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Vol. 75,
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CONTENTS

<i>David Curtis Skaggs</i>	Origins of the Maryland Party System: The Constitutional Convention of 1776	95
<i>Elaine G. Breslaw</i>	A Dismal Tragedy: Drs. Alexander and John Hamilton Comment on Braddock's Defeat	118
<i>William G. Lefurgy</i>	Baltimore's Wards, 1797-1978: A Guide	145

Book Reviews:

<i>Tate and Ammerman, eds., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society</i> , by Margaret W. Masson • <i>Zimmer, Jonathan Boucher, Loyalist in Exile</i> , by Ronald Hoffman • <i>Risjold, Chesapeake Politics 1781-1800</i> , by Bayly Ellen Marks • <i>Town and Country: Essays on the Structure of Local Government in the American Colonies</i> , by Larry E. Sullivan	154
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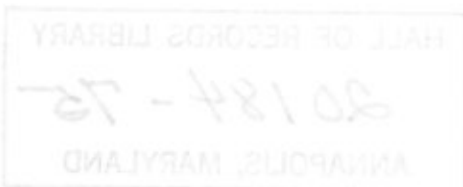
NEWS AND NOTICES	161
COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY HAPPENINGS	163

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Judge Samuel Chase [c. 1773]
By Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827)
Oil on canvas, 127.6 cm X 92.7 cm
Maryland Historical Society, 1892.2.1

Stormy Patriot: The Life of Samuel Chase, a much-needed biography written by James Haw, Francis F. Beirne, Rosamond R. Beirne, and R. Samuel Jett, will be published by the Society in Fall 1980.



Origins of the Maryland Party System: The Constitutional Convention of 1776

DAVID CURTIS SKAGGS

ONE OF THE MOST PERSISTENT DEBATES IN EARLY NATIONAL HISTORY CONCERNS the origins of the Federalist and Republican "parties" of the 1790s. Scholars disagree over two questions: *when* did true "parties" develop and *how* were they formed? The latter point revolves around whether the political groups which formed around Washington and Jefferson did so because "national" issues brought them together or whether these groups emerged from continental coalitions formed from pre-existing state "parties"? The question of the time of emergence has in some instance caused scholars to argue that "parties" in colonial America continued into the early republic and others to contend that parties did not truly emerge until the 1830s.¹

Traditional discussions of the first party system concentrate on the national origins of partisan activity with a *trickle-down* theory of party formation. They see in policy conflicts of the Washington administration the source of activities by national elites to extend their influence or secure power through the creation of continental parties. By contrast, several studies of state politics in the 1780s and 1790s operate on a *filter-up* thesis in which pre-existing parochial political groups coalesce around the national leadership faction which promises the greatest local advantage or around the one not allied with their provincial opponents.²

Essential to one's understanding of party development is a reasonable definition of what constitutes a political party. William Nisbet Chambers argues that a party has four elements: (1) at least a cadre organization with "a pattern of stable connections or relations between leaders . . . and active participants at the outposts;" (2) procedures for nominating candidates, campaigning for them, and a willingness to accept the burden of management; (3) a wide range of support, sufficient density to achieve some local victories, and stability of alignments over time; (4) a popular set of ideological beliefs. Frank J. Sorauf describes a tripartite party structure consisting of the formal party organization, the functions of governing when in office, and the appeal of the party to the electorate. Whatever definition is used, a party must have a depth of orga-

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nization, a degree of permanence, and a breadth of following to achieve a significant role in the governance of a community.³

While considerable research has been done concerning party development in the Continental Congress and about political groupings in the states during the last two decades of the eighteenth century, little systematic study about party antecedents during the 1770s exists. It is during these years that the absence of royal and proprietary restraints opened up the political arena to new men and ideas that should have laid the foundations for the partisanship that followed in the Federalist era.⁴ A choice opportunity to examine such a party genesis lies in the records of the Maryland Constitutional Convention held in Annapolis, August 14–November 10, 1776.

Historians have assumed that Maryland parties did not appear until the 1790s. Earlier political clashes have been dismissed as personality differences because both dominant figures of the revolutionary era—Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll of Carrollton—became Federalists.⁵ It was not until Jackson Turner Main analyzed the voting patterns in Maryland General Assembly during the 1780s that distinct and continuous legislative groupings outside the conventional Chase-Carroll dichotomy became apparent. In perceiving the genesis of the state's parties as occurring prior to the Federalist era, Main launched a significant new perspective on political developments which undercut the traditional viewpoint that elite factionalism, not issues or regionalism, determined the course of revolutionary Maryland politics. Earlier studies argued that deferential attitudes allowed the gentry to dominate the General Assembly with little input from the mass of freemen. Main's study of legislative voting blocs asserted that the Chase-Carroll rivalry beclouded more meaningful partisan alliances that reflected widely held opinions within the community.⁶

Professor Main described two basic divisions in the state's legislature. The Cosmopolitans came from the two major towns (Annapolis and Baltimore) and the long-settled regions of the state along the lower eastern and western shores of the Chesapeake Bay. Many persons in this bloc gained their principal income through trade or legal practice rather than from commercial farming, although they usually owned at least twenty slaves and extensive acreage. The other, much smaller, bloc was the Localists whose members were most commonly small planters with usually fewer than a dozen slaves and who represented the more recently settled regions of the upper Bay and western Maryland. Main concluded that "the Cosmopolitan party represented the business, professional, and planter interests, whose outlook tended to transcend their locality, while the Localist group reflected the parochial views of the more purely agrarian Marylanders."⁷ (We shall find that Main's terminology for these two parties of the 1780s applies equally well to the Convention of 1776).

Critical to our understanding of the historiography of Maryland parties is Main's final comment:

The existence and continuity of these two sides is clear enough now, but only rarely does the literature of the period reflect them. Apparently the people of

Maryland continued to vote as they always voted, for the man rather than for the principle. Hints of change appear first in 1786, when . . . a combination, motivated primarily by the paper-money question, . . . hoped to change the political balance of power.⁸

Main's conclusion is marked by three assumptions: (1) there are little data outside the legislative voting records that denote this cleavage; (2) Maryland voters preferred a deferential political system rather than one based upon votes for candidates advocating particular economic, social, or cultural issues; and (3) the emergence of active electioneering along partisan lines came after the Chase-Carroll quarrel over paper money broke out in 1785-86.

Several of Main's conclusions came into question when Ronald Hoffman published his study of Maryland politics in the revolutionary era. Professor Hoffman noted that the critical years were 1774 to 1778 when the "Popular Party" (a group whose membership corresponds to Main's Cosmopolitans) "sacrificed principle for power" in order to overcome "the disequilibrating social forces released by the revolutionary movement."⁹ Hoffman found extensive factional activity in local politics and ingredients of social and economic cleavage that underlay such activity. Since Hoffman's work is not based upon a systematic analysis of legislative voting records, obviously there is considerable other information to illustrate these divisions—particularly in the Carroll Papers. Also there are numerous indications that deferential voting patterns underwent severe strains during these years as electioneering became more sophisticated and more ideologically oriented. In order to counter their more radical opponents, Popular Party leaders made numerous concessions to various forms of "disaffection" and thereby offset what they felt to be the drift toward anarchy by preserving gentry dominance of the state's political life.¹⁰

Despite the work by Hoffman and others,¹¹ no extended discussion of the 1776 Constitutional Convention and its voting blocs exists. By far the most detailed treatment appears in John R. Haeuser's masters thesis.¹² Because for the first time in Maryland revolutionary history delegate votes on numerous issues were recorded at this convention, an opportunity is presented to analyze effectively the voting patterns and to ascertain the origins of the groupings that constitute the newly independent state's political "parties." Moreover, the political campaign before the Convention and the publication of the draft constitution and its discussion at popular meetings during the Convention session, allow us to perceive just how far popular participation in the political process had advanced. Using the Chambers definition, we may ascertain some indication of whether there existed such political party functions as nominating, campaigning, mobilizing public opinion, and managing government once in office. Finally, to confirm that these are truly political parties, we should consider whether there was sufficient range, density, and stability of support of distinguish these groups from mere *ad hoc* legislative factions.

There can be little doubt that the extralegal associations opposed to the Coercive Acts were an important ingredient in the expansion of popular participation in the political process. In Maryland these groups displayed open defi-

ance of traditional gentry leadership in the burning of two vessels carrying contraband, in the demands of militiamen that they, and not the gentry-dominated provincial congress, select their high-ranking officers, and in a variety of indications of lower class discontent that manifested themselves in such activities as loyalist outbursts and salt riots.¹³

Nowhere did this appear more graphically than in election campaigns, particularly in the northern and western counties. In 1774 a broadside satirically attacked "some of the Great Men of Baltimore-Town" for opposing the election of Captain Charles Ridgely to the provincial Congress. These merchants sought to overcome Ridgely's popularity with the masses by insisting on "a regular Poll," not an election in which non-freeholders could vote. Satiric broadsides constituted a new ingredient in local politics and denote the emerging role of public opinion in the decision-making process.¹⁴

Gradually the politicians learned that the *vox populi* had to be consulted before major decisions were made. Once independence was declared, a new urgency drove Marylanders to consult with the populace to create a stable, legitimate charter of government to replace the proprietary grant of 1632. So it was that the provincial congress resolved in July 2, 1776:

That a new convention be elected for the express purpose of forming a new government, by the authority of the people only, and enacting and ordering all things for the preservation, safety, and general weal of this colony.¹⁵

With this mandate, elections proceeded under a policy allowing 50-acre freeholders or those with £40 sterling estates to vote. Obviously many thought these standards too high. At the Anne Arundel, Prince George's, Montgomery, Worchester, Queen Anne's, and Kent County polling places demands were made for wider suffrage, and election proceedings were disrupted.¹⁶ An essay signed "Watchman" appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* to argue eloquently for universal manhood suffrage.¹⁷

By the time the election returns were known, the Cosmopolitan faction found itself faced with severe, though not fatal, losses. Many of their traditional leaders failed to receive popular approbation, Thomas Stone, Thomas Contee, Robert Tyler, Josias Beall, Walter Tolley, Jr., John Moale, Benjamin Rumsey, and Thomas Johnson among them. Samuel Chase, Charles Carroll, barrister, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and William Paca barely received sufficient ballots to be elected.

Vigorous campaigning along ideological lines took place at various polls. For example, Rumsey sought to mollify Harford County interests arrayed against him by justifying a stance taken on a particular issue. Since he was on the Council of Safety, he felt he could not attend the election and sought to have Benedict Edward Hall explain his position.¹⁸ Apparently Hall failed to convince the voters, since Rumsey was not returned.

In Baltimore County, John Moale failed of re-election in a multiple-candidate race that saw Captain Ridgely and Thomas Cockey Deye, along with two small planters, chosen. This election was unique in that "a Dutchman" sought voter approval. Prior to 1776, such political activity by the Maryland Ger-

mans was most unusual. One gentleman wrote in exasperation: "Pray where is the difference between being disqualified or having a vote when these men are to represent you?"¹⁹

In Anne Arundel County, the electors chose Charles Carroll, barrister, Samuel Chase, B. T. B. Worthington, and Rezin Hammond. Were it not for the new provision that Baltimore Town and Annapolis could elect delegates, such Cosmopolitan luminaries as Charles Carroll of Carrollton, William Paca, and John Smith would have been without seats. A little place-hunting secured a seat for Thomas Johnson in the Caroline County delegation and so the core of the Cosmopolitan leadership found places in the convention.

But the Anne Arundel election brought gloom to the Cosmopolitans. Matthias Hammond and Thomas Harwood harranged local voters saying that "if they did not support Mr. [Rezin] Hammond's election, they would all be slaves and if they did, they would all be free."²⁰ Such demagoguery sent tremors through the hearts of the opposition, for the Hammonds brought a new type of popular politics to the fore. A colonel in the revolutionary militia, a fiery leader of the men from Elk Ridge (now Howard County), Rezin Hammond sought to undermine the concept that independence would merely represent an orderly transfer of power from the agents of the Lord Proprietor to those of the local gentry. Colonel Hammond saw the new nation as the harbinger of a new order in which all men could participate politically and receive opportunities for economic advancement. He had a new vehicle for making his opinions known—the revolutionary militia—and this he utilized as an instrument for social change.

Before the provincial congress resolved for independence, the Hammonds gathered together "the conferees appointed by the several battalions of militia of Anne-Arundel county." This group instructed the county delegates not only to support the separation from Great Britain, but also to draft a new constitution, to elect a new Council of Safety, and to choose new delegates to the Continental Congress.

Little of this differed from what men like the Carrolls and Chase desired, but other aspects of this resolution posed problems for the more conservative leaders. These instructions called for all the interest on recent debts and all rents to be paid in produce rather than in specie and urged that the interests on debts incurred more than three months earlier be stopped altogether. Beyond this radical economic proposal was a proclamation of popular sovereignty totally lacking in any deference:

We, the freemen of Anne-Arundel county . . . have determined to exercise our unquestionable right of instructing our delegates in Convention: no apology is necessary; neither is any, we presume, expected from us: from the very nature of the trust, and the relation subsisting between constituent and representative, the former is entitled to express his sentiments and to instruct the latter upon all points that may come under his consideration as a representative.²¹

Subsequent to the formulation of these instructions, "deputies of the several battalions of militia" met in Annapolis and by a vote of twelve "aye" to

ten "not voting" resolved to draft "a sketch of a form of government for this province. . . ." Both Hammonds and Harwood were among the leaders of this group. On June 27, the eve of Maryland's resolution for independence, they drew up their proposal. The very first proposition indicated the egalitarian nature of the draft: "The right to legislate is in *every* member of the community." The "sketch" determined that the branches of government "should be independent of, and balance each other, and all dependent on the people."

Getting down to specifics, the "sketch" called for a bicameral legislature with an executive council of seven, and for a provincial court chosen by the legislature. Each body would be chosen annually, "as annual elections are most friendly to liberty, and the oftener power reverts to the people, the greater will be the security for a faithful discharge of it." All state executive officers would be appointed by the legislature while local officials would be elected. Delegates to the Continental Congress must be chosen from among the members of the legislature, but when so chosen they must give up their legislative seats. The poll tax would be abolished and a property tax assessed based upon real estate value. The fees paid to public officials for the execution of their duties were to be "reasonable," reflecting a long-festering sore in Maryland's body politic over fees paid to proprietary officials. The "sketch" guaranteed only two civil liberties—jury trial and habeas corpus—but demanded considerable local autonomy concerning the operation of probate procedures, which had been provincially administered. Finally, there were a series of military issues reflecting opposition to officers on active duty serving in government, demanding the election of all militia officers (as opposed to centralized commissioning of field grade and general ranks), and opposing peacetime standing armies since "a well regulated militia . . . [is] the best security for the preservation of the lives, liberties and properties of the people."²²

These Anne Arundel militia resolves clearly indicate that there were definite political issues that transcended traditional deferential politics. These demands and other incidents provide numerous indications of vigorous electioneering along ideological lines. There are hints that tickets were formed in some counties by particular political groupings. Important issues revolved around suffrage requirements, militia organization, local government, and state government. These were to be principal areas of disagreement in the ensuing Constitutional Convention.

Of the seventy-six delegates elected to the Convention in early August, only twenty-nine were members of the June convention which voted for independence. Some of this change was due to a shift in apportionment, with two new districts created in western Maryland (soon to become Montgomery and Washington Counties) and urban districts assigned to Annapolis and Baltimore. Another portion of the change may be attributed to refusals to run by Loyalists like James Tilghman, or by faint-hearted Patriots. But a considerable portion of the change may be attributed to a public desire for more vigorous, more determined, and more representative leadership.

With so many new men who lacked legislative experience, those with such credentials took quick charge of the Convention's machinery. Matthew Tilgh-

man chaired this body as he had done in the previous provincial assemblies. This Talbot County gentleman was the nucleus around which the Cosmopolitan faction revolved. Nothing so indicates his influence as in the election of committees.

The most critical committee was that established to draft a Bill of Rights and a Constitution, chosen on August 17. The convention elected Tilghman, his son-in-law Carroll, barrister, Carroll of Carrollton, Chase, Johnson, Paca, George Plater, Robert Goldsborough, and Robert T. Hooe to this body. Not a single member of this group came from the Localist faction, nor did anyone come from the northern or western counties. The Cosmopolitans' control of this critical aspect of Convention machinery continued throughout the Convention. Of the nineteen committees organized by the Convention, containing a total of seventy-nine seats, the ten most prominent Localists received only seven seats. Eighteen positions went to the ten most consistent Cosmopolitans. Great amusement must have filled the chamber when the Convention named three leading Localists—Cockey Deye, William Fitzhugh, and Jacob Bond—as the sole members of the “critical” Committee on the Printing of the Journal.²³

Rezin Hammond, a leading Localist, immediately discerned his predicament and sought to remedy it. The Anne Arundel militia's proposed economic legislation had been soundly defeated in the previous revolutionary assembly, but only 18 of 41 who opposed such a credit policy returned to the Convention. Now he sought to eliminate the core of his opposition in the Anne Arundel County delegation by another resort to popular instructions. He secured the signatures of 885 freemen who not only endorsed the proposals previously submitted but also championed a new concept—universal manhood suffrage. The signatures on this petition represented more names than usually voted in an election. The four county delegates—Chase, Carroll, barrister, Hammond, and Worthington—wondered whether they were bound by such instructions. Hammond obviously endorsed them, while the others felt obliged to seek vindication of their beliefs by resigning their seats and seeking re-election. They resigned, as they said, upon receiving “instructions from their constituents, enjoining them, in framing of a government for this state, implicitly to adhere to points in their opinion incompatible with good government.”²⁴ Carroll of Carrollton was outraged, writing of “the desperate designs of the Hammonds” which would lead to anarchy, “injustice, rapine and corruption in the seats of justice, . . . and this province in a short time will be involved in all the horrors of an ungovernable and revengeful Democracy and will be died with the blood of its best citizens.”²⁵

At a by-election held on September 4, Chase and Worthington prevailed, but Carroll, barrister, lost his seat to John Hall of the Vineyard. Thus Tilghman's son-in-law became another victim of the rising tide of “revengeful Democracy.”²⁶ But the loss of one seat, even that of such a vital cog in the Cosmopolitan machine as Carroll, barrister, could not dim the almost total control of the Convention which this faction held.

The battle lines became apparent when the draft Bill of Rights and Constitution came from the committee to the Convention floor on September 13. The

Convention then resolved to recess and to print copies of the draft "For the consideration of the people at large." This was one of the more significant decisions of the Convention. It was proposed by William Fitzhugh of Calvert County and opposed by the core of the Cosmopolitan bloc. Fitzhugh used the pretext that the delay was to allow members who were delegates to Congress to participate in that body's deliberations. The Cosmopolitans tried twice to scuttle the motion, first by opposing the call for the question, and then by outright defeat. They failed both times by votes of 27 to 19 and 30 to 16.²⁷ This constituted one of the few Localist victories of importance. (See notes #16 and 17 in Appendix.)

Colonel Fitzhugh and the Localists clearly saw that the creation of fundamental law was a matter of such importance that it required more than the approval of an assembly to achieve legitimacy superior to that of a legislative statute. They did not propose popular ratification of a constitution. But in the fall of 1776, consideration of the document by the people before adoption by a convention served as the germ of the idea that fundamental law needed the approbation of the electorate before going into effect.²⁸ Also implicit in Fitzhugh's motion was an attack on the committee's draft. Obviously he and his supporters felt that major changes in the document would be made only with strong representations from the populace for such changes.

It was just such out-of-doors politics that his opponents sought to avoid. Carroll of Carrollton feared that the Convention would reject or significantly modify the draft. In exasperation he wrote: "I execrate the detestable villainy of designing men who under the specious and sacred name of popularity are endeavoring to work themselves into power and profit to accomplish this, their end, want to establish a most ruinous system of government."²⁹

If Fitzhugh thought consideration of the provisions by the body politic would open the Convention's deliberations over constitutional provisions to public view, he was mistaken. When the Convention resumed deliberations on October 10, a motion by his ally John Mackall of Calvert County to record the votes in the Committee of the Whole went down to resounding defeat, 7 to 59. With either Brice Thomas Beale Worthington or Turbutt Wright in the chair, the Convention deliberated the draft in secret until October 31.³⁰

On that date, the Committee of the Whole reported out its recommendations. There were "material alterations" of the draft, but the Localists were not satisfied. In a series of motions, most of which lost, they attacked various features of the new document. Their object was presumably twofold. First, they sought to modify the Constitution to meet the needs and expectations of their constituents. Second, they tried to delay the process so long that either nothing would be adopted or the Cosmopolitan majority would accede to their demands.

Carroll of Carrollton grew increasingly frustrated. As one who had signed the Declaration of Independence a few weeks earlier, he now regretted the act, since independence meant "our distractions will increase, & civil wars among ourselves will surely follow." Because of the alterations in the draft constitution he now wrote, "I am satisfied we shall have a very bad gover[nmen]t in

this state."³¹ He was particularly upset over reductions in the terms of senators from seven to five years and the delegate terms from three years to one. "God knows what sort of gov[ernment]t we shall get," he lamented.³²

Carroll's patrician outlook is apparent in his description of the Convention delegates:

I really think a considerable majority mean to do what is right in their judgments—not only honesty and good intentions are requisite in framing a good govern[men]t, but knowledge of history, & insight into the passions of the human heart are likewise necessary. How few of our members are acquainted with the Govern[men]ts that have existed in the world! and how much fewer still with the causes wh[ic]h brought those govts. to destruction! Yet every man thinks himself a judge and adept in the great and difficult science of Legislation.³³

An entirely opposite viewpoint was expressed by Localist faction leader Charles Ridgely of Baltimore County. Ridgely, like his allies Deye, Fitzhugh, Hammond, and John Mackall, was a rich man. But his career as a ship's captain and an ironmaster developed in him an affection for the honest but ordinary man in his county. His anti-elitist campaign tactics appeared in 1784 when he argued that there should be "more farmers in the House of Assembly." Moreover, all a delegate needs is to

have a knowledge of the situation of his country, its riches and resources, of what the inhabitants can bear with ease and convenience, and what would prove burthensome to them; a feeling for the poorer people, and an utter aversion to distressing them. . . . a man who has the qualifications I have described with a plain education, and good, natural, sound understanding, will *do very well*.³⁴

There is every indication that Ridgely held similar sentiments eight years earlier during the Convention.

As the Maryland Convention fought on the floor some of the battles of the Committee of the Whole, we are able to discern the nature of the issues and the composition of the groups aligning themselves on various points of conflict. Moreover, the Convention's numerous roll calls make it the only revolutionary convention to record enough votes for quantitative analysis. Thus no other state allows such an opportunity to examine the origins of partisan politics in the process of constitution formation.³⁵

To ascertain the degree of partisan voting in the Convention we will use cluster bloc analysis to determine which delegates voted alike on various issues. Rather than imposing a personal value system on the votes, all but two of the sixty-eight roll call ballots have been used. On these two rejected votes there were only one or two dissents from the majority. On all other votes at least ten percent of the delegates voted in the minority. A pair-wise voting threshold of fifty percent eliminated those pairs of delegates who did not participate on at least half of the roll calls. Sixty of the eighty delegates who served some time in the Convention voted on half of the sixty-six issues. These had an opportunity to agree or disagree an analytically meaningful number of

TABLE 1.
Cosmopolitan Cluster

Name	County	Average Correlation		Loyalism cluster #
		66 votes	Populism votes	
Barnes	St. Mary's	.751	.901	2
Beall	Washington	.716	.802	1
Bishop	Worcester	.704	.728	3
Carroll of Carrollton	Annapolis	.795	.901	3
Chaille	Worcester	.701	.771	3
Chase, J. T.	Baltimore Town	.713	.777	1
Chase, Samuel	Anne Arundel	.779	.899	1
Dent	Charles	.708	.851	1
Dickinson	Caroline	.809	.899	3
Earle	Kent	.710	.790	—
Edelen	Frederick	.711	.826	1
Fenwick	St. Mary's	.735	.862	3
Gilpin	Cecil	—	.722	1
Grahame	Calvert	.713	.724	4
Hall, Benjamin	Prince George's	.723	.910	1
Hall, John	Anne Arundel	.728	.858	2
Horsey	Somerset	.748	.823	3
Johnson	Caroline	.774	.858	3
Marbury	Prince George's	—	.747	1
Mason	Caroline	.785	.871	3
Mitchell	Worcester	.788	.871	3
Paca	Annapolis	.792	.906	1
Parnham	Charles	—	.756	4
Plater	St. Mary's	.742	.840	3
Potter	Caroline	.818	.938	—
Scott, George	Somerset	.786	.901	3
Scott, Gustavus	Somerset	.760	.901	3
Sheredine	Frederick	.727	.882	3
Smith, John	Baltimore Town	—	.787	1
Smyth, Thomas	Kent	.728	.848	3
Sprigg	Prince George's	.710	.910	1
Stull	Washington	.721	.810	1
Worthington	Anne Arundel	.692*	.781	2
Average correlation of all delegates in the cluster with each other		.746	.831	

*Excluded from this cluster. This delegate's average or minimum correlation was the next closest to .700 with the others in this cluster.

times. The voting records of these sixty delegates are here subjected to comparison. Using the CLUSTER program of the OSIRIS system of computer packages for social science data, these voters have been grouped hierarchically into homogeneous clusters with a minimum correlation of .700 with each other. This figure is a generally accepted norm indicative of a cohesive partisan bloc, although some studies argue that two-thirds agreement is sufficient.

Taking all sixty-six votes, the program finds two main clusters of delegates—one group of twelve, which we will call the Localist bloc, with an aver-

TABLE 2.
Localist Cluster

Name	County	Average 66 votes	Correlation Populism votes	Loyalism cluster#
Archer	Harford	.737	.847	1
Bond	Harford	.835	.914	3
Brevard	Cecil	—	.752	1
Deye	Baltimore	.851	.903	3
Ewing	Cecil	—	.756	1
Fitzhugh	Calvert	.772	.898	3
Hammond	Anne Arundel	.691*	.763	2
Love	Harford	.768	.815	4
Mackall, John	Calvert	.833	.898	3
Ridgely	Baltimore	.850	.905	3
Shepherd	Baltimore	.838	.893	3
Shriver	Frederick	.719	.759	3
Stevenson	Baltimore	.870	.906	3
Williams	Montgomery	.829	.910	1
Wilson, Henry	Harford	.714	.683*	—
Average correlation of all delegates in the cluster with each other		.801	.851	

*Excluded from this cluster. This delegate's average or minimum correlation was the next closest to .700 with the others in this cluster.

age correlation of .801 with each other, and a second group of twenty-nine, which we will call the Cosmopolitans, with an average correlation of .746. (See Tables 1 and 2.) There are five other small clusters of from two to four members with a minimum correlation of .700 and three delegates—William Bayly, Dr. Adam Fischer, and Hammond—whose votes correlate above the minimum value with no group. Hammond barely escapes membership in the Localist bloc with a minimum correlation of .693 with that group.³⁶

It is clear from these data that two major and consistent voting blocs emerged in the Convention even when one uses the whole variety of issues confronting the delegates. Moreover, these blocs constituted over two-thirds of all the delegates analyzed. The voting patterns Main found for the 1780s already prevailed in 1776. Clearly his Cosmopolitans (Hoffman's Popular Party) formed the largest contingent in the Convention and his Localists constituted a cohesive minority.

Two additional conclusions emerge from these statistics. First, the small clusters usually represent county or regional groups that vote alike, but independently of the major clusters. Thus Solomon Wright, James Kent, and William Bruff of Queen Anne's County have an average correlation of .786 and constitute one such cluster. David Smith and Joseph Gilpin of Cecil County along with John Smith of nearby Baltimore Town constitute another. Luke Marbury and Walter Bowie of Prince George's County plus Dr. John Parnham of adjoining Charles County are a third. One small bloc combines two regions to produce a cluster of four: John Gibson and Pollard Edmondson of Talbot County on the Eastern Shore join Benjamin Mackall of Calvert County and B.

T. B. Worthington of neighboring Anne Arundel County on the Western Shore. As we shall see, this combination does not continue when a more stringent test of cohesion is used. A second important conclusion emerging from these figures concerns the enigmatic role of Rezin Hammond. Using all sixty-six votes, it is clear that he is not a member of the Localist core. On numerous occasions, particularly before the mid-session adjournment, he voted with the majority against the other Localists. In a minor way he maintained some independence from the more radical elements in the Convention. As we shall see, however, on key votes he was a consistent Localist.

Obviously some roll calls generate more intense partisan feelings than others. To determine such votes in a legislative body where there are no party designations is difficult. One may, of course, subjectively select those votes felt to be indicative of the more divisive issues. On the other hand, factor analysis provides a mathematical means of determining whether some underlying pattern of relationships exists. By using a number of dependent variables (in this case the roll calls), factor analysis constructs a new set of composite variables on the basis of the interrelations exhibited in the data. The program selects the best linear combination of variables (or factors), that is, the combination that accounts for more of the variance in the data than any other. The program then defines a second best combination of variables which is uncorrelated to the first. It continues to find additional combinations until all the factor variance is accounted for. The program provides a correlation coefficient which describes the relationship between the dependent variables (the roll calls) and the independent variables (the factors). For the purposes of this study, a correlation coefficient between $\bar{u}.600$ and $\bar{u}1.000$ is considered meaningful. These high scores indicate those roll calls most involved in grouping delegates on that factor. Using a raw factor analysis program we find two factors which account for over 70 percent of the factor variance. The first contains a matrix of twenty-three roll calls with correlations higher than $\bar{u}.600$ concerned with what we will call Populism and the other contains a matrix of three roll calls labeled Loyalism. (See Table 3.) The program actually defined five factors before exhausting all the variance in the data, but no other factor had two or more roll calls at the $\bar{u}.600$ level or higher. The Populism factor accounts for 55.6 percent of the total factor variance and the Loyalism factor 14.6 percent.³⁷

The Populism matrix contains what the factor analysis program categorizes as the key votes of the Convention. We can now use a cluster analysis of these twenty-three roll calls and see how the results affect the delegate blocs derived from the output of the previous analysis of the sixty-six votes. The partisan configurations using the Populism roll calls reinforce the conclusions from the cluster analysis of the larger matrix. In fact, the two major clusters are expanded. The Cosmopolitans gain five, Gilpin, Marbury, Parnham, John Smith, and Worthington, and the Localists add two, gaining Benjamin Brevard, Patrick Ewing, and Hammond, while losing Henry Wilson. Wilson barely missed inclusion in the group with an average correlation of .683. There are four other small clusters, Bowie and the two Wilsons in one, Bruff, Kent,

TABLE 3.
Raw Factor Mix—Principal Components Procedure

Roll Call Number	Populism Factor Score	Loyalism Factor Score	Roll Call Number	Populism Factor Score	Loyalism Factor Score
1	.545	-.129	36	.788	-.044
2	-.397	-.065	37	.758	.052
3	.378	-.334	38	-.749	.044
5	-.538	.016	39	.747	.130
6	.465	-.140	40	-.583	.197
7	.068	.070	41	.703	.123
8	-.207	-.145	42	-.374	.130
9	-.255	.448	43	-.290	.475
10	.633	.209	44	-.567	.144
11	-.388	.376	45	.708	-.203
12	-.373	-.106	46	.627	-.386
13	-.444	.049	47	-.609	.528
14	-.514	-.088	48	.401	.164
15	-.257	-.251	49	.319	-.228
16	.459	.337	50	-.666	.082
17	.497	.229	51	.489	-.288
18	-.376	-.007	52	.307	.142
19	.279	.169	53	-.667	-.260
20	.570	-.376	54	-.344	.044
21	.770	.039	55	-.724	.033
22	.670	.110	56	.735	.153
23	.743	.006	57	.539	.071
24	-.322	-.283	58	.557	.060
25	.480	-.303	59	.519	.058
26	.508	.236	60	.663	.253
27	-.588	.244	61	.080	.774
28	.290	-.553	62	.604	-.124
29	-.052	.471	63	-.569	.289
31	-.714	-.188	64	-.422	-.131
32	.705	-.049	65	.444	-.171
33	-.792	-.170	66	-.375	-.677
34	.667	-.120	67	-.126	-.767
35	.738	.112	68	-.120	-.257

and Solomon Wright in another, Gibson and Edmondson constitute a third, and Bayly and Fischer form a fourth cluster. David Smith is unclustered and Benjamin Mackall is excluded because he voted on only eight of the twenty-three issues.

It becomes increasingly apparent that the two large clusters were important voting blocs. What were the issues that divided them most?

Some of the more vigorously fought votes concerned the publication and distribution of copies of the Conventional journal and of the draft of the Bill of Rights and Constitution (see votes #21, 31, 32). The Localists wanted widespread distribution of the proceedings in hopes that public opinion might force the Convention to write a more egalitarian document. The Cosmopolitans, who won each of these votes, obviously wanted to keep the proceedings confiden-

tial so that participants could vote their consciences, not their political survival.

A second series of votes revolved around officeholding (see #34, 37, 38, 39, 47, 53, 55, 56, 60). Such votes reflected the Localists' desire to remove judges readily, to reduce judges' salaries and lawyers' fees, to have frequent elections, to eliminate property qualifications for officeholding, to prohibit persons from serving as both legislator and justice of the peace, and to allow the election rather than appointment of militia officers. The Cosmopolitans supported plural officeholding, lifetime, well-paid judges, unregulated lawyers' fees, long-term offices, strict property requirements for officeholding, and gubernatorial appointment of militia officers.

A third type of Populism vote revolved around suffrage qualifications (votes #45 and 46). These votes reflected differences over whether the stake-in-society concept of voter qualification should be continued or should be replaced by a standard approaching universal white manhood suffrage. Obviously most Cosmopolitans favored a high property standard, although they acquiesced to a reduction in the property requirement for voting from £40 sterling to £30 currency. Yet this was far above the £5 currency or the taxpayer qualifications pushed by the Localists in votes #45 and #46.

An item occasioning intense bitterness and close votes concerned whether Quakers and Mennonites could affirm the truthfulness of their statement rather than swear to it (votes #36, 50, 62). In all cases the Localists narrowly lost their bid for religious toleration. It is ironic that voting with the Cosmopolitan majority were Carroll and Ignatius Fenwick, both Roman Catholics, a group freed from the burden of the penal laws by the Revolution.

One major issue transcended the bloc voting patterns—that of Loyalism. The factor analysis program found three key votes on this subject (#61, 66, 67) which split both groups but more particularly the Cosmopolitans. Cluster 3 on this series of issues constituted those supporting the majority opinion. This group favored an oath of office abjuring the sovereignty of George III, but opposed any constitutional limitation that Loyalists or neutrals might never hold office. In this cluster of twenty-five, there were fourteen Cosmopolitans and eight Localists. Cluster 1 contained twenty-two voters (twelve Cosmopolitans and eight Localists) who opposed the restrictions of the oath, and opposed vote #66 which allowed an act of assembly to qualify non-associators for officeholding, but favored vote #67 which made no such exception for them. The four members of cluster 2 favored all three provisions and the five in cluster 4 opposed the first and last votes and were divided on the second. (See tables 1 and 2 for a list of delegate clusters.)

About all these three votes prove is that the treatment of Loyalists was highly divisive and had little relation to the other issues of the Convention. Except for cluster 2 which contained three of the Anne Arundel delegates, none of these groupings have a peculiar regional orientation.

Such is not the case for the Cosmopolitan and Localist blocs that appear in the Populism votes. There is a definite geographic preference for each of these factions. Localists came from the northern (Cecil, Harford, Baltimore) and

western (Montgomery and Frederick) counties. The three exceptions—Fitzhugh and John Mackall of Calvert and Hammond of Anne Arundel—may in part be explained because of the deferential tradition in the county politics, particularly in Calvert County. Hammond's plantation was near Baltimore County and his militia leadership provided a significant base of support. That portion of the county which he represented more closely approximated its northern neighbor in socioeconomic outlook than it did the southern half of Anne Arundel.

The Cosmopolitans represented the urban areas plus the southern portions of the two shores. There are exceptions: Christopher Edelen and Upton Sheredine of Frederick and Samuel Beall and John Stull of Washington represented western counties. Their attitudes may in part be explained by occupation: Sheredine and Beall were iron manufacturers and Edelen was a merchant. Their interests would closely approximate those of members from Baltimore Town and Annapolis. Only Stull appears to have been a planter. He became a Localist in the 1780s and a Federalist in the 1790s.³⁸

Economic analyses of the various regions represented demonstrate the small-farmer, non-slaveholder, non-commercial interests of the Localist regions. The Cosmopolitan regions had more planters who were slaveholders and were engaged in commercial agriculture. In Harford County, for instance, 68% of the households were without slaves, while the figure was only 55% for Talbot and 53% for Anne Arundel.³⁹ In addition, the density of settlement and the availability of water transport and, therefore, commercial opportunities undoubtedly made the southern counties and urban areas more cosmopolitan in attitude. The Localists' counties were more recently settled and less able to produce products for international trade. Moreover, because of inadequate transportation facilities such areas were more dependent upon urban merchants for markets than were the tidewater planters. The political ramifications of the rural-urban conflict were most distinct in Baltimore where the town's delegates usually opposed the county delegates.⁴⁰

In addition to economic differences, significant ethnocultural differences distinguished the regions represented by the two voting blocs.

In most Cosmopolitan counties, slaves made up between 40 and 50 percent of the population. The northern counties represented by the Localists had only a 20 to 25 percent black population and in the western counties this percentage was about ten. Thus to the Cosmopolitan counties the rhetoric about liberty and equality created a potential source of strain that could disrupt the social fabric.⁴¹

Moreover, the northern and western counties displayed the greatest ethnic heterogeneity in the state. Here the Pennsylvania Germans had migrated and their continued adherence to Lutheran, Reformed, or pietistic religions, their use of the German language, and their strong communal cohesion created a distinct political community that politicians from these regions had to take into consideration.⁴² Unfortunately we have no rigorous studies of the role of such ethnic groups in Maryland's revolutionary politics, such as those which have been done for Pennsylvania.⁴³ But their impact is apparent in the pres-

ence of German-Americans like Dr. Henry Schnebely, David Shriver, and John Stull in the Constitutional Convention. Stull held a militia colonelcy and others of German origin assumed positions of leadership in the ranks of revolutionary military units.⁴⁴ The German pietists' attitudes may best be seen in the endorsing of affirmations instead of oaths for legal proceedings by the German delegates.

The question that emerges from this account of the Constitutional Convention of 1776 is whether there were political parties or at least protoparties in existence in Maryland at the time. Much of the evidence points in this direction.

First, there was campaigning in some areas that transcended personality clashes. The Baltimore, Harford, and Anne Arundel elections of August 1776 demonstrate this as do the disturbances at the polls in several other counties. It would appear that the principal issues revolved around suffrage requirements and the proper role of the general populace, as distinguished from the gentry, in determining public policy. There is little reason to believe that such ideological issues determined nominations and election results in all counties; rather, only in a few. It is from these few, however, that the core of the Localist leadership emerged—Ridgely, Deye, and Hammond. The Cosmopolitans were able to dominate most counties and the urban areas where either traditional deferential values or effective electioneering prevailed.

Second, once in control of the Convention machinery, the Cosmopolitans demonstrated sufficient ability to manage the government. The selection of committees, the use of the Committee of the Whole to hammer out most issues, and the general dominance of floor votes, all illustrate effective leadership and group cohesion. The concessions made were insignificant and the result was the most conservative of the revolutionary constitutions.

Third, both blocs displayed a reasonably wide range of support throughout the state, sufficient density to achieve elective office, and stability throughout the Convention. Very early in the sessions the two groups emerged. The cohesion level for the Localists in both the sixty-six vote and populist matrix was above the .800 level considered indicative of modern party systems. While the Cosmopolitans voted a correlation of only .746 on the larger matrix, the group's cohesion on the critical Populism votes is quite high—.831.

Fourth, an analysis of voting patterns shows an ideological consistency by both Cosmopolitans and Localists that has heretofore been ignored. Each side stood for particular positions, it marshalled its supporters, and it fought vigorously for ideas that it felt necessary for the effective operation of a republican government. While some individuals did not demonstrate this solidarity, the rigidity of both sides throughout three months of deliberations seems remarkable even by the standards of modern American legislative roll call analysis.

Obviously bloc voting in a brief convention does not constitute an institutionalized political party under either the Chambers or Sorauf definition. These blocs help us to identify partisan types, regional alignments, and ideological perspectives. No groups existed in 1776 demonstrating the degree of structure, of function, of support, and of coherent ideology characteristic of a

modern political party. But they were more than legislative factions displaying parallel action in voting. They nominated and campaigned for particular candidates, they sought broad and continuous support for particular points of view, and they developed a consensus of opinion regarding fundamental issues by brokering between pluralistic interests.

Moreover, these blocs signify the onset of voting patterns in the General Assembly for years to come. The range, density, and stability illustrated in 1776 is a harbinger of the political future of the newly proclaimed state. As Jackson Main, David Bohmer, Norman Risjord, and others have shown, through the Confederation and Federalist eras the Maryland General Assembly continued to reflect the divisions of the Constitutional Convention of 1776. Politics of the 1770s, '80s, and '90s was not merely the personality clash of Carroll and Chase; their loud rhetoric often obscures the politics of specific issues and regional alignments.⁴⁵ It is now apparent that Carroll and Chase were on the same Cosmopolitan side that would eventually form the basis of the state's Federalist party. So also, Hammond, Deye, Ridgely, and their successors would lay the basis for the Republican party. Although there will be some shifts in regional alignments (for instance, Baltimore City will join the county in the Republican party), the national parties of the Federalist era faced a dichotomous political tradition in Maryland that traced its origins back to the divisions arising out of the attempt to create a fundamental law for Maryland.

What this Convention represents is an important point along an evolutionary continuum stretching from the colonial era's deferential politics to the participant partisan activity of the Jacksonian age. In this Convention serious questions were raised relative to whether the gentry's interests and those of the general populace coincided. Over the decades that followed such questions which tore at the fabric of deference continued to emerge. As Ronald Formisano has written: "the long decline of deference tends to elude measurement. Any student of the early republic knows deference ended sometime in these years, enjoying a decorous but rather drawn-out finale."⁴⁶ For Maryland, one scene in that final act was the Constitutional Convention of 1776 where the traditional leadership group faced an electorate and a legislative voting bloc with distinctively different values than those which they collectively shared. In this scene the actors began to play their parts on the stage of partisan politics.

We may conclude that freed from the medieval yoke of proprietary government, the Convention delegates found opportunity to express basic concerns about political life that were to dominate Maryland politics for a quarter of a century. Although there was no formal party organization, in the Convention's elections, deliberations, and votes we find the genesis of the Maryland party system.

Such conclusions must give pause to those who feel the origins of the first party system are to be found in the national economic and diplomatic arguments of the 1790s rather than in the state politics of an earlier period. They should also provoke historians to examine more closely just how these state parties allied themselves with the congressional factions of the Federalist era.

APPENDIX
Issues in the Maryland Constitutional Convention, 1776

Roll Call #	Author	Motion	Aye	Nay	Factor Analysis Matrix
1	unknown	Requiring names of persons making motions be recorded	27	26	
2	S. Chase	Calling for new election in Kent County	49	10	
3	Paca	Declaring Charles County delegates duly elected	38	15	
4	S. Chase	Voiding the Prince George's County election	54	1	(excluded from all computations)
5	Paca	Authorizing prayers before each session	29	18	
6	unknown	Excluding votes taken for committee memberships from the journal	41	8	
7	Fitzhugh	Requiring all other ballots be recorded	31	17	
8	J. Chase	Committing Loyalist parson to Frederick County sheriff	8	38	
9	unknown	Postponing division of Frederick County	22	30	
10	Fitzhugh	Requiring only Convention delegates be sent to Congress	12	47	Populism
11	Paca	Naming Thomas Stone as delegate to Congress	27	31	
12	unknown	Continuing Committees of Observation until Dec. 1	43	8	
13	unknown	Postponing consideration of Constitution for 2 weeks	43	13	
14	unknown	Naming delegates to Continental Congress	49	8	
15	T. Ringgold	Forbidding restrictions on price of salt	41	13	
16	Gust Scott	Calling for question on motion #17	27	19	
17	Fitzhugh	Requiring draft Constitution be printed	30	16	
18	unknown	Prohibiting travel expenses during adjournment	24	23	
19	Parnham	Adjourning until Sept. 30	30	17	
20	Sheredine	Moving into Committee of the Whole	27	26	
21	Bond	Requiring weekly printing of the journal	19	35	Populism
22	Bond	Requiring new Committee of Observation be chosen	20	32	Populism
23	Fitzhugh	Requiring only Convention delegates be sent to Congress	17	48	Populism

Roll Call #	Author	Motion	Aye	Nay	Factor Analysis Matrix
24	unknown	Raising Congressmen's pay to £12 per diem	33	28	
25	T. Ringgold	Paying Congressmen 10 s. per diem plus expenses	24	40	
26	Bond	Authorizing new Committee of Observation for Harford County	25	40	
27	J. Mackall	Requiring Committee of the Whole votes be recorded	7	59	
28	Parnham	Requiring Convention to sit until 8 p.m.	33	18	
29	Paca	Reprimanding a Loyalist	49	10	
30	unknown	Allowing Washington County two polling places	42	2	(excluded from all computations)
31	unknown	Striking rationale for printing Bill of Rights (vote #32)	49	9	Populism
32	Fitzhugh	Requiring printing of Bill of Rights	23	36	Populism
33	unknown	Guaranteeing English Common Law in Bill of Rights	43	14	Populism
34	S. Chase	Separating Legislative, executive & judicial powers	30	29	Populism
35	Fitzhugh	Eliminating state's right to impose certain taxes	11	48	Populism
36	Earle	Allowing affirmations in court, rather than oaths	22	35	Populism
37	Ewing	Requiring judges to be removed by assembly vote	22	36	Populism
38	unknown	Requiring a 2/3 majority to remove a judge	31	27	Populism
39	Fitzhugh	Requiring a per diem salary for judges	11	42	Populism
40	Gust Scott	Allowing a general religious tax	41	18	
41	Williams	Limiting size of lawyer's fees	6	46	Populism
42	S. Chase	Limiting Quaker, Mennonite testimony to non-capital cases	17	37	
43	T. Wright	Allowing the state to divide itself into two states	17	30	
44	unknown	Continuing proprietary tax system	38	10	
45	T. Wright	Lowering the suffrage requirement to £5 currency	20	34	Populism
46	Bayly	Allowing all taxpayers to vote	24	29	Populism
47	S. Chase	Allowing biennial elections to House of Delegates	23	31	Populism
48	J. Hall	Prohibiting Annapolis voters from county elections	32	22	

Roll Call #	Author	Motion	Aye	Nay	Factor Analysis Matrix
49	J. Chase	Allowing Baltimore Town's representation to change with population	14	37	
50	S. Chase	Removing "affirmation" provision from oath of state councilors	26	22	Populism
51	D. Smith	Requiring governor to be native born American	25	29	
52	S. Chase	Prohibiting state officers from holding local offices	42	13	
53	unknown	Requiring sheriffs to own £1000 worth of property	29	25	Populism
54	S. Chase	Allowing governor to appoint sheriffs	9	45	
55	S. Chase	Allowing state officers to be justices of the peace	36	18	Populism
56	Bruff	Prohibiting the governor from commissioning militia officers	22	28	Populism
57	S. Chase	Prohibiting field grade militia officers from holding state offices	26	25	
58	S. Chase	Requiring Assemblymen to vote for officers on basis of merit only	23	31	
59	S. Wright	Requiring judicial officers to vote impartially in elections	29	24	
60	Fitzhugh	Limiting lawyers' fees	16	39	Populism
61	Johnson	Requiring all officers to deny allegiance to George III	29	26	Loyalism
62	Bayly	Allowing senatorial electors to affirm their oath	27	28	Populism
63	Johnson	Postponing selection of site of Montgomery Court House	33	15	
64	S. Chase	Forbidding delegates from suggesting names of gubernatorial appointees	18	37	
65	Fitzhugh	Requiring voting for Council of Safety by viva voce	21	30	
66	S. Chase	Prohibiting Loyalists from holding public office	20	27	Loyalism
67	Gust Scott	Call for question on Ewing's motion prohibiting non-associators from holding public office	26	29	Loyalism
68	Bowie	Providing public funds for militia drums, fifes & colors	8	44	

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13. Skaggs, *Roots*, pp. 141-173; Hoffman, *Spirit*, pp. 156-168, 183-195.
14. *Where are ye all now? A very curious and modest Address, lately sent to Mr. Charles Ridgely, by some of the Great Men of Baltimore-town, versified* [Baltimore, 1774], Evans #18884, it is misdated by Charles Evans. Another such broadside is *To Walter Tolley, Benjamin Nicholson, John Moale, Robert Alexander, and Jeremiah Townley Chase, Esqrs.* [Baltimore, 1774?], Evans #14520.
15. *Proceedings of the Conventions of the Province of Maryland, Held at the City of Annapolis, in 1774, 1775, and 1776* (Annapolis, 1836), p. 184.
16. William H. Brown, et. al., eds., *Archives of Maryland*, 72 vols., (Baltimore, 1883-date), 12: 212; *Proceedings of the Conventions . . .*, pp. 210-215; Depositions of J. Disney, S. Godman, J. Sellman, T. H. Howard, J. Burgess, T. Harwood, 27 August 1776, Red Books, XI, ff. 8, 9, 10, 11, 127, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis.
17. *Maryland Gazette*, 15 August 1776.
18. Rumsey to Hall, 26 July 1776, B. E. Hall papers, (Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.); see also Carroll of Carrollton to his father, 28 June 1776, Carroll Papers, (Maryland Historical Society).
19. John McClure to Mordecai Gist, August 1776, Gist Papers (Maryland Historical Society); Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans: A History* (Princeton, N.J.: 1948), pp. 133-135.
20. Deposition of J. Disney, 27 August 1776, Red Books, XI, 8 (Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.).
21. *Maryland Gazette*, 18 July 1776.
22. *Ibid.*
23. The Committee seats were awarded as follows: Archer-1; Beall-2; Bond-1; Carroll, barrister-2; Carroll of Carrollton-5; Chamberline-2; J. T. Chase-3; S. Chase-5; Deye-1; Earle-1; Edelen-2; Ewing-1; Fitzhugh-3; Gilpin-2; Goldsborough-1; Grahame-2; J. Hall-2; Hooe-4; Hughes-2; Johnson-1; Lowes-1; Paca-5; Plater-3; Ridgely-2; T. Ringgold-3; Gustavus Scott-4; Sheredine-4; J. Smith-3; Tilghman-1; Wooten-3; Worthington-5; S. Wright-1; T. Wright-1. *Proceedings of the Conventions . . . passim.*
24. *Maryland Gazette*, 22 Aug. 1776; *Proceedings of the Conventions . . .*, pp. 208-218.
25. Carroll to his father, 20 August, 1776, Carroll Papers.
26. *Maryland Gazette*, 12 September 1776; *Proceedings of the Conventions . . .*, p. 248.
27. *Proceedings of the Conventions . . .*, pp. 258-259.
28. Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill, 1969), p. 332.
29. Carroll to his father, 13 September, 4 October, 1776, Carroll Papers.
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31. Carroll to his father, 18 October 1776, Carroll Papers.
32. Carroll to his father, "Sunday Morning" [20 October 1776], Carroll Papers.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Charles Ridgely, *To the Electors of Baltimore County* [Baltimore, 1784], broadside, Maryland Historical Society, not in Evans.
35. While considerable work has been done on voting patterns in the federal convention of 1787 (see S. Sidney Ulmer, "Sub-group Formation in the Constitutional Convention," *Mid-West Journal of Political Science* 10 [August 1966]: 288-303), no systematic analysis of state convention voting blocs exists.

36. For a description of the programs used see *OSIRIS III, An Integrated Collection of Computer Programs for the Management and Analysis of Social Science Data, volume I: System and Program Description* ([Ann Arbor, Mich.]: Inter-University Consortium for Political Research, 1973), pp. 677-686. See also L. F. Anderson, N. W. Watts, Jr., and A. R. Wilcox, *Legislative Roll-Call Analysis* (Evanston, 1966); Duncan MacRae, Jr., *Issues and Parties in Legislative Voting: Methods of Statistical Analysis* (New York, 1970); and Norman K. Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics, 1781-1800* (New York, 1978), pp. 573-574. H. James Henderson argues that two-thirds agreement scores are sufficient in "Quantitative Approaches to Party Formation in the United States Congress: A Comment," *William and Mary Quarterly* 30 (April 1973): 311.
37. For these computations the Varimax Factor Analysis program of the University of Wisconsin was used. This work was done before the author had access to the FACTAN program of OSIRIS which would accomplish the same results.
38. Skaggs, *Roots*, pp. 230-233; Main, "Political Parties in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 62 (1967): 19-27; Main, *Political Parties*, pp. 440-442.
39. Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics*, pp. 3-31, 288, 629.
40. The Chesapeake economy is best explored in such studies as: Hoffman, *Spirit*, pp. 75-80; Paul Kent Walker, "Business and Commerce in Baltimore on the Eve of Independence," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 71 (Fall 1976): 296-309; Frank W. Porter, Jr., "From Backcountry to Country: The Delayed Settlement of Western Maryland," *ibid.* 70 (Winter 1975): 329-349; Carville Earle and Ronald Hoffman, "Urban Development in the Eighteenth-Century South," *Perspectives in American History* 10 (1976): 7-39, 48-66; Carville V. Earle, *The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallows Parish, 1650-1783*, University of Chicago Department of Geography Research Paper No. 170 (Chicago, 1975); David C. Klingaman, "The Significance of the Grain Trade in the Development of the Tobacco Colonies," *Journal of Economic History* 29 (June 1969): 268-278; Paul G. E. Clemens, "From Tobacco to Grain: Economic Development on Maryland's Eastern Shore, 1660-1750," *ibid.* 35 (March 1975): 256-259; Jacob M. Price, "The Economic Growth of the Chesapeake and the European Market, 1697-1775," *ibid.* 24 (December 1964): 496-511; Aubrey C. Land, "Economic Base and Social Structure: The Northern Chesapeake in the Eighteenth Century," *ibid.* 25 (December 1965): 639-654; Edward C. Papenfuss, *In Pursuit of Profit: The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763-1805* (Baltimore, 1975), pp. 35-75; Gregory A. Stiverson, *Poverty in a Land of Plenty: Tenancy in Eighteenth-Century Maryland* (Baltimore, 1977).
41. A. E. Karinen, "Numerical and Distributional Aspects of Maryland Population, 1631-1840 (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1958), pp. 159-163; Skaggs, *Roots*, pp. 33-34.
42. Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, pp. 124-135.
43. See Wayne Bockelman and Owen Ireland, "The Internal Revolution in Pennsylvania: An Ethnic-Religious Interpretation," *Pennsylvania History* 41 (April 1974): 125-160, and Ireland, "The Ethnic-Religious Dimension of Pennsylvania Politics, 1778-1779," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 30 (July 1973): 423-448.
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45. Main, *Political Parties*, pp. 212-243; Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics*, pp. 71-81, 306-317, 330-337, 519-533, 542-546; William Bruce Wheeler, "The Baltimore Jeffersonians, 1780-1800: A Profile of Intra-factional Conflict," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 66 (Summer 1971): 153-168; Whitman H. Ridgway, "Community Leadership: Baltimore during the First and Second Party Systems," *ibid.* 71 (Fall 1976): 334-345; David A. Bohmer, "The Causes of Electoral Alignments: Some Considerations on How Partisan Behavior is Shaped," in Aubrey C. Land, et al., eds., *Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland* (Baltimore, 1977), pp. 251-276; Bohmer, "Stability and Change in Early National Politics: The Maryland Voter and the Election of 1800," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 36 (January 1979): 27-50.
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A Dismal Tragedy: Drs. Alexander and John Hamilton Comment on Braddock's Defeat

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EARLY IN 1755 GENERAL EDWARD BRADDOCK, THE NEW COMMANDER OF THE British army in America, landed in Alexandria, Virginia. His orders were first to halt the French advance into the Ohio Valley and then, in a two-pronged attack against Crown Point and Niagara, to drive the French out of New York. A formal declaration of war between France and Great Britain had not been announced yet—the Seven Years War would not begin until 1756. Both sides were aware that Braddock's mission threatened to tread on the delicate web of diplomacy which had postponed war for a decade. But by all accounts the small contingent of French military in America, aided only by Indian allies and the miniscule Canadian militia, would not be able to withstand the superior British military force. Thus it was expected that the French would avoid a direct confrontation and not attempt a serious defense of their stronghold at the forks of the Ohio—Fort Duquesne, the site of present-day Pittsburgh.¹

In preparation for the first thrust against the French, Braddock moved his army through northern Virginia and into Maryland to encamp in April at Fort Cumberland near Wills Creek. The French fort was still more than one hundred miles away. Progress in assembling supplies was slow and it was not until June 10, 1755 that Braddock began the march to Fort Duquesne. His route, paralleling the path taken by George Washington in his abortive strike against the French fort in 1754, brought the army to the western border of Maryland near the plantation of the Maryland frontiersman, Christopher Gist. Braddock then turned northward into Pennsylvania.²

On July 9, 1755, General Braddock met the French forces at the Monongahela River, some six miles from Fort Duquesne, and suffered a humiliating and disastrous defeat. Of the 1400 men in his advancing army, more than 900 were killed or wounded within three hours. The supposedly invincible British fighting machine had failed Americans miserably. Valuable arms and stores were destroyed or lost. As a consequence of the Defeat (conventionally capitalized to signify its importance), the French army was left free to counter the planned northern British offensive. Panic spread along the American frontier as the French and the Indians stepped up attacks on defenseless outlying British settlements.³

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After almost 225 years the causes of that tragic Defeat have not yet been determined. Historians still debate the question of why Braddock lost the battle. The library of military analysis (evaluating the merits of conventional versus guerilla warfare) continues to grow; reflections on who was to blame (Braddock? his men? his officers?) keep occurring. In the process of each debate, however, the real issue becomes the comparative value of various reports prepared by survivors of the battle. Many of these reports are contradictory; almost all take an extreme stand on Braddock's culpability; none is free from some bias.⁴ One such document which has received severe criticism is the subject of this article.

In his recently published collection of reports dealing with the Defeat, Paul Kopperman casts doubt on the veracity of the author of the anonymous document he dubs, "British B."⁵ It is a section of a letter found by Richard Walsh in the Maryland Historical Society manuscript collection and first published in 1965. Neither the author of the document nor its history were established at the time. The beginning and the end of the letter were missing. From internal evidence Walsh deduced that the letter was written by an American, probably an officer in Braddock's army.⁶ Kopperman suggests further that the mysterious letter writer may have lived on the frontier but was not an eyewitness to the battle itself. The fragment he concludes although "the lengthiest and in some respects the fullest account of all contemporary descriptions," is the least reliable because it suffers from many errors in its details and is so pointedly hostile toward Braddock.⁷ Kopperman's negative assessment of the anonymous testimony, however, needs to be reevaluated in the light of a copy of the complete letter found recently in Scotland.

A transcription of this seventeen-page letter in the National Library of Scotland provides positive assurance that the author was Dr. Alexander Hamilton of Annapolis writing to his brother, Gavin, in Edinburgh, Scotland during the summer of 1755.⁸ The opening paragraph clears up the mystery of the writer's perspective; at no time did Hamilton pretend to be an eyewitness. This, notes the doctor, is a "circumstantial" account taken from the "mouths of the Principal officers." The purpose of the letter was to protect the good name of a family friend, Sir Peter Halket, who in death was fast becoming a scapegoat for a number of surviving officers. Hamilton hoped to counter the self-serving distortions circulating in Britain regarding the cause of the Defeat, to place the blame for the tragedy on Braddock's poor judgment, and to comfort the family with details of Halket's integrity and bravery.

Attached to Alexander's letter and copied by the same eighteenth-century scribe are two short letters to Gavin written by an older brother, Dr. John Hamilton of Calvert County, Maryland. Those two letters have never before appeared in print.⁹ Although in length a modest addition to the documentary literature dealing with the battle the three letters together do help to bring the causes of the tragedy into a much sharper focus and offer new insights into the British understanding of unconventional warfare.

The originals of the three letters have disappeared. Fortunately, the recipient, Gavin Hamilton, an Edinburgh bookseller, humanist, and patron of learning, was in the habit of copying letters from abroad to facilitate circulation of the news among their numerous family and friends.¹⁰ The copies were preserved by the Halket family, but since the nineteenth century have lain unacknowledged by historians in the National Library. They are published now for the first time.

Dr. Alexander Hamilton (1712-1756), the author of the very long description of Braddock's Defeat, is most notable for the establishment of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis, a leading social-intellectual society of the eighteenth century. A native of Edinburgh, he had been in Maryland since 1738, but contrary to Kopperman's supposition, had never been in the military either as a British regular or in the provincial militia; nor had he lived on the frontier. A respected physician, he had also served in the provincial legislature 1753-1754 representing Annapolis, was closely associated with the Court Party in Maryland politics, and was part of the inner circle benefiting from the Proprietor's patronage. His wife, Margaret (Peggy), was a daughter of Daniel Dulany, the elder, one of the wealthiest men in the province.¹¹

Alexander has attained a reputation as a witty and detached observer of human behavior. His published travel diary provides a wealth of entertaining if somewhat caustic commentary on regional, ethnic, social, and political differences in early America. His unpublished "History of the Tuesday Club" is a satire on generalized human follies and foibles embellished with occasional pointed but always humorous asides on local political squabbles.¹² The letter to Gavin, one of his last pieces of writing, contains the same acute powers of observation and facile style. It is however, more polemical than detached, intended to defend a point of view as well as to inform.

Lacking his brother's literary and rhetorical skills, Dr. John Hamilton contented himself with a few words to reinforce the impressions of Halket and the other officers given by Alexander. Very little is known about this other brother, and no other samples of his writing exist. Born in Scotland in 1696, the oldest of the eleven children born to Mary and William Hamilton, he was a graduate of the University of Edinburgh. John settled in the southern part of Maryland where he established a medical practice and married a woman named Mary some time before 1732. He died in 1768 leaving a comfortable estate to his family.¹³

John's first letter, written May 7, 1755, before Braddock's army began its move, is untainted by the defensive posture of the other letters. The praise of Sir Peter Halket's character is therefore more spontaneous. The absence of comment on Braddock's personality, however, does not bode well. In May there was as yet no reason to attack the General publicly; prudence dictated a cautionary wait-and-see attitude although it is obvious from Alexander's letter that the General had already antagonized the ruling class as well as the small farmers in the colony. Impressing hard-to-get white servants would not endear any stranger to the colonials, even one invited to save them from the

French menace.¹⁴ Once the floodgates of resentment were opened by the fact of defeat, the younger doctor quickly took notice that the class-conscious gentry had previously been deeply offended by Braddock's refusal to accept them as social equals. John, silent on the touchy issue of the commander's personality in May, was open and bitter in October accusing "Our General" of doing "all the mischief he could in destroying all the provision" after the battle.

Both of John's letters are of a more chatty nature than Alexander's. He reminds us that pregnancies, illnesses, and deaths were the usual substance of most family letters. The William Cleghorn he mentioned, who had recently died in Scotland, was the husband of the oldest Hamilton sister, Jean. Mr. Horsley was John, a classical scholar and husband of their second sister, Anne. The Gilbert referred to was the youngest of the eleven Hamilton brothers and sisters. In 1755 Gilbert was the minister at Cramond, near Edinburgh, the pastorate served by their late father before he became a Professor at the University of Edinburgh. Another family member mentioned in the October 7 letter was Robert, one of the younger brothers for whom John named his son. When Robert became a professor of Divinity at the University of Edinburgh he too assumed one of the father's former positions.¹⁵

For some reason, quite possibly because of its direct attack on the General's supporters and consequent fear of retribution from the Duke of Cumberland, Braddock's mentor, Alexander's letter was not identified by the scribe.¹⁶ There is no salutation or closing signature in his copy; the date is also omitted. But its identification is not merely conjectural. We know from comments in John's letter of October 6 that Alexander had written "a full and Just Account of our unhappy Ohio expedition." The best proof of authorship, however, is the handwriting of the fragment in the Maryland Historical Society. It was obvious to me, and to Cynthia Requardt, the Curator of Manuscripts at the Society, that the letter was in the familiar handwriting of the Secretary of the Tuesday Club. When that fragment dubbed "British B" by Paul Kopperman was compared with other letters written by Alexander Hamilton in his letterbook, there was no question of who the writer was.¹⁷ The letter received by Gavin, however, is twice the length of the fragment. It offers much more significant insight into the cause of Braddock's Defeat as well as commentary on local reactions to the incident and an identification of the casualties.

In comparing the truncated version with the complete letter received by Gavin, I found several minor changes in wording and one substantial alteration that helps to correct the impression of Hamilton as an unreliable witness. In describing the circumstances of Sir Peter Halket's death, the doctor indicated that a servant died with him. It has been assumed by scholars that the man killed with Sir Peter was Lieutenant James Halket, a son; no reference to a servant appears in other accounts. Because the fragment does not include any comment on James' presence or demise (although his death is acknowledged in Hamilton's list of casualties appended to the letter), it seems that the information regarding the servant's death was an error—a possible indication that the account was written by someone repeating wild rumors while pretend-

ing to be an eyewitness. Kopperman uses this detail to further discredit Hamilton's account.¹⁸

But no pretense was involved. In the complete letter, but omitted in the truncated version are the parenthetical words "tho' from the nature of my Information I cannot vouch the truth of it." Hamilton thus told his brother that he neither witnessed the event of Sir Peter's death nor was sure of the actual details. Such an admission of possible error adds to rather than detracts from Hamilton's reliability as a reporter. Moreover, the doctor's critical evaluation of this informant, most likely Christopher Gist, clearly indicates how he carefully weighed testimony.

One of the more valuable sections of Alexander Hamilton's letter is his critique of military tactics and strategy. That commentary provides the only contemporary analysis of the Defeat from the broad perspective of eighteenth-century military developments. Other accounts tend to concentrate on the special qualities of wilderness conditions which ignore similarities with warfare being waged in Europe at that time. Their purpose has been to condemn Braddock for his alleged incompetence in unconventional warfare or to complain about the savagery of Indian fighting. It is not surprising that the small amount of information regarding military judgments available in the fragment of Hamilton's report misled Walsh and Kopperman into thinking that the letter was written by one of those British officers disdainful of Indian-style fighting.¹⁹ Actually, Hamilton had a great deal of respect for wilderness tactics used by the Indians, an impression reinforced no doubt by the experiences of American military personnel that were revealed to him after the battle. Conversations with British officers provided the information on European practices. The doctor synthesized that information—making some unusual but valid comparisons regarding the unconventional tactics used in various parts of Europe, especially in the Scottish highlands, with the American experience.

All the people mentioned by Hamilton—the Hussars, Heyducks (or Hayducks), Turks, and Scots Highlanders—had been participants in the most unconventional warfare being waged in Europe in the 1740s.²⁰ Although the British had not taken part in the notoriously savage warfare of the Balkans, their allies the Austrians had made good use of the Hussars in their battles against the Turks, who according to one historian "knew nothing of Western Military conventions."²¹ Even the men of Braddock's army were not completely ignorant of unconventional warfare. The 48th Regiment led by Lt. Colonel Burton during the battle at the Monongahela had fought in the battle at Culloden, Scotland in 1746, hearing the war cries of the clansmen, some of them taking part in the savage slaughter of the wounded Highlanders.²² Flanders of the 1740s had been the scene of battles in which the British had used a combination of regulars and rangers trained in reaction to ambushes and marching through heavily forested terrain. There is evidence that Braddock and his aide Orm had not only served in the Low Countries but also Culloden.²³ Hamilton's commentaries on military matters—information taken from "the mouths of the Principal officers"—would seem to indicate that knowledge of unconventional warfare was very widespread among the military leadership.²⁴

To some extent Hamilton's letter reflects the notorious contempt of the officers for the behavior of the regular army troops. But the doctor, who had little to gain from discrediting the troops and therefore could be more objective, was not fully convinced that the men were incompetent. As he collected evidence of the disorder, confusion and possible panic that contributed to the tragedy, and became impressed by the steadfast courage of the men under fire, the doctor softened his condemnation of the British regulars. The invincible British army had gone down in ignominious defeat but the evidence pointed away from cowardice as a cause. Because the men stood their ground, the companies in the rear were continually coming forward to press against the vanguard. Ordered to fire and unable to see who was in front of them, the advancing men felled their own from behind. Captain Polson, killed while commanding a Virginia militia unit, and that most famous American, George Washington, serving without a command, as well as the British officers Gage and St. Clair, all observed the carnage and identified the cause as a telescoping of the army.²⁶ Certainly the medical and ballistics evidence cited by Hamilton that the men were hit from behind by British weapons would help exonerate the British regulars.

No eyewitness disputes the fact that the men fought for a long time before running—with estimates as long as four hours.²⁶ Hamilton gives two hours and twenty minutes as the battle time, an exactitude that has the ring of truth, during which the men picked up "all the Stock of Cartridges and Shot they could find about the dead and wounded." Only when they were unable to continue shooting for lack of ammunition, with almost half their comrades already dead or wounded, did they flee the battlefield as Hamilton notes "discreet and prudent men."

What about the American soldiers who took part in the battle? Did they deserve to be maligned? Taking his information from the American officers, Hamilton applauded the bravery and expertise of militiamen and locally recruited volunteers. His commentary is very similar in tone and wording to the statement of two Virginia officers who took part in the battle—George Washington and Adam Stephens.²⁷ Stephens, in command of a division of Virginia rangers, was like Hamilton a Scots emigre and a graduate of the University of Edinburgh medical school.²⁸ He would have been an excellent and sympathetic source of information. There is no direct evidence that the two men spoke together, but similarities in background and parallel analyses of the battle point in the direction of collaboration.²⁹

Given an officer corp familiar with unconventional warfare, British troops rising above their fear of those tactics, and American detachments proving themselves on the battlefield, how could the defeat of almost 1,400 well-equipped men by a relatively unprepared contingent of 600 Indians and 200 Frenchmen be explained? The most recent scholarly discussion of the question concludes that Braddock's Defeat was due not to ignorance of wilderness warfare but a sudden loss of alertness.³⁰ There is no doubt that Braddock made a series of mistakes. He failed to send a scouting party ahead shortly before the fateful meeting with the French. He neglected to take a small hill on his right

flank. He kept his reserve too far in the rear for effective use. He separated men from their commanding officers.³¹ The list of technical mistakes thus is a very long one. They add up to a major disaster.

Nonetheless, between the time he had crossed the Potomac into Maryland at Wills Creek on May 10, until the morning of July 9, Braddock had been alert to partisan attacks, protected his column with reconnaissance parties and screens of light troops, and had taken the advice of Americans, Indians and his officers, albeit with little grace, in determining the line of march.³² It is for those reasons that he had so few casualties during the weeks of marching. Alexander reports that they suffered only four losses during that time.³³ The Indians and the French could find few weaknesses in Braddock's movements until the fateful July 9.

It had been with difficulty, however, that Braddock could be persuaded to take those precautions. Hamilton describes what may have been a typical pattern of behavior for Braddock as a commander. On the day of the clash, St. Clair and Peter Halket convinced Braddock to march his men in battle readiness rather than the usual four abreast with the line of wagons dividing the column in two lengthwise.³⁴ This was done for a short while, "but soon," comments Hamilton, "were ordered again to resume the line of March, and got into their wonted confusion." As they moved closer to Fort Duquesne, the general became more confident of victory. Egged on by his aides who were anxious to get the victory over with quickly, Braddock, Hamilton notes, ignored all requests for reconnoiter parties from the more cautious faction. He was at the time only a few miles from his object, prematurely savoring the hoped-for encomiums. The Defeat was all the more painful because it was so unexpected.

One can quibble about the accuracy of Alexander's description of the army's maneuvers, but there can be no question that he has captured the essence of the interpersonal conflicts that marred the functioning of the army during the march as well as the battle itself. His vivid recounting of the verbal jousting, brought on by St. Clair's fear of being shoved aside by younger men, and the jockeying for position and glory by the Orm-Morris-Burton faction, goes a long way towards explaining the Defeat. To both Hamilton brothers, the human factor—jealousy, fear, and ambition—not military technique tried or untried was the villain in the "tragedy." Braddock, "puff'd up with pride," "rash and headstrong," flattered into believing an easy victory was his, bears the blame for encouraging that mood of fantasy and false security.

And yet the overconfidence of Braddock's aides was not all misplaced. Success may well have been their fate if the army had been a day or two earlier; had they arrived before the French reinforcements suddenly appeared on the scene.³⁵ Braddock's army, however, was slow in reaching its object for reasons that were out of his control and partially explained in the three Hamilton letters.

Braddock's orders from London were to attack Fort Duquesne at the forks of the Ohio, Monongahela, and Allegheny Rivers from the southern colonies. He was to augment his two regiments of British regulars with provincial recruits, separate militia forces, and Indian allies; provision the whole with

wagons, horses, animal feed, and food requisitioned from provincial larders.³⁶ The choice of Alexandria, Virginia as the point of embarkation was a poor one. Pennsylvania would have provided an easier route to Fort Duquesne and, as it turned out, a better source of supply than Virginia or Maryland.³⁷ Braddock's dismay at finding no existing passable roads along the expected line of march added both to his irritability and the delays. He had been successful, however, in bringing the regiments close to full strength and the independent companies raised in Virginia made up for the apathy of the other colonies.³⁸

The continual procrastination of the provincial governments in coming through with expected appropriations and deliveries of provisions created the worst stumbling block. In spite of pleading from Governor Sharpe, the Maryland legislature refused to appropriate money for defense until the Proprietor conceded his claim to license fees.³⁹ They were more interested in chipping away at the Proprietor's power than admitting the needs of the frontier. John's reflection on this political controversy in his letter of October 1755 is most apt. The problem, he notes, is that "The Representatives of the People [Lower House] have been treated with contempt many years by the officers of the Proprietor [Upper House] here while only the affairs of the Province were before them." But since the interests of the king and proprietor had come to be identified in the minds of the legislators, "Now that the Kings Affairs call on the Lower House they are opposed in almost every proposal they make for raising money." In Maryland, according to John Hamilton, winning the war against the proprietor's interests took precedence over getting rid of the French. As a result Braddock's column suffered repeated delays.

Such provincial intransigence of course was beyond the influence or charm of any army officer. Alexander points out that Braddock's contempt for the colonials, especially those in the Maryland Upper House, his overbearing demeanor and insensitivity to local labor needs might well have contributed to their lack of cooperation. It did not, however, cause it.⁴⁰

A gradual loss of Indian allies exacerbated Braddock's problems. Alexander's letter again offers clues to the cause of the problems. He assumes that a larger Indian force may have permitted greater maneuverability at the moment of contact with the French and that the declining Indian support could have been overcome with more delicacy and tact. At the beginning Braddock planned to use Indian scouts in accordance with his orders from London and followed the advice of George Croghan to provide handsome presents to their aboriginal allies. At least one hundred Indians joined him at Fort Cumberland in Maryland.⁴¹ Rumors of increasing French strength in the spring did begin to encourage some of the Indian supporters to drift away. Then, in retaliation for Braddock's direct appeal to southern Indians, Governor Glen of South Carolina called a meeting of the Catawbans and Cherokees, syphoning critical assistance away from Braddock's army at the end of June.⁴²

By threatening them in what Hamilton calls a "Thrasonick" (or bragging) manner, Braddock's tactless attempts to maintain order among the remaining Indians and to limit their consumption of alcohol further depleted the ranks of Indian allies. Insensitive to their needs, the general banished Pennsylvania In-

dian women and children from the camp without sufficient food to sustain them, and in apparent disregard of previous promises.⁴³ The ban on scalping, Hamilton concludes, was the last insult tolerated by the Indians.⁴⁴ By the first week in July, Indian support had virtually disappeared. The English had only seven or eight Indian scouts on the morning of the battle.⁴⁵

The handful of Indian Scouts did survive the massacre. The English, of course, suffered the most severe casualties: 63 officers and 914 enlisted men killed or wounded. The British began the battle with a total of 86 officers and 1,373 men. The French lost only three officers, five soldiers and thirty-one Indians out of a force of 904 including 650 Indians.⁴⁶

The reevaluation of Alexander Hamilton's letter would not be complete without some indication of when and where he collected the information. Although not an eyewitness, exactly what temporal, if not geographic, vantage point did Alexander have to compile his accounts? Who, apart from Christopher Gist, were his informants?

John tells us in the first letter of May 7 that he and his brother visited Braddock's camp in Alexandria. Preliminary impressions of some of the officers were therefore established during visits that took place early in April, before the campaign. John arrived in Alexandria first. Braddock was sick at the time but a few days later was well enough to travel to Annapolis to meet with the provincial governors on the 11th and 12th. The General was back at his camp on the 19th of April. Alexander was not in Alexandria until after the 10th of the month; business kept him in Annapolis until then and brought him home by the 22nd.⁴⁷ It is unlikely therefore that Hamilton met Braddock during that visit. His impressions are all second hand, reflecting the prejudices of the disgruntled officers and Maryland gentry.

It seems unlikely that Alexander was in Annapolis between the end of April and the last week in August. Almost always in attendance, he missed Tuesday Club meetings in May, July, and on August 12, 1755. The Club did not meet at all in June or early August.⁴⁸ Such irregular attendance was unusual because Alexander, the guiding light of the club, missed meetings only when ill or absent from the town. His extended absences invariably resulted in suspensions of meetings, sometimes for months.⁴⁹ John makes no mention of his brother's illness in the May letter as he does in October. It is reasonable to assume that Alexander was able to travel in the spring and did not succumb to illness until some time after Braddock's Defeat. Thus Hamilton's absence from the Club in June and July may have been occasioned by trips to Braddock's army as it crossed and then in defeat recrossed western Maryland.

Hamilton reappeared at a meeting of the Tuesday Club on August 26 when he played host and introduced as his guest for the evening, Witham Marshe, an artillery officers from Braddock's army. Marshe was one of the original members of the Club, and after a ten-year absence from the colony, eagerly sought to renew old acquaintances in Annapolis.⁵⁰ No doubt he also provided Hamilton with information regarding the Defeat although he had not taken part in the battle on July 9.⁵¹

The most obvious opportunity Alexander had to interview the officers, particularly Dunbar, young Halket, possibly Stephens, and Washington, was when the army regrouped with the reserve forces some fifty miles behind the battle zone near Gist's plantation in western Maryland. The story of Dunbar's earlier heated exchange with Orm and Braddock was already well known in that camp. The despair of defeat encouraged the St. Clair-Halket supporters to describe the event with even more acrimony.⁵² Other information could have been collected as the defeated army continued to stagger back to the safety of Fort Cumberland at Wills Creek.⁵³ Hamilton would have had an opportunity then at the hospital to talk to the wounded Sir John St. Clair whose advice had been repeatedly ignored by Braddock. To his superiors in London, St. Clair complained that Braddock "never liste'd to" him.⁵⁴ But it is the Maryland doctor who reports the details of those humiliating confrontations between St. Clair and the general—information inappropriate to official communiques but which St. Clair would easily have confided to a sympathetic listener.

It was only at Fort Cumberland that Hamilton could have compiled his list of wounded and killed officers since the information was not collected until then. It is a remarkably accurate and detailed account. Only one other battle report included both first and last names—in an unidentified "Journal of a British Officer."⁵⁵ The arrangement of the names and the spelling are very much alike in the two lists; their count of the number of casualties among the enlisted men is also very similar. Hamilton gives 386 killed, the "Journal" 385; both note 528 wounded. It is likely that Hamilton and the "Journal" keeper took their information from a return prepared by Francis Halket (if indeed the "Journal" keeper was not Halket himself), the Brigade Major responsible for collecting data on the officers killed and wounded sent directly to London.⁵⁶ Hamilton adds the gruesome detail regarding scalping, a note that does not appear in any other written accounts.

Why Hamilton did not name his sources of information will probably never be known, but it is likely that he did not want to jeopardize the reputation of informants, especially if young Halket was among them, by association with his very bitter attack on the handling of the battle. Discretion dictated that he be silent on this point.

Once the information was collected, Hamilton, who no doubt was beginning to feel the effects of his malfunctioning kidney, retired to Annapolis to write up his report to Gavin. It was finished and dispatched before the end of August, probably early in the month. The latest piece of news given in the letter is the reference to Governor Shirley's movement in New York on July 25. Hamilton correctly guessed that the army was about to leave for Oswego, and the absence of a definite time of arrival suggests that he sent his report before that news reached him during the third week of August.⁵⁷

For most scholars, the most significant aspect of Braddock's Defeat has been its propaganda value. It gives support to the mythology of the "omnipresent American marksman clothed not in a military uniform but in a hunting shirt."⁵⁸ It proved to Americans of the eighteenth century, however erroneous the premises, that the British army was inept and incompetent under wil-

derness fighting conditions. It raised hopes for a successful British defeat at the time of the Revolution. Thus, the fact of Braddock's Defeat has been of much lesser importance historically than the why.

At the time of the battle, however, the survivors and local people felt the defeat very keenly. The extraordinary loss of lives, many of whom were known and liked locally, the loss of money from the unnecessary destruction of goods when Braddock in a fit of irrational planning ordered the destruction of the remaining military stores and equipment, the attacks on an unprotected frontier, led to a flurry of letter writing and public commentary attempting to fix the blame either on Braddock himself, his officers, the soldiers, or the reluctance of Americans to provide the supportive materials and service. The British blamed American factionalism; Americans blamed the British officers. Both sets of leaders heaped invective on the hapless British foot soldier, and everyone found fault with the dead commander who could no longer defend himself.⁶⁹ The Hamilton letters offer poignant and mournful testimony to the deep anguish that accompanied that "dismal and affecting Tragedy."

A note on the editorial procedures. With few exceptions, the letters are printed as they appear in the transcriptions. In place of the initial "ff" (a practice followed by the scribe but not Alexander Hamilton), I have used "F." The "y" representing the English thorn is printed as "th" and the longtailed "s," has been modernized. Inconsistencies and errors in spelling have been retained and, to avoid unnecessary verbiage, *sic* has not been used. Punctuation has been changed only when necessary for clarity. Extraneous commas have been eliminated and periods added to the end of sentences. The first word of each sentence has been capitalized. All other capitalization, punctuation, and paragraphing follow the scribe's practice.

As far as possible I have tried to incorporate explanatory information into the introduction. Where that could not be done, I have resorted to footnotes keeping the number minimal to avoid detracting from the text itself.

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24. Russell, p. 630, notes that English commanders had opportunities to "observe, combat, and occasionally to conduct guerilla tactics" in Europe and Scotland during the 1740's. "The methods learned there were successfully applied on the American frontier between 1745 and 1760."
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31. Pargellis, pp. xvii, 102-103, and 116; David Craig, "July 9, 1755: Panic or Confusion," paper delivered at Morgan State University, April 14, 1979, pp. 8-10.
32. Russell, p. 642; Peckham, p. 144; Leach, *Arms for Empire*, p. 368.
33. Actually six or seven men were killed during the march and one scout captured. Russell, p. 643.

34. Pargellis, pp. 112-114, includes a "Sketch of the Field of Battle," drawn by an unidentified eyewitness. See also Kopperman, pp. 4-5 in which he superimposes that eyewitness drawing over one of present-day Braddock, Pennsylvania. One wounded participant in the battle, a veteran of battles in Flanders, commented that "had our March Been Executed in the same manner the 9th as it was the 8th, I should have stood a fair chance of writing from Fort Duquesne, instead of being in the hospital at Wills's Creek." Pargellis, p. 107.
35. Robert Leckie, *Wars of America*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), vol. I, p. 46; Peckham, p. 145; Kopperman, pp. 19-30.
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39. William Hand Brown et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland*, 71 vols. (Baltimore, 1883-), vol. 52, pp. xiii-xiv and 144-145. Governor Sharpe's correspondence with Lord Baltimore and Braddock is in vol. 6 of the *Archives*.
40. Dulany, pp. 13-16; Will H. Lowdermilk, *History of Cumberland, Embracing an Account of Washington's First Campaign* (Washington, D.C., 1878), p. 133.
41. Russell, p. 642; *Maryland Gazette* June 12, 1755.
42. Leach, *Arms for Empire*, p. 359.
43. *Maryland Gazette* June 12, 1755; Lowdermilk, pp. xxxii-xxxvi.
44. I can find no corroboration of this ban in the other eyewitness accounts nor is the order to be found in Braddock's orderly book reprinted in Lowdermilk, pp. xxxiiff. One oblique reference to the ban is in a *Maryland Gazette* of July 17, 1755 report from Philadelphia that John Shickcalani, "an Indian chief . . . informed . . . That General Braddock would not allow his Indians to scalp any Frenchman that might fall into their hands, *which had occasioned a good many to leave him.*" (emphasis supplied) However, Halket's orderly book entry for June 26 takes cognizance of a new order permitting the scalping of Indian captives. Edward Hamilton, p. 116. The omission of references to French scalps would support Alexander Hamilton's supposition. (Information supplied by Phyllis Boyd). It is possible that the doctor's source of information was the *Maryland Gazette* article.
45. Russell, p. 642.
46. Kopperman, p. 276n.; Leach, *Arms for Empire*, pp. 365-367.
47. "Tuesday Club Record Book, 1745-1755," April 22, 1755, Manuscripts Division, Maryland Historical Society (MS. 1265), box 11.
48. "Tuesday Club Record Book, [May 27] 1755-1756," vol. 2, Library of Congress, Peter Force Collection 80, 174.
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50. *Ibid.*, May 14, 1745 through July 23, 1745; Stephen Bordley to Witham Marshe May 30, 1747, Manuscripts Division, Maryland Historical Society (MS. 81); Tuesday Club Record Book, vol. 2, August 26, 1755.
51. *Maryland Gazette* July 31, 1755 lists the four artillery officers present at the battle. Marshe's name is not included. Pargellis, p. 90 indicates that, of the five artillery officers attached to Braddock's army, one did remain behind with the reserve forces. Although not named, I have assumed he was Marshe.
52. The fragment of Hamilton's letter in the Maryland Historical Society begins in the middle of his description of that argument. It is essentially the same report as that given by an unidentified letter-writer of July 25, 1755 in Pargellis, pp. 121-122, but the wording varies slightly. In the anonymous letter, Dunbar replies to Orm's ridicule: "if she were alive, she would have more sense, more good manners, and know as much of military matters as you do;" to which Braddock responded, "Gentlemen you are both warm." Hamilton's language is more concise and passionate, but he is obviously repeating a story relished by Braddock's detractors.
53. Fort Cumberland was built by the Ohio Company (as a base and hospital) at Wills Creek, Maryland about 100 miles from Fort Duquesne in anticipation of the expedition. Braddock passed that point on May 10, but by June 16 had marched only 40 miles to the Great Meadows near the site of Fort Necessity, the way-station built by Washington in his abortive strike against the French in 1754. Dunbar was left behind there with 150 wagons, 300 horse loads of supply, the heavy artillery, and about 800 men with orders to follow Braddock. Dunbar's convoy moved so slowly because of the lack of horses that on the day of the battle his force was 50 miles behind the advancing army, Leach, *Arms for Empire*, pp. 332-333, 353; Pargellis, pp. 98, 109-111.

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57. Leache, *Arms for Empire*, p. 372.
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COPIE LETTERS TO BAILLIE HAMILTON CONCERNING THE BATTLE IN AMERICA

[Annapolis, August, 1755]

As it may be matter of Entertainment to you to have a circumstantial Account of the late Defeat of our Army under General Braddock, I shall give you a Narrative of the whole Affair, which comes much nearer the truth than many others you may meet with, As it is taken from the mouths of the Principal officers, who were present at that bloody & Tragical Action.

But before I proceed to particulars it will be proper to say Somewhat concerning General Braddock, his behaviour at his first coming to America, and during the time he remained among us, and the Share of Esteem he possessed, not only with the officers and private men of the Soldiery in that ill-fated Expedition, But also among people of all Ranks and Conditions here, even the Indian Natives.

This Gentleman's behaviour was austere and Supercilious, rough spoken and in Short nothing Engaging appeared in his Conversation. He showed a distant behaviour and Reserve, even towards the Governors of our Colonys, as if they had been infinitely his Inferiors; Shutting himself up like a Bashaw from the Conversation of his own officers, Suffering none of them to hold discourse with him, more than what was just absolutely necessary, At open variance with some and not in Speaking terms with others; For which behaviour I never could learn any other reason but his [own] haughty and Imperious Temper—Three favorites indeed he had, Some of whom were raw and unexperienced. These were Leut. Col. Burton of Dunbars Regiment, Capt Orm & Capt Morris his Aids de Camps. Of these was made a Secrete Cabal or Junto, who kept their Schemes entirely [2] to themselves, not permitting the older and more experienced officers to have the least insights into their Measures & Consultations. While he was here at Anapolis (where he staid three days for the coming of the Northern Governors) he would not permit any of our Gentlemen to be introduced to him, and, when on his March to the Ohio, he treated our Country Planters with great harshness & Severity, Taking from them in a Rapiacious manner their bought white Servants to Recruit his Army, Upon whose Labour alone their whole Cropt & years mantainance depended, and gave them for recompense and Satisfaction, good store of Insolent and Abusive Language. In his progress, he threatened the Indian Tribes in a Thrasonick manner to put them all to the Sword, if they did not im-

mediately join him, and absolutely forbid them to Scalp the prisoners or Slain. The effect of this was Not only the Falling off of a great number of those Indians from our Party, But the Savages laugh'd at his threats, as knowing them to be vain & impracticable upon them, Who are a People of no certain abode or Habitation, being here to day & gone to morrow. As to the Scalping it was ridiculous to think that they would ever comply with his orders in that respect, That having always been their constant practice in their Wars against one another, Their Enemy's Scalps being not only their Trophies of victory and Badges of honour; But also a Lucrative Article to them and what they Reckon their pay, As they receive a reward of £5, more or less for each Scalp. By this Sketch of the General I shall leave it to you to Judge how he was belov'd & Esteem'd by his own officers and Men and by people of all Conditions and Ranks here.

[3] Thus gifted and accomplished, After having had a Grand Council of War at Alexandria with the Governors of New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland, he sett out towards the Army in the latter end of Aprile, which was Rendezvous'd at Fort Cumberland on Will's Creek, Halket's Regiment having joined Dunbar's there from Winchester, a Town in Virginia, on the other Side Potowmack. They marched from Will's Creek Some time about the middle of June, and mett abundance of difficulty in procuring Waggons & Horses for their Baggage and Amunition, which were now [?] to look for, after the Forces had been two Months in the Country. This they might well expect in a Country Such as this, where the Breed of Horses is small and degenerate, and Few can afford to keep any better, than such as will barely answer for the Drudgery of the Plough. This with the trouble of Clearing away the woods And the difficulty they Found in carrying their Baggage and Artillery over the rugged passes of the Catactan and Allegana Mountains, retarded their March so, That the Month of July was well begun before they got nigh the Monongahela where Fort DuQuesne stands. During this difficult and tedious March they lost but few men by the Incursions of the Indian Enemy, There being only two of their Straglers scalped and kill'd upon this side the Allegana Mountains and two more amissing. The Indian Sachem or half King Monocatucha, Joined the General with his small Tribe of Indians. Many other Indians of different Tribes also came, but soon afterwards left him, upon his publishing orders not to Scalp. The difficultys in this March would not have been complain'd of, as they were unavoidable from the Nature of the Country; But the Principal officers had reason to complain of the Generals insolent and distant behaviour to them. Coll. Dunbar he had an open difference with and on Sundry occasions used him very ill; And with Sir Peter Halket, a Gentleman remarkable for his Civility and good nature, he was Scarce in Speaking terms and often spoke to him in a huffing manner. Sir John St. Clair, the Quarter Master General, he show'd no more respect to, than if he had been his Lacquai, and he was only barely civil from the teeth outwards to Major George Washington one of his Aids de Camps, a Youth of an undaunted and brave Spirit,

[4]

whose deserts are beyond my expression, and to whose care alone it was owing that this General was carried alive out of the Field of Battle. In short the aforesaid Triumvirate Orm, Burton and Morris were his only Favorites, and the Cabal kept everything in petto,¹ not admitting the others into their Sage and Secrete Consultations, Seeming entirely to despise their Advice. It was said (with what truth I cannot say) That as the General made himself absolutely sure of taking the Fort, There was a Scheme laid by the Junto, that a new Regiment should be formed there, of which Regiment Burton was to have been appointed Collonel, Orm Leut Col. & Morris Major in prejudice of the older Officers, particularly Sir John St. Clair, who had as yet no particular Command. Such was their Security and opinion of their own ability, That the General and his Sage Council took little or no pains to send out Scouts to get Intelligence of the Disposition and face of the Enemy, and the March was managed in a careless and confused manner, and if any person presumed to advise more circumspection and Caution, it was customary with one of the Triumvirate, like those sorts of Fools mentioned in Hudibras, to clap his hand to his pocket and offer to bett a hundred guineas to five shillings that they were in possession of Fort DuQuesne without the least difficulty.

Before the General departed with the Main Body of the Army, and left Coll. Dunbar behind to bring up the heavy Artillery and Baggage, Dunbar at these orders showed some kind of uneasiness and happened to say that he had been 40 years in the Army and had never seen any such Disposition or March, Especially in going into an Enemy's Country. Orm on this said 'That his Grandmother was 75 years of Age when she died and was indeed a very old Woman.' This was spoke looking Sneeringly at Dunbar. That old officer made answer 'That Were his Grandmother now alive, she would (old woman as she was) understand more of military affairs² and the ordering of a March than such a youngster as he.' The General upon this said with Some vehemence 'Gentlemen you are hot.' Dunbar told his Excellency That he left it to him to Judge who had most reason, That it was true he was old, But he thought his age should rather protect him than expose him to the ridicule and insolence of that young Man in his Excellency's hearing.

After this Scuffle and Several others of less consequence too tedious and trifling to relate, The General marched before with 12 pieces of Artillery, 55 Waggons, with a great part of his Ammunition and baggage, 1200 men of the choice of the Army and the Military Chest, and Left Dunbar behind with about 800 men and 72 Waggons to bring up the heavy Artillery and the rest of the Baggage and Ammunition.

Before he reached the Monongahela, our Indian Friend, the half King with some of his Tribe, had once or twice reconnoitred the French Fort and brought the General Intelligence that the Enemy were very strong there, being as he could Judge, about 2200 French Regulars & Irregulars, with a white Flag and about 3000 of their Indian Friends and Allies. After this advice which Several of the Scoutts agreed in, not withstand-

ing the repeated Solicitations of the old officers to regulate the March and be more circumspect, The General let them go on in the same confused manner as before and the Triumvirate still kept laying their Wagers of 100 guineas to 5 shillings and did not stick³ to charge those with cowardice who talked of watching the Enemy or guarding against their designs.

When they approached the Monongahela, Dunbar with his Party were by this time 50 Miles behind (you may probably see this call'd 6 Miles in some of the Triumvirate's Letters published in our News papers) and Monocatucha, the half King, profer'd his Advice that they should proceed no further but Incamp and Fortify the Army on this side the Monongahela Alledging that if they proceeded towards the Forts, they must of necessity be all Surrounded and cutt off by Superior numbers, having no safe place of Retreat, But this good Advice was disregarded.

- [7] Upon the 9th day of July the Army passed the Monongahela twice about eleven o'clock in the morning. That River, which is a branch of the Ohio making a great bend or circumflexure in this place [which is] about seven miles on this Side Fort du Quesne. As Sir John St. Clair and Sir Peter Halket were apprehensive that the Enemy would attack them at this passing of this River (which they actually intended but came a little too late) they with some difficulty persuaded the General to Form the Army into Battle order. In this order they marched for about a quarter of an hour after they had passed the River, but soon were ordered again to resume the Line of March, and got into their wonted confusion. Sir John at this appeared uneasy and Solicited the General again to form the Army into Line of Battle but to no purpose. Sir John alledged to the General pointing to a Valley with a small rising Hill upon each side scarce half a mile distant from their Front, that the Enemy would attack him there— The General asked him by what intelligence he knew that. He replied, by the same Intelligence as his Excellency had had of the Indian Sachem, which when the General made slight of Sir John assured him that were he his Enemy and knew his strength and Disposition as well as he was assured the French knew it, he would himself undoubtedly attack him in that very place, and he judged that the French officer or officers would in common prudence pursue the same Scheme. The General still slighted this Advice and Sir John begged that he would only Suffer him with an advanced party of 2 or 300 Men, to go and reconnoitre the Fort and bring him proper Intelligence, which request was refused and on they Marched in the same confused manner with Artillery and baggage, and in effect as
- [8] Sir John had conjectured and they were surprised in that very place with a very hot and heavy Fire on Front and Flank, from a party of French conceal'd in a parcel of high weeds and Brush on the left hand, and a great number of Indians from the rising of the Hill on every hand. This threw them into a terrible confusion and the men dropt very fast. Leut. Coll. Gage Led a party in the Front to cover Sir John St. Clair's party, who followed with his Pioneers to clear the woods. The remainder of the Army were behind with the General in a confused Disposition; In the front were

100 Grenadiers, call'd Halkets Grenadiers, as choice men as could any where be seen. These Men bore the first Brunt of the Fire in the Front, Till at last both Sir John St. Clairs & Coll. Gages partys were thrown into the utmost confusion by the tumultuous pressing on and Crowding of the men behind them, who as they were hurried and pushed irregularly forward and ordered to march, earnestly requested to be put into some kind of order and instructed how to proceed. You'll perhaps see in some of our News papers a foolish account from some of the Triumvirate, that the foremost Ranks Falling back on the rest of the Army, as yet not formed, threw them into a pannick and confusion, which neither the entreaties nor threats of the officers could recover them from, or persuade them to stand their ground But this is as foolish and false a gloss as ever was invented. The Affair was quite the Reverse, and therefore you'll do well not to believe a word of it.

While affairs were in this disorder, Sir John St. Clair again accosted the General and told him, that he was certainly defeated if he did not make a Regular and Speedy retreat, and endeavor to Save the rest of the Army. This was not regarded and Sir John was ordered again to his post. [9] Sir Peter Haket and Leut Col. Gage came also to the Genl. Sir Peter proposed that he should be allowed 200 Men to take possession of an advantageous post which he perceived the Enemy had just left—The General calld him fool and old Woman, telling him that he was fitter to be led than to lead, ordered him to go to his Station and give his advice when it was asked—Sir Peter (that good and worthy Man) modestly replied That he valued not his own life, if the giving up of that would benefit the Cause, but he was grieved, much grieved, to have the said prospect before his eyes of the certain destruction of so many brave men, who deserved a better fate and returning to his Station, was in a few minutes after shot dead—Coll. Gage asked his Excellency what he was to do, The Reply was to go and mind his business. The Coll went off, Saying that he could but die at the head of his smal remnant of men, For it was now absolutely out of his power to do any Service. Soon after, the confusion and distraction was so dreadful, That the Men fired irregularly one behind another, and by this way of proceeding many more of our Men were killed by their own party than by the Enemy as appeared afterwards by the Bullets which the Surgeons Extracted from the wounded, They being distinguishable from those of the French & Indians by their Size, As they were considerably larger, For the bore of the Enemys Muskets, of which many were picked up, was very small. Among the wounded men there were two for one of these larger bullets extracted by the Surgeons, and the wounds were chiefly on the back parts of the Body, so we may reasonably conclude it must have also been among the killed—Capt Mercer marching with his Company to take possession of an advantageous post, was fired upon by our Men from behind and ten of his men dropt at once—Capt Polson lost many of his men by irregular platooning behind him, on which he faced about and entreated the Soldiers not to Fire & Destroy his Men. They Re-

- plied they could not help it, They must obey orders. And upon one or two more Fires of this Sort Capt Polson himself lost his life being shot directly thro the heart. He jumped at one spring a great distance from the ground and then fell. In Fine between the two Fires of Friends & Enemies that whole Company was destroyed but five. The hundred Grenadiers were also by this time all killd save eleven, three of whom were mortally wounded. A party of these fellows had got behind a large Tree which had fell down and making use of it as a breast work, made considerable havock among the Indians. These Fellows the General ordered to be calld off by his Aid de Camp Washington, who obeyed the order with reluctance. Sir John St. Clair had now received a desperate wound from a Musket Ball that went thro his Shoulder and was followed with a large effusion of Blood. He immediately rode up to the General and speaking to him in Italian told him that he was defeated and all was ruined, To whom, when the General made some scornful Reply Sir John told him That by the fresh bleeding of his wound, he did not expect to Survive many Minutes, and therefore could have no Interest in dessembling or saying what he really did not think. Sir John was immediately carried off by his Servant, he having bound him on the Horses back, as he was thro loss of blood unable to keep the Saddle. The General by this time had had five horses kill'd under him and his Aid de Camp Washington two, whose upper Coat was almost shot to tatters with musket balls and yet himself unhurt. Soon after this, the General was wounded with a Musket Ball which went thro his right arm, his side and lodg'd in the Lungs, and Washington applying to the Soldiers to carry him off the Field, they absolutely refused. At last some good natur'd Waggoners and other people carried him off in a Sort of Bier or Litter upon their Shoulders, he being a gross heavy man and not able to bear the Jolting of a Waggon or Jogging of a Horse.
- [11] 500⁴ private Soldiers and upwards now lay dead or disabled on the Field, besides officers. The men had now fired away all their Stock of Ammunition and many of them took the Cartridges of powder and Shot from the dead and wounded and used that also. There was no other Shift now, but a speedy flight. Great numbers of the officers were killed, all those of the Artillery killd and wounded except one. The Artillery, (which by the bye might easily have been Destroyed or rendered useless) the baggage, ammunition, military Chest, with all the General's plate, of which he had a compleat service, money, Letters from the several Governors, papers of Instructions and Accounts fell into the hands of the Enemy Amounting as is thought to £100 000⁵ sterling. The flight was precipitate & confused, many were killed and scalped by the Indians in repassing the Monongahela. Almost all the poor women belonging to the Camp were slaughtered by these Savages. Multitudes of the wounded lay dead upon the road and many died that had no wounds thro faintness, weariness and hunger, the Men having eat little or nothing for 48 hours before the day of Battle and drank only water under an excessive hot sun. In short the poor remainder of them that reached Coll Dunbars Camp appeared liker Spirits than men and their wounds alive with Maggots. The Genl died on the road on the 13

of the Month, more out of vexation & grief, as is said, than of his wounds, which his Surgeon declared were not mortal. He held one Council of War before his death, nigh it was determined & orders given accordingly to Coll Dunbar to destroy all the remainder of the Artillery, Baggage and Ammunition, And this ridiculous Order (tho the Enemy did not make the least feint to pursue) was soon put in execution. The General was buried in a Coffin made of Bark, with little or no Ceremony, a little on the other Side of the Great Meadows. About one hour before his death, he resigned his Command to Coll Dunbar who marched immediately with the broken remains of the Forces back to Fort Cumberland on Wills Creek, where [12] Leaving the wounded Officers and men, in a few days he took his Rout towards Pensylvania, where he is now arrived. Soon after this defeat, the Indians began to perpetrate their Butcheries on the back parts of Virginia and Maryland and still continue to do so, cutting off many Familys. The French are now Fortifying at the Great Meadows, and our Country here are in a most deplorable Situation.

Before I make any remarks upon this unaccountable Transaction, I shall give you the particulars of Sir Peter Halkets death. Just after he had left the General as I have above related, he rode to the head of his Men, and Coursing about to give the necessary orders, he was observed by an Indian Fellow, who sat disabled in the Field, thro'a shot he had received in his knee. This Savage levell'd his piece at Sir Peter, as he rode about, which one Capt Ghest^o a Capt of Militia and a noted Huntsman observing, who had just discharged his Musket, he made all possible haste to reload, in order to prevent the danger which threatened Sir Peter, but could not make such dispatch but that the Indian had Shot Sir Peter down before he was in readiness to avert the blow.

Ghest however immediatly after step'd up and blew out the Miscreants brains. This is the account I had of that excellent Man's death (tho' from the nature of my Information I cannot vouch the truth of it). Sir Peter's Servant went up to his Masters body to see if the wound was mortal or in case he was dead to have it decently bestowed or disposed of But the poor fellow at that instant was shot dead, and fell upon his Masters body, a worthy example of duty and fidelity. Thus fell that good and truely heroic Gentleman Sir Peter Haket in the Service of his King and Country, a Gentleman much lamented by all who had the honour and pleasure of his acquaintance, of a sweet and affable conversation, and^r every way accomplished and qualified as a Gentleman and a Soldier, both [13] in his life and death a lasting honor to his Family. At the same time with Sir Peter fell Mr. Secretary Shirly, oldest Son of Major General Shirly, Governor of New England, a youth of promising parts. He was shot thro' the head, as also Leut James Haket, a Gentleman very well esteem'd.

By the whole conduct of this affair, to a man that has but a moderate Share of reflection, it would appear, that the bad Success was chiefly owing to the rash and headstrong Conduct of the General, and that he was a person whose Courage and resolution qualified him to execute any orders, if under the Command and direction of another, but by no means

capable to Command others himself, For puff'd up with pride and intoxicated with power, extremely self sufficient and confident of his own abilities, he paid not the least regard to the opinion or advice of others, but rushing headlong on his purpose, and sure of Success, Striving to grasp all the honor and glory of the exploit to himself, impatient of the participation of others, like the Dog in the Fable, he lost the Substance while he snap'd at the Shadow.

By this unfortunate affair, the whole Scheme in America for this Campaign is broke and disconcerted, For at the Grand Council held at Alexandria, before the March of the Army, it was agreed between General Braddock, Major General Shirly and Major General Johnson, That while the First attacked the French Fort at Du Quesne, Shirly should invest their Fort at Niagara and Johnson that at Crown Point. Had General Braddock, after having been informed that the French were too strong for him at Du Quesne followed advice and fortified his Camp a little on the other side of the Allegana Mountain, The French not daring to attack him there, would have been obliged to keep their main force at du Quesne, to collect which they had been obliged to evacuate their Forts to the Northward and thus both Niagara and Crown Point would probably have become easy acquisitions to Shirly and Johnson. But the General having [14] given the French this fair opportunity of finishing their their business at Du Quesne so quickly, the main body of them would have full time to march back to reinforce Niagara, Since Shirley did not depart from Albany till the 25th of July or 16 days after the Battle of Monongahela, And these French Forces would very probably be at Niagara before him. So that we may reasonably Suppose he will now be obliged to bend his course to Oswego and Fortify that Garrison, which if he is able to keep from the French will be as great an exploit as can reasonably be expected of him this Campaign. Should the French this Summer make themselves Masters of Oswego, which is but very sorrily Fortified, we shall then be in a miserable condition, For the whole Country will lye open to them, down to Albany, which City they can easily take and extend their Arms & Conquests to the maritime parts of New York Government without the least difficulty.

It is said that the French themselves, were astonished at this victory it being what they did not at all expect to gain in that place, where they attacked the English, they having only an advanced party of 300 Regulars with four or 500 Indians, that had no other view than to molest Braddock in his March and Scalp some of his men. But after the General Firing began another party of Six or 700 Regulars, who lay a mile behind the advanced party, came up and joined them. The rest of the French were at the Fort entrenched up to their eyes.

The Virginian Forces and officers particularly Major Washington behaved with undaunted bravery in this Engagement, and even the American common Soldiers fought and fell like heroes. I cannot sufficiently

speak the merit of Washington. He is a person well deserving and ought to be distinguished and taken notice of—Major Francis Halket, Sir Peter's Son, behaved with remarkable bravery and Courage and showed himself worthy of such a Father. The Courage of our Americans demonstrates that they would make excellent Soldiers, And as we can raise men enough here, we want only money to enable us to oblige the Monsieurs to
 [15] behave with better Manners—Our Friend the half King by his Gallant behaviour claims his Share in the Laurels. He lost his Son in the Battle⁸—one thing I must observe with regard to the method of Fighting here among our Savage Indians, who maintain a kind of Running Fight, Skulking behind Trees and Bushes, That it is a Folly to Sett Regular Troops to Engage them. The only Fit for them are such Forragers as are your Hussars, Hayducks, Wild Tartars or Arabs, or even our own Scots Highlanders for Foot Fighting could manage them very well. Our Backwoods-men here and Huntsmen and many of our American Militia understand better how to Smash these Fellows in their own way than any of his Majesty's Regular Troops. Besides their horrid way of painting their Bodys all over in time of war and their terrible Screams and barbarous howlings at a general onset, is enough to Strike a pannick into any man, unacquainted with their ways and Customs.

Before I conclude, I would advise you not to credit any Accounts you may meet with in the News papers or elsewhere of this Defeat's being occasioned by the Cowardice of the men. Take my word for it, it is not true. True it is indeed, That after two hours and twenty minutes continual Slaughter, rather than Battle, the Men took to their Heels, But at the same time you are to know That these Men did not show their Heels till they had fired away, not only their own, but like wise all the Stock of Cartridges and Shot they could Find about the dead and wounded, and having no more they threw down their Arms & Fled, In which I think they acted like discreet and prudent men. Many officers were left dead on the Field, According to the following List, and 600 private men. The whole Detachment of Sailors, intended to man the Vessels built on Lake Ontario were killed and wounded but five; about 100 were killed and Butchered by the Indians in the Repassing of the Monongahela. Such as lay disabled in
 [16] the Field of Battle were knocked in the head by the same Barbarians, and but one Virginian prisoner and a Mulatto man, who were able to Travel with them they carried to the Fort. Numbers of the men dropped on the road as they travelled, So that very few got back to Dunbars Camp. And thus ended this dismal and affecting Tragedy—

Account of the officers and Men killed and wounded at the Engagement on the Monongahela.⁹

His Excellency General Braddock died of his Wounds.

Sir Peter Halkets Regiment:

Sir Peter Halket the Coll., Capt. Charles Tatton, Capt Richard Gethens, Lieut. James Halket, Lieut. James Allan, Lieut. Robert Townsend, Kill'd.

Lieut Coll. Thos. Gage, Lieut. Will Little [Litteler], Lieut Wm. Dunbar, Lieut. John Trebby [Treeby], Lieut. Andrew Simpson, Lieut Robert Locke, Lieut Daniel Disney, Lieut Quinlin Kennedy [Quintan Kenedy], Wounded.

Coll. Dunbars Regiment:

Capt. Robert Chomondly, Lieutenants John Hansand, William Wideman, Walter Crimble, Peregrine BRegelon [Percival Brereton], John Hart, Kill'd. The last among the wounded and as he could not walk, they knocked him on the head on their way back to Fort Du Quesne and Scalped him.

Lieut Coll. Ralph Burton, Major Will Sparks, Capt Roger Morris Aid de Camp, Richard Bower [Bowyer], Robert Ross, Lieuts Theodore Barrette [Barbut], Willm Edmonston, John Gladwin,¹⁰ Ensigns Alexander Mcmillan [Macmullan], Richard Croo, Robert Stirling, John Montresure, Wounded.

Artillery

Capt Robert Smith, Kill'd, Lieutenants James Buchanan, John Macculloch, Wounded.

Independent Compy

Capt Horatio Gates, Robert Horvath, John Grey, Wounded, Lieut Simeon Foumaign [Sumain], killd.

[17] Light Horse

Capt Robert Stewart, Wounded, Lieut Carolus Gresham Splittdorff, kill'd.

Virginian Companys

Capt William Polson, Chev. Peirinie, Lieut. John Hamilton, John Wright, Edmund Waggoner, kill'd. Capt Adam Stevens [Stephens], Lieut Walter Stewart, Wounded.

Capt Stone of Coll Laxelle's killd.

Capt Hayler [Hayer], of Coll. Hobsons, Wounded.

Sailors

One midshipman & one Boatswans Mate, killed.

One Ditto—and one Ditto, Wounded.

Of Sailors 9 men killed and Seven Wounded.

386 private men killed and 328 wounded, Many of whom were afterwards kill'd by the Indians and Scalped.

Capt Robert Orme Aid de Camp Wounded.

Mr. Secretary Shirly—kill'd.

Sir John St. Clair, Quarter Master Genl. Wounded.

Mr. Lesly Deputy Quarter Master Wounded.

Engineers, Wm. Mckellar, Gordon, Williamson, Wounded.

Sea Officers, Lieutenant Spindelov, Wm. Talbot kill'd.

In all 24 officers killed, besides the General and 34 ditto wounded.

Waggons Burnt and Lost 200.

Horses, kill'd and Lost 130.

[Alexander Hamilton]

[18]

Maryland May 7th 1755

Dear Brother

I had your Letter bearing date Octr 10 at Edinburgh, That by Sir Peter Halket was delivered me in his Tent from his own hands, where we drank your health in particular, with the healths of our Brothers and all other Friends in Scotland. Sir Peter's Sea Voyage has agreed well with him, as the air of the Country has hitherto. He told me that he had been Subject to Rheumatick pains, but was then on the first of Aprile quite free from them, and uneasy about nothing but the distance he is at from my Lady Halket, and that the Scene of Action should be so remote from her. As he was sure you would immediatly after Receiving it, transmit any account I wrote you of him to his Lady, he requested me not to omit a full relation of that day's visit and of the state he was then in.

You could not without injustice to Sir Peter's character have said less in his praise. I never took so great a Liking to any man, on such short acquaintance. But it is not I only, our whole province, so far as he is known, is full of respect to him, and expressing more concern for his welfare than anything else attending the affair. Our Brother Alexander went to the same Camp to wait on him, a few days after I was there. I had a ready opportunity by Mr. James Dick of London Town of Sending your Letter which came by Sir Peter, with my earnest request that he would not neglect Seeing him. The General was Sick while I was at the Camp of a Cold, but did not undergo many days confinement before he went to Anapolis, to meet the Northern Governors, who were not soon enough for the time he staid there. But in a few days they came and waited on him at his Quarters in Alexandria. I saw Coll Dunbar but did not make myself known to him. He bears the Character of a hearty, Jolly old Gentleman. What has been determined by these Gentlemen when they mett and had their Conference I know not, nor are we likely to know For the General has forbid all our Presses the liberty of Mentioning any thing pro or con that related to their affairs, a Caution highly necessary, as we make not the least doubt of the French having many Spies amongst us, where there are great numbers of Papists and Jesuite Priests. Coll. Dunbars Regiment crossed Pottowmack River at Rock Creek and marched to Fredericks Town in this Province. A Detachment of Sir Peter's marched with part of the Train a few days after; and last of all Sir Peter followed with the remaining part of the Train, about ten days ago. His Regiment with the Train kept on the Virginia side of the River, only a Small Command left to guard the Hospital, Some Barrels of powder and Carriages which for want of Horses they could not take with them at that time. Their passage here was so Surprisingly good, that the like has scarcely ever been known. When they Arrived at Pottowmack they had lost but one Man, and that by a Fall over board. He was taken into the Ship before he was dead, but a hurt he mett with was fatal. Another drowned in the River 'ere they got to Alexandria by the overturning of a Boat, nor have I heard of loss amongst them by Sickness Since.

[19]

I got your Letter by Mr. Ross, who was provided for before I saw him. His fellow Passengers, who in such a voyage must know him, speak exceeding well of him. I likeways received that of the 28 of December by Mr. Harrison and the Books, For which I return you thanks. I condole with my Sister and other Relations, the loss of Wm. Cleghorn. He has been much esteemed as well as Lamented by many people who knew him, now here. I have not seen Alexr. Since the beginning of the winter. I was then sent for by his wife—without his knowledge. He was Sick, but not so apprehensive of danger as his wife & her Brothers were [which] made them [20] send Express for me. He is now perfectly recovered. I think to see him in a few days and shall then desire him to gratify you and other Friends in writing at times in Scotland. I am Sure it is not any thing he resents from any of you makes him omit it, but some peculiar Indolence, when he has no business to write about. I should be glad to have an account of Mr. Horsley & his Family For I think I had but two Letters from him and both these soon after our Sister's death.

As we are in dread of a war with France, if not Spain likewise, what you propose to send me may be precarious. Insurance might save the value of the Books, but can never recover the Snuff Box, if it should fall into the hands of the Enemy. But I must leave it to you to Judge, how far-safe it will be to venture them. My Account has been paid off by Mr. Russell, and am only Sorry it remained unpaid so long. It was not my seeking.

Our Mother's Recovery is matter of Sincere Joy as is that of our Brother Gilbert's young wife. It would have been a heavy affliction to him had she been so soon taken from him. Present my kind Love and respects to Dr. Porterfield. I have been long anxious about his welfare nor did I ever know the event of his misfortune before your Letter of the 16 Decr. gave me that Satisfaction. My Family are all well. They all offer their respects, as due to You and Yours. Mr. Abercrombie likewise, with thanks for the Favour you did him desires to be remembered to you. With my Sincere Love to your Sons & Daughters, who are by this time Men and Women. To you and Mrs. Hamilton I am Dear Brother

Your Affectionate Brother
Signed Jo. Hamilton

Maryland Octor 6th 1755

Dear Brother

As this is likely to be the last time I shall write to you this year, For the last of our ships are now ready to saill, I could not well omit the opportunity of giving you the news of my Family's being all in tolerable health. My Daughter has suffered much in her late Lying in with her ninth Son, who is named Robert after our Brother. She is now recovered tollerably well and Suckles him herself, which we once thought she never would be able to do. Our Brother Alexr. is still in a drooping condition, tho' better than he has been during the heat of the Summer. His ailment is such as he may suffer under yet, long before it gets the better of him, but cant well

be cured as it is of the Tabid¹¹ kind viz. an Ulcer in his Kidney. I was very often with him last Summer, but really have not seen him this six weeks being woefully hurried even as much as when Youth and Activity, which have both failed me, admitted rather my going through fatigue. Alexr has in some measure made amends for his long Silence by a full and Just Account of our unhappy Ohio Expedition, which he sent you and was to go by the way of Mr. Russell. I shal trouble you with no account of that affair as it is done by him better than I can who have not had the same opportunity of getting good Information as he had. Our General lived long enough after the wound he received in the Battle to do all the mischief he could in destroying the provision, Splitting the Bomb & Grenado Shells, etc. I cannot get the gallant Sir Peter out of my mind and as I never took so great liking to any man on such short acquaintance have often wished that I had not been entreated by your Letters to wait on him. But he was as much Lamented by such as never saw him For he immediately gain'd the universal Esteem of people of all Ranks and Stations, Especially the Ladys, whose concern brought many of them to tears. My Daughter's illness was in a great measure owing to the News of our Disaster, and the loss of that good Gentleman coming to her on the Seventh day of her Lying in.

[22] We have had better Success to the northward Where the New England, The New York Militia, with their Indian Friends have gain'd a compleat victory over the French and taken their General prisoner. You'll see a better account of it in the printed papers than I can give you, and will no doubt hear of Admiral Boscawen's Success before this reaches you. While all the other Colonys are exerting themselves, as far as their Ability will permit to maintain their Libertys and repell the Common Enemy, We in this province and the Pensylvanians do nothing, which is not owing to any disaffection of our people, but to the differences that have long Subsisted between the various branches of our Legislature. The Representatives of the people have been treated with contempt many years by the officers of the proprietor here, while only the affairs of the Province were before them. Now the Kings Affairs call on the Lower House they are opposed in almost every proposal they make for raising money, and have returned the contempt on the others. God knows how it will end, But these Divisions have been a sore Grievance to this poor Country, and have brought the body of the people into a very great dislike of the proprietor and his Adherents. I long to hear from you again tho' I can scarce expect that Satisfaction this five or six months. It may be longer if a French War breaks out.¹² I hope this Letter to you will excuse my not writing at this time to my Mother, where I offer my humble duty with my Wifes & Daughters. Please Likewise to present my Sincere affections to all our Brothers and Sisters And believe me to be Dear Brother

Your Affectionate Brother
Signed / Jo. Hamilton

NOTES

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¹An Italian expression translated literally "in breast," meaning undisclosed. *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971). (Hereafter referred to as OED)

²The fragment in the Maryland Historical Society begins with this word.

³A now obsolete expression meaning "to hesitate," OED.

⁴This probably should be written as "600." The fragment in the Maryland Historical Society has the figure 600 as does a later reference in this letter. See below, p. 17.

⁵Walsh interpreted this number as £500 000. However, the £100 000 figure is very clear in the scribe's transcription. The amount in either case is highly inflated. The actual amount is probably closer to £25 000. Paul E. Kopperman, *Braddock at the Monongahela* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977), pp. 174 and 293n.

⁶This is the spelling in both the fragment and the copy of the letter. Walsh has silently corrected the spelling to Guist. "Braddock on July 9, 1755," ed. Richard Walsh, *Maryland Historical Magazine* 60 (1965), p. 427.

⁷The fragment ends with this word.

⁸This is an error on Hamilton's part. The Indian had been killed three days earlier while on the march. Kopperman, p. 6.

⁹The most extensive study of the names of the men has been undertaken by Charles Hamilton, *Braddock's Defeat* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), pp. 54-58. He checked the full names given in the battle report prepared by an unnamed officer with the surnames published in the *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle* of August 26, 1755, p. 379 and a few other British periodicals. The information in those publications was taken from the complete list of participants furnished by Captain Robert Orm which in turn became the basis of the British government's official census. Although Alexander Hamilton's collection of names is almost identical to that of the unnamed officer, his spelling deviates from the official list somewhat more. Where the differences in spelling might cause confusion or affect pronunciation, I have indicated in brackets the name from Orm's list. Minor variations in spelling such as double consonants for the single or vice versa are not noted.

¹⁰Charles Hamilton feels this John Gladwin or Glandwin was an error in the lists and that the wounded man was Henry Gladwin, *ibid.*, p. 56n.

¹¹Wasting, OED. The kidney problem continued to plague Alexander eventually contributing to his death in 1756. Upton Scott, August 28, 1809, Howard Family Papers, Maryland Historical Society (MS 469), #13 Box 1.

¹²Although the French and Indian War was already in progress in America, the European phase—the Seven Years War—did not begin until England formally declared war against France May 17, 1756. Douglas Edward Leach, *Arms for Empire: A Military History of the British Colonies in North America, 1607-1763* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1973), pp. 380-381. Technically the two countries were still at peace when Hamilton wrote these words and shipping on the high seas was relatively free of harrassment.

Baltimore's Wards, 1797-1978: A Guide

WILLIAM G. LEFURGY

AS ELECTION DISTRICTS, ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS, AND SELF-CONTAINED AREAS of political and social activity, Baltimore's wards have traditionally served important functions. An understanding of these functions and of the wards themselves is necessary for fruitful study of the city's history. This article is meant to assist research in three ways. First is offered a brief description of the uses wards have served since their inception in 1797. Secondly, a chronology of ward boundary changes from incorporation to the last ward alteration in 1918 is included. The third section presents a descriptive checklist of extant ward maps.

Concerning the checklist of maps, all local research agencies thought to have ward maps in their collections were investigated. All maps located are noted, including copies held by more than one institution. No claim is made for absolute comprehensiveness of the compilation; some items probably have eluded the search. Those listed, however, represent all ward maps which are readily available to the researcher in the Baltimore area.

On the last day of 1796, the Act of Incorporation for Baltimore City gained final approval. Section 1 empowered the Governor and Council to appoint a commission for the division of the city into eight wards, each of which was "to contain, as nearly as may be, an equal number of inhabitants." Redistricting was to occur "as often as the increase or decrease of inhabitants in any ward or wards shall render it necessary, in order to [effect] a just representation."¹

Installation of a ward system in Baltimore closely followed the introduction of representative city government. Elections were held in the wards and a candidate was selected solely by the voters from the ward he wished to represent. Each ward elected two individuals to sit in the First Branch, the lower house of the City Council. The upper chamber, designated as the Second Branch, was selected by an electoral college composed of one elected delegate from each ward. The Mayor was also chosen by the electoral college.² In 1808, a convention attended by two delegates from each ward approved a charter amendment allowing the direct election of Second Branch representatives. The electoral college continued to choose the Mayor until 1833 when the practice was replaced by direct election.³

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Electoral organization of the city's wards changed continually. In 1845, the fourteen wards were redistricted into twenty. Coupled with this was a provision limiting representation in the First Branch to one representative per ward; the Second Branch was to be composed of delegates from every two contiguous wards—that is, one member from wards one and two, one from three and four, and so on.⁴ The newly created Board of Police Commissioners was authorized in 1860 to sub-divide each ward into election precincts.⁵ Second Branch representation was altered by the 1898 city charter through consolidation of the wards into four councilmanic districts, each of which elected two members. The two Branch system disappeared completely in 1922 with creation of a unicameral City Council. Four councilmanic districts were again established with each electing three representatives to the new body.⁶ City delegates to the Maryland General Assembly were, up to 1922, elected from districts composed of ward aggregates. After this date, legislative districts have been based upon conglomerations of election precincts.⁷ Similarly, city congressional districts were formed as blocks of wards until 1902, and as independent political subdivisions thereafter.⁸ No changes have been made in ward boundaries since the 1918 addition of four new wards formed by the enlargement of the city. To provide for equitable political representation, election precincts are altered whenever population shifts warrant it.

Wards were also used as tax collection and assessment districts, especially for the general state and local property levies. Soon after incorporation, the city was divided into three assessment districts, each of which was assigned an assessor to evaluate previously unassessed property. At this time, however, Baltimore county and the state controlled the process for reassessment of city property, a situation which limited both municipal authority and revenue.⁹ Reorganization of Baltimore county's government in March of 1827 benefited Baltimore city by transferring greater reassessment and collection powers to the Mayor and City Council.¹⁰

In 1832 and 1833, the General Assembly further extended the city's authority to levy and collect taxes and allowed the corporation to perform new assessments "whenever they may deem it expedient." Under the provisions of these acts, two assessors were appointed for each ward to carry out the first distinctly local reassessment of property in 1834–1835.¹¹ Following a procedure that remained consistent throughout the period, all persons liable to taxation were directed to prepare itemized lists that detailed the value of their property. The ward assessors checked the accuracy of the statements and passed them on to a supervisory body known as the Commissioners of the Tax. In 1841 the General Assembly ordered the city's twelve wards to be divided into six assessment districts as part of a comprehensive revaluation of property in the state. Three assessors were assigned to each district. The Appeal Tax Court of Baltimore was established to receive the assessor's reports and to act as a board of review.¹²

Six additional property reassessments were held in Baltimore between 1842 and 1896, and each was conducted in similar fashion as the 1841 revaluation. Baltimore was authorized by the state in 1845 to organize and conduct a

local property reassessment. The following year, five districts composed of four wards apiece were established; the mayor appointed three assessors for each district along with a five-member board review.¹³ In 1852 the General Assembly divided the twenty wards into ten districts as part of a general reassessment of property in the state. Three assessors for each district were appointed by the Governor with the Appeal Tax Court serving as a board of review.¹⁴ For the 1858 local revaluation, ten two-ward districts were created, each managed by three assessors appointed by the Mayor.¹⁵

Five assessment districts of four wards each were created for the 1866 state revaluation. Each district had three resident assessors and three resident members of a board of review.¹⁶ In 1876, another state reassessment was held with three assessors assigned to each ward. For every five wards the Governor appointed a board of review. The Appeal Tax Court was charged with general supervision of the operation.¹⁷ One assessor was delegated for every election precinct and each ward constituted a taxation district for the 1896 state revaluation. Coordination of the effort rested with six separate boards of review assigned to ward groupings.¹⁸

Apart from taxation and politics, wards served other administrative uses as well. A state law in 1818 provided for the appointment of at least one and not more than two individuals to serve as "justices of the Peace of the State of Maryland in and for the city of Baltimore." This act allowed the settlement of summonses by either the issuing Justice or by one from the defendant's ward of residence; the same option held for trial procedures.¹⁹ The method of Justice of the Peace distribution was changed in 1886. While each ward continued to have at least one Justice, specified numbers of at-large Justices were allowed for each of the city's three legislative districts and for the city as a whole. This approach has basically remained unchanged up to the present.²⁰

A city ordinance established a "house of Industry" in 1817 to allow the poor to work for their own relief. The Mayor and two appointees from each ward formed a board of trustees and supervised the enterprise.²¹ A similar organization was formed in 1818 to oversee the problems of Baltimore's poor in a broader, more realistic fashion. One "sensible and discrete" person was appointed from each ward to serve as a Manager of the Poor. A manager was empowered to direct to the county (later city) almshouse "any indigent sick or disabled person, infant or idiot, of the . . . ward for which he shall be appointed."²² Ward Managers of the Poor continued to function for the remainder of the nineteenth century.

Residents of Baltimore's wards often demonstrated a closeknit sense of community, especially when faced with common problems. For twenty years after incorporation, a high incidence of crime motivated ward residents to form voluntary dusk-to-dawn street patrols. The original system of watchmen, and later ward constables, proved so inadequate to subdue crime that a number of ward meetings were held in April, 1801, concerning the problem. Ward representatives were delegated to call upon various city officials to press for reorganization and expansion of police services. Little came of this effort, and in 1816 another series of ward meetings agitated for action. The city govern-

ment responded by reconstituting the watch into a corps of thirty-four men charged with preserving order and lighting the streets. Ward residents continued to complain of insufficient police services until the complete reorganization of the department in 1856.²³

Ward inhabitants energetically advocated a public school system in the mid-1820s. City-wide ward meetings discussed the issue, and in January of 1825, ward delegates formed a committee on education. This committee circulated a petition calling for a firm commitment by the city government to institute and maintain a system of public education. Another series of ward meetings held in September, 1825, served notice that political candidates on the state and local level must approve of a public school establishment to receive election support. The General Assembly, suitably impressed, provided in 1826 for the creation of publically funded schools in Baltimore.²⁴ Recognizing the importance of ward involvement in public education, the 1846 City Council authorized election of one School Commissioner per ward. Ward representation on the School Board was abolished by the 1898 charter in favor of nine at-large mayoral appointees.²⁵

Prevention of disease actively concerned Baltimore residents throughout the nineteenth century. One significant result of this effort was the formation in 1812 of the Baltimore Jennerian Society, founded to curtail smallpox by sponsoring vaccination programs among the city's poor. The Society organized itself into ward committees led by prominent citizens.²⁶ Lack of funding hampered these efforts, and in 1821 the city assumed the task of vaccination by dividing the wards into six districts, each of which was supervised by a vaccination physician. The program expanded in 1846 when an ordinance authorized the appointment of a vaccination physician for each ward. The appointee was required to reside within the ward he served and he was to systematically visit each dwelling in his ward for vaccination purposes. Later designated as health wardens, vaccination physicians were authorized to oversee ward health until the mid-1940s.²⁷

Wards were instrumental in activities ranging beyond official city functions. The severe winter of 1803-04 led Mayor Calhoun to appoint a person from each ward to solicit donations for those suffering from the elements.²⁸ A convention attended by ward delegates met in 1813 to organize a municipal loan for fortification of the city against British attack.²⁹ In March, 1826, a ward-by-ward collection was taken up to defray the costs of Thomas Jefferson's funeral.³⁰ Political parties depended greatly on their ward organizations to produce contributions along with votes, and ward political affiliations were often crucial for those seeking city favors.³¹

Chronology of Baltimore Ward Changes, 1797-1918

Date	Alteration	Authority
1797	Original division of city into 8 wards.	Act of Incorporation, sec. I; for boundaries, see J. Thomas Scharf, <i>Chronicles of Baltimore</i> , p. 280-81.
1802	Boundaries of the 8 wards changed.	<i>Ordinances</i> , 1802, No. 35.

1817	Addition of 3 wards to form total of 11.	<i>Ordinances</i> , 1817, No. 40.
1818	Wards reorganized into 12 units.	<i>Ordinances</i> , 1818, No. 16.
1831	Boundaries of the 12 wards changed.	<i>Ordinances</i> , 1831, No. 270.
1841	Formation of 14 wards.	<i>Ordinances</i> , 1841, No. 14.
1845	Wards reorganized into 20 units.	<i>Laws of Maryland</i> , 1845, ch. 282; for boundaries see Mayor's Record Books, vol. 1, pp. 71-75, RG 9, Baltimore City Archives.
1860	Boundaries of the 20 wards changed; creation of election precincts.	<i>Ordinances</i> , 1860, No. 79.
1882	Boundaries of the 20 wards changed.	<i>Ordinances</i> , 1882, No. 36.
1888	Addition of 2 wards to form total of 22.	<i>Ordinances</i> , 1888, No. 92.
1890	Boundaries of wards 9, 11, 12, and 20 changed.	<i>Laws of Maryland</i> , 1890, ch. 186.
1898	Wards are reorganized into 24 units.	<i>Laws of Maryland</i> , 1898, ch. 10.
1901	All 24 wards renumbered.	<i>Laws of Maryland</i> , 1901, ch. 8.
1918	Addition of 4 wards to form total of 28.	<i>Laws of Maryland</i> , 1918, ch. 82.

Checklist of Baltimore Ward Maps, 1822-1978

Under the Location column, the following symbols are used to indicate where individual maps are found:

<i>MHS</i> : Prints and Photographs Division Maryland Historical Society 201 West Monument Street Baltimore, Md. 21201	<i>EPCL</i> : Maryland Department Enoch Pratt Free Library 400 Cathedral Street Baltimore, Md. 21201
<i>UMCP</i> : Maryland Room McKeldin Library University of Maryland College Park, Md. 20742	<i>JHUL</i> : Milton S. Eisenhower Library Johns Hopkins University Homewood Campus Baltimore, Md. 21218
<i>LRRM</i> : Department of Legislative Reference Records Management Division Baltimore City Archives 211 East Pleasant Street Baltimore, Md. 21202	<i>LC</i> : Geography and Map Division Library of Congress Washington, D.C. 20540
<i>DLRL</i> : Department of Legislative Reference, 100 North Holliday Street Baltimore, Md. 21202	

Listed under the Notes column, the following symbols provide additional description for individual maps:

- B*: Streets named only where they figure in the various district boundries.
CoD: Councilmanic districts indicated.
E: Election precincts indicated.
I: Street names indexed.
LgD: Legislative districts indicated.
P: Peripheries of city excluded.
X: Ward numbers only, no boundaries indicated.

Date	Location	Author/Publisher	Size	Notes
1822	MHS	Lewis Brant/ Fielding Lucas, Jr.	8" × 12"	12 wards. I/X; references to fire companies provided.
1830	MHS	R. J. Matchett	8½" × 13½"	12 wards. I/P.
1831	EPCL	R. J. Matchett	8½" × 13½"	12 wards. I.
1833	MHS; EPCL	R. J. Matchett	8½" × 13½"	12 wards.
1836	LC	Fielding Lucas, Jr.	21 × 27	12 wards. I.
1838	MHS	T. G. Bradford	11¼" × 14"	12 wards.
1841	MHS	Fielding Lucas, Jr.	21½" × 26½"	14 wards.
1842	MHS; EPCL	R. J. Matchett	9¼" × 15½"	14 wards. P.
1845	EPCL	Murphy's Baltimore Directory	9½" × 12½"	14 wards. P.
1845	MHS; LC	Fielding Lucas, Jr.	20¼" × 16¼"	20 wards. I/P/X. 2 pieces ea.
1849	EPCL	R. J. Matchett	12" × 13½"	20 wards. P.
1852	EPCL	R. J. Matchett	13¼" × 17½"	20 wards.
1852	MHS	A. Hoen & Co./ R. J. Matchett	13" × 13½"	20 wards. One inch right side missing.
1853	MHS	Isaac Simmons	17" × 20½"	20 wards.
1855	EPCL	R. J. Matchett	13¼" × 17¼"	20 wards. I.
1855	MHS	G. W. & C. B. Colton	11¼" × 14"	20 wards.
1856	MHS; EPCL	John W. Woods	13" × 17½"	20 wards. I.
1858	EPCL	John W. Woods	13" × 18"	20 wards. I.
1860	EPCL	John W. Woods	13" × 18"	20 wards. I/X.
1863-64	MHS	John W. Woods	13½" × 14½"	20 wards. E.
1865-66	EPCL	John W. Woods	14½" × 19½"	20 wards. E/I.
1870	MHS	John W. Woods	13¼" × 14½"	20 wards. E/I.
1872	MHS	F. Klemm	22½" × 25½"	20 wards.
1872	EPCL	John W. Woods	13¼" × 14½"	20 wards. E/I.
1873	MHS	F. Klemm	22½" × 25½"	20 wards. X.
1873	EPCL	John W. Woods	13¼" × 14½"	20 wards. E/I.
1874	MHS; EPCL	John W. Woods	13¼" × 14½"	20 wards. E/I.
1875	EPCL	John W. Woods	13¼" × 14½"	20 wards. E/I.
1876	EPCL; UMCP	John W. Woods	13¼" × 14½"	20 wards. E/I.
1876	LC	Wm. Sides/ Murphy & Co.	14½" × 21"	20 wards. E/I.
1877	EPCL	John W. Woods	13¼" × 14½"	20 wards. E/I.
1878	EPCL	John W. Woods	13¼" × 14½"	20 wards. E/I.
1879	EPCL	John W. Woods	13¼" × 14½"	20 wards. E/I.
1880	MHS; EPCL; LC	John W. Woods	14½" × 20½"	20 wards. E/I.

Date	Location	Author/Publisher	Size	Notes
1881	MHS	John W. Woods	13¼" × 14½"	20 wards. E/I.
1882	MHS	A. S. Abell & Co.	21½" × 24½"	20 wards. E.
1885	MHS; EPCL	John W. Woods	21½" × 24½"	20 wards. E.
1886	MHS; EPCL	John W. Woods	21½" × 24½"	20 wards. E.
1887	LC; JHUL	R. L. Polk	21½" × 25"	20 wards. E.
1889	MHS (Main Library)	Isaac Friedenwald	Folio Volume	<i>Plats of the 21st and 22nd Wards of Baltimore City.</i> Numerous highly detailed plats. E.
1894	LC	[Wm. A.] Flamm	15" × 28" 2 pieces ea.	22 wards. I.
1896	MHS	George S. Bromley	Folio Volume	<i>Atlas of Baltimore City.</i> Individual maps of City's 22 wards.
1898	MHS; EPCL; JHUL	Not indicated	32" × 33½"	24 wards. CgD/LgD.
1899	MHS; JHUL	Not indicated	33" × 35"	24 wards. LgD.
1902	MHS; EPCL	J. W. Bond Co.	31½" × 33½"	24 wards. CoD/LgD.
1906	MHS; UMCP	[Wm. A.] Flamm	69" × 63½" 4 pieces total	24 wards.
ca. 1908	LRRM	Not indicated	Folio Volume	<i>Ward Maps of Baltimore City.</i> Individual maps of City's 24 wards; also map of City displaying boundaries of wards.
1909	UMCP	[Wm. A.] Flamm	69" × 63½" 4 pieces total	24 wards.
1910	EPCL	Not indicated	32" × 34"	24 wards.
1914	UMCP	Wm. A. Flamm	31" × 36" 4 pieces ea.	24 wards. I.
1918	MHS	Md. Geological Survey	18" × 23"	28 wards.
1919	MHS	[Wm. A.] Flamm/ Balt. News Co.	31" × 34" 4 pieces ea.	28 wards. I.
1920	EPCL	Not indicated.	27" × 32"	28 wards.
1924	EPCL	Not indicated	26½" × 34"	28 wards.
1927	MHS	Not indicated	36½" × 52"	28 wards. CoD.
1928	EPCL	Not indicated	26½" × 34"	28 wards.
1930	DLRL	Not indicated	27½" × 33½"	28 wards. CoD.
1938	EPCL	Bureau Vital Stat., Balt. Health Dept.	30" × 38" 4 pieces ea.	28 wards. B. Census tracts for 1930 are displayed.
1949	EPCL	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	34½" × 43½"	28 wards.
1949	UMCP	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	34½" × 43½"	28 wards. LgD.
1951	EPCL	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	17" × 22"	28 wards. B/CoD/E.
1954	EPCL	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	17" × 22"	28 wards. B/CoD/E.
1954	EPCL	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	17" × 22"	28 wards. B/CgD/E.
1954	EPCL	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	17" × 22"	28 wards. B/E/LgD.
1958	EPCL	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	17" × 22"	28 wards. B/CgD/E.

Date	Location	Author/Publisher	Size	Notes
1958	EPCL	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	17" x 22"	28 wards. B/E/LgD.
1963	EPCL	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	17" x 22"	28 wards. B/E/LgD.
1965	EPCL	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	17" x 22"	28 wards. B/E/LgD.
1965	UMCP	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	17" x 22"	28 wards. B/E.
1966	EPCL	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	17" x 22"	28 wards. B/E.
1967	EPCL	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	17" x 22"	28 wards. B/CoD/E.
1971	UMCP	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	17" x 22"	28 wards. B/E.
1972	UMCP	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	17" x 22"	28 wards. B/CgD/E.
1974	UMCP	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	17" x 22"	28 wards. B/CqD/E.
1974	UMCP	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	17" x 22"	28 wards. B/E/LgD.
1975	EPCL; UMCP	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	17" x 22"	28 wards. B/CgD/E.
1975	UMCP	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	17" x 22"	28 wards. B/CoD/E.
1975	UMCP	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	17" x 22"	28 wards. B/E/LgD.
1978	DLRL	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	17" x 22"	28 wards. B/CoD/E.
1978	DLRL	Board Supervisors Elections, Baltimore	17" x 22"	28 wards. B/E.

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1. Act of Incorporation, sec. 1.
2. *Ibid.*, sec. 2-6.
3. Thaddeus P. Thomas, *The City Government of Baltimore*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1896, pp. 22, 26-27.
4. *Laws of Maryland*, 1845, ch. 282.
5. *Ibid.*, 1860, ch. 9.
6. *Charter and Public Local Laws of Baltimore City*, Baltimore: King Brothers, 1938, sec. 768.
7. *Ibid.*, sec. 768. Legislative districts initially were created for Baltimore by the 1864 Maryland constitution. Prior to this point, a complex system involving quotas by population and electors were in force. See John H. Michener, "The History of Legislative Apportionment in Maryland," *Maryland Law Review* 25 (Winter 1965): 1-20 for a detailed treatment of the subject.
8. *Laws of Maryland*, 1902, ch. 136.
9. Jacob H. Hollander, *The Financial History of Baltimore*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1899, pp. 74-75.
10. *Laws of Maryland*, 1826, ch. 217.
11. Hollander, *Financial History*, pp. 140-41.
12. *Laws of Maryland*, 1841, ch. 23; *Ordinances and Resolutions of the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore*, 1841, No. 1.
13. *Ordinances*, 1846, No. 71.
14. *Laws of Maryland*, 1852, ch. 337.
15. *Ordinances*, 1858, No. 25.

16. *Laws of Maryland*, 1866, ch. 157.
17. *Ibid.*, 1876, ch. 260.
18. Hollander, *Financial History*, pp. 257-59.
19. *Laws of Maryland*, 1818, ch. 209.
20. *Ibid.*, 1886, ch. 66.
21. *Ordinances*, 1817, No. 19.
22. *Laws of Maryland*, 1818, ch. 122; *Public Local Laws of the City of Baltimore*, 1890, sec. 61-64.
23. Dennis Rankin Clark, "Baltimore, 1729-1829: The Genesis of a Community," Ph.D. dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1976, pp. 196-199.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 258, 262; *Laws of Maryland*, 1825, ch. 130, ch. 162.
25. *Ordinances*, 1828, No. 22; 1846, No. 1; 1898 charter, sec. 99.
26. Clark, "Baltimore, 1729-1829," p. 340.
27. *Ordinances*, 1821, Resolution of Dec. 17, 1821; 1846, No. 3; 1846-47, No. 567, No. 568.
28. Clark, "Baltimore; 1729-1829," pp. 309-310.
29. Hollander, *Financial History*, p. 90.
30. Clark, "Baltimore, 1729-1829," p. 323.
31. For abundant examples of the importance of ward politics see The Baltimore Mayoral Records, RG 9, Department of Legislative Reference, Records Management Division, Baltimore City Archives.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society. Edited by Thad W. Tate and David Ammerman. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1979. Pp. vii-310. \$26.00.)

If 1970 was important for books dealing with colonial New England, it seems that 1974 will come to be regarded as a notable year for Chesapeake history. Two historical conferences in 1974 have now yielded collections of essays. The publication reviewed here emanated from a two-day meeting in November, 1974 that was sponsored by the St. Mary's City Commission, the Department of History at the University of Maryland, College Park, and the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia. Instead of reprinting the proceedings of the conference, the editors have chosen to publish revised versions of some papers and to include others not delivered on that occasion in order to "recognize both the seminal importance of that gathering and the continuing development of scholarship on the Chesapeake as it grew out of the original sessions." (p. viii).

The volume opens with a useful historiographical essay by Thad W. Tate. Beginning with standard works of the last century, Tate surveys the literature on seventeenth-century Maryland and Virginia. With some notable exceptions, he finds few contributions in the 1950s, but a remarkable surge of research and publication after 1965. Reasons for the new interest include the use of fresh methodologies and the choice of dissertation topics in Chesapeake history by graduate students at several universities. Subsequent publications have tended to illuminate two themes in the seventeenth century. The first is the fragile nature of the society founded in the early years; the second concerns the shift toward a stable, self-sustaining population with slavery at one end of the social structure and a native-born elite at the other. Tate discusses the contributions of essays in this collection to the two themes, thereby providing a fitting introduction to the volume.

Essays on the unstable period of Chesapeake history, notably those by Carville V. Earle, Lorena S. Walsh, and Darrett and Anita Rutman, describe appallingly high rates of mortality among the settlers. Earle's essay—a new addition to the conference papers—uses a geographic model to help explain mortality patterns in Jamestown between 1607 and 1624. The mixing of fresh and salt water in the James River estuary kept the waters polluted during the summer and made the colonists prime targets for typhoid and dysentery. Thus, Earle concludes that disease more than starvation took a toll on the early settlers. In Walsh's study low life expectancy among parents and the isolation of immigrants from kin, together with other factors, made possible a degree of autonomy for young people more reminiscent of a modern than a traditional family system. Implications of parental death are explored by the Rutmans. They describe as normal the early death of a spouse, remarriages that mingled step-children in households, and the calamity of being left as orphans. Controversial as these findings seemed in 1974, they have now been substantiated to a point where they are almost unremarkable—a tribute to the pioneering efforts of the conference participants.

Concerning the late seventeenth-century transition toward a more stable but stratified society, Lois Green Carr and Russell R. Menard examine opportunity among former servants in Maryland. The authors find that the chances of making the leap

from freeman to freeholder diminished after 1680. Apparently, former servants then moved away from the densely settled areas to try their luck in the hinterlands, a pattern that may help explain the populating of less attractive areas of Surry County, Virginia after 1680, as described by Kevin P. Kelly. Thus, a debate over the political ramifications of a disappointed, landless, ex-servant population in the late seventeenth century seems to have been quieted by this evidence of relocation. But David W. Jordan traces the very slow process by which a native-born elite obtained control and brought political stability to Maryland politics.

The remaining essays establish the Anglo-American context for the seventeenth-century Chesapeake. James Horn's paper—a new addition to the set—looks at the indentured servant before he or she left England. Building on earlier work, Horn inquires about age, sex, occupation, and relative status of the servants. He also investigates the kinds of communities from which the emigrants came and speculates about why and how they left. Finally, Carole Shammas relies mostly on literacy evidence to reveal the self-perceptions of English-born and Creole elites in late seventeenth-century Virginia.

The nine essays in this excellent collection are uniformly valuable, interesting and well written. They certainly illustrate "the remarkable renaissance of interest in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake" referred to in the preface (p. vii) and they confirm its importance. While it is regrettable that the volume does not include studies of the black or Indian population, it is more than satisfying in other respects.

Hood College, Frederick

MARGARET W. MASSON

Jonathan Boucher, Loyalist in Exile. By Anne Y. Zimmer. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1978. Illustrations, index. Pp. 395. \$18.95.)

Readers interested in Maryland history and in the American Revolutionary era will be both pleased and disappointed by Anne Y. Zimmer's biography of the talented Anglican clergyman Jonathan Boucher. The book presents an interesting account of Boucher's tumultuous and harrowing encounters during the first half of the 1770s. Equally useful are Zimmer's discussions of the Maryland Vestry Act and the controversies that engulfed the colony's established clergy during the period. Although her conclusions are traditional in character and differ little from those of Charles Albro Barker, she provides the fullest treatment to date of these issues. Zimmer knows her subject well, and she relates her information in a clear and organized manner. Unfortunately her study is not particularly original and lacks an interpretive focus. Moreover, the author rarely explores the broader social questions raised by the confrontation between the established church and the rise of evangelical enthusiasm, a subject whose dimensions have attracted considerable attention as scholars continue to expand their interpretations of the political culture on the eve of the Revolution.

Of the volume's 330 pages of text the author devotes 124 to the years when Boucher resided in Maryland. The other sections of the book survey Boucher's youth in England; his career in Virginia as a schoolmaster, planter, and minister; and his experiences in England from his return in 1775 until his death in 1804. Again much of the material is interesting and well presented, although the author tends to accept literally and uncritically Boucher's personal writings as an accurate representation of the past. Boucher's determination to rise above the modest circumstances within which he was born is delineated clearly in the initial chapters. By age sixteen he had become qualified for the post of teacher and in 1759 at the age of twenty-one, determined to improve his

fortunes, he left England for a tutorial position in Virginia. Similarly, his decision to enter the clergy in 1762 was based more on the economic opportunities attached to the profession than upon any serious religious convictions. Boucher "seldom thought about God." The same motive led him to moderate success as a Virginia planter and to even more impressive accomplishments as a planter and cleric in Maryland. By virtue of his connections with Walter Dulany, Boucher acquired a post in the proprietary colony, and his flourishing friendship with Governor Robert Eden yielded appointments which promised even greater rewards. Although mounting tensions within Maryland and the Empire, including those involving the legality of the clergy's income, resulted in reducing ministers' salaries by one-half, Boucher's personal finances grew because of his income as a planter and the money and land he received in 1772 from the £2500 sterling dower of his bride Eleanor Addison. By 1775 Boucher estimated his holdings to be nearly £5000 sterling, most of which he lost when he fled the colony. Virtually impoverished upon his return to England he proceeded to accumulate property by his teaching, clerical appointments, subsequent marriages, investments, and writings so that he died in very prosperous circumstances.

As Zimmer reveals, Boucher was more than a man driven by ambition and ideals of financial well-being. He possessed considerable courage, believed absolutely in the principles of a "High Tory," and exhibited an active and wide ranging intellect. The author patiently catalogues the span of Boucher's thoughts on education, race, philosophy, theology, politics, and more. Much of this material is interesting though not the product of a superior mind, and Zimmer's conclusions about the character of Boucher's political thought apply to other categories as well: "...no biographer, however sympathetic can reasonably proclaim him to be a profound or creative political philosopher." This same judgement also applies to Zimmer's book. As was true of her subject, the volume is a professional work of considerable industry. Further, it is solid in content, conventional in format, and traditional in its depiction of the era. On occasion the study of an important secondary figure such as David May's biography of Edmund Pendleton offers substantial insights, but in this instance, both the subject and his biographer while expanding our understanding do not greatly extend it.

University of Maryland

RONALD HOFFMAN

Chesapeake Politics 1781-1800. By Norman K. Risjold. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978. Pp. xiii, 715. \$22.50.)

In *Chesapeake Politics* Norman Risjold attempts a lengthy and detailed analysis of politics and political divisions in the states of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina between 1781 and 1800. His thesis is that the debtor and creditor factions of the 1780s evolved, through the anti-federalists and federalists, into the Republican and Federalist parties of the 1790s. He argues that the first party system in the Chesapeake was the direct descendant of the political conflicts of the Confederation period. He sees clearly identifiable parties in the Chesapeake as early as 1784. These parties evolved in stages, from groups with a cohesion of 70 to 75 percent in their voting behavior through articulation of a clearly defined program to the marshalling of public support and the creation of a party apparatus. By the time the first Congress met under the Constitution the two parties were already in existence with constituencies who held substantially different opinions on economic and social issues.

Risjold's choice of the three Chesapeake states rests on their shared agricultural life, trade patterns, and social structure. He sees regional rivalries within these states as the major dynamic of local politics in the 1780s. These regional rivalries crossed state boundaries and helped to create the basis for national parties. The poorer western or frontier areas tended to be debtor and later anti-federalist and the wealthier eastern areas creditor and nationalist. Areas changed their political attitudes and allegiances as they became wealthier (from debtor to creditor/Federalist) or, after 1789, as national economic policies were perceived to have a negative impact (from Federalist to Republican).

As an index of wealth distribution and county economic growth or decline, Risjold used landownership and slaveholding drawn from surviving assessments and the 1790 census. The assessments presented difficulties. For example, some counties have incomplete returns but more than four Maryland counties have complete 1782 or 1783 tax lists (p. 579). Slaveholding as a criteria for wealth also created problems, particularly when transferred from one staple system to another. He claims Harford County's legislators were of "middling wealth" (p. 10); yet it can be argued that John Love with 864 acres and 10 slaves and Ignatius Wheeler, Jr., who owned 1,385 acres and 35 slaves were wealthy men even in comparison with tobacco planters in Maryland's lower western shore. Moreover, the assessment records slaveowners while the census includes householders who were only renting slaves. Deciles would be a more useful measure than slaveholdings in comparing wealth from region to region or state to state.

One of the strengths of *Chesapeake Politics* is Risjold's appreciation of regional geography and the effect of growing or declining wealth on political attitudes. Yet one could wish he had taken greater care with some of his details. By the 1780s Chestertown *did* have substantial brick dwellings (p. 11). The Patapsco was the southern boundary of Baltimore County, and a traveller who crossed that river going west was in Anne Arundel, *not* Baltimore County (p. 17). The Severn River was not and is not "ice free" (p. 18). These may seem minor points, but when errors of location get mixed up in political analysis they pose problems. The explanation why Charles Carroll stood for election from Anne Arundel County in 1787 and 1796 is that he was a resident of that county, not Prince George's as Risjold erroneously claims (p. 284). Thus Carroll's defeat in his home county by anti-federalists in 1787 takes on greater significance, particularly in light of his continued conflict with Samuel Chase. One cannot help but wonder if some of Risjold's information on Virginia and North Carolina is also incomplete or incorrect.

Approximately half the book deals with the politics of Virginia; Maryland and North Carolina make up the balance. In 1784 Maryland was the first Chesapeake state to move from the politics of personality to regional alliances based on economic issues. Risjold identifies two distinct parties whose regional pattern in the House of Delegates remained the same through ratification of the Constitution and the emergence of the Federalist and Republican parties. Maryland voters were issue oriented, particularly on questions of debtor relief. The creditor/nationalists were forced to organize in opposition to the wartime debtor majority. From the creditor/nationalists' state organizations came the movement to strengthen the powers of Congress, and finally the Constitution. Yet when it came to the Constitutional Convention the behavior of Maryland's creditor/nationalists appeared confused and contradictory. After the Constitution was ratified these creditor/nationalists became the Potomac party in local politics and then the Federalists. The Republicans sprang from the debtor party by way of the anti-federalists and the Chesapeake party.

Risjold sees the division between creditor/nationalist and debtor in most major state legislation. He also recognizes the presence of a third faction, the Chaseites (followers of Samuel Chase), who he sees as basically "creditor" except on the question of paper money. Here he interprets Chase and Charles Ridgely as voting debtor out of personal interest, yet notes Ridgely may also have been acting in his constituents' interest. Risjold has problems with Chase. He does not believe the well-known Chase-Carroll feud had any effect on political divisions in Maryland. Chase and his followers—anti-federalists who became Federalists in the 1790s—are difficult to assess. To describe the Chaseites behavior on ratification as an "aberration . . . dictated apparently by financial embarrassment" (p. 350) seems inadequate. This does not really explain why other anti-federalists, like Luther Martin and William Pinkney, became Federalists. In discussing the attributes of anti-federalists and Federalists Risjold dismisses the issue of indebtedness to the state for loyalist property, which seems to contradict his assertion that the Chaseites were anti-federalist out of self interest.

Having carried the debtor/anti-federalists and creditor/federalists through the ratification process, Risjold links them with the first party system. Regional alignments appear to bridge the gap; alterations are explained by increasing or declining prosperity. There are some difficulties, however, with local reactions to congressional policies. In western Maryland there was more than one "incidence of rebel sympathies" (p. 447) during the whiskey rebellion. Regional interests may in fact have been more important in the 1790s than Risjold seems willing to admit, and partisan alignments not as rigid as he believes. As far as party leadership is concerned, he fails to adequately explain the discontinuity. Perhaps the difficulty lies with assuming that every creditor/nationalist became a Federalist.

Chesapeake Politics will certainly make a contribution to the debate over the origins of the first party system. Risjold had made very important contributions to the understanding of the connection between regional economic development and political behavior. State politics in the Confederation period must be viewed as part of larger regional developments and economically influenced attitudes. But for Maryland, at least, his treatment of the evolution of the first party system raises more questions than he answers.

Catonsville Community College

BAYLY ELLEN MARKS

Town and County: Essays on the Structure of Local Government in the American Colonies. Edited by Bruce C. Daniels. (Middletown, Ct.: Wesleyan University Press, 1978. Preface, introduction, tables, notes, index. Pp. xiv, 279. \$20.00.)

The principal aim of this book is to build on the scholarship achieved by the late nineteenth-century Herbert Baxter Adams school of institutional history and link it with the new social history and its methods in order "to begin a reevaluation of colonial local government." The goal is promising but is realized in only a few of these essays. The collection includes a fine introduction by the editor and nine articles: two on New England, three on the Middle Colonies, and four on the South.

Daniel Konig's "English Legal Change and the Origins of Local Government in Northern Massachusetts" describes the English antecedents of local government in the seventeenth-century Bay Colony. Guided by European models, the Massachusetts settlers concentrated political power in the magistracy at the expense of the towns. As

institutions evolved, a ruling oligarchy increasingly controlled political offices, a pattern that most other colonies followed. Bruce Daniels's study of colonial Connecticut illustrates that the assembly and county court did not dominate all New England colonies. In contrast to Massachusetts where control was regionalist, Connecticut's towns continually grew in authority as the eighteenth century progressed. These local units expanded and multiplied until governmental power rested mainly in the town structure.

Nicholas Varga's "Development and Structure of Local Government in Colonial New York" argues that local government was adapted from English institutions and emerged out of the struggles for popular participation in governing the colony, which resulted in a decentralized authority rather than in an executive-oriented structure. Significantly, he finds widespread popular participation in government among the ordinary people. He does not, however, strictly define the loaded term "ordinary people." Wayne Brockelman's essay on Pennsylvania pinpoints the county as the dominant unit of local government, and describes the political power struggles for control among the Quaker and Proprietary parties. Because the county unit was the intermediary between local and provincial affairs, it assumed a significant governmental role as well as providing an avenue for widespread local participation in self-government. Judith Diamondstone's "The Government of Eighteenth Century Philadelphia" is an excellent analysis and description of the growth of the town corporation. In contrast to Brockelman's description of the composition of the Pennsylvania county unit, she finds a widening gap between the rulers and the ruled in Philadelphia which resulted in a small governing merchant elite losing all common interest with the local populace. The Philadelphia corporation was so weak, provided so few services, and allowed for the participation of such a small ruling class, that it was little missed after its demise in 1776.

Richard Waterhouse's article on South Carolina is one of the few essays in this collection to make effective use of quantitative methods in support of a thesis. Waterhouse points out that Charles Town completely dominated South Carolina life. Local governmental institutions such as the town meeting and county court were never firmly established, mainly because of the settlement patterns which resulted in a "proximity of most colonists to the capital city." Local institutions did exist, however, in the form of parish vestries and road commissions. He contends that the South Carolina elite dominated these bodies and substantiates his assertion by describing this elite through well-defined categories of wealth. William H. Seiler in "The Anglican Church: A Basic Institution of Local Government in Colonial Virginia" discusses the multitude of duties and responsibilities assumed by the parish vestry in the absence of a resident bishop. The vestries, as most other institutions discussed in these essays, were dominated by an interrelated network of social, economic, and intellectual elites that maintained control over several aspects of colonial Virginia life until the county courts assumed more local authority in the quarter century before the American Revolution. In the mainly descriptive article "The County Court in Colonial Virginia," Robert Wheeler traces the evolution of the colony court. Wheeler perceives the magistracy's assumption of additional duties in the eighteenth century as causing a decline in the popularity of the post, which in turn broadened the basis of selection of officers. Consequently, Virginia's local government became more popular than elitist, although the validity of this conclusion is not demonstrated by any typology of local leadership.

Of special interest to readers of this magazine is Lois Green Carr's fine article "The Foundations of Social Order: Local Government in Colonial Maryland." Maryland's government had much in common with the other American colonies. For instance, the

magistracy dominated local government, and county justices controlled most of the administrative functions as well as having legislative power. Indeed, the justices had exceptional authority over individuals owing to the concentration of executive, judicial, and legislative powers in their offices. One of the most striking characteristics of seventeenth-century local government, as Carr points out, was the widespread participation of the landholding populace in governmental functions. It was this element of the political process that enabled officeholders to identify their own interest with that of the public. The eighteenth century brought changes, however. Prior to 1710 most justices were foreign-born immigrants. After this date the character of local leadership changed as power increasingly became concentrated in a native-born group of elites that controlled the majority of political offices. The gap widened between the rulers and the ruled, a phenomenon which resulted in class based friction or, as Carr states, "The growth of political consciousness accompanied diminished opportunity for self-made men in a society increasingly based on deference." Dr. Carr also provides a reinterpretation of the role of the vestries in the power structure of colonial Maryland. Although the vestries performed essential functions, had taxing powers, and acted as overseers in some matters of morality, Carr finds little evidence that Maryland inhabitants highly regarded the position of vestryman, and hence it was of minimal political value. She succinctly summarizes her essay by describing how the structure of county government, firmly fixed in the eighteenth century, endured with few modifications until the mid-twentieth century.

A major shortcoming of these essays is the lack of well-defined categories of interpretation used in the authors' discourses on local government. Although this weakness is to be expected in a collection written by many hands, it does raise pertinent questions about the analysis of the data, especially concerning the pervading question of "elite" dominance of local institutions. It is evident that in most colonies, officeholders were from a select group—few non-elite elements appear in the structure of local government. But we can ask the authors to define this special class. What were the social, economic, and intellectual qualifications for participation? In sum, the successful use of such key terms as "elite" is only partially realized in these essays.

Whatever its weaknesses, this is a fairly good collection of essays, one that provides a summary of the existing knowledge on colonial government, poses new questions, and breaks some fresh ground.

Maryland Historical Society

LARRY E. SULLIVAN

NEWS AND NOTICES

Baltimore History Research Group

The Baltimore History Research Group is establishing an information network for scholars doing research on or interested in the history of Baltimore. The group plans conferences, workshops, and lectures on the history of the city and promotes the exchange of information between researchers of Baltimore's history. Interested persons should contact Dean R. Esslinger, Department of History, Towson State University, Baltimore, Maryland 21204.

Steppingstone Museum

Steppingstone Museum, a unique farm museum in Harford County, representing rural Americana of the past century, is open Saturday, Sunday and Holidays, May 3 through September 28. A stone mansion furnished as a country home in the period of 1880-1910 and buildings containing shops with tools and equipment of the old-time craftsmen of the same era such as cooper, wood-worker, tinsmith, blacksmith and others depict how our forefathers lived and worked.

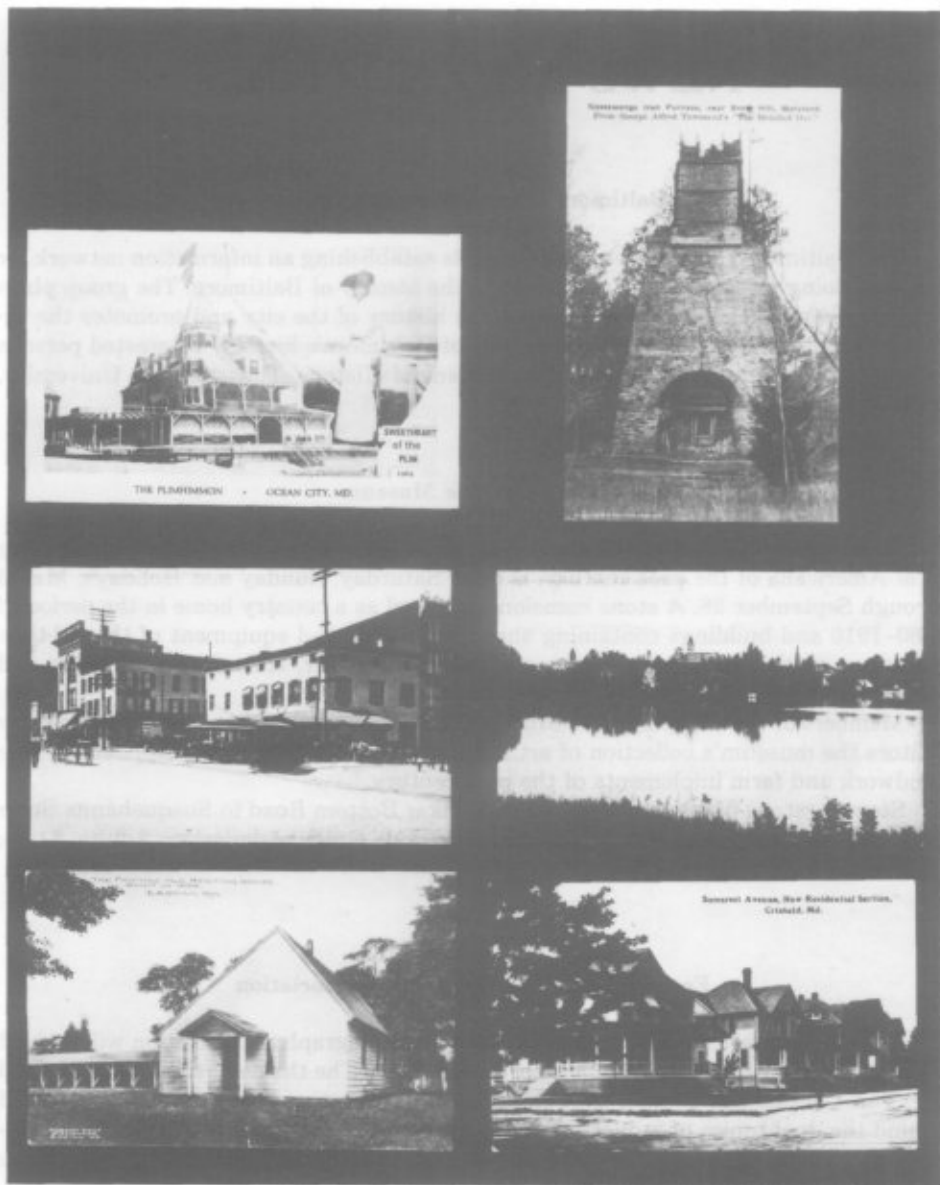
Members of the Steppingstone Museum Association are on hand as guides to show visitors the museum's collection of artifacts, craftsmen's tools, home appliances, fine handwork and farm implements of the past century.

Steppingstone Museum is located on Quaker Bottom Road in Susquehanna State Park off Maryland route 155 or I-95, near Havre de Grace. Admission: Adults, \$1.00; Children 25¢.

Eastern Historical Geography Association

The annual meeting of the Eastern Historical Geography Association will be held at the University of Baltimore, October 16-18, 1980. The theme of the conference will be "The Chesapeake Region in Comparative Perspective," and will be organized around the dual topics of industrialization in the nineteenth-century city, using Baltimore as the local example, and the persistence of regional identity as found in the Chesapeake Region. The conference is free and open to the public.

COUNTIES IN POSTCARDS

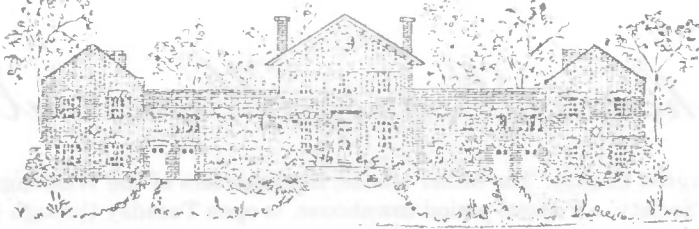


This final selection representing Maryland counties illustrates again the postcard's value in documenting the past. *Top:* Worcester County, Plimhimmon Hotel, Ocean City, ca. 1904; Worcester County, Nassawango Iron Furnace, ca. 1910. *2nd row:* Washington County, Public Square, Hagerstown, ca. 1905; Wicomico County, Humphries' Lake, Salisbury, ca. 1915. *3rd row:* Talbot County, Friends' Old Meeting House, Easton, ca. 1915; Somerset County, Somerset Avenue, Crisfield, ca. 1910.

COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY HAPPENINGS

Somerset County Historical Society

Teackle Mansion 1801 ~ Princess Anne, Maryland 21853



Somerset County: The Somerset County Historical Society's January meeting was well-attended. Following an election of directors and officers for the coming year, members enjoyed a slide presentation given by Mr. Robert Withey on Bounds Lott, his eighteenth-century home. The Society's April dinner meeting featured a talk entitled "In Pursuit of Preservation" by Mrs. J. M. P. Wright, Chairperson of the Board of Historic Annapolis, Inc.

A current SCHS project is the planned restoration of a damaged oil portrait of Elizabeth Tyndall Hall (1804-1870), to serve as a memorial to Ruth DeShields Brittingham, first curator of the SCHS. Contributions toward the cost of the project are solicited.



Talbot County: Exhibits have opened the Talbot County Historical Society's new Museum in Easton. Attendance topped 10,500 for the first three shows: *Forge & Anvil*, the works of master artisan Carroll Elder; *Fowling in the Marshes*, a history of waterfowling since the time of the Egyptians; and *Wining & Dining with the Decorative Arts*, tracing social customs of entertaining from the 17th through the 19th centuries. *Talbot's Hidden Heritage*, the current exhibit which continues through Aug. 10th, features the Lloyd, Tilghman, Goldsborough and other estates that have remained in Talbot families for over 200 years. There

are graphics of famed estates that have been lost, and "how-to" before and after examples of houses that were derelict and have been restored.

Eighty volunteers participating in a new Docents' program attended a 12-session orientation program in area history and the decorative arts. The Docents serve as guides for the exhibits, operate a Museum Shop, are cataloging the Society's collection under professional guidance, and doing document research on the history of the Society's first building, an early Federal period brick town house. A Docents' committee

has organized a children's program, including hands-on exhibits and demonstrations of colonial crafts. Walking tours of Easton's Historic District are being started this Spring. Museum hours are Tuesdays through Saturdays, 10 a.m. to 4 p.m., Sundays, 1 to 4 p.m. Special group tours are offered by appointment.

Washington County Historical Society

Washington County: The Miller House, headquarters of the Washington County Historical Society, a Federal period townhouse, is open Tuesday through Friday 1-4 P.M. and Saturday and Sunday 2-5 P.M. from March through December. The House contains a large collection of clocks, dolls, a C&O Canal exhibit and many pieces of period furniture. Our Beaver Creek School-Museum is a Turn of the Century school house and is opened May through October on Sundays 2-5 P.M.

The Valley Store Museum c. 1850-1900 is located in City Park and is a store museum with artifacts from the above period. This museum is opened July and August.

The annual meeting is held the 4th Thursday in October each year and the Society also sponsors 3 lectures in the late Winter and Spring of each year. The Miller House also features an "Old Fashioned Christmas" each year during the last two weeks of December.

The Society's library is opened Mondays from 9 A.M. to Noon and 1:30 P.M. to 4 P.M. The library contains local history and genealogical data.



Poplar Hill Mansion

Wicomico County: Nutter's Election House Political Museum on North Division Street, Fruitland, Maryland will be dedicated in April and will be open weekends during the Spring and Summer. The collection contains political memorabilia from local, state and national elections. The Rockawalkin School House was open during National Education Week for a three day "teach-in" with multiple grade classes conducted in costume. Our slide collection of Delmarva postcard views is growing rapidly. We are hoping to put on programs for local groups in or out of Wicomico upon request. We solicit the loan of more cards to be photographed and returned. A Valentine's Cocktail Party

was held February 16th at Poplar Hill Mansion. The annual dinner meeting took place March 10th at Asbury Church, Salisbury, Maryland.

Worcester County: The focal point of historic interest in Worcester County is the Julia A. Purnell Museum located on 208 West Market Street in Snow Hill. The Museum was renovated in 1978 by local volunteers and now this fascinating collection of early American antiques is open to the public on a year round basis Monday-Friday 9-5 & weekends from 1-5 p.m.

Early farm tools and kitchen equipment, lamps, spinning wheels, antique toys, local Indian artifacts are just some of the items in the permanent collection. Temporary exhibits and constant expansion make the Museum worthy of frequent visits.

In the summer the Purnell Museum offers a complete day tour of historic Snow Hill. The bus leaves 22nd street in Ocean City at 10:00 a.m. on Thursdays and travels to Snow Hill. Once into town the group is shown the Purnell Museum, a restored one-room school house, lunch at the local Country Club, a visit to the Nassawango Iron Furnace, and a leisurely boat ride down the Pocomoke River. We return to Ocean City at 4:30 p.m. For more information about historic Worcester County contact Wayne Pryor, Curator, Julia A. Purnell Museum.



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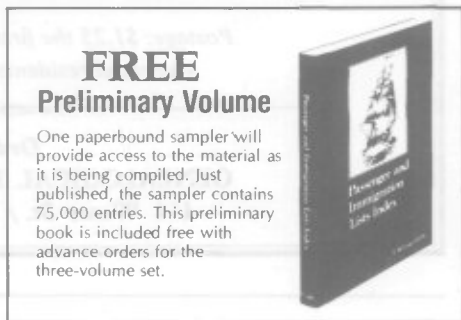
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Edited by P. William Filby, formerly Director of the Maryland Historical Society, with Mary K. Meyer, Genealogical Librarian of the Maryland Historical Society. To be published by Gale Research Co., 1980. \$180.00/set.

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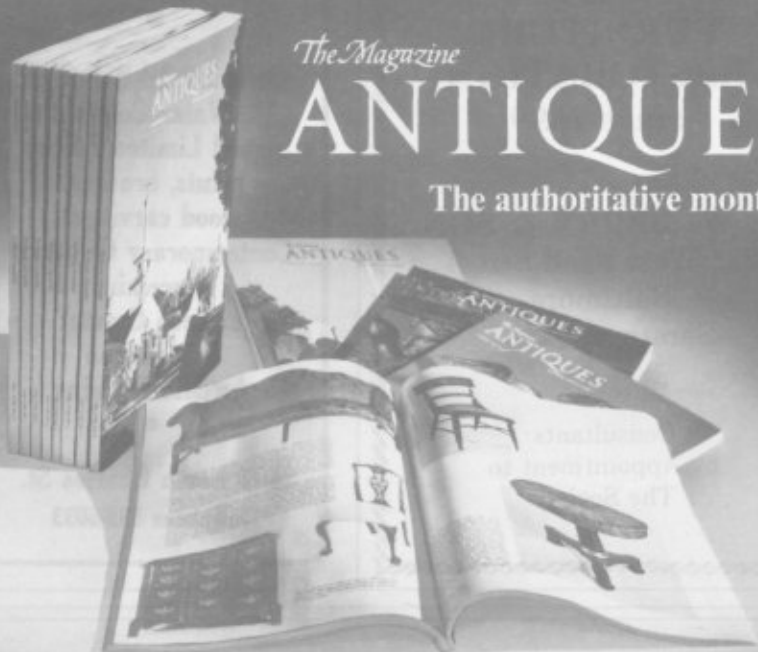
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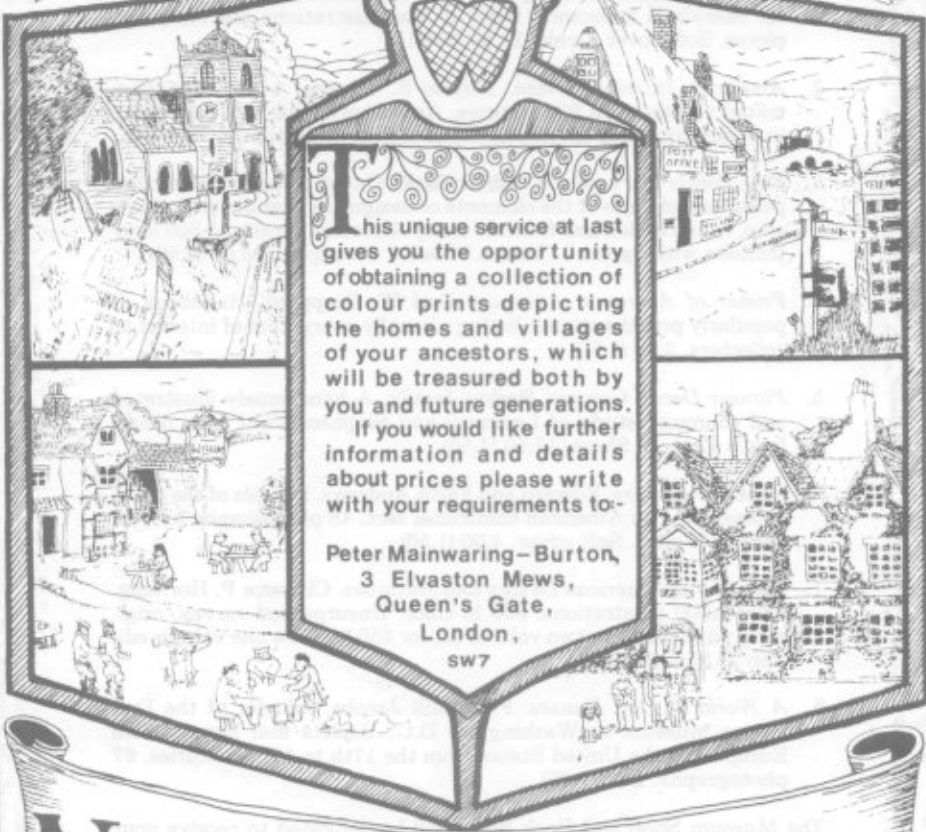
MARYLAND HERITAGE
Five Baltimore Institutions Celebrate
the
AMERICAN BICENTENNIAL

Ed. by John B. Boles

In 1976 the Baltimore Museum of Art, the Maryland Academy of Sciences, the Maryland Historical Society, the Peale Museum, and the Walters Art Gallery joined together to produce a major bicentennial exhibition. This handsome catalogue, consisting of five essays and approximately 300 illustrations, is more than a guide to that joint exhibition. It is also a significant contribution to the cultural history of the state. Pp. xiv, 253. Available at the various institutions, \$7.50 (paper), \$15.00 (cloth), plus tax.

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Numquam non paratus

NEW BOOKS AVAILABLE AT
**The Museum Shop and Book Store
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2. *American Interior Design*. Meyric R. Rogers. A superbly illustrated volume with 235 pictures. An authoritative text describing the traditions and developments of Domestic Design. 6.98 (1.50)
3. *Fine Points of Furniture*. Albert Sack. Thorough analysis through pictures and texts of the elements of design, decoration, craftsmanship, construction and finish of Early American furniture. 800 illustrations with "good," "better," "best" description. 5.98 (1.50)
4. *Primer of American Antiques*. Carl W. Drepperd. Handbook of popularly priced antiques listing virtually every item of interest to collectors. 3.98 (1.50)
5. *Pioneer Decoy Carvers*. Berkey family. A handsomely illustrated and thorough study of Lemmuel and Stephen Ward from Maryland's Eastern Shore. 17.50 (1.50)
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7. *Treasury of American Design and Antiques*. Clarence P. Hornung. Over 2,900 illustrations, 850 in color. Unsurpassed survey, originally published as a two volume set for \$50.00. New one volume edition 24.95 (3.00)
8. *A World of Doll Houses*. Flora Gill Jacobs, founder of the Doll House Museum in Washington, D.C., depicts doll houses from Europe and the United States from the 17th to 19th centuries. 67 photographs. 2.98 (1.00)

The Museum Shop and Book Store will be delighted to receive your mail orders. Please make checks payable to the Maryland Historical Society. Maryland Historical Society members may deduct 10%. Postage and handling is in parentheses following book price. All Maryland residents must add 5% sales tax.

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**COUNTY HAPPENINGS AT THE
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Sunday, September 28, 1980

**Cecil County Historical Society's
Celebration of the 200th birth-
day of Rodgers Tavern**

Exhibit and Reception at the
Maryland Historical Society
201 West Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Sunday, October, 19, 1980

**Talbot County Historical
Society's "Hidden Heritage"**

Exhibit and Reception at the
Maryland Historical Society
201 West Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Watch for details and times in *News & Notes* September/October issue
For more information: 685-3750 ext. 54

GENEALOGICAL RESEARCH OFFERED

For some time now, the Maryland Historical Society has offered genealogical research on a limited basis. For \$15.00 per hour, a staff member, well-versed in research methods and familiar with the Library's extensive genealogical holdings, will attempt to locate information on individuals and families from the recent as well as the distant past. The research, however, is confined to the Society's Library.

This service is by no means available only to Marylanders. Many of our requests come from out-of-staters with Maryland roots; and since the Library's collections include source records and published family histories from other states, we are able to accommodate clients whose families originated elsewhere.

One bit of advice to potential customers: please be as specific as possible in your request. A more successful research is done for the person who asks for the names, say, of the parents of John Smith, born circa 1750 in Harford County, than for the one who simply wants information on a family named Smith living in Maryland in the 18th century.

We cannot, of course, guarantee 100% success, and we do not often find "that famous ancestor," but we have received many, many letters of thanks from clients who have been able to fill in blank spaces on their family charts as a result of our work. And there are those who are so happy with what we have found that they have written back asking us to continue for another hour, sometimes two or three.

Your check for \$15.00 authorizes us to begin the search. Since this has become an extremely popular feature, we hope you will wait patiently for the results.

For more information, contact Gary Parks at the Maryland Historical Society.