

MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF
THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY



VOLUME XXXI

BALTIMORE

1936

run. Why do I say so? I hope in God he is now happy, *thrice happy*, now enjoying the fruits of his thoroughly understanding the awful lessons of divine Wisdom. — Believe me, Dear Sir; I really share with your grief, in the loss of such a promising young man. — I can form ideas of the tenderness of your heart; I know how much, *how very much* his death will affect your extreme sensibility, but let the single consideration, of *his* retreat from sorrow and anxiety, to eternal bliss, repress the turbulency of your, unfeigned sorrow, and if perchance busy memory shou'd intrude, on your, more important reflections, and trouble you with a thought, of your *dear Son*, drop one tributary tear, over his silent grave, as you may then think; from his too early secession from the gay & busy World. At the same (time) I can freely say, that he was universally beloved, by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance, and is now universally regretted. —

Cruelly indeed am I deceived from such a Stroke! Now alas instead of enjoying the pleasure of his agreeable company and conversation, no less distinguished by solidity of remark, than polished elegance of diction.

But alas! the death of your much loved Son, can never, I dare say, be driven from your most solitary retreats.

In every particular which constitutes the (endearments) of life unhappy, you need not repine, fortify your mind with patience & wait with perfect resignation for that day, when the Soul shuffling off this mortal Coil, shall awaken into happiness compleat & joy eternal.

From your own experience I dare say, you may find, that happiness term'd sometimes our beings end and aim, tho' often searched for, is seldom found. Environed by perplexities and dangers, it eludes the activity of the most vigilant observer, endued with the Coolest & most deliberate mind, and enjoying the full exertions of vigorous faculties as well as the rude attempts, of the untutored Sons of nature, attempts projected without thought, and disconcerted with facility —

I flatter myself you will at once perceive my motives for

writing you on this present mournfull occasion, as I assure you they were from an untainted friendship & regard I had & still have for your Sons memory. —

I have directed this to the care of Mess^{rs} Wallace, Johnson & Muir London, to be forwarded by them, for you, first opportunity, and which I hope you will receive safe. — It will afford me a singular satisfaction, if you would take the trouble, to let me have a few lines from you upon the receipt of this, as I will be anxious to hear if it reaches you safe. —

In the mean time attending to your answer,

I am very respectfully, and with much regard,

Dear Sir Your Most Ob^t Serv^t

Alex. Innes.

P. S. You may please direct for me care of William Scott Esq^r Old Assembly Close, Edinburgh. Should you not favour me with a few lines, I shall conclude from your Silence, that you have lookt upon my letter, in an officious point of view, tho' God knows the warmth of my heart.

A. I.

GOVERNOR HORATIO SHARPE RETIRES.

PAUL H. GIDDENS

Allegheny College.

“It is with equal reluctance Lord Baltimore dictates, and my pen transmits his Commands,” began Secretary Hamersley in a letter to Governor Horatio Sharpe of Maryland on July 20, 1768, which informed him of his dismissal from the chief executive's office.¹ In the next sentence, Hamersley named the

¹Horatio Sharpe, *Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe* (Archives of Maryland), William Hand Browne, editor, Baltimore, 1888, Vol. III, p. 515. (Hereinafter referred to as *Sharpe Cor.*)

newly-appointed governor, Robert Eden, a younger brother of Sir John Eden, a brother-in-law of Lord Baltimore, and a lieutenant in the Coldstream Guards. On behalf of Lord Baltimore, Hamersley wrote that "the workings of Nature, the Merit of his Brother in Law, to himself particularly, and the Sollicitations of Relations have at length prevailed, and forced him to take the Painful Resolution of Delegating the Successor to Mr. Eden, for I am thoroughly satisfied, and he has Authorized me to say no other Successor would have been sent you by him, unless you had first desired it."² Apart from this, no reason was given by Lord Baltimore for the removal of Sharpe, who had been governor of Maryland since 1573. Other reasons for the action, however, are gleaned here and there. Sharpe infers in one of his letters that possibly John Morton Jordan of London, the "Supervisor of Accounts Lands and Revenues," may have been somewhat instrumental in arousing the suspicions of proprietor.³ While on a visit to Maryland, Jordan had expressed dissatisfaction over some things and intimated in private social circles that a change in the administration might be expected. From the remarks dropped by Jordan, Sharpe anticipated that his administration was drawing to a close. The governor admitted that during the last two years he had met with some "rubs" that made him uneasy.⁴ A number of his appointments seemed to have "chagrined" Lord Baltimore. He also felt that Reverend Bennett Allen, agent and receiver general of the Land Office, had represented him in an unfavorable light to Lord Baltimore.⁵ One wonders too, whether or not the death of John Sharpe in 1756 and of William Sharpe early in 1768 may not have had an effect upon the proprietor's action. As long as they lived, they were influential in governmental circles of London and often justified and defended the action of their brother to Lord Baltimore. Now that death had stilled their influence, possibly the proprietor felt freer to act

² *Ibid.*, p. 515.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 500.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 537.

⁵ Sharpe to Dr. Gregory Sharpe, December 10, 1768. Original letter in the Library of Congress.

more independently. The whole question of Sharpe's dismissal, however, is a matter for speculation.

The relations between Sharpe and Lord Baltimore always seemed to be most cordial. Frequently they exchanged presents as tokens of the high esteem each held for the other. In 1758, for example, Sharpe sent a dozen dried rattlesnakes to the proprietor.⁶ The following year Lord Baltimore sent the governor a mossy-figured, gold snuff box with the provincial coat of arms engraved upon it.⁷ On more than one occasion Sharpe sent a pipe of old Madeira wine meliorated by the provincial climate and a hogshead of Maryland Burgundy; a dozen excellent hams often accompanied the wine.⁸ Furthermore, expressions of proprietary approval of the governor's conduct and action were most frequently received. In May, 1760, Sharpe assured Lord Baltimore that "the very kind manner in which you have been pleased to signify your Approbation of my Conduct since I have had the honour to serve your Ldp hath made me extremely happy. . . ." ⁹ Four years later Sharpe again wrote, "The kind Terms in which your Ldp was pleased to express your Approbation of my Conduct & of my Endeavours to serve your Ldp & the People over whom I preside give me the highest Satisfaction & manifest your Ldps sincere Regard for & Anxiety to promote the happiness of your Tenants, to advance which hath as I hope your Ldp is persuaded been also my constant Study at the same time I acted up to the Duty I owe your Ldp; & if the affairs of Government have not been carried on with as much harmony as could have been wished I will venture to affirm that the Evil has been owing to the Malevolence & disingenious Behaviour of some who love to fish in none but troubled waters rather than to any Step I have taken since I had the honour to bear your Ldp's Commission."¹⁰ At the time

⁶ *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. II, pp. 227, 298.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 477, 562.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 544, Vol. III, pp. 20, 61, 66, 86, 185.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 402.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 171.

of Sharpe's dismissal, Secretary Hamersley, on behalf of the proprietor said, "The Attention and regard you have constantly paid him, your unwearied Zeal to Promote the Welfare of his Province, the Uninterrupted harmony which has ever subsisted not only between you and him, but between you and every Branch of his Government and even every Individual in that Government and the very acceptable light in which your Services have been constantly rec'd by your King and Country here, all Concur to make his Lordship wish that Connection might have been Co-Extensive with your Lives, unless your own better fortune had first Inclined you to Dissolve the Union."¹¹

The same friendliness seems to have marked the relations of Sharpe and Secretary Calvert.¹² At one time, the governor sent Calvert an Indian scalp; the latter reciprocated by sending Sharpe some English hares and dogs for his pleasant villa.¹³ Once in a long conference with His Majesty, Calvert made a splendid report on Sharpe's conduct.¹⁴ Both Lord Baltimore and Calvert used their influence in governmental circles at various times to secure military commands and other favors for the governor.

That Sharpe was never supremely happy with his position in Maryland is revealed in confidential letters to his brother, William. He said in 1760, "I must confess I have often repented that I quitted the 20th Regt to come to America but as I cannot it seems now hope to get into the Army again on a good Footing I shall endeavour to make the best of my Condition & am in hopes that (if my Lord only does me Common Justice I shall in a few years after the End of the War which has been a very expensive one to me be in Circumstances to live where I list in Case I should then quit this Govern."¹⁵ Journeys to New York, Philadelphia, and other points on His Majesty's service, the frequency and length of the Assembly sessions, and

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 515.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 129.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 142, 168.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 128, 139.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 440.

visits from military officials necessitated spending a considerable part of his salary. When all these items, plus a part of the house rent and the £250 paid annually to Calvert, were deducted from his £1400 salary not much was left against a future day. By 1759, he had spent over a £1,000 in behalf of the public service and had not received one shilling in expense money.¹⁶ "Was it a time of peace," Sharpe wrote in 1757, "or would our Assembly make a reasonable Allowance for my extraordinary Expences on these Occasions, I would not Complain, tho I am obliged to pay so much to Mr. Calvert out of my Sallary which no Governor before 1751 ever did, but really what with the Burden of these Expences & other incidental Charges which the late Ld Baltimore used to make an Allowance for out of the Fines & Forfeitures but which I defray out of my own purse, I really believe I am as ill off as any Governor on the Continent except those that are elective in some of the New England Republican Governments."¹⁷ He informed the proprietor about the "prodigious Decrease" of his revenue in hope that the amount paid to Calvert each year might be lessened. No relief was secured, however. Both William Sharpe and Governor Pownall offered to use their influence to procure for him the governorship of New York, but Sharpe was afraid of the consequences in case they should fail to secure the post and Lord Baltimore heard of it.¹⁸ Besides the salary in New York was not much more than £1600 per year and he did not believe the exchange worth the trouble. William then offered to secure for him the governorship of North Carolina which he declined on account of the unhealthy climate and the undesirable character of the people.¹⁹ Dinwiddie and William Sharpe even tried to get him a coloneley in the regular army, but Lord Ligonier, Albermarle, and Barrington assured them it was impossible.²⁰ If Sharpe could have raised a regiment in America, he might have obtained the commission. As he despaired of

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 350, 351, 372, 442; William Sharpe to Horatio Sharpe, March 28, 1760. Original letter in the Library of Congress.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48, 76, 84-85.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 441.

obtaining a better civil or military position, Sharpe endeavoured to reconcile himself to stay in Maryland. But he advised his brother, Joshua, in 1763, against leaving his law business in England for an office in the colonies. As for himself, he said, "was I in England & in Business by which I could live comfortably I would not for the sake of getting something more make my happiness dependent on the Caprice of others as is the Ease & happiness of every Governor in America."²¹ After witnessing the demonstration against the Stamp Act and the Townshend Acts, he wrote to Dr. Gregory Sharpe, "Should not an End be speedily put to the Disputes and Jealousies now subsisting between Great Britain & her Colonies lucky indeed will that Gov be that can act in such a manner as not to incur Censure either in America or at home, for my own part I think a private Station with a moderate fortune is at such a time preferable to a Governnt especially to one where the Governor is responsible to so many."²²

Though restless and dissatisfied with his position as governor, Sharpe nevertheless rendered valiant service. Both in a civil and military capacity he made an admirable record.²³ His attempts to regulate the lives of the clergy and make them a respectable group, his efforts to promote public education, secondary as well as higher learning, his improvements in the administration in the land office, his military service during the French and Indian War, his impartiality in administering justice, his efforts to secure poor relief, and his liberal attitude towards the Roman Catholic subjects indicate the spirit and character of the man who presided over the colony for sixteen years. No governor seems to have so staunchly supported the

²¹ Sharpe to Joshua Sharpe, December 29, 1763. Original letter in the Library of Congress.

²² Sharpe to Dr. Gregory Sharpe, December, 1768. Original letter in the Library of Congress.

²³ "His character for integrity was unimpeachable but his ability as a Governor was mediocre, and he possessed but little military capacity." Robert Dinwiddie, *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1751-1758*, Richmond, 1883, see Preface, Vol. I, p. 80.

prerogatives of the proprietor and the king and at the same time retained the loyalty of the people. He had the happy faculty of being able to serve the interests of all in an eminently satisfactory manner. The times were troublesome and the position of a colonial governor hard, yet he ably guided the colony through those turbulent years.

Early in October, 1768, Sharpe received word that he had been superseded as governor of Maryland. As the report spread from county to county, people began formulating and sending messages of regret to their beloved governor. Among the first was one from the judges of the provincial court and twenty-one members of the bar. "Permit us, Sir," ran the address, "to express the Regrets we feel, at the Apprehension of being deprived of a Governor, and Chancellor, whose Conduct, in those high stations, cannot fail to meet with the Approbation of our most gracious Sovereign, and the Lord Proprietary, and has for ever ensured to your Excellency, the Gratitude, Esteem, and Respect of the People of Maryland."²⁴ The justices and grand jury of Baltimore county addressed the governor "with a Concern that appears equally to affect all Degrees of People, upon the Advices received of your being shortly to acquit your Administration over them. An Administration eminently distinguished for Justice and Mercy; in which whilst you was giving ample Proofs of an honourable Firmness in Support of his Majesty's Prerogative, and his Lordship's Rights, your Excellency, with a Benevolence of Heart, that we trust entitles you to his Majesty's gracious Approbation, as it assuredly hath endeared you to us, Carefully avoided any Infringement of the Rights of the Subject, thereby preserving the Laws, and that Peace and Happiness, in your Province, which are the chief End of Society, and of Government."²⁵ Especially appreciative was the message from the justices and grand jury of Frederick country who wished "to assure your Excellency, that we entertain a grateful Remembrance of your spirited and

²⁴ *Maryland Gazette*, November 3, 1768.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, November 24, 1768.

humane Conduct during the late War, by which protection was in a particular Manner afforded to the distressed inhabitants of this County, and the Service of the Sovereign greatly promoted.”²⁶ Other messages of commendation and regret came from the justices and grand juries of Anne Arundel, St. Marys, Kent, Prince George, Talbot, and Charles counties.²⁷ The public officials of the city of Annapolis also thanked the governor for the many favors conferred upon its inhabitants and for preserving their persons and property from violence on several critical occasions.²⁸ Thirty-five clergymen of the Established Church expressed their grateful appreciation for his veneration of religion, his exemplary attendance on public worship, and the respect and care shown to the clergy.²⁹

Truly the governor could write to his brother, “I now quit the Station I have filled here with as much applause as I could ever have expected to do.”³⁰ But, he added, “Had I obtained the good Opinion of the people here at the Expence of any Right of His Ldps or by not discharging my Duty to the Crown & punctually obeying the Orders communicated to me from time to time by His Majesty’s Ministers I should consider the Compliments now paid Me as a Reflection on my Conduct.”³¹ He pointed out, moreover, that he could not be accused of any such faults and that the journal of the lower house would prove his assertion. “In a word,” he concluded, “I have endeavoured to act in my publick Capacity like an honest Man & am under no apprehensions lest anything should be laid to my Charge that I may be ashamed of if put to Tryal be unable to justify, & for acting such a part I am sure of yours & the approbation of my own mind.” When William Eddis arrived in the colony

²⁶ *Ibid.*, November 24, 1768.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, December 1, 1768, August 17, 1769.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, February 16, 1769.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, May 25, 1769.

³⁰ Sharpe to Dr. Gregory Sharpe, December 10, 1768. Original letter in the Library of Congress.

³¹ Sharpe to Dr. Gregory Sharpe, December 10, 1768. Original letter in the Library of Congress.

in 1769, he observed that Sharpe “by the variable rectitude of his conduct, the affability of his manners, and his unremitting attention to the happiness and prosperity of Maryland, had established a well merited popularity, which, during an administration of sixteen years, continued in full force, and has secured to him the unabated love, and attachment of a grateful people.”³²

On Monday, June 1, 1769, the vessel carrying Governor Robert Eden and his family anchored near Annapolis.³³ A salute of seven guns announced the arrival of the new magistrate. The next morning Eden produced his commission before the council and received from Sharpe the great seal of the province. Thus ended the administration of Governor Horatio Sharpe.

Sharpe did not leave the colony immediately; he took up his residence at Whitehall, a fine country home on Chesapeake Bay, eight miles from Annapolis. The beautiful residence had been built by Sharpe and stands today as a monument to the good workmanship of the eighteenth century. No economy of money or space hindered the building of Whitehall; comfort, beauty, and utility dominated its construction. It was of the familiar Georgian style with the large central portion and wings. Four huge columns of stone painted white, extending from the ground to the second floor supporting a heavy Grecian canopy, give an imposing appearance as one approaches the front entrance.³⁴ Inside, there was an abundance of superb woodcarving which, according to the story, was done by a young convict servant. Whitehall was furnished luxuriously and reflected the owner’s fine taste. Back of the house was the garden with its flowers, slips, and shrubs, some of which were imported from Holland, England, and France. A fine brickyard and a saw-

³² William Eddis, *Letters from America, Historical and Descriptive; Comprising Occurrences from 1769 to 1777 inclusive*, London, 1792, p. 38.

³³ *Maryland Gazette*, June 8, 1769.

³⁴ Lady Matilda Edgar, *A Colonial Governor in Maryland*, New York, 1912, pp. 188-190, 245; John Martin Hammond, *Colonial Mansions of Maryland and Delaware*, Philadelphia, 1914, pp. 77-82.

mill had been early erected on the thousand acre estate. In addition to these, an old mill had been converted into a loom and spinning factory where wool, cotton, and flax were spun to make clothes for the master's slaves. Of Whitehall, Eddis said, "Colonel Sharpe, the late Governor, possesses a most delightful retirement, about seven miles distant; his house is on a large scale, the design is excellent, the apartments well fitted up, and perfectly convenient. The adjacent grounds are so judiciously disposed, that utility and taste are every where happily united; and when the worthy owner has completed his extensive plan, Whitehall will be one of the most desirable situations in this, or any of the neighboring provinces."³⁵

After retiring to Whitehall, Sharpe spent most of his time managing the estate and sharing his generous hospitality with friends. "This gentleman," Eddis observed, "does not seem to entertain any idea of returning to his native land, but appears inclined to spend the residue of his days, within the limits of a province, which he has so long governed with honour to himself, satisfaction to the people, and fidelity to his sovereign."³⁶ Many a party of young people assembled there and danced to the music of an old spinet. Young people were particularly fond of the gracious host and many boatloads sailed from Annapolis round Greenbury Point to visit this charming country home. That free and easy life did not last long, for in 1773 Sharpe returned to England because of family affairs. He set sail from Maryland on July 10, 1773, leaving the management of his estate to John Ridout.

From across the sea Sharpe watched the brewing conflict between the colonies and mother country. On July 4, 1775, he wrote that the contest made him "extremely unhappy, not only on my own account but that of my country, and if no favourable offer arrives, and that speedily, from your side of the water, I shall lose all hope of a reconciliation. May God avert it. My heart bleeds for America as well as England."³⁷ But the catastrophe was not averted and the old governor lived to see the

³⁵ Eddis, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

³⁷ Edgar, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

sturdy American colonies win independence, and establish a federal union. In 1790, Sharpe died at Hampstead at the age of seventy-two and the ownership of Whitehall passed to John Ridout, long-time friend and companion.

NEW RINEHART LETTERS.

EDITED BY WILLIAM SENER RUSK.

Several years ago a body of letters by and about William H. Rinehart, Maryland's most distinguished sculptor, and addressed for the most part to Mr. W. T. Walters, was transferred from the files of his son, the late Mr. Henry Walters, to the library of the Peabody Institute, and there bound and accessioned. To the Trustees is due the preservation of these absorbing mementos, tending as they do to provide a third dimension for a personality of unusual vividness and friendliness.

The collection opens with fourteen letters from the sculptor, thirteen of them to his chief patron, W. T. Walters. Centering about Rinehart's illness and death are five letters from sculptor friends in Rome to Mr. Walters, including one dictated by the sculptor himself. A letter from one sculptor friend to another and the last codicil of the Rinehart Will follow. The next group of letters consists of twenty-one from John W. Paine of Troy, N. Y., to the sculptor, regarding the commissions he had given him, and eight letters from Mr. Paine to Mr. Walters and others, after Rinehart's death. A letter from the Collector of Customs in New York eventually makes clear the receipt of the monument concerned. Some thirty-three letters from Mr. W. H. Herriman to Mr. Walters during the period the former was acting for the executors, Messrs. Walters and Newcomer, in closing the sculptor's studio, provide an adequate picture of the esteem in which Rinehart was held in Rome. The large volume concludes with miscellaneous items, such as a letter