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Captain John Daniel Danels
c.1783–1855

By Robert Street (1796–1855)

Signed and dated, 1822. Oil on canvas.

Purchase of the Stiles E. Tuttle Memorial Trust, 76.57.1

Reluctant to give up the lucrative profits of privateering at the close of the War of 1812, several Baltimore captains enlisted their skills in the South American wars of independence. The most notorious, Captain John Daniel Danels of Fells Point, provided three Baltimore-built ships for the Colombian Revolution of 1818, and later served in that country's navy until 1845. He is shown here wearing the ceremonial dress sword of the Colombian Navy.

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REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

During the past fiscal year the Maryland Historical Society has continued, with a steady forward momentum, to build its infrastructure in order to bring in-depth programs from its collections to the members of the Society and the Maryland general public. Conducive to our financial well-being and the numerous educational thrusts made possible by our extensive and varied Maryland historical memorabilia, has been the dedication and team work of our President, Director, and versatile staff.

It is pleasing to report that the Society is operating within budget, closely supervised by our Administrative Director. Curatorial and staff efforts have produced in quick succession dramatic exhibitions on furniture, Maryland maritime history, prints, and silver, as well as introducing for the first time a Maryland Sporting Arts Collection (DeWitt Sage Sporting Library, paintings and memorabilia on Marylanders engaging in traditional amateur Maryland sporting activities such as waterfowling, upland shooting, fox hunting, racing, etc.).

Finally I am pleased to report that our endowment campaign has reached its four million dollar goal. All of the above would have been impossible without the loyal support and intelligent guidance of our volunteer committees to have the responsibility for supervising the many facets in the Museum and Library of Maryland History, The Maryland Historical Society.

J. FIFE SYMINGTON, JR.
Chairman of the Board of Trustees



J. Fife Symington, Jr.
Chairman of the Board of Trustees, 1978-1985

DIRECTOR'S REPORT

Fiscal year 1984-85 was one of change for the Maryland Historical Society. Three new people had assumed key positions in June of 1984. Barbara W. Sarudy became the Administrative Director, Elizabeth McP. Morgan took over as Director of Development, and I began as Acting Director. In a short time the Society's experienced staff was working with the newcomers. Romaine Somerville, on her retirement, had left a solid organization in place and thus made the transition comparatively simple. Barbara Sarudy and I were indeed fortunate to have Gaye-Lynn Kline as our Administrative Assistant. Gaye-Lynn did a marvelous job in bringing order out of chaos in our always hectic administrative offices. The Society's officers, Board, and Committee Chairmen provided valuable advice and complete cooperation during the change over. President and Chief Executive Officer, Brian B. Topping and Chairman of the Board of Trustees, J. Fife Symington, Jr. were particularly helpful and throughout the year were involved with the Society's affairs on a day to day basis.

The most immediate problem was our budget. The prior fiscal year had ended with a pronounced deficit. Through a series of carefully planned moves Mrs. Sarudy turned things around and this year ended, as you will note, with a positive balance. The savings realized during Fiscal 1984-1985 enabled us to clear a number of deficits in special funds. The Annual Giving Campaign mounted by Director of Development Elizabeth Morgan was a success, thus contributing to the year's good financial results.

There were numerous changes and accomplishments during the year, many of them implemented by Mrs. Sarudy. A mere listing of these steps indicates the breadth of the administrative sweep. In no special order, the following measures were taken:

A new employees' benefits package was adopted.

A new computer system was purchased.

A new phone system was installed.

A major part of the air conditioning system was replaced.

New guidelines for temperature and humidity control were adopted.

New job descriptions were written for the staff.

A new purchase and inventory system for supplies was introduced.

A number of special events were held, including an Auction, the Seventh Annual Maryland Antiques Show and Sale, and an outstanding seminar on "Gardening in Early Maryland." Work continued on a new, comprehensive "History of Maryland" which will be published under the auspices of the Society with a grant from Robert G. Merrick.

The Library had a busy and productive year. Under the supervision of Head Librarian William B. Keller, the Jack and Arabella Symington Memorial Library for the Sporting Arts was installed in its own quarters on the second floor. This splendid new addition to the Society's holdings was designed by the noted Baltimore architect Charles M. Nes, Jr. Chief Curator Stiles T. Colwill hung the paintings in the Symington Library and provided expert advice on many aspects of the installation.

The Library achieved a major technological advance in adopting and becoming part of the Online Computer Library Center, Inc. (OCLC) system. This sophisticated system should speed up cataloging and enable our reference librarians to devote more time to our Library's users.

The Library mounted a number of special exhibitions including "Colorful Pastimes," a selection of prints from the Robert G. Merrick Collection. There also was an exhibition to celebrate the 105th anniversary of H. L. Mencken's birth and a special exhibition of rare Maryland materials pertaining to Liberian settlement presented in connection with Black History Month. Also, the Library initiated a program of weekly Saturday talks designed to familiarize the public with the various functions and collections of our Library.

During the year the Library received many gifts of books, manuscripts, prints and photographs. Especially important was a donation of a complete collection of Federal Migratory Bird Hunting Permit Stamps and accompanying prints. This collection was presented to the Society by Mrs. Fenwick Keyser in memory of her husband.

In June of 1985 William Keller left the Society and Karen Stuart was appointed Acting Head Librarian.

The Gallery, under the excellent leadership of Chief Curator Stiles T. Colwill, had a banner year. Major acquisitions included portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Richard Lawson by Charles Peale Polk, purchased on behalf of the Abrams Memorial Fund. These splendid oil paintings are of added interest as Lawson was a Baltimore cabinetmaker. Also purchased was a large oil painting of "Duck Hunting On The Susquehanna Flats." A rare labeled John Needles cellarette was added to the



George M. Radcliffe, Chairman of the Maritime Committee, Dr. Mary Ellen Hayward, Curator of the Maritime Museum, and Director J. Jefferson Miller II at the opening of the reinstated exhibit, "Maryland's Maritime Heritage."

collections through the Mary Washington Newhall Memorial Purchase Fund. A recently purchased silver epergne/candelabrum is perhaps the single most expensive piece ever made by the Baltimore silversmith A.E. Warner, and was obtained through various purchase funds. Gifts to the Society included: a portrait of Joseph Haskins by St. Memin, given by Mr. William Downes; a tassel inlaid Federal Baltimore sideboard, given by Judge & Mrs. William Evans; the 1833 portrait of Governor Thomas Swann by Henry Inman, given by Mr. Sherlock Gillet. An extremely important donation of Maryland silver and accompanying manuscript material was received during the year. This gift included 42 pieces of silver given by the Kirk Museum Foundation and a large number of account books, design drawings, and other records of the Kirk Silver Company dating from the early 19th century to the early 20th century, given by the Kirk-Stieff Company.

A number of special exhibitions were held. One of the most important shows the Society has presented in recent years was "Masterpieces of Maryland Furniture 1770-1870." Accompanying this exhibition was a splendid scholarly catalog written by the Society's Associate Curator, Gregory Weidman, who also supervised the installation of the special exhibition.

Another important exhibition was "The Watercolors of Benjamin H. Latrobe," mounted to celebrate the publication of *Latrobe's View of America, 1795-1820*. This volume in the continuing series of Latrobe Papers publications was published by the Yale University Press for the Maryland Historical Society.

In October 1984 the Society's completely new Radcliffe Maritime Museum had a festive opening. Here, for the first time, our important collection of items relating to Maryland's maritime history was given a proper showcase. This scholarly, dramatic installation was the work of Assistant Curator Dr. Mary Ellen Hayward. Another Maritime event was a special loan exhibition from the Peabody Museum of Salem, "Dogwatch and Liberty Days," which opened in March.

Also initiated was a series of Saturday Gallery Talks, each dealing with one aspect of the Collections. These informal programs are proving very successful.

The Registrar's Office had a busy year. In addition to processing 64 loan transactions of about 600 objects, and 550 gifts from 100 donors, Merrill Lavine, Registrar, and Rosemary Connolly,

Assistant Registrar, worked closely with the Gallery staff on many Gallery projects and on the special exhibitions that were held.

The Education Department under the leadership of Director of Education Judy Van Dyke conducted programs for a varied constituency. Utilizing a group of forty-six well trained tour guides 1,066 tours were conducted throughout the year for elementary and secondary students, adult groups and special interest groups. Programs also were held for disadvantaged inner city students, hospitalized children, and gifted and talented Baltimore County students.

At the beginning of the year a number of Society functions were combined in a Department designated as Public Programs and Information. The Department's multiple responsibilities included Public Relations under Ann Egerton and Public Programs under Sherri Sweep. Madeline Abramson served as coordinating secretary. Some of the activities these staff members were concerned with were the Antiques Show and Sale, the Auction, lecture programs, trips (local and foreign) and the openings of exhibitions and special events. A large part of the Department's work involved recruiting and scheduling volunteers who worked as Library assistants, receptionists and guides. Our volunteers, who are absolutely essential, contributed nearly 12,000 hours of time to the Society during the past year.

Membership held steady during the year at about 6,500. Lynn Satterfield, Membership Coordinator, concentrated on placing her membership rolls on our new computer.

The always difficult areas of security and maintenance were capably handled by Gene Marciszewski, Building Services Manager, and John McHale, Assistant Building Services Manager. Mr. Marciszewski and Mr. McHale are faced with ever-changing problems involving the protection of our collections and the upkeep of our plant. Their strong dedication to the Society has proved of great value.

The business office, always so important to the Society, continued under the very able management of Mary Lou Jones, Accounting Manager. A decision was made to convert to a new computer system. By the end of the past year a new system had been purchased and the office staff was ready to begin the difficult task on converting to a fine new computer.

The Society's Shop, with Barbara Gamse as Manager, lived up to its reputation as Baltimore's premier Museum store. The Shop's extraordinary merchandise—both new and antique—delighted many visitors.

To conclude, the year 1984-85 was a successful one. Our primary concentration was on improving our internal organization. This done, we are looking forward to the coming year.

J. JEFFERSON MILLER II
Director

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

By almost any measure, the year ended June 30, 1985 was a successful one for your Society. Both membership and attendance at Society functions exceeded prior year totals while a highly successful Annual Sustaining Fund Campaign, combined with stringent cost controls, enabled the Society to close the year with an operating surplus.

Again in 1985, the Society's Council and its constituent Committees provided the volunteer leadership and direction which makes the Maryland Historical Society unique. Volunteers active in all areas of the Society's programs augment the professional staff and allow our Educational, Gallery, Library, and Publications functions to have an impact far larger than that possible from our limited operating budget. Thousands of hours devoted by our volunteers to the Society's main programs bring to the Society the collective experience and wisdom necessary for our continued success. Space does not permit a complete chronicling of all Committee and volunteer activities but a series of brief highlights may provide an indication of the many and varied contributions:

The *Addresses and Programs Committee* is the mid-year combination of two standing committees now charged with responsibility of overseeing the endowed lectures and other public programs.

During the year the series of endowed lectures included the following: A talk on Corporate Collecting by Christopher Forbes of the Forbes Foundation representing the Morris Schapiro lecture, a day-long seminar in April on Maryland Gardens representing the Bernard C. Steiner lecture, and a talk by Dr. Edward Carter on the Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe in May representing the William and Sarah Norris lecture.

The Committee also organized and conducted the 1985 Maryland Day Seminar, the third annual day-long program on Maryland history co-sponsored by the Society and Preservation Maryland. The March program was attended by 350 people from Baltimore and surrounding Maryland counties.

The Committee also reports the receipt of a substantial gift from the Estate of Miss Alice Diggs to endow a new series, the "A. Helen Diggs Memorial Lectures," which are to focus on "such subjects as antique furniture, antique silver, old houses, or other antiques."

The *Annual Giving Committee*, assisted by 35 volunteer solicitors, reports record Annual Giving participation by corporations, foundations, and individuals with a total sustaining gift to the Society 46% higher than that received a year ago.

The *Buildings and Grounds Committee* had an extremely active year during 1985 including among its achievements the replacement of the Society's air-conditioning system and the conversion of that system from steam power to electrical power, and the initiation of a long-run facilities plan to provide adequate and attractive space for our various operating departments.

The *Education Committee* continued its program of providing guided tours of the Museum and Library to secondary school students and other interested groups. Additionally, the Committee oversaw the publication of a series of biographies of distinguished Marylanders designed for use in the school system. The Committee also participated in the Greater Baltimore History Fair and presented prizes to the winners. The series of Summer Workshops were over-subscribed and plans have been drawn for a series of lectures/workshops on Maritime subjects for the Fall of 1985.

The *Gallery Committee* reports that it had a "stupendous year" beginning with the opening of the critically acclaimed exhibition "Masterpieces of Maryland Furniture" which accompanied the publication of Gregory Weidman's scholarly work *Furniture in Maryland*.

Later in the year an exhibition of 80 watercolors from the Latrobe Collection was mounted to coincide with the publication of *Latrobe's View of America*, a catalogue raisonné published for the Society by the Yale University Press.

At year end the Committee's focus was on the reinstallation of the decorative arts collections, a major undertaking scheduled for completion in September.

The *Genealogy Committee* financed the acquisition of an OCLC computer terminal for use in the Library. The Committee also initiated planning for a jointly sponsored genealogical conference in 1987, to be entitled "Maryland In Depth."

The *Library Committee* exhibitions included the annual selection of prints from the Merrick Collection and the development of an exhibit to honor the 105th birthday of H. L. Mencken and our hosting of a national meeting of the Mencken Society.

In addition, the Committee reports receipt of two substantial collections, the Froehlicher Collection of Sporting Books, donated by Mrs. Frances Froehlicher, and the Fenwick Keyser Collection of original Duck Stamp Prints and Duck Stamps given in the honor of the late Mr. Keyser by Mrs. Barbara Keyser. These collections are eventually to be sold with the proceeds to

be restricted to the creation of a special acquisition fund for the Library. The Committee hopes that these gifts will encourage others to donate collections of books and prints to be either incorporated into the collections or disposed of and used for future acquisitions.

The *Membership Committee* reports an 8.5% increase in total memberships since year end 1984. The Committee also assisted in the development of a new membership brochure and, with the revision, an updating of our promotional materials.

The *Maritime Committee* had one of its most active years in 1985. The highlight of the year was the October 4, 1984 opening of the reinstalled Radcliffe Maritime Museum in a permanent exhibit entitled "Maryland's Maritime Heritage." The opening culminated four years of work to plan, fund-raise, design, and install the new maritime exhibit funded in large part by the National Endowment for the Humanities. Many generous private donors also contributed to the success of the project as well as the numerous and invaluable maritime volunteers, without whose help it would not have been possible. To accompany the exhibit, the Maritime Committee authorized the publication of a 32-page illustrated booklet which has won an Award of Merit for museum publications from the American Association of Museums. Additionally, a spectacular slide presentation, outlining Maryland's Maritime Heritage, was completed in time for the opening.

The Committee also reports the successful nomination of Maryland's skipjack fleet to the National Register of Historic Places and the designation of the skipjack as the Maryland State Boat. It is hoped that the National Register status will help increase public awareness of the skipjack and its importance as a symbol of a special Maryland way of life.

The *Publications Committee* initiated planning for the creation of a \$250,000 to \$500,000 endowment to be used to underwrite the publication of major works in history and culture of the State. It is estimated that this endowment, when raised, would provide for the publication of between three and five major volumes each year.

The Committee has also undertaken a major review of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* to assure that it becomes one of the finest state journals in the nation. The Committee reports that Professor Edward C. Carter's multi-volume edition of the Benjamin Latrobe Papers, now in its sixth volume, continues to win international acclaim, and that Professor Robert Brugger's two-volume history of Maryland is proceeding ahead of schedule.

The *Public Relations Committee* continued its program of informing the public of the Society's activities with concentration on the Annual Antiques Show and Sale and the openings of our various exhibitions.

The *Speakers Committee* reports that its members presented 42 talks to 1,907 people in Baltimore city and six surrounding counties. Eleven different speakers participated during the year. Since the initiation of the Speakers Program in September of 1979, some 345 presentations have been made to over 16,000 people in Baltimore city and 20 Maryland counties.

The *Special Projects Committee* devoted its 1985 efforts to the Benefit Auction held at the Society on April 12th. The event was both an artistic and financial success, with 275 members and guests enjoying both the buffet supper as well as spirited bidding on the many donated items. The Auction raised over \$15,000 for the Society's general fund.

The *Women's Committee* also had an active year in 1985. It sponsored a trip to Nemours, the DuPont Home in Wilmington as well as an over-subscribed trip to the Corcoran Gallery in Washington to view the exhibition "Louis XIV, the Sun King" in December. In January, the Committee again sponsored a joint Museum Day, this time with the Walters Art Gallery.

The Committee also provided catering services for many of our openings and other special events.

A new Committee was organized in 1985, the *Standing Committee for the Antiques Show* which will function as the planning body for the Society's Annual Midwinter Antiques Show and Sale which, as you know, is our major fund raising activity.

1985 marked the first year of Jeff Miller's term as Director of the Maryland Historical Society. Jeff, who had served as Trustee and a Member of our Gallery Committee, was the unanimous choice of the Search Committee to succeed Romaine Somerville, who had retired in June of 1984. Jeff's years of museum experience with the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, together with his scholarly training, personal interest in collecting, and his many contacts in the museum and academic worlds were of immense value to the Society during the past year.

1985 also marks Fife Symington's final year as Chairman of the Society's Board of Trustees. Fife's contributions to the Society have been crucial to its growth and progress over the past decade. He has organized and spearheaded our County Trustee system and the coordination necessary to integrate the Society's state-wide programs with the 23 county governments and their residents.

With grateful appreciation, we list those members and friends who have made contributions to the Society from July 1, 1984 to June 30, 1985.

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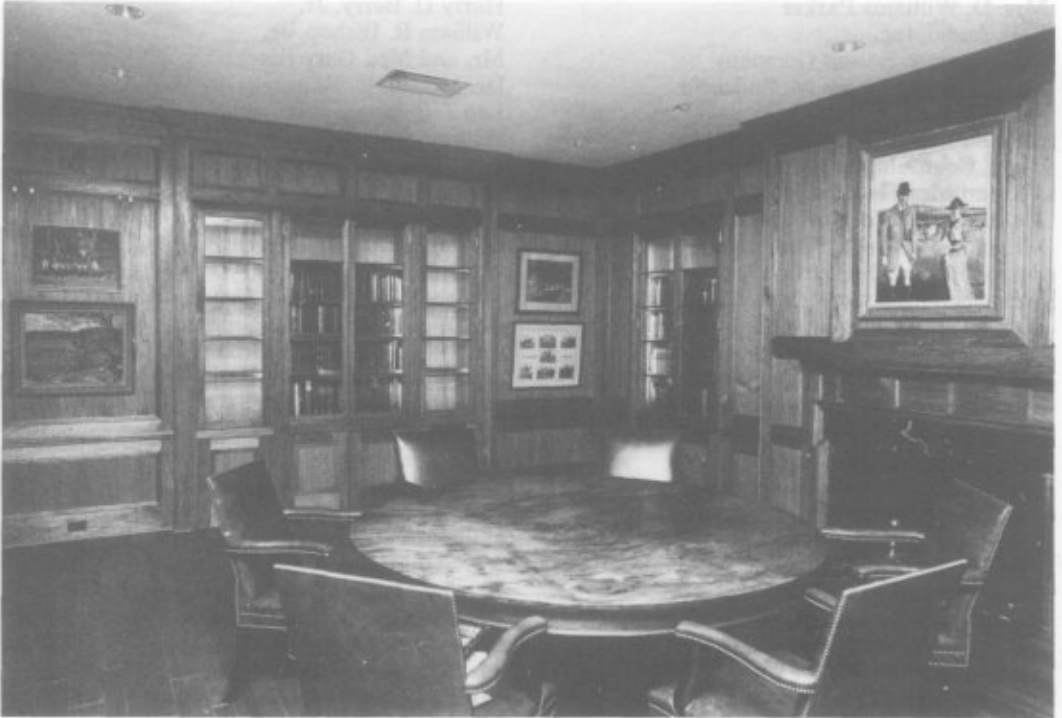
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Maryland at the St. Louis World's Fair

MARY BOCCACCIO

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904 was designed to commemorate the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory from the French in 1803. The Fair itself was to be an extravaganza, the fair grounds spreading over 1142 acres at a cost of \$20,000,000.00. 23,000 citizens from St. Louis subscribed to private stock to make up \$5,000,000.00 of the total cost. 23 states and territories made appropriations to exhibit in 15 large halls and some states built buildings as well. The exhibit halls included an Art Palace and buildings dedicated to machinery, textiles, agriculture, horticulture, the government, livestock and so on. In addition there were special events such as an airship tournament, an international congress, horse shows and a host of daily activities for visitors.¹

The Agricultural and Horticultural Palaces were on a hill overlooking the fair grounds on 69 acres of land. The Agricultural Palace was the largest exposition building to date, 500' × 1600', providing 800,000 square feet of exhibit space. It was lighted by monitor windows without the use of skylights and had both indoor and outdoor exhibits. This one building was settled on 20 acres.²

Exhibit classifications for agriculture included farm equipment, fertilizers, tobacco, vegetable food products and seeds, animal food products, equipment used in food preparation, bread and pastry, preserved meat, fish, vegetables and fruit, sugar and confectionery, waters, wines and brandies, syrups, fermented beverages, inedible agricultural products, insects and statistics. States naturally wanted to exhibit in as

many classifications as possible and bring home medals to testify to the worthiness of their state's productiveness. The agricultural exhibits were put together largely by the staffs of the state Agricultural Experiment Stations. The exhibitors frequently knew each other already, had corresponded and occasionally had participated as speakers in each other's programs. At the outset they had an effective camaraderie and a healthy feeling of competition among themselves. They even paid \$2.00 to join an Agricultural Club and participate in some of the activities of the Fair as a group.

A Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission was named by John Walter Smith, the Governor of Maryland in 1903, and was chaired by General L. Victor Baughman. John E. Hurst was Vice Chairman, Frederick Stieff was Treasurer and Samuel K. Dennis was Secretary. Orlando Harrison, a prominent horticulturalist, and Frank Hoen, a Baltimore businessman, were very active members of the Commission. William L. Amoss, a farmer from Harford County and Director of the Farmers Institute at Maryland Agricultural College was chosen to collect, prepare, install and care for an agricultural and horticultural exhibit of the products of the State of Maryland. A contract was signed on September 5, 1903 giving Amoss a salary of \$66.66 $\frac{2}{3}$ a month from July 1903 until November 1904.

Amoss was the perfect choice for the position. Born on Mt. Soma farm in Harford County and educated in Baltimore, he was instrumental in the promotion of a Farmer's Market for Baltimore. Farmer, showman and promoter, as Director of the Farmers Institute he travelled the state, constantly setting up short agricultural workshops and programs for the farmers in their own locations. He knew the people, their products and their associations and

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clubs as well. And he had the support of a strong staff back in College Park at the Experiment Station. W.T.L. Taliaferro was Professor of Agriculture, J.B.S. Norton was Professor of Vegetable Pathology and Botany and was also State Pathologist; C.F. Austin was Associate in Horticulture; T.B. Symons, later interim President, was Associate Professor of Entomology and also State Entomologist. H.J. Patterson was Director of the Experiment Station. The College officially gave Amoss their whole hearted support and Amoss gave each of them tasks to perform in preparing the exhibit items for transfer from Maryland to St. Louis.

Throughout the course of the preparations and the Exposition itself, money was a constant problem. Originally there were to have been two exhibits, one for agriculture and the other for horticulture. These were mentioned in Amoss' contract and the money was to be appropriated by the Legislature at its next session. In July 1903, the Commission decided to ask for \$25,000.00 for both exhibits. In August Amoss wrote to the Commissioners telling them about 3000 sq. ft. in the Agricultural Palace and 500 sq. ft. in the Horticultural Palace that he had requested. Amoss had planned to have the horticultural exhibit under Norton who was also Secretary of the State Horticultural Society and Austin, his colleague at the College. A room had been set aside on the campus to store specimens as they were collected and Amoss had already started to think about publications on Maryland agriculture.³ By September Amoss had decided that he would need more funds and wrote to Frederic Taylor, Chief of the Department at the Fair that an organization was at work to raise money for the Maryland appropriation.⁴ The Legislature still had not appropriated the funds and on December 29 delegates from the Farmers League of Maryland met at Johns Hopkins University to move to secure a sufficient appropriation for the exhibit. From an appropriation request of \$65,000.00, \$25,000.00 was to be spent on a state building, \$5,000.00 for maintenance, \$2500.00 for emergencies, \$10,000.00 for Maryland Day ceremonies, \$5,000.00 for

expenses, \$7,500.00 for a geological exhibit and \$10,000.00 for the agricultural and horticultural exhibits. With only this amount, the horticulture exhibit would have to be cut and the League wanted the Commission to cut the funds for showy buildings and "impracticable displays" instead so that there would be enough money for two exhibits. A resolution they passed endorsed a proposed application by the Commissioners for money for a better representation of Maryland and a proper exhibit of agricultural resources.⁵ Amoss had told Taylor in January that he was trying to bring the exhibit up to \$20,000.00 and Taylor replied that few of the states were falling below that sum, some even spending that much on each exhibit.

A bill finally came up for passage in February 1904 but was sent back to the Finance Committee until the results of a disastrous fire in Baltimore could be assessed. It was clear by March, however, that Maryland would not be able to exhibit in horticulture and Amoss notified Taylor. It was also clear that Maryland would have a state building. Late in the month Baughman closed a contract to have an exact reproduction of the Maryland building at the Charleston Exposition built. The appropriation was settled at \$40,000.00 and Amoss wrote to Silvester to let him know that he would arrange to dispose of the fruit already collected and in cold storage. Cold storage was expensive in 1903; alone they had already spent \$265.00 on perishable fruit in preparation for the exhibit. Rather optimistically, Amoss thought that the Commission might be induced to make a small appropriation for a pamphlet with the "hope of letting the world know that Maryland grows fruit."⁶

Amoss still kept hoping for a break on the horticultural exhibit. On May 5 a group of horticulturalists met at Eutaw House in Baltimore to consider ways to exhibit Maryland horticultural products at the Fair. As a result of this meeting, the Commission agreed to pay the expenses of a peach exhibit if the fruit was donated and packed by the growers and if space were available from mid-August to October.

Amoss thought he could probably get space and it was left at that.

Money problems aside, Amoss and the staff at the Experiment Station had begun to collect samples to exhibit. As Director of the Farmers Institute, Amoss started requesting grains, fruits and canned goods in 1903 as he travelled from area to area. In a "Dear Sir" letter dated August 9, 1903 he requested individuals to save crops grown that year and exhibited in county fairs. He anticipated a large cold storage collection of apples, pears, berries, sweet potatoes green beans, tomatoes and cantalopes and wanted the "best Fruit without blemish and perfect even to the stem."⁷ He also offered special Farmers Institutes for the three counties that furnished the most non-perishable products for the Exposition and sent circular letters to the Secretaries of Associations, Farmers organizations, Exchanges, the Farmers Institute patrons and the press. He virtually inundated the state requesting samples for the exhibits.

Though he had tried to get the winners of the county fairs, most had not preserved their exhibits. By the time the St. Louis exhibits were installed though, Amoss had managed to secure 110 exhibitors for corn, 24 tobacco exhibits, 7 companies for canned goods and had samples of winter and spring wheat in straw, timothy, hay, red clover, corn fodder, alfalfa, 25 wheat samples, oats, buckwheat, rye, pearl millet, maple syrup, maple sugar, cow peas, honey, sausage, wool, walnuts, chestnuts and soil samples.

The more Amoss, the Commissioners and the press talked about the fair, the more interested people became and both samples and letters came flowing in to the Experiment Station. Agricultural Exhibit Committees were formed for each county to get exhibitors lined up. At one point before the horticulture exhibit was cancelled, 94 farmers had apples in cold storage. Amoss eventually sent a form letter asking what disposition they wanted to make of their fruit and reminding them that the College was still receiving non-perishable products, canned and manufactured goods.

The publicity had some unexpected results, too. William J. Cohill of the Cohill

Angorra Goat Farm in Hancock wrote to Amoss about the possibility of exhibiting goats at the Fair. Cohill had contacted the Commissioners through Harrison and was referred back to Amoss saying that "Our exhibit would be a credit to the state as it will show that we can raise as good goats in Maryland as they can in the South West."⁸

Meanwhile products were arriving at College Park in ever increasing quantities. The staff under Taliaferro must have been having a difficult time keeping up because Amoss wrote to Patterson asking him to assign more help to Taliaferro. Amoss needed lists of donors and varieties to keep the publicity going. All the packing and shipping was done in College Park and it was important to keep on top of it. There were other problems for the Experiment Station staff, too. Taliaferro wrote to Amoss in March that the grain moth had invaded the building where they were storing the corn and suggested that it be packed ahead of schedule so that it wouldn't be affected.

While the staff in College Park were busy receiving products and preparing them for shipment, Amoss was in St. Louis preparing to set up the exhibit. Opening day was noon Friday, April 29 but railroad cars filled with exhibit material were still leaving Baltimore on April 23rd. Work was permitted on unfinished exhibits from 6-9 pm until June 15th, 10 percent being deducted from the Jurors' marks for exhibits which were not ready on opening day. Amoss had chosen block number 45 on the southwest side of the building. The space was 90' x 20', smaller than originally planned because of the funding difficulties and Amoss had a trying time scaling his exhibit plans down. Originally he had planned 400 square feet for a tobacco exhibit and 780 square feet for corn. Special cases were constructed to display the corn and tobacco and there was some talk of reconstructing the brig *Peggy Stewart*, a Maryland built vessel involved in a tea revolt in Annapolis in 1774, out of canned goods and corn with a lifesized farmhand made out of tobacco. Amoss finally settled on one case for tobacco and another for

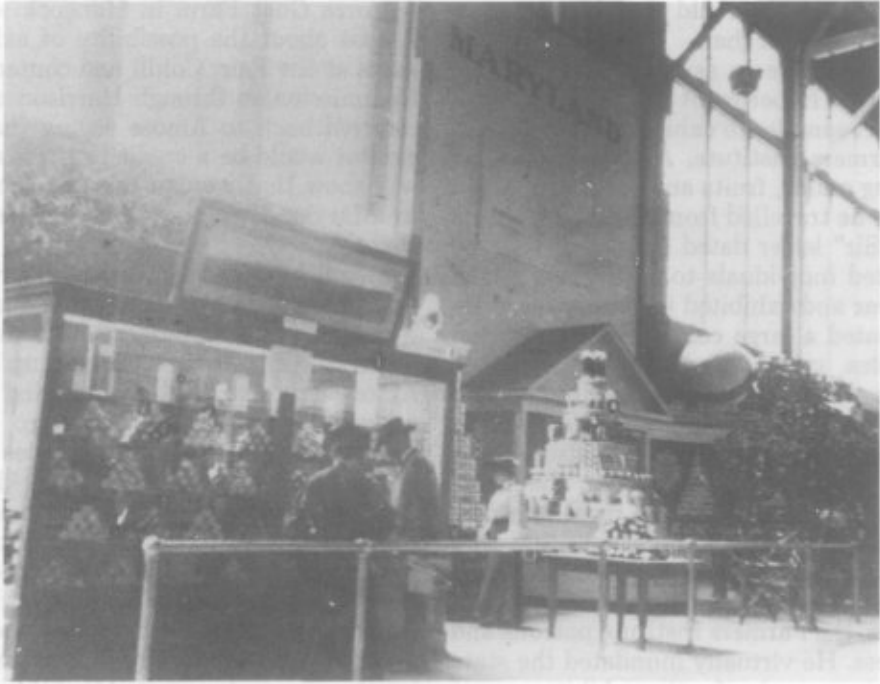


FIGURE 1.
Main Exhibit, Canned Goods (center), Laurel Bower (right).

specimens of forage including timothy, clover, alfalfa, buckwheat and spring wheat. One case devoted to forage crops of the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland contained winter wheat, barley, cow peas, soja beans and blade fodder. Two final cases were devoted to soil samples.

Amoss turned showman with two barn scenes, a spring house and a laurel bower. The Western Maryland barn featured yellow dent corn, alfalfa, cobs, nubbed corn, wheat, a mow filled with wheat in the sheaf and loose timothy hay. Corn knives and flae [*sic*] hung from the timbers. The Southern Maryland barn displayed grape vines, oyster tongs, tobacco hanging from a stick, a "burden" of seasoning tobacco and a hogshead of tobacco ready for market. Hanging from pegs were corn husk collars, baskets and mats. A basket of cotton hung from a beam along with a spinning wheel. Decoys, a gill net, crab nets, an oyster hammer and knives and fishing rods and tackle hung from nails. The north end of the barn was filled with fodder.

The center section of the Maryland dis-

play showed the products of central Maryland. A Dairy (Spring House) was built of staff in imitation of round stone. A pewit's nest was under the eaves along with a hornet's nest and a spring was in the corner. Hanging were a gourd, a churn and butter worker, large milk cans, coolers and strainers. Another display was filled with milk bottles from Professor Shoemaker's Walker-Gordon Dairy and the New Hygeia Dairy. Pyramids of canned peas, corn and tomatoes, and canned fruits and seafoods were near the Spring House. The base of the pyramids was covered with shells. Other pyramids displayed manufactured animal and vegetable products. Finally a lawn bower was built of laurel and covered with English Ivy. At the sides morning glory and wild rose were in bloom. Local Maryland papers were available just inside the bower entrance.

A corn exhibit featured samples of corn in a case along with an analysis done by H.J. Patterson and a diploma from the 1889 Paris Exposition which had been awarded to J.P. Silver of Harford County. A special



FIGURE 2.
Special Corn Exhibit.

exhibit in the center of the building displayed the four staples of tobacco, sugar, cotton and corn. Another special tobacco exhibit showed a giant Indian on a pedestal over seven feet high with a long stemmed pipe and a horn of plenty on his left. On both sides cases were filled with the types of tobacco sold in the Baltimore market, furnished by the Tobacco Leaf Association.

It is no wonder that Amoss did not have his exhibits finished by opening day. He didn't have much time and they had been planned on a grand scale. Nevertheless, the Commissioners and the exhibit staff at the Fair expected that he should be ready. In April Amoss was writing to the Commissioners that he had ordered tobacco cases constructed for the special tobacco exhibit, a model of the Indian, two sugar barrels of

twist tobacco, two bushels of oyster shells and a terrapin shell. He was also having furniture shipped for the manufactured tobacco exhibit. Tobacco and snuff came from several branches of the American Tobacco Company, some of the brands used being Superior, Honest, Bowers Strong "Three Thistles," Dixie Queen and Carte Blanche.

May was a difficult month for Amoss and the exhibit. He sent for bundles of blade fodder, tobacco to hang in the barn and baskets made of corn husk mats. When the case for the manufactured tobacco arrived, he no longer needed the twist tobacco for it and used it elsewhere. By the middle of the month he was encouraging Norton in College Park to hire a professional to pack the fruit and not let the farmers do it them-

selves.⁹ This was contrary to the pending agreement between the horticulturalists and the Commission.

Hoen wrote to Amoss on the 27th that the dedication of the Maryland building would be on June 8 and he urged Amoss to finish the exhibit in time, noting that the Commission would decide on the horticultural exhibit after the trip to St. Louis.¹⁰ Baughman would probably be returning the last week in June for a meeting of the Democratic National Committee just prior to the convention and presumably would look in again on the exhibit.

Early in June Amoss was asking Norton to send hornet's nests, orioles, robins, pigeons, pewees, rats, mice and a screech owl to finish the barn. He was also writing to Weems that the work was progressing slowly and that they were working every day including Sunday. While he hoped to have the work completed by the 8th, there would, no doubt, be work to do afterwards as well.¹¹ Amoss received some of the birds and a hornet's nest from the College and an express shipment of tobacco which had to be uncased right away to avoid "summer sweats" and discoloration. The special corn exhibit was going to cost approximately \$300.00, double the original estimate, and Amoss would have to abandon it because the Commissioners thought that he had already overspent his budget. So he telegraphed the ever-willing Experiment Station, asking if they would provide the funds, the exhibit being advertising for them. He had the corn already so they wouldn't need to provide anything except the funds.¹²

Hoen wrote to Amoss after the Commissioners had returned to Maryland. Harrison and Dennis had expected the exhibit to be further along than it was and they weren't impressed with his progress. They thought it was meagre for the construction funds provided though Hoen had suggested that their feeling was simply because the exhibit wasn't completed. Harrison was still interested in having a horticultural exhibit, at least for the fall, but it all would depend on how the funds held out. Harrison told Hoen that most of the states had little or no construction, simply tables of fruit.¹³ Amoss's barns, spring house, bower and

giant Indian would be an attraction of the Fair if he could only get them finished.

To the Commissioners, the exhibit was not simply evidence of Maryland's agricultural prowess. It also had political implications. Hoen hoped the exhibit would be in good enough condition to win some awards and overcome some of the criticism of "friends" who saw the unfinished exhibit. As he explained it to Amoss, "many farmers were among the politicians" and this would be a "golden opportunity to come out on top in good style."¹⁴

Amoss was already in tune with Hoen's thinking. He had sent for more tobacco from the farmers, not because it would increase the display but because it would give them a longer list in the official catalog and more awards. The same was true for all the products and Amoss was thinking of the opportunity for prizes for the small special exhibits.¹⁵ The tobacco exhibit was in place, the Commission and the College were negotiating on the corn exhibit and Orlando Harrison was still eager to exhibit fruit. He could still bring in more prizes. The College and the Commission eventually came to agreement on the special corn exhibit and Amoss had it by the first week in August. With the corn in hand already and with grain samples from the Corn and Flower Exchange in Baltimore, Maryland had another special exhibit.

Amoss finally finished his exhibit by the end of June and early in July the Commissioners were at long last hearing favorable comments from visitors who had returned from the Fair. Hoen was relieved. He, Harrison and Dennis had talked about fruit again and now were thinking about sending a carload of peaches and apples for distribution as part of the Maryland Day celebration. Each piece of fruit would be wrapped in tissue with the inscription "Maryland Fruit with compliments of the Maryland Commission."¹⁶

Maryland Day was held on September 12 in the Festival Hall and close to 100 people had travelled in a party from Maryland for the celebration. As chairman of the Commission, General Baughman gave the introductory remarks, Governor Warfield gave an address and was followed by several



FIGURE 3.
Special Tobacco Exhibit.

others. On the 13th the Commissioners gave a reception for the Governor in the Maryland building. Commissioners of the other states, officials of the Fair and foreign representatives were invited.¹⁷ 20,000 copies of a souvenir program were printed. Both the celebration and the building were a success.

Medals struck at the Philadelphia Mint under a special Act of Congress were awarded in four classes to participants. These were grand, gold, silver and bronze. Amoss thought Maryland would receive close to 100 awards and in fact received 92 including a grand for the tobacco display, a gold for the corn exhibit and a silver for the canned goods pyramids.¹⁸ The Commissioners were well pleased with Amoss' efforts and Dennis wrote to him, "The Agricultural Exhibit in your charge was a most successful and noteworthy result from Maryland to the Exposition. . . ."¹⁹

At the close of the Fair the Commission turned the exhibits over to the College. Some of the products were given away and the furniture was to be sold in St. Louis.

After all the difficulty that the Commission and Amoss had had with funding, The Baltimore *Sun* reported that not all the money appropriated had been spent and a substantial balance remained.²⁰ Even Amoss had money left in his account. In spite of all the obstacles, the Commission, the College and Experiment Station, Amoss, the farmers and the manufacturers of Maryland had worked together and provided exhibits and awards the state and its people could be proud of. Amoss returned to the College and his position as Director of the Farmers Institute where he remained until 1910. He continued to bring the latest in scientific agriculture to the farmers and to the public at large.

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The Potomac River and Maryland's Boundaries

CARL N. EVERSTINE

MARYLAND'S POTOMAC RIVER HAS FIGURED in a long and varied series of uncertainties and disputes relating to the boundaries of the state. A few of the questions were settled as recently as 1927, with some of the doubtful problems being unresolved for nearly three centuries after the Charter was issued in 1632. The controversies have involved surveyors, state geologists, boundary commissions, the court of chancery in England, the Penns of Pennsylvania and the Lords Baltimore of Maryland, an interstate compact, statutory and constitutional enactments of the three states involved, rulings of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the common law doctrine of prescription and adverse possession. If there has been any common thread running through the many disputes and their settlement, it has been that with one small exception the State of Maryland always has suffered a diminution of the boundaries meant for it in the Charter issued by Charles I in 1632. However, the settlement of most disputes has rested upon tried and settled doctrines of equity and neighborly dealings, to which a people steeped in the rule of law could not seriously object.

THE CHARTER BOUNDARIES

The Charter of 1632 was granted to Cecilius Calvert, eldest son of the late George Calvert, Baron of Baltimore. The boundaries of the new colony seemed in tidewater areas to be spelled out with some precision, but they were based upon the rough maps of the day and with little or no personal knowledge of the lines so easily drawn.

Dr. Everstine, the author of a number of books and articles on Maryland's legal history, and for many years head of the state Department of Legislative Reference, died while this article was in press.

Once out of the tidewater portions of the new colony, the lines and geographical monuments were mostly speculation.¹

First,² the peninsula now known as Delmarva was to be divided by a "right line" drawn eastward from the promontory or headland known as Watkins Point, on the easterly side of the Chesapeake Bay near the "river Wighco" (now the Pocomoke River). Modern maps show Watkins Point as the extreme southern extremity of Somerset County, Maryland, at the mouth of the Pocomoke River and on the tip of the Cedar Island Wildlife Management Area. In the seventeenth century, however, no one seemed certain whether Watkins Point was at this place or on one of the smaller peninsulas of the present Somerset County. About all that could be certain was that once Watkins Point was located, the line was to go due east to the Atlantic Ocean. Even on this simple directive, however, there were recurring boundary disputes between Virginia and Maryland after Maryland was settled. On one occasion, during the 1660s, Virginia's surveyor general, Col. Edmond Scarborough, led an armed excursion into territory claimed by Maryland. This culminated in 1668, when Col. Scarborough and Philip Calvert of Maryland agreed upon a line across the Eastern Shore. They did the job very poorly, at least considering the terms of Maryland's Charter, so that the line they set veers definitely toward the northeast as it crosses the 'Shore. As a result, some eight miles or more were added to Virginia's Eastern Shore, including the future towns of Oak Hall and Chincoteague. A boundary award of 1877 considered the old variance but allowed the 1668 line to stand; the common law prescriptive rights won by Virginia in

more than two centuries of occupation were held to be controlling.

Secondly, the Charter of 1632 granted to Maryland for its eastern boundary all the waterfront from the point where the line across the Eastern Shore reached the ocean, northerly along the coast, "unto that part of the bay of Delaware on the north, which lyeth under the fortieth degree of north latitude . . . where New England is terminated."³ From that point, Maryland's northern boundary was to extend "in a right [latitudinal] line . . . unto the true meridian of the first fountain of the river of Pattowmack." That is, once the source of the Potomac River was located, a longitudinal line northward would be the western boundary of Maryland, to the point of intersecting the northern boundary on or "under" the fortieth degree of latitude. However, Maryland was not to have its northern boundary on this line. After Pennsylvania was settled during the 1680s, the Penns and the Lords Baltimore engaged in a protracted controversy about their boundary line. It was not settled until the 1750s and 1760s, when Maryland accepted a line on latitude 39°43', and it was so surveyed by Mason and Dixon during the latter decade.⁴ The Mason and Dixon line thus is some 19 miles south of the fortieth degree of latitude. Maryland is estimated as having lost in the agreement about 2½ million acres of land.⁵ Included in this area is about half of the present city of Philadelphia and all of such towns and cities as York, Gettysburg, Waynesboro, Chambersburg, Berlin, and Meyersdale. Also, under the original grant to Maryland, there would have been no state of Delaware, all of this area being within Maryland.

Thus, "The true meridian [longitudinal line] of the first fountain of the river of Pattowmack" was to be the western boundary of the state. Beginning at the intersection of that meridian on the fortieth parallel of latitude (later changed to be the Mason and Dixon line), that boundary was to be followed southerly "unto the farther bank of the said river, and following the same on the west and south, unto a certain place called Cinquack, situate near the mouth of the said river." Once the source

of the Potomac River had been found, that is, the new colony's boundary was to follow the lower or southern bank of the river to its mouth. The exact location of "Cinquack" is not known, but a map made by Captain John Smith in 1608 showed it on the western shore of the Chesapeake Bay, perhaps five or six miles south of the mouth of the river. From that point the boundary was to proceed by the "shortest line" to Watkins Point, the place of beginning.

THE "FIRST FOUNTAIN" OF THE POTOMAC RIVER

When the phrase "the first fountain of the river of Pattowmack" was written into the Maryland Charter in 1632, the King and his ministers had no idea where it might be. The words were interpreted at the time as referring to that source of the river which was most distant from the mouth of the river at the Chesapeake Bay. Among the geographical possibilities there even was one that the source of the river might be *north* of the fortieth degree of latitude, which would have wiped out the specifications for the western boundary and left it in complete confusion.

The Potomac River was discovered by Captain John Smith in 1608, when he journeyed northward into the Chesapeake Bay. He named the river for the Pawtomax Indians, who lived in the vicinity of the present Harpers Ferry. Westerly from that point, the Indians called the North Branch the Cohaungoruton ("wild goose stream"), and the South Branch, the Wappacomo. The present Shenandoah River they called the Sharando.

Although the source of the river was to be the anchor place for fixing the western boundary of the state, and that boundary, in turn, was to mark the termination of the east-west line which bounded on the north, it was more than a century after 1632 before all this description came to have meaning. Oddly enough, the Province of Maryland had nothing to do with the initial determination. That went back to a grant of the so-called Northern Neck of Virginia.

In 1688, 56 years after Maryland's Charter was granted, King James II made a grant of the Northern Neck of Virginia to Thomas, Lord Culpeper. The western

end of this grant, the "neck," was to be bounded on the north by the Potomac River. The southern boundary was to be a line drawn from the "first head or spring" of the Rappahannock River to the "first head or spring" of the Potomac River. The source of the Potomac still was uncertain, of course. The source of the Rappahannock in Virginia was then also uncertain; the river split a short distance west from Fredericksburg, with a northern spur ending to the north and west of Warrenton, and a southern spur ending westerly from Orange.

Lord Culpeper's daughter married into the Fairfax family, and the grant to Lord Culpeper thereafter was known as the Fairfax grant. In the 1730s a boundary dispute arose between the then Lord Fairfax and the Colony of Virginia that led to the appointment of commissioners to settle the matter. They were instructed to "ascertain, by actual examination and survey, the true fountains of the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers." They began their trip on the Potomac in September, 1736, from a point at the juncture of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers, now Harpers Ferry. On December 14, 1736, they reached the spot, which they judged to be the source of the Potomac River.

While moving upstream along the river, the commissioners came to the mouth of the South Branch.⁶ They chose the North Branch as the main stream and continued upward to its source. At that point they blazed several trees to mark the site and returned to Virginia. Meanwhile, another group of the commissioners' party determined that the first spring of the Rappahannock River was on the headwaters of the south branch of that river, now known as the Rapidan.

Ten years later, with the boundary controversy still unsettled, a new party was appointed to survey the line between the sources of the two rivers. Peter Jefferson, father of Thomas, was a member of the group. They began their journey at the headwaters of the Rapidan River, now in the Shenandoah National Park. After a particularly difficult trip overland, they arrived at the source of the Potomac River

on October 22, 1746.⁷ They found the markings made on the trees ten years earlier and made fresh markings of their own. Also, they planted a stone in the ground with the rough markings "Fx."⁸

THE FUNCTION OF THE FAIRFAX STONE

The small brook which is the Potomac River, having its source in the springs at the Fairfax Stone, flows *westward* for a short distance. That surely would have been a most unexpected situation if it had been known to Charles I when he made the grant to Maryland in 1632. Although he did not know the location of the "first fountain" of the Potomac River, he must have expected that from its source the tiny stream would flow eastward toward the Chesapeake Bay.

The brook flows in a horseshoe curve to the north before it turns back to the east. The meridian line drawn northward from the Fairfax Stone, which originally was intended to mark the western boundary of Maryland, crosses the east-bound river on the north prong of the horseshoe, about three-quarters of a mile north of the Fairfax Stone. The depth of the horseshoe, measured inward from the meridian line, is also about three-quarters of a mile. All this was depicted in one of the exhibits in the Supreme Court's case of *Maryland v. West Virginia*, decided in 1910.⁹

The question quickly arose whether Maryland should have the land within the horseshoe. Virginia, and later West Virginia, denied the claim. The two states held that the land within the horseshoe is *south* of the Potomac River, which certainly is true if one approaches the river along the median line from the north. It always was well settled, the two states maintained, that Maryland was never meant to extend southerly beyond the limits of the river.

The question of ownership within the horseshoe was not strongly pursued by Maryland. There was no occasion to say anything about it in the Boundary Award of 1877, the most basic of all the boundary agreements between the states of Maryland and Virginia, for by that time Virginia's shoreline on the Potomac River did not extend westerly beyond the mouth of the

Shenandoah River at Harpers Ferry. There seems to have been no strong effort on the part of Maryland to regain from West Virginia the small piece of land within the horseshoe.

Over the years, however, persons who deemed themselves residents of Virginia, and later West Virginia, claimed ownership of land within the horseshoe. The horseshoe question was not finally settled until the Supreme Court ruled upon it in 1910, in the case of *Maryland v. West Virginia*. The main decision in that case was that the so-called Deakins line was the proper western boundary of the state.¹⁰

Accordingly, the Fairfax Stone, which was originally meant to mark the beginning of Maryland's western boundary, is isolated about three-quarters of a mile away from Maryland, entirely within West Virginia. Its only function now is to mark the beginning of the north-south line which becomes the boundary of Maryland when it crosses the upper prong of the horseshoe three-quarters of a mile away, at the village of Kempton. This use of the north-south line across the width of the horseshoe automatically assured to West Virginia the land to the west of the line, within the horseshoe.

THE POTOMAC STONE

As the small brook which is the Potomac River swings around in the horseshoe curve, westerly and then northerly from the Fairfax Stone, another small stream enters it from the west. Its source is on Backbone Mountain, approximately one-and-a-half miles westerly from the meridian line of Fairfax Stone.

On the assumption that the source of this brook was also the source of the Potomac River farthest from its mouth ("the first fountain"), Maryland established in 1897 a "Potomac Stone" on Backbone Mountain. Until 1909, Maryland claimed that the meridian for the western boundary should be based upon the Potomac Stone, rather than upon the Fairfax Stone. The result would have been to add a long narrow strip, about one and a half miles wide, all along the western boundary.

Geographically, Maryland's claim to the Potomac Stone appears to have some validity. The brook from the Potomac Stone

seems to be the continuation of the river from downstream, and the brook from the Fairfax Stone seems to turn off at an angle. However, the Court ruled in *Maryland v. West Virginia* that the Fairfax Stone would continue to mark the origin of the western boundary. The Court detailed an impressive number of instances in which Maryland had accepted the Fairfax Stone as its boundary monument. After this recital, the Court settled the issue by applying the traditional common law doctrine of prescription and adverse possession and on this question ruled in favor of West Virginia.

A very early acceptance of the Fairfax Stone, implicit at least, was Maryland's not contesting Virginia's use of that site as a monument for the establishment of its western counties, and for other purposes.

Another early action in Maryland might rank as a temporary acceptance. By resolution in its May session of 1787, the General Assembly of Maryland requested the Governor and Council of the state to employ some "skillful person" to survey the lands lying to the west of Fort Cumberland. The purpose was to establish 50-acre tracts which might be given as bounties to veterans of the Revolutionary War. The surveyor selected was Francis Deakins, who reported back to the 1788 session of the Legislature.

The most specific directive to Deakins in the resolution of 1787 had been to survey lands "belonging to this state." He used the Fairfax Stone as his western boundary monument and from that point established a western boundary for Maryland.¹¹ In considering his report to the General Assembly in 1788, that body arranged to pay him £200 for his work and added this curious disclaimer:¹²

That the line to which said Francis Deakins has laid out the said lots, is, in the opinion of the general assembly, far within that which this state may rightfully claim as its western boundary; and that at a time of more leisure the consideration of the legislature ought to be drawn to the western boundaries of this state, as objects of very great importance.

There followed a number of inconclusive attempts to clarify the western boundary

situation, all in conjunction with the Fairfax Stone as a monument. The Maryland Legislature proposed in 1795, 1801, and 1810 that commissioners from Maryland and Virginia meet, with power to adjust the boundary lines on both the southern and western limits of Maryland. Virginia apparently took no action on these overtures.

Again in 1818,¹³ Maryland proposed the appointment of commissioners. This time their task would be "to settle and adjust, by mutual compact . . . the western limits of this state, and the dividing line and boundary between this state and the commonwealth of Virginia, to commence at the most western source of the north branch of the Potomac River. . . ." This act then followed with extensive provisions for saving harmless any property owner whose grant may have been on "the boundary line." It may be noted, also, that the indefinite reference to "the most western source of the north branch of the Potomac River" conspicuously omitted mention of the Fairfax Stone.

Virginia in 1822 responded to the Maryland proposal and appointed a set of commissioners. Representatives of the two states met and came to no agreement.

In the December session of 1825, in Chapter 82, Maryland again asked for action in settling its western limits. Again there was no mention of the Fairfax Stone; the Governor of Delaware would have been asked to serve as umpire and to make a binding decision.

Virginia took the initiative in 1833, in an act providing for commissioners to run a line northward from the Fairfax Stone. The act also said that if Maryland did not appoint commissioners, those from Virginia were to run and mark the line. Maryland answered in 1834, by filing a bill in the Supreme Court, directed against the State of Virginia. The suit ultimately was dismissed with no action taken. In the case, however, Maryland laid claim to the South Branch of the Potomac as the proper source of the river, saying that it "was, and still continues to be, the main source, and an essential part, and the principal course of the river Patowmac. . . ." ¹⁴ The response from Virginia was that while the South

Branch was the longer of the two streams, the North Branch was wider and deeper, and the North Branch followed the general direction of the stream from below the juncture.

From that time, Maryland referred explicitly to the Fairfax Stone as a proper starting monument for determining the western boundary of the state. In 1852, by Chapter 275, Maryland's Legislature again asked Virginia to appoint commissioners to trace, establish, and mark the line, "beginning therefor at the said Fairfax Stone, and running thence due north to the Line of the State of Pennsylvania." Virginia replied in 1854, consenting to the appointment of a boundary commissioner from that state. The Virginia act twice mentioned the Fairfax Stone.¹⁵

The commissioners appointed pursuant to these acts applied for the services of an officer of the United States Engineers, to aid them in carrying out their directives. Accordingly, Lieut. N. Michler of the United States Topographical Engineers was assigned to the task and to work with the commissioners from Maryland and Virginia. His efforts introduced a new complication in the tangled history of Maryland's western boundary,¹⁶ but he added another recognition of the Fairfax Stone by following the two legislative acts and starting his survey at that point. In Chapter 385 of the Acts of 1860, Maryland hastened to confirm the line drawn by Lieut. Michler in 1859. Virginia never approved of the Michler line; by 1860 that state was embroiled in other and more vital controversies, and after the State of West Virginia was established in 1863 the Virginians no longer had any interest in the Fairfax Stone. West Virginia passed legislation in 1887 to confirm the Michler line, but the act contained provisos to which Maryland did not assent; thus, the law never became effective.

Meanwhile, the State of Maryland took the first of two steps which gave unquestionable acceptance of the Fairfax Stone as the boundary monument for Maryland's western boundary. In its new Constitution of 1851,¹⁷ Maryland provided for the future establishment of Garrett County. The prospective boundary between Allegany and

Garrett counties started at the Mason and Dixon line, ran to the middle of Savage River where it empties into the Potomac River, thence by a straight line to the Virginia boundary (i.e., to the lower shore of the Potomac), and "thence with said boundary to the Fairfax stone. . . ." Nearly twenty years later, by Chapter 212 of the Acts of 1872, Garrett County was formally created; and this act repeated the boundary description with its definite reference to the Fairfax Stone.

All these references were cited by the Supreme Court in 1910, in *Maryland v. West Virginia*.¹⁸ The main point of that case confirmed that the Deakins line was the proper western boundary of Maryland,¹⁹ but that line began at the Fairfax Stone and thus effectively ruled out any claim by Maryland for using the Potomac Stone as a boundary marker.

THE DEAKINS LINE

When the General Assembly of Maryland by resolution in 1787 requested the Governor and Council to arrange for a survey of Maryland's western boundary, the Province and State of Maryland were more than 150 years old, and this rather important factor in the state's geography remained unsettled. An important purpose of the survey, however, was to lay out the lands westerly from Fort Cumberland in 50-acre tracts that might be offered as bounties to veterans of the Revolutionary War.

In the process, of course, it was necessary to fix a tentative western boundary. The legislative resolution had directed the surveyor not to go beyond "the supposed present boundaries of Maryland." Accordingly, the surveyor, Francis Deakins, began at the Fairfax Stone ("the first fountain") and ran a line as he thought due northerly to the Mason and Dixon line.²⁰ When the line was re-surveyed in 1859, by a team from the United States Topographical Engineers under Lieut. N. Michler,²¹ it was discovered that Deakins had been wrong in some of his calculations, and that his line was not due north from the Fairfax Stone and therefore not accurate. Michler's line intersected the Mason and Dixon line at a point about three-quarters of a mile west of the

Deakins line. A long narrow triangle of land thereby was put in question. Its inverted base was the three-quarter mile stretch along the Mason and Dixon line, with its apex at the Fairfax Stone.

Maryland immediately claimed the added triangle of land. The State Legislature, in Chapter 385 of the Acts of 1860, formally declared that "the northwestern line of this state is a line commencing at the Fairfax Stone, at the head of the north branch of the Potomac River, and running thence due north to the southern line of the state of Pennsylvania, as surveyed in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-nine. . . ." Maryland's claim could have been strengthened by a statute passed in West Virginia in 1887, accepting the Michler line. However, the West Virginia act contained provisos to which Maryland did not consent and therefore never became effective.

There could be no doubt of the historical strength of Maryland's claim. The Charter of 1632 specifically had provided that the line westward along the fortieth degree of latitude, later changed by Maryland and Pennsylvania to be the Mason and Dixon line, was to proceed "unto the true meridian of the first fountain of the river of Pattowmack. . . ." That, of course, had to be a longitudinal line southward from Pennsylvania. Maryland's claim to the triangular area was the main point involved in the Supreme Court case of *Maryland v. West Virginia*²² referred to above.

The case originated after the enactment of Chapter 563 of the Maryland Acts of 1890. In it the Legislature directed the Attorney General of the state to take such steps as necessary to get a decision from the Supreme Court about its boundary controversy with West Virginia, in order to ascertain the "true location" of the boundary between Garrett County, Maryland, and Preston County, West Virginia. There was an appropriation of five hundred dollars to cover the cost of the suit.

The Deakins line was related directly to all the controversy and decisions affecting the Fairfax Stone, as its starting monument.²³ Despite what had been settled about the Fairfax Stone, however, Mary-

land's suit against West Virginia involved a separate and unconnected situation, the ownership of the triangle formed by the diverging courses of the Deakins and Michler lines.

The Supreme Court held that Maryland's western boundary should remain at the "old" or Deakins line. The determining factor was the common law doctrine of prescription and adverse possession. As the doctrine had developed in the common law, it had been one of open, continuous, and exclusive possession under a claim of right, for a period "beyond the memory of man." In the United States, adverse possession for a period of twenty years frequently had been held to satisfy the claim.

"It may be true," said the Court, "that the meridian line from the Potomac Stone, in the light of what is now known of that region of the country, more fully answers the calls in the original charter than does a meridian starting from the Fairfax Stone."²⁴ But, it was added in direct relation to the triangular area in dispute, "the evidence contained in this record leaves no room to doubt that after the running of the Deakins line the people of that region knew and referred to it as the line between the State of Maryland and the State of West Virginia."²⁵ Continuing, "The adoption of the true meridian line, which Lieut. Michler ran, would cause great litigation because of the acquiescence of the people in the old boundary line,—the Deakins line."²⁶

There was testimony also in the case that the State of Maryland had recognized the Deakins line in a number of land grants, and that people in the two states had improved their roads up to the Deakins line and had paid taxes, voted, and attended schools in their respective counties bordering that line.

Earlier decisions of the Supreme Court were cited in support of its decision in *Maryland v. West Virginia*. Several interstate cases and writers on international law were quoted to the same effect.²⁷ Concluding, in *Maryland v. West Virginia*, "We think a right prescriptive in its nature has arisen, practically undisturbed for many years, not to be overthrown without doing violence to principles of established right

and justice equally binding upon states and individuals."²⁸

The final decree in *Maryland v. West Virginia*, in addition to validating the Deakins line, called for the appointment of commissioners to run and mark the old Deakins line, "beginning at a point where the north and south line from the Fairfax Stone crosses the Potomac River, and running thence to the Pennsylvania border."²⁹ After a lapse of 288 years following the grant of Maryland's charter in 1632, the western boundary of the state finally was settled.

THE NORTH BANK OF THE RIVER AS THE BOUNDARY

Virginia, and later West Virginia, have claimed occasionally that in using the Potomac River as the boundary between the states, the north rather than the south bank should be used.

Again there could be no doubt as to the correctness of the south bank if the Maryland Charter of 1632 were used as a guide. The Charter had said very precisely that after the boundary line went southward along the western boundary until it reached the source of the Potomac River, it was to proceed "unto the farther bank of the said river. . . ."³⁰ In its context (and without knowledge of the horseshoe curve) that could have meant only the lower or southern shore of the river.

Two points were raised in opposition to the Maryland claim. First, the grant to Lord Culpeper in 1688 (the Fairfax grant) seemed to give the bed of the Potomac River to Lord Culpeper, and of course to the colony of Virginia. The Potomac was specified as the northern boundary of the grant, and the grant had included the phrase "together with the said rivers themselves and all the islands within the uttermost bounds thereof." However, Virginia and its successor West Virginia seemed never to make any serious claim that these conflicting grants gave them the bed of the Potomac River. Even in the Compact of 1785, one of the most famous of all interstate compacts, designed to settle questions of navigation and fisheries between Maryland and Virginia in the Potomac and Potomac rivers, the matter of ownership of

the river was left uncertain. Reasoning from the Compact, however, could argue that establishing the boundary line across the Chesapeake Bay beginning at Smith Point was determinative; Smith Point is on the southern side of the river, at the mouth of the stream.

Uncertainties about the Potomac and Pocomoke rivers, not completely settled in the Compact of 1785, were the subject of two Maryland statutes more than a century later. In 1884, by Chapter 354, the Legislature authorized the Attorney General of Maryland to take the steps necessary to obtain a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States as to the validity, scope, and effect of the Compact. An appropriation of two thousand dollars was included to defray the cost of special counsel. A similar law was enacted in 1890, by Chapter 471. It particularly concerned Pocomoke Sound and the question whether Maryland and Virginia Citizens had joint rights in the oyster fisheries; a Virginia police officer earlier had denied such rights to Marylanders. An appropriation of fourteen hundred dollars was included for special counsel, to be taken from the earlier appropriation made in 1884.

There was a stronger piece of evidence against ownership of the Potomac River by Virginia and West Virginia, and Maryland entered it into the bill of complaint in *Maryland v. West Virginia*.³¹ In the first constitution of the State of Virginia, adopted on June 29, 1776, this provision was included:

The territories contained within the charters erecting the colonies of Maryland, Pennsylvania, North and South Carolina, are hereby ceded, released, and forever confirmed to the people of those colonies respectively, with all the rights of property, jurisdiction, and government, and all other rights whatsoever which might, at any time heretofore, have been claimed by Virginia, except the free navigation and use of the rivers Potomac and Pocomoke, with the property of the Virginia shores or strands bordering on either of the said rivers, and all improvements which have been or shall be made thereon.

The second claim for a boundary on the north shore was more obscure. It was based

upon the horseshoe curve of the tiny river after leaving the Fairfax Stone.

After following the western boundary southward, reaching the Fairfax Stone and proceeding to the "farther bank," said the claim, one reached a bank which became the north shore of the river after it proceeded around the horseshoe curve and actually became the boundary between the two states. This anomalous situation had occurred, of course, because King Charles I in 1632 was completely unaware that the Potomac River flowed anywhere other than easterly as it left its source.

As between Maryland and Virginia, the matter was thought settled by the Boundary Award of 1877. Both states a year or two earlier had agreed to submit their boundary to arbitration, and the award of 1877 was the result. It had no effect upriver from Harpers Ferry, of course. Below that point, said the award, the Maryland-Virginia boundary would begin at "the point on the Potomac River where the line between Virginia and West Virginia strikes the said river at low-water mark, and thence, following the meanderings of said river by the low-water mark, to Smiths Point, at or near the mouth of the Potomac." That language obviously put the Maryland-Virginia boundary on the lower shore at low-water mark, and with both states approving the award, the matter might have been considered as decided.

Maryland's approval of the Boundary Award of 1877 was in Chapter 10 of the Acts of 1878. That act also appropriated money for the arbitrators. Three of them received \$2,500 each; and a fourth who had died during the proceedings had \$2,000 paid to his estate. In another enactment of 1878, Chapter 374, Maryland provided for surveying and marking the boundary line as determined between the two states. This act was conditioned upon acceptance of the new line by the State of Virginia and by the Congress. The War Department in Washington was asked to assign a topographical engineer to run and mark the boundary. The boundary was approved by the Congress on March 3, 1879.

Some two decades later, however, the Supreme Court of the United States re-

versed a portion of the Boundary Award of 1877, with a declaration that Maryland embraced the Potomac River "to high-water mark on the southern or Virginia shore." This case, *Morris v. United States*,³² concerned the tidal flats in the river opposite the District of Columbia, and except for this declaration it did not involve as such the states of Maryland, Virginia, or West Virginia.

When the case of *Maryland v. West Virginia* was considered by the Supreme Court in 1910, there was a direct claim before the Court in the answer and cross claim filed by West Virginia, "that the north bank of the Potomac River, from above Harpers Ferry to what is known as the Fairfax Stone, is the true boundary between the states."³³

This contention, said the Court, already had been decided otherwise in the *Morris* case. Additionally, even though West Virginia had not been a party to the Boundary Award of 1877 between Maryland and Virginia, the territory granted to Maryland in 1632 included the Potomac River and the soil under it. Accordingly, the cross bill filed by West Virginia was dismissed in so far as it asked for a decree fixing the north bank of the Potomac as its boundary.³⁴ Since 1910, therefore, Maryland's claim has been secure; its boundary extends to include the bed of the Potomac River.

LOW WATER MARK ON THE SOUTHERN SHORE

Once it became established that the lower or southern shore of the Potomac River was to be the boundary line, two further questions persisted. One was that of a designation whether it would be the low-water mark or the high-water mark. That issue finally was settled, and fortunately no account was taken of the ultimate fact that neither the high-water nor the low-water mark was itself a fixed line. The second question applied to those parts of the lower river in the tidal estuary; it concerned whether the boundary might in places be set from headland to headland rather than always to follow the meanderings of the shoreline.

The first question, that of whether to use the high-water mark or the low-water

mark, presented practical difficulties. The high-water mark as a boundary would have been an unhandy concept and one difficult to administer politically. It would have been a boundary of possible fluctuation, with no assurance that today's boundary would not be extended by an unprecedented flood next year. A low-water mark would be subject to similar fluctuations, but with the advantage of allowing the riparian owner in Virginia or West Virginia always to hold his property to the current water's edge.

Despite the practical difficulties, the general opinion in Maryland during the years of Provincial government and the early years of statehood appeared to be that Maryland's ownership on the lower shore of the river went to high-water mark; yet there seemed to be no instance in which a Marylander laid claim to a strip along the Virginia shore.

Downstream from Harpers Ferry, the question between Maryland and Virginia was temporarily answered by the Boundary Award of 1877, which firmly declared that the boundary line would follow the meanderings of the river at low-water mark, from the junction of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers to Smith Point at the mouth of the Potomac. Later, in construing the award of 1877, the Supreme Court held in the *Morris* case that it was not necessary to determine whether the award established the boundary as it always was or whether the original grant to Thomas, Lord Culpeper, never of right included the Potomac River.³⁵ In this sense the prospective effect of the award was emphasized.

It may be noted, however, that the actual Maryland-Virginia boundary fixed pursuant to the award of 1877 did not strictly follow the "meanderings" of the shoreline. In some places it cut across open water between headlands, thus giving to Virginia water areas which a literal reading of the award's language seemed to indicate belonged to Maryland. The matter of headlands could be uncertain. There was at least one instance, in 1889, when the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey was asked to determine portions of the boundary line.

The Supreme Court in the *Morris* case did go on to say that the Charter granted to Maryland in 1632 had embraced the Potomac River up to high-water mark on the Virginia shore.³⁶ This matter of history was repeated by the Court in 1910, in the case of *Maryland v. West Virginia*.³⁷

The latter case had been primarily concerned with the validity of the Deakins line as the western boundary of Maryland.³⁸ In it, however, West Virginia by a cross bill had sought a ruling that the *north* bank of the Potomac River was the proper line on this portion of the boundary between the two states. This claim first was denied by the Court, with a statement that West Virginia's title ran only to high-water mark on the West Virginia shore. That question also arose later, in a second hearing, after the Court had called for the appointment of commissioners to establish the lines between the states.

After this second hearing, the Court held that the south bank of the Potomac River, at the *low-water mark* on the West Virginia shore, is the "true southern boundary line of the State of Maryland."³⁹ Again there was use of the common law doctrine of prescription and adverse possession:

The evidence is sufficient to show that Virginia, from the earliest period in her history, used the south bank of the Potomac as if the soil to low-water mark had been her own. She did not give this up by her Constitution of 1776, when she surrendered other claims within the charter limits of Maryland; but, on the contrary, she expressly reserved "the property of the Virginia shores or strands bordering on either of said rivers (Potomac or Pocomoke) and all improvements which have or will be made thereon." By the Compact of 1785, Maryland assented to this, and declared that "the citizens of each state respectively shall have full property on the shores of the Potomac, and adjoining their lands, with all emoluments and advantages thereunto belonging, and the privilege of making and carrying out wharves and other improvements."

It was understood, of course, that when West Virginia was established it succeeded to these rights stated for Virginia. The decree in the case used low-water mark as the

boundary between West Virginia and Maryland.

The only other modification of this boundary along the Potomac River affected (very slightly) the line between Maryland Virginia, downstream from Harpers Ferry. This occurred in the Boundary Award of 1927, in which there was a more liberal use of headlands than earlier and thus a greater area of open water given to Virginia. This applied, of course, to the tidewater portions of the river below Georgetown.⁴⁰ Use of the low-water mark is now well settled, except for the use of headlands, along the entire Potomac River, between Maryland and West Virginia on the upper river and Maryland and Virginia on the lower river.

THE SOUTH BRANCH AS THE BOUNDARY

The North Branch and the South Branch of the Potomac River are of about equal size where they join near Oldtown, Maryland. It was discovered about the mid-eighteenth century, however, that the source of the South Branch is the more distant from Chesapeake Bay, raising the question whether the source of the South Branch is the "first fountain" of the Potomac River.

At that time King George II already had approved, at least implicitly, that the North Branch was the proper boundary between Maryland and Virginia. As a contrary move with no particular effect, Frederick Calvert, sixth Lord Baltimore, declared in 1753 that the boundary had been fixed without his consent and that he had no knowledge of the planting of the Fairfax Stone. Maryland's Governor Horatio Sharpe, at Frederick Calvert's request, sent Thomas Cresap to survey both branches of the river. Cresap reported in 1754 that the South Branch was indeed the longer of the two streams, thus supporting a claim from Maryland that the boundary should be fixed along the South Branch.

This claim would have vastly increased the size of the State of Maryland. The South Branch runs generally in a southwesterly direction from its junction with the North Branch, passing near the West Virginia towns of Romney, Moorefield, Petersburg, and Franklin, with its source in the

mountains southwest of Franklin. Using the South Branch as the boundary would have added a high triangular area to Maryland, between the North and South branches; and since the source of the South Branch is westerly from the longitudinal line beginning at the Fairfax Stone, a long corridor would have been added to Maryland's present western boundary. From the source of the South Branch to the Mason and Dixon Line there would have been a distance of some 85 miles.

The Attorney General of Maryland in 1836 filed a brief on behalf of the South Branch as Maryland's boundary, during one of the many controversies about the boundary between Maryland and Virginia. He claimed that the South Branch "was, and still continues to be, the main source, and an essential part, and the principal source of the river Patowmac, extending westerly upwards of sixty miles further, and with a wider, deeper, and more copious stream than the North Branch, which was then and still continues relatively but a small tributary stream."⁴¹

Over the years, however, Maryland has accepted the North Branch as its proper boundary. Thus, Maryland's Constitution of 1851, in making provision for the later establishment of Garrett County, mentions the Fairfax Stone as one of the descriptive monuments. Again, in Chapter 212 of the Acts of 1872, by which the Legislature actually created Garrett County, the Fairfax Stone was mentioned and accepted. In the meantime, the Legislature in Chapter 385 of the Acts of 1860 had declared that "The northwestern line of the state is a line commencing at the Fairfax Stone, at the head of the north branch of the Potomac River, and running thence due north to the southern line of the State of Pennsylvania." This statute was primarily intended to lay claim to the Michler line as the proper boundary on the west, but in the process it accepted the Fairfax Stone and the North Branch of the Potomac River.

In addition, all the other instances in which Maryland gave implicit or explicit recognition of the Fairfax Stone as a boundary monument carried with them an

automatic abandonment of any claim to the South Branch as the "first fountain."⁴²

Along with the several other questions before the Supreme Court in *Maryland v. West Virginia*, Maryland filed a claim to the South Branch of the Potomac River as "the true location of the boundary line. . . ." The bill charged that West Virginia "is wrongfully in possession of, and exercising jurisdiction over, a large part of the territory rightfully belonging to Maryland; that the true line of the western boundary of Maryland is a meridian running south to the first or most distant fountain of the Potomac River, and that such true line is several miles south and west of the line which the State of West Virginia claims. . . ."

But, said the Court, while "there is much documentary and other evidence in the record bearing upon the contention that the South Branch of the Potomac River is the true southern boundary of Maryland . . ., the briefs and arguments made on behalf of Maryland" had not been pressed. Accordingly, the claim to the South Branch as the proper boundary was not considered further.⁴³

THE SHENANDOAH RIVER AS THE BOUNDARY

Charles Calvert, the fifth Lord Baltimore (1715-1751), claimed that the source of the Shenandoah River was the true first fountain of the Potomac River.⁴⁴ Flowing into the Potomac at Harpers Ferry, the source of the Shenandoah lay in the Valley of Virginia, near Staunton. The western boundary of Maryland, on the longitudinal line northward from the source of the Shenandoah, then, would have been a few miles to the east of the present line, approaching the Mason and Dixon line near Keyzers Ridge.

The Shenandoah appears on the map as a tributary stream, even more so than the South Branch of the Potomac. There seems to have been no other serious effort to make such a claim on behalf of the State of Maryland.

One may speculate upon the effect of such a boundary for Maryland during the years of the Civil War. Maryland then almost certainly would have followed its

strong inclination to secede from the Union, strengthening the South and further endangering the city of Washington.

THE LINE ACROSS THE CHESAPEAKE BAY

The Charter of 1632 was somewhat confusing in having Maryland's boundary follow the lower shore of the Potomac River "unto a certain place called Cinquack, situate near the mouth of the said river, where it disembogues into the aforesaid bay of Chesapeake, and thence by the shortest line unto the aforesaid promontory, or place, called Watkins Point." The result gave Maryland several square miles additional ownership in the Chesapeake Bay, hardly a great consideration in the seventeenth century. It would have seemed more natural simply to carry the boundary line from the southern bank at the mouth of the river, a place later called Smith Point.

Such a boundary change was indicated in 1785, in the Compact of 1785 between Maryland and Virginia. In Article 10, which defined jurisdiction in cases of piracies, crimes, and offenses in the Potomac and Pocomoke rivers and in the Chesapeake Bay, a line of division (not specifically called a boundary) was established "from the south point of Patowmack river (now called Smith Point) to Watkins Point, near the mouth of Pocomoke river. . . ." Since 1785 Smith Point has been accepted as the starting place for the line across the Bay.

This part of the Maryland-Virginia boundary was further considered in the Boundary Award of 1877.⁴⁵ It was first assumed that the line from Smith Point to Watkins Point was to be straight, because the original one from Cinquack to Watkins Point had been defined as "the shortest line." However, this would conflict with the practical situation on Smith Island.

Smith Island is an irregular set of islands in the lower Chesapeake Bay off the shore of Somerset County, Maryland. The southern portion of the islands had been settled by Virginians; following the straight line from Smith Point to Watkins Point would have placed all of Smith Island in Maryland. Also, for years prior to 1877, Maryland and Virginia had been following a *de facto* agreement fixing a boundary line

across Smith Island from Sassafras Hammock to Horse Hammock. Accordingly, the Boundary Award of 1877 set the boundary line across the Bay from Smith Point to Smith Island, across the island from Sassafras Hammock to Horse Hammock, to the middle of the channel in Tangier Sound (easterly from Smith Island), south in Tangier Sound to the point of intersecting a line drawn from Smith Point to Watkins Point, and then following that original line to Watkins Point. In this way the two states by arbitration recognized the prescriptive rights which Virginia and Virginia citizens had long enjoyed on the southern portion of Smith Island. Finally, after passing by Watkins Point, the line curved upstream in Pocomoke Sound to the point of intersecting the old Calvert-Scarborough line of 1668, and on across the Eastern Shore.

A small question remained, which the Maryland Legislature handled by Chapter 228 of the Acts of 1890. The sum of \$1,500 was appropriated for the expenses of a commission to settle a dispute about the Maryland-Virginia boundary at Hog Island.⁴⁶

POSSIBLE ADDITIONS TO THE STATE

Maryland's wartime Constitution of 1864 included an authorization to acquire territory from either Virginia or the newly-formed State of West Virginia:

The general assembly shall have power to accept the cession of any territory, contiguous to this state, from the states of Virginia and West Virginia, or from the United States, with the consent of Congress and of the inhabitants of such ceded territory, and in case of such cessions the general assembly may divide such territory into counties, and shall provide for the representation of the same in the general assembly, and may, for that purpose increase the number of senators and delegates, and the general assembly shall enact such laws as may be required to extend the constitution and laws of this state over such territory, and may create courts, conformably to the constitution, for such territory, and may for that purpose increase the number of judges of the court of appeals.⁴⁷

This authority remained in the Constitution until the Constitution of 1867 was adopted. It obviously stemmed from the

extraordinary situation during the Civil War. The subject had been mentioned earlier in the war, by Secretary of War Simon Cameron. An order introduced into the House of Delegates of Maryland on December 5, 1862, had proposed to inquire "what is the meaning of Secretary Cameron in regard to the reconstruction of the boundaries of the states of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia." The proposed order was laid on the table in the House.

Some years later, during the Maryland Legislature's session of 1880, a petition suggested that Maryland purchase from the State of West Virginia the entire area of the counties of Jefferson, Berkeley, and Morgan. These three counties comprised all the area of the Eastern Panhandle of West Virginia. If added to Maryland they would have given this State the southern bank of the Potomac River, and its hinterland, from Harpers Ferry to Paw Paw.

The irony of these proposals was that after all the controversy and debate involving Maryland's southern boundaries, all the way from the Fairfax Stone to the Atlantic Ocean, Maryland for the first time could have had territory below the Potomac River and the lines from Smith Point to Watkins Point to the ocean.

AN APPRAISAL

Over the years the State of Maryland has suffered constant curtailing and diminution of the geographic boundaries provided for it in the Charter of 1632. The process has affected the boundaries on all sides (including a continuing erosion by the Atlantic Ocean on the east). Separate boundary decisions have been dated from near the middle of the seventeenth century to the latest award in 1927.

In 1668, the Calvert-Scarborough line across the Delmarva Peninsula gave to Virginia a diverging strip of perhaps eight miles along the southeastern boundary. Later, the substitution of the Mason and Dixon line for the fortieth parallel of latitude carried with it a strip some 19 miles wide along the entire length of the northern boundary. On the west, the faulty survey of the Deakins line took away a long narrow wedge of land. Of more importance in the west, the designation of the Fairfax Stone

as the location for the "first fountain" of the Potomac River, rather than the source of the South Branch of the Potomac, cost Maryland a large triangular piece of the present State of West Virginia; and use of the Fairfax Stone as the boundary monument, rather than the Potomac Stone, lost for Maryland a long corridor some one-and-a-half miles wide.

On the south, the Charter of 1632 was construed for many years as giving Maryland the bed of the Potomac River up to high-water mark on the lower shore (although the narrow strip of land on the Virginia and West Virginia shores would not have had much practical value for Maryland and would have caused many administrative and political problems). By arbitration and court decisions, that line has been re-set at the low-water mark. In tidal areas along the lower stretches of the Potomac, the lines drawn between headlands on the lower shore have cost Maryland a number of areas of open water, again of limited practical value.

Finally, the Charter line across the Chesapeake Bay has been re-drawn, giving to Virginia extensive areas in the Bay and the lower portion of Smith Island.

About the only controversy that Maryland has "won" has been that of retaining ownership in the bed of the Potomac River. The value of this holding has been minimal, particularly in view of the assurance in the Compact of 1785 that the riparian states would have equal access to the fisheries and to rights of navigation.

Notably, however, except for the questionable dealings which gave Maryland the Mason and Dixon line on the north, the boundary controversies that Maryland lost were decided on excellent principles of equity and common law property rights. While human error and miscalculation may initially have caused some of the controversies, the tested rule of prescription and adverse possession figured largely in a number of the ultimate decisions.

These principles were expounded at some length by the Supreme Court in *Maryland v. West Virginia* and in other bi-state cases, in principles of international law, and in

the Maryland–Virginia Boundary Award of 1877.

Thus, in *Maryland v. West Virginia*, in retaining Maryland's western boundary on the Deakins line rather than in changing to the Michler line, and in running the boundary northerly from the Fairfax Stone rather than the Potomac Stone, the Court said that

the conclusions at which we have arrived, we believe, best meet the facts disclosed in this record, are warranted by the applicable principles of law and equity, and will least disturb rights and titles long regarded as settled and fixed by the people most to be affected. . . .⁴⁸

To this was added, in the second phase of the case that rejected West Virginia's claim to a boundary on the north bank of the Potomac River, "This conclusion is also consistent with the previous exercise of political jurisdiction by the states respectively."⁴⁹

To the same effect, the Supreme Court in *Maryland v. West Virginia* cited earlier rulings of that tribunal. From *Rhode Island v. Massachusetts*: "For the security of rights, whether of states or of individuals, long possession under a claim of title is protected."⁵⁰ From *Indiana v. Kentucky*, "It is a principle of public law, universally recognized, that long acquiescence in the possession of territory, and in the exercise of dominion and sovereignty over it, is conclusive of the nation's title and rightful authority."⁵¹ In *Virginia v. Tennessee*, "A boundary line between states or provinces, as between private persons, which has been run out, located, and marked upon the earth, and afterwards recognized and acquiesced in by the parties for a long course of years, is conclusive, even if it be ascertained that it varies somewhat from the courses given in the original grant; and the line so established takes effect, not as an alienation of territory, but as a definition of the true and ancient boundary."⁵² Finally, in *Louisiana v. Mississippi*:

This court has many times held that, as between the states of the Union, long acquiescence in the assertion of a particular boundary, and the exercise of dominion and

sovereignty over the territory within it, should be accepted as conclusive. . . .⁵³

Also in *Maryland v. West Virginia*, the Court cited from writings on international law. From Vattel's *Law of Nations*:

The tranquility of the people, the safety of states, the happiness of the human race, do not allow that the possessions, empire, or other rights of nations should remain uncertain, subject to dispute and ever ready to occasion bloody public wars. Between nations, therefore, it becomes necessary to admit prescription founded on length of time as a valid and incontestable title.⁵⁴

Lastly, from Wheaton on *International Law*, "The constant and approved practice of nations shows that by whatever name it be called, the uninterrupted possession of territory or other property for a certain length of time by one state excludes the claim of every other in the same manner as, by the law of nature and the municipal code of every civilized nation, a similar possession by an individual excludes the claim of every other person. . . ."⁵⁵

The theory behind these judicial decisions and the writings of scholars was well summarized in the Boundary Award of 1877 between Maryland and Virginia. It applied only to that portion of Maryland's southern boundary between Harpers Ferry on the west and the Atlantic Ocean on the east, but it might well be used to characterize all of the boundary controversies except that of the Mason and Dixon line.

"We have no faith in any straight-line theory which conflicts with the contracts of the parties or gives to one what the other has peaceably and continuously occupied for a very long time," wrote the commissioners who fashioned that award. "The broken line which we have adopted is vindicated by certain principles so simple, so plain, and so just, that we are compelled to adopt them." The principles then were summarized:

1. So far as the original charter boundary has been uniformly observed and the occupancy of both has conformed thereto it must be recognized as the boundary still.
2. Wherever one state has gone over the charter line taking territory which origi-

nally belonged to the other and kept it, without let or hindrance, for more than twenty years, the boundary must now be so run as to include such territory within the state that has it.

3. Where any compact or agreement has changed the charter line at a particular place, so as to make a new division of the territory, such agreement is binding if it has been followed by a corresponding occupancy.

4. But no agreement to transfer property or change boundaries can count for anything now if the actual possession has never changed. Continued occupancy of the granting state for centuries is conclusive proof that the agreement was extinguished and the parties remitted to their original rights.

5. The waters are divided by the charter line where that line has been undisturbed by the subsequent acts of the parties; but where acquisitions have been made by one from the other of territory bounded by bays and rivers such acquisitions extend constructively to the middle of the water.

The commissioners who formulated the Award of 1877 pointed out that "Maryland is by this award confined everywhere within the original limits of her charter. She is allowed to go to it nowhere except on the short line running east from Watkins Point to the middle of the Pocomoke. . . . We have nowhere given to one of these states anything which fairly or legally belongs to the other; but in dividing the land and the waters we have anxiously observed the Roman rule, *suum cuique tribuere*."⁵⁶

These rules may apply generally to all of the boundary settlements across the Delmarva Peninsula, along the length of the Potomac River, and northerly from the Fairfax Stone to the Mason and Dixon line. Because these boundaries were formulated with little or no actual knowledge of the geography of the region, they resulted in two spots in which the state was almost nipped off; at Hancock, between the river and the Mason and Dixon Line, Maryland is but two miles wide; and the distance at Cumberland is but six or seven miles.

The state as it remains in the twentieth century is one of the smaller states and has one of the most unusual configurations of all the states in the Union, yet its unique

combination of tidal, piedmont, and mountain areas has given it the familiar title of "America in Miniature."

REFERENCES

1. The Charter as originally granted was written in Latin. The English translation used here is taken from J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland*. . . (Baltimore, 1879), vol. 1, pp. 53-60.
2. Portions of this account are adapted from Carl N. Everstine, *The Compact of 1785* (Research Report No. 26, Legislative Council of Maryland, 1948 Reprint), Appendix, pp. 70-82.
3. A degree of latitude is equal to approximately 69 land miles. The reference to New England showed the scanty knowledge of America's geography.
4. A degree of latitude is divided into 60 "minutes," and a minute, into 60 "seconds."
5. Donald Marquand Dozer, *Portrait of the Free State—A History of Maryland* (Cambridge, Maryland, 1976), p. 204. Some Maryland historians have hinted that the Penns were smarter than the Calverts.
6. The two branches meet about a mile and a half east from Greenspring, West Virginia, which in turn is 14.1 miles east of Cumberland on the main line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The village of Oldtown is nearby on the Maryland side of the river.
7. There is an excellent account of the location and history of the Fairfax Stone in Carolyn Baucom Cook, *Journal of the Alleghenies* (1979), vol. 15, pp. 3-12.
8. The original Fairfax Stone was destroyed by vandals, probably in the 1880s. A second, planted by Michler, was destroyed about the same time. The Davis Coal and Coke Company planted a third in 1885. It was destroyed about the year 1900 and replaced by a fourth stone in 1910. Finally a bronze plaque was placed over the spring in 1957. See Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-11.
9. *Maryland v. West Virginia*, 217 U. S. 1.
10. See below, under the heading "The Deakins Line."
11. *Ibid.*
12. Acts of 1788, Chapter 44, secs. 15 and 18.
13. Acts of 1818, Chapter 206 (passed on February 19, 1819).
14. *Communication from the Attorney General Relative to the Suit of Maryland Against Virginia* (1836), p. 20. See below under the heading "The South Branch as the Boundary."
15. Virginia passed another act in 1858 for the appointment of a Virginia commissioner to take part in making a proper boundary line northward from the Fairfax Stone.
16. See below, under the heading "The Deakins Line."
17. Maryland Constitution of 1851, Article 8, section 2.
18. *Maryland v. West Virginia*, 217 U. S. 1, 577.
19. See below, under the heading "The Deakins Line."
20. See above, under the headings "The Charter Boundaries," "The 'First Fountain' of the Potomac River," and "The Function of the Fairfax Stone."

21. See above, under the heading "The Potomac Stone."
22. *Maryland v. West Virginia*, 217 U. S. 1, 577.
23. See above, under the heading "The Potomac Stone."
24. 217 U. S. 1, 26.
25. 217 U. S. 1, 38.
26. 217 U. S. 1, 39.
27. See below, under the heading "An Appraisal."
28. 217 U. S. 1, 44.
29. 217 U. S. 1, 45, 46; 577, 582.
30. See above, under the heading "The Function of the Fairfax Stone."
31. 217 U. S. 1, 23.
32. *Morris v. United States*, 174 U. S. 196.
33. 217 U. S. 1, 24.
34. 217 U. S. 1, 46-48.
35. *Morris v. United States*, 174 U. S. 196.
36. 174 U. S. 196, 224-225.
37. 217 U. S. 1, 45-46.
38. See above, under the heading "The Deakins Line."
39. 217 U. S. 577, 582.
40. Edward B. Matthews and Wilbur A. Nelson, *Report on the Marking of the Boundary Line along the Potomac River in Accordance with the Award of 1927* (Baltimore, 1930).
41. *Communication from the Attorney General Relative to the Suit of Maryland Against Virginia* (1836), p. 20. Approximations from modern maps indicate that a meridian line from the source of the South Branch to the Mason and Dixon Line strikes the Pennsylvania border about eight miles to the west of the present western boundary of Maryland.
42. See above, under the heading "The Potomac Stone."
43. 217 U. S. 1, 24.
44. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
45. A quarter of a century earlier, by Chapter 60 of the Acts of 1852, Maryland's Legislature has asked for the appointment of commissioners to run and mark the Maryland-Virginia boundary between Smith Point and the Atlantic Ocean.
46. The most recent gazeteer of Maryland shows three islands with the name "Hog Island." The others are in Calvert and Caroline counties, however, and could not concern the Maryland-Virginia boundary. The third island is part of the Smith Island group.
47. Maryland Constitution of 1864, Article 3, section 48.
48. 217 U. S. 46.
49. 217 U. S. 581.
50. *Rhode Island v. Massachusetts*, 4 How. 591, 639.
51. *Indiana v. Kentucky*, 136 U. S. 479, 510.
52. *Virginia v. Tennessee*, 148 U. S. 503, 522.
53. *Louisiana v. Mississippi*, 202 U. S. 1, 53.
54. Vattel, *Law of Nations*, Book 2, chapter 11, paragraph 149; 217 U. S. 1, 43.
55. Wheaton, *International Law*, Part 2, chapter 4, paragraph 164; 217 U. S. 1, 43.
56. "To render to everyone his due." The emphasis was in the original.

Calverton, Calvert County, Maryland: 1668–1725

DENNIS J. POGUE

THE COMMUNITY OF CALVERTON (ALSO known as Battle Town¹) was located on the north shore of Battle Creek on the Patuxent River in Calvert County and served as one of southern Maryland's few towns during the colony's first century. Calverton was laid out in 1668 and served as the county seat of government until that function was transferred to Prince Frederick in 1725. This information is not of recent discovery, having been common knowledge to historians for many years. However, just recently a plat of Calverton drawn in 1682 has been correctly identified. This plat, the earliest known plan of a Maryland town, has proven a valuable source of information and greatly increases the body of knowledge pertaining to this early town.

The plat² is included in a bound volume of Calvert County land surveys that were conducted from 1682–84 by Robert Jones, county surveyor. The volume, part of the Clement Hill Papers housed at the Maryland Historical Society, contains dozens of Jones's (and fellow surveyor Charles Boteler's) original survey notes and plats.³ While this and two accompanying volumes of seventeenth-century Calvert County land records have been readily accessible at the Maryland Historical Society since the nineteenth century, it appears that no researcher in early Calvert County history since H.J. Berkley in the 1930s has recognized their significance or was aware of their existence.⁴ This data is particularly important because virtually all other early Calvert County records have been destroyed by a series of courthouse fires.

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Calverton was laid out in 1668 as a 20-acre tract subdivided from an adjoining 500-acre plantation owned by William Berry.⁵ In May 1682 the town and the surrounding land was ordered by the upper house of the Maryland Assembly to be resurveyed in order to settle a dispute over ownership of the town lands. A "Humble Petition of the Inhabitants of Calvert County" requested the resurvey, charging that:

the said William Berry now finding the said Land to be much improved (and) that the Creek aforesaid is grown a Considerable place of Trade by reason of the great Resort of the Inhabitants of the said County . . . and Coveting the Improvements made thereupon . . . hath and doth utterly Deny to make any Tittle or give any Assurance of the said Land.⁶

The town was described further as being a flourishing community where:

Several Inhabitants of the said County being thereto encouraged . . . did Build & Erect Several Dwelling houses and Store houses upon the said Twenty Acres of Land and from that time have continually Resided there and did order and appoint the Court house and Prison to be built.⁷

The plat that resulted from this petition bears out much of this testimony, showing a compact community with the aforesaid "Prison" and "Court house," as well as a "Chappell" and three residences and five outbuildings (possibly kitchens, servants quarters, and a tobacco barn or warehouse). The last structure may be a clerk's office. In addition, two boat landings are shown. A 1671 description of three towns located in Calvert County, including Calverton, states that "Houses already (are) built in

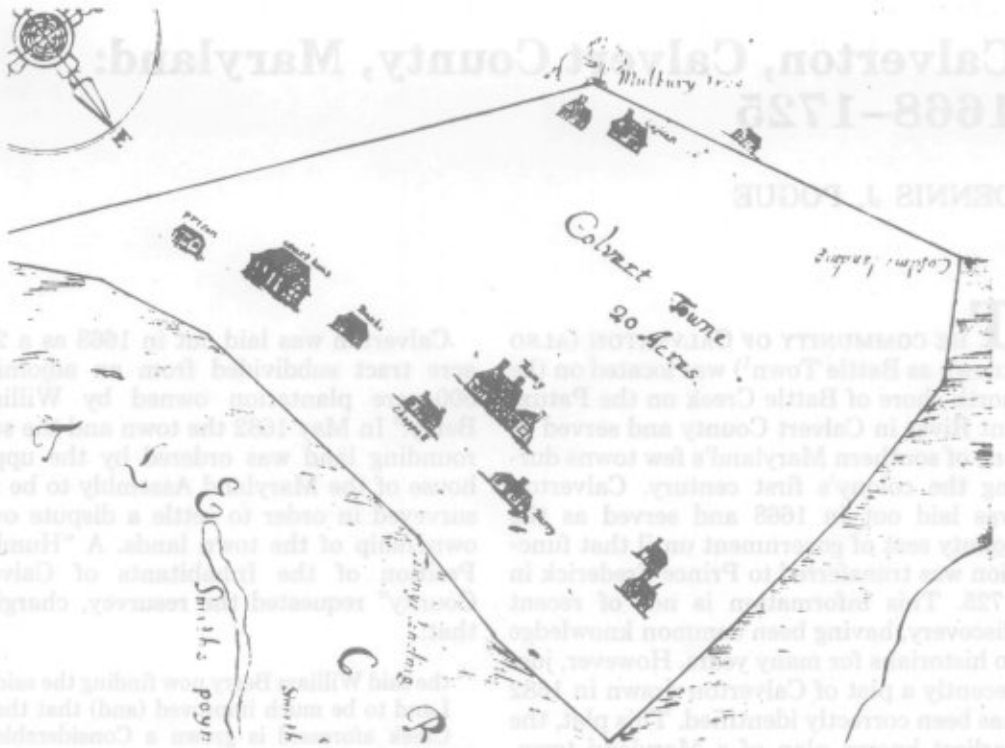


FIGURE 1.
Plat of Calverton (1682).

them, all uniform, and pleasant with Streets and Keys (quays) on the Water side.”⁸ This description has been viewed by historians with some skepticism, but now is given strong support by the recently-discovered plat. Calverton in 1682 still may not be what most people and historians might consider to be a proper “town,” but it was without doubt a community with relative economic, social, and political significance.

Four of the structures shown on the plat have names associated with them: “Berry,” “Tawny,” “Cosden,” and “Banks.” Three of the four have been linked with persons known to have resided in the area, suggesting that the labelled buildings are their residences. William Berry was a prominent local property owner from whose plantation the town land was divided; Michael Tawny was a merchant and served as Calvert County Sheriff; Thomas Cosden was an innkeeper at Calverton by 1675.

William Berry had been transported to

Maryland with the rest of his family by his father James in 1652.⁹ In 1658 James Berry patented a 600-acre tract known as “Berry” in return for having transported himself and 11 others to the colony.¹⁰ By 1666 James Berry had died, with his son William inheriting the property.¹¹ Two years later he volunteered the 20 acres for the use of the Proprietary as the site of Calverton, with his and the town lands being resurveyed in 1682. Berry appears to have sold his plantation to Michael Tawny, probably soon after 1682 but certainly before Tawny’s death in 1692. At his death in 1691, Berry owned almost 2000 acres of land and apparently resided on Maryland’s Eastern Shore.¹²

Michael Tawny is first mentioned in the colonial records in 1665 when he demanded a land grant in return for transporting himself and another to the colony.¹³ Tawny next is mentioned in 1680 when a meeting of the Proprietary Council was held at his house in Calverton.¹⁴ The next year he pat-

ented 125 acres of land adjoining William Berry's land and the Calverton town land.¹⁵ Tawny's acquisition of the 125 acres near Calverton suggests that he may have been speculating on the town's growth; examination of the inventory of his estate at the time of his death in 1692 points to his success in that venture. His personal estate was valued at more than 800 pounds sterling, with an additional debt of 162,875 pounds of tobacco owed him, making him a very wealthy man for the period. His inventory includes a wide variety of trade goods, as well as farming equipment and extensive livestock holdings,¹⁶ strongly suggesting that he acted as a merchant as well as a planter.

Tawny played a large role in the property dispute that culminated in the resurvey order of 1682. He appears to have been one of those complaining of Berry's failure to live up to his agreement in ceding the town lands to the Proprietary. At the same time, there was a controversy over the exact boundaries of Berry's and Tawny's lands as well as that of the town land.¹⁷

From 1685 to 1689, Michael Tawny served in the politically and socially prominent position of Calvert County Sheriff. He lost his office, as well as his personal freedom, in 1689 when he chose to oppose the change in government brought on by that year's Protestant Revolution.¹⁸ In an "Address of the Inhabitants (of Calvert County) to the King," Tawny and 67 other male residents of the county refused to elect representatives to serve in the Protestant Assembly. In addition, they questioned both the necessity for and right of the Protestant rebels to overthrow the Proprietary.¹⁹ In return for their leadership in this affair, both Tawny and Richard Smith of Calvert County were arrested and incarcerated.

In a letter complaining of his imprisonment, Tawny recounted his part in and opinion of the events leading to the outbreak of the Protestant rebellion and his subsequent arrest. According to Tawny:

I endeavoured with what arguments I could use to persuade all people . . . to lye still and keepe the peace of the Countrey . . . and I and many more of the better sort of

the people sett our hands to a paper wrighting that exprest modestly and loyally some reasons why wee were not willing to choose any representatives to sitt in that intended Assembly for which doeing I was fetched from my house on Sunday the 25th of August 1689. by James Bigger and six other armed men.²⁰

It is not known how long Tawny and Smith remained prisoner, but they may well have been held for several months. Tawny died in 1692, his will stipulating that his son Michael was to receive "all my lands . . . I bought of William Berry," apparently referring to "Berry" plantation.²¹

Thomas Cosden immigrated to Maryland in 1668 in the company of his wife Sarah and two daughters.²² He is known to have operated an inn at New Towne on the Potomac River in 1670; by 1675 he appears to have operated another inn at Calverton and at his death in 1683 he was described as an "innholder of Calverton."²³

References to Calverton in the colonial documents become relatively uncommon in the last decades of the seventeenth century. There is one general description of the courthouse building dating from 1697-8: "The records of Calvert County are kept in a very good Court house and distance enough from any other houses in which no ordinaryes are Kept nor is there any chimney."²⁴ The concern over the dangers of fire is readily apparent in this description. Those fears were well founded given the subsequent history of the county's courthouses, suffering three disastrous fires in 1748, 1814, and 1882.²⁵

The town appears to have declined in significance by the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Attempts to relocate the county seat ended in success in 1725 when an act was passed for "Removing the Court-House from [Calverton] in Calvert County, and for building a Court-House for the said County." The justification given for its removal was that the "Court-House already built . . . is very old, decayed, and inconvenient to the greatest Part of the Inhabitants of the said County." The new county seat, in 1725 known as "William's Old Field,"²⁶ became the town of Prince Frederick. Calverton probably died out as

a community soon after the removal of the courthouse.

The 1668 order to survey Calverton called for "Convenient Streets [to] be left of Sixty foot in breadth," and Ogilby's description of 1671 portrays the town as having uniform, pleasant houses with streets and quays. Jones's plat of 1682 shows a somewhat less organized town plan than the earlier references might suggest. However, the town is laid out in an orderly fashion, with most of the structures located in a line running parallel to the creek. The public buildings—prison, courthouse, and chapel—are grouped together. These buildings are without chimneys and away from those structures that have them, obviously as a safeguard against fire as suggested in the description of the courthouse made in 1697–8.

Another chimneyless building labelled "Banks" is located near the courthouse. The absence of a chimney in a structure without any obvious governmental function, and labelled as if a residence, is puzzling. It is known that structures such as clerk's offices often did not have fireplaces as a safeguard against the loss of the clerk's records by fire.²⁷ Given its proximity to the courthouse, it may be that this structure served such a court-related function.

The Tawny and Berry residences are relatively close together, directly opposite "Tawny's Landing." A smaller building, possibly a detached kitchen or quarter, is next to Tawny's dwelling house. Two other small structures are located to the east; the presence of chimneys and windows suggests they are servants quarters rather than barns or warehouses. Michael Tawny was a merchant, however, and possibly these structures were used as storehouses. The Cosden residence, also probably serving as an inn, and a smaller quarter or kitchen, and a chimneyless building, probably a tobacco barn or warehouse, are located farther inland. They are near an inlet in the creek labelled "Cosden's Landing."

In addition to the strictly historical data and that pertaining to Calverton's town plan, the Jones plat provides important

architectural information as well. The 12 structures are rendered in relatively great detail (albeit some of the details may be artistic conventions rather than actual representations), showing such characteristics as chimney, window, and doorway placement, and roofing and building material, as well as indicating the structures' relative sizes. Because pictorial representations of seventeenth-century structures of any kind are few, and there are still fewer surviving buildings from the period in the Chesapeake Bay region, any additional evidence of the type provided in the plat is invaluable. This evidence from Calverton adds support for many archaeologically-derived ideas pertaining to seventeenth-century housing types and spatial layouts of homelots.²⁸

All of the structures appear to be constructed of wood with exterior clapboarding and with steeply-gabled, apparently clapboarded roofs. It cannot be discerned whether the chimneys are of brick or mud-and-stud construction. The four public buildings and the Cosden barn/warehouse are chimneyless, the rest except for the Tawny dwelling have single chimneys. The Tawny house has two chimneys, one in a gable, the other apparently serving an interior fireplace located in the center of the structure. The Berry residence also has an interior chimney. All but the Cosden barn/warehouse can be seen to have single doorways located on their long axes with windows flanking the door and in the gables.

The two largest buildings are the courthouse and Tawny residence. Both structures have a single dormer window positioned above the door, probably providing light to a sleeping loft or half-story. Such a loft in the courthouse would have been used by visitors to the court. Another, somewhat surprising, feature in the courthouse appears to be a series of floor-to-ceiling windows in the front facade. The Tawny residence exhibits two rows of windows, suggesting that it was of two stories in addition to the loft. All the other structures are one story, with the Cosden residence also having a dormer.

The town of Calverton was one of more than 60 towns and ports legislated into existence through three series of town acts enacted in the 1660s, 1680s, and the first decade of the eighteenth century. Past studies of early Maryland towns have questioned whether more than a few actually were laid out or grew to any significant size.²⁹ Calverton, however, did achieve a position of prominence as a governmental and population center and locus of trade, and it remained one of only three or four towns in the county during the seventeenth century.

Because Calverton is now known to have been a sizable community that served a variety of functions, it suggests that others of the 60 towns legislated into existence also may have achieved greater importance than previously has been believed. Additional intensive research relating to more of the colony's early towns needs to be undertaken in order to address the question of their impact on and place within early Maryland society.

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2. Actually two plats were made. One is of the general area, showing the relationship between Berry Plantation and the Calverton town lands. The second is a smaller-scale rendering of Calverton. This second plat is discussed below.
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istence in Maryland and Virginia during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. He emphasizes that towns were rare in the region, due to an environment unsuited to their success. He did not conduct intensive research on each town, however, and was not aware of much of the information pertaining to Calverton. Reps's pioneering work could well serve as the basis for additional, very rewarding research on the subject.

A Cycle of Race Relations on Maryland's Eastern Shore: Somerset County, 1850-1917

JOHN R. WENNERSTEN

THE REALITIES OF FREEDOM FOR blacks in Maryland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries never matched the romantic expectations of abolitionists in the post-Civil War era. In the seven decades that elapsed between the end of the war between the states and the outbreak of World War I black freedom in Maryland generally and on the Eastern Shore in particular had a curious cycle. In part black freedom during this period demonstrated an amazing resilience that transcended efforts to subjugate blacks in a kind of quasi-slavery that would be defined both by legislation and community sanction. Yet tragically the forces of racial reaction and violence would make the Chesapeake one of the most difficult regions for black civil rights in the country. On the Eastern Shore, especially, neither philanthropy nor law could guarantee black freedom.

The purpose of this paper is to trace the contours of race relations on Maryland's Eastern Shore in the post-Emancipation period by focusing on Somerset County.¹ As one of the oldest counties in the Chesapeake region, Somerset's race relations heritage dates back to the early seventeenth century; and the struggle for black freedom in this community serves as an excellent case study of civil rights problems in the Maryland tidewater.

The Eastern Shore of Maryland has often been referred to as the land that time forgot. Stretching from Cecil County in the

north, the region follows the Chesapeake Bay southward to form a diamond of tide-water counties shaped over the millennia by the sand deposits of the Susquehanna River. Until recently, the Eastern Shore was isolated from the commercial and political mainstream of Maryland and few outsiders settled in its tightly knit communities. Pride of birth and heritage prompted local citizens to boast that "a hundred years ain't a very long time on the Eastern Shore!" Three states, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, have sovereignty on the Eastern Shore; and the name Delmarva (as the region is popularly referred to) testifies to the political allegiance of its inhabitants. Most residents identify more with the region as a social entity than with its hyphenate political structure.

From 1850 to the outbreak of World War I, Somerset County remained a stable agricultural community of about 22,000 that identified strongly with the provincial society of the tidewater South. In the last decade of the antebellum period slavery was on the decline both on the Eastern Shore and in Somerset County. Soil erosion, the rise of grain agriculture, and unpredictable commodity prices forced Somerset to yield its slaves to other regions of Dixie where the peculiar institution enjoyed a more vigorous existence. Somerset's 5,558 slaves amounted to little more than half of the county's black population as black emancipations were a frequent occurrence in this heavily Methodist community.² Yet regardless of their convictions, Somerset whites knew well the problems of slaveholding. Blacks in the region were perceived by local whites as crafty, insolent, and rebellious—not only a source of boastful paternalism but also a source of infinite exasperation.³

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People in the county lived with a racial system that had been in continuous existence since 1639; and slavery was as much a system of racial and social control as it was a labor system. Slavery gave planters a measure of control over free blacks and gave poor whites a false sense of superiority that prevented them from challenging the power of elite groups in the county. Further, racial prejudice and the weight of social custom caused the white community to identify with the ideals and values of the plantation South. Thus, despite slavery's decline in the county, proslavery sentiment remained strong in Somerset.

Slavery in Somerset had its own characteristics. In the late antebellum period the federal census recorded 747 slaveholders in the county; with most owning five slaves or less.⁴ Also blacks in the county during the 1850s were but one or two generations removed from the heritage of Africa. The Eastern Shore had always been a haven for both legal and illegal black cargoes and ocean commerce put Somerset County in close contact with the Afro-Caribbean culture of Trinidad, Tobago, Antigua, and Barbados. Frederick Douglass, the famous fugitive slave from Talbot County and black abolitionist, noted in his youth the presence of many Guinea blacks on the Eastern Shore with their African dialects and transmogrified English.⁵ Most slaves worked as farm hands and unskilled laborers or were apprenticed to tradesmen. Many enterprising slaves sold vegetables to white townsmen in Princess Anne and some blacks in good physical condition earned money as prizefighters.⁶

Free blacks during the last decade of the antebellum era showed a remarkable determination to acquire property in Somerset County and the federal census identified 516 free black landowners. As Professor Tom Davidson recently pointed out, this was a remarkable feat as during this time only 15 percent of all Somerset residents, white or black, owned land. (Approximately 14 percent of the free blacks of Somerset in 1850 owned land, mostly farms of eight acres or less.)⁷ In 1860 there were 4,483 free blacks living in the county and many enjoyed modest prosperity as barbers, black-

smiths, lumberjacks and teamsters. So prosperous did some black watermen become that whites demanded that blacks be legally prohibited from harvesting and selling oysters in the county.⁸ Black accumulations of capital of \$100 to \$500 in cash were not uncommon and blacks occasionally sued in the county court to protect their rights.⁹

In an attempt to control and dictate the use of the local free black labor force, planters demanded that blacks sign iron clad labor contracts. A free black under this kind of contract was forbidden to leave the county, could only go to town with his employer's consent, and was forced to buy his food and clothing from the planter. Thus Negro peonage, so familiar in the post-Civil War South, loomed large in Somerset County during the antebellum period.¹⁰ Furthermore, although the Jacobs Bill, a plan to re-enslave all blacks who had less than \$150 and refused to be hired out on labor contracts, was defeated in a state-wide referendum, Somerset supported the bill. Undaunted, Somerset County authorities offered free blacks over 18 years of age the right to renounce freedom and take masters.¹¹

When the Civil War erupted, blacks enrolled in Union Army detachments that were formed in Somerset and Worcester counties as part of the 9th and 19th Regiments of Colored Troops of Maryland. In order to satisfy the army's need for manpower and to protect its pro-Confederate citizens, the Somerset Board of Commissioners offered freedom to any slave after 1862 who would serve as a substitute for a local white in the Union forces.¹²

Of the numerous social and economic adjustments confronting Somerset County in the Civil War era, none would be so painful as emancipation. Fearful that both the old free blacks and the new freedmen would either become an unreliable labor force or desert the county, whites resorted to an apprenticeship system that, until outlawed by the Maryland Constitution of 1867 was a *sub rosa* continuation of slavery.¹³ During the antebellum period, state law had permitted county Orphans Courts to bind out children of free blacks who were

destitute or public wards. After emancipation, the Somerset County Orphans Court used this authority to bind out blacks under age twenty-one to local farmers. White leaders in the county rationalized the apprenticeship system for blacks on the grounds that the unskilled and illiterate freedmen were both a public charge and a burden to the taxpayer. Apprenticeship, they argued, upheld local custom and gave the county a reliable labor supply, an important concern for former slaveowners.¹⁴ Between April, 1865 and October, 1867, over 275 blacks were bound out. An examination of Orphans Court apprenticeships in the Maryland Hall of Records reveals that between 1864 and 1874 over 536 blacks were bound out in Somerset County.¹⁵ Many blacks fled the county to avoid being coerced into involuntary servitude. Other blacks protested to the United States Army and the Freedmen's Bureau that Somerset County was attempting to revive slavery. While the Freedmen's Bureau was too preoccupied with the enormous problems of postwar adjustment to give the Eastern Shore much supervision, it did intervene in behalf of William Tilghman after he appealed to General O. O. Howard to rescue his son from an unscrupulous white.¹⁶

Somerset blacks feared the Justice of the Peace as these men could apprehend "rogues," "vagrants," and other "idle and dissolute persons" who had no visible means of support and bind them out at hard labor for three months. Similarly, black convicts could be leased out at hard labor to local planters. Throughout Maryland in the postwar period about 10,000 blacks were bound out as either convicts or apprentices. Although black families occasionally apprenticed their children voluntarily to white tradesmen so that they might learn a craft, the law worked against the black apprentice, regardless, of condition.¹⁷

As in most areas of the postbellum South, Somerset's freedmen responded to racial and economic oppression by turning to the church. In the critical years after emancipation, the black churches in Somerset

served as important social and political centers for the advancement of the race in the county. The most heartening development for blacks in Somerset and on the lower Eastern Shore generally was the founding of the Delaware Conference of Colored Methodists in 1864. Except for the Episcopacy itself, blacks dominated the ecclesiastical management of this organization and the Conference proved to be a fertile training ground for black ministers and lay leaders on the Eastern Shore. By 1886 there were 15,334 blacks in the Conference and blacks owned church property worth \$250,000. Also by 1886, black Methodists in Somerset had succeeded in constructing a large Methodist church in Princess Anne which became the nucleus for black political activity and Princess Anne Academy, a training school for blacks out of which grew the University of Maryland, Eastern Shore.¹⁸

Following the passage of the 15th Amendment to the federal Constitution, blacks voted freely in Somerset County elections. Abolitionists in Washington and black and white Methodist ministers kept a critical eye on Somerset and made sure that federal supervisors were present at all federal elections. Most of Somerset's black voters joined the ranks of the Republicans and gave the county its first minority party. Despite the franchise, however, many blacks left the county. Although blacks now had the ballot, the phenomenon of blacks "voting with their feet" was not lost on the local *Salisbury Advertiser*, which reported in 1873 that large numbers of blacks were leaving Princess Anne to seek homes in Philadelphia.¹⁹ Those who remained, however, voted in local elections with surprising vigor and showed a keen interest in political power.²⁰

Blacks survived the uncertain political climate of the 1870s and by the year 1880 were quite active in local life. Black Republicans were given patronage appointments as customs inspectors, clerks in the post office, and justices of the peace. Many local blacks held good jobs in the flourishing rail and steamboat businesses of the Ches-

peake as well. According to the Census of 1880, Somerset had a large class of black artisans who worked in the shipyards of the county.²¹

During the period from 1890 to 1917, however, race relations once again deteriorated in the county. Local demagogues and a new generation of self-made men would blame the blacks for the ebbing of Somerset's economic fortunes and seize upon the quest for black equality as an excuse for violence. Several developments in the county and beyond worsened the blacks position. The shock waves of the nationwide panic of 1893 reverberated throughout Maryland's Eastern Shore and a poor corn crop in the following year hurt many farmers. Most important, the decreased demand in Europe for American wheat and corn forced Somerset farmers to compete in an already tight national market that was dominated by the giant farms of Kansas and Iowa. With Somerset County farms averaging only twenty acres at this time, local agriculture was severely depressed and increasingly farmers vented their anger on blacks. In state politics, the problems of urbanization and industrial growth commanded the energies of legislators and agricultural regions like the Eastern Shore were left to their own devices. As state Republicans equated the political control of Baltimore with the survival of the Party, they deemphasized their support of blacks in the rural counties.²²

The Republican Party's change of emphasis was keenly felt in Somerset County and a short sketch of local politics is illustrative of the emerging racism in the state at this time. From 1870 to 1885 blacks comprised the strongest voting bloc in the local Republican organization. Blacks consistently voted for Abraham Lincoln Dryden, a prominent white Republican, and sent him to the state legislature for several terms. The Dryden family commanded a strong black and white coalition of Republicans in the county and Dryden's father, Littleton T. Dryden, served twelve years as Deputy United States Marshall and United States Commissioner for the Eastern

Shore. While in power the Drydens resisted attempts to disfranchise blacks and made sure that blacks got patronage appointments in the Baltimore Customs House. Supporting the Drydens was a group of outspoken Princess Anne blacks led by Henry Ballard, Issac Cottman, and George Poltit. These local farmers were among the first blacks to vote in the county after the passage of the 15th Amendment. In 1894 Lincoln Dryden ran for Congress against Joshua Miles, a conservative Democrat and was defeated. The evidence suggests that Dryden's defeat resulted from a schism within the local Republican Party. Many white Republicans disliked working with blacks and looked for leadership from men like Edward F. Duer. At the war's end Duer had been active as Justice of the Peace in apprenticing blacks and now, eager to advance his own political fortunes, Duer launched a "whites only" movement and sought to have his party reflect the new interests of the state Republican organization.²³

Somerset blacks were angered by the Republican de-emphasis of civil rights and switched their allegiance to the Democrats. In 1885 the Democratic Party soundly defeated the Republicans in county elections and the *Salisbury Advertiser* reported that the victory was due to "the great inroads which the Democrats made on the colored vote." Blacks, however, were uncomfortable in the party of the old slaveocracy and in the 1890s formed their own splinter organization, "the Colored Independent Republicans."²⁴

The 1890s also witnessed a resurgence of racial hysteria in the county that was prompted by several violent incidents. In June, 1894, Edward Carver, a white constable, was murdered in a country store in Westover by a gang of blacks from Virginia that had been picking strawberries for area planters. Both Carver and the black farm workers had been drinking heavily and a fistfight ensued. During the brawl, Carver was fatally slashed by a razor. A posse from Princess Anne soon rounded up ten of the blacks and interned them in the county jail.

On the evening of June 9, an angry mob of whites overpowered the jailer and grabbed Isaac Kemp, the reputed leader of the gang. Thrown out of jail, Kemp faced an impromptu firing squad and died in a hail of bullets.

Two black lynchings took place in Somerset during these years, and all followed a common pattern. A black was accused either of criminally assaulting a white man or attempting the rape of a white woman. In 1897 William Andrew was lynched in Princess Anne after reportedly attacking Mrs. Benjamin T. Kelly; and James Reed, accused of murdering a white policeman, was lynched in Crisfield in 1907.²⁵

Given Somerset's emotional level on the race question, it was easy for Democratic politicians to capitalize on white racism as a vote getting device. By 1904 Somerset politicians had instituted Jim Crow laws in the county and blacks were barred from mixing with whites in railway coaches and steamboats. These laws were also in keeping with a state-wide attempt to restrict black freedom. For several years after the turn of the century, the state Democratic Party tried unsuccessfully to abolish black suffrage and polluted the state's political life by making race a central issue.²⁶ Thus it is hardly surprising that during this period nearly 25 percent of the adult male and female black population left the county. Yet those who remained exhibited an amazing tenacity in holding on to property and speaking out on political issues. Race relations in the county followed a curious thirty year cycle of periods of amelioration followed by periods of repression; and public attitudes towards blacks evolved in the context of a troubled local economy.

There is a great need for historians to examine the black experience at the local level in Maryland. Hopefully as research in black history in the tidewater counties unfolds it will be possible to piece together the important mosaic of Maryland race relations in the post-Emancipation period.

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An Archaeologist's Perspective on the Ancient Town of Doncaster

KIT W. WESLER

MANY HISTORIANS HAVE SHOWN AN INTEREST in the development of urbanism in the United States, and in what Arthur Schlesinger Sr. has called the "persistent interplay of town and country in the evolution of American civilization."¹ In the colonial period, particularly in the seventeenth century, many scholars suggest that towns were essentially mercantile establishments, able to develop where they "commanded certain vital trading advantages—the possession of good natural harbors, the control of avenues of trade and communication, or the domination of a productive countryside."²

The problem of the colonial Chesapeake is not so much where towns grew, but why they were so few, and so small. Even into the eighteenth century, the Maryland landscape was uncompromisingly rural. Several scholars have addressed the major reasons for the lagging urbanism of the colonial Chesapeake.³ Foremost is the complexity of the drainage system and the length of the navigable waterline, which allowed nearly unlimited access to water transport and thus discouraged any concentration of storage or loading facilities. Closely related was the nature of the staple crop, tobacco. The low bulk and relatively easy preservation of the crop deterred centralization of storage or processing. Further, the small volume produced by any given area, and the willingness of each planter to trade on his own with the ship masters that called at his wharf, prevented the specialization of a merchant group. John Reys quotes John

Clayton's recognition of these aspects in 1688: "The Number of Rivers, is the one of the chief Reasons why they have no towns."⁴

The definition of a town in colonial Maryland was primarily a legal one. In both Maryland and Virginia, towns were created on paper by a series of Town Acts, intended to draw the population together in orderly communities.⁵ There were three sets of Acts in Maryland, in 1668–1671, 1683–1688, and 1706–1708.⁶ In all, more than 60 sites had been named as legal towns. Included in the chartering of the towns was a requirement that merchants must use the towns as market places, so as to centralize and regulate trade. The lawmakers intended thus both to justify towns, and to draw residents.

In 1708, however, it was clear that legalities were insufficient to stimulate town growth. Governor Seymour observed that "the Ports in this Province may perhaps be worthy of the name Townes but the other Towns will only serve her Rolling places to receive Tobacco in order to be water borne."⁷ Six sites at this time had the official status of ports: Oxford, St. Mary's City, Chestertown, Annapolis, and two lesser-knowns.⁸ The city of St. Mary's was little more than a dispersed hamlet,⁹ and Annapolis was barely established; if these were worthy towns, of what did the others consist?

How many of these sites actually were or became towns has never been clear from the records. Many sites were nominated repeatedly in the Acts, and were considered towns, such as the above-named ports, Battle Creek on the Patuxent River, Port Tobacco, and Londontown. Others may have contained a storehouse or a couple of structures, perhaps only for a very short period.

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But some were nominated with phrases that imply nothing extant to fix a site, and it is likely that no activity ever took place on some sites. Evidently some sites were designated because the landowner, usually a planter with a large estate, hoped that revenue from commercial traffic and the sale of lots would accrue to his own profit. In occasional instances, as William Burgess's land on the South River that became the port of Londontown,¹⁰ such speculation indeed resulted in a town, but whether the planter benefitted is not clear. Other planters undoubtedly were badly disappointed in such speculations.

The question of which towns grew, and which were no more than paper entities, is one that invites the cooperative attention of historians and archaeologists. As a case in point, the colonial town of Doncaster, in Talbot County, can be investigated to compare actual town size "on the ground" with historical records. County-oriented histories such as James C. Millikin's *Ghost Towns in Talbot County*¹¹ seem to indicate that this town was an important center of activity. A preliminary archaeological investigation has cast some doubt on this interpretation.

Doncaster was a Town Act town, owing its legal establishment to the civilizing effort of the colonial legislators. It was established first in the supplementary Act of 1671,¹² which placed a town in Talbot County "at the land of Jonathan Syberry at the Mouth of Wye River on the Eastern Side thereof." At this time, the site was known as Wye Town.¹³ In each of the two subsequent sets of town bills, Wye Town was included from the first. Nominations for the sites to be established in 1683 included a site "at or near Adjacent to the Town Point at Wye River Mouth," and the final form of the act stipulated the town land at Wye River. Again in 1706, the Town Act specified the Wye River site, this time under the name of Doncaster.¹⁴

Tilghman provides a number of details about Doncaster and Bruff's Island, although occasionally his dates are confusing. According to Tilghman, Bruff's Island originally belonged to one William Crouch, who owned both the island and a tract called

Crouch's Choyce at the mouth of Wye River. "The Town of Doncaster was located on this tract called Crouch's Choyce." (Tilghman does not mention a Jonathan Syberry.) Crouch willed his Choyce to his son Josias in 1676. He had already sold the island to Peter Sayer; Sayer sold it to Thomas Bruff. Tilghman has the date of this transaction as 1762, which makes more sense if read as a typographical error for 1672.¹⁵

Thomas Bruff, a silversmith, came to Maryland about 1665, and died in 1702. "He devised to son Richard, dwelling plantation at Doncaster . . . and one-half of Crouch's Island, and to son Thomas, residue of island." Of the former son, Tilghman says, "Richard Bruff, son of Thomas, born 1670, was an Inn-keeper at the town of Doncaster, and owned a large tobacco warehouse, fronting on a narrow strait of water which then separated Bruff's Island from the mainland on which the town of Doncaster stood." Here again Tilghman's dates are confusing; he says that there is a record of son Richard's warehouse in 1780, and that Thomas Bruff was keeping a ferry at Bruff's landing in 1760. Whether these dates are accurate, referring to a long-lived warehouse and another generation of Thomases, is unclear.

Two more references by Tilghman help establish that a town did exist at Doncaster. Tilghman notes that a courthouse was built at Doncaster, and that in 1700 Thomas Bruff (one of them!) was directed "to set up a pair of stocks and whipping post, at the town of Doncaster." These structures, Bruff's "dwelling plantation at Doncaster," and Richard Bruff's warehouse, must have been a nucleus of a town, but whether there was much more to the place is questionable.¹⁶

Reps mentions that a 1707 plan of the town survives, on which five lots were noted as "improved formerly." Tilghman admits that there probably never were more than a dozen houses at Doncaster. The wording of the nomination of 1683, "at or near Adjacent," suggests that by that time the town was not firmly fixed on the ground. The general picture created by the references is one of an ephemeral hamlet, rather opti-

mistically—if not euphemistically—given the legal status of a town.

Father Edward Carley of Centerville has published a copy of a survey plat of the study area.¹⁷ (The original is privately owned.) The plat was drawn, according to the legend at the bottom, for Mrs. Henrietta Maria Lloyd in 1695. It clearly shows Crouch's Choyce and Bruff's Island, as well as the "Town Point" below the narrows between the mainland and the island. In conversation with this author, Father Carley has suggested that the structure sketched beside the narrows is Thomas Bruff's house. It may also be a symbol for the town, since only one other structure is drawn on the plat.

Across the Wye River is "Colonel Sayer's land," where Peter Sayer, and later Richard Bennett III, lived. This was a major plantation: Bennett is said to have owned a fleet of ships, and archaeological investigations have shown the existence of a substantial manor house on the tract.¹⁸ The significance of this plantation's proximity to Doncaster will be suggested below.

In sum, the historical evidence suggests that, at best, the town of Doncaster was little more than a waterside hamlet of the turn of the eighteenth century. Further research is needed even to gauge how long the hamlet might have existed. If Tilghman's later-eighteenth century dates for the ferry and warehouse are not errors, some activity may have continued for quite a while.

An archaeological survey was conducted in 1982 to gain another perspective on the life-span and activities of the town. The site of Doncaster had been identified before this project began, and had been assigned the number 18Ta30. A preliminary National Register nomination form was begun for the site, and notes are still on file with the Maryland Historical Trust. Evidently the investigator at that time noted a sufficient quantity of historic materials in the field to suggest that the town was indeed on the point below Bruff's Island, as the historical sources indicate (Figure 1).

In 1982, the field at the town point was plowed to the edge of the Wye River, but only to the beginning of the slope down to

the former channel between the island and the mainland (Figure 2). At the northern edge of the field, closest to the island, a scatter of brick was noticeable.

Wire-stemmed flags were placed across the field to establish the corners of a grid, each square 15 meters wide. The base or datum point was the northwest corner of the field. Grid coordinates were designated along two base lines: the first measured "forward" from 0 to 90 meters southwesterly along the west side of the field, and the second measured L0 to L180 (L for "left") easterly from the base point (see Figure 2). Each square bore the designation of its northwest corner; for example, square 30L15 was the grid unit whose northwest corner was 30 meters southwest ("forward") and 15 meters southeast ("left") of the datum point, 0L0.

Artifacts within a rectangle the width of the field—11½ grid units northwest to southeast—and six grid units deep along the base line were collected systematically. A slight angle of the field edge resulted in a grid somewhat off-square, exaggerated in Figure 2. After the sixth row, materials were so sparse that continuation of the controlled surface collection would have been highly inefficient, and the rest of the field was inspected by walking every third plow row without reference to the grid.

Artifacts were flagged where spotted, and left until the entire field had been covered. Two dubious concentrations, designated A and B, were defined visually, and collected separately. They were roughly plotted by line of sight and pace from the original grid. Cluster A fell between the L90 and L105 lines, approximately 22 to 30 meters from the edge of the grid, and B between the L75 and L90 lines about 30–40 meters farther southwest. Both clusters are plotted in Figure 2. No brick was noted in either cluster. The remainder of the materials from the south part of the field was bagged as a general surface collection.

A summary of the collected artifacts is presented in Table 1. A general impression of the assemblage tends to support the early eighteenth-century date suggested by the historic data. Only three sherds of white-ware (a post-1820 tableware) are present,



FIGURE 1. DONCASTER SITE.

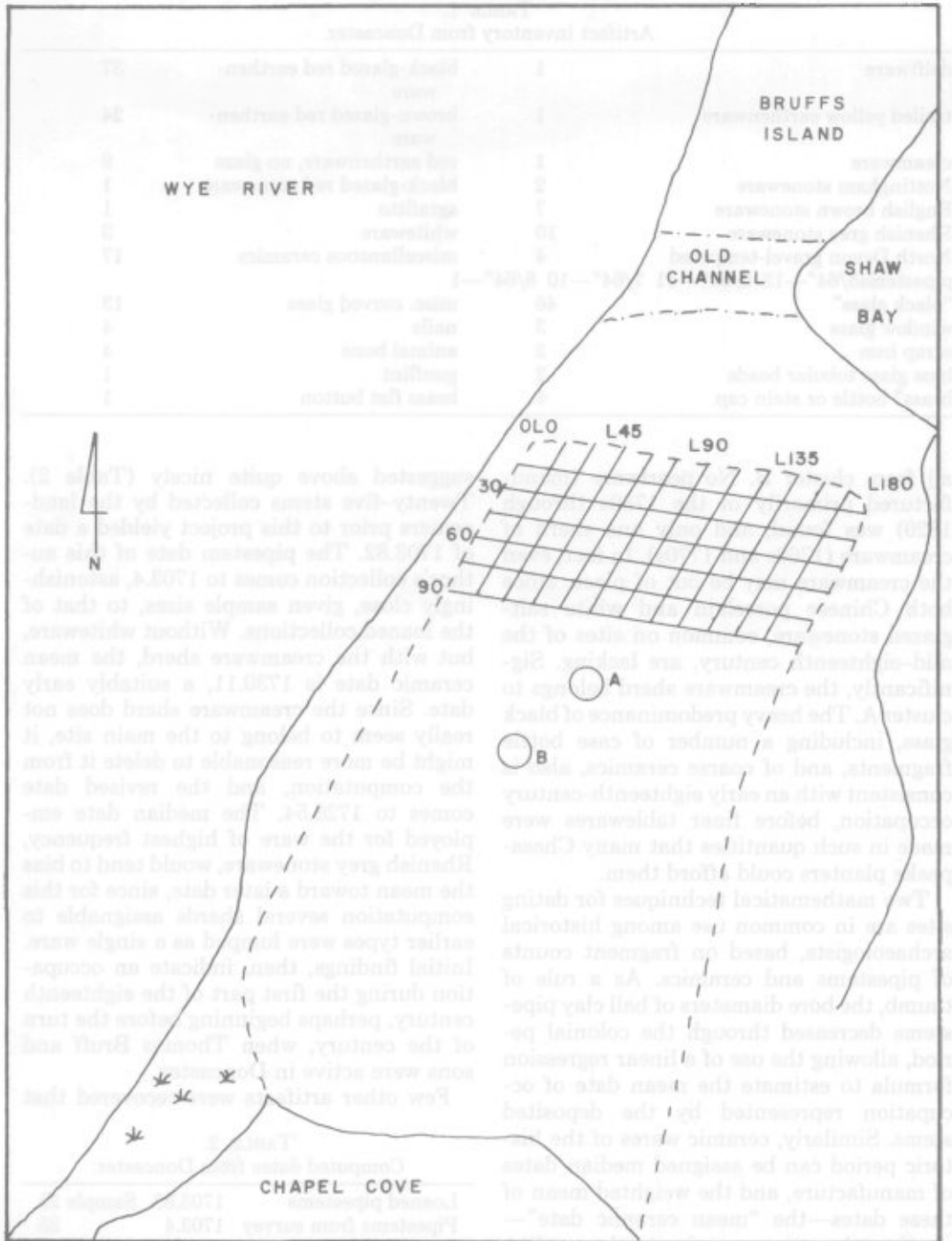


FIGURE 2. DONCASTER GRID ORIENTATION.

TABLE 1.
Artifact inventory from Doncaster.

delftware	1	black-glazed red earthenware	37
trailed yellow earthenware	1	brown-glazed red earthenware	24
creamware	1	red earthenware, no glaze	9
Nottingham stoneware	2	black-glazed red stoneware	1
English brown stoneware	7	sgraffito	1
Rhenish grey stoneware	10	whiteware	3
North Devon gravel-tempered	4	miscellaneous ceramics	17
pipestems 5/64"—13 6/64"—11 7/64"—10 8/64"—1			
"black glass"	46	misc. curved glass	13
window glass	3	nails	4
scrap iron	2	animal bone	4
blue glass tubular beads	2	gunflint	1
brass? bottle or stein cap	1	brass flat button	1

all from cluster B. No pearlware (manufactured primarily in the 1780s through 1820) was found, and only one sherd of creamware (1760s and 1770s). In fact, even the creamware may be out of place, since both Chinese porcelain and white salt-glazed stoneware, common on sites of the mid-eighteenth century, are lacking. Significantly, the creamware sherd belongs to cluster A. The heavy predominance of black glass, including a number of case bottle fragments, and of coarse ceramics, also is consistent with an early eighteenth-century occupation, before finer tablewares were made in such quantities that many Chesapeake planters could afford them.

Two mathematical techniques for dating sites are in common use among historical archaeologists, based on fragment counts of pipestems and ceramics. As a rule of thumb, the bore diameters of ball clay pipestems decreased through the colonial period, allowing the use of a linear regression formula to estimate the mean date of occupation represented by the deposited stems. Similarly, ceramic wares of the historic period can be assigned median dates of manufacture, and the weighted mean of these dates—the "mean ceramic date"—can be taken to approximate the median date of occupation represented by the pottery collection. Both of these formulas, the latter in slightly modified form, were applied to the collection from Doncaster.¹⁹

The computed dates fall into the period

suggested above quite nicely (Table 2). Twenty-five stems collected by the landowners prior to this project yielded a date of 1703.82. The pipestem date of this author's collection comes to 1703.4, astonishingly close, given sample sizes, to that of the loaned collections. Without whiteware, but with the creamware sherd, the mean ceramic date is 1730.11, a suitably early date. Since the creamware sherd does not really seem to belong to the main site, it might be more reasonable to delete it from the computation, and the revised date comes to 1728.54. The median date employed for the ware of highest frequency, Rhenish grey stoneware, would tend to bias the mean toward a later date, since for this computation several sherds assignable to earlier types were lumped as a single ware. Initial findings, then, indicate an occupation during the first part of the eighteenth century, perhaps beginning before the turn of the century, when Thomas Bruff and sons were active in Doncaster.

Few other artifacts were recovered that

TABLE 2.
Computed dates from Doncaster.

Loaned pipestems	1703.83	Sample 25
Pipestems from survey	1703.4	35
Mean ceramic date (MCD)	1730.11	27
MCD, less creamware	1728.54	26
Structure, MCD*	1733.45	11
Structure, pipestems*	1704.85	15

* Squares 0-30L15, 0-30L30, 0-30L45.

would aid in dating the site. One wineglass stem is of the "air twist" form, which Ivor Noel Hume does not consider to have been introduced before 1725 at the earliest.²⁰ No information is available to help date the other pieces with any accuracy.

The spatial distribution of all artifacts assignable to the colonial period, collected within the grid, is shown in Figure 3. In this map, each grid square is labelled with the total number of artifacts found within it. Blank squares contained no artifacts. Contour lines highlight the clusters by interpolating thresholds of increasing frequency, here in increments (contour intervals) of five artifacts. This method shows concentrations of artifacts, with contour lines encircling smaller and smaller areas of successively higher density.

Only one cluster is obvious, near the north, or 0L0, corner of the survey area. Due in part to the 15-meter grid scale, and in part to the generally small quantity of artifacts, no "fine tuning" of the spatial patterns is evident. Two small rises in frequencies, at 15L90 and 45L135, are due to high counts in single squares, and may or may not represent outbuildings.²¹ The main concentration, with its center at 15L30,

corresponds to the concentration of brick rubble, which was noted in the field but not collected.

Ceramics are the main component of this cluster. Pipestems, though somewhat scattered, fall chiefly within the area. Only a chip of a gunflint, among either the architectural or the miscellaneous materials, also falls within the peak square, but an animal bone, a chunk of mortar (one of only two recovered), a wineglass stem, and several sherds of bottle glass occur within the more general scatter associated with the peak square.

These data, plus the cluster of brick in the same area, indicate that a structure stood in the vicinity of unit 15L30, and it is not difficult to interpret it as a dwelling. The relatively small quantity of artifacts is consistent with a house of the turn of the eighteenth century, but the diversity among so small a sample clearly suggests a domestic structure.

The data do not, however, indicate a town site. Only one structure of any importance, with two possible outbuildings, is discernible. The collection suggests the manor house of a middling plantation more than a town.

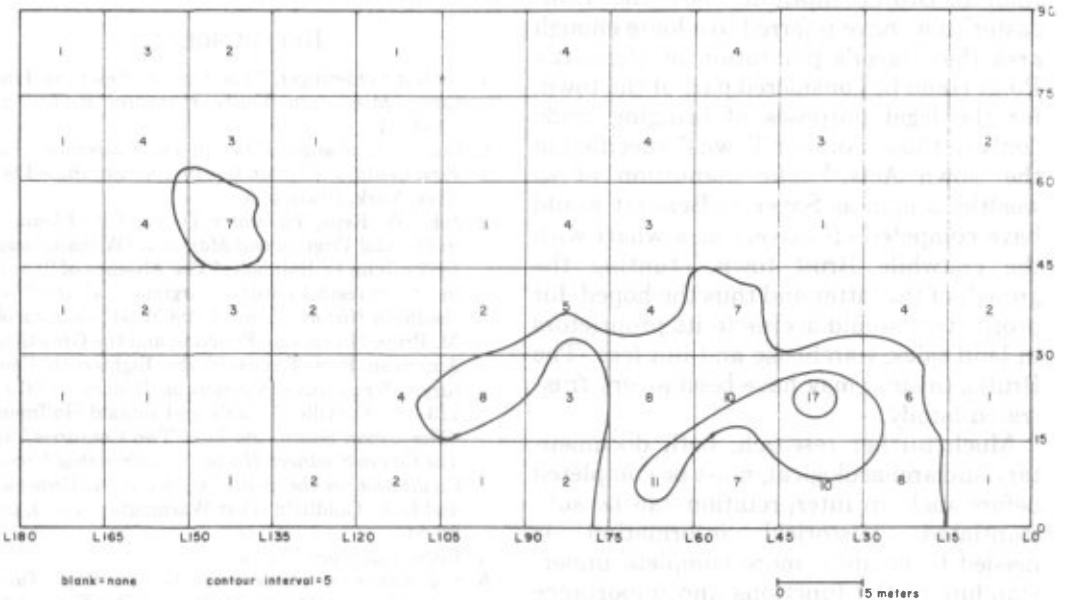


FIGURE 3. DONCASTER, TOTAL ARTIFACTS DISTRIBUTION.

At the time of the original recording of the site, the plowed area was larger than it was when inspected for this project, extending northward and much closer to the shore of Shaw Bay and the silted channel. The main concentration of artifacts, which served to identify the site, may actually have been within the formerly plowed area now covered with grass. It is thus possible that the main portion of the town of Doncaster is within the uncollected grassy area. This would include the area of Richard Bruff's warehouse, according to Tilghman.²²

The grassy area could hardly contain a town of any considerable size, however. This fact recalls the small number of names associated with the written histories of the town: Crouch, Bruff, and Sayer. Tilghman refers to Sayer as a resident of Doncaster, and evidently Sayer owned land at Doncaster.²³ Evidence has already been noted that suggests that Sayer's residence was across the Wye, on Bennett's Point. At the same time, at most a few buildings can be placed at the town site either from the historical records or by archaeology.

The overall impression of this investigator is that Doncaster was essentially a Bruff "company town," and comprised little more than the Bruff plantation. The name "Doncaster" may have referred to a loose enough area that Sayer's plantation at Bennett's Point could be considered part of the town, for the legal purposes of bringing trade "only to those Ports or Towns" specified in the Town Acts.²⁴ The plantation of so wealthy a man as Sayer or Bennett would have competed effectively as a wharf with the erstwhile Bruff town, stunting the growth of the latter and thus the hoped-for profits that would accrue to its proprietors in land sales, warehouse and inn fees. The Bruffs, in sum, may have been a very frustrated family.

Much further research, both documentary and archaeological, must be completed before such an interpretation can be substantiated. Historical information is needed to create a more complete understanding of the functions and importance of the town. Intensive archaeological investigation, perhaps including test excavation,

would add valuable data. It is possible, for instance, that the town was more extensive than was indicated by this survey, with improved lots to the east on Shaw Bay or to the west where erosion might have destroyed the sites. Comparison of the modern land outline (Figure 1) and the 1695 plat, though, suggests that the major impact of erosion has taken place at the point below Chapel Cove, rather than farther up toward the town point. Local residents remember a brick foundation, thought to have been that of the chapel, that has been lost into the waters of Eastern Bay.

At present, the artifactual material and its limited spatial extent indicate a plantation or tiny hamlet of the turn of the eighteenth century, probably occupied until about 1730 or shortly thereafter. These data support an identification of the site as the town of Doncaster, and of the town of Doncaster as a center of very limited activity. Competition for shipping with the Sayer-Bennett plantation, just across the Wye, probably stunted the growth of the nominal town. The fact that the Doncaster site seems to have been abandoned by mid-century, when the Bennett plantation was still going strong, casts an interesting light on the urban-rural ambivalence of the middle Eastern Shore.

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For Flag and Profit: The Life of Commodore John Daniel Danels of Baltimore

FRED HOPKINS

WITH THE SIGNING OF THE TREATY of Ghent on Christmas Eve of 1814, the merchants and seamen of Baltimore had every reason to expect that the city would return to its prewar position as the fastest growing center of seaborne commerce in America. For about a year Baltimore appeared to have regained her prewar status. Slowly, however, the merchant fleets of Europe began to encroach upon Baltimore's trade with the West Indies and South America. The sleek clipper schooners of the Chesapeake could not compete with the larger bulk carriers of the European nations. Between 1816 and 1819, the declining value of vessels coupled with falling freight rates and commodity prices caused the collapse of many of Baltimore's oldest mercantile firms. The decline of the mercantile houses left the city's ship masters and seamen with three choices of earning a livelihood: continue to engage in the diminishing merchant service, enter the slave trade, or join the forces of the South American colonies in revolt against Spain. For captains and seamen who had just concluded two and one-half years of successful combat against the world's greatest navy, the choice for many was easy.

Baltimore's trade relations with South America began in 1796 after Spain declared war on Great Britain.¹ The city was two days' sail closer to South America than other American ports to the northeast. Foreign news in nineteenth-century United States was closely linked with seaborne commerce. Two Baltimore vessels brought

the news of the beginning of the patriot revolution in Caracas in 1810 to the United States.² It was also fitting that the news of the patriot cause in South America came initially to Baltimore because that city proved to be most receptive in the ensuing years to the requests for aid from the various patriot representatives. In addition to Baltimore's long standing commercial relationship with South America, two additional factors made her a haven for patriot activity. During the early nineteenth century, Baltimore was the center of Roman Catholicism in the United States. Because the patriot spokesmen were all Roman Catholics, they found Baltimoreans a most sympathetic audience to their pleas for aid. In addition, Baltimore in 1810 was much like the city is today, having a wide variety of nationalities all living and working together. This situation also provided an atmosphere more tolerant of the patriot representatives than many of the cities in the United States.³

From 1810-1812 Baltimore's merchants and sea captains played both sides of the revolution in South America. The firm of D'Arcy and Didier, for example, traded arms with whichever side held the ports.⁴ For obvious reasons the revolutionary situation in South America was not of utmost concern to the citizens of Baltimore during the War of 1812. After the Treaty of Ghent, however, and with the establishment of peace between the major European powers, Baltimore found herself at a disadvantage. Her sleek clipper schooners could not compete with the larger bulk carriers of the European nations. Baltimore's trade with Europe was hindered because she was over

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two hundred miles further from Europe than the other major ports in northeastern United States.⁵ Thus, the renewed pleas of the patriot representatives in Baltimore found willing ears when they requested not only supplies but men and ships to help overthrow the control of Madrid. In fact the port became so notorious for its activities in behalf of the revolutionaries that in 1817 during a debate on a neutrality bill, John Randolph stated that the proposed legislation was actually a peace treaty between Spain and Baltimore.⁶ The seamen and merchants of Baltimore were characterized as either pirates or patriotic privateers depending upon which side of the South American situation a person took his stand. The most successful and controversial of these "sailors of fortune" was John Daniel Danels of Oldtown, Baltimore.

Born on 19 December 1783 in Maine,⁷ Danels, like many other seamen and merchants, appears to have been drawn to Baltimore in the early days of the nineteenth century by the increasing opportunities for trade and employment. The records of the Baltimore Custom House indicate that in the years immediately preceding the War of 1812, Danels served as a merchant captain for the house of John Netherville D'Arcy and Henry Didier, Jr.⁸ This firm had extensive business connections in France, Haiti, South America, and New Orleans. Little is known about Danels's personal activities during these prewar years except that in about 1811 he married an emigre from Santo Domingo named Eugenia, whose dowry was her weight in gold.⁹

With the outbreak of war, Danels was one of the first to sail from Baltimore bearing commission number six in the letter-of-marque trader *Eagle* bound for Haiti in July, 1812.¹⁰ Danels returned to Baltimore in September and immediately cleared for St. Barts.¹¹ While returning to the Chesapeake in November, the *Eagle* was captured by the British ship of war *Sophie* and taken to Bermuda for condemnation. Danels was exchanged, but the *Eagle's* owner, John Randall, objected to seizure of his vessel as it had carried a British trading license. Randall appealed the seizure all the way to the Admiralty in London, but the continu-

ance of hostilities prevented his appearance in court.¹²

While Danels was returning from Bermuda, his old employers, D'Arcy and Didier, were purchasing *Rossie*, Joshua Barney's successful privateer schooner. Commissioned as a letter-of-marque trader, the *Rossie*, with Danels in command, cleared Baltimore for Bordeaux in mid-December. By 17 January 1813, Danels and the *Rossie* were in Plymouth, England as a prize to the frigate *Dryad* of the Rochefort squadron.¹³

Once again Danels was exchanged and returned to New York on 9 November 1813. Thus far he had shown little of the ability and luck that was to make him famous in South America. Meanwhile the Royal Navy had successfully blockaded the Chesapeake Bay, so D'Arcy and Didier, like many other Baltimoreans engaged in privateering, moved their base of operations to New York City. In early 1814 Danels took command in New York of the D'Arcy and Didier letter-of-marque trader *Delille*. His first voyage was an uneventful round-trip from New York to Bordeaux. Returning to sea in the spring of 1814 in the *Delille*, Danels sailed from New York to Bordeaux, and to New Orleans before returning to New York on 13 May 1814. He experienced his first real success as he captured five small vessels and fought a successful ninety-five minute engagement with the British letter-of-marque brig *Surprise* off Cuba. As he returned to New York, Danels was chased by a blockading frigate but managed to outrun his antagonist.¹⁴

After the *Delille's* return to New York, D'Arcy and Didier decided to refit the schooner as a six gun privateer and renamed her *Syren*. On 5 June 1814, Danels and *Syren* left New York for the English Channel. A gale off Sandy Hook carried away her bowsprit and the *Syren* put back to New York. When the *Syren* again departed on 12 June, Danels was not on board. Under the command of Danels's former first mate, the *Syren* sailed for European waters. After a successful cruise, which included the capture of H.M.S. *Landrail* off Gibraltar, the *Syren* returned to New York on 16 August 1814.¹⁵ By mid-

September with Danels in command, the *Syren* again headed for the English Channel. Within two months Danels had stopped several British vessels and the *Syren's* hold was filled with \$50,000 in prize goods. Upon returning to the coast of the United States, Danels decided to land at Philadelphia rather than New York or Baltimore. Within fifteen minutes after picking up a pilot off Cape May, Danels found himself aground and the *Syren's* rudder broken. Danels managed to refloat his schooner and with a jury-rigged rudder, sailed back to Cape May where he anchored for the night. As the *Syren* rode at anchor, the pilot and several of the crew stole the longboat and fled ashore. The next morning a fourteen-gun schooner and several barges from the British blockading squadron attacked the *Syren*. Danels sank two of the barges before deciding to run the *Syren* aground. He then burned the *Syren's* upper works and left the hull with the prize goods in the custody of the custom agents at Cape May. As he proceeded up to Delaware to Wilmington to get assistance, Danels saw the citizens of Cape May plunder his vessel. To make matters worse, none of the four enemy vessels taken by Danels on the cruise ever reached an American port.¹⁶

Before he could secure another command, the Treaty of Ghent ended Danels's career as a privateer. He returned to his home on Ann Street in Baltimore where he would reside for the next three years with his wife and three children.¹⁷ Like most privateers, Danels returned to his prewar occupation as a merchant captain. Initially, he must have enjoyed some success or perhaps it was his wife's dowry that financed the building of the 150 ton schooner *Eugenia* in late 1815. Records of the Baltimore Custom House list Danels as both owner and master of the new vessel.¹⁸ It appears that Danels continued to carry cargo for his former employers D'Arcy and Didier making passages to France, Haiti, and New Orleans. In what must have been his first voyage in the *Eugenia*, Danels assisted fellow Baltimorean Cornelius Driscoll in the port of Le Havre, France, when Driscoll's vessel grounded and had to be abandoned. Driscoll's crew refused to unload the sink-

ing ship, and Danels was one of the American captains in port who went to Driscoll's aid.¹⁹

Sometime between 1815 and late 1817, Danels returned to privateering, this time on the side of the former colonies of Spain in South America. What exactly brought about this decision may never be known. Perhaps like many other Baltimore captains and shipowners, Danels was unable to compete with the foreign bulk carriers. From his former employers, D'Arcy and Didier, Danels may have learned of the larger problems faced by merchants now that there was peace in Europe and the neutrality of the United States was no longer an advantage in commercial enterprises. Also in early 1816, Thomas Taylor, a former resident of Wilmington, Delaware, arrived in Baltimore as representative of the patriot government of Buenos Aires. With him Taylor brought six blank letters of marque and reprisal against Spanish seaborne commerce.²⁰ Taylor was only the first of many agents from Buenos Aires, Mexico, Banda Oriental, and Venezuela who flocked to Baltimore seeking experienced privateersmen and vessels for service against Spain. John Danels may have seen employment in South America as an alternative to the declining merchant service. His decision may also have been influenced by the fact that the *Romp* and the *Orb*, owned by D'Arcy and Didier, were two of the first patriot privateers outfitted in Baltimore.²¹

Sometime in late 1817, Danels commissioned the Ferguson shipyard in Baltimore to construct a brigantine having a length of 101 feet, a beam of 12½ feet, a burthen of 285 tons, and pierced for twelve guns. On 25 March 1818 registration papers for this vessel, now named the *Vacunia*, were filed at the Baltimore Custom House listing John Daniel Danels as owner and a John Cox as master.²² In April of 1818, the *Vacunia* cleared Baltimore for Teneriffe. Danels, however, had no intention of sailing for Teneriffe. Like other former privateers of Baltimore—John Dieter, Daniel Chayter, James Chayter, Thomas Boyle, James Barnes, John Clark, and Joseph Almeida—John Daniels sailed for the wars in South America.

Danels' activities in South America extended from 1818 until 1825 and may be divided into two distinct categories. From 1818 until 1819, Danels roamed the Atlantic coast of South America as a privateer or pirate depending upon one's point of view.²³ From 1820 through 1825 Danels functioned as part of Simon Bolivar's fledgling navy blockading the coasts of Venezuela and Columbia against Spanish shipping.

When the *Vacunia* sailed from Baltimore in April, 1818, John Danels was not aboard; but as the brigantine neared White Rocks at the mouth of Rock Creek on the Patapsco River, a pilot boat brought out Danels and he replaced Cox as captain. Cox remained as first lieutenant. Danels proceeded down the Chesapeake to the Atlantic. Once at sea the canon were hauled from the hold and the *Vacunia* became a ship of war. Still flying the American flag, the *Vacunia* sailed for Buenos Aires arriving in late April of 1818. No vessels were attacked by Danels on his outward voyage.

Danels anchored in the Rio de la Plata for fifteen weeks; during which time he gave his sixty man crew the option of joining him as a Buenos Airean privateer or going ashore. The entire crew elected to follow Danels. Danels next went through a rather complicated legal procedure that was to forestall any violation of the various neutrality laws enacted by the Congress of the United States. First Danels sold the *Vacunia* to the patriot government of Buenos Aires. Then Danels had himself declared a citizen of Buenos Aires. Finally, he repurchased the *Vacunia* changing her name to *Maipu*. Both Danels and the brigantine were now Buenos Airean and supposedly could not violate American neutrality laws. Having obtained his Buenos Airean commission against Spanish seaborne trade, Danels and *Maipu* finally put to sea on 15 July 1818.

After clearing the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, Danels mustered his crew and announced that he also had a commission from Banda Oriental, modern Uruguay, signed by that country's revolutionary leader Jose Artigas, giving Danels authority to attack both Spanish and Portuguese seaborne commerce. Bearing letters of marque

and reprisal from two separate governments was not legal according to international law. Danels was later to claim he returned the Buenos Airean commission to Buenos Aires via a passing schooner. Officials in Buenos Aires claimed never to have received the documents and declared Danels a pirate. The exact reasons for Danels' securing two commissions are uncertain. Several possibilities do exist. Recent evidence gives the date of the Banda Oriental commission as 14 February 1818, two months before Danels departed Baltimore.²⁴ By accepting the commission in Baltimore, Danels would have been in violation of the Neutrality Act of 1817. The entire affair of the Buenos Airean commission may have been an attempt to somehow cover Danels' earlier violation of American law. Another possibility is that for some reason Danels wanted a Buenos Airean commission more than a Banda Oriental one. Banda Oriental was the less stable of the two governments. Upon arrival in the Rio de la Plata, Buenos Aires would only give commissions against Spanish and not Portuguese shipping. Also Buenos Aires at least attempted to exert some control over its privateers. This control may have been unwanted and unexpected by Danels.²⁵

After clearing the mouth of the Rio de la Plata and announcing the Banda Oriental commission to the crew, Danels renamed his vessel *La Irresistible*, the name which supposedly appears on the February 1818 commission. Danels cruised for a month and a-half in the western Atlantic. His success among the unsuspecting Portuguese merchant vessels was phenomenal as he plundered and sunk over twenty-six of them. Specie from twenty-four of the vessels totalled \$68,000. The *Globo*, bound from Bombay to Lisbon, with a cargo of spices and specie, netted Danels \$30,000 in specie and a cargo valued at \$90,000. But his most valuable prize was the *Gran Para*, Rio de Janeiro to Lisbon, with \$300,000 in specie. Suddenly, John Danels became an international figure. Already his name was better known in Lisbon and Madrid than his adopted hometown of Baltimore.

Using a loop-hole in the neutrality laws, Danels and the *Irresistible* returned to Bal-

timore in September 1818. Danels claimed his brigantine was unfit and needed repairs. The neutrality laws permitted vessels from other nations engaged in war to refit in American ports in an emergency situation. Danels, of course, claimed the *Irresistible* to be in danger of sinking. While waiting for his vessel to be repaired, Danels managed to deposit his \$488,000 prize money in the Marine Bank of Baltimore. By mid-October of 1818 the refit of the *Irresistible* had been completed, and still bearing Banda Oriental papers, Danels returned to South American waters.

From October 1818 until early March of 1819, Danels played havoc with the shipping of all nations. He even boarded American and British vessels searching for Spanish and Portuguese owned cargoes. Prize cargoes and vessels were sold at St. Thomas and Margarita Island. In March, however, at latitude 8° south and longitude 30° west, Danels was engaged by the Spanish brig-of-war *La Nereyda*. Danels's crew numbered about seventy and the *Irresistible* was armed with twelve 18 pounder carronades; *La Nereyda* carried a crew of 142 and was armed with 18 cannons. After a short exchange, Danels boarded *La Nereyda* and took her as a prize. The Spaniards lost 38 killed and 22 wounded.

At first Danels tried to sell his prize in St. Thomas, but the citizens refused him the right to land. Danels then sailed to Margarita Island off the coast of Venezuela where a patriot prize court did not ask too many questions. The *Irresistible* and her Spanish prize arrived at Margarita Island on 22 March 1819. By 29 March, *La Nereyda* had been condemned by the prize court and sold at auction to a Venezuelan national named Antonio Franchesco. The former Spanish brig was renamed *Congress de Venezuela* and awarded Venezuelan letters of marque and reprisal. A former lieutenant of Danels, Henry Childs, was appointed her captain and *Congress* was fitted out as a privateer.

While the prize sale was being negotiated, Danels appears to have been holding discussions with General Juan Arizmendi, the liberator of Margarita Island, concerning the possibilities of joining Simon Boli-

var's fledgling navy. Danels may have entered into these discussions because the day of the patriot privateer was drawing rapidly to a close. Pressure had been brought to bear on the emerging nations in South America by both the United States and European powers to withdraw all letters of marque and reprisal. Too many of the so-called privateers had turned to out-right piracy. By late 1819 most of the revolutionary governments had ceased to issue commissions.²⁶

While Danels and Arizmendi were negotiating, the Buenos Airean privateer *Creola* arrived at Margarita and anchored next to the *Nereyda* and the *Irresistible*. Like Danels, the *Creola* captain was approached with an offer to join Bolivar's fleet. The *Creola* crew, however, were from Baltimore and wanted to return home.²⁷ One night the *Creola* crew boarded the larger *Irresistible*, surprised Danels' crew and took over the vessel. The *Creola* mutineers found crewmen aboard the *Irresistible* who also wanted to return to Baltimore. After permitting those crewmen to go ashore who wanted to stay on Margarita Island, the mutineers cut the *Irresistible's* anchor lines and sailed out of St. John the Greek Harbor. Although the *Irresistible* was no longer covered by her Banda Oriental letters of marque, the mutineers proceeded to stop and plunder vessels of all nations. The mutineers had become true pirates. Danels learned of the mutiny the next day and immediately followed in *La Nereyda*.

By 15 April 1819, the *Irresistible* had made her way back to the Chesapeake Bay. Off the mouth of the Patuxent River a revenue cutter took the *Irresistible* into custody and quarantined the former privateer at the Nottingham Custom House. Most of the crew managed to slip away but were later captured and put on trial in Richmond, Virginia, for piracy. The ringleaders were eventually hanged. Meanwhile Danels and the *Nereyda* had reached Baltimore. Upon learning that the *Irresistible* was anchored at Nottingham on the Patuxent, Danels went to Nottingham, took his brigantine, and sailed back to Baltimore, much to the consternation of the custom officials.

The recovery of the *Irresistible* appears

to have been the least of Danels' problems upon his return to Baltimore. During the next nine months he would be involved in no fewer than five separate court cases related to his activities in South America. Two of the cases would eventually reach the Supreme Court. Upon his return in April of 1819, Danels discovered that Joaquim Jose Vasquez, Consul General of the King of Portugal, had filed suit to recover the specie taken by Danels from the *Gran Para*. The case was tried in U.S. District Court for Maryland before Judge Theodorick Bland. Don Vasquez held that the *Irresistible* had been outfitted as a ship of war to serve a foreign country by Danels in Baltimore, thereby violating various acts of Congress relating to the neutrality of the United States. Danels's lawyers argued that Danels had not become a privateer until he reached the Rio de la Plata and that he was now a citizen of Banda Oriental. Judge Bland decreed that Danels had violated the neutrality laws and awarded the *Gran Para* specie, worth \$300,000, to Don Vasquez. The decision upset Danels and the directors of the Marine Bank where the specie had been deposited. Supported by the Marine Bank, Danels appealed the Bland decision to the Circuit Court of Maryland, which upheld Judge Bland. By 1822 the case had reached the Supreme Court where Chief Justice Marshall affirmed the decree of the Circuit Court.²⁸

At about the same time that Don Vasquez was filing suit against Danels for the *Gran Para* specie, William A. Swift was also filing a suit against Danels in Judge Bland's court on behalf of the King of Portugal to recover the specie taken from the *Globo* and the twenty-six other Portuguese vessels plundered by the *Irresistible*. Again, the decision went against Danels and the Marine Bank. Danels appealed to the Circuit Court of Maryland but the district court decree was upheld. This case did not reach the Supreme Court.

While Danels was having problems in Baltimore, the federal government had managed to capture most of the mutineers from the *Creola* and the *Irresistible* and tried them for piracy before Chief Justice John Marshall in Richmond, Virginia.²⁹ Al-

though Danels was not directly involved in this trial, two of the ring-leaders, after being sentenced to hang, accused Danels of murder. The condemned seamen testified that during the *Irresistible's* second cruise Danels had stopped a British merchant vessel to search for Spanish owned cargo. After the British captain had lowered his flag, Danels had allegedly fired off a carronade. The wad struck the British captain and killed him. Federal authorities brought Danels to trial in Baltimore before Judge Theodorick Bland. Danels's defense was that he had ordered the carronade not to be fired, but his order had not been obeyed. Judge Bland found Danels not guilty because accidents often occur in war-like situations.³⁰

Danels's legal problems in Baltimore were just beginning. On 21 April 1819, six days after Danels returned from Margarita Island in *La Nereyda*, John B. Bernabeau, representing the King of Spain, filed suit in the District Court of Maryland to recover *La Nereyda*. As before, the presiding judge was Theodorick Bland. Although the Spanish case was similar to that of the Portuguese in that Bernabeau claimed violation of American neutrality laws, Bernabeau further claimed that the entire Admiralty Court and sale proceedings on Margarita Island were a hoax. Bernabeau challenged Danels's lawyers to produce a bill of sale showing that the alleged Venezuelan national, Antonio Franchesco, had actually purchased *La Nereyda*. Danels was further challenged to produce the orders from Franchesco that gave Danels permission to have the brig commissioned as a Venezuelan privateer with Henry Childs as master.

Danels's lawyers were able to do little to prove that Franchesco did purchase the Spanish brig. Their best effort was a deposition from Henry Childs, who could hardly be considered an unbiased source. Once again Judge Bland found in favor of the foreign claimants, and *La Nereyda* was returned to the Spanish. As in the Portuguese cases, Danels appealed to the Circuit Court of Maryland. The attorneys representing Danels changed their tactics in the appeals procedure. Rather than deal at length with the Franchesco situation, the

attorneys for Danels focused on the fact that in several speeches in 1817 and 1818, President James Monroe had called the situation in South America a civil war rather than a revolution. Because both parties in a civil war are considered as equal, no violation of United States neutrality occurred when *La Nereyda* entered Baltimore Harbor. A neutral can give aid to belligerents of both sides in a civil war. The United States, therefore, had no right to confiscate Danels's prize. The attorneys for Danels further argued that Danels could not be held in violation of the 1817 Neutrality Act because the 1818 Neutrality Act put a time limit on the laws of 1817. By the time Danels's case had been heard, these time limits had passed. The Court agreed with the arguments of Danels's lawyers and returned *La Nereyda* to him.

In 1823, however, the case was appealed to the Supreme Court. On 8 March 1823 Justice Joseph Story delivered the opinion of the Court that Danels had violated the various neutrality acts, that the President was unclear in the civil war issue, that the Prize Court on Margarita Island had no jurisdiction over a Banda Oriental prize, and finally that there was definitely a question as to the sale of the vessel to Franchesco. The decree of the Circuit Court was reversed.³¹

Danels, in addition to the two prize cases, was brought before the District Court of Maryland by United States Attorney Elias Glenn on charges of violating the Neutrality Acts of 1817 and 1818. Pressure to prosecute Danels came from Secretary of State John Quincy Adams who had received notes from the Portuguese and Spanish Ambassadors requesting Danels be placed on trial.³² Adams also wanted to use the trial to showcase, for the various revolutionary leaders, the fallacies in their privateering laws. In addition Adams wanted to bring to light the questionable activities of the prize courts on Margarita Island.³³

Glenn brought the Danels Case to trial before Judge Theodorick Bland. The two specific charges against Danels were that he had violated the Neutrality Act of 3 March 1817 by fitting out a vessel of war in the United States for service under a

foreign flag and that Danels had violated the Neutrality Act of 20 April 1818 by adding to the armament of *Irresistible* in Baltimore during the period between the first and second cruises of the brigantine.³⁴

Judge Bland acquitted Danels of the 1818 charge because Danels proved he had not added to the *Irresistible's* armament, only replaced it. Danels was also acquitted of the 1817 charge because the Act of 1818 had placed a limit on the length of time the 1817 laws would be applicable. By the time Danels had come to trial, this time period had expired. Elias Glenn had had enough of Judge Bland and the Maryland Courts, he decided not to appeal the case any farther. Judge Bland was summoned to Washington by Secretary Adams to discuss his apparent prorevolutionary sympathies. The judge was able to clear himself.

Perhaps the pressure of too many law suits or perhaps because of arrangements made at Margarita Island in March 1819, John Danels sailed the *Irresistible* from Baltimore in late 1819 or early 1820 to join Simon Bolivar's Admiral, Luis Brion, at Margarita.³⁵ Upon arriving at Margarita, Danels sold the *Irresistible* to Brion along with the food and military supplies in her hold. The *Irresistible* was renamed the *Urdameta* and added to Brion's fleet of twenty-seven small vessels.³⁶ Before selling the *Irresistible*, however, Danels had captured two Spanish vessels, the *Ceres* and the *Diligencia*. The *Ceres* was used by General Arizemerdi for the defense of Margarita; while the *Diligencia*, with Danels most likely in command, became part of Brion's fleet. The *Diligencia* was one of fifteen vessels sent by Bolivar to cover the landing of General Mariano Montilla at Rio Hacha in an effort to surround the Spanish forces at Maracaibo. After Brion's fleet shelled Rio Hacha for half a day, Montilla made a successful landing and eventually joined in the siege of Maracaibo. Brion lost five ships in the attack, but Danels seems to have come through unscathed.³⁷

Danels returned to Margarita in late summer of 1820 and somehow purchased two small merchant vessels in which he carried food and munitions to patriot forces at Angostura on the Orinoco River. One of

Danels' vessels was taken by the Spanish as it entered the Orinoco; the second vessel made a safe passage and was then leased to the patriot forces.

Returning to Margarita, Danels purchased with his personal funds the brigantine *Vencedor* and two schooners, the *Voluntario* and the *Centella*. With these three vessels now leased to the combined navies of Venezuela and Colombia, Danels joined in the blockade of Cumana and La Guaira after the Spanish defeat at Carabobo on 24 June 1821. Danels served under the command of General Jose Bermudez until Cumana surrendered. With his three vessels Danels then moved on to blockade La Guaira where he helped impede the evacuation of the Royalist forces. As a result of his services at Cumana and La Guaira, Danels applied for and was granted Venezuelan citizenship and the rank of commodore in Bolivar's navy.

During the summer and fall of 1822, Danels returned to Baltimore as an agent of the Colombian and Venezuelan navies with orders to purchase a 30-gun corvette for no more than 80,000 pesos. Unable to find a suitable vessel at a given price in Baltimore, Danels journeyed to Philadelphia and finally New York before finding a suitable ship. Danels finally purchased the 497 ton ship *Hercules* from David Leavitt.³⁸ After renaming the ship *Bolivar*, Danels sailed for Venezuela, arriving in late October of 1822.

In early November of 1822 Danels was placed in command of an eight vessel squadron with orders to patrol the waters between the Spanish stronghold at Puerto Cabello and Curacao, to deny entrance of any merchant vessels to Puerto Cabello and to intercept any Spanish convoys bound for Maracaibo. During this period Danels managed to capture the Spanish corvette *Maria Francesca*, which was added to his squadron.

On the afternoon of 1 May 1823, Danels spotted a large Spanish squadron off Puerto Cabello. Under the command of Angel Laborde, this force was heading for Lake Maracaibo in order to support Spanish troops holding the last major city in Colombia and Venezuela. Laborde's squadron, although

smaller than Danels's, consisted of a frigate, a corvette, and three smaller vessels. The two squadrons met at 3:00 P.M. and battled at pistol shot range until sundown. Danels's corvettes *Carabobo* and *Maria Francesca* battled Laborde's frigate *Sabina* to a draw. The patriot brigantine *Independencia* was badly mauled by the Spanish corvette *Ceres* and was saved only by the courage of her crew and captain. Laborde's vessels managed to force the surrender of two of Danels's corvettes and to kill forty patriots while taking three hundred prisoners. The Spanish suffered only seventeen wounded.³⁹ Danels was court martialed for the loss of the two corvettes, but he answered the charges against him in such a way that he was totally absolved and restored to active duty. Laborde's fleet ran into Puerto Cabello and refitted before continuing its voyage to Lake Maracaibo. From 8 May 1823 until 24 July the opposing fleets of Colombia, under the command of Jose Padilla, and Spain, under the command of Angel Laborde, manoeuvred within the confines of Lake Maracaibo. While the fleets fought on the lake, patriot infantry attacked the Spanish garrison. By 3 August 1823 the Spanish had had enough and surrendered. Puerto Cabello held out until November before its garrison too surrendered. Colombia at last was free from Spanish control. Danels, however, does not appear to have taken part in these final victories.

Danels remained in Colombian service until 1824 at which time he requested a pension and permission to return to Baltimore. Plans for a combined Colombian-Mexican naval attack on Havana had come to naught, and Danels saw his services were no longer in demand. As a gesture of goodwill Danels agreed to cancel approximately 50,000 pesos owed to him by Colombia for the services of his vessels, supplies purchased for the army and fleet, and expenses incurred on his trip to Baltimore. This gesture gained Danels his discharge from Colombian service.

During the entire time Danels was in South America, his wife and family remained in Baltimore. The family residence was now 53 Albemarle St. and would remain so until the commodore's death in

1855.⁴⁰ In all John and Eugenia Danels would raise seven children: John (b. 1812), Lewis (b. 1815), Eugenia (b. 1820), Elizabeth (b. 1825), Simon Bolivar (b. 1826), Joseph (b. 1827), and Placetta (b. 1830).⁴¹ An eighth child, James (b. 1816), is mentioned in the Danels will⁴² but does not appear in any census reports after 1830. After his return from South America, very little is heard of John D. Danels in the Baltimore press. Eugenia's death on 8 December 1851⁴³ was noted in the *Baltimore American* as the passing of a woman who spent her entire life assisting the poor and needy of Baltimore. The notice of the Commodore's death on 29 October 1855 was even shorter than Eugenia's, noting only his service in the cause of freedom in Colombia and Venezuela.⁴⁴

Danels, however, did not die fully satisfied in the way he had been treated by Colombia and Venezuela regarding some outstanding debts. The Commodore's will mentions unsettled claims that had been begun to be adjudicated in 1845 by James Buchanan and were still outstanding. Danels still claimed that Venezuela and Colombia owed him \$300,000 for vessels and cargoes supplied to these nations between 1819 and 1820. The Department of State had worked out an agreement under which Colombia and Venezuela each would pay 28.5 percent of the claim and Danels would surrender his claim to the remainder.⁴⁵ Ten years later the claim still had not been settled.

The services rendered by John Daniel Danels to cause of South American freedom were officially honored at the 5 July 1959 graduation ceremonies at the Escuela Naval de Venezuela.

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"A True Childe of Sorrow." Two Letters of Mary E. Surratt

JOSEPH GEORGE, JR.

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE HANDWRITING of one of Maryland's well known citizens, Mary E. Surratt (1823-1865), are rare. Her fame, or notoriety, came only after her execution as an alleged conspirator involved in the assassination of President Lincoln.¹ She became famous only after she had died. The Surratt Society of Clinton, Maryland, possesses a photographic copy of a letter written by Mrs. Surratt, dated January 17, 1858, and addressed to "Father," most likely a Catholic priest. The letter deals with her concern for the education of her children and the alcoholism of her husband. Members of the society queried are unaware of any other Surratt letters in existence.

The two letters printed below deal also to a great extent with the education of her children and the drinking problems of her husband. Both letters were addressed to Rev. Joseph M. Finotti, S.J., who was involved in the building of St. Ignatius Church, Oxon Hill, Prince George's County, Maryland.

Joseph Maria Finotti was born in Ferrara, Italy, in 1817. He joined the Jesuit Order at the age of 16, and in 1845 was assigned to its Maryland Province. He completed his theological studies at Georgetown and was ordained a priest in 1847. He was assigned to St. Mary's Church, Alexandria, Virginia, but had as part of his duties an extensive mission as itinerant priest in Virginia and Maryland. It was during this period that Fr. Finotti commenced the building of St. Ignatius Church. In 1852, before pronouncing his final vows, he left the Jesuit order and was accepted in the Diocese of Boston. For the next 24 years

he was assigned to the cathedral staff and churches in the Boston suburbs. He also served as literary editor of the *Boston Pilot*, the Catholic diocesan newspaper. He moved west in 1876, seeking relief from his rheumatism, and died in Colorado in 1879.²

As a scholar, Finotti was the author of several works, including the *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*, which appeared in 1872. This was a guide to 295 Catholic books published in the United States before 1821.³

A rumor existed among Mrs. Surratt's neighbors that she and Finotti had become involved romantically and that his superiors had sent Finotti out of the area and to Boston to put an end to the gossip. Newspaper reporter George Alfred Townsend, on one of his trips along the John Wilkes Booth escape trail, picked up the story. He learned from a "gentleman prominent in that country" that

while there was considerable pity for Mrs. Surratt, her dignity had been much exaggerated—that while her husband was yet living an Italian priest who ministered in that part of the country got in such a flirtation with Mrs. Surratt that it raised a commotion, and he had to be sent to Boston to get him out of the scandal.⁴

Mrs. Surratt's two letters to Finotti, herein reproduced, show that rumors of an affair between the two are easy to understand. Yet, there is really nothing in the letters that indicate anything but a woman explaining her personal problems to a priest whose advice and person she regarded highly. The letters do suggest, however, that the two principals were aware of these rumors.

The Surratt home, the "publick house," mentioned in the letters and located in

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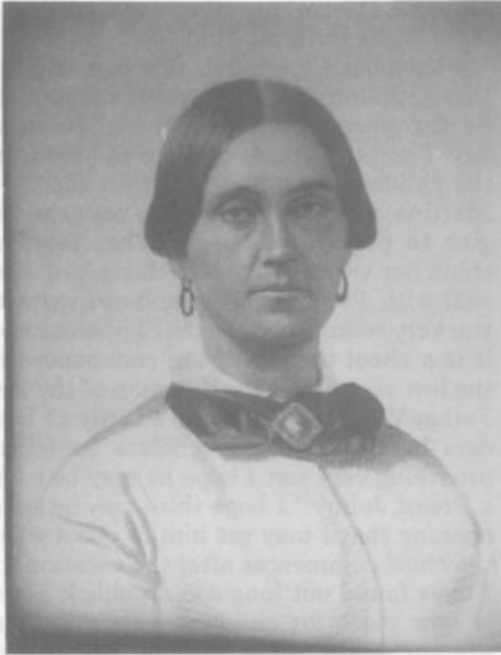


FIGURE 1.
Mary E. Surratt.

what is today Clinton, Maryland, served in Mrs. Surratt's day as a tavern, inn, and way station for passengers on stage coach lines, and post office for what was then known as Surrattsville. The house became famous when John Wilkes Booth stopped there briefly on the evening of April 14, 1865, while fleeing from Washington after shooting President Lincoln. During the Civil War the tavern had served as a Confederate "safe house," a shelter for agents crossing the Potomac.⁵

The original letters are now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Most likely they became available when Finotti's library was sold at public auction in 1879, shortly after his death.⁶

The first letter is dated January 15, 1855:

Surratts Vill, P. O. Prince Geo.

My dear Father

I have come to the conclusion to trouble you with a few more lines if it is intruding I hope you will pardon me for them. Dear Father I heare from you as often as you write to your Brother,⁷ but that dose not give me the same pleasure as if I could obtain the favour of a few lines from you;

it would make me feal as though I had not entirely lost a friend and espeshly one that I could always go to in confidence in all my trubles, and so far from geting less it seams as though they come two for one evry day. Mr. Surratt⁸ has be come so that he is drunk on evry occation and are more and more dis-agreeable evry day. I think some times I would give the world if you could come in and give him a good lecture for me. Father John calls to see us often but he is affread to say any thing to him. dear Father Annah⁹ has gone to chool some three months ago I first intended to send her to Frederick but, Father John thought it best for me to send her to Miss Martins for a year or two for a begining she is delighted with her Teachers and improves very fast. I am trying evry day to make some arrangement for Isaac¹⁰ to go to chool but I can not tell how it will be yet as you know how often misfortune has visit us in the last few years. Rev. Mr. Onte cald to see me a few days ago and wished me to send him to St. Thomas, but Mr. Surratt thinks it to unhealthy thire but I care not for what he thinks as it seams the hole charge of the children has fawlen on me I must trust in *God* and do the best I can for them. Dear Farther please write to me and tell me what you think would be best for me to do with him as he is now geting large and it is time for him to leave this publick house as you know how many temtations thire is all ways before him Dear father our bisness is improveing here evry day we have a post office hear and it is the depo for the stages now so that when ever you get a letter from your dear Brother from this it is maild by me as you know that I always have the burden to stand up to [sort the mails?] while my husband wollars in the mire of drinkeness for he half the time has now Servents to attend to the house and expects as much as though he had Servents to attend to it. Dear father I have much to say to you I would give the world if I could see you if it was but for a few hours I expect to go to New Yourk next Month and if I could be certain of seeing you I think I could not resist the temtation of comeing to Boston as I surpose the expence would not be a great deal more

for I have almost dispared of you ever comeing to see us any more.

Dear Father I have one request to make you and I do pray you not object it as it would afford me so much pleasure and could not perswade my self you would refuse me so small a request and costing you nothing that is to lend me your Dagueratipe that your Brother has to have one taken by it and if you would not like it known I pledge myself for no one to know it but my self and I feal very shure you know me well anknuf to have that much confidence in me for let the rest of your friend say what they will I still reman the same and always to the end if I never see or heare from you a gain and if you have for gotten me I asshore you I think of you as often as ever and I do beseach you to grant me the smawl favour I have asked of you.

I will now bring my long intrudeing lines to a close by imploying your prayers & do beg God to strenthen me and give grace to bare with all my triels.

Jan 15 1855

Yours a true Childe of sorrow
[s] M. E. Surratt

Dear Farther I for got to mention our pastor of St. Ignatious he may be a very good man no doubt he is but the people can not understand him and of corse do not like him so much. I feare for the well fare of that dear little Chapple¹¹ for I do love it, so much, and I can never get in sight of it with out thinking of my dear Father Finoty that did so much for it

Mrs. Surratt's second letter deals mainly with her concern for the education of her children.

Surratts' Ville Md May 13th 1855

My dearest Father

I received your kind letter of 25 Jan two day after you rote it, I received your kind advice with many thanks, O I wish I could see you onst more I do not think I could get to the end of histry for hours, though I may never see you a gain on earth I beg of you never to for get me in your prays, and beleave me my dearest Father while my poor unfortunate fingers are engaged in these few lines I am sad my poor heart are

akeing & my eyes are allmoste blinded with tears of the bitterest kind

I have bean to church this morning Father Donalon¹² is very much complaining he was very sick yesterday though better to day. I surpose you would like to here from the children Annah is still with the Miss Martins and improveing very fast she begins to play very well, and her teachers think her very apt she is getting a long very well with French; she intends to write to you very soon; Isaac is at St. Thomas chool it is a chool that has bean commenced in the last year under the direction of the Rev Father Wiggett¹³ they have all redy 21 Borders besides thire day cholars he is im-prooveing very fast I hope he may be come a Preast Johny¹⁴ I hope thire may be some opening that I may get him to chool when the chool commences after the vacation for I have found out long ago a publick house is now place for children with a Fathers example and O what without. My dearest Father I keep nothing from you though I would not have any one elst to know what I under go for nothing in reason for you know the fealing of a heart of better days.

I will bring my lines to a close by wishing from the bottom of my heart that my weary sight may soon rest on such a friend as you are please answer this cribble and look at the intention of it and not the mistakes

Pray for me & beleave me to be
Your truly afflicted of heart

[s] M. E. Surratt

P. S. you must be shure to send me a keepsake as you know the one you gave me got burnt up the night of the fire.¹⁵

REFERENCES

1. For the case against Mrs. Surratt, see T. M. Harris, *Assassination of Lincoln. A History of the Great Conspiracy. Trial of the Conspirators by a Military Commission and a Review of the Trial of John H. Surratt* (Boston, 1892), and Louis J. Weichmann, *A True History of the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln and of the Conspiracy of 1865*, ed. by Floyd E. Risvold (New York, 1975). In defense of Mrs. Surratt are David Miller DeWitt, *The Judicial Murder of Mary E. Surratt* (Baltimore, 1895), and Guy W. Moore, *The Case of Mrs. Surratt: Her Controversial Trial and Execution for Conspiracy in the Lincoln Assassination* (Norman, Okla., 1954). More recent writers have been sympathetic to Mrs. Surratt. See Thomas R. Turner, *Beware the People Weeping: Public Opinion and the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln* (Baton Rouge,

- 1982), p. 181; and Joseph George, Jr., "Nature's First Law: Louis J. Weichmann and Mrs. Surratt," *Civil War History*, XXVIII (June, 1982), 101-127.
2. Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, II (1887), p. 462; *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for . . . 1852* (Baltimore, 1852), p. 69; *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, V (1967), p. 931.
 3. *Ibid.*
 4. *New York Tribune*, May 8, 1881, p. 10. I am grateful to Michael W. Kauffman, of Alexandria, Va., who brought this article to my attention.
 5. *Surratt Society Newsletter*, Jan. 1982, p. 6.
 6. *Catalogue of the Library of the Late Rev. Joseph M. Finotti . . . To Be Sold at Auction . . . October 16th, 1879, and Following Days*, by Bangs & Co. . . . *New York* (New York, 1879).
 7. G. M. Finotti came to the United States in 1850, lived with his brother for a few years, and then bought a farm and raised a family in the general area of St. Ignatius Church. He moved to Boston in 1864. *St. Ignatius Church, Oxon Hill, Maryland, 125th Anniversary Booklet* (White Plains, N.Y., 1974), [p. 3].
 8. John Harrison Surratt, Sr., Mrs. Surratt's husband, died suddenly in 1862. His widow subsequently moved to Washington and opened her rooming house that became a popular spot for John Wilkes Booth and his friends. For the death of the elder Surratt, see Helen Jones Campbell, *Confederate Courier* (New York, 1964), p. 18.
 9. Elizabeth Susanna Surratt (1843-1904), better known as Anna, was the only daughter of Mrs. Surratt. The school in Frederick was the Academy of the Visitation, a Catholic girls' school. See Thomas R. Bevan, *Two Hundred Twenty Years. A History of the Catholic Community of the Frederick Valley* (Frederick, Md., 1977), p. 82.
 10. Isaac Douglas Surratt (1841-1907) was the oldest Surratt child. He served as an officer in the Confederate cavalry during the Civil War and went to Monterey, Mexico, when the fighting ended. When he learned that his mother had been executed as an accomplice in the assassination of President Lincoln, Isaac left Monterey, sometime in September, 1865, intending to avenge his mother's death with the private execution of President Johnson, or so Gen. Philip H. Sheridan explained in a telegram from New Orleans to the War Department. Sheridan described Isaac as "five feet nine or ten inches in height, full beard, dark green eyes, black curly hair and good looking." Isaac settled in Baltimore, not Washington, after the war, but the War Department monitored his movements there for a time. P. H. Sheridan to E. M. Stanton, Oct. 18, 1865, and Oct. 23, 1865 (telegrams); and Lafayette C. Baker to T. T. Eckert, Oct. 19, 1865, E. M. Stanton Papers, Library of Congress.
 11. Mrs. Surratt, along with a Mrs. Christiana Spaulding Kerby Edelen, was credited with "diligent efforts" to raise funds for the building of St. Ignatius Church. The edifice was rebuilt in 1890-1891. *St. Ignatius Church*, [p. 6].
 12. Rev. John P. Donelan was listed as pastor of St. Mary's Church, Piscataway, Prince George's County. *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac* (1855), p. 64.
 13. Rev. Bernardin Wiget, S. J. was Superior at St. Thomas Manor, near Port Tobacco, Maryland. *Ibid.*, p. 65. He later appeared as a character witness on behalf of Mrs. Surratt at her trial in 1865. See *The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln and the Trial of the Conspirators*, ed. by Benn Pitman (New York, 1954), pp. 135-36.
 14. Mrs. Surratt's youngest child, John Harrison Surratt (1844-1916), served as a Confederate agent during the Civil War, helping secret agents cross the Potomac River. On at least one occasion he carried secret instructions from Richmond to Confederate agents in Canada. He was brought to trial in Washington in 1867, charged with participating in Lincoln's murder. The jury failed to agree, voting 8 to 4 in favor of acquittal. See *Trial of John H. Surratt in the Criminal Court for the District of Columbia*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1867).
I wish to thank Mr. John C. Brennan and Rev. Robert L. Keesler, both of Laurel, Maryland, who provided me information dealing with Maryland geography and bibliography.
 15. According to Mr. James O. Hall of McLean, Virginia, the fire referred to occurred in the house inhabited by the Surratts before 1852, when construction began on the Surratt tavern. The fire ruined the house and forced the Surratts to live with neighbors for a time. Hall to the author, Sept. 10, 1984. It is possible that Mrs. Surratt's book of religious devotions—Patrick Donohoe, *The Month of May* (Boston, 1854), now in the possession of the Surratt Society, was the keepsake sent her in response to the postscript of this letter.

BOOK REVIEWS

Latrobe's View of America, 1795-1820; Selections from the Watercolors and Sketches. Edited by Edward C. Carter II, John C. Van Horne, and Charles E. Brownell. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985. Introduction, illustrations, index. Pp. xxi, 400. \$35.00.)

Benjamin H. Latrobe has long been recognized and admired for his seminal role in the development of the architectural and engineering professions in Federal period America. Among a wealth of commissions executed between his arrival from England in 1796 and his untimely death in New Orleans twenty-four years later, Latrobe's Bank of Pennsylvania and the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Baltimore are widely recognized as landmarks in American architectural history. His equally significant engineering projects include the Philadelphia Waterworks and extensive work on the Susquehanna River improvements, the Washington Navy Yard, and the New Orleans Waterworks.

In recent years, however, the initiation by the Maryland Historical Society of a project to publish the voluminous collection of Latrobe's journals, correspondence and sketchbooks has served as the vehicle to examine yet another contribution that he has made to his adopted country. Constantly on the move and separated for long periods from his family and friends, Latrobe compiled notes, sketches and studies of American life and landscape that offer a unique view that transcends the more limited and often biased accounts of his contemporary travelers and diarists.

As editor Edward C. Carter II convincingly demonstrates in his introduction, Latrobe was uniquely gifted and ideally suited for his self-assumed task as recorder of the American scene. He compiled his thoughts and impressions for a variety of reasons—for the pleasure and diversion that art and writing provided, to inform family and friends, and to record observations of local architecture, engineering, and natural history. Carter is careful to note that Latrobe's work is not the superficial musings of a dilettante but "careful and precise renderings by a trained artist" with a unique perspective.

Although Latrobe, as a well-educated, middle-class man of affairs, resembled the majority of early nineteenth-century travelers, he nevertheless stands out for several reasons. First, few, if any, travelers in this

era visited, lived in, or commented upon as many locales over such a long span of years as did Latrobe. Second, this English-born and European-trained observer, like few others, saw America with both the perceptive vision of a foreigner and the understanding of a citizen long resident. Third, he was a man of many talents, and his personal interests and professional expertise enabled him to observe with the scrutiny of an engineer, to explain with the literary skill of an enlightened European, and to draw with the artistic precision of an architect. Fourth and finally, Latrobe was a traveler who for twenty-five years assumed an important, active role in changing the character of the America he viewed.

Carter's excellent introduction and biographical sketch of Latrobe is followed by an equally valuable essay by Charles E. Brownell that examines the art of Latrobe's drawings. Carter's discussion of what Latrobe drew and his suggestions of why the artist chose these scenes is therefore complemented by Brownell's analysis of how Latrobe executed the drawings and the relationship of his work to contemporary movements in western art.

It is ironic, in fact, that Brownell quickly establishes a number of qualifying cautions to Carter's essay on the value of Latrobe as an unbiased observer and recorder. Specifically, Brownell carefully studies the question of artistic license, and provides a cautionary framework for historians who might otherwise be inclined to embrace Latrobe's work as the gospel.

We are reminded that many of the handsome watercolors were executed at a later date, relying on quick sketches, wash drawings and memory. Compositional adjustments were also not unusual, though generally confined primarily to the insertion or rearrangement of framing elements such as foliage. Simple error is also evident, as amply demonstrated by one drawing of the U. S. Capitol, executed while Latrobe was in Philadelphia, in which two bays of the building are accidentally omitted, a mistake that might be less significant if Latrobe had not been supervising architect of the building.

Brownell continues with a discussion of Neoclassical elements in Latrobe's art and illustrates his use of contemporary work for both compositional ideas and specific details in his

drawings. This borrowing is particularly evident in an examination of Latrobe's most glaring artistic weakness, his difficulty with figure drawing. The figures that people Latrobe's work range from stiffly contrived, ghost-like characters lifted shamelessly from Neoclassical sources to the awkward, almost stick-like figures illustrated in his "Nondescripts . . . near the Oaks, Virginia."

It is perhaps fortuitous for Latrobe that the majority of his subjects were backwoodsmen and rough-hewn rural farmers whose unrefined looks and casual dress were well suited to his figure drawing abilities. Their rough countenances and crude features were at times so exaggerated that in at least one case Latrobe felt compelled to note in his sketchbook that his portrayals of men attending court in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania "are strong likenesses and not caricatures."

In the third and final introductory essay, John C. Van Horne reviews the editorial philosophy that guided this volume and the rationale used in selecting the 161 drawings illustrated. As this volume provides the broadest overview of the Latrobe sketchbooks and will undoubtedly prove to be the single volume most appealing to a broad general public, the editors have selected "primarily drawings that are visually striking or particularly beautiful as well as those that are particularly well annotated by Latrobe in his sketchbooks."

While broad general appeal is a clearly stated goal of the volume, the collection will be equally rewarding for a wide spectrum of historians and students of art, architecture, engineering, and the natural sciences. Included are historical scenes, land- and seascapes, genre scenes, satirical views of American life and studies of industrial sites and technological innovations.

Illustrations of special interest to Maryland readers are as diverse as they are numerous. A series of detailed studies of the Susquehanna River just north of the Maryland line in Pennsylvania are complemented by pen and ink and watercolor scenes near Havre de Grace. Other scenes in the upper Bay include two landscapes and a sketch diagram at Frenchtown, a view of Welch Point, and an 1813 panorama of Charlestown, all in Cecil County. Also executed in 1813 are a handsome sketch of the Red Lion Inn in Baltimore County and the only known graphic view of the early town of Bush, in Harford County.

A second series of Maryland illustrations executed in Prince Georges, Montgomery and Frederick Counties date between 1806 and 1816. These include an 1806 view of Bladensburg, two landscapes executed at Great Falls in 1809, an

1810 panorama of Clarksburg and Sugar Loaf Mountain, a view "Out of Robb's window Montgomery Courthouse" (1811), and a personal favorite of mine, "Two Views of an Elephant, Clarksburg, Maryland" (1811).

The subject of this last drawing was a female elephant, the first imported to this country, that landed in New York in 1796, subsequently sold for \$10,000, and spent more than two decades as the principal attraction of a traveling road show. In an accompanying drawing, an amused Latrobe records the elephant's departure from Clarksburg at ten o'clock at night, safely concealed from free observation by the public. In this drawing, the elephant, viewed from the rear, is highlighted by the glow of Sholl's Tavern and the Comet of 1811.

A few other personal favorites are worth mentioning. For pure aesthetic and historic appeal, there are Latrobe's views of New Castle, Delaware, Richmond, New Orleans, and scenes on the roads of Pennsylvania and Ohio, while his "View of Lord Botetourt's mutilated Statue . . ." and two views of Norfolk offer a particularly graphic commentary on the lingering evidence of the American Revolution. Genre scenes of ferry men on the Susquehanna, a black family preparing for church, and an overseer in Virginia offer engaging glimpses of everyday scenes in the early 19th century.

Regardless of the reader's particular field of interest or level of expertise, the breadth of subject material and vast geographical reach ensure a rich source of inspiration and amusement for all who enter Latrobe's world.

ORLANDO RIDOUT V
Maryland Historical Trust

The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family. Volume I: Charles Willson Peale: Artist in Revolutionary America, 1735-1791. Edited by Lillian B. Miller, (New Haven: Published for The National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution by Yale University Press, 1983. Pp. 1v, 673. Illustrations, Appendixes, Index. \$50.00.)

Charles Willson Peale and His World. By Edgar P. Richardson, Brooke Hindle, and Lillian B. Miller. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1983. Pp. 272. Illustrations, Index.)

The importance of Charles Willson Peale to the American cultural history of the Revolutionary and Early Republic periods has never been questioned. As James Flexner wrote in 1943, "when Copley got on the boat in Boston, the mantle of America's painter passed to Peale."

But Peale contributed more than his portraits of American leaders to our culture; he was also a Revolutionary soldier, inventor, naturalist, and—as Baltimoreans well know—a museum keeper. Moreover, his family became involved in these activities. These two volumes nicely contribute to our understanding of the man, his family, and the world they lived in.

They are very different volumes aimed at different audiences. *The Selected Papers* is the first of eight volumes of primary sources generated by that family. By now, this style of publishing such materials has acquired the status of a genre. Maps and selections from broadsides, newspapers, and pamphlets are included to complement the letters and diary selections generated by the principals. The volumes are aimed at professional scholars (though others will certainly find them useful) and virtually exhaust the primary information about their subject. If this first volume is indicative of the next seven, the Peale series promises to join the Latrobe, Jefferson, Madison, etc. multivolume publishing projects as monumental successes.

Marylanders should find much to interest them in this first volume. Peale's father was master of the Kent County School in Chestertown from 1742 to his death in 1750. Much Eastern Shore social and economic, and some political, history lay in these materials. Family life predominates as two brothers and two sisters followed Charles Willson. His father's untimely death strained the family's circumstances and they moved to Annapolis in 1751. Ten years later Charles Willson finished his apprenticeship and set up his own shop as a saddler. Then, during the tumultuous 1760s, he developed his interest in painting and politics, and traveled to Boston and Newburyport where he met other painters, including John Singleton Copley. Plagued by debt and threatened with imprisonment, Charles Willson left for London, England, in December 1766 to study with Benjamin West. He returned to Annapolis in June 1769 and began his career as a painter, essentially traveling between Maryland and Philadelphia.

A member of the Sons of Liberty in Annapolis as early as 1764, Peale was progressively caught up in the events of the 1770s that culminated in

the American Revolution. He enlisted in the militia, participated in the Battle of Princeton, and served in militia units in both Philadelphia and Annapolis. He also remained active in politics and served a stint as a representative in the Pennsylvania Assembly from Philadelphia. In January 1779 he was commissioned by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania to paint General Washington's portrait, and in the summer of 1781 he began construction of the exhibition gallery that would open a year later. His Philadelphia Museum opened in the summer of 1786, and he specialized in oil portraiture on canvas and making mezzotint prints from them through 1791. This volume should be the first reference to turn to for information about Peale's life and work during this period.

The other volume under review is of a different type and format. It grew of an exhibit of Peale's works at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and a careless perusal would classify it as a large, coffee-table, color-picture book. It is that—and so much more. Richardson is probably the dean of American art historians, Hindle certainly pre-eminent in the early history of American science and technology, and Miller is Historian of American Culture at the National Portrait Gallery and editor of the Charles Willson Peale papers. Each has contributed a substantive study of Peale as painter, scientist, and contributor to early American culture. A Foreword entitled "The Unity of a Diverse Career" by Charles Coleman Sellers ties the essays together. Best of all, the entire volume is lavishly illustrated with Peale's portraits, portions of essays, his *Guide of the Philadelphia Museum*, drawings and broadsides, and other primary sources. Each illustration is wonderfully documented from an historian's point of view and aesthetically beautiful. For the armchair historian, unable to travel to the various repositories to study these items, this is the best single-volume discussion and demonstration of the cultural significance of Charles Willson Peale. Together with *The Selected Papers*, we have a wonderful start at reevaluating and appreciating Peale's role in our early Republic.

GARY L. BROWNE
UMBC

“A quarter taint of Maryland blood”: An Inquiry into the Anglo/Maryland Background of Mrs. John Quincy Adams

JOAN R. CHALLINOR

THE ADAMSES ARE NOT USUALLY CONSIDERED a Southern family, yet one part of this famous family had Maryland roots. The father of Mrs. John Quincy Adams, Joshua Johnson (1742–1802), was born and raised in Maryland and for many years (1771–1789) was a member of and represented an Annapolis mercantile firm in London. Joshua Johnson’s family became prominent in Maryland when his brother Thomas served as Governor of Maryland during the Revolutionary War.

Henry Adams, one of the fourth generation of Adamses, realized he had “inherited a quarter taint of Maryland blood” and thought because of that inheritance—so different from his Boston legacy—that he might be “half exotic.”¹ It is high time to examine the Maryland inheritance of the Adams family, which entered that noted New England stock through Joshua Johnson, who married a Londoner called Catherine “Nuth.” The second daughter of Joshua and Catherine, Louisa Catherine Johnson (1775–1852), married John Quincy Adams in 1797.

Louisa Catherine Adams felt the Adamses slighted her side of the family. “All families,” she wrote to her son Charles Francis, “are not as indifferent to their maternal connections as ours are.”² When she wrote this in 1828, she was referring to the extraordinary interest in the Adams genealogy shown by her husband and his parents, John and Abigail Adams. The Adamses filled page after page with genealogical studies of their side of the family,

while taking little notice of the Johnsons and their forebears.³ Yet Louisa Catherine was not quite fair. It was not all “maternal connections” which disinterested the Adamses, only the Johnson family. Abigail’s family, the Quincys, was well-studied by the Adamses.

Louisa Catherine understood her Johnson connections very well, but was unclear about her own “maternal connections.” The record of her mother’s (Catherine Nuth’s) heritage is, to say the least, unaccountably inaccurate; and it was Louisa Catherine who recorded the inaccuracies. New evidence from recent research about Catherine Nuth and Joshua Johnson suggests a possible solution to a part of the mystery; it raises, however, even more tantalizing questions than it solves.

Some information about Louisa Catherine’s parents seems beyond question. Louisa Catherine’s father, Joshua Johnson, descended from a Maryland family that had originated in Yarmouth, England. During the English revolution (1640–1649), his grandfather, Thomas Johnson, an early and prominent member of the Puritan “Eastern Counties Association,” turned royalist.⁴ Here, family tradition diverges into two slightly different versions.

One version, recorded by James Johnson, nephew of Governor Johnson, and attributed by him to Louisa Catherine, claims Thomas Johnson’s son, a young barrister, eloped with a Mary Baker of Liverpool, a ward in chancery. Wards in chancery were forbidden by law to marry without the Chancellor’s permission, which the young couple did not obtain. However, Mary Baker’s father, a ship’s captain, arranged for their escape to Calvert County, Maryland,

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where they arrived about 1690. Several years later, because his brother was in favor at the court of Queen Anne, Thomas decided to return to England, leaving in Maryland his wife and a young son, also named Thomas, born in 1701. After incredible adventures, including capture by Spaniards and a winter's trip from Quebec to Maryland, Johnson reappeared at home only to find that his wife had died from worry and anguish.⁵ This highly colored and romantic story has been quite rightly questioned by members of the Johnson family and ought to be firmly put aside. Wards in chancery were orphans, and thus the core of the story is probably false.

Charles Johnson, another of Louisa Catherine's cousins, recorded a more pedestrian version of the family's history in 1828; and Louisa Catherine copied this narrative into a letter to her son Charles Francis. According to this account, Thomas Johnson came to America, not because Mary Baker was a ward in chancery, but because he had taken "an active part in the political troubles of that time." In Maryland, he opened a store, traded with the Indians, and while returning to England for merchandise was taken prisoner in Queen Anne's War and carried to Quebec. From there he returned to Maryland to find his house had been burned and his wife so ill from anxiety that she died a short time later. From this point on, there is no discrepancy in the Johnson family history.⁶

A few years later, Thomas Johnson too died, leaving his young son in the care of friends, who saw to it that he received a good education. In 1725, this second Thomas Johnson married Dorcas Sedgwick, whose Puritan ancestors, forced to leave Virginia, had settled in Calvert County, Maryland. Johnson rose in Maryland to elective office and went to the lower house of the Maryland Assembly as delegate from Cecil County. Thomas and Dorcas Johnson had eleven children; the eighth of these children, Joshua, born in 1742, became Louisa Catherine's father.⁷

In 1771, Joshua Johnson, then twenty-nine, journeyed to England to become the London partner of an Annapolis mercantile firm—Wallace, Davidson, and Johnson.⁸ During the first years of his long-term res-

idence in London, he met a very young woman named Catherine, who had been born in London, and together they began a family. Louisa Catherine Johnson, born in 1775, was their second child.

Although the Adamses knew of their Maryland forebears, it was Henry Adams who was most diligent in seeking them out. No sooner had he begun his search, however, than he found he had stumbled on a mystery. He even hired a London genealogist to help him—without finding a solution. In 1893, he wrote to his cousin:

My own chief curiosity is to know something about my great grandmother Catherine Nuth, wife of Joshua Johnson and mother of Mrs. J. Q. Adams. If any of your Maryland genealogists will solve me that difficulty, I can quite fill out my family tree, although the other Johnsons are still troublesome enough.⁹

Seven years later, Henry was even more mystified. He wrote his brother Charles Francis:

You ask me a question which is one of the deepest mysteries of metaphysical theology. What [*sic*] was Catherine (Nuth) Johnson? Her daughter, Louisa Catherine Johnson, our grandmother ought to have known who she was. If any historical reasoning is sound, that appears so—to me.¹⁰

Henry then summarized for his brother a memorandum Louisa Catherine Johnson Adams had written concerning her mother's family. He had found this memo impossible to validate when, in 1895, he went to London, "taking for granted that a few hours investigation would give me the whole connection."¹¹ He was never to be enlightened about "the whole connection."

Many years after she was married, Louisa Catherine wrote the memorandum to which Henry Adams referred. She admitted she knew little of her mother's background and virtually nothing about her maternal grandfather, but gave as much information as she knew (or seemed to know) about this grandfather:

His [her mother's father's] name was Nuth and as I have always heard from my Mother he had a Place like that of Charles Lamb mentioned in his Memoirs of Writer I think

it is termed in the India House I do not even recollect his Christian Name and am not sure that I ever heard

My Grand Mothers name was Mary Young. She was the daughter of a Brewer a Partner in the House of Sir Felix Calvert and was engaged to marry his Son—but owing to some misunderstanding rejected him and married Mr. Nuth. They had twenty two living Children born but only reared two My Mother

Catherine Nuth and

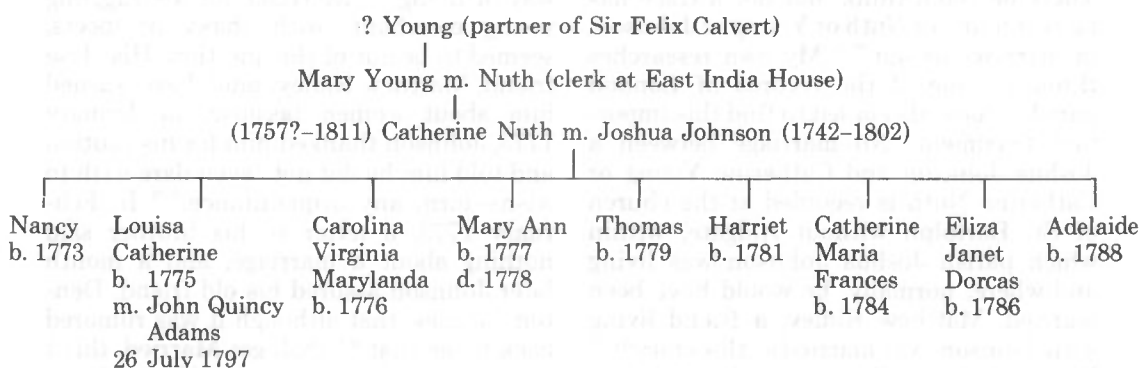
A Son who at fourteen

years of Age was sent out by the East India Company as a Cadet and was always supposed to have perished in one of the expeditions sent up into the back Country I remember my Grandfather who died at the Age of ninety six—I think when I was about 12 or 13 years old—He lived at Camberwell and left at his death the sum of £500 sterling to my Mother which my Father permitted her to use as her own.¹²

In her autobiography, Louisa Catherine added another piece of information about her grandfather: "My . . . Grandfather whose character was I am sorry to say very indifferent."¹³

If we accept Louisa Catherine's account, a genealogical chart of her family would look like this:

Louisa Catherine's Version of Her Genealogy



Like Henry Adams, the modern researcher finds there are problems in verifying Louisa Catherine's statements. First, the records at India House do not seem to indicate that anyone by the name of Nuth was employed by the company between 1750 and 1775, the years in which Louisa's grandfather Nuth might have been working

there. Further, no cadet named Nuth seems to have been engaged by the company or have been sent on an expedition.¹⁴ It is unfortunate that Louisa Catherine did not recall ever hearing the Christian name of her grandfather Nuth, but the records of India House will not supply this lack.

Her great-grandfather, named Young, Louisa Catherine wrote, was a partner in the Calvert brewery. Although in no way conclusive, the 1745 records of a lease for a warehouse by the Calvert firm indicate that Felix Calvert's partners at that time were Samuel Smith and Sir William Calvert. There is no record of a partner named Young.¹⁵

There is yet another problem about Louisa Catherine's memoir, this time concerning her grandmother, Mary Young, the daughter of the London brewer. Writing about her, Louisa never referred to her grandmother as Mrs. Nuth, but always as "Miss Young"¹⁶ or "Mary Young,"¹⁷ once even as "Miss Mary Young."¹⁸ Why, if she was married to Mr. Nuth, was she "Miss Mary Young" rather than Mary Nuth or Mrs. Nuth? A further, more enticing fact is that from records which have been preserved in Nantes, France, it appears that Mary Young's daughter, Catherine (Louisa

Catherine's mother), also used the name of Young, when, if Louisa Catherine's account is accurate, she should have been called Catherine Nuth. Louisa Catherine always called her mother Catherine Nuth.

The records in France suggest that Catherine Johnson's maiden name was Young, not Nuth. From 1778 to 1783, the Johnson

family, with four children, lived in Nantes, France. While they were there, Catherine Johnson signed two baptismal certificates: the first for her daughter Harriet Johnson; the second for Bethia Williams, a child of good friends. The French clerk included Catherine's maiden name on the certificates; in both cases Catherine Johnson's maiden name was inscribed by the clerk as Young. On one document, the clerk even took the trouble to write "je dis jong" (I say young), spelling out phonetically what Catherine Johnson had said; the first time he had misspelled her maiden name "jong." If Mary Young, Catherine's mother, had married Mr. Nuth, one would expect that on these two documents, her daughter would have been recorded as Catherine Nuth, but the record reads Catherine Young.¹⁹

Not only is there a problem with Catherine Johnson's maiden name and with the identity of her father and grandfather, but also with her own marriage to Joshua Johnson. The genealogist hired by Henry Adams was unable to find the marriage record of Catherine Young (Nuth) Johnson and Joshua Johnson, Louisa Catherine's mother and father. The genealogist's investigations, Henry told his brother, "continued for two years through all the Parish records, and the India office, and every where he could think; but not a trace has he ever found of Nuth or Young or Johnson, in marriage or out."²⁰ My own researches through some of the records of London parishes have also failed to find this important document. No marriage between a Joshua Johnson and Catherine Young or Catherine Nuth is recorded at the church of St. Bartolph without Aldgate, within which parish Joshua Johnson was living and where, normally, he would have been married. Matthew Ridley, a friend living with Johnson, was married at this church.²¹ Where Catherine Young was living before she met Johnson is unknown, although it was probably London, as she was, according to the French baptismal certificate of her daughter, born in London.

Odd as it is that no marriage certificate can be found for the Johnsons, odder still was Joshua's attitude about Catherine Young. In 1773, he was living in London

and working hard at the volatile mercantile trade.²² He had just survived a serious credit crisis which was trans-Atlantic in scope and which had brought down several mercantile houses far larger and older than Johnson's Maryland-based operation.²³ In high spirits, he took much of the credit for surviving the financial crisis, boasting to his firm, "I have a pleasure of informing you that we are in top credit . . . I am much elated at our present flattering prospect in good health [and] good spirits."²⁴ What he did not tell the firm, or anyone else in any extant letter of 1773, was that he expected to become a father one month later, in December of that year, and that the mother of the child was a sixteen-year-old girl named Catherine Young.²⁵

From the time he arrived in London in 1771, Joshua Johnson kept his friends in Annapolis informed about his relations with women, but he never mentioned Catherine Young. Indeed, the closer the time came for the birth of the child, the more firmly he asserted to his friends that he was *not* married. He found, on first arriving in England, that there were "Quanturn . . . exceedingly pretty and genteel," whose great advantage was that he could use them with impunity.²⁶ The London ladies pleased him and he was paying "tribute at the Temple of Venus," but still yearning for "a sober way of living."²⁷ Marriage for a struggling young merchant, with shaky prospects, seemed to be out of the question. His close friend, Matthew Ridley, must have warned him about women because, in January 1773, Johnson thanked him for his caution and told him he did not "even dare wish to wish—form any acquaintance."²⁸ In February 1773, a letter to his brother said nothing about a marriage, and a month later Johnson assured his old friend, Denton Jacques, that although it was rumored back home that "I shall get Married, this I assure you that it is the least of my Thoughts, & if I continue in the same mind I believe I never shall."²⁹ Johnson must have known of Catherine Young's pregnancy, and a cryptic reference in an August 1773 letter home raises some questions about his commitment to Catherine. He wrote his partner, upon hearing that his brother Thomas Johnson was ill, that he

would go to Maryland immediately, even "if I am obliged to run away, that I may have it in my power to Assist his Children."³⁰ In September 1773, he wrote to John Davidson to inquire about "private matters . . . that I might regulate myself respecting other Matters," but did not elucidate the "other Matters."³¹ He informed John Davidson (Catherine Young was within three months of giving birth) that

some of my good friends had been busy with me & the Crehold Ladies. a Man must possess true Courage indeed to ingage [*sic*] the Matrimonial way in those [*sic*] hard times. . . . [I] am content to let the more interprizing [*sic*] Injoy [*sic*] the Charmer with all her Charms.³²

Even in November, when Catherine Young was more than seven months pregnant, Johnson again denied that he was married. "You say that you have heard I was to be married, I pawn my Honour to you that there is nothing in it," he wrote home.³³ In the same month, Johnson wrote to the firm that he was renting a "house of my own," so that he could "entertain (when convenient) our Country Men."³⁴ He also began to separate his living expenses from his "House Rent, Taxes, Clerks wages and charges of Merchandize" and admitted the expense of the furniture for the new house should be his, not the firm's. Then on 22 December 1773, after denying in March, September, and November that he was even contemplating marriage, Joshua Johnson's daughter Nancy was born. She was duly baptized at the church of St. Bartolph without Aldgate, and her parents were recorded as Catherine and Joshua Johnson. Although no marriage record for Catherine Young and Joshua Johnson has ever been found, the child was registered as legitimate. The legal penalties for presiding ministers who registered as legitimate illegitimate children were severe. Therefore, Nancy Johnson's baptismal record is a good indication that the Johnsons were married sometime, in as yet an undiscovered place, before her birth.³⁵

To disentangle the threads of this complicated story would be an almost impossible task were it not for the preservation of Joshua Johnson's letterbook dealing with

the years during which he lived in London and met Catherine Young (Nuth).³⁶ A law suit, which Johnson brought against his partners in 1798, necessitated the preservation of this letterbook. This book was published in 1979 by the London Record Society and can be scrutinized for clues concerning Joshua Johnson's comings and goings in 1772 and 1773. It comes as no surprise to discover that in none of his letters does he mention Mary Young, Catherine Young or her pregnancy, or the child, or a marriage. The letterbook is as silent as the London marriage records.

This letterbook is particularly revealing about Johnson's life in London because he felt he had to instruct his partners in Annapolis about his end of the business. He wrote voluminously and with a garrulous wealth of detail about his associates and doings in London. A close reading of these letters indicates many business acquaintances, but none who can be positively identified as the father of Catherine Young.

Neither Henry Adams nor any other researcher seems to have found even a hint of the true identity of Louisa Catherine's grandfather, whom she called "Nuth." Therefore, no clue, however circumstantial or tangential, should be overlooked in researching Louisa Catherine's background. If we discard what seems to be untrue in Louisa Catherine's account of her grandfather, we are left with the following details: his name was something other than Nuth; he left Louisa Catherine's mother (Catherine Young) a legacy; he was born in 1690 or 1691; Louisa Catherine was taught that his character was suspect; he lived in London.

Close scrutiny of the letterbook does provide us with one character who seems to fit these five descriptions. On 25 March 1772, Johnson dispatched a letter to his firm in Maryland discussing business prospects.³⁷ Among those whom Johnson dealt with in London there seems to have been a Mr. Lookup, recently dead in The Hague. It is not clear from Johnson's letter that he even knew Lookup, but he seems at one time to have thought Lookup worth £60,000—an enormous sum in 1772. Instead of a fortune, Johnson reported, Lookup had left a "few trifling legacies" and "a character far from

amiable." To whom these legacies were left was not specified in the letter, but Johnson mentioned that Lookup had a relative, also called Lookup, in Annapolis. Johnson wrote to his firm: "Mr. Lookup's relation died at the Hague in October last and instead of being worth £60,000, he hardly left enough to pay his debts and discharge a few trifling legacies, though he has left a character far from an amiable one."³⁸

Two facts about Lookup are of interest. First, he left a legacy and, second, Johnson did not like him. In her genealogical memorandum and her memoir, Louisa provided two pieces of information about her grandfather. First, he left her mother, Catherine Young, a legacy and, second, he had an "indifferent character." These two slight similarities, the legacy and an "indifferent character," were sufficient merely to raise an interest in this Mr. Lookup. For the time being, the question is merely raised whether the Lookup in the letter could be Louisa Catherine's so far unidentifiable grandfather.

Further research has revealed other similarities between George Lookup and the man Louisa Catherine reported was her grandfather. The full name of the Mr. Lookup's relation in the letter was George Lookup. He was born in 1691, apparently in Scotland. He became a surgeon at some time in his life and lived for a while in Bath. He married a woman named Katherine, who owned property in Bath, and they lived in Covent Garden, London. As Joshua Johnson wrote, George Lookup died at The Hague on 27 October 1771.³⁹ He was then eighty and left a will which had been written in London, proved on 3 November 1771, and contained some legacies.⁴⁰

George Lookup left his whole estate to his brother, Andrew Lookup, who lived in Jedburgh, County Roxburgh, in Scotland. Of the additional legacies, the first is particularly interesting. George Lookup left £1,000 to his natural daughter, whom he called "Georgina Lookup."⁴¹ But this natural daughter was not yet of age, and so he left the money with several strings attached. The £1,000 was to be invested to yield 4 percent per annum; he appointed several guardians for the girl and gave minute instructions as to the use of the annual

£40 interest. This money was to be used for his daughter's "Maintenance, Clothing and Education." The £1,000 would come to her only when she was married with the consent of two of her guardians or reached the age of twenty-one. If she married before the age of twenty-one without consent of the guardians or died before she reached her majority, the money was to be given to Andrew Lookup, George's brother.

In the corpus of the will, Lookup explained why he bound his daughter's money so tightly. He meant "to prevent her falling a prey to her own passions or a Villain." Why he feared "Georgina's" own passions, we do not know; but concerning the "Villain," he was probably prudent. A girl with a fortune of £1,000 might well have been married merely for her money. One of the guardians to carry out the terms of this will was George's cousin John Lookup, attorney. John Lookup was then in Annapolis, Maryland, a very prominent member of Annapolis society, an officer of the most prestigious social club in that town, and undoubtedly well known to the Annapolis partners of Joshua Johnson, Charles Wallace, and John Davidson.⁴²

Suppose that the "Georgina Lookup" of the will is, in fact, Catherine Young. Catherine Young is thought to have been under age in 1771 because, according to Louisa Catherine, her mother was not yet twenty-one in April 1778.⁴³ If Catherine Young Johnson turned twenty-one in 1778, she would have been born in 1757 and been only fourteen in 1771. We know from Louisa Catherine's writings that her mother had a legacy, and we further know from Johnson's 1782 letterbooks that Catherine Young Johnson was conducting business with her own money, so she did inherit some money from somewhere.⁴⁴ Johnson thought Lookup a shady character, and Louisa Catherine recorded the same opinion of the grandfather, whom she called "Nuth." Louisa Catherine also wrote her grandfather was ninety-six when she was twelve or thirteen. Since Louisa Catherine was born in 1775, this grandfather would have been born in 1691 or 1692. George Lookup was born in 1691.

Suppose further that Joshua Johnson and Catherine Young had been clandestine

tinely married.⁴⁵ Such things were still possible although more difficult after Lord Hardwick's Marriage Act in 1753. Johnson wrote insistently to Maryland that he was not married and had no intention of being married. Could he have wanted to conceal his relationship with Catherine Young from John Lookup, the Annapolis attorney and guardian of "Georgina Lookup"? If "Georgina" married before twenty-one, she would forfeit her legacy. If Catherine Young and "Georgina" are identical, and Catherine married clandestinely, then if John Lookup heard of Catherine's marriage, she would have forfeited her legacy. In other words, did Johnson write to Maryland that he was not married for the purpose of keeping John Lookup in the dark?

In February 1774, when their first child was two months old, an associate of Johnson's wrote to a mutual friend in Baltimore (who could be counted on to keep the secret if necessary) about Johnson's "wife."⁴⁶ Whatever was Johnson's marital status in London, he seems to have lived openly with Catherine Young. Their children, including the first, were baptized at the local church and registered as legitimate. A slight possibility exists that Joshua and Catherine Johnson were not, in fact, married, although they were recognized as man and wife by the community in which they lived. Common-law marriages were becoming rarer in the late eighteenth century, but they certainly did exist. After 1776, Johnson wrote to his correspondents about "Mrs. Johnson," but to the firm in Annapolis, he mentioned his family only in 1778.⁴⁷ Alternatively, Catherine and Joshua Johnson may have married later, perhaps after the first child was born. Great care must be taken in even considering the possibility of a common-law marriage for the Johnsons. A missing record does not mean that one never existed.⁴⁸

One more aspect of this story must be considered. George Lookup's wife, Katherine Lookup, died in 1762; and she, too, left a will.⁴⁹ She left her money to her own daughters, Mary and Ann (no mention is made of "Georgina Lookup"), and cited Mary's daughter Louisa as a collateral legatee. Joshua and Catherine Johnson had four daughters born between 1771 and 1778

when Catherine Young Johnson came of age. One Johnson daughter, born in 1776, was named, in a burst of patriotism, Carolina Virginia Marylanda. The other three girls were named Nancy, a derivative of Ann, Louisa Catherine, and Mary Ann. The similarity of names in the Johnson and Lookup families (Catherine, Ann, Mary, Louisa), although in no way definitive evidence of Catherine Johnson's background, is at least suggestive.

In November of 1778, Joshua Johnson wrote a letter to the firm in which he claimed "my Children [will be] Beggars whilst yours will be rich & happy."⁵⁰ He also spoke of "the very heavy Expense that has attended the removal of my Family from England" and hoped in a few years, he wrote, to "take [his] Family on the heaving Pond" and spend the rest of his life in Maryland.⁵¹ The question naturally arises, why should it have been safe to inform the firm of his family in 1778, but seeming not in 1777, when his 1774-1777 letterbook ends?

There may be two reasons for Johnson's willingness to inform Annapolis of his family in 1778. First, if Louisa's statement about her mother's age is accurate and "Georgina" was Catherine Johnson, then she should have received her money in spring 1778. It would then have been safe to inform Maryland of his family. Second, a lawsuit in Edinburgh in February 1775, brought by two collateral heirs of John Lookup, claimed that he had died in Williamsburg, Virginia.⁵² John Lookup's heirs were not sure of the date of his death, but thought it had been in 1775. If John Lookup was dead, there was less reason for Johnson to keep Maryland in the dark about his relationship with Catherine. There is, however, a discrepancy between 1775 and 1778, during which time Johnson seemingly did not write of his family; so the first reason, that Catherine may have received her full legacy in spring 1778, seems the more likely explanation. It is also possible that Joshua Johnson did not feel safe to write home about his family until Catherine had the money, whether John Lookup was alive or dead.

What new knowledge of the maternal line of Louisa Catherine do we now pos-

sess? First, Catherine Johnson, mother of Louisa Catherine, was born in London and was probably illegitimate. Second, the man Louisa Catherine called Mr. Nuth may possibly have been George Lookup, a London surgeon. If George Lookup is not Louisa Catherine's grandfather, then we must look for another man born in 1691 or 1692 and who also left a legacy to a London-born girl. Further, some explanation would have to be found, other than the terms of George Lookup's will, to account for Joshua Johnson's continual assertions, even in the face of the imminent birth of his daughter, that he was not married.

We may never know the truth about Catherine Johnson's background. There is no clue to whom George Lookup's legacy was paid. Further, parish records must be searched in England (especially near London) for that most important document, the marriage record of Joshua Johnson and Catherine Young. Until then, we can say only that it seems as if they were married; but as yet we have not found the evidence.

So much supporting evidence for Louisa Catherine's reminiscence about her grandfather is lacking that her motives for writing it must be scrutinized. Her memoir is not dated, but is clearly in her hand. Why would she have reported details impossible to verify and perhaps spurious? Several answers suggest themselves: pride of family, fear of Adams disapproval, insecurity about her own background. Certainly, married to an Adams, she needed a genealogy, if only to match the efforts of her husband's family. The highly colored, romantic details she gave about her grandfather, linking him to India House, Charles Lamb, and the report of a brother who died on an expedition are typical of her attempts throughout all her writings to enhance her own experiences and those of her family. Did she not know that her mother was perhaps illegitimate? Was she, as a gullible child, taught stories about her grandfather which were not true and which she in all good faith repeated? Did she not notice that she called her grandmother Mary Young, when she should have written Mary Nuth? It would certainly have been difficult to admit that her mother, who became a close friend of her in-laws John and Abigail Adams, might

have been illegitimate. The Adamses lived by a very strict moral code and considered all Europe morally corrupt. Further, to Louisa Catherine's overwhelming and everlasting shame, after years of living far above his income, Joshua Johnson went bankrupt only a few weeks after she married John Quincy. She may, understandably, have lacked the courage to admit financial irresponsibility on one side of her family and possible illegitimacy on the other.

In an era when biography plays so great a part in historical work, it is necessary to question Louisa Catherine's background. Until now her early life has been glossed over in favor of her later life with John Quincy. Yet if she knew that there was something shameful about her mother's family, how much greater must have seemed the disgrace of her father's financial collapse. It is impossible to understand Louisa's devastating feelings of inferiority and mortification which damaged her marriage until we know more about how she understood her heritage. No true picture of Louisa Catherine can emerge from the numerous biographical works about her and John Quincy until her genealogy is better understood.⁵³

Most of Louisa Catherine's maternal connections are still obscure. Whether George Lookup proves to be or not to be Louisa Catherine's grandfather is of secondary importance to the discovery that she may have had something in her background to hide. For anyone, even of great financial probity and unimpeachable background, marriage to an Adams was a daunting prospect. Louisa Catherine's chances at happiness as John Quincy's wife may have been lessened years before, when a certain Mary Young did or did not marry a Mr. Nuth and Louisa Catherine's father did or did not marry her mother. In most lives, genealogy plays a minor role; in Louisa Catherine's it may have been of great importance.

Enough evidence now exists to make additional genealogical study of Louisa Catherine's maternal line valuable. Admittedly many pieces of the puzzle are still lacking, but we now know a great deal more about the Johnsons than ever before. Louisa Catherine's life must be studied in an en-

tirely new light and new questions asked about her character and attitudes. Because she is so important a member of the Adams family, her life should now be put into the larger context of the family's history, using these new insights to explain her own life and her impact on her husband, sons, and grandsons. Indeed, Lyman H. Butterfield, first editor of the Adams Papers, wrote of Louisa Catherine that no figure "in the entire span of the Adams dynasty is more central."⁵⁴

It is difficult to accept a lacuna in any genealogical search, especially in the background of Mrs. John Quincy Adams, the mother of Charles Francis Adams and the grandmother of Henry and Brooks Adams. Future scholarship will undoubtedly find more information. When the editors of the Adams Papers come to edit Louisa Catherine's writings, they may discover facts now unknown. Until then, we are left with a somewhat revised, but still highly tantalizing account of the Maryland and London background of Louisa Catherine Johnson Adams.

REFERENCES

Following the lead of the Adams Papers publications, I have used the following abbreviations:

Louisa Catherine Johnson Adams	LCA
Charles Francis Adams	CFA
Henry Adams	HA
Charles Francis Adams (son of	CFA ₂
Charles Francis Adams)	
Joshua Johnson	JJ

1. Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961), p. 19.
2. LCA to CFA, 5 July 1828, Adams Papers Microfilm (hereafter cited as APM), reel 486.
3. For examples of the Adams's genealogical interest, see APM, reel 603.
4. Edward S. Delaplaine, *The Life of Thomas Johnson* (New York: F. H. Hitchcock, 1927), p. 8.
5. This version of the Johnson family history is taken from "A letter of Information from James Johnson, nephew of Governor Johnson (son of James and Margaret Skinner Johnson) to his children. September, 1842," Johnson file, filing cabinet A, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md. Referring to the details, apparently given by Louisa Catherine Adams, James Johnson wrote, "such is the very romantic account given by family tradition, and since the greater part—if not the whole—of it came from Mrs. John Quincy Adams, the great-granddaughter of the immigrant, it must contain some kernel of truth, though what this is would be difficult to decide . . . it is certainly true that the family came from Yarmouth, and that Thomas Johnson, born in Calvert County in 1692,

was the son of Thomas Johnson and Mary his wife." Another letter, written by Adele Moody of Washington, D.C., a great-great-granddaughter of Joshua Johnson, claimed that Louisa Catherine never gave out this information. Adele Moody to Charles Stein, 8 May 1963, Johnson File, filing cabinet A, Maryland Historical Society. Edward S. Delaplaine took the information on the Johnson family from the James Johnson document and published it, without recording that some details may not be historically accurate, in *The Life of Thomas Johnson*, p. 8.

6. LCA to CFA, 5 July 1828, APM, reel 486.
7. Delaplaine, *Life*, p. 10.
8. On Johnson's early career, see Edward C. Papenfuss, *In Pursuit of Profit: The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763-1805* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), p. 53.
9. HA to Maria Louisa Crane, 27 May 1893, Fourth Generation, Adams Papers, Boston, Mass.
10. Letter from HA to CFA₂, 12 July 1900, Fourth Generation. Adams Papers, Boston, Mass. The question Henry Adams asked, "What was Catherine Nuth Johnson?" is oddly phrased. He should have written, "Who was Catherine Nuth Johnson?" Perhaps Henry knew more than he admitted to knowing about her. I have no clue what he could have meant by this question.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Undated genealogical note on the Johnson family in LCA's handwriting, APM, reel 603. Interestingly, Louisa Catherine first wrote "I do not even recollect his name," and then crossed out "name" and wrote "Christian name."
13. LCA, "Record of a Life or My Story," APM, reel 265.
14. Records at the India House Library, London, Record L/AG/9/4/13-20. The librarian at India House searched for a cadet named Nuth, without finding any in the records. Letter to Joan R. Challinor from Miss M. Meaden, India Office Records, 30 January 1980. For a description of the kind of life Louisa Catherine Adams envisioned for her mother's father, see Samuel Mckechnie, "Charles Lamb of the India House," *Notes and Queries* 141 (July-December 1946):178-80, 204-6, 252-56, 277-80; and 142 (January-December 1947):9-13, 25-29, 53-56, 72-73, 103-6. These are ten studies of the ordinary work life of Charles Lamb as a clerk at India House.
15. Letter from C. R. H. Cooper, Keeper of Manuscripts, the Guildhall Library to Joan R. Challinor, 7 November 1979. A search for a will of a "Mr. Young" of Camberwell was made for me by Marie McMahon of The American University. None could be located in Camberwell or any other part of London. Records searched are in the Public Record Office and the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.
16. "My grandmother was a Miss Young," LCA, "Record of a Life or My Story," APM, reel 265.
17. "My grandmother's name was Mary Young," undated genealogical note on the Johnson family in LCA's handwriting, APM, reel 603.
18. "Your [great] GrandMother was a Miss Mary

- Young," LCA to CFA, 5 July 1828, APM, reel 486. In a chart of her family's genealogy, Louisa Catherine wrote "Joshua Johnson married Miss Nuth," APM, reel 603.
19. "Dame Catherine young, née à Londres," baptismal certificate for Harriet Johnson, 3 January 1782, Archives Municipal de Nantes, France, and "Dame Catherine yong (je dis young) de Johnson" baptismal certificate for Bethia Williams, 7 August 1782, Archives Municipal de Nantes, France. The second certificate was found for me by Mary E. Challinor.
 20. HA to CFA₂, 12 July 1900, Adams Papers, Fourth Generation, Boston, Mass. Quoted by Lyman H. Butterfield in "Tending a Dragon-killer: Notes for the Biographer of Mrs. John Quincy Adams," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 118 (April 1974):165-78.
 21. In the 1970s members of the Morman Church, Salt Lake City, Utah, made a listing of names and dates of baptisms and marriages of many of the Record Books of the London churches. These lists were then alphabetized and put on microfiche. A set of this microfiche exists in the London Guildhall Library. Great care must be taken in using these records as they are not always accurate, but they do contain thousands of names. All the Johnson girls but Harriet (baptized in France) are included on these records. The fact that a marriage does not appear on these records does not mean there was no marriage. For instance, the records of All Hallows Church, Barking, do not appear in the Mormon lists, so that the undoubted marriage between Louisa Catherine and John Quincy Adams does not appear on these records, although it took place on 26 July 1797. However, these Mormon records can be helpful in any genealogical search. Matthew Ridley's marriage took place on 16 April 1776, at St. Bartolph's without Aldgate, the church where the first four Johnson children were baptized. Register of Marriage, 1767-79, Ms. 9230/4, St. Bartolph without Aldgate, Guildhall Library, London.
 22. For Joshua Johnson's career in London, see Edward C. Papenfuss, *In Pursuit of Profit: The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763-1805* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975); and Jacob Price, "Joshua Johnson in London, 1771-1775: Credit and Commercial Organization in the British Chesapeake Trade," in Anne Whiteman, J. S. Bromley, P. G. M. Dickson, eds., *Statesmen, Scholars and Merchants: Essays in Eighteenth Century History Presented to Dame Lucy Sutherland* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 153-80; and Jacob M. Price, ed., *Joshua Johnson's Letterbook, 1771-1774: Letters from a Merchant in London to His Partners in Maryland* (London: London Record Society, 1979). Some of Johnson's private letters are left out of this last book. The spelling and punctuation of Johnson's letters has been modernized.
 23. Concerning the crisis, see Richard B. Sheridan, "The British Credit Crisis of 1772 and the American Colonies," *Journal of Economic History* 20 (June 1960):161-86.
 24. JJ to the Firm, 29 November 1773, Price, *Joshua Johnson's Letterbook*, p. 109.
 25. Catherine Young seems to have, according to the French records, been born in London. "Catherine young, née à Londres," baptismal certificate for Harriett Johnson, 3 January 1782, Archives Municipal de Nantes, France. Catherine's age at the birth of her first child is computed from two sources: John Quincy Adams's Diary for 25 May 1796, APM, reel 27, and Louisa Catherine's statement that her mother was "not yet twenty-one" when the family left for Nantes in April 1778.
 26. JJ to Denton Jacques, 20 July 1771, Joshua Johnson's Letterbook, 1771-1774, original in Maryland Hall of Records. "Quanturn" seems to have been Johnson's way of spelling "Quartern," which in the eighteenth century meant either one-fourth or four of something.
 27. JJ to Lloyd Tilghman, 3 September 1772, Joshua Johnson's Letterbook, 1771-1774, Maryland Hall of Records.
 28. Johnson told Matthew Ridley the reason he could not "form an acquaintance" was, cryptically, that "Mrs. B _____ has grown an Armful." Who Mrs. B _____ was, and what Johnson meant by "an armful" is obscure. JJ to Matthew Ridley, 6 January 1773, Joshua Johnson's Letterbook, 1771-1774, Maryland Hall of Records.
 29. JJ to Denton Jacques, 18 March 1773, Joshua Johnson's Letterbook, 1771-1774, Maryland Hall of Records.
 30. JJ to the firm, 20 August 1773, Joshua Johnson's Letterbook, 1771-1774, Maryland Hall of Records.
 31. JJ to John Davidson, 4 September 1774, Joshua Johnson's Letterbook, 1771-1774, Maryland Hall of Records.
 32. *Ibid.*
 33. JJ to Matthew Ridley, 3 November 1773, Joshua Johnson's Letterbook, 1771-1774, Maryland Hall of Records.
 34. JJ to the Firm, 29 November 1773, Joshua Johnson's Letterbook, 1771-1774, Maryland Hall of Records.
 35. Nancy Johnson's baptism appears in the record book at the Church of St. Bartolph's without Aldgate as having taken place on two different dates. The first is 2 January 1774, and the second is 16 January 1774. I have no explanation for the two different dates. On Lord Hardwick's Marriage Act (1753) and its results on eighteenth-century demography, see Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), pp. 35-37. Another view of the results of this act is taken by Belinda Meteyard, "Illegitimacy and Marriage in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10 (Winter 1980):479-89. Mrs. Meteyard warns in this article that the rise in the numbers of illegitimate births in the eighteenth century may have been exaggerated because the same kind of birth (i.e., children of unmarried parents) was sometimes registered as legitimate before Lord Hardwick's Marriage Act and illegitimate after the Act. See, also, M. Dorothy George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Harmondsworth, England; Penguin Books, 1965), p. 305.

36. Price, ed., *Joshua Johnson's Letterbook*.
37. JJ to the Firm, 25 March 1772, Price, ed., *Joshua Johnson's Letterbook*, p. 30.
38. Ibid.
39. Letter to the author from C. W. Delforferie, Curator, Central Bureau for Genealogy, The Hague, The Netherlands, reports the following information in the municipal archives of The Hague: "George Lookup died in the Hague on Oct. 27, 1771, and was buried there (Grote Kerk) on Oct. 31, 1771, 80 years old. He was unmarried and lived with Hendrick Constaple, bookseller in 'de Poten.' According to the notarial archives of the Hague (inventory number 4553, act of Dec. 6, 1771), George Lookup was 'Esquire' of the parish of St. Paul Covent Garden, in the county Middlesex (England). He had a brother, Andrew Lookup, who was executor of his will. In this context Andrew Lookup had a procuration of notary Joseph Cortissos of London." Letter from C. W. Delforferie to Joan R. Challinor, 6 March 1980.
40. George Lookup's will is #Prob 11/972-8431 Public Record Office London, England. I am greatly indebted to Vera J. Ledger, a London genealogist, who found all the English wills and researched innumerable "dead ends" for me.
41. There is no record of "Georgina Lookup" in the baptismal records collected by the Mormons at the Guildhall Library, London, England. Letter from Vera J. Ledger to Joan R. Challinor, 10 December 1980.
42. For John Lookup in Annapolis, see the records of the Hominy Club, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.
43. On 25 May 1796, John Quincy Adams wrote it was Mrs. Johnson's birthday. John Quincy Adams, "Diary," APM, reel 27. LCA wrote, that her father "removed with his family to Nantz in France with his Wife then not one and twenty and four Children." Since the family moved in April 1778, if Louisa Catherine's information is correct, then Catherine Young was born in 1757. LCA, Journal Fragment, 2 March 1834, APM, reel 499.
44. Joshua Johnson gave orders to the firm concerning Catherine Johnson's money in his letter to John Muir, 15 May 1782, Wallace, Johnson and Muir Letterbook: 1781-1783, New York Public Library. The firm, in reply, referred to "Mrs. Johnson's Adventures," in a letter from the firm to JJ, 3 July 1782, *ibid*.
45. On 2 December 1772, Johnson wrote to the firm, "I have been very poorly this fall and compelled to leave town." He certainly could have been married when he left London. Price, ed., *Joshua Johnson's Letterbook*, p. 55. On "fleet marriages," see M. Dorothy George, *London Life*, p. 305.
46. "A most devil of a dust in J-'s. family between himself, his wife and P-y." Daniel Bowly to Matthew Ridley, 20 February 1774, Binder #5, Ridley Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
47. The first mention I can find of Catherine Young Johnson in Joshua Johnson's letters is to Captain George Buchanan, 19 July 1776, Joshua Johnson's Letterbook, 1774-1777, Maryland Hall of Records. Unfortunately, Joshua Johnson's letterbook for 1777-1779 seems to be no longer extant. It may never have existed since Johnson was doing very little business at that time.
48. A record exists in the London Guildhall Library, of a Lookup-Johnson marriage. The register of St. Andrew's Holborn, shows that on 1 August 1773, Ann Lookup (aged 23) married William Johnson. Since neither the names nor the ages fit, this cannot be the marriage record of Catherine Young and Joshua Johnson.
49. Katherine Lookup's will is referenced under Prob. #II 873, The Public Record Office, London.
50. JJ to the Firm, 18 November 1778, Chancery Papers 2893, Exhibit A #3, Maryland Hall of Records.
51. *Ibid*.
52. Case #234 L/4/13, Lookup vs. Lookup. The West Register House, Edinburgh, Scotland. I am indebted to Margaret Sinclair, genealogist of Edinburgh, Scotland, for her help to me when I was in Edinburgh researching George Lookup.
53. James Truslow Adams, *The Adams Family* (New York: Literary Guild, 1930); Jack Shepherd, *Cannibals of the Heart: A Personal Biography of Louisa Catherine and John Quincy Adams* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1980); Paul C. Nagle, *Descent from Glory: Four Generations of the John Adams Family* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); Butterfield, "Tending a Dragon-killer," pp. 165-78.
54. Butterfield, "Tending a Dragon-killer," p. 165.

BOOK NOTES

The 1960s and 1970s saw a burgeoning of interest in genealogy across the country. This rapid growth was due partly, but not entirely, to the publication of Alex Haley's *Roots*, and America's celebration of the Bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence. The 1980s are seeing this interest sustained by the appearance on the market of a number of reasonably priced publications containing abstracts of source materials and/or materials long out of print. No doubt word processors and other manifestations of the computer age have made these publications possible. Whatever the reason the result has been that genealogical research is becoming much easier to do. In this essay a number of recently published county sources will be examined.

A Guide to Genealogical Research in Carroll County, published by the Carroll County Genealogical Society in Westminster Maryland (c.r. 1984; 107 pp.; indexed; illus. with maps) can serve as a model for other local genealogical societies considering publishing a guide for their county. Chapters dealing with facilities at the court house, public library and repositories outside the county, chapters giving names and locations of churches and cemeteries, and sections on cartography, towns, and newspapers, along with the maps showing the locations of cemeteries, will make this an extremely helpful book for researchers in the Carroll County area. (Copies may be ordered from the Carroll County Genealogical Society, % Carroll County Public Library, 50 East Main Street, Westminster, Md., 21157).

Revolutionary Patriots of Harford County, Maryland, 1775-1783, by Henry C. Peden, Jr. (Bel Air; 1985: viii, 266 pp.; indexed) combines information from a variety of sources to give data in one place on the men and women of Harford County who rendered patriotic service, served in the military, and otherwise supported the Revolutionary cause. The author has used publications of the State, local sources, materials at the Hall of Records, the Maryland Historical Society, and publications of the DAR and SAR, to compile data on over 3600 individuals. Each entry gives the references used so that the researcher will be able to go back to other sources. (Copies may be ordered from the compiler, 707 Bedford Road, Bel Air, Md., 21014, for \$25.00).

The following titles from Family Line Publications, 13405 Collingwood Terrace, Silver

Spring, Maryland, 20904, are welcome additions to any researcher's Maryland bookshelf.

Roll Call: The Civil War in Kent County, Maryland, by Walter J. Kirby, Text by Lanetta W. Parks (c.r. 1985; ii, 181 pp.; indexed; illus.) is a compilation of the Civil War activities, on either side, of the inhabitants of Kent County. Illustrated with photographs of individuals, weapons, houses, churches, and tombstones, the book contains biographical sketches of the participants, with each entry documented so that researchers can go back to original sources. The appendices contain a number of interesting items including the roster of the Second Regiment Eastern Shore Infantry, and other documents. Genealogists and Civil War buffs will want this book. (Copies can be ordered from the publisher, address above, at \$14.50 postpaid for soft cover; \$19.50 postpaid for hard bound; Maryland residents add 5% sales tax).

Abstracts from the Land Records of Dorchester County, Maryland, Volume E, 1756-1763, by James A. McAllister, Jr. (c.r. 1963; 114 pp.; indexed) is the fifth in the series of reprints of McAllister's abstracts of Dorchester County land records. Land records are one of the few types of records that survived the courthouse fire of the 1850s. Indexed by names of grantors, grantees, and witnesses, and by name of tract, these volumes may be almost the only source for reconstructing the families of the 18th and early 19th century in Dorchester County. (Copies may be ordered from the publisher at \$12.00 postpaid; Maryland residents add 5% sales tax).

Heirs and Orphans: Anne Arundel County, Md., Distributions, 1788-1838 by Walter E. Arps, Jr. (c.r. 1985; ii, 134 pp.; indexed) lists the heirs of Anne Arundel County estates who received a share of the residue. Many times the deceased was intestate, so these records fill in the gaps left by individuals who left no wills or who left wills stating "the rest of my estate to my children," without naming the children in the wills. The compiler has worked with records that are now fading almost to the point of illegibility, so his work is doubly important. The book is enhanced by a summary of the law dealing with intestacies. (Copies may be ordered from the publisher, address above, at \$13.00 postpaid; Md. res. add 5% sales tax).

Sketches of Maryland Eastern Shoremen: Genealogical Abstracts from "Portrait and Biographical Record of the Eastern Shore of Mary-

land," by F. Edward Wright (c.r. 1985; iii, 287 pp.; indexed). The compiler has condensed the biographical entries that appeared in this 19th century "mug book." The original publication was produced by a corps of writers who interviewed the subjects of the biographical entries, and genealogists have long known that the information contained, especially as it relates to early generations, must be used with care. Nevertheless, there is a great deal of helpful data and the compiler has made it available in this new publication. One advantage of this work over the original is the complete index, which the earlier work did not contain. (Copies may be ordered from the publisher at \$18.50 postpaid; Md. res. add 5% sales tax).

Baltimore Cemeteries, Volume I, Collected by the Baltimore County Historical Society, pub-

lished by the Maryland Genealogical Society through Family Line Publications (c.r. 1985; 172 pp.; indexed). This volume contains tombstone inscriptions of over 61 cemeteries in the central and northern part of the county. The inscriptions were copied over a number of years by volunteers at the Baltimore County Historical Society. A surname index assists the researcher. This is the first in a series of projected volumes of cemetery inscriptions of Baltimore County. (Copies may be ordered from the publisher, address above, or from the Maryland Genealogical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Md., at \$14.00 a copy).

All of the above volumes are worth having; all make a worthwhile contribution to genealogical research in Maryland.

ROBERT BARNES
Perry Hall, Md.

NEWS AND NOTICES

Dr. Edward C. Papenfuse, Maryland State Archivist and Commissioner of Land Patents was recently honored with the National Governors' Association Distinguished Service Award. Dr. Papenfuse was one of five state officials and five private citizens from across the United States who received their awards on August 4, 1985 in Boise, Idaho, during the National Governors' Association annual meeting. Dr. Papenfuse was commended for implementing a well-organized, cost-effective, service-oriented state archival program during his ten years as State Archivist. Under his direction, the Maryland State Archives is now able to service twice the number of requests and four times the number of records as it did in 1975, with only a slight increase in staff. In his introduction of Dr. Papenfuse, Maryland Governor Harry Hughes said, "Dr. Papenfuse has transformed what had been a little-used, much-ignored state agency into a highly efficient operation, heavily relied upon by both government and the private sector."

OF CONSUMING INTERESTS: THE STYLE OF LIFE IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY ERA

The United States Capitol Historical Society and the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, in cooperation with the United States Congress, will sponsor a symposium entitled "Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the American Revolutionary Era" on March 20 and 21, 1986. The meeting will be held in the Senate Caucus Room, SR325, in the Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. The program will consist of four sessions and a concluding lecture, followed by a reception. Speakers will include Kenneth Ames, Timothy Breen, Richard Bushman, Karin Calvert, Barbara Carson, Cary Carson, Edward Chappell, David D. Hall, Brooke Hindle, Cynthia Adams Hoover, Margaretta Lovell, Loretta Valtz-Mannucci, Stephanie G. Wolf, and Michael Zuckerman. All proceedings, including the reception, will be open to interested persons free of charge, and no advance registration is required. For additional information, write:

Professor Ronald Hoffman
Department of History

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland 20742

CALL FOR PAPERS

SYMPOSIUM ON MARYLAND POLITICAL CULTURE

SEPTEMBER 1986

"From Torchlights to Television: Two Hundred Years of Maryland Political Cam- paigns"—The Maryland Historical Soci- ety—Baltimore, Maryland

Papers welcome on all aspects of Maryland's evolving political culture and changing political life-styles, with emphasis on the nature and spirit of political campaigns and the artifacts they produced, rather than the results of elections. Suggested topics include, but are not limited to:

- the evolution of the franchise in Maryland
- manners of voting and electioneering
- the changing background and nature of our political leaders, with emphasis on the ways in which they packaged themselves and communicated with the electorate
- Maryland's close relationship with the national political scene
- national party conventions held in Baltimore
- Maryland's crucial political role during the Civil War era
- the colorful cast of Maryland characters who have played prominent roles in national politics
- the artifacts of Maryland political campaigns

Abstracts of 500 words or less due by April 30.
Send abstracts to:

Dr. Mary Ellen Hayward
The Maryland Historical Society
201 West Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

It is the expectation of the conference planners that the symposia papers will be published in a special issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. Such decisions, however, remain the right of the Editorial Board of the Magazine.

CALL FOR PAPERS

The Society for Historians of the Early American Republic will hold its 8th conference on the

early republic July 24-26, 1986, at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN.

Proposals for papers or entire sessions on any aspect of American history from about 1789 to 1850 should be sent to Dr. Barbara Oberg, Box 348-A, Baruch College, 17 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10010, before January 15, 1986.

Address inquiries about membership in SHEAR to Dr. James H. Broussard, Department of History, Lebanon Valley College, Annville, PA 17003. Dues are \$15 annually and include a subscription to the *Journal of the Early Republic*.

CALL FOR PAPERS

Oral History in the Mid-Atlantic Region (OHMAR) will hold its spring conference in Baltimore, Maryland at Morgan State University on March 22. The theme of the meeting is oral history and the Afro-American experience. If you wish to chair a session or present a paper on oral history as it has been used to document and/or interpret an Afro-American related event, an individual, community or institution, please contact Spencer Crew, Archives Center, Room C-340, The National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC 20560. Deadline for submission of proposals for sessions or papers is December 1, 1985.

GENEALOGICAL RESEARCH IN QUEBEC

A new genealogical research center is available for U.S. residents seeking ancestral roots in the Province of Québec, Canada. The Institut

de Recherches les Sources du Passé Enr. offers genealogical searching help on the spot in both printed sources (marriage indexes) and in the vital, church, and census records. More information about search fees and details may be obtained by sending a SASE to: Institut de Recherches les Sources du Passé Enr.

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Québec, Canada G9A 5L2

Services are given in English.

NEW VOLUME OF THE NORTH CAROLINA CIVIL WAR ROSTER PROJECT

Volume X of *North Carolina Troops, 1861-1865: A Roster*, edited by Weymouth T. Jordan, Jr., has been published by the Historical Publications Section of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History. The 549-page volume contains histories of the 38th, 39th, and 42nd-44th Regiments, N.C. Infantry, and the names and service records of the approximately 7,000 Confederate soldiers who served in those units. Individual service records include information such as county of birth and residence, age a time of enlistment, prewar occupation, promotions, desertions, instances of injury and capture, and place, date, and cause of death. The volume is fully indexed and features a preface by the Governor of North Carolina, an introduction by the editor, and a frontispiece.

Volume X of the North Carolina Civil War Roster Project may be purchased for \$22.00, plus \$2.00 for postage and handling, from the Historical Publications Section, Division of Archives and History, 109 East Jones Street, Raleigh, N.C. 27611, or telephone 919-733-7442. Checks should be made payable to the Department of Cultural Resources.

MARYLAND PICTURE PUZZLE

Each installment of the Maryland Picture Puzzle shows a photograph from the collection of the Prints and Photographs Division of the Maryland Historical Society's library. This issue's puzzle has been identified as the United Pentacostal Home, July 1920. Test your knowledge of Maryland and help us to document our collection by identifying the location of this site.

The Fall 1985 puzzle has been identified as the Palo Alto Hotel and Restaurant, located in Bladensburg, Prince George's County, Maryland. The structure dates

from ca. 1745, though a 1734 date appears in the photograph. The Palo Alto was the last place a traveler journeying north could indulge in spirits before going to the dry town of Hyattsville; hence the "Last Chance" sign. The building was razed during the early 1960s.

Congratulations and thanks to the following individuals for submitting correct responses to the Fall 1985 Picture Puzzle: Robert A. Crawley, Frederick S. DeMarr, Joseph Shepperd Rogers, and James T. Wollon, Jr.



Figure 1.

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Cynthia H. Requardt

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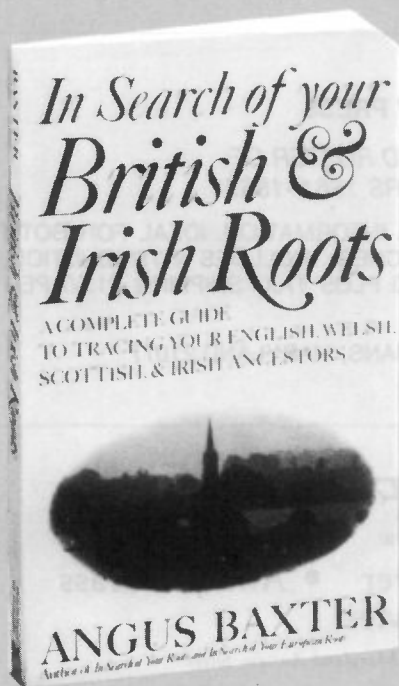
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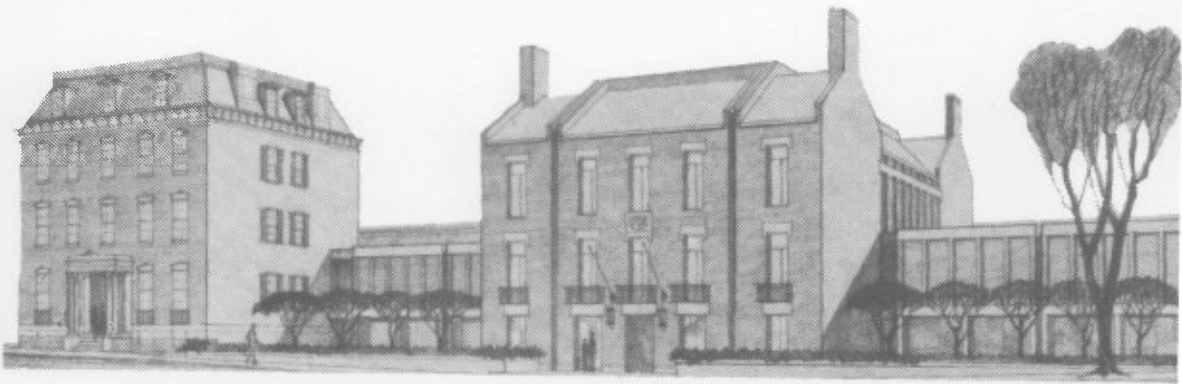
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