, Sir Francis Nicholson (governor from 1694 to 1699), who moved the capital to Annapolis from St. Mary’s City.¹⁰ Nicholson is best remembered for his influence on the master plan for the development of Annapolis. His two circles and main streets laid out in the direction of the points of the compass have lent considerable charm to the city and snarled traffic ever since. Douglass characterized Nicholson as “a knight errant governor; by his cursing, swearing, and hypocritical devotional exercises, he was at times made use of by the court in dirty affairs; particularly when any new encroachments upon the privileges of a people were designed with harsh usage.”¹¹ Nicholson had been governor of Massachusetts before coming to Maryland and had not been popular there.

On the whole, however, Douglass restricted his critical commentary to a relatively few matters, and on balance provided a good survey of Maryland at midcentury. He included valuable insights into the use of slaves in the production of tobacco, Maryland’s most valuable crop and major source of income. He recorded that

into Maryland and Virginia are imported about 4,000 Negroe slaves per ann. Some planters have 500 slaves; Col. Carter of Virginia is said to have had 900, and Mr. Bennet of Maryland 1300 at one time. A peck of Indian corn and some salt is their weekly allowance of provision for each negro; they are reckoned to raise 1000 lb. wt. of tobacco besides some barrels of corn per head. . . .

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Atlas of Historical Maps of
Maryland, 1608–1908

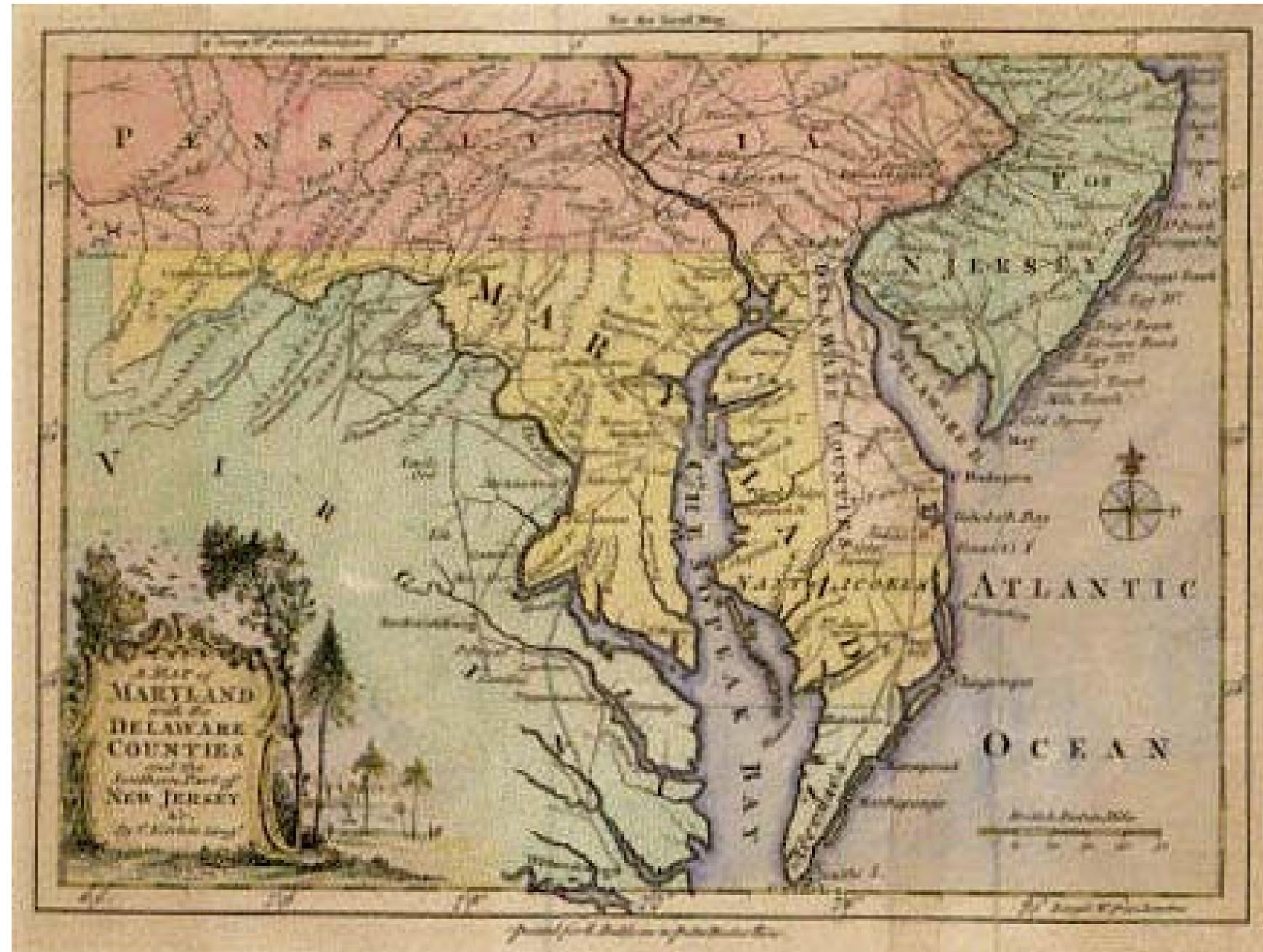


FIGURE 44
Thomas Kitchin, *A Map of Maryland with the Delaware Counties . . .*, from *London Magazine* 26 (August 1757), Huntingfield Collection, MSA SC 1399-1-59.

*The tobacco is generally cultivated by Negroes in sets, seven or eight Negroes with an overseer is a set, each working negro is reckoned one share, the overseer has one and a half or two shares. The charge of a Negro is a coarse woollen jacket and breeches with one pair of shoes in winter [plus provisions].*¹²

Greatly condensed descriptions of Maryland, sometimes with maps, also appeared in the popular press. In 1757 Thomas Kitchin's *Map of Maryland with the Delaware Counties . . .*, derived mostly from the map by Fry and Jefferson, was printed

in the *London Magazine* (fig.n44). Seven years later the only surviving evidence of an exhaustive census of Maryland, taken in 1755, was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (fig.n45), apparently in an effort to dispel the popular notion in England (surely only among males) that there were not enough females to make emigration to Maryland very attractive.

By the late 1760s Maryland and the other British colonies in America were prospering. Yet, as map maker John Mitchell cautioned in his *Present State of Great Britain and*

North America, published anonymously in 1767, if England continued to insist on new taxes and to prohibit westward expansion, the colonies would soon prefer independence. As one who had lived happily for a number of years in Virginia, Mitchell cared little about New England, but he argued at length that the South should have fewer taxes and be allowed to settle west of the Proclamation Line of 1763. His pleas were ignored in London, and, as he predicted, it was not long before the movement for independence was well under way.¹³

Mr UZZAN,
I Herewith send you a distinct Account of the Number of Inhabitants, white and black, bond and free, which were in the Province of Maryland in the Year 1755. Many Observations, political and commercial, may be drawn from this Table; but I shall now only beg room for one of another Kind. It hath been always allowed that more than one Male to one Female, white and black, bond and free, have arrived in this Colony; how then comes it to pass that the Number of Males and Females, white and black, together above or under sixteen Years of age, should at this Time bear so near a Proportion of the Sexes, and likewise the Number of taxable Men, to the Proportion in all and settled Countries. What say the Spectators to this? Is this Chance? or is there a ruling Providence? I am, Sir, NUMBERS.

Maryland, Nov. 20, 1765.

An Account of the Number of Souls in the Province of MARYLAND, in the Year 1755.

Name of the County.	Taxable Persons sixteen Years of Age,						Persons not taxable,						Persons under sixteen Years of Age.						Number of Inhabitants in Maryland.						
	Whites,		Mulattos,		Blacks		Whites		Males		Blacks		Whites,		Mulattos,		Blacks								
	Free.	Servants	Free.	Slaves	Free.	Slaves.	Free	Servants women.	Paup labour, or cripples.	Free	Slaves	Free	Servants indentured or sold.	Free	Slaves	Free	Slaves								
	Men	Men	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Children	Men	Women	Children	Men	Women	Children	Men	Women	Children							
Baltimore	5630	595	472	36	21	1144	51	2507	300	14	47	215	2551	225	49	8	67	61	28	43	1	859	1041		
Anne Arundell	2534	455	184	16	22	1472	106	64	1519	51	4	15	1945	1708	82	26	15	88	55	21	23	10	1324	1324	
Calvert	619	134	84	8	4	510	579	80	1619	61	2	15	861	742	48	25	30	17	15	17	1	671	645		
Prince Georges	2525	255	73	37	31	1272	151	44	1680	55	37	8	1940	1774	31	10	1	41	26	48	55	1	1340	1219	
Fredrick	2775	216	94	31	4	1272	151	44	1680	55	37	8	1940	1774	31	10	1	41	26	48	55	1	1340	1219	
Charles	1429	173	202	62	28	1272	151	44	1680	55	37	8	1940	1774	31	10	1	41	26	48	55	1	1340	1219	
St Mary's	158	194	20	18	17	822	701	8	1606	164	23	14	1845	1704	29	24	3	24	23	94	19	17	862	839	
Wicomic	2762	45	1	31	12	401	359	1	1662	37	1	10	2067	2053	23	12	1	18	29	7	3	6	161	131	
Sussex	2548	54	1	23	16	617	571	64	1446	37	1	10	1539	1332	12	1	1	24	19	11	25	1	871	801	
Dorset	1950	172	7	9	7	624	514	44	1097	12	1	1	1547	1322	14	17	2	11	22	35	35	6	1608	681	
Talbot	1823	264	25	24	18	72	67	12	1216	166	4	12	1333	1197	57	5	1	20	19	24	21	4	579	657	
Queen Anne's	1745	284	23	18	30	133	32	8	1574	31	1	1	2037	1862	22	24	8	21	24	57	23	3	4	611	603
Kent	1454	55	8	15	7	691	523	34	1428	181	18	0	1247	1223	134	76	4	16	19	9	20	3	600	613	
Staff	254	290	47	3	12	120	82	1	1156	182	1	1	1505	1172	55	21	1	10	6	64	108	5	271	322	
Total	24326	1276	1507	207	127	12124	1921	119	27352	1821	286	19	32617	24148	104	1207	21	1419	328	577	53	71	20103	18103	

FIGURE 45
"The Population of Maryland, 1755," from *Gentleman's Magazine* 34 (1764), MSA SC 4645-1-16.

THE LEGAL LIMITS OF EXPANSION

From the founding of Maryland in 1632 until the western boundary was fixed by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1910, there had been debate concerning the limits of Maryland's jurisdiction over settlement. The first challenge was Kent Island, where, in 1631, William Claiborne, surveyor-general of Virginia, established a fort and trading post. Cecil Calvert in England was acutely conscious of Claiborne's presence within the bounds set forth in the Maryland charter. The instructions he composed in November 1633 on the government of Maryland to guide the three commissioners, Leonard Calvert (his brother), Jerome Hawley, and Thomas Cornwaleys, included explicit directives concerning Claiborne. The commissioners were to contact Claiborne upon their arrival in Maryland and imply that his business partners were conspiring against him by seeking a grant for Kent Island from Lord Baltimore. They were to tell Claiborne that Lord Baltimore would not agree and instead would be "willing to give" Claiborne "all the encouragement he cann to proceede," if he would only acknowledge the charter. If that failed, they were to leave Claiborne alone for a year while they attended the problems of settlement.¹⁴

Claiborne did not prove accommodating and could not be ignored, as the new colonists quickly discovered. In April 1634, only a month after their arrival on St. Clement's Island in the Potomac, the colonists sent out seven men on a trading expedition to the "Sasquahannocks" Indians at the head of the Bay. Led by Cyprian Thorowgood, it was the first recorded exploration by Marylanders within the bounds of Maryland. In his *Relation*, which he sent to Lord Baltimore, Thorowgood describes the extent of Claiborne's operations in the upper Bay and his encounter with Claiborne's men, who were trading with the Indians when they arrived at the head of the Bay near the mouth of the Susquehanna River, noting that his interpreter was "a negro who lived among [the natives] to learn the language":

Having a faire winde wee passed that day by two Hands in the baye neere to the Easterne shore, the one called Clabornes Hand, the other Poples Island, both which Captaine Claborne hath stored with hogges: the next to these is the Ile of Kent where Captaine Claborne is seated, towards the south end thereof: These three are not above a league and halfe distant from each other; the two former are but small, but that of Kent is about twentie miles longe, haueing a neck of land running Eastward 2 or 3 miles.

Along this necke there is not above 3 roode of water betwixt it and the maine land, and as either end thereof about 3 foote deep when the tyde is out. . .

[At the Head of the Bay, near] Palmers Island . . . boates use to ride being in trade with the Sasquahannocks. Here we found a boat of Clabornes in trade with the Indians, which had gotten 700 skins, and 40 men loaden with beauer were sent a little afore to the Dutch plantation, but so soone as they see us a comeing Clabornes men beseeched the Indians to take part with them against us . . . but the Indians refused saying the English had never harmed them . . . where upon [Claiborne's men] weighed their anchor and went away, and what skins the Indians had left, they brought to us, and went home to fetch what more they had at home, which made in all 230, this was on the second day of Maye [1634].¹⁵

Claiborne continued to be a thorn in Lord Baltimore's side for decades, but by the 1660s the Calvert title to the islands in the upper bay was no longer in doubt and attention was drawn to the outer limits of the colony.

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FIGURE 46
 Edward Bennett Mathews,
The Counties of Maryland,
 1740–1773, 1906, in *Maryland*
Geological Survey [Reports], 6,
 MSA SC 1213-1-198.

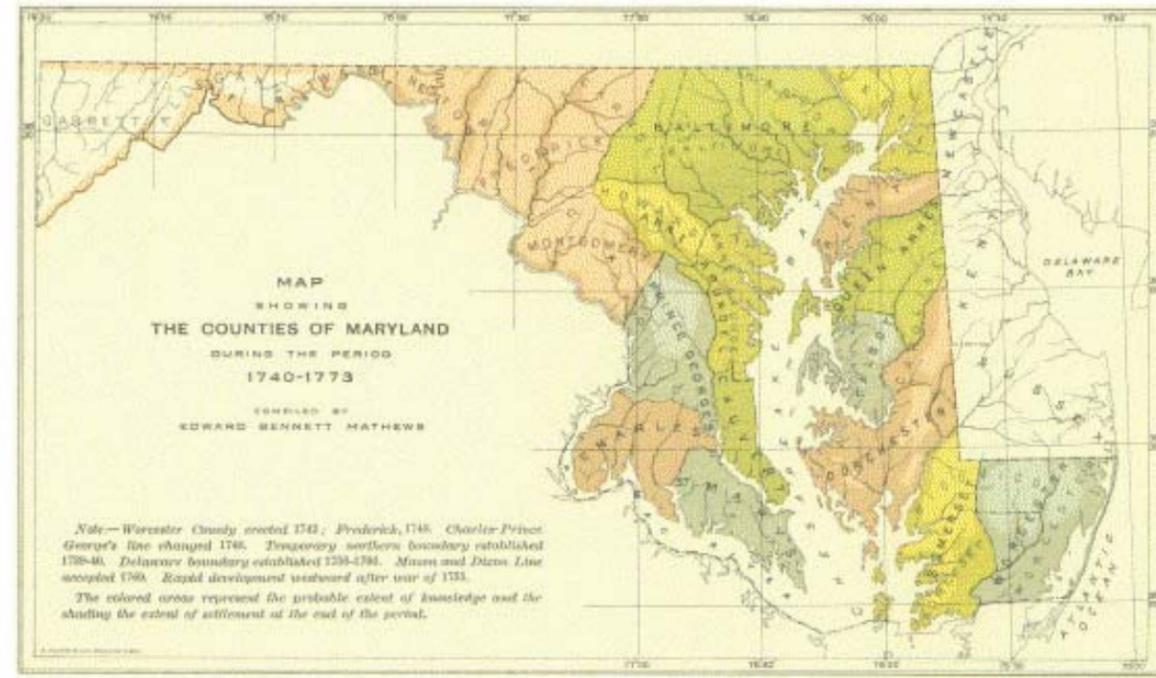


FIGURE 47
 Detail from Augustine
 Herrman, *Virginia and*
Maryland, 1670 [1673], John
 Carter Brown Library, MSA
 SC 1213-1-436.



THE SOUTHERN BOUNDARY

On the Eastern Shore another Virginian, Edmund Scarborough, was instrumental in pushing settlement up the peninsula from the south and claiming the area for Virginia. After much controversy, including a raid by Scarborough into Maryland territory, a compromise was reached in May 1668 and a boundary line cut through the trees from Pocomoke Bay to the Atlantic Ocean.¹⁶ Where the boundary ran from the Pocomoke River westward to the headwaters of the Poto-

mac was another issue the commissioners felt no need to address. The charter called for Maryland's boundary to be the south shore of the Potomac, and that seemed to suffice. Lord Baltimore considered the matter settled and had Augustine Herrman prominently indicate the line from below the mouth of the Potomac to the Atlantic Ocean on his 1670 map of Virginia and Maryland (fig. 47).

Over a century later, in the Compact of 1785, Virginia and Maryland amicably agreed to jointly legislate with regard to fishing and navigation below the falls of the Potomac and on the Chesapeake Bay, leaving to yet another day the resolution

of Virginia's uneasiness over Maryland's charter rights to the whole of the Potomac. Even so, the commissioners of 1785 anticipated the arguments to come when they noted in article 10 of the compact that the "line of division from the south of Potomack River (now called Smith's Point) to Watkins Point, near the mouth of the Pocomoke River, may be doubtful."¹⁷

From 1668 until the American Revolution the question of Maryland's southern boundary remained largely dormant, although Lord Fairfax did attempt unilaterally to determine how far his lands on the south side of the Potomac extended in the decade 1737–47, casting doubt on which branch of the

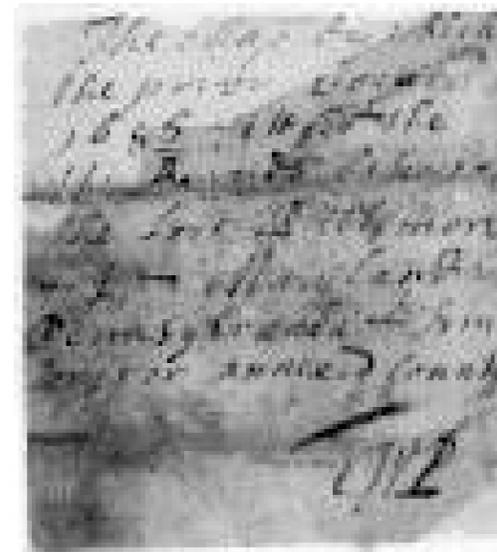


FIGURE 48a
 [William Penn, notation on
 his copy of] Nicholas
 Visscher, *Novi Belgii*, 1651–
 1656?, John Work Garrett
 Library, The Johns Hopkins
 University, MSA SC 1213-1-
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Potomac led to the true source of the river.¹⁸ Other boundary disputes to the north and east were not so easily postponed.

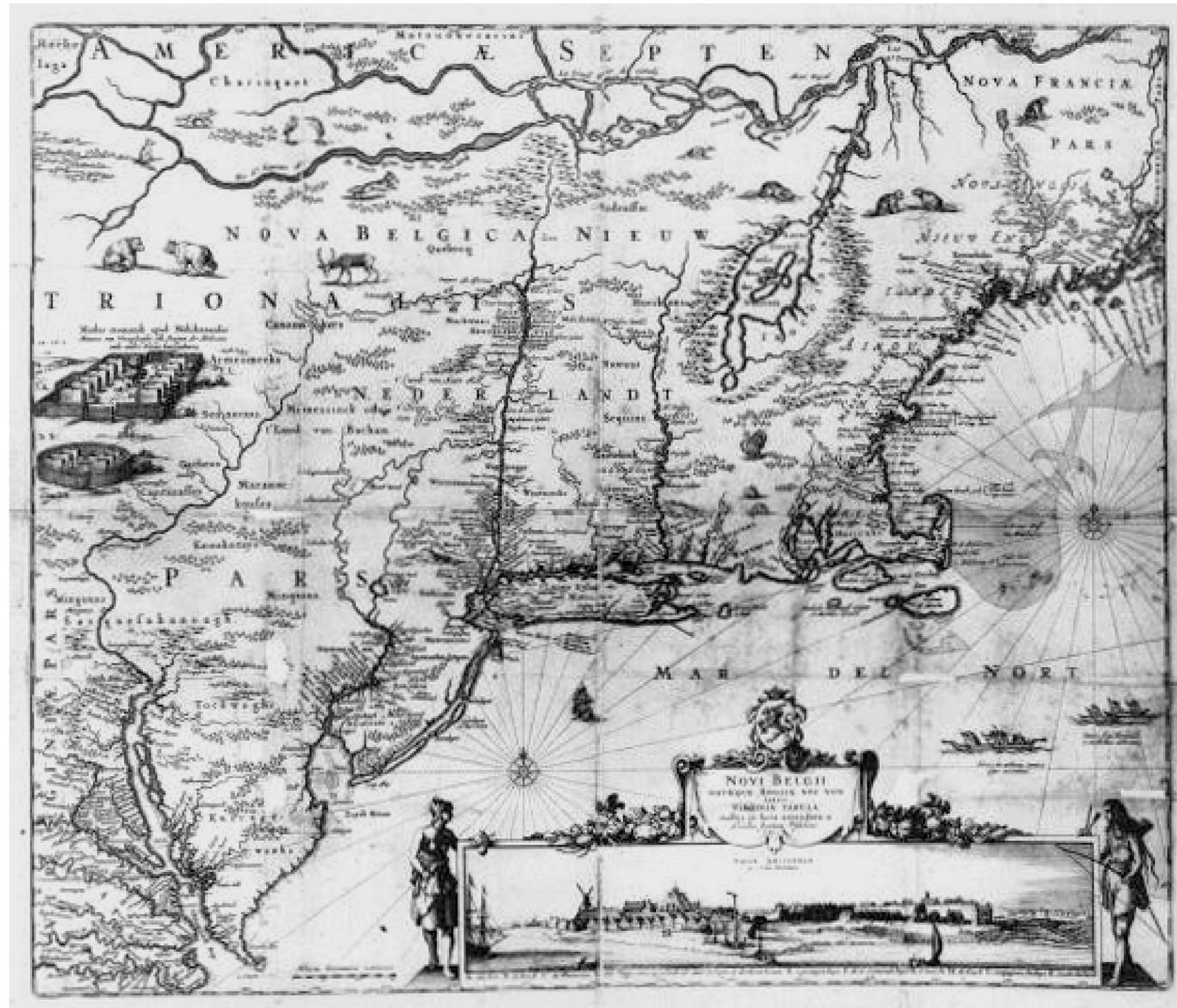
THE CONTROVERSY WITH THE PENNS

Determining where Lord Baltimore's eastern and northern boundaries lay was to consume almost seventy years of expensive litigation. The controversy began almost immediately with the granting of William Penn's charter in June 1680 and lasted until Chancellor Hardwicke's decision in the High Court of Chancery on 15 May 1750. Even then the actual

bounds would not be official until 11 January 1769, when the king and his council ratified the Mason and Dixon survey of 1763–68. The fascinating story of the Calvert-Penn negotiations is well told by Edward Bennett Mathews in his exhaustive "History of the Boundary Dispute Between the Baltimores and Penns Resulting in the Original Mason and Dixon Line," published in 1908.¹⁹ From Mathews it is clear that maps and mapping played a crucial role in the final settlement of the Penn-Calvert controversy. Faulty maps established the approximate location of boundaries, while the process of locating the lines on the ground resulted in one of the most accu-

rate surveys undertaken in North America prior to the nineteenth century.

In determining the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania, two basic questions had to be resolved. The first was whether Lord Baltimore's charter included the Dutch settlements on the Delaware Bay, the east side of the Delmarva Peninsula today. The second was whether the northern boundary of Maryland should be the fortieth parallel of north latitude, as established by surveys on the ground, or the fortieth degree of north latitude, as it was thought to have been



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Atlas of Historical Maps of
Maryland, 1608–1908

FIGURE 48b
Detail from Nicholas
Visscher, *Novi Belgii*, 1651–
1656?, John Work Garrett
Library, The Johns Hopkins
University, MSA SC 1213-1-
247.

in 1632 when Lord Baltimore received his charter from the king. The king himself resolved the first question in 1685. He decreed that Lord Baltimore's patent was for unsettled land and that the Delaware side of the peninsula had been inhabited by Christians prior to Lord Baltimore's patent. Because the title to those lands, formerly occupied by the Dutch, had passed to William Penn, the king ordered that the land lying between "Delaware and the eastern sea" on the one side and the Chesapeake Bay on the other "be divided into two equal parts by a line from the latitude of Cape Hinlopen to

the 40th degree of Northern latitude," the eastern half to be adjudged to Penn, who held his title from the king, and the other half to Lord Baltimore. Baltimore lost even more than he realized at the time because the map used by the king to determine the location of Cape Henlopen (fig.n48a) placed the cape twenty-five miles farther south than it actually was. Ironically, the map upon which William Penn lightly sketched his boundaries for the king (seen faintly on fig.n48b) was Dutch, first published about 1651 by Nicolas Joannis Visscher, and depicting what some have claimed was a view of New Amsterdam by Augustine Herrman.²⁰ If Cecil

Calvert had been alive in 1685, what would he have thought about a territorial loss due to an inaccurate Dutch map? Fifty-three years before, he had been persuaded by the king to accept a charter to lands north of Virginia for the very purpose of preventing Dutch encroachments on English claims. In 1661, at considerable expense, Calvert had successfully wooed Augustine Herrman from New Amsterdam to Maryland to draw an accurate map defending his claim to all the land between the thirty-eighth and fortieth parallels of north latitude bounded on the west by the Potomac River and on

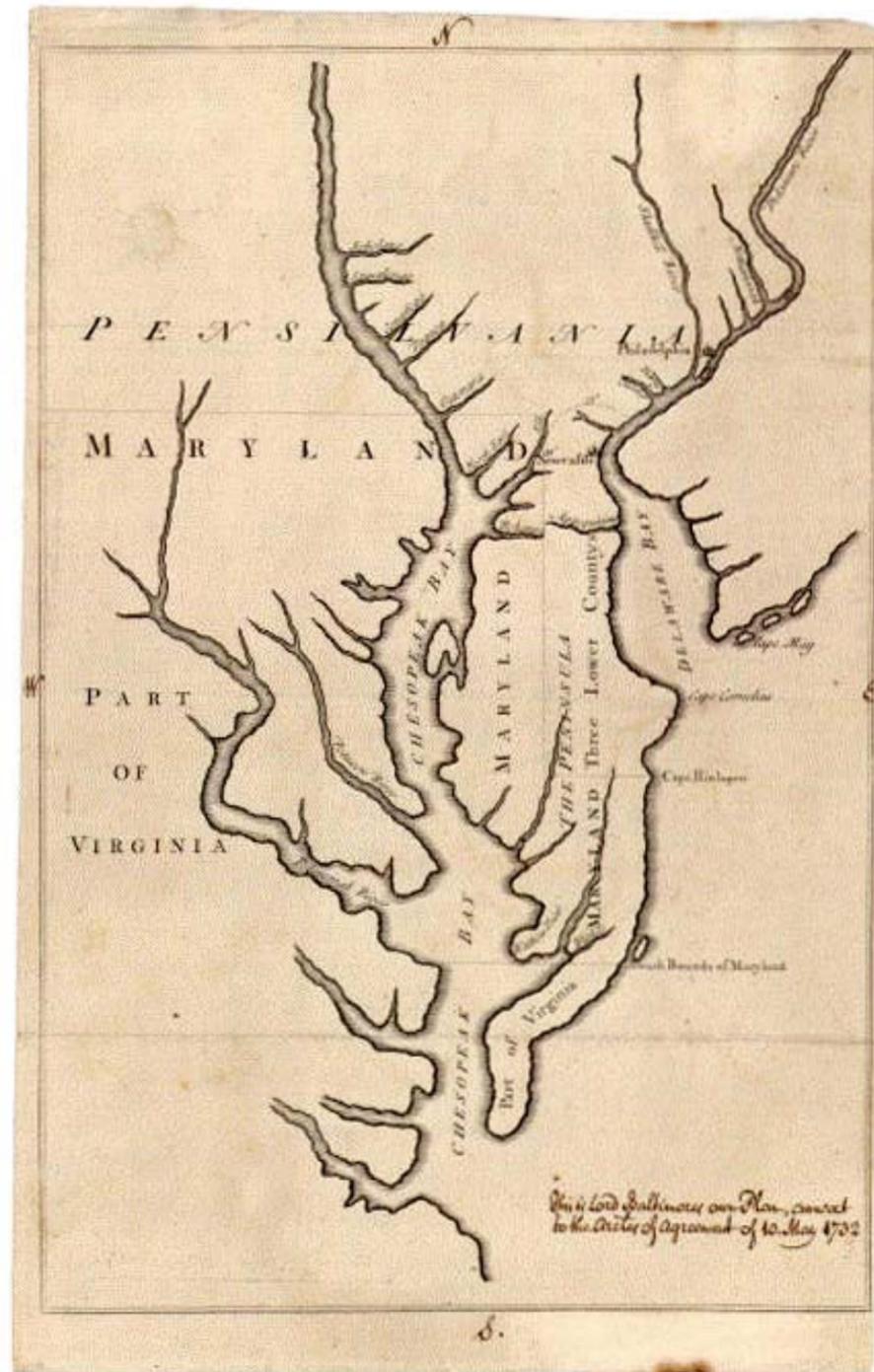


FIGURE 49
 [John Senex], [Proposed Maryland/Pennsylvania Boundary], 1732, Huntingfield Collection, MSA SC 1399-1-189.

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the east by the Atlantic Ocean. Herrman's 1670 map correctly identified Cape Henlopen (which, in Dutch, literally means the "runaway," or "vanishing," cape), but it was Visscher's earlier and erroneous map upon which the king based his 1685 decision.

THE AGREEMENT OF 1732

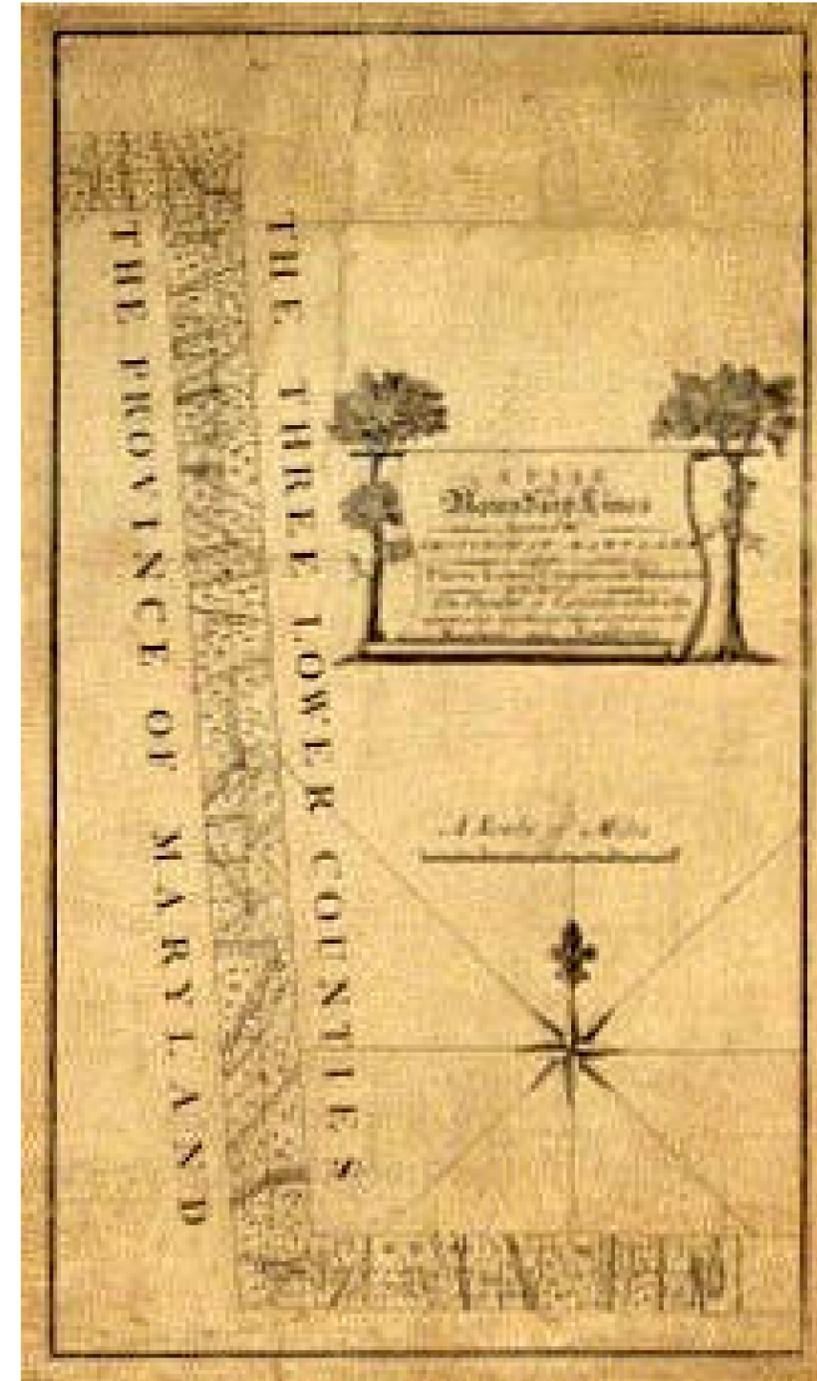
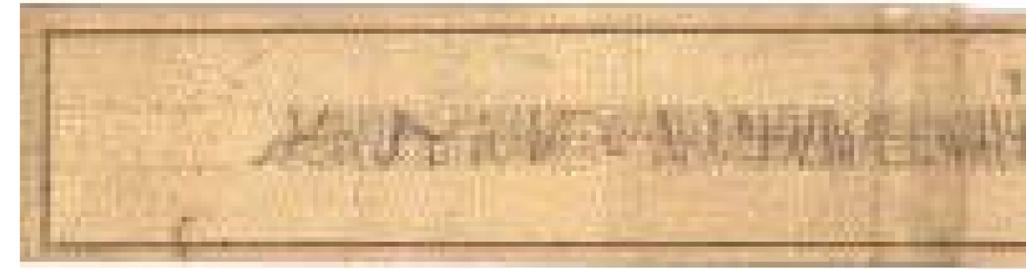
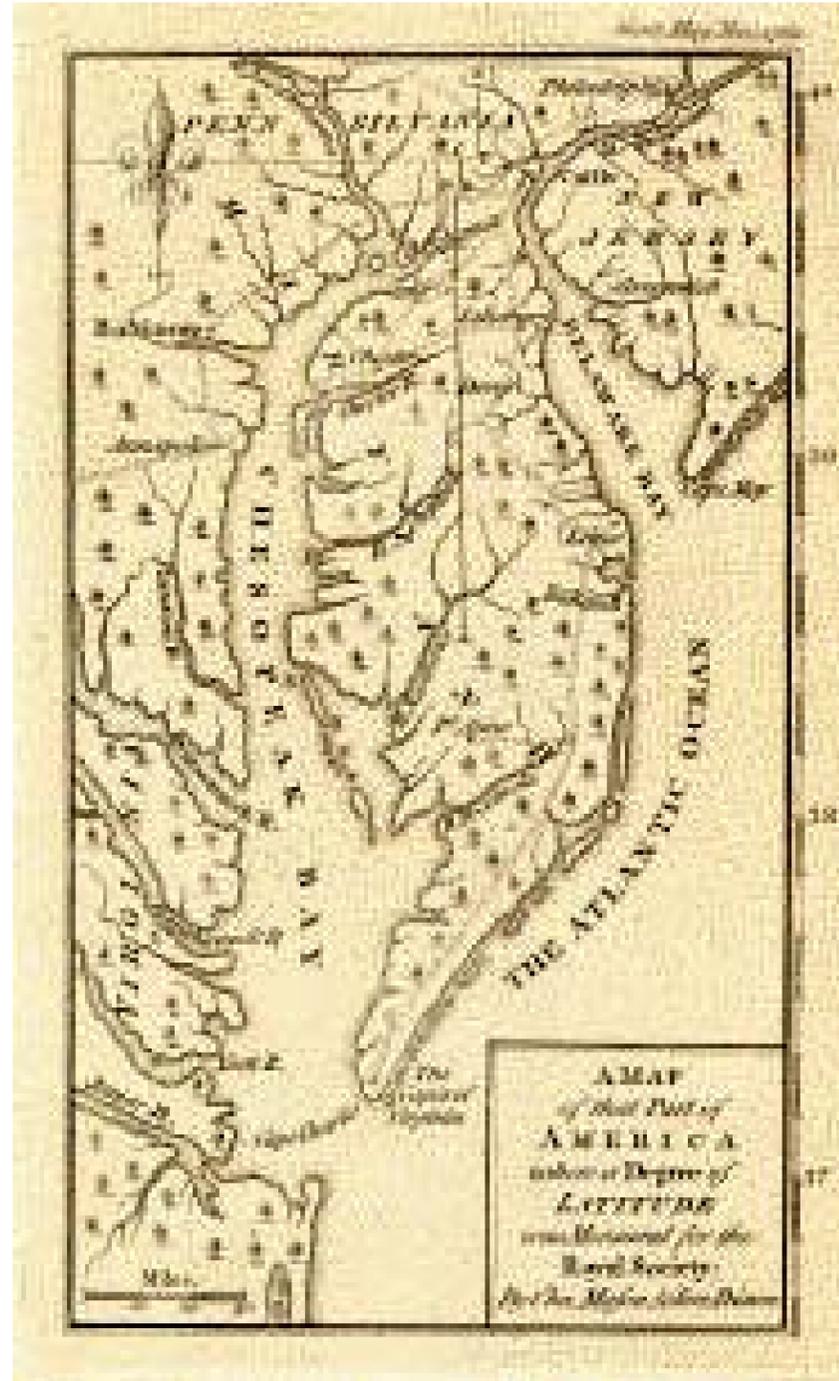
The problem of whether the northern limits of Maryland would reach as far as the actual fortieth degree of north latitude was resolved in 1732 by a compromise that ultimately

placed the boundary slightly farther south (39°43'19" to be precise), resulting in a loss of tens of thousands of acres to Lord Baltimore. Aided by a map drawn by John Senex (fig. n49), which inaccurately located Cape Henlopen according to the Visscher map, the two sides agreed in writing that a line would be surveyed from Cape Henlopen to the midpoint of the peninsula, then northward from the midpoint to another point fifteen miles south of Philadelphia, near the edge of a circle twelve miles in diameter centered on the Dutch settlement at Newcastle, and from there westward as far as Lord Baltimore's charter permitted, presumably "the

true Meridian of the first fountaine of the River of Pattowmeck," wherever that was. To clarify matters, the Senex map was printed and attached to the agreement. It was again printed on vellum in 1760, directly on the official commissions appointing the Maryland and Pennsylvania representatives overseeing Mason and Dixon's survey.²¹

Lord Baltimore soon realized that he did not have the better of the bargain, and for the next twenty years he unsuccessfully fought its implementation in the courts. Finally, in 1750, the chancellor of England, Lord Hardwicke, decreed that Lord Baltimore had no other choice but to accept the

FIGURE 50
 Charles Mason and Jeremiah
 Dixon, *A Map of that Part*
of America where a Degree of
Latitude was measured . . . ,
 from *Gentleman's Magazine*,
 Nov. 1769, Huntingfield Col-
 lection, MSA SC 1399-1-227.



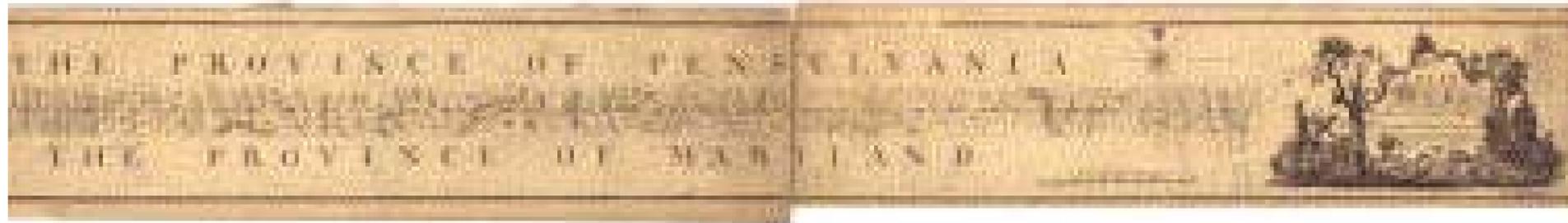


FIGURE 51
 [Charles Mason and
 Jeremiah Dixon], *A Plan of
 the Boundary Lines be-
 tween . . . Maryland and
 Pennsylvania*, 1768, MSA SC
 1427-1-447.

terms of the 1732 agreement. A transpeninsular line was surveyed in 1751. The death of Charles, fifth Lord Baltimore, that same year delayed a promising beginning for a settlement by nearly a decade while his estate was in litigation. Meanwhile, significant details affecting the survey were worked out, including how to measure lines (horizontally as opposed to on the ground) and where to locate the center of Newcastle (at the courthouse). In 1760, proceedings to run the boundary line were revived, and three years later Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon were hired by both sides of the dispute to complete the survey.²²

CHARLES MASON AND JEREMIAH DIXON

The Mason-Dixon journals provide a daily account of their survey from its commencement on 15 November 1763 until September 1768, on the eve of their departure for England. They began by determining the latitude of the northern line at its eastern terminus near Newcastle. They next located the midpoint of the transpeninsular line and ran the north-south line between it and the eastern terminus of the northern line. Finally, they surveyed the northern line westward for 230 miles until they were stopped by Indians at a warpath and

permitted to go no farther. Despite equipment—primitive by modern standards—rough terrain, bad weather, slow payments from the contesting parties, and the threat of Indian attack, Mason and Dixon completed their assignment so well and with such care that subsequent attempts to resurvey their line would find little to dispute. The general public would read of their scientific exploits in the November 1769 issue of *Gentleman's Magazine*, which included a map (fig.n50) from a scientific paper they presented before the Royal Society of London in November 1768. By then a limited edition of a large-scale map of the boundary had been published in Philadelphia (fig.n51). In September 1768, James Smither was paid £12 for engraving two copper plates of Mason and Dixon's map, and it was printed by Robert Kennedy for another £20. These charges were inconsequential compared to the total cost of the survey, as Mathews explains:

The original vouchers still preserved among the manuscripts of the Library of the American Philosophical Society, show that this survey cost the proprietors fully \$75,000. How much more was spent in lawyers' fees, the gathering of testimony, prosecution of trespassers, and worry will never be known. The proprietors remained in

*peaceful possession of their governments scarcely five years before the encounters between the colonists and British soldiery marked the opening of the American Revolution by which these princely domains were wrested from their European owners.*²³

Frederick, the sixth and last Lord Baltimore, did not live to suffer that final indignation.²⁴ He died on 4 September 1771, leaving his bastard son, Henry Harford, to face the loss of Maryland altogether.

IN REVOLT

For Maryland, the American Revolution lasted from 22 June 1774, when the first province-wide convention met in Annapolis to protest British policy in Boston, until 14 January 1784, when Congress, also meeting in Annapolis, ratified the treaty ending the war. Although no major battles were fought on Maryland soil, considerable numbers of men and supplies passed through the state, and the absence of good charts and road maps was keenly felt by both sides. The British supplemented the work of their own Corps of Royal Engineers as published in the *Atlantic Neptune* (fig.n59) with information from Americans. The British commander in chief

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 From Surveying to
 Cartography

FIGURE 52
Edward Bennett Mathews,
The Counties of Maryland,
1773–1776, 1906, in *Maryland*
Geological Survey [Reports], 6,
MSA SC 1213-1-199.

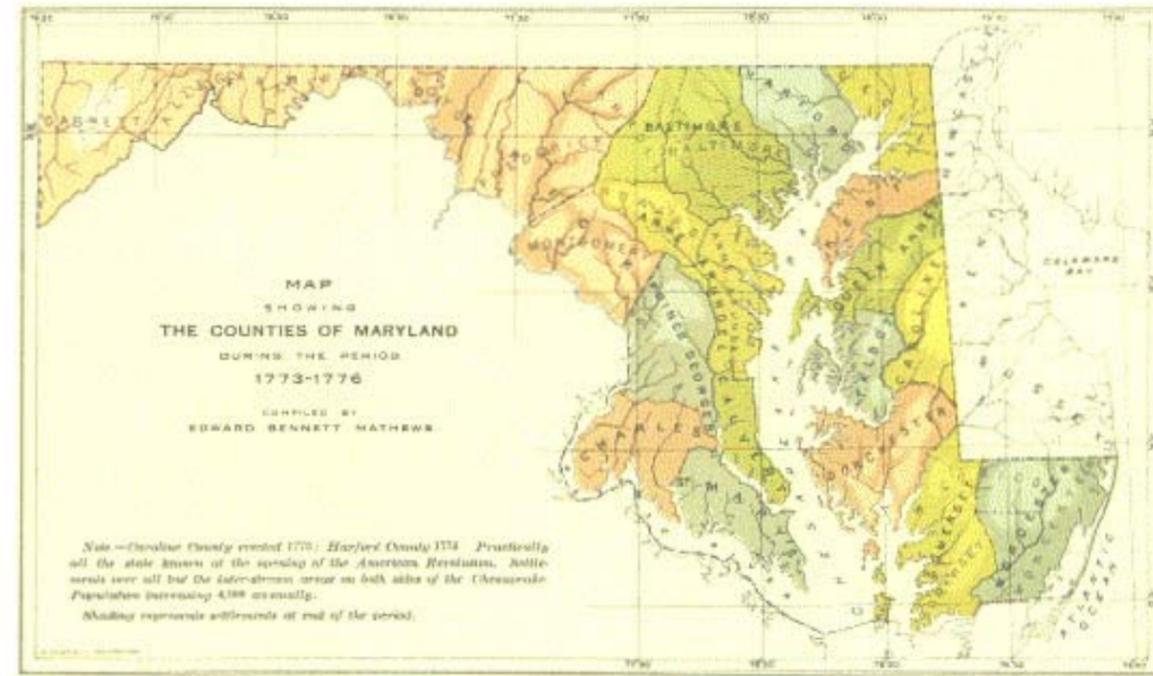
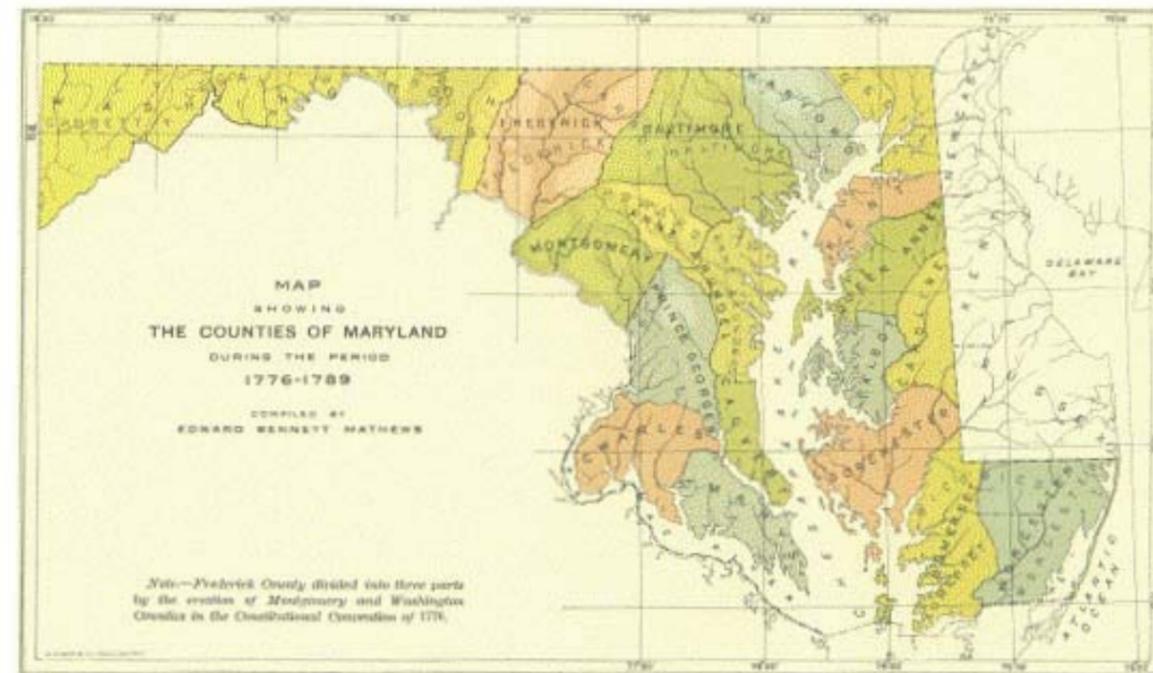


FIGURE 53
Edward Bennett Mathews,
The Counties of Maryland,
1776–1789, 1906, in *Maryland*
Geological Survey [Reports], 6,
MSA SC 1213-1-200.



from 1778 to 1782, Sir Henry Clinton, relied heavily on intelligence from Maryland Loyalists for geographical details about the Chesapeake Bay and the surrounding area. Robert Alexander, a patriot turned Loyalist from Cecil County, even submitted a manuscript map of the Delmarva Peninsula (fig.n54) to accompany his full report on the economic and strategic importance of the region.²⁵ After the defeat at Yorktown, General Clinton made marginal notes on the map, defending his handling of the campaign and suggesting that General Cornwallis, who surrendered to Washington, had not taken his advice (fig.n54).

The American army needed good maps as much as the British. On 26 January 1777 General Washington, who began his career as a surveyor, complained of “the want of accurate maps,” which put him at “a great disadvantage.” He could find none and was “obliged to make shift, with such Sketches as I could trace out from my own Observations and that of Gentlemen around me.”²⁶ On 27 July 1777 he told Congress that “a Good Geographer to Survey the Roads and take Sketches of the country where the army is to act would be extremely useful and might be attended with exceeding valuable consequences.”²⁷

The same day Congress appointed Robert Erskine as geographer and surveyor-general to the Continental Army. Erskine knew that his task was not an easy one, as he pointed out to the commander in chief a few days later:

In planning [mapping] a country a great part of the ground must be walked over, particularly the banks of Rivers and Roads as much of which may be traced and laid down in three hours as could be walked over in one; or in other words a Surveyor who can walk 15 miles a day may plan [map] 5 miles. . . . Six attendants to each

surveyor will be proper to wit two chain bearers, one to carry the instrument, and three to hold flag staffs . . . young gentlemen of Mathematical genius, who are acquainted with the principles of Geometry, and who have a taste for drawing would be the most proper assistants for a Geographer.²⁸

Erskine died in 1780, before the army acquired good Maryland road maps. In August 1781 General Washington wrote to Erskine's successor, Simeon DeWitt, instructing him to continue his mapping to the Head of Elk, near the Maryland-Delaware border. DeWitt did not complete the Maryland portion of his map, however, until after 19 October 1781, the date of the British surrender at Yorktown. Our French allies, who marched through Maryland in the fall of 1781 on the way to Virginia, were left to map their own way south. Fortunately for future generations, the French army cartographers did so with art and precision, producing a singular collection of manuscript maps of their entire route from Rhode Island to Yorktown. Indeed, the earliest known map of the topography of Annapolis (fig.n55) was drawn by Major Pierre Captaine, a French engineer who accompanied LaFayette and his American troops when they encamped near the capital in the spring of 1781.²⁹

Following the defeat of the British at Yorktown in October, Washington's interest in acquiring good maps did not wane. He directed DeWitt on 4 November 1781 to finish mapping the Maryland route "from Hooes Ferry on the Maryland side [of the Potomac] through Piscataway and the best and most direct road from thence to Baltimore. The road from Bladensburg to Baltimore is also to be surveyed."³⁰

In 1783, on the eve of peace, DeWitt asked for funds from Congress to prepare a map of the new United States, but he was rebuffed on the grounds that the Treasury could not bear the expense. Instead, he left national service to work for New York as state geographer. His maps of the roads in Maryland remained in manuscript until 1789, when they were used extensively by Christopher Colles in *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America* (figs.n82a-d).³¹

Without new maps of America, the European demand for cartographic information about the former British colonies, and about Maryland in particular, was met with variations of the Fry-Jefferson map of Virginia and Maryland and the more recent editions of Hoxton's chart. The French (fig.n56) proved more faithful copyists than the Italians, although there is considerable charm and fantasy to Antonio Zatta's *Maryland* . . . published in Venice in 1778 (fig.n57). Zatta

FIGURE 54
[Robert Alexander], [Map of the Delmarva Peninsula], 1781, Clinton Papers #251, William L. Clements Library, MSA SC 1213-1-612.



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Atlas of Historical Maps of
Maryland, 1608–1908

FIGURE 55
Major Pierre Captaine, *Plan
of the Harbour and City of
Annapolis*, 1781, Library of
the Ministry of Defense,
Dépôt de la Guerre, Paris,
MSA SC 1213-1-130.



supplemented Fry and Jefferson with marginal notations about the progress of the war and gave details about place names and Indian tribes borrowed from earlier sources.

Magazines and atlases of the day also carried Fry-Jefferson derivatives such as figure 58, which appeared in 1780. In the same year, the *Atlantic Neptune* attempted to mask an ignorance of geographical detail with heavy shading of the shores of the Bay (fig.n59) in a chart published for the use of the British Navy and the merchant fleet.

Only in the 1790s did there seem to be sufficient demand for a new, more comprehensive map of Maryland. By then

several new counties had been created (figs.n52 and 53) and a number of internal improvements were contemplated to bolster the state's economy and draw the trade of the west to Maryland merchants. Perhaps the success of William Blodgett's map of Vermont, which required a second edition only six months after its publication in January 1789, provided a stimulus.³² Whatever the reasons, Dennis Griffith, a surveyor and former justice of the peace from Anne Arundel County, took up the challenge, obtaining a loan of £1,000 from the Maryland legislature in 1792 to prepare a new map of the state.

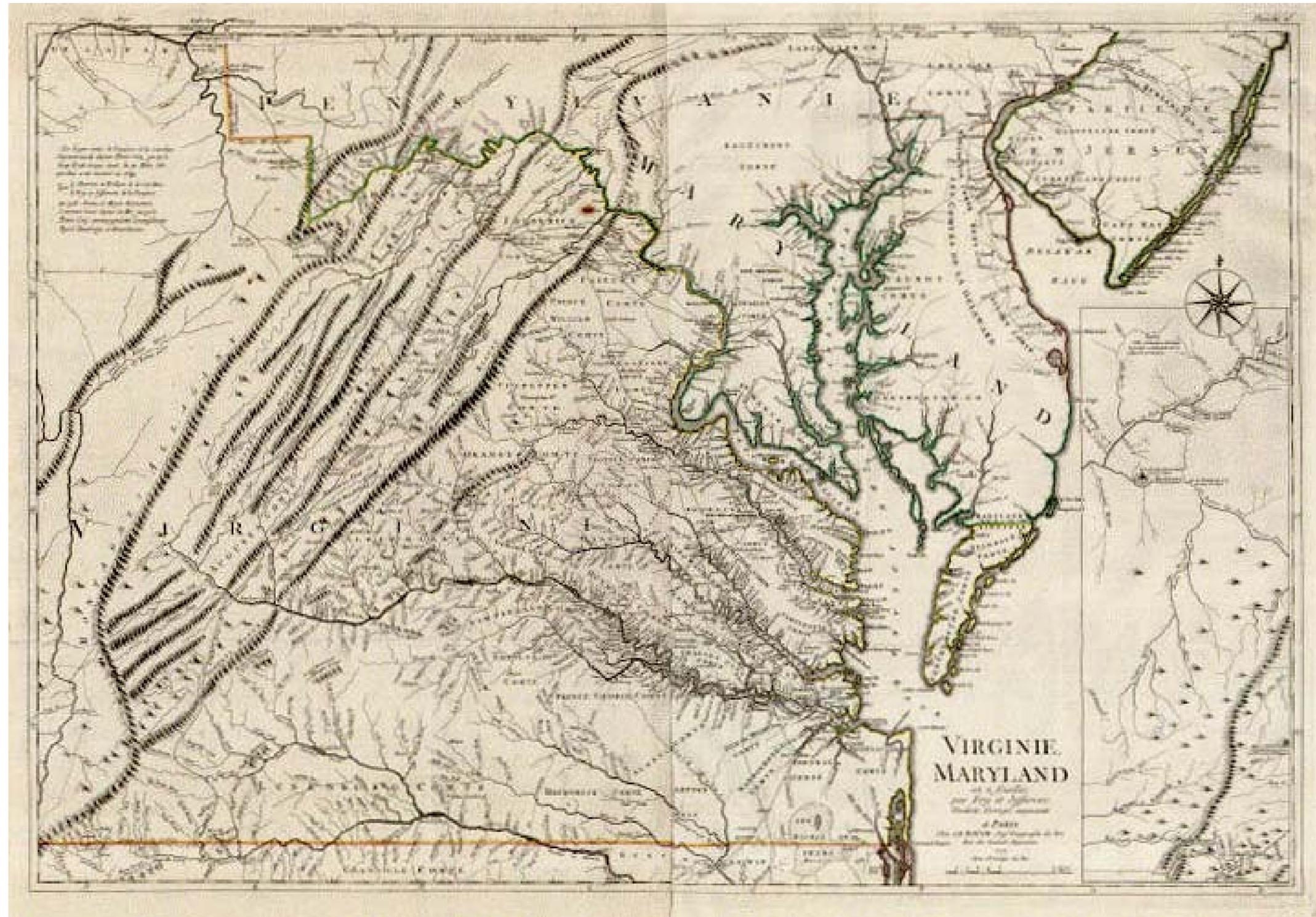


FIGURE 56
G. L. Le Rouge, *Virginie, Maryland en 2 Feuilles Par Fry et Jefferson Traduit . . .*, 1777,
Huntingfield Collection,
MSA SC 1399-1-210.

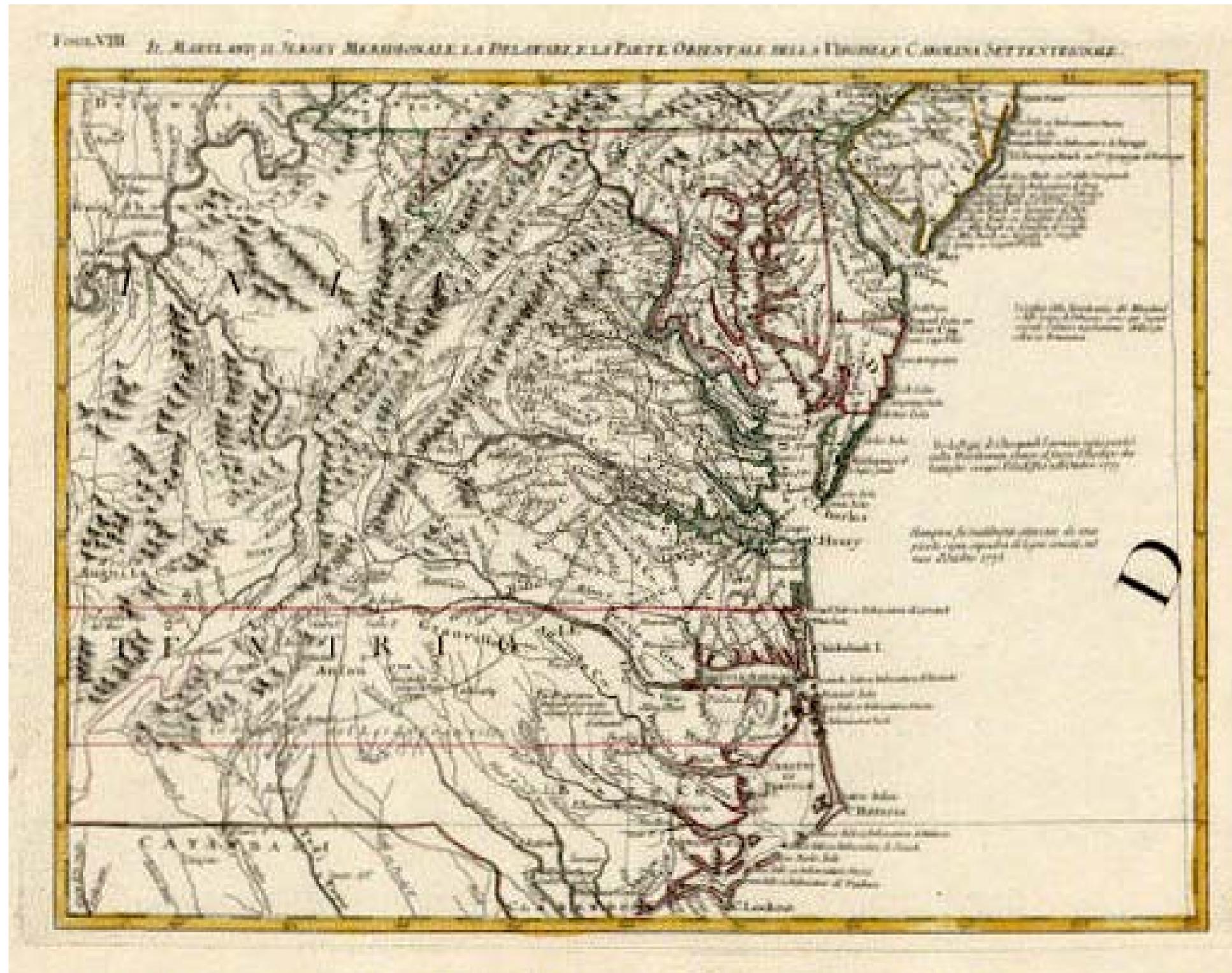
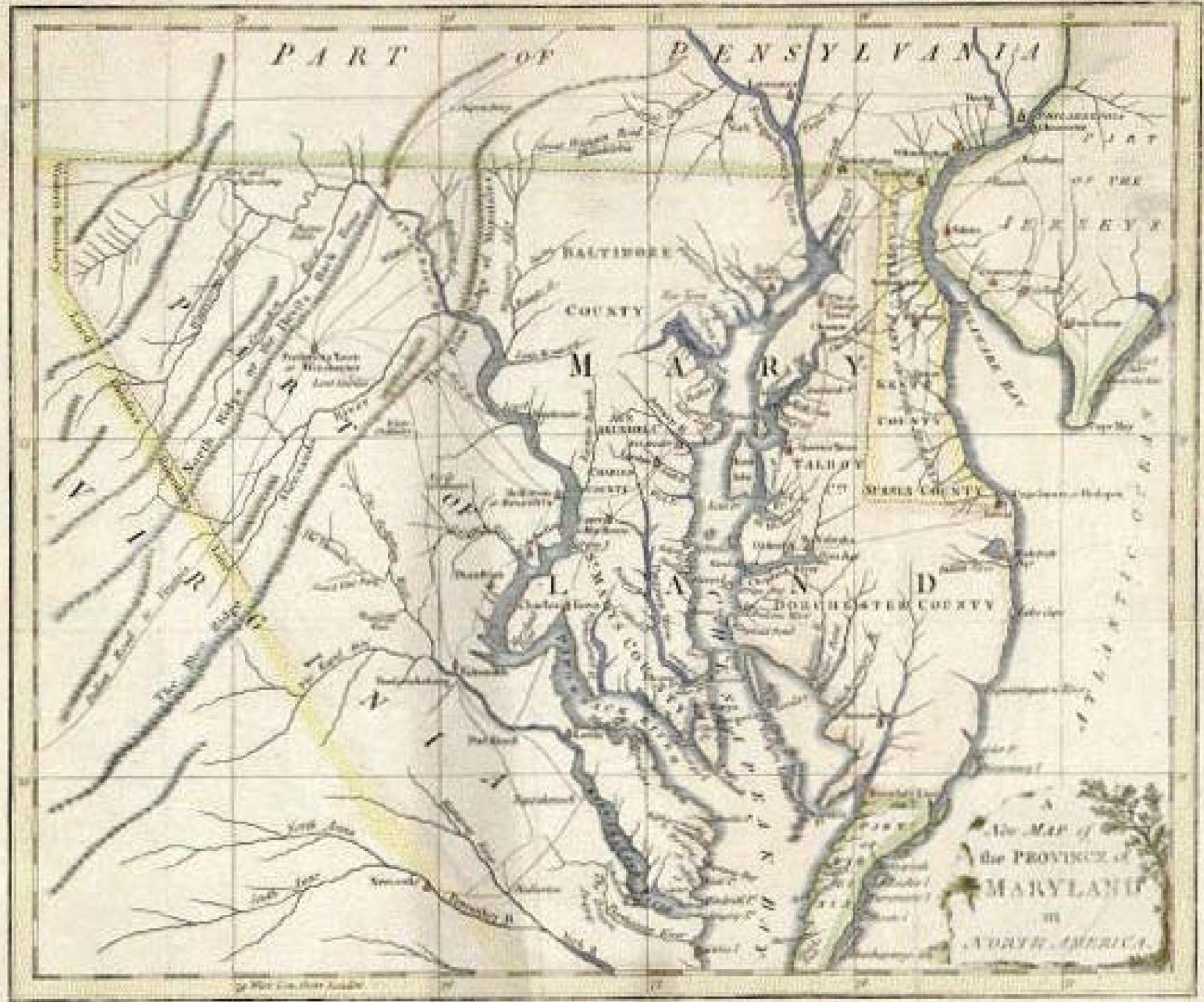


FIGURE 57 (ABOVE)
 Antonio Zatta, *Il Maryland*
 . . . , 1778, Huntingfield Col-
 lection, MSA SC 1399-1-51.

FIGURE 58 (RIGHT)
 John Hinton, *A New Map*
of the Province of Maryland in
North America, in *Universal*
Magazine 66 (1780), Hunt-
 ingfield Collection, MSA SC
 1399-1-231.



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Maryland, 1608–1908

FIGURE 59
Jos. Fred. W. Des Barres,
*A Chart of the Coast of New
York, New Jersey, . . . , &c,*
from *Atlantic Neptune* 3
(1774–1781), Huntingfield
Collection, MSA SC 1399-1-
100.

