MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Wye House, Home of the Lloyds
Talbot County

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

June · 1953

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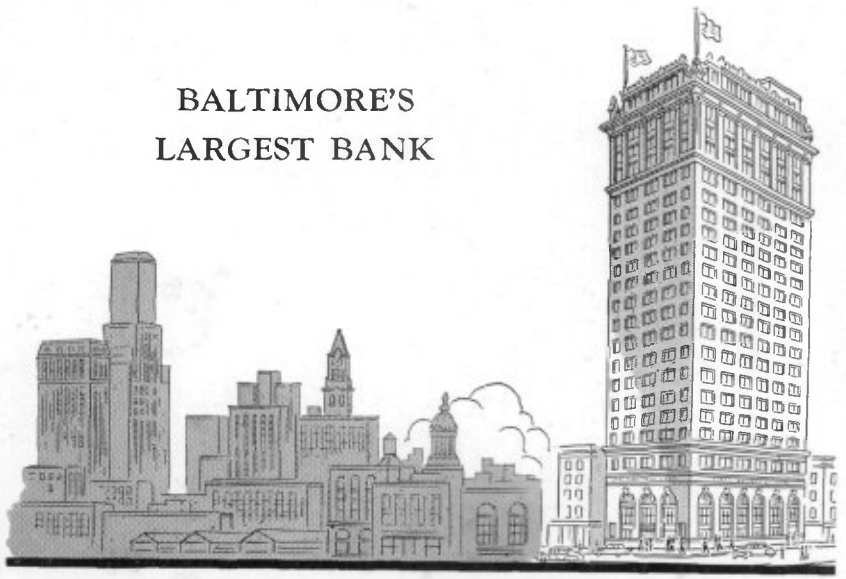

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2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLVIII JUNE, 1953 Number 2

WYE HOUSE

By J. DONNELL TILGHMAN

WYE House, in Talbot County, is outstanding among the old estates of Maryland and perhaps of the nation.[1] There are colonial and early Federal houses of greater beauty and better architectural design. There are old gardens more extensive and more imposing. There are families who have served their states and their country in higher and more important offices than those held by succeeding generations of the Lloyds. But in no other colonial residence in Maryland are these qualities combined in so great a degree as at Wye House. In addition, there are other distinctions. The orangerie is the only one left in the upper South, and there are few places that have been the home of one family for ten generations, only a few years short of three centuries.

The house is located some distance back from the southern

[1] Two articles concerning Wye House have appeared previously in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. Both were written by McHenry Howard: "Lloyd Graveyard at Wye House, Talbot County, Maryland," XVII (1922), 20-33, and "Wye House, Talbot County, Maryland," XVIII (1923), 293-299.

branch of Wye River on a cove now silting up, but which, originally, must have provided excellent harbor. The location, like that of most early tidewater houses, was determined by good anchorage and accessibility by water.

Today, of course, as through certainly half of its history, Wye House is approached from the land side. The entrance, known to generations of the Lloyd family as the " top road gate," is one half mile from the house. The high, wrought iron gates, erected in 1929, were made at Lenno on Lake Como in Italy. A double avenue frames a vista of the distant portico. The inner rows of trees are oaks and beeches, symmetrically planted. The two outer rows are a dense growth of cedars, hollys, and the deciduous trees that spring up along every Maryland fencerow.

About three hundred yards from the house the road divides to enclose a long, oval pasture. The two branches cross a ha-ha and meet in a formal circle on the lawn at the south front of the house.

In plan, the clapboarded house is typical of the Maryland colonial dwelling of central pavilion with two lower, symmetrical wings. Wye House is unusual in that main house and the pavilions of both wings have low, gabled roofs presenting pediments, of classic proportion, to the front. The connecting links are typically low. Each wing ends in a still lower, hipped roof addition whose ridge pole parallels the long axis of the house. The whole building presents a symmetrical, balanced mass of unusually fine proportions.

On the other side, of the house, a wide veranda crosses the entire north front of the main pavilion and overlooks a rectangular lawn, or bowling green, at whose far end stands the orangerie. Box hedges, backed by high shrubs and trees, flank the bowling green and behind these, to either side and extending beyond the orangerie, lie the formal gardens and the family graveyard.

Midway between the house and the orangerie, the garden is crossed by a path which forms the minor axis of the landscape scheme. The gate at the east end of this walk centers on a sunken spot in the ground which marks the location of the older Wye House. Until it was filled, in the early years of this century, this depression was identifiable as a cellar hole and in spots the bricks of the foundation walls were still visible.

A few feet to the north stands a small, story and a half house of whitewashed brick. Though known for many generations as the

"Captain's House," since it was the dwelling, during most of the 19th century, of the master of the Wye House sailing vessel, it is actually the north "wing" of the old house. That this was a free standing dependency is evidenced by the fact that the gable end shows no trace of either bricked up door nor the walls and roof of any connecting passage. There is a possibility, which could be checked by excavation, that there was a balancing dependency to the south.

The main house of this group appears to have been standing as early as 1685. An inventory of that date of the estate of Col. Philemon Lloyd lists the following rooms: hall, upper chamber, blue chamber, study chamber, back chamber, Madam Lloyd's room, nursery, kitchen, kitchen loft, linen closet, and store.[2] This suggests that the main house may have been of two full stories or that there was, at that time, a south dependency balancing the present Captain's House.

The extensive Lloyd papers, recently deposited with the Society and with the Talbot County Library, may eventually, when given thorough study, give a complete and accurate story. Until evidence to the contrary is found, one may safely accept the family tradition that the Captain's House is the earliest structure. This is well borne out by the architectural design. Though the interior trim and mantels are obviously of later date than the walls, the steep roof and the massive north chimney suggest a building that may well be among the oldest still standing in the state. This chimney, with its ornamental bands and its brick pilaster, has few counterparts in Maryland and strongly suggests the influence of Jacobean models in England. A small brick addition to this end of the house was evidently erected in the 19th century.

The records of Talbot County show that court was held in June of 1663 at the house of Edward Lloyd.[3] It is quite possible that that court was held in this building, since there is neither evidence nor tradition suggesting that Edward Lloyd ever lived on any of his other Talbot County lands.

Edward Lloyd, the first of his name in Maryland, had been a settler in Virginia as early as 1636 and served, at one time, as

[2] Inventories and Accounts 8, f. 398-406; Inventories and Accounts 9, f. 244, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[3] Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County* (Baltimore, 1915), I, 142.

Burgess from Lower Norfolk County.[4] He was one of the religious non-conformists who underwent minor persecution in that colony and took a leading part in the emigration, in 1650, of the Virginia Puritans to Lord Baltimore's more tolerant Proprietary. He settled in Anne Arundel County and immediately began to play an important role in the affairs of Maryland. As early as 1654 he was a member of the General Assembly, thereby starting a tradition in the Lloyd family. For two and a half centuries, each succeeding owner of Wye House served in either colonial, state, or national legislative bodies and held many other military and civil offices. This first Edward Lloyd was also Commander of Anne Arundel County, Commissioner to the Susquehanna Indians, Burgess for Anne Arundel County and Member of Council. He was appointed commissioner in 1663 to confer with Virginia commissioners with regard to a cessation of tobacco planting.

He acquired much land, by patent and purchase, in both Anne Arundel and Talbot Counties. The bulk of his holdings were in Talbot, a fact which probably influenced his move to that county. In 1658 he acquired, by patent, six hundred acres, called "Linton," on the shores of Wye River. He shortly purchased one hundred and fifty acres adjoining on the west and called "The Grange." Wye House and its gardens are, as far as can be determined, close to the boundary of these two tracts.[5] Edward Lloyd could therefore have taken up residence here as early as 1660. He remained here only a short time and returned to England in 1668, leaving his Maryland plantations and affairs in the hands of his twenty-two year old son, Philemon.

Philemon Lloyd, a year earlier, had been commissioned Captain commanding the horse in Chester and Wye Rivers and was later commissioned colonel. He was a member of the Quorum of Talbot County, represented Talbot in the General Assembly and was speaker of the lower house from 1678 to 1685. In 1682 he was appointed one of the commissioners to treat with the northern Indians at Fort Albany. He married, in 1668 or 1669, Henrietta

[4] For genealogy of Lloyd family, see Christopher Johnston, "Lloyd Family," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VII (1912), 420-430; Oswald Tilghman, "Lloyd Family," *ibid.*, VIII (1913), 85-87; George A. Hanson, *Old Kent* (Baltimore, 1876), p. 28 *et seq.* The owners of Wye House are treated at some length in Tilghman, *Talbot County*, I, 132-228.

[5] Howard, "Wye House," *op. cit.*, p. 293.

Maria, widow of Richard Bennett and daughter of Captain James Neale and Anne Gill.[6]

Philemon Lloyd never succeeded to the ownership of Wye House as his death occurred in 1685, some years before that of his father, Edward. His widow, Henrietta Maria Lloyd, continued to reside at Wye House until her death in 1697.

When Edward Lloyd died in London, in 1696, he willed Wye House to his oldest grandson, Edward son of Philemon. From then, until a few decades ago, Wye House has been owned by a succession of Edward Lloyds. Many writers, for sake of brevity or clarity, have fallen into the habit of referring to these men as Edward II or IV, as though they had been kings instead of planters. But their descendants have always referred to them in simpler and more familiar terms, identifying them by their military or civil titles or, more usually, by their wives; " the Edward who married Elizabeth Tayloe," or, " the one who married Alicia McBlair."

The second Edward to own Wye House married Sarah Covington in 1703. He was a justice of Talbot County and member of Assembly. He was appointed member of Council in 1701 and was President of Council at the death of Governor John Seymour. He

[6] Henrietta Maria Lloyd is perhaps better known to Marylanders of today than any of the men of the Lloyd family, no matter how important their services to the country may have been. She probably vies with Mistress Margaret Brent for the distinction of being the most famous woman of early Maryland. According to tradition she was named for Queen Henrietta Maria who was, it is claimed, her godmother. The descendants of Henrietta Maria Lloyd appear to be exceptionally numerous, a thing explained by the fact that any one descended from her knows it, no matter how ignorant he or she may be of the rest of their ancestors, and claims that descent with intense pride. This pride cannot be explained by the usual reasons for there is no record that this woman accomplished anything unusual for one of her time and position. Nor is there any tradition that she did among her descendants (of whom this writer is, as proudly as the rest, one). In all probability, Henrietta Maria Lloyd was a woman of such outstanding virtues, of such graciousness and generosity, such charm, intelligence and warmth, that she was greatly beloved during her life. Her memory must have persisted vividly. Grandchildren who had known her told of her to great grandchildren born after her death and in a generation or two she became the beautiful and romantic legend she remains today. The epitaph on her handsomely carved tomb at Wye House seems to bear out this explanation of her fame.

" Shee that now takes her Rest within this t[omb]
had Rachell's face and Lea's fruitefu[ll womb]
Abigall's wisdom Lydea's faithfu[ll heart]
with Martha's care and Mary's be[tter part]
Who died the 21st day of M [ ]
Dom 1697 Aged 50 years [ ]
Months 23 dayes
To whose memory Richard [Bennett]
Dedicates this tom[b] "

was, therefore, acting governor of the colony until the arrival of Governor John Hart in 1714. In the provincial militia he held the unusual rank of major general.

When Maj. Gen. Edward Lloyd died, in March, 1718/9, his sons were still children. His young widow was married, in 1721, to James Hollyday. Family records show that the Hollydays lived at Wye House until the next Edward Lloyd attained his majority. James and Sarah Hollyday then moved to Queen Anne's County and were the builders there of Readbourne.[7]

This Edward Lloyd married Anne Rousby. He represented Talbot County in the Assembly and was later member of Council and Agent and Receiver General of the Province. When he died in 1770, Wye House was inherited by his eldest son, Edward, the builder of the present dwelling.

Though little is now known about the older house, which had been the home of five generations, family papers reveal a great deal about the life lived in it. Letters, inventories, copies of orders on London agents, bills and account books, all of them still to be carefully studied, indicate that there is considerable foundation for the popular, romantic ideas about life on the great colonial plantations of Maryland. The basis of the family wealth was, of course, land and tobacco. The land was counted in many thousands of acres and the great tobacco crop was shipped direct to London in a private cargo vessel which returned to Wye River laden with goods ordered by the Lloyds and, frequently, by their friends and relatives on neighboring plantations. London agents purchased for them books, clothes, china, silver, linen, and household furnishings, all in the latest styles. Seeds and plants were imported, as were carriages and agricultural implements.

In addition to the cargo vessel, the family maintained a private yacht which was doubtless used primarily for travel rather than as a pleasure craft.[8] The sailing vessel was maintained until well past the middle of the 19th century.[9] There is, also, at Wye House, as at many other old Eastern Shore houses, the tradition of the open boat, rowed by several negro servants, which was used for

[7] For an account of this house see Thomas T. Waterman, "Readbourne, Queen Anne's County," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLV (1950), 95-103.

[8] Howard, "Wye House," *op. cit.*, p. 295.

[9] Alicia Lloyd (Mrs. T. Harrison Oliver, 1855-1942) recalled trips, as a child, to Annapolis and Baltimore on the family schooner.

local travel and visiting.[10] Within a few miles by water, on Wye and Miles Rivers and Eastern Bay, stood many other plantation houses. Most of them were inhabited by cousins of the Lloyds and the bonds of kinship were strong. Letters show that in spite of what we today consider the difficulties of early travel, the social life of the Eastern Shore tidewater counties was just as full of visiting and entertainments as it is in an age of automobiles and hard-surfaced roads, of power cruisers and outboard motors.

The house that was the focus of this life must, from its early date, have been a relatively simple one. But the gardens which it overlooked were more in keeping. It is not known by whom or at what date these gardens were laid out. That they antedate the present house is certain. The landscape scheme, considered from the point of view of the original house is a balanced and symmetrical one. Considered from the existing house, it is neither. The location of the old main house centers on one axis of the gardens whereas the present house is not only many feet off the other axis but also at a distinct angle, a discrepancy too great to have been an error in the laying out of the grounds or in the locating of the dwelling.[11]

Consider the present cross axis of the garden as the main axis and the old scheme immediately reveals itself. The old house faced east towards the now silted up cove and west across a rectangular lawn. In the far right hand corner of this lawn, facing south, stood the orangerie. From its far back corner ran a high brick wall, still in existence, which formed the northern boundary of the gardens.

One may assume the possibility of a balancing building, facing north, in the left corner of the lawn and another brick wall forming the south boundary. Both walls ended at the deep ditch, still in existence, which formed the west boundary and an invisible barrier, like a ha-ha, against stock grazing in the fields beyond. The space between the walls appears to have been divided into long rectangles enclosed by box hedges. Four of these still exist and there may well have been two more to the east of them. The

[10] Charles Howard Lloyd (1859-1929) recalled that one of these boats, falling into decay, was drawn up on the shore at Wye House during his boyhood. He described it as a large, round bottom rowboat, similar to a Coast Guard long boat.

[11] A sketch plan of the gardens, which, among other less important inaccuracies, fails to show the crooked position of the house in the landscape scheme, can be found in *Landscape Architecture* (January, 1933), p. 119.

path dividing them through the center is the cross axis of the present garden but was the main axis of the old and centers on the site of the original main house.

If the box hedges of the west end of the garden were kept trimmed and low, as probably they were, from the old house one could have looked across them to the wide sweep of Shaws Bay and the mouth of Wye River. Today that view is almost completely obscured, not only by the high shrubbery of the garden but also by trees along several fencerows and along the shore of the river.

There is considerable evidence of the former existence of a dependency balancing the orangerie and of the wall extending from it. When plumbing was installed in the early years of this century, traces of foundation walls were encountered in digging trenches for pipes just north of the west wing of the existing house. Unfortunately, no note was made of their location. In recent months, remains of a wide area of brick paving have been discovered just a few inches below the surface of the ground at the south of the house. Quite possibly, the former building was a stable and coach house, the brick paving its yard or court. Whatever building stood here would have been torn down to make way for the dwelling of today.

The reasons for the present house being off axis and located at a slight angle to the gardens are obscure if not actually mysterious. The only plausible solution that offers itself is the possibility that the long avenue existed before the house was built. If it is assumed that there was a south dependency and that it was a stable and carriage house, this solution appears logical. The avenue could then have continued across the present big circle and lawn and approached this dependency or entered the grounds through a gate in the south brick wall, one which would have, approximately, balanced the opening in the existing north wall which gives entrance to the graveyard. Such a road might have curved up to the west front of the old house in a semi-circle. This possibility is suggested by the fact that today there are traces of a slightly raised semi-circle in such a position, followed in the existing garden by flower beds and a grass walk.

The old avenue may well have been laid out by eye and the fact that it was at a slight angle to the garden scheme would never have been noticed until an attempt was made to center the new

house on it. If this is the explanation, the builders chose wisely in centering the house on the axis of the avenue rather than upon that of the garden. Few visitors ever notice the discrepancy, though the line of the avenue, continued through the middle of the house and down the back lawn at an angle, hits the orangerie many feet to the west of its center.

It is impossible to give an accurate, documented date for the building of the present house. For the present it can only be stated that the family was still living in the old house in 1770, for the inventory of Edward Lloyd's estate, in that year, lists chattels by rooms and clearly indicates the old house. On April 18, 1792, Edward and Elizabeth Lloyd scratched their names and the date on a window pane of the existing house. For the rest, Wye House papers are filled, throughout these years and well into the next century, by references to extensive building. For example, there are references in 1773 to " the new house on Wye." [12] A letter from Richard Grason, the agent or overseer at Wye House, addressed to Edward Lloyd at Annapolis, November 22, 1774, states, " the new house I expect, will be covered tomorrow." This could be Wye House but also it could be any of numerous other houses on the vast Lloyd holdings.

More interesting are references to Robert Key, architect of, among other buildings, the second St. Anne's Church in Annapolis.[13] Accounts with him were settled by Edward Lloyd as early as 1775 and continued at least until 1798.[14] But only in the accounts of those later years is it definitely stated that the work was at Wye House. Probably, Robert Key was architect for several additions and changes made in the house in its early years and there is, of course, the possibility that the original designs came from his hand.

Around the building of Wye House there has, for many years, centered a legend, largely untrue. This story has it that the present house was built because the old house was looted and burned by the British during the Revolution. The story was handsomely em-

[12] Edward Lloyd account book, pp. 127-128 (deposit), Maryland Historical Society.
[13] Annie Leakin Sioussat (ed.), Rebecca Key's " A Notice of Some of the First Buildings with Notes of Some of the Early Residents," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIV (1919), 269.
[14] Lloyd MSS and Edward Lloyd account book (deposits), Maryland Historical Society. For this reference and many others, I am indebted to Rosamond Randall (Mrs. Francis F.) Beirne.

broidered with the fiction that part of the loot was silver and this, coming later into the possession of the British royal family, was identified by its coat of arms and returned to the Lloyd family.

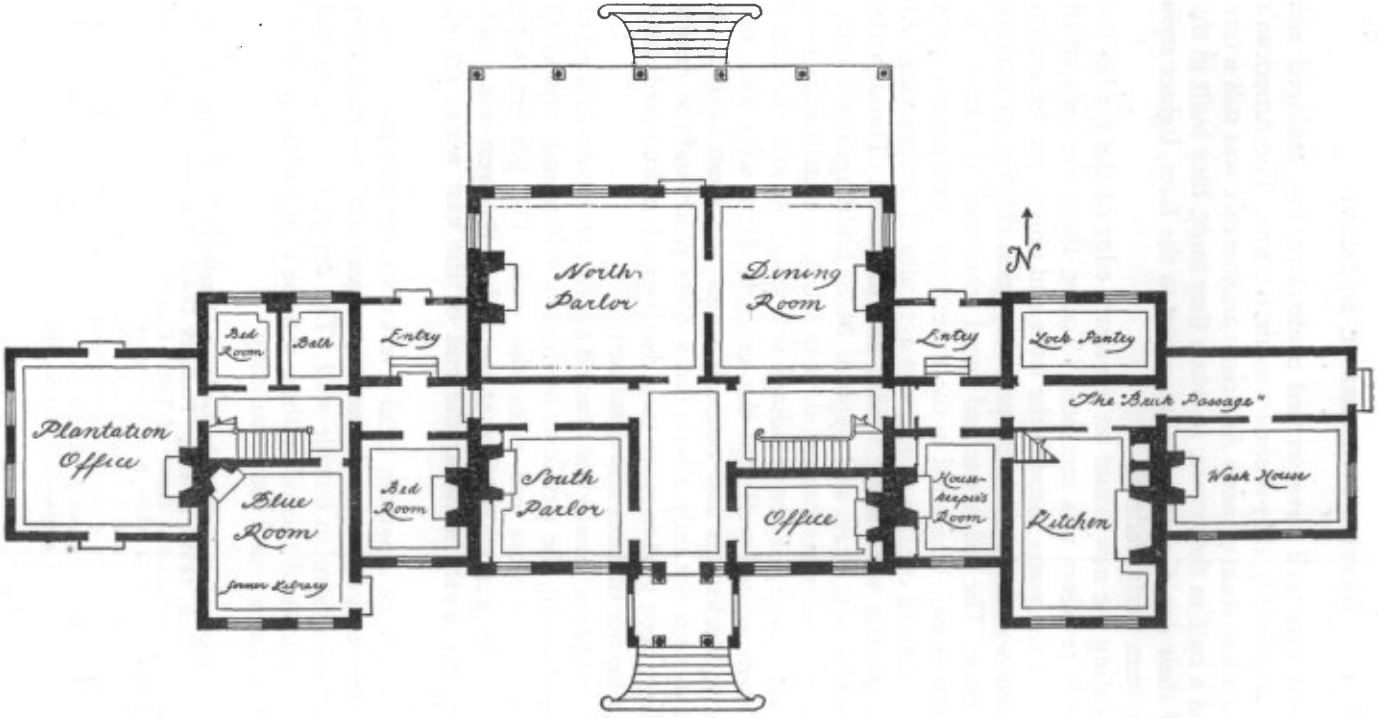
That the Lloyds' home was looted the night of March 13, 1781, has long been well documented. But there has never been any evidence for the burning and only recently has the complete and detailed story come to light.[15] It is now established that the raiders were not members of the British forces. They are spoken of as pirates. "'Tis not doubted they were the people of Tangier Island, & probably without any [British] commission." The pirates were spoken of as deserters from the army who used Tangier Island as headquarters. These bands so terrified the community that at least three prominent families, the Lloyds, Bordleys, and the Tilghmans of Bayside, moved inland to places of greater safety.

During the raid, the members of the Lloyd family were offered no violence. The pirates stole not only money, jewelry, and silver, but bonds, linen, clothing, firearms, boats, and even a set of damask curtains. The list is still in existence among the Wye House papers. One of the raiders, however, was captured and the loot in his possession returned to the Lloyds. It has been established that some of this loot was silver. Herein, in all probability, rests the origin of the legend of loot returned by the Crown.

No mention is made in any document of the burning of the house and Edward Lloyd, in petitioning for an abatement of taxes because of his losses, made no mention of the loss of his dwelling. The legend has always had it that the original house was the one raided, but the references to building, mentioned above, make it possible that the new house was already built by 1781 and could have been the one subjected to looting.

The reasons for the building of the newer house are probably quite commonplace ones. Edward Lloyd was the possessor of one of the largest fortunes in all the colonies and the records show he lived in luxury and style. Both to him and to his wife, Elizabeth Tayloe, who had been reared in one of the great Georgian houses of America, Mt. Airy in Virginia, the original 17th cen-

[15] I am indebted to Dr. James Bordley, Jr., for several quotations from letters written in 1781 by Henry Hollyday, half-uncle of Edward Lloyd, and from other documents referring not only to this raid but an attack, the same night, upon the home of the Bordleys across the river from Wye House. See Henry Hollyday to James Hollyday, March 22, March 26, April 2, April 5, and April 17, 1781, Hollyday Papers, Maryland Historical Society.



FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF WYE HOUSE

tury house may well have seemed inadequate, low ceilinged and dark. Undoubtedly, they wished a modern home. The American's love and admiration of early American architecture was still a century and a half in the future, so when they built, they built in the style of their day, Georgian in transition to the later, lighter style we now term Early Federal.

In locating the new house on the south edge of the garden the view of Wye River was sacrificed. Today, there are only small glimpses of the water through the trees and only from the second story windows. But there were probably good reasons for making this sacrifice. The old house had faced what was once known as the "long green," which led to the waterfront. Along this moved all the bustle and confusion of a vast agricultural undertaking. At one end, vessels were being loaded and unloaded. Through the green moved carts, drays and wagons. Many buildings stood along its perimeter, overseers' houses, slave quarters, storage houses, corn cribs, barns. Some of the buildings still stand, in use, and many of the barns existed well into this century. Here were also, undoubtedly, blacksmith and cooper's shops and loom houses. It must have been not only a busy but a noisy place and the family would have been glad to move their dwelling a hundred yards back behind a barrier of trees and shrubbery.[16]

The house as originally constructed appears to have consisted of the main pavilion, the pavilions of the two wings and connecting passages of one room and a corridor each. The porches, wing "entries," the plantation office at the end of the west wing and, probably, the wash house at the end of the east wing, are all additions.

In the course of repairs in 1936 it was disclosed that the foundation of the wall between the west pavilion and the plantation office had once been an outside wall. The design of the trim and original windows of this office show it to be a very early addition. No date has been found for its building.

[16] The "long green" is described by Frederick Douglas in *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York, 1855), p. 43 ff. Frederick Douglas was born in slavery on a Lloyd farm in the Tuckahoe district of Talbot County. He was owned not by the Lloyds but by one of their white employees whom he describes as "chief butler." As a small boy he was moved to Wye House. The beginning chapters of his book give much information about the life and business of the plantation. Though the grandeur of the house and grounds and the luxury of the life lived there are greatly exaggerated, for excellent propaganda reasons, the rest of his account is probably factual.

AIR VIEW OF WYE HOUSE AND GROUNDS

Looking North Toward the Orangerie and Wye River—Captain's House at Right

Photographs by H. Robins Hollyday of Easton (except cover picture and dairy).

THE NORTH PARLOR

THE DINING ROOM

THE CAPTAIN'S HOUSE

THE ORANGERIE

THE GRAVEYARD AT WYE HOUSE

THE SMOKE HOUSE

THE DAIRY

That the porches are additions is shown in several ways. The foundation of the north wall of the main house, under the wide veranda, is also an outside wall and appears to have been exposed to the weather for some years. On the other side of the house, the outside trim and decoration of the front door and its flanking windows giving out on the south porch is far too massive and bold to have been planned as a doorway under a portico. It is quite dominant enough to have been the entrance motif of a house as large as this. The door is flanked by two, quarter-engaged columns. Above it, a semi-circular fanlight extends through the broken cornice into a pediment. There are two small side windows and the design ends in pilasters. This is exactly the scheme of the entrance to the Chase House in Annapolis, though a simpler version of slightly different proportions. The Wye House entrance is in the Doric order and lacks the more elaborate Ionic capitals of the Annapolis house and the modillions of the cornice. That this portico is an addition is also borne out by the fact that its side walls abut against the end pilasters of the entrance, covering two thirds of them and all of the return of the cornice.

In 1771 Edward Lloyd bought the Chase House, then in course of construction.[17] It is safe to assume that its woodwork and decoration was carried out by him. There are interesting similarities between the Annapolis and Talbot County Lloyd houses other than the entrance doorways. The drop handles and lock escutcheons of the interior doors at Wye House are copies in brass of those in silver at Annapolis. The unusual treatment of the frieze in the entablatures over the doors of the first floor at Wye House occurs in several places in the Chase House. It is quite possible that the construction of the two houses was being carried out at the same time and that the same designer or architect is responsible for both.

The two porches at Wye House are very different in design. The south, entrance portico is classic and Palladian both in feeling and in academic accuracy of proportion. The two Doric columns supporting a pediment and the corner pilasters carry out the motif of the entrance door. The two sidewalls, plastered on the

[17] J. Donnell Tilghman, "Bill for the Construction of the Chase House," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII (1938), 23-26.

inside and pierced by arched openings or windows, give more than a hint of Palladio's Villa Rotunda at Capra.[18]

On the other hand, the veranda across the north front appears to be much later in design. Its crowning balustrade has the lightness of the Early Federal style. Its delicately proportioned, fluted columns end in capitals that bear no resemblance to any classic order but suggest, rather, the palm-leaf capitals of ancient Egypt. This addition may have been late enough to have been influenced by the interest in Egyptian designs aroused by Napoleon's Nile Campaign. The bill for the stone steps is dated February 28, 1800, and states that the steps were finished twelve months earlier.

The north entries to the passages of the two wings have trim that is Greek Revival in style and must, therefore, have been built during the third or fourth decades of the 19th century.

The frame construction of the house is not only unusually heavy but of hard wood. Some of the studs of the plantation office, a one-story unit, are of hand-hewn oak and measure almost six by eight inches. In the main units of the house this heavy construction is further reinforced by walls of moulded brick built between the wood members. The house is virtually a half-timbered building enclosed in clapboards.

An interesting fact concerning the brick came to light during repairs a few years ago. It became necessary to get access to the space under the first floor of the pavilion of the west wing. Here the ground was covered with ends of board and shavings, litter typical of all frame construction. There was also one whole, unfired moulded brick and broken fragments of several others. The clay of the bricks had not dissolved and the wood not rotted because of complete protection from the weather. It is probable that when the cellar for the main house was being dug, good clay was encountered. The clay could have been moulded into bricks right beside the excavation, sun dried, and then fired.[19] This gives new evidence to support a tradition, common on the Eastern Shore, that the bricks of many old houses were burned on the premises.[20]

[18] Among other architectural books in Edward Lloyd's library is Giacomo Leoni's *Architecture of Palladio*. Plate XV, Vol. II, shows the porticos of Villa Rotunda.

[19] On page 217 of Edward Lloyd's account book the following item, dated March, 1784, appears: "Charles Hogg. By 17¼ days work at taking down greenhouse, etc., and burning bricks underpinning the house." It is not now possible to determine whether this refers to work at Wye House or Annapolis.

[20] At Gross Coate, for example, across the river from Wye House, it is the tradition that the bricks were burned on the plantation and that a pond, near the head

In plan, the house gives evidence of but little change during the years. The moment one enters the front door one is struck with the quality of spaciousness: high ceilings, openness, light. It is a house designed, like so many of the old houses of the Tidewater, to be cool in summer. The six panel doors are, characteristically of the late 18th century, wide and low, a fact that accentuates the height of the ceilings. Their trim is crowned by frieze and horizontal cornices. All the first floor rooms of the main house have fireplaces with panelled overmantels.

Standing in the entrance hall, one may look north through the house for a vista of the bowling green and orangerie, or south for the length of the avenue to the top road gate. The narrow room to the right of the front door no longer serves as an office since the plantation office, long a store room, has been restored to its old function. To the left of the hall, the south parlor has the intimate furnishings of a family living room. The fireplace is considerably off center and it is probable that the passage to the west wing was taken off this room.

At the end of the hall, opposite the entrance, a door opens into the north parlor, the most beautiful room in the house and one of the most distinguished of its era in the state. Its furnishings, like those of most of the rooms, consist largely of pieces that have always been in the house. The four tall windows are hung with blue damask and between two of them are gilt mirrors made to order for these spaces in London. The bill for these mirrors, as well as those for the crystal girandoles on the console tables beneath them are still in existence.

From the north parlor a wide arch leads into the dining room. A line on the floor gives evidence that this room was once enlarged at the expense of the parlor. In the panelled overmantel beyond the dining table hangs a portrait of Governor Lloyd. Over the sideboard is the colorful painting, by Benjamin West, of Captain Richard Bennett Lloyd in the scarlet uniform of the Coldstream Guards.[21]

of Gross Creek, long used as an icepond, was the hole from which the clay was dug. I have been informed by members of the Hollyday family that the forms in which the bricks for the building of Readbourne were moulded were still in the attic of that house at the time it passed out of the hands of the family early in this century.

[21] Richard Bennett Lloyd (1750-1787) married, in England, the famous beauty, Joanna Leigh. Sir Joshua Reynold's portrait of her carving Ll(oyd) on the trunk of a tree, is one of the best known canvasses of the Rothschild collection. A great stir was created in Maryland and Philadelphia circles when Captain Lloyd brought his wife back to this country.

The windows of the main house, so notable a feature of the north parlor and dining room, are of unusual scale and are, indeed, so large as to make the house appear from the outside to be smaller than it actually is. Inside, they give to the rooms a distinction and a dignity generally achieved only in rooms of much greater size. The interior window trim projects boldly several inches from the plaster, in order to accommodate the folding, inside shutters. The muntins of the sash are astonishingly light and delicate. Though the interior finish of the house is in no way elaborate, it is marked by great refinement of line and proportion.[22]

Formerly, the passage into the west wing gave access only to the bedroom in the connecting unit and that in the north end of the pavilion. The south room in that pavilion was the library, reached only through an outside door. The plantation office was likewise entered from outside. The second story of the wing was reached by a narrow staircase out of the office.

In 1914 alterations were made to the wing. The roof of the pavilion, and also that of the east wing, was lifted about eighteen inches to give additional headroom in the second story and to raise the windows, whose sills had been just above floor level. This resulted, fortunately, in an improvement in the proportions and appearance of the house, particularly in the south facade. The north room of the wing, the old "blue room," was divided into two rooms and a stairhall. The plantation office was opened into this, as was the library, which now serves as a bedroom, the new "blue room."

In the east wing, the connecting unit is taken up by the "housekeeper's room" from which the stairs lead to the second floor. This room now serves as a breakfast room. Beyond it, the pavilion of the wing is mostly taken up by a huge kitchen. The old fireplace is now filled by a modern stove and the brick ovens have been filled in. A small room on the north side of this wing has served as a storage pantry. Recently, the floor here had to be taken up and the hearth of a fireplace, just above ground level, was revealed. Apparently, this space was at one time a porch with an outside fireplace. Its purpose, adjoining the kitchen, has never been determined.

[22] See Elliott L. Chisling, "Wye House, Home of the Lloyds, Talbot County, Maryland," *Monograph Series,* XVI (1930), 281-308, for measured drawings and detail photographs of much of the interior finish, both porticoes, and dependencies.

To the east of the kitchen wing several outbuildings face a service yard. Nearest the house is the old dairy, a low, squat building with a shading portico supported on short, square posts. Next, the loom house, now converted into a garage, in which at one time the cloth for the plantation was woven. In the far corner stands a building whose original function remains a mystery and whose lines and design have occasioned endless speculation. The structure is of frame, as are the other outbuildings, with a low, gabled roof. Its side walls are pierced by unglazed, iron barred openings, as narrow as and closely resembling the slits in the masonry walls of a medieval fortress. The front end of the building is carried up two floors, like a false front about ten feet thick. Boarded up windows in this part indicate the existence of former rooms. As far as is known, this building has been used as a smokehouse for the better part of a century. Its raised front, and the gable end of the dairy, repeat the classic pediments of the dwelling house.

By far the most interesting of the dependencies, perhaps more interesting even than the house itself, is the orangerie. The structure is of brick, covered with stucco. The piers separating the windows of the central unit are courses of rusticated stone and at the corners stone quoins run to the cornice line. This makes the orangerie one of the most monumental, in the architectural sense, of the domestic buildings of the period in Maryland.

It consists of a two story central unit flanked by lower, one story wings. The south front of the central mass is pierced by four high, square headed windows, that of the wings by lower, arched openings. Save for one small door, there are no openings in the other walls. The interior consists of one long room at ground level. In the second story is a room that served as a billiard room. The table, apparently dating from the late 18th century, is still in its original position. Across the back of the building an addition under a low, shed roof contains rooms which, though long used merely for storage, give evidence of having been lived in. Perhaps these were rooms used by gardeners or servants who tended the fire in winter.

The orange and lemon trees were planted in square tubs. In summer they stood in rows in the garden and were moved into the orangerie at the approach of winter. The heat of the sunlight, through the great south windows, was augmented by a heating

system. The remains of this are still visible though considerable excavation and the tearing down of walls would have to be done to determine exactly how it functioned. There remains today a tile duct in the floor just back of the windows. Its interior is blackened with soot. In some way it connected with furnaces probably located in the lean-to addition along the north wall of the building.

Robert Goldsborough of Myrtle Grove wrote an interesting letter to Governor Edward Lloyd on October 27, 1810. Goldsborough speaks of a request by Dr. Thomas for "a Lemon" prescribed for Mrs. Goldsborough who was ill. He conveys thanks for the lemon and reports on Mrs. Goldsborough's condition.[23]

The orangerie was used for raising citrus fruit until past the middle of the last century.[24]

The building, in its present form, appears to have resulted from the alteration and enlargement of an older structure, which, as was pointed out, above, antedates the existing dwelling. Signs in the masonry indicate the central unit as the oldest. To the west of this, instead of the large wing, was a narrow addition containing a stairway. Probably both wings were added at the same time and access to the second floor was then gained by an outside stair that crossed the shed roof on the north side. This stair remained in existence until about fifty years ago. Today, the second floor is reached from inside the main unit.

There are several items among the Wye House papers that may refer to the alterations to the orangerie. The most interesting is the following account: [25]

Charles Hogg, Stonemason, Contra.

1779, April 3. By buildings on S. River for cutting 252 foot stone in four piers @ 20/ pr foot	252–
By buildings on ditto for cutting 37 foot 6 inch stone in plinth @ 20/	37–10–
April 21. By buildings S. River cutting 40 foot Sup. Rustic Quine	40–
By ditto, cutting 10 foot Sup. moulded plinthe	40–0–0

[23] Lloyd MSS, Maryland Historical Society.

[24] C. Howard Lloyd, born 1859, recalled that, as a small boy, he was often sent to the greenhouse by his mother to fetch a lemon. Some years later, on his first trip to France, he was interested to note that the tubs for the trees in the orangerie at Versailles were the same as those he remembered at Wye House. In the past the Wye House orangerie was always called the greenhouse.

[25] Edward Lloyd account book, p. 126.

July 27. By ditto for 14 courses of rustic ashlar for the quoins 187 feet @ 20/	187–10–0
By ditto Ashlars for the interval spaces 48 foot @ 20/	48–0–0
By ditto for 4 p^{s} Base moulding 24 foot @ 20/	24–0–0

At first glance this appears to refer to the stonework of the orangerie. That the number of piers, the dimensions of the plinth and the number of courses of ashlar do not exactly coincide with the building as it stands is unimportant. But the reference to buildings on " S. River " poses a question.

Whether Edward Lloyd owned land on Severn River, other than his house in Annapolis, or tracts on South River, has not been determined by this writer. But even if he did, there seems to be no record or tradition of any stone building of that period on those shores either as monumental or as formal as this account suggests. On the other hand, it is difficult to reconcile " on S. River " with the location of the Wye House orangerie. Future research may well give the answer. For the present, one can only assume that the alterations to the orangerie were undertaken by the same Edward Lloyd who built the present house.[26]

This Edward Lloyd carried out the tradition of his forebears by being a member of Assembly, of the Provincial Convention of 1775 and of the Council of Safety. He played a prominent role during the Revolution, was a delegate to the Continental Congress and a member of the state convention to ratify the Constitution. He also served in the state legislature and senate. After his death in 1796 Wye House passed to his son.

This Edward (1779-1834) married Sally Scott Murray. He was Governor of Maryland, 1809-1811, and United States Senator, 1819-1826. The next Edward (1798-1861), who married Alicia McBlair, took part in state political affairs, was a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention of 1850 and later state senator. The last Edward Lloyd (1825-1907) to own Wye House married Mary Key Howard. He served in state legislature and senate.

The once great fortune that had created and maintained Wye House through so many generations had, by the end of the last century, vanished. To the after effects of the Civil War and the

[26] It is interesting to speculate on a possible connection between the Wye House orangerie and the one which once existed at Mt. Airy, in Virginia, the former home of Edward Lloyd's wife, Elizabeth Tayloe.

abolition of slavery, factors which had ruined almost every southern fortune based on land, were added the very unwise stipulations of a will. The maker of the will had never imagined, much less foreseen, a day in which the owners of the great southern plantations would be called land poor, and had placed upon his sons and their heirs financial burdens that eventually ruined them. Finally, not only money but most of the land was gone and Edward Lloyd was faced with the necessity of selling Wye House. Fortunately, his second son, Charles Howard Lloyd together with his wife, Mary Donnell Lloyd, were able to buy in and save the family home.

Upon the deaths of both Charles Howard Lloyd and his wife, the place descended to their two daughters. Mrs. Morgan B. Schiller acquired the half interest of her sister, Mrs. Thomas Hughes, and today the Schillers maintain Wye House as their year round residence. After having been closed for many years, the house is again open and modernised, a center, as it was through previous generations, of the life and activity of the county.

Behind the orangerie lies another of the great distinctions that mark Wye House: a graveyard in which lie members of ten generations of the Lloyd family. It is one of the largest family graveyards in the state and, since its first stones are dated 1684, one of the oldest.[27] Here, in two rows, marked by matching monuments, lie the owners of Wye House and their wives. Nearby are the graves of children, grandchildren and great grandchildren and their wives and husbands. Among them are two famous officers of the Confederacy, Admiral Franklin Buchanan and Brigadier General Charles S. Winder. This quiet and shaded spot has, apparently by inherited tradition, been the playground of many generations of Lloyd children and their friends. See it late of a summer afternoon and it is easy to understand why descendants down to the third and fourth generations have so deep a wish to be buried here.

[27] Howard, "Lloyd Graveyard," *loc. cit.*

THE CHESAPEAKE BAY PILOTS

By M. V. Brewington

OF all the maritime community—the masters, mates, supercargoes, and tradesmen—the most respected members have always been the pilots. To that group of men is entrusted the vessels, cargoes, and the lives of passengers and crews while traversing the most dangerous parts of any voyage, the entry and departure from port. In the pilot's mind's eye there must be an accurate, detailed picture of something no one has ever actually seen: the bottom of the waterway. And since the bottom is always in motion and shifting, the picture is continuously changing, something a chart can never be. More, the pilots must be consummate seamen, able to handle any vessel, large or small, quick or clumsy, propelled by sail or power.

In colonies like Virginia and Maryland where it could be truly said every inhabitant "is apparelled from head to foot in [English] manufactures . . . scarcely drinks, sits, moves, labours, or recreates himself without contributing to the emolument of the mother country" [1] the men who brought in the vessels had most of the well-being of the colonies in their hands. On the Chesapeake, the pilot of the early days of the Virginia settlement had no easy task: There had not been a single hydrographic survey of the waters from the Capes to Jamestown nor was there a lighthouse or even a buoy to mark the shoals in Hampton Roads or the James. And after the Maryland colony was established there were miles of unknown on the two longest tidal pilot's runs in the world, with a maze of bars athwart the course of a vessel bound up the Bay or up the Potomac.

Added to these natural dangers across the waters of the Chesapeake from Watkins Point on the Eastern Shore to Smith's Point on the Western Shore there runs a wall, invisible to be sure, but none the less a wall: the boundary line between Maryland and

[1] *London Magazine*, XXXV, 34.

Virginia. Over the top of that wall like fish-wives, first the two provinces, then the two states, have argued for three centuries about almost everything that touches the Bay: crabs, oysters, fish, lighthouses, and transit. But about pilotage, although a Federal Law passed in 1836 enabling a Virginia pilot to practise in Maryland and *vice versa*, and although an act of legislature of one gives an unfair advantage to its own men, there has been no wrangling or trouble. The skill, dignity, and cooperative spirit with which the pilots of these States have carried on their profession for over three centuries could well serve as an example to be copied by their governments.

The Virginia Pilots

Although there probably was at least one man in the original group of Virginia colonists with a superior knowledge of the waters of the Bay entrance and the James River by the time the Second Supply arrived, the first formal mention of a pilot, an unfortunate fellow named John Clark, is not found until four years later. In 1611 a Spanish vessel dispatched to spy out the condition of the colony arrived at Hampton Roads. Claiming that their vessel was "lost," three of the crew came ashore to request the aid of a pilot to get her back to sea. The Governor knew well what the visitors were up to and eager to rid himself of the very unwelcome guests, he sent Clark to con (i. e., conduct) them out of the Capes. But the pilot, the Governor reported " . . . was no sooner in the boat . . . away they went with him." [2] And instead of dropping Clark at the Capes, they carried him off to Spain. There he languished in a dungeon for years, with the Inquisition ever in his eye, before the English government succeeded in having him released.

With an increasing traffic entering the Capes one would assume there was demand enough for pilots to assure an adequate supply. Seemingly this was not the case, due perhaps to the small size and consequent easy draft of the vessels first used in the Virginia trade. As the vessels became larger and as the settlements spread

[2] This same John Clark was the mate of the *Mayflower* when in 1620 she came into Plymouth Bay instead of Chesapeake Bay, her intended destination. See Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History* (Boston, 1884-1889), III, 269, 271; William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, Morison edition (New York, 1952), 366 fn.

along every waterway, the need for pilots became very evident. About 1660 complaints were made that there were no pilots working and to make matters worse there was a complete absence of " beacons," as channel markers were then called, on the shoals in even the most important stream, the James River. With attention called to these dangers to the all important tobacco fleets, the House of Burgesses passed its first act to improve navigation in the Bay. It created a " chief pilot " for James River who was to be paid £5 for every vessel over 80 tons conned, or if his services were refused, 40s. Evidently vessels under 80 tons were shoal enough to take care of themselves. The first man appointed to the office of chief pilot was Captain William Oewen. In addition to his duties as pilot he also had to set out and maintain buoys along the channel from Willoughby Spit to Jamestown. These were financed by a charge of 30s. paid to the chief pilot by every vessel which anchored. His dual function gave him a full time job and Oewen was soon petitioning for permission to take apprentices. Captain Oewen was succeeded as Chief Pilot by Captain Chichester who was followed by his son William thereby beginning a professional tradition: family dynasties of pilots.[3]

To prevent untrained and irresponsible persons from practising as pilots, the House of Burgesses in 1669 passed an act which stipulated that no man could legally work unless he held a warrant from the governor. Before such a warrant could be obtained the would-be pilot must present evidence of his good character by means of a recommendation from his county court and equally important prove his knowledge of the Bay's bottom by a certificate from five master mariners of " experience, skill, and judgment." By 1702 two pilots had qualified for the James River, John Lowery and Israel Vaulx; one for the York, William Seyers; two for the Rappahannock, Garet Minor and James Jones; but none had been commissioned for the Potomac or the Eastern Shore rivers.[4]

The commissioned pilots were extremely jealous of their rights and resented interlopers strongly. Lowery, for instance, made a complaint that one John Patteson who had " . . . no settled abode

[3] W. W. Hening, *Virginia Statutes at Large*, II, 35. *Calendar Virginia State Papers*, I, 32. P. A. Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia* (New York, 1895), II, 352.

[4] *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, II, 20. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, I (1894), 362, 364. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I, 197. Hening, VI, 490-93; VII, 581.

boate nor hands but what is Lent by George Walker who hath half Profitt, doth . . . pilot ships & vessells" and begged to have Patteson's activity stopped. Joseph Mumford, a York River pilot, in 1706 reported Thomas Perrin who "pilots . . . without commission." To help prevent these impostors passing themselves off as pilots, in 1721 the Virginia customs officials were required to post lists of the commissioned pilots in their offices.[5]

The profession of pilot was by no means restricted to free whites and while it is impossible to determine either the number or proportion of slaves engaged, from the amount of advertising which concerns them the number must have been sizeable. There was Solomon Haynes who in 1768 ran from his master—"a very crafty fellow and an exceedingly good pilot." In 1769 Charles Lee owned Daniel, "a very good pilot." John Thompson had "several valuable negroes . . . good pilots to any part of the Bay." Samuel Meredith, senior, advertised as a runaway "Able . . . well known as a Pilot for York River and the Bay. He can write so as to be understood . . . and has been to England," and a few years later offered for sale "James Tarripin . . . one of the best Pilots in Virginia from Cape Henry to the Head of the Bay and Rivers thereof."[6] Slaves continued to serve as pilots until 1826 when Virginia required all applicants to be "free white citizens." This was not an arbitrary law which threw colored pilots out since twenty-four years before the Assembly had passed a bill which stated that thereafter no Negro or mulatto could get a pilot's license, but that those then holding a branch could continue to work. No indentured servants or transported convicts seem to have become pilots.[7]

Over the years following the basic act of 1660 commissioned pilots established themselves on practically every stream into which a seagoing vessel might enter. Of course increasing traffic density brought new problems, chiefly those concerning fees, and in 1755 pilotage as a whole was taken into consideration by the Virginia legislature which enacted a detailed bill regulating almost every phase. Under its provisions the governor was directed to appoint a board to examine would-be pilots. If the applicants

[5] *Executive Journals*, II, 136, 192, 224, 236, 545.
[6] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), November 3, 1768, February 9, 1769, December 3, 1773. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon & Hunter), September 5, 1777.
[7] Virginia *Acts of Legislature*, 1802, ch. 287; 1826, ch. 69.

proved themselves to be "of sufficient skill and ability" the governor issued a "branch" as a pilot's license to practise is called. Any man who acted without a branch was liable to an increasingly heavy fine for each offense to be paid to the informant. If a branch holder did not, or ceased to, practise, the branch was revoked. The act also fixed pilotage fees on a per-foot-of-draft basis from the Capes to all the principal harbors and landings with schooners, sloops, and shallops paying two-thirds the rate of that fixed for ships, snows, and brigs. Should a pilot demand a higher fee, an informant could collect double the charge. Of the greatest importance to the public was section eight of the act which provided that any pilot who lost a vessel through negligence was incapicitated forever from holding a branch and furthermore was liable for all damages.[8]

Following the Virginia Act of 1775 which might be said to have fixed the operating plan of the Virginia pilots, there was little or no change in the conduct of the business for a long period. During the various wars between the British and French up to 1763 the pilots seem to have had little or no trouble either with treasonable enemy contracts or with capture, although the French and Spanish vessels, usually privateers, were frequently off the Capes and occasionally within. But when our War for Independence began there was another story to tell. From the very outset of hostilities Lord Dunmore, the Royal Governor of Virginia, seems to have had no difficulty moving his little fleet about the Bay. Joseph Whaland, Jr., a Marylander who was a Bay pilot, brought Dunmore as far up the Chesapeake as Nanticoke River. Nor was any trouble experienced by the squadrons of Sir George Collier, Howe, and Arbuthnot which at least implies the presence of pilots familiar with the waters of the Bay. Because so many pilots gave aid to the enemy, in addition to the penalties for treason, to keep the pilots on the "right" side the Council of Virginia in 1778 advised the governor "as an encouragement to offer the pilots besides their daily pay, a premium of 4s. per ton for every such Vessel safely brought into Port."[9]

While there were some who had Tory sympathies, the great majority of the pilots seem to have been good rebels and in addi-

[8] *Laws of Virginia*, 28 George II, ch. 11.
[9] *Journal of the Council of the State of Virginia*, II, 112-113. Elias Jones, *History of Dorchester County* (Baltimore, 1925), 208.

tion to their regular duties, acted time after time as lookouts and as dispatch carriers. In all there were no less than thirty-eight Virginia pilots who served the government actively between 1775 and 1783. Among them were at least two slaves, Cuffee and Minny, and another Negro who may have been a freeman, Captain Starlins.[10] One of them, Cuffee, died of wounds in 1781 while serving on the pilot boat *William Graves* which had encountered an enemy. The services of the pilots were invaluable and contributed in no small degree to the success of American arms. In 1776 the pilot boat *Molly* brought in 7500 pounds of badly needed gunpowder. The pilots, dodging not only shoals but the Royal Navy, conducted through the Capes dozens of merchantmen which carried tobacco to France and the West Indies and brought back arms, clothing and other necessaries for the civilian as well as the soldier. In 1781 with William Jennings as their chief the Virginia pilots took charge of the French fleet which aided so greatly in the victory at Yorktown.[11] It was during the War for Independence that the Virginia pilots in government service were for the first time accorded the pay and rank of a naval officer, that of lieutenant. That practise has continued down to the present.

Not all of this service was without sacrifice on the part of the pilots. Joshua Cain, captured by the British in 1781, died in a Halifax prison ship; Joseph White met the same fate in a West Indian jail. Christopher Morris spent most of the war in the infamous Sugar House in New York and George Watkins had a long vacation from duty in Britain's Forton Prison. When a fleet believed to be French was sighted off the Capes in 1780, Governor Thomas Jefferson dispatched ten pilots to bring the vessels in. The pilots " joined the said fleet and to their great mortification found them to be British " whereupon ten more pilots went to the prison hulks. With almost a third of their number captured and under confinement, no cry of slacker or Tory could have been raised against the majority.[12]

Indeed at the end of the war the number of pilots seems to have been too small to care for the trade of the Bay, and Virginia in 1783 required each pilot to take and train a white apprentice. At

[10] R. A. Stewart, *History of Virginia's Navy of the Revolution* (Richmond, 1933), p. 140 *passim.*
[11] *Ibid.*, 106.
[12] *Ibid.*, 28, 98.

the same time all the colonial laws relating to pilots were reaffirmed and business seems to have reverted to what it had been before the fall of the Royal Government.[13] Three years later, though, a new pilot law was enacted. It created a board of three examiners and fixed a new schedule of fees. Responsibility for the vessel under charge was retained. One new element was introduced: Four pilots, no more no less, were allowed to join in partnership, in the ownership of a boat and the general conduct of the business. In 1791 the General Assembly by a law copying a four year old Maryland statute classified pilots into three groups: the first, as indicated by his branch, could con any vessel; the second branch pilot was restricted to vessels of not more than twelve feet draft; and the third branch to vessels of nine feet or under. Apprentices were also classed according to their master's branch and under his eye could direct the helm.

Few events in her history have caused quite so much stir in Norfolk as did the attack of H. M. S. *Leopard* on the U. S. S. *Chesapeake* in 1807. That unwarranted strike caused the greatest indignation because the Captain, James Barron, was a Virginian; most of the *Chesapeake's* crew had been recruited locally; and the frigate herself had been the first product of the Norfolk Navy Yard, to say nothing of the merits of the case. A mass meeting of the citizens was called and among other things it resolved " That the pilots of Chesapeake Bay and Hampton whose patriotism we hold in the highest estimation are requested to discontinue entirely their professional services to all British ships of war." [14]

During the War of 1812 there seems to have been very little disaffection among the Virginia pilots despite the fact that the superior enemy naval force was well supplied with gold. True, two pilot boats were apprehended supplying the British fleet with provisions, but the fact that the Royal Navy was forced to sound its own way and then mark the channels with buoys seems evidence that pilots were not fully available to Admirals Warren and Cockburn, even though when in February, 1813, two British 74-gun ships, three frigates, and a tender entered the Bay, " they brought to a pilot boat and took pilots from her." [15]

In 1786 Maryland passed an act which would have enabled Vir-

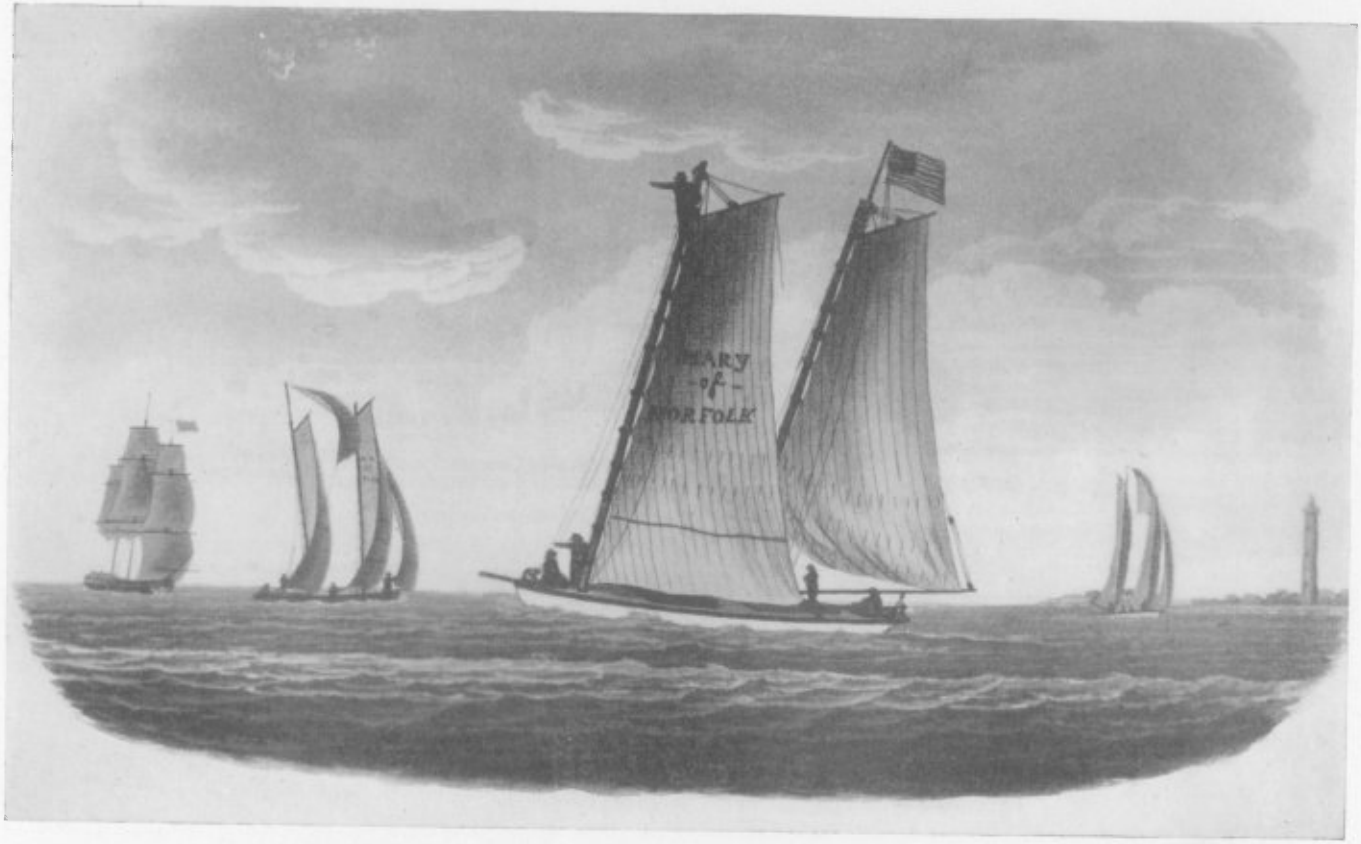
[13] Hening, XI, 188.
[14] *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, IX, 519.
[15] *Ibid.*, X, 184.

ginia pilots to work in Maryland waters, if Virginia reciprocated. Virginia did not see fit to do so and in 1794 prohibited a pilot " residing in another state " from working in a Virginia pilot boat. The year before the two states had been almost equal in owned tonnage subject to pilotage, 26,800 tons for Maryland and 24,000 tons for Virginia. Seven years later Maryland owned 81,500 tons and Virginia 42,000 tons,[16] and Virginia made an attempt to open the Maryland business to her pilots, by offering to allow Maryland pilots to apply to the Virginia Board of Examiners for a branch, if Maryland would reciprocate with a similar law " in favor of the pilots of Virginia." [17] Maryland feeling, no doubt, that a prior and similar offer had been slighted paid no attention to the Virginia law. This section was reenacted in 1819; again Maryland failed to notice it. At the same time Virginia fixed pilot fees for every creek along the Potomac from Smith's Point to the Eastern Branch.[18] In spite of these somewhat provocative legislative actions, no troubles seem to have resulted, the pilots of both states following their " live and let live " policy.

Along with the regular duties of conning vessels in and out of port, the pilots were required to watch for vessels subject to quarantine. Before boarding an inbound craft, the pilot was expected to inquire if the craft had had any illness aboard or if she was entering from a port where disease of epidemic proportions was raging. Should the answer be " yes," the pilot boat then led the stranger to a safe anchorage and notified the health officer. Frequently the answer was " no " but when the pilot boarded he learned the vessel was subject to quarantine, and he along with the passengers and crew had to wait out the time. To protect the pilots, in 1801 Virginia passed a bill requiring the vessel to pay the pilot thus " decoyed " on board $2.00 a day in addition to his regular fee.[19]

Another but far more onerous duty was forced on the pilots in 1856 by the passage of " an act providing additional protection for the slave property. . . . " This required the inspection of all non-Virginia owned out-bound vessels to see that no slave or criminal was concealed on board. The pilots were all appointed

[16] Adam Seybert, *Statistical Annals of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1818), p. 321.
[17] Virginia, *Acts of Legislature*, 1801, ch. 277.
[18] *Acts*, 1819, ch. 43.
[19] *Acts*, 1801, ch. 277.



"A Virginia Pilot-Boat with a distant view of Cape Henry at the entrance of the Chesapeake."
From *Naval Chronicle*, published in London, 1815.

"inspectors" and given a $5 fee for each vessel. If a runaway slave were found, the owner paid the pilot a reward of $100 and if the vessel itself was culpable and was forfeited, the pilot also received half her value. But if a slave got away through a faulty search, the pilot was fined $50.[20] There were five pilot boats in service at that time: *Reindeer, Antelope, Plume, Hope,* and *York.* All were equipped with a bow chaser to enforce the inspection and at least one was always on station in Hampton Roads and another in York River.[21]

Just before the outbreak of the Civil War, Virginia pilotage was given a complete overhaul by the Assembly. Licensed coasters were exempt from taking pilots if any paid an annual fee of ten cents a ton; vessels of any class four-fifths Virginia owned were also exempt; no pilots were required on any vessel in the rivers; and even foreign vessels owned in British provinces paid the minimum fees. All of these changes were made primarily for the benefit of the growing coal trade: all of them obviously hurt the pilots.[22]

Before any action could be taken to rectify the situation, the war began, and the unorganized pilots were forgotten. A few turned to blockade running undoubtedly, but as the blockade tightened fewer opportunities in that trade offered. Even the Confederate States Navy could not obtain pilots because they had been conscripted into the Army, or if a man lost a vessel, or when the currency became debased, if he asked for more than government pay, he was forced to enlist.[23] The few men who served as pilots were forbidden to work on the Potomac River or Chesapeake Bay for fear that capture by Union forces would give the North their services. These men petitioned the state for relief but no evidence that it was granted has been found.[24]

When peace returned Virginia was virtually without native pilots. The pilot boats were gone: the *Plume* and *Hope* were sunk below Richmond as obstructions to Yankee gunboats; the *York* became a Confederate States privateer; the *Reindeer* and *Antelope*

[20] *Acts*, 1855-1856, ch. 47.
[21] *Norfolk County History and Biography, 1637-1900*, p. 312.
[22] *Acts*, 1859-1860, ch. 43 and 46.
[23] *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies* (Washington, 1891-1922), 2d ser., III, 1084.
[24] *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, XI, 128.

were sunk near Norfolk.[25] Before the older men could get back from the Army, or the military prisons, and before a new group could be trained, sea-going carpet-baggers arrived. They were Yankee fishermen, good sailors no doubt, but not too familiar with the Bay's maze of shoals. They saw a chance for easy money and cruizing off the Capes they met incoming vessels and claiming to be Bay pilots, bargained with the skippers. Wrecks and strandings of course followed and soon the reputation of the Virginia pilots fell to a low level.

At that point under the leadership of one of the old hands, Captain Sam Wood, the Association of Virginia Pilots was formed along the lines established by the Maryland Pilots some fourteen years before. The Association brought the situation to the attention of the Assembly in a forceful manner and the Assembly acted. Boards of Examiners consisting of pilots and merchants were established at Norfolk, Hampton, and Alexandria. All pilots had to be examined by one of these boards. Any person acting as a pilot without a proper branch could be fined, jailed, and forfeited of his boat. Pilot stations were fixed off Cape Henry and between Point Lookout and Ragged Point on the Potomac, and every vessel had to remain at the station for a minimum of fifteen hours to discharge the pilot or if she took a pilot " beyond his state " against his will she was subject to a penalty of $300, and $75 a month to the pilot. On the pilots' part, they had to maintain suitable boats of thirty feet keel, marked with the boat's name and port of hail on the foresail. They were fully responsible for damages if a vessel got into trouble through the pilot's neglect. And if a pilot tried to cut the fixed fee, he was fined the full fee and suspended; or if he tried to collect more, the fine was double the fee and suspension with an ad in the Norfolk papers proclaiming him as a chiseler.[26]

The Association, following the scheme worked out by Maryland pilots, brought a complete change in the conduct of the business affairs of the profession: it provided and operated the necessary minimum of pilot boats; it supervised the training of apprentices, even maintaining a school-ship, the schooner *William A. Graves*; it collected all fees for its member's services and after paying the

[25] *Norfolk County History and Biography, loc. cit.*
[26] *Acts*, 1865-1866, ch. 47 and 48. A. C. Brown (ed.), *Newport News—325 Years*, pp. 306-308.

general expenses, divided the profits among its members so that each made a living regardless of the individual's luck in getting deep or shoal draft vessels to con. Until 1891 the Virginia pilots continued to use sailing vessels exclusively. Then the Association had built at Neafie & Levy's yard in Philadelphia the steamer *Relief*. The vessels owned by the Virginia Pilots have been: schooners *Phantom, William Starkey,* and *William A. Graves*; auxiliary schooners *Virginia* and *Hampton Roads;* steamers *Relief* [I], *Relief* [II], and *Virginia*; launches *Sybil* and *Pilot.*

With the arrival of the steamer *Relief* at the Capes much of the picturesque left the profession, and to all intents the story of the Virginia pilots ended because in organization, equipment, and operation they were identical with all other Atlantic coast pilots from Maine to Florida.

The Maryland Pilots

The name of that very important fellow who piloted the *Ark* and the *Dove* up the Bay in March, 1634, is yet to be learned. His knowledge of the waters and shore may have had much to do with the choice of Maryland's first settlement. There were pilots even then who were familiar with the Bay and rivers because the year before Lord Baltimore's settlers arrived, William Claiborne had paid 10s. for the services of one.[27] The pilot *de facto* for Baltimore's party may have been Henry ffleet who accompanied the expedition up from Jamestown; but if so, ffleet after all, was not a professional pilot but a trader who had had some experience in the Potomac River channels while on trading trips to the Indian towns.

Indeed some ten years must elapse after the landing at St. Mary's before the first Maryland pilot, John Rablie, appears in the record. Even he may well have been an amateur because according to one vessel's owner Rablie did not do " the duty of pilot but, brought his ship a ground & carried her beyond the port." [28] An under-statement that, apparently, for when in 1644 Rablie sued for his fee—" 15 lb. Sterl. in goods . . . a new P. of shoes & a new Saile for his shallopp " [29] a witness stated that the " . . . shipp sailed by St michaels point [present Point Lookout] on Satturday & the next morning she came aground about James

[27] " Claiborne vs. Cloberry," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXVIII (1933), 38.
[28] *Archives of Maryland,* IV, 307.
[29] *Ibid.,* 303.

point on the Eastern shore; & then returned back to St michaels point on Sonday night " [30] certainly not a good testimonial to the skill or knowledge generally expected of a professional pilot.

In the early years of both the Virginia and Maryland colonies there was no difference in the conduct of the pilot's profession. The pilots of each as individuals acted on their own, getting jobs where and when they could and charging whatever the traffic would bear with no regulation under law. Virginia began its official regulation of the profession in 1660; Maryland gave it no legal notice until after she became a state, well over a century later.

But that lack of attention does not mean that there were no Maryland pilots and the very fact that they are seldom mentioned in the executive or judicial records is evidence that they must have been men of skill and respectability, and that they were on hand, when needed. For example, when an expedition was sent from St. Mary's to the Nanticoke Indian lands in 1676, Colonel William Burges, the leader, was instructed to take a " Pilott " in order to reach the Indian town of Chicacone.[31] A few years later Thomas Hebb of St. Mary's County—the birthplace of most of the early Maryland pilots—was held for trial in Virginia because he had piloted a vessel through Virginia waters without a branch from either colony, a pure case of attempted intimidation to lessen competition because Maryland had not licensed her pilots.[32] Again the existence and importance of Maryland pilots were recognized by the governor at the time of Queen Anne's War when all Maryland pilots were ordered upon the first alarm of a hostile fleet in the Bay to come to Annapolis by land to avoid risk of capture by the enemy.[33]

Maryland's first move towards licensing her pilots came in 1733. On June 18, Charles Calvert, 5th Lord Baltimore, wrote his agent in the province ". . . as it is necessary for the Safety of the Trade that Experienced Persons be appointed to Pilote Ships up the Bay as well as up the Several Rivers within the Province, you shall appoint Such persons taking from Each and every one of them the Value of 20s. Sterling yearly." [34] Fair words, if taken literally, expressing Lord Baltimore's great interest in the commerce of his

[30] *Ibid.*, 307.
[31] *Ibid.*, XV, 142.
[32] *Ibid.*, XX, 387.
[33] *Ibid.*, XXV, 203.
[34] *Ibid.*, XXXIX, 504.

province. Actually it was but a part of Baltimore's efforts to squeeze more revenue out of his domain. My lord's agent did succeed in gouging 20s. out of some few men, but the House of Delegates saw what Baltimore was up to and refused flatly to pass the supply bill in which this fee with others was included, and the pilots continued their unregulated way.

From that time to the end of the proprietorship the licensing of pilots became a political football. Twenty years after Charles Calvert's letter to his agent, another Lord Baltimore, Frederick Calvert, instructed his governor, " . . . as it is necessary for the Safety of the Trade . . . that experienced Persons be . . . appointed to Pilot Ships up the Bay . . . " and so forth exactly as his ancestor had said it and with the same intent.[35] This time the governor asked the advice of his council before putting the proposal to the General Assembly. The council, knowing that " his late Lordship would not prosecute such persons as piloted without Lycense nor assist those that were Lycensed in carrying on such prosecutions," temporized. They suggested that Baltimore's agent grant licenses to " such Persons as are Qualified to be Pilots and who apply . . . " and asked the Attorney General for an opinion of the possibility of haling unlicensed pilots into court. Whatever the opinion may have been has not been discovered, seemingly it was in the negative for Governor Sharpe wrote Lord Baltimore to inform him that a few pilots had offered to pay the license fee, provided unlicensed persons were prohibited from acting as pilots. The Governor then suggested that if Lord Baltimore could induce the British merchants to order the masters of their vessels to take only licensed pilots and if his Lordship could persuade the marine insurance underwriters to void all policies to and from Maryland unless a licensed pilot was used, then a licensing system would be successful. If Lord Baltimore received the letter he paid no more attention to it than he did to his gaming debts, because two years later he wrote Governor Sharpe to inquire why no pilots' licenses had been issued. What he really wanted to know, of course, was why he had not received any fees from that source. Sharpe replied in a most diplomatic manner and after inquiring for an answer to his letter of two years before let his Lordship know an attempt to make revenue for his private purse out of the pilots would certainly not add to the noble Lord's popularity in his province.[36]

[35] *Ibid.*, XXXI, 22.

[36] *Ibid.*, VI, 92, 408-409.

In 1758 and 1759 a tax on pilots was proposed and failed to pass: in these instances it was to be one means of paying the costs of the French and Indian War assessed on Maryland.[37]

While these high level manoeuvrings were taking place in London and Annapolis, the Maryland pilots were going about their business as usual. Samuel Middleton who ran a ferry from the Severn to Kent Island and also kept a tavern in Annapolis somehow found time to act as a pilot on the side.[38] Others were working not only in the Bay but also in the Chester and Sassafras Rivers [39] and one found it worthwhile to let all Maryland merchants and mariners know through the pages of the *Gazette* he was in business.

> Richard Bryan, *Pilot*, at Annapolis, will pilot ships from Annapolis into Patapsco, or from Patapsco to Annapolis at Three Pounds Currency each, and from Annapolis to Sassafras, North-East or Susquehanna, at Five Pounds each, and the same down again. And all Masters and Commanders of vessels may depend on his Care and Skill as he has been employed in that Business for Ten Years past, and never yet met with any Disaster. P. S. Any Commander who may want Piloting to Cape Henry shall be Piloted thither for Seven Pistoles.[40]

There was one late 18th century pilot about whom far too little is known. He was " Anthony Smith Pilot of S^{t} Marys." No trace of Smith can be found except that in 1776 Messrs Robert Sayer and John Bennett " Map & Chartsellers at N^{o} 55 in Fleet Street," London, published " A new and Accurate Chart of the *Bay of Chesapeake* . . . Drawn from several *Draughts* made by the most Experienced Navigators Chiefly from those of *Anthony Smith* Pilot of St. Marys." The chart to be sure leaned heavily on that drawn by Walter Hoxton about 1735, but much new material was added, and for the first time the Patapsco was charted with some degree of thoroughness. The Potomac, although it had received the attention of hydrographers before, was very carefully charted and even some of the plantations, such as " General Washington's," " Mr. Rozer's," " Col Fairfax " and " Col Addison's " are located. Of the details here " an Officer in the Royal Navy " noted on the chart itself, " These & all other Remarks, Additions,

[37] *Ibid.*, LV, 461, 663; LVI, 190; LIX, 387-338.
[38] *Maryland Gazette*, June 23, 1747.
[39] Hall of Records, Brice Notary Public Books, January 11, 1757.
[40] *Maryland Gazette*, April 10, 1755.

or Alterations which I have made were done upon the Spot and with the Assistance of My Pilot Anthony Smith of St Marys." We wish we could learn more of Pilot Smith who must have been a man of parts, for his Chart was reprinted in both American and French editions as well as English down to 1810.[41]

When the Revolutionary War came, the Maryland pilots were given greater responsibilities than the mere conning of privately owned merchant vessels. Much of the revenues for the conduct of the War came from the sale of tobacco and wheat in the French and Dutch West Indies and in Europe. The state itself owned the vessels, loaded them, and sent them abroad. During the early years of the War the Bay was largely controlled by the Royal Navy and Tory privateers. These as well as the shoals the pilots had to dodge. There was no getting off the vessels at the Capes and returning home: the pilot on State pay remained on board so that there would be no delay waiting for a pilot when the vessel came back loaded with gunpowder, muskets, clothing, and other munitions. Most of the pilots conducted themselves well, several were captured by the British and landed behind bars on the British prison ships. A few scalawags, like Joseph Whaland, of Deal's Island, Andrew McCurley of St. Mary's County and David Hunter of Calvert County, turned Tory and gave their services and knowledge to Lord Dunmore and other picaroons who raided the plantations along the Bay and River shore.[42] In the later days of the War the Maryland pilots aided the French fleet in the Bay both before and after Yorktown.[43] And when Rochambeau and Chastellux were preparing to embark their troops for the return to France, the Maryland Council of Safety wrote to the transport commodore that there was being sent a

> very good Pilot who wil be able to conduct, with the greatest Safety, your Transports to Baltimore. The usual Rate of Pilotage from hence [Annapolis] to Baltimore is twenty Dollars for conducting the first Vessel, and ten Dollars for each Vessel that may follow.[44]

During the War of 1812 there is very little record of the activities of the pilots. The British fleet was virtually in control of the Bay throughout the War, but Baltimore clipper privateers

[41] Copy in Library of Congress, Map Division.
[42] *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 202, 256, 263.
[43] *Ibid.*, XLVII, 504.
[44] *Ibid.*, XLVIII, 238. Winsor, *op. cit.*, VI, 745.

and letters of marque continuously were able to slip by the Royal Navy and get to sea. It is likely they carried their pilots along instead of dropping them at the Capes. On 4 February, 1813, it was reported from Norfolk that when two British 74-gun ships, three frigates and a tender entered the Bay: " they brought to a pilot boat and took pilots from her " but whether the boat was from Norfolk or Baltimore is not recorded.[45] Nor is there a record of those who conducted the British fleets up the Potomac or Patuxent Rivers.

The winning of the War for Independence gave Maryland more than freedom from the British Crown: the equally onerous proprietorship ended too. Once the pressing problems of organizing the Free State had been met, the General Assembly gave its attention to details and on November 5, 1787 passed " An Act to Establish Pilots and to Regulate Fees," the first act covering the Maryland pilots. The law set up a Board of Pilot Examiners composed of some of the most eminent shipping merchants in Baltimore.[46] They were to appoint a " register " and devise a seal; then, when organized, to publicly examine into the skill, ability and capacity of any who presented a court certificate of honesty and good behaviour and paid a fee of 30s. to the board and 5s. to the register. If the applicant passed the examination he was granted for one year a renewable branch (as the license is called) for one of three grades: the first grade covered vessels of any draft; the second, vessels drawing not over twelve feet; and the third, vessels of not over nine feet draft. A first branch pilot had to have three years experience piloting vessels of any draft or else have completed a four year apprenticeship. The Board had to keep a roll of pilots; it could make rules for the conduct of the profession and suspend or revoke the branch of any pilot who broke the rules. In 1790 Maryland created a second board of examiners with the same powers to take care of pilotage on the Potomac River. One of the merchants selected as a member of the first board was Benjamin Stoddert who later became the first Secretary of the Navy.[47]

Once a pilot had passed the examination, he was protected

[45] *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, X, 184.

[46] J. T. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 292.

[47] *Laws of Maryland*, 1787, ch. 26; 1790, ch. 27. See Baltimore *American*, March 26, 1807, for advertisement of examinations and license renewals.

against interlopers by a fine of £50 on those practising without a branch. On his part the pilot had to post a bond of £200 to guarantee faithful performance of his duties. He had to have a boat of 26 feet keel straight rabbit, decked and well found. On its stern, foresail and mainsail there had to be painted in large letters the vessel's name, home port and the number of the pilot's branch. In the use of the boat a pilot could take two licensed partners, and each pilot had to take a white apprentice. During the colonial period Maryland had pilots who were slaves. In fact, the first mention of a pilot in the laws of Maryland, province or state, allows a slave to hire himself as a pilot, the only work in which a slave could contract his labor without recourse to his master. Since the law gave this privilege only to those slaves who were pilots at the time the act was passed, the practise quickly ended.[48] When cruising, the Maryland pilot always had to offer his services to the vessel closest to land even though a more profitable charge was standing in. If a pilot lost a vessel his branch was revoked and if it were proved he had been negligent, the pilot had to pay all damages. If he ran a vessel ashore accidentally, the pilot could collect no fee; if the stranding were through his carelessness, the pilot paid the damages. Should a pilot come upon a vessel in distress and refuse to aid it, the pilot lost his branch forever, and should he attempt to make a salvage contract with such a vessel before rendering aid, the contract was void.[49]

In return for these obligations Maryland gave her pilots the right to collect a fee from all vessels of nine feet draft or over, or if his services were refused, he could collect half the fee, and if an unpiloted vessel followed in the wake of one under charge, the pilot could collect half fee from the follower. The law fixed the fee from the Capes to Baltimore at 8s. 9d. and back to 7s. 6d. for each six inches of draft. Or if the vessel went up the Potomac to Georgetown, the pilot collected one fifth more and the same back. Should the vessel touch at Hampton Roads there was added a fee of 30s. in and 20s. out or if at Annapolis 10s. per day's stay in harbor. When bad weather caught an outward vessel at the Capes and a first rate pilot was carried to sea, he collected monthly wages at £7. 10. 0 per month until his "return or death" if he owned a boat, and if not, £5. Should his boat have been waiting

[48] *Laws*, 1787, ch. 33.

[49] *Ibid.*, ch. 26.

and the pilot was willing to chance getting to her and still he was carried to sea, he then collected £100 and his monthly wage.

Altogether the law in 1787 was an excellent piece of legislation: it protected the pilot and the vessel owner alike and aside from an amendment in 1790 which forced all foreign vessels to take a pilot and pay one third greater fees, and another in 1793 when yellow fever was raging in Baltimore heavily penalizing a pilot who failed to report the arrival of an infection-bearing vessel, the law continued in force until 1852.[50]

In addition to watching over her own pilots, the safety of her trade and all Bay shipping, Maryland made an effort to protect the moral rights of the Virginia pilots as well. In section XX Maryland told her pilots they could not " undertake to conduct or pilot any vessel from sea and bound to any port in the state of Virginia " unless the vessel was picked up below the Horseshoe and no Virginia pilot was present to offer his services. If a Maryland pilot had to take charge of a Virginia bound vessel, he must turn her over to the first Virginia pilot who came along and the Maryland pilot could collect no fees whatsoever. The act continued by saying " it is expected that the legislature of Virginia will make a similar regulation as to vessels from sea and bound to some Maryland port." By this section Maryland made the first of many good-neighbor overtures to her minority partner in the waters of the Chesapeake. There is no record that Virginia through her governor or legislature even so much as acknowledged the offer,[51] and in fact, the Virginia legislature in 1794 prohibited a " pilot residing in another state " from working with a company of Virginia pilots.[52] But in 1801 the Maryland pilots were permitted to apply to the Virginia Board of Examiners for a branch, though the privilege was " not to be enjoyed " until Maryland passed a similar act in favor of the pilots of Virginia. Maryland ignored the gesture since by 1801 Maryland had far more trade than Virginia and the Virginia act was nothing more than an effort to get business for the lower Bay pilots.[53]

In 1803 Maryland repealed the law of 1787 with its 1790 and 1793 supplements and re-enacted all the parts into one law in-

[50] *Laws*, 1793, ch. 56.
[51] Virginia State Librarian to M.V.B., April 24, 1950.
[52] Virginia *Acts of Assembly*, 1794, ch. 167.
[53] *Ibid.*, 1801, ch. 277.

cluding the outstretched hand of section XX, simply changing the fees and fines from pounds, shillings and pence into dollars and cents. One section carried over from the 1790 supplement acknowledged the newly organized Federal government's right to regulate foreign and domestic commerce by stating that the law was to be effective only until the Federal government acted.[54] Uncle Sam displayed more courtesy than his eldest child had done for at the first session of the first Congress pilotage was left for the time being to the several states. But when on March 4, 1837, the Congress did act, perhaps with the Western rivers in mind, it permitted any pilot licensed by a state whose waterways touched upon another state to handle vessels in the water of the other regardless of his knowledge of the channels.

This, of course, gave legal sanction to Virginians piloting vessels up to Baltimore. The Maryland pilots stood for that for almost ten years seeing much of the business going into the pockets of men whose own home port had only one sixth as much entering trade. Then the Maryland pilots asked their legislature to request Congress to repeal its 1837 act. The legislature promptly made the request, but Congress failed to act upon it.[55]

At that time there were ninety-six branch pilots on the register, eighty-two qualified for handling vessels of any draft, eleven for twelve feet, and three for nine feet.[56] There were eight Baltimore boats and an uncounted number of other persons including apprentices directly dependent on the success of the profession. With the Virginia pilots charging whatever fees they could get, (never as much as the Maryland law fixed) the whole Maryland group was being put out of business. In 1852 the legislature repealed the 1803 act and passed a new law which in effect continued all of the earlier act save two sections. The hand of friendship offered to Virginia was withdrawn after 65 years of patient waiting. The other section dealt with fees. It gave the pilot the right to charge any " reasonable " fee.[57] Had the act stopped there the Maryland pilots at least could have competed with the Virginia pilots. But the legislature went further; it allowed any master or vessel owner to pilot his own craft, regardless of the size or the skipper's knowl-

[54] *Laws of Maryland*, 1803, ch. 48.
[55] Resolution No. 57 (*Laws of Maryland*, 1845).
[56] Broadside in Peale Museum, " List of Pilots."
[57] *Laws*, 1852, ch. 188.

edge of the Bay channel, and what skipper has yet lived who in his own secret heart did not believe all pilots were anything more than a bunch of legalized bandits? That ended the Maryland pilots. Up for sale went most of the boats and onto the beach went most of the men.

The few who continued in the profession refused to take the blow without a protest. First of all their charges on vessels owned or commanded by persons who had aided in securing the passage of the non-compulsory pilotage section were more than doubled while old friends were charged old fees. The owners of the ships *Annapolis* and *Seaman* refused to pay the charges and were brought into court, only to find that they not only had to pay the charges but had the cost of the suit to bear as well. Meanwhile all the old pilots were bombarding their legislature with protests.

At the next session of the Assembly a new act was passed which at least helped the pilots although it did more for the owner. A regular schedule of fees was restored—$5 per foot for a 15 foot draft vessel from sea to Baltimore or Georgetown. Pilotage was made compulsory except that the owner or master of a registered vessel or a licensed coaster could take his own craft up the Bay provided he paid six cents per ton burden to the Board of Examiners. The payment was good for a year. No pilot was required for any river except the Patapsco and Potomac. To help placate the pilots the six cents tonnage fee was divided quarterly among all the working pilots with provision for those sick or disabled. These crumbs were better than no bread at all. But more important, the pilots learned what could be accomplished by organized and coordinated activity and in 1852 they organized the Association of Maryland Pilots.[58]

This organization is in many ways similar to a gentleman's club. But few if any clubs are so exclusive in their membership, have so much responsibility, or receive such benefits. For admission, there is first a four year apprenticeship to be served; then a stiff examination to be passed. At one time the initiation fee was one thousand dollars for which the pilot received an undivided non-transferable share in the property of the Association. Once a member, each man took his turn conducting vessels down to the Capes where he was picked up by the boat then cruising and on her he

[58] *Laws*, 1853, ch. 214. *The Sun*, October 5, 1852.

waited his turn to bring up an inbound vessel. Should a pilot refuse to take his turn, he was fined by the Association. All the fees he received for his work were turned into the Association and once a month, after paying all the expenses of the Association including the costs of manning, victualling, and maintaining the boats, the remainder was divided among the pilots in accordance with their branches.[59] In addition to the regular pilotage fees, there were a few incidental earnings which were also divided. There were the fines on pilots who refused their turn (not much was collected for that reason); fines on vessels which illegally traversed the Bay without taking a pilot or paying tonnage; the sales of old rope, sails, etc., from the boats; each year, at least up to 1860, the pilots replaced damaged or put out new buoys in the channels, a service for which they were paid; and largest of all the incidental earnings: salvage of property. For instance, in May, 1858, Charles Nuthall paid the pilots $5. for a canoe evidently found adrift; in February, 1860, they were paid $150. for recovering the anchor and $75. for the hawser of the ship *Star;* in November, 1858, the accounts show "services rendered Schr *Neptune's Bride*, $765.00."[60] Each of these laconic bookkeeper's entries could doubtless tell a story were the facts fully known for the books of the Merchants Exchange Reading Room, (another organization of few words) concerning the last example record:

30 November 1858. Disaster—Schr *Neptune's Bride* at this port from New York, was fallen in with on Saturday last, off Cape Henry, by pilot boat *Coquette*, who on boarding her found 4½ feet water in the hold. She was supplied with six men who pumped her out and threw the deck load overboard. She reached this port yesterday.[61]

Life on board the pilot boats cruising off the Capes day in and day out was no yachtsman's junket, particularly in the days of sail. In the winter there were gales and ice to fight. Take two reports in January, 1837:

The pilot of the *Sterling* reports upon reaching Baltimore from the Capes, that the Pilot Boat *Tally Ho* was out to Sea on the 1st inst. and encountered a heavy gale from the N. W. and weather very cold. The

[59] Interview with Captain Presley Carter, President, and the late Captain John Thursby, Secretary, Association of Maryland Pilots.

[60] MS, Ledger, 1856-60, Association of Maryland Pilots.

[61] Maryland Historical Society, Books of Merchants Exchange ("Arrivals"), Nov. 30, 1858.

Boat was so much loaded with ice forward as to bring her down by the head and very much ice on deck, was afraid would have to run into the Gulph stream.[62]

Ten days later it was reported, " The Pilot Boats *Star* and *Tally Ho* arrived at Norfolk all safe, having been driven off into the Gulph and been out to sea 8 days." [63] In summer there were hurricanes and reports came back to Baltimore, " The Brig *Mary* for Madeira and Sch *Amethyst* went to Sea taking their pilots with them, the gale so severe that no boat could take them off."

On board the boats the pilots lived as well as any master mariners of the time. The account books show no shortages of foodstuffs purchased. There were barrels of beef (salt to be sure), bushels of onions, potatoes, cabbages, barrels of beans, flour, bags of coffee. There were turkeys at Christmas. The pilots themselves did very little of the boats' work except to command. There were hired hands, usually three to a boat, and a cook to do the routine work of " cruizing the boat " and practically all the repairs to sails, rigging, and hull were done by tradesmen in Baltimore. But day and night every pilot was subject to his turn, and no matter when or what might ask his services, and regardless of weather conditions, he had to go. The inbound vessel might be a floating palace; or she might be full of fleas, bedbugs, and scorpions; or, worse, she might be carrying small-pox or the plague. But whatever, dressed as if about to sit for a portrait to give his best girl, he picked up his little bag of gear, climbed over the side of the pilot boat into a yawl, and, with a couple of apprentices at the oars, was pulled over to the inbound vessel. A few hours later he might be in Baltimore ready to take down an outbound vessel; or if winds and tides were foul, if ice or a gale, or any one of the thousand things which might happen on the longest pilot run in United States waters occurred, the pilot might be as long as seventy-two days aboard that vessel.[64]

In 1866 an act of legislature required the Association to keep three pilot boats at sea at all times. One was to cruize fifteen miles to the North of Cape Henry; a second, ten miles East; and the third, fifteen miles South of the Cape. All foreign vessels and vessels registered in foreign trade had to take a pilot if his services

[62] *Ibid.*, January 14, 1837.
[63] *Ibid.*, January 24, 1837.
[64] *The Sun*, September 13, 1936.

were offered " before Cape Henry bears South," which gave skippers a sporting chance to show what turn of speed their craft could make. But seldom did they beat the pilot boats to the finish lines and win a prize of not paying pilotage.[65] Coasting vessels were exempt, and in 1896 to give a slight subsidy to colliers using Baltimore, thereby equalizing the charges of those using Newport News and Norfolk, all flying the United States flag were exempt from pilotage fees and requirements.[66] When the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal was dredged to a depth which would allow seagoing vessels to enter and leave the Bay via " a back door," pilotage was extended to include the run between the canal mouth on Elk River and Baltimore. Today the canal is responsible for about 40% of the pilot's work.

Shortly before the formation of the Association in 1852 there had been eight Baltimore boats; *Comet, Selim* (named for a famous race horse) *Liberty, Henry Clay, Baltimore, Tally Ho, Pocahontas*, and *Constitution*, each with six pilots in partnership. They cruized from Cape Henlopen to Cape Hatteras looking for inbound craft, racing to get the job when more than one boat sighted it. Earnings then were divided " in the boat " in accordance with the partnership agreement of the boat's company. When a boat became worn out or slow the company replaced her. Thus the *Eclipse, Dart*, and *Canton* joined the squadron. After the organization of the Association it owned the *Canton, Boston, Coquette, Fashion, Invincible, Maryland, W. H. Silver*, and the last of the sailing pilot boats, the *Calvert*, built 1873. All of these were main topmast schooners, and their hulls bespoke the Baltimore Clipper in their clean sharp lines.[67] In 1880 the Association built the steamer *Pilot* said to be the first steam pilot boat used in the United States. But even with boilers and engines the pilots retained the fore and main masts of their schooners. With occasional refurbishing the *Pilot* stayed on duty until December, 1917. Other steam or motor vessels owned by the Association were the *Relief, Maryland*, 1885, a second *Maryland*, 1922, *William D. Sanner*, and *Baltimore* (ex *Vedette*), *Baltimore* (ex *Rene*), and *Felicia*. The last two named are the present pilot boats.

Even with powerful engines, radio, and all the modern gadgets,

[65] *Laws*, 1866, ch. 25.
[66] *Laws*, 1896, ch. 40.
[67] *The Sun*, May 26, 1907.

the work of today's pilots is not without its dangers. In 1917 the *Pilot* was run down and sunk by a Norfolk bound steamer and in 1938 the *William D. Sanner* was rammed by the British ship *Levernbank*. There were twenty-six men on board at the time, thirteen pilots and ten hands; somehow all managed to squeeze into the small boats and were picked up by the Virginia pilot boat.

For well over three hundred years, the pilots have guarded the commerce that is the life-blood of Baltimore. They have seen the Bay change from an unmarked, uncharted course, filled with dangers of shoal, fog, ice, collision, and gale to one with every imaginable aide to safe navigation. Their services are as necessary today as they were to Lord Baltimore's *Ark* and *Dove*, and it is unlikely any amount of radar, sonar, loran, lights, and buoys will ever displace the knowledge and skill of the human pilot.

Pictures, Plans, and Models of Pilot Boats

Since the Virginia pilot boat became in time a recognized type of watercraft, renowned for its speed, sea-keeping qualities, ability on the wind, and eventually developed into the Baltimore clipper, the boat itself is worthy of attention. Unfortunately little has come down to us concerning its early history or characteristics. It probably came into existence as such about 1700, but the first one specifically mentioned was a lost or stolen "Pilot-Boat, with Two masts, Twenty Four Foot Keel, Nine Foot Beam painted red . . ." advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* of July 15, 1737. From then on the pilot boat is frequently mentioned in the *Gazette*, but only two characteristics are apparent. First, the design was sufficiently different from that of the ordinary vessel to warrant mention; for example, John Table of Norfolk advertised "a new Boat on the stocks finished and ready for launching, is *built on the Pilot Boat construction* and of the following dimensions, 50 feet keel, 19 foot beam, 3 foot hold, moulded." And the other factor is that almost every pilot boat offered for sale or charter was said "to sail remarkably fast." Further evidence that the pilot boat had become a recognized type is found in the Virginia Act of 1762 which required each pilot to have a boat fitted and rigged "in the usual manner." But little else can be milked from the descriptions that have been found, and pictures, models, and plans are completely lacking until after the War for Independence.

The earliest pictures are two by G. Tobin probably painted in 1795. One is an engraving published in the *Naval Chronicle*, 1815, after Tobin's original: "A Virginia Pilot-Boat, with a distant view of Cape Henry at the entrance of the Chesapeak" depicting the *Mary* of Norfolk. The second is a water color in the National Maritime Museum: "The Thetis Careened and Repairing at Gosport, Virginia" in which is shown the

pilot boat *Hamilton* of Norfolk. A third pilot boat, the *Ann* of Norfolk, was drawn by J. Rogers, 1825, in a colored lithograph, "A Virginia Pilot-Boat Getting Underway," a copy of which is owned by The Mariners' Museum. The identification of the boat is positive because the pictures show it had complied with a Virginia law of 1791 which required each boat to have her name and home port painted on the foresail in letters at least nine inches high. It is interesting that these boats, two of 1795 and the third of 1825, are almost identical in appearance and that they are also close to the actual plans of other Virginia and Maryland pilot boats of both earlier and later days. This indicates that the craft had developed its characteristics fully by 1795 and changed very little for a considerable period. Three other pictures of Bay pilot boats, before photography became general, are known to exist. A primitive but none the less accurate oil painting of the schooner *York* of Baltimore, now in the collections of the Maryland Historical Society. The painting is undated but it is probably of the period 1860-1865 and shows some changes in appearance from the earlier boats. The *York* judging by the figures of the crew was a larger, more heavily built schooner, and the presence of a long head gives her more the look of a commercial vessel than a pilot boat. A second, equally primitive, is the *Commerce* of Baltimore of about 1850. There is an undated photograph of two unidentified pilot schooners in the Peale Museum, and Mr. W. C. Steuart has a photograph of the schooner *Calvert*, the last Maryland sailing pilot boat. The Association of Maryland Pilots has pictures of all the steam and motor propelled vessels. Doubtless there are other representations of pilot boats extant: paintings, drawings, or photographs, which it is hoped will come to light.

Of the working drawings of Bay pilot boats at least five are known. One of these is a schooner named the *Courieuse* which appears to have been purchased by a British consul to carry dispatches warning a British squadron of the presence of a French fleet on the American coast. Her lines were taken off by the Admiralty and are now in the National Maritime Museum. The second is another drawing made by the Admiralty, "H.M.S. *Swift* (was Virginia pilot-boat) 1803," the title of the drawing informs us. The third, made about 1820 by a French naval architect Marestier, is reproduced in his *Memoire sur Les Bateaux a Vapeur des Etats-Unis . . .* (Paris, 1824). The fourth appears in John Knowles, *Naval Architecture* (London, 1822) and is titled "*Virginia Pilot Schooner.*" The fifth is the schooner *Lafayette*, whose lines were put on paper by the United States Naval Constructor Francis Grice in 1837. Plans of no later craft appear to be known, but builders' half-models of two, and possibly a third, exist. The Maryland Historical Society owns a rigged sailor's model of a pilot schooner.

THE CAREER OF JOHN SEYMOUR, GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND, 1704–1709

By CHARLES B. CLARK

THOUGH John Seymour served as the Chief Executive of Maryland for five years, appears in contemporary records, and is mentioned in histories of Maryland and of the American Colonies, no account of his life and career has appeared in print. Seymour seems typical of the governors of Maryland during the royal period, 1692-1715, when Lord Baltimore lost all but his land rights in Maryland. It was a period when a marked change in the constitutional character of the government of the province took place.[1] The lower branch of the Assembly was gradually assuming greater powers while at the same time disputing and attempting to curtail those exercised by the royal governor. The Assembly " was the school in which the assertion of liberty found experience, and wherein was obtained the training which, two generations later, showed the freemen of the American colonies qualified to take their part as the legislators of an infant nation." [2]

Little is known of Seymour prior to his appointment as governor of Maryland. His specific qualifications are not known, although his experience seemed to fit him for the early 18th century concept of a colonial governor. A native of England, he had served for thirty years in the British military organization. He was a married man and was survived at the time of his death in 1709 by his wife, two sons, and a daughter. Seymour's son Berkley, following his father's death, petitioned the Queen for a " moiety " or portion of the duties collected from ships sailing from Maryland at the

[1] Clayton C. Hall, *The Lords Baltimore and the Maryland Palatinate* (Baltimore, 1902), p. 135. For a short, concise presentation of the royal period, see Charles B. Clark (ed.), *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia* (New York, 1950), I, 251-263.

[2] Hall, *loc. cit.*

time of his father's death. Berkley pointed out the need of his father's heirs and of the necessity of paying debts and legacies. This petition, along with other evidence, indicates that Seymour was not a wealthy man.[3]

As one would suspect in the case of a public official, opinion on Seymour is divided among those who have learned something about him. The historian Herbert L. Osgood [4] has observed that the comments which Seymour made when transmitting laws to England indicate he had more than ordinary knowledge of the law and described him as a proud, assertive, and self-important man and a strong supporter of the Protestant Church. He was indeed an unrelenting foe of the Catholic Church. A writer on religious toleration in Maryland states that Seymour's administration " was especially notable for its impudent intolerance." [5] He added that the " name of Governor Seymour will go down in Maryland history with little that is manly and honorable attached to it." [6]

The first official mention of Seymour was made in a communication on January 7, 1703, from the Earl of Nottingham, Secretary of State, to the Council of Trade and Plantations, hereafter referred to as the Board. It read: " The Queen commands me to acquaint you that shee has appointed Col. John Seymour to be governor of Maryland, and would therefore have you prepare a draught of such instructions, as you shall judge necessary on this occasion and present the same to H. M." [7] Four days later Seymour presented a letter to the Board acquainting " their Lordships that H. M. has been pleased to appoint him to be Governor of Maryland," etc.[8] Directions were thereby given for his Commission and instructions. Prepared accordingly, they were read and agreed upon by the Board. Instead of bothering to draw up a new

[3] For Berkley Seymour's petition see *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, American and West Indies* (London, 1860-1936), XXV, 79, 161, and XXVI, 20. For a short sketch of Seymour, see *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1897), VII, 335.

For a few miscellaneous letters written by Seymour, most of which may also be found in the *Archives of Maryland* and the *Calendar of State Papers*, see Seymour Papers, Maryland Historical Society. This manuscript collection was purchased in 1937 by the Society through the Peabody Institute from Maggs Brothers in London. It was restored and bound in 1947 by the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Maryland.

[4] *American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1924), II, 199.

[5] William T. Russell, *Maryland: The Land of Sanctuary* (Baltimore, 1907), p. 376.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 390.

[7] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXI, 106.

[8] *Ibid.*, XXI, 112, 118, 121.

set, instructions which had been prepared for other colonial governors were duplicated with a few variations to suit the Maryland situation. A few lines from the lengthy instructions will give an idea of Seymour's powers:

> He is to take the oaths and test, which the Council are to administer . . . and he is to administer the same to each Councillor. He is empowered to suspend Members of the Council, and also Lieutenant Governors and appoint others, pro tem. Five [changed to three] Councillors shall form a quorum. Vacancies in the Council are to be signified by the first opportunity, but the Governor is empowered to make the number up to seven [changed to nine], pro tem. He is empowered to summon Assemblies of Freeholders and Planters, the laws made by them, with the advice and consent of the Governor and Council, to be transmitted to the King within three months under the Public Seal for approbation or disallowance. The Governor to enjoy a negative voice in the passing of all laws, etc., and to adjourn, prorogue or dissolve the Assembly as he thinks fit. He is entrusted with the Great Seal, the administration of oaths, the erection of Courts of Judicature, the commissionating of persons to administer oaths . . . the power of pardoning offenders other than traitors and murderers . . . power . . . to erect a Court Admiral and to be Vice-Admiral; to appoint captains, etc., of ships, with commissions to execute martial law in time of war, but without jurisdiction over H. M. ships. All public moneys to be issued by warrant from the governor with consent of the Council. He is empowered to dispose of lands under moderate quitrents, and to appoint fairs, ports, and custom houses. . . . Upon his death or absence, the Council to take the administration of the government and the first councillor to preside.[9]

This commission was signed on February 12, 1703, and sent to Colonel Seymour three days later with a notation which read: "With these our instructions you will receive our commission under the great seal of Great Britain, constituting you our Captaine General and Governor in Chief in and over our Province and Territory of Maryland in America." [10] Prior to the issuance of these instructions, the Board on January 26, 1703, had ordered that the President and Council of Maryland be informed of Seymour's appointment and of his projected early departure for the colony. On the same day, Colonel Nathaniel Blakiston, former royal Governor of Maryland (1698/9–1702) and now an agent for Maryland in England, attended with Colonel Seymour the Board meeting in connection with affairs of Maryland. On February 1 they attended

[9] *Ibid.*, XVII, 213; XXI, 118, 194.
[10] Leonard W. Labaree (ed.), *Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors, 1670-1776* (New York, 1935), I, 7.

another Board meeting at which the third Lord Baltimore was present in connection with his land rights in Maryland.[11]

Colonel Seymour, however, was not to arrive in Maryland for several months. His instructions were changed and augmented several times. On March 11 a new set of instructions for him were sent to the Queen for approval. They listed the Maryland Council members, made provision for the Governor's salary, and allowed appeals from inferior courts to the Governor and Council and on to Her Majesty in Privy Council if the case involved over £300 sterling and if appeal were made within fourteen days after sentence. The appellant was to give good security and execution of the sentence could not be suspended by reason of the appeal to the Privy Council. But rather than encourage appeals, Seymour was instructed to have a law in Maryland to limit the number of appeals to the Governor and Council.[12]

On March 8 Governor Seymour presented a memorial to the Board relating to the charge of his transportation and requesting extracts from the office dealing with allowances made to former governors for the same purpose.[13] Colonel Blakiston prepared a letter for Seymour to carry to Maryland which introduced him as Blakiston's " old friend & worthy Acquaintance." It assured the Maryland Assemblymen of Blakiston's great veneration for them and of his desire for their ease and government, specifying that " if itt had been att my owne Election, I could not haue wished you a person of more strict honour and justice, and the best naturall Disposition you would hope for." Blakiston was " very well assured " that they would " receiue the same blessing " from Seymour and whatever " Marks of favour you will shew him he will truely meritt itt." [14] Because of Seymour's delay in sailing, however, the letter was sent to Maryland by other hands. On October 27, 1703, Thomas Tench, President of the Maryland Council, informed his fellow members and the Assemblymen that Blakiston suggested that they be convened before winter in order to meet and congratulate Seymour upon his arrival, the date of which was

[11] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXI, 158, 152, 171-172. The proprietor's land rights were not taken from him when he lost other rights and powers during the royal period.

[12] *Ibid.*, XXI, 250. These instructions were approved by the Council on March 20, 1703. *Ibid.*, 280.

[13] *Ibid.*, XXI, 241, 242.

[14] *Archives of Maryland*, XXIV, 362.

uncertain.[15] That same day Tench reported to Blakiston that the Maryland Council was delighted at the prospect of Seymour's arrival.[16] In the same month of October Sir Thomas Lawrence, Secretary of Maryland, wrote to the Board that upon returning to Maryland from New York he had proceeded via Virginia in hopes of "meeting H. E. Coll. Seymour, our governor, and of attending him to Maryland, but as yet we have no news of that fleet. . . ." [17]

Seymour's explanation of his delay is the most interesting. On May 23, 1704, he wrote to England: "It was Aprill 10 ere a most uncomfortable, tedious winter passage of neare 7 months (in which wee were for a long tyme reduced to ye poor allowance of one pint of water each day) permitted my arrival here on H. M. S. Dreadnought." [18] In the meantime the British Board of Trade and Plantations had become quite anxious about his arrival. On February 16, 1704, they had addressed him that "We expect to hear shortly of your arrival in Maryland, and that you have found all things in good order there: we have not had anything before us relating to that Province since your departure. . . ." The Board wrote to Seymour again on March 17 and a third time on May 23 before hearing from him. The last letter read: "Since ours of March 17, we have heard from Sir Bevill Granville that you have been forced from the coast of Virginia to Barbadoes, and giving us an account of the hardships you had undergone, for which we are heartily sorry. And we hope that long before this you are safely arrived in your government." [19]

Maryland's new governor had thus reached the seat of his government fifteen months after his appointment and seven months after his departure from England. There is no account that he ever revisited England and doubtless the nature of his westward voyage influenced this. Once in Maryland, Seymour lost no time settling down to business. On April 12 he summoned the Council and had his commission read while those present "payd all due Obedience thereto." The next step consisted of administering the various oaths to the Governor and then to the Council, qualifying everybody by the process. The Governor then expressed a desire to meet the General Assembly and it convened on April 26. The

[15] *Ibid.*, 314.
[16] *Ibid.*, 316.
[17] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXI, 767-768.
[18] *Ibid.*, XXII, 133. Another account says he arrived on April 11, *ibid.*, 141-142.
[19] *Ibid.*, XXII, 42, 80, 135.

House was described as a " very thinn one, their mercantile affairs in so great an hurry and the staple of this Province being so much later than that of Virginia, necessarily requiring everybody's presence at home to dispatch their respective concerns therein." These concerns were called England's as well, since they dealt with tobacco, other products, and shipping.[20]

Since the Assembly had been called three years earlier under the authority of King William, Seymour decided not to make any more use of it than necessary.[21] He addressed the Council and Assembly jointly, stating that since Her Majesty had been " Graciously pleased to entrust " him with the governorship he thought it proper to acquaint them that he had long served the crown with a " Dutifull Fidelity " and had always been a true lover of his country under its " Noble constitution in church & State." Seymour announced that " To a truely honest man of what perswasion so ever my Ears and Bosom too shall be ever open, for good Moralls will always haue a just Esteem in my friendship, and a well grounded sincerity shall never be denyed a rightfull Clayme to my Protection." He would lend his " concurrent assistance in Every thing that has vertue and religion at bottom," knowing that the Queen allowed a " free Tolleraon to all her Protestant Subjects, within this Province." He assured them that " Dureing my Administration here I'le doe my utmost to advance the Interest and Reputation of this Colonny, and protect Every inhabitant within itt in his lawfull rights, and Immunityes." Seymour then brought up a subject that will become very familiar. He said that inasmuch as they could not " think the Place where I am att present a healthy situation, or a place fitt for agent that bears a Publick Character " he hoped they would not think him " unreasonable craving to putt you in mind her Majesty is willing to haue some place built, and sett apart for her Governour here." He said it would be a lasting token of their regard for the dignity of his commission and would be an ornament to the province as well as a satisfaction to those who should succeed him. He had not been well provided for, having been domiciled in a rented house so urgently in need of repair that he appealed for funds to make it temporarily livable. Seymour closed his address by stating that

[20] *Archives of Maryland*, XXIV, 327-328, XXV, 173-174; *Calendar of State Papers*, XXII, 133, 141.
[21] *Archives of Maryland*, XXIV, 328-329.

Marylanders were very fortunate indeed to be subjects of Queen Anne.[22]

Seymour next proceeded to have the royal instructions read and requested the "answer and assistance" of the Assembly. Whereupon the Assemblymen informed the new Governor:

> Wee haue read and deliberately considered of what your Excellency was pleased to say to us att the opening of this sessions, and wee are well Satisfied that you haue long and faithfully serued the Crowne, like a true English Gent, & that giues us the full Assurance that you will continue to doe soe, in being a good and Just Governor to us, and that Every man of honesty & good moralls will find itt.[23]

Indicating at once an eagerness to work harmoniously with the legislators, Seymour sent them this response: "Yours . . . I have rec'd with a due sense of your ready and hearty recognition of her Most Sacred Majesty, and respect to my selfe, for which I returne you my hearty thanks, and will always endeavour to preserue among you, the good Esteem you conceiue of me. . . ."[24]

Harmony prevailed—the Governor, the Council, and the Assembly appeared cooperative and entirely satisfied with each other. The first session of the Assembly under Seymour lasted from April 26 to May 3, 1704, and, though short, made some progress in the affairs of government. As instructed, it passed an act of recognition of the Queen. Then, having explicit orders to rewrite the laws of Maryland, the matter was taken up for short consideration. Forseeing that creating order and understanding out of previously enacted legislation would be a time-consuming task, the good lawmakers decided to table the problem and proceeded to that of provincial defense as a more pressing concern.[25]

Instructions stated that "all Planters and Christian servants" were to be "well and fittly provided with arms," adequately trained, and kept in readiness for any emergency that might arise. Seymour had discovered, however, that the militia was "very ill regulated and unserviceable." The Assembly therefore revived an act of June 8, 1699, which called for the enlistment of all males from ages sixteen to sixty. These men were to equip themselves and be trained whenever necessary at designated places. For any

[22] *Ibid.*, XXIV, 328-329, 357-358.
[23] *Archives of Maryland*, XXIV, 335, 329-335, 361.
[24] *Ibid.*, XXIV, 337.
[25] *Ibid.*, XXIV, 339-341, 409.

refusal to cooperate in this program, each enlisted man or his "Master Mistress or Overseer," if responsible, should be fined one hundred pounds of tobacco. "Horse forces," with "Trumpetts and Coulers" to accompany them, were to be raised also. The Province was to bear all expenses while actual service was being rendered. Negroes and slaves were to be exempt from training or other military service. Widows and wounded soldiers were to receive pensions, and a detailed scale of pay for soldiers and officers was worked out. But even this extensive system did not satisfy Seymour. He felt that the principles of some people, like Quakers, and the poverty of others unable to provide arms and munitions for themselves would cause the plan to break down. He reported to England that he would attempt to strengthen the defense in a manner that would place less burden upon the people and not compel them to neglect their "mayne affaire of cropps." [26] He promised to send as early as possible an account of all arms, ammunition, and stores that came to Maryland from the London ordinance office and of those otherwise purchased by Maryland. Likewise he would see that storehouses were erected throughout the Province. The Governor closed by reporting that the Assembly was cold to the suggestion that a general survey of the Province should be taken for the purpose of disclosing every county landing place and harbor. Nor did they warm up to the idea of erecting new harbors and fortifications, but Seymour said he would keep pushing these projects.[27]

A matter of great concern to Seymour from the beginning and which came in for attention during the first session of the Assembly under him was his salary. In Maryland, revenue raised by the tax of two shillings on each hogshead of exported tobacco amounted to about £3,200 in 1701. Of this amount, £1,600 belonged to the Proprietor and the other £1,600 was to be applied by the Assembly to the expenses of government. Of the latter amount, £400 was used to buy arms and the remaining £1,200 went toward the governor's salary. An additional three pence per hogshead had also been levied to raise the governor's compensation under Governor Blakiston. This extra levy was expected to raise about £500 additional salary a year and helped to offset the

[26] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXII, 133-134; *Archives of Maryland*, XXIV, 415; *ibid.*, XXII, 562-567.
[27] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXII, 133-134.

absence of a mansion for the governor. The Council had secured permission from the Queen to handle the Governor's salary in this manner. Comparatively, the Maryland governor with a salary in money of £1700 was well paid. The Governor of New York was receiving only £600, with an attempt being made to double it. Seymour's salary was better than that of any British colonial governor except the governor-in-chief of Jamaica who received £2,500 a year.[28]

In following up the salary question, Governor Seymour had trouble shortly after his arrival with Thomas Tench, who had presided over Maryland as a member of the Maryland Council during the interim prior to Seymour's arrival. Seymour related to the Board that Tench, "being a craving person and not satisfyed with the advantage of the best part of 1,000 l. ster. (which my ill fortune in being so long in my passage hither presented him with) . . . insists upon a moyety" of the tax on tobacco on board ship, but not shipped, at the time Seymour arrived. Seymour pleaded with the Board not to allow Tench this money. Blakiston, agent for Maryland, told the Board that Tench's demands were unreasonable and that he possessed no right to such a moiety since the ships were not cleared until after Seymour's arrival. The Board concurred, replying: "As to Mr. Tench's pretensions of having one half of the 12.*d*. per hogshd. of such tobacco as was cleared after your [Seymour's] arrival, we can by no means think it reasonable, and we doubt not but you will take care accordingly."[29]

Seymour, in this same report to England, included a statement that the Secretary of the Province, Sir Thomas Lawrence, "finding himself much impaired in his health, and uneasye in his office," and having been denied the continuation of his ordinary licenses by the Assembly, desired to return to England, leaving a well qualified person or deputy in his office. Seymour was forwarding official papers by Lawrence, including copies of laws passed by the Assembly.[30] Acts passed and not mentioned above provided for such action as the naturalization of three new inhabitants, for the sale of lands of a deceased resident of Talbot County and of

[28] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXI, 367-368; Labaree, *op. cit.*, I, 254-256; *Archives of Maryland*, XXIV, 329-330, 358-359.

[29] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXII, 134, 238. *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, April 1704–February 1708-9* (London, 1920), p. 37.

[30] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXII, 135. For detailed descriptions of these acts, see *Archives of Maryland*, XXIV, 409, 423.

a man from Somerset County in order to cover their debts, and for the revival of an act limiting officers' fees, for the revival of an act for quieting differences that might arise between the inhabitants and the Indians.

In acknowledging the Governor's letter and public papers, the Board expressed satisfaction that Seymour had finally reached Maryland safely after the " fatigues of so tedious and dangerous a voyage." Regarding the militia's poor state, the Board ordered that Quakers who would not bear arms must " by money or otherwise substitute other persons to perform that duty in their stead." For inhabitants who could not afford arms, the same should be provided " out of the fund of 3 d. per hhd." Also an adequate sum should be kept on hand with which to purchase arms in England through Blakiston.[31]

Seymour, at the end of the first legislative session, had made a good impression not only in England, but in Maryland. On May 1 the Council and Assembly wrote jointly to Blakiston: " The character you are pleased to giue of our present governor John Seymour Esquire, wee find verifyed in fact, and esteem our selues extreamely happy in his Excy, & belieue wee shall dayly haue cause more and more soe to doe." [32] Seymour, for his part, expressed satisfaction with the Council and Assembly, thanking them for himself and in the name of the Queen for their " hearty Endeavours." Except for wishing they could have remained in session longer to tackle some of the other urgent matters, he had not " the least reason to be Dissatisfyed " with their proceedings.[33]

The Governor was now ready for a temporary change of scenery and on June 6, 1704, he informed the Council that on or about the 13th he planned to " take a Short Journey to the Northward " for the double purpose of conferring with Governor Cornberry of New York and for the " preservation " of his health since Maryland's " hott Sultry weather " seemed to disagree with him. Leaving instructions in case of emergency, the Governor was off with the approval of the Council.[34]

The second legislative session of Maryland under Governor Seymour, from September 5 to October 3, 1704, was one of the

[31] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXII, 237-238.
[32] *Archives of Maryland*, XXIV, 393.
[33] *Ibid.*, XXIV, 408.
[34] *Archives of Maryland*, XXV, 176.

most important of his five and a half years of administration. He advised the Assembly that there were many weighty matters to be dealt with and warned them against any " Sly Insinuations (that ill grounded Jealousies may foment to the disadvantage of the publick) [which] should render what her Majesty most graciously designed for your welfare and happy Establishment ineffectuall." Then, as a " plain Dealer " he sought their cooperation in enacting " good wholesome Laws," and asked them to check " any clandestine machination levelled against your Constitution." He then blasted members of the Established Church as well as dissenters and Catholics for licentiousness, profanity, and " breaking the Lord's Day." He could not " but take notice that the many domestick Immoralityes within this province are great Scandals to the Religion we profess." Laws were being defied, and there were " Unwarrantable practises Scarce ever heard of in civilized countries." Good laws must be passed and then enforced to cope properly with the situation. Virtue and religion must be restored as guiding lights to make the Province flourish. Seymour next spoke of the " Illness " of the house provided for him, referring to it as the only thing that had made him uneasy since his arrival. If Assemblymen felt he deserved no better, he would somehow make himself satisfied. With a final charge to work harmoniously, thereby favorably impressing the Mother Country, other colonies, and the people they represented, Seymour closed his address.[35]

On September 8 Governor Seymour presented the Assembly with royal instructions for revising Maryland's body of laws. The Assembly buckled down to work and passed over seventy acts before adjourning on October 3. There was an act to encourage the importation of rum, sugar, Negroes, and other commodities, while another imposed a tax on " Rumm Spiritts Wines and Brandy " brought from Pennsylvania. The sale of liquor to Indians was prohibited in their towns. Such routine problems received attention as improvement of highways, the speedy trial and punishment of criminals, the prevention of the " growth of popery," the relief of creditors, and the prohibition of excessive usury.[36]

Prior to the meeting of the next Assembly, Maryland passed through a series of troubles. One authority described the year 1704 as one " somewhat disturbed by a conspiracy of discontented

[35] *Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, 27-29, 101-103.
[36] *Ibid.*, XXVI, 36-39, 220-367, 94, 119.

debtors and others who attempted with the aid of the negroes and Indians, to seize the government, in order to discharge their incumbrances by assuming the administration." [37] The climax of a bad year occurred on October 17 when the Capitol at Annapolis was burned. Some other buildings, including the provincial court house, were also burned. Despite the fact some arrests were made, arson was never proven although strongly suspected.

On the day following the fire, Governor Seymour called a meeting of all available members of the Assembly to consider this " Sad Occasion." He proposed that some place be found to lodge records that had been saved and to serve as a meeting place of the Provincial and County Courts. Records ultimately were lodged in the " ffree schoole " where shelves were built to accommodate them. Commissary records were ordered lodged on the back porch of the school which was to be " made Tight." It was then resolved that a " Day of Humiliation " be set aside. The Council designated November 29 and directed that a report should be made on that day of all land and provincial records saved. Meanwhile, all the clerks in town were to assist in sorting and checking the records to determine which ones were missing. Temporarily, the remains of the brick building should be " Secured by under propping and Shoaring or otherwise as workmen Shall advise." The " forty foot house " of Colonel Edward Dorsey next to the Capitol Hill was to be rented at £20 a year for the Assembly meeting and for sessions of the Provincial and county courts.[38] The governor and the council met in the Treasury Building. In order to prevent future fires, especially in the public buildings, a " Trusty Sober person [should] be appointed to go about the Towne at Eight of the Clock and Tenn of the Clock every Night in the Winter to Warne people to have a care of their ffires and to take into his Custody and bring before a Magistrate any Disorderly persons." The watchman's salary was to be £10 a year.[39]

The Loss of the Capitol was a particularly bitter dose, inasmuch as only five years had elapsed since it had been partly destroyed by lightning while the lower house was in session on July 13, 1699.

When the legislature met in December, 1704, Governor Seymour advised the body as follows:

[37] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879) I, 375.
[38] *Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, 391-392. The assembly was to be summoned by the beating of a drum.
[39] *Archives of Maryland*, XXV, 180-181.

Since the unhappy Accident your Court House & some of our Laws burnt has induced this present Meeting of the Country his Excellency thought it might conduce to the obviating the publick Charge of detaining the Session for the Transcribing (some being very long) to have the Bills which were read in the House sent for from the late Speaker's House in Charles County & having ordered them to be transcribed against your Meeting they are with the original Draught of the said Bills herewith recommended to your Consideration for the reenacting thereof if you see fit."

The Governor then spoke more clearly and took the legislators to task in this manner: "The late melancholy Accident might have been prevented, had my often Admonition took place, for I never yet saw any publiq building left Solely to Providence but in Maryland. I hope this sad experiment will awaken your Care for the time to come." Seymour left the rebuilding entirely up to them. He recommended in conjunction with the Council that the Lower House send for "four or five small water engines and twenty leather buckets" which "may be hung up in the Court House and ready upon any such unhappy occasion." The Governor next advised the lawmakers to avoid all "Heats and Misconstructions," and to strive "Joyntly and heartily, to serve the Country the best & most judicious way . . . and oppose whatever may be Imagined prejudiciall to it. . . ." [40]

The Council, in reply to the Governor's message, stated their aim was that of the English Crown and that they would avoid all jealousies and work for the good of the Province. The Lower House gave the same promise and indicated their intention of rebuilding the Capitol at once. During this short session fourteen acts were passed. Most of them were of routine character. The most important was the act for rebuilding the Capitol. Complete details for this structure were specified. It was to cost one thousand pounds sterling, or the equivalent in "Dollars or pieces of Eight at four Shillings and six pence a piece as they now pass within this Province." Walls which had remained standing and the foundation were to be used again. The architect of this and other public buildings, William Bladen, was compelled to give "good security to his Excellency the Governour of two thousand pounds Sterl to perform the same within Eighteen months." [41]

The fourth session of the Maryland Assembly under Governor

[40] *Ibid.*, XXVI, 395, 371-375, 390-391.
[41] *Ibid.*, XXVI, 375, 394-395, 427-428.

Seymour was originally set for May 15, 1705, but it was May 17 before any progress was made. Rainy weather, the late arrival of many delegates, and the illness of the Speaker all contributed to the delay. In his opening address on the 17th, the Governor at once complained: "'Tis very Evident the Treasonable Villanous practices of some Amongst us has encouraged the Indians to Comitt their Barbaritys on our fellow subjects" by informing them that the Colony was insufficiently armed and by contriving to bring about an open rebellion. An investigation was in order, he felt, for Maryland was threatened by "all Sorts of Enemies abroad, & Villains in our owne Bowells" who would "enervate & unhinge" their constitution. Unless these disturbances were crushed an open rebellion might result.[42]

Among the laws enacted in this short session was one providing for the relief of Anne Arundel County and for all persons adversely affected by the loss of records in the Capitol fire. Instructions were given to resurvey the County and to readjust land titles lost in the fire. Another act concerned one Richard Clark of Anne Arundel County. According to a statement made under oath to the Assembly, Clark and his accomplices had hatched a "very wicked and treasonable conspiracy . . . to Seize upon the Magazine and upon his Excellency the Governour and overturn her Majesties Government and to bring the heathen Indians together with the said Conspirators to Cutt off and Extirpate the Inhabitants of this Province." Clark had evaded capture and the law provided that unless he surrendered to the governor or to a council member to be tried for treason within twenty days after the Assembly session ended he should "by force and virtue of this Act . . . be Outlawed and shall forfeit his good and Chattells Lands and Tenements as an out lawed Pson." The records mention villainous Clark frequently, for he was the subject of much concern. He and Benjamin Celie were said to "lye out from the Inhabitants and ride armed threatening the Death of Several of her Majestys good Subject here and putting the Inhabitants in Terrour of their Lifes and Robing their houses."[43] The Council had offered ten pounds reward to anyone capturing Clark or/and Celie. The former in particular was wanted in connection with the afore-

[42] *Ibid.*, XXVI, 439-441, 475-477.
[43] *Ibid.*, XXVI, 506-518; XXV, 185.

mentioned plot to seize the government and for questioning about the burning of the Capitol.

The May, 1705, session also acted to prevent a breach of peace between the neighboring Indians and the inhabitants of the Province, and provided for the punishment of persons who should "take Entice Surprize sell or transport or cause to be Sold or transported out of this province Or Otherwise dispose of Any friend Indian or Indians whatsoever . . . without license from the Gouernour." [44]

The Assembly was prorogued on May 25, 1705, and met again on April 2, 1706. Meanwhile, on July 3, 1705, Seymour wrote to the Board in England for the first time since September 29 of the previous year.[45] He reported much progress in the revision and reenactment of laws and commented upon other problems, such as his conflict with Roman Catholics. Paradoxically, he was accused by a "Renegado Romish priest" of being a "favourer of papists and governed by them," but the Assembly had taken public action to do him justice. Actually, Seymour was anything but a friend of the Roman Catholic Church. Shortly after his arrival in Maryland in 1704 he had delivered a stinging rebuke to two Catholic priests, Robert Brooke and William Hunter, who were charged with saying mass in the Chapel at St. Mary's. The priests were ordered to cease their priestly activities and to remember that they were on sufferance as undesirables. The Governor warned them that he was an "English Protestant Gentleman" who could never equivocate, and admonished them thus:

> It is the unhappy temper of you and all your tribe to grow insolent upon civility. . . . You might methinks be content to live quietly as you may and let the Exercise of your Superstitious Vanities be confirmed to yourself without proclaiming them at publick places unless you expect by your gawdy shows and Serpentine Policy to amuse the multitude and beguile the unthinking weakest part of them an Act of Deceit well Known to be amongst you.[46]

Seymour ordered the Sheriff to seal the Chapel and keep the key. Then, warning the priests against an additional offense, he stated that he would not have been so lenient in the aforementioned case had not it been their first effense. The Assembly took

[44] *Ibid.*, XXVI, 523.
[45] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXII, 552-553, 681.
[46] *Ibid.*, XXIII, 196; *Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, 44-46.

action also, passing a law in September, 1704, which subjected any bishop, priest, or Jesuit who should say mass or administer the rites of the Church within the province to a fine of fifty pounds and imprisonment for six months.[47] In discussing this act, the Reverend Dr. Francis L. Hawks remarked:

> The enactment enforced a gross violation of the best feelings of human nature: it forbade a parent to fulfil the first duty which he owed his offspring, that of instruction; and dissolving filial obligation, offered to a wayward child, a premium for youthful hypocricy [*sic*]. He who can speak of such a law in any terms but those of indignant reprobation, deserves, himself, to endure all its penalties.[48]

Hawks was writing in a more enlightened day when religious oppression, although not dead, was far less common. The Act of 1704, however uncalled for by today's standards, must be measured in the light of the day in which enacted. Actually it was relaxed somewhat through the influence of the Queen three months after its passage to allow celebration of mass in private families. Out of this privilege grew the practise of building chapels alongside the dwellings of Catholic families or connected to them as at Doughoregan Manor, the home of Charles Carroll of Carrollton in what is now Howard County.[49]

Seymour, although seemingly sincere, was perverse in all matters relating to religion. Even before his arrival in Maryland he had indicated that he was antagonistic to any administration over the Anglican Church in Maryland other than his own. He violently disapproved of the appointment of a commissary with authority when Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray made the request. Apparently fearing that Rev. Dr. Bray was trying to take advantage of him, Seymour "flew into a passion" and stated several times he would have no commissary in Maryland.[50] Mereness concluded that "Unfortunately for the future of the Church, Seymour was one of those incompetent war governors, so common in the royal provinces." Some plan of control over the Anglican clergy re-

[47] *Ibid.*, XXVI, 340-341.

[48] Francis L. Hawks, *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States of America* (New York, 1839), II, 26.

[49] *Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, 591-592, 597-598, 630-631, 44-45, 159-160; *ibid.*, XXVII, 147-148.

[50] Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland As a Proprietary Province* (New York, 1901), p. 441; Theodore C. Gambrall, *Church Life in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1885), pp. 80-81.

mained necessary, however, and the Assembly proposed the erection of an ecclesiastical court in 1708. The court was to consist of three clergymen, three laymen, and the Governor, and was to have jurisdiction even to the limit of suspending ministers from their functions. The Maryland clergy, of course, were greatly opposed to such a court and entered immediate protest with the Bishop of London. The law, passed by the Assembly, was not confirmed by Seymour on the grounds that he had not received instructions from London on the matter.[51]

The matter of religion and morals continued to aggravate Seymour, as witnessed by his address to the Assembly on November 29, 1708, in which he stated:

> And now Gent. Give me leave to tell you It is high Time for you that represent the whole Province to look into the many immoralitys of this poor deluded Country, where Drunkness Adultery Sabbath breaking and Perjury are a Jest, Horrid Murders Stifled and the Malefactors glory in it Treasons made a Triple & the Abettors caressed Magistrates grow careless and the offenders impudent, some being made believe by many seducers a short Confession here can absolve them from any future Account 'till these Things are in some measure amended by your Prudence and Example.
>
> I have but Slender hopes your Debates can be successful but as we are all willing to be called Christians and good Subjects let us in our Several Stations act like men of that noble Excellent Character; And let that Magistrate be Stigmatized with Infamy who ever Connives at or Countenances any Sort of Knavery, Atheism or disloyalty and when ever you will heartily and Sincerely Endeavour to bring this great work about I should by the blessing of God Gentlemen never doubt of seeing the Country flourish & improve, for then the Heathens round about us would never mock at our Religion as Hypocricy and the rest of the World will see know and be Convinced; to your lasting Glory that the People of Maryland truly Serve God and with a dutiful Regard Honour our lawful and rightful Sovereign the Queen.[52]

Governor Seymour, in his letter of July 3, 1705, to the Board, also complained that there was too much illegal trade in Maryland. To remedy it, he proposed that only five ports be allowed to ship tobacco or receive European goods. He pointed out that each planter had his own wharf, making it impossible for "all ye officers in ye world to know what is shipt or unshipt." In fact, he had been unable to have a survey made of ports and harbors because the

[51] Gambrall, *op. cit.*, 80-81.

[52] *Ibid.*, XXVII, 227-228.

Assembly refused to " beare the charge thereof, being a great stepp to hinder their private trade." The Governor, aside from his apparent desire to see trade laws respected, was personally affected by illegal trade that went untaxed. As already noted, his salary was dependent upon receipts from tobacco export taxes. To remedy the situation of which he complained, Seymour proposed that only five ports be established—at Annapolis, Oxford, Somersett, Patuxent, and St. Mary's. He listed the main advantages and disadvantages of each, indicating his desire to be fair.

The problem of creating towns and ports in Maryland continued to be a pressing one in Seymour's time. An act of 1706 made practically every important exporter's wharf a port, and contained provisions for the establishment of towns that could never exist except on paper. British merchants, as well as Seymour, objected strenuously to this and related acts. They claimed that their trade, already ill-regulated, was now concentrated partly in towns lacking both buildings and inhabitants who could set up stores to sell their goods. Marylanders meanwhile had the advantages of disposing of their products in any part of the Province. Protests were so loud that these acts were finally disallowed by the Board of Trade.[53]

Seymour directed another communication to the Board on August 28, 1705, stating that inasmuch as several of the conspirators and accomplices of Richard Clark had been seized, he had directed a " special Commission for their more speedy tryall, and the Grand Jury found all the Bills; but the Petit Jury, like true Americans, quitted 'em all but two." These two Seymour had allowed to be sold for the " country's good." Clark, the ringleader, was still free, defying the repeated proclamations; in fact, he was unheard of for two months and many thought that since he was a good sailor he had " designed to turne pyrate " along with " several other loose idle persons " indebted to him. Officials of neighboring colonies had been asked by Seymour to suppress Clark and his party in case they showed up.[54]

The board acknowledged Seymour's letters and discussed most of the subjects about which he had written. They wanted to know who the two criminals were and by what authority they had been

[53] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXII, 552-553; *Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, 636 *et seq.*, XXVII, 159, 346; Labaree, *op. cit.*, II, 539-540.
[54] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXII, 609-610.

sold. Regarding arms and ammunition, the Board stated that Colonel Blakiston was providing 200 muskets and other arms and equipment out of money sent to him from the Colony, raised by the 3 d. per hogshead of tobacco tax. The Queen had given her consent to an "Armourer" requested by the Governor and who was to be responsible for arms and ammunition and serve as storekeeper with a salary to be paid by the colony not to exceed £100 a year. Provincial judges were to be reduced to four itinerants who at the direction of the Governor and Council would cover the circuits. The Maryland Assembly should handle the matter of setting aside ports, but the Board would take the matter up if the Assembly made no headway. The Board also stated that it had conferred with Lord Baltimore and he had promised to see that Catholics in Maryland would be on their good behavior. And Quakers must contribute toward defense, but not disproportionately, the Board ruled.[55]

Seymour replied to the Board on March 8, 1706. He complained of the irregularity of the convoy sailings. The "Commadores" would set the sailing time and then leave before or after the hour, thus greatly upsetting and inconveniencing Maryland planters and officials. The Governor felt that Virginia was kept better informed, thus possessing an advantage in getting tobacco to English markets and cutting Maryland's profits. The importation of Irish Catholics also disturbed Seymour. He related that Lord Baltimore's agents encouraged it and Charles Carroll, the Attorney General, had imported over two hundred of these servants, despite the fact the Governor felt there were too many of them already in the Colony. To show the variety of problems facing a royal governor, Seymour closed his communication by asking directions for the disposition of a captured French ship.[56]

When the Assembly convened on April 2, 1706, Governor Seymour presented his program and warned members not to wait until the last eight or ten hours of the session to rush measures through. He reminded them that they should investigate the rumors that Indians were planning an attack that might wipe out the Colony. Seymour said he had

> neither Lands nor Houses [no Governor's mansion yet!] to loose here on any Suddaine fatall Insult, as you Gentlemen Free holders have; yet my

[55] *Ibid.*, XXIII, 40-42.

[56] *Ibid.*, XXIII, 65-68.

Reputation, which is dearer to me than anything in this World lyes at Stake. But with all the Cheerfull Willingness imaginable, will expose my life on a true handsome Occasion for the Defence Service and Peace of this Countrye.

The Council and Lower House replied to this stirring address most enthusiastically and promised their best efforts. They passed a total of fourteen acts, including one that created Queen Anne's County; one that encouraged the growth of hemp and flax in Maryland; and one that created the five ports previously referred to.[57]

The 1706 legislature, prorogued on April 19, was to meet again on June 20 but did not convene until March 26, 1707. In addressing the body, Seymour pleaded for amendments to the law that had created five official ports, urged that something be done about Richard Clark whose " Crimes are so notoriously aggravated, they crye aloud for Justice," discussed the creation of four itinerant judges, and then elaborated upon his chief grievance—the continued absence of a governor's mansion. This " favourable and Loving " speech, as they chose to call it, was gratefully received by the Assembly which hoped that by his " owne inclinations & her Majestys Gracious Inclinations " he would long continue as their governor. Twenty-four laws were passed in this session, none of a major nature.[58] The usual act of attainder against Clark was passed. Others dealt with forging and counterfeiting foreign coins, the prosecution of priests, and the cropping, cutting, and defacing of tobacco taken on board vessels. The session was prorogued on April 15 until June 14, 1708.

On May 9, 1707, the Board of Trade and Plantations, stating that the Queen had authorized it to promote the Kingdom's trade and to inspect and improve colonies in America and elsewhere, sent out a circular to all governors requiring a yearly account of their administrations and the general state of affairs. Seymour's letter to the Board on June 10, 1707, is evidently the first of these annual reports. He presents an interesting account of trouble-maker Clark, " For altho he is one of the greatest of villains; yet (especially in this County of Ann Arundell) he has so many

[57] *Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, 521-526, 567-568, 619-645. See also another letter from Seymour to the Board, August 21, 1706, *Calendar of State Papers*, XXIII, 194-198.

[58] *Archives of Maryland*, XXVII, 3-7, 63-66, 139-178, 58, 128.

neare relations, that wee find it very difficult to discover his haunts, and what is worse, out of a foolish conceipt of his being a stout fellow and country-borne, the natives being now growne up, and most of them in offices, are very backward, if not altogether unwilling to bring him in, could they conveniently meete with him." One member of the Lower House, said Seymour, had been expelled for corresponding with Clark. The latter, with his " prodigall companions " had set out to retrieve some of their shattered fortunes by counterfeiting money like Spanish pieces of eight and the dollar of the Low Countries which they made of " pewter, glass and other mixt metall."

The Governor complained also of poor juries and mediocre office-holders. An Act of 1694 forbade anyone from holding office with less than three years of residence in Maryland. " Hence it is that no ingenious man capable of serving H.M. or the province will come here to starve so long a Terme." This might prove of " fatall and pernicious consequence to Maryland," for despite another act of 1694 which provided for the creation of free schools not even one grammar school existed in the province, and thus office holders were " ignorant and unfit " for duty in the Assembly. Only Maryland, Seymour said, had such a restriction on office-holders. Other matters were mentioned: the boundary dispute with William Penn; [59] Lord Baltimore's land rents; the inability of the " stiffnecked " Assemblymen to set up rules regarding Provincial Courts whose justices did not know " any rules to guide their Judgements " and were a " mere jest "; poor communication with England; the difficulty in filling vacancies on the Council, and the further difficulty in holding emergency meetings because members from the Eastern Shore were frequently prevented from attending by bad weather; the exodus of some Marylanders to North Carolina to escape paying debts, since North Carolina protected anyone from being sued for five years after arrival; the need of English merchandise, with many Marylanders almost " starke naked "; and the need of a guard ship at the entrance to the Chesapeake Bay to prevent attacks by pirates and privateers.[60]

In May, 1707, Governor Seymour received an address from some Quakers in Maryland, including Richard Johns, Richard Harrison,

[59] Seymour referred to Maryland and Pennsylvania as ready to " Cutt Throats " over " Their Lymitts " (boundaries), Seymour Papers, pp. 4, 6.

[60] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXIII, 430-431, 468-472.

Samuel Chew, Samuel Galloway, and M. Moore, in which they repudiated a " scurrilous libel " which they claimed was issued by Richard Clark. The latter was writing letters to the governor and employing Quaker phraseology to make it appear he was associated with Quakers. The letters were posted on outhouses and dropped in the roads at night. According to Seymour, Clark had posed as a Quaker while in North Carolina and now sued for pardon in some of the letters, " offering to discuss the ill-practises of many of his confederates, & in others he threatens to bring thirty thousand of ye French Indians upon the country by land, and to direct the French to bring a navall force to invade the country. . . . " [61]

The Quakers stated they believed Clark to be a " wicked and ungodly man " whose actions were " villanous, abusive, rebellious against the peaceable government of this Province." From their hearts the Quakers wanted to " denye, disowne, detest and abominate " Clark's " confederates ayders assisters and abetters." Seymour passed their petition on to London, observing that the Quakers in Maryland were " very peaceable and quiett, and well affected to this Her Majesty's Government." [62]

Two months later Seymour reported to the Secretary of State that some villains had robbed some Indian monuments in Maryland and that some of Clark's accomplices had been arrested. The Governor found it almost impossible to bring these men to account, for Maryland jurors " will never convict any of their natives " for most crimes.[63]

Seymour forwarded another letter to the Board on June 23, 1708, in which he further discussed the loss of inhabitants to North Carolina and also to Pennsylvania. The value of coins was greater in the latter colony, and sailors were encouraged to go there. Seymour urged an act of bankruptcy to be approved by the Board, to allow debt-laden people to get a fresh start in life. Complete details of trade, shipping, manufacturing, and commerce were given. The Governor explained the action of selling the two criminals out of the Colony. They were now in Pennsylvania, both at work for themselves, one as a carpenter and one as a blacksmith. What had been done was in " their favour," he

[61] " The Humble Address of the Peaceable People Called Quakers given forth at their Monthly Meeting at West River, in the Said Province, the 11th day of the fifth month 1707," in Seymour Papers, p. 2.

[62] Seymour to Earl of Sunderland, August 16, 1707, Seymour Papers, p. 3.

[63] *Ibid.*, October 13, 1707, p. 4.

said, and advised by the Assembly. Of the leading criminal he wrote: "Richard Clarke, the Ringleader of all the late villanys and disturbances here and who had put the Countrey to above 1000 l. charge, being since taken and executed, the Countrey is now very much at ease and in great tranquility."[64]

Seymour was running into difficulties with the Assembly. When it convened on September 27, 1708, he tried to secure passage of the program the Board had outlined but found out instead that they disputed "what they had no cognizance of, vizt. the legality of a charter I [Seymour] granted to the Citty of Annapolis (by the advice of H. M. Councill) and ran into heats and divisions, proceeding so irregularly" that he finally dissolved them on October 4.[65] The Assembly claimed that the Governor did not have the authority to act on the matter of the Annapolis charter which incorporated the city and established an organized municipal government. As early at 1704 Seymour suggested a charter be given to Annapolis. In 1708 with no action having materialized, Seymour was presented with a petition by the Mayor, Recorder, Alderman, the common council and other citizens of Annapolis asking for a charter. It was thus that the Governor, in the name of the Queen and by virtue of general authority vested in him as Royal Governor, granted the charter. Since it gave Annapolis two delegates in the Assembly and made it possible for the city to levy tolls and taxes on goods brought within its boundaries, the Assembly took great offense. Along with landed officials, the Assemblymen admitted the Proprietor had such a right but not a royal governor. The Assembly expelled the two Annapolis delegates whereupon Seymour dissolved the Assembly. A new Assembly was elected and demanded to know at once the Governor's authority from the Queen to erect a city. A compromise was finally reached, with the Assembly conceding the Governor's right to grant a charter without consulting them or receiving specific instructions from the crown. On the other hand, the charter was amended so that the authority of the Corporation was limited to the inhabitants of the town and could be used to tax only small amounts of goods brought in. It was also provided that since members from Annapolis had only slight expense in attending, they should be paid only one-half of what was given to others.[66]

[64] *Ibid.*, XXIII, 758-763. Seymour Papers, p. 6.
[65] *Ibid.*, XXIV, 194-195.
[66] For a copy of the charter, see Elihu S. Riley, *The Ancient City* (Annapolis,

Following the dispute over the charter of Annapolis, Seymour as indicated issued new writs of election, with successful candidates to convene on November 29, 1708. He hoped the " severall Countys would take better care who they sent to represent them." The same members were returned, however, but a more moderate Speaker was chosen according to the Governor. The latter exhorted them to lay aside all " animositys unnecessary heats & private piques," and to consider the pubilc interest with calmness. The Assembly passed twenty acts of the routine nature, such as one regulating the height of fences and another prescribing the manner of electing and summoning delegates and respresentatives to serve in succeeding assemblies. The procedure was as follows: Writs were to be sent out by the Governor with the approval of the Council and Assembly, forty days before the Assembly was to meet. These writs were to go to the Sheriffs of the counties; the sheriffs were to call three or four Justices to sit as a Court and issue proclamations to all freemen who possessed fifty acres of land, " or a Visible Estate of forty pounds sterling," to appear at the County Court House. They should come not less than ten days after such notice for " electing and Chuseing Deputys and Delegates " to serve the County in the Assembly. Four delegates were to be chosen and were to have the same qualifications as the voters. Sheriffs were not eligible for election to the Assembly. Delegates-elect must appear when the Assembly met or be fined. Seymour, commenting on elections later, objected to the interference of Catholics in them, even after the above systematic plan was worked out.[67]

With the passage of these acts, the last session of the Maryland Assembly under Seymour ended. His death occurred before another was called. In his last letter to the Board on March 10, 1709, Seymour had complained of the refusal of the Assembly to pass certain acts he had recommended. In appraising the situation, he attributed this lack of cooperation to the fact that

there was not any person of liberall Education that appear'd there, it was too difficult a Taske for me, to graft good manners on so barren a Stock; So they have once more refus'd to do anything therein. [Furthermore,

1887), pp. 85-91; Walter B. Norris, *Annapolis: Its Colonial And Naval Story* (New York, 1925), pp. 38-39; J. D. Warfield, *The Founders of Anne Arundel And Howard Counties* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 196; Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 135. *Archives of Maryland*, XXVII, 191 ff., 358.

[67] *Archives of Maryland*, XXVII, 226-228, 267-269, 352-355.

there were] Envious & Malicious Spiritts wanting to create heats and Iealousies among the Members of the Lower House.

Three things in Maryland made the government very uneasy, concluded Seymour: First, the Proprietor's control over land favors made him too influential and gained many Catholic supporters for him; secondly, the regulation forbidding anyone from holding office unless three years' residence had been established in the Colony discouraged all "ingenious men" from seeking their fortunes in Maryland; and thirdly, too many justices had been previously chosen as delegates and had proceeded to pass laws making themselves, as justices, "independent of the Queens Governor." They also put everything under their "Jurisdiction and Administration, tho' they are never so meanly qualified for the Trust." [68]

And thus Governor Seymour came to the close of his career. He had hinted of the illness that was to prove fatal to him when he apologized to the Board for anything "that may have Slipt my Notice, having been So very ill, that I could not Sitt in Council above three or four days during the whole Session, and have not been able to go out of my house ever since." This was on March 10, 1709. The Maryland Council on August 31, 1709, reported Seymour's death stating that "On July 30th last it pleased Almighty God to take away our Governour, Col. John Seymour, after a long lingring indisposition of a continued feavour, etc. Pursuant to H. M. Commission to him, we have taken upon us the execution of the Government, etc." [69]

Seymour was buried at St. Ann's Parish in Annapolis.[70]

In conclusion, it is obvious that Seymour was one of the most determined of the royal governors in his effort to carry out the will of the Crown and his superiors in London. He found himself in situations that demanded more than average ability, and everything considered, he seems to have made out well and helped to bring a greater regularity and formality into the proceedings of government. A highly trained and able body of lawyers was beginning to emerge during this period. Much of their effort was directed at preventing English officials from breaking down charter

[68] *Ibid.*, XXV, 267-270. *Calendar of State Papers*, XXIV, 249-252.
[69] *Calendar of State Papers*, XXIV, 249-252, 457.
[70] "Vestry Proceedings of St. Ann's Parish," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VII (1912), 270.

and proprietary rights. Sometimes this resulted in the disregard of the Crown's requisitions upon the Assembly. Disputes ultimately followed. Seymour, trained in the army, insisted that his instructions and those of the Crown be carried out to the letter and at once. When this did not follow, he displayed great impatience and became much irritated.

Seymour indicated a good grasp of many of the colonial problems. His reports and letters to England often contained worthwhile suggestions for the betterment of the colonial situation. There was much legislation under his leadership dealing with the chief problems of the day such as those relating to tobacco, defense, and trade. Seymour had little sympathy for Roman Catholics and did not properly show the spirit of toleration for which Maryland has been known at times. The Catholic group, for its part, supported the deposed Lord Baltimore and was often in Seymour's way as it plotted the overthrow of royal government. In the final analysis, Seymour must be rated as an efficient, hard-working, and generally effective governor of Maryland during the royal period.

HOT NEWS OF '76

By Roger Pattrell Bristol

Head Quarters, Newtown, 27th Dec. 1776. Sir, I have the Pleasure of congratulating you upon the Success of an Enterprize, which I had formed against a Detachment of the Enemy lying in Trenton, and which was executed Yesterday Morning. . . . In Justice to the Officers and Men I must add, that their Behaviour upon this occasion reflects the highest Honour upon them. The Difficulty of passing the River, in a very severe Night, and their March through a violent Storm of Snow and Hail, did not in the least abate their Ardour; but when they came to the Charge, each seemed to vie with the other in pressing forward, and were I to give a Preference to any particular Corps, I should do great injustice to the others. . . . Inclosed I have sent you a particular List of the Prisoners, Artillery, and other Stores. . . . Total——1 Colonel, 2 Lieutenant Colonels, 3 Majors, 4 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 12 Ensigns, 2 Surgeons, 92 Serjeants, 20 Drummers, 9 Musicians, 25 Officers Servants, 740 Rank and file. 918 Prisoners.

The author of the above (who signed himself "G. Washington") was submitting a report of his first major victory over the enemy in the field in nearly a year and a half of indecisive, harassing conflict. Congress, to which the report was addressed, had its third session only a week before in Baltimore.

Congress at once ordered the good news printed. Mary K. Goddard, publisher of the Baltimore *Maryland Journal*, was given the task. She quickly set to work and on December 31 struck off a quantity of broadsides for the edification of the public. Following the thrifty custom of other contemporary publishers, she kept type standing and reprinted the news, unreset except for caption and ending, in the January 1 issue of the *Journal*.

A copy of the Goddard broadside is one of a splendid collection of eleven recently acquired by the Maryland Historical Society through the generosity of the Society of the Daughters of Colonial Wars in the State of Maryland.[1] Mary Goddard was responsible

[1] The broadsides were inherited by Mr. James M. Sill, formerly of Baltimore,

for printing one more of the remaining ten; the others were the work of Frederick Green, state printer and publisher of the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette.*

The acquisition of these eleven broadsides is indeed a notable event. Ten of them are the only copies known to have survived for nearly two centuries.[2]

Eight of the Green imprints were identified by means of examination of line-endings and typographical errors as having been struck off from type which was used with little or no resetting to print part of the next issue of the *Gazette.* Along with the Goddard item described above, they furnish interesting evidence of a standard practice of publishers of weekly newspapers of the day. It is little wonder that these broadsides, even more ephemeral than " extra " editions of later papers, are rare.

The broadsides span a critical period in the history of the revolt of the British colonies in America, the year and a half from August, 1776, to December, 1777. Inspection of them, with the addition of relatively slight historical knowledge to fill in the chronological gaps, reveals the course of American failure and American success as seen through contemporary eyes.

The earliest broadside contains news of the Battle of Long Island, a battle which Marylanders remember because on the American right fought men from Maryland beside men from Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New York. The right and center were pinned down by holding attacks by the British, who meantime were skilfully executing a flanking movement (unhampered either by American observers or by American outposts) which succeeded in rolling up the left and center.

The right, in the words of a letter contained in the broadside, was

> surrounded with thrice their numbers. . . . Smallwood's battalion of Marylanders were distinguished in the field by the most intrepid courage, the most regular use of the musket, and judicious movements of the

now a resident of Bermuda. They were among the effects of Mr. Sill's father, the late Howard Sill, by whom they appear to have been mounted in an album for preservation. It is presumed that they came down in the family of Mrs. Howard Sill from her ancestor, Gabriel Duvall (1752-1844), Associate Justice of the Supreme Court for many years. A statement about the acquisition appears in *Maryland History Notes,* 10 (May, 1952).

[2] Authorities consulted were Lawrence C. Wroth, John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.; R. W. G. Vail, New-York Historical Society; Lewis M. Stark, New York Public Library; and Frederick R. Goff, Library of Congress, Washington.

body. . . . When our party was overpowered and broken . . . three companies of the Maryland battalion broke the enemy's lines and fought their way through, the others attempted to cross a small creek, which proved fatal to several of them. . . . The Maryland battalion lost 200 men and 12 officers.

This was nearly a quarter of the losses of the entire day.

The British obligingly did not press the pursuit and thus did not turn a defeat into a disaster. Neither did they patrol the narrow waters between Brooklyn and Manhattan, so that the American forces were able to escape unhindered to New York City during the night, aided by one of the accidents of history, a fog which hid their movement.

From August to December the tale was one of uninterrupted retreat and frustration. The defeat on Long Island precipitated a crisis in which the militia began to melt away almost by regiments, as Freeman says, " discouraged and unpaid, disillusioned and embittered." [3] Washington was forced out of New York and across New Jersey; Philadelphia was threatened; Charles Lee, unstable but militarily the most knowledgeable of Washington's subordinates, was captured; discharge of much of the militia on January 1 was imminent.

Against this black background Washington planned and executed the " enterprize " against Trenton whose amazing success he related in the message to Congress reported above (item 2), and followed it up with a second blow at Princeton a few days later. Then for nearly six months the main American and British forces faced each other in New Jersey, indulging only in maneuver and feint.

Meanwhile behind the lines the newly established states were consolidating their position as governments. The New York constitutional convention meeting in Fish-Kill, New York, issued in December an impassioned address to its constituents. Because its appeal was broad, the address was reprinted in other states. Frederick Green considered it important enough to reprint not only in his *Maryland Gazette* but also as a broadside (item 3), sometime during February, 1777, soon after the first session of the Maryland General Assembly met.

As state printer, Green was for over thirty years responsible for

[3] D. S. Freeman, *George Washington* (New York, 1948-), IV, 180.

issuing the laws of Maryland. While the General Assembly was still in its first session, he printed separately as a broadside (item 4), probably before the issuance of the complete session laws, copies of acts "to prevent Desertion" and "to promote the Recruiting Service." These clearly had to be brought immediately to the attention of the public, of law enforcement agencies, of recruiting officers, and of the so-called "collectors."

These last (one "in every Hundred of each County of this State") were to be appointed by the governor and were to

> repair to, and require, every House-keeper within his Hundred, except Tavern-keepers, to deliver in an Account of all the Blankets, the Property of the said House-keeper, over and above the Number commonly used by the Family in the Winter Season, and . . . deliver to the Collector One Half of the said Overplus. . . . And if any such House-keeper shall refuse to render such Account of Blankets . . . such House-keeper shall forfeit the Sum of Twenty Pounds Currency Money. . . .

Furthermore, "the Collectors shall receive Five per Cent. on the Value of the Blankets by them respectively collected." [4] Maryland was taking serious measures to strengthen the colonial forces.

The next broadside chronologically (item 5) consists of despatches in June regarding the unexpected retreat of the British from New Jersey to Staten Island. Though welcome, the move afforded little relief to Washington because his forces were so inferior that he was unable even to harass the British withdrawal to any extent. He could only remain on the watch in Morristown, hoping to parry a stroke at the Middle States or to send aid to the Hudson if Howe should suddenly show strategic good sense by setting out to join Burgoyne, already on his way down from Canada in an attempt to split the colonies.

In July the untimely fall of Ticonderoga to the British enabled Burgoyne to move down the Hudson, leaving no strong point in his rear and with no apparent opposition of consequence in his front. His chief enemies were two generals who have been active in wars before and since—General Ignorance at home, and General Logistics. Even his horses' oats had to be brought from England.

Burgoyne's first check came as a result of his difficulties of

[4] Generous interpretation of this last clause may have done much to combat the rigors of the collector's task.

supply. He sent a detachment of several hundred men to seize stores which were supposed to be at Bennington, and despatched several hundred more after them when he feared they were in trouble. Despatches from General Schuyler (item 6) contain news of General Stark's complete defeat of the British.

At the end of the same broadside occurs a news item significant to Marylanders. "Annapolis, August 25, 1777. The Governor is informed by Express, that the Eastern Shore militia are collecting, determined to make the most obstinate resistance, and has every reason to expect that they will be numerous."

This apparently unconnected bit of news refers to the maneuvers of Howe. Howe had dawdled around New York during the best marching months, inexplicably failing to move up the Hudson to meet Burgoyne. Then he wasted more precious summer weeks in shipping his troops toward Philadelphia, first moving up Delaware Bay and then (instead of marching them the 12 miles across the neck of land) out to sea and up Chesapeake Bay to Head of Elk, now Elkton. He unshipped there on the very day the broadside was probably printed.

Howe did not trouble the Eastern Shore, however, but moved on Philadelphia. Actually, unlike Burgoyne, he was not much hampered by the militia. Congress fled to Lancaster for a one-day stand, and then to York. Washington was defeated at Chadd's Ford and forced to abandon Philadelphia and retreat northward. Despatches from York (item 7) describe the hard-fought but inconclusive battle of Germantown on October 4, in which Washington, attempting to defeat a divided British force, failed because of inexperienced staff.

The next three items concern the defeat of Burgoyne. The British southward advance was halted near Saratoga by the interposition of an American force on Bemis Heights. The first British attack was beaten off by Benedict Arnold's boldness in anticipation of it. Three thousand men fought valiantly while timid Gates held 11,000 idle on the Heights.

After waiting vainly eighteen days for reinforcements from New York and provisions from Canada, the British attacked again. In this second battle, reported in a letter from one Thomas Jones to the governor of Maryland (item 8), they were again beaten back, largely through the efforts of Arnold, the Patton of his day. Burgoyne, now outnumbered three to one, nearly cut off from

supplies, and unaware that Clinton, finally moving up the Hudson, might soon have relieved him, asked for surrender terms on October 14.

Frederick Green evidently felt that this signal success warranted special attention, for he departed from his usual practice and for this broadside (item 9) used larger type than that in the *Maryland Gazette* columns. Two days later the text was reprinted as usual in the *Gazette*, but reset.

Item 10 gives the terms of the "Articles of convention" between Gates and Burgoyne. The terms were honorable and respected by the American army; but Congress to its discredit wrangled with Burgoyne and never permitted the return of the British troops to England.

Readers may wonder what in the final item induced Frederick Green to issue a special broadside. Perhaps he had found the custom lucrative; perhaps this item is only one of a regular series of which most yet remain undiscovered or are forever lost; or perhaps Green felt that the account of peace feelers by General Howe included in it would appeal to the public. Even today it is not unknown that peace feelers, however suspect and abortive, excite as much attention and create as large headlines as do battles and rumors of wars.

The Revolution wound its weary way along for nearly four years more. The collection of broadsides ceases here. Their rarity, the fact that only two of them had been previously recorded,[5] and their historical interest increase our appreciation to the late Howard Sill for recognizing their value and preserving them, and to the Daughters of Colonial Wars for seeing to it that they are safeguarded for future scholars in the Maryland Historical Society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY[6]

Extract of a letter from New-York, dated Aug. 28, 1776. [44 lines] Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, dated August 31, 1776, Saturday, 2 o'clock, p.m. [69 lines] Saturday 3 o'clock, P.M. [15 lines] [Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green. 1776]

[5] Items 1 and 2 are listed in Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1922); the second item was earlier recorded by Charles Evans, *American Bibliography* (Chicago, 1903-1934).

[6] Abbreviations indicate library possessing broadside: MdHi, Md. Hist. Soc.; DLC, Library of Congress; and NN, New York Public Library.

broadside 26.5 x 21 cm. in 2 columns.
type-page 20 x 14.6 cm.
Wroth 371.
Includes account of the Battle of Long Island on August 31.
Reprinted from the same setting of type in the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 5, 1776, under heading: Annapolis, September 5. Interpolated in the *Gazette* is " Another letter from New-York, of the same date."
MdHi. [1]

Baltimore, Dec. 31, 1776. This Morning Congress received the following Letter from General Washington. Head-Quarters, Newtown, 27th Dec. 1776. [149 lines in 2 columns] Published by Order of Congress, Charles Thomson, Sec. [rule] Baltimore: Printed by M. K. Goddard. [1776]
broadside 42 x 17.5 cm.
Evans 15152. Wroth 385.
Washington's official report to Congress (then in session at Baltimore) of his successes in the " enterprize " against Trenton.
Reprinted in the Baltimore *Maryland Journal,* Jan. 1, 1777, from the same setting of type except for caption and ending.
DLC; MdHi; NN. [2]

Fish-Kill, December 23, 1776. An Address of the Convention of the Representatives of the State of New-York to their Constituents. [Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green. 1777]
[4] p. 26 cm. Double columns.
type-page 20 x 14.6 cm.
Caption title.
Signed: Abraham Ten Broek, President.
Written by John Jay, this Address was widely reprinted after its first printing in Fish-Kill in 1776.
Printed in the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette* in successive issues, Feb. 20, Feb. 27 and Mar. 6, 1777, from the same setting of type except for the insertion of initials at the beginning of the second and third instalments, and necessary resetting of the first few lines. The broadside must have been struck off just before or just after the February 20 issue, probably the former.
MdHi. [3]

An Act to prevent Desertion. . . . An Act to promote the Recruiting Service. [Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green. 1777]?
[4] p. 32 x 20 cm. Without imprint.
Chap. II-III, Maryland Laws, Feb. sess. 1777. Probably issued before the printing of the laws, because of its importance to the cause of the Revolution, and hence perhaps the first piece of printing issued by the state printer for the General Assembly of Maryland, then in its first

session after the close of the Constitutional Convention in November, 1776. Chapter and section numbers lacking.

MdHi. [4]

Annapolis, June 27, 1777. Extract of a letter, dated Camp at Middle-Brook, June 21, 1777. "Our army is on a very respectable footing . . . [49 lines] Extract of another letter, dated Head-quarters, Middle-Brook, June 22, 1777. 11 o'clock, P.M. "I have the honour and pleasure to inform you . . . [58 lines] Extract of another letter, dated Middle-Brook, June 23, 1777. 8 o'clock, A.M. "We have nothing new this morning . . . [6 lines] [Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green. 1777]

broadside 27 x 19 cm. in 2 columns.

type-page 19 x 14.6 cm.

Retreat of the British from Brunswick, N. J., to Staten Island.

Reprinted in the July 3, 1777, issue of the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, with date-line omitted, headings slightly changed, the second letter omitted, and the third letter printed first. Type not reset, except for the first two lines, in which large capitals were replaced by small ones.

MdHi. [5]

Philadelphia, August 22, 1777. By an Express arrived last Evening from General Schuyler to Congress, we have the following important Intelligence. Van Schaick's Island, in the mouth of the Mohawk river, August 18, 1777. Sir, I have the honour to congratulate congress on a signal victory obtained by general Stark; an account whereof is contained in the following letter from general Lincoln, which I have this moment had the happiness to receive, together with general Burgoyne's instructions to lieutenant colonel Bern; copy whereof is enclosed. [85 lines in 2 columns] Annapolis, August 25, 1777. The Governor is informed by Express, that the Eastern Shore militia are collecting, determined to make the most obstinate resistance, and has every reason to expect that they will be numerous. [Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green. 1777]

broadside 27 x 20.5 cm.

type-page 19 x 14.8 cm.

Battle of Bennington.

Reprinted in the Aug. 28, 1777, issue of the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, for the most part from the same setting of type; the last four lines (without date-line) are preceded by a proclamation of the governor.

MdHi. [6]

Baltimore, October 8, 1777. Extract of a Letter from York-Town dated Tuesday Morning 7th of October 1777. [53 lines in 2 columns] [double rule] Baltimore: Printed by M. K. Goddard. [1777]

broadside 17 x 20.5 cm.

type-page 11.5 x 14.8 cm.

Battle of Germantown.

Text reprinted in *Dunlap's Maryland Gazette* (Baltimore), Oct. 14, 1777, but without date-line.

Not found in *Maryland Journal* in any of the October issues.

MdHi. [7]

Annapolis, October 18, 1777. By a letter from Thomas Jones, Esq; to his excellency the governor, dated October 14, 1777, we have the following important intelligence. [46 lines] [Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green. 1777]

broadside 20 x 13.5 cm.

type-page 15.3 x 7.2 cm.

Describes the wounding of Benedict Arnold, who led desperate charges during the Battle of Bemis Heights on Oct. 7, 1777.

Reprinted from the same setting of type Oct 23, 1777, under heading: Annapolis, October 23.

MdHi. [8]

Annapolis, October 21, 1777. Extract of a letter from the Chairman of the Committee of Albany to the President of the Council of the State of New-York. Albany, 15th October, 1777. [6 lines] Extract of a letter from Baltimore, Tuesday morning, 21st October, 1777. [6 lines] [Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green. 1777]

broadside 21 x 18 cm.

type-page 13.5 x 11.3 cm.

Capitulation of Burgoyne at Saratoga.

Reset and printed in the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, Oct. 23, 1777; punctuation and wording exactly retained, but without date-line.

MdHi. [9]

Annapolis, November 2. Extract of a letter from William Smith, Esq; one of the delegates in Congress from this State, to his excellency the Governor, dated York-Town, October 31, 1777. [6 lines] Articles of Convention between lieutenant-general Burgoyne and major-general Gates. [85 lines] [Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green. 1777]

broadside 27 x 20.5 cm. in 2 columns.

type-page 15.4 x 14.8 cm.

Reprinted from the same setting of type in the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, Nov. 6, 1777, under heading: Annapolis, November 6.

MdHi. [10]

Annapolis, December 1. Extract of a letter from York, dated Nov. 22, 1777. [92 lines] Extract of a letter, dated York-Town, Nov. 24, 1777. [42 lines] Extract of a letter from the same place, dated Nov. 25. [11 lines] [Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green. 1777]

broadside 27 x 21 cm. in 2 columns.

type-page 23.5 x 14.8 cm.

Foreign intelligence; peace proposals of Lord Howe.

Reprinted from the same setting of type in the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, Dec. 4, 1777.

MdHi. [11]

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Architecture of Baltimore, A Pictorial History. By RICHARD H. HOWLAND and ELEANOR P. SPENCER. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953. xx, 149 pp. $7.50.

"Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon," cries Horace in consigning to others the task of praising famous Rhodes and many renowned cities of antiquity besides. With this preface he launches into his ever-living hymn of praise to beautiful Tibur, known to-day—and equally admired—as Tivoli. The enthusiasm of Rome's greatest poet, an Apulian by birth, may be compared with the understanding admiration of Baltimore architecture by two New England scholars, Richard Hubbard Howland and Eleanor Patterson Spencer. They might have chosen a more grandiose theme. They could not have produced any work of greater usefulness to the city of their adoption.

Mr. Howland and Miss Spencer in *The Architecture of Baltimore* have written a learned work in an informal and charming style. More, they have created a landmark which will be of use to generations of scholars through its illustrations as well as its text. Their book will in addition do great good in helping arrest the wave of vandalism which is threatening to engulf the admired and cherished monuments that have given the City its special character as a veritable museum of 19th century architecture.

The explosive growth of Baltimore from the date of its incorporation, 1797, until the end of the 19th century explains the virtual absence of 18th century buildings. Of that century only one building of a public nature, the Otterbein Church, and one important private home, the Rectory of St. Paul's, remain. Three country homes, roughly contemporary with the Rectory and of generally similar form, still stand. Mount Clare is admirably maintained; Willowbrook largely survives, though badly crowded by incongruous buildings; Homewood is well preserved, though actually, in all its beauty, it is a 19th century building. Many small houses in addition delightfully tell how the early settlers lived. The Caton-Carroll house of 1823 carries on the traditions of the previous century, and shows at its best the rowhouse pattern into which urban streets, as that century drew to its close, forced even the grandees' town houses.

Homewood, built between 1801 and 1803, triumphantly proves that all good workmanship did not come to an end with the 18th century. It ushers in the new age that was to produce buildings of great distinction here. These are well-known and appreciated outside the City. They

appear destined at length to be esteemed locally, in large part as a result of the labors of Mr. Howland and Miss Spencer.

The diversity of the new century is forecast by the varied styles of Godefroy's Battle Monument, his Chapel of St. Mary's Seminary and his Unitarian Church—all extremely original, suitable to their purposes, and most beautiful. Robert Mills' First Baptist Church has disappeared; his Waterloo Terrace is transformed almost beyond recognition; his Washington Monument gloriously survives, and has made its section of the City one of lasting importance. Latrobe's Exchange was torn down to make way for the present pretentious and wasteful Customs House; his dainty spring house has been preserved in the garden of the Museum; his Cathedral is reverently preserved in acknowledgment of its appeal to the hearts of all Baltimoreans, and will remain undisturbed through the ages.

The City's tragic losses are sorrowfully recorded. In most cases they represent needless destruction. Mills' Baptist Church could have been used as a lecture hall for the nearby University of Maryland. The Cohen house should have been bought for the office of the Jewish Charities. The Court House and Record Office could have been retained for important judicial purposes, and a new and more economical Court House could have occupied the equivalent of the unusable parts of Preston Gardens.

At present, the Wyman Villa, described as "the last good example of the Italianate style of country house" in this area, is threatened with destruction by Johns Hopkins University. Yet the University owes its entire Homewood campus to members of the family who, inspired by the work of the celebrated New York architect, Richard Upjohn, built a house "important historically", and capable of centuries of usefulness. The Peabody Library's "remarkable and distinguished" stack room, "one of the most interesting interiors in the City," may also be marked for destruction as its Board of Trustees has actually considered giving away its incomparable library, one of the treasure-houses of learning of the Western World.

Fortunately time marches on apace. A world movement for the preservation of historic monuments is gathering momentum. Selfish speculators, even provincial trustees, must reckon with this new force. It helped create the demand for Mr. Howland and Miss Spencer's admirable book. May that book, with its scholarly array of facts and its warm-hearted, Horatian feeling for the neglected beauties of the City, find a place in every Baltimore home, and instill in every reader a deep pride in the shamefully threatened embodiment of the City's cultural past—its magnificient architectural heritage.

DOUGLAS GORDON

His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland. (Studies in Maryland History, No. 1.) By DONNELL MACCLURE OWINGS. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1953. xii, 214 pp. $6.

The author, with Maryland antecedents, has specialized in Maryland history since working for his Ph. D. at Harvard. He is now Assistant Professor of American History and Associate Dean of the Graduate School of the University of Oklahoma. The book gives detailed histories, well documented, of the various offices under the Proprietary and Royal Governments, whether that of Governor, Chancellor, or Court Clerk, even down to Riding Surveyor, with their profits. Perhaps the most useful section is a list of all the persons holding these offices, with their religious affiliations, relationship to the Proprietary or other high official—to indicate any evidence of nepotism—and considerable biographical data.

Through these pages run interesting parallels with more recent political practices. Lord Baltimore, whoever he might be, ran his colony as a family affair—for did he not own it?—just as a family textile corporation is managed to-day. The "saddle"—a colonial Americanism for the modern "kickback"—was in common use. Governor Hart had to pay His Lordship's heir £500 a year; Governor Sharpe was loaded with "saddles," £50 and £100 to several of Baltimore's favorites, and, when Robert Eden married Caroline Calvert, Sharpe had to give her a pension of £100 out of his salary. Lower officials often exacted similar payments from their subordinates.

The burdens of the inhabitants were increased by the existence side by side of the Proprietary's bureaucracy and the Crown bureaucracy, all existing on fees—five percenters generally. Numerous offices were sinecures, and in other cases the same individual held several offices, again with modern parallels in Maryland today. One field, however, generally the most lucrative and the least defensible, His Lordship's control of the appointment of rectors and curates of the Established Church, is entirely omitted.

The author feels that the system was a bad one in that it was expensive and sure to tempt His Lordship to use offices to purchase friends in the Assembly, but that, from another point of view, it was defensible in that the gentry thus made wealthy could build fine houses, gather libraries, and thus handily civilize what had been a wilderness. "It meant that they could create in Annapolis one of the loveliest and most urbane little cities in His Majesty's dominions. . . . The system was a bad one and yet a good one: it all depends on values and on the point of view."

WALTER B. NORRIS

Myths and Realities, Societies of the Colonial South. By CARL BRIDENBAUGH. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1952. xii, 208 pp. $3.25.

The " myths " of Carl Bridenbaugh's loose, informal, stimulating, and interesting lectures are the generalizations of other historians about the South between the 1730s and 1776; the " realities " are Mr. Bridenbaugh's generalizations. When the two are most clearly different (which is not often, because Mr. Bridenbaugh's generalizations are not often sharp), the realities seem more fanciful than the myths.

The Bridenbaugh " realities " are based in substantial part on the great American myth that the newspapers of a day reflect the full facts concerning a people. Macaulay was one of the first to subscribe to this phantasy, but it is perhaps not too much to say that since Henry Adams' accurate assessment of 18th-century American newspapers, Bridenbaugh is the first to seize the bait along with its hook, line, and sinker.

The following sample generalizations will serve to indicate the nature of the lectures:

> I have, however, read every Southern newspaper and magazine published before 1776. p. 197.
>
> I have searched fruitlessly for evidence that before 1776 political sectionalism—western resentment of eastern overrepresentation and rule—was an issue, either open or covert, in Maryland or Virginia. p. 157.
>
> One of the most deceptive of the myths about the Carolina Society is that concerning the state of culture at Charles Town . . . The striking aspects of colonial Charles Town were the absence of cultural discipline and the passiveness of the city's intellectual and artistic life. p. 98-99.
>
> If the Chesapeake Society was noted for its men, the glory of the Carolina was its women. p. 84.
>
> I suspect that there never were many great houses erected in the Low Country [of South Carolina] before 1776. p. 72.
>
> " Carolina is in the spring a paradise, in the summer a hell and in the autumn a hospital." p. 69. [Although this is a quotation, it is not clear from whom, since the footnotes themselves are generalized.]
>
> The denizens of the Chesapeake country were not a reading people. p. 40. [They had books and read them, but they were the wrong kind of books for Mr. Bridenbaugh. It is a stern judgment on the 18th century, it seems to this reviewer, to argue that because 18th century readers were in the habit of reading 18th century books, they were therefore not a reading people.]
>
> In 1776 there was no South; there never had been a South. It was

> not even a geographical expression, as the members of the Federal Convention made evident when they spoke of "the Southern states." p. vii.

There is something especially attractive about a man who will start his book blandly with the assertion that the Federal Convention made evident the non-existence of the South in 1776 by referring to it.

JOHN COOK WYLLIE

University of Virginia

A Mirror for Americans. Edited by WARREN S. TRYON. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1952. 3 vols. $14.50.

The persistence of the Colonial attitude in these United States, despite their colossal growth and infinite racial delusions, still remains a cause for wonder. From earliest times to the present day travellers from England have visited this country, observed its folkways, enjoyed its hospitality, and, returning home, have written their impressions with varying realism and fairness. Good or bad, these narratives have been avidly read by Americans, who react to any unfavorable criticism just as Australians would do. Some of this raw-nerved sensitiveness evidently persisted in Mr. Tryon's mind when he set about making his excellent compilation of extracts which, in his own words "constitutes an effort, if not to restore the balance, at least to place side by side with the European commentaries that body of American observation which exists contemporaneously with them."

This effort is given to the public in three neat volumes representing the ultimate in the art of attractive packaging, entitled "Life in the East," "The Cotton Kingdom," and "The Frontier Moves West." The selections, admirably chosen to throw light on the American scene from a wide variety of angles and interests, make good Mr. Tryon's promise that in editing the original material no change in the thought or meaning of the author has been permitted. To achieve this, many of the excerpts are quite long—almost of book length in some instances. In reading them over, it is interesting to contrast the vivid freshness of some with the flatness and insipidity of others, and to speculate on the reason for this difference. In general, the mustiness is most strongly exhaled by the so-called "humorous" cast of writing, the work of professional "joshers," of which there are numerous examples. Baltimore, alas, makes its sole appearance in one of these, under the almost inevitable caption "Food and Drink in Baltimore." The author, William T. Thompson, migrated to Georgia in youth, where he cultivated a bucolic muse and invented "Major Jones," an eccentric character who served as a spokesman for his creator's views. The Major sojourned for a while in the old Baltimore Exchange Hotel in 1845, and tangled seriously with the local folkways,

with much resultant horseplay, centering largely in the unaccustomed meals set before the visitor. Food and drink have always exemplified Maryland civilization, and apparently always will, even though the canvasback ducks join the dodo and our oysters fade away to the limbo of the Indian shell-heaps.

J. GILMAN D'ARCY PAUL

Gentlemen Freeholders. By CHARLES S. SYDNOR. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1952. ix, 180 pp. $3.50.

This charming essay depicts the way politics were carried on in 18th century Virginia, and seldom has a solid historical work afforded better reading. The style is witty, anecdotal, and tinged with a faint nostalgia for the Old Dominion. Much of the humor derives from the author's relish in describing the predicament of gentleman planters whose aristocratic code forbade an open solicitation of the common people, but who needed the votes of the common people to get elected. The ethics of the situation were quite delicate. A gentleman, for example, had to inform the freeholder that he wanted to be elected, yet it was damaging to his prestige for him to wage an active campaign. How to solicit votes without seeming to was the problem. A gentleman too, was expected to entertain the freeholders prior to the balloting. The freeholders counted on it. Yet the gentleman must not be too lavish in his expenditure or he would lose face with everybody, and his entertainment must be carefully divorced from the idea that it was designed to influence votes. This show of fastidiousness is quaintly humorous to modern eyes, and the author has a good deal of fun with the high aristocrats of the time, who were not above rolling out the barrel on these occasions.

The literary quality of this book does not hide the fact that it is a keen analysis of the social structure of 18th century Virginia. With a knowledge of detail that every scholar will appreciate, Professor Sydnor unfolds the actual processes of government in the counties and in the provincial legislature. The book is mainly about electoral procedure, but the author makes it plain that the character of the society was epitomized in the electoral process. His point is that Virginia was a society that successfully combined democratic and aristocratic elements in the government. Political leadership at all levels was the acknowledged right of the aristocracy, and in the long run nobody could succeed politically who was not accepted by the gentlemen who ran the province. At the county level, the justices of the peace were a self-perpetuating group, composed of men to whom the generality of the people yielded leadership. In the legislature, affairs were administered by a permanent club of gentlemen who were astute, experienced, and who had taken one another's measure and decided who was to be trusted with responsibility. It was an aristocracy trained from birth for leadership. It had morale, a sense of stewardship, and it was under no

necessity of surrendering its integrity to stay in power. A political system, as Professor Sydnor says, which elevated such men as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, was one in which integrity and ability found regular pathways to the top.

The aristocracy did not govern, however, without reference to the yeoman farmers who were the enfranchised citizens of the province. True, the voters had only a choice between gentlemen, but Professor Sydnor says the choice was significant, and that in practice the gentlemen had to consider the will of their constituents. Fortunately, almost everybody in Virginia was a farmer, even though there were great ones and small ones, so a community of interest existed among all classes of the population. Moreover, this was a time when the yeomen still knew their place.

The last chapter is given over to a comparison between the high standards of an aristocratic age and the parlous state of politics in 20th century American democracy. The implication, gently expressed, is that something can be said for aristocracy, or, at least, that the methods by which democracy's leaders are chosen might benefit from incorporating some elements of Virginia's political system.

While these are reflections which naturally occur, and it must be said that Professor Sydnor's discussion is provocative, one feels that the matter is not broadly enough stated to lead to fundamental thinking. The electoral processes in colonial Virginia reflected a particular physical and social environment, as does our own. It does not seem that a useful comparison can be made without a deeper analysis, particularly of the 20th century, than Professor Sydnor attempts in this brief addendum to an altogether delightful book on 18th century Virginia.

E. JAMES FERGUSON

University of Maryland.

Virginians at Home: Family Life in the Eighteenth Century. By EDMUND S. MORGAN. Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1952. ix, 99 pp. $2.

This brief but excellent volume is "the second in a series of popular histories of Williamsburg and Tidewater Virginia in the eighteenth century." In lively, humorous chapters entitled "Growing Up," "Getting Married," "Servants and Slaves" and "Houses and Holidays" Professor Morgan presents a faithful and well-written report on family life in all the social strata. A note on the sources and the most useful secondary works is appended. All who read *Virginians at Home* will delight in its fresh and happy presentation.

HENRY J. YOUNG

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg

The Silversmiths of Virginia. By GEORGE B. CUTTEN. Richmond: Dietz Press, 1952. xxiv, 259 pp. $10.

The Silversmiths of Virginia is an encyclopedic study of the silversmiths, watchmakers, and jewellers of Virginia from 1694 to 1850. Newspapers, magazines, official records, and secondary sources were ransacked by Dr. Cutten for every reference to the craftsmen in these related trades and the results have been tabulated in the form of a miniature biography for each man, listed in the body of the text according to the city, town, or county in which he worked, and in the index alphabetically. If known, there is a reproduction of the smith's mark, and there are twenty-nine illustrations of important surviving pieces, as well as illustrations of advertisements, bills of sale, and other interesting matter.

While the greatest value of this book is as a reference work for historians and connoisseurs, the introduction by the author is an excellent essay on the general course of the trade in Virginia, and the biographical information is rich in curious detail relating to social and economic history.

WILBUR H. HUNTER, JR.

Peale Museum

Early English Churches in America, 1607-1807. By STEPHEN P. DORSEY New York, Oxford University Press, 1952. xvi, 296 pp. $10.

This good-looking album of early *Episcopal* churches on the Atlantic seaboard should appeal to all those generally interested in popular histories of the Church and its buildings. To the author it is a "visual essay," without attempting to be a comprehensive architectural analysis or to give a complete historical account of each building.

The work is divided into six parts, the first dealing with the historical background, and church interiors and their ornaments; then followed by sections describing individual churches in four main regions, the upper south, the deep south, the middle states, and New England. One hundred and eighteen photographic plates enhance the text, and include portraits of some early church leaders abroad, church furnishings like chalices, flagons, and alms basins, and architectural details. Mr. Dorsey, who has had much active interest in civic and ecclesiastical affairs, appears in this volume much more at home in discussing English ritual and church background than in treating of the early buildings themselves as architecture and history. For example, his text on the earliest churches in the South is in many respects not factual. There was no known church on Elizabeth's Island of 1602, as stated (page 43), but only a small fort and house, which were occupied a mere twenty-five days. To label the cobblestone footings within the Jamestown Brick Church as those of Argall's frame church of 1617 (page 53) is to repeat a time-worn and hackneyed printed error. To ascribe the date of 1699 to the Brick Church tower at

Jamestown, " according to the most recent qualified opinion " (pages 49, 53)—in itself a vague and unscholarly manner of presenting a source—is to ignore Mr. John Tyler's drawing of his excavations of the Brick Church in 1901 which shows the nave foundation and the tower in one piece, that is, both erected 1639-47. How does the " most recent qualified opinion " ascribe the date of the building of this imposing brick belfry to that very year, 1699, when Jamestown ceased once and for all to be the capital city of Virginia and when almost all the church-goers moved away from the settlement?

Readers will like the book for its pictures, and Marylanders will be interested in photographs of Trinity Church in Dorchester County, which is a beautiful print by the author, Old Wye and its reconstructed Vestry House, St. John's at Broad Creek, St. James at Herring Creek, St. Andrew's, and others. One looks in vain for one of the most interesting: St. Martin's, on Eastern Shore, with its details of Jacobean hangover. But this work is not intended to be a complete album of early Protestant Episcopal churches.

HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN

The War of the Revolution. By CHRISTOPHER L. WARD. Edited by JOHN R. ALDEN. New York: Macmillan, 1952. 2 vols. $15.

It is an absorbing pleasure to read these two sizable volumes, the result of many years of devoted enthusiastic research. Years have elapsed since any American work on this important subject has appeared; it is comforting to see them standing along with Benson J. Lossing's two-volume *Pictorial Field Book* just a century old, replete with wood cuts from drawings made on the spot, and full of purple passages, and with Henry B. Dawson's two-volume *Battles of the United States* (1858) with H. B. Carrington's *Battles of the American Revolution* (1888) and the Englishman Trevelyan's six-volume work (1909-1914) which dealt with British and American politics as much as with military developments.

Mr. Ward's work was unfortunately cut short by his death at 75 in 1943; but he had worked into his manuscript the gist of a vast array of printed references bringing things up to his decease. The list of 284 publications, including a few more recent, added by the editor, fills 11 pages. Whatever manuscript sources were used, if any, are not cited. But the text citations to the 284 items, with other footnotes, fill 74 pages, a gold mine for further studies. Professor Alden, of University of Nebraska, not only prepared Ward's manuscript for publication, but added chapter 81 on the war beyond the Alleghenies.

Mr. Ward, a prominent Wilmington jurist, whose chief avocation was history, as evidenced by his *The Delaware Continentals, 1776-1783,** published 1941, had the true detective instinct. His zeal and satisfaction

* Reviewed *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVII (March, 1942), 79-80.

in tracing down clues as to what happened, and why, shine forth on every page, along with a rare comprehension of behind-the-scene political affairs and personalities. He writes with a dramatic quality rare in a military history.

Is it true that nothing was ever settled by a war? As Ward's preface notes, this is not a history of the Revolution, but of the war that made the Revolution stick. This war settled something of world consequence and benefit—the creation of a new kind of nation, in the face of the overwhelming numbers of Tories and reactionaries, the timid and indifferent, with all their wealth and power.

The overworked phrase "the Founding Fathers" is rather hollow in 1953, coming from those who have not read and care little about the Revolution and the Civil War, fought for two great causes, and the small group of courageous patriots and the pitifully weak half starved Colonial army held together by a great-hearted, determined leader. Ward makes frequently clear that Washington was by no means a great general in the technical sense, but with infinite fortitude could override defeat and seize the initiative, as at Trenton, from the well-trained but poorly led British.

The daily interplay of public opinion in a highly provincial era, of peanut politics among local leaders and in the Continental Congress, of the consequent frenzied financing to mobilize men, supplies, and equipment, can be only summarized in Ward's 84 all too short chapters. Yet though each is devoted primarily to military planning and actions in one battle after another, there emerges a picture of the life and thinking of the people.

The short but vivid characterizations of opposing generals, the concise fact-packed battle stories, many of them exciting in the telling, help to give this war history a distinction that will not diminish. Perhaps one should not complain that the book lacks illustrations, for the wealth of them available would have too greatly swollen these two volumes; where would one stop? But such a collection is badly needed.

Of the 40 maps which seem to have been drawn especially for this book, many are in merely an outline form, e. g. Bunker Hill, in contrast to such maps as those of Erwin Raisz of Harvard, which show the topography in perspective and give a feeling of actuality. A good example of Raisz and the elaborate detail and research involved, is the map of the two-part Battle of Baltimore, initiated and edited by the present reviewer as a labor of love, in the school text-book *My Maryland* (1934). Every Marylander is proud of the part played by Maryland troops in the Battle of Long Island, but Ward's map of it cannot be understood nearly so well as the ingenious strategy and progress maps of other battles included in the historical booklets of the National Park Service, notably those on Saratoga and Yorktown.

It is hard to see how any history of a war so long and complicated could be packed more effectively into a thousand interesting pages; most readers would say "that's enough." It is not likely that anyone will tackle such a job again for another half-century.

Meanwhile the need continues for a cooperative eight or ten volume compendium of the Revolution, full of detail, illustrations, more maps, quotations from personal unpublished narratives. This need comes up whenever anyone tries to reconstruct a particular campaign or battlefield after these 175 years. Conversely there is great need for a popular illustrated summary, maybe 400 pages, of the Revolution and what it meant, with a 35 cent reprint of it on the news stands; just as we had last fall Thomas' welcome new one-volume life of Lincoln, now a best-seller, while we were getting also the new 9 volume *Collected Works* of Lincoln.

And speaking of Washington, in the face of Freeman's many-volumed life, which one can devour with pleasure, footnotes and all, how welcome would be a first class, one-volume Washington biography, as brilliantly and appreciatively written as S. E. Morison's unique essay on the Young Manhood of George Washington, so that on the newsstands Tom, Dick and Harry might be tempted to read the personal story of the man who led the Colonies to victory.

JOSEPH L. WHEELER

Elias Boudinot: Patriot and Statesman, 1740-1821. By GEORGE A. BOYD. Princeton Univ. Press, 1952. xv, 321 pp. $5.

In a compact volume, complete with all the proper mechanics of scholarship, Mr. Boyd has made a laudable effort to place in his historical setting an important secondary figure who played a prominent role in government and society in our early national history. A man of no meager talents, Elias Boudinot was a member and one-time president of the Continental Congress, Commissary-General of Prisoners during the American Revolution, a member of Congress from New Jersey in the first Congresses under the Federal Constitution, a speculator in western lands, for ten years Director of the United States Mint, a trustee of the College of New Jersey—now Princeton, first president of the American Bible Society, and politically an active and dedicated Federalist. These are but some of Boudinot's noteworthy accomplishments and activities.

Despite the extensive use of manuscript materials and the apparent care and precision in research it is to be doubted that this volume adds much that is significant and new to our knowledge of the Revolutionary, Federalist, and Jeffersonian years. Basically a factual biography, the book contains little or no interpretation. Even though the attempt is clearly discernible, the monograph is not placed in an adequate historical context. Important gaps and omissions are noticeable. For example: It is difficult to believe that a man as politically prominent as Boudinot was not involved somehow in such important matters as the Alien and Sedition legislation and the politics of the Quasi-War with France at the turn of the 18th century. Yet, these and other important issues are passed over in silence.

Despite some of the obvious omissions, this book performs an important

function. Only by learning more of what the lesser men in our early government and politics did and thought can we get a fuller picture of our history. Not just the Washingtons, the Hamiltons, the Jeffersons, and the Madisons made history; the many Boudinots, though less vital and less glamorous, contributed much to the making of the nation. It is proper and important that we know more about them. Mr. Boyd, by rescuing from seeming obscurity an important second-rank statesman, has contributed to American historical scholarship.

ALEXANDER DECONDE

Duke University

Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Instructions and Despatches, 1817-1861. Edited by HOWARD R. MARRARO. New York: S. F. Vanni, [1952]. 2 vols. $35.

These two handsome volumes contain the official instructions to and despatches from U. S. diplomatic representatives to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies for a period of forty-five years. A prodigious amount of labor has gone into the 1,400-odd pages of this exhaustive study. The editor has supplied biographical data and explanatory remarks in generous quantities. One does not doubt that these volumes will be a standard work of reference for many years.

Several Marylanders played significant roles in the diplomacy of the years covered. William Pinkney, leader of the Maryland bar, Attorney General, and Senator, was the first accredited representative to the Naples Government. More than forty documents to or from Pinkney are found. John Nelson, Congressman and Attorney General in President Tyler's cabinet, wrote or received another forty documents while on a mission in 1831-1832. Louis McLane, of Delaware and Maryland, is concerned in twelve documents. Readers of the *Magazine* may recall Mr. Marraro's articles on Pinkney (XLIII [December, 1948], 235-265) and Nelson (XLIV [September, 1949], 149-176). The list of consuls resident in Baltimore in the years 1827-1860 is a useful record.

We are introduced in these volumes to Alexander Hammett, a Marylander, who served as consul at Naples from 1809 to 1863 and briefly as *chargé d'affaires*. We would like to know more about him.

F. S.

Edward Hicks, Painter of the Peaceable Kingdom. By ALICE FORD. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1952. xvi, 161 pp. $8.50.

From letters, journals, sermons, memoirs, wills, paintings, and news items, Miss Ford has literally reconstructed the life and times of Edward Hicks, beloved preacher of the Society of Friends and indefatigable painter of American primitives. In the last quarter century of his life he painted perhaps a hundred versions of the Peaceable Kingdom, a borrowed theme which he made his own by creating a wonderfully assured girl child standing in the midst of spellbound animals, the like of which only Noah and Henri Rousseau ever saw. Miss Ford supplies enough pictorial data to reveal three periods of style and to prove that Hicks did paint directly from nature, an accomplishment hitherto denied by historians of art.

Although this volume will be listed under Art, it is much more than another biography of a painter. Quietly, with great sympathy and good sense, the author has written an important chronicle of a family of Friends at a critical time in the history of the Society.

ELEANOR PATTERSON SPENCER

Goucher College

Graveyard of the Atlantic. By DAVID STICK. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1952. ix, 276 pp. $5.

In the more than 400 years since the brigantine of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon foundered off Cape Fear in 1526, the entire North Carolina coast has been strewn with the wreckage of literally thousands of vessels of all types and sizes—more, perhaps, than on any other coastline of equal length within this same period of time.

Many of these individual wrecks have been publicized. A considerable accumulation of such material exists. Yet not until Mr. Stick, himself a dweller on the banks, gathered the vast number of ship-wreck stories, sifted them for authenticity, outlined the most unusual and interesting, and arranged some 700 totally lost vessels of fifty tons or over in chronological order in the present volume has a full, authoritative and completely satisfying history been compiled. Each incident is carefully documented.

In a sense this volume also completes the story of the *Graveyard of the Atlantic* because, happily, this former ill-famed section of the coast is now, for all but sailing craft, about as safe as any other. The shift from sail to diesel and the efficiency of present-day, shore-based life saving facilities have effectively tamed its power to destroy.

Those who delight in ship-wreck and thrilling adventure will find this volume very much to their liking; to others interested in local history, it is highly instructive and entertaining.

RALPH J. ROBINSON

"Co. Aytch," A Side Show of the Big Show. By SAM R. WATKINS. Edited By BELL I. WILEY. Jackson, Tenn., 1952. 231 pp. $5.

Private Watkins's story appeared serially in the Columbia, Tennessee, *Herald* in 1882 and was immediately published in book form. A second edition, published in 1900, has become a collector's item. The present edition is therefore welcome.

Sam R. Watkins, Columbia, Tennessee, joined the Maury Grays, later Company H, first Tennessee regiment, in the spring of 1861. Although he had enlisted for only 12 months, the Conscription Act held him in the Army and he was, when General Johnson surrendered in 1865, one of 65 officers and men remaining of the more than 3,200 who had served in his regiment at Shiloh, Murfreesboro, Chickamauga, and other bloody fields. *Co. Aytch* is strictly a private's story of the war. The reader is constantly admonished to study history if he would learn more of battles and strategy, although the author shrewdly appraises the leadership of most of the officers whom he knew. He is especially hard on General Bragg, who earned the hatred of the whole regiment. Of Joseph E. Johnston, who succeeded Bragg, he writes in terms of respect and affection. The reader will follow with greatest interest, however, Watkins's homely account of the daily life of the soldier. His baptism of fire ("I felt happier than a fellow does when he professes religion at a big Methodist camp meeting"); his horror and revulsion at Bragg's stern, even cruel, disciplinary measures; his memories of the kindness of the civilians whom he met, are described in simple language, labored at times, but not without humor.

Lacking the dramatic intensity of the battle pictures of Crane and Bierce, Private Watkins's narrative (although wounded several times, Watkins was promoted to corporal late in the war for picking up a Union flag without danger to himself) nevertheless portrays with unadorned fidelity the comedy and horror, the brutal senselessness, of the private's war.

W. BIRD TERWILLIGER

Politics in Maryland During the Civil War. By CHARLES B. CLARK. Chestertown: 1952. 201 pp.

The author, Professor of History at Washington College, brings together in one volume reprints of his articles which appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* between September, 1941, and June, 1946. Dr. Clark is to be congratulated for electing to publish this substantial portion of the results of his research on a significant topic in a convenient form.

F. S.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Seminars on American Culture—The Sixth Annual Seminars on American Culture will be held in Cooperstown, N. Y., under the auspices of the New York State Historical Association, July 5-11. Topics to be considered include "Folklore of Newer Americans," "Using Local History," and "Early American Decoration." Details may be obtained from Mr. Louis C. Jones, Director of the Association, Cooperstown.

Long, Robert Cary, Jr.—I am preparing a monograph on the work of Robert Cary Long, Jr.; and would like very much to call upon the readers of your magazine for assistance. Could you insert a notice reading to the effect that I would welcome any material concerning this little known but important architect? He was born in 1810, the son of Robert Cary Long, the architect of the Peale Museum, the Union Bank, and other notable buildings in Baltimore. He was a member of the Maryland Historical Society and lectured there. A writer as well as an architect he was one of the first to investigate the architecture of the Aztecs. Some of his most important constructions in Baltimore are St. Alphonsus Church, Greenmount Gates, Homeland, the Old Record Office, Carroll Hall, St. Timothy's Church, Catonsville. He also worked in Ellicott City, in Natchez, Mississippi, in New Jersey, and in New York.

RICH BORNEMANN
Peale Museum, Baltimore 2.

Names of Chesapeake Bay Vessels—Mr. Richard H. Randall, a member of the Committee on the Maritime Museum, is compiling a list of the names of commercial sailing vessels that have operated on the Bay. He welcomes suggestions for the list which in due course will be available for use in the Library.

Green—Desire names of parents, vital dates, and places of residence of Richard Green (b. Feb. 2, 1775, d. Feb. 12, 1828) who on Oct. 10, 1801 m. Mary Sloan (b. Feb. 12, 1783, d. May 20, 1816). They resided in vicinity of Friendsville.

SARAH VAN HOOSEN JONES
Route 2, Box 36, Rochester, Mich.

Jefferson—Need information about Leonard Jefferson who married Barbara Nichols on Dec. 3, 1806, in Frederick Co.

MRS. MAYLAN ARNETT
816 Chester Ave., San Marino, Cal.

Jones—Wanted: Any information on Elisha Jones whose ship was captured off the coast of Florida in 1812. Jones was brought to Havre de Grace, where he died and was buried.

SARAH VAN HOOSEN JONES
Route 2, Box 36, Rochester, Mich.

Saunders—Information wanted regarding parentage of Elizabeth Saunders, wife of Knighton Simmons, b. March 1, 1745, d. July 7, 1774, of St. James Parish, Anne Arundel Co.

R. G. SMITH
2904 13th St. South, Arlington, Va.

CONTRIBUTORS

MR. TILGHMAN, who is a Lloyd as well as a Tilghman descendant, is an architect by profession. He has previously contributed to the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. ☆ MR. BREWINGTON, of Cambridge, is an authority on the maritime history of the Chesapeake Bay, the author of numerous books and articles, and an editor of *The American Neptune*. ☆ Professor of History and Dean of Men at Washington College, DR. CLARK is known to readers of this *Magazine* for his able study, "Politics in Maryland During the Civil War," which appeared between 1941 and 1946. ☆ MR. BRISTOL, of the Peabody Institute Library staff, came to Maryland from New England four years ago and in this short time has established himself as an authority on Maryland printing. His book, *Maryland Imprints, 1801-1810,* has just been released.

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