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SESSIONS OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES
MARYLAND
1891-1892

OF THE
LEGISLATIVE
DEPARTMENT
OF THE STATE

OF THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

INTRODUCTION

BY THE

COMMISSIONER
OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY



HISTORY OF TALBOT COUNTY MARYLAND

1661 - 1861

COMPILED PRINCIPALLY FROM THE
LITERARY RELICS
OF THE LATE
SAMUEL ALEXANDER HARRISON, A.M., M.D.

BY HIS SON-IN-LAW
OSWALD TILGHMAN
EASTON, MD.

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME II

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EASTON, MD.**

DEDICATION

To the memory of Talbot's local annalist, the late

**SAMUEL ALEXANDER HARRISON,
A.M., M.D.,**

and to the many descendants of the Worthies of Talbot, scattered, as they are, throughout the United States and in foreign lands, these Memoirs are respectfully dedicated.

It is the earnest hope of the compiler of these pages that a thoughtful perusal of them may inspire in their readers a sincere desire to emulate the virtues of the early Worthies of Talbot, for love of ancestors and veneration for their memories ennoble a people who cherish them.

OSWALD TILGHMAN.

PREFACE

It is a reproach to Talbot County that no one has, heretofore, ever seriously and earnestly attempted the task, dutiful, profitable and pleasing as it is, of the recovery and preservation from the oblivion into which they have fallen, or are falling, of the memories of those incidents that illustrate, and of those characters that adorn, our local annals. We owe it to this beautiful county of ours, to which we are all attached by so many ties of affection and interest, that we should revive and perpetuate recollections of all that has transpired upon this, our natal soil, and of all those worthies, who by their labors in the several departments of life, have made it the pleasant abode that it is for us, and shall be for those coming after us.

That narrow patriotism, which limits itself to the county, state or section, is not to be encouraged, if it excludes or weakens that broader patriotism that embraces the whole nation; but a love of one's immediate home lies at the foundation of this broader love of country, of which one of the chief duties and obligations is the keeping alive those local traditions of events and persons which strengthen that love of country, and which serve, in a very appreciable degree, as materials for its general history. A study of our local history may not be the noblest occupation of the mind; there may be grander subjects for contemplation than the petty occurrences of a vicinage, or the careers of the respectable mediocrities of a county. There may be matters of investigation more profitable, perhaps, than neighborhood antiquities and family genealogies, but let it not be supposed that these are so insignificant as to be unworthy of attention. Be assured that he who will give up a portion of the time which is dissipated in less useful occupations, to these pursuits, will, at least, find this advantage, that he is laying the very best foundation for the study of the larger and more momentous history of his country. Indeed, no one can thoroughly investigate the annals of his own county without becoming well grounded in general history; nay more, without making a most fitting preparation for the study of the very philosophy of all history, for such is the concatenation and relation of events in all times and places, that the social movements in one county, or section of a country, at any period, can hardly be comprehended without a knowledge of the progress of society in other countries; and it is from the correlation and coördination of such

minutia that the science of history is evolved. But beside the obligations of patriotic duty, and beside the solicitations of intellectual profit, there is a further inducement to pursue a study of our local history and that is, the pleasures which such a study affords. This study ministers in some indirect but very positive way to that strongest of instincts—a love of life; for it, as it were, prolongs our consciousness backwards, gives us a kind of reminiscence of all the past and enables us to live over again the years that have flown by. An ancient Latin poet has truly said “Hoc est vivere bis, vita posse priori frui” (This it is twice to live, to be able to enjoy the life of the past). He who becomes thoroughly possessed with the spirit of historical and antiquarian research, particularly research into local history and antiquities, feels himself insensibly carried back into the times, and transported to the places to which his research relates. The dead revive, occupy their old homes, frequent their old haunts, display their old garbs, practice their old follies, vent their old passions, or exhibit their old virtues.

The whole drama of the dead past is reënacted with all its cast of characters, with all its scenery and appointments, just as the drama of the living-present is now placed upon the stage. What play in the mimic theatre can equal this in vividness, in its realism, in its absorbing interest? He who makes himself a spectator truly lives a double life—a life in the past, and a life in the present, and his years though not multiplied in number, are surely increased in capacity. George Eliot, in her fascinating novel *Romola*, expresses her reverence for the departed, who have left us examples of right living, when she makes blind Bardo say to his daughter Romola, when she had finished reading to him from one of his favorite classics. “It is true, Romola. It is a true conception of the poet: for what is that grosser, narrower light by which men behold merely the petty scene around them, compared with that far-stretching, lasting light which spreads over centuries of thought, and over the life of nations, and makes clear to us the minds of the immortals, who have reaped the great harvest and left us to glean in their furrows? For me, Romola, even when I could see, it was with the great dead that I lived; while the living often seemed to me mere spectres—shadows dispossessed of true feeling and intelligence.”

If, good Reader, the perusal of this *History of Talbot County* should inspire you with an earnest desire to know more of this beautiful county of ours, so dear to us all, to know more of its political contests, its religious conflicts and changes, its progress in education, its industrial mutations and development, its social phases, its advancement in civili-

zation and refinement, and finally of its notable citizens who laid the foundation for all the prosperity of the present, then the years of labor and of patient research expended upon this work by its author and its compiler will not have been spent in vain.

OSWALD TILGHMAN.

Easton, Maryland, 1914.

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THE FOUNDING OF TALBOT

Talbot County was named for Grace Talbot, the wife of Sir Robert Talbot, by her brother, Caecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, and the first Proprietary of the Province of Maryland.

This county was originally more than three times its present size, as it embraced the whole of Queen Anne's, all of Caroline, east of the Choptank River, and the southeast part of Kent County, including all that territory between the head waters of the Choptank and Chester Rivers, extending eastward to the Delaware line.

The first settlement of white people on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake Bay was on Kent Island. Captain William Clayborne having established a trading post at the southern extremity of this island in 1631, under a grant from Charles I to trade with the Indians along the shores of this bay, which he had previously explored.

When Lord Baltimore's colonists settled at Saint Maries near the mouth of the Potomac River in 1634, they claimed, in the name of the Lord Proprietary, authority over Kent Island, including Clayborne's little trading settlement, and the contest for its possession and control led to numerous conflicts between Clayborne and Lord Baltimore, even after the report and order of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, which, on the 4th of April 1638, had decided in favor of Lord Baltimore's claims. To show the authority of Lord Baltimore over this territory a commission was issued to John Langford as Sheriff for the Isle of Kent, on the 7th of February 1637-38 (Md. Arch., 1, 361; 3, 62). The establishment of the shrievalty usually implies the existence of a county, and this date has been adopted as the date of the erection of Kent County.

In the commission appointing Richard Thompson and William Ludington commissioners on the 2nd day of August, 1642 (Md. Arch., 3, 105), the territory is spoken of as the "Isle and County of Kent." This is apparently the first definite calling of Kent County as such.

Prior to the establishment of Baltimore County in 1659, and Talbot County in 1661, the scattered inhabitants living along the Eastern Shore of the bay apparently transacted their business either at Kent Island or at St. Mary's City.

With the erection of these two new counties, the jurisdiction of Kent appears to have been limited to that part of the Eastern Shore about

Eastern Bay, while Talbot exercised jurisdiction over the growing settlements about the mouth of the Choptank. No exact limits then separating these two counties can be given, as the order or act by which Talbot County was erected, has never been found. The first suggestion of Talbot's western limits are found in the proclamations of the Governor appointing landing places for vessels during the years 1667 to 1669. From these it would appear that the northwestern boundary of Talbot passed along the eastern shore of the Front Wye northward to the head of Harris Mill Branch, and thence down Tanyard Branch, and possibly, up Langford's Bay toward Worton Creek on the bay shore. To the west of this line would be Kent County with its county court held on Kent Island until 1686, when it moved to New Yarmouth on Grays-Inn Creek. To the east would be Talbot to the eastern limits of the province. The earliest reference to the founding of Talbot appears in the temporary appointment of Mr. Moyses Stagwell, as Sheriff of Talbot County, February 18, 1661-62, upon which date there were also appointed commissioners (Md. Arch., 1, 425; 3, 448). Richard Woolman was the first Burgess from Talbot in the Provincial Assembly in 1662. The only exception to this generalization that Eastern Bay was the dividing line, appears to be with regard to Poplar Island, which originally contained 1000 acres, and was joined to Kent County according to the following enactment passed the 24th of September, 1657 (Md. Arch., 1, 361).

It is enacted and declared in the name of his highness the Lord Protector of England, etc., and by the Authority of this present General Assembly, That the Island commonly called Poplars Island lying near unto the Island of Kent be adjoyned unto the County of Kent, and from thence forth be of all persons so accounted and taken to be . . .

Subsequently, by proclamation recorded in the Kent County Land Records, Liber A No. 1, p. 54, and dated June 21, 1671. "The northeast side of Chester, as far as the bounds of Talbot County *were formerly on that side,*" was added to Kent County, "as also Poplars Island, and do hereby require that the Sheriff of Talbot County presume not to recover any quitt rents from the inhabitants living and residing upon the places above specified, they being within the County of Kent."

From this, it is evident, that Poplar Island had become a part of Talbot County in 1661 upon the erection of this county.

The first sharp statements of the boundary line between Talbot and Kent, occur in the Act passed May 22, 1695, which enacted

That from and after the twenty-third day of April next (1696), after the ends of this present sessions of Assembly, the Island of Kent shall be added to and made part of Talbot County and deemed, reputed and taken as part thereof, and that part of Talbot County lying on the north side of Corsecia Creek running up the main eastern branch to the head thereof and thence with a course drawn east to the outside of the province shall be the Southerly bounds of the County of Kent, and on the north by the County of Cecil, any Law, Statute or usage heretofore to the contrary notwithstanding. By this Act Kent Island, which had given the name to the County was removed from its jurisdiction to Talbot, while what is now the northern half of Queen Anne's County was taken away from Talbot and given to Kent. Baltimore County which was erected in 1659, only two years before Talbot, extended around the head of the Chesapeake Bay and as far south as the north east branch of Chester river, across which branch a ferry connected East Baltimore County with Talbot County. In proof of the assertion that Talbot County did extend beyond the head waters of Chester River, reference is here made to a deed from Mathew Tilghman Warde and Mable Warde, his wife, (who lived at Rich Neck Manor now (1912), the handsome country-seat of Henry H. Pearson, Jr.), to John Salter of Kent County dated June 16, 1701 recorded in Liber 9 Folio 126, one of the Land Record books of Kent County, "for all that tract of land called 'Ward Oake,' formerly granted to Mathew Warde by letters patent under the great seale of this Province of Maryland, bearing date 5th day of January 1672, situate lying and being formerly in Talbot County now in Kent Co. and *on the north side of Chester River* containing four hundred acres of land, more or less."

In 1706, when Talbot had enjoyed but 45 years of existence, nearly one-half of her then remaining territory was taken from her and given to the newly created county of Queen Anne's. The General Assembly of 1706 enacted a law entitled,

An act for the dividing and regulating several counties on the Eastern Shore of this province, and constituting a county by the name of Queen Anne's County, within the same province. When this law was enacted there had been already erected on the Eastern Shore the Counties of Cecil in 1674. Kent, 1637, Talbot, 1661; Dorchester, 1669, and Somerset in 1668. The latter two embraced all the territory south of the Choptank river, while the first three covered the territory north of this river. By the law of 1706 the region between the Sassafra on the north and the Choptank on the south was divided into three counties, the third being the new county of Queen Anne's. This law reads as follows: "From and after the said first of May, 1707, the Island called Kent Island, and all of the land on the south side of Chester river, to a branch called Sewell's Branch, the said branch to the head thereof, and thence with an east line to the extent of this province and bounded on the

south with Talbot County to Tuckahoe bridge and from thence with Tuckahoe creek and Choptank river to the mouth of a branch falling into the river, called or known by the name of White Marble Branch and from thence with a northeast line to the extent of this province, shall be and is hereby constituted, founded and incorporated into a county of this province by the name of Queen Anne's County and to have and enjoy all right, benefits, privileges equal with the other counties of this Province.

The eastern limits of the province of Maryland remained undefined and unsettled during the years of controversy between the proprietors of Maryland and those of Pennsylvania, who had acquired control of Delaware, until the chancery decision of 1750, and no line was run to indicate its location until a decade later when the local surveyors, who immediately preceded Mason and Dixon, cut a vista along the boundary line, as it now is, in their efforts to establish a true tangent line. The boundary was not marked until 1765, when Mason and Dixon erected the well known monuments which had been imported from England.

The Act of 1706, chapter 3, for the formation of Queen Annes County defines with precision the boundaries of Talbot, which have continued unchanged for over two hundred years. It enacts, "That the bounds of Talbot County shall contain Sharps Island, Choptank Island and all the land on the north side of the Great Choptank River, and extend itself up the said river to Tuckahoe Bridge, and from thence in a straight line to the mill formerly called Sweatman's Mill and thence down the south side of Wye River to its mouth and thence down the bay to the place of beginning, including Poplar Island and Bruffs Island."

After 67 years of existence Queen Anne's was compelled, in 1774, to surrender up about one-half of her territory, which she had acquired from Talbot and Dorchester to the newly organized county of Caroline. This county was named after Caroline Calvert, sister of Frederick, the last Lord Baltimore, and wife of Sir Robert Eden the last colonial Governor of the Province of Maryland. The uncertainty as to the eastern boundary of the province and the consequent doubt of the validity of titles granted by the Lords Baltimore restrained the early settlers from devoting themselves to the clearing and improving of tracts within the disputed territory, hence the land along the eastern bounds of the province were the last to be settled upon. During the session of 1773 the question of erecting a new county for facilitating the transaction of business in this newly opened country was considered, and the General Assembly, on November 16 of that year, passed the following Act.

Whereas, a considerable body of the inhabitants of Dorchester and Queen Anne's counties, by their petition to this General Assembly, have prayed that an Act may be passed for a division of the said counties, and for erecting a new one out of parts thereof; And whereas it appears to this General Assembly, that the erecting of a new county out of such parts of Dorchester and Queen Anne's will conduce greatly to the ease and convenience of the people thereof: Be it therefore enacted, by the right honorable, the Lord Proprietary by and with the advice and consent of the Governor and the Upper and Lower Houses of Assembly, and the authority of the same. That after the Monday of the second Tuesday in March next such parts of the aforesaid two counties of Dorchester and Queen Anne's as are contained within the bounds and limits following to-wit: Beginning at a point on the north side of the mouth of Hunting Creek in Dorchester County, and from thence running up and with the said creek to the main road at James Murray's Mill, thence by that road by Saint Mary's White Chapel Parish Church to the northwest fork bridge, thence with the main road (that leads to Cannon's Ferry) to Nanticoke river, thence with said river to and with the exterior limits of the aforesaid county of Dorchester to the exterior limits of Queen Anne's County to intersect the main road that leads from the Beaver-dam caus-way to Dovertown, in Kent County upon Delaware, thence with the said road to the Long Marsh, thence with the said marsh and stream of the branch of Tuckahoe creek to Tuckahoe bridge, thence with the said creek to Great Choptank river and with the said river to the first beginning at the mouth of Hunting Creek, shall be and is hereby erected into a new county by the name of Caroline County.

THE HUNDRED

On the Eastern Shore of Maryland, in Talbot County, there is an election district which for many years has borne a name whose origin has been a mystery to most of the inhabitants, viz., the district of Bay Hundred. The name of this county subdivision is all that survives of an institution which dates back to the very beginning of the history of the State, so says Dr. Lewis W. Wilhelm in his admirable paper on the "Local Institutions of Maryland" published by Johns Hopkins University in 1885.

The first civil divisions of the infant settlement were called *hundreds*. Before the county, the town, the manor or the parish were instituted or erected the hundred had been adopted by the freemen of the province as the territorial division most suitable to them in their peculiar isolation in the New World. It is an interesting coincidence that the colonists of Maryland were led to adopt an institution identical, at least in name, with the institution first framed by bands of Angles and Saxons

upon their arrival in old England, a thousand years before. The hundreds in Maryland were in origin a geographical division, and so they continued to remain. A personal hundred, as an association of a hundred families or a hundred soldiers, was unknown in the history of this province. It was not until writs were issued, in legal form and through regular officers to the freemen, to meet in regular assembly, that the necessity was felt for the separation of the province into civil districts of some kind. These original election districts were called *hundreds*. Kent Island before it became the Isle of Kent County was a hundred of St. Mary's County. After the province was divided into counties, writs of election were no longer issued to the constables of each hundred, but to the sheriffs of the several counties; but the hundreds still continued to be used as polling places. It is probable that the deputies were still chosen by hundreds and not by counties.

The court proceedings in the early land records of Talbot disclose the fact, that in 1696 just before that part of Talbot County, lying north of Corsica or Coursey's Creek, was given to Kent County, there were nine Hundreds in Talbot County, named as follows:

1. Treadhaven Hundred;
2. Bolenbroke Hundred;
3. Mill Hundred.
4. Tuckahoe Hundred;
5. Worrell Hundred;
6. Bay Hundred;
7. Island Hundred;
8. Lower Kent Island Hundred;
9. Chester Hundred.

After Talbot County was reduced to the present limit by the erection of Queen Anne's County, in 1707, it contained but seven hundreds, viz.,

1. Island Hundred;
2. Tuckahoe Hundred;
3. Kingscreek Hundred;
4. Bolenbroke Hundred;
5. Thirdhaven Hundred;
6. Mill Hundred;
7. Bay Hundred.

An Act of Assembly of the Province of Maryland passed at the session of 1715 "For the appointment of Constables and what relates to their office, and ascertaining what persons are taxable," required, "That the Justices of Peace in every respective county of this Prov-

ince, at the first county Court held after Michaelmas, shall appoint constables in each *Hundred* of their respective counties," (here follows the oath to be taken by such constables).

That every Constable shall, on or before the twentieth day of June in every year respectively, repair in person, to every House or Habitation within his *Hundred* and there require of the Master, Mistress, Dame or other chief Person of the Family, a true list from under their hands, of all their taxable persons, distinctly to be named; they and every of them have within their respective Families, out of which List the said Constable shall make two fair Lists, under his Hand, and one he shall send to the Sheriff of the County, and the other he shall present to the next County Court to be set up.

On November 25, 1682, William Penn, the Proprietary of Pennsylvania, who, through the Duke of York claimed title to the three Lower Counties which later became the State of Delaware, wrote to the magistrates of Sussex County as follows:

By the Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania and the Territorys thereunto belonging:

Having duly Considered the present State of your County to the end that all obstructions to the due improvement thereof may be removed and reasonable encouragement given to invite planters to settle amongst you; I do think fitt to order and appoint as follows: That you, in open Court shall receive all peticons from time to time that may be made by such persons as design to take up Land among you and that you grant them a Warrant to the Surveyor to admeasure the same provided always that you exceed not three hundred acres to a master of a family, nor a hundred acres to a single person, at one single penny per acre of value thereof in the produce of the country.

That you endeavor to seal the lands that shall hereafter be taken up in the way of townships as three thousand acres amongst tenn familys, if single persons one thousand acres.

The suggestion of Penn in this letter as to the division of lands among ten families is in accordance with the Old English custom of dividing land among ten families—assuming that each family with its servants was ten in number—making one hundred, and from which fact the title *Hundred* was originally derived, and this suggestion of Penn's is doubtless the reason why the term obtained in this State—(Scharf's *History of Delaware*, Vol. II, page 1203).

FIRST PUBLICK ROADS

The first law for the laying out and marking of public roads in Talbot County before there were any wheeled vehicle in use was passed

At a Session of Assembly, begun and held at the town and Port of Annapolis, in Ann-Arundel County, the Fifth day of September in the third year of the Reign of our Sovereign, Lady ANNE, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, etc., and in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Four, entitled, An Act for the marking of High-ways, and making the heads of Rivers, Creeks, Branches and Swamps, passable for horse and foot.

WHEREAS, it is thought convenient, and very much for the benefit of the inhabitants of this Province that roads and paths be marked and the heads of Rivers, Creeks, and Branches be made passable.

Be it enacted, by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of her Majesty's Governor, Council and Assembly of this Province, and the authority of the same,

That all Publick and main roads be hereafter cleared and well grubbed fit for travelling, twenty foot wide; and good and substantial bridges made over all heads of Rivers, Creeks, Branches and Swamps, where need shall require, at the discretion of the Justices of the County Courts, and for the better ascertaining what is or shall be deemed publick roads.

Be it likewise enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the Justices of the County Courts shall set down and ascertain in their Records, once every year, What are the publick roads of their respective counties, and appoint overseers of the same; and that no person whatsoever shall alter or change any such publick road, without the leave of license of the Governor and Council, or Justices of the County Courts upon Penalty of Five Hundred Pounds of Tobacco. And that all the roads that lead to any Ferries, Court House of any County, or to any church, or leading through any county to the Port of Annapolis, shall be marked on both sides the road with two notches; if the road lead to Annapolis. The road that leads there at the leaving of the other road shall be marked on the face of a tree in a smooth place cut for that purpose, with the letters A. A. set on with a pair of marking irons, and coloured, and so with two notches all along the road; and where at any place it leaves any other road, it shall be again distinguished with the mark aforesaid on the face of the tree with a pair of marking irons, and coloured as aforesaid; and any road on the Eastern Shore in *Talbot County*, that leads to the Port of "William-Stadt," (Oxford) at the entering into the same, and upon parting with, or dividing from any other road, shall be marked on the face of a tree in a smooth place, cut for that purpose, with the letter W. and so with two notches all along the road; and the roads that lead to any Court House, shall have two notches on the trees on both sides of the road, as aforesaid; and another notch at a distance above the other two. And any road that leads to a Church

shall be marked at the entrance into the same, and at the leaving any other road, with a slip, cut down the face of the tree near the ground; and any road leading to a Ferry, and dividing from the other Publick Roads, shall be marked with three notches of equal distance at the entrance into the same. And these rules and methods the several Justices of the County Courts, shall from time to time, give in charge of the overseers of the highways, by them to be appointed for that purpose, who are likewise enjoined carefully and strictly to observe and perform the same, under the penalty aforesaid. And where any Road shall lead through any plantation or old Fields;

Be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, by and with the Advice and consent aforesaid, That the several and respective overseers within the several and respective Precincts, do set up Posts, so many as may be perceived from one to the other, which posts shall be marked and notched according to the place they lead to, as before in this Act, for the Marking and Notching of roads have been appointed; and that the posts of all gates through which any such road shall lead, as aforesaid, be marked and notches as aforesaid; under the penalty aforesaid, anything in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding. And the said overseers, shall from time to time, as often as occasion shall require, fall all dead trees on each side of all main roads where limbs hang over, to prevent any damage that may happen by falling on Travellers.

Note.—At this date, 1704, Annapolis and William-Stadt, (Oxford) were then the two most important towns in the Province.

POST ROUTES IN EARLY COLONIAL DAYS

The following Act of the Assembly of the Province of Maryland, passed fifty-two years after the founding of Talbot, shows the uncertainty of our mail facilities in early days.

At a Sessions of Assembly begun and held at the city of Annapolis, in the County of Ann-Arundel, the twenty-seventh Day of October in the Eleventh year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady Anne, Queen of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., Annoq. Domini One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirteen, the Honourable *Edward Lloyd, Esq.*, being President of her Majesty's Council of the Province aforesaid; were enacted the Laws following, viz.: An Act for the more speedy conveying publick Letters and Pacquets of this Province, and defraying the charge thereof, and to prevent the Abuses of breaking open and concealing any Letters whatsoever.

Be it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of her Majesty's President, Council and Assembly of this Province, and the Authority of the same, That the Sheriff of each respective County is hereby Enjoined and Commanded to take Care of all Publick Letters and Pacquets and expeditiously convey them according to their respective Directions to the next Sheriff or Under-

Sheriff of the next adjacent County. And for the Encouragement of the several respective Sheriffs, and their Diligence in conveying such Public Letters and Pacquets, that they may be allowed the several Sums hereafter expressed, to be laid in the Public Levy of this Province (that is to say) To the Sheriff of Ann-Arundel, Fifteen Hundred Pounds of Tobacco who is hereby obliged to convey all such Letters and Pacquets as are directed and must go over to the Eastern Shore to Kent Island and there to be delivered to the Sheriff of Queen Anne's County or his Deputy.

He in turn delivered the mail matter to the Sheriff or under-Sheriff of *Talbot County* who received 800 pounds of tobacco per annum from the county. Heavy penalties were imposed for opening either public or private letters unauthorized.

ELECTION DISTRICTS

1799 Chap. 50: Commission appointed to divide Talbot County into four election districts.

1852 Chap. 258: Erects new election district (No. 5) out of second election district, the line to be as follows:

Beginning at the mouth of Harris' Creek and running with said creek to the head thereof, thence with the division line between the lands of James Dawson and William Lowe, thence with said line until it intersects the division line between the lands of William Hambleton and said Lowe, thence with said line until it reaches the head of a cove or creek called Emerson's Creek, and with said Creek until it reaches Miles River and thence with the river and bay including Tilghman's, Poplar, and Sharp's Islands to the mouth of said Harris' Creek.

1876 Chap. 154: County Commissioners authorized to divide election districts into election precincts.

1892 Chap. 572: Changes boundary line between third and first election districts to be as follows:

Beginning at the mouth of Trippe's Creek and running up Trippe's Creek and the north branch thereof, thence with said north branch of Trippe's Creek to a point at or near the residence of Mrs. James P. Hambleton, known as Waterloo, from thence nearly east with the road leading from the said Mrs. Hambleton's residence to a point on the public road from Hambleton to Dover Bridge at or near Iveytown colored church. Thence with said road until it intersects the present dividing line between Easton and Trappe Districts, then following the line as now laid to the Choptank river.

Since 1852 Talbot County has continued to be divided into five election districts, as follows, 1st Easton, 2d Saint Michaels, 3rd Trappe, 4th Chapel, 5th Bay Hundred.

FERRIES KEPT IN TALBOT IN COLONIAL DAYS

1760, Nov. 12, Court sits, present:

Mr. Risdon Bozman,	Mr. Robert Goldsborough,
Mr. John Goldsborough,	Mr. Edward Oldham,
Mr. William Thomas,	Mr. Tristram Thomas.

Ordered that if Deborah Nicols doth not keep sufficient boat and hands to transport the inhabitants of this County from Barker's Landing to Hog Island or from Hog Island to Barker's Landing, and give a good attendance to the said ferry that her allowance next November Court shall be reduced to one-half. (Allowance of 4000 lbs. tobacco per year.)

Ordered that Thomas Bruff doth not keep sufficient boat and hands to transport the inhabitants of this County over Miles River ferry from Bruffs Landing to Barrows Landing, and from Barrows Landing to Bruffs Landing again, and give a good attendance at the said ferry, that his allowance next November Court shall be reduced to one-half. (Allowance 6000 lbs. tobacco per year.)

Ordered that Rigby Foster doth keep a sufficient boat and hands to transport the inhabitants of this County with their horses and carriages over Chancellors Point ferry as often as they shall have occasion and persons living out of the County at the following rates: Footman 4d; horse and chaise and persons riding in it 2S6d and every person enlisted in his Majesty's service without fee or reward; shall be allowed at the rate of 6000 lbs. tobacco per year.

The Court agrees with Elizabeth Skinner that if she will keep a good boat fit for such use and transport the inhabitants of the County, their horses and carriages, over Oxford ferry from the town point to her Landing as often as they shall have occasion and persons living out of the County at the following rates: man and horse, 9d; foot, 4d; horse and chaise and persons riding therein 2S, and any persons enlisted in his majesty's service without fee or reward, shall be allowed at the rate of 4900 lbs. tobacco per year. In later years, as the population in Talbot and the other counties increased, other ferries were established. As early as 1690 one was in operation between Cloras Point in Talbot and Castle Haven in Dorchester County across the Choptank River. "Salary paid was 4000 lbs. of tobacco, in casks."

EARLIEST LAND GRANTS IN TALBOT

Lord Baltimore issued grants of land in Talbot County prior to 1661, when Talbot County was founded, as appears by the records in the Land office in Annapolis as follows:

Salter's Marsh—100 acres, surveyed October 13, 1658, for John Salter

Grange—150 acres, surveyed October 15, 1658, for William Granger

Morgan St. Michael—300 acres, surveyed October 19, 1658, for Henry Morgan

Wades Point—400 acres, surveyed October 19, 1658, for Zachary Wade

Hatton—500 acres, surveyed October 19, 1658, for William Hatton.

Scotts Close—200 acres, surveyed November 5, 1658, for James Scott

Linton—600 acres, surveyed November 5, 1658, for Edward Lloyd

Harbor Rouse—100 acres, surveyed July 26, 1659, for Anthony Griffin

Pickburn—200 acres, surveyed July 26, 1659, for Nicholas Pickard

Hemersly—400 acres surveyed July 26, 1659, for Thomas Emerson

Williston—224 acres surveyed July 28, 1659, for William Champ

Kirkham—350 acres surveyed July 29, 1659, for Martin Kirk

Martingham—200 acres, surveyed July 28, 1659, for William Hambleton

Mile End—400 acres, surveyed July 28, 1659, for Thomas Miles

Choptank Island—1200 acres, surveyed August 11, 1659, for Seth Foster

Cudlington—400 acres, surveyed August 11, 1659, for Cuthbert Phelps

Hir-Dir-Lloyd—3050 acres, surveyed August 11, 1659, for Edward Lloyd, Esq.

Readly—800 acres, surveyed August 11, 1659, for Thomas Read

Plimhimmon—600 acres, surveyed August 15, 1659, for Henry Morgan,

Anderton—600 acres, surveyed August 15, 1659, for John Anderton

Ottwell—500 acres, surveyed August 15, 1659, for William Taylor

Turner's Point—400 acres, surveyed August 15, 1659, for William Turner,

Grafton Manor—1000 acres, surveyed August 20, 1659, for John Harris

Summerton—200 acres, surveyed August 20, 1659, for Thomas Seymour

Marshy Point—700 acres, surveyed August 23, 1659, for James Adams

Canterbury Mannour—1000 acres, surveyed August 23, 1659, for Richard Tilghman

Eastwood—300 acres, surveyed August 24, 1659, for Robert Jones

Tilghman's Fortune—1000 acres, surveyed August 24, 1659, for Samuel Tilghman

Ratcliffe Mannour—800 acres, surveyed August 25, 1659, for Captain Robert Morris

Woolsey or Chancellor Point—1000 acres, surveyed August 25, 1659, for Philip Calvert, Esq.

Todd-Upon-Dirwan—400 acres, surveyed August 30, 1659, for Thomas Todd

Hopkins Point—800 acres, surveyed August 25, 1659, for Robert Hopkins

Jennings Hope—1000 acres surveyed January 31, 1660, for Richard Jennings

Job's Content—1000 acres, surveyed January 31, 1660, for Job Nutt

Meersgate—300 acres, surveyed June 24, 1659, for William Hemsley

Patrick's Choice—200 acres, surveyed March 30, 1663, for Patrick Mullican

Come Whitton—200 acres, surveyed January 4, 1694, for Wm. Dickinson

The following large tracts were laid out between 1665 and 1672:

Chestnut Bay—1000 acres for Peter Sharp

Scarborough—1400 acres for William Corwin

Cooks Hope—1000 acres for Miles Cook

Lowes Ramble—1440 acres for Nicholas Lowe

Hemsley's Arcadia—1030 acres for William Hemsley

Sayer's Forrest—2250 acres for Major Peter Sayer.

Note.—Four of the above tracts only have never passed out of possession of the male descendants of the original grantees. They are:

"Linton" surveyed for Edward Lloyd;

"Martingham" surveyed for William Hambleton;

"Patrick's Choice" surveyed for Patrick Mullikin;

"Come Whitton" surveyed for William Dickinson.

TALBOT'S FIRST PUBLIC SCHOOL

The first law for the establishment of one Public School in each County in the Province of Maryland passed by the Assembly in 1723 was entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of Learning, and Erecting Schools in the several Counties within this Province."

Whereas, the preceding Assemblies for some years past, have had much at heart the absolute necessity they have lain under, in regard both to duty and interest, to make the best provision in their power for the liberal and pious education of the youth of this province, and improving the natural abilities and acuteness, (Which seems not to be inferior to any), so as to be fitted for the discharge of their duties in the several stations and employments they may be called to and employed in, either in regard to Church or State, and for that end laid an imposition on sundry commodities exported out of, and others imported into this Province, and other fines, for the raising a fund for the erecting and supporting a good school in each County within this province, which has succeeded with such desired effect that it is now thought necessary, and it is prayed that it may be enacted.

And be it enacted by the Lord Proprietor, by and with the advice and consent of his Lordship's Governor, and the Upper and Lower

Houses of Assembly, and the authority of the same, that in some convenient time after the end of this present session of Assembly, there shall (for the ends above mentioned), be erected one school in each County within this Province at the most convenient places, as near the center of the County as may be, and as may be most convenient for the boarding of children, at the discretion of the visitors, or the major part of them, that are hereafter nominated, appointed and empowered by this Act in each County.

Be it therefore enacted, by the authority, advice and consent aforesaid, that for the time being, the seven several persons hereafter named for each County, be and are hereby nominated and appointed, and named visitors, and are empowered with full and sufficient authority for discharging the several offices, duties and trusts, reposed in and required of them by this Act, within the several and respective Counties wherein they reside.

For Talbot County, Reverend Mr. Henry Nichols, Col. Mathew Tilghman Ward, Robert Ungle, Esq., Mr. Robert Goldsborough, Mr. William Clayton, Mr. John Oldham and Mr. Thomas Bozman. For Queen Anne County, the Reverend Mr. Christopher Wilkinson, Philemon Lloyd, Esq., Richard Tilghman, Esq., Mr. James Earle, Mr. William Turbutt, Mr. Augustine Thompson and Mr. Edward Wright.

And be it further enacted, that the visitors (for the time being) of each school, being qualified, as aforesaid, be and are hereby authorized and directed with all convenient speed, to purchase one hundred acres or more of land, for the use of such school, having a special regard to its conveniency, that it may be, as near as possible in such place of the County as is before directed for the erecting of schools, by this Act; the which land, when so purchased, the visitors are to assign such part of it as they shall see meet, not to exceed one moiety thereof, to be built upon, and cleared (if not before built on and cleared) for the conveniency of making corn and grain, and for pasturage, for the encouragement use and benefit of the Master of such school, for the time being; the other moiety whereof is to be preserved in woodland ground, and no other use made thereof by such Master, without the license and direction of the said visitors, than what may be absolutely necessary for fire-wood and the repairing of the houses and fences already built and made, on such other moiety thereof; that no Master be permitted, either by himself, or any other person, on any pretence whatsoever to plant any tobacco on such land or plantation; and the visitors of the several schools as aforesaid, are further empowered and directed, in case that there shall

not be sufficient building upon any such land at the time of making a purchase thereof, for a dwelling house and necessary for the Master, and for keeping a school therein, and ground cleared sufficient for the use aforesaid, that then they shall, with all possible speed, agree with such workmen and laborers, in the best manner they can, that will undertake the necessary buildings and improvements upon such lands for the use aforementioned, and the visitors aforesaid are likewise hereby directed to take all proper methods for the encouraging good school masters, that shall be members of the Church of England, and of pious and exemplary lives and conversations and capable of teaching well the Grammar, good writing and the Mathematicks, if such can conveniently be got; and that they allow every such Master for his encouragement for the present (beside the benefit and use of his plantation) the sum of Twenty Pounds per annum, and to take such other measures or make such other agreements, from time to time, for the future, as the circumstances will admit of, as may give due encouragement to one or more Masters, and be necessary and useful for the improving and perpetuating such school.

And further, the Visitors of every school, after it shall be erected are hereby required to meet there at least four times a year to inspect into and consider of, and direct the necessary affairs thereof.

And be it further enacted, that every person by this Act appointed as a Visitor of the County schools, or that shall hereafter be nominated and appointed as such, pursuant to the directors hereof, that shall willfully refuse or delay to take upon him the said office, shall forfeit and pay for every such refusal or delay, the sum of Five Hundred Pounds of Tobacco, for the use of the School of that County where such offense shall be committed; to be recovered in his Lordship's name or at the Visitor's suit, before the Justices of the County Court, by Bill, Plaints or information, whereen no Essoyn, Protection, or Wager of Law shall be allowed."

FIRST ADMIRAL OF THE MARYLAND PROVINCE

Cecilius, Absolute Proprietary of the Province of Maryland and Avalon, Lord Baron of Baltimore &c.

To our right Trusty and Well beloved Josias ffendall, Esq., our Lieutenant of our Province of Maryland and to the rest of our Council and others our officers and people there (to) whome these presents may come, Greeting.

Know yee that we doe hereby Constitute authorize and appoint our trusty and well beloved Samuel Tilghman of London, Mariner, to be

our Admiral of our said Province of Maryland under us and our Lieutenant of our said Province for the time being and will and require that he use and Enjoy the powers dignities Privileges benefits and Immunities of right due and belonging to him as Admirall of our said Province under us and our Lieutenant there for the time being. All which powers, benefits and Priviledges aforesaid Wee doe hereby declare shall be Enjoyed by the said Samuell Tilghman till wee or our heires shall Signifie under our hands and seales our or their pleasure to the contrary.

Given under our hand and greater Seale at Armes the 15 day of July in the 27 yeare of our Dominion over the said Province of Maryland in the yeare of our Lord 1658.

This Admiral Samuel Tilghman, was commander of the ship Golden Fortune, in which he made several cruises between London, England, and Oxford, Maryland. He patented in January 1759 a tract of 1000 acres of land at the head of the Tredavon river, called Tilghman's Fortune. He never settled permanently in America. His first cousin Dr. Richard Tilghman came to Maryland from London with his father in the ship Elizabeth and Mary in 1661. He patented in 1659 a tract on the Tredavon river of 1000 acres called Canterbury Manor.

HOW ELECTIONS WERE CONDUCTED IN PROVINCIAL TIMES

At a Court of the right Honorable CHARLES, absolute Lord and Proprietary of the Province of Maryland and Avalon Lord Baron of Baltimore, &c., held for Talbot county in the Court House near Pitts his Bridge in the County afd. the Twenty Seventh day of August, Anno Domini, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Twenty and Eight, by virtue of a Writ of the same Lord Proprietary to Nicholas Lowe, Esq.: High Sheriff of the County afd. to elect Four Delegates and Deputies to serve for ye said County in the General Assembly of this Province before the same Lord Proprietary his Justices of the Peace for the County afd. of whom were

Present:

Mr. Nicholas Goldsborough,
Mr. Daniel Sherwood,
The Worshipful: Mr. George Robins, and
Mr. Risdon Bozman,

Tench Francis, *Clk*:

Thereupon the same Sheriff maketh publick Proclamation thereby giving notice to all freemen of the said County who have within the same County a freehold of fifty acres of land or who are residents and have a visible estate of Forty pounds sterling at the least thereby requiring them to appear at said County Court house the tenth day of September next ensuing to elect and choose four Deputies and Delegates to serve for the said County in the General Assembly of this Province.

Whereupon the Court Adjourns to the same Tenth day of September
At which said Tenth day of September, the Justices of Talbot County
afd. to-wit:

Robert Goldsborough, Esq.,
Mr. Nicholas Goldsborough,
Mr. Daniel Sherwood, and
Mr. Risdon Bozman,

Again here come and as a Court for the cause afd. Sit, and the
Freeholders and residents of the said County do elect and choose:

James Hollyday,
George Robins,
Samuel Chamberlaine and
John Edmondson of Talbot County, afd, Gentlemen,

to serve as Deputies and Delegates for the County afd. in the said
General Assembly according to the Act of Assembly in such case lately
made and provided.

LIST OF TALBOT BURGESSES IN THE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY

Talbot County was represented in the Provincial assembly by the
following Burgesses:

Lieut. Col. Richard Woolman, 1661-'69-'71-'74.

William Coursey, 1666.

William Hamilton, 1666.

William Hambleton, 1669-'71-'74.

Daniel Clark, 1669.

Philemon Lloyd 1671-'74-'81-'82 (died 1685).

Joseph Weeks, 1669-'71-'74.

John Edmondson, 1681.

John Rousby, 1682-85.

George Robotham, 1685-86.

Hon. Robert Smith, 1694, speaker.

Col. Henry Coursey, 1694-'95 (died 1695).

William Hemsley, 1695-'97.

Nicholas Lowe, 1694-'95, 1707-'11.

Major Thomas Smithson, 1694-1711.

William Coursey, 1696.

Edward Lloyd, 1698-1702 (when removed to council).

Philemon Lloyd, Jr., 1700-'03.

Henry Coursey, 1704-'06 (died 1706).

Robert Goldsborough, 1704-1707.

Richard Tilghman, 1698-'01, 1701-'02.

Robert Ungle, 1708-1727 (speaker).
 Thomas Robins, 1708-'09-'12.
 Lieut. Col. Matthew Tilghman Ward, (speaker) 1712-'16.
 James Lloyd, 1712-'22 (when removed to council).
 Thomas Emerson, 1717.
 Foster Turbutt, 1715-'16.
 Thomas Edmondson, 1718-'19 (died 1719).
 William Clayton, 1719-'20-'21.
 Daniel Sherwood, 1722-'24.
 John Oldham, 1722-'24.
 Thomas Bozman, 1724 (Deputy Commissary, '25-'30).
 Benjamin Pemberton, 1725-'27.
 Samuel Chamberlaine, 1728-'31.
 George Robins, 1728-'31.
 Col. James Hollyday, 1725-'31.
 Nicholas Goldsborough, 1732-50 (continuously).
 Edward Needles, 1732-'37.
 Perry Benson, 1732-'33.
 John Edmondson Jr., 1728-'37.
 Tench Francis, 1734-'37.
 Edward Lloyd, 1738-'41.
 Robert Lloyd, 1738-'50.
 William Thomas 1738-'48.
 Edward Oldham, 1749-'53-'57.
 John Goldsborough, 1742-70.
 Pollard Edmondson, 1751-'66.
 Matthew Tilghman, 1751-'57, 1767-'76.
 William Thomas, 1761-'63.
 James Edge, 1754-'56.
 Samuel Bowman, 1760.
 Woolman Gibson, 1758-'60.
 James Tilghman, 1761-'63.
 Henry Hollyday, 1764-'66.
 James Dickinson, 1767-'70.
 Nicholas Thomas, 1767-'76.
 James Lloyd Chamberlaine, 1771-'76.
 Edward Lloyd, 1771-'76.

The last session of the General Assembly under the Proprietary Government commenced 23rd March 1774, and ended 19th of April 1774. On June 2nd 1774 General Assembly prorogued to 24th October 1774, by Governor Eden, who continued to prorogue the Assembly,

from month to month, till June 12th 1776, when Governor Eden issued his Proclamation dissolving the General Assembly. Writs of election were issued, returnable on the 25th of July 1776. The Provincial Convention of Freemen then in session in Annapolis Resolved, June 25th, 1776.

That the said writs be not obeyed, and that no election be made in consequence thereof. Extract from minutes.

So ended the Proprietary Government. Governor Eden took his departure in the ship Fowey, for England. The Convention of Freemen, presided over by "the Patriarch of the Colony," Matthew Tilghman, as the historian McMahan calls him, had virtually assumed the reins of Government in 1774.

MAILS CARRIED BY THE COUNTY SHERIFFS IN EARLY DAYS

The uncertainty of mail facilities in Talbot County more than half a century after this county was established is evidenced by the following act of the Provincial Assembly.

At a session of Assembly begun and held at the City of Annapolis, in the County of Ann-Arundel, the twenty-seventh day of October, in the Eleventh year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady ANNE, Queen of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc. Anno-Domini, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirteen; The Honourable Edward Lloyd, Esq., being President of her Majesty's Council of the Province aforesaid, were enacted the laws following, viz.:

An Act for the more speedy conveying publick letters and pacquets of this Province, and defraying the charge thereof, and to prevent abuses of breaking open and concealing any letters whatsoever.

For as much as several of the inhabitants of this Province have been formerly subject to great and manifest inconveniences; by pressing of horses (under pretext of carrying and conveying publick letters and pacquets). For prevention whereof, and that due care may be taken for the future, that all publick letters and pacquets, relating to her Majesty's or the publick service of this Province, be securely and expeditiously conveyed, according to the directions the Delegates of this present General Assembly do pray that it may be enacted.

And be it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of her Majesty's President, Council and Assembly of this Province and the authority of the same, That the sheriff of each respective county, is hereby enjoined and commanded to take care of all publick letters and pacquets, and expeditiously convey them according to their respective directions to the next Sheriff or Under-Sheriff of the next adjacent County.

And for the encouragement of the several and respective sheriffs and their diligence in conveying such publick letters and pacquets,

that they may be allowed the several sums hereafter expressed, to be laid in the Publick Levy of this Province, (that is to say) To the Sheriff Ann-Arundel Fifteen Hundred Pounds of Tobacco, who is hereby obliged to convey all such letters and pacquets as are directed and must go over to the *Eastern Shore* to Kent Island, and there to be delivered to the Sheriff of Queen Anne County, or his Deputy. The Sheriff of Queen Anne County Fourteen Hundred Pounds of tobacco, who is hereby also obliged to convey all such letters and pacquets as are directed to the City of Annapolis, to the said City. To the Sheriff of Cecil County, One Thousand pounds of tobacco, who is also obliged to convey all such letters and pacquets as are directed to the Northward, to the Town of New Castle on Delaware. To the Sheriff of *Talbot County* Eight Hundred pounds of tobacco, etc., and to the Sheriff of Baltimore County, Six Hundred pounds of tobacco, which said several sums of tobacco shall be annually allowed and paid to the sheriffs aforesaid; in consideration whereof the sheriffs of the said several and respective Counties shall defray all such charges as shall recure by reason of conveying such letters or pacquets, any former Law, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding. If any such letter is stopped twenty-four hours longer than it reasonably need be (respect being had to the wind and weather), the High Sheriff shall forfeit the sum of Two Thousand pounds of tobacco in cask, the one Moiety thereof to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, her heirs and successors for the support of this Province, the other Moiety to him or them who will sue for the same. Every person presuming to take and open the seal or seals of any letter or letters whatsoever not being unto him or them directed, not having special license so to do from the person to whom the same is directed, shall upon due conviction thereof, suffer imprisonment of her, his or their bodies for and during the space of six days, without bail or mainprize and forfeit the sum of Five pounds sterling, the one moyety to her Majesty, her heirs and successors for the support of Government, the other moyety to him or them that shall inform or sue for the same.

THE COLORS OF THE MILITIA OF TALBOT COUNTY IN PROVINCIAL TIMES

During the reign of William and Mary, after the Protestant revolution, Francis Nicholson was commissioned the second Royal Governor of Maryland. His council re-organized the militia of this Province in 1695, and authorized certain distinctive colors for each of the then ten counties of Maryland, as follows: For Kent, blue; Saint Mary's, red; Anne Arundel, white; Calvert, yellow; Charles, bronze; Baltimore, green; *Talbot, purple*; Somerset, jack flag; Dorchester, buff; Cecil crimson. Prior to this date the colors of the Calverts, the Lords Baltimore, sable and or, black and gold, were the only colors used by the militia of the entire Province of Maryland. The different counties having no distinctive colors, one from the others.

CLERKS OF TALBOT COUNTY COURT FROM 1662 TO 1915

John Morgan.....	1662 to 1664
Thomas Vaughan.....	1664 to 1668
William Hemsley.....	1668 to 1684
Thomas Impey.....	1684 to 1686
Nicholas Lowe.....	1686 to 1689
John Lewellin.....	1689 to 1692
John Valliant.....	1692 to 1696
Thomas Lawrence.....	1696 to 1699
Robert Finley.....	1699 to 1704
Foster Turbutt.....	1704 to 1720
Philip Feddeman.....	1720 to 1726
Tench Francis.....	1726 to 1734
Thomas Bullen.....	1734 to 1738
John Leeds.....	1738 to 1777
Richard Skinner.....	1777 to 1785
Benjamin Stevens.....	1785 to 1794
William Stoddert Bond.....	1794 to 1801
Jacob Loockerman.....	1801 to 1835
James Parrott.....	1835 to 1851
Samuel T. Hopkins.....	1851 to 1867
John Baggs.....	1867 to 1873
J. Frank Turner.....	1873 to 1884
Thomas Hughlett.....	1884 to 1896
Wilfred Bateman.....	1896 to 1897
Francis G. Wrightson.....	1897 to 1915

DEPUTY COMMISSARIES GENERAL AND REGISTERS OF WILLS OF
TALBOT COUNTY FROM 1692 TO 1915

William Finney, Edward Mann, Nicholas Lowe, John Rawlings Robert Goldsborough, Samuel Withers, Thomas Smithson	}	1692 to 1699
Robert Finley.....		1699 to 1713
Foster Turbutt.....		1713 to 1723
Thomas Bozman.....		1723 to 1731

John Bozman.....	1731 to 1736
Tench Francis.....	1736 to 1738
Thomas Bullen.....	1738 to 1751
Jeremiah Nicols.....	1751 to 1754
Henry Hollyday.....	1754
Daniel Maynadier.....	1754 to 1758
William Tilghman.....	1758 to 1771
John Bracco.....	1771 to 1785
John Gibson, Jr.....	1787 to 1792
James Price.....	1792 to 1845
John H. Harris.....	1845 to 1851
John Donovan.....	1851 to 1858
Nicholas Rice.....	1858 to 1862
Tilghman N. Chance.....	1862 to 1864
John Goldsborough.....	1864 to 1868
Tilghman N. Chance.....	1868 to 1878
Charles R. Mulliken.....	1878 to 1879
Edward H. Roe.....	1879 to 1897
Charles R. Wooters.....	1897 to 1915

THE FIRST AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY IN TALBOT

The first decade of the 19th century, or at farthest the first 15 or 20 years of the century, constituted a period of the greatest progress and prosperity this county had enjoyed, since the national independence. Our best men—men with large brains and stout hearts, men of courage, men of confidence and hope—had not been drained off to the cities, to the South, and to the West, leaving us with only those of small heads and lax mental fibre. Enterprises of "great pith and moment" were undertaken, from which we now would shrink. Adventures were made in business which would now appall. This is not said as by one who is accustomed to exaggerate the merit of our fathers—by no *laudator temporis acti*: but by one who has more than once in these contributions to our local annals given his reasons for his opinions, in the numerous instances which he has presented of the industrial activity of the period referred to. It was during this time that our ship-building interest was most prosperous. It was during this time that a company to engage in general manufacturing was organized. It was during this time that our citizens took an active part in the construction of the canal between the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays.

It was during this time that steamboats were built by our capital to run upon our waters, one of the first of which was built under the direction and subsequently commanded by a man of Talbot. It was during this time that our bank was organized and went into successful operation. And finally it was during this time that agriculture received its first and greatest impulse, and that the first Agricultural Society was founded in the county, probably the first in the State, and certainly among the first in the United States.

The earliest intimation that is discoverable of a wish on the part of any number of our farmers to associate themselves together for their mutual benefit is contained in an article published in the *Republican Star* of May 28, 1805, signed *Agricola*. Our forefathers, who loved to shine in the public prints, always affected classicisms, and when they adopted a pseudonyme, it was that of some Greek or Roman worthy. This article is fairly well written, and recommended the formation of an Agricultural Society, on these grounds, and in these words.

The manner in which such a society would be productive of good effects, would be, that by farmers forming themselves into an association, their minds would be more particularly and ardently devoted to husbandry and rural economy; premiums would be given for the suggestion of the best systems, and the greatest practical productions; an emulation would be excited, which is always the parent of excellence in anything, and agriculture, instead of being deemed an inferior, low bred and degraded pursuit, would rise in the public estimation, and become a science that would command the attention, the genius and talents of the age; a great source of useful information and delightful amusement would be opened by a correspondence with other agricultural societies, and the intimate alliance between philosophy and agriculture, would afford an ample field for mental exertion; that the frequent interchange of sentiments and opinions, and a free communication of practical experiments and knowledge would also be advantageous, for accurate observation will convince us that there is scarcely a farmer in the county who does not adopt some useful plan, in something or other, although in general he may make use of very bad ones.

It would be difficult, even at this day to add anything to this statement of the benefits that result from the formation of Agricultural Societies. It may be well to say that "*Agricola*," whose proper name we have no means at this day of determining, but which was probably that of some one of the officers of the Society, hereafter to be mentioned, states incidentally that certain improvements in agriculture are of recent introduction—Rotation of crops, the extended use of clover, and the employment of Plaster of Paris as a fertilizer—and he men-

tions the culture of tobacco as having been chiefly instrumental in producing that exhaustion of the soil, which these improvements were at that time measurably remedying.

This communication was followed June 18, 1805, by one from "A Farmer" in commendation of the proposition of "Agricola," in which he refers to Agricultural Societies in New York and elsewhere as having resulted in the inauguration of improvements in husbandry, the benefits of which have "surpassed expectations." "Farmer" also states that the "laudable design of 'Agricola' meets with the approbation of every one in the county interested in agriculture." In the issue of July 9, "Agricola" appears in a card

proposing a meeting of those gentlemen who advocate the measure, of establishing an Agricultural Society, on Friday the 19th of this month at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, at the Court House in Easton.

In accordance with this proposition a number of gentlemen did assemble at the place and on the day designated, of whom these names are recorded.

WILLIAM HAYWARD,
HENRY HOLLYDAY,
ROBERT MOORE,
LLOYD NICOLS,
BENNETT WHEELER,
WM. B. SMYTH,
ROBT. H. GOLDSBOROUGH,

JAMES GOLDSBOROUGH,
GEORGE R. HAYWARD,
JOHN HARWOOD,
EDWARD ROBERTS,
NICHOLAS HAMMOND,
SAMUEL ABBOTT.

William Hayward, Esq., was chosen President of the meeting and Robt. H. Goldsborough, Secretary. The following resolutions were presented and adopted:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that a *Society*, formed on liberal principles, for the promotion and improvement of agriculture in this and the neighboring counties, will be highly useful, and tend to increase the value of lands, and the general interest of the inhabitants.

Resolved, That the plan of such a society be forthwith prepared, to be submitted to the gentlemen now present, and such others as may choose to attend, at a meeting to be held for the purpose of raising the same, on Tuesday, the 20th day of August next, in the afternoon, at the Court House, in Easton; and that the said plan shall comprehend a form of constitution and express in general terms the objects to be proposed by the Society: and

Resolved, That a committee be now appointed to prepare the same, and that they make a report thereof at the said meeting.

In conformity with one of these resolutions three gentlemen were appointed to draft the constitution of an Agricultural Society, and to present it to a meeting to be held at the time and place designated by Nicholas Hammond, Robt. H. Goldsborough, Henry Hollyday, George R. Hayward, Robert Moore.

The meeting for organization seems not to have assembled until Monday the 9th of September, 1805. On this day the committee upon the articles of association and constitution presented its report, which was adopted, and the persons then present subscribed their names to the articles, and thereby became members of the institution. The society then proceeded to elect permanent officers by ballot, and upon counting the votes "it appeared" that these gentlemen were duly elected to hold the several posts of honor:

President—Nicholas Hammond.

Vice-President—William Hayward.

Secretary—Robt. H. Goldsborough.

Treasurer—Robert Moore.

Standing Committee—Henry Hollyday, R. H. Goldsborough, Ennalls Martin, George R. Hayward, Nich. Hammond.

After the transaction of other business, the proceedings of this meeting and the constitution of the society were directed to be published in the *Star* "for the information of citizens of the Eastern Shore," and the society adjourned to the second Tuesday in October.

The following is an abstract of the constitution which was adopted at the meeting of September 9, 1805.

Art. I. The association shall be styled A SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF AGRICULTURE AND RURAL ECONOMY FOR THE EASTERN SHORE OF MARYLAND.

Art. II. The great end of the present institution being the improvement of Agriculture in this and the neighboring counties, in all its branches, every communication that shall relate to systems of husbandry—rotations of crops in grass and grain—the nature, qualities and kinds of soil—the improvement of every kind of soil by manures, and the fit application of these to different soils—the cultivation of all sorts of grain and grasses and their suitableness to different soils and systems—the construction of ploughs and other implements of husbandry—improved methods of raising and ameliorating the breed of horses, cattle, sheep, swine, and relieving them from disorders to which they are subject—the improvement of soils by particular cultivation, and the employment of peas, beans and other pulses—the practicability of raising to advantage cabbages, potatoes, carrots, parsnips, beets and other roots, as winter food for cattle, sheep and swine—the substitu-

tion of hedges for wooden fences, and the methods of raising sets and planting them for use—the general advantages of drains and ditches as a means of improving lands and crops, of benefiting the public highways and of advancing the health of the inhabitants—the cultivation of flax, hemp, hops and cotton, and the proper care of wool, bark, timber and hides, as connected with some of the arts and manufacture—the rearing and management of fruit trees to supply the absence for those which are daily diminishing—the methods of preventing and destroying insects which are found to be injurious to the farmer—and in general, every communication which shall relate in any way to these subjects, or others connected with the department of Agriculture and rural economy in any degree, shall be considered as a proper object of the Institution, and shall always receive a merited attention from members.

Art. III. The membership of the Society shall be those who have subscribed to the articles of association, and all those who shall be subsequently elected in the manner provided by Art. IV.

Art. IV. The officers of the Society to be a President, a V. President, a Secretary and a Treasurer, and they shall be elected to serve one year.

Art. V. This article defines the duties of President and V. President—to preside at meetings, and lay communications before the society.

Art. VI. This article prescribes the duties of the Secretary—to record minutes of the meetings, to conduct correspondence—receive communications for presentation to the Society, and to make any publications that may be required or ordered to be made.

Art. VII. This article prescribes the duties of the Treasurer—to take charge of the funds of the Society, and keep an account of the same—to make disbursements of money upon order of the President, and submit his accounts to the Society. The Treasurer might be required to give bond.

Art. VIII. Each member to pay the sum of two dollars annually, in half yearly installments; and the fund thus formed to be used in defraying ordinary expenses, and paying for such medals and other premiums, to be procured, as shall be assigned to those whose ingenuity, discoveries or useful industry shall entitle them to reward.

Art. IX. The members to be elected by ballot, a majority of votes being sufficient to entitle the applicant to admission.

Art. X. This article provides for the formation of branch societies in the neighboring counties on the E. Shore, which should be called District Societies. These associated societies might be formed whenever and wherever ten persons should subscribe to the articles of association, and the Secretaries of them were to be appointed by the parent society in Talbot. The Secretaries must communicate to the parent society, the proceedings of the District Societies, "and in general make themselves the organs of preserving a due connection between the societies of the Districts and the subscribers in this county."

Art. XI. A standing committee to be appointed each year, of five members, whose duty it should be "to prepare for the press such transactions of the Society as may merit publication."

Art. XII. Any member might withdraw at pleasure upon giving due notice of his intention and paying his dues.

Art. XIII. Honorary members might be elected from among residents of the E. Shore, "whose talents and character may add to the respectability and usefulness of the Society.

Art. XIV. The stated meetings of the Society were required to be held on the second Monday of March, June, September and December. Other meetings as often as necessary.

Art. XV. The first meeting of the Society should be held on the second Monday of September, when the officers and standing committee should be chosen.

While it may be a little ungracious to attempt to deprive any of the members of the committee of the honor of framing this constitution, as perhaps each of them participated in its construction, it may not be much amiss to say that it is not difficult to recognize in its provisions the eminent good sense of Nicholas Hammond, and in its phraseology the facile pen of Robert H. Goldsborough. Unfortunately we do not possess a record of the names of the original members of this first Agricultural Society further than have been already given. It is probable, however, that it drew into its circle most of the large and more intelligent farmers of the county. Its meetings were held in the Court House at Easton and the first of these, after the meeting of organization, of which there is any record, was that held March 29, 1806. There is evidence of a third meeting in June of the same year, when the following preamble and resolutions were framed, and ordered to be printed:

Whereas the progress and improvement of agriculture depend very much upon the reasonable prices of labor, and it is thought advisable to take the sense of the members of this Society and other persons interested in so important a subject, and to recommend a fair plan for promoting it: It is therefore ordered, That the Farmers of Talbot county be invited to attend a special meeting of this society, to be held on Tuesday next, the 17th inst., to consider upon this point, and to determine upon the prices they will think it just and reasonable to recommend on engaging laborers in Hay Harvest, Wheat Harvest, and other services of Husbandry. By order. Robt. Hy. Goldsborough, Secy.

From this it would appear that the question of labor was the question of the time in 1806, as well as in 1875, and that the same complaints were made then as now, of the disproportion between the prices paid for the work done upon the farm and the returns for the products on the same.

Besides this publication, we have no other extant emanating from this society; nor indeed is there evidence that this society maintained an

existence for any great length of time. The date of its demise is nowhere recorded. The fact of the existence at all, even for ever so short a time, of such an association, at so early a date, is extremely interesting of itself and when the purposes of the society, as set forth in the II article of its constitution, are considered, we must regard its foundation as an evidence, not only of a pervasive interest in the improvement of agriculture, a something which might be expected in a community deriving its support so largely from the products of the soil, but also of the intelligence with which all matters relating to rural economy were regarded by those actively engaged in the pursuits of husbandry. Here we have proof that however much we may have improved in the practice or art of farming, we have advanced but little in the theory, and that our forefathers of seventy years ago had actually anticipated us, at least in thought, in almost everything that leads to the amelioration of the soil, and profitable management of land.

After the extinction of the society, the organization of which has now been given, there is no evidence of any farther attempt to form another with similar object, until the year 1818 (not 1823, as has been stated with some authority), when the Agricultural Society of the State of Maryland was established, which had its branches upon the Eastern and Western Shores, and of which the "Board of Trustees of the Agricultural Society for the E. Shore" is the surviving representative. Of this an account will hereafter be given.

The plan for the organization of a separate agricultural society for the Eastern Shore originated in the year 1818 and was stimulated by a published address issued on March 30, 1819, over the signature of Edward Lloyd, Nicholas Hammond, Tench Tilghman, Robert Moore, and Edward Needles Hambleton, advocating the establishing of agricultural societies in every county in the state.

The first agricultural fair or cattle show, as it was then called, was held in Easton, November 8, 1822, under the auspices of the Maryland Agricultural Society. At a meeting held in Easton, November 25, 1823, the amendment to the constitution of the Maryland Agricultural Society, providing for separate Boards of twelve trustees, one for the Western Shore, and one for the Eastern Shore, was adopted, and the Board of Trustees of the Agricultural Society for the Eastern Shore, was instituted by the election of the following gentlemen, to wit: Nicholas Hammond, President; Samuel T. Kennard, Secretary; Edward Lloyd, Samuel Stevens, Tench Tilghman, Perry Benson, Robert Moore, Robert H. Goldsborough, Daniel Martin, Thomas Hayward, Henry

Hollyday and Samuel Reardon. Meetings of this Board were held from time to time in the Court House in Easton. A very successful cattle show was held in Easton in the autumn of 1824, which was attended by an unusually large crowd of visitors which had been attracted by a notice in the local newspapers to the effect that the premiums awarded at this fair were to be presented by the hand of the Marquis de La Fayette, who was then in America, revisiting the scenes of his Revolutionary victories. Great preparations had been made to entertain this distinguished character, but other engagements prevented his attendance, hence Talbot was never honored with his presence.

The first meeting of the Board of Agriculture for the Eastern Shore that was held at the residence of any of its members, met at "Wheatlands," in Miles River Neck, the residence of General Perry Benson, on December 1, 1825, when Nicholas Hammond was relected president, and Samuel T. Kennard, secretary. At this meeting Col. Edward Lloyd resigned his membership on account of declining health, and Purser Samuel Hambleton, U. S. Navy, was elected in his stead.

This ancient and honorable Board of Agriculture, consisting of twelve members, has enjoyed a continuous existence for almost a century. It has long been the time honored custom of this Board to meet monthly at the residence of one of its members to discuss agricultural topics and to enjoy a good Maryland dinner. The records of the Board disclose the fact that its efforts towards improvements in agriculture from time to time by the introduction of improved farming implements and labor-saving machinery, of pure grain and grass seeds, in the judicious use of lime and commercial fertilizers, and the rearing of improved breeds of cattle, horses, sheep and hogs, have been a source of great benefit and profit to the farmers of Talbot County. The Presidents of this Board have been:

Nicholas Hammond, of Saint Aubins.

Robert H. Goldsborough, of Myrtle Grove.

Samuel Hambleton, of Perry Cabin.

Samuel Stevens, of Compton.

Nicholas Goldsborough, of Otwell.

Kennedy R. Owen, of Marengo.

Matthew Tilghman Goldsborough, of Ellenboro.

Edward Lloyd VII, of Wye House.

Matthew Tilghman Goldsborough of Otwell.

THE INDIANS IN TALBOT COUNTY

Although prior to 1652, there were many Indian settlements, as still indicated by their banks of oyster shells, on points along the shores of the Choptank, Chester and Tred Avon rivers, it was in this year, being eight years prior to the founding of Talbot county, that a treaty was made with them, which is the first of which any record has been preserved and by which all of their lands on the Eastern Shore, north of the Choptank river, were ceded to the English.

This treaty was made at the river Severn, where the city of Annapolis was later located, and, tradition says, it was held under the old tulip-popular tree, still standing on the campus of St. John's College. This treaty may be found, at length, in the appendix to Bozman's History of Maryland, in which it is stated a blank occurs in the first article. A critical examination of the old council book will, however, convince any person familiar with the peculiar chirography of that time, that there is no blank in it, and that the word that Bozman says, in another place, is illegible, is in reality the word trees. The first article is as follows:

Article of peace and friendship treated and agreed upon the 5th day of July, 1652, between the English nation in the province of Maryland, on the one part, and the Indian nation of Susquesahanough on the other part, as followeth:

First, that the English nation shall have, hold and enjoy to them, their heirs and assigns, forever, all the land lying from the Patuxent river unto Palmer's Island, on the Western side of the Bay of Chesepiake, and from Choptank river to the north east branch which lyes to the northward of Elks river, on the Eastern side of the said baye, with all the islands, rivers, creeks, tres, fish, fowle, deer, elke, and whatsoever else to the same belonging, excepting the Isle of Kent and Palmer's Island, which belong to Capt. Clayborne. But, never the less it shall be lawful for the aforesaid English or Indians to build a house or forte for trade or any such like use or occasion at any tyme upon Palmers' Island.

The treaty further stipulated for the return of fugitives escaping from either of the contracting parties, and provided that when the Indians desired to visit the English they should come by water and not by land, and not more than eight or ten of them at one time, and that each party, when visiting the other, should carry with them and exhibit

the token, which they appear to have mutually exchanged with each other, so that they could be recognized and entertained. And after pledging the contracting parties to a perpetual peace, which was to endure for ever, to the end of the world, provided that if it should so happen that either party should grow weary of the peace, and desired to go to war, they should give twenty days' notice by sending in and delivering up this writing.

This treaty was signed by Richard Bennet, Edward Lloyd, Thomas Marsh, Capt. William Fuller and Leonard Strong, commissioners on the part of the English, and on the part of the Indians by "Sawahegeh, treasurer, Auroghtaregh, Scarhuhadig, Ruthehoagh and Nathheldianch, war captains and Councillors of Susquesahanough," and was witnessed by William Lawson and Jafer, or Jasper Peter, the last individual signing it for the Swedish Government. This Peter was probably an Indian trader from the Swedish settlement at Christina, (now Wilmington, Del.).

The reader will notice that Kent and Palmer's Island are said to belong to Captain Clayborne. The facts being that at this time the Government of Maryland was in the hands of his friends and that he had re-entered and taken possession of these two islands a short time before the treaty was made. We learn from Hansons "Old Kent" that "in consequence of dangers arising from the hostility of the 'Salvages,' Capt. Giles Brent, Esq., one of the Council, was commissioned, Feb. 3, 1639, o. s. to be Commander of the Isle of Kent," with military powers. This was for special and temporary purposes. He remained on the Isle, in commission, but a few months, for it appears that on the 14th of August, 1640, William Braithwayte was acknowledged by the Governor, Commander of the Isle, and "Gyles Brent, Gent" as "the treasurer of our province."

The Indians had again become so hostile that the Governor on the 10th day of July, 1641, issued his proclamation prohibiting all persons whatsoever "to harbour or entertain any Indian" under pain of the penalty of martial law, and declaring it "lawful to any inhabitant whatsoever of the Isle of Kent to shoot, wound or kill any Indian whatsoever coming upon the said Island."

Is it any wonder then that the poor Indian became desperate. Necessity lent them obstinancy. Despair lent them courage. Their only resource was the scalping knife. The Susquehannahs lived in Cecil county, the Matapeakes principally in Kent and upper Talbot. The Chester River was lined with their settlements, where many Indian re-

mains still exist, on the Emory Farm, called Indian Town, while the shores of the Tred Avon and Choptank rivers were occupied by the Choptank Indians. These two last mentioned tribes, though at first peaceably inclined towards the white settlers, became later fierce and warlike. They, however, dwindled rapidly away, and scarcely a mention of them appears in history.

About the year 1689, 28 years after the laying out of Talbot County, Mr. John Hawkins, for many years Judge of the Provincial Court, who lived at Queenstown on Chester River (1680-1717), long one of the chief shipping ports of Talbot County was appointed to head a commission to the Indians for the Eastern Shore. The other members of this commission, all of Talbot County, were John Stanley, Clement Sales, William Dickinson, William Stevens and William Bealey. The Nanticoke Indians had been committing many depredations along the shores of Talbot County, on the Choptank, the Saint Michaels and the Chester Rivers, and these gentlemen had been appointed to treat with the Indians and if necessary to reduce them by force.

Here is their Report to the Governor and Provincial Council:

REPORT OF COMMISSIONERS TO THE INDIANS, AUGUST YE 23RD, 1689

These may acquaint you that we whose names are underwritten have according to request bin and treated with ye Indians, and doe find 'em to be very civill and kind, and desire nothing but peace and quietness, "butt yt in part through ye instigation of bad people, and chiefly doe instance Andrew Gray, that ye English in one moon would cut them all off; likewise concerning an Indian woman w'ch they say was killed by Cornelius Mulrain's wife, for w'ch they have expected some satisfactory answer, concerning which as yett, they have not received. And yt ye sd. Cornelius, since their departure, offered great abuse in robbing them of their *cannons*, corn, mattar, bowles and basketts, and they say, their chests have bin broke open, and since they have bin gone out ye sd Gray hath bin with 'em and threatened them if they would not come home, he would get a Party of men and fetch 'em by force. Likewise they say that they haven ten Indians w'ch went between Oxford Town and Coll. Lowe's and that their time of return is elapsed and are not satisfied what is become of 'em, whereof all these things being computed together hath seized them with feare, butt that they are very joyfull att our coming, and were taking up their goods to return to their habitations.

THE PASSING OF THE NANTICOKES

In Heckwelder's "History of the Indian nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighboring states," published by the Pennsylvania Historical Society, 1876, he says, concerning the Nanticokes—The Delawares say that this nation has sprung from the same stock with them, and the fact was acknowledged by White, one of their chiefs, whom I have personally known.

They call the Delawares their grandfathers. I shall relate the history of the Nanticokes, as I had it from the mouth of White himself: "Every Indian being at liberty to pursue what occupation he pleases, White's ancestors, after the Lenapi came into their country, preferred seeking a livelihood by fishing and trapping along the rivers and bays, to pursuing wild game in the forests; they therefore detached themselves and sought the most convenient places for their purpose. In process of time they became very numerous, partly by natural increase, and partly in consequence of being joined by a number of the Lenape, and spread themselves over a large tract of country and divided into separate bodies. The main branch of the Nanticokes proper were then living on what is now called the Eastern Shore of Maryland. At length the white people crowded so much upon them that they were obliged to seek another abode, and as their grandfather, the Delaware, was himself retreating back in consequence of the great influx of the whites, they took the advice of the Mengroe (Mingo's), and bent their course to the large flats of the Wyoming, where they settled themselves, in sight of the Shawanos town, while others settled higher up the river, even as high as Chemenk, (Shenango) and Shummunk, to which places they emigrated at the beginning of the French war."

White's tribe resided there until the beginning of the Revolutionary war, when they went off to a place nearer to the British, whose part they had taken, and whose standard they joined. White himself had joined the Christian Indians, Sheekschequon, several years previous to the war and remained with them.

"Nothing," said White, "had equalled the decline of his tribe since the white people had come into the country." They were destroyed, in part by disorders they brought with them, by the smallpox and by the free use of spirituous liquors to which great numbers fell victims. The emigration of the Nanticokes from Maryland was well known to the Society of the United Brethren."

The Nanticoke, the Choptank and Matapeake Indians, descend-

ants of the Delawares, were first seen along the bay shores of Talbot County by Captain John Smith and his exploring party from Virginia in 1608, and later by Claybourne and his trading party four or five years before Lord Baltimore's Colonists landed at Saint Mary's, near the mouth of the St. Mary's river. They had a peculiar and sacred respect for their dead. The corpse was buried for some months and then exhumed and the bones carefully cleaned and placed in an "Osuary," called man-to-kump, (Manito) with the locative termination or rather signification, "place of the mystery or spirit." When their tribes moved from one place to another they carried the bones of their dead with them. When they emigrated, about the middle of the 18th century and settled in northern Pennsylvania, they carried their sacred relics with them, in bags on their backs, and buried them near the present site of Towanda. The Indian name Towandaunk literally meaning "where we bury our dead."

To avoid any possible difficulty in trading with the Indians, a privilege was granted every white inhabitant of Dorset county to trade with them, without license, only at Captain Henry Trippe's house, in 1680. Previously the Governor had issued special licenses to individual traders, who could go to the Indian camps and there trade, often selling them guns and ammunition, in violation of the trading regulations, which caused much trouble between the colonists and the native Indians.

AN INCIDENT AT TROTH'S FORTUNE

TRIAL OF POH POH CAQUIS

Interesting Story in Quaint Records of Old Times

One of the oldest Quaker homesteads in Talbot County is that known as "Troth's Fortune" four miles east of Easton, and fronting on the Choptank river, about a mile above the ancient town of Dover.

This tract of land, originally containing 400 acres, was surveyed for William Troth, a prominent Quaker settler, August 15, 1676, and upon it he built the quaint old colonial hip-roofed brick dwelling that is still standing. It has withstood the storms of over 200 winters and is still in a fair state of preservation.

It was in this house that an Indian made a savage, violent attack upon its master, who fortunately dodged the ball fired at him by the Indian, and as the latter fled he carried with him a load of buck-shot from Troth's old flintlock musket.

This incident led to the trial of the Indian, after his capture and recovery from his wounds. The particulars of which may be found at length in Volume 17 of the archives of Maryland. The following extracts therefrom form a most interesting chapter in the early colonial history of Talbot County, from which some idea may be had of the hardships that the early pioneers upon this prosperous peninsula were called upon to endure. The unpronounceable names of the great men of the Indians, who were present at the trial, lends an additional interest to the proceedings as printed in the archives of Maryland.

The ancient record reads:

At a Council held at the City of St. Maries the 22d Day of March
Anno Dmi: 1683:

The Rt. honble the Lord propry

The honble

Coll Thomas Tailler

Coll Vincent Lowe

Mr. John Darnall

Coll William Burges

Present.

At which tyme was retorne made, read, and ordered to be entred in the Councill booke, the tryall of Poh Poh Caquis an Eastern Shore Indian with the proceedings and judgment thereupon made by the

honble Coll Henry Coursey, and Coll Philemon Lloyd by vertue of his Lapps Commission to them directed the 15th Day of february Anno Dmi. 1683:

Poh Poh Caquis Indian his tryall.

March the 5th 1683:

At a Court held at the Court house in Wye River in Talbot County by the honble Henry Coursey Esqr and Coll Philemon Lloyd by vertue of a Speciall Commission to them directed from the Rt. honble the Lord Propry Empowering them Examine and trye Poh Poh Caquis, an Indian of the Eastern Shore, Subject to Ahatsawap of Assateague.

The honble Henry Coursey Esqr.

The honble Coll Philemon Lloyd King Abaco and King Tequassino being present and severall greate men of the Indians viz: Wasatt-naham, Weenakaman, Cha Cha Pohosse Yehock Cannab Catani Pa Canab Dewaquas.

Commission published.

The Court made knowne to the Indians the power committed to them from his Lsp for tryall of the prisoner Poh Poh Caquis; and in what ill part his Lsp takes it that one of their Indians for whom he had soe many acts of friendship, and been lately soe successfull as to take off their greate enemies the Senniquos, should notwithstanding attempt such a villany to the breach of the peace.

Wm. Troths Information agt Poh Poh Caquis.

That about the Eighteenth day of December came an Indian to my house about two of the clock in the afternoone, I being not at present in the house, the said Indian pretended to be a cold, my wife bid him goe to the fire, and there he was about an houre, by this time my wife sent for me in, and when I came into the house, the said Indian came out of the other house, wher he had been sitting by the fire, and look'd upon me, but said not a word to me nor I to him, but straightway returned to the fire again, I went into the house where he was sitting by the fire with his Gunn standing by him; I spoke to him and said how is it Ketop? Howan pamen kees, he replied Delaware, I said to him from whence came you? he replied from Delaware; John Shepard sitting by the fire, he said he tells me he is a Delaware Indian, and that there is two hundred Senniquox Indians hard by; pish, doest thou believe him what he talks of; for he lyes; The Indian makes answer he did not lye, for I should see them by and by, I made answer I would not see them if I could help it, but he said I should, and forthwith falls a hollowing in the Interim, before I could speak any more words to him, comes to the Doore Thomas Bussey, I turned me about to speake to the said Thomas; while my back was toward the Indian the said Indian made ready his gunn; I presently turned about again and seeing the muzzle of the gunn towards me, I endeavoured to gett hold of it, but before I could she went off, and with the bending of my body to gett hold of the said gunn, the shott mist me, and when he saw he had done noe execution, he took to his Tomahawke, and

followed me about Eight or Tenn yards; and when I saw he followed me I called for my Gunn; and as soone as he heard me call for my gunn he rann, and when he was about thirty yards from me I discharged my gunn at his &ca

Court ordered the Interpreter to ask the Indian why the Prisoner denyed his nation.

Prisoner Replied he was drunk and know not what he did.

Court ordered the Interpreter to ask the prisoner what defense he could make for himself.

Prisoner said he was drunk, otherwise he would not have shott at Wm Troth, or have done any mischief.

Court told the Prisoner that it was the English Law, that if a drunken man committed murder when he was drunk, he must Suffer death, and that if drunkenness would excuse a man from doeing mischief, then the English might make themselves drunk, & kill the Indians.

King Ababco said that an English man shott at three Indian boyes but they came home and not hurt, soe tooke noe notice.

Court said the English was not informed, if they had the English man should have suffered as the Law prescribes in such case.

Court ordered the Interpreter to tell them that we can remember severall miscarriages of their Indians, for which they have not been punished, but we came not here to call to mind old differences rather expect they should be forgott on both sides; but now we have taken this prisoner in the fact, and he ought to Suffer, desire to know whither what they have said be to justifie the prisoner, if soe we would consider what further to say to them.

Indians replied they could not justifie the prisoner, neither did they come to excuse him.

Court ordered the Interpreter to tell the Indians that is the custome of Christian Nations, that if peace is broken, he that doth it must surely die, and this Indian prisoner by the Law deserves death, but the English not desirous to exercise the rigour of the Lawe.

Judgment to be whipped.

Court Gives Judgment that Poh Poh Caquis the Indian prisonr be carried to the whipping post, and have twenty Lashes laid on his bare back, and after that he be again brought to the barr.

Court ordered the Interpreter to tell the Indians that it will be great Satisfaction to his Lapp to make it appeare to him that they doe in noe waies countenance the villanous act of the Prisoner, if they will command one of their owne Subjects to execute the sentence.

Indians after some small reasoning, the command one of their greates men (viz.) Wewohquap to execute it.

The Indian Prisoner again brought to the barr.

Court ordered the Interpreter to tell the Indians that it is the custom of the English, that after punishment they must putt in security not to act the like again or any such like mischief, and ask them what they will prescribe to secure this prisoner from revenge, or doeing any more mischiefs to the English for the future.

Indians. King Ababco, and King Tequassino engage their words for the prisoners good behavior forever hereafter, and Ababco told the prisoner he may be thankfull was soe favourable and kind to him.

Court ordered the Interpreter to tell them that this passing their word is not sufficient, for that he may notwithstanding doe further mischief, we desire to know what custody they will keepe him in, that they may make of acting the like again.

Indians said they did not know how to secure him.

Court proposed as the safest way as well for them as his Lsp: and the English, to transport him into some part beyond the Sea, as a villain not fitt to be trusted here, without danger of haveing the peace broke.

Indians. They cann say noe more then Ahatsawop had said formerly that they left it to his Lsp; if it be his Leps: will to transport him, they will say noe more in it; but desire they may be disobleiged from their words, and that we would looke to keepe the prisoner safe.

Judgment to be banished.

Court give Judgmt that the prisoner be banished into some remote part beyond the Sea, where his lordship shall appoint.

Court further order that the Sheriff take him into safe custody and with convenient speed deliver him to the high Sheriff of St. Maries County.

Vera Copia

p Tho: Impey Clk:

The "court house in Wye River" referred to in the above was located at the ancient town of Doncaster, near Bruff's Island, in Miles River Neck. Coll. Philemon Lloyd's homestead, Wye House, adjoins Doncaster.

William Troth was appointed in 1694, press master for Bowlingbrook Hundred, Talbot County, under an act of Assembly requiring the County Commissioners "to appoint honest and substantial men of their counties for every hundred to be Press Masters for the year ensuing, that, if occasion requires, they and no others shall impress victuals or other things given them in charge to press, etc. This office was probably considered more of a civil than of a military nature, as it was the outcome of legislation intended to protect the people against unjust military exactions.

That portion of the "Troth Fortune" estate upon which stands the Troth homestead is now (1915) owned by General Joseph Bruff Seth, the present Mayor of Easton, who has recently planted an apple orchard on his farm of over 8,000 trees.

Among the early Quaker families into which the Troths intermarried

were those of the Berrys, Prestons, Stevens, Powells, Kemps, Dickinsons, Skillingtons, Sherwoods, Bartletts, Johns, Jenkins and Oldhams.

J. Eugene Troth of Camden, N. J., is a member of the Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland, as the representative of his ancestor, Captain Edward Oldham, of the Maryland Line in the American revolution, his mother, Narcissa Julia Oldham, having been a grand-daughter of Captain Edward Oldham, a descendant of William Troth, above referred to.

THE "STAMP ACT" IN TALBOT

It is a matter of regret to every one who takes an interest in our local annals that we possess so few memorials of events that preceded our revolutionary trouble, and of those that transpired during our war of Independence. Newspapers, those repositories so invaluable to the local historian or annalist, had not begun to be published within our bounds nor did they begin until 1790, when the *Maryland Herald* first appeared. The journals printed within the Province, prior to the war, numbering only two, the *Maryland Gazette*, of Annapolis, dating from 1745, and the *Maryland Journal*, of Baltimore dating from 1773, gave little space to what occurred in the distant sections of the province, and noticed only what transpired within their own precinct as it were, or what was of most general interest. The other public sources of local information, our Court and Church records, are almost entirely silent upon politics, confining themselves, the one to matters relating to the administration of justice, and the other to affairs ecclesiastical. Reading them, one ignorant of history would suppose the current of society from 1765 to 1782 was hardly disturbed by a ripple, much less broken into furious rapids by a great political revolution, and bloody war. To be sure, the formation of our State Constitution in 1776, which brought about a change and re-organization of our Courts, was noted in our county records, yet only, obscurely: for this change was so accordant with the demands of the growing commonwealth and so necessary for the ends of justice, that it seemed to be the result rather of a natural transition than of a violent catastrophe, so noiselessly did the old system of judicature merge into the new. As for the church, but for the interruption of the collection of its legal dues, caused by the new form of government, the historical student would hardly learn from the record of her vestries, anything more of our political affairs than that she had passed from condition of humiliating vassalage to the Provincial government, to a state of noble dependence upon the loving bounty of her children. In short, our public records say almost nothing of events within this county that antedated, or were coincident with our Revolutionary war. Of private memoranda of this stirring period in our history, there exists almost if not absolutely none. Not a private journal nor collection of letters can be found. The papers of that gentleman who was most prominent and active in Talbot anterior

to and during the war, Mr. Matthew Tilghman, of Bay-Side, were destroyed, it is thought, by fire when the house at "The Hermitage," Queen Anne county, was burned, not many years ago. Had this distinguished gentleman's papers been preserved, they no doubt would have elucidated those obscurities in our political affairs which now, it is to be feared, must ever remain in darkness. Such being the case, every memorandum relating to these times in our county that may be discovered, is cherished, by the annalist and antiquary, as a precious memorial; and what would be regarded as quite insignificant, if our historical treasures were richer, is now looked upon as invaluable.

Recently there have fallen into the hands of the writer two documents relating to that extremely interesting period in our history, the time of the passage of the "Stamp Act." The first was found among the proceedings of the Court, in a book of Civil Judgments from Aug. 1765 to 1768, now in the Clerk's office of Talbot county. For the other the writer is indebted to the courtesy of Oswald Tilghman, Esq., great great grand-son of the gentleman mentioned above, who discovered it in a bound volume of old pamphlets among which was a single number of *Carey's Museum*—that for July, 1788, in which it was printed probably for the first time. These documents derived from such diverse sources, have a very natural connection. The first is the expression of the sentiments of the highest civil tribunal in the county, while the second is a declaration of the sentiments of the body of freemen assembled in public meeting, upon a subject then intently engaging the attention of the people of America. There is little doubt that the account of the refusal of our Court to comply with the Act, and that of the meeting of our citizens, reached the hands of the ministry and the King together, and that they had their weight, small it might be, in determining the subsequent action of Parliament. They served to show to the ruling powers in England, as they still show to us, that the fires of patriotic indignation glowed with no less ardor down in this remote and secluded corner of his Majesty's dominions than they did in Virginia or Massachusetts, and that the detestation of the odious "Stamp Act," in as much as it was expressed in pretty much the same words, and shown in almost precisely the same manner, was as hearty here as in centres of political influence or the great marts of commerce.

The observant reader, will not fail to notice that the resolutions of the public meeting reveal a condition of feeling closely resembling that which existed during our recent troubles. The intolerance of the majority in 1765 is quite as conspicuous as that manifested in any meet-

ing of Unionists in the North or of Secessionists in the South, in 1861. And this majority was ready to visit the same kind of punishments upon the minority, as were threatened to be visited in more recent times. We have canonized our revolutionary forefathers, but these documents plainly show they were possessed of the same frailties as we their children are, and that they are no more entitled to political sainthood than many a blatant Rebel or Union shrieker, of more modern date, to make use of the epithets the opposing parties applied to each other. With a change of a few words the fifth resolution might have been adopted at some of the political meetings of one or the other side in 1861 or 1862. It must be remembered, however, that social ostracism, with which this resolution threatens the agents of the British Government, had a significance and a weight, that do not belong to it now. The persons who were appointed stamp agents by the Crown, were generally men of character and good position, and for them to be banished from society, particularly from the polite society of a community essentially aristocratic in its structure, as ours was in Talbot in 1765, was a penalty few of their condition were prepared to encounter. On the contrary in our democratic society of the present day, in which there is either an actual approximation to equality or less regard paid to social distinctions, often arbitrary or conventional, to be excluded from intercourse with any clique or coterie on account of political differences is only a matter of amusement to any man of good repute and true independence, or at worst it is only an inconvenience which is shared by the excluding as well as the excluded.

It will be remembered, or those who do not remember may refresh their recollection by consulting any manual of American history, that in 1765 the famous "Stamp Act" was passed by the British Parliament. By this act every legal document, newspaper, pamphlet, &c., was required to pay a stamp tax, which varied in amount from three pence to a guinea. The inhabitants of the American Colonies objected not to the amount of the tax but to the political principle in obedience to which the tax was laid. Probably at no period in our whole history, was there more feeling aroused, than at the time when the passage of this obnoxious act was announced in America. Legislatures, that of this province included, passed resolutions of condemnation, and indignation meetings of the citizens were held in many of the provinces, those of Virginia and Massachusetts being notable for the warmth of the expressions of reprobation of the taxing a free people without representation. A Congress, composed of delegates from nine of the thirteen

colonies, of which Maryland was one, assembled at New York in October 1765, which drew up a declaration of rights and grievances for presentation to Parliament and the King. This was the precursor of that other and greater declaration of July, 1776, and the Union then born, developed into that "more perfect" and glorious Union of 1788. The act was to go into operation November 1, 1765. Before that day had arrived the packages containing the stamps that had been sent over for distribution among the Crown's agents, were seized in some of the ports, and their contents destroyed. Those intended for distribution in Maryland arrived at New Castle, Delaware, but by request of Governor Horatio Sharpe, they were retained on board the ship, and never reached their destination. The agents themselves were warned that their life and property were endangered if they attempted to enforce the law. Before Nov. 1st had arrived every agent had either resigned his post, or had fled from the country. The story of Zachary Hood, the stamp agent for the province of Maryland, who was burned in effigy at Annapolis, his house torn down, and he himself compelled to flee to New York, is familiar to all. It was just about this time that the Court of Talbot county met—namely on the 1st Tuesday in November 1765—and of its proceedings we have this record:

NOVEMBER

"At a County Court of the Right Honourable Frederick Lord & Prop'ry of the Province of Maryland & Avalon. Lord Baron of Baltimore, held for Talbot County, at the Court House in the same County, the 1st Tuesday in November Anno Dom. Seventeen Hundred and Sixty-five, before the same Lord Prop'ry his Justices of the Peace for the County afd., of whom were present

The Worshipful	{	MAJOR RISDON BOZMAN,
		MR. JNO. GOLDSBOROUGH,
		MR. ROBT. GOLDSBOROUGH,
		MR. WILLIAM THOMAS,
		MR. JONATHAN NICOLS,
		MR. TRISTRAM THOMAS & MR. JACOB HINDMAN
		Justices.

John Bozman—Sheriff,
John Leeds—Clerk.

The Justices aforesaid taking into consideration An Act of Parliament lately made, entitled An Act for granting and applying certain Stamp duties, and other duties in the British Colonies and plantations in America, towards further defraying the expenses of defending,

protecting and securing (?) the same and for amending such parts of the several acts of Parliament relating to the trade and revenues of the s'd colonies and plantations, as direct the manner of determining and recovering the penalties and forfeitures therein mentioned, and finding it impossible at this time to comply with the said Act, adjourned their court until the 1st Tuesday in March, seventeen hundred, and sixty-six.

At which s'd first Tuesday in March, seventeen hundred, and sixty-six, the Justices above mentioned (having since the adjournment of the former court taken into consideration the mischievous consequences that might arise from proceeding to do business in the manner prescribed by the above mentioned Act of Parliament, and as it would be highly penal to do anything contrary to the directions of the Act) would not open nor hold any Court.

Between the time of the adjournment of the Court in November, 1765, and its meeting again in March, 1766, public sentiment in the county had been clearly and emphatically expressed. This may in some measure account for the phrase, "mischievous consequences that might arise from proceeding to business" in the above recital. The Court was unwilling to place itself between two fires—popular indignation, and legal penalties. It therefore, wisely adjourned.

The expression of the sentiments of the people of our county respecting the execution of the "Stamp Act," was made at a public meeting of the freemen, which doubtless had been advertised, by posting notices at the Court House door and at the Churches, as was customary at that time, before the introduction of newspapers. We are fortunate in finding, as above related, an account of the proceedings of this meeting in Carey's Museum, for July 1788, to which it was probably furnished by some former resident of the county, then having his home in Philadelphia, who had been present at the meeting and had preserved a copy of the spirited resolutions, then passed:

RESOLUTIONS OF THE FREEMEN OF TALBOT Co.

MARYLAND,

November 25, 1765

The Freemen of Talbot County assembled at the Court House of said County, do in the most solemn manner declare to the world:

I. That they bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty King George III.

II. That they are most affectionately and zealously attached to his person and family; and are fully determined, to the utmost of their

power, to maintain and support his crown and dignity and the succession as by law established; and do with the greatest cheerfulness submit to his government according to the known and just principles of British Constitution: and do unanimously resolve:

i. That under the Royal Charter granted to this Province, they and their ancestors have long enjoyed, and they think themselves entitled to enjoy, all the rights of British Subjects.

ii. That they consider the trial by jury, and the privilege of being taxed only with their consent, given by their legal representatives in assembly, as the principal foundation, and main source of all their liberties.

iii. That by the Act of Parliament lately passed, for raising stamp duties in America, should it take place, both of these invaluable privileges enjoyed in their full extent, by their fellow subjects in Great Britain, would be torn from them; and that therefore the same is, in their opinion, unconstitutional, invasive of their just rights, and tending to excite disaffection in the breast of every American subject.

iv. That they will at the risk of their lives and fortunes endeavor by all lawful ways and means, to preserve and transmit to their posterity their rights and liberties, in as full and ample a manner as they received the same from their ancestors; and will not by any act of theirs countenance or encourage the execution or effect of the said Stamp Act.

v. That they will detest, abhor, and hold in the utmost contempt, all and every person or persons who shall meanly accept of any employment or office relating to the Stamp Act; or shall take any shelter or advantage under the same; and all and every Stamp-pimp, informer or favorer of the said Act; and that they will have no communication with any such persons, except it be to upbraid them with their baseness.

And in testimony of this their fixed and unalterable resolution, they have this day erected a gibbet, twenty feet high, before the Court House door, and hung in chains thereon the effigy of a stamp informer, there to remain *in terrorem*, till the Stamp Act shall be repealed.

Unfortunately we have no record of the names of the officers of this meeting, nor of any of those who attended it. At the date, beside the Justices whose names are mentioned as being present at the court that met in November, these gentlemen also were of the commission of the peace: Edward Oldham, James Dickinson and James Lloyd. That their names were not recorded is not evidence they were supporters of the Crown and parliament, in their arbitrary course towards America.

These gentlemen constituted the Grand Jury at the same term of the Court:

WILLIAM SHARP,	JOHN SHERWOOD 3rd
DAN'L SHERWOOD	JOHN DAWSON
CHRIS'R BIRKHEAD	WILL ELSTON
JOHN MULLIKIN	JOHN S. HOPKINS
GRUNDY PARROT	RIC'H AUSTIN
THOMAS DELAHAY	WILLIAM VICKERS
JOHN CATRUP	JAMES MORTON
JOHN CAREY	WILL BESWICK
RICH'D SKINNER	FRANCIS BAKER

JOHN BRACCO

These gentlemen were members of the General Assembly of the State, from Talbot County, in 1765:

Upper House.

SAM'L CHAMBERLAINE	EDWARD LLOYD
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Lower House.

POLLARD EDMONDSON	WOOLMAN GIBSON
JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH	HENRY HOLLYDAY

The Assembly of which these gentlemen were members was that same assembly, referred to above, that met on the 23d of September, 1765, after frequent prorogations of the Governor, and which appointed the delegates to the Congress to be held in New York in October of the same year. These delegates were Mr. Edw'd Tilghman of Queen Anne's, Mr. Thomas Ringold of Kent, and Mr. William Murdock of Prince George's. They received instructions in the form of a series of resolutions, remarkable for their temperateness, dignity, and firmness, that were reported by a committee, of which four were from the Eastern Shore, and of these, two were from Talbot, namely, Mr. John Goldsborough and Mr. Henry Hollyday.

The names of all these persons here mentioned are those of persons of some consideration and weight in the county, and of those who would be likely to participate in a meeting of freemen for the assertion of their rights and privileges. We have no assurance that they all were opponents of the measures of the British ministry, for at least one among them, when the rupture occurred in 1776, espoused the cause of the King, and between him and his near neighbor in the Bayside, Matthew Tilghman, tradition says, there was many a tournament of argument.

In them Congress and King were championed in the lists of Talbot. John Leeds, the Clerk of the county, was a Tory, but a man of the utmost sincerity of conviction, of the highest social position, of elegant culture in letters, and of conspicuous scientific attainments. It is not improbable, however, that every man, whose name is here mentioned, even John Leeds was an opponent of the Stamp Act, for there was a notable unanimity of sentiment upon this subject throughout the province—a greater than in the year of Independence. But besides those who are here mentioned there were doubtless many others who attended this meeting, whose names nowhere appear on record. There were heroes in Greece before Agamemnon, who had no Homer to catalogue their names and recite their deeds; so there were patriots in Talbot who will be forever unknown in that there was no historian to record their devotion to their county.

It is almost useless to say the Stamp Act which arrested the operation of our courts, and caused such ebullient indignation among the freemen of Talbot, and which, indeed, came so near precipitating the Revolution ten years before it actually broke out, was repealed by Parliament, in March, 1766; but our county justices did not know that, when they met in this month, and declared it would be attended with mischievous consequences to proceed to business while an act was in force which would nullify many of these proceedings unless complied with, which they for conscience could not do. The act of repeal was coupled with this fortunate or unfortunate declaration, that the Royal Government still held the right "to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever." We all know to what this led ten years after. We do not know to what it shall lead in a future which to the thoughtful mind is certainly not altogether bright.

THE REVOLUTION IN TALBOT

*Quantum distat ab Inacho
Codrus, pro patria non timidus mori,
Narras, et genus Æaci
Et pugnata sacro bella sub Ilio.*

—HORACE, CAR. III., 19, 1-4.

The philosophic study of nations has been concomitant with that of nature. The broader view which modern science has been enabled to take through the vast extension of physical exploration, modern history has been qualified to obtain through a more thorough scrutiny of the movements of political societies. The great law which physicists, in every department, have been able to discover as operative, and have formulated, namely, that there is no change without antecedent and efficient cause, and that changes are not paroxysmal but regular, sociologists have also discovered and formulated, namely, that changes in states and nations are never without antecedent and efficient causes working with regularity as well as potency. If nature has her earthquakes, her cataclysms, her cyclones and tornadoes, the scientists no longer look upon them as accidents in the working of the machinery of the world, much less do they regard them as the purposed interventions of the Great Engineer—with reverence be it spoken—but as the orderly result of causes acting through immeasurable time and space, regular and certain, if not, at the present, calculable and prognosticable. So if organized society has its riots, tumults, insurrections, rebellions, revolutions, the social philosopher, or philosophic historian, is impelled to study them on their remote or efficient causes, with an assurance that these are governed by a law permanent, regular, and possibly subject to the moral calculus of probabilities. That there are no accidents to be recorded in the history of nature or of nations, is the conclusion that has been reached by the investigation of the highest science in physics or politics. The American Revolution, one of the most important events that has occurred within the memory of man, whether as giving expression to a principle of civil government, or as far-reaching in its results, was not a sudden outbreak of patriotic passion, but the resultant of political and social force which had been in operation from the very settlement of the colonies, and their organization into orderly governments—to go no farther backward in the history of English

liberty. In the province of Maryland the spirit of the Revolution was betrayed in the very earliest years of its history in the firm protests of its House of Burgesses against the claimed prerogative of the Lord Proprietary to frame and present laws to the General Assembly for its ratification—that is to say that the initiative of legislation as well as the veto upon legislation should rest with Lord Baltimore, or his immediate representatives in the province. Later, and from time to time, other evidences of the growth of the democratic idea of self government were presented, so that at the coming in of the period to which this contribution relates, the fundamental principles upon which the Revolution was based had very thoroughly pervaded the minds of the people of Maryland, or the minds of those who gave expression and direction to public sentiment in this province. It is therefore difficult to determine what shall be regarded as the date of the beginning of the Revolutionary period. Nevertheless there is a consentaneity of agreement among historians that the time of the organized resistance by the American Colonies to the passage and enforcement of the Stamp Act shall be regarded as epochal. So in this attempt to recover from the oblivion into which they have fallen, and to record for memorial preservation the occurrences of the great struggle for independence, as they came to pass in this county of Talbot, the relation shall commence with the incidents connected with this notable event in our history as a nation.

It is a part of the familiar knowledge of the American citizen that after the close of the war, which terminated with the conquest of Canada and with a vast charge upon the treasury of the conquering party, the subject of taxing the colonies had engaged the attention of the British ministry. After much consideration, notwithstanding repeated protests from the provinces and opposition from the friends of the colonists in Parliament, it was at last determined that an attempt should be made to raise the revenue by the imposition of a tax upon all legal documents and upon all public journals that should be issued in the provinces. The law as passed with the consent of both houses of Parliament, and the assent of the King, given by commission, was known as the Stamp Act, it bearing the date of March 22nd, 1765. As soon as intelligence was received in America of its passage, the public indignation was expressed sometimes in terms of loyalty and respect, at other times by words and acts that were significant of neither, but as indicative of the growth of the spirit of independence and rebellion. It does not come within the scope of this contribution to give an account, how-

ever brief, of the important occurrences, to which the passage of this act gave origin in the several provinces or even in the province of Maryland. For such an account the reader is referred to books of national or State history. Only what was thought, said and done here in Talbot, with reference to this act, can receive attention. It is much to be regretted that there are so few records that can serve to reveal the opinions and conduct of the people of this county at this crisis. These few, however, indicate that here was felt the same indignation and displeasure, here was expressed the same condemnation, here was shown the same spirit of resistance that was felt, expressed and shown in every part of the American colonies affected by the stipulations of this act. It was provided that the act should not go into effect until the first day of November. It is not known that there was any public demonstration within this county of condemnation of and resistance to the law before this date; but there is every probability that the people with the exception of a few office holders were in sympathy with such demonstrations as were made elsewhere. On the 23rd of September, after many prorogations by the Governor, dating from 1763, the General Assembly was called together at Annapolis, and the most important subject that was to engage its attention was this one of the Stamp Act. The members of this Assembly from Talbot for the Lower House were Mr. Pollard Edmondson, Mr. John Goldsborough, Mr. Woolman Gibson and Mr. Henry Hollyday.

In the Upper House, or Governor's Council, there were two members from Talbot, the Hon. Sam'l Chamberlaine and the Hon. Edward Lloyd.

All of these were gentlemen of the very first respectability, whether regard be had to social position, wealth, intelligence or character. Upon the day following the assembling of the Lower House a letter was read from the Legislature of Massachusetts suggesting and advising the meeting of a Congress of Deputies from each of the colonies, for the consideration of measures to be taken under the circumstances brought about by this act of Parliament. There appears to have been a perfect unanimity in the Lower House, and it was agreed, without a dissenting voice to appoint delegates to the proposed Congress. The Governor and Council gave their approbation to the measure, and money was appropriated to defray the expenses of the three delegates who were Messrs. Edward Tilghman, of Queen Anne, Thomas Ringgold of Kent, and William Murdock, of Prince George counties. A committee was appointed to prepare instructions for the delegation, and of this

committee Mr. John Goldsborough of Talbot, was one.¹ This gentleman was also a member of the committee subsequently "appointed to draw up resolves, declarative of the constitutional rights and privileges of the freemen of the province." The names of Mr. Henry Hollyday and Mr. John Goldsborough appear on the minutes of the Assembly as of the committee to draft a reply to a communication of the Governor relative to the disposition of the stamps, should they arrive in the province before the reassembling of the legislature then about to be prorogued until the first of November. The House by this committee declined offering any advice upon so new a subject, without having received instructions from their constituents. The Congress which assembled in New York on the 7th of October, 1765, was the first of those deliberative bodies which laid the foundation of the American Union, and for this will be ever memorable.

Few and meagre as are the records of events occurring in the county during the Revolutionary era two or three have been preserved and brought to light, which are of a most interesting, if not important character, as illustrating the condition of affairs in Talbot at the period when the Stamp Act was under discussion. Capt. Jeremiah Banning,² in his journal thus speaks of the arrival of Zachary Hood, the Stamp distributor. His ship the *Layton*, from London, arrived at Oxford, on Sunday, the 18th of August, 1765. "The ship soon after anchoring was crowded with gentlemen, anxious to hear the news from England, as the politics in that country were at that time very interesting to the Americans; but more particularly did they wish to know whether the Stamp master had come over in the *Layton*, as intelligence to that effect had reached Maryland before the ship arrived. They found that they had not been misinformed, for Zachary Hood, Esq., a native of the Western Shore, who had been commissioned in England to distribute or issue the stamps in Maryland, was then actually on board the *Layton*. Mr. Hood was threatened with immediate destruction. However he took an opportunity of making his escape and fled to

¹ Mr. John Goldsborough, of "Four Square," was the son of the first Robt. Goldsborough, of "Ashby;" born Oct. 12, 1711, and died January 18th, 1788. He was a member of the General Assembly from 1744 to 1765. He was High Sheriff of the county from 1736 to 1739. He was one of the Justices of the county court from 1743 to 1745, and again from 1752 to and after the reorganization of the Courts under the State Constitution in 1776.

² A memoir of this very respectable gentleman, chiefly autobiographical, has been prepared and will be immediately printed.

Annapolis. * * * It was unknown to the commander of the *Layton*, when his ship left London that his passenger bore such an odious commission, or he certainly would not have received him on board." Of Mr. Hood's treatment in Annapolis the books of history gave full and sufficient accounts. Of the manner in which the people of Talbot vented their indignation against him, at a subsequent date, will presently appear.

Among the records of the court of Talbot county, in a volume of civil judgments, may be found the following minute.³

NOVEMBER.—At a Court of the Right Honourable Frederick, Lord and Prop'ry of the Province of Maryland and Avalon, Lord Baron of Baltimore, held for Talbot county, at the Court House, in the same county, the first Tuesday in November, Anno. Dom. Seventeen Hundred and Sixty Five, before the same Prop'ry, his Justices of the Peace, for the county afd, of whom were present,

The Worshipful

Major Risdon Bozman,
Mr. John Goldsborough,
Mr. Robt. Goldsborough,
Mr. William Thomas,
Mr. Jonathan Nicols,
Mr. Tristram Thomas,
Mr. Jacob Hindman,

Justices.⁴

John Bozman, Sheriff; John Leeds, Clerk.

The Justices aforesaid taking into consideration an act of Parliament, lately made, entitled An Act for granting and applying certain Stamp duties and other duties in the British Colonies and Plantations in America, towards further defraying the expenses of defending, protecting and securing the same, and for amending such parts of the several Acts of Parliament relating to the trade and revenues of the s'd colonies and plantations, as direct the manner of determining and recovering the penalties and forfeitures therein mentioned, and finding it impossible at this time to comply with the said act, adjourned their court until the 1st Tuesday in March, seventeen hundred and seventy-six.

At which s'd first Tuesday in March, seventeen hundred and sixty-six, the Justices above mentioned (having since the adjournment of the former Court taken into consideration the mischievous consequences

³ In a communication of the writer to the *Easton Star* of November 25th, 1873, entitled "The Stamp Act in Talbot" this record was embraced. The substance of that communication is now republished in its proper connection with or relative to other Revolutionary incidents occurring in this county, in order that this contribution to our local annals may be in itself complete, as far as possible.

⁴ It may be well enough to note that besides those persons named in the text as Justices, Mr. Edward Oldham, Mr. James Dickinson, and Mr. James Lloyd were of the commission. The absence of their names is not significant of difference of sentiment.

that might arise from proceeding to do business in the manner prescribed by the above mentioned Act of Parliament, and as it would be highly penal to do anything contrary to the directions of the act), would not open nor hold any Court.

The prudent action of the Justices is easily explicable. As all legal papers were required to have a stamp affixed, any attempt to proceed with the business of the Court would have been immediately estopped by the absence of the impress or mark necessary to give validity to its writs. Stamps could not have been procured, even if there had been a willingness to use them, for the Stamp agent, Mr. Hood, had been driven from the Province by the people of Annapolis, and no stamps had been received at the date of the first adjournment, and though received at the date of the last, there was no one to distribute them. Soon after the adjournment of the Court in March, 1776, the obnoxious Act was repealed by Parliament, so that when it again assembled it was able to proceed with its business without fear either of incurring popular indignation by consenting to use the stamps or of invalidating its own processes by refusing to use them.

A few days after the adjournment of the Court in November, 1765, as above noticed, there was a public meeting of the citizens of the county held at Talbot Court House for the purpose of giving some formal expression of their sentiments upon the subject that was then engrossing the minds of all thoughtful men. Of the proceedings of this meeting we have the following account taken from Carey's Museum, published at Philadelphia, in the July number of 1788, where doubtless some patriotic citizen of Talbot had secured its insertion:

**RESOLUTIONS THE FREEMEN OF TALBOT CO., MARYLAND,
NOVEMBER 25, 1765**

The Freemen of Talbot County assembled at the Court House of said County do in the most solemn manner declare to the world:

I. That they bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, King George III.

II. That they are most affectionately and zealously attached to his person and family; and are fully determined, to the utmost of their power, to maintain and support his crown and dignity, and the succession as by law established; and do with the greatest cheerfulness submit to his government according to the known and just principles of the British constitution; and do unanimously resolve:

I. That under the Royal Charter granted to this Province, they and their ancestors have long enjoyed, and they think themselves entitled to enjoy, all the rights of British subjects.

II. That they consider the trial by jury, and the privilege of being taxed only with their consent, given by their legal representatives in Assembly as the principal foundation, and main source of all their liberties.

III. That by the Act of Parliament, lately passed, for raising stamp duties in America, should it take place, both of these invaluable privileges, enjoyed in their full extent by their fellow subjects in Great Britain, would be torn from them; and that therefore the same is, in their opinion, unconstitutional, invasive of their just rights, and tending to excite disaffection in the breast of every American subject.

IV. That they will at the risk of their lives and fortunes endeavor, by all lawful ways and means, to preserve and transmit to their posterity their rights and liberties in as full and ample a manner as they received them from their ancestors; and will not by any act of theirs countenance or encourage the execution or effect of the same Stamp Act.

V. That they will detest, abhor and hold in the utmost contempt, all and every person or persons who shall meanly accept of any employment or office relating to the Stamp Act; or shall take any shelter or advantage under the same; and all and every stamp pimp, informer or favorer of the said act; and that they will have no communication with any such persons, except it be to upbraid them with their baseness.

And in testimony of this their fixed and unalterable resolution they have this day erected a gibbet, twenty feet high, before the Court House door, and hung in chains thereon the effigy of a stamp informer, there to remain *in terrorem*, till the Stamp Act shall be repealed.⁵

In thus assembling in public meeting, in passing patriotic resolutions, and in hanging in effigy a stamp agent, the people of Talbot were but following their own impulses, though they were doing nothing more than had been done elsewhere in the province and in the neighboring provinces. Mr. Zachariah Hood, who had been commissioned as distributor of the stamps in Maryland, had fled before the indignant citizens of Annapolis as he had done upon his first arrival before the enraged citizens of Oxford, and had taken refuge in New York where he was quickly compelled by the Sons of Liberty to resign his office November 28, 1765. No other agent was ever appointed nor were the

⁵ These resolutions appear also in Scharf's History of Maryland, vol. i, pp. 543-544, apparently copied from the old *Maryland Gazette*. They have there this addendum: "After the above declaration publicly read and assented to by every person present, the effigy hung up, etc., the gentlemen of the County adjourned to a Tavern, where the King, the Royal family and other loyal healths were drunk, everything concluding with the utmost decency and good order." Captain Banning, however, relates an additional incident of a very painful character. He states in his journal that the man who was employed in making the effigy, which seems to have been of wood, accidentally cut himself with his axe, and died of the wound.

stamps ever allowed to be landed upon Maryland soil. On the 18th of March, 1766, the King signed the bill for the repeal of the obnoxious act, and on the 22d of May the intelligence was received at the seat of government. Universal joy pervaded the province as the news spread from county to county, which was expressed by public demonstrations of a significant if not imposing character. Unhappily nothing is known of what occurred in Talbot upon this happy occasion. Only a few of the more thoughtful of the people of Maryland saw in that right which was reserved in the act of repeal "to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever" the serpent's egg from which was to come further trouble with the mother country. It should be noted that in the resolutions of the Talbot meeting nothing is said of colonial independence, though this subject was elsewhere discussed. Maryland long hesitated to sever the ties which bound her to the throne, and these resolutions reflected her loyalty and the conservatism which she manifested quite up to the time when she finally gained her own consent to declare for independence.

The agitation that had been aroused and the indignation that had been provoked throughout the colonies by the Stamp Act had scarcely subsided, and the rejoicing over its repeal had not yet ceased when the old fears were awakened by the announcement of the adoption by Parliament, in July, 1767, of certain measures for their taxation by an imposition of duties upon imports. Although Talbot was not largely engaged in trade, as far at least as to importations, and therefore the burden of these taxes would have been light and indirect, her citizens were not slow in expressing their opposition to their imposition, for they saw that the principle for which they had been contending was again violated. In the discussion which arose, and the public press, wherever such an agency existed, teamed, as it is said, with essays upon Colonial rights, called forth by this "Duty Act," a native of Talbot county, although at that time a citizen of the Delaware counties of Pennsylvania took a leading and most influential part. This was Mr. John Dickinson, the author of the *Farmer's Letters*—a series of papers which was probably more effectual than any other agencies in awakening the public mind throughout the colonies to an appreciation of the dangerous tendency of these measures of the British government, and in arousing a determined opposition to their perpetuation. The General Assembly was called together in May, 1768, and before it was laid a circular from the General Court, or Legislature of Massachusetts, in which the measures of the British government were condemned, and

an appeal to the people of Maryland to unite with those of that commonwealth in a petition to the King for redress was made. The Assembly of Maryland heartily concurred and appointed a committee to prepare such a petition. One of this committee was Mr. Matthew Tilghman, a citizen of Talbot, who now for the first time appeared in the lists as the champion of the colonial rights of his fellow-citizens, but who was, ever after, among the most conspicuous leaders in every patriotic movement within his native Province and State.⁶ This petition which need not be presented here, had no more effect upon the King and his ministers than many others of similar tenor; and the obnoxious statutes were allowed to remain in force. Finding that appeals to the throne had no effect, the colonists adopted the old expedient of association. They bound themselves by solemn pledges neither to import nor use articles of foreign production or manufacture as long as the acts remained unrepealed. By concert, committees were selected in each county of Maryland whose duty it was to see that the articles of the Association were not violated. That for the county of Talbot, the members of which are not known, seems to have been more than ordinarily earnest in the enforcement of the agreement entered into by the Associators. The effect of the refusal of the Americans to use the articles of importation subject to this duty, was, first, seriously to impair trade and, secondly, to induce Parliament in 1770 to modify the law so far as to remove the import upon all articles except tea. This exception was made that the ministry might continue to assert the right of the home government to impose taxes upon commerce. After the modification of the law the merchants of New York, who were associators, began to relax in their observance of the terms of the agreement. They were followed not long after by those of Boston and Philadelphia, and at last, as will

⁶ The gentlemen associated with Mr. Tilghman in the Lower House of Assembly, and who with him were elected Dec. 15th, 1767, were John Goldsborough, James Dickinson, and Nicholas Thomas, Esquires. In the Upper House, or Governor's Council, the Honorables Samuel Chamberlaine and Edward Lloyd, both of Talbot, continued to hold their seats. Of Mr. Tilghman, who though not a native was for a long time a resident of this county at Tilghman's or Ward's Point, otherwise "Rich Neck," in Bay Side, a brief memoir was prepared by the writer and printed in the *Easton Star* of May 18th, 1875. This sketch of his life, which was the first ever published, was very imperfect, for reasons which need not here be mentioned. But a fuller and more accurate biography, and one which, it is hoped, will be more worthy of this Talbot statesman and patriot, it is the purpose of the writer to prepare at an early day, as new materials have been collected, and a clearer apprehension of his services to Maryland and the United States has been acquired.

presently be seen, by those of Baltimore also. But the citizens of the counties of Maryland insisted that the obligations of the association were binding until all taxes—that upon tea as well as those upon other articles of importation, should be abolished, and until the principle for which they were contending was virtually acknowledged and accepted by the home government. When the intelligence reached Talbot of the defection of the New York merchants, much indignation was felt, and this had expression in a series of denunciatory resolutions passed by a meeting of the citizens of the county, called by the committee of inspection, and held at the Court House, August 10, 1770:

I. RESOLVED, That the non-importation agreement is a measure well calculated to prevent luxury, promote industry and to secure redress of American grievances; and the firm and steady adherence to it will, in all probability, produce these salutary effects.

II. RESOLVED, That the partial repeal of the American revenue Act, is rather a banter on our understanding or a trap to ensnare us than an argument to induce us to depart from the non-importing scheme.

III. RESOLVED, That an acquiescence in the Act retaining the duty on tea would be a tacit acknowledgment of the right of Parliament to tax the people of America, and would probably terminate in the absolute slavery of these colonies.

IV. RESOLVED, That to pursue and promote the happiness of the community, by making our own private interest give way to the public advantage, is noble and honourable, and the duty of every friend and lover of his country.

V. RESOLVED, That the conduct of the prevailing faction in New York, who from a low and pitiful view of their own particular interest, have violated their engagements to their country, engagements entered into with deliberation and unanimity, is scandalous, sordid and infamous, as being manifestly founded in a vicious selfishness, and tending to weaken the union of the colonies, to wound the public character of America, to dishearten its friends and to strengthen the hands of a corrupt and offensive ministry, the enemy that threatens to make us lick the dust at their feet.

VI. RESOLVED. That as a proof of our detestation and abhorrence of the step lately taken by that prevailing faction, we will renounce and break off all commercial connection, dealings and intercourse, with the Province of New York, until they shall either retract their error, or the act retaining the duty on tea be repealed. And we do most earnestly invite, implore and obtest, all the friends of their country and of liberty, by all that is valuable and dear to them, to continue firm in their adherence to the non-importation agreement to break off and desist from all commercial communication and intercourse with the people of New York, and to stand determined to mark all false brethren, and

particularly the wretched authors of the present vile defection with contempt and disgrace; that they may be branded as the betrayers of their country, be despised of the people and become a hissing among the nations.⁷

The merchants of Baltimore, after the northern towns had practically withdrawn from the non importation agreement, found it inexpedient to continue their adherence, and advised the holding a general convention at Annapolis to deliberate as to what steps should be taken under the existing circumstances to relieve them from the disabilities which they were suffering by reason of the disaffection of New York, Boston, Philadelphia and other northern ports. At this convention the Committee of Inspection from Talbot was present. The result of its deliberations was the passage of resolutions denouncing the course of the merchants and traders of Baltimore, and entreating and conjuring the people of America "by all the sacred rights of freemen to join as one man in the rejection of all foreign superfluities until the total repeal of the injurious and oppressive Revenue Act takes place."⁸ It is too well known to be more than referred to, in passing, that the war of the Revolution was but a vindication of the principle asserted by this convention at Annapolis and by the public meeting at Talbot Court House.

In order to introduce a pleasant episode of the political history of the times, it is necessary to revert to the year preceding these events, 1769. In this year Robert Eden, Esq., who had been appointed, was installed Governor of the Province. Governor Sharpe for sixteen years filled the chair of the chief executive officer of the Lord Proprietary, with great acceptability to the people of Maryland. It has been pointed out that those questions which were at the very foundation of the subsequent great revolt, were discussed during the last years of his official incumbency. Although our historians give no intimation that such was the fact, yet it is not improbable that he was at heart in sympathy with that spirit of colonial independence which was then appearing, notwithstanding he, in his public declarations, maintained the proprietary rights and defended the royal pretensions. The following address gives countenance to this surmise, for it is hardly probable that the Justices of Talbot County, who were men from the people, would have spoken to him and of him in so complimentary a tone, had they not been assured of his secret sympathy with their own opinions and aspirations. But this is inferential only.

⁷ Scharf's *History of Maryland*, Vol. II, p. 119.

⁸ *Maryland Gazette*, Nov. 1, 1770. Scharf's *History of Maryland*.

*To Horatio Sharpe, Esq.,
late Governor of Maryland.*

SIR: The Right Honourable, the Lord Proprietary of this Province, having been pleased to appoint his Excellency Robert Eden, Esq., a near relation of his Lordship, to succeed you in this Government, permit us, sir, on taking leave of you as our Governor, gratefully to acknowledge the mildness and equity of your administration, and the Benefits and Happiness which have flowed from it to the people of this Province.

Ever since you have presided over us, we have observed with Pleasure, your steady care to have the Laws duly executed, and justice impartially administered, and that a desire to promote the good of this province hath been the ruling motive of all your actions. Such motives and such actions, worthy of those that are appointed to rule, must render your memory dear to a grateful people.

Your public virtues impressed us with Esteem and Reverence for the Magistrate, whilst your social virtues impressed us with the warmest affection for the man, and must now give you the heart-felt Pleasure of being followed into your retirement by the prayers and Blessings of a people you made happy. But virtue like yours will not be suffered to remain long sequestered from the world, and happy will the favored people be, over whom his Majesty shall hereafter appoint you to preside.

Signed, Risdon Bozman,
Robert Goldsborough,
James Dickinson,
John Goldsborough,
Edward Oldham,
Jonathan Nicols,
William Martin.

TALBOT COURT HOUSE,
May 24th, 1774.

To this address Gov. Sharpe made a suitable reply on the 24th June, 1769, which need not here be inserted.*

As occurring during the revolutionary period, and as promotive of the revolutionary movements, the controversy respecting the "Vestry Act" which sprang up in the year 1770 and continued through several years, might be noticed, but there is no extant evidence that the storm which was aroused in this province by the Proclamation of Gov. Eden gained any force from Talbot where there were few dissenters, except the quiet Quakers, and Roman Catholics, and whose people faithful and attached to the church as established by law, had always paid their church rates ungrudgingly, whether they were 40 or 30 pounds of tobacco

* From the Gilmor papers in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. This address and the reply were, for the first time, printed in the *Easton Star* of Dec. 24th, 1872.

per poll. There is no doubt, however, that the seeds of discontent which had been sown by the methods of appointing the clergy to the parishes, and the exaction of rates from all, whether of the English communion or not, had begun to germinate under the influence of the warm discussions of the time—upon the question whether the expiration of an Act of Assembly by limitation did or did not leave in force a prior act for which it was intended to be substituted. As indirectly connected with this question of church rates, and as bearing upon the causes of the Revolution, may be mentioned the appearance in the county of the ministers of Mr. Wesley and the introduction by them of a form of religion democratic in its spirit and methods.

The public agitation caused by the proclamation of the Governor establishing fees of office, and by the attempted restoration of the law of 1702 respecting the support of the clergy, had scarcely subsided under the influence of measures of compromise, when it was again aroused by a renewal of the attempt of the British ministry to enforce the claim, which never had been abandoned, of taxing America. Although all imposts had been abolished except that on tea, this remained and efforts were made to collect it through the agency of the East India Company, in whose hands immense amounts of this article had accumulated by reason of the refusal of the American colonists to receive it. The story of the destruction of the tea in Boston Harbor need not here be repeated; nor even that of a similar destruction of the tea and the ship transporting it, in the harbor at Annapolis. The first of these occurrences took place in Dec., 1773, and led to the adoption by the British Parliament in March, 1774, of what is known as the Boston Port Bill. This was followed by other punitive measures. These acts aroused the greatest indignation throughout the American colonies, and sympathy with their brethren of Boston was expressed in addresses couched in the most glowing language, and adopted at enthusiastic meetings of the citizens of almost every section. Among the very earliest of these meetings held in Maryland was that which convened in this county, the proceedings of which taken from the *Maryland Gazette* were as follows:

Alarmed at the present situation of America and impressed with the most tender feelings for the distresses of their brethren and fellow subjects in Boston, a number of gentlemen having met at this place, took into their serious consideration the part they ought to act as friends of liberty and the general interests of mankind.

To preserve the rights and to secure the property of the subject, they apprehend is the end of government. But when those rights are invaded—when the mode prescribed by the laws for the punishment of offences

and obtaining justice is disregarded and spurned—when without being heard in their defence, force is employed and the severest penalties inflicted; the people, they clearly perceive, have a right not only to complain, but likewise to exert their utmost endeavors to prevent the effect of such measures as may be adopted by a weak and corrupt ministry to destroy their liberties, to deprive them of their property and rob them of their dearest birthright as Britons.

Impressed with the warmest zeal for and loyalty to their most gracious sovereign, and with the most sincere affection for their fellow subjects in Great Britain, they have determined calmly and steadily to unite with their fellow subjects in pursuing every legal and constitutional measure to avert the evils threatened by the late act of Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston; to support the common rights of America, and to promote that union and harmony between the mother county and the colonies, on which the preservation of both must finally depend.

Unfortunately no record is preserved of the officers and active members of this meeting, which marks the beginning of the Revolution in the stricter sense. It is probable that there was a committee of correspondence appointed at this meeting as was done at a similar meeting held a few days after in the neighboring county of Queen Anne, and as was done at like assemblages elsewhere within the province.¹⁰ The object of these committees was the forming of a body within each county that should have a quasi official character, give guidance to any political movements, and hold communication with bodies of the same kind wherever they had been organized throughout the colonies. These soon gave place, as will presently be shown, to the committees of observation regularly elected by the people with defined duties. At this meeting or at one held subsequently, of which there is no record, the following gentlemen who doubtless were also of the committee of correspondence were appointed a committee to attend a general meeting of like committees of the several counties of the province, which assembled on the 22nd of June 1774, at Annapolis, and “continued by adjournment from day to day until the 25th of the same month:¹¹

Mr. Matthew Tilghman,
Mr. Edward Lloyd,
Mr. Nicholas Thomas,
Mr. Robert Goldsborough, 4th.

¹⁰ It would seem this meeting in Talbot, was the first of those held in Maryland. Those for Baltimore and Annapolis being held on the 25th of May, that for Queen Anne on the 30th, and that for Kent on the 2nd of June, 1774. Scharf's Hist. Md., vol. ii, pp. 144-149.

¹¹ From the *Maryland Journal* of July 2nd, 1774.

The Convention upon its assembling called Mr. Matthew Tilghman to the chair—a position in which he was frequently placed in these revolutionary conventions. On this occasion he was chosen to preside over a body, probably the most respectable that had ever convened in Maryland, composed of gentlemen distinguished in the Province for their intelligence, moral worth, social standing and wealth. The delegates from Talbot represented not only the political sentiments, but the best elements of the character of her people. A series of resolutions were passed by this convention, in which were embodied recommendations to the several colonies to break off all commercial intercourse with Great Britain until the repeal of the obnoxious acts, from a time to be named by a general congress of deputies, which, it was suggested, should assemble at the city of Philadelphia in the following September, and to which Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, Jr., Robert Goldsborough [of Dorchester], William Paca, and Samuel Chase, Esquires, or any two or more of them should be deputies of the province of Maryland. It was also recommended that collections be taken up in each of the counties "for the relief of the distressed inhabitants of Boston." It will be seen that Talbot has the honor of sending a member, and the principal member, or chairman of the delegation, to what may be called the first of the Continental Congresses. Whether she contributed to the relief of the wants of the Bostonians is not known, but that she did may be inferred from her liberality in 1760 upon the occasion of the great fire in the town of Boston, when from her citizens was collected for the sufferers a little more than two hundred and thirty-three pounds, the largest amount contributed by any county of the province.¹²

The congress, known as the Carpenter's Hall Congress, assembled on the 5th of Sept. at Philadelphia, and a few days after its organization Mr. Tilghman took his seat, a worthy compeer of Washington and other illustrious men who were members of that body. It does not appear that he took any active part in the debates, but nothing is hazarded by saying that his opinions upon the subjects discussed received that weight to which they were entitled by reason of the maturity of his judgment, and his practical experience in political affairs. But another scion of Talbot held a conspicuous place in this body, namely "Farmer"

¹² In the *Maryland Gazette* of July 3d, 1760, it is stated that "An honourable and compassionate gentleman" of Talbot contributed 50 guineas. Although the name of this gentleman escaped mention, it may be said the credit of making this lies between the Hon. Samuel Chamberlaine, and the Hon. Edward Lloyd, both of whom were at the time members of the Governor's Council.

John Dickinson, who had been elected after the meeting of the congress, as a delegate from Pennsylvania. His unquestioned devotion to his country, coupled with his conceded abilities, gave weight to his counsels of moderation, which caused him to be selected to draft the petition to the King for the redress of the grievances of the colonies represented. To the same hand is attributed the elaborate "address to the inhabitants of Canada," urging them to unite their fortunes with those of the people of the other colonies. One of the two gentlemen appointed by the congress to draft a "Declaration of Colonial Rights," was the Hon. Robert Goldsborough, a member of the Talbot family of that name. His career was one of great distinction, but further notice of him is precluded by the accident of his birth in Dorchester county. To give force to the articles of the "Declaration of Rights," an "American Association" was formed similar in character to those colonial and county associations that originated during the period of the controversy respecting the Stamp Act, and the Revenue Act. The articles of this association pledged "the associators to an entire commercial non-intercourse with Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, and the non-consumption of tea and British goods."¹⁸ Among other provisions of this association was one for the appointment in every county, city and town of a committee to detect violations of the terms of this obligation. To the articles of this association Mr. Matthew Tilghman, with his fellow members of the congress from Maryland affixed their names, and upon his return to Talbot he was active in securing the appointment of the committee of observation of that county, he himself becoming one of the council of safety, which was so efficient in preventing the infringement of the provision for non commercial intercourse with the mother country and some of its dependencies, as will presently be shown. The first continental congress adjourned on the 20th October, 1774, and at a "Provincial Meeting of Deputies, chosen by the several counties of Maryland, held at the city of Annapolis, November the 21st, 1774," Mr. Tilghman again being in the chair, a report was made by the delegates to that congress of its proceedings which were approved; and it was resolved that "every member will and every person ought, strictly and inviolably to observe and carry into execution the association

¹⁸ It is noticeable that the associators especially denounced the slave trade, and pledged themselves to abstain from trading with those engaged in it. One historian declares "The signature of the association by the members of congress, may be considered as the commencement of the American Union." Hil-dreth, vol. iii, page 46.

agreed on by the said continental congress." The meeting adjourned to Dec. 8th, 1774, when it again assembled and placed Mr. John Hall in the chair. The thanks of the convention were given to the deputies in the late continental congress for the faithful discharge of their important trust. The further proceedings of this convention make a part of the general history of the province or State, and need not be particularized; but it may be well enough to mention that among other recommendations was one that "each county should raise by subscription, or in such voluntary manner as they may think proper," certain specified sums of money, amounting in all to ten thousand pounds, for the purchase of arms and ammunition for each county. The sum assigned to Talbot was four hundred pounds, which, doubtless, was readily contributed though no record has been preserved of the names of the contributors. It is known that companies of militia were raised within the county, organized and equipped. It was resolved to appoint a committee of correspondence for the province, and of this committee Mr. Matthew Tilghman was one, and the chairman, having such prominent gentlemen for his coadjutors as John Hall, Sam'l Chase, Thomas Johnson, Jr., Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, Charles Carroll, barrister, and William Paca, Esquires. The convention also unanimously passed the resolution "that the Hon. Matthew Tilghman and Thomas Johnson, Jr., Robert Goldsborough, William Paca, Samuel Chase, John Hall and Thomas Stone, Esquires, or any three or more of them to be deputies to represent this province in the next continental congress, &c. It is barely necessary to note that many of these gentlemen, including the chairman from Talbot, continued to be members of congress until that ever memorable one assembled which passed the declaration of independence. The convention adjourned to meet April 24th, 1775.

Early in this year meetings were held in the several counties of the province by which the proceedings of both Congress and the provincial Convention were ratified by the popular voice, and at which Committees of Observation were appointed to secure the observance of the articles of Association, and also Committees of Correspondence. Unfortunately no record has been preserved of the proceedings of the meeting held at Talbot Court House, but that such a meeting was held, passed resolutions and appointed committees is absolutely certain. The moderation which had been shown by the conventions was hardly felt by the people. There was a growing feeling in favor of independence, and this was manifested by signs that were not to be mistaken. Armies were collected, military associations formed, those suspected of being disaffected were

subjected to annoyances, and sometimes personal injury, freedom of expression of opinion, if that opinion seemed opposed to the popular feeling, was abridged, and in short every sign that portends revolution was prevented. That no collision between hostile forces occurred is owing to the character of the provincial government, which required the presence in Maryland of no royal troops. In truth a revolution in civil affairs had been virtually accomplished, for the Governor was powerless, the General Assembly was prorogued indefinitely, the Conventions were the legislative authority which was obeyed, and the committees appointed by a popular vote were the actual executive in the several counties.

The appointment of Committees of Observation seems to have been a spontaneous movement upon the part of the people, for which there was no other authority than the requirements of the emergency. The number of members was indefinite, and they were chosen by resolutions passed at public meetings composed of those who were entitled to vote for delegates to the General Assembly. There does not appear to have been regular polls held, but the meetings were similar to the political meetings of the present, when the sentiments of the participants were given by acclaim or a show of hands. No record of the meeting at Talbot Court House has been preserved, as before noted, but the names of a considerable number of the committee that was chosen have been recovered from one source or another, and are here given, namely:

James Hindman,
 Dr. Moses Allen,
 John Stevens,
 John Cochran,
 Nathaniel Cooper,
 John Gibson,
 Jacob Hindman,
 Dr. John Troupe,
 Francis Baker,
 William Hindman,
 Robt. Loyd Nicols,
 Samuel Thomas,
 Thomas Ray,

Thomas Martin, Jr.,
 Samuel Sharpe,
 Rev. John Gordon,
 James Lloyd Chamberlaine,
 John Bracco,
 Charles Troupe,
 Robert Wilson,
 Nicholas Thomas,
 Thomas Harrison,
 William Hambleton,
 Hugh Rice,
 Richard Skinner.

To these it would be very safe to add the names of those gentlemen, not already mentioned, who had seats in the Convention. Mr. Edward Lloyd, Mr. Pollard Edmundson, Mr. Matthew Tilghman, and Mr.

Robert Goldsborough, 4th of the name. This committee appears to have entered upon its duty with great diligence, and though the records of its proceedings have in a great measure disappeared, a few disjointed memoranda remain, and these it is proposed to present. They have been derived from the files of the *Maryland Gazette*, in the State Library at Annapolis, and from Force's American Archives, published by the Congress of the United States.

A meeting of the Committee of Observation for Talbot county, being requested by Mr. Charles Crookshanks, on Tuesday, the 21st March, 1775, the following gentlemen did accordingly meet at Mr. Brascup's Tavern, viz.:—James Hindman, Dr. Moses Allen, John Stevens, John Cochran, Nath. Cooper, John Gibson, Jacob Hindman, Francis Baker, William Hindman, Robt. Lloyd Nicols, Saml. Thomas, Thomas Ray, Thomas Martin, Jr., Samuel Sharpe, Dr. John Troupe.

Mr. Crookshanks thereupon made the following report: That the ship *Baltimore*, James Longmair captain, consigned to himself by Messrs. Spiers French & Company, had arrived the evening before with two bales of goods on board; which, as would appear by letters he was ready to produce from the said gentlemen, had been shipped at Glasgow, Nov. 10th, 1774, and were part of a cargo, intended to have been sent by a former ship; that the said Longmuir came by way of Rotterdam, and had been detained by the ice which had protracted his voyage.

The committee, upon examination being satisfied with the truth of the above report, were of opinion that no imputation ought to be thrown upon the said company of an intention to contravene the non-importation agreement entered into by the colonies; as it was not possible for them to receive an account of the proceedings of the continental congress, at the time of the shipping of the said goods; and as Mr. Crookshanks voluntarily proposed and solemnly plighted his honor, that the said bales should not be landed, but sent back in the same bottom, the committee were much pleased with his readiness to comply with the resolution of the continental congress, accepted the proposal and Resolved unanimously that the said goods be sent back to Glasgow in the same ship without landing.

Charles Troupe,
Sec'y pro. temp.¹⁴

At a meeting of the Committee of Observation for Talbot County, on the 23d of May, 1775, at the Court House in the said county, the Rev. Mr. John Gordan in the chair, a letter from the Committee of Observation in Baltimore town, bearing date May 20th, 1775, and signifying that the ship *Johnston*, belonging to Mr. Gildart, of Liverpool, was loaded with salt and dry goods by the house of Messrs. Ashton, and bound for the Chesapeake Bay, was read; in consequence whereof a deputation, consisting of eleven gentlemen, was appointed to wait

¹⁴ *Maryland Gazette*, April 6th, 1775.

on Mr. James Braddock,¹⁵ agent and storekeeper for Mr. Gildart, owner of the said ship *Johnston*, to advise him of the information received, to request him to give a satisfactory account, and statement of all goods now in his hands, and not to assist or countenance, directly or indirectly, the landing of any goods from the ship, or in any way to promote the sale thereof. On the whole, the deputation had it in charge to require an answer from Mr. Braddock as to the part he meant to act upon this occasion, and to report the same to the Committee on Tuesday, the 30th inst., on which day they agreed to meet, unless the deputation should think it necessary to call the Committee sooner, in which case they were requested to give public notice.

On the 30th inst. the Committee as above mentioned, met according to appointment, when the deputation aforesaid appeared and reported that they went to Mr. Braddock's store, but not finding him at home, they left a copy of the letter from the Committee of Baltimore town, together with a copy of the order of this Committee, to be delivered to him when he should return. In consequence from this Mr. Braddock appeared before the Committee and informed them "that he did not expect the ship *Johnston* shortly to arrive in Miles River, but that he had no advice nor had any reason to believe (except from the aforesaid letter from the Baltimore town Committee) that the said ship would bring either dry goods or salt." Mr. Braddock did likewise, at the same time, voluntarily enter into the following engagement and promise: "that the said ship *Johnston*, or any other vessel, having on board any goods or merchandize, prohibited by the American Association, shall come addressed to him, or to any other agent or factor of Mr. Gildart, he will, in such an event, neither directly nor indirectly receive nor assist in landing, storing or selling the said goods or merchandize; but that, on the contrary, he will, immediately and forthwith, give notice of the arrival of said ship or other vessel to the above mentioned deputation, or to some four of them (who are appointed to go on board of each ship or vessel, and to examine the papers, viz.: the manifest, the cockets and log book); and that he would give directions for the immediate return of such ship or vessel addressed to him, without breaking bulk." Mr. Braddock delivered, at the same time, to the Committee an inventory of the goods he has now on hand, with which they declared themselves satisfied for the present.

On the same day, information being made to the Committee, that Mr. Brascup, tavern keeper at Talbot Court House, had on Tuesday, the 23d day of May, served up lamb at his table, he was accordingly called before the Committee to give an account of his conduct, and upon his informing them that he had not purchased more than two or three lambs, which had been assured were yeaned before the 1st of January, and on his promise that he would not, for the future, purchase any more lambs, without a certificate from the seller that they had been yeaned, either

¹⁵ Mr. James Braddock was a merchant at St. Michaels, where a square of ground bears his name to this day.

before the first day of January, or after the first of May, the Committee were satisfied and dismissed Mr. Brascup.

Ordered that the above proceedings be published in the *Maryland Gazette*. Signed by order of the Committee.

ROBERT WILSON,
Cl, pro temp.¹⁶

As explanatory of the action of the Committee in the case of Mr. Brascup, it should be stated that the convention of the 8th of December, 1774, unanimously

RESOLVED, That, to increase our flocks of sheep, and thereby promote the woollen manufacture in this province, no person ought to kill any lamb, dropt before the first day of May yearly, or other sheep, after the first day of January next, under four years of age.

The following continues the recital of the affair of the ship *Johnston*:

The Committee of Observation for Talbot County desire you to publish the following piece of intelligence: On Monday, the 26th June, the ship *Johnston*, Captain Jones, from and belonging to Mr. James Gildart, of Liverpool, was spoke within Chesapeake Bay, by Capt. Harding, of the schooner *Endeavor*, when Captain Jones informed Captain Harding that he was from Liverpool, and had on board a quantity of salt. Captain Jones being asked whether he had anything more on board, answered yes, he had a few dry goods. On being further asked how Mr. Gildart (who was well apprized of the Association) would venture to send such articles to America? Captain Jones replied, that three generals and twenty thousand soldiers had been ordered to America some time before the goods are shipped, and that it was not doubted but that all would be quiet by the time they should arrive. Captain Jones enquired of Captain Harding whether he thought he could land his salt and goods in Georgia; but the next day he came with the ship into the Eastern Bay, landed some servants he had on board, and soon after steered down the bay.

The public are cautioned to be upon the watch, and look out for the ship *Johnston*, as there is reason to suspect she is still hovering in some part of the bay, and will attempt to land her goods, if she can find a convenient opportunity, notwithstanding the Captains' inquiry whether it was practicable to land them in Georgia.¹⁷

The Committee of Observation continued to follow up this matter of the ship *Johnston*, as we learn from the following:

¹⁶ *Maryland Gazette*, June 8th, 1775.

¹⁷ *Maryland Gazette*, July 13, 1775. As explaining Capt. Jones' inquiry, it may be stated that not till March 1775, did this colony of Georgia appoint delegates to Congress, and not till July of the same year did a committee assemble to ratify the acts of Congress.

At a meeting of the Committee of Observation for Talbot county on Friday, the 7th July, 1775, James Lloyd Chamberlaine in the chair, Messrs. Thomas Harrison, William Hamilton [Hambleton], Richard Skinner and Hugh Rice, four of the gentlemen deputed to go on board the ship *Johnston*, and examine her papers and log book, appear and report. That on notice from Mr. James Braddock, agent and factor for Messrs. James Gildart and John Gawith & Company, of Liverpool, merchants, on the night of the 27th of June last, they did in the morning of the 28th get on board the said ship *Johnston*, then lying in the Western Bay, waiting the return of her boat sent for the said deputation, and did examine her manifest, cocket and log book, by which they found she had on board salt, fourteen convicts, two indentured servants and dry goods as in the annexed schedule, said by Mr. Braddock to be shipped by Mr. James Gildart, on account of the above mentioned Gildart, Gawith & Company, and did give orders for her immediate return, permitting her, however, to lay at Hampton road in Virginia, to take in recruit of bread and water. They further report that Mr. Braddock applied to them for leave to land the convicts and servants; to which they replied, that they could see nothing in the proceedings of Congress relative to convicts or servants, and therefore could give no directions with regard to their being landed, but told him if he chose to do it, it must be at his own risk. On which Mr. Braddock did land the said convicts and servants, when they (the deputation) came on shore, alleging in his justification that servants had a few days before been landed at Annapolis and Baltimore towns, and were there advertised for sale. They further say that they charged Captain Jones of the said ship *Johnston*, to return immediately to the port of Liverpool without breaking bulk, which he the said Captain assured them he would do; and when they left him, he stood down the bay. The deputation also say, that Mr. Braddock in their hearing told the said Captain that he must proceed immediately on his return as aforesaid. One of the deputation further saith, he overheard the Captain, in private conversation with Mr. Braddock, remonstrate that he could not land salt at Liverpool; to which Mr. Braddock replied they might do as they would with it, but that he (the Captain) must immediately carry it back to the place from whence it came.

It is the unanimous opinion of this Committee that the said Messrs. James Gildart & Gawith, by sending the said goods to be landed in America, have been guilty of a breach of the 5th resolve of the American Association, viz.: That if any merchant residing in Great Britain or Ireland, shall directly or indirectly ship any goods, wares or merchandize for America, in order to break the said non importation agreement, or in any manner to contravene the same, on such unworthy conduct being well attested, it ought to be made public, and on the same being soon done, we will not henceforth have any commercial connection with such merchants.

RESOLVED, therefore, for ourselves and our constituents, that we will from henceforth break off all commercial connection with the said

Messrs. James Gildart and John Gawith, and each of them, their agents, factors or storekeepers.

RESOLVED, also, that agreeable to a determination of the Provincial Convention, in December last, no gentleman of the law ought henceforward to bring a suit whatever for the said Messrs. James Gildart and John Gawith, or for either of their agents, factors, managers or storekeepers, as such.

The proceedings of the several Provincial Conventions were read and unanimously approved of.

Ordered that the proceedings of this day be immediately made public and printed in the Maryland Gazette.

Signed by order,
John Bracco,
Clerk pro temp.

Following this recital was "A schedule of the goods on board the *Johnston*, Captain Jones, taken June 28th, 1775," but as this possesses no particular interest, it is omitted.¹⁸

It may be well to note here that Mr. Gildart did not fare as favorably from the people of Anne Arundel as from those of Talbot county; for a ship of his, the *Totness*, Capt. Harding of Liverpool, a few days after the events just related, was burned by the citizens of Anne Arundel while off the mouth of West river, bound for Baltimore.¹⁹ It was owing doubtless to acts like this that the Convention then in session passed ordinances limiting the powers and number of members of the Committees of Observation and instituting Councils of Safety to which was delegated supervisory authority over those Committees.

Before the time arrived for the assembling of the Convention in April, 1775, the battles of Concord and Lexington had been fought, and the whole country was aflame with the intelligence, communicated with the utmost rapidity to the Committees of Correspondence in the several provinces and counties. The idea of independence which had been entertained by the more ardent and impulsive began to possess the minds of the most unimpassioned and thoughtful. The Convention meeting under circumstances calculated to encourage the idea, nevertheless instructed its Delegates in Congress to use their efforts to secure "a happy reconciliation of the differences between the mother country and the British Colonies in North America upon the firm basis of constitutional freedom," and "not to proceed to the last extremity unless in their judgments they shall be convinced that such a measure is

¹⁸ *Maryland Gazette*, July 13th, 1775.

¹⁹ *Maryland Gazette*, July 20th, 1775.

indisputably necessary for the safety and preservation of our liberties and privileges." The gentlemen who were to represent the province in the next Congress were men of large wealth and social prominence and were therefore inclined to that conservatism which those having much at risk are disposed to indulge in in times of civil commotion. It is therefore altogether probable that their own sentiments were the same as those of the convention as expressed in its resolves, if indeed they may not have inspired that body with their own feelings and opinions.³⁰ The sum of six hundred pounds was ordered to be collected by subscription under the direction of the Committees of Observation in the several counties, to defray the expenses of the delegates to the approaching congress, who were to be the same as those already appointed. Of this sum Talbot was asked to contribute twenty-four pounds.

On the 10th of May, 1775, the second continental congress met at Philadelphia. This congress is memorable for two circumstances—its notable indecision upon the subject of independency, and for its having appointed Washington to be commander-in-chief of any forces that might be raised. In truth a majority of the delegates were not in a true sense the leaders of the people who were far in advance of them, as is usual in periods of civil commotion. This majority still indulged the fancy that a reconciliation with the mother country might be effected and advocated a second humble petition to the King. Of this majority Mr. John Dickinson was one. How the Maryland delegation stood affected is not positively known, but in compliance with the instructions of the Convention, it is probable they still favored the employment of expostulation and pacific insistance upon the rights of the colonies. There was a minority however who saw no hope of conciliation, and that nothing remained but either submission or forcible resistance to the British government. Events however were bringing their unanswerable logic to bear upon this hesitating body whose minds were divided by allegiance to their king and devotion to their own country. War had actually begun. Lexington and Concord had been fought, and won. Ticonderoga, only a few hours before the meeting of Congress, had fallen. Information of the dispatch of forces to America for the subjugation of the insurgents of New England had been received. Measures of defense were therefore forced upon the same men who were voting for a

³⁰ Sam'l Chase and Matthew Tilghman were regarded as the most advanced of the Maryland delegation upon the subject of independency, and particularly the former, who, to employ the locution of the late rebellion was a SHRIEKER, not for union but severance.

petition to an angry king and obstinate ministry. Troops were ordered to be mustered and a principal officer was to be chosen. Washington was nominated by Thomas Johnson, of Maryland, and this incomparable man upon whom praise has long been exhausted was chosen commander-in-chief. In all these measures Talbot took her part through her venerated and trusted son, Matthew Tilghman, whose weight of character was felt in the deliberations of Congress, if his eloquence was not heard in the debates.

Before the Maryland Convention had assembled on the 26th of July, 1775, of which, as at the former meetings, Mr. Tilghman was the chairman, the battle of Bunker Hill had been fought, and the question whether the colonies should and would resist by force of arms had been definitely settled. This convention is memorable for its having formed the "Association of the Freemen of Maryland," for the measures it adopted for the civil government of the province during the suspension of the provincial authority, and for the means it devised for arming a force for service in the field. For the details concerning each of these, reference must be made to general histories of the State. It must suffice in this brief account to say that the Associators pledged themselves to each other and to America that they would to the utmost of their power "promote and support the present opposition, carrying on, as well by arms, as by continental association, restraining our commerce." They further agreed, in order that "zeal unrestrained" might not be productive of anarchy and confusion, that they would support the civil power as far as might be consistent with the present plan of opposition, and to protect from injury all persons except those adjudged worthy of punishment by the civil magistrate, the continental congress, our convention, council of safety or committees of observation. It was provided that the names of all persons who refused to subscribe the articles of Association, should be reported to the convention.²¹ By resolution of the convention forty companies of minute men were ordered to be enrolled and officered, of which companies Talbot was to furnish one. The convention then proceeded to institute a kind of civil government,

²¹ An original subscription paper, having the articles of the Association of Freemen of Maryland as a caption, now framed and hanging in the Governor's room at Annapolis, of which photographic copies were circulated, bears the names of these associators belonging to Talbot. Mr. Matthew Tilghman heads the list, in which are found the names of James Lloyd Chamberlaine, Nicholas Thomas, which four were delegates to the convention. Then follow the names of Peregrine Tilghman, William Hindman, Richard Tilghman, Jr., James Benson, Francis Baker.

by the election of a *Council of Safety*, for the province at large, possessing, however, two sections empowered to sit separately, one for the Eastern and the other for the Western Shore; and by ordering that there should be chosen by the electors of each county a *Committee of Observation*, whose duties it should be to "carry into execution the Association, and Resolves of the Continental Congress, and Conventions of this province," so far as the same relate to the commercial opposition to the measures of the British ministry. These committees also were authorized and empowered to cause any person reasonably suspected of attempts to produce disunion among the inhabitants in their opposition, to be apprehended and sent for trial before the Council of Safety for the shore upon which the offense was committed. The number of persons constituting this Committee of Observation varied with the number of the inhabitants of each of the counties. It consisted in Talbot of sixteen members. The number of members in the Council of Safety was also sixteen—eight from each shore. By resolution of the convention these gentlemen were chosen to be of this Council of Safety, which had for the time supreme power in the commonwealth:

For the Eastern Shore:

The Hon. Matthew Tilghman,

John Beal Bordley,
Robert Goldsborough,
James Hollyday,
Richard Lloyd,

Edward Lloyd,
Thomas Smyth,
Henry Hooper,
Esquires

For the Western Shore:

The Hon Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer,

Thomas Johnston, Jr.,
William Paca,
Charles Carroll, barrister,
Thomas Stone,

Saunel Chase,
Robert Alexander,
Charles Carroll, of Carrollton,
Esquires.

Of these two were from Talbot, viz.: The Hon. Matthew Tilghman and Edward Lloyd, Esquire. In conformity with an order of the Convention, the electors of Talbot, that is to say, the freeholders and other freemen having a visible estate of forty pounds sterling, or qualified by law to vote for burgesses, assembled at the Court House, and under the inspection of three or more delegates of that county to the Convention, acting as judges, proceeded to elect sixteen discreet and sensible persons, from those entitled to vote, to be the Committee of Observation

for the county. It has already been mentioned that Committees of Observation had been chosen in the several counties, and that this had been done by a spontaneous movement of the people, having no authority in law nor even in the orders of a revolutionary convention. There is no doubt that the resolution directing the election by a popular vote, conducted under certain conditions prescribed, was intended to give to these Committees of Observation a kind of legal status, and to bring them under a kind of legal control. The result of this election has nowhere been recorded, and therefore we remain in ignorance of the names of the gentlemen who were selected for this responsible position. There is a reasonable probability however that in selecting the sixteen committeemen for Talbot, gentlemen who had been already acting in this capacity were chosen by the electors. The only name that is mentioned in any record thus far recovered is that of Mr. Nicholas Thomas, who in March, 1776, is mentioned as being the chairman of Committee of Observation for Talbot.

But, to return to the proceedings of the Convention of July, 1775. Having ordered the raising of a military force, it became necessary to provide the means of defraying the expense of maintaining it; and to this end it was determined to issue bills of credit. After taking precautions against the forging of such bills as should be emitted, a committee of sixteen gentlemen, eight from each shore was appointed to sign them. Of the eight for the Eastern Shore, the whole were taken from this county doubtless as a matter of mere convenience. These were

Robert Lloyd Nicols,
Samuel Sharp,
Richard Tilghman, Jr.,
James Hindman,

Peregrine Tilghman,
William Perry,
Jeremiah Banning,
Joseph Bruff,
Esquires,

gentlemen of well-known probity and well established character. Mr. William Hindman, also of this county, and later, a member of Congress, was appointed Treasurer for this shore and gave bond payable to Matthew Tilghman, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton and Edward Lloyd, Esquires, two of whom it will be perceived being residents of Talbot. It would seem from a resolution of the Convention, that Mr. Edward Lloyd was custodian of the arms and ammunition for this county, as he was ordered to deliver a sufficient number and quantity for one company of minute men. Before adjournment upon the 14th of August, these gentlemen were chosen to

represent the province in continental congress three or more being entitled to serve: Hon. Matthew Tilghman, and Thomas Johnson, Jun., Robert Goldsborough, William Paca, Sam'l Chase, Thomas Stone and Jno. Hall, Esquires. Provision was made for the choosing by the freemen of the province of five delegates to "any provincial convention to be held for this province, within one year, then next following."

The provincial convention assembled December 7th, 1775. In the meantime, a new election as provided by the convention of July, 1775, had taken place, which resulted in choosing of the same gentlemen who had represented the county heretofore with the addition of Mr. Francis Baker. Mr. Matthew Tilghman was again unanimously elected chairman, or as this officer is called, for the first time president of the convention. It would seem that the Committee of Observation had not been remiss in enforcing the orders of the Continental Congress as embodied in the articles of association, for they gave information of a breach of those articles by a member of their own body, who had also been elected a member of the convention, Mr. Francis Baker. This gentleman appeared before the convention,

acknowledged his offence, and expressed great contrition and sorrow for the same, and prayed a remission of the penalty annexed by Congress to his crime, that he might not be declared an enemy to America, but be permitted to enjoy the rights of a member of this community, on such terms and conditions as this convention may think proper to impose; and promised a strict compliance with all continental and provincial resolutions.

The convention then

RESOLVED, that the seat of Francis Baker be vacated, and that the electors of Talbot county elect another person as a member and committee man for that county, in the room and place of the said Francis Baker, * * * : that the said Baker not offering himself for any office of trust, his offence be not published, nor any proceedings had against him.

In what manner Mr. Baker violated the articles of association is not known, but in all probability he imported or bought goods of British manufacture. There is no evidence that he was wanting in patriotic feeling, as he seems to have enjoyed the confidence of his fellow citizens to such an extent as to have secured his election as a member of the very committee that presented him for punishment, and of the very convention that imposed the punishment upon him. The election that had been ordered of a delegate to take Mr. Baker's place resulted in the

choosing of Mr. Edward Lloyd, who took his seat in the convention January 8, 1776. On the 13th of May Mr. Baker presented a memorial to the convention, "praying a remission of the sentence pronounced against him at the last session of convention, which forbids him to offer himself for any office of trust;" but this petition was rejected. At a later date he presented a similar petition to which a favorable response was given by the convention. Nothing more is known of him, but one annalist speaks of him, upon what authority he does not state, but probably that of family tradition, as "a blatant demagogue, full of wise saws and idle doubts about trusting rich landed proprietors."²² If this characterization may be accepted, Mr. Baker was elected to the convention as the representative of the small farmers, tradesmen and mechanics, between whom and the large planters there subsisted a jealousy, which asserted itself more plainly and positively as the war progressed, and yet more plainly and positively after its close.

Returning from this digression, it may be well enough to note the appointment of Mr. James Lloyd Chamberlaine, by the convention of December, 1775, as a member of a committee to consider the memorial of the court and the petition of the frontier inhabitants of Frederick county and also of the committee:

to examine and report the returns of the Committees of Observation of persons in the several counties in the province who have subscribed or neglected to subscribe the Association directed by the last Convention.

This subscription or non-subscription was the test of the political position to those to whom it was applied. Mr. James Benson was made the supervisor for this county of the manufacture of crude saltpetre, an article the domestic production of which the convention wished to encourage.

The same convention, in January, 1776, resolved that the Province should immediately be placed in the best state of defense, and to this end it was ordered that a body of troops should be raised, eight companies of which should be formed into a battalion to be commanded by Genl. Smallwood, and the remainder into independent companies commanded by their respective captains. These troops might be, as they really were, called regulars of the Province, and formed the nucleus of the afterwards famous Maryland line, of the continental service. No company of Talbot was a part of the battalion. Upon going into an

²² Hon. John Bozman Kerr in his biography, yet unpublished, of Daniel Carroll, "the Commissioner," of Rock Creek.

election of officers the convention selected Mr. James Hindman to be the captain of the independent company to be raised in Talbot, Mr. William Goldsborough to be the First Lieutenant, Mr. Archibald Anderson to be the Second Lieutenant and Mr. Edward Hindman to be the Third Lieutenant. Of the same company Mr. William Frazier was Ensign, but not chosen by the convention. As these were the first soldiers of whom we know anything, who embarked in the war of independence, a brief notice of them is in place. Capt. James Hindman was a son of Jacob Hindman of this county and a brother of the Hon. William Hindman. He was born April 1st, 1741, and was probably a native of Dorchester county. His company was ordered to join the main army under Washington, and took part in the battle of Long Island and those that followed. Later he became Lieut. Colonel of the 5th Battalion of Regulars. Resigning in 1777, he went into the civil service of the State having been made Treasurer of the Eastern Shore after the resignation of his brother William in that year, and was elected to the Legislature for four years in succession from 1780 to 1783. In 1786 he was chosen a member of the Executive Council of the State. After the war he was engaged in farming, but subsequently moved to the city of Baltimore where he became a merchant and died Feb. 17, 1830 aged eighty-nine years. Lieutenant Goldsborough born June 2, 1759 was a native of Talbot county, was the son of Mr. John Goldsborough, of Oxford Neck, and a brother of Capt. Greenbury Goldsborough. Little is known of him. Although elected, he seems not to have accepted a commission of Lieutenant at this time, probably on account of his youth, for at the date of the organization of Capt. Hindman's company he could scarcely have been seventeen years of age. Lieutenant Anderson was chosen in his stead to be first Lieutenant. But in 1780 or 81 he was commissioned and going into service, probably served through the southern campaign, and was honorably discharged at the disbanding of the army in 1783. On the occasion of Shays' rebellion in Massachusetts when it was anticipated that a quota of troops would be demanded of Maryland, Lieutenant Goldsborough offered his services to the Governor of the State, and asked a commission.²³ He was a member of the Society of the Cincinnati, and died unmarried Dec. 22, 1794. Of Lieut. Archibald Anderson less is known than of Lieut. Goldsborough. Of the place and date of his birth and of his parentage we are in entire ignorance. It is known however that he participated in the battles of Long Island and those that succeeded in that campaign, and with

²³ Copy of Lieut. Goldsborough's letter is in possession of the writer.

Washington in the Jerseys, fought at Brandywine and Germantown, was with the Maryland line in the South under Gates and Green, distinguished himself at Camden, and died bravely on the field at Guilford, March 15th, 1781, with the rank of major. Lieut. Edward Hindman was a native of Talbot, and brother of Capt. Hindman. He also participated in the battles in which his company was engaged, and in 1777, when there was a reorganization of the troops, he was appointed captain in the third battalion of regulars, of which Mordecai Gist was made the colonel. Nothing more is known of Lieutenant Hindman. Of Ensign Frazier absolutely nothing has been recorded, as far as has been discovered.

The company of Capt. Hindman, after its enrollment and equipment was, at the instance of Mr. Nicholas Thomas, chairman of the Committee of Observation for the county, for a time stationed at Oxford, the people of which town, then the most important in Talbot, were not too patriotic to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded to exact extortionate rates for the use of houses to be occupied as barracks for the soldiers, of which excessive prices the Council of Safety, in March, 1776, made public complaint. There is little doubt that the object of stationing this company at Oxford was to overawe the disaffected, and to enforce the orders of the Committee of Observation and of the Council of Safety. As will presently be shown, it was soon ordered to join the army of Washington, and it participated actively in the campaign of 1776. But the convention took other steps for the defense of the Province.

The Committees of Observation in the several counties had already organized with more or less thoroughness the militia of Maryland, but the convention resolved to give a greater completeness to what had been done, and ordered that "every able bodied effective freeman (with certain specified exceptions), should enroll himself in some company of militia," under a penalty if he should refuse or neglect to do so. The Province was divided into military districts or brigades, each of which was to have one brigadier general, one quarter master, and one adjutant. Cecil, Kent, Queen Anne and Talbot made one district, and Mr. James Lloyd Chamberlaine, of Talbot, was elected the Brigadier General, and made the fourth in rank. The troops of each county were formed into battalions, and the battalion of Talbot had these gentlemen as its officers: Christopher Birkhead, Colonel; Peregrine Tilghman, Lieut. Colonel; Jeremiah Banning, First Major; Robert Lloyd Nicols, Second Major; and Nicholas Thomas, Quarter Master. Col. Birk-

head was the fourth in rank of the colonels of the several counties. But as the companies that were organized in the county were sufficiently numerous to form two battalions the convention at the instance of the Committee of Observation, in May, 1776,

RESOLVED that the Fourth Battalion of militia in said county be composed of the companies of the Captains Joseph Bruff, Jacob Gibson, Nathaniel Cooper, John Dougherty, James Lloyd, Samuel Abbot, Thomas Gordon, and Greenbury Goldsborough; and that the companies of the Captains James Benson, Henry Banning, John Rolle, William Hambleton, William Webb Haddaway and Nicholas Martin, in said county from the Thirty-Eighth Battalion.²⁴

From a knowledge of the places of residence of these officers it is evident the fourth battalion was formed in the upper part of the county, that part bordering on Choptank river, while the thirty-eighth battalion was formed exclusively in what is known as Bayside. The name of the Colonel commanding this 38th battalion had not been preserved; though it may have been that Col. Hugh Birkhead, who resided in the section of the county from which it was drawn, was placed over it, while another person may have been appointed to the colonelcy of the 4th Battalion.

As privateering had been authorized of Congress (March, 1776), the private armed vessels were fitting out within the province of Maryland for the capture of British shipping, it became necessary to organize a "Court of Admiralty for the trial of such seizures and captures as are or may be made," which was accordingly done May 25th, 1776, and Mr. William Hayward of Talbot, but then recently of Somerset county, was appointed Judge of this Court of Admiralty.²⁵ This position he held for a very brief period and then resigned. It should be remembered, however, that anterior to this date, there had been a

²⁴ One of the companies of the 38th Battalion, which was enrolled from the citizens living near the Royal Oak, was called the "Hearts of Oak" and this name was retained by a military organization at that place down to times within the recollection of many still living.

²⁵ Judge William Hayward was a native of Somerset where his family had long been settled, and is still represented. Marrying in Talbot in 1760, the daughter of Geo. Robins, Esq., he made this county his home. He had been one of the delegates to represent his native county in the General Assembly of the Province. In 1771 he was one of the judges of the Provincial Court, and in 1776, as noticed in the text, a member of the Council of Safety, for the Eastern Shore. He died at Locust Grove, his residence in Bailey's Neck, in the year 1791, leaving descendants some of whose children are still living in this county, much respected.

court of the same name in this Province, and with somewhat similar jurisdiction.

On the same day Mr. Robert Lloyd Nicols of Talbot was elected paymaster of the troops on the Eastern Shore, and Mr. Edward Lloyd of the same county presented a petition, with others, to be relieved of a fine for his failure to enroll himself in the militia. In electing the members in the Council of Safety for the year 1776, but one gentleman from Talbot, Mr. William Hayward, was chosen, and the number was limited to four.

On the 7th of May, 1776, it was recorded that the convention, which had convened on the day previous, ordered the

proceedings of the Committee of Observation for Talbot county, against Alexander Wickham should be read and laid upon the table;

and upon a second reading, on the same day, of

the representation of the committee of Talbot county of the case of Alexander Wickham, ordered, that the said Alexander Wickham be committed to the custody of a guard, to be appointed by Col. William Smallwood, until the convention shall take order in the premises, and that the guard from the independent company, commanded by Captain Hindman, be discharged of the said Alexander Wickham.²⁸

It is worthy of being noticed that these Conventions though revolutionary in their character, that is having no authority in law, took precautions that the powers assumed by the Committees of Observation in the several counties, or delegated to them by the Conventions, should not be abused; and accordingly they required that persons arrested by the Committees should first have their cases examined by the Councils of Safety and then, if the charges were of a grave character, the accused were sent before the supreme power of the Province, the Convention itself, for final judgment. This Alexander Wickham of this county upon information lodged by Mr. Samuel Sharpe of the Committee of Observation of that county, was arrested by a detachment from the independent company of Capt. Hindman, and lodged in the jail at Talbot Court House to await the action of the Council of Safety, which was accustomed to meet at different places upon this Shore, but mostly in this county as being central. On the 8th of March, 1776, Wickham wrote to the Council from his prison, complaining of his long confinement and demanding a statement of the charges laid against him, of the character of which he professed to be ignorant.

²⁸ Proceedings of the Conventions, of date.

On the 12th of the same month the Council of Safety wrote to the Committee of Observation, for Talbot, saying that Wickham had been arrested

as a person inimical to the liberties of the country, and as suspected of being on his way to Lord Dunmore, and requiring that the Committee should inquire into the truth of the charges, as the witnesses were upon the Eastern Shore.²⁷

Wickham, as has been shown, was sent to Annapolis under the guard of a detachment of Capt. Hindman's company, and on the 9th of May his case was called up in Convention for adjudication. On the 13th of May,

on considering the representation of the Committee of Talbot county, in the case of Alexander Wickham, it was RESOLVED, That he be discharged, being a person too insignificant and contemptible for further notice of this Convention.

Of this man nothing more is known. This case is interesting as showing the care that was exercised by the conventions, which were the supreme authority in the province, and were restrained by no law but such as they saw fit to impose upon themselves, in protecting accused and suspected persons from personal wrong through popular passion, or the hasty or ill-advised action of the Committees of Safety or Councils of Safety. It is also indicative of the strength of the patriot party, in that it could afford to make insignificance a sufficient shield from punishment for an offender.

It may not be amiss to refer briefly to another case of alleged toryism, although the accused was not a citizen of Talbot, and though the story of his arrest and trial will here be a little out of chronological sequence. One Isaac Atkinson²⁸ was arrested late in the year 1775 in Somerset county, and was arraigned before the Council of Safety, sitting at Chertertown, Kent county, November 17th of that year, being accused of

²⁷ *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. iv., p. 185. It is hardly necessary to say that the reference to Lord Dunmore was based upon the invasion by that British General of the counties in the lower part of this peninsula, in both Maryland and Virginia, where he was disseminating the seeds of disaffection, giving countenance and assistance to the tories of that region, and actually organizing bodies of partisans for coöperation with his own regular forces. These tories, though from time to time repressed, gave trouble throughout the continuance of the war.

²⁸ There is no ground for believing that this Isaac Atkinson was in any way connected with the estimable Quaker family which bears this patronymic in this county.

being engaged in raising a company, contrary to the resolves of Congress and the Convention. The Council ordered that he be transferred to the Committee of Observation for Talbot county, to be held by it, until the Council of Safety for the Eastern Shore should assemble in that county November 30th, instant. On the day appointed the Council did meet at Talbot Court House, as Easton was then called, when the following gentlemen were present, namely: James Hollyday, Richard Lloyd, Edward Lloyd, Thomas Smyth and Henry Hooper, Esquires. Mr. William Hindman qualified as Clerk of the Council. Isaac Atkinson, who had been delivered by the Committee of Observation of Kent to the Committee of Observation of Talbot, was brought before the Council, and after due examination was convicted of the offense charged against him. On the next day, December 1, the following sentence was pronounced:

Ordered that the Sheriff of Talbot county receive into custody the body of Isaac Adkinson, to be by the said Sheriff closely imprisoned in the house of him, the said Sheriff, and in his custody until the 16th day of this instant, December, unless the Convention shall sooner rise, then until the rising of the next Convention.²⁹

On the 12th of December the Convention ordered that the Committee of Observation in Talbot county be requested immediately to send Isaac Atkinson under guard of four militia men of that county to this Convention; and that the Sheriff of Talbot county deliver the said Atkinson to such guard.

On the 18th of December he was brought before the Convention, the proceedings of the Eastern Shore branch of the Council of Safety were read, and the accused was asked what he had to say in mitigation of his offense. He expressed great sorrow and penitence, declared he never intended to injure his native country, America, and was ready to give security for his future good behavior. He was then reprimanded by the President, who said the Convention view him "as a man guilty of a crime of a heinous nature against his country, which was and is entitled to his aid and assistance:" but that * * * considering his penitence and contrition, and that a numerous family must suffer by a continuance of his imprisonment, it had thought proper to mitigate his punishment. Atkinson was required to give bond in the sum of one thousand pounds for his good behavior, and after complying with

²⁹ *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. iii., where may be found a long account of Atkinson's tory expressions and conduct, and the depositions of the witnesses against him.

such requisition he was discharged. He seems to have recanted his former confessions, and to have forfeited his bond, for on the 31st of August, 1776, the petition of Samuel Sharpe was preferred to the Convention, in which it was averred that he, Sharpe, had become surety for the good behavior of Atkinson, on a bond of the Hon. Matthew Tilghman, for the sum of one thousand pounds; but that Atkinson had since fled from the State and joined the enemies thereof and was then assisting the British fleet and army in waging war against the United States. He asks that the bond be "put in suit," and that the estate of Atkinson, which then was wasting, should be placed in the care of some suitable person. Whereupon, the Convention ordered that William Hayward, Esquire, of Talbot county, should take into his custody the real and personal estate of the said Isaac Atkinson, and account for the same to that body. Of Atkinson nothing more is or need be known, for he seems to have been equally devoid of honorable and patriotic impulses.

How far tory sentiments prevailed in Talbot county, will probably never be known. No records have been hitherto discovered that indicate the existence of any considerable number of disaffected persons. Certainly, there never was open, much less organized resistance to the revolutionary or state governments such as was manifested in the neighboring counties of Queen Anne and Dorchester, not to mention the troubled districts of Somerset and Worcester. If there was any toryism here it was of a very mild and timid character. Patriotic sentiment so largely prevailed that it suppressed any expression of loyalism. The very name of tory became a reproach early in the contest, even if antipathy to this designation may not be traced much further back, even to the time when the term, as a designation to a party, originated. If there were persons in Talbot who entertained opinions or cherished feelings which, if expressed or shown, would have entitled them to this designation, they were careful to disguise or conceal their real thoughts from their cotemporaries, and have left no records to guide those, coming after them, who are able to judge their motives with more candor and leniency. With the lapse of more than a century the reprobation which used to be visited upon those entertaining royalist or monarchical views, has almost entirely subsided, and their memories are no longer reproached as formerly for the firmness with which they maintained their allegiance to a king who was thought to have been divinely appointed to reign over them and to a government acknowledged to be the best in the world, and one under which they had enjoyed prosperity and happiness. We have learned that the differences between the loyalist and the patriot were not only honest differences,

but were such as had a foundation in right and reason and in some of the best impulses of the heart. Indeed the change in many minds on this subject has gone so far that there are not a few who now think it had been better, notwithstanding the wonderful material development of the country, if the sentiments of the minority had been adopted and those of the majority in the Revolutionary contest had been discarded. Those who lived through the late war of the Rebellion, and are old enough to have participated in its passions, have learned to question the judgments that are formed in the tumult of a political revolution and the mental conflicts of civil dissensions. Those who were in the minority, in any community, north or south, and worse still in those communities which were neither north nor south, know, from a very bitter experience, how their sentiments were misconstrued, their motives misrepresented, and their actions misjudged by the majority. With this softening of the hardness of the condemnation, this mitigation of the severity of the sentences which it was the custom to pronounce against tories, and even upon their children for generations after them, there has come a diminished reluctance upon the part of their descendants to acknowledge the royalist opinions of their ancestors—a loss of that shame which at an earlier period would have deterred them from an open avowal: so that at the present no sensibility is wounded by a reference to the loyal sympathies of those whose conception of their interests, public and private, or whose sense of duty as obedient subjects of the crown, led them to oppose the course of the patriots of the Revolution. As a matter of fact, we know that some of the most intelligent men, and those having the largest interests at stake and whose love for the native country could not be doubted, opposed if not openly and actively, at least without concealment and quietly, those violent measures which resulted in the separation of the colonies from the mother country. It is a matter of record that up to the time of the declaration of independence and even after, there were gentlemen in this county in every way entitled to the confidence of their fellow citizens who regarded a severance of the ties which bound the colony of Maryland to the government of Great Britain as ill advised, precipitate and possibly disastrous to the liberties, the prosperity and the happiness of that colony. If they were mistaken, it was an honest error, which some now think, does not impeach even their judgment, much less their sincerity. But these men were not tories, in the approving sense of being in alliance with, aiding and abetting the enemy of their country, in his efforts to subjugate it by military force.

It is a matter of historical notoriety that for a long time after the subject had become a matter of public discussion, and after a desire for extreme measures for its accomplishment had possessed the popular mind, there was a great reluctance felt by many of this province, particularly but not exclusively among those belonging to wealthier and more intelligent classes or gentry, as they may be called, to dissolve their political connection with Great Britain. There was really a strong and sincere attachment to the king, and a deep seated admiration of the form of government under which they had long lived and prospered—an admiration founded not solely upon the power and glory of the great empire of which they made a part, but also upon an intelligent appreciation of the guarantees afforded by the British constitution of the liberties of the subject. This attachment was very slow in dissolving, and this admiration was never entirely effaced in some minds even after the king had shown his obstinate persistence in the support of arbitrary measures, and the ministry its reckless disregard of colonial rights and, as some thought, of the British constitution itself. When however the idea of independency had acquired preponderance those who opposed the clothing it with action, were gradually silenced by the employment of all those means which we of these latter days know by experience to be so effectual in crushing out opposition to the will of the majority. Upon those who could be made to feel the weight of such punishment and few there were insensible to such an infliction, social proscription was visited; upon others whose livelihood depended upon the favor of the community, upon professional men, traders and workmen, threatened withdrawal of patronage was inflicted. Privation of official position under the government and disabilities for holding such places, impeded over those who refused to subscribe to certain conditions imposed by the conventions and congress. Apprehensions of confiscation hung over those who were possessed of property, and later triple taxes were imposed on non jurors. Arrest and imprisonment could be escaped only by great discretion on the part of the suspected, or those known to be disaffected, and even personal injury may at times have been inflicted upon those whom an excited populace thought not sufficiently enthusiastic in the patriot cause, or had been lending aid and comfort to the enemy. (Whatever may have been the numbers of the disaffected, the war had scarcely begun before all open expression of opposition had been silenced, if unanimity had not been secured, by the means indicated and by that other powerful moral force by which in times of popular commotion the minority gravitates by almost imperceptible

degrees to the majority. Besides, it must not be forgotten, that war when once begun tends to draw to its support the doubtful and wavering, and even the hostile: especially so when the war pretends to be waged in the defense of the rights and liberties of those who were hesitating as to its expediency or who were condemning its inauguration. To side with his country even when not in the right is the natural impulse of the patriotic citizen.

Loyalty in this county did not assume the open, defiant, aggressive form of what is known and stigmatized as toryism. It was of the milder form that had its representatives, first, in the non-associators, and lastly in the non-jurors,—that is to say, in those men who at the outbreak of the troubles refused to subscribe the articles of association, and after the organization of the State government, those who declined to take the prescribed oaths. As indicating the motives of some of the non-jurors, probably the least sincere of them, and the sentiments entertained towards them by the leaders of opinion, an extract from a letter of Robert Goldsborough, Esq., of this county, who was a member of the lower house of assembly in 1778, the date of its writing, may here find place. The letter was addressed to the Hon. James Hollyday.

* * * There were, during the course of the session, applications from more than two hundred non-jurors, praying that they might now be permitted to take the oath, and stand in *statu quo*. Various were the reasons set forth for not having taken it in time. Scruples of conscience, misconception of the nature of the obligation imposed by it, misinformation from others, and anathemas thundered out by Romish priests against such as should take it. But none of these was thought worthy of our attention; but our leaders said that as these people have given us evidence of their inimicality, we are determined to make them feel the weight of our offended zeal. We even went so far as to assert that these (that is, the non-jurors), are the men who have involved us in the present war, and that they would even now rejoice at the total subjugation of America. Our leaders seem to think that if the non-jurors behave themselves well in the future, and will, at the conclusion of the war, come with their petitions in their hands to the bar of the house and pray relief, they will, most of them, find grace and favour; but till the end of the war all applications will be in vain. A bill has passed for the relief of some non-jurors who petitioned and made it appear that they were prevented by sickness and inability to take the oath in time, but even these cases were minutely inquired into." It is not evident that Mr. Goldsborough approved of the rigid enforcement of the laws against this class of citizens; nor that he condemned it.²⁰

²⁰ The writer is indebted to Geo. T. Hollyday for a copy of this letter, no part of which has ever before been published.

Both the non-associator and the non-juror were placed under legal disabilities and penal forfeitures, from which many sought to be relieved, and from which all sooner or later were relieved, except some specifically mentioned. For this reason, and other reasons that have already been suggested, but few of the names of those who opposed the patriot movements and favored the maintenance of the old order of things have been recovered from the obscurity with which their possessors, after the results of the war had been achieved, wished them to be concealed, and from which no one has since been anxious to withdraw them. A very natural chagrin that their forebodings of disaster to the colonies had not been realized, and an equally natural fear that they would suffer reproach for their opinions, may have caused them to keep their secret so sacredly that now, when justice to their motives may be done, and when the impeachment of their judgment has been mollified, if not entirely withdrawn, their names cannot be recorded. During the continuance of the war a discreet silence concealed the secret royalist, and after its conclusion an indulgent toleration, or what was better, a reviving neighborly kindness prevented their private sentiments from being dragged to light for their mortification, annoyance and possible injury. A few names of the non-associators and non-jurors of Talbot have survived. Except that of Wickham, who was a tory in the offensive sense of the term, which has been preserved in the minutes of the convention, like the poet's grubs and worms preserved in amber, these names belonged to the more conspicuous persons of their class, some of whom may here be mentioned without danger of wounding the sensibility of anyone.

[It was intended here to present brief biographical notices of the leading non-jurors of this county, and those notices were actually prepared for publication; but it was detergined, on reflection, to omit these, lest the sensibilities of descendents or kinsmen should be wounded by a reference to the political sentiments of ancestors or family connections. But no loss is incurred by this omission, for each of these persons will be noticed in other connections.²¹]

Returning from this long digression the first event to be noted is the assembling, on the first of June, 1776, of the delegates of the several counties of the Province. The same gentlemen who represented Talbot in the previous convention represented the county in this, viz.: Messrs.

²¹ While Mr. Tilghman was in attendance on congress during the last session of the convention, his son-in-law, Mr. Charles Carroll, the barrister, presided in his stead.

Matthew Tilghman, Nicholas Thomas, Pollard Edmundson, Edward Lloyd and James Lloyd Chamberlaine. On calling the convention to order, Mr. Matthew Tilghman was again chosen President, he having been recalled from attendance on Congress, that he might give his counsel and advice upon the momentous subject which was to engage the attention of the convention, whether Maryland should assent to the declaration of the independence of the American Colonies. It is a familiar fact to everyone at all versed in American history, that at the beginning of the controversy between the colonies and the mother country, the idea of independence had not acquired any root in the minds of the people in general. It cannot be said that the seeds had not been sown. As the controversy progressed, and especially after it had been referred to the arbitrament of arms, under the influence of the heats that were generated by the conflict, those seeds began to germinate, the plant began to grow, and soon it acquired vigor. Still there was extreme reluctance upon the part of the colonists, and nowhere in America was this reluctance more strongly felt than in Maryland, and nowhere in Maryland than in the county of Talbot, to sever the political bonds, which though strengthened by those of interest and affection, were now stretched to the utmost tension yet were holding the complaining and recalcitrant children to the side of the obstinate arbitrary and selfish but beloved parent. The convention had frequently expressed by its instructions to its delegates in Congress, and otherwise, its reluctance to sever the connection with the mother country; but there is very good ground for believing that however well it may have represented the sentiments of the people in the beginning, at the date of the events now under review it did not properly reflect the opinions of a majority in the commonwealth upon the subject of independency, but of a minority, influential to be sure, by reason of its intelligence and wealth, but prudent to timidity because of those very qualities which made it influential.

On the seventh of June, 1776, a memorable day in American annals it was moved in Congress by a delegate of Virginia "that the United Colonies are and ought to be, free and independent states; and that the political connection with Great Britain is and ought to be dissolved." On the following day the debates upon this measure, whose objects were of "stupendous magnitude" as declared by John Adams, commenced, and it was continued until the tenth of the month. There is no recorded evidence that the delegates from Maryland participated in this debate. A postponement of the vote upon the question was determined by a majority

of the states, for three weeks in order that a greater unanimity might be secured, by allowing the delegates of those colonies which had instructed their representatives in Congress, to consult their constituents, Messrs. Tilghman, Stone and Rogers wrote to the Council of Safety, advising that the Convention be called together, but that before its assemblage measures should be taken "to collect the opinion of the people at large."²² The Council of Safety recommended to the Committees of Observation in the several counties "to collect the sense of the Province on the subject of Independence." This was accomplished by holding public meetings, and fortunately there has been preserved a record of the proceedings of that which was held in this county, at least so far as the address to the delegates in the Convention.²³ This is as follows:

To the Honorable Matthew Tilghman, Esq., James Lloyd Chamberlaine, Edward Lloyd, Nicholas Thomas, and Pollard Edmondson, Esquires, representatives for Talbot County, in Convention now sitting, the Address of part of the Freemen of the said County;

GENTLEMEN: The vast importance of the dispute now subsisting between Great Britain and the North American Colonies; the fatal consequences that must attend the mismanagement of that dispute, and the effects they must inevitably have on us in common with the neighboring governments, sufficiently justify us your constituents in laying our sentiments before you on the present occasion respecting the measures taken for carrying into execution the plan proposed for the preservation of our liberties, now in the most imminent danger. We therefore in virtue of that right which the constituent hath in his representative or deputy take leave to express to you our great concern and sorrow that we cannot approve the measures pursued in the last session of the Convention. We have seen with grief and astonishment the Convention of Maryland in matters of the utmost importance resolving in direct opposition to that honourable Congress. We also have seen it, in our opinion, profusely lavishing the public money at a time when the constituents are labouring under every burthen which the imagination can conceive, without money, without trade, or any possible means of procuring either. We likewise view its instructions to our delegates in Congress, of the 18th of January and the 21st of May last, as tending in direct terms to a breach of that confidential harmony so happily, before that, subsisting among the United Colonies and which are in common with every colonist embarked in the cause of liberty, beheld as our greatest glory, and the only source of protection. Its resolves in opposition to those in Congress of the 15th of May declar-

²² Scharf's History Md., vol. ii, p. 226.

²³ Maryland Gazette, February 4, 1776.

ing it to be necessary that the exercise of any kind of authority under the Crown of Great Britain should be totally suppressed and all the powers of government exerted under the authority of the people, to be a direct breach of the Continental Union, and to have a tendency to introduce anarchy and confusion by setting up and continuing two opposite authorities at the same time binding on the good people of this province. We look upon the rule of voting in Convention by counties to be dangerous, as productive of influence which may be used to rule the determinations and resolves of the house by a minority of twenty-seven members, who in such case, may have all the effects of majority. We consider our present mode of government by Conventions and Committees as insufficient to accomplish the end for which it was instituted; and dangerous so far as it unites the legislative and executive powers in nearly the same persons, which is the true definition of tyranny. We would by no means insinuate that the Convention hath any intention of using its power to that purpose, and hope we shall not be so understood by you; but it is proper to guard against probable evil, where the liberties of mankind are concerned. We have seen with sorrow of heart, the king of Great Britain inexorably determined upon the ruin of our liberties. We view the Parliament as lost to all sense of justice and humanity, attached to and governed by a corrupt and wicked ministry who are intending the ruin of their infatuated master, or determined to make his government absolute, and erect a tyranny over his dominions, of which they expect to have the direction. We have seen all the petitions of the Congress treated with contempt; an act of Parliament declaring our resistance to actual violence to be rebellion; excluding us from the protection of the Crown, and compelling such of the colonists as shall be taken prisoners to fight against their country; the treaties of the King of Great Britain with the European provinces, for engaging foreign mercenaries to aid the forces of that kingdom in their attempts to subdue the Americans, or cut their throats; and by his answer to the address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Council of the city of London, he manifested such a determined resolution to effect the destruction of American freedom, that we cannot entertain the most distant expectations of a reconciliation on reasonable terms. This being the case we look upon all lukewarm backwardness in the Convention of this Province, in the common cause of America, and every opposition to the resolves of Congress calculated for our safety and general security (as we are convinced that of the 15th of May above mentioned was) to be the most dangerous tendency, and that it will naturally induce the ministry to look on this Province as friendly to their measures, and in all probability bring their forces among us, by which we shall have our country made the seat of war, and experience all its horrors. Possessed with these sentiments, we in the most earnest terms request your attention to the following instructions, viz:

First. That you use your utmost influence that the instructions given by Convention to our delegates in Congress, before mentioned, be

rescinded, and that they may be entrusted by the present Convention to concur and co-operate with the delegates of the other United Colonies, in forming such further compacts between the said Colonies, concluding such treaties with foreign kingdoms, and in adopting such other measures as shall be judged necessary for promoting the liberty, safety and interest of America, and defeating the schemes and machinations of our enemies the King, Parliament and Ministry and Great Britain.

Second. That you use the same influence to induce the Convention to comply with the resolves of Congress of the 15th of May last, in exerting all the powers of government under authority of the people of this Province, by forming a constitution adequate to that purpose; and in case the present Convention shall decline that task, that you promote and procure a resolve to determine their power at the end of the present session, and order an election for members to compose a new Convention, for the purpose of forming such constitution.

Third. That you use your endeavors to procure a different mode of voting in Convention, that the method may be by the members each voting separately, as was formerly practised in Assembly; that in all questions of importance when the house divides, the yeas and nays be constantly taken and published with the proceedings for the information of the public respecting the behavior of their representatives.

Fourth. That you use your utmost endeavors to put a stop to the executing the writs of election, we understand are already issued in the name of the Proprietary or by the authority of the King of Great Britain, as no fair elections can be held, or the people legally represented under the present circumstances of this Province, for reasons too obvious to require being mentioned.

Fifth. That you use your endeavors and influence to have the members of the Council of Safety appointed from among the delegates in Convention only, they being duly elected by the people and are the source of all power.

Sixth. That you endeavor to procure a resolve of Convention to prevent any undue influence being used at elections by military officers over the men they command, a danger which may possibly arise from attachment natural enough in the soldier to his commander.

Seventh. That you move for and promote a reasonable regulation to enable debtors to pay off their creditors in country produce, especially in the case of rents and interest due on obligations or otherwise and also the public levies now due.

Eighth. That you endeavor to procure a resolve of Convention to exclude all officers, civil or military, from holding seats in Convention or Congress after appointment to each office, until rechosen, and to exclude all members of Congress from a seat in the Convention.

Ninth. That you endeavor to reduce the enormous allowance of £15 per week, given to our delegates in Congress, this being a time when strict economy is necessary; and also reduce the allowance of members in Convention to a sum adequate to their necessary expense, as we are persuaded you will agree with us in opinion that the present state of this Province will by no means admit of profusion.

There is little doubt that the conservative sentiments which the convention had hitherto entertained, and had shown by its instructions to its delegates in congress upon the question of independency were very materially changed by the course that events had taken and by the intercourse of the members with their several constituencies, which were unquestionably in advance of their representatives. The instructions they received from the public meetings held in some of the counties, if not in all, similar in tenor to those of the freemen of Talbot, were not the expressions of public opinion only, but of the private views of many of the very men they had the appearance of directing. There is very good ground for believing that Mr. Matthew Tilghman was one of those who early favored the sundering of the political bonds which attached the colonies to England, and he in connection with Mr. William Hayward, of the Committee of Safety, *engineered* the very meeting that instructed him. When the convention, therefore, assembled on the 21st of June, among its very first acts was the passage of a formal resolution recalling the delegates in congress, sitting in Philadelphia, all of whom were members of the convention also, that they might report as to the condition of the affairs of the United Colonies in general, give their counsel as to what should be the course of Maryland in the great crisis now at hand, and to receive instructions from the convention upon the momentous question of declaring for independence when it should again be called up in congress, where it had been postponed until such instructions could be obtained after a full interchange of opinions among the members of the convention, the question whether Maryland should cast her vote for independence or should continue to hold her position of conciliation and expectancy, on the 28th of June came to a vote, when it was resolved unanimously that the previous instructions to the deputies in congress should be recalled, and that "they be authorized and empowered to concur with the other united colonies, or a majority of them in declaring the united colonies free and independent states."²⁴ Information was immediately sent to the leaders of the movement for independence in congress, and deputies from Maryland soon followed the information and on the ever memorable second of July, 1776, the final vote was taken, when Maryland enrolled herself with the majority. Four of her deputies signed the Declaration of Independence, in the absence of the rest, and have thus secured the

²⁴ For more particular accounts of these important events, recourse must be had to the proceedings of the conventions of Maryland and to the general histories of the State and of the United States.

veneration of posterity to the remotest generations, and an immortality of memory compared with which that of other great names in our country's history will be transient and fleeting. The explanation of the absence of one name from this scroll of fame that of Matthew Tilghman, —the name of him who has been called by the most eloquent historian of the State, the *patriarch* of Maryland, and to whom may be assigned without dispute the place of prince of her patriots, is explained by the fact that he was retained at Annapolis as President of the convention, whose action was largely influenced by his persuasions. But if he was debarred by this duty from the honor of affixing his name to the great Declaration, "his name led all the rest" upon that lesser "Declaration of the Delegates of Maryland" made on the sixth of July, by the body over which he presided.³⁵ Another of the worthies of Talbot, who was a member of this celebrated congress of 1776 has escaped the celebrity that justly attaches to every signer of that great charter, John Dickinson who represented Pennsylvania, to the last opposed independency. When, however, he saw so large a portion of his fellow members were determined upon taking this irrevocable step, he had the grace, in company with another distinguished gentleman of the same state, who has a connection with Talbot, Mr. Robert Morris, to withdraw from congress, and thus to permit a majority of the delegation to cast the vote of the colony for the resolution of July 2nd, and thus secured its final passage. Notwithstanding his avowed and open opposition to this measure, an opposition founded upon wholly disinterested and thoroughly conscientious motives, not a shadow of doubt rests upon the purity of his patriotism, or his ardent devotion to the interests of his country. He gave evidence of these feelings when he shouldered his musket and took his place in the ranks among the humblest of his countrymen, to repel the enemy.³⁶

Having taken the decisive steps of instructing the deputies of Maryland in congress upon the subject of independency, without waiting the result of the vote in congress, the convention in Maryland on the second of July, ordered that a new convention should be "elected for

³⁵ This Declaration was ordered to be entered upon the journal of the convention and it was accordingly entered on the day mentioned in the text; but Mr. Scharf has discovered that the original copy bears the date of the 3rd of July, that is the day after the Resolution of Congress was passed, and the day before the Declaration was formally published, at Philadelphia.

³⁶ Actually, when the Declaration was signed in August, John Dickinson was in the field at Elizabeth, N. J., with his regiment.

the express purpose of forming a new government, by authority of the people," that should take the place not only of the old provincial and proprietary government, which was thus abrogated in form as it long had been in fact, but also the revolutionary and provisional government, which since the year 1774 had been conducted with the imperfect machinery of Committees of Observation, Councils of Safety and Conventions of Delegates. Provisions for holding the elections of delegates, in the several counties of the new State, were made and judges of election were named. Those nominated for Talbot were "John Goldsborough, Henry Banning and William Perry, Esquires, or any one or two of them," and they were instructed to hold the election on the first day of the following August.³⁷ The election was accordingly held, and resulted in the choosing of Pollard Edmondson, John Gibson, Matthew Tilghman, and James Lloyd Chamberlaine, Esquires, as delegates to the first constitutional convention of Maryland which assembled Aug. 14th and organized by the unanimous election of the Hon. Matthew Tilghman as President. It should be mentioned that on the 4th of July when Deputies to represent the colony in congress were elected, Mr. Tilghman was one of those then chosen, as he had been from the first.

As illustrating the temper of the people, it may not be amiss, before concluding this account of civil affairs of this period of the Revolution, to refer to a trifling incident, but one which was long remembered against the persons engaged. Governor Eden had continued to enjoy the respect of the people of the colony and the personal regard of many who possessed his acquaintance; and though he had opposed the revolutionary measures which had been instituted he had not forfeited that respect, nor that regard. His presence, however, in the Colony was thought by the Convention to be unfavorable to the patriot cause, so he was politely requested to withdraw, and permitted to embark on board the ship of war Fowey, Captain Montague. The Captain appears to have violated the agreement, or "truce," under which he had been permitted to come up the bay for the reception of the Governor and his effects. When this was discovered the Convention forbade the carrying on board any of the property of the Governor, and ordered that all communication with the ship should cease. To carry out this order detachments of the militia were stationed at convenient posts while the ship Defence with her tender was made to follow the Fowey down the

³⁷ Under the colonial regime the judges of election were the justices of the county courts.

Bay to prevent depredation. While on her way down the Bay, the Fowey anchored at the mouth of the Choptank, and while there, four of the citizens of Talbot, gentlemen of respectability and undoubted fidelity to the patriot cause, sent on board the ship as a present to Governor Eden, and as a testimonial of their personal friendship, twelve sheep, three lambs and seven shoats. This coming to the knowledge of the Committee of Observation, Capt. James Hindman in command of the independent company at Oxford, was ordered to arrest Messrs. James Dickenson, William Thomas, John Stevens and Nicholas Martin, as being persons violating the order of the Convention forbidding communication with the ship Fowey. These gentlemen were ordered to appear before the Convention, and accordingly did appear on the 2nd July, when, upon hearing their explanation of the affair, viz.: that the present was made to Gov. Eden before they knew of the violation of the truce, it was declared to be, "the opinion of this Convention that the said gentlemen were in no degree criminal in going on board the Fowey, with such live stock, and that they be discharged."

In order that the military record may be brought up to the date of this civil record of affairs in Talbot county, it is now necessary to revert to the time of the assembling of the June convention. Congress by a resolution passed on the third of this month, in view of the exigencies of the army under the command of Washington, requested the provinces to raise a force, to be called a "flying camp;" and Maryland agreed to furnish thirty-four hundred and five men to this force, "to act with the militia of Pennsylvania and Delaware in the middle department, that is to say, from this province to New York inclusive." Of the companies to constitute this flying camp of Maryland militia, Talbot was required to furnish one, and on the 29th of the month the convention entered upon the election of the officers to command the several companies. The gentlemen selected for the Talbot company were, Greenbury Goldsborough, as Captain; Woolman Gibson, of John, as First Lieutenant; John Thomas, Jr., as Second Lieutenant, and Perry Benson of James, as Ensign.³⁸ Doct. John Hindman of Talbot was appointed, August 17th surgeon to the Eastern Shore Battalion of the flying camp. As the

³⁸ This gentleman was that Perry Benson who later became General Benson, and of whom an extended memoir has been already published in these contributions as one of the Worthies of Talbot. Doct. John Hindman was the son of Mr. Jacob Hindman and brother of Col. James Hindman. He was born in Dorchester Co., but grew up in Talbot. He was the father of Col. Jacob Hindman who distinguished himself in the war of 1812-15 upon the Niagara frontier.

emergency was urgent, because of the expected appearance of the enemy upon the coast in the vicinity of New York where the American army lay; and as there was delay in recruiting from the militia the number required for the company which was to make a part of the flying camp, the convention on the 6th of July, the last day of the session, ordered "that the independent companies stationed in Talbot, Kent, Queen Anne's and Saint Mary's counties immediately proceed to Philadelphia, and put themselves under the command of Col. Smallwood." In compliance with these orders Capt. Hindman prepared to proceed to the place of rendezvous, whence the companies were to march to Philadelphia. Under the date of July 16, his letter, addressed to the Council of Safety says: "I shall set off tomorrow morning early for Head of Elk and shall make the best of my way to Philadelphia as fast as possible." But before leaving Oxford his orders were countermanded and he was required to proceed to Annapolis with his company, where the authorities were apprehending a visit from Lord Dunmore, whose fleet was in the lower Bay. This fear was not realized, and the Talbot company after remaining at the seat of government for a short time joined the main army, as had been originally commanded. After the withdrawal of Capt. Hindman from Oxford, Capt. Nicholas Martin, on the twentieth of July, offered to the Council of Safety to station his militia company at that place, saying that it was much exposed. It is not known that his offer was accepted, but later the company of Capt. Greenbury Goldsborough appears to have been placed at that point. Besides the independent companies from the Eastern Shore there were seven companies of the battalion of the militia sent forward to join the commander in chief. Whether a company for this service was recruited by Capt. Greenbury Goldsborough in Talbot, and whether that company was one of the battalion, there is no record. Capt. Hindman's company consisted of one hundred men, and these were counted as a part of the quota of the county which was required to form the flying camp. The officers of the battalion were Col. William Richardson, of Caroline county, Lieut. Col. Joseph Earle of Queen Anne, Adjutant, Robert Campbell of ——— and Major William Hopewell, of ———. Arriving at headquarters the Maryland forces all under Colonel Smallwood's immediate command, were placed in the brigade of General Lord Sterling, where they were associated with Delaware and Pennsylvania troops. On the eighth of July the British forces arriving from Halifax, under the command of

** American Archives, v series, vol. 1, p. 465.

General Howe and his brother Admiral Howe, took possession of Staten Island in the mouth of New York Bay, and after an unsuccessful attempt to open negotiations with the commander in chief, and to sow disaffection among the people by the circulation of a pacific proclamation, a large force was crossed over to Long Island under Gen'l Clinton, for the purpose of attacking the American army there entrenched for the defence of New York City. This was on the twenty-second day of August. The enemy immediately advanced and the disastrous battle of Long Island ensued, in which the Maryland troops, though defeated, acquitted themselves with such distinction as to have called forth the plaudits of the commander in chief. It is not the purpose of this contribution to give the details of this battle. They may be read in any work upon the general history of the country, but the following letter, never before published, may be welcomed, though it adds nothing to our previous knowledge of this engagement. It was written by Mr. Edward Tilghman, the distinguished jurist, of Queen Anne's County, and addressed to Mr. James Holliday, of the same county, and formerly a member of the convention.

WYE, 3rd Sept., 1776.

Sir: * * * * Probably it may be new to you that a copy of a letter from T. T.⁴⁰ dated Wednesday even, Head Quarters, Long Island, was brought down by the post on Sunday. I had a sight of a copy, and took off the substance of part. "Lord Sterling, Gen'l Sullivan, Col. Miller (a word is here illegible) Atlee and Major Bird, missing." (Sullivan, my son says, killed.) "Three companies of Smallwood's Battalion were left surrounded and fighting with great bravery. No troops on earth ever behaved better than Smallwood's and Hazlett's battalions. They supported a retreat with the greatest regularity against a very superior force. We saw them make several charges in the open field in which they always made the British troops give way. Col. Grant killed his watch and had come in. Deserters and prisoners, say 500 of the enemy were lost in killed and wounded." T. T. does not believe it. T. T. was not out of the lines. My son was in the heat. Fortunately a lad near him having his arm broke by a grape shot in a canonade of two hours from two field pieces, Lord Sterling ordered my son off to bring up the surgeons and dressing &c., by which mean, with a good deal of management, and through considerable danger, he escaped unhurt. Ld. Sterling, he says, was soon after attacked by one of the cols [columns?] of the enemy, which my son saw in considerable numbers pouring down from the woods on the hills, when our people had flattered themselves they would be able to defeat them with

⁴⁰This was Lieut. Col. Tench Tilghman, aide de camp of Gen'l. Washington, and a native of this county.

ease. Ld. Sterling made a proper disposition to retreat and behaved with great gallantry, but is killed or taken. Gen'l Sullivan killed. The enemy advanced furiously to our lines from whence they received so hot a fire as obliged them to retreat out of cannon shot. In this affair both sides have lost many men—no saying which has suffered most. I am, sir, your very humble servant,
E. TILGHMAN.

To the courage and firmness of the troops under Colonel Smallwood in this engagement there are many extant testimonials, but none of them is more hearty than that of Colonel Tilghman himself, who witnessed their behavior in the field, and as a Marylander felt a very natural pride in their conduct. He said in a letter to his father of Sept. third: "The behavior of the southern troops in the late action has shamed the northern people. They confess themselves unequal to them in officers and discipline. No regular troops ever made a more gallant resistance than Smallwood's regiment. If others had behaved as well, if General Howe had obtained a victory at all, it would have been dearly bought." Of the conduct of the men of Talbot we know but little from any authentic contemporary source; and unfortunately that little is not in the form of unqualified encomium, but rather of defence against certain imputations of their courage and steadiness under fire. A letter, too long and discursive for insertion, of Capt. James Hindman, bearing the date of October 12, 1776, has been preserved, in which he refers to aspersions that had been cast upon his company by Captain Stone, who was in command of one of the Western Shore companies. The following is an extract from this letter, from which it will be seen that he very warmly resents the imputations cast upon his company, and claims that his command displayed as much bravery as any other body of men that was engaged during the day. To substantiate these claims he appeals to Colonel Smallwood himself.

I am very sorry to hear from my brother that a report is spread among Capt. Stone's friends that my company the day we engaged on Long Island behaved ill. I gave him by the earliest opportunity as true a statement of the whole affair as I could recollect, which, he informs me he showed to Mr. Chamberlaine, and which I believe the officers under me can aver to the truth of, as can the officers under Capt. Stone. I cannot judge him guilty of writing anything of the kind. * * Such aspersions are base and ungenerous, and not giving men a fair chance of vindicating themselves. I have the vanity to think the company I have the honor to command have behaved themselves as well as any in the service, notwithstanding the dark insinuations that have been thrown out to their prejudice."

Captain Hindman's company lost three men in this engagement whose names history has not recorded. Among the wounded was the First Lieut. Archibald Anderson, whom his captain recommended for promotion.

Although there is little authentic information respecting the participation of the Talbot troops in those engagements which succeeded the disastrous battle of Long Island, where the Marylanders bore off the chief honors of all that were won, there is little doubt that the men of this county shared in whatever credit was gained or whatever humiliation was suffered by the affairs at Harlem Heights and White Plains.

Of the conduct of the Maryland troops at Harlem Heights, we have this account from the pen of Col. Trench Tilghman whose words are more worthy of being quoted than those of any other person, because he was a son of Talbot. In a letter to his father of September 19, he says:

The General finding that they [that is Colonel Knowlton and Major Leitch, who had been sent to capture a detachment of the enemy on the 16th] wanted support, ordered out a part of Colonel Griffith's and part of Colonel Richardson's Maryland regiments. These troops though young charged with as much bravery as I can conceive. They gave two fires and then marched right forward, which drove the enemy from the woods into a buckwheat field, from whence they retreated. The General fearing (as we afterwards found) that a large body was coming to support them, sent me over to bring off our men. They gave a hurra, and left the field in good order. We had about forty wounded and a very few killed.

Again, while the American army was holding its position at White Plains, in expectancy of a general engagement with the enemy under General Howe, the regiment of Colonel Smallwood, into which all the Maryland troops had been incorporated, distinguished itself in the defence of Chatteron Hill, a fortified position which the British general thought it necessary to possess before he should make his attack upon the American lines. After a determined resistance, the brunt of which seems to have been borne by Smallwood's men, the position was abandoned by Gen. McDougal, the American commander, who made good his retreat, and joined the main army. Of the Maryland regiment forty-six were killed and wounded, including Col. Smallwood himself and Captains Scott and Bracco—the last of whom belonged to a family well known and long resident in this county. Of this affair Col. Tilghman in a letter to his father of the thirty-first October says:

"Our troops made as good a stand as could be expected, and did not quit the grounds till they came to push bayonets. We lost about one hundred killed and wounded. Smallwood's regiment suffered most.— He himself is wounded in the hand and hip but not badly. Captains Bracco and Scott killed."

After Washington had crossed the Hudson, the Maryland troops, sadly decimated by the casualties of battle and by sickness, having been placed, during the temporary and enforced retirement of Col. Smallwood and who had been wounded, under the command of Major Gist, followed the fortunes of the main army in its retreat across the Jerseys. Their conduct was always such as to reflect credit upon their State, and was sometimes distinguished above that of their associates in arms. There are no means, however, of learning anything of the behavior of the men of Talbot; but when honors are to be distributed for firmness and bravery upon the field of battle, and when praises are to be bestowed for fortitude upon the march, or patient endurance of hardships in the camp, probably better tests of soldierly qualities than conduct in the presence of the enemy, we may justly claim for them, if not a greater, at least an equal share with their compatriots. The militia that had constituted the flying camp of Maryland having enlisted to serve until the first of December, the Convention appointed four Commissioners, of whom James Lloyd Chamberlaine of this county was one, to repair to the camps on the Jerseys and New York for the purpose of ascertaining what officers and men of the regular troops or of the flying camps "were willing to engage in the service of the United States during the war, and to organize such as were willing to enlist into companies and battalions upon the basis of the previous organizations." This was done in furtherance of the wishes of Congress and the Commander in Chief, who saw the army melting away under the systems of short service and the employment of militia. It is stated, apparently with authority, that the independent companies, including, it is presumable, that of Captain James Hindman of Talbot re-enlisted for three years in the Continental service.⁴¹ The militia in great part returned home after the expiration of the term of enlistment. The army, including those Maryland troops that continued in the service, after the reassuring battles of Trenton and Princeton, in which they appear to have participated, went into winter quarters, and before the opening of another campaign were differently disposed under the

⁴¹ Scharf's Hist. Md., vol. ii, p. 290.

new arrangement as authorized by the Convention, and as directed by its Commissioners, a more particular reference to which will presently be made.

As almost every incident of this period, however trifling in itself, has a degree of interest, two or three items may be here noted, as they are connected with military affairs in this county. On the 13th of July, 1776, the Council of Safety ordered that all the live stock upon Tilghman's, Sharp's, and Poplar islands, except so much of it as was necessary for tillage, should be removed beyond the reach of the enemy, whose fleet was in the lower bay. On the 22nd of that month Mr. Matthew Tilghman requested of the Council that a vessel be purchased and commissioned to defend such parts of the county lying upon the Bay as were exposed to depredations by the enemy. The Council replied that it could not furnish boats for the defence of every exposed point, but that it would do what it could for the protection of the property of the citizens of Talbot. It advised Mr. Tilghman to sell the stock upon his island. One of the needs of the military service was gun flints, and search was made for the proper stone from which to form them. On the twenty-seventh July, Messrs. Sam'l Chase and Charles Carroll of Carrollton wrote to the Council of Safety that *flint stones* were to be found in Choptank and Wye Rivers, they having been brought into those rivers as ballast of ships. Another letter speaks of *flint stones* being found near Emerson's, now Wye Landing.⁴² On the twenty-fourth of October, 1776, William Webb Haddaway was commissioned as First Major of the 38th Battalion of Militia, and on the twenty-ninth commissions were issued by the Council of Safety to Edward Markland as Lieutenant and Richard Coward as master of the schooner *Dolphin*, an armed vessel, probably a privateer. The names these officers who were residents of Oxford or its vicinity, would indicate that the *Dolphin* sailed from that port, but this is merely conjectural.

Having followed the current of military affairs to the end of the memorable year of 1776, it is now necessary to return and follow that of the political to the same date. It has already been noted that an election had been ordered to be held for delegates to a new Convention, the principal duty of which was to be the framing of a constitution and form of government for Maryland, which the previous Convention had declared to be an independent State; that the election had been held,

⁴² But a few years ago lumps of chalk were to be found in the back creek at Oxford, brought there as ballast in colonial times.

the delegates chosen, and the Convention organized August 14, 1776, by the choosing the Hon. Matthew Tilghman as its President. The first steps that were taken by this Convention were with reference to military affairs, but on the seventeenth the main business was brought up, and a committee was chosen by ballot "to prepare a declaration and charter of rights and a form of government for this State." The gentlemen selected were probably the most eminent men of their day in Maryland, of those that had espoused the patriot cause. The Committee consisted of the Hon. Matthew Tilghman, Charles Carroll, the barrister, William Paca, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, George Plater, Samuel Chase, and Robert Goldsborough, Esquires. Mr. Chase and Mr. Carroll, the barrister, having received instructions from their constituents which they were unable to obey, being, as they thought, "incompatible with good government and the public peace and happiness," resigned their seats in the Convention, and therefore in the Committee. Thomas Johnson and Robert T. Hooe were elected in their place in the Committee. Mr. Chase was subsequently re-elected to a seat in the Convention. It was by the Committee thus constituted, with the venerable member from Talbot as its chairman, that the admirable Bill of Rights and Constitution were originally framed; the first of which has remained to the present time essentially unchanged. and the last of which has hardly been improved by any alterations and additions that subsequent revisions and so-called reforms have made in its substance. This great charter will continue to be, as it is now, a monument to perpetuate the political wisdom of the statesmen by whom it was constructed, and of the names inscribed upon it, Talbot is honored and proud that the name of her chief citizen stands first.⁴³

What farther part the delegates from Talbot took in the formation of the state constitution, there are no means of knowing. The proceedings of the Convention as they have been preserved, are meagre, and contain with reference to this subject little more than the record of votes on a few questions. It may be well enough to notice here that the delegates of this county seem not to have shared in the vindictive

⁴³ Not as a matter of importance, but as indicating how heavily the burthen of the war was weighing upon the people of Talbot, it may be mentioned that they sent in a petition to the Convention that they might be relieved from a tax which had been imposed on them in 1775, at their own request, for the purchase of land and the building a house thereon for the reception of the poor. A portion of this tax had been collected by the Sheriff. This was ordered to be paid to the Trustees of the Poor, but the uncollected tax was remitted.

feelings which animated the minds of others of the Convention against those persons who refused to sign the articles of Association, and did not sign them before July 4th past; for upon a motion of Mr. Chase that an article be inserted in the Constitution forbidding such persons from holding offices of profit or trust unless qualified by Act of Assembly, Mr. Gibson, the only member from Talbot present and voting, voted in the negative. The Constitution was finally agreed to November 7, 1776, and under it elections were held for delegates to the first General Assembly of the State of Maryland on Wednesday, the eighteenth of December, and for elections for the Senate on Monday the twenty-fifth November. These gentlemen were named as the judges of election in Talbot: John Goldsborough, William Perry and John Bracco, Esquires. The elections were accordingly held and resulted in the choosing John Gibson, James Benson, Henry Banning and Edward Lloyd, Esquires, as members of the Lower House of Assembly for Talbot. On the ninth of December the state electoral college assembled at Annapolis and chose fifteen state senators, six of whom were of the Eastern and nine of the Western Shore. The Senators of the Eastern Shore were the Hon. Matthew Tilghman of this county, and Messrs. Joseph Nicholson, Robert Goldsborough, Thomas Wright, James Tilghman and Samuel Wilson. Before adjourning the Convention made provision for the issue of bills of credit to defray the extraordinary expenses attendant upon the war. These bills were really what we now call national currency, or vulgarly greenbacks. As a protection against dishonesty upon the part of the printer of these bills, a committee of supervisors was appointed, whose duty it should be to give an immediate oversight to the printing of the bills and to have the custody of the plates from which they were stricken, until these plates should be returned to the Convention, or, during its recess, to the Council of Safety. A commission was appointed to sign the bills, of which ten members were of the Western Shore, and eight of the Eastern. Of these from this shore, all or most of them belonged to Talbot, and they were as follows: Richard Tilghman, William Perry, Samuel Sharp, Joseph Bruff, Samuel Edmondson, Alexander Irvine, Charles Edward Irvine and Thomas Dawson. The bills after they had been properly printed, numbered and signed, were delivered to the treasurers for each of the Shores (William Hindman being the treasurer of the Eastern and Thomas Harwood of the Western Shore), who were required to give bond, the latter to Daniel of Saint Thomas Jenifer and Charles Carroll, the barrister, and the former to the Hon. Matthew Tilghman, Edward Lloyd,

and James Lloyd Chamberlaine, Esquires. On the tenth November the Hon. Matthew Tilghman, and Thomas Johnson, Jr., William Paca, Thomas Stone, Samuel Chase, Benjamin Rumsey, and Charles Carroll (barrister) Esquires, were appointed delegates to represent the State in Congress until the meeting of the General Assembly. It would seem that the conservative element was still predominant in this Convention and that there still lingered a hope and a wish for reconciliation with the mother country, for coupled with instructions for the prosecution of the war given to these delegates was this remarkable precept: "And the said delegates, or any three or more of them, are hereby authorized and empowered, notwithstanding any measures heretofore taken, to concur with Congress, or a majority of them, in accommodating our unhappy differences with Great Britain, on such terms as the Congress, or a majority of them shall think proper." In truth at the time when these instructions were issued there was great despondency prevailing throughout the United States, and some of the most sanguine were losing heart under repeated defeats of the army. On the same day, the following gentlemen were chosen to be the Council of Safety, the last ones to hold that responsible office: John Hall, George Plater, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Brice Beal Worthington, Charles Grahame, Esquires, of the Western Shore and Joseph Nicholson, Nicholas Thomas, of Talbot, William Rumsey, and James Tilghman, Esquires of the Eastern Shore. On the following day, 11th November, this Convention adjourned to meet on the — inst., or upon the call of the Council of Safety; but it assembled no more, and early in the following year the new State government under the constitution was organized and went into full operation. The Committees of Observation and the Council of Safety dissolved, and the Provisional government ceased in Maryland.

The experience of the last campaign had served to confirm the Commander in Chief in his often expressed opinion that the war could not be successfully conducted by the employment of troops whose term of service was generally so brief that they could not be brought to the state of discipline necessary to give them firmness in the field. Congress had also arrived at the same conclusion, though long hesitating to encourage the enlistment of an army for a long term, from an apprehension that such an army might be turned against the very power that created it. The colonies shared these feelings, and they discovered

⁴ McSherry's Hist. Md., p. 384, and Scharf's Hist. Md., 868.

the futility of trusting to temporary levies. Accordingly we find that in September, Congress made a requisition for regulars of which Maryland was required to furnish eight battalions. On the ninth of October the Convention resolved "to use its utmost endeavors to raise the eight battalions required (including the troops already raised and in the service of the United States), as soon as possible." Commissioners, as has been noted, were appointed to go to the camps for the purpose of learning how many men then in the field could be induced to enlist under the continental plan, namely for the war. Before the adjournment of the Convention it empowered the Council of Safety "to take and pursue all measures that they may think necessary and proper for raising, completing and equipping the eight battalions" for the continental service. Before the opening of the campaign of 1777, in accordance with the orders of Congress and the Convention, the Maryland troops were reorganized and what became known as the "Maryland Line" was formed, old officers as far as possible being retained. There appears actually to have been but seven battalions—Capt. James Hindman of the independent company of Talbot became Lieut. Colonel of the fifth battalion, with William Richardson as his colonel. In this battalion also we find Perry Benson, who now in the rank of first lieutenant, subsequently during the war rose to the rank of captain, and is remembered as General Benson, of the Maryland militia in the war of 1812. In the same battalion and company with Benson was Jonathan Gibson, as second lieutenant, who also rose to be captain and died soon after the close of the war. In the second battalion Archibald Anderson had command of a company with Thomas Price as his colonel. He was originally first lieutenant in Captain Hindman's independent company, rose to the rank of major, and died bravely upon the field of battle, at Cowpens as has been mentioned. Edward Hindman, a brother of Colonel Hindman, was made captain of a company in the third battalion, Colonel Mordecai Gist. These are the only names of officers belonging to Talbot, that can be found in the rolls of March 27, 1777. These seven battalions were placed under the command of Gen. William Smallwood.

From this time onward, until the close of the war, it is impossible to distinguish the military services of the men of Talbot, or of any other county of the State, from those of their companies in arms. There is no evidence that the recruits of each county were enrolled in the same company, nor that they were even placed in the same battalion. They were probably distributed according to the needs of the different organi-

zations. It has already been noted that the officers from this county were variously distributed in several of the battalions. Whatever honor, therefore, was acquired by the Maryland line, and undoubtedly this was great, it is not always possible to divide it, with due regard to their just deserts, among the several divisions of that line, regiments and companies; on the contrary every part is entitled to wear the laurels won by the conduct of the whole. Sometimes, it is true, the historic muse peering through shadowy obscurities of shifting camp fires, the dust of marches and countermarches, and the smoke of battle, has been able to distinguish certain bodies, large and small, of Maryland troops commanded by officers whom this county may claim as her own peculiar sons, and has noted down upon her commemorative tablets the names of those that have shown unusual endurance in the midst of hardship and privation, or conspicuous firmness in presence of danger. But these names are few, whether of officers or their commands; and of the humbler soldiers that went from these our borders, the vast majority have gone down to undistinguished graves, so that the most industrious annalist, thus far, has not been able to rescue their memoirs from oblivion: *illacrimabiles urguentur ignotique longa nocte.*

Before the opening of the campaign of 1777 it became necessary to move a body of troops into the lower part of this peninsula for the purpose of bringing into subjection the Tories of Sussex County, Delaware, and of Worcester and Somerset Counties, Maryland, who were in open insurrection against the State authorities and in league with the enemy. These troops, a portion of the Maryland levies, marched into the disaffected district under Col. Gist, but were soon joined by General Smallwood, who broke up, in a measure, the treasonable organizations, by arresting the ring leaders, whom he sent to jail, and by requiring the others to take an oath of allegiance, or in case of refusal to be also imprisoned. But the pressing requirements of the Commander in Chief, rendered it necessary that these troops should join the main army. Their place was taken by Col. Richardson's battalion, which probably contained more of the men of Talbot than any other, as it seems to have been recruited chiefly upon the Eastern Shore. Commissioners were sent into the troubled counties to act in connection with the military officers, and under their direction, the stringent orders of Congress, were carried into effect. Dangerous persons were required to remove from the counties of their residence to some remote situation, military organizations were dissolved and disarmed, some of the more turbulent members were arrested, others compelled to take refuge

with the enemy, and a stringent oath of allegiance was required of all the suspected who remained at home. Before this insurrection had been entirely quelled the new Legislature had met and had passed most rigorous acts "to prevent the growth of toryism." At a later date there was an outbreak of the royalists in Caroline and Dorchester counties which was promptly subdued. In 1778 one Cheney Clows headed an insurrection in Queen Anne's county, for the suppression of which it was necessary to call out the militia. There was no evidence whatever that, at any time during the war of the Revolution, there was any overt act of treason in the county of Talbot, or any concerted movements of persons disaffected to the patriot cause. As great an unanimity prevailed here as in any county of the Province or State.

The main army under General Washington, which had been in winter quarters at Morristown or its vicinity, spent the spring and early summer months in filling its depleted ranks, in perfecting its reorganization, and in watching the movements of the enemy whose designs were not clearly revealed. The approach of the army of Burgoyne from Canada, apparently for the purpose of forming a junction with General Howe, and cutting off all communication with New York and the New England States, determined the Commander in Chief to move his army towards the north; but after a portion, including Sullivan's division, embracing the Marylanders, had crossed the Hudson, these troops were recalled, as intelligence had been received that the British army had been embarked on board ships and transports and has sailed towards the south, its destiny being as yet not fully known. But on the 22nd August the division under Gen'l Sullivan, containing the Marylanders under Smallwood and Debore, attacked Staten Island, then held by a body of royal Americans. The result was not happy, Smallwood lost many men, and Sullivan did not escape censure. Before this affair, however, information was received that the British fleet was in the mouth of the Delaware Bay, and it became known that Philadelphia was the objective point of attack, but whether by the Delaware or the Chesapeake was not known till later, when the fleet was reported as entering the latter bay, and steering toward the north. As soon as the purposes of the enemy became apparent, appeals were made by Congress for the assembling of the militia of Maryland, as well as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, for co-operation with the regular forces for the defence of Philadelphia. Two thousand men were asked of this State, of whom the Eastern Shore should supply seven hundred and fifty, and they were to assemble in Georgetown in Kent county as soon as possible. For

the purpose of hastening the assembling and organizing of these men, Gen'l Smallwood and Colonel Gist were sent there regular from the regular army, the one to the Western and the other to the Eastern Shore. Richardson's battalion, which had been disciplining the tories of the Peninsula to loyal ways, was to be united with the militia from this shore. The militia from the Western Shore was required to assemble towards the head of the Bay, as it soon became evident that the enemy intended to make a landing at the head of Elk River and march toward Philadelphia. Richardson's battalion of Eastern Shore men had anticipated this movement, and by impressing the horses, wagons and carts of the people of the vicinity, they had succeeded in removing beyond the reach of the enemy the greater part of the public stores that had been there accumulated for the use of the main army. The presence of the British fleet in the Chesapeake had created great alarm among the planters seated along its shores, and in conformity with the advice of Congress as well as with the dictates of private interest they had removed much of their live stock, grain, and household valuables into the interior.⁴⁵ The militia from the Eastern Shore were very slow in assembling, owing it would appear, more to want of arms, than actual reluctance to meet the dangers and encounter the hardships of a campaign. There is an obscure record which intimates that a company recruited in Talbot and commanded by Capt. Gibson, marched as far as Middletown, Delaware, but was unable to join the main army in time to participate in the battle at Brandywine.

It would not be within the scope of this paper to give an account, however brief, of the operations of the opposing armies in the campaign which, commencing with the battle of the Brandywine⁴⁶ was illustrated by that of Germantown, and closed with the skirmish at Edge Hill. This belongs to general history. It is sufficient here to say that the Maryland troops participated in almost every conflict, generally with

⁴⁵ On the 27th of Aug. General Howe issued another of his proclamations, under a belief that there was a large body of the disaffected in the section he was now invading. This was addressed to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, the lower counties of the Delaware, and the counties upon the Eastern Shore of Maryland. About as little, if indeed as much effect, was produced by this, as by his others. It is said this proclamation was read by Mr. William Hindman at the door of Talbot Courthouse, and for this he was censured by the politicians in after years, as smacking of Toryism.

⁴⁶ There is a tradition pretty well substantiated that a Talbot soldier, Lieut. Perry Benson, supported Gen'l Lafayette from the field after he had been wounded at Brandywine.

great credit to themselves, but sometimes, unfortunately, their reputation was blurred by conduct on the field of which no Marylander can be proud. But it must be said in extenuation that they were only the raw militia whose firmness was the subject of humiliating comment. It is presumable that the Talbot companies were engaged, and they are entitled to share in whatever honors were reaped in this campaign, and justice requires that they should divide whatever reproach was incurred. The main army went into winter quarters at Valley Forge. The Maryland militia returned to their homes, but Smallwood's regulars faring better than their compatriots in arms, were comfortably quartered in and around Wilmington.

While the soldiers of Maryland were thus engaged in vindicating the rights to independent existence, her statesmen were exercising that right by the enactment of laws for the carrying into practical effect the provisions of the Constitution which had been framed the previous year, with admirable wisdom. The first session of the first General Assembly of the new State commenced on the 5th of February and ended on the 20th of April, 1777. On the 13th of the month first named, Mr. Thomas Johnson was chosen Governor by the joint vote of the two houses, was inaugurated with much ceremony, and proclaimed on the 21st. Mr. Matthew Tilghman received one vote, but he had previously been elected the president of the first Senate of Maryland, a position which he continued to hold until 1786, when he retired from public service. In the first Executive Council of the State elected on the 14th of February, 1777, Mr. Edward Lloyd of this county had a seat. He was again elected in October of the same year a member of the second Council, and again in 1778, a member of the third Council, when also Col. James Hindman, who had previously resigned his post in the army, was chosen a member of the same honorable body. On the first Monday in October, 1777, there was held the second election under the Constitution for members of the Lower House of Assembly, when Messrs. Nicholas Thomas, Howes Goldsborough, James Benson and John Gibson were made the delegates from Talbot, and upon the meeting of the Legislature, Mr. Nicholas Thomas was chosen speaker of the house of which he was a member. But while the Assembly was thus engaged in inaugurating the new government—getting its machinery into place and in order for the regular working of the engine of state—it was not less diligent in providing for the army, upon the success of which, the continued existence of that government depended. During the sessions of 1777 and 1778, provisions were made for maintaining the proper

quota of troops of the State in the field,⁴⁷ by voluntary enlistment, for which bounties were offered, and by compulsory draughts. Those men who were already in the service had their comfort and welfare looked after and provided with supplies of clothing and blankets. Facilities were afforded for the operations of the army of the United States, by the authorizing of forcible seizure of means of transportation whenever they were required by the exigencies of the service. At the October session of 1778, an act for the relief of disabled and maimed officers and soldiers, marines and seamen was passed. Extraordinary powers were conferred upon the Governor and Council, for the protection of the State, and the promotion of the efficiency of the military forces, whether in the line or in the militia; and for the execution of their orders, as well as the resolutions of the Assembly, an officer hitherto unknown, who bore the title of "Lieutenant of the County," was appointed for each of the counties. On the 29th June, 1777, Col. Christopher Birkhead was selected by the Legislature as the Lieutenant of Talbot county.

Active operations in the field commenced with the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British army in June, 1778, and with its march through New Jersey towards New York under Gen'l Clinton, who had superseded Gen'l Howe. He was quickly followed by Washington, who coming up with the enemy at Monmouth, gave battle, the result of which, though not decisive, was most honorable to the American Arms. Here the Maryland line acquired new distinction for its firmness in the presence of the enemy is clearly attributable much of the success that was achieved. Whether men of Talbot are entitled to any of the honors won upon this day cannot be determined. None of their names are legible on the scroll of fame. But in this battle there was a native of Talbot, though a citizen of New Jersey, and bearing a commission of Brigadier General of the militia of the State who acquitted himself most creditably, and has received honorable mention by historians. This was General Philemon Dickinson, the brother of the Hon. John Dickinson, a gentleman who, if he did not possess the intellectual culture and abilities of the statesman, his kinsman, was a man of greater decision of character. The county of his birth should be proud of the honor his career reflects upon it. After the battle of Monmouth, the British Army moved towards the north followed by the American forces. The subsequent operations of this year were not such as call for any

⁴⁷ In March, 1778, it was ordered that 2902 troops should be raised either by voluntary enlistment or by draft. Of these, 1057 were required of the Eastern Shore counties, 105 being the quota of Talbot.

notice in this contribution. It may be well to mention, however, that it was during 1788 that treaties were formed with France, by which that country was pledged to give material assistance to the Americans in their struggle—an event of the utmost importance in our national history. The French fleet arrived in the Delaware soon after the departure of the British, upon their evacuation of Philadelphia. The presence of the French relieved the people of Maryland, residing along the shores of the Chesapeake and its tributaries, of much of the marauding to which they had been subject both from British vessels and privateers fitted out by the loyalists. Early in December the army went into winter quarters, the Marylanders building huts for their protection at Middlebrook, which was made the headquarters of the commander-in-chief.

During the winter the authorities of Maryland were actively engaged in filling up the ranks of the Maryland line, and furnishing soldiers in camp with those necessaries which the inclement season, and their generally destitute condition demanded. The operations of the main army in the year consisted rather in watching the movements of the enemy than in any "enterprises of pith and moment," and the campaign was upon the whole without consequences of importance to either party. In the capture of Stony Point by General Wayne, one of the most creditable affairs of the war, Maryland troops participated, behaving with a gallantry at least equal to that of their fellow soldiers of the other States. In May of this year a detachment from the British squadron that lay in New York harbor, having on board marines and soldiers, entered the mouth of the Chesapeake and ravaged portions of Virginia. Great alarm was communicated to the people of Maryland who were exposed to the depredations of this force which was expected to ascend the Bay and lay waste the counties along its shores. None was more exposed to depredations and injury from a naval enemy than Talbot, her geographical formation and position being such as to permit incursions from the fleet into almost every part of her territory. The Governor of the State ordered the militia in all the tidewater counties to hold themselves in readiness to repel the invaders and General Gist, who in former years had commanded the troops of this class drawn from this section, was sent from the main army to take charge of the defences of the State. This detachment from the fleet of the enemy, however, after being pretty well glutted with the pillage and plunder of some of the Virginia counties, returned to New York, and joined the squadron, without further prosecuting what appears to have been a

mere marauding expedition. These alarms of the people along the shores of the Chesapeake were frequent during the war, which required the militia of this and other counties similarly situated to be constantly upon the alert—a condition of things which however annoying served to keep alive the military spirit among the people, and to this cause may be attributed in great degree the ability and willingness which Maryland exhibited to keep her full quota of troops in the field and even to furnish recruits to the lines of other States less infused with the spirit of warlike resistance.

In October of 1778 a general election was held, at which Messrs. Robert Goldsborough, Thomas Sherwood, Howes Goldsborough and John Stevens were chosen delegates to the lower house of assembly, which with the senate, met on the 26th of the same month and year, and again in March and July of the following year. One of the most important acts of this Legislature was that entitled an "Act to establish select vestries." No part of the social system in this State was more profoundly deranged by the organism of the Revolution than that which discharged the functions of religion. The church of England was really a part of the government. It was the established church of the Province. The parishes were civil divisions of the territory. The incumbents of those parishes were the appointees of the Lord Proprietary, or his Governors. The stipends of these appointees were derived from annual levies, collected as all other levies, by the sheriffs of the counties and paid over to the vestries, of which the rectors were the principal vestrymen, *ex-officio*. The vestries were really civil officers elected by the qualified voters of the parishes, not only having the temporalities of the church in hand but also the morality of their constituents in a certain degree, under their censorship. By the adoption of the constitution in 1776 all this machinery was laid aside. The selection of the ministers was left to the vestries. These vestries no longer having a legal status, the pay of the clergy from the public fund ceased, and, in general, affairs ecclesiastical were placed in a condition of chaos. It is to be noted, however, that the Commissioners and Justices of the Peace for the county continued to levy the usual church rate of forty pounds of tobacco per poll up to the time of the adoption of the constitution, and the incumbents of the parishes, who were associators, or willing to take the prescribed oaths, were allowed to receive their usual stipends up to November, 1777, after which time these entirely ceased, and the clergy became dependent for support upon the benevolence of their several congregations, and the income from the glebes

with which some of the parishes were endowed. The object of the "Act to establish select vestries" was to give to the vestries such legal status as the changed condition of affairs allowed. Many of the clergy of the established church of the province were royalists in sentiment. Some had abandoned the parishes, others had been dispossessed, before the adoption of the constitution; and, when the "Act for the better security of the government" was passed in 1777, which forbid anyone "to preach or teach the gospel"⁴⁸ who refused to take the prescribed oaths of allegiance to the State, yet others, who had up to this time exercised their functions, were debarred from the pulpits. The people of Talbot were fortunate in having in the two parishes which included much the greater part of the county clergymen of undoubted loyalty to the patriot cause, the Rev. John Gordon of Saint Michael's parish and the Rev. Jacob Henderson Hindman of Saint Peter's parish, one of whom at least was a member of the Committee of Observation for the county, a body composed of no others but men of approved fidelity to the cause.⁴⁹ Besides having ministers in entire sympathy with them upon political subjects, the vestries held glebes, in each of the parishes and other properties, which yielded an income for the partial support of the rectors, each of whom possessed also private means of no inconsiderable amounts. Under these favorable circumstances, therefore, the people of the county did not suffer a deprivation of their ecclesiastical privileges. After the resignation of Mr. Hindman in 1779 St. Peter's parish was forced to be content with such ministrations as could be given by Mr. Thomas Gordon, as layreader, until another regularly ordained clergyman could be induced to accept the small pay which the parish was able to afford. This clergyman who was prevailed upon to accept the parish was the Rev. John Bowie, who, though a non-juror, was accused of toryism while in his parish in Worcester, from which he was removed by the order of the convention, was, in the year 1780, accepted as rector, he partially supporting himself by teaching a school.

In this connection it is proper to mention that the Methodists had begun their inroads upon territory that had been regarded as the peculiar domain of the church, at or about the time of the outbreak of the Revolu-

⁴⁸ Passed at the Oct. session 1777, Chap. XX, Sec. seventeen.

⁴⁹ Among the names given in this contribution of members of the Com. of Observation appear those of the Rev. John Gordon and Jacob Hindman. The Rev. Ethan Allen, who is not to be implicitly relied upon, says this Jacob Hindman was the Rev. Jacob Henderson Hindman, and there is nothing to contradict this statement.

tion. Their ministers were generally among the suspected as many of them were Englishmen, and were supposed to follow Mr. Wesley in his politics as in his dogmatics. One preacher, named Rodda was detected in Kent of Queen Anne's in circulating Howe's proclamation, and he was driven from his circuit by the exasperated people, and compelled to take refuge on board the British fleet. In 1778 Rev. Joseph Hartley was arrested in Queen Anne's county, and again, in 1779, in Talbot county. Here he was confined in jail where he remained three months, but was finally released on bail. In 1780 Freeborn Garretson, a native American was confined in jail in Cambridge. In the year 1782, an act was passed, entitled "An Act to relieve non-jurors from certain disabilities" in which was embodied a provision "that no person of the sect, society or profession of the people called Methodists, shall be fined for preaching the gospel without taking the oath or affirmation prescribed by the 'Act for the better security of the government;' unless it shall appear that such Methodist, by his actions and conduct hath manifested a disposition inimical to the present government." Whatever jealousy may have existed in the earlier years of the revolutionary period of the Methodist preachers, the converts to that system became in the end the most ardent patriots, for to the warmth of patriotism was added the heats of religious antagonism to the church which, in the minds of most, was identified with English authority.

The Quakers, the only other religious body within the county of any considerable numerical power, were non-combatants, and objected on religious principle to the employment of militia force, even for resistance to similar force on the part of the British government. But nowhere does there exist any evidence that these people, the State of Maryland, or in Talbot county, which was one of their strongholds, were not in thorough sympathy with the patriot cause, a sympathy which was strengthened by their opposition to the church establishment. Their brethren in Philadelphia had suffered from their open antagonism to this cause, so far that several had been hung as tories.

This whole subject will be treated of more at large, when opportunity shall be found to give an account of Religion in Talbot.

Returning, now, from this digression, to the current of events, it may be noted here that a petition presented to the State authorities and signed by the officers of the Maryland line for more adequate provisions for their support while in the service, the great depreciation of the currency having rendered their pay insufficient to defray their actual expenses, or supply their actual needs, had the names of two officers of

this county attached, Major Archibald Anderson and Capt. Jonathan Gibson. To this petition the assembly responded favorably by ordering in July, 1779, that the officers should be furnished with certain clothing and rations of provisions, irrespective of the cost of the articles supplied. This was better than any extra allowance of the money of the country which had an unsettled value.

Again in October of this year, the annual election for members of the House of Delegates was held when Messrs. Henry Banning, John Gibson, Richard Johns and Christopher Birkhead were chosen to represent the people of Talbot in the General Assembly. Evidently the conservative element had been eliminated. Upon the meeting of this body in November, the term of service of Governor Johnson having expired, it proceeded to the election of his successor. The choice of the members of the two houses was divided between Mr. Edward Lloyd, of this county and Mr. Thomas Sim Lee of Prince George, but it ultimately fell upon the latter, who became the second governor under the State constitution. In the Executive Council, chosen in 1779, and in those of the succeeding years to 1786, Talbot had no member. The Hon. Matthew Tilghman, as has been noted, continued to be one of the senators who were not then as now representatives of the counties, but elected from the State at large. The authorities, executive and legislative, continued to feel and exhibit the same interest in the progress of the war, as those of previous years. To maintain the quota of men in the field, additional levies were made, each county being required to furnish its due proportion. Where voluntary enlistment was not effectual in procuring the required number, the militia of each county was divided into as many classes as the county was required to furnish recruits, and each of these classes was required to "furnish a recruit, to take up a deserter or pay the bounty" necessary to secure a recruit, which bounty was not to exceed fifteen pounds in each hundred pounds of the assessed property of the class. The act, of which this was one of the provisions, stated that the levy for the State was fourteen hundred men. This same assembly passed other acts for maintaining the number and efficiency of the forces in the field which need not be enumerated. The finances of the State, at this time were in a deplorable condition owing to the enormous depreciation of the paper issues, both Continental and State, received much of its attention and the more, that this condition furnished the greatest embarrassment in the prosecution of the war which was the supreme interest. One of the devices fallen upon to relieve the public treasury was the solicitation of voluntary contributions from

citizens of the State. A list of contributors, chiefly members of the General Assembly, shows the following names of citizens of Talbot, with the amount agreed to be paid affixed: Matthew Tilghman, 4 hogshead tobacco; Henry Banning, 1 hogshead tobacco and 200 pounds paper money; John Gibson, 1 hogshead tobacco; Christopher Birkhead, 1 hogshead tobacco; William (?James) Hindman, 2 hogsheads tobacco.⁵⁰

Resuming now the thread of the narrative of the operations of the army, as far as they relate to the troops of Maryland, and therefore of the men of Talbot, the first movement to be noted is the detachment of the Maryland line from the main body and its transference to the army of the south. It was marched to the head of Elk, where it was embarked on board transports, which had been impressed for this service, and conveyed down the Bay to Petersburg, Virginia, whence it was marched to join the army then under the command of Gen'l Gates. The Marylanders were under Gen'l De Kalb, with Smallwood and Gist as generals of brigade.

The first encounter with the enemy was at Camden, South Carolina, on the 16th August, 1780, where the American army received such a disastrous reverse, but whence the Marylanders carried off so many honors, though leaving great numbers of their dead upon the field.⁵¹ In this battle three officers belonging to Talbot, were certainly present. Major Archibald Anderson, Capt. Perry Benson and Capt. Jonathan Gibson. Of Major Anderson's behavior in again and again rallying the first brigade, to which he belonged, after it had been made to recede by overwhelming numbers, which the enemy was able to bring against this body after the disgraceful retreat of the North Carolina militia, and of his great activity in rallying the fugitives so as to present a bold front to the triumphant enemy, and thus save the army from utter destruction, history has made fitting mention, and he has thus received a part of the meed to which he is entitled. Of Benson in this engagement we know nothing more than that he was present, and his intrepidity of conduct upon other occasions gives us assurance that upon this his bravery and firmness did not desert him. The records of the battle mention the wounding of a Capt. Gibson. Without possessing an absolute certainty that this was Capt. Jonathan Gibson of Talbot, there is a strong probability that it was. If so his wound must have been slight, for Capt. Jonathan Gibson participated actively, as is of record, in immedi-

⁵⁰ Scharf's Hist. Md., vol. ii, p. 375.

⁵¹ The pride of every Marylander in the troops of his State is justified by the universal testimony of all historians of this battle.

ately subsequent affairs. As is well known Gen'l De Kalb was mortally wounded, and dying testified in moving terms to the exemplary conduct of the troops under his command in presenting a firm opposition to a superior force when abandoned by the rest of the army. The losses in this battle of the Maryland line had been so great that a reorganization became necessary, and the troops were arranged in one regiment under Col. Otho Holland Williams, and two battalions under Majors Archibald Anderson and Hardman. The supernumerary officers returned to Maryland to assist in recruiting the depleted ranks, and among those was General Gist who was enabled, before the end of the year in some measure to supply the places of the missing. It does not appear that Maryland troops participated in the memorable fight at Kings Mountain, where a severe blow was delivered to the enemy. No other conflict of the opposing armies occurred during 1780 in the South. With the most impressive episode of the whole war, the capture and execution of Andre, Talbot is connected through an officer, who after the war married here and became a citizen of this county. This was Captain, afterwards Col. John Hughes of Harford county, who was in command of the guard having this amiable but unfortunate gentleman in charge after his arrest. A warm attachment sprang up between these two soldiers. Capt. Hughes did everything in his power to render Major Andre comfortable during his confinement, furnishing from his own scanty resources those conveniences of which the prisoner felt the need; and it is said that among the mementoes of him, which are still preserved in the tower of London, are the comb, brush and towels marked "John Hughes," which were used by him while awaiting the result of his trial. It is also said Major Andre before starting to the place of execution placed in the hands of his devoted friend a miniature of his former betrothed, and a letter to her, with the request that he would forward them to her in England which request was faithfully complied with. Leaning on Capt. Hughes's arm Andre walked to the gallows, and for him this friend performed the last sad duty of bandaging his eyes with a scarf taken from his own person.⁵²

During the year 1780, as in years previous the Chesapeake Bay was infested by marauders which the galleys and barges belonging to the

⁵² Genealogical notes of the Chamberlaine family by Hon. J. B. Kerr, p. 46. Hanson's "Old Kent," p. 55. This story is given as current tradition relates it, and as it is told in family history; but the writer of this contribution has not been able to verify it, and there are parts of it which are indubitably untrue. Col. Hughes lived at Lombardy in Miles River Neck.

State never had been entirely able to expel. These were chiefly tories from the lower part of the peninsula. They committed many depredations, and carried their outrages to the extent of taking life. They were much encouraged in their piratical adventures by the entrance of the British into the Bay in the latter part of the year, under General Leslie. The following letter of the Hon. Matthew Tilghman to the Governor of the State gives an account of the capture of some of these marauders by a citizen of the Bayside of this county.

TALBOT COUNTY, Sept. 2, 1780.

SIR:—The bearer, Col. William Webb Haddaway, waits on you with two prisoners captured in a small boat which to'ther day was taken from his landing together with his own boat. This was done on the morning of the 31st of last month. The Colonel immediately assembled a number of spirited young fellows who cheerfully joined him, fitting themselves out with arms and what ammunition they could muster, and in a small row boat pursued, and in about twenty-four hours came up with and re-took the hindmost boat. The other belonging to the Colonel was entirely out of their reach. His was really a spirited exertion. It does honor to the State and deserves the highest applause. I really wish it may be in your Excellency's and Council's power to enable these brave men to do more. I am satisfied, if it was possible to furnish a vessel of force, the same persons who have shown so much alacrity, activity and bravery on this occasion would do a great deal towards routing these disturbers of our peace and regaining the property which must be of the greatest consequence to many unhappy sufferers; and if a vessel can be got, the Colonel, I am convinced, will be able to get as many men as will be sufficient to man her. I am persuaded you will afford him every encouragement and assistance in your power, and I am with the greatest respect, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

MAT. TILGHMAN.⁵³

Again in October of 1780 there was an election for delegates to the Lower House of Assembly, when the following gentlemen were returned from Talbot: Messrs. James Hindman, Nicholas Martin, James Lloyd Chamberlaine, and Edward Lloyd. The Legislature assembled soon after the election. One of the first measures to engage its attention was the providing for the defence of the State from the enemy who, under General Leslie, had on the 16th of October sailed from New York with a large force and had entered the lower Chesapeake, and taken possession of Norfolk and Portsmouth. In ignorance of the ulterior design of the British commander, but believing that he would not confine him-

⁵³ For this letter, never before published, the writer is indebted to Col. J. T. Scharf.

self to the Virginia waters, and the counties bordering thereon, but extend his inroads into Maryland passed an act "to embody a number of select militia, and for immediately putting this State in a proper posture of defence." By this act twenty thousand men, twelve thousand from the Western and eight thousand from the Eastern Shore were to be selected armed and equipped.⁴⁴ They were to be volunteers, to serve until December 10, 1781. In addition, an "Act for the defence of the Bay" requiring the equipment of "four large barges, fitted with sails and oars, armed with swivels, and carrying each at least twenty-five men; one galley armed with two 18 and two 9 pounders and swivels; one sloop or schooner capable of carrying ten 4 pounders." A troop of horse was ordered to be raised for the protection of Somerset and Worcester counties where the tories continued to give much trouble. All the inhabitants of the islands below Hoopers straits, with their property, were removed to the main, and the seizure of all their vessels, boats and canoes was authorized. While the Chesapeake was thus in command, as it were, of the British, and communication between the Eastern and Western Shores precarious, it was deemed necessary to adopt some expedient by which the orders of the government at Annapolis should have effective execution on the opposite side of the Bay, and therefore it was resolved by the Legislature that "five of the principal gentlemen of the Eastern Shore are constituted a special council, any three of whom on actual invasion of the enemy, or when the State is imminently threatened with an invasion, may exercise, on the Eastern shore, during such occasion, all the powers vested in the executive," with certain restrictions that need not here be specified. Of this special committee Mr. Matthew Tilghman was one.⁴⁵ In December, Gen'l Leslie, who had been ordered to reinforce Cornwallis in the south, was succeeded by Arnold, the traitor, who in January entered the Chesapeake with fifty sail and a land force of fifteen hundred men. Of the depredations and devastations of Arnold general history gives such full account as to impart additional blackness to a character which had been sufficiently dark without those shades which his deeds in Virginia contributed to its portraiture. Never thoroughly trusted after his treason, Arnold was superseded in March, 1781, by General Philips, who brought reinforcements with the evident purpose to make the lodg-

⁴⁴ This is the number as stated in Hanson's Laws, but it is so large that doubt is thrown upon the statement.

⁴⁵ Hanson's Laws, 1780, Chap. XXVII, manuscript memoir of Hon. Matthew Tilghman, by his daughter Ann Maria Tilghman.

ment which had been secured in Virginia permanent and to render that State the centre of military operations.

Reverting for a moment to matters of a civil or political nature, it is proper here to note the passage by the Legislature of 1780-81 of an act to ratify the Articles of Confederation—a step which this State had long hesitated to take because of her unwillingness to relinquish to certain other States the lands of western territories, which she claimed and wisely claimed, should be held as the common property of the States confederating. Her final accession to the plan—she being the last to yield her objections—caused that great charter to become the fundamental law of the nascent nation, and gave consistence, form and perpetuity to an union which up to this time had been a political abstraction without definition, cohesion or stability. The delegates in Congress were directed to subscribe to the Articles, and this was accordingly done on the first of March, 1781, by Messrs. Daniel Carroll and John Hanson. Another act of importance was finally passed, after much and warm discussion. This was an “act to seize, confiscate and appropriate all British property within this State.” Under the title British property was claimed the property not only of residents of Great Britain, but of those Americans who adhered to the royal cause. It is to be noted that the Honorable Matthew Tilghman and William Hindman, both of whom at the date of this act were members of the State Senate, opposed its passage. Under the operations of this bill, the county records indicate that certain lands in Talbot belonging to English merchants, trading in the Chesapeake, having their stores and factors at various points, were sold by the commissioners under this act. Among those whose property was seized and sold in this county was Mr. Mathias Gale of the firm of Gale & Ponsonly of London, who held land near Kingston. A part of Turkey Neck, in the same vicinage was sold to William Merchant, and the proceeds of the sale paid in part to General Smallwood for the purpose of promoting recruiting, and the remainder to the Treasurer of the Western Shore. Another act repealed the tax upon resident non-jurors, whose refusal to take the oath did not proceed from disaffection to the State government.

After the disastrous battle of Camden, where the Maryland line had suffered such a terrible depletion, the authorities of the State used every possible exertion, and adopted almost every expedient to fill the ranks. Early in the year 1781 active operations were resumed by the opposing armies in the South, if it can be said they had been suspended by a southern winter which admits of campaigning throughout the year.

A portion of the Maryland troops were placed under General Morgan, having as their immediate commander Col. John Eager Howard. On the 17th of January they encountered the enemy, and then was fought the glorious battle of Cowpens, in which the men of Maryland acquired such honors as an hundred years have not dimmed. In achieving this victory, it is stated, upon good authority⁵⁶ that Captain Perry Benson participated. Again on the 15th of March at Guilford Court House the Marylanders, who really composed the greater part of the regulars in General Greene's army, defeated the enemy, and maintained that distinction which they had heretofore won; but among those who laid down their lives upon the field of battle was Major Archibald Anderson, of this county, the same officer who had behaved so creditably at Camden. It is to be regretted that so little is known of this capable officer and brave man. Diligent effort has been made to discover traces of him before the war. Nothing has been thus far learned of his parentage or the date or place of his birth. That he was a citizen of Talbot has been claimed because he early enlisted in a company recruited in this county. His case affords a conspicuous instance of the neglect of Marylanders to perpetuate the memories of those who have served her in the council or in the field. Captain James Hindman, recommending him for promotion for his conduct at the battle of Long Island, said: "Lieut. Anderson is as good an officer as any in the Maryland service, and I have no doubt when his character is inquired into, you will find I say no more of him than he deserves." A letter written from camp two days after the battle of Guilford C. H., thus speaks of him: "Major Anderson and Ensign Nelson are amongst the slain. Both were brave and both are justly lamented. Anderson was an excellent officer, but I regret his loss equally as a friend, for he was possessed of the most endearing social virtues."⁵⁷ At Guilford, Benson also fought, as doubtless did other men of Talbot "to fame unknown." "This battle," as remarked by Bancroft, "transformed the American army into pursuers, the British into fugitives." Again on the 25th of April, at Hob Kirk's Hill in South Carolina, near the old battleground of Camden, the Marylanders were brought into the conflict with the enemy, and

⁵⁶ Biographical sketch of General Perry Benson, by the Hon. R. H. Goldsborough, published in the Easton Gazette of Oct., 1827. It is here stated explicitly that Benson was present at Cowpens and Guilford, and this statement was doubtless founded upon information imparted by Benson himself.

⁵⁷ American Archives, 5 series, vol. iii, Scharf's Hist. Md., vol. ii., p. 416. Taken from the Maryland Journal of April 3, 1781.

after maintaining for a while their old prestige, were, through some blundering compelled to leave the field, and thus convert what at one time promised to be a great victory into an indecisive battle. In this affair Captain Benson was conspicuous for the part he took in the movements preliminary to the engagement of the main forces. The following account of his conduct is taken from the biographical sketch of him, before referred to, and as to the facts related, was probably derived either from Benson himself or from one who accompanied Benson to the war at Hob Kirk's Hill and Ninety-Six "he gathered laurels which the blighting touch of time cannot destroy." In the first of these two last mentioned engagements he commanded the picket guard, consisting of about one hundred and twenty men. On the part of the American army this day was devoted to foraging and to those other duties of the camp, which it is absolutely necessary at times to perform; and although every precautionary step was taken which the prudence and vigilance of the commanding general deemed proper, dispersed as must have been the army at the time, and engaged in their various employments, it could not have been prepared at a moment's warning to repel the attack the enemy were about to make. The dauntless and firm hero, Captain Benson, knowing the situation of the American army, and feeling the importance of the station he occupied, taking counsel of his patriotism and his valor, immediately determined with his little band to receive the shock of the whole British force, and if possible, to check its advance, until the American army might have time to form and meet the enemy. He communicated his brave resolve to his soldiers, and calmly and patiently awaited the approach of the hostile army. When fairly within the range of his muskets, he opened a fire so galling and so deadly, as to throw confusion into the British columns, who believing, from the reception they met with, that they had encountered not a picket guard, but the whole American army, attempted to display into line of battle. The "intrepid Captain Benson" as a historian of the Revolution has termed him, when he had fired six rounds, and lost in killed and wounded all but thirty-three of his brave soldiers, and the enemy within thirty yards, and not till then, gave orders for a retreat. But for the gallantry of this exploit, unparalleled, we suspect, in the annals of warfare, the whole American army might, perhaps, have fallen an easy prey to the enemy.⁶⁸ In the books of general history as well as

⁶⁸ Biographical sketch of General Benson by Hon. Robt. H. Goldsborough. A more temperate account of Benson's part in this action is given in the Memoir of Gen. Benson, prepared by the author of this contribution, and published in the Easton Star of Jan. 14, 1879.

those of the State, the command of the pickets, which retarded the advance of the British General Rawdon, is said to have belonged to Kirkwood of Delaware. Unless Capt. Kirkwood ranked Benson, it will be perceived that there is a conflict of testimony as to the claims of each of these brave men for having secured, by his firmness, the necessary time to enable General Greene to form his army in line of battle to meet the advancing foe. But it would seem that General Greene himself has settled this matter by his stating in his orders of the day, issued immediately after the battle, that the pickets were under Captains Benson and Morgan. On the 22d of May General Greene commenced the siege of Fort Ninety-Six, which was the only place, except Wilmington and Charleston, then held by the enemy in the Carolinas. It was determined to attempt to capture the place by assault, and to "Maryland and Virginia troops was assigned the dangerous and honorable duty of carrying this desperate attempt into execution on the left, while other troops were to a like attempt on the right. Of the part taken by Captain Benson in this affair a detailed and particular account has been given in the memoir of him, by the author of this contribution, already mentioned. Scant justice has been done him by historians, and the claims he has made have never received the consideration they seem to merit. Here this brave man was terribly wounded, and though he for a long time hovered between life and death, he finally rallied sufficiently to return home, and before he was again fitted to take the field, active hostilities had ceased. A letter of Capt. Jonathan Gibson to the father of Capt. Perry Benson, written after the battle, indicates that he too, was a participant in the assault. The failure at Ninety-Six was followed in September, by the battle of Eutaw Springs, where the Marylanders, under Col. Otho Holland Williams, retrieved whatever reputation they had lost, and won additional laurels. Here Capt. Gibson, the same that has been so often mentioned, while engaged in this hotly contested field, received the decoration of an honorable wound. The southern army afterwards invested Charlestown, S. C., and finally caused its evacuation on the 14th of December, 1781.

While these events were occurring in the South, the enemy was concentrating a force in Virginia, at the mouth of the Chesapeake, with a view, as stated above, of making that State the seat of the most important military operations. Gen. Cornwallis, after the battle at Guilford Court House, when Greene marched into South Carolina, moved northward to Virginia, and forming a junction with the forces

there, assumed chief command. The British having command of the bay, sent out or authorized marauding parties which kept the people along its shores and those of its tributaries in a state of continual alarm. While a regular invasion was anticipated, a system of petty naval warfare, no better than piracy, was maintained with the sanction of the British commanders. This was really more distressing to the people than if an organized fleet and army had closed the ports and occupied the towns. Small armed vessels and boats scoured the bay, seizing or burning any craft that came in their way. From time to time the crews, which were generally made up of tories, landed at various points, plundered the plantations of everything of value that could be removed, and sometimes carried their outrages so far as to fire the buildings, and even to hang the owners. Besides other property of the planters many slaves were taken away. Talbot, by reason of her great coast line, was particularly exposed, and suffered much from these marauding expeditions. On the eighth of November, 1780, one of them proceeded up the Choptank river as far as Castle-Haven in Dorchester county, and there took possession of a vessel called the *Mayflower*. The party engaged then attempted to land at Benoni's point in this county, for the purpose of pillaging the farm house there, but were promptly met by the Talbot militia, under Major Jeremiah Banning, and driven off without their booty. It was thought they lost one man in this attempt.⁶⁶ It is not unlikely that this party was the same that destroyed the residence of Mr. John Henry, a distinguished citizen of Dorchester county. This or another party took possession of Choptank island, at the mouth of the river of the same name, then belonging to the Hon. Matthew Tilghman, and robbed it of everything of value they could carry off, and doubtless they would have visited his home at Ward's point, or Rich-Neck, if they had not been deceived as to the probable amount of spoil to be obtained from a house of such modest proportions as that which one of the richest men of the county occupied, or if they had known so eminent a patriot's property was so near and so exposed. On Tuesday night, March 13, 1781, a party of these marauders went up Wye river, and after robbing the residence of the Hon. Edward Lloyd at Wye House of a large amount of valuables, set fire to the mansion,

⁶⁶ From the Journal or Day Book of Col. Jeremiah Banning, extracts from which have been kindly furnished by his granddaughter, Miss Mary E. Banning, now of Baltimore, but late of this county—a lady whose original researches in cryptogamic botany have given her an established reputation among students of that department of natural science.

which was burned to the ground, with all its valuable contents.⁶⁰ This same party visited Wye Island, and plundered the plantation of Mr. Boardley. Without doubt others suffered in the loss of property as much in proportion to their wealth as Mr. Tilghman and Mr. Lloyd. The measures ordered by the legislature to be taken for the protection of the tide water counties, by the enlistment of a select body of militia volunteers, and the equipment of a miniature fleet, has already been noted. Before the barges and other vessels of the State navy could be commissioned or made ready, such had been the alarm in Talbot, and such the extent of the plundering, the farmers and planters seated along Wye and St. Michaels Rivers and the southern shore of the Eastern bay determined to equip a barge and a boat at their own expense for their protection. The following subscription paper was circulated, and received the signatures that are appended:

Whereas, the enemy have fitted out a number of small vessels to ravage and plunder our Farms and Plantations which lie on the water and have lately plundered many of our countrymen and burnt and destroyed their houses, threatening the like destruction wherever they shall be able to effect it with security; and whereas from the present exhausted state of the Public Treasury Government cannot immediately give that protection to every individual, which is become necessary, from the cruel and savage mode in which the war is now carried on against us; and whereas a water defence is the best and most effectual way of preventing those surprises, depredations and ragaves, and individuals have built and offered boats for such purposes; We the subscribers do agree to support and maintain the barge *Experiment* and * * * boat * * * for two months, and man the same with twenty men exclusive of necessary officers; the said boat and barge to be stationed in the Eastern Bay and to cruise occasionally between Kent Point and the Hon. Matthew Tilghman's island; and we agree to pay all charges and expenses in proportion to the several assessments of our property lying in the counties where we respectfully reside.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands, Talbot county, May 2nd, 1781: Thomas Ray, Robert Pickering, Wm. Dawson, Sam'l Benson, Richard Parrott, Joseph Hartley, Wm. (?Woolman) Gibson, J. Gibson, L. R. Skinner, Hugh Rice, William Tilghman, L. (James?) Benson, John Dawson, Eliza Hindman, Ann Maxwell,

⁶⁰ A memorandum still in existence states that there were taken from Wye House, among other things of value, 336 ounces of plate, £800 in cash gold and silver, £181 of new State money, jewelry, watches, and much personal clothing. At the same time eight negro slaves were carried off. The authority upon which the statement is here made that the Wye House was burned is the Hon. John Bozman Kerr, who was not often at fault in his relation to facts; yet the writer has never been able to verify this, which he states explicitly.

Harriet Collister, Robert Newcomb, James Darrow, James Earle Denny, James Keitly, Thomas Tibets, Thomas Applegarth, Henry Tibets, Thomas Barrow, John Nesmith, James Tilghman, James Hewes, William Watts, Francis Morling, James Baker, J. S. Gibson, Matthew Tilghman, Edward Lloyd, William Lloyd, William Hemsley, William Paca, Peregrine Tilghman, Robert Goldsborough, William Hindman, James Hindman, Robert Goldsborough, Jr., Eliz. Maxwell, William Goldsborough, Mary Ann Goldsborough, Mary Ann Turbutt Goldsborough, Howes Goldsborough, William Lavelle (or Savelle).⁶¹

Unfortunately no record reveals the names of the officers and crews of the volunteer naval force.

At a later date the vessels and barges of the State had been equipped and sent out to intercept the marauders, and drive them from the upper part of the bay at least. The special council of the Eastern Shore by the first of August had succeeded in getting ready for service three barges and had sent them on a cruise. The following extract from a letter to the Hon. Matthew Tilghman dated Aug. 3, 1781, addressed to his daughter, Miss Ann Maria, who subsequently became the wife of Col. Tench Tilghman, and who at the date of its writing was visiting her sister, the wife of the Hon. Charles Carroll, the barrister, at Mount Clare, Baltimore county, on the Western Shore.

* * * * I am vexed with myself for missing the opportunity of our Barges to Annapolis, of boasting of the doings of the Eastern Shore, I won't say of the council. Our three barges having been fully manned and well fitted out, and the commodore having in form received his instructions, sealed up and not to be opened until they all met at Sharpe's island, put out on his cruise last Saturday evening. On Monday they fell in with two barges and a whale boat—the barges, one commanded by Robinson that robbed my island, the other by McMullen that hung up Harry Gale, and the whale boat by Whaland.⁶² McMullen was taken, and the other two put to flight, and on Wednesday morning the commodore with his captured barge and two small boats retaken,

⁶¹ The author of this contribution is indebted to the kindness of Col. J. Thos. Scharf for copies of three of these subscription papers, which enable him to give a more complete list of the subscribers than Col. Scharf has inserted in his history. He must have been in possession of a fourth. All the subscribers as far as they are known were of Talbot county except Mr. Paca, who was part owner of Wye Island, belonging to Queen Anne's county.

⁶² This Whaland was a notorious partisan privateer and after having given much trouble, destroyed a large amount of property and kept the shores of the bay in a state of apprehension of his visits. He was finally killed in 1783, after a desperate fight with the Maryland barges.

which were prizes taken by the barges, came in triumph to the ferry, [probably Haddaway's ferry, on Bayside]. The novelty drew numbers all day. The event has given general joy, and if we cannot flatter ourselves with peace, we begin to think we have a chance of remaining safe from the plunders that have of late infested us. The great barge is also fitted out, and commissions gone down, and by this time I expect Walley, with his 24-pounder is on a cruise. The barge, Mr. Polk says, bears the 24-pounder well, and it has been fired several times. We will not attack the British fleet, but as for any thing else we shall make nothing of 'em. The commodore has taken a recruit of provisions and stores, and is gone off for Annapolis with the prisoners, and then proceeds down the bay to cruise till Wednesday or Thursday next, when we are to have a meeting of the council. The commanders are all to attend, and I expect some grand expedition will be formed. You'll show this to Charles (Carroll). I think it is nearly as pompous as he could write.⁶³

It is barely necessary to say that the barges to which Mr. Tilghman refers fitted out by that special Council of principal men, who as has been noted, were appointed to act upon the Eastern Shore in the very contingency that had come to pass, namely, the possession of the Bay by the naval force of the enemy; and these barges were a part of those which had been authorized to be equipped by the legislature. Although the names of some of the commanders of them have been preserved, it is not evident that any belonged to Talbot men, yet it is morally certain that some of the captains were of this county, so many of whose citizens "followed the water," and had been deprived of their vocation by the privateers, British and tory. The activity of the flotilla, taken in connection with the arrival, in September, 1781, of the French squadron under De Grasse, in the mouth of the Chesapeake, and the momentous military events that soon after occurred, served in great measure to relieve the people of the tidewater counties, for a time, at least, from the visits of the marauders. But the withdrawal of the French fleet, after the surrender of Cornwallis was the signal for the renewal of their depredations, which were continued through the year 1782 and 1783 down to the time indeed of the declaration of peace, even as late as the 19th of February of the last named year five barges and a sloop were cruising in the Eastern Bay and about Poplar island, bent upon an expedition of plunder and incendiarism. The continuance of these outrages rendered necessary a provision for additional vessels for patrol-

⁶³ The original of this letter is in the possession of Col. Oswald Tilghman, the g-g-g-son of the writer.

ing the Bay, in which duty the authorities of Virginia, whose State was suffering in the like manner and degree, were requested to co-operate; and after the suspension of hostilities, on the part of the armies, these mauraders continuing their nefarious operations, the attention of Gen. Washington was called to their violations of the preliminaries of peace, that he might learn from the British commanders whether they were committed with their sanction. However, by the rigorous operations of the Maryland captains these expeditions which had all the characteristics of piracy, were finally arrested, after the most notorious of the leaders, Whaland, had been killed in a desperate fight, in which sixty-five out of seventy-five of his men were either killed or wounded.⁶⁴

It is necessary to retrace our steps and return to the operations of the field. In the month of January, 1781, a detachment, from the main army at the north, was quietly marched to the head of Elk, and thence around the head of the Bay to Baltimore, whence these troops, under Gen'l Lafayette, proceeded to Virginia to confront the army of Cornwallis, whose evident purpose was first the subjugation of that State, and then of Maryland. In September of the same year, the commander in chief, himself, with the allied number of Americans and French passed into Virginia from the north, a part by way of the Elk, and the Bay, and another part marching through Baltimore and Annapolis. Large numbers of recruits were furnished by Maryland, and she was called upon to supply immense quantities of provisions for the forces that were concentrating in Virginia preparatory to an attempt to capture the army of Cornwallis which had occupied a position near Yorktown, on the York river. Each county of the State was required to supply a certain number of beef cattle; Talbot's quota was placed at three hundred and fifty head, which, it was ordered, should be collected, at the head of Miles river, where also the quota of Queen Anne's county was to be sent for shipment to the seat of war.⁶⁵ For the transportation of troops and supplies vessels of all kinds and wagons and horses were impressed. Everything betokened a state of emergency; everyone felt that events of the greatest moment were impending. The troops from the north having safely landed at Williamsburg in the latter part of the month of September, a junction was quickly formed with those under Lafayette, and those from the French fleet of De Grasse under Rochambeau. Yorktown, where the British army had entrenched itself,

⁶⁴ Scharf's Hist. Md., vol. ii, p. 486.

⁶⁵ Col. James Hindman and Mr. Nicholas Goldsborough were deputy commissioners for purchasers in Talbot.

was immediately invested by the allied army, while the fleet cut off all hope of retreat. On the eighteenth of October Lord Cornwallis capitulated, and on the following day, ever memorable in the history of America, he formally surrendered. This was virtually the end of the war of the Revolution, for although subsequent to this date there were military movements of some importance, no engagements of armies occurred. The glorious news of the capitulation were at once transmitted to Congress then sitting in Philadelphia. The person selected to bear this intelligence was that one of Gen'l Washington's military family for whom he had always shown the highest regard, Lieut. Col. Tilghman; that gentleman who has been so often mentioned in this contribution, as an honor to this his native county. Charged with despatches, he took a vessel in York river, sailed up the Bay to Annapolis, thence crossing to Rock Hall in Kent county, rode over land to Philadelphia, arriving in that city on the 23rd of the month, late at night. This ride of Col. Tilghman's has recently been made the theme of a poet, who, under a patriotic glamour, said in it something romantic or picturesque which was not visible to the rider himself, as the following letter from him to General Washington, giving a very prosaic account of his journey will sufficiently attest:

PHILADELPHIA, 27th Oct., 1781.

SIR:—I arrived at this place early Wednesday morning, although I lost one whole night's run by the stupidity of the skipper, who got over upon Tangier shoals, and was a whole day crossing, in a calm, from Annapolis to Rock Hall. The wind left us entirely on Sunday evening, thirty miles below Annapolis. I found that a letter from Count De Grasse to Governor Lee, dated the 18th, had gone forward to Congress, in which the Count informed the Governor that Cornwallis had surrendered. This made me the more anxious to reach Philadelphia, as I knew both Congress and the public would be uneasy at not receiving dispatches from you. I was not wrong in my conjecture for some really began to doubt the matter. The fatigue of the journey brought back my intermittent fever, with which I have been confined almost ever since I came to town. I shall set out, as soon as I am well enough, for Chestertown. I beg you to be assured that I am with the utmost sincerity, your excellency's &c. TENCH TILGHMAN.⁶⁵

The story of Tilghman's arousing President McKean in the middle of the night in order to deliver the intelligence he was commissioned to bear; of his awakening the slumbering citizens by the vigor of his

⁶⁵ Spark's correspondence of the Revolution.

knocks at the President's door; of his threatened arrest by the watchmen, as a disturber of the peace; of their proclaiming through the streets after learning the news, the capture of Cornwallis, as they cried the hour; of the impromptu illumination of the city—all this has been so often told that need not here be repeated. But a reference to it is allowable because through the principal actor in this scene, Talbot is connected with one of the most important events in our national history. It is proper to mention that Maryland troops are not without the honor which is due for a participation in the memorable occurrences at Yorktown.

It is necessary to interrupt this account of military operations to note certain political events of importance. In September, 1781, the electors, who had been elected to choose the State Senators, met at Annapolis and chose these gentlemen of the Eastern Shore, namely: Messrs. Matthew Tilghman, John Henry, Robert Goldsborough, William Hindman, Josiah Polk and Edward Lloyd. Of these three were from Talbot, Messrs. Tilghman, Lloyd and Hindman, two from Dorchester, Messrs. Goldsborough and Henry, and one from Somerset, Mr. Polk. In October a general election was held, when the following gentlemen were returned as delegates to the General Assembly from Talbot, namely: Messrs. John Gibson, James Hindman, Howes Goldsborough and William Maynadier. The executive council which was elected upon the meeting of the legislature contained no member from Talbot. In 1782 Messrs. Hugh Sherwood, John Roberts, James Hindman and Woolman Gibson, Jr., were elected delegates, and in 1783 Messrs. James Hindman, John Roberts, Woolman Gibson, Jr., and Edward Harris were the chosen delegates. The county was not represented in the executive council in either year. At the first session of the Assembly elected in 1782 the Hon. William Paca was chosen Governor of the State, his competitor being Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer. In 1783 Mr. Edward Lloyd of this county was chosen one of the delegates to Congress, and he continued to hold this honorable position in 1784.

Notwithstanding the happy success of the allied armies at Yorktown, peace was by no means assured. Preparations for the continued prosecution of the war were made both by Congress and the State authorities. While the northern troops went into winter quarters in New York and New Jersey reinforcements were sent to General Greene in the south who still kept the field. The French troops under General Rochambeau remained in Virginia near Williamsburg. General Greene con-

tinued his military operations in South Carolina and Georgia during the year 1782, which though no important battles were fought, resulted in causing the enemy to evacuate Savannah on the 11th of July, and Charleston on the 14th of December of that year. But before the last occurrence, namely, on the 30th of November, a preliminary treaty of peace had been signed between England and America.⁶⁷

This intelligence was received throughout the country with manifestations of the utmost joy. The only contemporary record of the manner in which peace was hailed in Talbot is that given by Col. Banning in his journal, which is in these words:

March 27th, 1783.

Had information from Mr. Perry Benson that peace was confirmed. Hope it is so, hearing much firing at Annapolis and some small arms at Oxford, between 8 and 9 o'clock at night. My heart is happy with hope.

March 28th, 1783.

Post brought news that on Monday, 24th March the *Triumph* (a French cutter) Capt. D. Queene, from Cadiz, in 36 days, brought the very agreeable news to Philadelphia of a general peace having taken place.⁶⁸ The cessation of hostilities was formally announced by the Hon. Robt. R. Livingston, the President of Congress, to the governors of the States, on the 12th of April, and in accordance with a recommendation of the same body, Governor Paca issued his official proclamation to the same effect, and appointed Thursday the 24th of April as a day for public rejoicings. What form these rejoicings assumed in this county must be left to the imagination to conjecture. Some bonfires may have been kindled, some discharges of musketry in the absence of cannon may have been heard, some patriotic toasts may have been drunk; but there is little doubt that the profoundest feeling that was awakened was one of devout thankfulness for the return of peace with independence, and this feeling had expression in religious services and patriotic discourses from the pulpits. On the 25th the Governor addressed a letter to the sheriffs of the counties congratulating the good

⁶⁷ Nothing probably more strikingly marks the changes effected by time than a comparison of the rapidity with which intelligence was transmitted in 1782 and in 1882. Col. Jere. Banning notes in his Journal, under the date January 12, 1783: "First, heard certainly that Charles Town was evacuated by the British;" and under the date of Feb. 11, 1783, "Received first hint, via Baltimore, via West Indies, of a peace between America and England." This last news was not confirmed, however, until March 27th, according to his record.

⁶⁸ Col. Banning evidently did not mean "a general peace," a peace between the contending European powers—England, France and Spain—for the treaty of peace between these was not signed until Sept. 3.

people "upon the glorious event. * * * which their virtuous exertions have so greatly contributed to bring about" and desiring those officers to make a public announcement of it by reading on an appointed day his proclamation. The day selected by the sheriff of Talbot, Mr. John Needles, was the 13th of May, when, we have the authority of Col. Banning for saying the "Proclamation of cessation of hostilities was published at Talbot Court House." Later he adds: "Nov. 19th, 1783, news of definitive treaty being signed 3rd Sept. last between America and Great Britain came to hand."

Thus closed this great act, in the drama of our national existence.



SOLOMON BARROTT

**DRUMMER BOY AT THE BATTLE OF COWPENS. THE LAST SURVIVING CONTINENTAL
SOLDIER OF THE MARYLAND LINE IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
DIED IN EASTON, MD., DEC. 6, 1851, IN HIS 88TH YEAR**

41

AN INCIDENT OF THE REVOLUTION IN TALBOT

Any incident which serves to illustrate the times of our Revolution must be exceedingly trivial which does not possess a value with the historian and an interest with the patriotic citizen. It is believed that the occurrence now about to be related for the first time in print is not entirely without those qualities to justify its recital.

Among the archives of the State, now deposited with the Maryland Historical Society of Baltimore, may be found a book of "Letters," numbered 13, and entitled "Communications to the Maryland Council." The Council referred to was the "Council of Safety," that revolutionary body with which was lodged the control of the commonwealth after the deposition of the Provincial and before the institution of the State government.

It need scarcely be noted that non-importation acts had been passed by the Provincial Congress which had cut off the supply of those articles of luxury or necessity for which the colonies were dependent upon the mother country—among which was *salt*. It will be remembered that in 1775 the "Committee of Observation" of this county of Talbot had forbidden the landing of a ship-load of this necessary, which had arrived in Miles river from Liverpool and was consigned to Mr. Braddock a merchant of St. Michaels. It was under the pressure of want caused by these acts of non-importation that the unlawful deed about to be related was committed.

The principal actor in the affair appears to have been Mr. Jeremiah Colston, whose nephews Mr. James and Mr. Henry Colston resided in the vicinity of the place of its occurrence. Mr. Jeremiah Colston was the grandson of James and Elizabeth Colston, who were the founders of the family in Maryland, and the son of James and Alice Colston, of Clay's Hope, Ferry Neck. He was born March 10th, 1750, and died Sept. 12th, 1800. The seat of this family is still owned by a descendant Dr. E. M. Hardcastle, whose mother was the daughter of Henry Colston and sister of that amiable man and useful citizen, the late Mr. Morris Orem Colston, who for many years represented this county in the Legislature of the State and held other honorable and responsible positions.

Mr. James Lloyd Chamberlaine, to whom the salt belonged which was removed by the party headed by Mr. Colston, was the son of Saml.

Chamberlaine, Esq., of "Bonfield," who was the son of the Hon. Saml. Chamberlaine, of "Plaindealing," the first of the name in Maryland. Mr. James Ll. Chamberlaine at the date of this occurrence resided at "Peach Blossom," an estate into the possession of which he came by marriage with a Miss Robins, a great heiress. He differed with his worthy father in political sentiment during the Revolution; espousing the cause of the Colonies. He was made a Brig. Gen. of the Maryland militia, and took an active part in the conduct of civil affairs during the great conflict. Though not a merchant, he made commercial adventures, and this may account for the possession of salt. Thomas Chamberlaine, then the owner of "Plain-Dealing," and a minor, was the son of a gentleman of the same name, and in after life a merchant, as was his father before him.

We are in entire ignorance of the sequel of this affair. It is probable Mr. Chamberlaine was fully compensated for his salt, and that Mr. Colston with his party were exonerated from blame on the plea that what he had done was done under pressure of extreme necessity.

The papers appended are sufficiently explicit without further explanation. It is proper to say, the writer is indebted to the courtesy and kindness of Mr. James Lloyd Chamberlaine, of Baltimore, son of James Lloyd Chamberlaine of "Bonfield," but not a descendant of Gen. James Lloyd Chamberlaine of Revolutionary memory, for a copy of the original documents now in the vaults of the Md. Hist. Society, and this copy is used by the printer, without change, literal or verbal:

James Laroy of Caroline county confesseth that on Friday evening last one John Bush came to the House of John Cooper and got a horse from Cooper as he was informed and that Bush asked Cooper if he would send after salt, and that Cooper agreed to send, and asked him if he would go and that he agreed to go, that about three hours after moon up a company collected and called for him (Laroy) upon which he joined them, that there were in the company Jere Colson, James Dwiggons, Solomon Engle, James Smith, son of Michael, Thomas Curtis, Nathan Wheatly, David Morgin, Thomas Cooper, Aaron Cooper, Levin Martingale, Samuel Martingale, John Cheesely, Daniel Bayner, James Hix son of James, John Bush, and John Russum all of the county aforesaid—That Colson, Dwiggons, James Smith, Samuel Martingale, Nathan Wheatly, James Hicks and Aaron Cooper had guns. That Colson as he understood was the first proposer of the scheme and had the command of the company, that in a little time after he joined the company they marched down and when opposite Mrs. Nicols's in Talbot county, they turned out of the road and marched through the woods by a path that leads to another road, and then proceeded down

to where Mr. Milward lives, when several of the company went up to the House, but he stayed [a some while with his men or crew] and then also went up to the House, when he heard Colson ask Mr. Milward if there was any salt there for sale, to which Mr. Milward answered that the salt that was there was not his, nor had orders to sell any—that Colson then asked who kept the key of the House and Mr. Milward answered that it was kept by his wife upon which several of the company walked into the dwelling House, but as he did not go in knows not what conversation happened there, that in a little time after they went into the House he observed them coming out and Mrs. Milward with them with the key in her hand and they with Mrs. Milward went to the House where the Salt was stored and Mrs. Milward agreed to open the door when the people (or at least) most of them went into the House and got as he thinks 17 Bushels of Salt—that the Salt was measured by a negro man belonging to the plantation as he understood—that he paid to Colson 15 shillings for a Bushel of the salt, and believes the rest of the Co. paid him at the same rate for the salt they got—that they returned home by the way that they came out, and that none of the Guns were charged but one, and that one, was ordered by Colson to be drawn whilst they were marching thro' the wood from Mrs. Nicols' and further sayeth not.

This Confession was made before me the subscriber on this 30th day of Dec. 1776.

WILLIAM HAYWARD.

William Milward of Talbot county being duly sworn deposeth and saith that—

He went to live at plain dealing in the Spring of the year 1774 and his wife was employed to take charge of the house, as housekeeper, at the time there was a quantity of salt in a house the key of which was delivered into his wife's care he saw the salt himself and supposes that it might be less than one hundred Bus. and the whole family were supplied with salt from that heap and he believes they consumed about twelve Bus. per annum.

Wm. Milward the deponent further saith that in January in the year 1775 he did receive five hundred and fourteen Bush. of salt from Mr. James Ll. Chamberlaine and put it into the house above mentioned at plaindealing and that between the month of October and Christmas of the same year he the deponent did measure and sell all the salt out of the afores'd house which he received, as before mentioned at three shillings per Bush. And that at the time while that salt was measuring and selling James Ll. Chamberlaine afores'd did caution the deponent not to mix the new received salt which was his with the old salt that was before in the house as that did not belong to him but to Tommy Chamberlaine minor.

And the deponent further saith that the family at plaindealing used out of the aforesaid salt nearly at the rate of twelve Bush. per Annum untill the 28th day of December in the year 1776 when a number of men armed with guns and clubs came about eight o'clock in the morn-

ing and enquired for him the deponent who immediately went out to them and enquiring their business, was told by one of them who appeared to be their leader that they heard there was a quantity of salt there that their business was to buy some of it for which they would pay—The deponent told them that he had very little salt that the salt which was there was for the use of the family and not at his disposal nor even under his care he advised them to speak to Mr. Chamberlaine which when they objected to he offered to send to him. Chamberlaine himself to which they answered that they would not wait so long, they some of them swore that they knew the key was kept there that salt they would have and if the key was not delivered to them they would break the door they then asked the deponent's wife for the key and she refused to deliver it to them, upon which refusal some of them said it would be the worse if the key was not delivered at the same time the most active said: Come along, come along, we have talked long enough, let us be doing, or nearly the same words—At which they all of them went to the door of the house where the salt lay (except Jeremiah Colson who appeared to be their leader and who continued still to press for the key that they might not be under the necessity as he said of breaking the door) some picked up large stones others shook the door and some seemed to stand as sentinels with guns in their hands.

The deponent's wife being allarmed and fearing that other mischief might be done ran to the door and told Jere Colson that she would open the door and show the salt upon which he Jere Coloson called out to the others to stop and the deponent's wife opened the door and Jere Coloson with most of the others went into the house where the salt lay the deponent being unwell returned into the house but saw them carry several baggs away—

The deponent further saith that in about an hour his wife came into the house and brought a tally board which she said she kept to know what they carried away, and immediately after came in Jere Coloson with his followers and offered to pay for the salt which the deponent refused to Take still alledging as at first that he could not dispose of the salt, but they counted the money among them and laid it upon the Table and the deponent did then count it and after they had gone he put it away—The deponent saith that by his wife's tally they took 17½ Bushels of salt and they left with him thirty-five Dollars in paper money—

Sworn to this 30 day of December 1776 before WM. HAYWARD.

SIR—When I Returned home the other Evening and found you had Bin waiting Some Time to talk over This Dark afare which I must Confess has Every Appearance of Rapin and Voilance But Worthy Sir when you Consider that this was InTirely an Act of Neede and not Charge and that not perhaps a man concerned had a jill of salt In his family for afornite youl In some measure Excuse it for my own part I Dont Believe a man on Earth has a greater aversion to mobs and voilances Than myself and a few months Back thought Nothing could

have drove me Into it and I verely beleve it to be the Case with the whole and as to aplying to you for the salt I Confess we ought But ware By many InDividuals which you had Refused to sell To them for seven-teen persons to aply after this wold have pervented our geting any and that we cold no Longer Do without—And that we passed Mr. Hindman who they say had a greater quantity and went to that place it Being Defenceless I did not know he had a Bushel nor that any person on the Estern Shore had such a quantity as you had Whoever if the money we Left is not satisfactory we think ourselves Bound By Everything to give you your price and will when Requiered and hope when you Consider Colely on the matter youl not Indeavor to Drive us to any further acets of Rashness and am sorry it fell on you who from my Knowledge of yr family I shall allways Treet with Esteem and Respect.

I am Sir you very Humb Servant

JERE COLSTON

Tho I am considered as a
 princable in the afare
 I Declare myself not.
 Decr 30th 1776.

To the Hon James Ll Chamberlaine, Brig. Gen. Talbot Co.

LIST OF SLAVE HOLDERS IN TALBOT IN 1790

WHO OWNED TEN OR MORE SLAVES

The first Census of the United States, taken in the year 1790, gives the names of the head of each family, and among other data, in Maryland, is given the number of slaves owned by each head of family. The following is a list of residents of Talbot County who owned ten or more negro slaves in the year 1790.

Aldern, Rebecca.....	11	Dickinson, Samuel.....	28
Allen, Moses.....	10	Duling, John.....	10
Bracco, John.....	25	Elbert, John.....	19
Banning, Jere.....	29	Edmondson, Pollard.....	40
Bowie, John.....	25	Fiddeman, Ann.....	11
Bullet, Thomas.....	10	Ferguson, James.....	13
Barwick, William.....	10	Ferguson, William.....	19
Bordley, Mary.....	20	Gibson, John.....	13
Botton, John.....	11	Gibson, Elizabeth.....	16
Bewley, Ann.....	18	Grant, Thomas.....	11
Bromwell, Edward, Jr.....	17	Gibson, Wollman.....	18
Browning, Elizabeth.....	14	Goldsborough, James.....	17
Birckhead, Henrietta.....	21	Goldsborough, Sarah.....	14
Callender, Andrew.....	10	Gordon, Mary.....	37
Chamberlaine, Henrietta.....	60	Gardiner, Charles.....	13
Cox, Daniel Powell.....	22	Gibson, Jacob.....	12
Chamberlaine, Samuel.....	76	Goldsborough, Thomas.....	13
Clark, William.....	11	Goldsborough, Howes.....	37
Corkran, John.....	15	Goldsborough, Mary Ann.....	22
Catrip, William.....	15	Goldsborough, Robert.....	41
Clark, Arthur.....	11	Goldsborough, William.....	22
Cain, Daniel.....	80	Hollyday, Ann.....	78
Caulk, John.....	14	Hendrix, Edward.....	25
Dougherty, John.....	13	Harwood, John.....	12
Dawson, William.....	16	Hughley, Woolman.....	12
Dawson, Impey.....	26	Hambleton, William.....	12

Haddaway, William Webb.....	10	Oldham, Ann.....	11
Hindman, William.....	61	Perry, William.....	35
Harris, Joseph.....	13	Price, Joseph.....	10
Haskins, Joseph.....	10	Pickering, Robert.....	16
Hambleton, William.....	16	Perry, William.....	14
Hardcastle, John.....	22	Parratt, Perry.....	12
Harris, Thomas.....	10	Porter, Philemon.....	34
Hindman, John.....	16	Register, Samuel.....	18
Hayward, William.....	28	Roberts, John.....	20
Harrison, John W.....	17	Rigby, Philip.....	10
Hayward, William.....	62	Rolle, Robert.....	11
Jones, Robert.....	10	Rolle, John.....	18
Jones, John.....	15	Skinner, Andrew.....	12
Johnson, Henry.....	22	Stanfield, Richard.....	11
Jenkins, Thomas.....	13	Sewell, Bazill.....	14
Johns, Richard.....	19	Sharp, Margaret.....	11
Jenkins, Walter.....	15	Sherwood, Thomas.....	15
Johnson, Randolph.....	10	Stevens, John.....	15
Kerr, David.....	10	Shannhan, John.....	19
Kemp, Benjamin.....	14	Sherwood, Philemon.....	12
Kemp, Alice.....	17	Sherwood, Samuel.....	10
Lloyd, James.....	18	Seth, Thomas M.....	12
Lurty, Elizabeth.....	17	Stevens, Samuel.....	10
Lavill, William.....	10	Singleton, John.....	30
Lamdin, Wrightson.....	11	Sherwood, Elizabeth.....	15
Lamdin, Robert.....	14	Sears, William.....	28
Lowe, James.....	11	Turner, Edward.....	11
Lamdin, William.....	16	Thomas, John.....	16
Lloyd, Edward.....	305	Turner, Joseph.....	17
Nabb, Charles.....	14	Turner, John.....	29
Nicolls, Robert D.....	24	Tydings, Richard.....	11
Nicolls, Henry.....	30	Tilghman, Lloyd.....	66
Newcome, Robert.....	15	Tilghman, Ann.....	59
Manadier, William.....	23	Tenant, Samuel.....	10
McCallum, Alexander.....	10	Tilghman, Richard.....	15
Martin, Robert.....	13	Tilghman, Peregrine.....	73
Martin, Henry.....	14	Thomas, James.....	14
Martin, Mary.....	27	Thomas, Rachel.....	30
Martin, Tristram.....	13	Thomas, William.....	14

Trippe, Richard.....	30	Weyman, Thomas.....	10
Vickers, Sarah.....	15	Willson, James.....	16
Webb, Peter.....	10		

Note: The next to the largest slave holder in Talbot County in 1790, was Daniel Cain. He shortly afterwards sold his lands in Chapel District and removed to Queen Anne's County and lived and died at Cain's Cross-Roads, which still perpetuates his name.

THE WAR OF 1812-15 IN TALBOT

BEING A CONTRIBUTION TO THE MILITARY ANNALS OF THAT COUNTY

To those who see in the marshalling of great armies in the field or the assembling of great fleets upon the sea; in their evolutions and manoeuvres; in their victories or their defeats; in their ravaging of countries and their destruction of cities; in "the pride, the pomp and the circumstance of glorious war," the only interesting and important materials of history: and to those who regard generals and admirals and other captains of high rank; their characters and conduct; their triumphs and reverses; their greatneses and their weaknesses; their inspiring word and their fortifying port, as only worthy of historic commemoration, the annals of this county must appear singularly barren and unattractive. No large armies, hostile or friendly, have ever invaded or defended our peaceful homes; no great commanders, military or naval, have ever scourged or shielded our quiet borders; no field of ours has ever been enriched by a foeman's blood or rendered glorious by a patriot's death. No sailor or soldier of national repute of high rank first drew breath from our halcyon air, though there have been some, not unknown to fame, who found in Talbot a pleasant retreat when the toils and dangers of the war were over, and an honoring recognition from her people of meritorious services to their country. But though her annals have not been thus illustrated by great deeds of war performed, or by great men of war performing their parts of invader or defender upon her narrow stage, they are not entirely devoid of such embellishments. Talbot has not wholly escaped the alarms and the devastation, nor missed entirely the glories of war. To be sure the former were not of the most terrific and destructive kind, nor were the latter the most effulgent. Some petty Hengists or Horsas, Indian or English, have at times ravaged her coasts. She has given birth to brave men who, if not heroes, have done heroic deeds, deeds that are worthy of record, although they have not won the notice of the historic muse. Indeed it may be said that this county had its birth in the throes prematurely induced by war, for unquestionably the first settlers upon the main were Claiborne's people driven from their homes upon Kent Island by the partisans of Lord Baltimore. If the marauding and murdering expeditions of the savage Nantikoos of the southern part of the peninsula, or of the yet more savage Susquehannocks towards the north,

can be called war, then Talbot suffered some of the evils resulting from these, and acquired something of credit for repelling them. As for the Indians on her own soil, by whatsoever name they may be designated, they had, years before the coming in of Europeans, been "made women of," or completely subjugated by the ferocious and gigantic neighbors of the north, so that the people of Talbot never suffered any trouble from this source. Being far removed from the principal seat of the old French and Indian war her borders were not harassed by these foes, though it is possible the shores of the bay within her limits were troubled by French cruisers, who as war was then conducted were little better than pirates. But by the public records we are informed that Talbot sent a company of two hundred men, in 1757, to garrison one of the forts upon the frontier. This fort was Fort Cumberland, concerning which much is said in our pre-revolutionary history. Unfortunately that history has failed to record the name of the brave captain of this militia company which made a part of Captain Dagworthy's¹ force that was sent to protect and defend this remote military post; but it has been more kind to Captain Pritchard who commanding a merchant ship, built at Oxford, and sailing out of that port in 1744 beat off a French privateer that attacked him with superior force, though at the cost of his own life. In the war of the Revolution this county was not called upon to suffer from the presence of the enemy except as he appeared as marauding parties sent out from the fleet of the enemy within the Chesapeake bay, which carried off much property, Col. Edward Lloyd, the great-grand-father of the worthy gentleman now living of the same name being one of the principal sufferers. Some of the citizens whose estates were most exposed to these depredations built, equipped and manned at their own expense the barge *Experiment*, to cruise in the Eastern Bay and check the operations of these plunderers and house burners.² Talbot also furnished her full quota to the Maryland line, and the names Hindman, Hughes, Gibson, Goldsborough

¹ Captain Dagworthy was from Somerset, though not a native of that county.

² The following names are attached to a subscription paper, a copy of which is in the possession of the writer, for the purpose designated: Matthew Tilghman, William Paca, Edward Lloyd, Peregrine Tilghman, William Lloyd, William Hemsley, Robert Goldsborough, William Hindman, James Hindman, Robt. Goldsborough, Junior, James Baker, J. S. Gibson, William Goldsborough, William Lavelle, (?) Mary Ann Goldsborough, Mary Ann Turbutt Goldsborough, Elizabeth Maxwell, Howes Goldsborough, Thomas Ray, Robert Pickering, William Dawson, Samuel Benson, Richard Parrott, Joseph Hartley, William Gibson, J. Gibson, L. R. Skinner, Hugh Rice, William Tilghman.

and Benson, if not that of Anderson, are inscribed upon her roll of honor, to which must be added that of Col. Tilghman, a native of this county though a soldier of Pennsylvania. But these men were not called upon to meet an enemy upon their natal soil, invading their very homes. With the exception already noted, this county rested in peace during the troubled years of the revolution, her placid waters undisturbed by hostile prows, her fields unscarred by the cannon of friend or foe, her skies unclouded by the smoke of war.³ It was not until the war of 1812-15, which for long, and it were well had it been longer, was called "the late war," that it fell to the lot of Talbot to defend her soil from an organized invading foe. It is the purpose of the contribution to her history to relate the circumstances of this invasion and its repulse, with an accuracy and a particularity of detail that have never been attempted and were not called for in those general histories of the State and nation which have noticed the event, but are not merely allowable to but are demanded of the local annalist.

During the long wars upon the continent of Europe which followed the great French revolution, much occurred to produce irritation between the principal parties to that war and the people of the United States. Twice we were on the verge of war with France, and once, before actual war broke out, with England. Conflicting interests of the last named and America, coupled with some arbitrary, oppressive and insulting measures of the British government, at last, resulted in actual hostilities. On the 18th of June, 1812, after a long and acrimonious discussion by Congress, a formal declaration of war against

³ Periodically there has been an access of the military fever in this county. In 1794 when troops were called for by Congress to suppress the insurrection in western Pennsylvania, Captains Coats and Erskine recruited companies in Talbot, and Lieutenant Colonel Perry Benson, and Major Daniel Powell Cox marched at the head of a regiment, in part composed of men of this county, into the disaffected region. Again in 1798 when the course of the French Directory threatened to interrupt the amicable relations between America and her ancient ally, spirited addresses were issued here calling upon young men to enlist as soldiers, companies were formed, and the militia organized in preparation for war. The paroxysm of 1808, referred to in the text, was but prelude of the well developed attack of 1812. Our body politic was free from febrile symptoms until the war with Mexico in 1846, when the presence of the military ferment in the blood was betrayed by the organization of many volunteer companies. The public pulse at this date was made to beat a little fuller, harder and more frequent under the influence of the boundary controversy with England; but it was not till 1860-61 that the most violent exacerbation of the disease took place, induced by the poison of secession and rebellion, which infected so many of our people.

Great Britain was declared. A measure, the propriety and expediency of which called forth so much intemperateness of expression by the opposing and approving parties, still divides the opinions of historians according to their party predilections. It is not proposed to revive the discussion whether the United States had just grounds for declaring war, or whether Congress displayed reasonable prudence in making such declaration in the unprepared condition of the country for conducting a contest with one of the strongest of nations. The diversity of sentiment, which, at the time, existed throughout the whole country, manifested itself in this county. The Federalists, who represented the conservative opinions of the community, and who were represented by their opponents as being the allies of the British, warmly condemned the action of Congress; while the Republicans, or Democrats, as they were interchangeably called, as earnestly defended. In the election of 1811 for delegates to the lower house of Assembly, which must be taken as expressive of the opinions of the people of the county upon the subject, the Democrats had the majority of votes; but at the same time the Federalists, as being of the party representing the larger share of the wealth and intelligence of the county, possessed an influence calculated to outweigh the numerical superiority of their opponents. Accordingly we find that at the election of 1812, which came on after the declaration of war, and also, it must be mentioned, after certain reverses to our arms, they carried the county by a very decided majority, electing to the Assembly Messrs. Edward N. Hambleton, Jabez Caldwell, Robert Banning and John Seth, thus apparently condemning the policy of the administration and the dominant party. But in 1813 this verdict was reversed, if that may be regarded as indicative of a change of opinion which may have been really only an aroused patriotic feeling induced by Perry's and Chauncy's victories, by the outrages of the enemy upon the Chesapeake, and, more nearly still, by the successful repulse of the enemy at St. Michaels. In this year Messrs. John Bennett, Daniel Martin, Jonathan Spencer and Samuel Stevens, Jr., Democrats, defenders of the war, and some of them actual participants in the affair, about to be related, were elected to the General Assembly, from Talbot. In 1814, however, the Federalists were again successful. The people had either returned to their former convictions of the impolicy of the war, or the humiliation of the burning of the Capitol of the Nation by an insignificant force of the enemy, which the orators and writers of the Federal party were ready enough to attribute to the imbecility of the Democratic admin-

istration, under Mr. Madison, a humiliation which the previous success of the Americans at North Point did not serve to dispel, had induced them to place their condemnation upon those who were directing the government and the contest in which the country was engaged. In this year the same gentlemen who had been elected in 1812 were again sent to the legislature, except that Mr. Alexander Hands was substituted for Mr. Robert Banning. It is proper to state for the complete understanding of the state of public sentiment, that in 1812 Mr. Alembry Jump, of Caroline county, a Federalist received a majority of the votes cast at the election for President in 1812, in this county, though Col. Edward Lloyd, of Talbot, Democrat was elected by the electoral district at large. Also it should be said that the Hon. Robert H. Goldsborough a pronounced Federalist, was, in May, 1813, chosen United States Senator for Maryland in place of Mr. Reed, whose term of service had expired on the 4th of March preceding. So much it has been thought necessary to say of the condition of public opinion or public feeling in Talbot previous to and during the war of 1812-15, of which the incidents about to be related made a part. If it should appear that a greater importance has been given to these incidents than they deserve, those acquainted with the laws of intellectual optics will know that their magnitude is only apparent because they are near, and therefore subtend a larger angle in the historic eye.

A few words respecting military affairs in the county seem to be called for, in this connection. The want of preparedness for war was one of the arguments adduced by those who opposed its declaration. Though the weight of this argument, which depended upon its truth, was fully acknowledged by the leaders of the war party, they claimed that the natural bravery of the people and their military enthusiasm would compensate for the absence of organization and discipline, and that their patriotism would, from abundant resources, soon supply what was wanted in accumulated munitions and stores. There really was some ground for entertaining these flattering views of the situation of the country. The glories of the Revolution which in the light of its wonderful results in the development of the country, had grown brighter and brighter, and the honors which were heaped upon the participants, living and dead, in that great conflict, were as rewards held out to their successors to invite and encourage them to the renewal of the contest with their old enemy. The long continuance of the Napoleonic wars in Europe had served to infuse into the whole civilized world a military spirit, which longed for the gratification of its impulses. The aggres-

sions of the chief contending powers, France and England, upon the rights of neutral America had given much exasperation to our people, who were in mental condition, ready to resent any injury or insult, real or imaginary, intentional or inadvertent, by a resort to arms. In 1798 Talbot shared with the rest of the country, the indignation which had been aroused by the insults of the French Directory, and the injuries inflicted by the French cruisers. This indignation was shown by the prompt organization of military companies, under the inspiration of General Benson, who published a most spirited address to the citizens of Talbot. But it was in 1807 that the military ardor which had been for years smouldering blazed out with great fury being rendered more intense than ever before or since by the attack upon the United States ship Chesapeake by the British ship Leopard, the culmination, as it were, of a long series of outrages upon American shipping. Soon after this affair, the whole country was placed under military organization. A great number of companies were formed and officers appointed by the Governor and Council of the State. These companies were united, at least nominally, into regiments and brigades, and the whole was placed under the command of General Perry Benson, an officer of the Revolution, whose ardor, age and wounds had not extinguished.⁴ Although actual war did not exist, the two nations

⁴ As many of these companies, formed in 1807 and 1808 retained their organizations down to and after the war of 1812-15 and as some of them actually took part in the military operations of that war, within the county, a few brief memoranda of them may be presented. There appears to have been two regiments or parts of regiments in Talbot, the 4th and the 26th, and these apparently were a part of the 12th brigade of the Maryland Militia, commanded, as above stated by the venerable General Benson. The colonels of these regiments were Perry Spencer, of the 4th and William Hayward of the 26th. William Lamdin became Lieut. Colonel of the 26th in 1808. Solomon Dickenson was commissioned Brigade Major, and Henry Johnson, William Smith majors of the 4th regiment and Robins Chamberlaine and William Caulk majors of the 26th regiment. It is believed Doctors Ennals Martin and Tristram Thomas were chief surgeons, and it is known that Doctors John Kettle and Joseph Nicols were surgeons' mates. Samuel Stevens was Adjutant, and Thomas Perrin Smith was Paymaster of the fourth regiment. The Paymaster of the 26th has escaped notice. The first company of which an account has been transmitted was formed in and around Easton in July, 1807, and of this Charles Gibson was Captain, David Kerr, Jr., First Lieutenant, and Thomas A. Fisher, Ensign. About the same time a troop of Horse was formed in the same neighborhood, the officers of which are not known. It was intended that these companies should make a part of the forces raised under an act of Congress, and were not to be of the militia. Of the fourth regiment, the companies had these officers: Capt., William Jordan; Lieut., James Denny, and Ensign, John Arringdale, in whose stead James Seth was afterwards placed. (11) Capt.,

occupied a hostile relation, and were liable at any time to come into collision. This was calculated to keep alive the military ardor of the people, and, as a consequence, to perpetuate many of the military organizations which had been formed. Accordingly when war was actually declared in June, 1812, the county had a number of companies enrolled, officered and armed. Many of the other companies formed in 1807 and 1808 had but a nominal existence, or had become extinct. Those that took part in the affair at Saint Michael's in 1813 and were called out at Easton in 1814 will be named in the sequel. Others performed duty elsewhere in the county, and doubtless would have given a good account of themselves if they had been required to confront the enemy.⁵

Charles Henrix; Lieut., Parrott Rathell; Ensign Thomas Henrix. (iii) Capt., James Dudley; Lieut., Stephen Ryner; Ensign, Isaac Parrott; James Parrott became Ensign in 1808. (iv) Capt., Hugh Martin; Lieut., William Barton; Ensign, Thomas Harper. (v) Capt., Richard Trippe; Lieut. — — —; Ensign, John Merrick. (vi) Capt., Jabez Caldwell; Lieut., William Bush; Ensign, Langford Higgins. (vii) Capt., Edward Martin; Lieut., James Clayland; Ensign, Richard Robinson. In 1808 James Clayland was made Captain and Richard Robinson, Lieutenant. (viii) Capt., Benjamin Wilmot; Lieut., John Meridith; Ensign, George Wishart Smith. (ix) Capt., John Edmondson; Lieut., John Merrick; Ensign, Samuel Paddison. (x) There appears to have been another company near Trappe, Capt., W. Chapman; Lieut., — — —; Ensign, Solomon Mullikin. Of the twenty-sixth regiment, the companies had these officers: (i) Capt., Obediah Garey; Lieut., William Tilghman; Ensign, Samuel Garey, afterwards Wm. Tilghman became Capt., Samuel Garey, Lieut., and Dan'l Townsend, Ensign. (ii) Capt., Thomas Jones; Lieut., John Turner, afterwards John Seth; Ensign, Samuel Roberts, afterwards Benjamin Benny. (iii) Capt., William Dunn; Lieut., Jonathan Spencer; Ensign, William G. Elbert. (iv) Capt., Joseph Harrison; Lieut., William Merchant; Ensign, Daniel Feddeman, afterwards William Merchant became Capt., Daniel Feddeman, Lieut., and Francis Gorsage, Ensign. (v) Capt., John Dargin; Lieut., William Harrison of James; Ensign, Joseph Kemp. (vi) Capt., William Caulk; Lieut., Thomas Harrison of William; Ensign, Joseph Harrison of Joseph. (vii) Capt., Hugh Auld; Lieut., John Carroll; Ensign, Robert Collison. (viii) Capt., John Dawson; Lieut., Nicholas Watts; Ensign, Anthony Banning. The companies thus far indicated were of Infantry. In 1808 these officers of a Troop of Horse were commissioned: Capt., Edward Lloyd; First Lieut., Robert H. Goldsborough; Second Lieut., William Harrison, Jr.; Cornet, Edward W. Hambleton. Of this troop John Bennett was Secretary. In the same year these officers of an Artillery Company were commissioned: Capt., Samuel Thomas; First Lieut., Clement Vickary; Second Lieut., Thomas A. Fisher. This list drawn from the public journals of the day is necessarily imperfect.

⁵ This armory, which is still standing, but no longer used for the purposes for which it was originally intended, had just been erected. It was built by the

After the declaration of war by the United States on the 18th of June, 1812, the British Government declared the ports of this country to be in a state of blockade. This blockade was not strictly enforced during the year 1812; but with the beginning of the year following Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren, commander-in-chief of His British Majesty's ships and vessels on the American and West India Station, sent detachments of his squadron to close effectually the American ports of New York, and those southward, including those upon the Chesapeake and Delaware bays. Vice Admiral Cockburn, who, having achieved honorable distinction in other parts of the world, was destined to win for himself in this country a detestable notoriety, early in February of the year 1813 entered the Capes of the Chesapeake and taking possession of Hampton Roads, thus effectually closed the ports of Norfolk and Baltimore. Now commenced that system of marauding along the shores of the bay and its tributaries which have affixed an indelible stain upon the British arms. For no military nor strategic purpose, but simply in a spirit of wanton destructiveness, or for the sake of plunder, expeditions were sent out from the fleet from time to time, during the whole period of its occupancy of the Chesapeake, to harass the people, by burning their houses and carrying off their stock, seizing their trading vessels and kidnapping their negroes. The destruction and plundering later in the year 1813 of Frenchtown, Havre-

State, and was intended to be a repository for arms for the whole Eastern Shore. Under an Act of Assembly these gentlemen were appointed Commissioners to superintend its erection, viz:

General Perry Benson, Captain George Wishart Smith and Captain Benjamin Wilmot.

Contracts for its building were made in 1811, and during this or the following year it was probably completed. The cannon house attached to the armory was erected about 1823. In the earlier years of the Province and State there was no public depository of arms, which were in the keeping of an armorer, who provided a place, usually his own house. As evidence of the survival of an old custom it may be stated that the armorer for a long time was a blacksmith. From a very early date, however, there was a magazine for the storage of arms and ammunition, in the town of Easton. The old building used for this purpose is still in existence, and stands in the rear of the lot upon which the store of Messrs. Shanahan & Wrightson is built. The date of its erection has not been discovered. In 1801 Dr. John Coats, the armorer, advertised in the *Maryland Herald* that he would attend at the magazine to receive the arms that had been distributed to the militia. This indicated its existence at that time. It was probably built some time after the Revolution. It is a small, curious structure of cobble stones or boulders.

de-Grace, Georgetown and Frederickton, all upon the Eastern Shore, are matters of general history known of all men. As soon as this system of warfare was commenced, alarm was created in all parts of the State accessible by the boats of the enemy, and particularly throughout this peninsula so universally penetrated by navigable waters, and at the same time so cut off from assistance from the larger part of the State. The militia of those counties most exposed to attack were kept upon the alert to repel the inroads of these incendiaries and robbers.

Although a commendable willingness had been shown by the citizens of this county to enroll themselves in the several military organizations then formed, or forming, there existed well grounded apprehensions in the minds even of those who were disposed to place most confidence in the firmness and courage of a citizen soldiery, that there would be an inability to repel any serious attack that should be made by the enemy. These apprehensions, where they were not suggested by a want of reliance upon militia forces in general, were based upon the fact that there were not arms enough within reach to equip even those volunteer companies which had received some of the advantages of military drill, and upon which most reliance was to be placed in the case of an emergency. This condition of affairs led to the calling of a meeting of the citizens of the county at Easton on the 23rd of March, 1813, at which a committee was appointed to draft a Memorial to the Governor and Council of the State, setting forth the defenceless condition of the county, and praying relief from the authorities. This memorial, as containing much that is interesting from a historical point of view, is here inserted:

To His Excellency the Governor, and the Honorable Council of the State of Maryland:

The Memorial of the inhabitants of Easton, in Talbot county, and of sundry citizens of the neighborhood, most respectfully sheweth: That your memorialists are creditably informed and verily believe that a squadron of British ships has been for some time stationed in Lynhaven bay, at the mouth of the Chesapeake, and that the number of ships has lately considerably increased, thereby proving a design in the enemy to continue a fleet in that anchorage and a probable intention to detach his vessels from thence into the rivers and waters of Maryland, to seize and plunder the persons and property of the inhabitants, or to commit still greater injuries. At least, without vigilance and preparation, he may be tempted to commit them from a belief that the defenceless condition of many parts of the State will enable him to do so without any effectual resistance. Your memorialists, in common with the people at large, are sensible of their danger, in such a situation, and are

animated by a desire to possess the means of resisting it: but though the avenues afforded by the navigable waters of the State furnish opportunities of plunder and invasion, in most of its sections there are, nevertheless, certain places containing objects of such importance as become peculiar marks for attack, and where the force and means of defence should be greater, and ought more promptly to engage the public attention. Your memorialists beg leave to represent to your Excellency and Honors that the town of Easton as a place which ought, in their opinion, to be so considered. It contains a public armory, in which arms and ammunition belonging to the State are deposited.⁵ It contains a bank, in which the State is considerably interested as a stockholder, as well as many individuals, and from which accommodations have been most usefully extended to divers citizens of the Eastern Shore, and the deposits in which must always be contemplated as an inviting object of pillage by an invading foe,⁶ and the nearness of the town to the waters of Third Haven, Saint Michaels and Choptank rivers leaves it surrounded by so many accesses by which it may be approached that extraordinary measures of watchfulness and resistance appear to be necessary. These measures do not, however, exist: the neighboring militia are generally without arms or ammunition, and though the companies in Easton have been heretofore furnished with public muskets for the purpose of exercise and training, and of guarding against possible danger, it has been found, upon examination, that in their present condition few of them are fit for effectual service. No redoubts are provided. The field pieces employed by the artillery company are not in town, but kept in charge of the commanding officer; and it is doubted whether the services of the militia can be controlled by the General of the Brigade where the prospect of danger is not immediate, without the precise orders of your Excellency. Were the weapons of defence in the power of your memorialists, and the danger in view, it ought to be expected that a reliance might be placed on their voluntary and animated exertions; and though they may come forth upon the calls of anticipated danger, and steadfastly perform their duties for a while, yet it often happens, where no object is presented for the employment of their services, that their animation will decline and a reluctance be felt to continue on a duty which no actual necessity appears to require.

Your memorialists having thus stated to your Excellency and Honors their probable danger and defenceless condition, respectfully submit them to your due consideration, and pray to be admitted to such means of relief as the Executive government shall deem expedient and sufficient; and they respectfully request your Excellency and Honors to consider the subject of their memorial as soon as the public engagements of the Council will permit; and they trust their exposed situation will excuse

⁵ As a matter of precaution the specie of the Bank was removed from Easton and sent under guard to Lancaster, Pennsylvania. An account of this removal was given in the contribution relating to the Bank, published in the *Easton Star*, July 18th and following, 1871.

them for urging their claim to a reasonable protection in the terms they have used; and your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

Signed by the subscribers in behalf of the inhabitants as a committee appointed for this purpose at a general meeting of the town.

P. BENSON,
ROBT. H. GOLDSBOROUGH,
JNO. MEREDITH,
JNO. M. G. EMORY,
Ns. HAMMOND.⁷

Easton, 23rd March, 1813.

In reply to this memorial Governor Levin Winder stated that the Brigadier General, or other commanding officer, at the place threatened with invasion, had power to call out the militia, but that the Executive of the State was able to take no other step "to give to the inhabitants of that place further security." He, however, referred the memorial to the Hon. John Armstrong, the Secretary of War, for the United States, who replied: "In a country so intersected by rivers and bays as ours it is impossible to embody troops at all the points an enemy, having a naval superiority, may menace or assail. In this case it might be well to remove the armory." It thus appears this county, and indeed the whole peninsula, was left without any other defence from the marauding parties than could be given by its ill-armed and undisciplined militia. It would seem, however, that by the middle of April 2000 stand of new arms had been received at the armory, though complaints were still made that they were not issued to those willing to use them, for reasons which are not apparent. The fleet at Lynnhaven bay was on the 24th of March joined by Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren, in the flag ship *Saint Domingo*, and a frigate. A few days later, a detachment of the fleet visited Sharp's Island, and held possession several days, carrying off much property belonging to Mr. Jacob Gibson. At this time great alarm was created in Easton by the presence of the enemy at the mouth of the Choptank, and this alarm reached its acme on Sunday, March 28th, when it was announced that vessels from the fleet were approaching the town by way of Third Haven river. The drum beat to arms, and

⁷ This memorial, which prudence dictated should not appear in the public journals of the day, made part of a communication addressed in 1818 to the Hon. John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, by the Hon. John Leeds Kerr, State Agent for the prosecution of claims of the State of Maryland against the General Government for expenses incurred in the war of 1812, and from this source it has been drawn for insertion here. It is not difficult to recognize in this paper the practiced hand of the gentleman whose name stands second in the list of subscribers.

a large number of citizens, in conjunction with the Easton Light Infantry Blues under the command of Capt. George Wishart Smith paraded, and showed a determination to resist the landing of the enemy. Information, however, soon arrived that the vessels ascending the river were bay craft loaded with lumber from one of the lower counties upon this shore. It is believed, from the testimony of one who was present and participated in the work, that it was at this time the breastworks opposite The Point, upon the plantation then owned by Mr. Henry Hollyday, were thrown up.⁸ This little redoubt was named "Fort Stoakes" because it was constructed mainly by the workmen in the shipyard of Mr. James Stoakes,⁹ which was near Easton Point. In this fort were placed the six guns of Captain Clement Vickers' battery, and it was kept in a state of readiness for action during the remainder of the war. There was always a garrison or guard within the fort, for the shelter of which a house was constructed. This guard consisted of a very few men except during periods of alarm, when it could be easily increased by the workmen from the shipyard, many of whom belonged to the "Talbot Volunteer Artillery Company" of which Capt. Vickers was the commander, and which was the same company that was originally in 1808 under Capt. Samuel Thomas. At the date of these events there was building at the shipyard of Mr. Stoakes, one of those naval defences which were much lauded at the time, but which soon were proven to be very worthless, and brought ridicule on the projectors. This war vessel was built at the expense of the citizens of Easton and vicinity, who subscribed the amount necessary for its construction. It was a barge, fifty or sixty feet long, and ten feet wide, and propelled by forty-eight oars, twenty-four on each side, and each oar being worked by two men sitting upon the same seat, side by side.¹⁰ It mounted a single gun, placed in the bow. This barge

⁸ Mr. John H. Barrott, son of Sol. Barrott, informed the writer that this earth work was thrown up on a Sunday, when it was thought the enemy was approaching, but he does not remember the date. Mr. Thomas Parrott says it was thrown up when the British were at Castle Haven, in 1814. The statement in the text is probably correct.

⁹ Mr. James Stoakes was a local preacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He carried on ship building at Easton Point, extensively and successfully for a number of years, but ultimately became bankrupt, and died in 1818. He was an enterprising, industrious, courageous and zealously pious man.

¹⁰ This description of the barge was received from Mr. Thomas Parrott, a very aged man, yet living, but it is very evident his memory failed him as to the number of oars which could not have been forty-eight in a length of sixty feet. It is probable there were but twenty-four oars.

was finished early in June, but it does not appear that it was ever brought into requisition for purposes of war, offensive or defensive. After the termination of the war it was decked over, and converted into a vessel of burden. A similar, but heavier barge was built at St. Michaels, at the shipyard of Colonel Perry Spencer. Like that built at Easton, it proved of no service whatever, as a vessel of war; but it too was converted into a vessel of burden, after receiving a deck and sailing equipment. It may be well enough to say in this connection that whenever there were any of the fleet of the enemy in the waters of Talbot, or near her shores, a guard boat was sent down from Easton, or St. Michaels daily, to report the position of the ships. Nor should there be a failure to note that in addition to the regularly organized companies in the town of Easton, there was a band of the more aged citizens who were known as the Town Guard, the duty of which was to protect the town whenever the companies were absent. Of this band Thomas James Bullitt, Esq., was the Captain.

Towards the middle of April a detachment of the British fleet moved up the bay with the ultimate object of capturing the city of Baltimore. On or about the 12th of this month Admirals Warren and Cockburn took possession of Sharp's Island, making a prisoner of Mr. Jacob Gibson, the owner, who had repaired thither to bring off his stock of sheep, cattle and other property. He was prevented from removing anything that could be of use to the fleet and was finally permitted to return to his home on the main, after receiving partial compensation for what had been seized by Admiral Warren.¹¹ The money paid to him was honorably tendered to the government, Mr. Gibson being unwilling to appear as having profited by the enemy. The squadron at this time was reported to consist of seven sail, two twenty-gun brigs, and five smaller vessels, though according to the statement of Mr. Gibson, Admiral Warren's flagship, the *San Domingo*, made a part of the fleet on the 15th of the month. At or about the same time Tilghman's and Poplar Islands were taken possession of by the enemy, and Mr. Hemsley and Mr. Sears suffered from the depredation of the enemy upon their cattle. The following letter of John Leeds Kerr, Esq., addressed to a

¹¹ This visit of Mr. Gibson gave rise to much controversy at the time, and was the subject of correspondence between him and the authorities, both State and Federal. It was upon his return from the island that he was guilty of that playful escapade, of frightening the citizens and soldiers at St. Michaels of which a full account was given in a contribution published in the Saint Michaels *Comet* of January 6th, 1877.

member of the Council of Maryland, and now published for the first time, will serve to indicate the condition of affairs in the county at this juncture.

Easton, April 14th, 1813.

DEAR SIR:—Our citizens have been for several days past in a state of alarm by the reported approach of the enemy to our Bay Shore, and today we have received information from Colonel Auld by a letter to General Benson, dated 10 o'clock, that six British ships, at Nabbs' [Knapps'] narrows were actually sending men ashore in Barges, and that he was preparing to meet them with 140 men of his regiment. Upon this information the militia companies of this place were immediately ordered out, but a difficulty arose with respect to the delivery of more arms than those which had been specifically ordered. The General has taken upon himself the responsibility of sending arms and ammunition to the point of attack, in addition to those which have been sent heretofore to the Bay Side, and in the emergency, which now presents itself, should continue Colonel Smyth proposes upon his own responsibility to deal out as many arms as may be deemed advisable.

The order, of which I inclose a copy, has been delivered to the Armorer today, and although some of our citizens have expressed dissatisfaction at it, giving it a construction which cannot accord with the real views of the Council, some of us have undertaken to assert that the order is intended for the general accommodation of all the counties, now liable to attack, upon any emergency that might arise, when resort could not be had to the Executive, at Annapolis. We have supposed that the discretionary power of giving out arms and ammunition, occasion might require has been lodged with you, as a member of the Executive Council, near at hand, on the Eastern Shore. In this construction we are confident you will agree with us; and as you are at some distance from the Armory and the people here are extremely pressing upon the subject, it has been thought to suggest to you the propriety of your granting to the Brigadier General, or some other officer in or near Easton, a discretionary power to order out arms, &c., as necessity may require. This is a probability of a large portion of the militia being called out immediately, and you will gratify our people very much by a prompt answer upon this subject. Under present circumstances, you will see reason to excuse the liberty of this communication from a private citizen written upon slight consultation with a few friends.

The following article taken from the *Republican Star* of the 20th of April will also serve to represent the condition of affairs in this county, as well as give an account of one of those incidents of the war which excited some interest.

The Queenstown packet was captured on Friday last by two barges from the British squadron up the bay between North Point and the

Fort. The captain and some of the passengers made their escape in a boat, the rest, among whom were some women and children, were detained all night near the Admiral's ship. In the morning they were put on board an old sloop and allowed to proceed home, detaining the packet and property to the amount of between three and five thousand dollars, principally belonging to Mr. Meredith and Bromwell of this town.¹² The squadrons having during the last week literally spread out on our shores, while their small vessels have entered several rivers, but without effecting any landing on the main, being opposed at all points by infantry and cavalry, whose determined valor they seemed loth to test. Sharp's island has been invaded now about a week, and a partial supply of water and provisions have fallen into the hands of the captors. Tilghman's and Poplar islands are also in their power, and out of the protection of the militia. From those prisoners whom they have released, it is understood they intend to make their rendezvous on these islands, so long as they furnish supplies. The editor intimates that the cause for the barrenness of his columns of news is the absence of his workmen upon military duty in the lower part of the county. In his issue of the 27th of April, the editor states that during the past week Poplar island was visited by a marauding party and "plundered to a large amount. Upwards of forty head of cattle, some sheep, hogs, etc., were borne off by this visit," when the party "stood up the bay." "Had the islands in the bay," he continued, "been divested of succor for the enemy, which interest and patriotism certainly dictated, the bold and determined stand made by the *defenders of the main* would have rendered their visit up the bay both short and unprofitable.

It was while the fleet was in the upper part of the bay, in the months of April and May, 1813, that the city of Baltimore was threatened with a visit from Admiral Cockburn, and the small towns of Havre-de-Grace, Georgetown and Frederickton were attacked, plundered and burned and many outrages perpetrated upon the inhabitants of the counties lying north of Talbot by his marauding parties. It would be going beyond the prescribed scope of this contribution to give any particular account of these expeditions, which were as disgraceful to their perpetrators as they were humiliating to those who undertook to repel them, for the inefficiency of the militia under fire was most conspicuously displayed. The reader is referred to works of the general history of the country or

¹² In the *Republican Star* of the same date Messrs. Meredith and Bromwell give a statement, over their own signatures, of the circumstances of their capture, but they add little to the account given by the editor. They state that Admiral Cockburn was in command of the fleet, and that he was on board the flagship *Marlborough* of seventy-four guns. The packet and merchandise were retained as lawful prize.

of the State for details of these affairs. They are referred to here on account of their relation to matters in this county, and because of their effects upon the people of Talbot, which were to increase the alarm and to keep the militia forces in a constant readiness for the coming of the enemy. This event, it was very evident, could not long be postponed, and it was awaited with more and more solicitude as the reports of outrages gained in atrocity. Cattle and other lone stock were driven from the exposed parts of the county. Valuables, such as would offer temptation to unscrupulous sailors and marines, were transported to places of safety, women and children were sent in many cases into the interior, and slaves suspected of disaffection were also placed beyond reach. Every man liable to military service was enrolled in some company, and subjected to such periodical drills as those engaged in the active work of life could be expected or required to undergo. The few relics of the revolutionary era buckled on their swords or shouldered their muskets "to show how fields were won" or to give encouragement to their younger fellow-citizens. Notwithstanding the disheartening effects which the conduct of the militia elsewhere had induced, or was calculated to induce, there is no evidence that there was any reluctance shown by the men of Talbot to have their courage and firmness put to the test, nor that there was any other feeling than a determination to retrieve the honor of their brethren in arms which had been lost, or sadly obscured on other fields. Another effect of these outrages perpetrated along the bay shore of this and the neighboring counties was to unite the whole people, and, if not to extinguish all differences of opinion as to the policy of the war, at least to prevent any other expression with regard to it but a determination to repel the foe should he invade their homes. The Federalist, who had most violently condemned the declaration of war, stood side by side in the ranks with the Democrat who had been most reckless in his advocacy of such declaration; while, there is good ground for believing that more than one-half the commissioned officers of the Talbot militia were drawn from that party which was branded as an ally of the enemy by its opponents. All diversities of sentiment merged into one, the duty of every man in the community to defend his fireside from the intrusion of a rapacious enemy. If the vehemence of the partisan was not added to the ardor of the patriot in every case, the conduct of no one betrayed any difference in the alacrity and willingness that were shown by all to join in the common defence.

The rolls of the several militia companies, and the rosters of the regiments, or battalions, formed within this county during the war of 1812-15 are not, to the writer, accessible, if indeed they be in existence:

but from such imperfect memoranda as have been recorded, and from the recollections of persons participating in the military events of the time, the following account of the militia organizations had been compiled. It is proper to say that it is necessarily imperfect, and doubtless in some instances incorrect. Of artillery, there seems to have been but one regularly organized company in the county. This was known as the *Talbot Volunteer Artillerists*, and was commanded by Captain Clement Vickars, though, it will be seen in the sequel, he had but the rank of lieutenant. This is the same company that in 1809 had for its captain Samuel Thomas, and this gentleman may have remained at the head of its roll during the war, though Vickars performed the duties of its chief officer. In the town of St. Michaels there were artillerists, but it does not appear they were organized as a distinct company. They were probably members of an infantry corps, and had assigned to them the charge of those cannon which were at that town. Captain William Dodson, who is recognized officially as Lieutenant Dodson, had command of the fort at St. Michaels, and Lieutenant John Graham was in command of another breast-work. Of these St. Michaels artillerists William Farlow, Wrightson Jones and John Thompson were subordinate officers, but their relative rank is not known.

Of cavalry, three companies are known to have been organized in the county. "*The Independent Light Dragoons*" was formed of citizens of Easton and its vicinity. Of this company Robert Henry Goldsborough was the captain; William Harrison, first lieutenant; Edward W. Hambleton, second lieutenant, and Philemon W. Hemsley, cornet, or third lieutenant. This is the same company of which, under the name of the "*Talbot Patriot Troop*," Edward Lloyd was captain, until promoted in 1812 to be lieutenant colonel of the Ninth Regiment of Horse. At the same time Mr. Goldsborough was offered the rank of Major to the same regiment, but declined the honor, preferring to remain Captain. This troop some years later was commanded by Mr. William Harrison, and then by Mr. Nicholas Thomas, as captains. The second troop of horse was formed at St. Michaels and its vicinity. The name which it assumed has escaped notice, but it was commanded by Robert Banning as Captain; Feddeman Rolle, and afterwards Richard Spencer, as First Lieutenant; William Roberts, as Second Lieutenant, and James Hambleton as Cornet, or Third Lieutenant. The third troop in the county, of which the name has not survived, was formed at Trappe, and composed of citizens of that village and the neighborhood. Of this company Daniel Martin was Captain, who was succeeded, in 1813, by the First Lieutenant, William Dickinson. The Second Lieutenant was

Isaac Bowdle, who was promoted to be First Lieutenant in 1813, and the Cornet was James Clayland, who was promoted to be Second Lieutenant in the same year. Of these troops, the companies of Captains Banning and Martin belonged to the Ninth Regiment of Horse, and probably that of Captain Goldsborough belonged to the same. If there was a troop of horse in the upper part of the county, as is not unlikely, its name and the names of its officers have escaped mention.

Of infantry there were many companies in the county, either in skeleton or fully organized. The list following may be regarded as full and as accurate as can be compiled from such imperfect memoranda as have thus far been collected.¹³ In and near Easton were companies commanded by Captains George Wishart Smith (the "*Light Infantry Blues*"); John Leeds Kerr (the "*Easton Fencibles*"); and Amos Hale, (the "*Mechanic Volunteers*"). These were all uniformed companies, and the two first mentioned maintained their organization for years after the close of the war. Captain William Jordan commanded a company composed chiefly of residents of Miles River Neck, and Captain Jonathan Spencer and his company were from the neighborhood of Wye Landing. Captain Joseph Kemp, who afterwards became Colonel Kemp, drew his command from the town of St. Michaels and vicinity, which assumed the name of the "*Saint Michaels Patriotic Blues.*" This company had been commanded by William Merchant before his death, and was uniformed. Captain Thomas Wayman drew his company (the "*Hearts of Oak*"), from the neighborhood of the Royal Oak. This company maintained its organization for many years after the war, and was commanded by Alexander B. Harrison. If not uniformed at the date of the war, it became so afterwards. Below St. Michaels, in the Bayside and in Broad Creek Neck, companies were formed under Captains Oakley Haddaway, John Carroll and Daniel Feddeman. In the lower part of the county, within Trappe district, Captains Nicholas Goldsborough, Samuel Stevens, John Merrick and James Newnam enrolled companies. In the eastern and northern portion of the county, or chiefly in the Chapel district, were the companies commanded by Captains Henrix (Thomas or Charles), Thomas Jones and George Parrott.¹⁴

¹³ It is proper to say, in this connection, that all the military records of the State of Maryland, relative to the war of 1812-15, were removed from Annapolis to Washington, and are now in the office of the 3rd auditor of the Treasury of the United States.

¹⁴ This list cannot be implicitly relied upon, as to the localities of the companies. In the main it is indubitably correct.

These forces were under the chief command of Brigadier General Perry Benson, under whom were Colonels Edward Lloyd, Hugh Auld, William B. Smyth, William Hayward and Perry Spencer, the last two of whom were too old for active service, yet they performed military duty in emergency. The Majors were, John Meredith, William Caulk, John Dawson, Thomas Jones, William Lambdin, and later, John Leeds Kerr as Brigade Inspector, and Daniel Martin.¹⁵

If the efficiency of this large body of enrolled militia had been proportionate to its numbers or to the bravery of its component parts, the people of the county would have had little to apprehend from any force the enemy was likely to send against them; but experience had shown how little dependence could be placed upon the firmness of men whose natural courage was not supported by that confidence that comes only from military discipline. What training in tactics they received was of the most effectual kind, such only as could be given by officers themselves ignorant of military science and art, at such periodical musters irregularly attended by men who could not be withdrawn from their usual avocations. The insufficiency of arms was such that all who were enrolled could not be properly equipped, so that muskets that were used by companies stationed near threatened positions were given up as soon as the immediate danger had passed, and transferred to other companies when the enemy approached the section from which they were recruited.¹⁶ But under all these circumstances, there was an evident determination vigorously to defend their homes from the devastating foe, should he make a landing upon the main.

On the sixth of May 1813, a pleasing incident worthy of commemoration occurred at the town of Saint Michaels. An account of this may be given in the words of one who witnessed the affair.

The ladies of Saint Michaels delivered to General Benson a handsome flag, for the use of the Fort [erected upon Parrott's Point, for the defence of the town,] with the following address by Miss Dodson:

¹⁵ This list is not wholly trustworthy, but as there is substantial ground for what it states, it must stand until better information furnishes correction and completion.

¹⁶ In June 1813 an effort was made to form a more regular body of soldiers, which should be kept constantly under arms for the defence of the country. It was then proposed to raise a company or companies of mounted Infantry, to be called the *Volunteer Rangers*, which should be officered and paid by the State and which should serve during the continuance of the war, but should not be required to go beyond the limits of the State. There is no certain evidence that this company was ever formed.

“The ladies of Saint Michaels and its vicinity wishing to express the high sense of gratitude they feel to the gentlemen, for their prompt exertions in erecting a fort for the common defence; and also in some degree to testify their zeal for the liberty and honor of their beloved country, have prepared a flag, at their own expense, made it with their own hands, and do most respectfully present the same to you, and through you to them, for the use of the said fort—having entire confidence the same will not be disgraced for want of that patriotic zeal and persevering bravery which always inspires the breast of a people enlightened and free. The General received it with feelings of gratitude and delivered an appropriate answer, by calling to their minds what the Grecian, Roman and Carthaginian ladies had done when their country was invaded by a foreign foe: and he beheld with pleasure that his countrywomen he believed, were not behind them, or the women of any nation in patriotism. The flag was raised under the fire of a gun and music, the soldiers promising to defend it with their lives.
(Signed) A Bystander.¹⁷”

The lady presenting the flag was the sister of the Captain of the Artillery company, Capt. William Dodson, who was in command of the Fort at the entrance of the harbor of the town. Upon this flag was embroidered the names of the officers of this company, and was displayed over the Fort when the attack presently to be mentioned was made, but was borne away when the Fort was evacuated.

Early in the month of June the number of ships in the Chesapeake had been considerably increased by new arrivals from Bermuda and the West India station. Upon these there were three or four thousand troops “including a regiment made up of foreign refugees and prisoners, many of whom were worthless desperadoes.” Foiled in an attack upon Craney Island, that commanded the harbor of Norfolk, Virginia, the village of Hampton on the north side of James River was on the 25th of the same month, seized and those infamous outrages perpetrated upon its inhabitants which added new horrors to the alarm the marauding expeditions of Cockburn had excited among the people seated along the bay and its tributaries. Brutality to women now, it was apprehended would be united with the burning of farm houses and villages, and with the pillaging of plantations and stores of these “water Winnebagoes,” as they were called. As a consequence of this new terror, the wives and daughters of the residents in exposed situations were sent off to the interior or as far as this was possible; but of course the larger part of the inhabitants were not able to avail themselves of this expedient for

¹⁷ This communication is given as it was printed, without any attempt to correct its phraseology.

protection from a licentious soldiery. The enemy's fleet advancing up the bay continued to send parties into the rivers and creeks where they committed their usual depredations. On Tuesday, August 10th, according to one of the newspapers of Easton, there were twenty-five or thirty sail up the bay, off Tilghman's Point, in the Eastern Bay and around Kent Island; which they took possession of, on Thursday last, [the 6th] and landed about two thousand troops, erected a battery at the Narrows and occasionally crossed to the main. They made no attempt to land on the main of Talbot, though they have had possession of Poplar Island, the past week. Kent Island became a kind of rendezvous, from which expeditions were sent out from time to time. The land forces were under the command of General Sir Sidney Beckwith, who made his headquarters at Belleview, the seat of Mr. Jonathan Harrison, near the bay shore. That gentleman, a native of Talbot, had sent the female members of his family to Easton, but remained himself upon the plantation, to prevent, as far as possible, the destruction of his property.¹⁸

It was not doubted, from the time when the enemy had taken possession of Kent Island, that he would soon visit the mainland of Talbot or Queen Anne county. There was much to invite his attention in these counties and especially in the former. Talbot contained the largest town upon the Eastern Shore and one that could be approached by boats and small vessels to within three miles, by way of Saint Michaels river. This town offered materials for pillage, being a place of no inconsiderable wealth, containing a bank and well furnished stores. Here too was the armory for the whole of this section of the state, which the imagination of the enemy, doubtless, filled with the munitions of war, but which was

¹⁸ From this gentleman, the grandfather of the writer of this contribution, it was learned that while General Beckwith and his officers made very free use of everything in the house and upon the farm, they treated Mr. Harrison and his wife with marked courtesy, and even proffered some inadequate payment for the injury they had done. Mr. Harrison was a professed Democrat and supporter of the war, and used to relate that one day at dinner, Captain Powell, an Aide to General Beckwith, said to him "we will ship the Democrats for being enemies to the British government, and we will drub the Federalists for being enemies to their own." The *National Intelligencer* of Washington, at that time an intense war journal, seriously claimed that the Americans had acquired new allies while the British were upon Kent Island, from whose attacks more important results were anticipated than from those of the neighborhood militia. These allies were the *musquitoes*, whose bloodthirsty numbers it was thought would soon drive the enemy to take refuge on board his ships. These were Trojans that no Ajax could withstand.

indeed very empty when the militia had been armed, as they were upon occasions of alarm. Besides Easton, the town of Saint Michaels upon a river of the same name was an important point for attack—important as an outport of Easton, as it were, and as being a village of two or three hundred inhabitants and containing much plunder; but more important as being a place of shipbuilding where at the date of these events there were six or more vessels upon the stocks, of which one was a barge for naval defence. There were also larger craft, some of which were probably intended for the privateer service; for this county was then noted for the construction of that class of fast sailing vessels, which were used in this private warfare, and for which Baltimore has acquired the whole credit, and to which that city gave the name of Baltimore Clippers. The destruction of these vessels then in the course of building at the shipyards¹⁹ of the town and vicinity was alone of sufficient importance to invite a visit from the enemy now stationed almost within sight of the workmen engaged in their construction.

For some weeks the militia of the county at large had been in expectation of being called in to service, and as has been shown, those in the Bayside had been for some time upon the alert. Videttes had been stationed at different points of observation and every movement of the fleet and its boats had been noted and reported to Colonel Auld, at St. Michaels or to General Benson, at Easton. When it was announced that the enemy had taken possession of Kent Island, and that his ships were in the Eastern Bay, the companies of Captains Smith, Kerr and Vickars of Easton were ordered to Saint Michaels where they met with the company of Captain Kemp and the artillery men under Captain Dodson, of that town. These were soon followed by other companies from more distant parts of the county and before their services were actually required there were assembled at the point of attack about five hundred men.²⁰ These belonged to the following companies in addition to those just mentioned: Captain Wayman's company, Captain Carroll's company, Captain Jordon's company, Captain Jonathan Spencer's company, Captain Robert H. Goldsborough's company, Captain Robert Banning's

¹⁹ There were vessels upon the stocks in the yards of Thomas L. Haddaway, Impey Dawson, Joseph Kemp, John Wrightson and John Davis; in the town. Near by were the ship yards of Col. Perry Spencer and Richard Spencer, where there were vessels building.

²⁰ No accurate account has been recovered of the actual number of militia present at St. Michaels. Those persons engaged in the affair who have left reports vary in their estimates from three hundred to six hundred.

company, Captain Dickinson's (formerly Captain Daniel Martin's) company, Captain Henrix's company, and a company from the neighboring county of Caroline, the name of the captain of which is not known. These could not have had the full quota, or they were mere detachments. General Benson was in command, and under him were Colonel Auld, Colonel Thomas Jones, Major John Dawson, Major William Caulk and Major Daniel Martin. The troops were quartered in the town and the two churches (which have now entirely disappeared) were converted into barracks, the Episcopal church (then not quite finished) and the Methodist church. Doctors James Tilton, Theodore Denny, Tristram Thomas and Ennalls Martin were surgeons in attendance. Early in the spring when the enemy's fleet appeared in the upper part of the bay, and took possession of the islands along the bay shore, a breast-work had been thrown up upon the point of land then and still known as Parrott's Point which is at the mouth of the inner harbor of the town. In this breast-work, or fort as it was called, four guns were placed, carrying six and nine-pound shot. These guns were placed in charge of Capt. or Lieut. William Dodson,²¹ and about thirty men. There is a tradition substantiated by two excellent witnesses, that a boom was thrown across the mouth of the harbor of logs chained together to prevent the entrance of the enemy's barges, and that it proved effectual. Captain or Lieutenant Vickars' battery of two guns was sent below the town and stationed at or near the place where the Broad Creek neck road joins the main county road leading to the Bayside. This was done in anticipation of the enemy's landing below the town, and marching upon it from the rear. On the point of land within the town, then known as Dawson's wharf, being then occupied by the shipyard of Impey Dawson, there was a breast-work thrown up in which were placed two six-pound cannon, mounted upon cart wheels. These were the same guns that had been presented to the people and soldiery of the town by Mr. Jacob Gibson as a peace offering for the alarm he had caused them by his playful imposition, already noticed. This battery was under the

²¹ Capt. William Dodson was a native of this county, having been born in St. Michaels, January 19, 1786. He sailed packets out of St. Michaels river for a number of years. He commanded one of the barges in Barney's flotilla, after the affair at St. Michaels, and participated in the discreditable battle of Bladensburg, where the sailors and marines from the flotilla alone preserved their honor. He married in 1807 and dying Dec. 8th, 1833, left many children, of whom Captains Robert A. and Edward Dodson and Leonidas and Henry Clay Dodson survive.

command of Lieutenant John Graham,²² John Thompson and Wrightson Jones each had charge of one of the guns. After the attack of the enemy had begun, the guns of Captain or Lieutenant Vickars²³ was brought up from below the town and stationed upon the point of land within the town at the extremity of Green street on the left of the Church cove, now known as Mill Point, because near it stood, at one time, the first steam mill ever erected in this county. Upon this point also breast-works had been thrown up. Such were the preparations that were made to repel the enemy.

It was a time of great solicitude, and though it has been customary to ridicule everything connected with the affair at St. Michaels, there is abundant evidence that those who participated in the military movements which preceded or made part of it were very far from regarding the events then occurring as fit subjects for mirthful badinage or bitter satire, as the following letter, written by the captain of one of the companies upon the eve of his march to the point threatened by the enemy, will attest:

"MY MUCH BELOVED FRIEND:—I am just going into a situation which may render me obnoxious to the chance of never seeing you more. My only solicitude is for the honor and happiness of my family. Be a friend to my wife, who is all that is honorable and just to me, and a father to my children, equally and without distinction. I wish Arthur to be brought up to my own profession, and the rest as their talents may indicate. If there be another world, there cannot be a doubt that the just and honorable will meet there. Farewell, and pay respect to the memory of a protege.

JOHN LEEDS KERR."

August 4th, 1813.

There were doubtless many others of the citizen soldiery assembled at St. Michaels, who, while awaiting the approach of a strong and a disciplined foe, felt the same solicitude as that expressed by this gentleman

²² Lieutenant Graham was the son of — Graham a respectable farmer living near St. Michaels. He was a member of Capt. Joseph Kemp's company. He was born September 15, 1778 and died April 23, 1837, leaving many children.

²³ Captain Clement Vickars was born in Dorchester county, Maryland, in 1773. For many years he commanded packets sailing out of Third Haven, from Easton Point. Later he was the first captain on the steamboat Maryland, a vessel constructed under his immediate supervision. He was in this position at his death August 17, 1825. He was a man of great decision of character, bold, energetic, adventurous, and vigorous in body and mind. He has left descendants in this county, of whom the Captains Leonard inherit the predilections of their grandfather for the water.

to his uncle, Mr. John Leeds Bozman: and this can be said without imputation upon their courage, for he is not the truly brave man who is insensible of danger, in dangerous contingencies, but he who, appreciating his position and its possible consequences, has the fortitude to face the impending peril.

The movements of the enemy upon and around Kent Island, which were closely watched, indicated that an attack upon St. Michaels would speedily be made. A brig had advanced up as far as Deep Water Point, and had been engaged in making soundings and reconnoissances. A deserter, who had been sent on shore at the Island from one of the ships to convoy an officer, had taken the boat and crossing the Eastern Bay, landed in Bayside. Upon being brought before General Benson he declared that there were about two thousand men upon the Island, ready for an expedition, and of these fourteen hundred were marines and regulars; that they intended making an attack on St. Michaels during the then current week, by land and by water; that this would have been done before, but they dreaded a ten-gun battery, as they called it, erected at the mouth of the harbor of the town. The editor of the *Republican Star*, upon the very morning of the long expected coming of the enemy, said, when referring to these circumstances and to the collecting of the troops at the threatened point: "We have no doubt of their meeting with a warm reception from the band of brothers stationed in that quarter, should they make the attempt." At last the much looked for event was really at hand. The night of August the ninth was wet and drizzly. The commander of the Fort at Parrott's Point refused the application of his officers to scale the guns, which had been charged for some time, saying that the night was such as to render the approach of the enemy more than probable, as the darkness and obscurity would favor his purposes. Captain Dodson's surmises were realized. Embarking on board of eleven barges, the enemy, composed of three hundred soldiers and marines, left the fleet early in the morning, and keeping along the shore of the river opposite St. Michaels—the river here being more than a mile wide—escaped the vigilance of the videttes placed at Ashcraft's and other points, and passed unobserved up the river, above the mouth of the harbor, and of course above the fort.²⁴ He then crossed directly over, still concealed by the clouds and fogs. It was now about four o'clock in the morning of the 10th of

²⁴ It has been stated that the barges were piloted by a man named Higgins, a citizen of the county. For the sake of honor it is hoped this was done under compulsion though the informant intimates that it was done voluntarily.

August, but dark for that hour, as the weather was still lowering. Arriving at the shore, which was flat and sandy, not admitting the near approach of the boats to the beach, the troops began disembarking in the water, and were forming into a column, when they were discovered by the guard at the fort, at a short distance from the flank of the breast-works—so near indeed that the commands of the officers could distinctly be heard. After all the warnings and precautions, the garrison seems to have been taken by surprise, and before a gun had been fired, the greater portion of them were seized with a panic, and throwing away their muskets, they made their way toward the town, running through the field of corn which interposed. The enemy fired a volley at the fugitives without any damage except to Mr. Parrott's crop. But there were a few of the men who retained their courage, and determined to have one shot at the enemy. The position of the British was such that but one gun could be trained upon them. This was wheeled into position. Though heavily charged with ball and canister, there was laid in its very muzzle a parcel, weighing twenty-seven pounds, of old scrap iron, nails, etc., around which were wrapped some rope-yarn. There were three men only left in the battery: Captain Dodson, Lieutenant Richard Kennemont,²⁵ and John Stevens, a colored man—the same who is said to have been the first to discover the enemy at his landing. The gun was brought to bear upon the British column, properly sighted, and the match applied. The enemy had seen the members of the garrison flying towards the town, and imagined that the fort from which they had expected trouble was entirely deserted, and they were confidently expecting to take possession without meeting any resistance, when they received into their ranks the contents of the nine pounder heavily and fearfully charged, as has been described. Although the consequences were disastrous, the column moved on, without pause, and soon poured over the breast-works, which now really were without defenders and entirely abandoned, for Captain Dodson, with his brave companions, John Stevens and Lieutenant Kinnemont, had followed the rest of the garrison, not however without having a volley or two sent after them through the protecting corn. Captain Dodson did not forget his flag, the same that had been presented by the ladies of St. Michaels, for he drew this down from the flag-staff, and bore it off with him in his flight. The British, upon taking possession of the battery, gave three cheers, which could be distinctly heard in the town, spiked

²⁵ Another authority says the white man was Frank Gossage.

all the guns, and then returned to their barges, bearing off their killed and wounded. The gun that had done such execution had been so heavily charged that when it was discharged it leaped from its carriage entirely over the embankment and fell into the ditch beyond. All the guns were subsequently drilled at their vealts, or touch-holes, and made as useful as before.²⁶ The barges rounded the point and placed themselves in the mouth of the harbor, within less than a half mile of the town. One account says they first advanced as far as the boom²⁷ thrown across to what is known as Navy Point. Being unable to proceed further they fired two guns and then drew off to a position in the river, from which they opened their fire, which was continued with much vigor, though with little effect. This fire was promptly and spiritedly returned by the two batteries upon Dawson's wharf and upon Mill Point, under Lieutenant Graham and Lieutenant Vickers, the last of whom had brought up his guns from the Bayside road as soon as he heard the firing, and had placed them in the position designated.²⁸ Owing to

²⁶ There has been much controversy among participants in this affair as to the person who fired this gun. The honor has been assigned to three persons by equally creditable witnesses. Some assert with positiveness that it was John Stevens, the brave colored man, who not only at the fort, but afterwards during the whole engagement, acquitted himself in such a manner as to win the praises of all who witnessed his intrepidity. Others, again, with equal positiveness, declare that it is Lieutenant Kinnemont who should have the credit of this courageous piece of conduct. Yet others declare, without reservation, that to deprive Captain Dodson of the honor of this deed of daring would be grossly unjust, for he was the commanding officer, and whatever was done was by his order, and probably by his assistance. Captain Dodson was certainly the last man to leave the fort, and no subordinate would have presumed to fire the gun without his order. Besides, it is well attested that Captain Dodson always claimed that the gun was fired by him, and he was too honorable a man to deck himself with what justly belonged to others. Without doubt John Stevens and Lieutenant Kinnemont (or the white man, whatever his name) were present when the gun was discharged, and were assisting. They therefore are entitled to share with their brave commander whatever honor should follow so gallant a deed.

²⁷ Although there is some doubt whether any such boom was formed, there is none whatever that the barges did not enter the harbor.

²⁸ More credit has been given to Captain Vickers than he is justly entitled to for repelling the foe. It is the uniform testimony of eye witnesses and participants that to Lieutenant Graham and his battery upon Dawson's wharf must be given the chief honor of this transaction. Captain Vickers did not get his guns into position until the enemy had begun to retire. That he and his company behaved with great gallantry, and aided most effectively in securing the retirement of the enemy is not questioned, for of this there is abundant testimony. But the attempt of the chroniclers of the action, all of whom were residents of Easton

the foggy condition of the atmosphere the aim of the enemy was defective. Their balls which were from small six pound pieces flew above the town penetrating the roofs of some of the houses, or striking some of the higher gables. The injury done was insignificant. The firing of the Talbot artillerists was said to have been more effective. It is certain that one of the barges was struck, and so injured that to prevent its sinking, it was necessary to swing it between two others, and in this situation it was carried out of the range of guns and conducted to the fleet. The number of shots fired by the enemy is not known, but the Talbot cannoniers fired as many as fifteen shot when the enemy drew off to the opposite shore and returned to the ships off Kent Point or the rendezvous upon the island, completely foiled in their undertaking. While the artillery was engaged with the enemy the infantry and horse were drawn up upon the public square of the town, under the immediate eye of General Benson, ready to meet the invading foe should he attempt to make a landing. The intrepidity of the commander, which really needed none of that fortifying stimulus which he is said to have used, was opened to the charge of recklessness, for he exposed himself and his troops unnecessarily, when protection could easily and properly have been attained. Some of the troops did not show that firmness in the presence of danger, as danger there was, that was manifested by much the greater number: and tradition relates that one company, which shall not be named exhibited a wonderful discipline as well as unanimity, in its precipitate retreat, for when it reached the Royal Oak, four miles distant in its homeward flight, the roll was called and there was not a man but answered to his name. This may have been a playful jibe, or only a half serious charge, but it is unquestionable that there were some in this little army of raw militia who however stout and brave at heart were unable to control their actions and actually ran away when the balls and grape shot were heard passing unpleasantly near, above their heads. A field officer suddenly aroused from his slumbers by the firing, did not pause to ascertain the condition of affairs in the town, thinking it to be already in the possession of the enemy, precipitately fled to his home, to meet the indignant reproaches of his courageous wife, and ever after to bear the shameful imputation of cowardice from his fellow citizens—an imputation which, it is fair to say, was not wholly deserved, for his inconsiderate conduct had really

or its vicinity, to attribute to him the chief credit for the repulse of the barges and to ignore or undervalue the superior services of Lieutenant Graham, of Saint Michaels, cannot be justified by the facts as related by many eye-witnesses.

palliation, though certainly not justification, in the attending circumstances. The result of the engagement was most gratifying to the Talbot troops. No blood of any American was shed, and this has given ground for the undeserved ridicule that has attached to the affair; but the enemy was completely foiled in his attempt to capture and burn the town, and beside he had suffered very considerably. The following is the official report of General Benson, made immediately after the engagement.

The enemy with eleven barges²⁹ made an attack upon the little fort at the mouth of the harbor of St. Michaels, on Tuesday morning the 10th inst, and under a dark cloud, and were not seen until they were landing. They were fired on by two guns,³⁰ and the men from the fort retreated with the loss of their muskets. Then the guns were spiked and the enemy embarked and commenced a cannonade upon the town. There were fifteen well directed shot from our guns, which made the enemy retreat. Ten of the shot were fired by Lieutenant Graham from his battery and five from Lieutenant Vickers'. There was much blood on the grass at the water. One pair of boarding pistols³¹ two boarding cutlasses, two cartridge boxes; and a pair of pumps left.³² The barges fell down to the brig, three or four miles and remained until 9 or 10 o'clock, nine of them went to Kent Island, in slow order, and two went down to the Admiral's ship. The militia generally behaved well, and I have no doubt the same body would meet the conflict with redoubled ardor. Some of the houses were perforated, but no injury to any human being.³⁴ This showeth the hand of Providence.

P. BENSON, B. G.³³

²⁹ The number of barges has been variously stated from nine to eighteen.

³⁰ Notwithstanding the official character of this report, the true statement is that there was but one gun fired, all witnesses agree in this.

³¹ These pistols were long in the possession of Captain William Dodson, and preserved by him as trophies of the battle.

³² The Baltimore *Patriot* referring to the affair at St. Michaels says: "From the British having left a pair of 'dancing pumps' behind them at St. Michaels, we conclude their intention was to have a dancing frolic—and so they had—but then they *paid the piper*."

"A true war dance of Yankee reels
And manual exercise of the heels."

The writer is indebted to Mr. Frank Emory for this squib taken from a series of "County Sketches" prepared by this gentleman and published in the *Centre-ville Observer* in 1873.

³³ *Republican Star*, August 17, 1813.

³⁴ It is customary for those who would deride this affair to say in mockery that the only blood shed within the lines of defence was that of a domestic cock, who during the battle was encouraging the soldiery with his "shrill clarion." But if there was no blood spilt by the Talbot people during the battle there was some

There is another contemporary account of this affair, which originally printed in the *Federal Gazette* of Baltimore of the 17th of August (from which it was extracted by the writer of this contribution) but copied into *Niles' Weekly Register*, the *Philadelphia Aurora* and perhaps other journals. The author is unknown.

Extract from a letter from Easton dated August 12th. "The enemy have taken full possession of Kent Island, and have fortified the narrows. Their ships lie around the island, several of them in the Eastern Bay, and a brig has been up as high as Deep Water Point, in Miles River. Tuesday last, in the morning, about four o'clock, the British made an attack on St. Michaels with eleven barges. They went up the river on the opposite side and came down on the side of St. Michaels without making the least noise, close to the shore and as it was very cloudy, and our men in the fort without suspicion of an attack, they had landed before they were discovered. Our men fired two guns and left the fort, of which the enemy took possession and give three cheers, supposing they would have St. Michaels without much difficulty, but they were very much mistaken, for the St. Michaels people, and Captain Vickars³⁵ of the Easton Packet, with the artillery from Easton attacked them so briskly and pointed their guns with so much judgment that our invaders were soon obliged to make off. The infantry were not engaged. There were only four pieces of cannon in the battery, one of which our people spiked before they left it; the other three were spiked by the enemy. But they have all been drilled and are again ready for service. We were fortunate enough not to have a man hurt, although the grape shot flew like hail in the town, and there balls went through a number of the houses. The two shots that were fired from the fort must have done some execution as a good deal of blood was seen on the shore, and two swords and a pistol were left behind, and three barges were seen to be struck by the artillery from the town. We expect to hear every hour of another attack on Saint Michaels, as I have no doubt they

after and because of it. The management or mismanagement of the affair gave rise to much crimination and recrimination among the officers, and a challenge for a duel is said to have passed between Captains Kerr and Smith. A reconciliation, however, was effected before any hostile meeting could take place. For years after whenever old participants in the battle, of the ruder sort, met at the tavern, they began to chaff each other upon the cowardice displayed, and as they became pot valiant, they fought their battle over again, not like the intoxicated monarch of whom the poet sings, but with each other. Many were the black eyes and bloody noses of the warriors of St. Michaels, who however insensible to the calls of honor in time of danger, were quick to resent any imputation cast upon their courage in time of safety.

³⁵ It will be observed that no notice is taken of Lieutenant Graham's battery the guns of which were really those that proved most effective in repelling the boats.

will return with a stronger force. We are, however, well prepared for them. Two companies from Easton have been there for the last week. They are relieved and have returned home.—Should the enemy succeed in taking St. Michaels, we may expect a visit from them (at Easton), but having already met so unexpected a repulse, perhaps they may not venture again.”

It will be seen that these accounts do not precisely agree with each other, nor with that given by several active participants. An attempt to reconcile them at this distant date would be futile. Of the number killed and wounded of the enemy, nothing beyond conjecture is known. The following, taken from an editorial article contained in the *Republican Star* of August 17, may be regarded as the most authoritative statement. The essential part was copied into Niles Register of August 28th and has been generally accepted.

Since which [the action of the 10th] eight deserters have come into town, two on Tuesday and six yesterday afternoon.³⁶ Among the latter is a midshipman, who reports that he conducted the captain of the brig *Contest* ashore on Kent Island, on Sunday evening, and he not returning before dark they put off and landed in the lower part of this county; that the brig had just come up the bay, that they were informed by the midshipmen of the *Marlborough* * * * that in the attack on Saint Michaels the British lost one captain. One Lieutenant of marines and twenty-seven privates, and that one of the barges was materially injured.

Another witness, Thomas Ennalls, a fugitive slave, who escaped from the fleet, testified that a barge lay alongside the ship on board of which he was, and upon the barge were the dead killed in the action; and that an officer said in his presence, loud enough to be heard, that “they had lost an officer worth more than the whole d—nd town was worth.” But Ennalls did not know the number of the dead. There is a tradition that the officer killed was a nephew of Admiral Cockburn, who was upon the eve of returning home, but asked that he might accompany this expedition as he wished to have one frolic with the Yankees before leaving. He is said to have been killed by a six-pound ball striking him in the breast as he sat in the stern of his barge.³⁷ The dead were con-

³⁶ One of these deserters was Jamison Hamilton, a Scotchman and a weaver, who for many years afterwards lived and followed his trade in Easton.

³⁷ The propensity of participants in this action, as in most others, to exaggerate the injury inflicted upon the enemy, renders it extremely probable that the number of killed and wounded in this affair has been magnified. There can be no doubt, however that the damage done was sufficient to deter the foe from prose-

veyed on shore at Parson's Point and there buried, as many citizens witnessed through their spyglasses.

After the repulse of the enemy, some of the companies of militia were permitted to return to their homes, with commands to the officers to hold them in readiness to return, at a moment's notice, should another attempt be made upon the town of St. Michaels, as was anticipated. Deserters reported to General Benson that an expedition had left the Island and fleet, under the commands of General Sir Sidney Beckwith and Admiral Cockburn, for an attack upon Queenstown, in Queen Anne's county.³⁸ There was ground for believing a similar expedition composed of land as well as naval forces, would be despatched to Talbot, for the accomplishment of the purposes of the former, which had proved ineffectual by reason of the insufficiency of its numbers to meet successfully the troops that were defending that place with so much decision. Every movement of the enemy continued to be watched with true military vigilance. Reports were made that the fleet of the enemy were abandoning the upper part of the bay, for the purpose of carrying the customary devastation into the counties bordering on the Choptank. The following letter from a gentleman in Chestertown to his friend in Wilmington, signals—perhaps somewhat prematurely—the departure of the enemy from Kent Island.

Chestertown, Aug. 23, 1813.

Yesterday the enemy abandoned Kent Island, after taking off everything they could make useful or profitable; such as all the negroes that were not too old and infirm, stock of all kinds, etc., amounting at a rough calculation to upwards of one hundred thousand dollars. This day their whole fleet got under way and stood down the bay, so that we have a little more respite, but how long God knows. Report from Kent Island says they intend going up Choptank river, at or about Dover ferry, and take possession of Easton, and the lower part of Talbot, it being a rich and fertile part of the country. I have no doubt when

cutting his attempt on the town, and to prevent its repetition, at least by water. A deserter reported that the excuse offered by the commander of the expedition to the Admiral for his failure was, that he was deceived as to the character of the forces he was to encounter: that he had expected to meet militia—whose instability was notorious—but he found regulars, with whom he could not cope with the small force under his charge.

³⁸ An account of the attack on Queenstown would not be within the scope of this contribution but one that is very full is given in "County Sketches" by Mr. Emory, published in the Centreville Observer of 1873, and another in Scharf's History of Maryland. The last curiously gives the 7th of August as the date of this affair—whereas Mr. Emory correctly gives the 13th.

we come to have particulars of their behavior on the Island it will nearly come up to Hampton.³⁹

With reference to the same movements, the *Republican Star*, of August 24th, says:

By express from Queen Anne's yesterday information was received that the enemy had evacuated Kent Island and have repaired on board their ships, which from late movements by sounding, etc., an attack somewhere may be expected in a few days; and circumstances strongly support the opinion that this county will be made the object on which the enemy may endeavor to wreak his vengeance for the late repulse at St. Michaels. Patriots may be overcome, but by superior numbers only. Every man is expected to do his duty. Since our last, ten deserters have come in—a hearty set of *blue-jackets*.

The troops that had been permitted to return to their homes after the affair at St. Michaels were recalled, and preparations were made to give a warm reception to the enemy should he repeat his visit. This visit was not long postponed, as the following letter, written by Major Solomon Dickinson to the editor of the *Republican Star*, will show.

St. Michaels, Aug. 29, 1813.

MR. SMITH:

Thursday, [that is to say, Aug. 26th,] about daylight the enemy was discovered by our videttes, stationed at Colonel Auld's point⁴⁰ to be landing from sixty barges. They immediately moved a column about two miles towards our camp at this place. They then posted a picquet of men in advance within a few miles of us. They had two field pieces, and a number of rockets on the road in the rear of the picquets. At the same time we discovered three schooners and a brig beating up the river, crowded with troops, evidently with an intention of cutting off our retreat and destroying this place, should we march down to attack them. A flag from one of the schooners landed, and informed several persons, living upon the water side, that the British troops would land in a few hours, and if they would remain in their houses, their property should not be injured. After this Admiral Cockburn, at the head of three hundred men, marched below in search of a militia company stationed there, the greater part of whom made their escape across Harris' creek. Fourteen were afterwards taken at their houses. They burnt two small vessels and plundered the inhabitants of clothing, etc.,

³⁹ Emory's "County Sketches," Centreville Observer, Feb. 25, 1873.

⁴⁰ Col. Auld resided at Wayde's point, upon Bayside, the present residence of John W. Kemp, Esq., about six miles below the town of St. Michaels. This point took its name from Zachary Wayde, one of Claiborne's men, driven from Kent Island by Lord Baltimore's people.

to a large amount. From information received that morning from five seamen who deserted after landing, their force on shore was eighteen hundred men, under Sir Sidney Beckwith. At six p.m. they re-embarked, taking with them their prisoners, whom they released the next day on parole. At the same time the vessels weighed anchor, and stood down to the fleet off Kent Point. The militia presented a determined front in support of their country's rights.

Per order of General Benson,

S. Dickinson, B. Major.

Very little can be added to this account of Major Dickinson; but the following part of a statement made to the writer by the Rev. Robert Kemp, late minister of the Wilmington Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, will serve to elucidate and somewhat amplify the official narrative.

* * * When my father aroused me in the morning and announced that the British, who lay off Kent point, in full view, were landing, the number of boats putting off from the ships was so great that I can compare them to nothing better than chips thrown upon the water from a basket. They captured a schooner called the *High-Flyer* while on the expedition. They landed at Col. Auld's plantation, and whether any of them went up the road towards St. Michaels, I cannot say, but some of the force went down the peninsula as far at least as my father's place.⁴¹ My father was not at home. Some of the officers and men came up to the house, but others remained upon the road. The officer in command of the detachment or squad that came to the house was Major Williamson, who asked for cider, but declined receiving it because it was recently made and therefore unwholesome, but he accepted bread, milk and fruit for himself and men. Major Williamson asked my sister if she was not alarmed when she saw the British soldiers approaching the house, after what she had heard of the outrages upon the women at Hampton. She replied that she certainly was much alarmed, and was at that moment suffering much fear of injury. Major Williamson comforted her by saying that she need apprehend nothing from British soldiers: that they never perpetrated such outrages as those referred to; and that those committed in Virginia were committed by Frenchmen who had deserted their own countrymen and had joined the British army. He added, these had been placed where they could do no further harm. My father coming home encountered the party on the road, and was taken before Admiral Cockburn, who was mounted on a horse. I saw the Admiral at a distance only. My father gave him to understand that he was a Friend, or Quaker: whereupon the

⁴¹ This farm is now owned by and is the residence of the Misses Kemp, daughters of John Kemp, and of the same family that has had possession of this property for more than two hundred years—a rare, but not the only, instance in this county of such lengthened ownership.

Admiral said that he belonged to a very worthy society of people, and that if we were all Quakers there would be no war. Mr. Kemp was asked by the Admiral if he had any knowledge of a boat or barge that had been carried off by a party of deserters. He replied, "I have seen the barge." He was then directed to go with a party of marines and point out the place where he last saw the boat. He went to the water's edge and pointing to a stake in the water, said, "when I last saw the boat she was tied to that stake." The men saw there was no boat at the place indicated, and so reported: but in truth the boat was still tied to the stake, and had been sunken to prevent her discovery and capture by the owners.⁴² The militia company that had been stationed below, upon the Bayside and upon Tilghman's Island, was Captain John Caulk's. Finding themselves cut off by the interposition of the enemy, they dispersed, most of them getting across Harris' creek, but sixteen of them were taken prisoners, carried to Annapolis, a depot of exchange, and there released, after a detention of several weeks.⁴³ There was considerable plundering, but it was not systematic, or with authority. The sailors and soldiers took what could be used by them. Nothing was taken for the general purposes of the fleet.⁴⁴

These two accounts are sufficiently full and explicit. A portion of the expeditionary force, probably that under Sir Sidney Beckwith, moved up the Bayside road towards the town but was deterred from making an attack by the bold and determined front which the troops there collected presented, the number of which, about six hundred, had been doubtless much exaggerated by informers, besides, their firmness upon the former occasion had been advantageously displayed. The wooded character of much of the country furnishing protection to the militia, they would have been able to do much execution upon an advancing party without dangerous exposure of themselves. That portion of the expedition that was confined to the boats made no active demonstration. Towards evening the land forces were reëmbarked and returned to the fleet, again foiled in their purposes of destruction.

⁴² A very striking instance of Quaker truthfulness and Quaker shrewdness—but told with the utmost frankness and naïveté by Mr. Kemp.

⁴³ This is probably erroneous; Mr. Dickinson's statement being official and authoritative.

⁴⁴ In this connection it is proper to say that the citizens of Talbot, unlike those of other sections, did not suffer, as far as can be discovered, any loss of slaves. Many of the negroes, when the enemy was threatening, were sent off to the interior; but the real cause of the immunity of Talbot from this kind of depredation was the unwillingness of the negroes themselves to leave their homes and masters. Slavery in Talbot was so mild in its character, and particularly that form of slavery which existed in Bayside, that there was small inducement for the negroes to entrust themselves to the tender mercies of the British.

On Monday, the thirtieth of the month, the fleet weighed anchor and stood down the bay. The following is from the *Republican Star* of Tuesday, August 31st.

We have the pleasure of announcing to our readers that information was received at camp, yesterday, from our videttes upon Tilghman's Island that during the morning a ship came up the bay under a press of sail, fired several guns, when the whole fleet got under way and stood down the bay, and at 2 o'clock General Benson discharged the troops at St. Michaels.

Before disbanding, the following orders were read to the assembled militia, and were published at the request of the officers.

Brigade Orders. August 30th, 1813. As the British are on their way down the bay, the militia at this post are discharged except such a guard as Colonel Auld may see proper to keep here. The Caroline militia will deliver their arms and cartridges to the Armorer at Easton. The extra arms will be delivered to the Quarter Master, Mr. Garey, to be sent to Easton. The General, in behalf of his country, sincerely thanks the militia that have remained at this place, under many privations, and, in some instances, under disagreeable circumstances. In sight of a menacing enemy, the troops presented a determined front in support of their country's rights. All the Commandants of corps and companies are on their return to their respective homes, to order court martial upon all deserters and delinquents. There is to be no firing of guns, no waste of cartridges. Every officer stands accountable for the safe keeping of arms and equipments, and as the main body of the militia have done themselves honor, the General hopes and flatters himself that they will return home with the same honor.

Thus ended the campaign of the year 1813, which upon the whole had been successful, for though the Talbot troops had been unable to prevent the landing of the enemy upon the islands, from their fleet which commanded the bay, they had succeeded in thwarting his purposes of destruction and pillage upon the main. The most severe sufferers from his depredations were Mr. Jacob Gibson, upon Sharp's Island; Mr. Will Sears, upon Poplar Island, and Mr. Hemsley, on Tilghman's (more properly Choptank) Island.⁴⁵ The court martials which were

⁴⁵ In June, 1813, Mr. William Sears made affidavit before Mr. Justice Peter Denny, that he had lost by the British, from Poplar Island, 30 head of black cattle, 86 old sheep, 20 to 30 lambs, 300 breeding sows and pigs and all the poultry that could be caught. He further declared that much injury was done to his house and furniture. Mr. Jacob Gibson under oath before Mr. Justice William Harrison, July 20, 1813, declared that his losses stock—giving number and kinds—amounted to \$1203, after deducting a small amount which he had received from the British officers in money and bills in exchange.—*Niles' Register*, Oct. 9th, 1813.

ordered by the General in command were dissolved as there were no charges preferred against any officer, though the conduct of some was severely commented upon in private circles. In the following April the troops were paid for the time they had served.⁴⁶

Although immediate danger to the county had passed, by the retirement of the fleet, the war continuing, there was reason to expect another visit from the enemy in the following year. The old military organizations were maintained, and new companies formed, or projected. One of these was to be armed with rifles instead of the musket, regimental parades and company drills were required, and the officers were acquiring a better knowledge of military tactics. Provision had been made also for the better arming of the forces. The events of the year had imparted courage, confidence and ardor. In April of the year 1814 a section of the enemy's fleet which had held possession of the lower part of the bay, moved northward, but soon returned to the main body, carrying off two schooners captured near Sharp's Island, one of which was laden with corn. Barney's flotilla of gun boats passed down the bay on Sunday, May 1. One of the barges was commanded by Captain William Dodson of St. Michaels and another by Capt. Henry Thomas of Easton. Many men of the crews were also from this county.⁴⁷ Of the performances of this miniature squadron and of its ultimate destruction this is not the place to speak. About the

⁴⁶ An advertisement in the *Republican Star* of April 19, 1814, notified all concerned that David Kerr, Jr., Paymaster of the 4th Regiment would be in Easton to pay off the troops and these companies are mentioned as being entitled to pay: viz. Capt. Geo. W. Smith's, Capt. Geo. Parrott's, Capt. John Merrick's, Capt. Nick. Goldsborough's, Capt. Samuel Stevens', Capt. James Newman's, Capt. Thomas Henricks', Capt. Amos Hale's, Lieut. Thomas Cooper's, Capt. John Leeds Kerr's companies. All of these were of the 4th regiment of the Maryland militia, and of infantry. No companies of the 26th regiment are mentioned, nor any of the 12th battalion of cavalry, nor of the artillery. The 26th regiment of infantry was composed of companies of the Bayside section of the county, and there were probably paid off at St. Michaels.

⁴⁷ In this connection it may be well to say that the navy of the United States had many Talbot men among the sailors. Lieutenant William Bush of this county was on board the *Hornet* in the naval fight with the *Peacock*, and was killed. Of this gentleman little or nothing is known. In the battle of Lake Erie, under Commodore Perry, Purser Samuel Hambleton, though a non-combatant, took an active part, and was severely wounded. A memoir of this most estimable gentleman whose acquaintance and friendship the writer of this contribution is proud to have enjoyed, has been prepared and shall be published hereafter.

middle of June a detachment of the enemy's fleet, consisting of one brig and two schooners came up the bay as far as Kent Point, capturing one of the ferry boats, belonging to Mr. Sears plying between Haddaway's ferry and Annapolis, and destroying two or three other smaller vessels. This detachment returned to the main body of the fleet below. On Sunday, July 10, a frigate and four schooners with several barges of the enemy made their appearance between Poplar Island and Kent Point, and captured one of the Cambridge packets, off Thomas' Point. They moved up the bay, with no apparent purpose of remaining. About this time important events were occurring upon the Western Shore. Cockburn was carrying on his system of plunder and devastation along the shores of the Potomac and Patuxent. Barney's flotilla had taken refuge at the head of the last named of these rivers. Early in August the enemy had been reënforced by troops under General Ross, and apprehensions began to be felt for the safety of the national capital. The enemy's policy was to keep the shores of the bay in a state of constant alarm. On the 18th of August a ship and two schooners and a large sloop anchored off the mouth of the Eastern Bay, and in the evening sent off two barges which captured a small vessel and a canoe. The crews landed upon the Bayside, and after amusing themselves upon the beach in some frolics returned to the vessels, without doing any harm. On the 22nd Commodore Barney destroyed his flotilla, and on the 24th was fought the humiliating battle of Bladensburg in which no credit was gained by any of the American forces except the sailors and marines from the flotilla, and of these as has been noted, Talbot county furnished no inconsiderable number. On the 25th the enemy entered Washington and burned the public buildings, magazines and stores. On the 31st was fought the battle of Caulk's field in Kent county, in which the invaders were driven off with the loss of their commander Sir Peter Parker. On the 10th of September a large fleet passed up the bay to reinforce the enemy who was now threatening Baltimore, on the 12th was fought the battle of North Point, and upon the 13th occurred the bombardment of Fort McHenry. On the 19th the fleet retired down the bay, continuing their harassing visits to the shores. But these events belong to the general history of the State and Nation and are here referred to merely to show their relation to or their connection with the events of the war in this county. The enemy continued to hold possession of the Islands off the bay shore, and a detachment of their fleet entered the Choptank on the 19th of October, and sent an expedition consisting of eighteen barges and a schooner up as far as Castle Haven,

in Dorchester. They made a landing but committed no other depredations than that of robbing the tenant upon the farm of Dr. Kemp of his poultry and cattle. Tilghman's Island suffered more severely from the marauders.⁴⁸ While occupying these islands the 26th regiment of Infantry under Colonel Auld were on duty, to prevent their depredations on the main. The presence of a portion of the British fleet in Choptank, some of the ships advancing as high as Castle Haven, as above noted, kept the militia of the lower district of this county, as well as those of Dorchester on the alert. An attack upon Easton was momentarily expected, preparations were made to give the enemy a proper reception. Troops were assembled from different parts of the county again under General Benson, and Fort Stoakes was manned and the guns placed in position.⁴⁹ Videttes were stationed upon points of land that admitted a view of the movements of the fleet and boats of the enemy, and a guard boat was also daily sent down the river for the same purpose. On the 19th of October it was announced that an expedition had left the fleet and was under way for an attack upon the town by way of Third Haven. The troops that were assembled at Easton slept upon their arms the whole night in readiness for the conflict which was expected in the morning. But the purposes of the enemy were defeated by the tempestuous weather, which dispersed their boats, and drove them back to the fleet. Some of the barges are said to have grounded on Benoni's Point, at the entrance of the river. Although it was intended that the expedition should be again sent

⁴⁸ Mr. Alexander Hemsley, at that time the owner of Tilghman's Island, made the following statement of his losses:

"A list of stock taken from Choptank Island by the English from the 20th to the 25th of October 1814, to wit:

43 grown cattle	50 sheep
15 calves	25 barrels of corn
—	2 to 3 tons of hay
58	

For the above articles they left bills of exchange to the amount of 150 pounds sterling. The following stock they left the specie for, at the prices opposite to each.

7 grown cattle at \$5	\$35.00
5 calves at \$2	10.00
6 large hogs	8.00

(signed) Alexander Hemsley.

\$53.00

⁴⁹ According to some testimony Fort Stoakes was erected at this time, and not in 1813, as stated in the text.

out for the same purpose, circumstances prevented its being a second time undertaken. The militia was retained in position at Easton until the 2nd of November when information having reached General Benson that the enemy had abandoned Tilghman's Island and that his fleet had left Choptank river, the troops were dismissed and allowed to return to their homes. General Benson issued the following address:

Wheatland, Nov. 7th, 1814.

SIR:—In justice to the patriot band of militia I had the honor to command and to dismiss on the morning of the 2nd instant, at Easton, I wish it to be known that on the morning of the 20th ultimo, after they had been lying on their arms all night with a probability of attack from the enemy, at their 4 o'clock parade, A. M., from the report of the officers, there was not an absentee from any of the corps. There appeared to be no party but one, and that was WE ARE ONE. You will please hand this to each of the editors of the papers in Easton.

Your obedient servant,
P. BENSON.

Upon leaving Choptank the fleet for a short while assumed a position off Poplar Island and Thomas' Point, but soon after the heavier ships went into the lower Chesapeake, leaving behind, however, a sufficient force for the prosecution of a system of spoliation upon the small craft that plied between the city of Baltimore and the tributaries of the bay. This was a kind of petty privateering—or as it was designated at the time, picarooning—in which small gains and no honors were to be won. For the purpose of carrying on these depredations it was the custom of the enemy to make use of the larger and better craft that had been captured. They would arm and man the schooners of good burden, conceal their heavy guns beneath piles of plank or other conspicuous but easily movable materials, and employ all other possible devices to give these armed vessels the appearance of peaceful traders making their ordinary trips to and from the city. When a luckless sloop or schooner could be overhauled, she was taken possession of, or when a number of craft could be found becalmed, these extemporized war vessels would make their way into the midst of them, and then suddenly swoop down, in boats and barges, and before they could get out of the way most of them would be captured, without firing a gun or drawing a sword.⁵⁰ Notwithstand-

⁵⁰ From the private journal of Mr. Thomas H. Dawson, of his journey to the fleet, upon a flag of truce, for the purpose of securing the release of his wife and children, who had been captured upon the packet *Messenger*. This journal the writer has been permitted to examine by Mr. Elias O. Dawson, the son of Mr. Thomas H. Dawson, and it has been freely used in the preparation of the account of the capture of the *Messenger*, which follows.

ing the hazards of bay navigation, while the enemy was thus skimming the waters of the Chesapeake, there were venturesome captains always ready to take the risk of capture, drawn to it by the fascination of danger, and by rewards of increased rates of freight. None of these were bolder and more enterprising than Captain Clement Vickars, of the sloop *Messenger*, a packet sailing weekly between Easton Point and Baltimore. Relying upon the swiftness of his new sloop and his own skill as skipper, he did not fear to "run the blockade," and he passed and repassed the British vessels with safety during the season. The *Messenger* became well-known to the enemy and a most desirable object of capture. At last circumstances favored those who were upon the watch for her, and threw her into the hands that had been so eager to gain possession of such an admirable craft, of whose sailing qualities they had had many exhibitions, and of whose beautiful model and appointments they had heard such glowing accounts. The circumstances of her capture may be related in the words of the editor of the *Republican Star*:

To Robert Spencer, Esq., A. D. C.

On Friday morning last (November 11th) the Easton packet *Messenger*, Captain Vickars owner and master, was captured by an enemy's barge with six men and an officer, off the north end of Poplar Island, on her return from Baltimore. The circumstances of this important event we give from verbal relations: that early in the morning they descried several vessels at anchor down the bay, which they supposed were waiting a favorable tide, there being little or no wind. The packet stood her course down, and shortly afterwards discovered a barge board and capture a craft at no great distance from them. They tacked, as did a schooner in company, and stood up the bay, but made little headway. The barge left her prize and pursued them; and when little more than a mile from the sloop, Captain Vickars, with his hands, five in number, and Captain H. Thomas, of the flotilla, put off in a boat (partly at the instance of the passengers) leaving on board ten or twelve, among whom were several ladies, and most of them belonging to this town. When out of reach of the enemy's fire, should they attempt to bring the boat to, they lay on their oars, and saw the packet taken possession of. Soon after the barge, with three men, put off in pursuit of the schooner, that was higher up the bay, which they took, and the whole fleet stood over to the western shore, where a southwest breeze struck them, and they shaped their course down the bay. It is understood that in this daring enterprise, the enemy having armed stolen craft, one of which, a small sloop, the other a schooner, with some barges, had within a short space of about eighteen hours, purloined from defenceless individuals more than half that number of vessels of various value, that of the Easton packet no doubt surpassing two or more of them in value,

she being nearly new, completely fitted, with goods, etc., on board, which together would fall little short of ten or twelve thousand dollars, which was amassed by six men and an officer, without firing a gun! Nor is it known that the whole fleet of bay craft then in the enemy's possession cost him a single ball! Captain Vickars and his crew arrived in the night of Friday and on Saturday we understood a flag was granted by the proper authority, accompanied by Captain Vickars, which left early on Sunday morning, on Captain Auld's packet, to procure the release of the passengers, and to convey them to their friends.

Little need be added to this account. It was afterwards learned that the officer effecting the capture was Lieutenant Pearson, of the *Dragoon*, seventy-four, who it would seem had started upon a cruise towards the upper part of the bay, for the purpose of seizing the steamboat then plying between Baltimore and Frenchtown, upon the line of travel to Philadelphia. Accounts of this steam vessel had excited much interest on board the fleet. She was probably the *Chesapeake*, the first steamboat ever built in Maryland, and has been constructed only the year before. Lieutenant Pearson was diverted from his purpose by falling in with about twelve bay craft, all of which he took possession of, including the *Messenger*.

The loss of this fine vessel was a very serious blow not only to the owner, but to the entire community. It was determined to attempt her recovery by ransom, and a flag of truce was granted by General Benson for this purpose, and for the release of the passengers who were captured. Accordingly Major Meredith, as bearer of the flag, accompanied by Captain Vickars, Mr. Thomas H. Dawson and others, sailed November 12th, from Easton Point on board the schooner *Superior*, Captain Auld. Major Meredith bore the following letter from General Benson:

Easton, 12th Nov., 1814.

To the Commander of the British Squadron now lying in the Chesapeake Bay,—

SIR:—The sloop *Messenger*, a packet boat, has been captured by one of the barges belonging to your squadron, with several respectable inhabitants of Talbot county, and I am sorry to learn that these passengers have not been set on shore, many of them being ladies. It is hoped there will be no difficulty in releasing them immediately. Mr. Clement Vickars, a highly respectable citizen of this county, industriously laboring for the support and advancement of his family, must sustain in the capture of his vessel a loss that will reduce him to the greatest difficulty and inconvenience, unless he can ransom her at some moderate sum. The usages of war justify such a procedure, in as much

as the spirit of the practice of civilized nations, in a state of war, enjoins them to conduct it in such a manner as to make its unavoidable course produce as little private individual calamity as possible. I have granted a flag, under the conduct of Major Meredith, for the purpose of obtaining an immediate restoration of the captives to their friends, and to give to the owners of the property taken an opportunity of ransoming it according to the usages of war.

I have the honor to be your Hum. Serv't,

P. BENSON, B. G.
of Md. Militia.

At ten o'clock the next day, the 13th, the flag schooner *Superior* fell in with the armed schooner having the *Messenger* as a prize under her lee. Lieutenant Pearson in command requested that the *Superior* should keep company with his vessel to the fleet station, which was off Tangier Islands. Permission was granted to the gentleman from Talbot to visit their friends captured who were still upon the packet. For this purpose he politely tendered to them the use of his barge. The prisoners were in good health and spoke in the highest terms of the polite and gentlemanly treatment they received from the officers, who supplied them with everything in their power and used every exertion to render their situation comfortable.⁵¹ Lieut. Pearson freely condemned the war as a most unnatural one, in which he regretted to be engaged. His obligations of President Madison as the author of such a fratricidal contest were frequent and fierce. The *Superior* came to anchor on the 15th to the leeward of the *Dragoon*, the flagship of Captain, or as he is frequently called, Commodore Barrie, at the mouth of the Great Wycomico. A boat was immediately sent from the ship to fetch the officer of the Flag of Truce, Major Meredith. The results of the negotiations were not entirely satisfactory to the Talbot people, as is shown in the following letter addressed to General Benson in reply to his by the Flag:

His Majesty's Ship *Dragon*,
Off Tangiers, 15th Nov. 1814.
To Brigadier General Benson.

Sir:—In reply to your letter of the 12th instant, just received from Major Meredith, I am to acquaint you that such of the American prisoners as were captured on the 11th instant, in the *Messenger*, whose age excludes them from the militia service are hereby set at liberty together with the ladies, children, &c. I am to acquaint you that it is contrary to my instructions to ransom any vessel properly captured from the enemy. I am sorry it is not in my power to parole the persons

⁵¹ Mr. Thomas H. Dawson's private journal.

named in the margin; but my orders forbid my entering into any arrangement for the release of prisoners except on the principle of receiving man for man. On such terms it will afford me great pleasure to be enabled to restore those gentlemen to their friends, for any British subjects you may send me. I have the honor to be

Your obedient humble servant,

ROBERT BARRIE.

Captain and Senior Officer.

The following taken from the *People's Monitor* of Saturday, November 19th, will serve to give more fully the result of the mission of Major Meredith.

We are sorry to say that the object of the truce was only in part effected. They would not listen to the ransom of the sloop on any terms,⁵² and the following will show how far they will consent to the release of the prisoners.

List of persons released, who were captured on the sloop *Messenger*, on the 11th instant, and sent to Easton in the flag Schooner, *Superior*, Captain Auld, where they arrived on the 17th inst.

Mrs. Edith Dawson and her two children.

Miss Harriet W. Day.

Miss Susan McGlaughlin.

Miss Isabella Prince.

James Cockayne, non combatant.

Joseph Spencer, ditto, being a teacher in a public seminary.

Negroes Ned and Kitty.

Prisoners released who were captured on other vessels, and put on board the prize sloop *Messenger*:

Miss Elizabeth Frazier of Dorchester.

Doctor Traverse of ditto, over 45.

Mrs. Brown of New York, put on board the flag schooner from *Dragon*,

74.

Persons detained as militia men captured in the sloop:

Robert Spencer of Easton.

Samuel Holmes of ditto.

Henry L. Clarke of Baltimore.

William Bromwell of Easton.

⁵² In a paper read by the Hon. J. B. Kerr, late of Washington, before a literary society of that city he stated that when offer was made by Capt. Vickars to ransom the *Messenger*. Captain Barrie replied that the vessel was so beautifully modeled and elegantly fitted up that he meant to retain her to be presented to the Prince Regent for a yacht. This Mr. Kerr probably received from Capt. Vickars himself.

Note.—Mrs. Bromwell and Mrs. Johns, her mother, continued on board the Commodore's ship with Mr. Bromwell, through choice, with an expectation of obtaining his release.

Prisoners detained, who were captured on other vessels and put on board the sloop:

Charles Eccleson	} of Dorchester } militia men."
James Frazier	

After the conclusion of the negotiations pretexts were found for the detention of Flag of Truce, that the gentlemen and ladies might be enabled to participate in a fête which was improvised and politely tendered by the officers of the ship. The journal which has been several times quoted says:

All the prisoners were conveyed on board the *Dragon* from the sloop to partake of an elegant and sumptuous entertainment prepared for them by the commodore, after which the company was conducted into an elegant ball-room furnished with an excellent band of music. Upwards of forty prisoners taken at North Point, that remained unchanged, and had, a few days before, arrived in the *Brune* from Bermuda to be exchanged, were invited to partake of the entertainment.

As some of the ladies were Friends or Quakers, the offer of a dance to them, might have appeared like adding insult to injury, if it had not been proffered with the utmost good will and courtesy. Captain Barrie was particularly complaisant.⁵⁵ In the morning of the 16th the persons who were allowed to return home were sent on board the *Superior*, in the Captain's gig, and they disembarked at Easton Point the next day.

It is hardly necessary to say that the cause of Captain Vickars' and Captain Thomas' desertion of the *Messenger*, when about to be boarded, was their active participation in military and naval operations against the enemy, and the certainty of their being made prisoners of war. Some of these gentlemen who remained on board and were captured did not receive that indulgence which they expected, for they were retained for exchange. The case of Mr. Bromwell was particularly hard and unfortunate. He had, the day before his capture, been mar-

⁵⁵ Finding Mrs. Dawson feeding one of her little children with a large pewter spoon, Captain Barrie ordered his steward to bring him, immediately, from his own locker, a silver teaspoon, which he politely requested the lady to accept, saying apologetically that he was afraid the large spoon would make the child's mouth too wide. This spoon he insisted upon her taking with her, and it was retained, and may be to this day, as a souvenir of a by no means painful episode in the family history.

ried, and was returning home with his bride. Besides, this was the second time he had been taken prisoner while crossing the bay—the year before having been captured in the Queenstown Packet.

To conclude the account of this affair it remains only to state that the prisoners and passengers that had been retained on board the fleet were on the 24th of November paroled and set on shore upon the Bay-side near Tilghman's Island. They reported "that the enemy lost part of their ill-gotten spoil, in a late wind, by the sinking of three or four of their craft, and by others being driven down the bay, without provisions. In those sunk, upwards of forty of his men perished." The last statement must be taken with allowance.

While the fleet lay in the mouth of Choptank desertions were frequent and occasional prisoners were taken from the enemy. Three of the last were sent to Easton from Dorchester on the 14th Nov., where they were captured by the militia after their craft, which was one that had been seized in the Chesapeake, had grounded. At other times more prisoners were sent over to be forwarded to Baltimore. Of these, two officers, Lieutenant Phipps (or Phibs) and Midshipman Galloway, were treated with more than civility. They were placed under a parole and given the freedom of the town. They were caressed and flattered by the attentions of the better, that is the wealthier, class of citizens, and particularly by the ladies, who were quite charmed with their rank and manners, and one lady lived to rue the gallant attentions of Midshipman Galloway. The freedom which was extended to these prisoners gave much umbrage to many sober citizens, who saw that they were permitted to see the weakness of the defences of the place, and that the knowledge thus obtained might be used, in case of attack. The commanding general did not escape censure for his indulgence. A private letter, from a prominent citizen of Easton to a member of the Governor's council, in the possession of the writer, reflects severely upon the leniency of General Benson and the inefficient provisions of the care and transportation of prisoners. It says: "Though they are confined within certain limits, they could not fail to make observations, which would be very disadvantageous to us, should they be soon exchanged and any attack be made. For instance, they had an opportunity of viewing the relative situation of the Point and town. They were finally sent off for Baltimore, by order of General Benson, in the Easton packet from the Point, down the creek. When this intention of the General was first known, many of the most respectable citizens sent a remonstrance in writing to the General, requesting, for the safety of the town,

that these prisoners (one of whom was a remarkably shrewd fellow) should not have an opportunity of then ascertaining the nakedness of the place. The answer of the General was that he should send them down to the Point blindfolded, and order them to be kept in the hold as long as the captain of the packet should think advisable. The farce was actually exhibited, and the prisoners have gone down the creek and river for Baltimore." This letter warmly urges the propriety of appointing a deputy Provost Marshal to take charge of prisoners. However, no harm came to any one by reason of the freedom granted to the prisoners, except the poor girl whom Galloway made love to and then compulsorily or willingly deserted.

By this time the principal part of the fleet had been withdrawn from the upper portion of the bay, and the larger ships were stationed off Tangiers, while expeditions were fitted out for depredations in Virginia waters. But occasionally a ship would make her appearance above, while at all times the smaller vessels, barges and tenders were to be seen picarooning in different parts of the bay, seizing upon such small craft as came within their reach. The last injury to be suffered by any citizen of Talbot was the partial loss by Mr. Sears, of Bayside, whose losses of one kind or another had been severe, of a second of his packets early in January, 1815, which being pursued by the enemy, was scuttled by the crew and abandoned. She was taken possession of, the holes bored in her bottom plugged up, and then set on fire by the British. The fire, however, did not effect her complete destruction, and the vessel was reclaimed.

Negotiations for peace had been for some months in progress, and early in February, 1815, the news of its ratification by the British government arrived, and in a few days after the American government assented to the terms of the treaty of Ghent. Thus terminated a war which, pronounced by one party to be righteous in its motive, glorious in its conduct, and happy in its results: by the other as having been commenced without prudence, conducted without skill, and indecisively concluded. But all united in welcoming peace, and none more heartily than the people of Talbot, who for more than two years had been harassed by apprehensions, and tantalized by petty injuries and annoyances, perhaps more hardly to be borne than greater calamities, because they irritate and inflame and do not obtund the moral sensibilities.

In the preparation of this account of the incidents of the war of 1812-15, as they occurred in Talbot and upon her borders, the writer has availed himself of every source of information within his reach. The general

histories of the United States and of Maryland have been consulted, of course. But the newspapers of the day have furnished the most abundant and the most valuable material. Of these *Nile's Register* and the *Federal Gazette*, of Baltimore, and the *Republican Star* and *People's Monitor*, of Easton, may be mentioned. A few private letters, which have by chance escaped the almost universal destruction that has come upon all collections of such documents in our county, have furnished some interesting and valuable items of information. The journal of Mr. Thos. H. Dawson has supplied many memoranda. The testimony of a number of aged men, taken down immediately from their lips, has been of great assistance. It is proper to say in this connection that much difficulty has been encountered in the attempt to reconcile conflicting statements made in every case more than sixty years after their occurrence. But the differences were upon trifles. In the main the stories of these witnesses agree. The persons who were consulted and gave the fullest and most connected recitals were Captain Thomas Auld, of Bayside, son of Colonel Hugh Auld; Mr. Jeremiah Harrison, of St. Michaels, a member of Captain Kemp's company; Mr. Stephen Denny, of Ferry Neck, a member of Captain Wayman's company. All of these participated actively in the affair at St. Michaels in 1813, and their memories of the events were full and accurate. Mr. Thomas Parrott, still living at a very advanced age, at Easton Point, and Mr. John H. Barrott, of Cambridge, possibly still living, the son of Solomon Barrott, the last surviving Talbot soldier of the Revolution, were able to give very full accounts of affairs in and around Easton. The Rev. Robert Kemp, late minister of the Wilmington Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, though a non-combatant, charged his mind with almost every minutia concerning the movements of the troops during the summer of 1813, and rehearsed them with great fullness, and, it may be added, positiveness, in the year 1874. Besides these, many other aged persons, whose names need not be mentioned, have given additional and confirmatory testimony, all of which has been used so as to present a connected and authentic relation of the incidents of the war of 1812-15, happening in Talbot. Because many words have been employed and many petty details noticed, it must not be inferred that any illusions have possessed the mind of the writer with regard to the importance of the occurrences related; or that he has wished to impress the minds of others with their importance. Their insignificant or nugatory character as materials of history is as distinctly acknowledged as it is sensibly felt: and if justification or apology for their presentation with

so much fullness should be sought, it will be found in this, that these occurrences possessed a more absorbing interest for our people, because they were near and personal, than those grand events of which Europe was at that time the scene; and what so interested our fathers, should in some degree interest us, their descendants and the heritors of their opinions and of their feelings.

P. S.—Since the forgoing contribution was placed in the hands of the printer, a partial list of the names of the officers of the Maryland militia serving in the war of 1812, from Talbot, has been received from the office of the 3rd Auditor of the Treasury, at Washington. This list comprises the names of all the officers named in the muster rolls, as far as such have been filed; but it is very evident that many companies are not mentioned.

List of the names of Officers of Maryland Militia, war 1812, from Talbot county:

Robert Banning, Captain; Feddeman Rolle, 1st Lieutenant; William Roberts, 2nd Lieutenant.

9th Regiment

John Carroll, Captain; James Haddaway, Lieutenant.

Lieutenant Colonel Hugh Auld.

William Dickinson, Captain; Isaac Bowdle, 1st Lieutenant; Daniel McGinnis, 2nd Lieutenant; Jabez Caldwell, Major 4th Regiment.

Robert H. Goldsborough, Captain; William Harrison, jr., 1st Lieutenant; Edward N. Hambleton, 2nd Lieutenant; E. Lloyd, Lieutenant Colonel; Daniel Martin, Major.

Amos Hale, Captain; Thomas Cooper, Lieutenant; John Meredith, Major 4th Regiment.

Oakley Haddaway, Captain; Jas. Jones, Lieutenant; Hugh Auld, Lieutenant Colonel 26th Regiment.

Thomas Henrix, Captain; Thomas C. Nicols, Lieutenant; John Meredith, Major 4th Regiment.

William Jordan, Captain; William Austin, Lieutenant; Hugh Auld, Lieutenant Colonel 26th Regiment.

John L. Kerr, Captain; John (William?) Hayward, Jr., Lieutenant; also William H. Groome, Lieutenant; William B. Smyth, Lieutenant Colonel, 4th Regiment.

Joseph Kemp, Captain; John Graham, Lieutenant; Hugh Auld, Lieutenant Colonel 26th Regiment.

John Merrick, Captain; Tristram Perry, Lieutenant; Jabez Caldwell, Major 4th Regiment.

James Newnam, Captain; William Brown, Lieutenant; also, Matthew Higgins, Lieutenant.

George Parrott, Captain; Jno. Dudley, Lieutenant; William B. Smyth, Lieutenant Colonel 4th Regiment.

Jonathan Spencer, Captain; George Moffett, Lieutenant; also, Edward Price, Lieutenant, Hugh Auld, Lieutenant Colonel 4th Regiment.

Samuel Stevens, Jr., Captain; William Jenkins, Lieutenant; Jabes Caldwell, Major 4th Regiment.

Clement Vickars, Captain; Thomas A. Fisher, 1st Lieutenant; Thomas Parrott, 2nd Lieutenant; Artillery attached to 4th Regiment.

Thomas Wayman, Captain; James Colston, Lieutenant; Hugh Auld, Lieutenant Colonel 26th Regiment.

Of General Perry Benson, the chief in command, at the affair of St. Michaels, an extended memoir was printed in the *Easton Star*. Colonel Hugh Auld, the second in command, was the son of Edward and Sarah Auld, and born at Wade's point, which afterwards became his own residence, July 20th, 1767. He was a gentleman of good capacity, genial manners, and unquestioned courage as a soldier. He died November 3rd, 1820, and is buried at his old homestead. He left a large family of children, among whom was the late Thomas Auld, Esq., who is likely to be remembered as the owner and master of Frederick Douglas, the distinguished orator, and most considerable man of the African race in this country. Col. Auld has descendants in the wives of Mr. John C. Harper and Mr. William H. Bruff, respected citizens one of St. Michaels, the other Texas.

GENERAL LA FAYETTE AND THE PEOPLE OF TALBOT

One of the most pleasing episodes in the grand epic of our national history is the visit of General La Fayette to America in the year 1824-25. The whole story of his coming to our country during our war of Independence reads like the adventure of some hero of romance. Indeed we may say that chivalry and knight errantry had their noblest manifestation, and their culmination in that young marquis who forsook fortune and station, the ease of home and the splendors of the court, and wandered across an ocean of dangers to redress the wrongs, not of some captive maiden, but of an oppressed people whose liberties were threatened.

There is no purpose here to give an account of his coming nor of the noble and gallant services he rendered to the struggling colonies. These belong to the general history of the country, and a recollection of them is embalmed in the memory of a grateful people. The object of this paper is to narrate with a degree of particularity some occurrences that happened in this county upon the occasion of General La Fayette's return to America in 1824, concerning which we may look in vain among the chronicles of the time.

It will be remembered that immediately after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, and before peace had been declared, General La Fayette returned to France for the purpose of raising additional forces to aid us in our struggle. There was not time then for any popular expression of the national thanks, but from Congress, the inestimable services he had rendered received due recognition. But soon after peace had been restored and our independence acknowledged, among the very first acts of the government was to invite our generous deliverer to America. Accordingly in 1784 upon an invitation extended to him by General Washington, General La Fayette again was upon our soil, and then he received the delightful reward of his efforts in our behalf in the generous thanks of a grateful people. His tour through the country was like that of a triumphant procession, and in every place he was the recipient of the warmest testimonials of affection and respect. It was during this visit that he received the compliment, which the State of Maryland honored herself by bestowing, of being constituted a citizen, a special act having been passed for that purpose,

by which it was ordained that "the Marquis De la Fayette and his male heirs forever, shall be taken as natural born citizens of this State."

But the young nation had just then passed through an exhausting war. It had hardly yet learned the magnitude of the great boon that had been conferred upon it, nor was it capable of estimating the services of its benefactor. Forty years of wonderful prosperity and development elapsed. The thirteen confederate colonies had grown to a grand nation. There was again a longing to give some adequate expression of gratitude to the man who had been so instrumental in giving the opportunity for achieving this marvelous growth. Accordingly in 1824 Congress, giving utterance to the popular desire, passed a resolution directing the President of the United States, Mr. Monroe, to invite General La Fayette to America, as the guest of the nation; and to offer a ship of the line to convey him to our shores. The invitation, so heartily given, was cordially accepted, though the use of a national ship was respectfully declined. He arrived at New York in the packet ship "Cadmus," Aug. 15th, 1824. In that commercial metropolis he was received and feted as no other ever had been, and upon leaving there he commenced a tour of the country, everywhere receiving the plaudits of the people, with enthusiastic demonstrations of the most lively gratitude. Deputations of citizens from all the chief cities and towns of the country waited upon him to pay their tributes of respect and affection; and even villages and remote country districts solicited the honor and pleasure of having an opportunity to express in some humble way their high regard and warm attachment for the nation's benefactor. Our own county was not amiss in this pleasing duty, as will appear from what is now to be related.

Moving South from his place of debarkation, towards the capital of the nation, it was expected that General La Fayette would set foot upon the soil of our State, and be in the City of Baltimore on the 7th day of October. Grand preparations were made for his reception, but of this reception at the hands of the authorities, the military and the people of that city, it is not necessary to say anything here, yet in as much as certain citizens of Talbot were most prominent in the ceremonies which preceded his entrance into the bounds of the corporation, it may not be amiss to mention their participation in the interesting rites of hospitality that took place upon the arrival of the guest in Maryland. The Gubernatorial Chair was at the time filled by His Excellency Samuel Stevens, a native and resident of this county; a man of great simplicity of character, of great private worth, and of unaffected urban-

ity of manners. If his abilities as a statesman were not of a high order, he was eminently patriotic in his impulses, and conscientiously faithful to duty. Not being scholarly in his tastes he may not have been minutely informed of the great services the expected guest of the nation had rendered to civil liberty, both in the old and the new world, but he was sufficiently sensible of the benefits that he had bestowed upon the people of America to act the grateful host with effusion. Not having been bred in courts, like his guest, he may have shown himself somewhat deficient in the forms of etiquette, but he had the manners of an Eastern Shore gentleman—better because more natural and sincere than those of a courtier. Knowing that certain duties of hospitality as the chief magistrate of the commonwealth would devolve upon him in connection with the visit of General La Fayette, he called to his aid two of his old and personal friends, Col. Edward Lloyd, who had once occupied the seat he was then filling, but was now United States Senator, and Col. Solomon Dickinson, his near neighbor at the Trappe, who was then member of the Senate of the State. Governor Stevens requested these gentlemen to meet the distinguished Frenchman and formally to receive him in the name of the State of Maryland. They accordingly repaired to Frenchtown, in company with a large delegation from the city of Baltimore, where they received their guest from the hands of Mr. McLane who represented the authorities and people of Delaware. Col. Lloyd was first presented by Mr. McLane, and then Col. Lloyd presented his colleague and the representatives of the corporation and military of the city of Baltimore and of the Society of the Cincinnati, to General La Fayette. They all, after an interchange of polite civilities, embarked on board the Steamer "United States," Capt. Edward Trippe, an Eastern Shoreman of Dorset, and proceeded to their destination as far as Fort McHenry, then commanded by Col. Hindman, a native of Talbot. Here General La Fayette and his suite were landed amid the unbounded enthusiasm of the people, and were conducted through ranks of soldiers and citizens towards a tent, consecrated by hallowed associations, in that once it had belonged to Washington. As he approached, from this emerged our respected fellow citizen Gov. Stevens, who received the General with a brief address, conceived and expressed in such singularly good taste as to leave some doubt as to its authorship upon the minds of those who, knowing the homely rusticity of the worthy Governor, expected no such courtliness of speech.

But before these occurrences had transpired, the people of our own

county had manifested some anxiety to offer a tribute of their thankfulness to the national guest. This desire was expressed in several communications to the two papers published at that time at Easton, "The Republican Star," and the "Easton Gazette." Of these the following is from the *Gazette* of Sept. 11, 1824:

COMMUNICATED

PROPOSED CONVENTION

OF

The People of Talbot County, to welcome GENERAL LA FAYETTE upon his arrival in the United States.

The inhabitants of the county from their own knowledge, or from history, or by tradition, are well acquainted with the essential assistance rendered to this country by General LA FAYETTE in the achievement of its Independence and in the establishment of its Liberties, and must be presumed to be always willing to acknowledge their gratitude to him for the share of these blessings which they enjoy: But as it will be scarcely practicable for them to wait upon the General, on his arrival in Baltimore, to express their sentiments *in person*, and it might be a subject of extreme regret if so suitable an occasion of forwarding their congratulations should be omitted;

It is therefore proposed that a meeting of the people of Talbot County be held at the Court House, in Easton, on SATURDAY the 18th day of September instant, at 12 o'clock, for the purpose of enabling them to express their sense of his services and virtues, to declare their satisfaction at his arrival in the United States, and to greet him with that cordial welcome which his association with WASHINGTON during the Revolution, his continued love of liberty, and his attachment to the institutions of our country, so justly entitle him to receive. The people are respectfully and earnestly invited to attend accordingly.

THE WISH OF MANY CITIZENS.

Talbot County, September 6th, 1824.

The suggestions contained in this communication seemed to meet with the approbation of the people, and accordingly on the 21st of September a large public meeting assembled, of which we have the following account in the *Gazette* of Oct. 23d, 1824:

LA FAYETTE CONVENTION

The citizens of Talbot county, Eastern Shore of Maryland, assembled in the town of Easton on Tuesday, the 21st of September 1824, at 12 o'clock to express their feelings on the arrival of General La Fayette in America.

Major General Benson was called to the chair, and Tench Tilghman chosen Secretary.

The chairman stated the object of the assemblage after which Robert H. Goldsborough, Esq., rose, and addressed the Convention in a feeling and eloquent appeal, portraying the prominent acts of the life of General La Fayette, and closed by submitting the following Resolution:

That a Committee of — persons be appointed to consult, and to present to the meeting for their approbation a respectful and becoming salutation of General La Fayette, and an expression of their sentiments and feelings upon his arrival in these United States.

This resolution was immediately adopted; the blank filed with the number seven; and the following gentlemen, to wit: Governor Stevens, the Honorable Edward Lloyd, Nicholas Hammond, Esq., Thomas J. Bullit, Esq., Col. Daniel Martin, Robert H. Goldsborough, Esq., and John Leeds Kerr, Esq., were selected by the chair to carry its provisions into effect. The committee retired, and the meeting adjourned until 3 o'clock p.m. to receive their report.

At 3 o'clock p.m. the meeting reassembled, and the committee reported the following address and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

The expression of the feelings and sentiments of the citizens of Talbot to General La Fayette upon his arrival in America, presented by a deputation appointed for the especial purpose composed of Major General Benson, Robt. H. Goldsborough, Esq., and the Hon. Edward Lloyd.

The Freemen of Talbot county, of the Eastern Shore of Maryland participating in the universal joy, that is diffused throughout this country at the arrival of General La Fayette upon the shores of the United States, welcome him as the tried friend of the illustrious founder of the Republic, their beloved Washington, and as one of the boldest adventurers in the achievement of American Independence.

They hail him as the noble and disinterested friend of liberty and of mankind.

Gratitude is a sentiment that belongs to generous hearts, and it becomes Freemen to cherish and express it. The homage of respect is due to merit; but the adulation of servility has no abode with us.

The remembrance of great actions is sweet; the pleasure of expressing that recollection to the Hero, who has performed them, is the pride of the free and the duty of the virtuous.

Therefore *Resolved*—That we fully participate in the universal joy that is felt by all classes of our fellow countrymen at the long desired arrival of General La Fayette—

Resolved—That we receive him as the guest of the nation and as a citizen of Maryland—as one of those illustrious and generous benefactors, to whom we are indebted, under Providence, for the enjoyment of national independence, and equal liberty and rights.

Resolved—That the arrival of General La Fayette in our country has infused into us a more lively recollection of a period and of scenes that ought never to be forgotten; because it was a time of magnanimous

struggle in the best of causes; and a sacrifice of brave men and of honest patriots for the freedom and prosperity of that country which we now inhabit and enjoy.

Resolved—That a deputation of three citizens be appointed to wait upon General La Fayette in the name of the freemen of Talbot; to present him with these expressions of their sentiments towards him; and to say to him, that although as a plain frugal country people, we have not the means of adding splendour to his progress nor of furnishing luxurious banquets to entertain him, yet we have hearts faithful to love him, and ingenuousness to bear exulting testimony to his great worth—that his name and his glory are familiar to us and to our children, and that he will live as he ought to do, in the affections of Americans to the latest ages, and hold a merited station in the foreground of American history—That so dear has he ever been to the American people, they have marked and admired his course in his native country since he left us; and if he, as one of the Fathers of the French Constitution of '89, was, with other friends of public liberty and popular rights, foiled in their noble and patriotic exertions by events which no human foresight could anticipate, and no human efforts control, they regard the grand attempt as worthy of a man who had signalized himself in aiding in the achievement of American Independence with better fortune and with a happier fate.

Resolved—That it is our sincere wish that General La Fayette would call his family to him from France and spend the remainder of his years in our country, that the remnant of his life he might enjoy with us a portion of that happiness which has been so disinterestedly and eminently instrumental in procuring for our country, and that our fellow countrymen might have an opportunity of testifying to him more calmly *their gratitude, their veneration, and their love.*

The Convention selected Major General Benson, Robert H. Goldsborough, Esq., and the Hon. Edward Lloyd, the deputation, to wait on General La Fayette on his arrival in Baltimore, and to present to him the Address, Resolutions, and Congratulations of the freemen of Talbot. The following resolution was also submitted and adopted:

Resolved—That the Trustees of the steam boat Company be requested to present to the La Fayette deputation the freedom of the *Maryland* to and from Baltimore for this occasion.

P. BENSON, Chairman.

TENCH TILGHMAN, Secretary.

Attest,

There is no doubt that this address and these resolutions were from the eloquent pen of the Hon. Robt. H. Goldsborough. They were presented, by the committee appointed for the purpose, to General La Fayette during his sojourn in the city of Baltimore. At the time of the presentation he gave a verbal reply, and promised to furnish the committee an answer in writing; but as no record is made of any such in the public prints of the day, it is presumable, amidst the multi-

licity of similar demands, it was wholly forgotten. But there has been preserved a copy of the reply of the General to a similar address presented to him by citizens of Queen Anne's, which as it contains references to persons belonging to this county, and is otherwise interesting, it is here inserted. It will be seen from this letter that he entertained the wish and expectation to visit the Eastern Shore; but in this, he and those who would have been delighted to welcome him, were disappointed.

General La Fayette's reply to the Committee of Queen Anne's County.

The honor I had forty years ago, to be peculiarly adopted by the State of Maryland, enhances the gratification I now feel in the testimonies of kindness and esteem expressed in the name of Queen Anne's County, and by you, sir, to whom, at the time of that adoption, I have been under special obligation.

It is my eager and affectionate wish to visit the Eastern Shore of this State. I anticipate the pleasure there to recognize several of my companions in arms, and among the relations of my departed friends, to find the honored widow of a dear brother in General Washington's family, Col. Tilghman, as well as a daughter of my friend Carmichael, who first received the secret vows of my engagement in the American cause, the least suspicion of which by the French or British Government it was at that time momentous for me to prevent.

As to my future destinies, gentlemen, there are duties which may supersede the fondest inclinations, but in every case I shall be attached to the citizens of Queen Anne's County by the most cordial sentiments of gratitude and respect.

The Queen Anne's Committee had as their speaker the Hon. Robt. Wright who was a member of the General Assembly in 1784, when by an act General La Fayette was made a citizen of the State. The lady referred to as the widow of Col. Tilghman was Mrs. Anna Maria Tilghman of Plimhimmon, who was the daughter of Matthew Tilghman, and relict of Col. Tench Tilghman, one of General Washington's aids, and therefore member, with La Fayette, of his military family. The Mr. Carmichael referred to was the Secretary of the American Commissioners in Paris at the time General La Fayette conceived the project of aiding the colonies. This committee of Queen Anne's county was presented at Annapolis by Gov. Stevens on the 18th of December, 1824, when General La Fayette was on a visit to that ancient city. It was during this visit that was committed that *maiserie* by our worthy Governor which tradition continues to perpetuate, for the laughter of succeeding generations. Governor Stevens who was more distinguished as a farmer than as a Statesman, and was better informed upon the

petty party issues of his day than upon the minutiae of history, propounded with great artlessness the startling question to the General, *whether he had ever been in Annapolis before*. Tradition unfortunately has not transmitted the reply of the polite Frenchman, but we may be sure it was not such as to mortify the Governor by convicting him of an ignorance under the circumstances almost unpardonable. Another reminiscence of this visit to Annapolis will serve to show the *littleness* of the party strifes of the day. The members of the Legislature then in session at Annapolis resolved to give a dinner to the distinguished guest of the city and State. It was given, and we trust it was such as they had no reason to be ashamed of. At the time it was discussed among the members whether this dinner should be paid for by the gentlemen of the two houses and other official persons, out of their own purses, or by the State. It was at first attempted to raise the necessary funds by private subscription, but many of the members refusing to contribute anything whatever towards defraying the expenses of this entertainment, it was finally resolved that they should be borne by the public treasury. The following year, when the election came round, some of those gentlemen from Talbot who had been in the Legislature of the previous year, were called to account in the public prints for having squandered the public funds in "banquets" and "public repasts" which, it was demanded, should have been paid for out of their own pockets. To the credit of our people, they sent that gentleman back again, who received most abuse for his *prodigality* of the money of the State, but who in truth had been most liberal in his private subscriptions—Mr. Richard Spencer.

The people of the County having been disappointed in their first attempt to prevail upon General La Fayette to visit Talbot, another effort was made by offering what was thought to be a pleasant inducement for him to come. The Maryland Agricultural Society was then in the full vigor of its usefulness. Under its auspices cattle shows were held upon the Eastern and Western Shores. In the year 1822 the first of these bucolic festivals or fetes for the Eastern Shore was held at Easton; and in 1824 it was proposed to hold the second, or the fifth counting those held on the Western Shore. The Agricultural Society at one of its meetings in Easton elected General La Fayette, who had always professed great partiality for rural pursuits, an honorary member; and a committee, consisting of Gov. Samuel Stevens, Robt. H. Goldsborough, Esq., and Gen. Perry Benson, was appointed to express to that distinguished gentleman the pleasure experienced by the society in having his name enrolled among its membership;

also to tender an invitation to him and his suite to attend the cattle show to be held in Easton on the 18th day of November, 1824. To this invitation and the notification of his election the General returned this reply, from the seat of Mr. Jefferson, where he was the honored guest:

MONTICELLO, November 12, 1824.

Gentlemen:

The honor I have received on being made a member of the Maryland Agricultural Society is highly valued by me, and I most sincerely lament the impossibility I am under to attend the exhibition on the Eastern Shore. My utmost expectation is to be able to arrive in time for the last day of the second Exhibition near Baltimore, an object upon which I am now writing to a friend in that city. The date of your letter will itself offer an apology, as I am engaged after this visit to stop a few days at Montpelier, Mr. Madison's seat, to dine at Orange Court House, to visit Fredericksburg and be one or two days in Washington city. These particulars I take the liberty to lay before you, as an excuse, which I hope will be acceptable, as well as the expression of my grateful and affectionate respect.

LA FAYETTE.

P. BENSON, Esq.,
Easton, Talbot County,
Eastern Shore, Md.

It is a matter of interesting reminiscence that those premiums, which were in the form of pieces of silver plate, that were awarded at this cattle show as well as those awarded at the cattle show upon the Western Shore, had this inscription following after the recipient's name, "From the Agricultural Society by the hands of La Fayette." Some of these premiums still exist in the country, and are estimated beyond their intrinsic value on account of the pleasing associations connecting them with our great national benefactor.

Although the large body of our people were debarred from the privilege of seeing General La Fayette, and of expressing to him in person their admiration of his character and their gratitude for his services, large numbers visited the city of Baltimore during his stay, and made up a portion of the throng that saluted him in his progress through the streets of the joyous city. The Steamer Maryland then new, under the command of Capt. Clement Vickers, and the various sailing packets, were employed in conveying those citizens who were anxious to gratify a laudable curiosity and indulge a pleasing sentiment, to and from the city, and many took their children with them that they might have it to say in after years their eyes had rested on the unselfish benefactor of their country, and that they might witness with what acclaim freemen could reward this champion of civil liberty throughout the world.

THE COURT HOUSE

The thanks of our citizens will be due, and no doubt they will be liberally paid to the Hon. the Commissioners of the county for the meritorious work they are now, (1878) engaged upon, of improving the Court House and its surroundings. Mr. Roberts, the architect whom they have employed, has already given to the front door that finish for which it has been waiting more than eighty years, by constructing a very pleasing entablature and cornice, and laborers, under other intelligent direction, are grading the grounds and planting trees to take the place of those which it became necessary to remove to make room for the neat iron fence and the convenient pavement which is to surround this our Palace of Justice. From an aesthetic point of view it is all right and proper to make the entrance to the courts of law pleasing to the eye; but from a prudential point, would it not be more appropriate to make the portals repulsive—horrific, in order to deter the victim from entrance, rather than beautiful and attractive to invite him within?

It is a pretty generally received maxim that the doors of justice should always be open, to the great and humble alike; but it is respectfully suggested that this has been a little too literally obeyed in the case of the doors of our hall of justice. They have been kept open a trifle too constantly, for they have been open night and day, during terms, and during recess, Sunday and Monday, and this not for the humankind only, but for the brute beasts, who neither sue, nor are sued. Now, no one will be apt to accuse Mr. Roberts of any intention to impede justice, if he shall, while giving due ornament and finish to the portals, pay some attention to their fastenings. He may protect the public property and our precious records, without imperiling any right, or inflicting any wrong, if he will only so arrange the locks and bolts, that the doors shall not so readily yield to the slight pressure from without, that has been sufficient heretofore to expose the building and all its valued contents to destruction.

The money required for these improvements, that have been and shall be made, will be well invested, and pay us ample interest. We are, as a people, too regardless of appearances. The careless, solvenly, neglected aspect of our chief public building has been too closely copied in our private houses. When the betterments which the Commissioners

of the county and town are contemplating shall have been completed—when our old, dingy and gloomy Court House shall put on its coat of fresh paint—its broken shutters that have been flapping in the wind for so many years shall be repaired and renovated—when the loosened bricks shall be replaced, and all the dilapidated walls repointed—when the neglected grounds shall be well sodded, planted with young shade trees and surrounded by their handsome iron paling—our people will be prompted and stimulated to improve their own homes, and make them as bright and cheerful without as they doubtless are within, in order that our public and private houses may be in keeping, one with the other. The old Court House may thus become a school house to educate us in refinement and taste. Besides, this changed aspect of our public building, will impress strangers coming among us favorably, and may induce them to make a county their home where the good order, condition and sightliness of its Court House evinces the care, the interest and the wealth of the people; whereas these visitors would be repelled or deterred from settling among us if there should be a most conspicuous and striking evidence of our poverty, thriftlessness and negligence presented by the dilapidation and general dinginess of our principal county building.

Now that we are likely soon to see our Court House in reputable and pleasing order, it may prove interesting to our people to know something of its history, and that of those other houses that preceded it, as places of judicature. It is well known that this is not the first Court House that has existed in this county, nor the first on the same spot. The present edifice may be considered the fourth erected for the accommodation of the courts, counting that one which is said to have been built upon Kent Island, before the separate organization of Talbot county. In this article, therefore, it is proposed to give an account of these several court houses, as far as we have any authentic information respecting them.

The first settlement upon the Eastern Shore of the State was made by Claiborne under the Virginia charter, upon Kent Island, and this settlement was at one time represented in the House of Burgesses of that State by Nicholas Martin, whose descendants still survive in Talbot. But Claiborne's title was disputed by Lord Baltimore, and he was dispossessed. It does not appear that he, or the Virginians established any court of justice, his settlement being but a trading post.

There is no doubt, as will subsequently appear, in the very earliest years after the organization of our county, courts were held at private

houses, and, it may be, the very first courts upon the Eastern Shore were held at the houses of the Commander, as that officer was called who was chief in command under the Governor of the province. There can be no question that courts leet and courts baron were held, for the writer has seen some of the records of these feudal tribunals. It is not unlikely therefore that the very first courts ever held on Kent Island, were of this kind, and held at Kent Fort Manor, near Kent Point, so that the first judicature for the Eastern Shore and what was at one time a part of Talbot, was with mediaeval forms, and under Lords of the Manor.

By an act of assembly of the province of Maryland of the year 1638 provision was made for the administration of justice in the Isle of Kent, which was recognized not as a distinct county, but as simply an Hundred of St. Mary's. Although considered only an Hundred, a court of record designated as the "Hundred Court of Kent" was erected upon the Island, and the Commander, as the principal officer was called, was made the judge or justice. This court had jurisdiction in certain cases defined by the act, and from it appeal was had to the county court upon the Western Shore. Besides this court, occasionally the supreme or provincial court held sessions upon the Island. For the accommodation of these courts a house is said to have been erected, somewhere upon the eastern side of the Island, but its location is not certainly known, nor is there any information of its size or character. This declaration of the existence of a Court House upon Kent Island is made upon the authority of Mr. George L. L. Davis. In an article published in the *Gazette* of May 7, 1853, this gentleman says:

The first indication of a Court House upon the Island—the first also upon the Eastern Shore of Maryland,—occurs in the shape of a short memorandum, without date, but appearing with other entires during the year 1659, [in the records now in the Kent county court house.] * * * John McConikin, it is said, hath this day assigned over the patent of the land, and what thereon remaineth belonging thereto, with all privileges, to the inhabitants of Kent where the Court is now kept. * * * There is recorded evidence that the courts of Kent county were usually held upon the Southern part of the Island from 1647 to 1654, while there is none, at least now extant, that they were held anywhere but on the Island, for many years afterwards. * * * Mr. McConikin held several tracts upon the same [eastern] side of the Island, including one on Crab Alley Creek, called "George's Codd," sixty acres of which are now [1853] in the possession of Mr. Wm. O. Lowery. Upon that part of the tract, it is highly probable the Court House stood. Nor is there any doubt that a Court House was erected on the Island, at an

early period: for upon the record about sixteen years after the deed [above mentioned] we find the following order: "Likewise, the Commissioners of the county have made choice of the old court house upon the Island, to be the county Court House; but do order that the court shall be kept at the house of John Darby, in the Eastern Neck, as it hath been formerly." * * * About 1680 a court house was built upon Gray's Inn Creek, an arm of the Chester, and there a town was founded by one of the early Ringgolds at Kent—a town which bore the name of *New Yarmouth*, and which, for many years, remained the seat of justice for Kent county.

This account seems to show very clearly that there was a court house upon Kent Island before the time of the organization of Talbot which court house was the first used by the inhabitants of the territory now within our limits, but then belonging to Kent Island Hundred of St. Mary's County, or to the Isle of Kent county.

We have no distinct record of the date when Talbot was laid off from Kent, as a separate jurisdiction. It is first mentioned in the council records in 1660—61. Nor are the original boundaries clearly defined. But it seems that from 1661 to 1695 it embraced all the territory from Kent narrows and south of Kent Island to the Delaware line, and Chop-tank river. In the last named year, 1695, by an act of assembly, Kent Island was attached to Talbot, and Corsica Creek was made apparently the northern limit of the county, having Kent county on the north. In 1707 (act of assembly 1706, chap. III) the County of Queen Anne was laid off from Talbot, and from Kent, and embraced its present territory with a part of Caroline, which was taken in 1773 from Queen Anne and Dorchester counties, with its present limits. For many years after the separate organization of Talbot county its courts were held at private houses, and many of these houses are known to have been situated not far from the centre of the settled territory of the county, namely on the Wye river, and near its head.

The first court of Talbot after its separation from Kent, of which there is any record extant was held at the house of Mr. William Coursey on the 25th of April 1662, at which no business seems to have been transacted. It met, perhaps, merely for organization. Mr. Coursey lived in what is now Queen Anne's. These gentlemen are the first mentioned Justices or Commissioners of the Peace, the four first named of whom were present at this first meeting of the court:

Mr. Henry Coursey,	Mr. Seth Foster,
Mr. William Coursey,	Mr. James Ringgold,
Mr. Ric'd Woolman,	Mr. Thomas South,
Mr. Thomas Hynson.	

There is reason to believe that Mr. John Morgan was the first clerk of the county, who was followed by Thomas Vaughan, and then by William Hemsley, who was commissioned in 1668. The second court of which there is mention, was held at the house of Mr. Richard Woolman, on the 25th June 1662, at which Robt. Knapp took the Oath of Constable. This Mr. Richard Woolman probably lived upon Wye river, upon the tract still known as Woolman's, and was the first Burgess from the county that sat in the Assembly of the Province. This Mr. Robt. Knapp was he who gave name to Knapp's narrows, that water between Tilghman's Island and the main. Some other trifling business was transacted at this second court, such as the adjudging the age of John Jackson, an indentured servant of Mr. Richard Woolman, though the court not being full, the matter was adjourned. The Third Court of which we know anything was held Oct. 25th 1662, at the house of Mr. Will. Coursey. Among other business transacted was the "laying" of the "county and publique leavy" for the year, amounting to 7473 pounds of tobacco. The following curious record was ordered by the court held this day to be made by the clerk. It is one of many of similar character.

Came ye Persons in their proper persons and acknowledge ye couvenants following in open court, to wit:

Thomas Philips	}	Know all men by these presents that I, Thomas Phillips
to		
Nicholas Braway		

of Talbot County, in ye province of Maryland, have Bargained and sould unto Nicholas Bradaway of the same county, fower female head of cattle, viz.: one Cow bought of Thomas Snow, one Cow bought of Mr. Rockwell, of Ann Arandall County, deceased. One being marked in the Left Eare, with a Cropp and two slitts, the Right eare with a flower de luce, in the other cow a Cropp and an under keele in the left year, the other two being the Increas (?) of the aforesaid, marked with an hole in the left Eare and a slitt on the upper part of the Right Eare. To have and to hold the said Cattle with all their full Increass to the said Nicholas Bradaway his heirs and assigns forever. And I, said Thomas Phillips doth warrant the said Cattle to the said Nicholas Bradaway, against all manner of claims whatsoever, as witness my hand this 9th of July 1662.

NICHOLAS BRADAWAY.

The fourth court held, was at Ottwell, the house of Mr. William Taylor, Nov. 25, 1662, when Cuthbard Phelpes took the oath of Constable. It was at this court that the first conveyance of land was recorded, it being from Will. Taylor, executor of Thomas Witherly (?Wetherby) to William Price, for fifty acres of land upon Coxe's Creek, and

bearing the date of the assembling of the Court. *Apparently* it was the custom for parties conveying land, or personal property to appear in Court, acknowledge the deed, and sign the record. The fifth court was held at the house of Mr. Seth Foster, Feb. 12, 1663 when the first civil action was determined. The sixth court was held at Mr. Thomas South's house, when Ric'd Tilghman sued Thomas Madbury for failure of contract as overseer, and was now suited. The seventh court was held at the house of Mr. Edward Lloyd on the 3rd (or 30th) June 1663, when Mr. William Hambleton took the oath of High Sheriff of the county and gave his bond. He was probably the first who held that office. his duties having before been discharged by the constables. The eighth court was held at the house of Mr. James Ringold, on the 25th August 1663. The ninth court was held at the house of Mr. Seth Foster, on the 25th Oct. 1663. The tenth court was held at the house of Mr. William Coursey, when Mr. Edward Lloyd first takes his seat as one of the Justices, in virtue of his being one of the Governor's Council and Judge of the provincial court. At this court we have recorded the return of a Jury of Inquest. The following charge was given to the Jury which was composed of these persons:

Mr. Thomas Hynson, Sen. Foreman	
Mr. Thomas Hynson, Jr.	Mr. Dan'l Glover
Mr. John Hynson	Mr. Thomas Norris
Mr. James Ringold	Mr. Rich Bradaway
Mr. Anthony Griffin	Mr. John Bowles
Mr. Edward Rogers	Mr. Edward Thomason
Mr. John Madbury	

First. You are to make inquisition whether any man has been assessor or Principall. You ought to state the case in matter of Law how it lyeth.

2ndly. That Examyn whether hee bee not a *Felo Dese*.

3rdly. Whether hee bee not a Devodane.

4thly. You are to examin the evidence and ground of your judgment upon that you shall sweare to the utmost of your skill to serve and try on the behalf of the Lord Proprietary the true cause how John Shorte here deceased, (before) came to his Death, ontimely death, that justice may be done in the same. Soe helpye God. This charge was given to the Jury of Inquest, whose names are here under written upon the death of John Shorte.

per mee HENRY COURSEY.

Here follow the names as given above. The evidence is all written out in the records, from which it appears that John Shorte, was the indentured servant of Mr. Thomas South, one of the Justices of the

court. That the master had occasion to chastise this servant, when, rather than receive the whipping, John Shorte ran into the creek, and there in a considerable depth of water remained, while his master stood threatening him upon the bank. Then it came to pass that John Shorte was drowned—some said by his own act, rather than be chastised, and others said by the act of his master. The Jury however brought in this verdict:

Wee the Jury before mentioned, by virtue of these depositions have unanimously agreed and doe finde that John Shorte, late servant unto Mr. Thomas South is Fielo Desi: and this is our verdict that he ought not to have Christiall Buriall by Law.

It may be mentioned incidentally that the white servants in the early times of our State, were treated with a cruelty that would be incredible if it were not a matter of public record. The death of John Shorte evinces this—but there are hundreds of cases mentioned of great barbarity in which the court was called upon to interpose. One cannot but remember that a similar case of alleged drowning to escape a whipping occurred upon Wye river nearly two hundred years after the death of John Shorte, which case Frederick Douglas has embalmed in his memoirs.

The eleventh court was held *apparently* at the house of Mr. Edward Lloyd on Wye River the 3rd Tuesday in January, 1663. At this court Robert Martin commenced suit against Henry Clay. This Henry Clay was a resident of Bayside, and lived near the head of Harris' Creek. He is thought, by Mr. John Bozman Kerr, a gentleman who has paid much attention to the genealogy of Talbot families, to have been the ancestor of Henry Clay, the great statesman of Kentucky. The twelfth court was held at the house of Mr. Richard Woolman on the 15th of March, 1663. At this court was recorded a "power of attorney" from Joseph Weeks to Thomas South. Query, was Mr. South the first attorney-at-law in the county? It was customary in our early courts for parties to suits to appear in proper person, the employment of attorneys was not universally resorted to until some years after. This same Thomas South was sued by Anthony Griffin at this court, for the use of his "cannew" which Mr. South had borrowed for a fortnight "for the Indians to hunt for him." Anthony claimed 10 lbs. tobacco per day. Anthony Purse, Constable of Chester Hundred presented Thomas Hynson, Jr., one of the Justices of the court, and Ann Gaine, for committing fornication, contrary to the Act of Assembly.

Thomas pleaded guilty, but stated that though guilty, he had made Ann his wife, and therefore prayed indulgence from the court; but the court while it relieved him from the prescribed fine of 600 lbs. of tobacco, or in default of payment,

the corporal punishment by whipping upon his bare body, till the Blood do appear, so many stripes (not exceeding thirty-nine), as the Justices shall adjudge.

for his incontinence, suspended him from his duty as Justice of the Peace for one year and a day. Ann escaped entirely.

These brief abstracts of the records of the very earliest courts held in our county have been given on account of their great antiquity, their curious character, and as illustrative of our early civil history. It will be seen that our courts were not held at one place, nor had they any house devoted expressly to their use. There is little doubt that they continued to be peripatetic until as late as the year 1680, when it is mentioned that a court was held at the house of Philemon Lloyd. There is a record of a court held at Mr. Richard Tilghman's. Now if this Mr. Tilghman resided at the "Hermitage" on Chester river, as is probable, and if Mr. Seth Foster resided on Tilghman's Island, as is certain he did in 1669, the courts were thus held occasionally at the very extremities of the county, as then settled. This was probably for the accommodation of the people in widely separated sections, at a time when travel was difficult, and was conducted chiefly by water. There are many entries in the old levy lists of charges for boats for "carrying down the Grand Jury." About the year 1679, however, the court began to be settled and seems to have had possession of a house, probably under lease, for its purposes; and also it began to consider the matter of erecting a county building. On the 17th of June 1679 we have this record:

The Commissioners [or Justices] have agreed with Elizabeth Winkles to have the Court House which is now used to Keepe Court in, with the roome adjoining, until the latter end of November next in consideration we the Commissioners are to allow her as they think fitt.

The Court hath ordered Major William Coursey to treat with Richard Swetman to come to the aforesaid house to keep ordinary, as also to treat concerning the building of a Court House.

From this it appears that the house used as a hall of Justice, was also used as a house of entertainment or accommodation, and was occupied by someone who should take care of it for the use of the court. Sub-

sequently, when a Court House was built, it will hereafter be seen that it was rented out, and the county derived a revenue from its occupancy. Apparently Elizabeth Winkles kept the house as a kind of ordinary or tavern, as probably there was no accommodation for the judges and those attendant upon the court, at the place of its settings. It is altogether probable that the house that was used by the Justices, and which was placed under the care of Eliz. Winkles was near the place where the Court House was subsequently built. Indeed, there is an order of the court on record to the effect that no liquor should be sold upon the plantation of Elizabeth Winkles while the Court House was in process of building.

In another article an account will be given of the erection of the first Court House in what is now Talbot County.

Those who took the pains to read the previous article respecting the Court Houses that have been used by the people of Talbot county as their places of judicature will have learned that the first courts in which our people were interested were the Hundred Courts of Kent Island, disregarding those minor manorial courts, which may have had an existence co-incident in time with these higher tribunals: that these Hundred Courts, first held by the Commander as Justice in his own house at Kent Fort, upon the southern part of the island, merged into the Kent county courts, when that county was established, and had a house specially appropriated to them in the Eastern part of the island, at least, as early as 1659, which continued to be used long after Talbot had been set off from Kent; that in 1660-61, our county having had her territorial limits defined, which embraced a large part of Queen Anne's up as far as Corsica creek, and perhaps beyond, but excluded the Island of Kent, which was subsequently annexed, (1695), the courts of our county were organized, (say in 1662), and for many years usually met at the private residences of the Justices, but occasionally in other citizens' houses; that, though sometimes for the convenience of the sparse population settled along the Chester and Wye rivers, the Eastern and Chesapeake bays, they met at remote situations, they commonly assembled at the plantations near the centre of settled portions of the county—about what is now Wye Landing; that gradually this locality became the place for holding the courts, near which a house was rented, was occupied as a Court House, and was so designated; that in June 1679 the court was in the possession of a house which seems to have been an inn or tavern kept by and perhaps belonging to one Elizabeth Winkles, who furnished the rooms for the court and also entertained the

Justices: and finally that about this time the Commissioners determined to erect a building for their own proper use, and they set about it immediately, as will now appear.

But before proceeding to give an account of the building of this Court House it will be necessary to retrace our steps. Several years before this date the same subject had been under consideration with the Justices, for in a very old book of Judgments, quite imperfect, now in the Clerk's office, we find this record:

Att a Court held at Jonathan Hopkinson's in Wye River, the 27th August 1674, present
The Worshippfull

{	Mr. Richard Woolman
	Capt. Philemon Lloyd
	Capt. Jonathan Sybry (Sibery)
	Mr. Philip Stevenson
	Mr. Edward Roe
{	Mr. Richard Gorsuch

Commissioners.

Then came Jonathan Hopkinson, and did sell unto the Commissioners for ye use of ye County ten acres of Land, being for ye building of a Court House and a Prison. Ye said land to begin at a Pine tree marked, at ye water side, and Running east and by south up his plantation untill it comprehend the quantity of Ten Acres of ground between that and ye branch that lyes south from s'd plantation: it being sould for one Thousand pounds of Tobacco and Casque to be leaved (levied) out of the county, and the said Jonathan hath hereby engaged to give full assurance for ye said land unto ye Commissioners on the behalf of the county when he shall there unto (be) required.

The Court hath ordered yt the Prison be built upon the said land according to the dimensions following: That is a house of twenty foot in length and fifteen foot wide, and to be underpind two foot under ground, and a foot above ground with stone, and the said underpinning to be two foot thick, the side and the gabell ends up to the plate to be built with squared pieces of timber one foot square, and to be lofted with joyse of seaven inches square at the least and to be fower inches distant one from ye other, and the loft to be layed with two inch oake planke, and a partition in the said house with a convenient windore in each roome, and firm substantiall Iron Bars to each windore, and a propositionable roofe with a foot jet att the sides; and gabell ends of ye said roofe to have a duple covering, and the uppermost covering to be good white oake boards without any sap, with duple dore of two inch oake planke to be two futt and a half wide the said dore to be nailed w'th substantiall broad heded nailes, three inches asunder with soficient strong lock, iron bars and boults.

Although this deed of sale of land and contract for building the prison were placed upon record, it appears that neither was held as binding, or if binding, only as to the land, for a new contract for the building of a prison were entered into with Jonathan Hopkinson in 1675, and at the same time a purchase of a larger, or perhaps additional tract of land was consummated. Under date of March 4, 1675, is found the following entry among the Court records.

Jonathan Hopkinson this day sould the Commissioners of the County twenty acres of land and Court House, and the said Jonathan doth hereby bind himself to give unto the Court good assurances for the said land, when thereunto called, and the said Jonathan hath undertaken to build a Prison, and in consideration of the Land, Court House and Prison the county is to allow him the said Jonathan _____ pounds of Tobacco, to be paid in the next levy laid for this county of Talbot. The Dimensions of the Prison followeth.

To be twenty foote longe, and fifteen foote wide, and the ground sells to be of Locust or Cedder and a foot square; to be laid one foot and a half in the ground; the posts to be 8 inches square and to stand stud-waies within four inches one of the other; the Plates answerable, and the joists to be six inches square and to be within foure inches one of another, with a Roufe sufficient and strong, [being] Eight foote from the lowere Plate: and a particon or encluse six foote out of the length of the Prison with a doare in the said Partison: the outward Doare to be of two inch planke made dowble, and one grating window in each division, made with iron bars well fixe into the wood and small wickets in each doare, with good strong Lockes: the upper floware to be laid with inch planke and to be covered and wether boarded with good clabboard.

The consideration paid for this property is not mentioned in the record, but in the levy of the following year 10,000 pounds of tobacco was assessed for the use of Jonathan Hopkinson in payment for the prison. It would appear from the above entry that Jonathan Hopkinson sold a house with the land, which was called the Court House. In this, then, the court was probably held until the year 1679. Under the date of Jan. 21, 1678, there is this record.

The Court hath left it to Capt. Philemon Lloyd to pich on a place to keepe Court for this county, and to purchase land for the same use.

It would appear therefore that wherever the Court may have been held prior to 1679, in that year Mr. Lloyd selected the "Widdow Winkles" house in which to hold Court, and the Commissioners in their levy made Nov. 18, of that year, allowed her 3,100 lbs. of tobacco, according to an agreement with her, as published in the previous article. In the same year, and again in 1781 the Courts were held at the house of Mr. Philemon Lloyd himself, who was one of the Justices. It will be

seen from all this that there is considerable obscurity as to the meeting places of the Court; in truth the Court was moved from place to place. It appears that twenty acres of land were bought of Jonathan Hopkinson, and upon it a prison was built, and the house that was upon it was used for a while as a Court House; that afterwards the house of Elizabeth Winkles, who apparently kept a tavern, was used. There is no evidence of the purchase of any other land than that bought of Jonathan Hopkinson, but in March 1679 (N.S. 1680) the clerk of the Court was ordered to "send to Mr. William Hemsley to repair forthwith to the Court House, and lay out the county land, according to the former bounds thereof." We may conclude therefore with tolerable certainty that the Court House which was built about the year 1680-81, was erected upon the land purchased of Jonathan Hopkinson, and represented to be on Wye. Except the record that the house was upon this river, there is no other written memorandum to guide us as to its exact position in the County. If the surveyor ever filed any return of his survey, it was not placed upon record, or it is lost, unless indeed, it has been preserved at Annapolis. But there is a pretty well established tradition, and one which we may be safe in following, that the county land, upon which this Court House was built was upon the south side of Skipton creek, a branch of Wye, a short distance from what is called Wye Landing. The twenty acres sold by Jonathan Hopkinson upon which was first erected the prison and then the new Court House, was the point of land formed by Skipton creek and Wye river to the west and south of the dwelling house upon the farm of the late Philemon Feddeman Hemsley, known by the name of "Hopton." Here there are remains of old houses and at one place, in a situation giving a view directly down the creek into a beautiful bay, and in the center apparently of a tract of about twenty acres, there is an excavation which is popularly supposed to have been the cellar or dungeons of the jail; but as the building contracted for by Hopkinson and built by him had no cellar this must be an error. In the garden adjoining the dwelling upon the farm are the *débris* of another very ancient building. There is nothing however to identify any remains that are found at this place, with those of the Court House or the jail, but tradition, as before said, a sufficient guide in this case, points to this spot on Skipton creek as the site of the old county buildings. As a village grew up around the seat of Justice for the county, we may suppose there would be left some indications of its existence, and these indications, though few, are sufficient to identify the location. This village or town was known by the name of York, a designation bestowed

no doubt by some of the Justices in reminiscence of their place of residence in the Old World. The town by its proper name is mentioned for the first time in the record June 20, 1693.

We now come to the time when the first Court House was built within our present bounds. Among the proceedings of the Court held Aug. 19, 1679, appears the following record:

The Court hath agreed with Richard Swetnam [the same who was invited in June of the same year, to come to the place where the court was held, to keep an ordinary, and to confer with reference to the erection of a county building], to build a Court House upon the County land in Wye River; the said house to be fifty foote by twenty-three, with a Court Hall, eighteen foote by eighteen, according to a plot delivered to the court by the said Swetnam. In consideration whereof the commissioners have condescended to payd unto him the s'd Swetnam, One Hundred & Fifty Thousand Pounds of Tobacco; the one moyety or half part to be payd this yeare, the remainder at the cleare finishing the Premises, and the said Swetnam to live in the said house when finished, seaven years Rent free: the said Swetnam is to repair forthwith to the house where the court is now keep, and lay in provision ag't the next Court.

The phraseology—"the commissioners have condescended to pay, etc." will be noticed. Many of those justices who thus *condescended* from their lofty seat to pay a carpenter for his work, were the very same who made Christopher and Elizabeth Barnes, in 1666, "kneele downe upon their knees in open Court and ask forgiveness" for some peccadillo. These petty magistrates were the chief dignitaries of the county and they magnified their office. But they seem not to have been held in that humble reverence they liked to exact, for there are frequent records of their arraignment of persons for conduct and language that savored of contempt, and they punished offences of this kind that would be regarded as too insignificant for notice by our Judges. One of them was publicly accused in 1664 of hog-stealing—an offence of the same grade in social morals, then, as sheep-stealing is now, and his brother justices sentenced the slanderer to down go "upon his knees and acknowledge that he had wrongfully defamed the plaintiff."

The above contract seems not to have been sufficiently explicit, for in March of the same year (or according to the new style in March of 1680) a new contract, setting forth the specifications of the building, was made between the Justices and Richard Swetnam, of which the following is a copy word for word:

This indenture made ye sixteenth day of March One Thousand Six Hundred and Seaventy nine between Richard Woolman, Major William

Coursey, Coll. Philemon Lloyd, Edward Mann, Capt. George Cowley, James Murphy, William Combes, Commissioners for ye county of Talbott of ye one party and Richard Swetnam Carpenter of ye other party, *Witnesseth*, yt it is covenanted granted, bargained, concluded and agreed by and between ye said parties in matter and forme following, yt is to say yt sd Richard Swetnam for himself his heirs Executors and Administrators doth covenant in manner and forme as hereafter, from Article to Article doth ensue & follow, yt is to say, yt ye sd Richard Swetnam att his own propper cost and charges shall forthwith sett aboute and prosecute ye building of one County Courte house upon ye County land in Wye River in Talbot County, ye sd building to be according to Ruff plot heere annexed, yt is to say fifty foote by twenty-three with a court Hall of eighteene foote by eighteene with a porch eight foot by eight, ye whole building to be of three stories pitch't the first twelve foote in ye cleere, ye second nine foote & ye third eight foote, with an Italion or hip't roofe, with Lutarnes (?) hip't with twelve Archytryve Windowes, in ye two cleere storyes with cornishes over ye heads of ye windowes two of them in ye Court Hall of eight foote by seaven, ye rest five feet by six with seaven or eight Lutarne Windowes in ye Roofe, together with two stacks of brick chimneys of fower harths of eight foote within the Gaumes with a fayre open vill (?) stare case up unto ye Roofe, having several partitions with folding wenscoatt dores where nessisary, ye lower Dores polectioned [this word is so written—it may be *polished*, or *panneled*, or *partitioned*], with two chimney pieces for ye lower rooms. Ye Court Hall to be wenscoated, Railed and Banisterd sealed and inclosed in such forme & manner and as comendable as in ye Provinciaall state house, with good and sufficient light clapboard covering and wather boarding with a second covering ye second yeare after finished, ye whole building to be p'formed & finished att his ye sd Swetnams owne charge, saving glass, hooks hinges boltes and locks only excepted; with all brick laying & plastering woorke and under pining with brick or stone, weh is to be done by some knowne woorkman who is sufficiently to calk (?) render, wash and stopp ye whole building and Prime ye windowes in Oyle, Coll. Philemon Lloyd to provide and finde him colours yt ye whole woorke be sufficiently built woorkman like & yt all the several timbers thereto be of good proportion and of such regular scantling as shall be reasonably advised by any good Archytektare. In consideracon of w'ch bargaines Covenants promises, Articles and agreements of ye part of ye sd Richard Swetnam, by him his heys, executrs or admsrs well and truly to be performed fulfilled and kept as aforesaid, ye sd

Richard Woolman
Major Will Coursey
Coll. Philmeon Lloyd
Edward Mann
Capt. George Cooly
James Murphey
William Combes

Commissioners for
ye County
afores'd.

have agreed to pay in behalfe of ye s'd county unto him ye sd Richard Swetnam his heyres exors, admrs or assignes one hundred and thirty thousand pounds of tobacco, one moyty at the sealing and delivery of these presents, yt it to say fifty seaven thousand five hundred and fifty & one pound of tobacco, which said sum of fifty seaven thousand five hundred fifty and one pounds to tobacco ye said Swetnam doth for himself his heyres executrs & adminrs doth release acquit and discharge ye sd

Richard Woolman

Will Coursey

Philemon Lloyd

Edward Mann

George Cowly

James Murphy

William Combes

and either of their heyres executrs & admrs by these presents and ye s'd

Richard Woolman

Will Coursey

Philemon Lloyd

Edward Mann

George Cowly

James Murphy &

William Combes

doe further covenant & promise in behalfe of ye County aforesaid to pay unto him ye sd Ricd Swetnam his heyres and assignes att ye cleare finishing of ye premises Seavennty two thousand foure hundred forty and nine pounds of tobacco, it being ye full and cleare agremt, in witness whereof ye partyes above mentioned have interchangeably sett their hands and seales ye day and yeare first above written.

Richard Swetnam [seal]

Signed Sealed and
delivered in ye presence of
Benja Randall
Tho. Impey Clk

}

To this instrument succeeds the bond of

Richard Swetnam,

William Bishope,

Anthony Mayle,

for the faithful performance of the contract, which, as it contains nothing of special interest, is not copied. The amount of bond was 260,000 lbs. tobacco in the cask.

According to the specifications as stated in this paper it is probable the first Court House erected within our present bounds was constructed, and in that house the court met about the year 1682 or 3, not before, for there are records of its being held at the house of Philemon Lloyd, Esq., in the year 1681 and of a levy in favor of Mr. John Downes for the use of his house to keep Court in"—1000 lbs. tobacco, in November of the same year. From a minute of the court held in March 1679, 80, we may infer that our ancestors of the time were not more temperate than we are ourselves in the use of intoxicating liquors. It was found to be necessary to promulge the following order:

The Court hath ordered that *noe ordinary* be Keep upon the plantation of Elizabeth Winckles by herself or any other person during the time that Mr. Richard Swetnam is a building the Court House upon the county land, &c. Another minute of a later date gives indication of the abuse of the privilege held apparently under the first contract by Ric'd Swetnam of occupying the Court House as an ordinary. In Sept. 1684, after possession had been taken of the new house, we have this record: "Ordered by the Court that noe drink be sold in the Court House, or Drank there dureing the setting of the Court, in forfeiture of two shillings and six pence for every Pott or Bottle or drink sold during the setting of the Court aforesaid. According to the levy list of 1682, the contractor was allowed 2,000 pounds of Tobacco for adding a porch to the county building. One of the accessories of a Court House and implements of Justice, in former times, was the public pillory, or stocks. Within the recollection of many persons yet living one of these remnants of barbaric judicature, the stocks and whipping post stood in the Court House yard in this town. It was placed in front of the jail, just where the smoke house now stands, and the culprit sat facing Washington street. The unlucky wight who had the misfortune to be sentenced to be placed in the stocks, suffered not only the punishment of uneasy posture and restraint, but received the unsavory compliments of the boys, and low people, not in words only, but in the form of stale eggs and defunct animals which they threw upon his head, he being unable to dodge their obscene missiles. Fortunately for us this degrading punishment of pillory and stocks was long since abolished in our county and State, though we retained the whipping post to a comparatively recent date. On the 18th Nov. 1690, the court "Ordered that Thomas Bruff doe at or before the next ensuing court to be held for this county, the third day of January next, fix and sett up before the Court House doore the stock, pillory and whipping post, by act of assembly appointed, on penalty of five hundred pounds of Tobacco, for failure, for his neglect.

But the men did not go "unwhipped of Justice" for want of a whipping post before the one mentioned above was erected is very plain, for in the levy laid at the same court Solomon Wright had an allowance of 50 lbs. of tobacco for whipping John Contee.

Our Justices seem to have been fond of this judicial toy, for the same Thomas Bruff was in June, 1700 directed

to set up a pair of stocks and whipping post, at the town of *Doncaster*, and Robert Grundy a pair of stocks and whipping post at *Williamstadt*.

Doncaster was a town, now gone to decay, at the mouth of Wye River, on the "Wye town" farm. *Williamstadt* was what was, before this date, and again after, called Oxford, on Third Haven River.

It appears that want of accommodation at the place of meeting was a trouble the court endeavored to diminish by allowing their Court

House to be used as an inn; they also in March 1692-3 directed stabling to be provided for the horses of those who should be in attendance upon their sittings, as we find by the following order:

Ordered by the Court that John Salter (the same man who built the Quaker Meeting house on Third Haven) "doe erect and build upp at the toune of Yorke a stable of forty foot long and twenty foote wide, with a convenient place at one end to secure bridles and saddles thereby, overjetting a foot on each side, with cedar posts and cedar and locust grund rales and the same to beginn and finish with all convenient speed, &c.

Apparently the lease of Richard Swetnam, mentioned above, of the Court House, as an house of entertainment, expired about 1691, when it was rented to John Salter for the same purpose and term of years. In September of 1698 the court entered into a contract with one Laurence Knowles of a similar character:

Articles of Agreement made between the Commissioners of Talbot County, on ye one parte and Laurence Knowles of ye same county, Inholder on ye other part, ye 20th day of September, Anno Domini, 1698, witnesseth:

Imprimis. That ye said Lawrence Knowles is to have ye Court house, with the land and privileges thereunto belonging for to Dwell in at ye yearly rent of Tenn Thousand Pounds of good, sound, well-conditioned Tobacco, to be paid as a yearly rent (for and during the space of seaven yeares compleat to ye Justices to be employed for ye use and benefit of ye county, and that after John Salter have completely repaired ye said house, according to articles of agreement with him formerly made that he ye said Lawrence Knowles doth oblige himself yearely and every yeare for and during ye said term of seven years to keep up ye said house in good repair and so to leave it.

2ndly. The ye s'd Lawrence Knowles shall provide one suitable roome to be set apart for ye use of ye sheriff of ye county, to make a prison for debtors.

4thly. The ye s'd Knowles particularly reserve and set apart ye Court Roome for to hold ye Courts in, and shall likewise provide a roome for ye use of Juries and Candles sufficient for ye use of ye Court during ye sitting thereof, in any Court during ye tearme af'd.

5thly. The y'd Knowles is to have ye use of ye stable for and during ye Tearme af'd he ye s'd Knowles paying ye annual rent of One thousand pounds of Tobacco to and for ye use abovesaid, having received ye same and soe leave it, at ye expiration of ye af'd terme.

Knowles gave bond for the faithful discharge of this obligation in the sum of One Hundred Thousand Pounds of Tobacco, Daniel Sherwood and Michael Russel being his securities. Of the last mentioned person

nothing is known, but of Daniel Sherwood, it may be mentioned, as illustrative of one phase of the social and civil arrangements of the time, that he was authorized to take care of the poor of the county, at his own residence, instead of a quartering them upon different persons. This was the germ of our Alms House. The Court House continued to be used as an inn until it was finally abandoned in 1707, for in 1706 it was under rent, as appears by a credit on the levy list, to Ralph Stevenson for 3500 lbs. tobacco per year.

Many of the details here given may be, in the opinion of many, very trivial, and not worth the trouble of perpetuation in print; but to those possessed of the true antiquarian or archaeological spirit, nothing is unimportant that belongs to the past; to the student of history, whether it be the grand epics of nations, or the simple story of a county or neighborhood, nothing is valueless that is illustrative of the varying conditions of society; and by the lover of his natal soil, who with filial fondness cherishes every memento of the earlier days of the mother earth that bore him, nothing is disdained as insignificant that recalls the features of her prime. By all such these minutes of the building of the first Court House at York, with its prison and pillory, also its hostelry for man and beast, will not be deemed as without interest or value.

In the next article an account will be given of the second and third county buildings, the last being that which now stands in the center of Easton, and upon which workmen are engaged in repairing and improving.

In the Court House at York, on Skipton creek, built in 1679, as has been related in the previous article, the Court continued to be held until the year 1707. During this time the population of the county had gone on increasing in numbers with great rapidity. Emigrants, voluntary or enforced, from the old countries, from neighboring provinces, and from other sections of Maryland, seated themselves along our beautiful water courses, which then, as now, afforded such unsurpassed conveniences of travel and transportation, and caused this tidewater region speedily to become settled. The consequent multiplication of the business of the Court required increased facilities for the administration of Justice; and the population spreading out into remoter sections of the county, began to feel more and more sensibly the necessity of making the seats of Justice more accessible. This could best be done by increasing their number, and thus diminishing the distance which judges and juries, parties to suits and their witnesses had to travel to attend the courts. Applications, accordingly, began to be made to the

Provincial Assembly for the organization of a new county, from the northern part of the territory belonging to Talbot. In deference to the wishes of the people, in April 1706 there was passed an act entitled "An Act for the dividing and regulating several counties on the Eastern Shore of this Province, and constituting a county, by the name of Queen Anne's county, within the same province." By this act the bounds of Talbot were defined with precision—something which probably never had been done before. These bounds as thus settled are the same that are now recognized, and in the words of the act are thus described:

From and after the 1st of May, 1707, the Bounds of Talbot county shall contain Sharp's Island, Choptank Island [now called Tilghman's Island] and all the land on the North side of great Choptank River, and extend itself up the said River to Tuckahoe Bridge [at what is now Hillsborough] and from thence with a straight line to the Mill commonly called and known by the name of Swetnam's mill [now Wye mill] and from thence down the South side of Wye river to the mouth thereof, and from thence down the Bay, including Poplar Island, to the first beginning: also Bruff's Island in Wye River. (Bacon's Laws—1706, chap. III).

Queen Anne's lay north of these lines, and of course received a large section of the territory belonging to Talbot, including Kent Island. Opportunity will be taken hereafter to attempt the definition of the boundaries of Talbot before the date of this act—a matter still involved in much obscurity. It will be perceived that the Court House at York fell within the Talbot lines, but though formerly it was near the center, if not of the territory, at least of the population, it was now in the north-western extremity of the county and, therefore, far removed from the larger portion of the people. In consequence it became very necessary to remove it to a position more central and convenient of access.

The Court continued to hold its sessions at York after the passage of the act, and up to June 17th, 1707, when the last meeting was held in the old Court House. But immediately after the law was passed, the Justices of the county, at a court held in the usual place Aug. 21st, 1706, appointed a commission, constituted of these members of the court, namely: Robert Grundy, John Dawson and Thomas Robins, together with Thomas Smithson, Chief Justice of the Provincial Court; Robert Goldsborough, Attorney for the Queen or Prosecutor and John Hawkins, also a Judge of the Provincial Court, to select a suitable place for holding the Courts thereafter. This commission seems to have decided upon Oxford as the most fitting place, and so soon after

the time for the act for the division of the county to become operative, we find the Court assembling at that port. The first Court was held at Oxford Aug. 19, 1707, at the house of the Sheriff, Daniel Sherwood.

At the last meeting at York, in the old Court House, a commission from the Queen was read, constituting these gentlemen the Justices for the county:

Matthew Tilghman Warde,
Robert Ungle,
Thomas Emerson,
Thomas Robins,

James Lloyd,
John Dawson,
Foster Turbutt,
John Bullen,

Vincent Hemsley,

of whom the six first named, or any three of them, constituted a Court of Oyer and Terminer, and the four first named were of the Quorum, without one of whom no Court could be held. These then, were the first Justices of our county as it was limited in 1706-7. Daniel Sherwood was commissioned at the same Court, High Sheriff, with John Sherwood, Philip Sherwood and Charles Ungle, as his Deputies. Robert Finley, who was clerk before the division, continued to be clerk of the Court, and Robt. Goldsborough, as mentioned above, was Prosecutor—clerk of Indictments, or as it is phrased in the record, “who followeth for the Queen.”

The Court immediately after the division of the county began to levy tobacco for the purpose of erecting a new Court House and Prison. In Nov. 1707, there appears a levy of 28,926 lbs. for that purpose, and 120 lbs. for timber for the stocks at Oxford; and the following year the sum of 30,000 lbs. was assessed for the new Court House, and 2,400 lbs. to pay the rent of the house the Justices were occupying until the Court House could be built.

It may not be out of place here to say that Oxford, the place selected for holding the Court, was very accessible by water from all parts of the county, and was the most flourishing town within its limits. It was laid out and made a port in 1683, though it had an existence long anterior to that date. In 1694 a re-survey was made and it was again recognized as a port under the name of *Williamstadt*. There were other acts and supplements to acts passed in 1707-1708-1709, ordering the town lands to be laid out anew, and though these acts failed to receive the royal assent, the Commissioners did proceed to this duty as though they had been confirmed. It was at this date (1707) again called *Oxford*. When it was thought that this town would be made the seat of Justice, speculation in town lots was very rife, and a large num-

ber was taken up for building thereon, showing that human nature was the same two hundred years ago as now. In the hands of the compiler of these annals there is a full account of the several surveys, and of the sale of the lots—an account fortunately preserved by the care of Samuel Chamberlaine the first of the name who settled in Talbot in the year 1714. Our public records are quite silent upon this subject.

The Court seemed so well pleased with the location, that at the November session of 1709, it determined to make Oxford the permanent seat of Justice for the county. In accordance with this determination the Justices entered into a contract with Daniel Sherwood, at that time Sheriff, and Col. Nicholas Lowe who owned the land upon which the town was built for the erection of a building for Court purposes. The following is a copy of the contract:

Itt is agreed between the Justices of this Court and Coll. Nicholas Lowe, together with Mr. Daniel Sherwood, for the building and furnishing a Court House at the towne and Port of Oxford, in that county as follows, viz.:

First—That the said House be built fully as large within syde from wall to wall as Queen Anne's county Court House is from the outside of the walls thereof, &c.

2ndly—That this county Court House is to be by them the said Nicholas Lowe & Daniel Sherwood built one foot higher than Queen Anne's county Court House is built.

3rdly—That it be built directly after the same form of Queen Anne's county Court House, except as before is agreed, only that instead of sash windows there is to be wooden shutters for the lower part of the windows, and glass for the upper part of the windows.

4thly—Itt is agreed between the s'd Justices and the said Lowe and Sherwood that the said Court House by them the said Lowe and Sherwood to be built, is to be as fully compleated and adorned in every respect, as Queen Anne's county Court House, is, &c.

And Lastly—Itt is agreed between the said Justices, and the said Coll. Nicholas Lowe and Mr. Daniel Sherwood, that they said Coll. Nich. Lowe and Mr. Danl. Sherwood shall be paid by this county, at the finishing of the said Court House the sum of One Hundred and Twenty Thousand Pounds of Tobacco, &c.

But this contract was never carried into effect; on the contrary the year following, Nov. 21, 1710, it was ordered thus:

That the Court hath appointed to meet at or near Pitte's Bridge, the third Tuesday in January next, then and there to treat with Philemon Armstrong, owner of two acres of land at or near the said Bridge, whereon to build a Court House in this county according to act of Assembly, &c. Ordered also by the same court that the sheriff and

surveyor of this county meet them there accordingly in order to run out ye af'd land &c., whereon to build ye s'd Court House, &c.

Accordingly the court did meet at the place and time designated in the above order. Now, Pitt's Bridge near which the Court House was to be placed, and actually was placed, is that bridge to the north of the town, on the Centreville road sometimes called Tan-yard Bridge, near the slaughter houses. It is likely this bridge was longer and larger at the period now referred to, than at the present. It is built over the head of Third Haven creek; now it spans an insignificant stream, but formerly it is said to have been over a navigable water course. Old Mr. Solomon Barrett, a soldier of the Revolution, and the last survivor of that glorious struggle in this county, whom many remember, stated in his life, that within his recollection, oysters used to be brought up to that bridge in boats for sale, and that it was known as Pitt's Bridge, by the residents of the neighborhood. There can be no mistake as to the identification of this bridge as Pitt's Bridge.

The Act of Assembly referred to above, which will be referred to again in subsequent records, was that passed Nov. 4th, 1710, and was entitled "An Act for the building a Court House for Talbot County, at Armstrong's Old Field, near Pitt's Bridge." In Bacon's abridgment it is stated:

By this act the Justices of Talbot County were impowered to make choice, of two acres of land at or near Pitt's Bridge, at the head of Tread Haven creek, on Philemon Armstrong's Land and the same to purchase by Agreement or Valuation of a Jury, &c. (Bacon's Laws 1710, chap. V.)

There is in the possession of the compiler of these annals a record of the laying out of the county land for the purposes of a Court House, which record is not among those belonging to the county. This record is in the handwriting of Robert Finley, the clerk, and may therefore be regarded as perfectly authentic. For the sake of perpetuating this record, as well as for its intrinsic interest, it is here copied in full:

Talbot sc. Att a Court of our Sovereign Lady Anne, Queen of Great Britain, &c., called and held at the plantation of Philemon Armstrong near Pitts his Bridge in the said county, by her said Majesty's Commissioners and Justices of the Peace the sixteenth day of January Anno Domini One Thousand seven hundred and ten, for the laying out two acres of land towards the erecting of a Court House in said county, according to Act of Assembly &c. Before the Worshipfull

Mr. Thomas Robins	} Her Majesties Justices and Gentlemen.
Mr. James Lloyd	
Mr. Thomas Emerson	
Mr. John Bullen	

Ordered by the Court here, that the Sheriff doe attend the Justices of said county with a good and sufficient jury, at the plantation of Philemon Armstrong, near Pitts Bridge the third Tuesday in February next, and that the aforesaid Sheriff doe acquaint the absent Justices with this order &c.

The Court adjourned till the third Tuesday in February next.

Talbot Sc. Att a Court of adjournment of our sovereign Lady Queen Anne &c. held at the plantation of Philemon Armstrong near Pitts Bridge the twentieth day of February in the tenth year of her said Majestyes reigne, Anno Domini One Thousand seven hundred and ten &c. Before the Worshipfull

Mr. Thomas Robins	}	Her Majesties Justices, Present.
Mr. James Lloyd		
Mr. Thomas Emerson		
Mr. John Bullen		

The Court proceed to laying out two acres of land in Armstrong's old field, near Pitts bridge whereon to build a Court house in this county according to Act of Assembly &c. And the place where the said land is laid out, Mr. John Bullen disasents to have the Court house (now to be built) built on the land laid out as aforesaid &c.

The Sheriff returns his pannel of the Jury which he hath been commanded to summon, to appear at this Court this day in order to value two acres of land, at or near Pitts bridge, where on to build a court house in this county, according to Act of Assembly, whose names are as followeth, vizt.

Anthony Rumball	John Sherwood
Henry Bayley	Walter Moulton
Griffith Evans	John Botfield
Edmund Fish	Joseph Bounton
William Holmes	Richard Cooper
William Bash	David Bills (or Mills)

They are accordingly sworne and sent to consider as well the damages that may accrue as to appraise and value indifferently the aforesaid two acres of land laid out in order to build a Court House on as aff'd &c.

The Said Jury returns to the Court and upon their oaths doe say, We of the Jury do find the damages to be subjoined, and the value of the said land at the sum of fifteen thousand pounds of Tobacco &c.

And the said Court adjudging what they have proceeded in in valuing the land aforesaid to be insufficient, for as much as they did not unanimously agree of the place whereon to build a court house in this county. It is therefore Ordered by the Court here that the Sheriff of this county, together with the Surveyor of the county do attend the Justices of the county at or near Pitts Bridge, the first day of March next: Ordered also by the Court here that the said sheriff doe summon a good and sufficient Jury out of each part of this county, to appear before the said Justices on the First Tuesday of March aforesaid &c.

Itt is likewise further ordered by the Court here that the Clerk of this county do putt up notes in the most public places of the county

signifying that on Thursday the first day of March next the said Justices were to meet at or near Pitts Bridge in order to procure two acres of land whereon to build a court house in said County &c. That if any person or persons is inclinable to take the building of the said Court House, Lett him or them repair to the place aforesaid, and he or they shall be heard.

The Court adjourns till the first Tuesday in March next.

Talbot Sc. Att a court of adjournment of her most sacred Majesty Anne Queen of Great Britain &c. Held near Pitts Bridge by her said Majestys Commissioners and Justices of the Peace, the first day of March in the tenth year of her said Majestys reigne &c Annoq. Domini One Thousand seven Hundred and ten, Before

Mr. Thomas Robins	} Her Majesties Justices, present
Mr. Thomas Emerson	
Mr. James Lloyd	
Mr. John Bullen	

The Sheriff returns his pannell which he hath been &c whose names are as follows (vig)

John King	William Thomas
Will. Skinner	John Hendrix
Andrew Kinnemont	Thomas Sockwell
Jacob Gibson	John Needles (Nedels)
Richard Holmes	Marvine Giddins
Loftus Bowdle	John Lovedaye

They are accordingly sworn and sent to consider as well of the Damages, as to appraise and value indifferently two acres of land this day laid out, near Pitts Bridge, whereon to build a court House, &c.

The aforesaid Jury returns to the Court and upon their oaths do say, we of the Jury do find the Damages to be sustained, and the value of the said land at the Summ of Five Thousand pounds of Tobacco &c.

Robert Finley Cler. Cur. Comm.

Talbot.

Now the land thus laid out, surveyed, and valued is that land upon which the Court House now stands, and makes a part of the original patent of Londonderry—a name that is still perpetuated in the beautiful seat of Doct. Ninian Pinckney, of the U. S. Navy, who still holds a large part of the tract. Although it is said the place where the Court House was erected was called Armstrong's Old Field, it would appear that at the time the Court House was built upon it the land was wooded, for Philemon Hemsley was allowed in the levy of 1711 a certain amount for grubbing the same. In the same year William Turbutt, who was the Deputy Surveyor of the county under Robt. Diggs, Esq., Surveyor General for the Eastern Shore, laid out the road to the landing at what we now call Easton Point but in our earlier annals known by the less euphonious, or less elegant name of "Cowe Landing," It is worthy

of record too, that in the following year 1712, allowances were made in the Levy for the road from Miles River ferry to the new Court House, across the head of Third Haven creek, and for the bridge then, probably, first constructed, which is now called the Court House bridge. Before this date persons to reach what is now Easton from Bay Side went around by the Glebe road and came across Pitt's Bridge. The Court House Bridge was properly so called, for it was a bridge for the purpose of reaching the Court House.

After it had been determined that the Court House should be placed on "Armstrong's Old Field" "near Pitts his bridge," Oxford was abandoned. While there the court was held in the houses of Daniel Sherwood, and of Mary Stevenson who had allowances for rent made them in the levies. The first Court held in Oxford was upon 19th Aug. 1707. The last court in Oxford was held March 20, 1710, when a new commission for the Justices was read, directed to these gentlemen:

Mathew Tilghman Warde	}	gentlemen
Robert Ungle		
Thomas Robins		
James Lloyd		
Thomas Emerson		
John Bullen		
Anthony Wise		
William Clayton		

Of whom the three first mentioned were of the Quorum. These gentlemen with the exception of Mr. Warde assembled at the place now called Easton, on the 19th day of June 1711, and there held the first court ever held upon the land now occupied by our county seat. The following is the loyal and specific record of the convening of the court:

Att a court of our Sovereign Lady Anne, Queen of Great Britain, &c, &c, held for Talbot County (in a house of Mr. Philemon Hemsley adjacent to the land laid out whereon to build a Court House, in said County near Pitt's Bridge), by her Sacred Majesty's Commissioners and Justices of the Peace, the 19 day of June in the 10th year of her Sacred Majesty's Reigne &c, Anno q. Domini One thousand seven hundred and eleven & there continued until the twentieth day of the same month, before

The Worshipfull

Mr. Robt. Ungle
[and the other justices named above.]
Her Majesty's Justices present.

The officers of the court at this time were:

Clerk: Robert Finley;

High Sheriff; Foster Turbutt;

Deputy Sheriff: Philip Feddeman; Ernault Hawkins; Samuel Turbutt;

Attorney for the Queen: Robt. Goldsborough;

Crier: Will Clayland;

Coroner: Andrew Skinner;

Surveyor: William Tarbutt.

At this date Col. Thomas Smithson, who is yet held in grateful remembrance by the pious members of the Episcopal Church of St. Michael's Parish for his large bequest of land to the Parish, for a Glebe, and Philemon Lloyd, Esq., of Wye Island, at one time belonging to Talbot, were members of the Provincial Court, and had a seat in our County Court, when present, as all Judges of that Court were entitled to have.

At this last court held at Oxford, and by the Judges of the new commission, mentioned above, a contract was made with Philemon Hemsley, of Queen Anne's County, for the erection of the Court House for Talbot upon the plot of land purchased of Philemon Armstrong, near Pitt's Bridge. The following is a copy of the contract, as entered among the court records of Mh. 20, 1710, (N. S. 1711):

Articles of agreement made and concluded by and between we the subscribers her majesties Justices of Talbot County of the one part and Philemon Hemsley of Queen Anns County Gent'n of the other part Witnesseth, whereas there is a certain act of assembly in this province entitled An Act for building and erecting a Court House for Talbot County at or near Pitts Bridge empowering the said Justices or the major part of them to treat and agree with undertakers or workmen for building a Court house for the said county at the place aforesaid, In pursuence of the said act we the said Justices hereunto subscribed, have accordingly treated and mutually agreed to and with the said Philemon Hemsley for building a Court house on two acres of land already laid out near Pitts Bridge for that purpose according to the Plott of the said house drawn by the said Philemon Hemsley and the Dimensions ffol; vizt.

First. The said house to be thirty feet long in the clear and twenty feet wide in the clear, with a back building for the Seat of Judicature of twelve feet and eighteen feet in the clear and thirteen feet pitch from the level of the earth to the wall of plate, the walls of the said house all round from the foundation to the water table to be two brick thick and a brick and a half upward to the wall plate, and the gabel ends above joyce to be one brick thick with a small chimney in the chamber that is over the seat of Judicature, the said building to be built of well burnt brick, laid in good sufficient mortar workmanlike, the front of the said

house of smooth bricks with blue headers (?) and stretchers, to be rubbed (?) from the sills of the windows upwards to the wall plate with streight arches over the windows done workmanlike, the ends and back part of the said house to be plain good work with a hemsome (?) (quære, handsome) Peddiment over the front doore supported with well turned Cullums and bases of Cedar and Locust, the roof of the said house to be well shingled with Cypress Shingles sheweing mundillions (?) (quære, medallions) in the front barge boards at the ends, all the back eaves to be well boxt with good moulding workmanlike; the front door to be Cedar or Locust if Cedar the sill to be locust with Lights over the door, worked with Archytrive on ye sd Doore case the front to have archytrive Transome windows, all the other windows to be plain transome windows except the Dormers which are to be without transome, the seat of Judicature to be handsome wenscutt, with a Suitable chaire benches railles and ballisters with tables and benches for the attorneys, with suitable railles and ballesters round where the Grand Jury and the Pettit Jury must stand, with convenient stairs for either to go up stairs at either end as Described in the Platt, all the floor with the railles and seat of Judicature to be planked, all without well paved, the upper floor to be rabbitted or grooved Devided into convenient rooms with Pettitions of Plank with good frame doors, the front doore to be a hansome Double Doore the joyce of the said house to be all galloping (?) joyce of Ten inches and four inches square, the Rafters seven and four inches square at foot and four square at head, the inside of the said house or building above stairs and below to be well lathed and plastered all ye windows of the said house to be well glazed with Led (?) and glass except the lower lights in the transome windows in the front end below joyce which are to have shetters instead of glass; all the windows front doore cullums peddiments. Dorments and Eaves of the said house and seat of Judicature well primed and painted.

Secondly. The said Philemon Hemsley doth promise to compleat and finish ye sd building in every respect workmanlike, according to the Dementions and Directions as above specified by the Twentyeth day of November which shall happen in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and twelve, and also finde and provide for the said Justices a convenient [house] at or near the said place called Pitts Bridge to hold Court in on ye third Tuesday in June next, and during the building of the said house &c.

In consideration whereof we the said Justices being authorized as aforesaid Doe agree to pay him the said Philemon Hemsley or his assignes the full and just Quantity of one Hundred and fifteen thousand pounds of good merchantable tobacco, convenient in the aforesaid county (that is to say) sixty thousand pounds of Tobacco this present year and the sum of twenty thousand pounds of tobacco at the closeing (?) of the said house, and the remaining part at the finishing of the aforesaid worke. In witness whereof the Partys above said have hereunto set their hands and seals the 23rd day of March in the tenth year of the reigne of our

sovereign Lady Anne of Great Britain France and Ireland Queen defender of the faith &c. Annoq. Domini 1710

1	M. T. Warde	[<i>seal</i>]
2	Robt. Ungle	[<i>seal</i>]
3	Thos Robins	[<i>seal</i>]
4	James Lloyd	[<i>seal</i>]
5	Thomas Emerson	[<i>seal</i>]
6	John Bullen	[<i>seal</i>]
7	Antho. Wise	[<i>seal</i>]
8	Will Clayton Jr.	[<i>seal</i>]

Philemon Hemsley [*seal*]
Signed Sealed and Delivered in the Presence of

Robt. Finley
Phil. Feddeman.

For the faithful execution of the above recited contract, the following persons became security to the amount of two hundred and thirty thousand pounds of tobacco, viz:

Philemon Hemsley,
Tho. Martin,
Will. Clayton,
Will. Clayland,
Trus. Thomas.

According to these articles of agreement it is altogether probable the second Court House for the county was built. But the court did not await its completion before it moved to the place selected for its permanent sittings, for we find it occupying, "the House of Mr. Philemon Hemsley's adjacent to the lands laid out whereon to build a Court House in Talbot Co.," June 19, 1711, and the court of this date was the first held at or near the site of the Court House now standing. By the June following the Court House seems to have been sufficiently completed to allow the courts to hold their sessions therein, for the 17th of that month 1712, the first court was, according to the record, held in the Court House near "Pitts his Bridge," and there it continued to be held until after the Revolutionary war, as will hereafter appear.

At a court held Aug. 21, 1711, it was ordered.

That he the said Foster Turbutt [then Sheriff] proceed to build a goal or prison house (on part of the lands laid out whereon to build a Court House in the county near Pitts' Bridge) until such time as the Justices of the Court shall further consider of the same, and that he the said Turbutt be accordingly allowed therefor at the laying this County levy &c.

The jail appears to have been built, for the levies were certainly made for the purpose. The total cost of the prison was 50,000 lbs. of tobacco, and it seems to have been completed in the Fall of 1713. Of course there was an appropriation for stocks.

The Court House was not rented, as was that at York, to any occupant but Mr. Henry Frith was placed in charge of it to keep it clean, to provide lights, fuel, &c., &c. He received 800 pounds of tobacco per year for his trouble.

By an Act of Assembly of Nov. 1710 the commissioners of the county were authorized and empowered to sell the Old Court House and Prison at York, and the land thereunto belonging, to the best purchaser. In accordance with this act the Justices made sale of the property to Robert Finley for 8000 lbs. tobacco, as appears by a credit on the levy list of Nov. 21, 1712. There is no evidence to determine whether this was the full, or only a partial payment.

It was intended that this article should conclude what was meant to be said concerning the Court Houses of the county; but as it has lengthened itself out beyond the prescribed limits, indulgence is asked for the infliction of another paper, which shall give an account of the erection of the present existing county buildings.

It will have been seen from what was contained in the preceding article, that the Justices or Commissioners of the county in building a Court House in "Armstrong's Old Field," near "Pitts his Bridge," erected a good, substantial, and for the requirements of the time, commodious edifice—one very different from those perishable structures previously built for court uses, which were in constant need of repairs, judging by the frequent levies made for that purpose, and which rotted down almost as soon as completed. In this Court House then, built not only with regard to amplitude and permanence, but with some pretensions to architectural taste, as the contract evinces, and with no disdain of ornament, the courts of the county continued to be held from 1712 to 1794, a period of eighty-two years, a longer time than has elapsed since the erection of the Court House now standing. But, with the progress of the county, and the changes in our judiciary system brought about by the Revolutionary war, a new building had become necessary, even supposing the old one had remained unaffected by decay.

In the year 1776, the Proprietary government having previously been deposed, a convention framed a constitution for the new born State of Maryland, and in 1777 this constitution became our fundamental law. By this instrument, so full of sound political wisdom,

so capable of adaptation to the ever changing phases of society, the judiciary and other civil machinery that had been in operation under provincial *régime* was changed. Yet it was not so radically changed as one would expect, considering the great political mutation which had just occurred. Under the proprietary government the highest judicial tribunal, that is of original or primary jurisdiction, was the Provincial Court. This, by the constitution, was merged into the General Court, which was required to sit, not as the Provincial Court at the seat of government—first at St. Mary's and then Annapolis—only, but alternately upon the Western and the Eastern Shores of the State. The county Courts remained pretty much the same as under the provincial system, but their organization was essentially modified in 1791 and more thoroughly in 1794. Beside the General and the County Courts, the new constitution provided for a Court of Appeals, which was at first required to sit only at Annapolis but subsequently, in 1805, when the General Court was abolished, was made to hold a session on the Eastern Shore, for the transaction of business for this section of the State. The constitution, besides reorganizing the judiciary system, created or continued certain civil offices, some of which were of a duplicate character, having places and incumbents on both the shores. At some future time, it is hoped, an opportunity will be offered to give a full and detailed account of the various changes that have been made, from time to time, in our judiciary, but now, there is no such opportunity.

Now these changes of the Courts, and this creation of new offices rendered it necessary that a larger and better appointed building should be erected for their accommodation, at least upon the Eastern Shore; and accordingly at the very first session of the General Assembly after the adoption of our State constitution, we find that steps were taken towards this end. By an Act of Assembly entitled, "An Act to open Courts of Justice, and for other purposes" (177, chap. XV, sec. 9) among other things, it was provided * * *

That the Judges of the General Court, or any one of them shall hold their first Court for the transacting and determining the business of the Eastern Shore at Talbot Court House, in Talbot county, on the second Tuesday of September next, and on the second Tuesday of April and September, until a town shall be laid out at *Dover*, and a Court and prison there erected; after which the said Court for the Eastern Shore shall be forever held at *Dover* on the second Tuesday of April and September, * * * and that Justices of the several county Courts, under the present form of government, or any three or more of them, shall hold their respective Courts, on the days hereafter directed by acts of Assembly.

It will be perceived that the Legislature contemplated not only the erection of a Court House and prison, but the foundation of a new town upon the Shore, which should be as it were a second Capital. This last remark is not merely inferential, but there is good authority for the declaration, as will appear in the sequel. The town of *Dover* had an existence, however, long anterior to the date of this Act, though it probably had no corporate existence—or was not laid out according to any law. The knowledge that any town of the name was ever within the bounds of the county, will probably be new to most of our citizens; but nothing can be better substantiated in our topographical annals than that upon the banks of the Choptank river, about three miles from Easton, upon the land known as Barker's Landing, now owned by Capt. Hardcastle and not far from what is now Dover bridge, there was in the middle, and even the earlier part of the last century, a town of considerable foreign trade, if not of very large population. At the place designated, there are the excavations of cellars, the *débris* of walls, and the remains of wharves and piers. Upon the adjoining farm of Mr. Will. T. Elliott, may be found many tombstones, which indicate the place of sepulcher for the village. All these serve to mark the site of this ancient settlement. The name of the bridge now in use, and of the former ferry at the same place, but which was kept at a point lower down the river in the earliest years of its existence, actually at Barker's Landing, is derived from the town which formerly existed near this river crossing, and not from the fact that by the ferry or the bridge the traveler may reach Dover, Delaware. The road called "Dover road" also derives its name from the fact that it led to Dover on the Choptank. There is abundant evidence in our county and other authentic records that there was a town at the point indicated, and it was at this town, to be laid out according to law, that the new Court House, for the General Court of the Eastern Shore, and for the accommodation of the State officers, for the same section, was to be erected.

The provision of the act of Assembly already quoted for the erection of a Court House for the Eastern Shore, at Dover, seems to have been entirely disregarded. There is no evidence that any attempt or overtures to an attempt, to carry it into execution were ever made, and the alternative of holding the Courts at the Talbot Court House, as provided in the bill, was adopted. The county Court House near Pitt's Bridge was therefore used by the general as well as the county Courts for many years. In the year 1788, an act was passed repealing so much of the

former act as related to the holding of the General Court for the Eastern Shore at Dover, and the second section of the bill (1788, chap. XVI, sec. 2) was in these words:

And be it enacted that the Judges of the General Court, or any one of them, shall hold their Court for transacting and determining the business of the Eastern Shore at *Talbot*, in Talbot county, forever hereafter; and that the name of the said town shall hereafter be called *Easton*.

It will be remembered that up to the year 1786, the village that had grown up around the seat of Justice in this county had no other name than that of the Court House—or Talbot Court House. In that year by act of Assembly (1785, chap. XXXII).

Messieurs Jeremiah Banning,
Hugh Sherwood, of Huntington,
John Stevens,
Greenbury Goldsborough and
Alexander McCullum,

were appointed a board of Commissioners to purchase lands, lay them off into lots, and make other arrangements for the founding and building a town near the Court House, which town should be called *Talbot*. It was then first that the village was authorized to assume the name mentioned in the supplementary act quoted above. At this village and its Court House the General Court for the Eastern Shore was ever afterwards to be held, and it was to be called, thenceforward, not *Talbot*, but *Easton*, after Easton in England near Bristol on the lower Avon.

The insufficiency of the county buildings, however, had already been experienced, and the General Assembly following that which had directed the General Court to be held at *Talbot*, or *Easton*, namely, that of 1789, passed an Act (1789, chap. XXXVI) entitled "An Act for the building a Court House in Talbot county, for the accommodation of the General Court for the Eastern Shore, and the county of Talbot," of which the following is an abstract or brief:

Sec. 1. Whereas * * * * it is represented to this general assembly, that the court house belonging to the said is extremely inconvenient and incompetent to accommodate the general court, from whence it appears necessary that a court house should there be erected for the accommodation of the said general court: And whereas it is represented that the inhabitants of Talbot county are willing to defray part of the expense of the building; therefore,

Sec. 2. *Be it enacted*, by the General Assembly of Maryland, That
 Robert Goldsborough
 William Perry,
 William Hayward,
 Howes Goldsborough
 James Tilghman, Jr.,
 Pollard Edmondson and
 David Kerr

} Esquires

shall be and are hereby appointed Commissioners for the purpose of carrying this act into execution.

Sec. 3. *And be it enacted*, That the public ground in the town of Easton, in the said county of Talbot, shall be and the same is hereby appropriated to the uses intended by this act, and shall hereafter be vested in the Justices of Talbot county court, and in the Judges of the said general court, for the mutual accommodation of the general court for the Eastern Shore, and of the county court of Talbot county.

Sec. 4. Provides for the levy of five hundred pounds on the property of the county by the Justices of Talbot county, one-half in the year 1790 and the other half in 1791, and the application of the same to the uses and purposes directed in the act.

Sec. 5. Authorizes the above mentioned Commissioners to draw upon the Treasurer of the Western Shore for the sum of Two Thousand Five Hundred pounds, to be paid out of any money in the Treasury of the State.

Sec. 6. *And be it enacted*, That the said Commissioners, or the major part of them, shall be and they are hereby authorized and required to contract and agree for the building of the said court house, and to direct the plan of the same; which said court house, when erected and finished, shall be used as, and taken held and deemed to be, the proper court house of the general court of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and of the county of Talbot.

Sec. 7. Provides for the filling vacancies in the board of Commissioners, by appointment of the Governor and Council.

Sec. 8. Provides for the payment to the Commissioners of all their necessary expenses, contracted in the execution of the trust.

Sec. 9. Provides for the rendering a full and fair account to the Governor and Council, by the Commissioners, of all their receipts and expenditures.

In accordance with one of the provisions of this act the Justices of the county, did in the years 1790 and 1791 assess upon the property the amount of five hundred pounds, two hundred and fifty pounds in each year; but it does not appear that the erection of the building com-

menced before the year 1792, for in Dec. 1791 another act, supplementary in fact, but not so called, to the former, was passed (1791, chap. IV) entitled "An Act to authorize the Commissioners for building a Court House at Easton, Talbot county, to sell and dispose of the old court house, and for other purposes therein mentioned." The preamble to this act is in these words:

Whereas it is represented to this general assembly that the Commissioners for building a court house at Easton, in Talbot county, are of opinion that the spot on which the old court house now stands in the most proper site for the new building: And whereas the records, books and some other things belonging to the public are deposited in the said old court house; therefore be it enacted, &c.

This bill provided (1) for the sale of the old Court House by the Commissioners; (2) for the renting or leasing by the clerk of the county Court and the register of wills of proper repositories for the books and other public property of their respective offices; (3) for the removal of the same books, papers and public property to the new Court House, within ten days after the date, when the several officers shall have received notice from the Commissioners that proper rooms had been provided in the new building for their reception; (4) and for the payment of all necessary expenses for such removal from the old, and re-removal to the new Court House, and for the rent of the rooms used while the new house was in progress of building.

A supplement to the above act was passed at the same session (1791, chap. XXVIII) authorizing the Justices of Talbot county Court

to contract and agree for a convenient house in the town of Easton, to hold Courts and elections for the aforesaid county, and from and after the first day of January, in the year seventeen hundred and ninety-two.

and commanding that such house should be considered the Court House to all intents and purposes whatsoever, until the completion of the new Court House. It also provides for the expense attending the renting of such "convenient house."

These laws passed by the General Assembly serve to give us many interesting items of information respecting the new Court House. It appears from them that the State defrayed much the larger part of the expenses incurred in the erection of the building. The whole cost of the building it was intended should not exceed three thousand pounds of current money. Of this the county assumed to pay five hundred only and the State twenty-five hundred pounds. This house was

probably the largest building within the State, at the date of its erection, with the exception of the State House in Annapolis. There is very good ground for stating that this very liberal appropriation from the general treasury, and the extensive scale upon which it was determined to build the Court House, had not their origin solely in a desire to give accommodation to the various State and county courts, and the civil officers, but in an expectation that at some future time, and that not remote, the legislature would sit alternately at Annapolis and Easton, just as the legislature of Connecticut sits every other year at Hartford or New Haven. In truth the province, and then the State had long possessed a kind of duplicate government, for while the governor was necessarily one, there were other officers for each of the two shores. It has been only within the recollection of persons now living that the custom of having a court of appeals, a land court with its judge and court officers, a treasurer, for each of the shores was abolished, and to the present there is not complete homogeneity, for the United States Senators must be selected, one from the eastern and the other from the western section, while the Governor by a kind of conventional arrangement was until a very recent period chosen alternately from the two shores—Easton as being the seat of justice for the State courts of this shore and as being the place where the various State offices were located was for a long time called the "Little Capital," and doubtless its inhabitants indulged the fancy that a legislative assembly would some time or other hold its sessions in its Court House which was, in its day, quite an imposing structure.

From the laws, we learn also, that the new Court House was erected upon the same spot of ground that the house of 1712 stood, and that the old building was torn down to give place to the new. It is not unlikely that a portion of the old materials were incorporated into the new edifice. While the new building was in progress therefore, it became necessary to rent rooms for the courts and the officers of the county, within the village. The levy lists for the year 1793 and 1794 give us some slight information of the houses used for court purposes. We find that Jesse Richardson, Treasurer of Lodge No. 6 of the order of Masons, was allowed in 1793 four pounds ten shillings "for the Orphans' Court setting in the Lodge Room nine days," and fourteen pounds ten shillings "for the county court setting in the Lodge Room twenty nine days." In 1794 there is more than one allowance in the levy to Solomon Corner for the "sitting of the Court in his house." Apparently the Clerk's and Register's offices were in a house belonging to

David Kerr, Esq., he having been allowed six pounds for the use of these offices. At one time, and most probably at this date, 1793-94, the Masonic Lodge Room was over the old market house upon Harrison street, between Dover and Goldsborough street—the building now used as a stable by Mr. John Mason. In these humble quarters, now devoted “to such base uses,” were our courts held. Mr. Solomon Corner of whose house also the court at this time made use, kept a tavern in this town. This was not the first time the court had sat in a house of public entertainment, as we have previously seen. Mr. David Kerr was a highly respectable merchant of Scotch descent, who for several years represented the county in the General Assembly, who at this date was Judge of the Orphans’ Court, and who filled other offices with great usefulness and acceptance. No minute of the place of holding the General Court for the Eastern Shore has been discovered, as the records of that court were removed to Annapolis, with those of the Court of Appeals, into which it merged in 1805, when that court ceased to meet in Easton under the provisions of the constitution of 1851. It is probable, however, the General Court met in the same rooms, that were used by the County Court.

Another point is settled by the Acts of Assembly that have been quoted, namely, that the commissioners were authorized to contract for the building of the Court House, upon a plan and according to specifications that should be determined upon by them. A pretty thorough search through the Clerk’s office has failed to discover a draft of this contract and this plan. It may yet be discovered at the seat of government of the State. There is a tradition which has not been certainly verified, that the architect of the State house at Annapolis was also the architect of our Court House. The similarity of the two structures may have been the origin of the current belief, but the long interval of time between the erection of the State House (1760, chap. XIV), and that of the Court House (1789, chap. XXXVI) renders the tradition improbable. A Mr. Will Anderson was the architect of the State House, and *may have been* of our Court House. But it is very certain, from numerous records, that whoever was the designer of the building, Cornelius West was the contractor and builder. As there is no evidence that during the time of the erection of the Court House, he received or expected to receive anything more than the five hundred dollars appropriated by the county and the twenty-five hundred pounds appropriated by the legislature, it is presumable the contract was made for building the house, as we now see it, for this sum of 3000 pounds, currency. This converted

into Federal money, at the rate established by the Act of 1781, namely, two dollars sixty-six and a two-thirds cents per pound, Maryland currency, or seven and six pence to the dollar, made the cost of the Court House eight thousand dollars. As the value of money has very largely decreased since that time, by the increase of the production of gold and silver and the employment, more generally than before, of paper currency, we may safely say the building cost a sum that would be equivalent to at least \$20,000 of the money of the present.

But it would seem that Cornelius West either gave more and better work and materials than he should have had done, or he made a false estimate of the probable cost, for in the *Maryland Herald & Eastern Shore General Advertiser*—the first paper ever published upon this Shore—contains in its issue of Sept. 20, 1794, the following advertisement:

The subscriber gives public notice that he means to petition the next General Assembly of the State praying that compensation may be made him for what he actually lost in building a Court House of the county of Talbot, in the State of Maryland, by the unexpected and rapid rise for everything requisite for carrying on the said building, besides journeymen's wages, provisions, &c., which by a statement of the expenditures accompanied by the original estimate presented last session, is made to appear to be at least four hundred pounds.

CORNELIUS WEST.

Mr. West's petition was laid before the legislature, and received from that body favorable consideration, and as it seemed to be a fair and equitable claim, an Act was passed (1794, chap. LXIII) for his relief entitled "An Act for the relief of Cornelius West of Talbot County" of which this is a copy:

Whereas it appears by the petition of Cornelius West that he contracted with the commissioners for building a new Court House in Easton, in Talbot county, for the accommodation of the General Court for the Eastern Shore, and the County of Talbot; and whereas it appears that after making the said contract the prices of materials, provisions and labor took a sudden rise, by which the money contracted for did not pay more than the materials and workmen, leaving nothing for his own labour and expenses for near three years; and whereas it is just and reasonable that the said Cornelius West should have a compensation for his labour and expenses.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland that the justices of Talbot County be authorized and empowered to levy on the assessable property of the said County, a sum not exceeding one hundred and fifty pounds, current money, to be paid to the said Cornelius West, or his order.

The amount stated in the bill, not nearly so much as was asked, was accordingly levied, as appears by the records of the Levy court, and doubtless paid to the contractor. This did not save him from bankruptcy, for he is said to have been pecuniarily ruined by the faithful job performed by him for our county. Some of the sub-contractors are said to have suffered also.

The building appears to have been completed early in 1794, for among the minutes of the county court held the second Monday in June, of the same year, appears this record of its formal acceptance by the Justices:

Whereas by an Act of Assembly passed at a session of the General Assembly of Maryland begun and held in the city of Annapolis on Monday the seventh day of November, and ended the thirtieth day of December in the year 1791, it was enacted that the Justices of Talbot County Court be authorized and requested to contract and agree for a convenient house in the town of Easton to hold the Courts for the county aforesaid, and from and after the first day of January in the year 1792 the several courts and elections for the county aforesaid shall be held at such house as aforesaid provided by the Justices aforesaid, and that the said house shall be considered as the Court house of the said county to all intents and purposes whatever, until the New Court House shall be finished for that purpose, and that the several courts and elections, as soon as conveniently may be shall be held in the new Court House, and not elsewhere; and whereas the Commissioners for building the said new Court House have signified to the court, that the said new Court House is finished and has been delivered to the builder thereof, for the purposes for which it was erected, it is therefore ordered by the Court that the said new building is received and shall be considered henceforth as the Court House of Talbot County to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

Ordered that public notice be given of the above at the Court House door.

It is probable this court, held in accordance with the law of 1790 on the second Monday in June, was the first ever held within the new building, but the various officers had taken possession of the rooms assigned to them a little before this time, say in April, as appears by several advertisements inserted in the *Herald*.

It would seem that at this date the hours of business commenced with sunrise, and closed with sunset. It is likely that from the first, the Clerk and Register occupied the rooms now used by them, in the N. E. and S. E. corners of the building. The Register of the land office at first had a desk in the office of the Register of Wills. Subsequently the

room in the rear of the Clerk's office—that is in the N. W. corner—was used by him. The Sheriff has the room now occupied by the Board of School Commissioners, and here was also the clerk of the Court of Appeals, in the last years of the sittings of that court upon the Eastern Shore, though the original office of this Clerk was in the N. E. corner room, on the second floor. There were two grand halls of justice occupying the center of the building above and below. Upon the first floor, sat the county court, but subsequently it sat above stairs during the Fall term. There was then no partition across the lower hall, and the whole space was open. In the large hall above sat the Court of Appeals, the room having a partition across it, so as to diminish its size, and enable it to be warmed. Here also sat the county court in autumn, as stated above. The judges occupied, what was termed the "seat of justice"—the recess in the western end of these halls—not as now, the eastern end. The General Court made use of one of these halls; which, is not known, as that court has been so long abolished no one now living can remember when it held a term in Easton. Probably, however, it sat in the same room that was subsequently used by the Court of Appeals. Besides these courts, it is certain that occasionally the United States Circuit Court held its sessions in the new Court House. In the *Herald* of Nov. 18, 1794, there is printed a most remarkable charge of Mr. Justice Blair to the Grand Jury, at a term of this court. The striking feature of the charge was its political character. The Judge being an ardent Federalist, he took occasion to belabor severely and without stint not only those who were engaged in the Whisky Rebellion, but their apologists, the Republicans of the day; nor did he spare those who were then in sympathy with the French, a nation that was then carrying things with a high hand, at home and abroad.

The following are the names of the Judges and the Justices of the Peace, who held courts in our Court House, when it was first thrown open, and of the several officers, connected with the civil affairs of the State upon this Shore, and of the county.

Judges of the General Court for the Eastern Shore.

Samuel Chase, Chief Judge.
 Nicholas Thomas,
 Jeremiah Townley Chase, } Associate Judges.

Judges of the County Court.

Hon. James Tilghman, Chief Judge, of Q. A.
 James Tilghman, Jr.,
 John Stevens. } Associate Judges.

Justices of the Peace.¹

John Bracco,
Will. Dawson,
Woolman Gibson,
Hugh Sherwood,
Peter Webb,

John Roberts,
Dan'l. P. Cox,
Will Hambleton, Jr,
James Price,
Henry Johnson.

Judges of the Orphans' Court.

John Bracco,

William Dawson.

David Kerr.

Clerk of Gen. Court, E. S.—Benj. Stevens,
Clerk of County Court—Will. S. Bond,
Attorney General for State—Luther Martin,
Deputy Attorney General—Jno. L. Bozman,
Register of Wills—James Price,
Sheriff—Richard Johns,
County Surveyor—David D. Barrow.

For the sake of brevity, the writer must forego the privilege of referring to the many distinguished judges, eloquent lawyers and efficient public officers that have appeared within the walls of this Court House: nor can there be reference to the many remarkable trials that there have had their hearing and their determination.

Each of these subjects would afford matter for most interesting chapters in our County annals, which may, perhaps, be hereafter written. But here must terminate this account, already become inordinately long and tedious, of the Court Houses of Talbot County.

This monograph would not be complete without some notice of that necessary adjunct of the Court House, the county jail. Justice is always represented as carrying not only the scales but the sword: for she sits not only to decree righteousness but to punish wickedness. Our Court House is symbolized in her balance—our jail in her sword. Eighty and more years had not passed without leaving their marks upon the old building which during that time had been used for the confinement of criminals and those that were then considered almost equal offenders against law and morals, the debtors, to say nothing of disobedient slaves. The changed conditions of society, since the period of its erection and particularly the claims of an enlightened humanity in regard to the treatment of prisoners, awakened by the recent revelations of the horrors of European prisons by the great philanthropist,

¹ They sat also as a levy court.

Howard, demanded other and better accommodations for the unfortunate and vicious than those which were satisfactory in 1713, when the prison for the Court House near Pitts' Bridge was built. Soon therefore after the completion of the new Court House at Easton,—in the same year of its occupancy,—the following advertisement appeared in the *Maryland Herald* of Sept. 30th, 1794:

Notice is hereby given to the inhabitants of Talbot county that application will be made to the next General Assembly for a law enabling the Levy Court to assess a sufficient sum of money, from year to year, on the property of the said county for the purpose of building a *Public Gaol* at Easton, and for directing the mode of building the same.

This petition seems to have been presented to the legislature at its next session, and in accordance with its tenor a bill was drawn, it is very safe to say, by Nicholas Hammond, Esq., of this county, which finally passed and became a law December 26th, 1794. That this bill was the production of this most estimable gentleman is evinced by the singularly formal, stately and precise style, which characterizes this statute, as well as everything that came from his ponderous pen,² and which was in perfect keeping with his character. This bill is entitled "An Act for building a new gaol in the town of Easton in Talbot county and to provide for the regulation of the said Gaol." (*Acts of Assembly 1794*, chap. LXVII). As published it is comprised in thirteen sections, and is too long to be copied into these annals; but the following is a transcript in full of those parts that are of most importance in this connection, and a brief of the remainder.

Whereas it is represented to this General Assembly that the public prison of the said county is in a ruinous condition, and incapable of repair, and that the purposes of private and public justice cannot be answered thereby, without the practice of many means which are as inconsistent with the principles of humanity, as they are with the true notions of civil liberty: And whereas it has been prayed that an act of Assembly may be passed for building a new gaol in the town of Easton for the said county, by an equal and impartial tax upon the property thereof, upon an assurance that the assessment and collection of the said tax, by reasonable installments, will be agreeable to the inhabitants thereof; therefore

Sec. II. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland*, That a new and commodious gaol be forthwith erected upon the public square in the said town of Easton, or such other place as the Commissioners,

²Those who have seen Mr. Hammond's handwriting will not think this epithet inappropriate. It was exceedingly heavy.

hereafter mentioned, shall deem most proper, for the use and benefit of Talbot county; and that Nicholas Hammond, Samuel Sharp, Thos. J. Bullett, Samuel Logan and Joseph Haskins be, and they are hereby appointed Commissioners to contract for the building of the same gaol, and to plan and to superintend the said building until finished, and to accomplish the several purposes mentioned in this act, concerning the same.

Sec. III. By this section the Commissioners were authorized to negotiate a loan of One Thousand pounds currency, at the rate of six per cent per annum, for five years.

Sec. IV. Provides for the levy of two hundred pounds per annum, upon the assessable property of the county, for five years in succession, commencing with 1796, to pay the principal of the debt, and in addition a sufficient sum to pay the interest thereon.

Sec. V. Provides for the levy of two hundred pounds in 1795, for the payment of the loan. It is not quite clear why this section should have been added to the former.

Sec. VI. Provides for the mode of collecting the tax, and for the payment of the money collected over to the Commissioners.

Sec. VII. And whereas the escape of prisoners, and too often their inhuman treatment are occasioned by a want of vigilance and care in the keepers of the gaols, who are usually persons employed by the Sheriffs, not sufficiently near to those situations to afford assistance, or to protect the injured, and who, not being immediately amenable for a default of conduct, are not so watchful, or so circumspect in their conduct as justice and humanity require; and it is apprehended that the residence of the keeper of the gaol will better secure the purposes intended by the confinement of persons; therefore *Be it enacted*, That the said Commissioners in planning and directing the building of the said gaol, shall lay off two apartments and a cellar, and reserve and appropriate the same to the residence of the keeper of the said gaol, and throughout the whole plan, the said Commissioners shall have respect to the comfortable accommodation, as well as security of the prisoners: and if the funds established by this act shall enable them to do so, they shall lay off a convenient and sufficient yard and cause the same to be enclosed by a substantial wall; and the said Commissioners, as soon as the said building shall be completed, shall return a fair and faithful account of the proceedings and expenditures to the Justices of Talbot county Court, to be examined and inspected by them, and on their approbation thereof, the same shall be deposited and filed among the original papers belonging to their office.

Sec. VIII. This section provides for the appointment of a jailer, by the Sheriff,—for his taking a certain prescribed oath,—for his giving bond in the sum of three hundred pounds,—and for his removal.

Sec. IX. Prescribes the duties of the jailer and entitles him to a residence within the jail building.

Sec. X. Prohibits and forbids the keeper from "holding or keeping any ordinary or house of entertainment within the gaol, and from retailing spirituous liquor," also from selling or allowing to be sold by any of his domestics, or by any other person, to the prisoners in his custody, any spirituous liquors, under a penalty of five pounds for every offense.

Sec. XI. Provides for the visiting of the gaol, by the Grand Jury, at each term of the Court, and for its report to the Court of the condition of the building and of the treatment of the prisoners. The object of this visit is stated to be

to secure as much as possible the proper and humane treatment to prisoners confined in the said gaol.

Sec. XII. Provides for the sale of the old jail, after the completion of the new, and the application of the proceeds of such sale to the uses of the county.

Sec. XIII. Provides for the collection of fines, imposed under this act, and the application of them to the use of the county.

This law is very suggestive, and gives us an insight of the character of the old prison, and of the treatment to which its inmates were subjected. The phrase employed in the first section—"the purposes of *private* and public justice cannot be answered thereby"—must attract notice by its singularity. Private justice must have referred to that privilege which was held or granted to the creditor of imprisoning his debtor—a privilege which was not withdrawn in this State until the year 18—, though long before that it had ceased to be enforced with rigor, and even before it was entirely abrogated, it had come to have but a nominal existence. "Private justice" may also have referred to the privilege possessed by the master of imprisoning his slave, for running away, insubordination, or other like offenses, or even for safe keeping.

Other expressions in this law indicate that prisoners were subjected to acts of inhumanity and cruelty, by reason of the narrow and restricted accommodations of the old building, and its insecurity. No doubt the persons confined were often compelled to submit to the indignity and suffering of being chained, for in the old levy lists there are many allowances to different persons for "ironing the prisoners." The cruelties of imprisonment and fetters were modified by the custom, introduced

apparently about this time, of sending persons convicted of petty offenses "to the wheelbarrow," that is to work upon the streets and roads.

By a supplementary act passed in 1797, Owen Kennard and David Kerr, Esqs., were placed on the commission for superintending the building, in the room of Saml. Sharp and Saml. Logan, deceased.

The cost of the building was settled by the law at one thousand pounds, Maryland currency, or \$2,666.66 in Federal money, a sum that might represent about 7000 dollars of the money of the present time; but an examination of the levy books shows that a much larger sum was paid by the county. The following levies for the new jail are on record:

1795	-	260	pounds
1796	-	248	"
1797	-	236	"
1798	-	224	"
1799	-	212	"
1800	-	200	"
1801	-	200	"
1804	-	166	" 10 shillings

in all - 1746 pounds 10 shillings

besides many small amounts levied for special purposes connected with the building.

By the supplementary "act for building a new gaol," (1797 chap. XXV) already referred to, the commissioners were authorized to sell the old jail and apply the money arising from such sale to the building of the new prison,

or otherwise to abate the old gaol, and apply the materials thereof towards the foundation or other parts of the new building; and after the sale or abatement of the old, and until the completion of the new,

it was declared to be lawful for the sheriff

to rent or hire one or more suitable apartments in the town of Easton for the legal confinement of persons.

There is no evidence that the old jail was sold; it is therefore probable it was "abated," and its materials incorporated in the new structure. This indicates, too, that the old jail was of *brick*. There is no certain evidence what house in the town was used for a jail, while the new one was building, but there is a tradition worthy of confidence that a house belonging to Solomon Corners, in whose tavern it will be recollected

the court was held while the Court House was in process of erection, was used at this time for prison purposes. It is said to have stood on the lot between the residences of Judge Goldsborough and Mr. Tharp, on Washington street. There is also an allowance in the levy list of 1801 to John Mullikin for the rent of a house used as a prison.

The commissioners were directed to build the new jail within the public square in the town of Easton. They selected, as we see by the building yet in use, the northwest corner of the square. The old jail stood upon the N. East corner, just opposite the brick hotel, as the writer was informed by the late Thomas C. Nicols, Esq., a gentleman very aged at time of his death, who recollected, as he said, to have played ball when a boy against the end of the old building.

It will be seen from an examination of the seventh section that the commissioners were requested to provide suitable apartments in the new structure for the comfortable accommodation of a jailer, who should be required to live within the prison. This provision too is based upon "justice and humanity." There is no doubt that in the old jail and by its keepers violence was made a substitute for strength of walls and vigilance of guards, in the securing the prisoners from escape; and doubtless too, there were outrages committed by the confined, one upon the other, in the absence of the jailer which would be prevented by his constant presence. This rule for the residence of the jailer, who is now either the sheriff himself or his deputy, within the prison walls is yet maintained, no doubt to the increased comfort of the confined and the improved police of the establishment. Samuel Swan was the first jailer under the law of 1794.

Finally, this law gives us another interesting feature of our civic countenance at the date of its passage, in the prohibition to the jailer of keeping an ordinary within the building or of selling liquor to the inmates. It used to be one of the most profitable of the perquisites of the keepers of the prisons, the furnishing to those confined, particularly those imprisoned for debt, better accommodations than those provided at the public expense, and the granting them indulgence in the use of intoxicating liquors. It would seem that the old keepers kept a bar either within the prison, or at some convenient spot near by, from which they derived an easily obtained income. This privilege was "abated" with the abatement of the old jail, doubtless to the great improvement of decency and order within the prison.

As far as the writer has been able to discover, there is no record of the date when the new jail was completed. Evidently no beginning

had been made upon the building when the supplementary law was passed in the fall of 1797, for by that law the commissioners were allowed to make use of the materials of the old jail in constructing the foundations of the new. In the levy list, made in January, 1801, there is an allowance to James Nabb for "criminal irons" and for "money advanced for the Gaol Door." In the same list is an allowance to John Mullikin, of thirty pounds for "rent of Gaol to January, 1802." As late as 1804, there was an allowance in the levy to Owen Kennard, Esq., one of the commissioners for building the jail, of One Hundred and sixty-six pounds ten shillings. From the various minutes it is safe to say the prison was not finally completed until the year last mentioned.

One of the humane provisions of the law for the erection of the jail was that for the building a wall around the yard, so that a certain class of prisoners might have privilege of fresh air and sunshine. This seems never to have been carried into execution, but it is to be hoped that it is not yet too late for us to perform that which was so beneficently conceived by our forefathers.

There was a pillory and stocks belonging to the jail, as we might suppose; even if the records of the county and the recollection of persons yet living did not confirm our suppositions. In 1797 an allowance was made in the levy to David Kerr and Tristram Bowdle, Esquires, Justices of the Peace, of twelve pounds and ten shillings for building a pillory. The writer has been informed by those who recollect this instrument, that it stood about where the smoke house of the jail now stands, that is in front and to the left or southeast of the building. It consisted of stocks for holding the head and hands, with a whipping post beneath. The punishment of colored people for petty offenses by whipping continued up to the time of emancipation. Among the minutes of Saint Michaels parish of 1824 there is entered the very proper protest of the vestry against the use of the trees standing in the church yard as whipping posts, for those condemned to that punishment.

THE STORY OF PERDITA

A ROMANCE OF COLONIAL TIMES IN TALBOT COUNTY.

In or about the year 1825 the Hon. Theodore Sedgwick, of Berkshire, Massachusetts, an enthusiastic agriculturist—and one of those singular political nondescripts, a democratic abolitionist—was visiting this county for the purpose of extending his acquaintance with the farmers of this region, then regarded as among the most intelligent and successful of the whole country, and also for the purpose of attending one of those annual cattle shows, which, at that period, it was the custom to hold in the town of Easton. He became the honored and honoring guest, at Plimhimmon, near Oxford, of Tench Tilghman, Esq., the father of the gentleman of that name yet living among us, to whom, it is proper to say, the writer is indebted for most of the facts related in this preface, and the appendix hereafter to appear. This Mr. Sedgwick, himself a distinguished author, was the brother of the yet more distinguished authoress, Miss Catherine Sedgwick, of Stockbridge, Mass., a lady to whom we all owe so much pleasure derived from her many delightful stories. While at Plimhimmon Mr. Tilghman related to Mr. Sedgwick the story of a young woman, a tradition of whose romantic adventures attached to that estate. In this story Mr. Sedgwick, true to the Yankee character of thriftiness, which is sure to discover advantages where others see only impediments, perceived the materials that could be used profitably by his sister, who, young as she was, had already given proof of her abilities in more than one literary adventure, and notably of late, in 1824, in a successful novel called "Redwood," which obtained the rare distinction for an American book at that time of being reproduced in England and of being translated into the French, Italian and Swedish languages. Upon his return home Mr. Sedgwick, who had treasured up the incidents, rehearsed the story, as he had received it from Mr. Tilghman to his sister, who at once, with the eye of the true literary artist, saw in the narrative materials almost ready formed for a romance, and immediately began to weave them, as no one knew better how, upon the loom of her fancy into the charming story of PERDITA.

At that date there was a literary fashion hardly yet gone out of publishing annuals—books with fanciful titles, printed in the highest

style of typography, bound with the greatest luxury, illustrated by engravings from the burins of the best masters of the graphic art, and not infrequently written by authors of the first distinction in prose and poetry. The story written by Miss Sedgwick, based upon the materials obtained by her brother in Talbot, was contributed to the *Atlantic Souvenir*—one of these annuals for the year 1827. Like every production that had come from the pen of this young authoress, it immediately attracted attention and won high commendation. If its literary excellence had not been sufficient to give it acceptance among the refined and cultured of our own county, its local references and personal allusions would of themselves have secured the interested perusal by our people of the story of Perdita. It has been repeatedly republished in the papers of this county, but it first appeared here in the columns of the *Gazette* of Dec. 16th and 23d, 1826. It has also been republished in various repertories of choice literature, the *New York Mirror*, for instance, which in its day, its early day at least, was regarded as an arbiter of literary merit. It is now again reproduced, that the present generation of our people may read and enjoy what was so relished by their fathers and mothers—a charming romance charmingly told, and one founded upon veritable incidents, part of which occurred within this county, and with people whose descendants remain to the present prosaic time.

It would probably impair the enjoyment of the story if there should be a statement made by the prying and tattling annalist of how much of it is entitled to credence, and how much must be put down to the invention of the romancist. For the present suffice it to say that as printed it contains enough of truth to satisfy all but those most exigent of facts, and enough of fancy to appease those who crave only “such stuff as dreams are made on.” The “round unvarnished tale” will be delivered at the end of this “strange eventful history.”

MODERN CHIVALRY

BY THE AUTHOR OF REDWOOD.

But when the hour of trouble comes to the mind or the body—and when the hour of death comes, that comes to high and low—Oh, my leddy, then it is'na what we hae dune for oursells, but what we hae dune for others, that we think on maist pleasantly.—*Heart of Midlothian*.

The assertion that a tale is founded on fact, is a pious fraud of story tellers, too stale to impose on any but the very young or very credulous.

We hope, therefore, not to be suspected of resorting to an expedient that would expose our poverty without relieving it, when we declare that the leading incidents of the following tale are true—that they form, in that district of the country where some of the circumstances transpired, a favourite and well authenticated tradition—and that our hero boasts with well-earned self-complacency, that there is no name better known than his from “Cape May to the head of Elk.” That name, however, honorable as it is, must be suppressed, and we here beg the possessor’s pardon for compelling him, for the first time in his life, to figure under false colours.

In the year 1763, an American vessel lying in the Thames and bound to Oxford, a small sea-port on the eastern shore of Maryland, was hailed by a boat containing a youth, who, on presenting himself to the captain, stated that he had a fancy for a sailor’s life, and offered his services for two years, on the simple condition of kind treatment. The captain, though himself a coarse, illiterate man, perceived in the air and language of the lad indications of good breeding, and deeming him some disobedient child, or possibly a runaway apprentice, declined receiving him. But William Herion, as he called himself, was so earnest in his solicitations, and engaging in his manners, and the captain, withal, in pressing need of a cabin-boy, that he waived his scruples, quieted his conscience with the old opiate that it was best not to be more nice than wise, and without inquiring too curiously into the boy’s right of self-disposal, drew up some indentures, by which he entitled himself to two years’ service.

The boy was observed for the first day to wear a troubled countenance. His eye glanced around with incessant restlessness, as if in eager search of some expected object. While the ship glided down the Thames he gazed on the shore as if he looked for some signal on which his life depended, and when she passed Gravesend, the last point of embarkation, he wept convulsively. The captain believed him to be disturbed with remorse of conscience; the sailors, that these heartbreakings were lingerings for his native land, and all hinted their rude consolations. Soothed by their friendly efforts, or by his own reflections, or perhaps following the current of youth that naturally flows to happiness, William soon became tranquil; and sometimes even gay. He kept, as the sailors said, on the fair weather side of the captain, a testy, self-willed old man, who loved but three things in the world—his song, his glass, and his own way.

All that has been fabled of the power of music over stones and brutes was surpassed by the effect of the lad’s melting voice on the icy heart of the captain, whom forty years of absolute power had rendered as despotic as a Turkish Pasha. When their old commander blew the stiffest gale, as the sailors were wont to term his blustering passions, Will could, they said, sing him into a calm. Will of course became a doting piece to the whole ship’s company. They said he was a trim built lad, too neat and delicate a piece of workmanship for the stormy sea. They laughed at his slender fingers, fitter to manage threads than ropes, passed many jokes upon his soft blue eyes and fair round cheeks, and in their rough language expressed Sir Toby’s prayer, that “Jupiter in his next commodity

of hair would send the boy a beard." In the main Will bore their jokes without flinching, and returned them with even measure, but sometimes when they verged to rudeness, his rising blush or a tear stealing from his downcast eye, expressed an instinctive and unsullied modesty, whose appeal touched the best feelings of these coarse men.

The ship made a prosperous voyage; and in due time arrived off the American coast. It is a common custom with sailors to greet the first sight of land with a sacrifice to Bacchus. The natural and legalized revel was as extravagant on this, as it usually is on similar occasions. The captain with unwonted good humor dealt out the liquor most liberally to the crew, and bade William sing them his best songs. Will obeyed, and song after song, and glass after glass carried them, as they said, far above high water mark. Their language and manners became intolerable to William, and he endeavored to steal away with the intention of hiding himself in the cabin till the revel was over. One of the sailors suspecting his design, caught him rudely and swore he would detain him in his arms. William struggled, freed himself, and darted down the companion way, the men following and shouting.

The captain stood at the entrance of the cabin door. William sunk down at his feet terrified and exhausted, and screaming "protect me—oh! for the love of heaven, protect me."

The captain demanded the occasion of the uproar, and ordered the men to stand back. They however, stimulated to reckless courage, and in sight of land, and independence, no longer feared his authority, and they swore that they would not be baulked in their frolic. Poor Will, already feeling their hands upon him, clung in terror to the captain, and one fear overcoming another, confessed that his masculine dress was a disguise, and wringing his hands with shame and anguish, supplicated protection as a helpless girl.

The sailors, touched with remorse and pity, retreated; but the brutal captain spurned the trembling supplicant with his foot, swearing a round oath that it was the first time he had been imposed on, and it should be the last. Unfortunately the old man, priding himself on his sagacity, was as confident of his own infallibility as the most devoted Catholic is of the Pope's. This was his last voyage, and after playing Sir Oracle for forty years—to have been palpably deceived—incontrovertibly outwitted by a girl of fifteen, was a mortification that his vanity could not brook. He swore he would have his revenge, and most strictly did he perform his vow. He possessed a plantation in the vicinity of Oxford; thither he conveyed the unhappy girl, and degraded her to the rank of a common servant among the negro slaves in his kitchen.

The captain's wrath was magnified by the stranger's persisting in refusing to disclose the motive of her deception, to reveal her family, or even to tell her name. Her new acquaintances were at a loss what to call her, till the captain's daughter, who had been on a visit to Philadelphia, and seen the *Winter's Tale* performed there, bestowed on her the pretty appellative of Hermione's lost child, Perdita.

The captain, a common case, was the severest sufferer by his own pas-

sions. His wife complained that his "venture," as she provokingly styled poor Perdita, was a useless burden on her household—a "fine lady born and bred, like feathers and flowers and French goods, pretty to look at, but fit for no use in the world. The captain's daughters, partly instigated by compassion, and partly by the striking contrast between the delicate graces of the stranger and their own buxom beauty, incessantly teased their father to send her back to her own country; and neighbors and acquaintances were forever letting fall some observation on the beauty of the girl, or some allusion to her story, that was as a spark of fire to the captain's gun-powder temper.

Weeks and months rolled heavily on without a dawn of hope to poor Perdita. She was too young and inexperienced herself to contrive any mode of relief, and no one was likely to undertake voluntarily the difficult enterprise of rescuing her from her thralldom. Her condition was thus forlorn, when her story came to the ears of Frank Stuart, a gallant young sailor on board the Hazard, a vessel lying in the stream off Oxford, and on the eve of sailing for Cowes in the Isle of Wight. Frank stood deservedly high in the confidence of his commander, and on Sunday, the day preceding that intended for the departure of the ship, he obtained leave to go on shore. His youthful imagination was excited by the story of the oppressed stranger, and he strolled along the beach in the direction of her master's plantation, in the hope of gratifying his curiosity by a glimpse of her. As he approached the house he perceived that the front blinds were closed, and inferring thence that the family were absent, he ventured without the bounds of the plantation, and saw at no great distance from him a young female sitting on a bench beneath a tree. She leaned her head against its trunk, with an air of dejectedness and abstraction, that encouraged the young man to hope he had already attained his object. As he approached nearer, the girl started from her musings and would have retreated to the house, but suddenly inspired by her beauty and youth with a resolution to devote himself to her service, he besought her to stop for one instant to listen to him. She turned and gazed at him as if she would have perused his heart. Frankness and truth were written on his face by the finger of heaven. She could not fear any impertinence from him, and farther assured by his respectful manner, when he added, "I have something particular to say to you—but we must luff and bear away, for we are in too plain sight of the look out there," and he pointed to the house—she smiled and followed him to a more secluded part of the grounds. As soon as he was sure of being beyond observation, "Do you wish," he asked with professional directness, "to return to old England."

She could not speak, but she clasped her hands, and the tears gushed like an opened fountain from her eyes—"you need not say any more, you need not say any more," he exclaimed, for he felt every fear to be a word spoken to his heart—"If you will trust me," he continued, "I swear, and so God help me as I speak the truth, I will treat you as if you were my sister. Our ship sails tomorrow morning at day light, make a

tight bundle of your rigging, and meet me at twelve o'clock tonight at the gate of the plantation. Will you trust me?"

"Heaven has sent you to me," replied the poor girl, her face brightening with hope, "and I will not fear to trust you."

They then separated—Perdita to make her few preparations and Frank to contrive the means of executing his romantic enterprise.

Precisely at the appointed hour the parties met at the place of rendezvous. Perdita was better furnished for her voyage than could have been anticipated, from the duration she had suffered. A short notice and a scant wardrobe, were never known to oppose an obstacle to a heroine's compassing sea and land, but as we have dispensed with the facilities of fiction, we are bound to account for Perdita's being in possession of the necessaries of life, and it is due to the captain's daughter to state that her feminine sympathy had moved her from time to time to grant generous supplies to Perdita, which our heroine did not fail to acknowledge on going away, by a letter enclosing a valuable ring.

A few whispered sentences of caution, assurance and gratitude, were reciprocated by Frank and Perdita, as they bent their hasty steps to the landing place where he had left his boat; and when he had handed her into it, and pushed from the shore on to his own element, he felt the value of the trust which this beautiful young creature had reposed in him. Never in the days of knightly deeds was there a sentiment of purer chivalry than that which inspired the determined resolution and romantic devotion of the young sailor. He was scarcely twenty, the age of fearless project and self-confidence. How soon is the one checked by disappointments—the other humbled by experience of the infirmity of human virtue!

Stuart had not confided his designs to any of his shipmates. He was therefore obliged warily to approach the ship, and to get on board with the least possible noise. He had just time to secrete Perdita amidst bales of tobacco in the darkest place in the hold of the vessel, when a call of 'all hands on deck,' summoned him to duty. He was foremost at his post, and all was stir and bustle to get the vessel under way. The sails were hoisted—the anchor weighed, and all in readiness, when a signal was heard from the shore, and presently a boat filled with men seen approaching. The men proved to be Perdita's master, a sheriff, and his attendants. They produced a warrant empowering them to search the vessel. The old captain affirmed that the girl had been seen on the preceding day talking with a young spark, who was known to have come on shore from the Hazard. In his fury he foamed at the mouth, swore he would have the runaway dead or alive, and that her aider and abettor should be given over to condign punishment. The master of the Hazard declared that if any of his men were found guilty he would resign them to the dealings of land law, and to prove that if there were a plot, he was quite innocent, he not only freely abandoned his vessel to the search, but himself was most diligent in the inquest. The men were called up, confronted and examined; not one appeared

more cool and unconcerned than Frank Stuart, and after every inquiry, after ransacking as they believed every possible place of concealment, the pursuers were compelled to withdraw, baffled and disappointed.

The vessel proceeded on her voyage. Frank requested the Captain's permission to swing a hammock alongside his berth on the pretence that the berth was rendered damp and unwholesome by a leak in the deck above it. This reasonable petition was of course granted, and when night had closed watchful eyes, and dropped her friendly veil, so essential to the clandestine enterprises of the most ingenious, Frank rescued Perdita from a position, in which she had suffered not only the inconveniences, but the terrors of an African slave; and wrapping her in his own dreadnaught, and drawing his watchcap over her bright luxuriant hair, he conducted her past the open door of the captains' stateroom, and past his sleeping companions, to his own berth; then whispering to her that she was as safe as a ship in harbour, he gave her some bread and a glass of wine, for which he had bartered his allowance of spirits, and laid himself down in his own hammock to the companionship of such thoughts as are ministering angels about the pillow of the virtuous.

The following day a storm arose—a storm still remembered as the most terrible and disastrous that ever occurred in Chesapeake Bay. There were several passengers of consequence on board the Hazard, among others two deacons who were going to the mother country to receive orders—for then, we of the colonies, who have since taken all rights into our own hands, dared not exercise the rights God has given us, without the assent of the Lords Bishops. Night comes on, the storm increased, and then, when the ship was in extremity, when death howled in every blast, when "the timid shrieked and the brave stood still"—then was the unwearied activity, the exhaustless invention and unconquerable resolution of Frank Stuart, the last human support and help of the unhappy crew. The master of the Hazard was advanced in life, and unnerved by the usual feebleness and timidity of age. He had but just enough presence of mind left to estimate the masterly conduct of young Stuart, and he abandoned the command of the vessel to him, and retired to what is too often only a last resource—to prayers with the churchmen.

Once or twice Stuart disappeared from the deck, ran to whisper a word of encouragement to his trembling charge, and then returned with renewed vigor to his duty. Owing, under Providence, to his exertions, the Hazard rode out a storm which filled the seaman's annals with many a tale of terror. Gratitude is too apt to rest in second causes, in the visible means of deliverance, and perhaps an undue portion was now felt towards the intrepid youth. The passengers lavished their favours on him—they supplied his meals with the most delicate wines and fruits, and the choicest viands from their own stores; he with the superstition characteristic of his profession, firmly believed that heaven had sent the storm to unlock their hearts to him, and thus afford him the means of furnishing Perdita with the dainties suited to her delicate appetite, so

that she fared, as he afterwards boasted, like the daughter of a king in her father's palace.

Stuart was kept in a state of perpetual alarm by the mate of the vessel. He knew that this fellow, one of those imbeciles that bent like a reed before a strong blast had been hostile to him ever since the storm, when the accidental superiority of his station had been compelled to bow to Frank's superior genius. He was aware that the mate had, by malicious insinuations, estranged the captain from him, and he was but too certain that he should have nothing to hope, if his secret was discovered by this base man. Perhaps this apprehension gave him an air of unwonted constraint in the presence of his enemy; certain it is, the mate's eye often rested on him with an expression of eager watchfulness and suspicion, and Stuart, perceiving it, would contract his brow and compress his lips, in a way that betrayed how hard he strove with his rising passion. The difficulty of concealment was daily increasing, as one after another of his messmates, either from some inevitable accident, or from a communication becoming necessary on his part, obtained possession of his secret. But his ascendancy over them was complete, and by threats or persuasions, he induced them all to promise inviolable secrecy. There is an authority in a determined spirit, to which men naturally do homage. It is heaven's own charter of a power to which none can refuse submission.

Frank never permitted his comrades to approach Perdita, or to speak a word to her; but in the depths of the night when the mate's and the old captain's senses were locked in sleep, he would bring her forth to breath the fresh air. Seated on the gunwale, she would bestow on him the only reward in her gift—the treasures of her sweet voice, and Frank said the winds sat still in the sails to listen. There were times when not a human sound was heard in the ship, when these two beings, borne gently by the tides in mid ocean, felt as if they were alone in the universe.

It was at such times that Frank felt an irrepressible curiosity to know something more of the mysterious history of Perdita, whose destiny heaven, he believed, had committed to his honour, and once he ventured to introduce the topic nearest his heart by saying, "you bade me call you Perdita, but I do not like the name; it puts me too much in mind of those rodomontade novels, that turn the girls' heads and set them a-sailing, as it were, without chart or compass in quest of unknown worlds." He hesitated; it was evident he had taken himself to a figure, to avoid an explicit declaration of his wishes—after a moment's pause he added, "it suits me best to be plain-spoken—it is not the name that I object to so much, but—but, hang it—I think you know Frank Stuart well enough to trust him with your real name."

The unhappy girl cast down her eyes, and said that Perdita suited her better than any other name.

"Then you will not trust me?"

"Say not so, my noble, generous friend," she exclaimed, "trust you! have I not trusted you! you know that I would trust you with anything that was my own, but my name, I have forfeited by my folly."

"Oh no, that you shall not say, a brave ship is not run down with a light breeze, and a single folly of a young girl cannot sink a good name—a folly!" he continued thus indirectly pushing his enquiries, "if it is a folly, it's a common one—there's many a stouter heart than yours that's tried to face a gale of love, and been obliged to bear about and scud before the wind."

"Who told you?—how did you discover?" demanded Perdita in a hurried, alarmed manner.

Frank's generous temper disdained to surprise the unwary girl into confidence, and he immediately surrendered the advantage he had gained. "Nobody has told me," he said, "I have discovered nothing—I only guessed, as the Yankees say—now wipe away your tears, the sea wants no more salt water, and believe me Frank Stuart has not such a woman's spirit in him, that he cannot rest content without knowing a secret."

In spite of Frank's manly resolution he did afterwards repeatedly intimate the longings of his curiosity, but they were always met with such unaffected distress on the part of Perdita, that he said he had not the heart to press them.

As the termination of the voyage approached, Stuart became more intently anxious lest his secret should be discovered. The mildest consequences would be that he should forfeit his wages—that he cared not for. Like Goldsmith's poor soldier, he could lie on a bare board, and thank God he was so well off. "While he had youth and health," he said, "and there was a ship afloat on the wide sea, he was provided for." But his companions who had been true to him might forfeit their pay; for, by their fidelity to him, they had in some measure become his accessories. But he feared consolation even under this apprehension; "the honest lads," he said, "would soon make a full purse empty, but the memory of a good action was a treasure gold could not buy—a treasure that would stick by them forever—a treasure for the port of heaven." There was, however, one apprehended evil, for which his philosophy offered no antidote.

He was sure the captain would deem it his duty or make it his will (even Frank's slight knowledge of human nature told him that will and duty were too often convertible terms), to return the fugitive to her so-called master in Maryland. Nothing could exceed the vigilance with which he watched every movement and turn that threatened a detection, or the ingenuity with which he evaded every circumstance that tended to it—but alas! the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.

One night, when it was blowing a gale a particular rope was wanted, which the mate remembered to have stowed away in the steerage. Frank eagerly offered to search for it, but the mate was certain that no one but himself could find it, and taking a lantern, he went in quest of it, Frank followed him with fear and trembling. He has since been in many a desperate sea-fight, but he declares he never felt so much like a coward as at that moment. The mate's irritable humour had been

somewhat stirred by Frank's persisting in his offer to go for the rope, and when he turned and saw him at his heels he asked him, angrily, what he was dogging him for? "The ship rolls so heavily," replied Frank in a subdued tone, "that I thought you might want me to hold the lantern for you." Frank's unwonted meekness quite conciliated the mate, and though he rejoined, "I think I have been used to the rolling of a ship a little longer than you, young man," he spoke good-naturedly, and Frank ventured to proceed.

Most fortunate as Frank thought, the mate directed his steps to the side of the ship opposite Perdita, but making a little circuit in his return, he paused between Frank's hammock and Perdita's berth. At this moment the poor lad's heart, as he afterwards averred, stopped beating. The ship rolled on that side, and the mate catching hold of the berth to save himself from falling, exclaimed. "In heaven's name what lazy devil is there, when every hand is wanted on deck," and raising his lantern to identify the supposed delinquent sailor, he discovered the beautiful girl. For a moment he was dumb with amazement, but soon recalling the search at Oxford, the whole truth flashed upon him; he turned to Frank and shaking his fist in his face, "Ah, this is you, Stuart!" he said, and enforced his gesture with a horrible oath.

"Yes," retorted Frank, now standing boldly forth, "it is me, thank God," and then drawing a curtain that he had arranged before Perdita's berth, he bade her fear nothing.

"Oh, Frank," she exclaimed, "I cannot fear where you are." This involuntary expression of confidence went to her protector's heart. There is no man so dead to sentiment, as not to be touched by the trust of woman, especially if she be young and beautiful. Frank was at that age when sentiment is absolute, and he was resolved to secure his treasure at any hazard. Perdita's declaration, while it stimulated his zeal, awakened the mean jealousies of the mate.

"And so my pretty miss," he said, "you fear nothing where this fellow is—I can tell you, for all that he may boast, and you may believe he is neither master nor mate yet, and please the Lord I'll prove as much for him this very night."

"And how will you prove it?" asked Stuart in a voice which, though as calm as he could make it, resembled the low growl of a bulldog before he springs on his victim.

"I'll prove it, my lad, by telling the whole story of the smuggled goods to the captain. A pretty piece of work this, to be carrying under the nose of your officers. It's no better than mutiny, for I'll warrant it the whole ship's crew are leagued with you."

Stuart reined in his passions, and condescended to expostulate. He represented to the mate that he could gain nothing by giving information to the captain. He described with his simple eloquence the oppression the poor girl had already suffered; the cruelty of disappointing her present hopes, just as they were on the point of being realized, for the ship was not more than 24 hours sail from Cowes; he appealed to his compassion, his generosity, his manliness, but in vain, he found no

assailable point. The mean pride of having discovered the secret, and the pleasure of humbling Stuart, mastered every good feeling of the mate, if indeed he possessed any, and he turned away, saying with a sort of chuckling exultation that he should go and do his duty.

"Stop," cried Frank, grasping his arm with a grip that threatened to crush it. "Stop and hear me—I swear by Him that made me, if you dare so much as to hint by word, look or movement, the secret you have discovered here, you shall not cumber the earth another day; day, said I, no, not an hour, I'll send you to the devil as swift as a cannon ball ever went to the mark. Look," he continued, tearing away the curtain he had just drawn before Perdita, "could any thing short of the malice of Satan himself contrive to harm such helpless innocence as that—do you hear me," he added in a voice that out roared the storm, "in God's name look at me, and see I am in earnest."

The mate had no doubt to satisfy, he trembled like an aspen leaf, in vain he essayed to raise his eyes, the passion that glanced in Frank's face, and dilated his whole figure, affected the trembling wretch like a stroke of the sun. He reeled in Frank's iron grasp, his abject fear changed Stuart's wrath to contempt and giving him an impulse that sent him quite out of the door, he returned to soothe Perdita with the assurance that they had nothing to fear from the "cowardly dog." She was confounded with terror, but much more frightened by the vehemence of Stuart's passion than by the threats of the mate. She had always seen her protector move like an unobstructed stream along its course, in calm and silent power. Now he was the torrent, that no human force could control or direct.

She saw before her calamities far worse than any she had endured. She believed that the mate, as soon as he was recovered from his paroxysm of terror, would communicate his discovery. She apprehended the most fatal issue from Frank's threats and determined resolution, and the possibility that his generous zeal for her might involve him in crime, was intolerable to her. Such thoughts do not become less terrible by solitary meditation—in the solemnity of night, and amidst the howling of a storm. Every blast spoke reproach and warning to Perdita; and tortured by those harpies remorse and fear, she took a sudden resolution to reveal herself to the captain, feeling at the moment that if she warded off evil from her protector, she could patiently hide the worst consequences to herself. She sprang from her berth, as if afraid of being checked in a second thought, and rushed from the steerage to the cabin. All was perfect stillness there—the passengers had retired to their beds. The captain was sitting by the table; he had been reading, but his book had fallen to the floor, his head had sunk on his breast, and he was in a profound sleep. The light shone full on his weather-beaten face—on large uncouth features—on lines deepened to furrows—and muscles stiffened by time. Never was there an aspect more discouraging to one who needed mercy, and poor Perdita stood trembling before him, and close to him, and dared not, could not, speak. She heard a foot-step approaching, and still her tongue was glued to the roof of her

mouth. Then she heard her name pronounced in a low whisper at the cabin door, and turning, she saw Stuart there beckoning most earnestly to her. She shook her head, signed to him to withdraw, and laid her hand on the captain's shoulder. There was but one way to thwart her intentions, and Frank's was not a hesitating spirit, he sprang forward, caught her in his arms, and before the old man had rubbed his eyes fairly open, Perdita was again safe in the steerage.

Stuart's threats produced the intended effect on the mate; he was completely intimidated. He scarcely ventured out of Frank's sight lest he should incur his dangerous suspicions, and the next day the vessel, accelerated by the gale of the preceding evening, arrived at Cowes. The captain and mate immediately landed, and Stuart, no longer embarrassed by their presence, was able to take the necessary measures for Perdita. She assured him that if once conveyed to the mainland, to Portsmouth or Southampton, she could herself take the coach to London, and there, she said, happiness or misery awaited her, which her noble protector could neither promote nor avert.

A wherry was procured. Before Perdita was transferred to it, she took leave of all the sailors, shook hands with each of them, and expressed to them individually, her gratitude and good wishes. Her words conveyed nothing but a sense of obligation, but there was something of condescension in her manner, and much of the grace of high station, that contrasted strikingly with the abased, fearful and shrinking air of the girl who had till then only been seen gliding like a spectre along the deck, attended by Stuart, and veiled by the shadows of night. As the wherry parted from the ship, she bowed her head, waved her handkerchief to Frank's shipmates, and they returned her salutation with three loud cheers.

Stuart attended her to an Inn at Portsmouth, engaged her a seat in the London coach, and then followed her to a private apartment, which he had secured, to bid her farewell.

Perdita, from the moment she had felt her emancipation from a degrading condition, and the joy of again setting her foot on her native land, had manifested perhaps, an undue elation of spirits, an elation so opposite to Frank's feelings that to him it was a grating discord; but when she saw him for the last time, every other emotion gave place to unfeigned sorrow and inexpressible gratitude.

Stuart laid a purse on the table beside her. "My shipmates," he said, "receive their wages tomorrow, so they have been right glad to make their pockets clear of the little trash that was in them which may be of service to you, though it is of no use to them."

"Oh, Frank!" she exclaimed, "if I should ever have anything in my gift—if I could but reward you for all you have done for me!"

All the blood in Frank's heart rushed to his face, and he said in a voice almost inarticulate with offended pride, "there are services that money cannot buy, and thank God, there are feelings in a poor man's breast worth more than all the gold in the king's coffers."

"Oh, what have I said," exclaimed Perdita, "I would rather die—

rather return to the depth of misery from which you rescued me—yes, ten times told, than to speak one word that should offend you to whom I owe everything—my life—and more than life. I did not say—I did not think, that money could reward you.”

“Do not speak that word again,” said Frank, half ashamed of his pride, and half glorying in it. “Reward! I want none but your safety and the blessed memory of having done my duty. Money—ho! I care no more for it than for the dust I tread upon.”

“I know it—I am sure of it,” cried Perdita, humbled for the moment by a sense of an elevation of soul in Frank, that exalted him far above any accidents of birth or education. “Frank, you are rich in everything that is good and noble—and what am I, to talk of reward—poor—poor in everything but gratitude to you, Frank—I am not poor in that—you must not then despise me, and you will not forget me—and you will keep this ring for my sake.”

Frank took the ring, and the lily hand she extended to him—his tears fell fast upon it—he struggled for a moment with his feelings, then dashed away his tears, and half articulating “God bless you!” he hurried out of the apartment, thus separating himself from the beautiful young creature for whom he had performed a most difficult service with religious fidelity; and of whose name even, he was forever to remain in ignorance.

The enterprising talent of Stuart ensured its appropriate reward. In one year from the memorable voyage before related, he commanded a vessel, and on the breaking out of the revolutionary war, he devoted himself to his country’s cause, with the fervent zeal which characterized and consecrated that cause which made the common interest a matter of feeling—a family affair to each individual.

Stuart commanded an armed merchantman, and disputes with the noted Paul Jones the honor of having first struck down the British flag. However this may be, he was distinguished for his skill and intrepidity, and above all (and this distinction endures when the most brilliant achievements have become insignificant), for his humanity to those whom the fortunes of war cast in his power.

While on a cruise off the West Indies, Stuart intercepted an enemy’s ship bound to Antigua. His adversary was far superior to him in men and guns, but as it did not comport with Stuart’s bold spirit to make any very nice calculations of an enemy’s superiority, he prepared unhesitatingly for action. The contest was a very severe one, and the victory long doubtful, but at last the British captain struck his colours. Though we certainly are disposed to render all honour to the skill of our hero, yet we dare not claim for him the whole merit of his success, but rather solve the mystery of victory at such odds, by quoting the expression of a patriotic English boy, who said on a similar occasion, “Ah, but the Americans would not have beaten, if the Lord had not been on their side.”

After the fight, the English commander requested an interview with Captain Stuart; informed him that the wife and mother of the governor of Antigua were on board his vessel and that they were almost

distracted with terror; he entreated, therefore, that they might be received with the humanity which their sex demanded, and the deference always due to high station, he held that all God's creatures, who feared their Creator and did their duty, were on a dead level, and as to the duties of humanity, he trusted no American captain need go further than his own heart for instructions how to perform them. The British captain was ignorant of the spirit of the times, and arguing nothing favourable from Stuart's republican reply, he returned with a heavy heart to the ladies to conduct them on board the captor's ship. The elder lady, the mother, was a woman of rank, with all the pride and prejudice of high birth. The Americans she deemed all of that then much despised order—the common people; rebels and robbers were the best names she bestowed on them and in the honesty of her ignorance she sincerely believed that she had fallen into the hands of pirates. The younger lady, though deeply affected by their disastrous situation, endeavored to calm her mother's apprehensions, and assured her that she had heard there were men of distinguished humanity among the American sailors. The old lady shook her head incredulously. "Oh, heaven help us," she groaned, "what can we expect from such horrid fellows, when they know they have Lady Strangford and the Right Honourable Mrs. Liston in their power, and your beauty, Selina! your beauty, child! is a fatal treasure to fall among thieves with, depend on't; arrange your veil so that it will hang in thick folds over your face, I will draw my hood close." The precaution on her part seemed quite superfluous, but the young lady obscured some of heaven's cunningest workmanship with her impervious veil.

The servants were ordered to deliver the ladies' baggage to the American captain, with the request that some necessaries might be reserved. Stuart answered that he interfered with no private property, and that all the baggage of the ladies remained at their disposal.

Lady Strangford was somewhat reassured by this generosity, and attended by her captain and followed by her daughter and servants, she proceeded to Stuart's ship. Stuart advanced to meet them and offered her his hand, she proudly declined it and passed silently on. A gust of wind blew back her hood—"Faith!" exclaimed one of the sailors who observed the scrupulosity with which she replaced it, "the old lady had best show her face, for I'm sure we'll all give a good berth to such an iron bound coast as that." But as the same breeze blew aside the young lady's veil, there was a general murmur of admiration. She had at the moment graciously accepted the tender of Stuart's hand in the hope of counteracting the impression of her mother's rudeness, and when her veil was removed he had a full view of her face; conscious that many were gazing on her, she blushed deeply, and hastily readjusted it without raising her eyes. Stuart dropped her hand, smothered an exclamation, and retreated a few paces, leaving her to follow her mother alone.

One of the officers observing his emotion, said, "How is this captain? you don't wink at a broadside, and yet you start at one flash from a lady's bright face."

"I got a scratch on my right arm in the engagement," returned Stuart, evading his raillery, "and the lady's touch gave me a pang."

He then retired to his state room, and wrote the following note, which he directed to be delivered to the young lady:—"Capt. Stuart's compliments to the ladies under his protection—he incloses a ring once bestowed on him in acknowledgment of honorable conduct, as a pledge to them that the hand that has worn such a badge shall never be sullied by a bad deed. Captain Stuart will proceed immediately to Antigua conveying the ladies with the least possible delay to their destined port." Such a communication to prisoners of war, might naturally excite emotion in a generous bosom, but it did not account for the excess of it manifested by the young lady. She became pale and faint, and when her mother alarmed at such a demonstration of feeling, took up the note, she caught it from her and then after a second thought relinquished it to her.

"I see nothing in this, Selina," said the old lady, after perusing and reperusing it, "to throw you into such a flurry; but you are young and are thinking no doubt of getting home to your husband and children, young people's feelings are, like soft wax, easily melted."

"There is a warmth in some kindness," rejoined the daughter earnestly, "that ought to melt the hardest substances."

"Really, I do not see anything so very striking in this man's civility. It would be of course, you know, in the British navy; politeness and all that sort of thing being inborn in an Englishman, but it may be, indeed I fancy it is quite unheard of in an American."

"Shall I write our acknowledgments, madam, to Captain Stuart?" asked the young lady with evident solicitude to stop the conversation.

"Certainly, certainly my dear Selina, always be ceremoniously polite with your inferiors."

"Madam, I think this noble Captain," she would have added, "has no superiors," but afraid of further discussion she concluded her sentence with the tame addition, "richly deserves our thanks."

She then wrote the following note:—"Mrs. Liston in behalf of her mother-in-law, Lady Strangford, and on her own part, offers her warmest thanks to Captain Stuart, the ladies esteem it heaven's peculiar mercy that Captain Stuart is their captor. They have already had such experience of his magnanimity, as to render them perfectly tranquil in reposing their safety and happiness on his honour." The ring, without any allusion to it, was re-inclosed.

When Captain Stuart had perused the note, he inquired if the lady had not requested to speak with him. He was answered that so far from intimating such a wish, she had said to her mother that she should remain in her state-room till she was summoned to leave Captain Stuart's vessel. The Captain looked extremely chagrined, he knit his brows, and bit his lips, and gave his orders hastily, with the usual sea expletives appended to them—"a sure sign," his men said, "that something went wrong with the captain," but these signs of repressed emotion were all the expression he allowed to his offended pride, or perhaps his better feelings. The ladies were scrupulously served, and every deferential

attention paid to them that Lady Strangford would have anticipated in the best disciplined ship in his majesty's service.

A few day's sail brought the schooner to the port of Antigua. She entered the harbor under a flag of truce and remained there just time enough for the disembarkation of the ladies and their suite. During this ceremony the captain remained in his berth under a pretext of a violent headache but it was observed that they were no sooner fairly off than he was on deck again moving about with an activity and even impetuosity that seemed quite incompatible with a debilitating malady.

Captain Stuart continued for some months a fortunate cruise about the West India islands. His was not the prudent maxim that "discretion is the better part of valour," but when valour would have been bootless he knew how to employ the alternative and his little schooner was celebrated as the most desperate fighter and the swiftest sailer in those seas, and her captain became so formidable that the English admiral off that station gave orders that the schooner should be followed and destroyed at all hazards.

Soon after this he was pursued by a ship of the line and compelled to take refuge in the harbour of St. Kitts, a French and of course a friendly port to the American flag. Here he anchored his vessel, and deeming himself perfectly secure, and wearied with hard duty, he retired to his berth after setting a watch, and dismissing his crew to repose. In the middle of the night he was alarmed by an attack from the pursuing frigate, which had contrived to elude the vigilance of the fort that guarded the entrance of the harbour, and was already in such a position in relation to him as to cut off every possibility of escape. His spirit, far from quailing, was exasperated by the surprise; he fought as the most courageous animals fight at bay. To increase the horror of his situation, the commander of the fort, from some fatal mistake, opened a fire upon him. He was boarded on all sides by boats manned with eighty-four men. We are too ignorant of such matters, and too peaceably inclined to give any interest to the particulars of a sea-fight. Suffice it to say, that our hero did not surrender till he was himself disabled by wounds, his little band cut down and his schooner a wreck. When the British commander ascertained the actual force with which he had contended, his pride was stung with a consciousness that a victory so dearly bought, had all of defeat but the disgraceful name; and, incapable of that sympathy which a magnanimous spirit always feels with a noble captive, he arraigned Captain Stuart before him as a criminal and demanded of him how he dared against the law of nations to defend an indefensible vessel.

"Did you think," retorted Stuart with cold contempt, "that I had gunpowder and would not burn it? do you talk to me of the law of nations! I fight after the law of nature that teaches me to spend the last kernel of powder, and the last drop of blood in my country's service." His conqueror's temper heated before, was inflamed by Stuart's reply. He ordered him to be manacled and put in close confinement. This conduct may appear extraordinary in the commander of a British frigate,

but the English in their contest with the colonies were not always governed by these generous principles, by which they have themselves so much alleviated the miseries of war. A defeated American was treated as a lawful enemy, or a rebel, as suited the individual temper of the conqueror.

The frigate was so much injured in the fight as to render a refit necessary, and her commander sailed with his prize for Antigua.

Stuart well knew that his fidelity to his country rendered him obnoxious to the severest judgment from the admiralty court and though he might plead the services he had rendered the ladies of the governor's family in mitigation of his sentence he proudly resolved never to advert to favours which he had reason to believe had been lightly estimated.

Spirits most magnanimous in prosperity are often most lofty in adversity. Frank Stuart, mutilated by wounds, dejected by the fatal calamities of his faithful crew, irritated by the indignities heaped upon him by his unworthy captor, and stung by secret thoughts of some real or fancied injury—chafed and overburthened with many griefs, received and sullenly obeyed a summons to the presence of the governor. It cannot be denied, that reluctantly as he appeared before the governor, he surveyed him at his introduction with a look of keen curiosity. He was surprised to see a man rather past his prime, though not yet declined into the vale of years. With generous allowance for the effect of a tropical climate, he might not have been more than forty-five. His physiognomy was agreeable, and his deportment gentlemanly. He received Captain Stuart with far more courtesy than was often vouchsafed from an officer of the crown, to one who fought under the rebel banner, and remarking that he looked pale and sick, he begged him to be seated.

Stuart declined the civility, and continued resting on a crutch, which a severe wound in his leg rendered necessary.

"You are the commander of the schooner Betsy?" said the governor.

"What's left of her," returned Stuart.

"You appear to be severely wounded," continued the governor.

"Hacked to pieces," rejoined Stuart, in a manner suited to the brevity of his reply.

"Your name, I believe, is Frank Stuart?"

"I have no reason to deny the name, thank God."

"And, thank God, I have reason to bless and honour it," exclaimed the governor, advancing and grasping Frank's hand heartily. "What metal did you deem me of, my noble friend, that I should forget such favours as you have conferred on me in the persons of my wife and mother."

"I have known greater favours than those forgotten," said Frank, and the sudden illumination of his pale face, showed how deeply he felt what he uttered.

"Say you so!" exclaimed the governor, with good humored warmth, "well, but that I am too poor to pay my own debts to you, I should count it a pleasure to assume those of all my species—but heaven grant, my friend, that you do not allude to my wife and mother. I blamed

them much for not bringing you on shore with them—but my mother is somewhat over punctilious, and my wife, poor soul! her nerves are so shattered by that sea fight, that she is but now herself again. On my word, so far from wanting gratitude to you, she never hears an allusion to you without tears, the language women deal in when words are too cold for them. But come," concluded the governor, for he found that all his efforts did but add to Stuart's evident distress, "come, follow me to the drawing-room, the ladies will themselves convince you how impatient they have been to welcome you."

"Are they apprised," asked Stuart, still hesitating and holding back, "whom they are to see?"

"That they are—my mother is as much delighted as if his majesty were in waiting, and my wife is weeping with joy."

"Perhaps," said Stuart, still hesitating, "she would rather not see me now."

"Nonsense, my good friend, come along. It is not for a brave fellow like you to shrink from a few friendly tears from a woman's eye."

Nothing more could be urged, and Stuart followed Governor Liston to the presence of the ladies. Lady Strangford rose and offered him her hand with the most condescending kindness. Mrs. Liston rose too, but did not advance till her husband said, "Come, Selina, speak your welcome to our benefactor—he may misinterpret this expression of your feelings."

"Oh, no," she said, now advancing eagerly, and fixing her eye on Stuart, while her cheeks, neck and brow were suffused with crimson, "Oh, no, Captain Stuart knows how deeply I must feel benefits, which none but he that bestowed them could forget or undervalue."

"It was a rule my mother taught me," replied Frank, with bluntness, softened however by a sudden gleam of pleasure, "that givers should not have better memories than receivers." There was a meaning in his honest phrase hidden from two of his auditors, but quite intelligible to her for whom it was designed, and to our readers, who have doubtless already anticipated that the Honourable Mrs. Liston was none other than the fugitive Perdita. A sudden change of color showed that she felt acutely Stuart's keen though veiled reproach.

"A benefit," she replied, still speaking in a double sense, "such as I have received from you, Captain Stuart, may be too deeply felt to be acknowledged by words, now heaven has given us the opportunity of deeds, and you shall find that my gratitude is only inferior to your merit." Stuart was more accustomed to embody his feelings in actions than in speech, and he remained silent. He felt as if he were the sport of a dream, when he looked on the transformed Perdita. He knew not why, but invested as she now was, with all the power of wealth and the elegance of fashion, he felt not half the awe of her, as when in her helplessness and dependence, "he had fenced her round with many a spell," wrought by youthful and chivalric feeling.

He perceived, in spite of Mrs. Liston's efforts, that his presence was embarrassing to her, and he would have taken leave, but the governor

insisted peremptorily to his remaining to dine with him. Then saying, that he had indispensable business to transact, and must be absent for a half hour, he would, he said, leave the ladies to a free expression of their feelings.'

When he was gone, Mrs. Liston said to her mother, "I do not think your little favourite, Francis, is quite well today, will you have the goodness to look in upon him and give nurse some advice." The old lady went without reluctance, as most people do to give advice, and Mrs. Liston turned to Stuart and said, "I gave my boy your name, with a prayer that God would give him your spirit. Do not, oh, do not think me," she continued, her lip quivering with emotion, "the ungrateful wretch I have appeared. I am condemned to silence by the pride of another. My heart rebels, but I am bound to keep that a secret which my feelings prompt me to publish to the world." Stuart would have spoken, but she anticipated him: "Listen to me without interruption," she said, "my story is my only apology, and I have but brief space to tell it in. It was love, as you once guessed, that led me to that mad voyage to America. I had a silly passion for a young Virginian, who had been sent to England for his education—he was nineteen, I fifteen, when we promised to meet on board the ship which conveyed me to America. His purpose, but not his concert with me was discovered, and he was detained in England. You know all the events of my enterprise. I left a letter for my father, informing him that I had determined to abandon England, but I gave him not the slightest clue to my real designs. I was an only, and as you will readily believe, a spoiled child. My mother was not living, and my father, hoping that I should soon return, and wishing to veil my folly, gave out that he had sent me to a boarding-school on the continent, and himself retired to Switzerland. When I arrived in London, I obtained his address and followed him. He immediately received me to apparent favour, but never restored me to his confidence. His heart was hardened by my childish folly, and though I recounted to him all my sufferings, I never drew a tear from him; but when I spoke of you, and dwelt on the particulars of your goodness to me, his eye would moisten, and he would exclaim, 'God bless the lad.' I must be brief," she continued, casting her eye apprehensively at the door, "Mr. Liston came with his mother to Geneva, where we resided; he addressed me—my father favoured his suit, and though he is, as you perceive, much older than myself, I consented to marry him, but not, as I told my father, till I had unfolded my history to him. My father was incensed at what he called my folly—he treated me harshly—I was subdued, and our contest ended in my solemnly swearing never to divulge the secret, on the preservation of which he fancied the honour of his proud name to depend."

"Thank God," then exclaimed Frank, with a burst of honest feeling, "it was not your pride, cursed pride, and I may still think of Perdita as a true tender-hearted girl; it was a pleasant spot in my memory," he continued, dashing away a tear, "and I hated to have it crossed with a black line."

Mrs. Liston improved all that remained of her mother's absence in detailing some particulars, not necessary to relate, by which it appeared that notwithstanding she had dispensed with the article of love in her marriage (we crave mercy of our fair young readers), her husband's virtue and indulgence had matured a sentiment of affection, if not as romantic, yet quite as safe and enduring as a youthful passion. She assured Stuart that she regarded him as the means of all her happiness. "Not a day passes," she said, raising her beautiful eyes to heaven, "that I do not remember my generous deliverer, where alone I am permitted to speak of him." The old lady now rejoined them, bringing her grandchild in her arms. Frank threw down his crutch, forgot his wounds, and permitted his full heart to flow out in the caresses he lavished on his little namesake.

The governor redeemed Stuart's schooner, and made such representations before the admiralty court of Stuart's merits, and the ill treatment he had received from the commander of the frigate, that the court ordered the schooner to be refitted and equipped and permitted to proceed to sea at the pleasure of Captain Stuart. He remained for several days domesticated in the governor's family, and treated by every member of it with a frank cordiality suited to his temper and merits. Every look, word and action of Mrs. Liston expressed to him that his singular service was engraven on her heart. He forebore even to allude to it, and with his characteristic magnanimity, never inquired directly or indirectly her family name. He observed a timidity and apprehensiveness in her manner, that resulted from a consciousness that she had, however reluctantly, practiced a fraud on her husband, and he said that having felt how burdensome it was to keep a secret from his commander for a short voyage, he thought it was quite too heavy a lading for the voyage of life.

The demonstrations of gratitude which Stuart received from Governor Liston and his family, he deemed out of all proportion to his services, and being more accustomed to bestow than to receive, he became restless, and as soon as his schooner was ready for sea he announced his departure, and bade his friends farewell. He said the tears that Perdita (he always called her Perdita) shed at parting, were far more precious to him than all the rich gifts she had bestowed on him.

At the moment Stuart set his foot on the deck of the vessel, the American colours, at the governor's command were hoisted. The generous sympathies of the multitude were moved, and huzzas from a thousand voices rent the air. Governor Liston and his suite and most of the merchant vessels then in port, escorted the schooner out of the harbour. Even the stern usages of war cannot extinguish that sentiment in the bosom of man, implanted by God, which leads him to do homage to a brave and generous foe.

Captain Stuart continued to the end of the war, to serve his country with unabated zeal, and, when peace was restored, the same hardy spirit that had distinguished him in perilous times made him foremost in bold adventure.

He commanded the second American trading vessel that arrived at Canton after the peace; and this vessel with which he circumnavigated half the globe, was a sloop of eighty tons, little more than half the size of the largest now used for the river trade. This adventure will be highly estimated by those who have been so fortunate as to read the merry tale of Dolph Heilegher, and who remember the prudence manifested at that period by the wary Dutchman of the ancient metropolis in navigating these small vessels; how they were fain to shelter themselves at night in the friendly harbours with which the river abounds, and we believe, to avoid adventuring through Haverstraw, bay or the Tappan sea, in a high wind.

When Stuart's little sloop rode into the bay of Canton, it was mistaken for a tender from a large ship, and the bold mariner was afterwards familiarly called by the great Hong merchants, "the one-mast Captain."

Such is the story of Perdita as elaborated by the novelist from incidents collected by her brother while at Plimhimmon. Since the publication of the story, such is its *vraisemblance*,—such the skill with which fact and fiction are intermingled,—that many of the denizens of the neighborhood of the young woman's debarkation and residence while in Talbot, receive the whole as truth without intermixture of error. A very estimable gentleman, a descendant of one of the actors in the little drama, has been heard to relate with particularity all the incidents of Miss Sedgwick's novelette, at the same time giving every evidence of his belief of the entire story, from the beginning to the end; thus affording another instance of the inventions of the romancist being accepted as the chronicles of the historian. The following appears to be the unembellished story of the young woman, who for want of her true name must still be called Perdita, as it has been gathered from those now living who have heard it related by persons who were old enough to have received the account from those remembering the characters that figure conspicuously in the tale.

Somewhere about the year mentioned in the story, 1763, a ship lay off at anchor, in the Thames, waiting for her clearance papers, and ready to sail. There came on board a young person, apparently a lad, and asked to be shipped as a boy. He was accepted, and soon after the ship dropped down the river and went to sea. The name of the ship was the "Integrity;" that of the master John Coward, and she was bound for the port of Oxford, in the colony of Maryland. Capt. John Coward owned the estate of Plimhimmon, which was also his home when not at sea. This estate subsequently came into the possession of his son, Capt. Thomas Coward, who was master of the frigate "Choptank," that traded between Oxford and London, up to the time of the Revolution. By this Capt. Thos. Coward the plantation was sold in the year 1787 to the

Hon. Matthew Tilghman, he who was so worthily conspicuous in our Revolutionary annals, as a home for his daughter, the wife of Col. Tench Tilghman, one of the staff officers of Gen'l Washington. Capt. John Coward of "Plimhimmon" and of the good ship "Integrity" has descendants in the State to this day. The name, though not the blood, is extinct in Talbot, but Mr. Thomas R. Coward, of Baltimore, is a representative of the family; while elsewhere, as in California, there are those who are proud to trace their origin to, and derive their patronymic from the bluff captain who for many years sailed out of the port of Oxford. The literary artist, in her portraiture of Capt. John Coward, for the sake of effect, has without doubt, limned with exaggerated lines his characteristic features, and touched with too warm a coloring his mental complexion. Doubtless he possessed the usual traits of the sea-faring men and ship-masters of his day, but he was not the coarse, illiterate and brutal despot of the quarter-deck he, in the story, is represented to have been. Some, who recollect the time when Miss Sedgwick's story was first published, say the members of the family were indignant that their ancestor should have been depicted with the lines, lights and shadows we see in the portrait, and were disposed to throw the blame of such a caricature upon that gentleman in Talbot who had given Mr. Sedgwick the outlines of the story. Indeed they attributed the authorship of the romance to Mr. Tilghman himself. We find, therefore, that when the tale was first printed in the "Gazette," some one to whom Capt. Coward was known, at least by direct tradition, for the purpose of correcting any unfavorable impression that might be given of the worthy Captain's character by the description of him by the authoress, prefaced the story with these words: "The person to whom the interesting and delicate fingered boy bound himself, was not only an intelligent sea-captain, but a well bred country gentleman, who owned the fine estate called Plimhimmon, adjoining the old town and port of Oxford, where his family resided. Several persons, still living, recollect him as a man of character, well esteemed, and of good feeling, who moved in the best company of his day; and living on the fat of a choice soil aided by the resources and foreign nicknacks of a rich merchant ship, entertained liberally and handsomely."

The ship on board of which Perdita is said to have embarked, when leaving England, is known with almost absolute certainty to have been the "Integrity," as mentioned above, for according to a list of vessels receiving cargoes in, and sailing out of Choptank, Third Haven and Wye rivers, now in the possession of the writer, this ship is known to have been commanded by Capt. John Coward from a date at least as early as 1751, to 1771, and to have been trading between the city of London and the town of Oxford. It may not be amiss to say, parenthetically, that ships were accustomed to load in the Choptank as high up as Kingston, and as they often had to wait a considerable time to complete their cargoes, it was preferred they should lie in the fresh water of the upper Choptank, that they might escape the devastations of the boring worm, so destructive to sea-going vessels before the introduction of copper

sheathing. Most of the tobacco, from the Eastern side of the county, at least, was shipped from the landings upon that river, and accordingly we find that the "Integrity" took in the bulk of her cargo at Dover, a town that has now disappeared, and at Barker's Landing, and completed her loading at Oxford, where she obtained her clearance papers, that being the port of a large district, and at one time, for the whole Eastern Shore, where the Collector and Naval Officer were compelled to reside. The trade between our county and England was through London houses, almost exclusively, though occasionally there was a shipment to Liverpool and Glasgow. The consignees of the "Integrity" in London were, at various times Anthony Bacon, John Hanbury, Dickerson & Court, and Christopher Court & Company.

Before the ship had reached her destination it was discovered that the sailor boy who had shipped in the Thames was not a boy at all, but a girl in disguise. This coming to the knowledge of Captain Coward, he took care to protect her from insult during the remainder of the voyage, and after his arrival at Oxford, he placed her in the care of the ladies of his family at Plimhimmon. The girl persistently refused to tell her name, but her story as it was finally elicited from her was simply this: That she had formed a love attachment for a young man, a sailor on board the ship "Integrity," and knowing or believing that he was about to sail for America, she determined to accompany him. To accomplish her purpose she assumed the disguise in which she had been discovered, and made use of the ruse in which she had been detected, to be received on board the same ship with her lover.

Tradition rather confirms the statement in the romance that the girl's appearance and demeanor evinced that she had been well born and bred, and that she was unaccustomed to the hardships and privations of humble life. The more charitable were disposed to attribute her escapade to her youth and the impetuosity of a passion that is so often indiscreet, the most so when most innocent: but her own sex, and particularly the ladies of Capt. Coward's family, were not so indulgent, and rather looked upon her as one of those trollops from London, the like of which there were so many landed upon our shores. Accordingly, instead of receiving her upon terms of equality they placed her in their kitchen, and assigned to her the drudgery of a menial.

The girl soon discovered how terrible a mistake she had made, and repented sorely of her indiscretion. She had not even the consolation of the company of her lover, for either he was not on board the "Integrity" as she supposed, or he, with the sailors' usual inconstancy, deserted her. Tradition is here at fault. The hardships and degradation she was enduring, added to the poignancy of her regret for having forsaken her home, caused her to long for an opportunity to return to her parents in England. The near proximity of Plimhimmon to Oxford brought her often into communication with the sailors of the ships trading between London and this region of the country. Her strange adventure, which was the common talk of the neighborhood and town, did not fail to reach the ears of the officers and men, who landing from the ships after

long voyages, listened with avidity to all the gossip of the little port, and became eager to see the object of so much pity or so much scandal. It is not surprising that very soon she excited the sympathies, then engaged the affections, and finally enlisted the services of some susceptible, adventurous and courageous young sailor. Such a one she found in Stewart Dean, who is called in Miss Sedgwick's version, Frank Stuart, a sailor on board the ship "Hazard," Captain Adam Coxen. This ship "Hazard," or "Hazzard," as she is called in the list referred to above, was trading between the Thames and Choptank rivers from the year 1763 to 1769, her consignees being William and James Anderson, of London; and her commander Captain Coxen, like Captain Coward, was a resident of Talbot. The writer in the "Gazette," of whom mention is made above, says of him: "The few yet living who recollect the broad shoulders, the huge features, the lowering threatenings of the shaggy and tremendous brows, and the deep furrows of the weather beaten face of old Captain Coxen, say the picture as delineated in the story is to the life."

The young sailor held frequent stolen interviews with Perdita, at Plimhimmon, and their trysting place, under an apple tree in the orchard to the left of the mansion, or to the right as it is approached, up to a very recent time, used to be pointed out to the curious and the romantic. Here were arranged the plans for the escape of the young woman from those she regarded as her cruel oppressors, and for her concealment on board the ship, when she was ready to sail. How they accomplished their purposes tradition fails to inform us; all we certainly know is that she was surreptitiously conveyed on board the "Hazard," and carefully hidden away among the tobacco hogsheads; and that she made the voyage safely and without discovery, to her own and her gallant benefactor's great satisfaction.

After the arrival of the "Hazard" at London, Perdita, still persisting in her refusal to reveal her name and parentage, made these last requests of Dean, which doubtless were more difficult to be granted than any she had hitherto proffered: that he would conduct her to the intersection of certain streets in the city which she named, and there leave her; that he would not attempt by any means to penetrate her secret, but as the only return that she was able to give for his kindness and devotion he would accept the simple thanks of the unhappy and misguided girl whom he had befriended. Mr. Dean, like a man of honor, respected her wishes, complied strictly with her requests, conducted her to the spot she had designated, and there bade her adieu. Of this Stewart Dean little is known. The writer in the "Gazette," to whom reference has been made more than once, and who, living much nearer than we to the time of the occurrences, seems to have been familiar with the events of the story as they actually happened, says:—"He is not only the mirror of chivalry, but has continued to be the very soul of truth." It would appear from this that the hero of the romance was known and still living at the date of its publication in 1826. There is a tradition too, pretty well substantiated, that after abandoning the sea, Stewart Dean settled

in Albany, New York, where he was visited by Miss Sedgwick, and where he confirmed with his own lips, what she had previously learned of his adventures and those of Perdita.

It is a pity to spoil a pretty story. It is like breaking a statue or marring a painting. But Truth—a very Vandal in her insensibility to the charms of fancy's most living pictures, a very Puritan iconoclast in her remorseless fury against the most worshipped idols of the imagination—demands imperatively it should be told, that all the incidents of the romance after the parting of the hero and heroine,—all that is said of Stewart's or Dean's commanding a privateer in our revolutionary war, of his capturing a British vessel, of his own subsequent captivity, of his meeting in the person of the Governor's wife the long lost Perdita, &c., &c.—

“Are of imagination all compact,”
—are pure fictions without a shadow of real foundation.

OLD PARISH LINES IN TALBOT COUNTY

The first "Act for the establishment of Religion" was passed by the provincial assembly of Maryland in 1692. It provided that every county in the province should be laid out into parishes.

Among the records of Talbot County court, held June 20, 1693 may be found the following: "The court proceeds to lay out the parishes for this county, as also to nominate and appoint the vestrymen for the several and respective parishes." Talbot County was laid out into three parishes, Saint Paul's Parish, Saint Peter's and Saint Michael's Parish. The Maryland Archives, Vol. 23, pages 21, 22, give the location of these separate parishes, as follows: "St. Paul's Parish begins at the head of Chester River and extends to the Court House, and from the Court House along the north side of Brewer's Branch to the head of the said branch, and from thence to John Jadwin's Branch being the north part of Tuckahoe."

The Court House referred to then stood on "Hopton" farm, near the mouth of Skipton Creek, about nine miles north of Talbot town, which later was called Easton to which the Court House was removed in 1710.

In an ancient book of Rent Rolls of Talbot County, in the custody of the Maryland Historical Society, may be found the following entry: "Hopton, surveyed June 1st, 1668, for Jonathan Hopkins, on the east side of the east branch of Back Wye 300 acres, possessed by Wm. Swetnam, and 20 acres by the County of Talbot for Court House land."

St. Peter's Parish begins at John Jadwin's Branch and extends to Oxford town.

St. Michael's Parish consists of Mill and Bay Hundreds and part of Island Hundred, that is to say, from the Court House downward.

The boundary lines of these three parishes not being definitely determined, and disputes having arisen between the Rectors of each parish as to certain of their parishioners, who were in doubt as to which parish they properly belonged, the Court directed these parish lines to be surveyed and a certificate of same to be duly recorded.

The report of Mr. Turbutt, County Surveyor, appointed by the Justice to lay off the lines of the three parishes, dated June, 1714, says, "St. Peter's parish to contain Third Haven Hundred, Bolingbroke Hundred and part of Tuckahoe Hundred, bounding on the north by a line drawn from the head of Brewer's Branch south 75 degrees east to the head

of Jadwin's Branch." The Glebe road and Goldsborough neck road from Easton to All Saints church and Three Bridges is the line dividing St. Peter's and St. Michaels' Parishes.

Brewer's Branch empties into Skipton Creek, and is the same, long known as the Three Bridge Branch. Its source is about a mile west of Cordova. John Jadwin's branch is a part of the dividing line between Talbot and Queen Anne's Counties, and has long been called and known as Lloyd's Branch. It empties into the Tuckahoe at a point opposite Hillsboro.

St. Paul's Parish comprised all of Talbot on the north and St. Michaels' Parish all of Talbot on the west of St. Peter's.

This Act of 1692 for the establishment of religion, however, failed to become a law, as it failed to receive the sanction of the British Sovereigns, William and Mary. It provided that churches erected under its provision should be built at Ports. Oxford, at this date, was the principal port in the county and indeed upon the whole Eastern Shore. Here, therefore, it was expected and required a church should be built had this act become a law. Although contracted for, the church at Oxford was not built and the White Marsh Church built soon after the laying out of Talbot as a county in 1660, became the Parish Church of St. Peter's Parish. The first Vestrymen of Saint Peter's Parish appointed by the Court June 20, 1693, were Mr. Thomas Robins, Mr. Thomas Bowdle, Mr. George Robins, Mr. Nichols Lowe, Mr. Samuel Abbott, Jr., and Mr. Thos. Martin.

WHITE MARSH PARISH

In the year 1856, upon the petition of sundry persons living at or near the town of Trappe, consent was given by the Vestry of Saint Peter's, that a new parish should be organized within its limits, and on the 12th of May these proceedings were had with reference to this subject: "David Kerr, Jr., Alexander Matthews and James Lloyd Chamberlaine, representing persons anxious for a division of the parish, at their request, had an interview with the Vestry and asked that they would express their views upon a proper location of a divisional line. The Convention, at its session in the same month, granted the petition of the memorialists, and the new parish embracing the ancient parish church was organized with the northern boundary"

following a line drawn from the waters of Trippe's creek, at the junction of the lands of Mrs. Hugh Hambleton, Barclay Haskins and Matthew Tilghman Goldsborough, due east to the waters of the Choptank river.

At the convention of 1857, the organization was confirmed and the name given to the parish was Southern Saint Peters, subsequently, in 1858, changed to Whitmarsh Parish.

ALL SAINTS PARISH

In the year 1881, the parish of All Saints was laid off leaving St. Peter's Parish bounded as follows:

Old line from Choptank to head of Cove in Trippe's creek, then north with said creek and Tred Avon river by its middle to head of Lee Haven creek, thence by a straight line due north to Goldsborough Point at the mouth of Glebe creek, thence with said creek to its source, thence by a straight line to Wootenauz bridge, thence with Kings creek to its mouth, and south with Choptank river to place of beginning.

These boundaries have never been changed.

WYE PARISH

The congregation at Wye continued to be a part of St. Paul's parish until April 9, 1860. On April 7, 1859, a preliminary meeting for the organization of a new parish was held at Wye Church. Those who were present at this momentous meeting were: Rev. Erastus F. Dashiell, rector of the parish; Richard B. Carmichael, C. C. Tilghman, William H. Forman, Henry Davis, Charles H. Tilghman, Dr. James Davidson, Dr. John C. Earle, Dr. Anselm W. Neal and R. B. Carmichael, Jr.

After a brief address by the rector, in which he set forth the necessity of the proposed division, it was decided that it be expedient that "all that portion of St. Paul's parish lying below a line beginning at a point where Reed's Creek empties into Chester River and running up that creek to its head, and thence with a line following the line dividing the Centreville from the Queenstown election district, to a point where it intersected the main road from Centreville to Easton, at or near a stream of water called Madam Elsey's Branch, and thence in a direct line to a point where the air line intercepts the boundary line between St. Paul's parish, Queen Anne's and Talbot Counties, and St. John's parish, Caroline County, be formed into a separate parish, to be called Wye Parish."

Thus St. Luke's parish of Wye came into being.

OLD CHESTER AND WYE CHURCHES

Our earliest records extend no further back than to the year of our Lord 1694, two years after the Province of Maryland was organized into parishes, and registrars were appointed. At this period the parish embraced—with the exception of Kent Island—the whole of Queen Anne's County, including what is now Caroline County and a large portion of Talbot County than now belongs to it. There were then within its bounds, besides the Parish Church—called "Chester Church"—three Chapels of ease, viz.: the "Up-River Chapel" (upon the site of the present St. Luke's, Church Hill)—"Tuckahoe Chapel" (in what is now St. John's Parish, in the counties of Caroline and Queen Anne) and "St. Luke's, Wye." From the fact that the Parish Church very shortly afterwards needed repair, and the Chapel at Wye renewal, these structures, even at that early date, must have been standing for a number of years. The probability is that the first Chester Church and the first St. Luke's at Wye, were the very earliest churches erected on the mainland of the Eastern Shore. We all know that Kent Island was the cradle of the Church of Maryland, the first settlement within its borders having been made there, and having been made by members of the Church of England. As early as 1618 Capt. William Claiborne, Secretary of State to the Virginia Colony, who is referred to in his appointment to that office as "a man of quality and trust,"—came from Jamestown to Kent Island with a company of one hundred colonists. There were with this colony a clergyman of the Church of England, the Rev. Richard James, by whom, in all human probability, the foundation of the first Church in Maryland was laid, and whose death occurred in 1638. From the Island the colony spread, carrying of course, the Church with it, to the neighboring territory, and Chester and Wye Churches being nearest to the Island, were the first erected. From these data, we may safely infer that these churches were built about the year 1640—certainly not later than 1650.

The records begin with the rectorship of the Rev. John Lillingston in 1694—whether he was the first minister or for how long a previous period he may have exercised the pastoral office in this neighborhood, we have no means of ascertaining. He retained this charge until his death, in the year 1709. His high standing in the Provincial Church, from which may be inferred the excellence of the work which he here



SAINT LUKE'S, WYE, OLD PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH AT WYE MILLS



accomplished and the comparative strength and importance which this parish had attained in that early day—is attested by the Rev. Mr. Talbot, one of the missionaries of the Propagation Society, who, in October, 1705, wrote these words, which are preserved in the collections of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society—"Mr. John Lillingston designs, it seems, to go to England next year: it seems to be the fittest person that America affords for the office of Suffragan, and several persons, both of the laity and clergy, have wished he were the man." No small tribute this, to the high estimation in which the first rector of this parish was held by his contemporaries. And that it was not to his talents, his learning, his prudence and zeal alone, he owed this marked distinction, but to his sterling personal worth and ardent piety also, there is affecting evidence. His dying testimony afforded the most impressive seal to the truths which he so long and so faithfully proclaimed to your fathers. His original will I have found on file in the office of the register of wills for this county.

It is written in his own hand and begins with these words:

First and principally, I commend my soul to Almighty God my Creator, assuredly believing that I shall receive full pardon and full remission of all my sins and be saved by the precious death and merits of my Blessed Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ.

Who will say that there was no piety in those days, and who of you will not give thanks for the good example, the faithful labors and the dying testimony of this eminent servant of God. Who of you will say that he, your father, had not part in procuring for you the manifold blessings wherewith you are even now enriched and who of you but will gratefully cherish the blessing and honored memory of the Rev. John Lillingston, the first rector if not the first minister of the parish.

It was during the rectorship of Mr. Lillingston, in 1697, that the second of the three old Chester churches, which successively occupied the same site, distant about a mile from Centreville, was erected. The record informs us that this was "built after the dimensions of forty feet in length and twenty-five in breadth;" the means for its erection having been advanced by Col. Richard Tilghman, of the Hermitage; "the vestry having," as saith the record, "to reimburse him all ye necessary expenses."

On the 3rd of May, 1709, at a meeting of the vestry, which then consisted of Col. Richard Tilghman, Charles Wright, Arthur Emory, Dr. Edward Chetham, Solomon Wright, John Slater and John King, it was

ordered, on the occasion of the death of the Rev. John Lillingston, that William Denton read Divine service on Sunday at the Upper River Church in the morning, and in the afternoon at the Parish Church; and the next Sunday at Tuckahoe Church in the morning, and at Wye Church in the afternoon, and that the vestry for so doing are to allow the said William Denton 400 lbs. of tobacco per mensem; provided, the said William Denton have permission for so doing from His Excellency, the Governor.

We see from this—and similar notices are found throughout our records—that a vacancy in the rectorship did not involve a suspension of the regular services of the church. The practice of lay reading did much towards keeping the old parishes alive, and to its neglect in later days many of the evils which befell the church may be justly attributed.

From 1710 to 1713 the Rev. James Hindman was rector of the parish. It was during his rectorship that the erection of a new church at Wye was resolved upon. At a meeting of the vestry, held September 23, 1712, a subscription for this purpose was opened, headed by the "Rev. James Hindman, 4000 lbs. tobacco." This act of the Rev. Mr. Hindman is the last in which his name appears, and is in itself, a proof of his liberality towards the church and his zeal for its extension.

Mr. Hindman was succeeded in the year 1713 or 1714, by Rev. Christopher Wilkinson, who retained his charge until his death in 1728. During his incumbency, the present church at Wye was erected. Articles of agreement were entered into on the 28th day of October, 1717, between the vestry and William Elbert, in which the latter binds himself "to build with all despatch, a church at the head of Wye river, either where the old church stands or hard by the same"—the consideration being 100 lbs. sterling, given by Major Turlow, and the subscriptions amounting to 60,000 lbs. of tobacco. On the 5th of June, 1721, a committee, consisting of Wm. Clayton and Augustine Thompson, appointed to view the Church at Wye, reported to the vestry that the contract to build the same had been complied with.

The Rev. Mr. Wilkinson, under whose auspices this work was commenced and completed, was one of the most worthy and distinguished of all the colonial clergy. In 1717, he was appointed by the Bishop of London, his Commissary for the Eastern Shore. In 1717, he held his first visitation, at which were seven clergymen, who addressed a letter to the Bishop of London, thanking him for the appointment of Mr. Wilkinson. In Hawks' Ecclesiastical Contributions, his character is summed up in these words:

He was remarkable for the prudent and judicious, yet slow, operations of a sound, well balanced mind, directed by the feelings of a true heart.

The amount of labor performed by the colonial rectors of this parish, may be inferred from the record of their official acts. I have taken at random the year 1717, when Wye Church was built, and first recorded among Mr. Wilkinson's official acts:

143 baptisms of white children.

63 funerals of white persons.

41 marriages of white persons.

The following year there were 74 marriages. When to these are added the services rendered to a large colored population; and the distances from each other of the four churches belonging to it, are taken into the account, it appears almost incredible that a single clergyman could accomplish so much.

On the 30th of January, 1721, it was

ordered to be recorded that Major John Hawkins did in his life time give unto the Church of Saint Paul's Parish an altar table and cloth and a pulpit cloth and cushion. Likewise a silver chalice; and at his death did further give a silver flagon.

These vessels, inscribed with the name of the giver, have ever since been used at the administration of the Holy Communion in the parish church.

To the ministry of Mr. Wilkinson succeeded the long, laborious and useful rectorship of the Rev. James Cox, from 1729 to his death in 1753; longer than that of any other rector, and characterized by the most untiring devotion and energy.

Between 1830 and 1836 this church became so dilapidated that it could not be used as a place of worship. A few years later it became necessary that Bishop Whittingham and three friends should reach a certain steamboat landing very early in the morning. Their way led them near the old church. Going to it they found that the church had become a stable. The cattle were driven out, and then, standing in the desecrated chancel, in the gray light of the morning, the Bishop said "Let us pray," and the four brethren knelt together. The Bishop poured out his soul in supplication, entreating the Lord to revive his work, to build the old waste places and make the sound of praise to be again heard in the house called by His name. The service ended, they barred the entrance with fence rails and went their way. But before they had left the building they contributed what was the foundation of a fund for the restoration of the church, and on July 20, 1854, this

ancient temple was set apart by Bishop Whittingham to the worship of God, and it has since been known as "Saint Luke's Wye."

In 1754 "Mr. William Hemsley agreed with the vestry to build a gallery in the west end of St. Paul's Parish Church, opposite to the other gallery, and of the same length and breadth."

The Rev. Mr. Cox was succeeded in 1754 by the Rev. Alexander Malcolm, who retained the rectorship until his death, June 15, 1763. I am informed, that in an obituary notice which appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* of that period, he is spoken of as having died at a very advanced age, and of having been "the author of several learned works on Mathematics, Music and Grammar." For a short period after Mr. Malcolm's death the Rev. Samuel Keene—afterwards and for many years rector of St. Luke's parish in this county, officiated as curate under the license of George Sharpe, until the appointment to the rectorship in 1867 of the Rev. Hugh Neill. In 1755, it was

resolved, that inasmuch as the parish church is not worth repairing, props be set about it, and measures be taken for building a new church where the old one now stands.

About this time the old prayer book belonging to Wye Church was ordered to be sold and a new one purchased.

In 1767 it was "ordered, that the new parish church be made agreeable to a plan of St. Paul's Church in Philadelphia;" also, it was agreed to refund the Rev. Mr. Neil two shillings and six-pence, for cash paid by him for the plan of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia."

On the 7th day of May, 1771, the work on the new church building being considerably advanced, a contract for its completion was entered into between "Caleb Ricketts, of Cecil county, of the one part, and Rev. Hugh Neill, rector. Thomas Wright, church-warden, Richard T. Earle, Richard Tilghman, Jacob Seth, Charles Price, William Bordley and William Hopper, vestrymen, of the other part." The last meeting of the vestry under the provincial government of which any record remains, was held on the 5th of September, 1775, at which time the Rev. Hugh Neill was rector. There were present at this meeting, Arthur Emory, church warden; Thomas Wright, William Tilghman and Thomas Lane Emory, vestrymen.

The next record is that of a meeting of several inhabitants of St. Paul's parish, lying partly in Talbot County, convened in pursuance of an act of the General Assembly of the State of Maryland, on the first Monday in June, 1779, for the election of a select vestry, when

the following persons were chosen: William Hemsley, Richard Earle, John Gibson, Thomas Wright, James Earle, Richard Carmichael and Arthur Emory, Jr., John Hammond and Levin Downes, church wardens: all of whom qualified before Thomas Carradine, Justice of the Peace, by taking the oath of allegiance to the State, the prescribed oath of office and subscribing to their belief in the Christian religion. A subscription was immediately set on foot by the vestry, "according to the provisions of the Act of Assembly for raising money for the support of a minister or preacher of the Church of England and for other purposes." They then proceeded

to ascertain whether the Rev. Hugh Neill, being now a non-juror, should be employed as a reader, when it was decided in the negative. Orders were drawn on the Rev. Mr. Neill for the surplice, plate and other ornaments belonging to Chester Church and Wye Chapel, to be delivered by him into the hands of the church wardens.

At a subsequent meeting of the vestry, held in July of the following year, Mr. Neill was elected minister of the parish.

In February, 1781, "Mr. James Earle was appointed to meet representatives from all the vestries of the Eastern Shore at Talbot Court House, to consider the heads of a bill to be laid before the General Assembly for the support of the Christian religion." At a subsequent meeting the Rev. Mr. Neill and Thomas Wright were added to this delegation.

Mr. Neill's connection with the parish terminated with his death in the latter part of 1781 or the beginning of 1782; and with him died the last of the colonial records. It is not a little remarkable that they all died in charge of this parish. Not in this, however, but in all respects, they were remarkable men, performing an immense amount of labor, and exerting an influence for good which cannot be "meted out in words," and which the revelations of the last great day alone will fully disclose. They were men

Of our pure altars worthy ministers
 Detached from pleasure, to the love of gain
 Superior, insusceptible of pride;
 And by ambitions longings undisturb'd;
 Men, whose delight was, where their duty led
 Or fixed them; whose least distinguished day
 Shone with some portion of that heavenly lustre,
 Which makes the Sabbath lovely in the sight
 Of blessed angels pitying human cares.

Mr. Neill was succeeded by the Rev. Robert Smith, D.D. (afterwards the first Bishop of South Carolina), who sustained the pastoral relation to this parish for a short period, embracing a portion of the years 1783 and 1784. Here follows a long vacancy in the rectorship. It is gratifying, however, to notice the efforts of the laity to strengthen the things which remained of the Church in their midst, then almost ready to perish; and to know also, that among the four clergymen and two laymen who formed the delegation from Maryland to the General Convention, held in Philadelphia, 1789, which framed a "General Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," our own parish was represented by Richard B. Carmichael, Esq.

The next rector was the Rev. Samuel Keene, Jr. (afterwards the first missionary in Kentucky), from 1791 to 1794.

Mr. Keene was succeeded in 1797 by the Rev. Elisha Rigg.

It was not until the last year of the faithful ministry of Mr. Rigg, that the noble structure of the last Chester Church, in which many of you, my brethren, formerly worshipped God with your fathers, was completed. It was commenced, as we have seen, before the Revolution, when the number and the resources of the parish both demanded and justified a spacious and costly parish church. Inasmuch, however, as the support of the government was wholly withdrawn from the Church during the progress of its erection, and the love of many of its members waxed cold during those troubled and trying times—the burden of its cost fell principally and very heavily upon the faithful few of the last generation, who having put their hands to this work, counted nothing so dear unto them as its accomplishment. In size and strength and beauty of proportion, it greatly excelled most of the churches of its day. It was consecrated by the Rt. Rev. Thomas John Claggett, D.D., the first Bishop of Maryland, on the 24th day of July A.D. 1803. With the Church, there was also consecrated "the churchyard thereto adjoining," as in the language of the act of consecration, "a sacred repository for the dead bodies of the saints therein interred, and also for those which may be hereafter interred therein, by and with the consent of the vestry for the time being."

The Rev. Mr. Rigg died February 6, 1804. His remains are interred under the chancel arch in Wye Church; and within a few days, I have been authorized to say, that the spot will shortly be marked with an appropriate tablet. In 1854, in removing the accumulated rubbish from the same church, preparatory to its restoration, another tomb was found, and other and most affecting proofs afforded of the truth

of the tradition which marks the spot right underneath the altar, as the grave of one of the early rectors of this parish, whose name has been lost. There can be little doubt that with this single exception the remains of all our colonial rectors lie beneath the ruins which indicate the site of old Chester Church, and the hope is devoutly cherished, that this ancient place of burial may be put into a condition which will fit it for the holy uses to which it has been solemnly set apart.

Mr. Rigg was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Barclay, from 1804 to 1805; Rev. Mr. Reynolds, 1806 to 1809; Rev. Daniel Stephens, from 1811 to 1816; Rev. Wm. J. Bulkey, from 1817 to 1820; Rev. Grandison Aisquith, from 1821 and 1823; Rev. Bennett S. Glover, in 1824; Rev. Thomas K. Peck, in 1825.

Here followed one of several intervals, during which the services of the Church were kept up by lay readers, principally by that learned, pious and devoted layman, whose praise was in all the churches of his day, and whose history is closely identified with that of this parish and diocese. I need hardly mention here the name, which is written in every volume of the valuable library (now the property of the parish), which he was at such pains to collect, inscribed upon the communion plate of Wye and Queenstown churches, and held in loving and grateful veneration by so many who hear me.

The declension of the parish, which commenced with the revolution, was so rapid, that in the year 1809 the list of communicants was reduced to 14 names, viz.: William Hemsley, Anne Hemsley, Philemon Hemsley, Henrietta Earle, Sarah Troup, James Tilghman, William D. Thomas, Charles Browne, Henrietta Blake, John Fisher, Edward DeCourcy, Sam'l Thomas, Henrietta Thomas and Elizabeth Hemsley.

The large "Old Chester Church" soon fell into dilapidation. A small portion, embracing the chancel, having been boarded off for winter use, it continued to be occasionally occupied by small and decreasing congregations, and the parish was almost threatened with extinction.

The Rev. Robert W. Goldsborough commenced his labors in this parish as a lay reader in 1829. Shortly afterwards he entered upon the rectorship, which he retained until the year 1836.

The difficulties in the way of keeping so large a building as the parish church in even tolerable repair, and of collecting a congregation within its walls, continuing to increase, it was deemed necessary to remove a portion of the materials of which it was composed, and with them to construct what may now be called the old part of the sacred edifice in which we are assembled. This was accordingly done, under the

superintendence of a building committee, consisting of the Hon. Richard T. Earle, Col. John Tilghman, Pere Wilmer, W. A. Spencer and Thomas A. Emory, Esquires. The corner stone of this building, built of materials taken from old Chester Church, and having within its walls bricks which belonged to the original church of that name, was laid by the rector, the Rev. R. W. Goldsborough, May 1, 1834; and its consecration by the Rt. Rev. William M. Stone, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese, took place on the 22nd of July, 1835. It was a good work. Humanly speaking, it saved the parish, and a heavy debt of gratitude is due to those whose wisdom devised it, and through whose liberality and energy it was effected.

To Mr. Goldsborough's succeeded the short ministry of the Rev. John Owen, in 1836.

Then followed that of the Rev. John P. Robinson from 1836 to 1841; Rev. Henry Brown, from 1841 to 1851; the Rev. William G. Hawkins, from 1851 to 1852, which brings us down to the rectorship of the present incumbent, (being the 21st rector of the parish) commencing December 2, 1852. The Rev. Mr. Goldsborough was the last minister by whom stated services were performed in old Wye Church; the condition of the building after his ministry, becoming such that without repair it could no longer be used as a place of worship. Instead of repairing it, however, the vestry deemed it expedient to build a new chapel in what was regarded as a more convenient location. Accordingly, the present edifice in Queenstown was erected, and under the title of St. Luke's (the name by which old Wye Church was officially known) was consecrated to the worship of God by the present Bishop of the Diocese on the 21st of April, 1842.

Since your present minister came among you it has pleased God to put into the hearts of some of the descendants of those who, in the infancy of this country, raised the venerable walls of Wye Church and worshipped with them; of others, who residing in that vicinity, earnestly desired to have in their midst a living Church, a living ministry and the life-giving Word and sacraments; and of others, whose only nearness to us is in the intimacy of those spiritual relations which bind in one Living Body all the true members of Christ, to provide the means for its restoration. That work has been done. The foundations of those old walls—the oldest entire church walls in Maryland, and built of English bricks—have been made secure, and the whole building, fitly framed, compacted and beautiful, is now as strong as in the days of old. It was the privilege of many who hear me to join heart and voice in the exulting services with which that ancient and solemn temple—never before consecrated—was set apart to the worship of the Ever Blessed Trinity. Those memorable services occurred on Thursday, the 20th day of July, 1854. A few days ago, on Thursday, the 19th day of July, 1855, within one day of the first anniversary of the consecration of old

Wye Church, within three days of the twentieth anniversary of the consecration of this church, and within five days of the fifty-second anniversary of the consecration of Old Chester Church, we came together again, with many rejoicing friends and a goodly company of preachers, to meet our chief pastor, and through him to present to God this beautiful addition to the House which was already His own. He had crowned us with blessings and had vouchsafed us the tokens of greater blessings in store; and that there might be "room to receive them," we ventured, as I trust, in faith and love, with a sincere desire to promote His glory and "the prosperity of His Holy Apostolic Church," to break forth on the right hand and on the left, lengthening the cords and strengthening the stakes of His Tabernacle in our midst.

And now that this work has also been completed, and we have met together in this Holy Sanctuary, thus enlarged, improved, and dedicated, to us, with one accord, render thanks unto Him who has inspired us with this holy purpose, united us in this good work, and at length, has crowned it with success. Not unto us, oh Lord, but unto Thy Name, be all the praise and glory, through Christ Jesus.

I congratulate you, my beloved brethren, and rejoice with you, upon this substantial token of God's presence and blessing. I rejoice and thank God, that He has put it into your hearts to strengthen and enlarge the foundation of your parish church, to make it in a good degree commensurate with the extent and importance of your parish, and worthy of your ancestry; and to give increased efficiency to the means of grace which are here dispensed. It gladdens my heart to know that now there is not only a cordial welcome, but also ample room, for our neighbors and friends to come and worship the Lord with us in the beauty of holiness, and heartily to rejoice with us in the strength of our salvation; and that some provision, at least, has been made, by which your servants also can partake with you of the fulness and the pleasures of God's House, and bow with you before the common Lord and Master of us all. And, beloved in the Lord, blessed as you are already for your fathers' sake, I hail in these evidences of your attachment to the holy religion which made them what they were, and to the Church which nourished them for immortality, the tokens of those blessings also, which are promised to filial love and reverence. Continue, then to honor your fathers and your mothers, though they may long since have rested from their labors. Cherish their memory. Guard their sepulchres from desecration. Preserve the affecting and sacred monuments of their zeal for God. Execute the wishes of those who have gone before you, leaving you their names, their possessions, and their good examples, as you hope to have your own regarded by those who are to bear your names and occupy your places. How little encouragement would you find to labor in any good cause, if you were deprived of the conviction, that that cause would be endeared to your children by your own exertions and sacrifices in its promotion. Esteem it, then, your sacred duty, as it is your privilege and safety, earnestly to contend for that pure and simple faith, which having been once delivered to the saints,

and by faithful men, handed down "through the ages all along," has been transmitted unto you by your fathers. Let the interests of the Church, which was to them the House of God, and to their souls the gate of Heaven, and in communion with which you are united to them in sanctified and immortal bonds be ever precious in your sight. Restore it so far as you can, to all its ancient seats, and extend its influences to all within your reach. Above all, give yourselves to be built up into it, as living stones, spiritual sacrifices, acceptable unto God through Jesus Christ. Be Churchmen of the ancient stamp; honest, manly, earnest Christians. Drink deeply of that filial spirit which has been the characteristic feature of God's faithful people in every dispensation. Should the scorner come among you, stand not by to hear the Holy Saviour and the Holy Faith of your fathers and your mothers, dishonored and reviled; but confess Him whom they confessed, and follow them as they followed Him in the way everlasting. So shall it be well with you, and with your children after you; and God, even your own God, and the God of your fathers, shall delight to be with and bless you.

And may we not be permitted in the exercise of that charity which "rejoiceth not in error but rejoiceth in the truth," and "which hopeth all things"—to indulge and to avow the hope, that many among us, who are now living in separation from the Church of their forefathers, will claim their birth-right as the heirs of promise. For a century and a half, all who professed and called themselves Christians, within the bounds of this parish, knew nothing but "the Doctrine and Sacraments, and the Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church hath received the same." The very names which are now borne by the descendants of the first settlers and old residents, are to be found throughout our records. Though, in some cases, their immediate parents may have lived in separation from the Church, yet if they will go back, even to the second generation of their ancestors, they will find that they all belonged to the same holy fellowship. They will find also, that the only plea assigned by the first separatists, was the plea of necessity—that among the troubles and distractions of the times in which they lived, the ministry and sacraments of the church had been withdrawn from them. This reproach we have sought, and are still seeking to take away. St. Luke's, Queenstown, has been built. Old Wye Church has been restored and made free to all. This Church, built of old Chester bricks, has been enlarged to its utmost capacity of enlargement; and the additional accommodations which it affords, are now affectionately offered to those who will accept them, on their own terms.

And now, having thus far sought to perpetuate the work of those who came from a far distant land, bringing with them from the old country, where Apostolic hands had planted it, the Church of the Living God, may we not with propriety, must we not from duty, plead in its behalf and in their names, with those who occupy the homes they founded in what was then an untrodden wilderness of a new world,

who inherit their honored names and the rich blessings which their piety has bequeathed. We do not ask them to follow their forefathers, whether they were right or wrong; but to cultivate that filial feeling which must tend, wherever it is cherished, to keep religion in all its essential features, what it originally was; which makes us one with those who have preceded us, as they were one with those who preceded them even to the earliest generation of their spiritual parentage. We only ask them so far to honor their fathers and their mothers, as to stand in the ways and see whether the paths in which they walked, are not, of a truth, "the old paths" in which all the generations of their fathers also walked, even from the Apostolic age; in a word, to inquire and learn whether the church of their fathers is not also the church of their fathers' God.

My beloved parishioners, children of pious ancestors, you have a fair land, a goodly heritage; but what most of all endears it to your hearts and makes it above price, is, that the dust of many generations of your sainted fathers and mothers mingle with its soil. Follow them, beloved, in all virtuous and godly living, that when your mortal remains shall be gathered unto theirs, your immortal souls may go to join them in the blessed rest of "the Spirits of the just made perfect," leaving behind you, as your best legacy to your children and children's children the blessings which God hath promised "unto thousands of them that love Him and keep His commandments."

The above Sermon by Rev. W. C. Crane was preached in St. Paul's Church, Centreville, the Ninth Sunday after Trinity, August 5th, 1855 and published later in compliance with the request of the vestry.

WHITE MARSH CHURCH

SAINT PETER'S PARISH

There is no record extant of the date of the building of this old church but a mutilated Parish Register shows that a Mr. Joseph Leech was acting minister as early as 1690.

At a meeting of the vestry, March 7, 1709 O.S., bills for making ten new pews and the altering of several old ones, the making of a new pulpit and the repairs of the windows and chancel doors were presented and ordered to be paid to the amount of 5250 pounds of tobacco, and about this time a well was dug at the church for the use of those attending and coming long distances.

The vestry records make no other mention of this church building, White Marsh, until the year 1722 when under date of April 3, we find the following minute:

"Then the vestry of the parish aforesaid agreed with Mr. Bayley to make 150,000 bricks at the rate of two hundred pounds of tobacco

per thousand, and also to allow him five pounds of tobacco per centum for collecting the said tobacco." One year later, June 10, 1723, we find the following entry, "Then the vestry of the parish agreed with Benjamin Bullock to make 100,000 bricks, in order to build a church, at the rate of forty-eight pounds of tobacco per thousand, and the said Benjamin is to make them and burn them well, as also to have them made and burnt before the 31st day of October next ensuing, and the said vestry is to find "Tendance and diet and lodging, and all other things necessary towards the performance of said work.'" At the same time the vestry contracted for plank one inch thick, at one pound of tobacco per foot, for corn at thirty pounds of tobacco per bushel, for having the folk's victuals dressed, one hundred pounds of tobacco per month, for the wages of two men to make bricks at four hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco per month.

April 6, 1724, the size of the church was made fifty-six feet in length and twenty-eight feet in breadth.

Under date of October 10, 1724, it is entered, "The Vestry agreed and it was ordered that the Register make an entry that Mr. Nicholas Lowe shall have all the vacant ground in St. Peter's Church between Mr. Robins pews and the chancel in order to build himself a pew upon the said ground."

In 1725-26 Mr. Samuel Chamberlaine was directed to go to Mr. Howard and get a lawful binding prescription towards the building of a new church in the said parish, which being obtained, was placed in the hands of the Register, to be circulated among the parishioners. The total sums subscribed were twenty pounds in money, 55,380 pounds of tobacco, five barrels of corn from Robert Welsh, and twenty pairs of shoes from William Thomas, subsequently a subscription for 5050 pounds of tobacco for the building of a chancel was made.

On June 8, 1726, an elaborately hand printed minute gives "An account of subscriptions for building St. Peter's Church," and states that "the old church is much decayed and unfit for divine service."

Notwithstanding that contracts had been made for the burning of the bricks of which the church was to be built, it would seem that it was at last constructed of wood, and the size, finally determined upon by the vestry August 5, 1726, was fifty-five feet in length and thirty feet in width, with a pitch of fourteen feet. In January 1726-7 then agreed with Mathew Kirby to build a church at the west end of the old church and likewise drew articles with him for which the said Mathew is to have 45,000 pounds of tobacco and twenty pairs of shoes and he

to find everything that is necessary for the outside work and to be paid at two payments viz: May 10, 1727 and June 30, 1728, the penalty was fixed at 14,000 pounds in case of failure of either party to comply with the contract the articles of which were delivered to Henry Bayley, Jr., Esquire. By a subsequent contract, Mr. Kirby agreed to build a gallery within the new church for which he was to receive 15,000 pounds of tobacco. The church had a chancel at the east end, as appears by another minute. As stated above, the church was built of wood, though it is nowhere so explicitly stated, but there are several minutes of orders passed by the vestry that the outside of the church should be *tarred*, a custom common in this county at that time, when paint was not so cheaply purchased, and a minute of one order that it should be underpinned with cedar posts. This fact taken in connection with the other that the contractor for the outside, Mr. Kirby, was a carpenter and not a mason may be sufficient. The church apparently was not finally and entirely completed until 1733, for on the 6th of June of that year, Mr. Kirby received the remainder of the tobacco due him for which he passed his receipt to the Rev. Mr. Maynadier and the vestry "in full of all accounts, debts, dues and demands whatsoever from the beginning of the world to the day of the date hereof."

The interior of the old brick church must have been restored before the final contract had been made for building the new addition, namely on the 15th of June, 1728, for on that date we find the following entry on the vestry records.

Then were the pews in St. Peter's Church divided by lot among the several parishioners whose names are hereunder written:

- | | | |
|-------|----|--|
| No. 1 | To | CHARLES MARKLAND |
| 2 | " | THOMAS BOZMAN |
| 3 | " | DANIEL MAYNADIER |
| 4 | " | HENRY BAYLEY |
| 5 | " | THOMAS RICHARDSON |
| 6 | " | PHILIP FEDDERMAN |
| 7 | " | SAMUEL CHAMBERLAINE |
| 8 | " | WILLIAM AYRES |
| 9 | " | JOHN EDMONDSON |
| 10 | " | RICHARD GILES, since to MAT KEMP and CHARLES
LOUD |
| 11 | " | RACHAEL TURBUTT |
| 12 | " | DOCTOR PORTER |
| 13 | " | WILLIAM THOMAS |
| 14 | " | PHILIP MARTIN and JOSEPH PARRATT |
| 15 | " | JOHN SHERWOOD |

No. 16	To	BENJAMIN PEMBERTON
17	"	NICHOLAS GOLDSBOROUGH
18	"	JOHN OLDHAM
19	"	WILLIAM WHITE
20	"	DANIEL BOYER, sold to WILLIAM HARRISON, Miles Creek.
21	"	THOMAS HARRISON
22	"	FRANCIS ARMSTRONG
23	"	THOMAS BULLEN
24	"	GEORGE ROBINS
25	"	WILLIAM ROBINS

Recorded by order of the Vestry, Wm. Rakes, Clk.

Again we find this minute in the vestry records 1730: The single pews in this parish church belonging by lot to the sundry persons under mentioned, the same is ordered to be entered accordingly.

1	HENRY BOWDLE	14	THOMAS PAMPHILION
2	WILLIAM DOBSON	15	MATTHEW JENKINS
3	GEORGE SHANNAHAN	16	THOMAS BARNETT
4	DAVID ROBINSON	17	EDWARD MAN SHERWOOD
5	LOFTUS BOWDLE	18	EDWARD FISH
6	WM. BARKER	19	JAMES WHITE
7	JOHN MULLIKEN	20	ARTHUR CONNER
8	SOLOMON ROBINSON	21	JAMES SHEPHERD
9	THOMAS WHITTINGTON	22	EDWARD NEEDLES
10	PHILIP KERSEY	23	SAMUEL ABBOTT
11	RICHARD DOVE	24	JOHN CLIFT
12	JOSHUA GRESHAM	25	THOS. DELAHEY
13	SHADRACH AND MESCHECK BODFIELD		

The pew holders were to pay 500 pounds of tobacco for each pew and 30 pounds for the hinges to the door. In 1731 the church was ordered to be enclosed with palings with a church yard 200 feet in length and 130 feet in breadth, more or less, the pales to be well sapped and drawn. In 1745, immediately upon the assumption by the Rev. Thomas Bacon of his ministerial duties as rector of Saint Peter's parish there was such an increase in the attendance of the parishioners upon the public services that the church building at White Marsh, was insufficient to accommodate the people who had long been unaccustomed to such preachings as he was able to present to them, from week to week, for the late rector, the Rev. Daniel Manadier, however respectable he may have been in his life and conversation, had been officially represented as a horrid preacher.

Through the active efforts of Mr. Bacon quite a large sum was subscribed by the parishioners for the enlargement of the parish church.

This addition, which was built of brick, was the third and last church edifice at White Marsh, and nearly doubled the seating capacity of the building. It was not completed, however, until 1750 and formed the nave to the old framed church, above mentioned, which made, as it were, a transept to the then new brick addition.

The vestry records make no further mention of any changes in the parish church from this time onward. With occasional repairs, notably in 1833, when they were extensive, it continued to be in a condition fit, but barely fit, for public services, which until the division of the parish were held here and at Easton on alternate Sundays. After that division, in 1856, and the building of the church in Trappe, services became less and less frequent in old White Marsh church, until about the beginning of the civil war they were abandoned altogether.

In 1834 the much needed repairs to the church had been finished, and they were the last of any important character ever made. The chancel, which had been placed at the east side was removed to the north end, the arrangement of the pews was changed and a vestry room built at the north end. On February 3, 1834, the vestry proceeded to distribute the pews by ballot among the parishioners. The following list of pew holders indicates the families still attending the services at White Marsh church at the above date, Nicholas Goldsborough, Anna Maria Tilghman, Richard Trippe, Edward Martin, Samuel Stevens, Rev. Thomas Bayne, Theodore Loockerman, Thomas Worrall, Thomas Hayward, Harriet Martin, Thomas Coward, James Lloyd Chamberlaine, Robert Delahay, Josiah Rhodes, Thomas Baker, Samuel T. Kennard, Martin Goldsborough, William R. Trippe, Joseph Martin, Mariah Goldsborough, Nicholas Martin, Nicholas Thomas, Mary Clare Martin, Robert Henry Rhodes, Mrs. Chaplin. Later, the following names appear as pew holders, John Goldsborough, John Bullen, William R. Hughlett, Samuel Banning, William H. Groome.

Among the last minutes of the registry of the vestry of Saint Peter's parish, having reference to old White Marsh church, is one relating to the ancient burial ground surrounding this church. It is dated August 4, 1845, and reads as follows: "On motion, Resolved that the parishioners be requested to meet at the parish church, with their hands, carts, grubbing hoes and axes for the purpose of cleaning up the churchyard on Wednesday 27th of August, if fair; if not, the next fair day." This yard from the time of the building of the first church, soon after the formation of Talbot into a county in 1660, had been used as a public cemetery. Some of the most considerable people of the parish had

here been interred, as well as many of the poor; but few of the headstones that marked the graves of the neighborhood gentry remain, the most notable one of which is the tomb stone of Robert Morris, father of the Revolutionary worthy of the same name, who died July 12, 1750. This grubbing and cleaning up of White Marsh graveyard was repeated occasionally, from time to time until 1897, when the fire from the burning brush that had been burnt near the old church was blown by a sudden windstorm onto the roof of the old deserted building and burned it to the ground.

A service had been held in this church on that occasion by the Rt. Rev. Wm. Forbes Adams, Bishop of Easton, and an address on the life of Robert Morris, Senior, had been delivered by Col. Oswald Tilghman, who also read, from the original manuscript, a paper which had been read, on the same spot, by his grandfather, Mr. Tench Tilghman, eighty-five years before when he was conducting the services as lay reader in St. Peter's parish.

There are sunken graves and wrecks of tombs under the shadow of these charred walls, some of which date back to 1667. Here lie the ashes of many of the first settlers of Talbot County, and their neglected graves are a mute reproach to their descendants, many of whom apparently cherish neither reverence for their memories, nor respect for their virtues.

THE OLD CHAPEL AT KING'S CREEK

For a parish of the territorial extent of St. Peter's it became necessary, as settlements extended in sections of the county remote from the parish church, that additional places of worship should be provided. The clergy uniformly opposed the division of the parish, in as much as that would result in the diminution of their stipends; so that expedient was adopted of erecting a chapel of ease in the upper portion. The first indication of the existence of any such chapel is contained in a minute of a vestry meeting held October 5, 1731, Mr. Daniel Maynardier being rector. The minute is as follows: "The vestry agrees to give George Sprouse, for cleaning and sweeping the chapel at King's Creek, a hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco for this year and every year ensuing that he shall do the same service." It is presumable, in the absence of any previous reference to the existence of this chapel, that it had been recently erected. Its site had been definitely ascertained, though the structure long since disappeared. It was situated at or near the small cross roads village known as Chapel, about five miles north of Easton, in the election district which, with the village, derives its name from this humble house of worship. Formerly this place was called Williamsburg, or Barwicksburg, or Forktown, but its present designation has been the most permanent. The chapel was upon the land now owned by Mr. John H. Pratt, and remains of it are pointed out to this day. Little is said of it in the vestry records, but at one time it was customary to elect one of the church wardens from its vicinity, who had charge of it. We have seen that George Sprouse was made sexton in 1731, and a minute of the records names Joseph Newman as holding this office in 1752, upon a salary of four hundred pounds of tobacco per annum. Sarah Winter was sexton in 1771, and Daniel Christian in 1772 and 1774, according to the account book of the vestry of those years. In 1762 it is called the Tuckahoe Chapel, and in 1765 George Duling was paid for repairing it, and for the same service Levin Spedding was paid in 1775. On petition an act was passed by the General Assembly of 1770, entitled "An Act for the establishment of a chapel of ease in Saint Peter's parish, in Talbot County" by which "the justices are empowered, from time to time, on application of the vestrymen and wardens to assess any sums of tobacco, not exceeding 10 lbs. per poll for repairing and supporting a chapel erected some years

since by voluntary contribution; and the said chapel is established as a chapel of ease to the said parish; and the incumbent is required to perform service there every third Sunday." Nothing more seems to have been accomplished under the provisions of this act than to effect some repairs.

In 1779, although there was no rector, the vestry gave notice that on Sunday, July 11, there would be service and a sermon read at the parish church, and at the chapel the Sunday following. In 1790 the chapel seems to have been abandoned, and services for the upper part of the parish were held in the Court House at Easton alternately with those at White March Church. There is ground for believing the services at the chapel had been irregular or at greater intervals than two weeks anterior to this date. On the 3rd of October, 1791, "The vestry adjourned to meet at the church on Monday, the 17th inst., for the purpose of consulting the parishioners respecting the petition to the next General Assembly for disposal of the Glebe lands *and the remains of the Old Chapel.*" A record in the clerk's office of the county bearing the date of 1795, speaks of "the road leading from where the old chapel formerly stood." Could it be that there were two buildings at different times? In the replies of the vestry to certain queries as to the condition of the church, made in 1797, we have this description of the desertion, the decay and final disappearance of the chapel: "Six or seven years back, the vestry learning that it was abused to vile purposes, adjourned to meet at it, the next vestry day, and advertised the neighborhood of the meeting, and that if they would contribute to keep it in order and employ a minister, both would be done. The doors of the chapel were found to have been let stand open and that horses and cattle had sheltered in it. Also from joiner's shavings and chips lying in it, it was seen that it had been used as a work shop.

The roof was in bad condition, the walls much cracked, the windows broken, the floor damaged, but the pew work in tolerable good state of preservation. On the pulpit was written with chalk, something like a pasquinade—"Alas poor Parson." The vestry finding the Chapel in the order described and the neighbors not attending, except two, who said they came through mere curiosity and had nothing to propose, talked about the improbability of its being repaired and again preached in, and that the inside work would answer for one at Easton (which a subscription was then on hand to procure the building of) the consequence was that in a little time the neighborhood began to pull the inside to pieces and parts of it were to be seen dispersed about as covers

for goose pens, and chicken coops, as scaffoldings for new buildings and a store was said to be fitted up with shelves out of it. As soon as the breaking up was known of, a written complaint was made to the county court, and by the court was delivered to the prosecutor. Nothing was ever done, and at present such total destruction has been made that not the least appearance of a chapel remains. By 1808 the very ruins had been appropriated by Mr. William Barwick, and his executor was asked to pay for the bricks of the chapel the deceased had used, whatever was right and proper. Thus this little house of worship disappeared from view, and its very site is unknown except to the curious antiquary or the pious pilgrim.

By an Act of Assembly of 1785 the village at the Court House of this county was organized as a town, and was called Talbot. By the subsequent acts of 1788 and 1789 the name was changed to Easton and a court house was directed to be built there for the accommodation of the general court, as well as the court of the county. But the act of 1790 may be said to constitute the charter of this town, and in the preamble to this it is recited that it had considerably increased in houses and inhabitants. To furnish to these inhabitants the services of the church without the inconvenience of travelling to White Marsh, a distance of eight miles, the rector and vestry of St. Peter's parish instituted services in the Court House, and there for a number of years they were held. The precise date of this institution is nowhere mentioned in the records, but it must have been during or soon after the war of the revolution, probably in or about the year 1790, for we find under the date of May 3 of that year the following record on the books of the vestry: "The vestry determine that the clergyman to be appointed [to succeed Mr. Gates] shall preach in White Marsh Church and the Court House alternately." This indicates that the Chapel of Ease had been abandoned and that Easton had been made the place for holding service in the upper part of the parish.¹

¹See Act Assembly, Chap. LXXX to tear down and rebuild parish church; also to ascertain bounds of parish.

THE OLD BRICK CHURCH ON HARRISON STREET, EASTON

Projects had been formed as early as 1797 to erect a new church in the growing town of Easton, and in 1799 this project had so far been carried into effect that a lot of ground had been purchased by the vestry of Samuel Baldwin on Harrison street at the corner of Baldwin's alley, having a front upon the former of fifty-six feet, and a depth of sixty-four feet on the latter. An addition was made to this lot in 1817, when Mr. Richard Harwood, who had been appointed the trustee for the settlement of the estate of Mr. Baldwin, by the Court of Chancery, conveyed a lot adjoining that originally purchased, having a front of thirty-three feet, six inches, on Harrison street, and a depth of seventy-eight feet, to the rector and vestry of St. Peter's parish, and in the conveyance acknowledged the title of that body, to the lot sold by Baldwin. In 1800 a committee of the vestry consisting of David Kerr, Henry Nicols, Jr., George R. Hayward and John Goldsborough, Jr., Esquires, was appointed to superintend the erection of the new church. The funds were derived from the sale of the pews, and these gentlemen in July, 1800, through the newspaper notified the purchasers that they are resolved "to proceed without delay and inclose the church," provided the monies due shall be paid by the first day of August, when it is proposed "to begin the walls." The amount received seeming to have justified the beginning, for we find in the *Maryland Herald* of Saturday, August 26, 1800, the following: "On Wednesday last was laid the foundation of a new church in this town. The order pursued on the occasion was as follows: At the usual hour in the afternoon a numerous and very respectable congregation assembled at the Court House, where divine service was performed by the Rev. Wm. Keene and suitable and impressive discourse delivered by the Rev. Mr. Rigg. The congregation then proceeded, with the clergy and vestry of St. Peter's parish preceding, to the place intended and prepared for the sacred building; when in the presence of a multitude of spectators, whose countenances bespoke the pious feelings of their hearts, the *corner stone* was laid by that aged vestryman and venerable man, Saml. Chamberlaine, Esq. The 122d Psalm sung with devout animation and a prayer adapted to the occasion by the Rev. Mr. Rigg closed the solemnity. We cannot withhold the natural expressions of that satisfaction which must arise

in every well dispersed mind, especially when we consider the present aspect of certain opinions towards not only civil order and polite literature, but also towards morality and religion. We cannot help congratulating our own community upon its possession of so many liberal and enlightened characters who appear ready still to give their public testimony to a *rational faith* which stands unmoved at all possible distance from the pretended philosophy of Gallic infidelity and atheism. We ardently wish them good luck in the name of the Lord."

Before the end of the year the committee of building announced that the church was "inclosed" and ask the purchasers of pews for the last payment. There seems to have been some hesitancy on the part of many of the parishioners to purchase pews, lest they thereby should be placed under obligation ever after to pay the rent thereon. The vestry, for the purpose of explaining the conditions of purchase, and of surrender published a long address in May, 1801, to the Churches of "St. Peter's Parish" of which these are the opening sentences: Whereas it appears to the vestry of Saint Peter's Parish that the sales of the pews in the Easton and White Marsh Churches have been lately much retarded by the prevalence of an opinion that the present terms of the sale are unreasonable in this particular, that they enable the vestry to exact the per cent. after the pew holders shall have removed from the county and thereby cease to have any use of the pew; and also that the heirs of the deceased pew holders may be compelled to keep the pews and pay the rent, or be at the trouble of selling them, if they should not want them after the death of their ancestors. Now the vestry being desirous of doing away their prejudices, of convincing all rational and well disposed people that their wish is rather to see the church filled with devout Christians than to raise a revenue for the support of a clergyman by means deemed unreasonable, do hereby make known and declare and solemnly promise that they will, etc." The vestry engage to release any pew holder from the payment of rent who shall temporarily remove from the county during the time of his absence; to release all minors from payment of rent until they shall become of age, when they may resume their right to their pews. They also state the terms by which a right to a pew shall be forfeited to the vestry, etc. These details need not be here given, as they no longer possess any interest.

The church seems by the middle of the year 1803, to have been so far completed as to permit of its consecration, and so on the 10th of July this ceremony was performed by the Right Reverend Dr. Claggett, Bishop of the diocese of Maryland, as we find recorded on their record:

On Sunday last in the morning the new church in this town was consecrated by the Right Rev. Dr. Claggett and formally dedicated to Almighty God, by the name of Christ Church, in Easton, in the parish of St. Peter's, Talbot County, in the presence of a number of the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church and a crowded congregation. Also in the afternoon of the same day, the apostolic rite of confirmation, and the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper were both administered by the bishop to a considerable number of persons, who were mostly advanced in years, and every way greatly respectable.

There were present of the clergy upon this occasion, besides the rector, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Price of St. Michael's parish, Mr. Barclay, principal of the Easton Academy, and Mr. Contee of Charles County. On Wednesday, the 20th of the same month the bishop consecrated the old parish church at White Marsh, and also the surrounding burial ground—a dedication which they had never before formally received. The same clergymen named above, were present and a large number of persons were confirmed.

The church building at Easton was not completed for some years after this date—it was incomplete at least as late as 1807—but it was used for service, and continued to be used until abandoned in or about the year 1845, when the stone church was occupied by the congregation. This old church is still standing. It is now substantially built of brick, plain in its style of architecture but having some pretensions to ornamentation. The entrance is from Harrison street by two arched doors in the east end, on which is a large window. Each of the sides is pierced by three oval headed windows. The chancel, which is within the body of the church is between the doors. A gallery, before a floor had been constructed over the whole church, occupied the west end in which at one time was an organ. Since its abandonment as the place for the public religious services it has been used as a room for the Sunday School of Christ Church. It has also been used for private week day schools, an upper floor converting it into two apartments, one for boys and the other for girls. The sale of this old building is now contemplated, that the proceeds may be devoted to the erection of a Sunday School and lecture room in the rear of the parish church. It was later on sold to the Baptists.

The following are the names of the clergymen who as rectors officiated in this old Church: Joseph Jackson from — to 1811; Thomas Bayne, from 1813 to 1835; John Wiley, from 1836 to 1837; Henry M. Mason, from 1837 to —.

METHODISM IN TALBOT

The man whose home is in the country, and who, in his struggle for life, is brought face to face with nature, both in her benignant and maleficent moods, is more apt to cherish a belief in a superintending power that controls the world, than the dweller in the towns, where the contest for existence is with man himself, or the laws which man has made. The countryman, whose life is poor and barren as compared with the full rich life of his neighbor of the city, is prone to think that beyond the present there is another state of existence where some compensation will be rendered to him for his privations here, and where there shall be a realization of those pleasures which exist for him only in imagination. Our people of Talbot have always been a rural people. The towns of the county have always been small and few. As a consequence our people have always been a peculiarly religious people. Whatever may be the conception of the nature of religion—whether as a body of opinions, upon matters of the highest import, or as an inspiration of feeling or sentiment elevating man in his lowliness and cheering him in his despondency, or finally as a code of duty guiding and directing his steps amid a moral darkness, or through a wilderness of error—with us, it has been held as our highest philosophy, our most ennobling impulse, and our wisest rule of action. By it, more than by any other immaterial influence, has our life been fashioned and formed, and from it our society has derived its hue and impress. More completely segregated from the great world than most rural populations; our peninsular situation, hemmed in by two great bays and the wide ocean; more largely cut off from intercourse with each other than people occupying a compact country, by our water courses which permeate this county in every direction, and often widely divide even the nearest neighbors; the services of the church or meeting, calling those together from distant parts, who else would seldom or never have met, served to keep alive the feeling of sociability, which is the very foundation of all civility, but which, though instinctive, may actually perish through lack of opportunity for its due gratification. Thus it was that religion resisted the barbarizing influences of social isolation, and maintained the vitality, early as well as late in our history, of those seeds of civilization, which, brought from our old home, might else have been blighted in their growth under new and unfavorable environments. The clergy, apart from their office of interpreters of

the mysteries, of enforcers of the requirements, and of ministers of the consolations of religion, have always been held in honor and veneration because they have been the repositories, as it were, of much of whatever culture has existed among us, and they have been the mediums of communication between the common intelligence and the highest and best thought of the time. The sphere that is so completely filled by the press, at the present, was once held by the pulpit; and it is no contradiction of this assertion that the pulpit chiefly exercised itself in enforcing ritual observances or the moral law. It was to be expected that at a time when and in places where eternal interests occupied men's minds more than now, the ministers of religion should dwell upon other than temporal themes. It had not yet been discovered how nearly correlated are the material and spiritual conditions of any people. Very early in our history, too, religion connected itself with education, that second great instrument of moral influence upon society. Our very first teachers may not have been clergymen, but one of the first movements in this county towards supplying free instruction to the common people was inaugurated by a most enlightened priest of the established church, and seconded by those who were affected by his counsel or example. Finally, up to the time of our revolutionary war, religion made a part of our political system, and thereby it aroused an interest separate and distinct from that which sprang from the exercise of its spiritual offices. The union of church and state, which for a long time subsisted among us, was thought to be, and may have been, as necessary as the connection, at the present, between the schools and the state. How far the moral character of our people and their national prosperity was improved by this union, and how far legislative action or state politics was chastened and restrained by this connection, which now seems so unnatural, this is not the place to discuss; but of this there is certainty, the making the religion of the state a part of the political system of the state was calculated to arouse antagonism to the former, which in the end terminated in hostility. But notwithstanding this hostility the fact that the union of church and state was maintained for so many years is evidence that the people of the province regarded religion as of such moment, that it deserved the support of the government, and that it was the part of political wisdom to uphold that union. The historians of the state have not determined to what extent opposition to the method of appointing ministers to parishes, and to the levying money for their support, conduced to the great revolution of 1776. But the fact that ministers were appointed by the Governor and council, and that they received their stipends from the

public purse, gave them a consequence with those who had no reverence for their sacred character, and placed little value upon their intellectual and moral worth.

Therefore, in preparing the local annals of this county an account of religion, as it existed among us from the beginning, must occupy a conspicuous prominence. The changes of religious opinion; the rise and decline of new sects or societies; their influence on current thought and conduct; the succession of the ministers; the lives of their influential members; the formation of their vestries, visiting committees, boards of stewards and charitable associations; the building of their houses of worship and other ecclesiastical structures; their glebes and endowments; the territorial limits of their parishes, quarterly and yearly meetings, their circuits, dioceses and conferences; their controversies and contests; even their follies, extravagancies, vagaries and weaknesses; all are fit subjects for the pen of the humble annalist.

Although Maryland was settled under *Roman Catholic* patronage, it does not appear that at any time in Talbot, this communion was very strong in numbers. There are probably more members of that church now within the county than ever before. The prejudices which it had incurred in the old country were transmitted to this, and in the legal disabilities the provincial legislature imposed, it imitated the parent state. Hence the Roman Church was kept in a condition of suspended vitality, from which it has but recently aroused to new vigor in our midst.

There were *Quakers* in Maryland as early as 1660 or 1661, and probably in Talbot, for here, at Betty's cove, was one of the earliest of the stated meetings of the society. In 1672 Fox preached at the meeting house at "the Cove," and found a large society already formed. This religious body continued to increase in number and influence up to about the time of the revolutionary war, when either from a subsidence of its earlier enthusiasm, or on account of its testimony against slavery, it began to decline. Its influence upon religious thought and feeling in the county has been out of all proportion to its numbers. It does not appear from any extant record that *Puritanism*, in any of its organized forms, ever acquired any foothold in Talbot; but the puritanical spirit, which has existed at all times and in all religions, found its satisfaction, first, in the holy fervor, the self denying simplicity and rigorous rule of the peaceful Friends, and afterwards, in the iconoclastic and conquering impulse of the more militant Methodists.

The ministers of the *Reformed Church* of England from the earliest

dates of the country's history had cures within our limits; and this long before the Church of England became the established church of the province. It is positively certain that the first settlers in Talbot were under protestant influence, and employed protestant ministers as their spiritual directors. In the years 1692 and 1702 those Acts were passed that made the Church of England the established church of the province, which it continued to be until 1776. In 1785 the Protestant Episcopal church, as the successor to the Church of England, was established. In or about the year 1774 the Methodists of Talbot began to be distinguished from the other members of the establishment by their earnest piety, and their fellowship in a separate society. They, as is well known, maintained a nominal connection with the old church until 1784, when the Methodist Episcopal church was formed. This was before the Protestant Episcopal church as a distinct ecclesiastical body had formally organized. There is an interesting minute in the Vestry Record of St. Michael's parish for the year 1780, which indicates the harmony and good feeling between those who were distinctively Methodists, and those who gave their entire allegiance to the church. This a copy of a subscription of money, tobacco and wheat, for the support of the minister, the Rev. Mr. John Gordon. Certain of the subscribers are named as the *Society of Methodists*, and the very first of these was that of Joseph Hartly who had previously been imprisoned in the Easton jail, as is mentioned in the sketch that is to follow. Another of these was Thomas Harrison, who before and after that date acted as vestryman of the parish.

The causes of the rapid spread of Methodism throughout this peninsula, and in Talbot, as an integral part of that peninsula, are very numerous, but can hardly be called obscure. They may be thus summarized: First, A growing hostility to the establishment on account of the compulsory payment of church rates, and of the methods of appointment to parishes. Second, The increase of the democratic spirit, and its antagonism to royalty and aristocracy, which the church was thought to favor. Third, The opposition of many of the ministers of the church on the Eastern Shore, and of some of the members to the patriotic cause, by which the church was thought to be identified with toryism. Fourth, The ill repute in which certain of the clergy were properly held, but which was improperly transferred to many who were not deserving of any imputation of bad morals. Fifth, The repression which the observance of religious forms in public service placed upon the expression of religious emotion. Sixth, The fervid oratory of the preachers as contrasted with

the frigid and dignified sermonizing of the clergy. There is no doubt that the Quaker influence, which had very generally pervaded the county and given complexion to the piety of all those who were earnest in their religious profession, was highly conducive to the rapid success of Methodism; for although the society of Friends, about the time of the appearance here of Wesleyism, had shown signs of decadence, the spirit which animated it in its earliest years, when it found an organization prepared, by a kind of metem-psychosis, migrated into this new ecclesiastical body.

But these are subjects that may not now be elaborated. Another opportunity for the performance of such a duty will not be wanting and shall not be neglected. The object of these prefatory paragraphs is to introduce an article written at the request of the compiler of these memoirs upon our local history. It was his intention to attempt the task himself, of giving an account of Methodism in Talbot, but he was fortunate enough to secure the invaluable assistance of the Rev. Dr. Phœbus, who had been appointed the historiographer of the Wilmington Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and who was and is actively engaged in accumulating materials for a full and accurate history of his church upon the peninsula. Dr. Phœbus kindly consented to furnish a sketch of Methodism in our own county of Talbot in advance of that more complete account which we may expect in his greater work; and for the most interesting and able paper which follows, the thanks are due of all who take an interest in our county's annals, but more particularly of all the members of his communion, of the best culture and of the earnest but chastened piety of which, he is a conspicuous example.

SAINTS AND SHRINES OF EARLY METHOD- ISM IN BAYSIDE

1879

A paragraph in a late number of *The Comet* indicates that during the current month, the Methodists of St. Michaels and its vicinity propose to celebrate with a religious fete the hundredth anniversary of the introduction of Methodism into that region. This is a purpose which even those may commend who are not of the same household of faith, for there are none now so bigoted in their opinions, or so swayed by their prejudices as not to be ready to acknowledge the salutary results of that religious movement in this community which had its beginning about one hundred years ago. Whatever may be thought of the truth of the doctrines then preached, or the propriety of many of the practices which then arose, there can be no doubt that morality was strengthened, and piety deepened; that men's lives were rendered purer, and their minds elevated and consoled by Methodism. It is not perfectly clear why this year of grace, 1879, has been selected as the centennial anniversary of the introduction of Methodism into Talbot, or more strictly the Bayside of this county. It is presumable, however, that those who have prompted this commemorative ceremonial, have sufficiently investigated the subject and can justify, from historic data, the selection of July, 1779, as the date of the appearance of Mr. Wesley's preachers in this section and neighborhood; but liberty is taken to say that there is very good ground for believing, if indeed there be not conclusive evidence, that several years before this time, the people of Talbot, and of Bayside had shared in the great awakening by the preaching of Mr. Wesley's missionaries. It is even not improbable that the voice of that most eloquent of preachers, Whitefield, was heard within our bounds long before this time. In 1763 it is certainly known that there was a society of Calvinistic Methodists in the neighboring county of Queen Anne's, and if this society was formed by that great evangelist (of which there is no certain evidence, however) it is not unlikely in his tour through this and the other provinces, he may have stepped over into Talbot. But if Whitefield did not visit this county, as one of the historiographers of Methodism has conjectured that he did, there is little or no doubt that

some of Mr. Wesley's preachers were here and exercising their vocation successfully in 1777, and possibly in 1776. In 1774 the circuit called Kent was formed with very ill-defined limits. The preachers which were sent to the people of this circuit were largely endowed with the propagandist spirit, and were not likely to confine their labors strictly to those regions that had already been conquered to Methodism. They no doubt undertook incursions *in partibus infidelium*, as all regions were considered to be which had not heard the gospel as it was expounded by them. Of this Kent circuit the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson had charge in 1776. But he was relieved by one Daniel Ruff, when, as he says, "he went out to form a new one," and began preaching in Tuckahoe Neck, Caroline County. It is not likely that any Methodist preacher, and it is least likely that Freeborn Garrettson, would confine his labors to Caroline when richer fields, waving with more abundant harvests ready for the ecclesiastical sickle, lay under the very eye of this Joshua, just across the Jordan of Tuckahoe Creek. Yet, it is not absolutely certain that Freeborn Garrettson was here in Talbot earlier than 1778—a fact which presently will be more fully noticed. In 1777 the preachers which were sent to the Kent circuit, which, as has been shown, was of indefinite extent, and embraced all the region that could be reached, were these:

MARTIN RODDA,

WILLIAM GLENDENNING,

ROBERT WOOSTER,

JOSEPH CROMWELL.

The last mentioned of these apostles of Eastern Shore Methodism, is certainly known to have preached in Talbot, and all of them possibly preached. It is upon record that Joseph Cromwell in this year preached at Wye, Saint Michaels and Bayside. He therefore may with propriety be called the founder of Wesleyan Methodism in this county, and especially in Bayside: for although there may have been preachers here before him, he was the first of whom there is positive indubitable, and recorded evidence, to preach "religion in earnest" as Methodism has been appropriately called, to the people of Talbot and particularly of St. Michaels and its vicinity—to the people, whose descendants are about to celebrate this important event, the consequences of which have been so marked in their habits, their thoughts, and indeed in their social structure.

Of Joseph Cromwell, it is fortunate that we know something. It is said that he was reared in the neighborhood of Baltimore. There are people of his name there to this day. He was "so illiterate as to be

unable to write his own name, and yet he preached in the demonstration of the Spirit, and with an authority few could withstand. By his labors thousands of all classes and conditions in society had been brought into the fold and were walking worthy of their profession." Bishop Asbury said of him: "He is an original, indeed—no man's copy. He is the only man I have heard in America with whose speaking I am never tired. I always admire his unaffected simplicity. He is a prodigy—a man that cannot write or read well; and yet his words go through me every time I hear him. The power of God attends him more or less in every place. He seldom opens his mouth but some are cut to the heart." This capable and devoted man may therefore be regarded as the founder of Methodism in Talbot. For this reason, and because he embodied its spirit as well as illustrated in his life and character its distinguishing virtues, he should hold the first place in the local hagiography of the people of this denomination, and, receiving the canonization of the church, should be revered as the patron saint of the Methodists of Bayside. The followers of Wesley, Northern and Southern, Old-Side and Radical, would honor themselves, as well as be paying a just tribute to the adventurous devotion, and the holy zeal of this founder of their several churches, to this father of the whole family of Methodists in this county, by erecting to him during this year a memorial tablet in the church at St. Michaels. Besides, such a memento, being ever before them, would be a silent but continual exhortation to emulate his virtues, better than the sermons of the most eloquent of his successors in the ministry.

If Cromwell may be regarded as the pioneer of the Methodist Church in Talbot, and especially of Bayside, one who came soon after him, and who *may* have preceded him, may be called the organizer; and to him justly belongs the second place among the saints of this region. If Cromwell went into the wild forest, and with his rude and sturdy strength cleared away the brush and felled the timber, Garretson soon followed, and with his constructive power, built the sacred edifice. It is not necessary in this article to say much of this very able, pious and zealous minister. He is really an historic character, and of such eminence that few persons in his church are uninformed of his great worth, and his successful labors. Besides being a man of deep piety, he was cultivated in his mind, refined in his manners and enjoying good social position. He was therefore fitted to commend Methodism to a class who were not attracted to it by the ruder and plainer Joseph Cromwell. It was his special duty to secure to the "society"

the conquests which were made by the fiery zeal and exhausting labors of less cultured, but hardly less able men. He arrived, as he himself says, in Talbot in July, 1778, and "labored for two weeks, night and day with tears." Those who were attracted to Methodism by his preaching and that of his co-laborers, he united into societies. In November of this year he attended a quarterly meeting in this county, at the house of Mr. Parrott, near St. Michaels, and after the business meeting had concluded, a prayer meeting was held, at which fifteen persons were present. As yet the conception of a separate ecclesiastical body was imperfectly formed, and the "societies" were considered still within the Church of England, although of course that church as an "establishment" had disappeared with the adoption of the constitution of the State of Maryland in 1776. From July, 1778, therefore, organized Methodism in Talbot, and of course in Bayside, must date its existence.

Associated with Freeborn Garrettson on the great Kent circuit, with which Talbot after the formation of the societies had been incorporated, was Joseph Hartley. If Cromwell was the pioneer and founder of Methodism here, and Garrettson the organizer, Hartley was the proto-martyr. The story of the arrest and imprisonment of this preacher, both in Queen Anne's and in Talbot; of his being committed to jail in Easton for teaching and preaching the gospel contrary to the Act of Assembly, made and provided; of his conscientious scruples about taking the oath of allegiance to the new State of Maryland, after having taken a similar oath to the State of Delaware; of his preaching to assembled crowds from his jail window; of his being taken from prison to the dying bed of one of the justices that had committed him; of the testimony of this dying magistrate to his being "the servant of God," and of his request that Hartley would preach his funeral sermon; of the release, after a while, of this servant of God, upon his recognizance to appear at court, from day to day, until discharged—this whole story has been so often told, that it need not be here repeated. Joseph Hartley married, settled, and died here. His place of sepulture is not known, and as the bones of the Methodist saints have no power of discovering themselves by working miracles like the relics of the saints of other communions, the grave of this confessor cannot be made the shrine to which the devout may repair; but nevertheless his services to Methodism, his patience under affliction, and his holy zeal should not fail to have their due recognition in this year, which is really the centennial anniversary of his imprisonment, and of his preaching like St. Paul

at Rome, in bonds. Garrettson also suffered imprisonment, in Cambridge. Hartley lived at *Dundee*, in Miles River Neck, and was probably buried in the burial ground that surrounded the Chapel of the Church of England, which was on that farm.

When these early preachers appeared in Talbot, religion was at a low ebb. It was characterized by formality and indifference. The Church of England, which was the established church of the province, was very inadequately performing its duty towards the people. The clergy were few in number, and as their stipends were sure, and their positions enjoyed without rivalry, their clerical functions were performed with a kind of official regularity, and an official apathy. There had been many of these clergymen of improper character, but at the time when Methodism came in the three ministers of the church, within this county, were men of exemplary lives. These were the Rev. Jacob Henderson Hindman, in St. Peter's Parish, who was succeeded by the Rev. John Bowie in 1780; the Rev. John Gordon, in St. Michaels Parish; and the Rev. Hugh Neill, in St. Paul's Parish (Wye). Of these the Rev. Mr. Bowie and the Rev. Mr. Neill were non-jurors or tories. The church, even before the revolution, and particularly since the political contest over the vestry act in 1770, had lost much of the affection of the people, among whom there was a growing opposition to the payment of the tax for the support of the clergy. The sittings were very inadequate for the accommodation of the worshippers. In the whole county there were but three churches and two chapels of ease belonging to the established church, to accommodate a population which in 1780 amounted to at least 12,000 souls. The two chapels of ease were at this time in ruins. In the Bayside, the church at St. Michaels was the only place of worship, except a little Quaker meeting house near the head of Harris's Creek. The Friends had in the county three other houses—one near Easton, one near Trappe, and a third in King's Creek, or Tuckahoe. Even these good people, who at an earlier day had shown so much fervor, were sharing in the general indifference to religion, and were not only cooling in their ardor of an hundred years before, but relaxing in the rigidity of their discipline. They were also declining in numbers. The only other denomination of Christians within the county were the Roman Catholics, of which there was a mission chapel at St. Joseph's, founded in 1765. There were so few Romanists that their presence, however devoted they may have been, did not perceptibly change the religious aspect of society. So there were in the whole county, at the date of the introduction of Methodism,

but two houses of worship, where according to the present ratio, between church and people, there should have been more than thirty. In the whole Bayside, below Easton, there were but two, where there are now fifteen or more. When the Methodist preachers came in, what houses of worship there were, were closed against them: and until their converts became sufficiently numerous and wealthy to build meeting houses their public services were held in private houses, in barns, in hired rooms in the towns, or in the open field, the woods or orchards. Camp meetings among these people were of later introduction, and were adopted because there was a lack of sufficient house accommodation for the immense throngs that often assembled at their meetings. It is said that one of the earliest preaching places in Bayside was at the residence of Mr. Richard Parrott, near St. Michaels, on the farm now owned by Mr. Alexander Harrison. There is an early record of a quarterly meeting at this place, in these words: "In November, 1778, on a quarterly meeting occasion in Talbot county, about fifteen persons met to hold a prayer meeting at Mr. Parrott's the night after quarterly meeting ended. Mr. Garrettson was assisted at this meeting by Mr. Hartley, and his brother, Richard Garrettson. This was a powerful meeting and lasted six hours—ending at two o'clock in the morning. Five souls—Dr. White, his two sisters and two other young ladies—were set at liberty." Mr. Garrettson, from whose book of reminiscences of his ministry this extract has been made, speaks of this meeting as an actual epiphany of the Diety, in such words as these: "the Lord was with us in truth"—"the power of the Lord was sensibly felt"—"His presence filled the room." From other declarations of Mr. Garrettson, and from the well-known opinions of some of the more enthusiastic of his followers these expressions can hardly be considered metaphorical. There is another interesting record of a meeting at Mr. Parrott's house, to this effect: "William Waters, about the year 1779, in a barn on Parrott's Point farm, held a two days' meeting. Seven persons were converted, and a class formed in St. Michaels." The place where this barn stood, therefore, may be considered a hallowed spot to Bayside Methodism. Another family, which if not living in this section at the time, became identified with it subsequently, opened its house to these early apostles of this faith. This was that of the Bruffs. Mr. Robert Newcomb, belonging to Bayside and living just above Royal Oak, was a friend of the preachers, and probably had services at his house. In Ferry Neck, Arthur Rigby, a blind man of good fortune, excellence sense, and ardent piety, permitted the use of his

house, which was of ample dimensions. A little later, Henry Banning, living in Hopkins's Neck, whose wife has been canonized, so far as having her name mentioned by all the hagiographers of Methodist saintliness, extended like hospitality to the preachers. Doubtless there were many others of similar liberality, but their names have unfortunately not been transmitted by either written record or oral tradition.

It is not certainly known where the first meeting house that was erected for the use of the Methodists of Talbot, was built: but inasmuch as very soon after the preachers began their labors in this county, these people became very numerous in Bayside, it is highly probable that to them belongs the honor of building the first house dedicated to worship according to these forms.

Certain it is, that the first recorded deed for land to be used for this purpose bears the date of 1781, and was for a lot in the town of St. Michaels.¹ The following is an abstract of this deed:

This Indenture, made the sixth day of June, in the year of our Lord, seventeen hundred and eighty-one, witnesseth that James Braddock, of Talbot County, Gentleman, having a pious zeal and peculiar love for the society of people called *Methodists*, as also for other divers good causes and considerations thereunto moving, Doth by these presents willingly, freely and voluntarily give and grant unto

JAMES BENSON,	RICHARD PARROTT,
ROBERT LAMBDIN,	JOSEPH HARRISON,
JOHN KERSEY,	JOSEPH DENNY,
THOMAS HARRISON,	JOHN MACDONALD,
and DANIEL FAIRBANK,	

(Trustees specially appointed by the said society of people called *Methodists*) the half of two town lots of land, distinguishing on the platt of St. Michaels, by lots number thirty-seven and thirty-eight, [here follows a description of the property which fronted on St. Mary's Square],

¹In the year 1790, a lot of ground in the town of Easton, on Goldsborough street, on the east side of Thoroughgood lane, was purchased for five shillings from James Seth, by Alexander McCullum, Moses Allen, John Blake, Geo. Miller, William Martin and James Vansant for the use of the Methodist Episcopal Church. As this was the site of the Chapel that for many years was used by the Methodists of Easton, until the house on West street was erected in 1829-30, it is persumable that the date of the deed was the date of the erection of the building. Unquestionably these people had a place of worship before this time, and tradition asserts that this original chapel, which may have been a hired house, stood on Washington street, nearly opposite the Brick Hotel. It has been found to be impossible to verify this tradition by any documentary evidence. But Garretson relates that in 1787 he preached in the "little chapel" at Talbot Court House—that is before the date of the above mentioned deed.

in order that they may build thereon a good and convenient house, agreeable to the instructions of the people called Methodists, for the public worship of Almighty God, and to and for the said use and purpose, and to no other use, intent or meaning whatsoever.

The remainder of the instrument is purely formal. The witnesses were Jonathan Harrison and Jos. [or Jas.] Wrightson. The date of the building of this house was the date of the formation of Talbot circuit, to which these preachers were sent, viz.: Henry Willis and Jeremiah Lambert. The house erected on this lot was quite commodious and was built of brick. It had what was called a hipped roof, and stood with the side to the square. This house was removed in the year 183— when the building now used as a High School was erected.

The meeting house next erected in Bayside was that upon or near the Bay shore, upon land called "Miles End," and purchased for seven shillings and sixpence from John and Mary Lambdin Kersey. The deed was dated May 1, 1804, and was made to the following persons as Trustees, viz:

JOHN MCDANIEL,	ROBERT COLLOSON,
ROB'T LAMBDIN, JR.,	DANIEL LAMBDIN,
ROBERT LAMBDIN,	JAMES MCDANIEL,
JOSEPH HOPKINS,	JAMES HADDAWAY.

There are provisions in the deed for maintaining the number of nine trustees. Mr. Kersey probably made the ninth, though not mentioned as such, as he was the party of the first part to the deed. This meeting house was transferred to the colored people not long ago, and a new one erected near by, for the white congregation.

The third meeting house of the Methodists of the Bayside section of the county, that was built, was that erected about a mile above the Royal Oak, in the year 1808, upon land acquired from Henry Banning, whose house had been a preaching place anterior to that date. The names of the Trustees were as follows, viz:

ARTHUR RIGBY,	JAMES JONES,
THOMAS TOWNSEND,	CHARLES RIGBY,
JOSEPH ESGATE,	JOSEPH HOPKINS,
RICHARD DAWSON.	

This house was very recently removed to the village of Royal Oak, and extensively improved, in order that the old Methodists might compete on equal terms with the Southern church.

The fourth house of worship of the Methodists in this section of the county, that was erected, was in Ferry Neck, upon land obtained of Mr. Henry Colson. The Trustees of this little chapel at the date of its building, 1817, were:

SPEDDEN OREM,
JOHN W. BATTIE,

JOHN HARRIS,
ARTHUR RIGBY,

RICHARD EATON.

This house still stands, being used by the colored people, a new one having been built a short distance above for the white congregation. The last mentioned of these trustees was the hierophant at this little shrine, being a class-leader and exhorter. He was a man of great simplicity of mind and sincerity of heart, but he made no pretensions to saintliness of character, for the natural man in him was never completely subdued. He was a good man, and died in the sweetness of peace if not in the odor of sanctity.

It is not necessary further to extend this recital of the dates of the erection of the numerous meeting houses that have been built in Bayside. This would be to enter upon the era of modern Methodism. This modern Methodism continues to build shrines and to nurture saints, but time is necessary to hallow with sacred associations the one, and the vista of years is required to enable us to perceive the nimbus of sanctity that surrounds the heads of the other. What has been, shall be; so when the present times shall become the old times—when another hundred years shall have passed—then many a place that is now trodden with careless feet will be marked as the scene of some divine manifestation, and many a person whom we daily pass with indifferent recognition, shall have had his name enrolled among those the church has beatified.

EPISCOPAL CHURCHES IN SAINT MICHAELS

THE OLD CHURCH AND THE NEW

Work was begun on the new Parish church of St. Michaels Parish, Talbot County, Md., Tuesday, June 25, 1878.

In tearing down the old church the parts near the walls were found to be entirely decayed, and the walls themselves cracked from the top to the foundation and started out of plumb from three to five inches. The workmen found the tomb of Rev. Henry Nicols under the chancel in good preservation, and also the tomb of Rev. Mr. Chamberlaine on the interior of the west gable; these were carefully protected from injury. The following is the Latin inscription on the slab over Rev. Mr. Nicols's tomb, which was covered by the chancel floor, and exposed when the chancel was removed:

H. S.
Jacent Exuviae
H. Nicols, A. M.
Coll. Jesu Ox:
Olim Socii
Hujus Ecclesiae Pastoris. Indignissimi
per Annos 41.
Nati Aprilis 1 mo 1687
Denati Feb'y 12 mo 1748
Salvam fac Animam Christe
pro meritis fuis
Vixit Annos 70
Sal fatuum conculcate
Haccipsc jussit inculpanda

This inscription may be translated thus:

Here lies the remains of Henry Nicols, A.M., formerly a fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, and a pastor of this church for 41 years—most unworthy. Born April 1st, 1678; died Feb. 12, 1748. Save his soul, O Christ, for Thy own merits. He lived 70 years. Tread upon salt without savor. He ordered these to be inscribed.

The present church is not very old, having been built in 1812. It is the third church on the same spot.

The first recorded baptism took place in 1672. These different churches judging from the records cost the sparse and scattered population much labor and self-denial, and the present congregation cannot expect to finish the work which they have now begun without experi-

encing the same self-sacrifice. The church would not be a worthy offering to God if it cost them nothing.

The plan of the new church is by Henry M. Congdon, 111 Broadway, New York; it is, we believe, of the early English transition style. The dimensions, in length, from west gable of tower, to east gable of chancel is 100 feet, full width from outside to outside 52 feet; within these walls there is a vestibule in the tower 12x15½ feet, a nave or audience room 48x48 feet, a chancel including choir 25x25 feet, an organ room 10x12 feet and a vestry room 10x12 feet. The central aisle will be 7½ feet wide with two side aisles along the walls. Beside the entrance through the tower there will be an entrance through a south porch. The Sunday school room is placed in a gallery over the north gable, it will be a handsome room, thoroughly lighted and ventilated, approached through a winding stair-way in the tower, dimensions about 18x48 feet. When finished it will be so arranged that after the school is over it can be turned into a pleasant and roomy seating-place for the colored people. The front elevation of this church with tower and spire is very beautifully proportioned, and when finished will be a great ornament to the town of St. Michaels. The outside dimensions of the tower are about 20x20 feet, stone-work running up about 60 feet, finished with a spire including cross, about 45 feet, making in all 105 feet. The whole church is plain but beautifully proportioned and if finished as designed by the architect will do credit to the vestry of St. Michaels Parish, be an honor to the neighborhood, and enhance the fame of the architect.

When the floor of the old church was taken up, some old flint-and-steel muskets were found. It is known that during the war of 1812 the church was occupied by soldiery, and these old muskets have doubtless been there since that time.

EARLIEST CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN TALBOT COUNTY

The ancient town of Doncaster stood on the tract of land in Miles River neck which continues to perpetuate the name of Doncaster farm. It was located at the mouth of Wye River, opposite Bennett's point. Bruff's Island was separated from the town of Doncaster by a narrow, but deep, channel through which the largest sailing vessels could pass. The stone foundation of a large building that was evidently a tobacco warehouse, and which had been completely covered by the sand for more than a century was unearthed, in 1912, by some workmen engaged in building a concrete sea-wall for Mr. Sidney S. Schuyler, the present owner of Bruff's Island, and also of a part of the Doncaster farm. There is a plat of the town of Doncaster still preserved by Mr. Charles Howard Lloyd upon which is marked a Roman Catholic Chapel with a steeple on it. This was doubtless the chapel which Frances Sayer, the widow of Col. Peter Sayer, in her will probated 27th September, 1698, ordered built of lime and brick over the burial place of her late husband, who was High Sheriff of Talbot County, and who died less than a year before her. In his will, probated 2nd November, 1697, he devises one-third of his estate "to the English Benedictine Nuns and English Benedictine Monks at Paris, and to English Friars." He also directed his Executors, (his wife, Frances, and nephew, Charles Blake,) "to sell Proptr's Island, or some other piece of property, and out of the proceeds to pay certain personalty to Thomas Lifeholly, to each of testator's grandchildren (unnamed), and to all priests in the Province." The Island referred to was Crouch's or Bruff's Island, which, however, he had sold before his death to Edmond O'Dwyer.

Philemon Lloyd the only child of Edward Lloyd, the Puritan, married Henrietta Maria Bennett, the widow of Richard Bennett, of Bennett's Point. He was accidentally drowned in Wye River, leaving her a young widow with an infant son, Richard Bennett, Jr. She brought to her second husband a large fortune, and bore him three sons and four daughters. Among the many tracts of land mentioned in her will, probated June 2, 1697, she mentioned the Great Island in Wye River bought of

Charles Hemsley. Being a daughter of Captain James Neale and Henrietta Maria Gill, who were Romanists, she was a devout Catholic, as is evidenced by the following devises in her will. "To the priests at the Chapel at Wye River 100 acres, 'Town Road,' bought of Richard Hazelten and also land bequeathed testatrix by John Londy of Chester River." John Londey, by his will executed April 2, 1693, devised one-third of his estate to Roman Catholic Chapel at mouth of Wye River.

OLD ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH

Rev. Joseph Mosley, a Jesuit Priest, who came to Cecil County in 1760, had charge of a Catholic mission at Bohemia Manor until 1787. He travelled all over the Eastern Shore, and in the journal, left by him, he says he baptized about 600 persons, many of whom were negro slaves, and that between the years 1766 and 1787, the accessions to the Catholic Churches to which he ministered, including some on the Western shore, numbered 185, and he performed the marriage ceremony 170 times and officiated at about 175 funerals. In 1764, he organized a church at St. Joseph's in Talbot County, and probably with a view of founding another mission similar to the one at Bohemia, purchased about three hundred and fifty acres of land in Chapel District, near the border line of Queen Anne's County. The next year he placed eight negroes, which he brought from Prince George's County at a cost of £10, each on this farm. These negroes are supposed to have been in charge of an overseer. Father Mosley's journal contains many curious entries illustrative of the manners and customs of society at the time they were made. Among them are the following: "4th November, 1770, I married Jerry, a negro of ours to Jenny, a negro belonging to Mr. Charles Blake, but afterwards bought by us. Test,—many negroes, both ours and others, at St. Joseph's, Talbot. 23rd July, 1777, I married Davy, a negro of ours, to Hannah, a negro of John Lockerman, by his consent. Many negroes of his and our family being present. September, 1795, married at home a wench of John Connell (Senior), named Hannah to a fellow of Tullies Neck, by note." There are many entries in Father Mosley's journal of marriages of negroes "by note," which meant that the sable couples had notes from their owners requesting or authorizing him to perform the marriage ceremony. The above data, in relation to Father Joseph Mosley is taken from Johnston's History of Cecil County. The Catholics continued to hold this farm until 1882, when they sold it to John P. Stelle. They, however, retained the Church

and a few acres surrounding it. This ancient brick edifice although now (1914), just a hundred and fifty years old, is in a good state of preservation and regular weekly services are held in it by Priests from the Parish Church in Easton. The Jesuits had conveyed this entire property in 1874, to the Bishop of the Diocese of Wilmington. Father Albert Peters was the last resident Pastor of the Jesuit Society.

ORIGIN OF TALBOT GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Choptank River takes its name from a tribe of Indians that inhabited both shores of this stream before its settlement by the English. They were men of large stature. In the Academy of Natural Sciences in Baltimore, there are several skeletons of these Indians (taken from an Indian mound at Sandy Hill on the Choptank near Cambridge) that measure nearly seven feet in height with skulls of unusually large size.

Miles River, or St. Miles River, is a corruption of Saint Michaels, its original name. In colonial times all grants of land from the Lords Baltimore were in the shape of leases subject to small and merely nominal ground rents, reserved by the Proprietary, and payable annually at Michaelmas, the Feast of St. Michael and All Angels, which in the calendar of the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches occurs on September 29; hence St. Michael was considered to be the patron saint of colonial Maryland, and as such was honored by the river being named for him.

The change of name was due to the fact that the Quakers, a large colony of whom were among the earliest settlers in Talbot County, having no reverence for saints, persisted in dropping the word saint and calling the river Michaels River, which readily became corrupted into Miles.

As early as 1667, six years after the laying out of Talbot County, may be found in the Proceedings of the Provincial Council of Maryland, a commission issued by Charles Calvert, Esq., Captain General of all the forces within the Province of Maryland, to George Richardson as captain of all troops of horse that shall march out of "Choptanck and St. Miles rivers in Talbot County, aforesaid upon any expedition against any Indian enemy whatsoever," etc.

At the same time, a similar commission was issued to Hopkin Davis, as Captain of foot in Choptanck and St. Miles rivers. So we find authority for St. Michaels and Michaels, St. Miles and Miles; take your choice.

Wye River, which forms the northern boundary of Talbot County, was given this name by Edward Lloyd, the Welsh emigrant who took

up large tracts of land along its southern shores, before the laying out of Talbot County. He named it for the beautiful winding Wye, noted for its sinuosity, whose source is near that of the Severn, rising almost at the summit of Plinlimmon, a mountain in Wales it forms the boundary between the shores of Brecon and Radnor in South Wales, ere it enters Herefordshire, England, and thence flowing through this county, Ross and Monmouth, falls into the Severn near Chepstow. To the Lloyd homestead, which has continued in the possession of the Lloyds of Wye for nine generations he gave the name of Wye House.

The Tred Avon River doubtless takes its name from one of the many Avon rivers in Old England, most likely from the Lower Avon that empties into the Bristol Channel.

Of the thirteen Eastons in England, the most important town of that name is situated about one mile from the head of the Lower Avon. Easton, Talbot's county seat, being just one mile from the headwaters of the Tred Avon River, is supposed to have been named for this English town.

In colonial days there were many merchant vessels trading between Oxford, Maryland, and Bristol, England, near which Easton, England, is located and from which section many of the early settlers of Talbot County emigrated.

Edge's Creek takes its name from James Edge, who in 1755, was assessed on over 700 acres of land, lying principally in Deep Neck.

Plain Dealing Creek was so called from the name of a tract of land of 200 acres, surveyed December 5, 1663, for Joseph Winslow, and bordering along the west shore of this creek.

Harris's Creek took its name from William Harris, of the Clifts, Calvert County, who in his will probated May 2, 1698, devised to his two sons Joseph and Benjamin, lands in the lower part of Talbot County.

Peace Blossom Creek. George Robins of Banbury, England, who emigrated to America in 1670 settled in Talbot County on a tract of land at the head of the eastern branch of the Tred Avon containing 1,000 acres, which was surveyed for Job Nutt, January 31, 1660, and called by him, Job's Content. Mr. Robins planted on this estate the first orchard of peach trees that was ever planted in Talbot County. These trees he imported from England, through his lifelong friend Peter Collinson, the then world-renowned naturalist and botanist, which had been procured by him from Persia. When this peach orchard was for the first time in full bloom it presented such a novel sight, that the neighbors for miles around came paddling up the creek in their dug-

out canoes to Mr. Robins' homestead to catch a sight of the beautiful pink peach blossoms, which were at that time such a curiosity that the name of Job's Content was changed to that of Peach Blossom and that romantic name, which was at the same time given to the creek, has been perpetuated for over two centuries down to the present time (1914).

Boon's Creek took its name from one of Talbot's earliest settlers, John Boon, who owned almost all of the land bordering along both sides of this creek, which later, a few years prior to the American Revolution, came into possession and ownership of Samuel Chamberlain who built the colonial mansion thereon, and gave to it the name of Bonfield.

Pickering's Creek, in Miles River Neck, a branch of the Wye River, takes its name from Francis Pickering, who owned a tract of land at the head of this creek, now known as Forrest Landing. In a deed from Francis Pickering et al to Edward Lloyd dated November 9, 1758, this creek is called Long Tom's Creek. Who this Long Tom was, will probably ever remain a mystery.

Leed's Creek, in Miles River Neck, was named for the Hon. John Leeds, Jr., a native of Talbot County, who died in March, 1750, eighty-five years of age. He was one of the "ye worshipful commissioners and Justices of the Peace for Talbot County" 1734-38, and clerk of the Talbot County Court from 1738 till the beginning of the War of the Revolution.

Island Creek was so called from the fact that a small island stood directly at the mouth of this creek, which has entirely disappeared, but was still visible a half century ago within the memory of persons now (1914) living.

Glebe Creek takes its name from a tract of land lying along the south side of this stream which was devised by Thomas Smithson in 1714 to St. Michaels Parish for a Glebe for the support of the rector.

Nelson's Point, at the lower end of Broad Creek Neck, and so called on all the United States Government charts, and also upon the Maryland geological maps, was never the correct name of this point. It is properly Elston's Point, and takes its name from Ralph Elston, who patented "Long Neck" a tract of land at the extreme southern end of Broad Creek Neck, containing 200 acres, and which was surveyed for him March 12, 1664. His name is perpetuated down to the present time (1914) by one of his descendants William Elston Shannahan, a prominent merchant of Easton.

Benoni's Point, which originally extended nearly out to the light-house opposite the mouth of Tred Avon River takes its name from Benoni Banning, one of Talbot's earliest settlers, who owned this point of land. He removed to Virginia, and was in a Virginia regiment in the American Revolution and was wounded in the battle of King's Mountain, N. C.

Pecke's Point, spelled Peck's Point on all maps and government charts, which is on the north side of the Tred Avon River about one mile above Oxford, takes its name from Benjamin Pecke, a lawyer who owned a tract of land which included this point, at the lower end of Hall's Neck. He died in 1709. His son, Benjamin Pecke, Jr., who died in 1729, gave the silver communion service to Christ's Episcopal Church in St. Michaels.

Ship Point, at the mouth of Trippe's Creek, was so named from the fact that a ship yard was located there where many sailing ships were built by Thomas Skillington who died in 1699. He devised to his son Kenelm Skillington, "Turner's Point (the former name of this point) in Hambleton's Neck," as the lower end of Bailey's Neck was then called.

Mr. Thomas Chamberlaine had several vessels built at this ship yard. In 1700, the ship "Elizabeth" was built for him there, to trade between Oxford and Liverpool "by Gilbert Livesley" which was manned by 24 guns and 96 men. In the "Records of Port Oxford" written by the sons and grandsons of Mr. Thomas Chamberlaine, in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society, these ships are frequently mentioned.

Clora's Point, which is improperly spelled on the United States Government maps and charts Chlora's Point, was so called from one Clora O'Dora, who became the owner of a tract of land in Island Creek Neck of 600 acres, fronting on the Choptank River and extending from the waters of Island Creek to those of Dividing Creek, by virtue of a deed therefor dated June 18, 1666, from Edward Lloyd to the said Clora O'Dora and John Marks, whose interest shortly thereafter passed to O'Dora, being a part of Edward Lloyd's original tract of 3,050 acres called "Hier Dier Lloyd." Although he gave to Clora's Point a name which has continued to adhere to it ever since, he actually owned this tract of land less than two years, for on June 8, 1668, by deed of that date, he conveyed it to John Ingram.

Wade's Point, on Eastern Bay, below Claiborne, is so called from its first owner Zachary Wade, one of Claiborne's Kent Island colonists, who crossed over from Kent Island to Talbot in 1758 and took up a tract of 400 acres upon which he settled.

Howell's Point, on the north shore of the Choptank River about three miles below Cambridge, took its name from Howell Powell, one of the early Quaker settlers in Talbot County who owned a tract of land adjoining the Dickinson estate "Crosiadore."

Tilghman's Point, at the mouth of Miles River, took its name from Matthew Tilghman, the patriarch of the Maryland colony, who owned Rich Neck Manor, of which this point is the northern extremity. This fine estate adjoins the village of Claiborne and is now, (1914), the attractive homestead of Henry H. Pearson, Jr.

Chancellor's Point, in Bolingbrook Neck on the Choptank River, is located at the southern end of the tract of land called "Woolsey Manor," containing 1000 acres, which was originally surveyed for Philip Calvert, Esq., who was sometime Chancellor of the Maryland Province. Hence his land was, and continues to be, called Chancellor's Point.

Jamaica Point was so called from the name of a 250 acres tract of land upon which this point is located called "Jamaica," which was surveyed May 18, 1666, for John Richardson.

Deep Water Point, on the Miles River, was in colonial times known as "Feast Landing," because of fish feasts having been held on the hard, sandy beach there. In a certificate of survey made in 1737 by David Davis Barrow, Surveyor of Talbot County, it is stated: "The State of Maryland, sct. February 20th, 1787: By virtue of a special warrant of Proclamation granted out of the Land Office unto Matthew Tilghman, Esq., of Talbot County, bearing date the 15th day of December, 1786, to resurvey a tract or parcel of land called 'The Feast Landing' containing $16\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land, which a certain George Gleaves had heretofore surveyed and laid out for him the 21st of March, 1773, as may appear, etc. I humbly certify that I have by virtue of the aforesaid warrant carefully resurveyed for and in the name of him the aforesaid Matthew Tilghman, Esq., the aforesaid tract or parcel of land according to its respective metes and bounds, and find it to contain sixteen acres and one quarter of an acre of land. Seven acres and three quarters of an acre of which I find to be taken away by St. Michaels river, which I have by virtue of the aforesaid warrant excluded, and have by virtue of the aforesaid warrant added to the aforesaid tract six acres and three quarters of an acre of vacant land and have reduced the whole into one entire tract now called Deep Water Point, etc."

THIRD HAVEN

To the annalist and antiquary there is scarcely any subject of more interest than geographical nomenclature—the tracing to their sources, through all their variations, changes and corruptions, the names of the civil divisions and the physical features of any country. Though it cannot be said that the study of topographical terminology is one of the highest importance, it cannot be disdained as one unworthy of the attention of the man of letters, the statesman, or the man of affairs; for, it often has led to the elucidation of obscurities in history, to the settlement of national disputes, and the protection of large pecuniary interests.¹ To the citizens of Talbot it should not be a matter of indifference whence came the names of the towns, villages and hamlets; the public landings, ferries and bridges; the parishes, hundreds and districts; the islands, points and necks of land; the watercourses, rivers, creeks, coves, branches and mill streams; and even of the manors, plantations and homesteads. Such names are often the only mementoes of many of our worthies of past time, and it should not be deemed an unbecoming sentiment, the desire to transmit some memory of those who, even humbly, wrought for the good of Talbot. Such names, too, perpetuate many local incidents, of too small importance to merit a record in history, but too interesting, to those who claim this county as their home and the home of their ancestors, to be entirely forgotten. Such names, again, bestowed by our fathers as reminiscential of their former homes in the Old World serve to point out the source from which our families sprang, and to keep alive kindly memories of our mother country. In estimating the importance of our geographical nomenclature, of correcting it when erroneous, and perpetuating it when correct—to these benefits, which may be called merely sentimental, may be added those more material advantages which come from its enabling us to settle disputes as to property, of its validating titles, or of securing valuable rights where they have been denied, or been in abeyance. This much it has been thought necessary to say by way of apology

¹ As an instance of the political importance of names, Marylanders and Virginians will recall the long dispute, scarcely yet settled, concerning their boundaries, founded upon a controversy as to Watkin's Point.

for the attempt which is about to be made to determine the name of a water course in Talbot county.

In the Saint Michaels *Comet* of the 18th of Aug., there appeared an account of the Wye, an arm of the bay which in part divides the counties of Talbot and Queen Anne's. The following is an extract from this article:

The name "Wye," some will persist in saying, was given to this river from its shape, this being like the letter Y, the lower part of the river being its shank, and the branches that unite at Wye Island, forming the arm of the Y. However plausible this may seem, it is of course erroneous, as the river was given its name for the Wye of Wales by the Welsh patentees of the lands on its banks. The Welsh Lloyds owned the magnificent country on the east side from its mouth to the borders of Queen Anne's, except "Gross's" where the Welsh Tilghmans settled. Alike erroneous is the notion of the name of the "Third Haven," as it was called—because it is the third haven or branch of the Choptank. The geography that calls it so, is as wrong of this corruption of the name of the Welsh Tred Avon. Such nomenclature is akin to finding the name Oxford in the supposition that the "Third Haven," at this point could once be forded by oxen."

In this paragraph there are several statements which invite criticism, to one of which, and one only, it is proposed to call attention at this time. As the article from which it has been taken appears to have been written deliberately, it would not be safe, perhaps, to say that any declaration the writer has made in it is erroneous; but in the absence or in ignorance of the grounds upon which he declares, apparently with authority, and certainly with positiveness, that the proper name of another water course, wholly in Talbot, is not *Third-Haven*, and is not anything else than *Tred-Avon*, it is permissible to say that possibly he is mistaken. There are three circumstances which determine the correctness of a geographical name, when in dispute, to wit: priority, usage, and fitness. When these all concur, all doubt ceases. When they are not in accord or are in conflict, then question arises. When two of them agree, their weight of authority must over-balance the third and sanction the name they give.

There are few citizens of Talbot who, having occasion to mention the beautiful watercourse that penetrates the county from the south to about the centre, having its debouchure in the Choptank, and its source near Easton, have not hesitated to pronounce or to write its name, and this embarrassment has always increased where particularity or precision has been required. This hesitancy is owing to the fact that it

has been designated by so many names, each of which had the authority of currency, and, as investigation shows, of early usage. It is a singular circumstance that the same hesitancy and confusion has existed for more than two hundred years. The people who lived near the time when this watercourse first received a name from European explorers or settlers upon its borders, were just as much embarrassed as the people of the present day. Whoever bestowed the name seems to have been the only man who could write and pronounce it correctly, and he has left no record as far as is known. The writer in the *Comet* asserts, rather positively, that the name was of Welsh origin. Upon what authority this is said does not appear. The intimation is also, that it derives from some stream or river in the Cambrian principality. The writer of this article has taken the pains to examine all the gazetteers, and atlases that are in the large libraries in the city of Baltimore, and has failed to find any name which approaches in sound or spelling to any of the names which have been attributed to this estuary or creek, for river it can in no sense be called. There are several rivers and rivulets in England that bear the name of Avon, and some small streams in Scotland; but there does not appear to be any in Wales. Indeed, *Avon* seems to have been a generic name in some of the old languages of the British islands, for river. There is no river Avon in Wales. The word *Tred*, is doubtless of Welsh or Celtic origin; at least it is used as a prefix to many Welsh names as *Tredegar*. Further: there is no evidence that there were any early settlers of unquestionable Welsh origin in Talbot county.² It is certainly an assumption, without proof, that Mr. Edward Lloyd, the founder of the family of that name that has so long held, even from the first days of the organization of the county, or even before, a social position of the highest respectability, and that has given so many distinguished statesmen and civilians to the province, state, and nation, came over from Wales. He is known to have come into Maryland from Virginia, and assumed a prominent

² There is plausibility in the presumption that Mr. Morgan the patentee of the tract of land called *Plimhimmon*, near Oxford, possibly a corruption of *Plin-himmon*, was a Welshman. But nothing is known of him. Mr. Robert Vaughan, at one time commander of Kent Island, and Thomas Vaughn, once sheriff of this county, both of whom took up land in Talbot may have been Welshmen, as their name indicates. In the original patent of *Plimhimmon* to Henry Morgan, dated 1658, the land is represented as lying upon *Tred-avon* creek. In a deed of the same estate by John Rousby to Richard Coward, and dated 1718, this water is sometimes called *Tredavon*, and sometimes *Tredavan*. Mr. Samuel Chamberlaine in copying from original papers calls the creek *Thirdhaven*.

position during the Puritan ascendancy, as well as after; but he was probably an Englishman, though of course of Welsh descent, as his patronymic clearly indicates. He died in England, and his will, bequeathing his estate on the Wye to his grandson, states that he was a merchant of White Chapel Parish, Middlesex county. It may be well enough to say here that neither the *Wye* nor the *Severn* are distinctively Welsh rivers, the former has its source and part of its course in Wales, and the latter bounds that principality on the South, but both pass through English territory. The man or men who gave name to this water under consideration died and left no sign to enable us to determine its primitive appellation: nor are we able to trace any of its varied names to an original cognomen existing in those countries from which the first explorers or emigrants into Talbot came.

As has already been stated, this water course was called, in the very earliest days of which we have any records, by as many different names as at the present. An examination of the documents preserved in the office of the clerk of the county, dating back to 1662 or earlier, this river, creek, estuary, or whatever it may be called, appears to have been known by eight, if not more names, some resembling each other in sound and spelling, and others differing widely, though all evidently coming from one original. It was called Tred-Avon, Trad-Avon, Tred-Aven, Tred-Haven, Trad-Haven, Tread-Haven, Trade-Haven and Third Haven. It is proper to say there are here mentioned without regard to frequency of use, weight of authority, or order in time. All that is meant to be said is, these names appear in the Court records, if not absolutely synchronically, at least within the fifty years after the organization of the county, in 1660-61, and were used indiscriminately. Without multiplying instances of the use of these appellations, a few references to their employment may be presented. *Tred-Aven Creek* is mentioned in a deed of William Hambleton (whose descendants are still among us), to Francis Bellows, bearing the date of Sept. 9, 1665. This is the very earliest mention of this water course that has been discovered in our records. In the following year 1666, Richard Tilghman (who was the founder of the family of that name upon the Eastern Shore, and who was *not* a Welshman, as the writer of the *Comet* intimates, but a native of Kent, in old England, and who *was* the ancestor of the Tilghman's of *Groses* on Wye, as of all others of the name upon this peninsula), sold to Richard Preston, 1000 acres of land called Canterbury Manor (in Bailey's Neck, where Richard Tilghman is said first to have settled, before he moved

to *Hermitage* on Chester river), which Manor is stated to have been situated on the Eastern branch of *Treadaven Creeke*. In the same year (1666) Anthony Griffin conveyed to Richard Howard a tract of land upon *Treadaven Creeke*. In 1672, this water is called in another deed, *Treadhaven Creeke*. In 1683 in a conveyance of Cooke's Hope Manor (in Edmondson's neck), originally patented to Miles Cooke, in 1659, the name is written *Treadavon*. In 1686, Benjamin Pecke, from whom Peck's Point received its name, sold a piece of land, part of Hopkins' Point (in Hopkins' Neck), on the west side of *Tredhaven Creeke*. In 1714, a deed of Robert Grundy, to Robert Ungle (him who lived at Plain Dealing, and whose tragic end gave origin to the well-known ghost story), to Thomas Pamphilon of a lot in Oxford, the land mentioned as bounding upon *Third-Haven Creeke*. Upon a fly-leaf of judgment records, in the Clerk's office, there is a memorandum of the sale of a parcel of land to John Edmondson, by Francis Armstrong, made Jan. 18, 1665. This land was said to be on the south side of *Trade-Haven Creeke*. Down to the time of the formation of the State Constitution in 1776-7, it was customary for the Justices of the County Courts to appoint the constables of the several Hundreds into which the county was divided. In the year 1679, these persons were named constables for the several hundreds:

Francis Brooks,	for Island Hundred.
George Carrill,	" Worrall "
Wm. Gaskin,	" Bay "
Richard Moore,	" Trad Avon "
Wm. Trawth,	" Bullingbrooke "
Thos. Willson,	" Mill "
Henry Green	" Chester "

But in the next year Clement Sales was constable for *Tred-Haven* hundred, while in 1686 Walter Quinton, was constable for *Tread-Haven*, and in 1699, William Bush, took the place of Samuel Martin as constable of *Third-Haven* hundred. Now, turning from the Court records to those which next to them are the most ancient, the minutes of the Friends' meetings in this county, we find that upon the opening of the *great meeting house*, that which still stands near the town of Easton, which is much older than the town itself, and which, *possibly*, was the germ of the town, it is represented in the minutes as situated upon *Trad-Haven Creeke*. This record was as of the 24th day of the 8th

month³ (October), 1684, the meeting house having been commenced in 1682, or about that date. On the 10th of the 6th (August) month, 1688, a quarterly meeting was held at the house on *Trade-Haven Creeke*. In 1690 and 1692 the clerk of the meeting used the same orthography, but in 1703 he wrote *Tred-Havens*. Of all the spellings of the name in the Quaker records *Trad-Haven* was the most common in the earlier years, that is, during the time of Thomas Taylor, who was the "man who wrote for the Friends," though it was subsequently changed to *Tread-Haven*, and still later, say in 1760, to Third Haven.

Besides the public rolls of the county and the minutes of the meeting of Friends, there is a third record of early date which merits mention in this connection, namely; a copy of the proceedings of the Commissioners appointed and authorized to lay off the town and port of Oxford. This copy was made at the instance and charge of the Hon. Saml. Chamberlaine, the first of that name in this county. This record is entirely authentic, having been drawn from official sources, though these sources are no longer discernible. It is the only extant account of an interesting event in our local history. The surveys were made by Mr. William Hemsley and Mr. William Turbutt, Surveyors, the first in 1694 and the last in 1707. The surveyors seem to have acted as clerks to the Commissioners, and authenticated the record with their signatures. In this record the name of the water by which the projected town was nearly surrounded is given as *Tred Haven*. Upon the maps or plots which these surveyors made, and which are still in existence and in the possession of the town authorities, the water is not named. The date of the first meeting of the Commissioners was as early as 1684.

Now, after making all the allowance that may be demanded for the ignorance, carelessness or perverseness of court clerks, church scribes, scriveners, conveyancers and attorneys, who seem to have written the name according to no law nor custom, but according to the fancy or whim of each, these details are sufficient to show that, from the very first the orthography or orthoepy was as variable and uncertain as at present. They also show that the law of priority, as giving precedence or preference to a name, is here of no value, for it does not appear that any one name antedated another, but that all the names were used in or about the same time. To be sure, if we take the date of the

³ March was the first month of the ancient Roman year till the adoption of the Julian calendar which was followed by the Gregorian. It so continued in England till 1752. The legal year before that date beginning on the 25th of March.



THE OLD THIRD HAVEN MEETING HOUSE NEAR EASTON, BUILT 1684. THE OLDEST WOODEN HOUSE OF WORSHIP
NOW STANDING IN THE UNITED STATES



first appearance of this water course in the court records of the county as describing the question of priority, the name should be *Tred Avon*: but from the fact that this was not repeated when next there was occasion to employ it, indicates this use to be a mere accident. But it must be confessed that the early and frequent use of some form of modification or corruption of Tread Avon gives countenance and support to the opinion that this, or an appellation something like it, is the original name and that *Third-Haven*, and all the terms which embrace the word Haven was a subsequent denomination, the result of a rationalizing in a matter of nomenclature, or an attempt to reduce a name, which is too commonly arbitrary, to something intelligible and appropriate.

The second criterion of the correctness of a geographical name is *usage*. Usage may be regarded as of two kinds, each of which has its value. These are, common usage and critical usage—or popular and learned. Of common usage among the people, it may be said, there is unfortunately no such uniformity in pronouncing or writing the name of this water course as to place any one style beyond cavil or question. The name is written and spoken now, as it has always been, most variously. But undoubtedly at the present time it is more common to hear and to read of Third-Haven than Tred Avon, or Tread Haven or any other of the variations of the name that has been mentioned. Usage requires no justification. It is itself a law. In this case, however, there are some circumstances which account for the greater prevalence of the name Third-Haven. Among these may be mentioned that it is sufficiently old to have received sanction; it is perfectly intelligible, whereas some of the others have no meaning but sound foreign and archaic; it is compounded of familiar words that come readily to the mind and tongue, and finally it is appropriate. The people therefore have adopted pretty generally this simple name, and have rejected or relegated to the precisians the other appellations. It is rare to hear any other except among those who affect purism or research. Of critical usage, it may be said that there have been few to interest themselves sufficiently about the subject to make such inquisition into the origin of the name as to qualify them to use it with exactitude. Mr. John Leeds Bozman, the historian, who has left behind him an incomplete and unpublished account of Talbot, his native county, particularly of its geographical features, calls this water-course *Third-Haven*. It is not known that this gentleman interested himself with the matter of determining the correctness of names when no historical facts were

involved; but it is hardly probable that he who was aware of the uncertainty that hung around the name of a creek, upon one of the branches of which he lived, as had his ancestors for generations, and who was familiar with the early settlement of the county, having carefully and critically examined all the records both in Easton and Annapolis, would have used a corrupt or a perverted name in a paper intended for publication, and one of a character demanding precision in this regard. On the contrary, Mr. John Bozman Kerr, who has given much attention to our local antiquities, in a deed bearing the date of 1845, and written with exceeding elaboration of detail, more for the purpose of perpetuating certain facts concerning our topography, than of describing the property conveyed, seems to incline to the name *Tred Avon* or *Tred-Haven*, for he employs both terms. It must be said, however, that in using these forms, he appears to be quoting from the ancient copy of the survey of Oxford, referred to above, then in his possession, but now in the hands of Jas. Ll. Chamberlaine, Esq., of Cecil county. Mr. Kerr in this does not certainly indicate his own preference for one or the other name. Among the geographers and chartographers may be mentioned Mr. Joseph Scott, the compiler of a *Gazetteer of the United States, a Geographical Dictionary*, and other works of like character. In his book entitled "A Geographical Description of the States of Maryland and Delaware," published in 1807, he designates this water course as *Third-Haven* river. He may have adopted this as the popular name, without making any examination or special inquiry into its correctness. On the contrary Dilworth who compiled the first map of the county, and published it in 1858, calls it *Tread Haven*. Of course he assigns no authority for his use of this name. The United States Coast Survey charts, made from surveys between 1843 and 1859 and published at various times within those years, calls this water *Third Haven*. It is proper to say that these charts, which are so beautiful and accurate in their delineation, are not to be entirely depended upon for their nomenclature. Upon them are placed accepted or well known names, and the information the gentlemen making them received from the people was in many cases incorrect. Mr. Simon Martenet upon his map of the county published in 1866 follows implicitly the Coast Survey Charts, even to the copying of inaccuracies in the names. In the map of Maryland by O. W. Gray, published in this 1877 the name is *Tred Haven*, while in the map of the county about to be published by Lake, Griffing & Stevenson which has been completed with more than ordinary care, the name will be *Third Haven*, as the writer is assured from an inspec-

tion of the original drafts, before engraving. References to other maps might be made if it were necessary, but they would only serve to show the same diversity as has been indicated by those already made. It would thus seem that this rule of usage, whether learned or unlearned, is of small value in determining the correctness of this or that name, though it is very clear to see that the preponderance is in favor of *Third-Haven*.

The last criterion for determining the correctness of a geographical name is fitness or propriety. That is to say, when a name seems appropriate, it is reasonable to think it is the proper name. Names would not appear to be so arbitrarily and capriciously bestowed, if the motives of the original givers could be known. There is always a reason for a name, though it may be a simple or a silly one. These motives are so numerous and varied that no mention need or can be made of them here. Settlers in a new country, however, with tender recollections of their old homes fresh in their minds are very apt to indulge in a very becoming sentiment, by the bestowal upon the places of their settlement, and upon the natural features marking them, names which have pleasant associations, and are suggestive of agreeable reminiscences of the land they have left. If it were possible to know who first gave name to the watercourses under consideration, we might possibly trace one of the names by which it is called, through its corruptions, to some beautiful stream in the British Islands, beside which the donor had spent his early years. As has been stated above, there are numerous rivers and rivulets in England, France and Scotland, and perhaps in Ireland bearing the name Avon, but there is none that carries a name that approaches to *Tred Avon* or *Tred-Haven*. It is hardly safe, then, to assert that either of these names has been transferred from the old to the new world.

The earliest explorers and settlers of Talbot must have been struck at the first sight of the beautiful estuary, now under consideration, that makes out of Choptank, by its advantages as a road stead or haven for shipping, and particularly of that part of it which extends from Benoni's to Peck's point. Here they found a natural harbor, completely land locked, large enough to admit the British Navy, and with water deep enough to float the largest vessels of that day. Here too they found a natural pier, at the point where Oxford now stands, subsequently called Town Point, where ships might approach the shore within a rod or so, and receive their cargo. In seeking a name for this harbor was it not natural for these explorers or settlers to bestow upon

it some title that should be expressive of their appreciation of the trade advantages of this haven, and call it *Trade-Haven*? Could a more appropriate name have been given? We have seen that sometimes this water was called by this very name. But in sailing up the Choptank, and exploring the indentations of its shores on the North side, they found, when coming around Choptank (or Tilghman's) Island, and passing what they may have called Black Walnut Point, a deep creek making up into the mainland, which furnished a good harbor. This may have received the name of *First Creek*,⁴ and did subsequently get the name of *Harris' Creek* or *Harrison's Creek*, from one Robert Harrison (doubtless the progenitor of that innumerable family in Bay Side) who settled near its head. Going farther up the Choptank, the explorers entered another deep estuary, capable of furnishing them a harbor or haven. This they certainly named *Second Creek*, and as Second Creek it was known for several generations, *Broad Creek* being a name that came into use at a comparatively recent date. Passing on upwards, the explorers turned what is now *Benoni's Point* (the origin of whose name the writer has not been able to discover), and entered another deep creek and harbor, the third from the bay, and this they may have called *Third Haven*, for the reason that it was the third from the Bay. Now the writer in the *Comet* says the notion that this estuary was called Third Haven, because it was the third harbor from the Bay is founded upon a false geography—that is to say, this water is not the third harbor or haven, for there are others beside Harris' Creek and Broad Creek, between it and the mouth of Choptank, as for instance Irish Creek, and Black Walnut Cove. Strictly speaking this is true. But it is presumable that early explorers did not enter every indentation of the shore; and as for Irish Creek it may very well have been passed by in as much as its narrow mouth was partially concealed by what is now called *Royston's*, but originally, *Aldern's* or, perhaps, *Yafford's Island*. It is very natural to suppose early navigators making hasty voyages would regard only the large, and neglect the lesser, bodies of water. The geography that would call Third Haven Creek, the third harbor from the mouth of Choptank, or from the Bay is just such geography as these explorers would make, and it would be near enough to the truth to afford foundation for a name. If this origin of the name Third Haven, could be as clearly established as that of the name Oxford (in

⁴ In some old deeds, this creek is called *First Creek*, in a few *Harrison's Creek*, but in most *Harris' Creek*.

England) from a ford for oxen,⁵ which the writer in the *Comet* ridicules, or seems to ridicule, there would be no longer any dispute, and this article would never have been written.

Finally: Those who have had the patience to read this long essay towards settling a disputed point in geographical nomenclature will have discovered that the argument is wholly inclusive; for neither of the names by which this water is known can claim indubitable priority; neither of them has come into universal use nor been adopted by all geographers, historians and critical writers; neither is so suitable and appropriate as to satisfy all objections. In other words, neither of them answers to even two of those criteria by which the correctness of a name is determined. Every one is therefore at liberty, under the circumstances, to adopt either name, according as his taste is best satisfied, by the one or the other. As for the opinion of the writer of this article, if any one is interested in having it expressed, he would say that he prefers *Third-Haven*, for these simple, but perhaps inadequate reasons: it is familiar, it is comprehensible, it is easily spoken, it is appropriate, it is little liable to corruption and it has the sufficient sanction of old, common and intelligent usage.

⁵ Originally called *Oznaford*, or *Oxeneford*.

THE TOWNS OF TALBOT

THE TOWN AND PORT OF OXFORD

(1882)

The Great Choptank river seems, at this date, to be destined to become again a highway of foreign commerce, and the people seated along its shores may live to see, as did their forefathers long before them, the great ships going and returning with their rich freights and numerous passengers. In anticipation of these coming ships, the town of Cambridge, in the adjoining county of Dorchester, is applying to be invested with the honor which her sister town in Talbot long wore, but of which she was, in her humiliation, wantonly deprived by a superserviceable public officer. A petition is now in circulation in this county to the Honorable the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States, for the reëstablishment of Oxford as a port of entry and departure. The reasons so well set forth in this petition, both sentimental and practical, are such as should persuade every citizen of Talbot who loves and reveres the county of his birth or residence, or who is attached to it merely by the ties of interest, to affix his signature and to use whatever influence he may possess to forward and secure its purposes. The account which is now about to be presented, if it shall have no other value or merit, may at least serve to enforce the claim of the ancient "town and part of Oxford," now happily rejuvenated and restored to more than her former populousness, to be reinvested with that distinction among the towns of the Eastern Shore which she at one time so creditably wore.

The town of Oxford, without doubt, owes its origin to the noble harbor upon which it is seated. Of its founders or first settlers we know as little as of the founders of the great cities of antiquity. It is hardly conjectural that they were men actuated by no great ambition or moved by what are called the nobler motives. They came not for the purpose of serving their king and extending the bounds of this realm. There was no affectation among them of religion or patriotism—of a desire to escape persecution, or to convert the heathen. They were probably plain men simply bent upon bettering their fortunes, having no higher object, entertaining no loftier thought than pecuniary profit, or the

making for themselves and families pleasant homes. They came seeking a place where safely and conveniently they might trade with the Indians, or where they might advantageously undertake the work of planting, with facilities for the shipment of their productions. That arm of the wide estuary of Great Choptank, known as Third Haven creek, having its heads and sources near the center of the county, and its deboucheur between Benoni's and Bachelor's points, forms just above its mouth a broad, deep and sheltered bay.

Viewing this expanse of water, laughing in the sunlight; with its clean shingly beaches extending on either side for miles; with its low sloping banks covered with a magnificent growth of virgin forest extending down to the very shores; with its quiet coves stretching far into the land, and suggesting to the imagination new and hidden charms; the least impressionable must have been affected by its exceeding beauty—a beauty which in large measure it still retains, after the disfiguration of a progressing civilization not yet old enough to produce its own picturesque effects, nor to preserve those that nature has made. The yet keener eye that is open only to pecuniary profit must have been struck at once by its commercial and economical advantages; for here stretched out before it was a capacious harbor, land-locked, deep and secure, to which ships of the largest tonnage could be admitted and vessels of the smallest measurement be protected; communicating directly with the great bay, and easily accessible to the ocean itself; approached by innumerable water ways by which the Indian trapper or European planter might transport his pelts or produce; surrounded by a territory every acre of which seemed fitted for the plough, with a soil which gave evidence of its fertility by the thick growth of the noble oaks, pines, poplars, walnuts and chestnuts that everywhere lifted their towering heads to the sky, or cast their shadows over the waves that came rippling almost to their very roots. The early navigator, Indian trader, land prospector or merchant adventurer, whoever and whatever he may have been who first sailed up this bay, rounding Benoni's point made for the bold headland that lay two miles or more to the north and east of him, and with the southerly wind after him, he weathered the point, long afterwards known as Town point, upon which the low waves were breaking, and dropped his anchor under its protection within twenty yards or less of the clean, pebbly beach, in water deep enough to float the largest ship of the British navy. Landing here, before him and his companions, the timid natives fled from their village seated on the bank, for through their having been subjugated by the warlike

Susquehannocks of the north, and harried again and again by the savage Nanticokes of the south, they had lost all courage and manliness—or in Indian phrase had been *made women of*. Here was a most fitting site for a trading post, and doubtless immediate steps were taken for its occupation. A high bank gave a suitable place for habitations and store houses, and if needs be, a stockade fort might be erected in a position that was almost surrounded by water, and that hardly admitted a surprise by a crafty enemy. These circumstances without any doubt determined that here should be established a place of trade, and thus Oxford was founded. When and by whom will probably never be known. Silently and without ceremony it was occupied. A mist as impenetrable to the historic vision as that which shrouds the origin of Troy or Thebes, veils from our sight the beginning of this little town, which, though we call it ancient, is in comparison with those great cities but of yesterday.

The land upon which the town was built was part of a tract of three thousand and fifty acres, well known in this county as the "Hier Dier Lloyd,"¹ and patented to Mr. Edward Lloyd, the founder of the family of that name in Maryland, Aug. 11, 1659, according to some unauthenticated, but accepted documents. September 20th Mr. Lloyd conveyed four hundred and twenty acres, part of this tract, to Mr. William Stevens, and he, June 16th, 1668, conveyed the same to his son bearing his own name. William Stevens, Jr., conveyed this tract, June 15th, 1672, to Mr. Edward Roe, who dying left this property to an only daughter, Elizabeth, who intermarried with Mr. William Combes, and after his death with Col. Nicholas Lowe. Col. Lowe and his wife conveyed in 1694, portions of this four hundred and twenty acres to the Commissioners appointed to lay off the town of Oxford, under an Act of Assembly, as will appear in the sequel. The Island fell into the possession of the Bozmans through the intermarriage of Mr. Thomas Bozman with Mary, the daughter of Col. Nicholas Lowe; and from the Bozmans,

¹ An attempt has been made to trace the origin and meaning of this name. A letter was addressed to Prof. S. A. Binion, of the Peabody Library, a gentleman of singular accomplishments in linguistics, requesting him to trace the words to their source, and the following is his reply: "I have consulted no less than a dozen authorities of Welsh lexicographic and patronymic works. There are no proper names in the Welsh language under Dyer-Hier or Dier-Hyer, &c. Hyer-Dyer must therefore be a misnomer. The Welsh *hir* or *hair* is equal to English *long*, and the Welsh word *tir dair* or *daear* stands for *land* or *earth*. Thus instead of Hyer Dyer, &c., it should be *Hair Dair Lloyd*, which if rendered into proper English is *the long* (track of) *land belonging to Lloyd*."

through John Leeds Bozman, the historian of early Maryland, it came by devise, into the possession of John Leeds Kerr, Esq., the lawyer and statesman, whom many remember; since whose ownership, it has been held by the late Mr. James Stewart, his heirs and others until sold but a few weeks ago to Capt. Botts.²

The earliest record that has thus far been discovered bearing upon the erecting or establishing a town in Talbot county, unfortunately, is not so explicit as to justify a positive assertion that it has reference to Oxford, although it is very probable that it has such a reference. This record is that of a deed of gift, bearing date the 22nd of Sept., 1668, from William Stevens to the Lord Proprietary, and conveying thirty acres of land "for the settling and building of a towne in Tread-Aven Creeke in Great Choptank."³ The metes and bounds of this tract are given in the deed, and though they may have served at the time sufficiently to mark and designate the land, they are not such as enables us at this date to determine its exact position. That it was upon Third Haven creek, near Great Choptank river, is clear enough, and as in the second record, presently to be noted, reference is made to "town land," lying in the same region, it is a legitimate conclusion that these thirty acres thus devised were the same upon which Oxford was built. This, however, is conjectural. William Stevens, in anticipation of the establishment of a port of entry and departure, may have seen his advantage in giving a part of his land for a town, and that land may have been elsewhere than at the place where the town was subsequently built.⁴

The second record that has been discovered is in these words: "An ordinance of the Right Honourable the Lord Proprietary of this Province of Maryland for the erecting of several ports within the same."

Forasmuch as it is necessary for the good of trade that certain ports within the Province of Maryland be appointed for the lading and unloading of merchandise, his Lordship doth hereby ordain, make out, constitute and appoint that the several places hereafter mentioned, and none other, unless by the particular appointment of his Lordship and his heirs, or his or their Lieut. or Lieuts. or Chief Governor of the said province for the time being, that is to say, in St. Mary's county, in St.

² By an Act of Assembly of 1882 authority was given to connect this Island with the mainland by a causeway.

³ Land Records of Talbot county No. 1, p. 47. The peculiarity of the phraseology—"in Tread Aven" in Choptark" is that which is common in the early records of this county.

⁴ It will be seen in the sequel that William Stevens claimed to have a title to the land which at a subsequent date was laid out for the town of Oxford.

George's river, afore the city of St. Mary's; in Charles county, in Wicomico river, as near the Town Land as ships and other vessels can conveniently ride; in Calvert county, in Patuxent river; in Anne Arundel county, afore the town land purchased of Richard Acton, and afore Herrington in Herring creek, in the same county; in Baltimore county, afore the Town Land in Bush river and Sassafras river, in *Talbot county, afore the Town Land in True haven,* ⁵ in *Choptank in the same county;* in Kent county, in the creek before Morgan's plantation; in Somerset county, afore James Jones, his plantation, shall be the sole and only sea-ports, havens, stations, creeks and places of loading and unloading and departing of all and all manner of goods, wares and merchandises, &c.

Given under the great seal of the said Province of Maryland, the 20th day of April, in the seven and thirtieth year of his Lordship's dominion over the said Province, anno domini, 1669.

Witness Charles Calvert, Esq., his Lordship's Lieutenant General of the said Province of Maryland.

CHARLES CALVERT.

Proclaimed at the city of St. Mary before the Burgesses of the Assembly, there convened, the two and twentieth day of April, in the thirty-seventh year of the dominion, &c.⁶

This proclamation of Governor Calvert is as little decisive as the deed of William Stevens, as to the location of the town proposed to be founded: but it does not invalidate the conjecture that has been ventured.

From this time onward there are numerous records establishing the existence of a town at the place where Oxford now stands, at dates anterior to that of its legal recognition. A few of these may be interesting, and are here inserted for the satisfaction of those who are curious in such matters. That Oxford had an existence in March 1668 is shown by the will of William Parrott, who, in that month of that year, devises to his son of the same name a house and lot in that town, which is mentioned expressly.⁷ "On the 19th day of September (1670) Jno. Pitt comes into court and acknowledges a deed of sale unto Edward Roe of two thirty foot houses, lying and being in ye city of Oxford in Tred Avon, and all ye land hereunto belonging."⁸ On the 18th day of February, 1672, Anthony Mayle deposed in open court that "Michael Taylor did tell your deponent yt he would keep store at ye town of

⁵ Either a false reading or a misprint for Tred Haven.

⁶ From a communication of J. J. Stewart to the *Baltimore Sun*, April, 1878, with reference to the boundaries of Kent, Talbot, Baltimore and Cecil counties.

⁷ Testamentary Records of Talbot county, in Registers office, Volume of Wills for 1665 to 1717.

⁸ Land Records of Talbot county, No. I, p. 167.

Oxford, p'vided he might not be starved, as he was ye last year."⁹ All the keepers of ordinaries within the county were ordered to appear before the county court, and did accordingly so appear Oct. 15th, 1674, when they were all licensed to continue their ordinaries at the places where they had hitherto been kept, except John Boone who "is ordered by the cort to remove, according to his promise then made, unto the town of Oxford in Tred Avon creeke, ye court being satisfied that where he now dwelleth is not a place convenient for an ordinary, &c."¹⁰ Under date of Nov. 17th, 1679 it is recorded "That the court hath considered that the city of Oxford is a fit place for an ordinary, it being convenient for shipping. Ye court hath therefore ordered that Thomas Impey cl'k drawe a license and bond according to Act of Assembly for Edward Simson to keepe ordinary at ye s'd city as afores'd w'th sufficient sureties to performe according to Act of Assemby."¹¹ If other evidence were wanting of the existence of an embryo town at the place indicated, it would be furnished in the fact, that when the town was laid out an account of which is now to be presented, a number of persons claimed ownership of houses and lots within the limits of the town as defined by the commissioners and the surveyor.

At a meeting of the General Assembly in October, 1683, an act entitled "An Act for the advancement of Trade" was passed, Nov. 6th of the same year, declaring certain "town ports and places of trade * * * to be ports and places where all ships and vessels trading into this Province shall unload and put on shore, and sell, barter and traffic away all goods, &c., imported into this Province and all tobacco, goods, &c., of the growth, production and manufacture of this Province, intended to be sold here, or exported, shall be for that intent brought to the said ports and places." Among the towns or places named in this Act; were these within the limits of Talbot county, viz:

Near Tred Avon creek, at the Town Land.

In Kings Creek, near the old town.¹²

In Wye river, Town Land there.¹³

⁹ Land Records of Talbot county, No. III, p. —.

¹⁰ Land Records F. F., p.—

¹¹ Court Records of Civil Judgments of date.

¹² In explanation it may be stated that this was probably what was subsequently known as the town of Kingston, which was near the place now called Kingston Landing.

¹³ This was unquestionably the place which subsequently became known as Doncaster, at the mouth of Wye river, opposite Bruff's or more properly Crouch's island on on the Wyetown farm of Col. Edward Lloyd.

At the Town Land, at the Fork in Chester river.¹⁴

In the following year upon petition of certain of the inhabitants, other towns and ports were established by law, but none in Talbot; but in 1686, upon a similar petition, other towns and ports were authorized to be laid out, to which all the privileges granted to the first were conceded. Among these was one for Talbot,

“At or near the Court House upon the land of James Downes, and the lands adjacent, to be called York.”¹⁵

Again in 1688 other towns were “erected” in the Province, and one of these was in the county of Talbot, as then bounded,

“On the North side of Corsica Creek at a place called Gleven’s Point, to be called Talbot town.”¹⁶

Reverting now to the law of 1683 establishing the town and port of Oxford, it may be interesting to note some of the provisions of that law, and the proceedings held under those provisions. Commissioners were appointed for each of the counties in which the towns were or were to be located, whose duty it should be to purchase the necessary quantity of land, have it surveyed and divided into lots, which were to be marked and numbered. The quantity of land was to be one hundred acres, and the lots to have an area of each one acre. There were to be streets, lanes and alleys, and “open places to be left for erecting a church, chapel, market house or other public buildings.” In case the commissioners and the owners of the lot could not agree as to price, a jury of condemnation and assessment was to be summoned by the sheriff to value the lands. The owner was to be paid by the persons “taking up” the lots, but he was to have the first choice. It was required of each “taker up” of a lot to begin to build a house twenty feet square, within one month after the entry of his claim, and to complete

¹⁴ The town at the forks of Chester river was what in the records is variously designated as West Chester, Chestertown, and Forktown. It was not upon the site of the Chestertown of the present day. At Forktown a court for Talbot county was held as early as 1664. It may be noted here that as the date of the “erection” of this town, the county of Talbot embraced the whole of what is now Queen Anne’s, a large part of what is now Caroline and perhaps a very considerable portion of what is now Kent counties. The boundaries of Talbot will hereafter be discussed, in another connection.

¹⁵ This town of York, which was the seat of Justice for Talbot county until the division of the county in 1707, was upon Skipton creek, and upon the farm now (1882) owned by Mr. Courtelieu, and known as the Hemsley place.

¹⁶ The writer has not been able to identify this with any known town or village. It was probably never more than a mere place of landing.

it within six months. The lots were to be open to selection, by the citizens of the county only, during four months from the date of the survey; but after that time had elapsed, to any and all persons complying with the terms. If any lots should not be taken, after five years the title reinvested in the original owners. All goods imported were to be landed and all exported to be loaded, at one of the towns and ports, from and after the last day of August, 1685; and to guard against violations of these provisions of trade two officers were to be appointed, one for the Western and the other for the Eastern Shore (in Talbot and Somerset) "to take due entry and clear all ships trading into this Province." It was ordered that "all rents due to his Lordship, all public levies, officers' fees, etc., due on execution to be brought to the towns, * * * and secured as other tobaccos" in storehouses; upon which tobacco thus bought and paid, a discount of five per centum was allowed. Debts due on and after the last day of August, 1685, were to be paid in tobacco delivered at some of the towns, at the charge of the creditor.¹⁷ It may be inferred, from certain expressions in the Act, that when any of the towns named in this or in subsequent acts of the same tenor, were already, or should become large enough to defray the expense, without charge upon the county, of sending a Burgess to the General Assembly, it should be entitled to a delegate as its representative, just as the city of St. Mary's was entitled. There were other provisions in the law, for which the reader is referred to the Abstract given in Bacon's collection.

In conformity with the requirements of the Act the gentlemen, nominated or a majority of them proceeded to execute their trust. A minute of their meetings has been preserved, and is here presented.¹⁸

¹⁷ In some of the subsequent Acts all debts paid at some of these ports were discounted at the rate of ten per centum. These towns were therefore, in the absence of *banks* the places at which debts were made payable the tobacco, as the currency, being deposited in warehouses to the credit of the creditors.

¹⁸ The details of the account about to be given of the laying out of the town of Oxford have been derived from an exceedingly interesting manuscript record collected and compiled by Mr. Samuel Chamberlaine, the first of the name in Talbot, and carefully preserved by his descendants. Through the kindness of Mr. James Ll. Chamberlaine, now a resident of Baltimore, the writer was permitted, years ago, to make a full abstract of this record and of the notes inserted in it, chiefly genealogical, of the Hon. John Bozman Kerr. Mr. Chamberlaine adopting the suggestion of the writer has deposited this valuable MS. with the Maryland Historical Society, which it may be well enough to say, in passing, should be the custodian of all such papers, of which no duplicates exist.

THE TOWN AND PORT OF OXFORD

At a court held on the land of Mr. William Combs in Tred Haven creeke for the laying outt a town there, on Tuesday ye 29th day of July, 1684, met according to the subdivision, the Honourable Coll. Vincent Lowe, Mr. Edward Man, Mr. James Murphy, Mr. John Rousby, Mr. William Combs, Mr. Bryan O'Mealy, Mr. John Newman; Commissioners.

And adjourned till Thursday.

JOHN WOODWARD, C'lk.
Thursday, July, cett.

Mett the aforesaid Commissioners and caused the aforesaid town to be surveyed staked outt according to Act of Assembly, and the lots numbered from 1 to 100.

The town called by the name of Oxford.

JOHN WOODWARD, Cl'k.
August ye 2nd, 1684.

Then came Mr. William Combs and took up his lott, in the same town of Oxford, staked outt according to Act of Assembly and numbered 29.

JOHN WOODWARD, Cl'k.
Eod'm Die.

"Came Coll. Vincent Lowe and took up his lott &c." Here follows the same formula for the taking up lots in the town by these persons, namely:

William Combs, Lot No. 29.
Coll. Vincent Lowe, Lot No. 30.
John Pattison, Lot No. 28.
Dr. Thomas Goddard, Lot No. 17.
Richard Royston, Lot No. 1.
John Rousby, Lot No. 2.
William Wintersell, Lot No. 3.
James Sedgwick, Lot No. 4.
Rachell Bailey, Lot No. 100.
David Fairbank (Sept. 23), Lot No. 50.
Henry Newnam, Lot No. 41.
Thomas Delahay, " " 42.
James Derumple, " " 43.
Mr. Edward Man, Lot No. 44.
John Morris, " " 45.
Dennis Hopkins, Lot. No. 5.
George Robotham, Lot No. 6.
Henry Alexander, " " 7.
Zerobabell Wells, " " 8.
Ralph Elston, Jr., " " 9.
Jasper Hall, " " 93.

Coll. Philemon Lloyd, Lot No. 96.
 Thomas Imphey, " " 97.
 John Price (Sept. 2), " " 32.
 John Mann, " " 46.
 Francis Harrison, " " 47.
 Richard Gurling, " " 48.
 John Woodward, " " 49.

Aug. 2nd, 1686.

Thomas Lurkey, Lot No. 51.
 Howell Powell, " " 76.
 William Dickinson, Lot No. 77.
 Richard White, " " 78.
 Charles Dickinson, " " 79.
 John Turner, " " 80.
 William Moore, " " 84.
 William Richee, " " 89.
 Joseph James, " " 91.
 Thomas Bowdle, " " 92.

"Lotts retaken up, Sept. 6th, 1685.

"James Sedgwick having taken up a lot in the towne of Oxford and nott built thereon, according to Act of Assembly, came Thomas Hutchinson and took up the same anew, being staked out and numbered 4."

The same formula is repeated for these persons and their lots:

James Sedgwick's lot retaken by Thomas Hutchinson, 4.
 Zerobabell Wells' lot retaken by John Edmondson, Jr., 8.
 William Stevens' lot retaken by Walter Quinton, 16.
 Dr. Thomas Goddard's lot retaken by John Woodward, 17.
 George Robins' lot retaken by George Robins, (anew) 18.
 Bryan O'Mealey's lot retaken by Abraham Morgan, 24.
 Major Peter Sayer's lot retaken by Peter Sayer (anew), 15.
 Thomas Hopkins' lot retaken by John Pope, 13.
 John Edmondson's lot retaken by Richard Broughton, 23.
 Will Belford's lot retaken by Daniel Sherwood, 40.

Bryan O'Mealey's lot after forfeiture was retaken in the name of his orphan son, of the same name, by William Sharp, Abraham Morgan having also failed to comply with the terms of the Act. James Sedgwick's lot after passing into the possession of William Beverly and Sarah Bartlett, fell to Sarah Bartlett and Joseph Lowe, May 4th, 1686.

At the risk of making this account tedious, the contents of the whole of this early record has here been given, that it may be known who were the persons that became residents of this town, or possessors of property therein. There can be no doubt that many of the lots were taken up

upon pure speculation, for the names of some gentlemen appear in the list whose large landed estates in other portions of the county, and whose other interests precluded them from making Oxford their home or even their place of business. Very evidently, from the number of towns that were authorized by several acts referred to, and from the avidity with which the lots were taken up within their limits, as in this case, the province of Maryland was, at the period under consideration, passing through one phase which new countries are almost sure to enter. Here was presented at this early time what has been so often witnessed in the new states and territories of our country—towns without population, streets without houses, and marts without business. In the case of Oxford, however, there was ground for the belief that a flourishing city might be built up, and though the brilliant expectations that were indulged were not fully realized, the place did become one of very considerable trade, though never one of much size in extent or populousness.¹⁹

Of the progress of the town for the ten years succeeding its laying out in 1684 little is known. After the Revolution in England, in 1688, known as the Protestant Revolution, Maryland became a royal province. At an assembly held in 1692 "An Act of repeal of all laws made in this province, &c." was passed, which covered and therefore repealed all the acts for establishing towns and ports. In the year 1694, however, an act entitled "An Act for erecting Anne Arundel and Oxford towns into ports and towns" was passed, by which the places named became, to all appearance, the sole ports for the entrance and clearance of vessels for the province. By this act a collector and naval officer or their deputies were required to reside at each of these ports. Commissioners for each were named for buying and purchasing the town lands, and for the surveying and laying out the same into lots, who were directed, on or before the 20th of February of the same year, to meet on the town lands and there to treat and agree with the owner or persons interested, for the purchase of one hundred acres, which should, after purchase, be surveyed and by them "marked, staked out and divided into convenient streets, lanes, alleys, with open spare places to be left, on which may be erected a church, chapel, market house or other public building, and the remaining part of the said one hundred acres to be divided into one hundred equal lots" which were to be duly marked. The owner of the land was entitled to the first choice of a lot, and then the Governor to

¹⁹ There is really no evidence that Oxford at the most prosperous period of its provincial history, had as many people as it now counts or claims.

the choice of three, if he should so please. The lots were then to be open to be taken up by any inhabitant of the county, during six months, after which time they were free to be taken by any one paying the owner for the same. In case the owner should refuse to sell the lands, or there should be any other impediment to the sale, then the commissioners were authorized to summon a jury of free-holders to assess such damages and recompense as they should think fit, to be awarded to the owners and all persons interested, according to their several respective interests. The owner was authorized and required to receive the pay for his land from the persons taking up the lots; which were, each, to be valued at a sum equal to the amount agreed to be paid by the commissioners or awarded by the jury. Those persons who had bought lots under the agreement and survey of 1684 were confirmed on their rights. Takers up of lots were required to build a "twenty foot square dwelling house, at least within twelve months after taking up the same" as well as pay the sum at which the lot was rated before they could acquire full title to the property. "And any person or persons that shall build and inhabit in such port or town, and shall owe any tobacco, and will pay the same in such town, he shall be allowed ten per cent for every hogshead of four hundredweight and upwards, so paid in towns, to be deducted out of the debt aforesaid, or pleadable in bar of creditor." An act entitled "An additional act to the Acts of Port" passed at the May session of Assembly in 1695, authorized and directed the commissioners appointed by the act of 1694 some time before the last day of September next, to proceed to survey and lay out the town land at Oxford, "bounding the same at low water mark, including the island, and so to the old bounded tree at the southermost part of the Neck." It further directed that "there be one or more places laid out and reserved for the building of ships and other vessels. It provided also "that the two ports of Anne Arundel and Oxford, for the future, shall be called, known and distinguished by the names or appellations of Annapolis and Williamstadt, that is to say, the port of Anne Arundel to be called by the name of Annapolis and Oxford by the name of Williamstadt. And that there be purchased to the said town of Williamstadt, one hundred acres of land adjacent to the said town, for a common or pasture for the benefit of all persons within this province that shall repair to the said town. And that the same be laid out as above expressed and that six acres of the same be reserved for public buildings."²⁰

²⁰ Bacon's Laws, under dates.

The gentlemen named in the Act of 1694 to be the commissioners for the purpose therein mentioned, were these, namely:

Mr. Edward Mann,
Mr. John Edmondson,
Mr. Clement Saile,
Mr. John Needles,
Mr. Thomas Robins,
Mr. Thomas Robins, Jr.,
Mr. Thomas Smithson,
Mr. Robert Smith,
Mr. John Hawkins, and
The Hon. Col. George Robotham.

Of these the seven first mentioned, being a majority, met at the town of Oxford on the 19th of October, 1694, and elected Mr. Thomas Delahay, their clerk, who qualified by taking an oath faithfully to discharge the duties of his office. They then agreed with Mr. Nicholas Lowe and Elizabeth his wife of the purchase of the town land. On the 17th day of December of the same year Nicholas Lowe and his wife executed an indenture by which they bound themselves to the commissioners to give a clear title to every "taker up" of a town lot who should pay them the sum of five hundred pounds of tobacco. They further obligated themselves to give a like title to all those persons who had taken up lots under the act of 1684, and had built houses thereon, although such lots had been forfeited by the failure of the takers up to pay the stipulated price; provided that price was now paid. They agreed to warrant and defend the title against the heirs and assignees of the late William Combs, deceased, the former owner of the land.²¹

The commissioners or a majority of them, met again at Oxford on the 5th day of February 1694, when they issued a summons for Mr. William Stevens, Senior, doubtless the same who had presented thirty acres of land to the Lord Proprietary for the site of a town, as has already been mentioned, who appeared before them and promised to bring his papers the next day. It would seem that Mr. Stevens claimed to hold a title to the land purchased, or a part thereof. A commission was also issued Mr. Philemon Hemsley, the Public Surveyor, to survey and lay off the land according to the provisions of the act.

On the following day the record says: "By reason of several pretend-

²¹ The full text of this indenture is given in the Chamberlaine MS., but need not be further quoted.

ing titles to the towne land it was voted [?the word is illegible] by the commissioners whether a jury or nott should be pannelled," Major Smithson and Mr. Needles dissenting. On the 7th of February the following minute was entered.

"It is taken into consideration that whereas there hath [been] a certyn writings drawne between Mr. Nicholas Lowe and his [wife] of ye one part and ye major part of the commissioners for ye towne of Oxford of ye other, now that by reason of several others pretending a title to the said land, and ye said deed is found to be faulty, therefore to help the title of ye towne be better it is voted yet a jury be sworne. The commissioners coming together take into consideration the several p'rsns pretending to have a title of ye said land at Oxford now lay'd out for a pretended towne, being one hundred acres; it is first considered by reason of several pretenders to have a title and interest in the said land, for which reasons, thought [though] an indenture was drawne, yett upon due consideration, for ye reasons aforesaid, the said indenture is voyd as to our proceedings. We are agreed to proceed by a jury.—S'd jury called and sworne.

The jurors names.

Mr. Mathell [Michael] Turbett,
 Mr. Samuel Martin,
 Mr. Daniell Sherwood,
 Mr. Thomas Ball,
 Mr. Francis Harrison,
 Mr. Nicholas Goldsborough,
 Mr. Robert Grundy,
 Mr. James Brishope,
 Mr. Lawrence Knowles,
 Mr. William Jones,
 Mr. Mathew Milburne,
 Mr. George Ladmore,

"The jury return their verdict that they do value ye hundred acres of land layd outt for a Towne called Oxford after ye rate of five hundred pounds of Tobacco per acre to ye oner or oners, and that they do value the hundred acres contiguous to ye said hundred acres called Oxford at ye rate of nine thousand pounds of Tobacco."²³

Mr. Lowe and his wife formally assented to the award of the jury so far as to agree to receive five hundred pounds of tobacco for each town lot, but they dissented from the valuation of the hundred acres for a

²³ The condemnation of the one hundred acres for a town-common was authorized by a supplementary Act of May, 1695, whereas the meeting of the Commis-

town common. They agreed, however, to accept for this hundred acres "twelve thousand pounds of tobacco from the Commissioners to be paid at some convenient time to answer exportation." But this offer was not accepted, and the matter of the common lay over for some months, as will presently appear.

The Commissioners met on the following day, Feb. 9th, and "with the Surveyor proceed to lay outt ye towne and stake it out." On the 11th "The Commissioners mett againe and the Com's with the Surveyor proceed staking outt ye towne as aforesaid, laying out the markt place and streets." Feb. 12th "The Com's meet againe, proceeding as before." Feb. 13th, "The Com's meet, againe proceed to a full survey, and there was layd out the Island." For several days the Commission continued its sessions determining matters relating to the survey, the occupancy of certain lots, and the taking up of others: but on the 18th of Feb., owing to much dissatisfaction founded upon the fact that all persons desirous of taking up lots had not an equal chance, and that some lots were of more value than others, it was resolved that the priority of choice should be determined by "drawing tickets made from 1 to 40, and Mr. Thomas Robins, Jr., was appointed to prepare the tickets and superintend the drawing." Under this arrangement many lots of ground in the town were assigned, of which it is not necessary here to make any record.

In September, 1695, the survey was renewed and extended, Mr. Hemsley still acting as surveyor and Mr. Delahay as secretary; the whole being completed September 28th. On the 30th of December of the same year the Commissioners or a majority of them met at "the town and port of Williamstadt,"²² for the purpose of laying off the land for a town's common, in conformity with the Act of Assembly, passed at the May session of 1695, before referred to in this paper. The High Sheriff, Captain James Smith, who was expected to produce "the ordinance of ye House of Burgesses" did not appear; so the Commission had before them but a copy which was to this effect:

By the House of Burgesses Oct. ye 8th, 1695, Ordered that att Port of William-stadt be layed outt Two Hundred Acres of Land, to be

sioners for this purpose is said, in the record, to have been held in February, 1694-5. There is a confusion of dates, of which it is useless to attempt the settlement, but which may be traced, probably, to clerical inaccuracies.

²² Of course, it will be understood that this name was substituted for the original, in honor of William of Orange, then the King of England.

valued by a jury, and purchased by the county for the towne common, and that the Island be sett aside for publick buildings.²⁴

Signed pr order,

WILLIAM BLADEN,
Clk. of Assembly.

Assented to by his Excellency and Council,

HENRY DENTON, Clerk Council.

The Commissioners believing that this copy was erroneous as to authorizing the laying out of two hundred acres for a Common, ordered the Sheriff to "goe over to ye Port of Annapolis, and there examine the said ordinance with the originall," and to make his return on the eleventh day of February. A copy of this order of the Commissioners was served on the Sheriff, Mr. Daniel Sherwood, who made his return upon the day appointed, when the Commissioners "ordered that a Jury be impanelled for to value two hundred acres of land for ye said Towne and Common." On the following day Mr. Hemsley, the surveyor, was ordered "to lay out the outermost bounds of the Towne Common, and a Jury was sworn to assess the value of the land comprised within those bounds and amounting to two hundred acres."²⁵ This Jury consisted of these persons, namely:

Mr. William Turloe, foreman; Mr. Solomon Wright, Mr. Joshua Atkins, Mr. Ric'd Moore, Mr. Antho. Rumball, Mr. William Moore, Mr. William Anderson, Mr. John Price, Mr. Edward Banning, Mr. Robt. Hall, Mr. William Arickrfill (?), Mr. John Brannock.

The Jury went out and viewed the land and returned their verdict in wrighting²⁶ signed by the foreman in these words here following:

Wee of the Jury being all agreed doe value the Towne Land at Eighteen thousand pounds of Tobacco, pr hundred, and the twenty-four acres within the Towne over and above the hundred acres *pro rata*. Also wee [doe value] the seventy and six acres of ye Common at four thousand pounds of Tobacco, and the twenty-five acres next adjoining to the end of the Towne after the rate of ye rate of above said Towne

²⁴ No such *ordinance* appears among the laws as compiled by Bacon. This paper was doubtless meant to be an abstract of the Act referred to in the text, but was erroneously made.

²⁵ The Surveyor's return of metes and bounds is a part of the Chamberlaine manuscript records; but it is very obscure.

²⁶ Mr. Delahay's orthography, as appears from this old record, was exceedingly eccentric.

land, p. cent. In witness whereof the foreman of the said jury in ye behalf of all the rest hath hereunto set his hand.

WILLIAM TURLO.

"Febr. ye 12th, 1695.

After these proceedings proclamation was made that all who desired to take up lots in the "Towne and Port of Williamstadt" should appear on the following morning, when, after reserving "for his Excellencie ye Chief Governor, then being, Francis Nicholson, Esq., &c., Lotts No. 4, 5, 6," it was "Ordered by the Commissioners that in taking up Lotts this method should be observed, viz.: Soe many [as] are minded to take up Lotts shall give their names, and soe many numbers shall be put into a hatt, [that is] to say 1, 2, 3, &c., and every person shall draw for his choice. Which was accordingly done, and then they proceed to draw Lotts."

Some other orders were passed, of which the following only will be quoted as curious and significant.

Ordered by the said Commissioners that there be a good substantial worrume [worm] fence made across the narrowest place of ye said Towne, for convenience of fenting [?] for securities of creators [creatures] that shall or may be brought to ye said Towne of Wm. Stadt on any ac'ctt, by the inhabitants of ye said Towne or others, and that ye said fence be sett up and finished at the charge of those persons having lotts in ye said Towne, by an equal assessment on all persons having Lotts as aforesaid, some time betwixt this present date and ye first day of May next, with good substantial gates and other conveniences for passing along the rode—the said gates to [be] hung on good substantial hinges, and to open both wayes.

Mr. Clement Sale was requested to see that the work was satisfactorily done. A copy of the journal of proceedings was ordered to be sent to the Governor.

In the record, so frequently quoted, there are lists of names of the persons taking up lots, and of the numbers of those lots, as well as certificates of surrender or transfer of lots; but as it would serve to extend this contribution beyond reasonable limits these must be omitted.²⁷ Before concluding this portion of the narrative, it is proper to say that there is no evidence, other than that presented, that the town common

²⁷ The authorities of the town of Oxford could hardly spend a small sum of money more profitably, if the gratification of its citizens be regarded as a profit, than by publishing the whole Chamberlaine manuscript, accompanied by copies of the two old plots of the town, now in their possession.

was ever purchased and enclosed. No further reference to it is made in any contemporary document.

The custom which was followed by the Assembly of the Province, periodically, to repeal all its former legislation, with specific exceptions, and re-enact those laws which were demanded by the public interest, was observed by the passage of an Act of general repeal, Oct. 3rd, 1704, entitled:

An Act repealing all former acts of Assembly heretofore made, saving what are hereby accepted. The acts of 1694 and 1695 respecting the ports of Annapolis and Oxford were included; but by the same assembly they were re-enacted and continued in force until the close of the next session of the Assembly. At the April session of the year 1706 an act was passed entitled "An Act for the advancement of trade, and erecting ports and towns in the Province of Maryland. This Act had a supplement in 1707 and another in 1708, though the last in no way related to Oxford. By these acts a large number of the towns formerly authorized were *re-elected*, others were "deserted," and yet other new ones ordered to be laid out. All the old towns of Talbot were revived. But of the whole number but six were made Ports, and of these Oxford was one, and the district assigned to it comprised "All the towns, rivers, creeks and coves in Talbot county, and the towns, rivers, creeks and coves in Great Choptank and Little Choptank in Dorchester county and Kent Island in Queen Anne's county.

Commissioners were appointed for laying out the town anew, under conditions almost identical with those prescribed by the acts of 1694 and 1695, already mentioned in this paper: but with this qualification, viz: it should be

surveyed and laid out according to the former plot, and when so laid out, the Commissioners according to their discretion, shall leave out 24 from the 124 acres therein contained by the first laying out, and the Lots remaining within the 100 acres only, shall be adjudged the Town and Port of Oxford, although the same do not contain 100 Lots; to the end that the Lots already taken up and built upon may not be altered or lessened.

It will be observed that the discount on debts paid at the ports is no longer allowed by these new acts of incorporation, if they may be so called.

The gentlemen named in the Act of 1706 were these:

Major Nicholas Lowe,
Mr. Thomas Robins,
Mr. Matthew Tilghman Ward,

Mr. Daniel Sherwood,
 Mr. Robert Grundy,
 Mr. John Dawson,
 Mr. Thomas Emerson,
 Mr. John Hawkins.

and perhaps others.²³ Of these a majority assembled on or about the 10th July, 1707, and were attended by Mr. William Turbutt, the deputy surveyor for the county, who also acted as clerk. It was agreed between the Commissioners and Major Nicholas Lowe that he should be paid six hundred pounds of Tobacco for each lot to be taken up in the town, but this agreement was modified on the 26th, when

The Commissioners taking it into consideration that in as much as several lotts (now to be taken up in the said town) are much more convenient and of greater value than ye rest, they have thought fitt and do agree to sett a particular value on every lott, according to the goodness or conveniency, conceiving that it would be a greater encouragement to ye People than to make every lott of an equal value.

The prices settled upon ranged from 200 to 1000 pounds of tobacco. On the 21st the surveyor and Commissioners "proceeded in laying out ye Towne and Port of Oxford, beginning att ye Towne-Point and running according to a former platt so farr as to include one hundred acres of land, leaveing outt twenty-four acres which were formerly within the bounds of the said Towne, as by said platt appears." Some changes were made in the direction of High street, and the street along the strand. The survey was completed on the 25th, when it appears the plot of the town after leaving out the twenty-four acres, formerly embraced, belonging to Major Lowe, was divided into eighty-two lots, with streets, lanes, etc., and a Place for Public buildings. The extant record gives the names of the persons taking up lots, the number of the lots, and the prices paid for them; also certificates of improvement which gave full and clear title to the property. The last entry is of Jany. 21st, 1711-12, being a receipt of Nicholas Lowe to William Turbutt for 800 lbs. tobacco, in full for a lot in Oxford. It will be observed that the original name of the town was resumed, King William being dead, and "good Queen Anne" being upon the throne of Great Britain.

Now, it appears that the Acts of Assembly of 1706 and of the next few years following, did not receive the assent of the Queen, who possessed a veto, and they were thereupon void. Persons who had taken

²³ The text of the Law is not given by Bacon.

up lots in the town, under these acts and the previous acts that had been repealed by the Assembly, became concerned about the title to their property; so it was deemed necessary in 1715 to pass a law confirming them in the title, where they had complied with the conditions of purchase. But the failure of the law of 1706 to receive the royal assent, apparently, should have deprived those towns therein mentioned, as places of entry and clearance of ships and other vessels, and of the peculiar privilege of being ports. Yet it is known that this deprivation never occurred. Oxford certainly remained the port for the collection district defined in the Act of 1706 during the whole provincial régime, and even under the confederate and federal government down to a very recent period, with a regular succession of custom house officers. Under what authority it so continued during the ante revolutionary period is not known. Possibly it was by a simple order of the Governor and Council, with Royal and Proprietary sanction. Certain it is that no law has been hitherto discovered which reinstated Annapolis, Oxford and the other places mentioned in the Act of 1706 as the ports of Maryland, in the precedence that had been given over other towns of the Province.

Besides what has been related of its origin and founding little more is known of the history of Oxford, and this little must be given in a disjointed and fragmentary way. As a place of trade it long held a precedence of the towns upon the Eastern Shore and next to Annapolis it was the principal port of the province, until the town of Baltimore acquired the superiority which it has to the present retained. Although from the earliest settlement of the country along the Choptank and its tributaries this place enjoyed considerable trade, it seems to have reached the height of its prosperity about the middle of the last century after which this prosperity began to decline, and became finally extinct at the commencement of the war of the Revolution. From an early period some of the large Liverpool and London commercial houses engaged in the American trade had their factories established here, and their ships making their periodical and regular trips to the waters of Third Haven and Choptank, or into Saint Michaels and Wye rivers. It may be noted, upon authority, usually accurate, that Mr. Gilbert Livesey, was the first to establish a factory, or place of trade at Oxford. One of the earliest of these houses was that of Gildart & Company composed of Mr. Richard Gildart, in 1714 Mayor of the City of Liverpool, Sir Thomas Johnson, Mr. Richard Norris, Mr. William Squire and Capt. Edward Rachdale, who had for their factor at Oxford, Mr. John Chamber-

laine, and owned the ship Elizabeth, built near that town. Another Liverpool house, which more than any other became identified with Oxford was that of Messrs. Foster Cunliffe & Co., of which Mr. John and then Mr. Samuel Chamberlaine were at one time the factors, to be succeeded, but after some years, by Mr. Robert Morris and then by Mr. Henry Callister. Each of these gentlemen are prominent characters in our local and indeed our provincial history, of whom more will be said in other connections. Another firm of which Mr. Anthony Bacon, of London, was the principal, had for a great number of years intimate commercial relations with the people of this county, having his ships sailing into and his stores upon the Choptank and one store at Oxford. The names of a few other Liverpool and London merchants may be given, who were trading in the waters of Talbot. Of Liverpool were Mr. Edward Lowndes and Mr. Lawrence Spencer. Of London were Mr. Mathias Gale, Mr. Samuel Hyde, Mr. John Hanbury, Mr. Wm. Anderson, Mr. Christopher Court. These were generally principals of firms that changed their style as time passed. Some of them continued in the trade until all commercial intercourse was interrupted by the war of independence.

The methods of conducting trade with this colony gradually changed. In the beginning, the want of capital and proper business connections on the part of the permanent residents required the establishment of agencies at the different favorable points, but as the circumstances altered, these factories were either closed, or the factors purchased the interest of the original owner, and conducted the business upon their own account, or copartnerships were formed between the resident merchant and the English firm. In yet other cases, as wealth increased wholly independent houses were established whose connections with those of the old country were merely those of commercial correspondence. The factory system, however, was not discontinued, as long as the political connection between the mother country and the province subsisted. It may be not amiss to give the names of some of the resident merchants of Oxford, and those importing their supplies of foreign goods through this port. One of the earliest of the resident merchants at Oxford was Mr. Will Sharp,²⁹ a quaker, and another, of the same

²⁹ As something of curious interest the following, a bill of lading, is here inserted:

Shipped by the Grace of God in good order well conditioned, by me William Sharp, Jr., merchant, in and upon the good ship called "The Blue Bird's Delight," whereof is master for this present voyage Capt. Morgan Jones, and now residing at anchor in Fyall [Fayal, of the Asores] Roads, and bound by God's permis-

religious persuasion, was Mr. John Edmondson. Both of these became very wealthy and founded families, now extinct in this county. A little later appear the names of Robert Grundy, Benjamin Pemberton, Thomas Lewis, Robert Ungle, Thomas Robins, John Oldham, all of whom apparently had stores and warehouses at Oxford. In or about 1723 Mr. Saml. Chamberlaine purchased an interest in the firm in whose ship he originally came to Maryland, and established the house of Chamberlaine & Company. He made and married a great fortune, rose to distinction in the civil and political affairs of the province, and is the progenitor of the most respectable family of the name, still well represented in the county. In this connection also must be mentioned Mr. Robert Morris and Mr. Henry Callister, both of whom from being factors rose to be independent merchants. For some years prior to the Revolution the number of stores throughout the county multiplied and Oxford became more and more a port of entry merely and not a great depot, though always enjoying a very liberal share both of the domestic and foreign trade. In order to render this account more complete, the names of some of the ships and their captains may here be mentioned. The first ship of which we have any positive knowledge that appeared in Third Haven was the Golden Fortune, commanded by Capt. Saml. Tilghman, who before the organization of Talbot county took up a large tract of land at the head of this creek, to which he gave the name of "Tilghman's Fortune," out of which Ratcliffe, and other neighboring properties were carved. The Blue Bird's Delight, Capt. Morgan Jones, has already been mentioned, as has the ship Elizabeth, Capt. John Chamberlaine, a ship that was built at Skillington's Point near Oxford. Passing over a number of years, for which no record exists, we find the names of many of the ships of which the firm of Foster Cunliffe & Sons of Liverpool were the owners or the consignees mentioned in the Callister papers. The Robert & John, Capt. Johnson, was trading at Oxford in 1742, and the Cunliffe, Capt. John Pritchard in 1745. Of this ship more will presently be said. The Liverpool

sion to Choptank river in Maryland, to say: Seventy-two pipes and three quarter casks of wine and marked and numbered as per margent, all to be delivered in like good order and well conditioned at the aforesaid port of Choptank, the dangers of the sea only accepted to Mr. William Sharp, senior, or to his order, the freight being all paid, the master hath affirmed to three bills of lading, one of which three to be acknowledged, the other two to be void, and so God send her safe to her desired port.

September ye 17th, 1699.

MORGAN JONES.

Land Records Talbot county, No. 7, p. 219.

Merchant, Capt. John Gardiner, was a constant trader from 1745 and onward for many years. The Choptank, another Talbot built ship, Capt. Barnes, was well known at Oxford from 1748 and onward, but did not belong to the Cunliffes, nor was she sailing in their interest. In 1750 the ship Integrity, commanded by Capt. John Coward, who was a resident of Plimhimmon, and the founder of a family here, was sailing in the interest of Mr. Anthony Bacon, and was probably owned in part by him. Upon this ship local tradition relates that the young woman, who came to be known as Perdita, embarked, whose story was so romantically told by Miss Catherine Sedgwick.³⁰ Capt. John Coward and his good ship Integrity were succeeded by Capt. Thomas Coward, his son, and the frigate Choptank, in 1772. This ship was probably among the last of those belonging to Oxford to sail from Third Haven creek prior to the Revolution. There is a record of her taking in freight on the 19th of April, 1774, her consignee being Thomas Eden & Co., just one year before the battle of Lexington, the beginning of the war. Probably before her return resolutions forbidding all commercial intercourse with Great Britain had been adopted. In 1761 the ship Friendship was in command of Capt., afterward Col. Jere Banning, who had long been sailing out of Choptank, and who, subsequent to this date had charge of several ships, which need not here be named. This very respectable gentleman after "following the sea" for many years settled at the Isthmus in this county, having acquired a handsome competence, and was appointed the first collector of the port of Oxford under the new régime inaugurated by the Revolution in which war he was an active and prominent participant. It is not necessary to extend this catalogue of ships trading at Oxford, which to be rendered complete would require the insertion of nearly two hundred names, recovered by an examination of the county records, the books of the Custom House as kept by the collectors prior to the Revolution, and other authentic sources.³¹

³⁰ This little romance, founded on fact, was published originally in the *Atlantic Souvenir*, of 1827 and frequently republished, lastly in the *Easton Star*, of Aug. 24th and Sept. 2nd, 1872, with an introduction and appendix by the author of these contributions, giving the actual occurrences upon which the romance was based.

³¹ There have been deposited with the Md. Hist. Soc'y two books of the collectors of the port prior to the revolution, one of which is a record of the arrivals and departures of ships and other vessels, their names, the names of their masters and owners, their destination or place of clearance, a description of their cargoes, number of their men and their guns, and the place of their building. The first entry is of the year 1758 and the last is of Aug. 28th, 1773. The other volume is a

Reference has been made to the Cunliffe, Capt. Pritchard. An incident in the career of this ship and her commander, which could not be mentioned when giving the list above, must not be omitted in this account of the port to which she belonged. In the year 1744 war existed between France and England in which the American colonies of the respective countries participated. The home government issued letters of marque and reprisal, and the ocean was traversed by privateers. Every merchantman was equipped with an armament for defence against these legalized marauders. On the 7th of Jan., 1744, the ship Cunliffe, Capt. Prichard, on her passage from Liverpool to Oxford met with one of the French privateers about ten leagues from Cape Fear, and being unable to escape prepared to defend herself, notwithstanding the great disparity in the armament and the number of the crew. The ships fought for ten hours. Several men were killed on board the Cunliffe, and the captain was so severely wounded that he died three days after the engagement.

However, the wind blowing fresh and the Cunliffe being a tight vessel and good sailer got clear.

Another account says:

Our ship had but 38 men and boys, none of which showed the least fear during the engagement, and was ladened deeply. The privateer had twenty carriage guns besides swivels, and two hundred men. * * * The merchants are making a pretty collection for the ship's crew.

Mr. Callister, in a letter of July 28, 1745, to Mr. Robert Whitfield, of Douglas, Isle of Man, says:

Though we are with reason concerned for poor Capt. Prichard's misfortune, yet his gallant behavior in defending the ship and her safe arrival are very agreeable news to us. * * * Capt. P. and his crew behaved as they ought to do. He died with glory. His epitaph is prettily done and has been printed in the *Maryland Gazette*. I dare say none of our commanders here will behave ill in such circumstances, but God avert the occasion.

The Cunliffe was consigned to Mr. Robert Morris, and she, after this voyage, was commanded by Capt. Johnson. It would seem from

book of accounts kept by the collectors of the customs, commencing with the year Nov. 1747, and ending Oct. 10th, 1775. These books are in a good state of preservation, but the first mentioned of them has lost some of the leaves. They are most interesting records of the trade of the port of Oxford, for the time which they cover.

Mr. Callister's letters that another of the ships of the Messrs. Cunliffe trading in Third Haven and Choptank, namely the Robert & John, was not so fortunate as the Cunliffe, for she was captured by the privateers in 1745.²²

It will have been perceived from what has been said that the greater part of the foreign trade of Oxford, using the term foreign as applicable to all countries not now embraced within the United States, was with England through the ports of London and Liverpool. But at one period there was very considerable commercial intercourse with Bristol. About the middle of the last century, as indicated by the books of the Custom House, there were arrivals from Antigua, Halifax, Bermuda, Guadaleupe, Quebec, Barbadoes, St. Christopher, Barcelona (Spain), Jamaica, Senegal (Africa), Madeira, and perhaps other parts, to say nothing of the three great cities before mentioned. There were frequent arrivals from or departures for the domestic ports of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Newburyport, Falmouth, Salem, Piscataway, Nantucket and Charleston. Mostly, the ships trading at Oxford came directly from the place of departure, but it was not unusual for them to make a kind of ocean circuit. Loading here with tobacco, peltry, lumber, especially that made of black walnut, and with some of the other coarse articles of commerce, the products of Maryland, they sailed for the English ports, and, there discharging their freight, they took in assorted cargoes of goods of European manufacture, and of Eastern or India products and sailed for some of the West India Islands, where they took in sugar, molasses, fruit, rum and negro slaves. Occasionally they touched at Madeira and the Azores, for wine for the gentry of the colony. Thus freighted, they entered Chesapeake and reported at Oxford. After a survey was made and the custom house fees were paid, they either landed their cargo at that town, or at other places within the collection district, as at Cambridge in Dorchester, at Dover or Kingston in Talbot. Some of the ships went into St. Michaels and Wye rivers to supply the stores in those sections of the county thereon bordering, making landings at Wye-town or Doncaster, and at Deep Water Point near St. Michaels. Other ships went into Chester river and Little Choptank. Some of the articles of exportation from Oxford, besides those already mentioned, as shown by the books of the Custom House, were, in the middle of the last century, wheat, corn, pork, live stock and poultry (to the West Indies), sassafras bark, plank, shingles, staves, hoops and bricks. It

²² *Maryland Gazette*, May 17th and July 12th, 1845. Also *Callister Manuscript letters*.

was customary, and at one period obligatory, for masters of vessels to advertise by posting the rates of freight to different ports, and the time and place of receiving it, and when this became compulsory by law, it was also required that a record should be made of the same in the office of the clerk of the county. It may not be amiss to state, as one of the customs of the time, for the captains publicly to invite their patrons and friends on board their ships, to partake of such entertainment as they could give. While waiting for tobacco or other freight in Choptank it was common for the ships, then unprotected by copper, to ascend that river into fresh water to escape the *teredo*, or boring worm, so destructive to vessels in the salt water. Dover thus became quite a rival of Oxford, and there Mr. Anthony Bacon had one of his principal factories. Very often vessels came from England in ballast, and so it has happened that at several points upon Choptank, and at Oxford may be found lumps of chalk which were used for this purpose, and being unsalable were thrown into the water, where they may be seen to this day.

The following extracts from the journal of Captain, afterwards known as Colonel Jeremiah Banning, will serve to show the extent of the foreign and domestic trade of Oxford at the period of its greatest prosperity, and also the time when that trade, for some years diminishing, finally became extinct. It was hardly necessary to say that Col. Banning was personally conversant with that of which he wrote.

The storekeepers and other retailers both on the western and the eastern side of the Chesapeake, repaired there to lay in their supplies. * * * Seven or eight large ships, at the same time were frequently seen at Oxford, delivering goods and completing their landing; nor was it uncommon to despatch a ship with 500 hogsheads of tobacco in twelve days after its arrival. At that time tobacco was not examined or inspected by sworn officers as now. Men skilled in the article were employed by the merchants or storekeepers and called Receivers, to view, weigh, mark and give receipts to the planters, after which vessels were sent to collect it, when it underwent a pressing and packing preparatory for shipping. After the death of Mr. Morris, commerce, splendor and all that animating and agreeable hurry of business at Oxford gradually declined to the commencement of the civil war which broke out in April, 1775, when it became totally deserted as to trade. In the autumn of that year was the last appearance of British ships or indeed of any other at that port. * * * Oxford's streets and strand were once covered by busy crowds, ushering in commerce from almost every quarter of the globe. Bereft of all former greatness, nothing remains to console her but the salubrious air and fine navigation which may anticipate better times.²³

²³ This extract is a portion of Col. Banning's journal, furnished to the writer by his granddaughter, Miss Mary E. Banning, now of Baltimore.

It is hardly necessary to say that the "salubrious air and fine navigation" remain, and have brought "better times."

Reference has been made to the importation of negro slaves at Oxford—a traffic which continued down to the time of the extinction of the town as a depot of foreign trade. In the official records there are several, but not numerous entries of slaves. In 1763, the *Two Sisters*, Capt. Jere. Banning, 160 tons measurement, manned with 20 men and carrying 6 guns, owned by Anthony Bacon, Gilbert Franklin and Anthony Richardson, of London, and built in Maryland, brought from Senegal 5 negro slaves. No other cargo is named. On the 3rd July, 1771, the sloop *Success*, John Kingham, Master, and owned by Richard Worge, of London, brought in 104 slaves from Senegal. In the next year the same vessel brought 86 slaves from Senegal, and the schooner *Experiment*, owned by James Dickinson and James Lloyd Chamberlaine, 5 slaves from Barbadoes. In the *Maryland Gazette* of July 8th, 1746, Mr. Robert Morris, with an assorted cargo of merchandise, just arrived, by the ship *Cunliffe*, Capt. Johnson, from Bardadoes, advertises for sale at Oxford "a parcel of negro men, women, boys and girls." It is not necessary to say to the well informed, especially after the mention of so many reputable men engaged in its prosecution, that no disrepute attached to the trade in African slaves.

But the ships trading with England also brought human freight, under the names of transported rebels, condemned convicts, and indentured servants. To such must be added respectable freemen seeking to advance their fortunes in a new country. In 1717 a portion of the cargo of the ship *Friendship*, from Belfast, consisting of eighty rebels who had been taken in arms during the Jacobite rebellion in 1715 at Preston and elsewhere in Scotland, was brought to Oxford and sold to masters, for a term of years, and among the purchasers were Messrs. Philemon Lloyd, John Oldman, Daniel Sherwood, Robert Grundy, John Valliant, William Elbert, Peter Anderton, Philemon Sherwood, James Colston, William Thomas, Thomas Robins, and perhaps others of this county.²⁴ Again on the 20th July, 1747, the ship *Johnston*,

²⁴ Scharf's Hist. Md., Vol. 1, p. 385, *et seq.*

Maryland Gazette, July 28th, 1747.

Maryland Gazette, Dec. 11, 1755. The Callister MS. letters, and the Records of Talbot County Court; also Scharf's Hist. Md., Vol. 1, p. 475, *et seq.* In the records of Talbot County court for March 6th, 1721, there is a most interesting account of the proceedings which were had upon a petition of some of these rebels, sold for a term of seven years, whom their masters were attempting to hold for a greater length of time.

Capt. Will. Pemberton, arrived at Oxford, having on board a large number of Scotch rebels captured at Culloden and elsewhere during the rising in behalf of the young Pretender, Charles Edward, in 1745. Not finding a ready sale in this county a portion of this human cargo was sent to Annapolis. Another class of political exiles was that of the *Acadians*, a ship load, one of four that came to Maryland, of whom arrived at Oxford, Dec. 8th, 1755, and came under the care of Mr. Henry Callister, then acting as factor of Mr. Anthony Bacon, at that place. He and the Rev. Thomas Bacon, both Manx men, interested themselves most actively and earnestly in behalf of these unfortunate people. Contributions were solicited for their support, and application was made to the county authorities for assistance. They were distributed in the counties of Talbot, Queen Annes, and Dorchester. The transportation of criminal convicts continued uninterruptedly, notwithstanding the frequent protests of the colonists down to the Revolution, indeed the last ship that appeared in St. Michaels river landed her servants, fourteen of whom were convicts and two indentured, though not allowed to discharge the other portion of her cargo.³⁵ Of indentured servants scarcely a ship arrived at Oxford from London or Liverpool, that did not bring a greater or less number. It should be stated here, as it has been in other connections, that nothing disreputable attached to persons securing their passage by their agreement to serve a stipulated time; though doubtless there were disreputable persons who did thus pay their way across the ocean, as there were others called respectable who had their passage paid for them by friends who were glad to be well rid of those who reflected no credit upon their families.

In the year 1683, after the passage of the Act for laying off the town of Oxford, the Commissioners and Justices of the Peace of this county authorized the establishment of a ferry at that town across Third Haven creek, and appointed Mr. Richard Royston as the Keeper, for which they allowed him the sum of 2500 pounds of tobacco.³⁶ The ferry, then established, was maintained for many years, probably as long as the town possessed any trade, or to the period of the Revolution. It was then discontinued, and for a long series of years persons wishing

³⁵ See contributions entitled "The Poor House" published in the *Easton Star*, Dec. 2, 1879.

³⁶ The following is the entry in the Levy list of the year: "Richard Royston for one-half the allowance for keeping a ferry from his plantation to the towne of Oxford, and back againe, or on board any shipp nigh, there riding, for one year, 2500 pounds."

to cross to or from that town were dependent upon the courtesy and kindness of people living on either shore. For a while persons were licensed to keep ferry at Oxford, but were not paid from the county funds. They were compensated by those who used the ferry. But in the year 1836 the public ferry was revived, Mr. Morris Orem Colston was appointed the Keeper, and from that day to this it has been maintained at the county expense. At the date of the original establishment of the Oxford Ferry there had long been a ferry over St. Michaels, or Miles river at or near the place where the bridge now in use was erected.

In the year 1695 a public post was established in the Province, one of the few stations of which upon the Eastern Shore being Williamstadt or Oxford. It was long after that a regular postoffice system was established by the home government.

From many entries in the Levy list of charges "for expenses in treating with the Indians at Oxford," within the years 1689-91, it is apparent that about this time there was an assemblage at that town of the representatives of the Provincial Authorities and some of the chief men of the Indian tribes upon the Eastern Shore—probably the Choptanks, seated along the river of that name, or the more troublesome Nanticokes, living further down upon the peninsula. No reference to the treaty at Oxford has been found in any books of State history, but there can be little doubt of the fact.

In the year 1706 an act was passed by the General Assembly, entitled

An Act for dividing and regulating several counties on the Eastern Shore of the Province, and constituting a county by the name of Queen Anne's, within the said Province.

By this act the boundaries of Cecil, Kent and Talbot, as they are now were defined, and Queen Anne's county was laid off from the territory hitherto belonging to Talbot. Commissioners were appointed to cause the boundaries of the several counties to be surveyed and marked, and they were "impowered to lay out and purchase by agreement with the owners or by valuation of a jury two acres of land in each county for a Court House, &c." By the segmentation of the territory of Talbot the seat of justice at York on Skipton creek was far removed from the centre of the county. It was therefore resolved that there should be a change of the location of the Court House. At first it was determined that Oxford should be made the county seat, and in November, 1709, a Court House was ordered to be built in that town, where

from Aug. 19th, 1707, until March 20th, 1711, (N. S.), the courts were held in the houses of the High Sheriff, Daniel Sherwood, and of Mary Stevenson. At the November session of the Court in 1709, a contract was entered into between the "Worshipful the Commissioners and Justices of the Peace," of the one part, and Mr. Daniel Sherwood and Col. Nicholas Lowe, of the other part, to erect a Court House at Oxford; but this was never carried into execution, for in 1710 an act of Assembly was passed authorizing and directing that the Court House for Talbot should be built at "Armstrong's Old Field, near Pitts' Bridge," and there accordingly it was built. This is the origin of the town of Easton, of which it is proposed, in another contribution, to give an account.

The following articles copied from the *Maryland Gazette*, probably refer to one and the same enterprise, and will serve to commemorate an event of some importance in the history of Oxford in ante-revolutionary times.

A proposal is on foot for maintaining a good deck'd boat, to run on fixed days once a week constantly (except when hindered by the ice, or tempestuous weather) across the bay, from Oxford to Annapolis, and Annapolis to Oxford. And we hear, those who subscribe thirty shillings a year are to have a free passage as often as they please, finding themselves provisions. Those gentlemen on the Western Shore who have a mind to encourage so useful a scheme are requested to give in their names at the printing office.³⁷

By public spiritedness is meant beneficence, munificence, generosity, benevolence, every thing good and commendable. Animated by these principles a number of gentlemen in Talbot and Dorchester counties and thereabouts, and in Annapolis, have lately subscribed a sum to support a packet boat, well fitted and manned, from Choptank to Annapolis, weekly in summer and once every fortnight in winter, unless unavoidably hindered by frost or tempests. She began her stages the first week in March. Her times and places of attendance are: At Cambridge on Mondays, which she leaves in the afternoon, and proceeds to Oxford; from whence she sails to Annapolis on the Wednesday morning following and leaves Annapolis for Oxford on Friday morning: except in the two first weeks of each Provincial Court, when she is to be at Annapolis on each Tuesday. By these riders [post riders previously referred to in the article] and the packet boat a ready communication by letter is opened to a great part of the province. Whoever subscribes 20 shillings a year or upwards towards the support of the packet may cross the bay in her as often as they please, without further expense, except the supplying themselves with provisions.³⁸

³⁷ *Maryland Gazette*, April 2nd, 1761.

³⁸ *Maryland Gazette*, March 25th, 1762.

Ridgely in his "Annals of Annapolis" mentions the theatrical performances of a troupe of comedians from Virginia, in June, 1752. Some authorities claim that these were really the first ever witnessed in America. This company of players went to some of the upper towns of the province, Upper Marlborough, Piscattaway and Chestertown being mentioned as having been visited. From an entry in the court records of Talbot, it is probable they visited Oxford. The same record is interesting also for the reason that it gives the first evidence, yet discovered, of the presence in this county of pleasure carriages as distinguished from those of burden. At the June term of the court in 1755 Jacob Bromwell brought suit against Mrs. Margaret Lowe, and among the items in his account were these:

For riveting and fitting plates and springes to your shaise, five shillings, also for 2 pins and 2 small plates for your shaise 2s 6d. May 26th, 1753, to 2 sealed tickets for you to go to the play, 15 shillings.

While this is not positive evidence of there having been theatrical performances at Oxford—for Mrs. Lowe may have crossed the bay to attend those which were enacted at Annapolis—yet it is sufficient to raise a presumption that such was the fact. Madam Lowe was a wealthy lady of Oxford Neck and the name of Jacob Bromwell is still familiar in that vicinage. In this connection it may be mentioned that another amusement which the people of Talbot had long enjoyed, was in May, 1767, presented with more than usual eclat at Oxford. At this time there was horse racing near that town, at which the Governor of the province was present, and many of the most prominent citizens and other gentry of the county.³⁹

Here may conclude the pre-revolutionary history of Oxford. During the war, it being a place of no commercial nor strategetic importance it was the heat of no operations that deserve commemoration. Early in the contest the independent company of Capt. James Hindman was stationed here to overawe the disaffected, and to prevent the depredations of marauding parties of the English and Tories, who had possession of the bay. For more than three-quarters of a century after the Revolution the "town and port of Oxford" can hardly be said to have had a history, so completely has its life been extinguished by the changes of the political relations of Maryland, taken in connection with the fact that the trade of the county, a good share of which Oxford had

³⁹ *Maryland Gazette*, May 7th, 1767. Also private letter of the Hon. Matthew Tilghman, in the possession of Col. Oswald Tilghman.

enjoyed during the years of her prosperity, was drawn off to Easton, which, from being an insignificant village, had acquired an importance it had not hitherto possessed, after the institution of the new state government, for besides being the seat of justice for the county it was made the place where certain officers for the Eastern Shore were required to reside and discharge their functions, and where the General Court of the state held stated, and the United States District Court occasional sittings. Col. Jeremiah Banning in his journal, written prior to 1798, gives a sad picture of the desertion and desolation of this town, as contrasted with its former animation. He says:

Oxford's streets and strands were once covered by busy crowds ushering in commerce from almost every quarter of the globe. The once well worn streets are now grown up in grass, save a few narrow tracks made by sheep and swine; and the strands have more the appearance of an uninhabited island than where human feet had ever trod.

This condition continued down to a very recent period—down to the late civil contest, when reaction commenced and fresh life and vigor began to be manifested; so it may be said, that as the war of the Revolution marks the end of her old prosperity, the other greater war of the rebellion marks the beginning of her new growth in population and wealth.

In the earlier years of the present century Oxford, as remembered by the oldest residents of the town and vicinity, had become an insignificant village of less than one hundred inhabitants (seventy white and twenty colored people) occupying thirteen houses.⁴⁰ Of these houses the two most conspicuous were the Markland house situated on Back or Town creek—an old, quaint, rip-roofed brick building still standing; and the large framed structure, long occupied by Capt. Saml. Thomas, which stood on the river, at the corner of the principal street, and which is now a part of the Riverview Hotel. The only traces of the former commercial importance of the town were the "Salt-House" which stood near the place where is now the ship-yard of Mr. Nathaniel Leonard; and the Tobacco Warehouse which was near the strand, but further down towards Town Point. Both of them were in a state of dilapidation and have long since disappeared. This warehouse was abandoned even

⁴⁰ For many of the details which follow, the writer is indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Philemon Willis, of Oxford neck, a venerable gentleman, whose retentive memory has preserved the impressions of a naturally receptive mind, and whose reminiscences have more than usual value to the local antiquary for their accuracy and the caution with which they are expressed.

before tobacco had ceased to be cultivated. It is believed Mr. David Robinson was last appointed inspector. The foreign trade of the port had dwindled to a single sea-going schooner, the Col. Ramsey, commanded by Capt. Thomas Coward, that occasionally brought a cargo of salt from Turk's island for the merchants of the county. It may be said, however, that Messrs. Christopher and Robert Johnson, Scotchmen, were importing merchants at Oxford as late as 1791, and they were also manufacturers, there, of nails upon quite an extensive scale, considering the time and place. The retail trade was carried on in three small shops kept by Mr. William Markland, Mr. James Stewart and Mr. John Willis. This last named gentleman with Mr. Philemon Willis was conducting a ship yard (at least in 1798) at the town; and sail making and rigging was carried on by Mr. Thomas Whiting as late as 1810. A wind mill stood upon the public square, owned by Mr. Edward Bromwell, which had been running since 1796. It may be well enough to mention that in 1717 permission was granted, by legislative enactment to Mr. John Oldham to erect a wind mill upon Town Point. At the period, now described, there were no churches within the town, and no public school, though Mr. Saml. Parker at one time and Mr. Thomas Watts at another, had private schools. There were no mails, the nearest post office being Easton, twelve miles distant, and communication with the outer world was by the packets from the same town which weekly passed by the deserted port on their trips to Baltimore. But in June, 1819, the first steamboat that plied upon the waters of Choptank and Third Haven made her appearance in the harbor, upon her first trip from Baltimore and Annapolis to Easton. This was the steamer Maryland under the command of Capt. Clement Vickars, with Mr. Eugene McCully as engineer.⁴¹ Steam navigation had been introduced only a few years before, namely in 1813. The ferry that had been maintained at the public expense had long since ceased, and was not renewed until 1836, as before mentioned—then, not because of any increase in the number of passengers, but for the purpose of relieving the residents of the town and neighborhood of the annoyance which they were subjected to by being compelled (by their kindness and courtesy) to set people across the river in their boats when it was by no means convenient nor agreeable. Even then the salubrious air attracted occasional

⁴¹ Previous to this date the steamer Surprise, Capt. Jonathan Spencer, was running upon Saint Michaels river. In 1823 the steamer Albemarl commenced making trips upon Choptank as far up as Cambridge in Dorset, touching at Howel's Point in Talbot.

summer visitors, and a few families from other parts of the county, somewhat later than the time now under our view, made it their home during the unhealthy seasons of the year. Life flowed on in one monotonous course diversified by no more important events than the capture of rock-fish three feet in length, or of a sheepshead twelve pounds in weight,—for the drowsy air of the place seemed to nourish devotees to the dreamy sport of the rod and line, or slaves to the lazy task of fishing, while the surrounding waters furnished an abundance of the finny game to keep awake the interest in this mild recreation or to afford remuneration to this easy work.

In this languishing condition Oxford remained for a long series of years, giving few tokens of vitality and affording slight encouragement to the hopes which were always cherished by her people, with a kind of listless confidence, that there would be at some day a resuscitation of her former prosperity, when her advantages for trade, the great salubrity of her climate, and the beauty of her situation would attract population and capital, and her ways and waters regain a portion of her former animation.

The first sign of the reawakening of this slumbering town was given in the year 1847, and had a most creditable origin—no other than the electric touch of divine science. In the autumn of this year Mr. John H. Allen, a graduate of West Point, established a school at this place, which merged into the "Maryland Military Academy." It is not proposed, in this connection, to present an account of this institution of learning: this will be done hereafter when treating of the schools of Talbot, a subject as yet only partially discussed in these contributions. Suffice it to say, here, that Mr. Allen, largely and efficiently aided by Gen. Tench Tilghman of Plimhimmon; a gentleman of whose merits will hereafter be better appreciated than they were during his life or than they are even now, succeeded in enlisting the coöperation of many of the more prominent and influential citizens of Talbot, and the neighboring counties, in his scholastic enterprise, by which a charter and some governmental recognition were obtained from the State of Maryland, a school building and dwelling house for the principal were erected and a large number of pupils quickly collected. On the 13th of Sept., 1855, unfortunately, the principal building used for lecture rooms and dormitories was destroyed by fire, and was never replaced. The school soon became entirely extinct, but not before it had rendered efficient service to the cause of liberal education, and had benefited the town of Oxford by calling attention to its healthful and beautiful situation

whereby accessions to the population began to be made and its advantages as a place of residence for those seeking retirement from the turmoil and conflicts of city life began to be appreciated. Following the school came the churches. In April 1853 the corner stone of a Protestant Episcopal church edifice, designed by the celebrated architect Upjohn, of New York, was laid, Bishop Whitehouse officiating. This remains to this day incomplete, standing upon a beautiful site near the river and on the border of the town. It is generally supposed that this structure was the first ever erected in Oxford for religious purposes, but this supposition is erroneous. It is known from extant records—imperfect and obscure to be sure, but authentic and positive in character, that Mr. Samuel Chamberlaine of Plain Dealing, contributed largely to the erection of a Chapel of Ease, of the church of England within the town. This Chapel stood upon or near the Public Square, which had been reserved, when the town was originally surveyed, and it existed down to about the year 1800, when it was destroyed by fire originating from the discharge of a gun beneath it by a boy hunting for rabbits—an incident which serves to indicate how completely the town had lost its urban character and had reverted to its original rusticity.⁴² The school and the church heralded the dawn of a brighter day for the town of Oxford. In 1861 the war of the Rebellion broke out, and though nothing of sufficient importance occurred at this place in connection with the military or naval operations of the government to merit any notice, this great contest is referred to here, because it is not only epochal in the history of the country at large, but it marks the period when this town began to experience, in common with the county, the benefits of the great political and social revolution which was by it accomplished. It may be well enough to state that at Oxford for a short time in the first year of the war, was stationed a detachment of soldiers, which seems to have been sent to seize the muskets belonging to the state that had been used in the Military Academy. Later the town was occasionally visited by gunboats, having on board the generals in command of the Department, who came upon their tours of inspection and observation. In Dec. 1862 Boards of Trade were appointed

⁴² Genealogical Notes of the Chamberlaine family, p. 20, and private letter from Mr. Philemon Willis.

—In the year 1856 the Methodist Episcopal and 186 the Methodist Protestant church buildings were erected. In 1879 the chapel of the Protestant Episcopal communion, now in use, was built, to serve the purposes of the congregation until it should be able to complete the unfinished edifice before noticed.

for each of the counties whose duties were to license the admission of merchandise from the cities, and to prevent the contraband trade, which, it was alleged, was carried on with the insurgents of the South. The Board at Oxford consisted of Mr. William H. Valliant then the Collector of the Port, and Mr. Edward Benson. On the 18th of Sept., 1863, one of the most impressive sights ever witnessed was that presented when the steamer *Champion* left the wharf at Oxford, having on board more than two hundred slaves who were leaving their masters and their homes to enlist in the army of the United States. An eye witness of this occurrence wrote:

The owners and others stood silent and thoughtful upon the wharf and beach, and as the steamer moved off, the colored people on board, waving their hats in good bye, broke out into one of their jubilant hymns such as they were accustomed to sing in their religious meetings, for having no patriotic songs those hymns were converted into songs of deliverance from slavery.

Oxford was soon after made a recruiting station, the enlisting colored people in the military service of the country having been conducted hitherto, irregularly and in a manner peculiarly aggravating to the masters. In Feb. of the year 1849 the town first enjoyed the advantages of regular mail service, when the Postoffice Department appointed Mr. Thomas Watts postmaster, and ordered the delivery and despatch of a mail thrice a week. Previous to this time, at least since the cessation of the public post established under the provincial government, before referred to in this contribution, all matter received or sent by mail was through the offices at Easton or Trappe. Mr. Watts was succeeded in 1852 by Mr. William H. Valliant, who held his place until he was appointed collector of the port in 1861, when he was succeeded by Mr. James Stewart, (whose successors in the order of time have been Mr. John O. Gallup, Mr. Edward S. Harrison), then himself, reappointed, and finally his daughter, Miss Mary Stewart, the present very acceptable and efficient postmistress.

In the year 1863 a renewed interest began to be felt by the inhabitants of the town in their municipal affairs—an interest which owed its origin to the evidences of growth then presenting themselves, and which was exhibited by the measures adopted for a reorganization of the town government. It would seem that for a long series of years—even from the date of the laying out of the town, the government was almost nominal. It was no other than what was exercised over other portions of the county, and was administered by the Worshipful the Justices

of the Peace and Commissioners, the Sheriff and the Constable of the Hundred in which it was situated. After the Revolution, and the reordering of civil affairs, the same kind of government was continued, only modified by the changed circumstances. Down to the year 1826 if Oxford had any separate municipal government, or local magistrature, that government had lapsed, and the magistrature was in abeyance. At the December session of the General Assembly in 1825 an act was passed entitled "An Act appointing Commissioners for the town of Oxford in Talbot county." By this act Messrs. Robert Banning, James Lloyd Chamberlaine and John Willis were appointed Commissioners to open, locate and mark the public squares, streets, lanes and alleys according to the original location made under the provisions of the Act of Assembly of 1694, and these squares, &c., were to remain open to public use without encroachment or obstruction. The Commissioners thus appointed had the power of filling all vacancies that might occur in their body, and thus it became self-perpetuating. The singular fact must be noted that two of the Commissioners were not residents of the town, Mr. Chamberlaine and Mr. Banning. This circumstance gave rise to difficulties which caused a petition to be presented to the General Assembly of 1831, by the citizens of Oxford, asking that the number of Commissioners be increased to five, which petition was granted, and Mr. William Markland and Mr. Ennalls Martin, Jr., were added to those named in the act of 1825-26, and three members of the board were authorized to transact business. The town continued to be governed by a board thus constituted and appointed, aided by the county officers of the peace, until the year 1852, when, for reasons not apparent, a petition was forwarded to the General Assembly from the inhabitants of the town praying that Oxford should be regularly incorporated and "placed under the care and regulation of certain commissioners to be elected by the inhabitants thereof, and vested with sufficient power to forward and effect the purposes intended." To this petition the Legislature favorably responded, and the act was accordingly passed, May 31, 1852, which constitutes the first and only charter of the town of Oxford—a charter under which it is still governed.⁴³ This charter was amended in 1865 in some particulars, which here need not be specified. The records of the board having disappeared the names of the commissioners elected under the charter cannot be

⁴³ For the provisions of this Act of Incorporation reference must be made to Laws of Maryland for the year 1852, and the Code (1860) of Public Local Law, p. 855.

given. In truth the town government slept the sleep of peace enjoyed by the people in common. In the year 1863 these slumbers were disturbed by the cannon of war, and the clatter of industry. A general meeting of the citizens was called that assembled March 2nd, at the house of Mr. Thomas Oldham Martin, for the purpose of ratifying or authorizing the summons of Mr. James Stewart, the only surviving resident commissioner under the charter, of the electors to choose five commissioners of the town. The call was ratified and confirmed by this meeting, and the election was duly held, when these gentlemen were chosen: Messrs. Thomas O. Martin, James Nichols, John O. Gallup, Richard A. Delahay and Haddaway Cooper. These met and organized, taking a proper oath of office, and elected Mr. John Donovan clerk. A re-survey of the town was ordered to be made and Mr. Tench F. Tilghman was appointed the surveyor, who commenced his duties on the 6th of April, and completed them on the 9th of the same month. Since that time the organization of the town government has been maintained by annual elections, and the records of its proceedings have been preserved with tolerable completeness. An examination of them reveals nothing in the history of the corporation that need be here commemorated. The commissioners now in office are Messrs. W. H. Seth, James H. Benson, William T. Elliot, James Nicols, William P. Benson and Mr. Charles F. Stewart is the Clerk of the Board.

It was about the time of this reorganization that Mr. John Donovan laid the foundation of an important industry that is now repopulating the waste places of the town, by the establishment of an oyster packing house, with which he united the canning of fruits and vegetables. A little later, say in 1866, Mr. Nathaniel Leonard commenced the building of vessels, and with his shipyard he connected a steam saw and grist mill. The salubrity of the air, the beauty of the situation of the town, and the advantages it presented for still water sea bathing, which long had been recognized, but not appreciated, now began to attract the attention of persons in pursuit of health, recreation or pleasure during the summer months. A public house of entertainment had been maintained for a number of years by a most worthy lady, Mrs. Thomas O. Martin. In 1875 this was merged into the River View Hotel, under the management of Mr. James Norris, the old framed building that stood near the public strand and had been for many years the most conspicuous structure in the town, having been enlarged, improved and beautified to satisfy the increasing demands of summer visitors for comfortable and tasteful accommodations. But in 1878

the same enterprising hotel manager caused to be erected a much more commodious building, now known as the Eastford House. The Pennsylvania Railroad is now planting a Park near the terminus of their road, upon the Bonfield property, with a view, it is thought, of erecting within a still larger building for the reception of summer visitors. In this connection it may be mentioned that in the year 1879 a plot of ground near Town Point, which had long been occupied and disfigured by some dilapidated and unsightly buildings, was purchased by Col. Samuel Wetherill, a wealthy gentleman of Philadelphia, and here he has laid off and planted ornamental gardens and grounds, in the midst of which he has erected a beautiful marine villa, to be a retreat for himself from the turmoil of city life, and a hospitable roof for the reception of those who enjoy his intimate acquaintance. This probably is only the first of its kind that shall ultimately be built upon this charming water.

With increase of population and business, as a cause or consequence, came an increase of facilities of travel and transportation. Whereas for a long series of years the steamer that plied upon Third Haven merely stopped occasionally upon her trips to or from Easton to send a boat ashore to land or receive a casual passenger, a wharf was constructed, at which regular landings are made, and now two steamers touch at Oxford daily or tri-weekly, going to and returning from Baltimore, and find their interest in doing so. In 1871 the Maryland and Delaware Railroad, the same that was afterwards known as the Delaware and Chesapeake, and which is now a feeder of the great Pennsylvania, was completed to tide water at a point just below the town; and in 1875 the pier was built at its terminus, with the expectation that by or through Oxford would pass the great current of travel North and South, when those connections shall be made which are projected.

From time immemorial the pious people of the town sought religious instruction or spiritual comfort, and the idle found diversion at sacred places beyond its limits. In 1851 a congregation of the Protestant Episcopal communion, known as Trinity, was organized, and in 1853, as before mentioned, the still incomplete stone church in the suburbs was erected so far as it has ever been built. This congregation in 1879 laid the cornerstone of Grace Chapel within the town, where it worships at present, and will worship until it shall be able to complete the unfinished edifice, that now stands with such picturesque effect upon the banks of the river. In the year 1856 the meeting house of the Methodist Episcopal Church was erected, and in 1876 that of the Methodist Protestant.

No school supported by public funds had an existence in Oxford until 1868, when the school house of the neighborhood was moved to a site upon the public square. There are more schools than one now required to instruct the numerous children of a prolific population, and to the credit of the people these schools are well filled.

Healthful as is the climate, exempt as is the locality from all epidemic disease, long lived as are the people—and all this is proverbially true, and has been true as far back as the history of the town extends, yet pale death certainly comes at last, even to the resident of Oxford. It is not strange that no provision was made, until of late, for an event which seemed uncertain, or at least always remote: no place of burial was ever set apart. The dead were interred in the corners of the gardens; in the graveyards which may be found upon almost every farm of the neighborhood, or later in the grounds around the new stone church. In the present year land has been purchased, part of the Plimbimmon estate, adjoining the town, and embracing the burial grounds of the Tilghman's, who had long permitted the interment of those nowise connected with the family, for a public cemetery, and where the few who die at Oxford will hereafter be laid.

At a time when the town had begun to show unquestionable signs of a return of its former prosperity—prosperity of degree if not of kind—it was deprived of that distinction which it had long enjoyed of being a port of entry and departure. This disservice it is said to owe to the Hon. John A. J. Creswell, member of Congress, who, in 1866, procured the withdrawal of its port privileges and rights, for reasons that are not apparent: and the books and papers belonging to the Collector's office were removed to the Custom House at Baltimore. At this date Mr. William H. Valliant was the Collector and Inspector of the revenue, and he was therefore the last person to enjoy the honors and emoluments of the office. It would appear from the imperfect records that remain, that in the earlier years of Oxford it was the chief port of a District that embraced the whole Eastern Shore. Subsequently it became the chief port of a District that extended from Chester river to Little Choptank. Still later it was one port of the Patuxent District, as has before been noted. As a chief port it had its own Collector and Naval Officer. As a secondary port it had merely a Deputy Collector and a Naval Officer. After the Revolution, and down to the abolition of its privileges, the tributary district remained pretty much as before, but it had its independent staff of officers, who were styled Collectors and Inspectors. In the later years one person discharged the duties of

both stations. From the imperfect records that remain, or, at least, that have been examined, it is impossible to complete the list of the officers of the Customs at Oxford, but the following defective record may not be devoid of interest. The first officer of the port that has been named was Robert Ungle, Esq., of Plain-Dealing, who was naval officer up to 1727, when he was succeeded by Mr. Samuel Chamberlaine, his son-in-law, who had been his deputy. Mr. Chamberlaine, after Mr. Ungle's death, became Deputy Collector. In 1748 he resigned and was succeeded by his son, Mr. Thomas Chamberlaine, who had been Naval Officer, and who now united in himself the duties of both Deputy Collector and Naval Officer. At this date Mr. James Hollyday was Chief Collector of the District. Mr. Thomas Chamberlaine held his offices until his death in 1768, when he was succeeded by his brother, Mr. Samuel Chamberlaine of Bonfield, who was made Collector, and Mr. John Leeds was Naval Officer. At the outbreak of the Revolution both Mr. Chamberlaine and Mr. Leeds were relieved of their offices by reason of their being non-jurors or persons who refused to take the obligation of the associators, and then the oath of allegiance to the new State Government. From the beginning of the war, however, the offices may be said to have been in abeyance, until the year 1777, when Capt. subsequently Col. Jeremiah Banning, of the Isthmus, was appointed by the Governor and council "Naval Officer and Collector of the rates, duties and imports" at the port of Oxford. As such he remained until the adoption of the Federal constitution, when he was appointed by General Washington, then made President, "Collector and Inspector of the Revenue." Dying in 1798, he was followed in his office by his son Mr. Robert Banning, who had previously acted as Inspector under his father. Mr. Robert Banning continued to hold his office until 1804, when, in conformity with a pernicious custom first introduced by Mr. Jefferson, he was removed to give place to Mr. John Willis, a political supporter of the President. ⁴⁴

⁴⁴ This gentleman came to Talbot from Caroline in or about the year 1784, and was engaged in the mercantile business and shipbuilding at Oxford from that time until his appointment as Collector. He gave much attention to the cultivation of fruit. But his horticulture was pursued more as an amusement than as a calling or branch of business, it was therefore less profitable to himself than useful to the community. He introduced many new and improved varieties of fruit, and it was through him that the singular adaptation of this locality for the production of certain kinds, particularly cherries, was discovered. He planted the grape vine which has a local celebrity, and which is regarded as one of the curiosities of the town, being really extraordinary for its great age, size and productiveness. It was planted in the year 1808, and was called by Mr. Willis the Guernsey

In the year 1808, at the time of the operation of the celebrated embargo upon foreign trade, Mr. Willis issued the following order:

Custom House, Oxford, Md.,
Feb. 13th, 1808.

This is to give notice to all masters and owners of vessels, now in this district, not to permit their departure from the same, until the owner, consignee, agent or factor, shall, with the master, give such a bond at this office, as may be required, agreeably to the supplement to an Act entitled "An Act laying an embargo on all ships and vessels in the ports and harbors of the United States."

JOHN WILLIS, Collector.

For the purpose of enforcing this order James Clayland was appointed a Captain to aid the Collector. This proceeding must have been merely formal, for there were no vessels within the collection district of Oxford, trading with foreign ports—or at most there was but one. Dying in office, Mr. John Willis was succeeded by his youngest son, Mr. Nicholas Willis, in 1839, being appointed by Mr. Van Buren. Upon the coming in of the new administration of Genl. Harrison, Mr. John Dawson was appointed the successor of Mr. Nicholas Willis, removed, but before he entered upon his duties the President died, and Mr. Willis was reinstated by Mr. Tyler. He was recommissioned by Mr. Polk in 1845. In May of the year 1849 Mr. John H. Allen, Principal of the Military Academy, was appointed to succeed Mr. Willis, by Genl. Taylor. Mr. Allen was followed in the office by Mr. Richard B. Willis, who dying was succeeded Aug. 22nd, 1857, by Genl. Tench Tilghman, who being in office at the outbreak of the war of the Rebellion, and not in accord with the administration upon the great question in dispute, was removed by Mr. Lincoln, and Mr. William H. Valliant was appointed in his stead in April, 1861. This gentleman remained in office until it was abolished—in 1866, as before mentioned. For a long series of years the actual

grape, because it was derived from the island of Guernsey, in the British Channel. This vine has now a trunk of forty-five inches in circumference, and its branches, though not so extensive as formerly, being kept within certain limits, cover a large part of the yard in the front of the Willis house, besides several trees growing near. During one season it is said there were counted upon this vine twenty-four thousand five hundred bunches of grapes, a number so enormous as to require that we should make some allowance for the *personal equation* of both the counters and the reporters. Mr. Willis died in 1839 and was buried upon his own premises, within the town. He has left many descendants, and the memory of an honest man, upon which no shadow rests.

—It may be here noted that in 1803 the town of Easton was made a port of entry in the collection district of Oxford, and Mr. Charles Gibson was appointed Inspector, or Naval Officer.

duties of the Custom House were discharged by a most worthy and competent man, Mr. Thomas Watts. The Custom House proper in the days of Mr. Jeremiah Banning and his successor, Mr. Robert Banning, was really at the Isthmus, their residence, where the modest building still stands. During the term of Mr. John Willis and his successors, it was a diminutive tenement, not more than ten feet square, that stood near the Willis house, and yet may stand, and contrasted strangely with those imposing structures that were built in the great city upon the Patapsco which was literally unknown when Oxford on Choptank was a thriving port.

Of the population of Oxford previous to the national enumeration of 1870 little is known. In provincial times it may be that two or at most three hundred people were assembled within its limits. In the year just mentioned for the first time the inhabitants of the town were numbered separately from those of the remainder of the county. Then there was a total of two hundred and seventy-seven, all of native parentage. By the census of 1880 the number of the population had risen to and now, 1882, it is estimated to be fully one thousand.

So much for the past. What will be the future of this town which had its founding in the very dawn of our local history, which had its era of prosperity and then its sleep of years to awaken into renewed youth and vigor, it is probably vain and useless to conjecture. Pleasing as it may be to indulge the fancy that it will continue to grow in size and importance until it shall become a considerable city, where commerce and manufactures may concentrate, or where fashion, in pursuit of health and pleasure, may congregate as at another Nice or Newport, sober reason compels us to believe that Oxford can never be more than a village, even though the ship canal be constructed by the Choptank route, and the oyster fields of the Chesapeake unexhausted yield their perennial "harvest of the sea;" even though its air shall continue to be the very breath of Hygeia herself, and its waters healing as the fabled pool of Bethesda.

Here will be concluded this account of the "town and port of Oxford." That it is burthened with trivial details is a criticism which is readily anticipated: but in reply it may be asked whether any incident is unimportant which illustrates the history of a community. For the sake of rendering this paper interesting, no attempt has been made to substitute mere conjecture for facts, nor to supply the deficiencies of authentic records by materials furnished by the imagination. For every statement there is ample testimony in the form of either written documents or contemporary witnesses.

THE TOWN OF SAINT MICHAELS

(1883)

In times of old a village, which perchance grew into a town or even city, would cluster around the castle of some great lord, who for the privilege of preying upon its inhabitants himself protected them from the severer depredations of robber knights who infested the land. When the church became supreme, or contested for preëminence with the nobility, bishops and abbots were the great magnates, and they assumed the rôle of protectors of a timid and cowering people. Around the cathedrals and monasteries sprang up villages which were glad to pay with tythes and other rates for the shelter and defence that could be given them by either the temporal or spiritual arm of the church, from the violence and exactions of neighboring barons and their retainers. Though these were the circumstances of the origin of towns in lands far distant and in times long past, it could hardly have been expected that we should be able to trace the beginnings of a town to the building of a church, in a country free from all apprehension of oppression from a nobility or privileged class, and at a time when priestly anathemas deterred the violent from wrong, as little as church walls protected the weak from injury; yet such is the fact with regard to Saint Michaels. The church was the first house erected, and around it gathered the village which took its name.⁴⁵ As no personal protection was secured by it to the villagers, nor expected, and as there is no reason to believe from what we know of the character of the early settlers that spiritual benefits were principal motives of living near it, we must look for other reasons why they should have taken up their homes around the humble ecclesiastical structure that was built near the spot where the new and beautiful Protestant Episcopal Church now stands. These reasons will appear in the sequel.

Of the circumstances of the building of the church edifice first erected upon the site which has ever since been consecrated to religious purposes in the midst of grounds that have been sadly diminished by frequent sales and possible intrusion, an account was prepared for and published in the *Saint Michaels Comet* of June 1st, 1878. Although the date of its erection has not been preserved, there is evidence that in

⁴⁵ Saint Michaels may be regarded the patron saint, or guardian angel of Maryland, for all patents required the payment of the quit rents to the Lord Proprietary on the Feast of Saint Michael and all angels: and this was the legal day of many processes.

1736 it had gone to decay and had been replaced by a new structure; and that no others but very aged persons had knowledge of the time when it was built. From depositions taken in the year just named, by authority of the Vestry, the land for church purposes had been given by either Mr. John Hatton or Mr. Edward Elliot, but the weight of the evidence was that the former was the real owner of the two acres that were set apart for church purposes. There is reasonable ground to believe that this occurred as early at least as 1672, when the Reverend Mr. James Clayland, was exercising the office of minister of the Reformed Church, and before the Church of England had become the established church of the province.⁴⁶

It is not difficult to conjecture what were the considerations which determined the locating of the church at the place where it was built. In the earliest years of the province of Maryland, before the construction of the roads, the water ways were commonly used for inter communication. The canoes and barges antedated the chairs and coaches of a later period, and for the poorer class of people they took the place of the horse with his saddle and pillion. As the settlements in Talbot were in the first instance made along the banks of the innumerable creeks and coves of the county, it is readily seen that the inhabitants found it more convenient to make their journeys by water, than to take long detours around the heads of these creeks and coves by the yet unfrequented paths through woods and swamps. Now the place selected as the site of the church is just where the waters of Saint Michaels and Broad Creeks approach near to each other. Boats were able to land almost at the church door upon one side, while they could reach a point not many hundred yards from the same, upon the other. An examination of the chorography will show that a very large part of what subsequently became Saint Michaels parish can be easily reached by boats leaving the town either by church cove or by what is known as Saint Domingo or Back creek. The whole of what is now called Bayside, the whole of Miles River Neck, and the country along Saint Michaels river on the east,⁴⁷ were able to send their worshippers to the church

⁴⁶ A memorandum by Mr. John Bozman Kerr, states that the first church at St. Michaels was built in 1600. Upon what authority this was made is not indicated. We are not safe in disregarding any indicia of this first explorer of the wilderness of our early annals, but he is not to be followed implicitly.

⁴⁷ The proper name for the creek or river, commonly called Miles River, is Saint Michaels. The corruption into Miles probably originated in the habit, common to all people of abbreviating names which are difficult of pronuncia-

in barges, canoes or other boats, some one of which every farmer possessed; while those who preferred and were able to ride, had but to follow the devious and narrow bridle path which by necessity had to pass immediately before the door.⁴⁸

But the position selected for reasons ecclesiastical and spiritual well might have been chosen for reasons economical and secular; for the same facilities of access which it offered to those seeking religious strength or comfort were offered to the wordly minded intent upon their material or pecuniary advantage. In truth the place of meeting for worship became a place of meeting for business. There, as a point where most persons congregated, were posted the advertisements of the masters of the ships trading in the waters of Talbot, Queen Anne's and Dorset, in which they described the character of their vessels, their destination, their rates of freight, and gave the names of their owners and consignees in London, Liverpool, or other English ports. There the captains met the planters of the vicinity, and the factors and merchants, with whom contracts were formed. The creek which makes in from Saint Michaels river and forms the harbor of the town furnished an admirable anchorage for sea-going and other vessels, while at Deep-Water Point, one of the chops of this harbor, vessels of large tonnage could approach the shore within a stone's throw. If we may credit tradition, a most uncertain guide, such vessels, at a time, not within memory, could and did ascend the harbor much higher than the present depth of water would permit.⁴⁹ It is, however, very well established that the harbor

tion. Possibly the custom of the Quakers in dropping the word Saint, may have favored this habit. It was easy to pass from Michaels river to Miles; and the corruption commenced at a very early period in the history of the county. There is a Miles creek in Trappe district, which sometimes, in the first records was called St. Miles, and at others St. Michaels. In 1687 one John Miles of Ann Arundel county, sold a tract of land to Thomas Miles of the same county upon the upper waters of the St. Michaels river. May we not have here the origin of the alternate name.

⁴⁸ Although the origin of the town is to be traced to the building of a church, it is a curious fact, worthy of being noted, that the first mention of the place that has been discovered in the county or any other records, is in connection with a horse race which came off at St. Michaels in 1680. In a book of judgments for 1681-1685 there is a record of an action to recover a bet made upon this horse race. This indicates clearly that here was a place for neighborhood gatherings at the date indicated.

⁴⁹ As confirmatory of the truth of this tradition, stones are pointed out in Church Creek, which are said to have been thrown from ships that had used them as ballast.

of Saint Michaels was a place of lading and unloading of English shipping at a very early period, and continued so to be down to the Revolution, if not a little later. In extant records there are many indications that Deep Water Point, upon the right of the approach to the harbor, was from its singular natural advantages, at and from a very early day, a preferred place for the receipt and deposit of freight, and that here was the factory of one Liverpool firm, at least, and a house of public entertainment.

There is a little doubt that the English mercantile firms of London, Liverpool and Bristol, whose ships were trading in the waters of Talbot, Choptank, Third Haven, Wye and Saint Michaels rivers, had their factors or agents at points at, or at least not remote from the site of the town of Saint Michaels; but there have been discovered but few records of the presence of such persons. There was a public tobacco warehouse upon the farm of Daniel Sherwood, upon Broad Creek not very distant from this place. Here large quantities of the staple of the province was brought to be inspected, and stored to await transportation. It is known that Mr. James Edge, he who gave name to an arm of Broad Creek, upon which he resided, was in 1741-2 the factor of Mr. Richard Gildart of Liverpool, whose ships visited Talbot regularly down to the outbreak of the war of Independence.⁶⁰ When the people of the colonies determined, by their Associations, to permit no English goods to be introduced, namely in 1775, Mr. Jas. Braddock of St. Michaels, was the agent of Messrs. Gildart and Gawith, and their ship, the Johnson, which entered the Eastern bay was prevented by the Committee of Observation from landing that part of her cargo consigned to Mr. Braddock. This gentleman owned much property which was subsequently embraced in the plot of the town, at the date of its incorporation and survey; and his name was given to one of the squares or wards into which the town was divided, as will presently be noted. In this very imperfect sketch of the origin and ante-revolutionary history of Saint Michaels, it is proper that reference should be made to an independent merchant whose large transactions in tobacco and other country products and whose stocked store of imported goods, were important factors in the growth of a town in his immediate vicinage. This gentleman was Mr. Thomas Harrison, who had his place of business on the arm of Broad Creek that approaches the town, as it were in the rear, at his farm now called Canton. His store-house stood at the water's edge,

⁶⁰ Mr. Edge is buried beneath the church at St. Michaels.

near his residence, yet standing, and to it resorted the planters and traders of Talbot and Dorchester counties to exchange their tobacco or other products for goods and wares of foreign importation. This tobacco and whatever else was fitted for export were sent abroad in ships lying in Saint Michaels river and harbor. It may not be amiss to say that Mr. Harrison acquired a very handsome fortune in this business which he conducted until his death in 1802, and left to his son, Mr. Samuel Harrison, who prosecuted the same in the old place until about 1810, when he removed to the town proper which had now grown to a village of no inconsiderable size, the patronage of whose inhabitants it was his interest to retain. Mr. Samuel Harrison continued to import his goods directly from England, down to 1808, at least, and he was probably the last merchant of this county to participate in the foreign export and import trade; but it should be stated his importations at this date were made through the port of Baltimore, and his exportations, if any, were through the same. If there were other merchants before the Revolution at or near St. Michaels, and doubtless there were, their names have not been preserved.

From very early dates in the history of this county the business of ship building had been successfully prosecuted. The vast forests of magnificent pines and oaks which almost completely covered the face of the country and came down the very water's edge, as though asking to be launched upon its bosom, furnished ample, excellent and easily procurable materials for the use of the naval architect; while the many deep and sheltered coves and creeks gave him convenient and inexpensive sites for shipyards. In no section of the county was the business more largely and diligently followed, as long as the timber lasted, than in Bay Side, where it has left, to the present day, traces and indications of its extent in the debris and waste yet lying preserved by the salt water and to be seen in every neighborhood and where the business still survives, though upon a much reduced scale. The tendency which, in all progressive societies, is shown by the occupations of men, especially of the commercial and mechanical, to concentrate for their prosecution at a few points, instead of being widely scattered was manifested there by the trade of ship building. Without pausing to study the philosophy of this it is sufficient to say that in such pursuits, differing from the professional or agricultural, personal and pecuniary interest corroborates the instinctive gregariousness of men; for in those common effort is most necessary to success, while in these individual effort is all that is required. With the destruction of the timber proximate to the various

ship yards scattered through the county there was a gradual drawing together of the master builders, and their workmen in the various departments—the ship-wrights, the blacksmiths, the sawyers, the caulkers the riggers, the sail makers and the painters—at a few localities which presented compensating advantages to offset the labor and expense of the longer transportation of materials. One of these points of concentration of the ship building interest, determined by circumstances very appreciable, was St. Michaels, and its immediate vicinage, where from the earliest days of settlement it has had an existence. Here, owing to the causes which have already been noticed, and others; here where men assembled for traffic, worship or recreation; here where the planters and traders, with their wives and daughters, resorted upon the arrival of every ship to partake of the politic and calculating hospitality of the captains, which upon these occasions was profusely extended; or where they came to learn the prices of the Maryland staple in the markets of Europe, and the political and social news of the great world beyond the ocean; here where the youth of both sexes from the country around congregated on holidays to witness or participate in the horse racing, cock fighting and other rustic sports; here the young men came to prove and display their manhood in feats of strength and agility and the young women to parade their personal charms bedecked in the simple finery of the country, or, in the case of the more fortunate, in the newest mode from abroad;—here had grown up, as it were, imperceptibly a hamlet or small village, chiefly inhabited by mechanics, and those who lived off their labor, the publicans and small ship-keepers. The mechanics were engaged in building or refitting vessels, the shop keepers catered to their wants, while the publicans provided entertainment for the sailors and strangers just arrived from abroad or for the cockerouses⁴¹ of the country around.

These, then, were the circumstances under the influence of which a small straggling village of a few humble tenements, occupied by a hundred or more people, grew up around the church, and near the ship yards. The houses had been built without regard to order, and the people lived in peace without government. No attempt, down to the time of the Revolution had been made to assign any limits to or give any regularity to the village, and no thought or wish had been expressed for municipal rights and privileges. The few streets were but roads that conformed

⁴¹ A term said to be of Indian origin, signifying the chief or great men, and applied to the large planters as distinguished from the small farmers.

to the natural features of the land and water, and the only laws the inhabitants obeyed, except the general laws of the province, were those which custom had established. With the outbreak of the war of the Revolution closes the first period of the history of the town of Saint Michaels namely that of its origin and inchoation.

After that happy event the prosperity which had begun to be shown before, became more marked. Houses, and people to occupy them, multiplied, business flourished, fortunes, or what was deemed there to be fortunes, were accumulated by the masters of the numerous ship yards and the small merchants, the workmen lived in great independence, comfort and plenty, while the people of the adjacent country experienced the benefits of having a ready market for their timber and other farm products. Within the town all was life and animation, particularly around the ship yards. The ringing of the heavy broad axe, as it shaped the tortuous knees or the graceful timbers, the grating of the whip-saw as it went plunging into the pit, riving the solid oak; the thundering of the great iron maul upon the rounding bottom or the sweeping sides of the ship as it drove the spikes or trunnels home; the clanging of the caulkers' mallet closing with pitchy oakum the gaping seam; the roar of the blacksmith's forge as it welded the links of the ponderous cable; the aeolian strains that awoke as the tightening stays and shrouds became attuned under the rigger's cunning hands; even the boisterous chaffing of the sailors awaiting the completion of their vessels, and the noisy prattle of the urchins while picking up the chips for the evening fire,—all these united in one grand symphony, at once the sign and the expression of industrial prosperity and happiness.

THE TOWN OF SAINT MICHAELS

An hundred years or more had probably elapsed, after the date when the first traces of Saint Michaels might have been discovered at the place where it now stands, before any steps were taken to give to the town which had huddled around the church and ship yards something of regularity, by the laying off streets and alleys, to take the place of the tortuous roads and paths, which made the village ways and to mark and designate by proper lines the lots which were to be built upon. In the year 1778, during the progress of the war of the Revolution, Mr. James Braddock, an English gentleman, who was the agent or factor of Messrs. Gildart & Gawith, Liverpool merchants, at St. Michaels, and who had come into possession of land in and near the town, laid

off a portion of this land into town lots, and had a plot of the same properly made by a surveyor. This survey and plot is not upon record, but is frequently referred to in many deeds of land which he executed after this date. It is believed that Mr. Braddock at this time laid off the central portion of the town including the public square, of which mention will be made in the sequel. After Mr. Braddock's death, Mr. John Thompson, his heir under his exceedingly brief will of a half dozen lines, in 1783, laid off another portion of land into lots. Of this addition to the town there is no record, farther than frequent mention of and reference to it in many conveyances. The town continued to grow in size and in prosperity. By the year 1804 the number of people who had taken up their residence at Saint Michaels, and had therefore common interests distinct from the interests of the people of the county in general, was such that there was felt a desire, or rather there was experienced a necessity for the acquisition by this community of certain powers, privileges and immunities which would enable it better to maintain order and promote its well being. Besides there was a growing conviction, founded upon the prosperity which prevailed, that the village would develop into a considerable town requiring municipal government, with its own proper ordinances and officers. After the matter had been thoroughly discussed by the people at their voluntary meetings, and by the principal citizens, upon whom would fall the chief burden of the new government, in private, it was determined to forward a petition signed by the residents of the village, to the General Assembly of the State praying that a charter for a corporate town be granted to the people of Saint Michaels. Accompanying this petition was a bill embodying those provisions which it was deemed advisable to secure. This petition and bill were presented to the Legislature at the November session of 1804, and on the 19th of Jan. 1805 the bill received the final ratification of the body, and became a law. The following are the first, second and third sections of the Act of Incorporation.

I. Whereas, it hath been set forth by the petition of sundry inhabitants of Talbot county, that the village now known by the name of St. Michaels, in said county, has considerably increased in the number of houses and inhabitants, and have prayed that the said village may be reacted into a town according to the ancient metes and bounds thereof, and of the lands adjoining thereto, as laid down in a plot annexed to said petition, and the prayer of the petitioners appearing reasonable, therefore

II. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland that Robert Dodson, John Dorgan, James Boid and Thomas S. Haddaway be and

they are hereby appointed Commissioners, who, or a majority of them, be and are hereby authorized and directed to resurvey the grounds and lots within the village of Saint Michaels, in Talbot county and to perpetuate the lines and bounds thereof, that is to say, as well as those lands and bounds laid off by a certain James Braddock about the year 1778 for the purpose of a town by the name of Saint Michaels, as aforesaid, as those grounds or lots which were laid off and sold by a certain John Thompson, heir and representative of the aforesaid Braddock on or about the year 1783, for the said purpose; and the said Commissioners are hereby directed to resurvey and establish by stone boundaries, or such other as they shall consider good and durable, all the lots, squares, lanes, ways and alleys in the said town, agreeably to the old location, thereof, as made at the time of the first laying off of those grounds, or as nearly so as they can, and to give to the said squares, streets, lanes, ways and alleys, such distinguishing names as they think proper; and the Commissioners are further hereby authorized and directed to lay off into lots, streets, ways, lanes and alleys such other grounds or lands conceded for such purposes as shall be contained within the limits herein after prescribed and the same to name and number as aforesaid.

III. And be it enacted that the bounds and limits of the said town shall be as follows, viz.: Beginning at a stone set down by the side of a cove of Saint Michaels river and running south 66 degrees, 15 minutes west to a branch of Broad Creek, then up and with said Broad Creek to the land of Samuel Harrison; then therewith north 81 degrees east to the main road; then northwardly with said main road to the land of Robert Richardson's heirs; then therewith to the waters of Saint Michaels river aforesaid, then with said waters to the beginning; which said town shall be called Saint Michaels.

Of the other sections of this act of incorporation it is not necessary to give more than a brief abstract.

IV. Provides for the appointment of a surveyor who shall draw a plot of the town.

V. Provides for a clerk to record the proceedings of the Commissioners and their surveyor, to give a plot and perfect description of all lots, streets, &c., and to file his record with the clerk of the county.

VI. Authorizes the Commissioners to act as such until the first Monday in January, 1806, when an election should be held for their successors in office, and it directs that annually upon the same day elections should be held thereafter, commencing at 9 o'clock in the morning and closing at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, at which all *freemen* qualified to vote for delegates to the General Assembly, should be entitled to vote by ballot. In this section also the qualifications of a Commissioner is defined, and annual choice of a Bailiff required, and the matter of appointing the judges of election determined.

VII. Settles the time for the meetings of the Commissioners, regulates their pay, and prescribes their duties.

VIII. Defines the duties of the Bailiff, and among these was this:

“to punish with moderate correction under such rules and regulations as shall be prescribed by the said Commissioners all such negroes and other slaves as shall be found strolling or wandering about the streets in the night time, and frequenting the houses of other persons in said town, without the consent of their masters.”

IX. Prohibits the going at large of geese and swine.

X. Defines the powers of the Commissioners.

The Commissioners appointed by the Act seem not to have proceeded to the discharge of their duties until the year 1807. In the meantime some changes had been made in its constituent membership, Mr. William Merchant having taken the place of Mr. Boid and Mr. Jas. Dodson having been added to the Commissioners.

These gentlemen selected Mr. Samuel Tennant, a gentleman resident in the immediate neighborhood, as their surveyor and proceeded to lay off the town, according to the act of incorporation, paying due regard to the lines of the plots of Mr. Braddock and Mr. Thompson. The streets were laid off sixty feet wide and properly marked by boundary stones. To these streets were given such names as Talbot (that is the main street of the town), Mill (that is the street running down to Mill Point, otherwise Roades' Point), Mulberry, Chestnut, Water, Willow, Cherry, Locust. Certain alleys were named Cedar, Carpenter's, Thompson's. The whole plot of the town was divided into three squares, or wards, exclusive of the Public square in the centre of the town. Braddock's Square, or ward comprised all the land from St. Michaels river to Talbot street and along that street to a stone marked H. Thompson's Square, or ward comprised all the land bordering on Broad Creek, extending up to Talbot street. Harrison's Square, or ward comprised all the land bordering on St. Michaels river below Braddock's Square.⁶² The Public Square, to which the name of Saint Mary was given was a body of land near the centre of the town, containing forty-eight thousand square feet in the shape of a regular parallelogram, two sides of which parallel with Talbot street were each two hundred and forty feet in length, and the other two sides parallel with Mulberry street two hundred feet in length. Apparently this square was enclosed; at least it is described in the report of the Surveyor as having two gates, each forty feet wide, and respectively known as the North and South gate. Besides the land which was laid off, as described, there were other lands within the limits which were left unsurveyed. Of these a portion belonged to the vestry of St. Michaels Parish, and was known as Mt.

⁶² The boundaries of the Wards here given are probably sufficiently explicit.

Pleasant, and the Church land. This church land lay within Braddock's ward or square, and at a subsequent date most of it was sold by direction of the vestry. After the survey had been completed, the commissioners drew up a report of their procedures, and, with a plot of the town, filed it with the Clerk of the county for record; but a diligent search has not been able to discover the book in which this report was copied. The town thus described is situated upon an arm making out from the South side of St. Michaels river and is about twelve miles from the Chesapeake Bay. According to the Coast Survey the Episcopal church near the centre of the town is in Latitude 38 degrees 46 minutes 58 seconds, and in Longitude 76 degrees 16 minutes 10 seconds west from Greenwich; and it is eleven miles and five hundred and seven yards from the Court House at Easton. The limits of the town as laid off by these commissioners and their surveyor remained unaltered until the year 1852, when upon the petition of sundry of its inhabitants the legislature authorized that certain lands adjacent to the corporate lines should be embraced within the corporate limits. These lands were thus defined in the Acts of Assembly. "Beginning on Talbot street at a stone which limits the original corporation [of 1804] at the northeast corner of a lot belonging to the heirs of Richard Harrington on said street, and running south eighty-three degrees west two hundred and forty feet to New Street; crossing said street a space of sixty feet and continuing beyond or west of said street one hundred and twenty feet; thence parallel with Talbot street, north two and one-half degrees west eight hundred and fifty-five feet to Church Neck road thence crossing said road north twenty degrees west three hundred and forty-six feet to the division line between the lands of William Jones and John N. Hambleton; thence south eighty-seven and one-half degrees east two hundred and eighty feet to Talbot street, including that portion of the town not embraced in the former Act. For the purpose of completing this relation of the bounds of the town, reference must be made to the Act of Assembly of the year 1860, by which the jurisdiction of the Commissioners was extended over "the waters of St. Michaels harbor west of a line drawn from Navy Point to Jones' Point." This same act amended the original charter in certain particulars that need not here be noted. Again in 1880 another act was passed which contained numerous amendments so full and comprehensive as to be equivalent to a new charter; but as these are not significant of any changes in the character of the town, or the social condition of the people though they do indicate increased growth, any detailed statement of them is

unnecessary. They relate chiefly to the government of the municipality, and for the better conduct of this government the Commissioners were reduced in number from five to three, were allowed to appoint one of their number President of the Board, who became virtually Mayor, a Treasurer, a Clerk and a Bailiff, officers which already had an actual if not a legal existence. The limits of the town jurisdiction in the harbor, by this act of 1880 was "a line drawn from Parrott's Point to Three Cedar Point," so that the whole harbor was included. In the year 1868 an Act of Assembly had authorized the appointment of a harbor master. The appointment of this officer and the extending of the town jurisdiction over the harbor had been rendered necessary by the development of the oyster industry, which brought a much larger number of vessels into this port, and as a consequence a greater liability to if not actual increase of disorder. In 1882 there was another Act of Assembly by which the powers of the Bailiff were extended. It authorized him to act as conservator of the public peace in any part of the county of Talbot, and to receive such fees as constables are entitled to receive.

From what has been said in connection with this subject, it is evident to those acquainted with St. Michaels and its vicinity that the boundaries as they have been described do not include all the territory that should properly belong to the town, for both above and below there are districts partially built over that are not embraced within the limits of the corporation.

It has already been noted that the period of the inception or beginning of the town of St. Michaels terminated with the outbreak of the war of Independence. The same great event marks the commencement of its growth in population and industrial enterprise. After the Revolution the ship building interest received new impetus, and the constructors of vessels to supply the demand which the greatly increased domestic and foreign trade created, gave employment to all the shipwrights within the county. St. Michaels as the centre of this interest accordingly prospered. For about forty years, down to 1820, the ship yards in or near the town were ceaselessly engaged in building all kinds of sailing craft, from the large sea-going ship to the smallest sloop for bay navigation. The masters of these yards contended in generous rivalry who should carry off the palm for beauty of model, for excellence of workmanship and for despatch in building.⁵³

⁵³ The following, taken from the *Republican Star* of Nov. 26th, 1805, is illustrative of this rivalry. "Improvement in Ship Building." "On Saturday evening,

A class of vessels which at one time possessed a world-wide reputation for their sailing qualities, and for the gracefulness of their lines, and which acquired their name rather from the port out of which they sailed than from the place of their construction, probably owed their origin to the shipyards of St. Michaels, and the skill of the shipwrights of the same town.⁵⁴ These were those Baltimore Clippers, which first gave precedence to our chief city as the principal entrepôt of the West India trade in this country, and which during the war of 1812 bestowed upon the same city the equivocal distinction of being the port of arrival and departure of the greatest number and of the most successful of the privateers that preyed upon the British commerce.

If it should be required to assign a date when the ship building interest had attained its greatest development in and near St. Michaels—when the town was enjoying its highest prosperity from the prosecution of this its peculiar business, the year 1810 might safely be given. To be sure for four or five years previously, as for the same time after there was no sensible increase or decline except so far as it was affected by the war; but by the year 1820 many of the yards had been abandoned and those that were still active were conducted with much diminished force and restricted capital. In or about the year designated, 1810, every shipwright in the county was fully employed, and all those mechanics whose work was necessary in naval construction. It may be interesting and useful to place upon record the names of some of the ship builders who at this date were prosecuting the business at or near St. Michaels. It is proper to say that this town was the residence of many of the workmen who were employed in yards that were some miles removed. Two

the 23rd of November was launched in Broad Creek, the elegant and substantially built ship 'Hope,' burthen nearly 400 tons. We assert (and our assertion is grounded upon the opinion of correct judges) that this ship was never equalled in model nor excelled in workmanship, by any ever built upon the Eastern Shore.—It may not be amiss to mention that instead of thirty hands, during twelve months, being necessary for the building of said ship, as was represented by some of the ship carpenters of this county, that she was on the stocks but six months and three days, with fourteen men about one half the time, and the remaining half, from twenty to twenty-four men, including every person engaged on the ship."

(Signed) "Harrison & Kemp, Ship Builders, St. Michaels, Talbot Co."

⁵⁴ Mr. Edward Spencer himself the descendant of a Talbot shipbuilder, says in his chapter of "manners and customs" in Scharf's History of Maryland: "It is held by some that the models of the "Baltimore Clipper" for schooners the fastest sailing vessels in the world, originated near the town of St. Michaels, in Talbot county, where ship building has been a hereditary pursuit ever since 1670."—Scharf's History of Maryland, Vol. ii, page 63.

of the largest ship builders were the Messrs. Spencer, Col. Perry Spencer, who lived at Spencer Hall, near the town, had yards at his own place, upon Broad Creek, and at the village itself. Besides he gave contracts to other builders, which his own workmen were not able to fill. He is said to have engaged to build six of the barges that composed the bay flotilla. Mr. Richard Spencer, his brother, lived at Beverly on Broad Creek, and carried on ship building extensively. His workmen populated Onion Hill, but a portion were inhabitants of St. Michaels. Mr. William Harrison, of Mount Pleasant, Church Neck, was the builder of large sea-going vessels and his yard was one of the most extensive in the county. Mr. Harrison was not a shipwright himself but with Mr. Levin Blades as his foreman, he was a successful builder. He gave sub contracts to Mr. Thomas Hambleton, whose yard was near Hambleton's Island, in Church Neck. Mr. Thomas Wayman built vessels upon Solitude Creek. The ship yards just named were near St. Michaels and many of the workmen had their homes in the town. There were other yards a little more remote, as that of Mr. John Dawson at Peck's Point, that of Mr. James Colston at Clay's Hope, in Ferry Neck, that of Thomas and James Ball in Broad Creek Neck, and that of James Collison in Bay Hundred. These were all tributary to St. Michaels and might be considered as outlying labor stations of the town. Immediately at and within the limits of the town were the yards of Messrs. Thomas L. Haddaway, Impey Dawson, John Wrightson, Skinner Harris, John Davis and Joseph Kemp.⁵⁵ Mr. John Dorgan was largely engaged in building, but he was not a shipwright. He was a ship-smith, and employed others in the construction of vessels. In 1817 he was associated in ship building with Mr. Cooper. William Merchant was

⁵⁵ The information respecting these ship yards has been derived from personal recollections of aged citizens of St. Michaels: of whom special mention may be made of Mr. Jeremiah Harrison, now deceased, and Mr. Robert Lambdin, who in hale old age still survives. The last named is himself a ship builder, and followed his calling for many years at St. Michaels. He has been kind enough to furnish recollections of the "fellow craft." of the date to which reference is made, in writing, and the compiler of these annals wishes to make his acknowledgments to Mr. Lambdin for his courtesy in furnishing the data embodied in the text. His memory of ship building and ship builders extends over more than sixty years. His first work with the broad-axe was in hewing the oars for the barges built by Col. Spencer for the flotilla, and as he still occasionally wields the same implement in the ship yard of his son who has succeeded him, may it be long before the annalist shall have to record that he has struck his last blow.

Messrs. Thomas L. Haddaway and Impey Dawson had each a vessel upon the stocks when the British attacked the town in 1813.

another ship-smith, and was interested in ship building. It is not to be supposed that all the persons named as builders at St. Michaels were carrying on at the same time and at different yards. It was customary to form temporary copartnerships, when the contracts were heavy. And again it was common for the owner of the timber, the master workman in wood, the master workman in iron, the merchant furnishing supplies for the families of all, journeymen included, to form a partnership for the building of a ship, and to divide the profits, according to a certain proportion when the ship was sold and paid for. In truth, there were but few ship builders in the county, except the Messrs. Spencer and Mr. William Harrison, able from their resources to construct a ship of five hundred tons. One of the merchants most largely interested in this industry was Mr. Samuel Harrison, who succeeding his father, Mr. Thomas Harrison, in business in Broad Creek, at Canton, moved his store to St. Michaels about 1810, and there conducted a most profitable trade in making advances to ship builders, both money and supplies, and in co-partnerships with practical workmen of deficient capital, but of abundant skill. After the war of 1812, Mr. Harrison owned a large vessel in the West India trade, built in Talbot, and it was for the purpose of furnishing outward freight for this vessel, that his large mill, heretofore referred to, was built.

After the close of the war with Great Britain say from 1815, the ship building interest sensibly declined. The ship timber easily accessible began to grow scarcer, and more difficult to be procured; but the principal influence that affected this interest was the growth of the city of Baltimore, not only as a great emporium of commerce, but as the point at which naval construction was concentrating. Some large vessels continued to be built in Talbot, but by the year 1820 or 1825, the work of the yards was almost wholly given to the fabrication of the smaller craft adapted to bay navigation. By the last named year ship building had so dwindled that it could no longer be considered a leading industry of the county and especially of the town of St. Michaels. It may be said to have been almost wholly extinguished for a number of years, but there was a revival in or about the year 1840, from which time it has been pursued with very considerable energy, two or more yards having been active down to the present time. Within this period, that is from 1840 to the present, the representatives of the ship building interest in the town may be regarded as being Mr. Edward Wiley and Mr. Robert Lambdin. At the date of this writing, (Dec. 1882), there are three active shipyards in St. Michaels, that of Robert Lambdin & Sons,

Thomas H. Kirby & Co., Thomas L. Dawson, which are giving employment to many workmen in the construction of the smaller varieties of sailing craft, such as coasting schooners, pungies, and that peculiar form of naval architecture known by the cacophonous name of bug-eye, which seems to be a hybrid produced by the cross of shallop and canoe.⁶⁶

That period in the history of the town now under review that is from the Revolution to 1850, and which may be called its period of organization and growth was characterized by the prosecution, expansion and temporary extinction of that industry which has just been noticed. But coincidentally, and in a large degree consequently, the town during this period manifested signs of development and progressive improvement. A better class of houses began to be erected within the decade commencing with the year 1805, and something of permanency and substantialness was shown by the employment of brick instead of wood for the construction of buildings. About this time was erected by Mr. William Merchant the house lately used as a residence for the minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, also the house at the S.E. corner of Talbot and Mulberry streets, now occupied by Mr. Denny Williams, was built by Mr. Wrightson Jones; also the house at the N.E. corner of the same streets, now owned by Mr. John Harper, was built by Mr. Dooris. Col. Kemp built the house now occupied by Mr. Oliver Sparks, Mr. Samuel Harrison built the brick store house, burned down some years ago, (1870, March 28), upon the ground now occupied by Stephen Harrison, and to this store house he transferred his business from his farm, Canton. In or about the year 1819 this gentleman, who was a man of great enterprise, erected in the town the first steam mill that was ever built upon the Eastern Shore. It stood upon the point of land where the ship yard of Mr. Kirby now is, and was built upon a large scale, being intended by its owner to be a merchant mill for the manufacture of flour for exportation to the West Indies and the Spanish coast of South America. The machinery was of the most approved and expensive character, and all the appointments of the mill were in keeping. A portion of the machinery had been used in and were a part of a *horse mill*, which Mr. Harrison had erected upon his farm, Canton, and which stood upon a lot now within the town limits,

⁶⁶ While the origin of this term bug-eye, though of very recent date, is involved in hopeless obscurity, it being probably a mere vulgar locution without significance, the name 'pungy' may almost certainly be traced to a river or creek of the E. S. of Virginia called the Pongueteogue, where possibly this description of craft may have first been built.

near the place where the Masonic Hall now stands. This horse mill performed such good work, and was so remunerative as to encourage the owner to the undertaking the larger enterprise, which was not successful, but resulted in very considerable pecuniary loss to the owner. Many years later, after the mill had long remained idle, it was taken down, to give place to the ship yard of Mr. Edward Willey; but in 184— another steam mill, smaller, simpler, and of more modern machinery was erected upon Gibson's or Navy Point—that point which lies to the right of the approach to the inner harbor—by a joint stock company. This mill supplied a neighborhood want, for wind-mills, which had been the reliance of the farmers from the very settlement of the county, were disappearing, and it was therefore successful. It was destroyed by fire in February, 1860, but quickly rebuilt upon the same site. This mill was destroyed by an explosion of the boilers in 1864, and in its stead another was built near the same place, which is still in existence and at work.

To encourage the farmers of the vicinity to fetch their garden, orchard and dairy products to the town for sale to the inhabitants, a market house was erected about the year 1805, in the centre of St. Marys' square. It seems to have accomplished its purposes very imperfectly, as the oldest people do not remember to have seen it occupied as a place for the sale of provisions. If it ever was used for this purpose, it was quickly abandoned; and soon after the war of 1812-15 it was a kind of armory, where were placed those cannon which were presented to the town by Mr. Jacob Gibson as a peace offering for the alarm he had caused by his escapade in 1813, elsewhere related. These cannon having been removed to the armory at Easton, the market house was about the time when public or primary schools were introduced into the county, say in 1835, converted into a school-house, and such it remained, until better accommodations were provided at the lower end of the town, when it was demolished.

In the year 1810 the building of a new church for the use of the congregation of the Protestant Episcopalians was begun, but this was not completed until 1815. The church of 1810 was demolished in 1878, and on the 14th of August of the same year the corner stone of the beautiful structure, now standing, was laid. This church was dedicated Nov. 1, 1882, having been completed some months before. The "people called Methodists" very early had a large brick church fronting upon St. Mary's square, which was erected about the year 1781-82.⁵⁷ This

⁵⁷ That is the date of the deed of the land upon which this meeting house was built.

church was torn down in the year 1839-40, and another erected in its stead, which though still standing is used for the accommodation of a High School, the congregation having removed to a more commodious edifice, built in 1870-81 upon Talbot street. This was dedicated July 12th, of the last named year.

In the year 1813 the existence of vessels upon the stocks, including some of the barges for the flotilla, invited an attack from the British then in control of the bay. This attack was handsomely repelled by the militia from the town and county. A full and particular account of this affair and all the attendant circumstances, has been published among these contributions, in the *Easton Ledger* of June and July, 1882, so there is no need to do more than refer to these incidents in the history of the town.

The second period, that of organization and growth, or what may be designated as the ship building period, terminated with the third decade of this century. With the year 1830, commences the third period of its history, extending down to the present. The last ten years of the preceding period was marked by a very sensible decline of prosperity. The ship building which had been its support gradually, after the war with England, gravitated towards Baltimore or had found other localities more favorable for its prosecution. The ship carpenters moved to that city or to the lower part of the peninsula where timber was more readily and cheaply obtained. These ten years from 1820 to 1830 were years of privation and actual suffering. There was much poverty and destitution, particularly among the aged, the infirm and the weaker sex. The waters of St. Michaels river furnished abundance of oysters and fish, and the capturing of these afforded a yet unenumerative employment to a few men, while the women eked out a livelihood by spinning and weaving for the neighboring farmers. The town was still the home of some persons following the various handicrafts, which they plied in the country around. The necessity of resorting to the water for a large part of the animal food consumed in the town gradually produced a class of men who followed fishing and oystering, and particularly the latter as a constant and only employment, selling their captures either to the citizens of the town or to boatmen who occasionally carried a cargo to the city of Baltimore. Thus a great business originated. At first it was confined merely to the supply of home consumption, and was necessarily very restricted. But with the growth of our chief city in population there was a corresponding increment; but even down to a comparatively late date this business

was very limited, for the whole bay as well as the rivers of Virginia yielded this living harvest, and the market of so small a city as Baltimore was readily supplied from such extensive fields. But a beginning was made for the building up of a large industry. In the year 1830, we find this industry receiving a very wonderful impulse by the opening of the Delaware & Chesapeake canal,⁵⁵ and from this time we must date the commencement of the third distinctive period of the history of the town—a period characterized by this new and profitable pursuit. This canal by enabling vessels of small tonnage to pass directly from our bay to Philadelphia and thence through the New Jersey improvements to New York, gave to the oystermen of Saint Michaels the advantage of the markets of three cities instead of one, and they were not slow to avail themselves of it. From this time the town began to resume its former prosperity; the population, which had diminished in numbers, began to increase, comfort took the place of want and competence that of poverty. New houses began to be built, and old ones to be repaired and renovated. Merchants brought their goods, finding here a profitable market, and professional men settled among a people able to pay for their services. The dying or dead trade of ship building, a little later, say in 1840, was resuscitated, and then the once familiar sounds reverberated in the long stagnant air, and some of the deserted ship yards put on their old animation. The weekly packet of Capt. Dodson's was constrained to surrender at last her human freight, to the more certain and regular steamer, that touched at the wharf, while the casual and cumbersome sloop that carried a cargo of oysters now and then gave place to a whole fleet of light, shapely, swift and staunch pungies, owned or freighted by the citizens of the town. As one or another of this fleet anchored in the harbor, and displayed the signal that indicated her readiness to receive a fresh cargo, she was soon surrounded, not by rude and ungainly dug-outs, crank and ugly, besmeared with pitch, and propelled by the paddle or square sail, extemporized it may be from some discarded sheet or blanket—such as were seen even while the shipwrights were constructing these marvels of naval architecture, the so-called Baltimore Clippers—but by those marine beauties the modern canoes, graceful in their lines, resplendent in their colors, light in their structure, swift and aerial in their movements—the very butterflies of sea, flitting from bar to bar, as from parterre to parterre, carrying off this luscious spoil. Upon this industry the town has mainly depended

⁵⁵ This canal was formally opened for trade, July 4th, 1829.

and still depends. It has grown in extent and magnitude, and though there are apprehensions, not ill founded, that the exhaustion of the oyster beds in Miles River and the Eastern Bay is not a remote calamity, the returns of labor are still sufficiently remunerative to sustain a larger population than has ever before lived within the town, and to encourage an increase of the number. The fleet of oyster canoes is now more numerous than it has ever been, and human labor with the tongs has been supplemented by mechanical contrivances, such as drags and scrapes, so that more oysters are taken than at any previous period. No more beautiful sight, of the kind, can be offered to the eye, than is witnessed upon every fine morning in the fall of the year, when this minature fleet of more than a hundred sail boats start from the harbor of Saint Michaels for the oyster grounds, unless it be the return of the same after a day spent in profitable labor. Almost daily, if there be wind, there is presented a regatta that would delight the eye of the rich yachtman of our great cities, for there are constant contests of speed and seamanship. Though there may be no competition for silver cups as the prize of the winner, there is a generous rivalry between the owners who shall display the whitest and most nicely fitting sails, who shall best preserve the brightness and freshness of his paint, who shall show the cleanest bottom to the eye of the wind, who shall have the hold of his little ship, when the dirty work of the day is over, in the neatest condition. Of late years this oyster business has developed in another direction than the capturing of the shell-fish, that is to say some of the citizens of the town have engaged in shucking the oysters, and putting them either in tin cans, or in barrels for transportation to distant points. This branch of the business is now conducted upon a scale, which, though not comparable with that of the same business in the city of Baltimore, is most respectable, and is giving employment to a class of laborers which could not undergo the hardships of oyster fishing. For the development of this form of industry the town is chiefly indebted to Mr. William Willis, though as a matter of fact, it was introduced here by others who preceded him, but who did not prosecute it with the same vigor and success.

For many years the people of St. Michaels, from what date is not apparent, had neglected their corporate duties and privileges in failing to elect commissioners of their town. In January, 1846, an attempt was made to revive their municipal government, and on the first Monday of that month and year an election was held for town officers,

commissioners and bailiff, under the act of 1804.⁶⁹ But these officers failed to qualify, as "doubts were entertained as to the power of said inhabitants now to hold an election for said officers." A petition was therefore forwarded to the General Assembly from the people praying that the act of 1804 be revived, which prayer was granted, the old act being declared to be in full force, and the inhabitants authorized to appoint two judges and one clerk of election, who were empowered to open the polls at the School House on the first Monday in 1848. At this election Mr. Richard C. Lane and Mr. Oliver Harrison were judges, and Mr. John Hope was clerk, the following gentlemen were chosen commissioners of the town: Mr. James B. Way, Dr. John Miller, Messrs. William Harrison, Edward Willey, and William Weeden. Mr. Thomas H. W. Lambdin was chosen Bailiff. The old books of record of the Commissioners were found in the possession of Mr. Rigby Valliant. Between the 19th of Sept. and the 19th of December of the same year a re-survey of the town which had been ordered was completed by Mr. Fitzgerald, who presented a plot in the preparation of which he was aided by the older surveys. From this time to the present the municipal government has been maintained by regular elections, held according to law; and due record has been made and preserved of the proceedings and ordinances of the Board of Commissioners. This board now contains but three members, under the act of 1880, and is constituted of these gentlemen: Mr. William E. Sewell, President or Mayor; Mr. John W. Dean, Secretary or Clerk; and Mr. George W. Lambdin.

In the *Maryland Herald*, published at Easton, of June 9th, 1801, is the following announcement: "The Public are hereby informed that a mail from Annapolis, via Haddaway's Ferry will arrive at Easton by 12 o'clock on every Saturday and return from Easton at 3 o'clock on the same day." This is here inserted to mark the time when first a Post Office was established in St. Michaels. The first postmaster is known to have been Mr. James Dodson, 1802, who was succeeded successively by Richard Harrington 1811, William Roberts 1816, James Pursley 1817, James Dodson 1825, Thomas Auld 1832, Henry Sengstack 1839, Thomas Bruff 1841, John Jefferson 1841, Leonidas Dodson 1844, Arthur J. Loveday 1845, John K. Skinner 1846, Joseph Spencer

⁶⁹ The statement in the text has been taken from authentic records; yet there is ground for belief that an election of commissioners was held in 1845, but like that of 1846 its legality was questioned.

1852, William W. Valliant 1852, Socrates M. Ridgaway 1852, Henry P. Montague 1852, John W. Dean 1854, Henry F. Bryne 1855, Thomas W. Blades 1856, John K. Skinner 1858, John A. Bruff 1861, Henry C. Dodson 1862, Robert A. Dodson 1878, Gustavus K. Benson 1883. The measure of the increase of mail matter, at the office of this town, as in all others, is a measure of the increase of population, wealth and intelligence, from the time when that matter was received but once a week, and was carried about the town in the hat or pocket of the post master, to the present, when there is daily mail received from and sent to points above and below the town of very considerable weight and varied contents.

During the first or formative period of the town's history there was little communication with other portions of the province or with the neighboring provinces, for domestic commerce could hardly be said to exist, and travel was neither a necessity nor a luxury, with much the greater part of the people. Communication was frequent and direct with the mother country by means of the tobacco ships, and with the West Indies by vessels trading between these islands and Maryland. In fact beyond those necessaries which the county afforded, the people had few wants, for they were simple and abstemious in their habits of life, and the nomadism which characterizes the modern Americans had not yet been adopted. What domestic communication existed was chiefly by shallops, sloops and other small sailing vessels for the longer journeys, or by barges or canoes, propelled by oars for the shorter. In the second period of the town's history, Baltimore assumed a precedence of the towns of Maryland, and then it was regular packets began to ply between St. Michaels and this emporium of trade. Fine sloops and schooners, with comfortable, if indeed it may not be said luxurious accommodations for passengers, departed and arrived at stated times. Among the captains of these packets, in the early years of the present century were Capt. Robert Dodson, and Capt. Impey Dawson. A little later were Capt. Wm. Dodson and Capt. Edward Dodson. These packets continued their service until the introduction of steam-boats into St. Michaels river, which was almost co-temporaneous with the beginning of the third period of the history of the town. To be sure as early as 1817 the very primitive steamer *Surprise* passed up the river without making a landing at the town; and all the inhabitants went to the shores to gaze upon this great novelty in navigation. The *Surprise* was commanded by Capt. Jonathan Spencer, son of Col. Perry Spencer of Spencer Hall. It was not until 1839 that steam communication was

established between this town and Baltimore when the steamer *Paul Jones*, Capt. James. Fookes, made her appearance in the harbor.⁶⁰ Since that time, with occasional interruptions, there have been steamboats regularly plying upon this route. The *Paul Jones* was succeeded in 1842 by the *Osiris*, Capt. John D. Turner, and she by so many others that they need not be mentioned. At the present time the propeller *Olive*, owned as well as commanded by natives of St. Michaels, affords steam communication with the commercial capital of the State, but is believed to be very inadequate for the travel and freight which demand accommodation.

The people of St. Michaels have always been mostly those who were employed in the laborious avocations. They were sailors, mechanics, oystermen. The women were spinners, knitters and weavers as long as those employments could be made profitable. A few merchants from the first existed among them, and of late years this class of citizens has been more numerous than was advantageous. A smaller number of professional men have had residence in the town. The first physician⁶¹ who made his home here was Dr. Anthony Thompson, in 1815; the first lawyer was the Hon. John Bozman Kerr in 1858; and the first settled clergyman, not to mention the Methodist ministers who are by the necessities of their itinerant system but sojourners, was the Rev. Dr. Spencer, in 1843. There have been but few of the citizens to accumulate large wealth; of those the most conspicuous was Mr. Saml. Harrison, who has been frequently mentioned. Comfortable independence based upon frugality and industry, has characterized the economical condition of the people. But there have always been many poor among them. From the time of the decline of ship building to its revival and the beginning of the oyster industry, the town had more than the usual proportion of necessitous people. In truth it may be said that during this period poverty was the rule, and competence the exception. From about the year 1840 the town became the residence of persons of means, and it now contains many citizens of moderate, though not large wealth; but a general level of pecuniary independence prevails, and while a few rise slightly above, there is none except the old and afflicted that need fall much below this level, for labor finds constant and remunerative employment.

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⁶⁰ In an article published in the St. Michaels Comet it is stated the Paul Jones was running in 1838 upon Miles River commanded by Capt. George W. Russell.

⁶¹ Dr. Francis Rolle, of Rolle's Range, and Dr. James Benson of Maiden Point, were physicians, living near the town at a very early date. Later Dr. John Barnett settled between the Royal Oak and St. Michaels.

The manners that once and for a long time prevailed in the town were those of a simple people so intently engaged in providing for the urgent wants of life that they were precluded from cultivating the social amenities. The truth compels the declaration that such a people, not having those restraints upon the passions and those correctives of their conduct which are so influential in giving a decorous tone to a society existing under other conditions, too often presented examples of something grosser than the merely unbecoming. It is to be feared that what used to be said was too true, that the courts had more cases of misdemeanors and other petty offences committed by the people of St. Michaels than by any community of the same numbers in the county. This evil reputation gave rise to the libel upon this town, which some were fond of repeating—even those to whom it applied as readily as to any others, for they were of the same stock, that it was originally settled by convicts and their descendants, who had transmitted their vices and ignorance. This slander had its origin, doubtless in the fact that convicts during the colonial régime were landed here, as they were landed at almost every other point of debarcation.⁶² What was said at first in mere badinage or banter was perpetuated by spite or malice. There is really no other foundation for this imputation than the one assigned, and there is no stronger probability that the inhabitants of St. Michaels, or any of them, were the descendants of convict servants, than that the people of any town where such involuntary immigrants were landed, are the progeny of this class of transports. Poverty has no greater evil than that it makes its victims ridiculous. But whatever may have been once the social condition of the town, with increase of wealth and intelligence has come a corresponding improvement in morals, manners, and indeed, in all the elements of civilization; so that no citizen of St. Michaels need fear a comparison of his town with any other of its class in the State.

The two agencies which next after a remunerative industry—the most powerful of them all—were most influential in ameliorating the condition of society in St. Michaels, were religion and education. The first period of its religious history corresponds with the colonial period of the political history of the commonwealth. During this period the

⁶² Of the landing, at Deep Water Point at the mouth of St. Michaels harbor, of the notorious vagrant and petty thief, Bampfy d Moore Carew, the prince of beggars and the King of the gypsies, and of his adventures here, an account abstracted from his autobiography by the compiler of these annals was published in the *Easton Star*, of Aug. 27th, 1872.

people of St. Michaels, as most others in the province, were under the religious guidance of the rectors of the parish; and here, at least, this guidance if not scrupulously followed, seems not to have been obstinately resisted; though it is recorded that when the first church was to be built under the law of 1694, the people objected. This may have been, however, an objection to the tax, not to the form of religion. In truth there were no sectaries worth mention, for even the Quakers assembled no meeting here, though they had a small congregation below, nearer the bayside. The people accepted the religion as established by law (1694-1702) but this religion was by most of them regarded as a kind of moral constabulary rather than an agency for the consulting human despondency and the strengthening human infirmities. There was too much officialism in its character to afford the inspiration of high motive or noble endeavor—too much mere decorum to awaken earnestness. Yet in all probability the services at the parish church were attended with commendable regularity by the piously disposed, at least, and the poll tax of thirty or forty pounds of tobacco for the support of the minister was paid promptly, even though reluctantly in many cases. But a people like those of St. Michaels required something more than or something different from the staid and sober ritual of the church of England and the unimpassioned sermons of the excellent parson Nicols, or the equally good parson Gordon. The arguments by the former against the deism of Tindall and Toland had no meaning to a people who had never learned to doubt, and condemnation by the latter of the enthusiasm of Whitefield and Wesley were unintelligible to those whose religion, if they had any which was definable, was that of emotion or feeling. The Friends made their appearance in Talbot at or about the date of its organization, and though this county was one of their strongholds in America, they were never numerous in Bayside, and scarcely had existence in St. Michaels. One hundred years later appeared a new religion which was in a certain sense the spiritual successor of Quakerism, even then dying out. The coming in of this new sect was also coincident in time with the inauguration of a new political régime. In 1777 Joseph Cromwell, an illiterate, but a strong minded as well as devout man, first preached methodism in St. Michaels; and the kind of methodism he proclaimed is that which to this day prevails, unaltered in any essential trait.

In 1778 Freeborn Garrettsen held a meeting near the town and then and there were exhibited those strange paroxysmal phenomena in the persons of the people of St. Michaels which are still presented, in seasons

of religious revival, without any diminution of their original violence and impressiveness. Though a skeptical philosophy has attempted to reason it away, sectarian jealousy to sneer it down, and even irreverent ridicule to laugh it out of existence, here primitive methodism, with all its peculiarities still survives, the relic of an age of stronger faith in spiritual things, and of more sober views of the world that is and of the world to come. That Methodism so quickly took root, and so rapidly spread that in a few years it occupied about the whole ground, is evidence that the seed which were sown by the early husbandmen fell in congenial soil. That it continues to flourish here in all its original vigor and purity is evidence, also, of its adaptation to the religious wants of this people, who find it an aid to holy inspiration, a contentment of their religious yearnings, and a rule of righteous conduct in life. That it has been beneficial to this community, few would venture to question; and though the strictness of its regiment may have given to it an air of sobriety, sometimes deepening into puritanical gloom, and though it may have afforded opportunities for hypocrisy to practice its deceptions, unquestionably open vice has been rebuked with a severity that has had no qualification, and private conduct regulated by a straight line that no priestly casuistry or complaisance was allowed to deflect.

Of early Methodism in St. Michaels, John Hanna and John Dorgan were not unworthy exemplars—men who were not only fervid in their piety but correct in their lives and conversation—men of whom no evil could be said, with truth, and of whom, in fact, nothing was said until they exhibited as perhaps too strenuous insistence upon the adoption of their views of church polity, in 1828, and even then partisan rancor dared not to impeach their christian character. Later Garrison West and Thomas Keithly best illustrated its peculiarities. Both of these were devout and irreproachable men. Enthusiasts they may have been, but their enthusiasm raised them from the low plane of their humble lives into a region of spiritual exaltation, with its purer moral atmosphere. Of these two, the most notable was Garrison West. If ever man deserved canonization, it was this humble, ignorant, but truly holy man. The most diligent *advocatus diaboli* could find no spot nor flaw in him; and if his remains, now lying in the old churchyard, perform no miracles such as are attributed to the enshrined relics of many a mediaeval saint—if they heal no physical blindness, if they cure no fleshly ulcers—who shall say what moral cecity, what spiritual sores they have not removed. Those who have seen him when alive in his moments of ecstasy and exaltation, when his large coarse features

seemed to glow with more than earthly light, and his uncouth language thrilled the hearer like the words of a Hebrew prophet, or Grecian pythoness, might be pardoned if fancy led them to believe they saw the very aureola of sainthood encircling his venerable head. The memory of this good man is a perpetual benediction upon this community.

That the primitive character of the religion of some of the Methodists of St. Michaels has not changed, was singularly illustrated by the incident of the removal, in the year 186— of the small organ which some of the progressive brethren had succeeded in placing in the church, and the setting it adrift in the river, where it was found and brought to land amidst the jeers of the conservative party in the congregation. This removal was effected secretly and at night, but by whom has never been certainly known, though suspicion pointed to some members of the communion who had been open and strenuous in their opposition to the introduction of a musical instrument into the church, conscientiously believing that worship should be conducted without the aid of mechanical contrivances, and should be strictly personal and spiritual. The matter was investigated by the church authorities and even by the grand jury of the county; but the act was not traced to any one.⁶³

In the year 1828 the congregation of Methodists had grown so large and strong that divisions crept in among them. A violent controversy arose not here alone, but throughout the connection, respecting the powers of the Bishops and Presiding Elders and the light of lay representation in the councils of the church. St. Michaels was a point where the contest was as warm as at any part of the field of battle. This controversy resulted in a division of the people. Those who seceded from the old organization, called by their opponents "Radicals," built a place of worship upon St. Mary's square, within hearing of the people of the "Old Side" meeting house. The discord produced by

⁶³ One good and venerable man, opposed to novelties in public worship, upon the introduction of the organ forsook the church whose worship, as he thought had been profaned by the use of mechanical adjuvants and joined a rival communion. But when this too adopted the same obnoxious contrivances, he forsook it also, and having no other to connect himself with, he now makes his own home his sanctuary. His sincerity no one doubts, and all admire his consistency. An anecdote of this organ is worth recording. The morning after the disappearance from the church of the melodeon, one of those most violently opposed to its admission, called joyously to another of the same sentiment: "It is gone, John! It is gone!" "What is gone?" answered his friend. "The hellodion," was the reply of the pious brother, using a paronomasia that had in it more of wit than holiness—that savored more of salt than sanctity.

their separate but simultaneous psalmody only too fitly symbolized their disagreements upon ecclesiastical polity. Peace and amity, however, now subsists between the jarring sections of Methodism, and even musical harmony is not violated since the Methodist Protestants built their new meeting-house at the corner of Talbot and Chestnut streets. Their old meeting house upon the square was converted into a school house, but it has now wholly disappeared.

On the 13th of Aug., 1879, the centennial of the introduction of Methodism into St. Michaels was celebrated with interesting and impressive ceremonies and services, in which a large number of the clergymen who had exercised their ministerial functions, at various times, in this town, and many laymen from a distance participated, in fraternal union with the resident members of this communion.

Of that other agency which has been mentioned as having been instrumental in ameliorating the original social rudeness of St. Michaels we know but little, in the ante-Revolutionary or formative period of the town's history. That there were schools in the town and neighborhood supported by private subscription there can be little doubt. But when the teachers were convict or indentured servants, the grade of these schools must have been low. Unquestionably many of the poor were excluded from the tuition of even these teachers, brought from the transport ships. In the second period, subsequent to the Revolution, there was newly awakened interest in the subject of education, as in all others relating to the public welfare. The stimulating influence of that political convulsion has never been duly appreciated. Schools supported by the subscription of patrons multiplied, and the character of the teachers employed improved. Many were the poor mechanics who saved from their weekly wages the sum to pay for the winter's schooling of their boys; many the poor widows who spun and wove to earn the dollar a month which went to similar laudable purposes. But still, down to a time much within the recollection of men now living the educational character of the town was that of illiteracy. It was not until primary schools supported from the public funds were instituted under a law framed and presented to the Legislature in 1834⁶⁴ by a gentleman as nearly identified with the town as was Mr. Richard Spencer, that education began to be general. From this time to the present

⁶⁴ Teackle's School Law of 1825-6, though approved by Talbot, never went into practical effect. Bruff's School Law of 1833 also failed of its purposes. The law known as Spencer's School Law, the first to be operative, was passed March 15th, 1834.

the people of St. Michaels have with an ardor that is really exceptional, cherished their schools as their dearest possession, so that now the reproach of illiteracy under which they long rested is almost entirely removed, exceedingly few of its citizens, probably none native to the place, except colored people, being without the rudiments of an education; while there are many quite as well informed as people of their social grade in any community. In the year 1840 Mr. Matthew Spencer established an English and classical school in the town under an act of incorporation. This school was not successful, and in 1843 his brother, Dr. Joseph Spencer succeeded him.⁶⁶ In the year 1852 a school of high grade for young ladies was established in the town by Mrs. M. A. Pattison, an English lady; but it had a brief existence, and is worthy of notice only as being the first of its kind in St. Michaels. In the year 1857 a number of the citizens of the town and vicinity united for the purpose of securing superior education for their daughters by the employment of teachers of requisite qualifications. This resulted in the establishment of the St. Michaels Female Academy. The building that was originally built for a place of worship by the congregation of Methodist Protestants, situated upon St. Mary's Square, and last occupied by the High School, was fitted up for school purposes, and Miss Hahn, now the accomplished wife of a principal citizen, was employed as teacher. This school flourished for a number of years and was successful in the introduction of higher education for the female youth, than had been known in this town and section of the county. In the year 1865 there was a

⁶⁶ In the year 1845 the commissioners of the town were involved in a controversy with Mr. Matthew Spencer, then teaching at Princess Ann, respecting a bell which had been purchased by subscriptions of the citizens, including Mr. Spencer himself, and which was used for calling Mr. Spencer's school, as well as for purposes other than educational. This controversy was of a most extraordinary, ridiculous and scurrilous character. It gave to Mr. Spencer the opportunity for indulging his favorite and most characteristic vein of satire and ridicule and giving vent to his spleen against the people of the town who had not shown, as he thought, a proper appreciation of his merits as a teacher. It gave to the citizens, through their representatives, the opportunity to be revenged upon Mr. Spencer, who had long delighted in ridiculing in his own inimitable way their peculiar habits, their social customs, their lack of culture, their humble avocations, and even their origin and religion. This controversy, conducted at first in the newspapers and afterwards in hand bills, is too personal and ribald to be admitted into this contribution, but it is exceedingly amusing, and illustrative not only of the mental traits of the accomplished and eccentric man who took the principal part but of the life that was lived by the citizens of Saint Michaels at the date of its appearance.

reorganization of the public schools of the county and towns under the general school law of the same year, when a new impulse was given to popular education. Graded schools were here established and the foundation laid for a High School which however was not organized until the revised state law went into operation. The following memoranda kindly furnished by Alexander Chaplain, Esq., School Examiner, give the names of the teachers of this school and the dates of their appointment:

St. Michaels High School opened Monday, Sept. 19, 1870. Teachers: Principal, George E. Haddaway; Assistant, Mary E. Orr.

Miss M. Emma Wrightson succeeded Miss Orr as assistant teacher in September, 1872.

The High School occupied the new rooms provided for it on Wednesday, the 25th of March, 1874, with George E. Haddaway as principal, Miss M. Emma Wrightson as first assistant, and Thomas J. Warren as second assistant.

Thomas J. Warren resigned as second assistant October 20, 1874, and was succeeded by Miss Alice McDaniel, who was the first graduate of the school.

George E. Haddaway resigned as principal, and his connection with the school closed on the 15th day of July, 1878.

He was succeeded by A. Stuart Marye.

Miss Ann Margaretta Tilghman succeeded Miss Wrightson as first assistant in September, 1879.

A. Stuart Marye resigned as principal March, 1880, and was succeeded by Edward Reisler.

Miss Ann Margaretta Tilghman resigned as first assistant, and Miss Alice McDaniel was promoted to the place of first assistant, and Miss Mary E. Loud was appointed second assistant.

So the teachers are now Edward Reisler, Principal; Alice McDaniel, First Assistant; Mary E. Loyd, Second Assistant.

In noting the agencies which have had a transforming influence upon Saint Michaels, there must be no omission to refer to the establishment of a public press. In the year 1866, the first number of a small newspaper, intended merely as an advertising medium for its proprietors, called "*The Comet*" was issued by Messrs. H. C. Dodson and John T. Ford. The name of the paper was designed to be significant of the purpose of its editors and proprietors to issue it at irregular intervals. This diminutive sheet was soon enlarged and appeared weekly. It has continued to be published until the present time. It is now owned and edited by Fayette Gibson, Esq.

As a mark of the improved condition of the people of St. Michaels, the establishment of a Building and Loan Association in the year 1874

must be noticed. This institution professes to have for its object, primarily, the aiding of men of small incomes, whether from their labor, or from investments, in their efforts to secure homes, by offering to them an opportunity to put at interest their weekly savings, or by lending them money to be returned in weekly installments. Really the Building and Loan Association is a savings bank, where small deposits may be made, and from which money may be borrowed upon the pledge of property. That such an institution should be established at Saint Michaels, and that it should prosper, is a token of improved well being that admits of no question; but a token which fifty years ago would have been thought impossible of presentation by a community of mechanics, half their time unemployed and of oystermen picking up a bare support from the bars of St. Michaels river.

St. Michaels has also its charitable and benevolent institutions. A Masonic Lodge was held here first in 1857, and continues its meetings. In the year 1870 a large and handsome hall was built on the principal street, which unfortunately the order has not been able to retain, as the debt incurred in its erection was more than a poor and limited membership could discharge. In the year 1846 a Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows was instituted, and has ever since maintained its organization. Charitable associations connected with the various churches need not here be noticed.

Politics play so important a part upon every American stage, that some account of them as they were here presented should not be omitted. During the first period of its existence it cannot be said that Saint Michaels had any politics. It is indeed doubtful whether any of its people had the privilege of expressing, even if they had the inclination to form any political opinions. Provincial politics is a subject upon which much obscurity rests that history has not yet dispelled. There is reasonable ground for believing, however, that at the dawn of the second period the people of the town were inspired by the same glowing patriotism that warmed the breast of Matthew Tilghman, to whose expositions of British wrongs, and whose exhortations to resistance they had opportunities to listen, as his home was almost at their doors. They gave evidence that they shared his ardor for independence, by sending some of their numbers as soldiers to the field, and sailors upon the sea. After the establishment of the federal government, and parties had begun to be alligned, it is more than conjectural that a majority of the people of the town adopted the opinions of Mr. Jefferson, the apostle of the people, that is of the working men. Although the county

was equally divided in sentiment upon the matter of declaring war with Great Britain in 1812, with a preponderance a little in favor of the Federalists, or opposition, there is good ground for believing that the people of the town itself were supporters of the war party or the administration. They were led by one who was identified with their interests, Col. Spencer. Their ardor was rendered the more intense by the fact that many of their neighbors and friends were seamen and liable to be subjected to impressment, if indeed some were not already on British ships. Later in the war, this ardor was further increased by reports of depredations and outrages by the enemy along the shores of the bay, and indeed upon the bay shore of their own county almost within their own sight. It reached its maximum of intensity when the attack was made upon the town by the British in 1813. As evidence of this feeling, we have an account of a public dinner which was spread in the town on the 4th of July, 1812, and partaken of by both Democrats and Federalists. It is said that after participating in a "comfortable entertainment" prepared by managers appointed for the purpose, at which Col. Hugh Auld presided, supported by Mr. Nathan Harrington as vice-president. Mr. Samuel Tenant read the Declaration of Independence, and Mr. Alexander Bradford Harrison, the President's message of the 1st of June, and the Declaration of War. These proceedings were followed by an oration by Mr. James Dooris.⁶⁶ To the oration succeeded toasts to the number of eighteen, all of which were patriotic, but some of which were significant of opinion upon the living political topics: Thus the eighth was this: "The Patriots of the present Congress—whose enlightened minds, influenced by the spirit of '76, have assumed the necessary armour and attitude against the enemies of their country." The ninth, "The lamentable though inevitable War—the last resource of virtuous freemen." Tenth: "Commodore Rogers, the brave, whose intrepid spirit in humbling supercilious Britons raised the towering eagle over the crouching Lion—may the freebooting sons of Britain who direct the floating dungeons meet the fate of the Belvidere."⁶⁷ It must be acknowledged these toasts were sufficiently warm to satisfy the taste of the most

⁶⁶ This Mr. Dooris was a merchant of the town, a democrat in politics, and at this time a member of the Legislature. Being an Irishman by birth, his oration which has been preserved is of that florid and prefervid character which it might be expected to possess, proceeding from a man whose inherited hatred of England for wrongs to his native country had acquired additional intensity from injuries inflicted upon his adopted country. It is a kind of patriotic extravaganza.

⁶⁷ For an explanation of the illusions recourse must be had to general history.

fiery Democrats, and in as much as it is said that "perfect unanimity" prevailed, they could not have been unacceptable to the Federalists present, albeit they were opponents of the war. On the 4th of March, 1813, there was another public dinner, in commemoration of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, when only Democratic-Republican gentlemen participated in the repast. Mr. Samuel Tenant was chairman, Mr. Thomas L. Haddaway, vice-chairman, and Mr. James Dooris, secretary. On this occasion too, patriotic and partisan toasts were drunk and cheered. Thus: "Free trade and sailors' rights upon the highway of nations—until this be obtained may spirited resentment be enkindled in the American people, against the pirates of perfidious Britain." And again: "The tories in the United States—a stormy passage for them to Bombay." Query why should tories be consigned to Bombay, rather than to any other port? Was this another name for a hotter place? Again on the 3rd of July of the same year the great national anniversary was celebrated at St. Michaels, by a number of the citizens of the town and vicinity, who, after partaking of an elegant turtle dressed in different ways at Mr. James Harrison's, listened to the reading of the Declaration of Independence by the president, Mr. Will Roberts. After this, toasts "were drank, with six, nine, twelve and fifteen cheers." Of these the following will serve to illustrate the temper of the convivial patriots. Fifteenth: "The British Rear Admiral Cockburn, a man in person, but a brute in principle. May the Chesapeake be his watery grave." Sixteenth: "This town of St. Michaels—a place of mechanism. May its nervous sons be ever ready to defend it." The nervous sons had their metal tried after only about one month from this date, for on the morning of the 10th of August the town was attacked by the British, who were handsomely repelled.⁶⁸ After the close of the war, the parties contending for popular favor, having become equally democratical in their principles and practices, St. Michaels was a field often fought over by the contestants, being lost and won alternately, for the parties were very evenly balanced; but most frequently, down to the time when new parties were formed in 1828, the Democrats won the day. In this year, however, the year of the rise of Jacksonism, the Adams or administration ticket was chosen in the St. Michaels district by Adams more than double the Jackson electors. Presumably, St. Michaels gave its quota of this great majority.

⁶⁸ Of this affair a full and detailed account was printed in the *Easton Gazette* of May 28th, 1881.

During the decade succeeding the Jackson campaign of 1828 there was nothing distinctive in the politics of St. Michaels. Most frequently the opposition, under whatsoever name, was successful. In the year 1840, by means of the peculiar agencies or influences which were brought to bear in the campaign of the year, the Democratic supremacy of the two previous years was overcome and the Whig electors were chosen in the St. Michaels district, and by inference, in the town itself. Here was erected one of those curious campaigning structures called a "Log Cabin," with its conspicuous latch string hanging out, its more conspicuous coonskin nailed to the walls, and its less conspicuous barrel of hard cider (so-called) kept within. It is agreeable to relate that the Log Cabin was converted into a school house, after it had performed duty as a place of assemblage of the Whig politicians and their followers. The death of President Harrison soon after his inauguration in 1841, was the occasion for giving expression to the patriotic feelings of the people of the town and vicinity, with which was mingled the smallest proportion of partisanship. On the 8th of April a public meeting assembled of citizens of both the parties, over which Dr. James Dawson presided, and for which Mr. John Harrington acted as secretary. A committee composed of Mr. Matthew Spencer, Mr. Thomas Tennant, Dr. James Dawson, Mr. John Dunning, and Mr. Nathan Harrington, was appointed to prepare a series of resolutions expressive of the sense of bereavement experienced by the community because of the death of the President. This committee reported resolutions couched in customary phraseology, and recommended that Dr. Joseph Spencer be invited to deliver a suitable sermon. This invitation was accepted, and on the 19th of the month the sermon was delivered in the Episcopal Church. It was subsequently published in pamphlet form. In the great national questions that were agitated in the period from 1840 to 1860 the people of St. Michaels took little more than a languid interest. A ripple upon the quiet surface of society was caused by the admission of Texas into the Union, and the consequent Mexican War. Two military companies, a troop of horse commanded by Capt. John Harrington and a company of infantry commanded by Capt. William Henry Harrison, were organized. The disputes respecting the extension or limitation of slavery, aroused little sympathy with either of the contending parties in the community where there were few slaves, and where in fact there was much secret repugnance to slavery concealed under prudent manifestation or partiality. When the Whig party had com-

mitted suicide, and other parties arose to take its place in opposition to the Democratic, the American or so-called Know Nothing party found here a constituency whose habits and opinions favored the reception of its principles. In the presidential campaign of 1856, which may be considered as preliminary to the great contest which came off four years later, St. Michaels district, gave the large majority of one hundred and thirty-two in a total vote of four hundred and twenty-six to the ticket of the American party, Mr. Filmore being its candidate. All other districts gave a majority for Mr. Buchanan. If we must look for the motives of this vote beyond mere party allegiance we may find them in that prejudice which a secluded people have against foreigners, and in that antagonism which subsists between the communions of the Methodist and the Romish churches. Besides this the Know Nothing party professed an intense Americanism, which was equally opposed to domestic disorganization and foreign domination. In the year 1860 there were three electoral tickets before the people, and now the American party claimed to be the Union party, par excellence; while it branded the strongest section of the Democratic party, in this county, as the Disunion party, and complimented the friends of Mr. Douglas as the Union Democrats. When the vote was taken, St. Michaels district was found to have given the Bell and Everett, or Union candidates a majority over the other two tickets combined of one hundred and eleven votes. When the war broke out, this town was very pronounced and decided in its adherence to the government, and its loyalty was maintained to the end. In another contribution the stirring events, the opinions, the passions of the war of the Rebellion in Talbot, including this loyal town of St. Michaels will be given, but one incident may here be noted. When too many of the officers of the army and navy were surrendering their commissions and arraying themselves on the side of the insurgents, it was doubtful what position Mr. John N. Hambleton, Purser of the Navy, who was on a distant station, would assume upon his return. Mr. Hambleton lived at the Cabin farm adjoining the town. When it became known that he had returned to his home, and that he was steadfast in his allegiance to his country, a large number of the citizens of St. Michaels went out to his house, and calling this modest and undemonstrative gentleman to his door received from his own lips assurances of his unshaken loyalty, in a speech the longest his remarkable diffidence had ever enabled him to utter. Whereupon several of the citizens approached him, and,

amidst the cheers of their companions wrapped him in the folds of the American flag, as the most fitting decoration of a true citizen of the republic.⁶⁰

Before completing this subject some matters of purely local politics must receive attention, for they engaged the attention of the people of the town more entirely than the momentous issues which divided the great parties upon state and national affairs. At or about the time, as has been noted, when the oyster industry received its great impulse from the opening of the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal, there arose questions that had peculiar interest for most of the citizens of St. Michaels, namely, those that relate to the protection and preservation of the oysters and the extrusion from the oyster grounds of interlopers from adjoining states. These questions have continued vital to the present time, and they are discussed by the local politicians and the local press with an earnestness which only a direct personal interest in them could awaken, and with an ability which only the concentration of thought upon a single subject could develop. Another matter a little later, received much attention from the people, and affected their local politics. After the introduction of public schools, there arose differences as to the merits and qualifications of the teachers, and contests in the election of school trustees were very animated. This interest in the school elections continued down to the time when the people were deprived of all control of their schools by the law of 1865 and those laws which were made to supercede this first general law. That

⁶⁰ An amusing incident of this occasion shows that the ridiculous is not one step nearer to the sublime, according to the Napoleonic adage, than bathos is to pathos. Mr. Hambleton invited the exultant citizens into his house, where he offered them wines and other liquors, in which they pledged the success of the federal arms and the perpetuation of the Union with hearty sincerity and much effusiveness of patriotic sentiment. One person however was seen to avoid drinking, although known to be one of the most ardent supporters of the government. With much good natured banter he was urged by his companions to disregard his temperate habits for once; but neither this nor the polite invitation of Mr. Hambleton could induce him to violate his rule of conduct. That he might not seem, however, to be wanting in either patriotism, or in courtesy to the excellent gentleman who he came out to honor, and who was now entertaining him, he finally said: "I cannot drink liquor, but if Mr. Hambleton has a pan of bonny-clabber, I will take a little of that instead." It is hardly necessary to say the pan of bonny-clabber was produced by Miss Lydia Hambleton, long the mistress of the house, and, be it said to the revered memory of this truly excellent woman, long the ministering angel to the poor of the town; and thus, one man, at least, went home from the cabin entirely sober.

there were evils attending the system of electing school officers, there is no doubt; but it is hardly less questionable that the removal of the schools wholly from the control of the people, has had a tendency to impair their efficiency. As parties in a state or nation when they can no longer divide upon some great question of public policy decline to the condition of mere bands following their principal leaders, whose personal fitness or unfitness for office is discussed with even more earnestness than any political issue, and whose elevation or exclusion from power is thought to be of more vital importance, if warmth of advocacy or denunciation be the measure of real sentiment, than the success or defeat of any measure of government; so with parties in municipalities and corporations, and so with parties in this town. When the school law for Talbot county, in the absence of any general law, had been settled beyond fear of further disturbance by meddlers, a result not effected but by much effort and a deal of discussion, this community of St. Michaels divided upon the merits and demerits of a single individual as a teacher. Annually for twelve or fifteen years it was distracted by the question whether Mr. James B. Way should be retained as a teacher of the public school or dismissed. This man was born in Philadelphia and had enjoyed a good social position, as his manners indicated. He had possessed considerable means which he had squandered. He had married respectably, but had deserted his wife, though he was very partial and not disagreeable to other men's wives. He came to St. Michaels directly from Caroline county, in, or about 1839, introduced by most respectable gentlemen, and was duly installed as teacher. It was not long however before doubts of his fitness began to be whispered and then boldly expressed. These doubts were based more upon alleged moral delinquencies than tutorial deficiencies. But on the other hand, Mr. Way by his agreeable manners had made himself very acceptable to a considerable number of the parents, and was very especially beloved by the pupils of his school. It would be, perhaps, unjust to the memory of the dead man, who is still remembered kindly by many whom he taught, and it might wound the sensibilities of some of his old and attached friends—it might not even be agreeable to some of his enemies—if any particular relation should be made to the grounds of the controversy which long raged with so much intensity in this little community. Mr. Way was placed or displaced alternately as his party was successful in the election of trustees of the school district; for he was not discouraged by defeat, but was a standing applicant during life for the place of the teacher. He wore always, when not in office—even during

the intervals when he was not a resident of the town—the white robe of candidacy, and though this seemed somewhat besmirched, the partiality of friends called those gauds which his enemies called stains. This contest long continued, so that at this day, with our imperfect lights, we do not know whether to regard the constancy of his friends as an evidence of his possessing some merit, or of their possessing great good nature; nor do we know whether to look upon the equal constancy of his enemies as proof of his worthlessness or of their obstinacy. However, death, the great umpire, finally settled the matter by the removal of Mr. Way, Jan. 15th, 1853. He is buried at Saint Michaels, where steps have been taken by some of his former pupils to mark his grave with some memorial stone. Charity will incline us to believe that whatever they may inscribe upon it will not be less true than those epitaphs which affection writes upon stones of its kind everywhere. What is here said of him, it was thought, might be said with propriety of one who if not an admirable, was a notable character of the town for many years.

Another local question has long been agitated in this community. It is one of which the issue lies between economy and humanity upon the one part and health and comfort upon the other. The original charter forbade the running at large of geese and swine, but did not prohibit the keeping them within inclosures. With the growth of the town, and with the improvement of the condition of its people, a party arose, which objected to the pig-pens that had increased in numbers and offensiveness with the increase of population. With the reorganization of the town in 1848 this party took shape, and attempts were made to secure an ordinance to abate a nuisance which some thought intolerable. The custom of feeding the sty pigs upon fish, otherwise useless, and upon king crabs, the common *limulus*, added to the virulence of the odors that ordinarily emanate from the places where these animals are fed and gave to the atmosphere of the town in summer a nauseous unctuousness that seemed to nourish disease. But those who pleaded for comfort and health were met by those who pleaded for the interests of the poor and dependent, who denied the unwholesomeness of the effluvia, who claimed that if the health of the community was impaired, it was in some inappreciable degree, and this was not to be weighed when the very means of life of many were dependent upon the produce of their sties; and who thought it a mere matter of opinion which custom may modify, whether pig pens are or are not offensive. It is creditable to the goodness, but not to the wisdom of human nature,

that the party of benevolence and kindness, albeit that party has many adherents whose motives are not those of charity, has thus far triumphed over the party of public sanitation and pleasant living. When the question was last tested by taking the voice of the people, there were but nine voters against the continuance of the nuisances; for many who had most strenuously opposed them, at last expressed the willingness to endure the evil odors rather than to bear an ill name, and to take the dubious risk of incurring disease rather than the certain condemnation of the poor.⁷⁰ But the progress of civilization and refinement is nevertheless doing effectually what was vainly sought to be accomplished by direct legislation, so that under a rigid enforcement of existing ordinances the atmosphere of St. Michaels is becoming as agreeable as it is salubrious.

Another subject of local politics—local as to the county—deserves a brief notice, in as much as the action of the people of the town upon it marks their progress in public order, social morality and private propriety, of which virtues some have thought it did not at one time present the best illustrations. When in the year 1873 it was put to the vote of the people of this county, whether in the several districts the sale of liquor should be forbidden or not, by an overwhelming majority, it was resolved that it should not be sold. This is the more remarkable and commendable as it involved a severe self-denial, for men who are as much exposed to atmospheric inclemencies and who undergo as much hard exhausting labor as the oystermen of St. Michaels, find a comfort in alcoholic beverages that those employed in more protected and easy avocations may easily forego. The influence of what was known as the Local Option laws is thought by many, perhaps by the majority, to be most salutary, while there are yet some who question their efficiency in promoting sobriety and good morals.

No records exist that serve to indicate the number of the inhabitants prior to the Revolution, nor are there any data upon which we may form a reasonable conjecture. Unquestionably, it was very small—not more, probably, than one hundred or at most two hundred. In the national decennial census taken since 1790, with stated regularity, there were no records made of the people of the town distinct from those

⁷⁰ It is in place to say here, that in the year 1832 the town was visited by the terrible scourge of Asiatic cholera, by which a larger number of the people perished proportionately, than in any other part of the county—a result which most persons attributed to the cause mentioned in the text. Other epidemics are thought to be traceable to the same.

of the rest of election district until the enumeration of 1840, at which time there was a separation of the town inhabitants from those not residing within its limits, and this has continued. If the recollections of the older people may be depended upon, up to the year named the town had not a population of more than three hundred people. It may be well enough to say that at no time has the colored population within the town borne the same proportion to the whites that it did bear beyond the town—in other words, the colored population was always few in numbers. It has increased since the emancipation of slaves. The following table of population has been compiled from the official publications of the census for the several years:

1840	499
1850	858
1860	1010
1870	1095
1880	1471

There is good ground for believing that the population is increasing in numbers, for as yet the pressure upon the means of living has not yet reached its maximum and in the struggle for life there are chances in favor of survival. Health and vigor are the inheritance of the young, large families are the blessings of the mature, and longevity is the reasonable expectation of the old. These, with the absence of desire to wander from home, give assurance that the town will continue to increase.

JACOB GIBSON'S BANK

Now that we are experiencing the expiring gusts of that financial storm which so recently burst upon the country, but is now dying away in the distance of the past—now that our minds are full of that subject of Banks and Bankers which forced itself upon our attention, uninvited and against our wills, an account of one of the most curious schemes for the foundation of a fiscal institution within this county that was ever conceived, may possess an interest that under other circumstances might not attach to it. In giving a relation, some years ago, of the origin and organization of the Farmer's Bank of Maryland, of which a branch was established at Easton, which branch was merged into that institution which is now with so much skill, so much security, and so much confidence managing and performing so large a part of our moneyed operations, it was stated that the first decade of this century was a period of extraordinary prosperity in Talbot county, and indeed of the State. Then it was that our agriculture was receiving a new impulse by the increased attention to new methods of culture and the application of an intelligent husbandry. In the year 1805 the "Maryland Agricultural Society" had its beginning, now the oldest society of the kind in the United States. Ship-building was carried on with great vigor and upon a large scale. Other forms of manufacture, which have now entirely disappeared from among us, were then in existence. Tan yards were scattered all over the country. In the town of Easton, hatting, copper and brass founding, nail making, clock and watch making, silver smithing to say nothing of those branches of mechanical industry that are still followed, were conducted with success. At the period mentioned, say in 1805, the advantages of Banking institutions were sufficiently appreciated: indeed benefits were attributed to them of a kind and degree to which they were not entitled. Then as now, they were thought to be the creators of wealth, and not mere machinery for the management of money. Hence the Legislature was besieged for charters, and there was a great multiplication of banks within the State.

While the subject of the formation of the Farmer's Bank of Maryland was in agitation, and the attention of capitalists, agriculturists and manufacturers were directed to the subject of its establishment at Annapolis with its numerous branches at various points in the State,

one of which was to be in this county; and just before the "Articles of Association" for the proposed bank were published in the papers here and at the capital, there appeared a long communication, in the form of an "Address to the People" in the *Republican Star*, published at Easton, over the signature of JACOB GIBSON. In this communication was detailed a scheme for the establishment of a financial institution in Talbot, so oddly original in its conception, so utterly impracticable in its methods of operation, and so strange, outre and bizarre in its purposes, that one not acquainted with the character of that most remarkable man who proposed it, would suppose it to be the vagary of a madman or the pleasantry of a satirist. It is not the place nor the occasion to give an account of this stout-hearted, large-brained, strong-armed man; of this friend of the poor and the lowly and enemy of the rich and lofty; this life-long foe of aristocratic pretension, and this lover of democratic equality; of this hater of hypocrisy in religion and this irreligious applauder of piety; of this terror of his enemies and this refuge of his friends; of this rugged, stalwart, militant man, who loved a fight better than a feast, and who was never thoroughly at peace with himself except when engaged in active war with others. Hereafter, however, a sketch of this person, the most notable of his time living in this county, will be given. His life was full of curious incidents, and of these, his project, which it is now intended to relate, of founding a bank, was not the least curious.

It is proposed to give an abstract of the article containing this project of Mr. Gibson, but before doing so, in order that it may be more clearly understood and appreciated, it may be necessary and it certainly will not be amiss to state that at the period previously referred to, there was not only great material prosperity as manifested in an improved agriculture and increased manufacturing industry, but there was coincidentally great intellectual activity and augmented moral susceptibility. As evidences of the mental activity that prevailed, it is only necessary to mention the names of some of those citizens of the county who were living during this period. In its beginning Bowie was preaching at St. Michael's, and teaching in our Academy at Easton. He was succeeded by that able, but unfortunate man, Francis Barclay, in the school, who was in turn succeeded by that distinguished linguist, who here wrote and published his grammar of the Latin language, Archibald Walker. At this time Bozman was writing his invaluable history of the earlier years of the State, a monument of his industry, his research and his erudition. Nicholas Hammond, that precise and formal Englishman

from the Isle of Jersey, was not only laying the firm foundation of our bank, but was elucidating the obscurities and unravelling the intricacies of our land records, and by the wonderful accuracy and elaborateness of his conveyances, was giving stability to our titles to property, winning the thanks of all future honest land-owners, and the objurgations of the tricksters and litigious. Thomas J. Bullitt, that unerminded judge, as the learned and discreet counsellor was delivering those lucid opinions that had almost the authority and weight of judicial decisions. Robt. H. Goldsborough, who was at once our Chesterfield in manners and our Chatham in eloquence, was preparing himself for that brilliant career in the State and National Legislatures, in which he proved himself the match for the strongest in the course. John Leeds Kerr, at one time the bosom friend and then the earnest rival of him last named, was training his nerves and strengthening his young thews for those struggles at the bar where he won such distinction that his precedence was hardly to be questioned. Dr. Ennalls Martin, the perspicacious physician, but the brusque, bluff, burly man, was acquiring in his contests with disease upon the narrow field of a country practice that courage of opinion that enabled him to dare to differ with the great masters in medicine, even Rush himself, and to anticipate by two generations, in his book published some years later, the rational treatment of the present day: while Dr. Tristram Thomas, that "mildest mannered man," his very antipode in bearing, if not his equal in ability, was riding throughout the county carrying soothing comfort by his sweet urbanity where grosser medicaments had sadly failed into many a chamber of sickness.

But this digressive notice of the unusual mental activity that characterized our county in the early part of the century is given to mark the contemporaneousness of intellectual vivacity with the great material prosperity before referred to, but more especially to mark their synchronism with an access of moral sensibility. There is not space, nor is this properly the occasion, to descant upon the general progress of morality which was then making in the county, under the teaching of the Old Church that was endeavoring to purify herself, but not as yet with entire success, for Price yet officiated at her altars, from the stains cast upon her robes by so many unworthy ministers, and was now by the whiteness of the lives of most of her priesthood rendering herself worthy to be heard in her reproofs of sensuality and grossness. Nor is there space nor suitable occasion to speak of the still more potent influence upon the general progress of morality, that was exercised by that child of the church, Wesleyan Methodism, the warm and glowing

exhortations of whose early preachers, to a deeper piety and greater righteousness of life, were heard in the remotest and most secluded sections of the county where as yet there was neither church nor chapel, and where the gospel was preached by these devoted men in private houses, barns and shady groves. But attention is here meant to be called to a single manifestation of a higher moral development among our people, for the reason that it is hinted at or presupposed in the article of Mr. Gibson. There is no purpose, however, of attempting to trace this to its proximate cause; no purpose of inquiring whether this instance of a higher moral development was the result of a more enlightened view among our citizens or their material interests, of a better conception of sociological law, or of a clearer apprehension of the divine will. The particular manifestation of moral sensibility to which reference is made was the evident disposition on the part of all to ameliorate the condition of the black race, and a settled purpose on the part of many to effectuate the emancipation of the slaves. Manumissions which had indeed from the very beginning been occasionally made in the latter part of the 18th century and on into the 19th, multiplied rapidly. The testimony against slavery of those high moralists, the Quakers, who were numerous and influential in Talbot, confirmed and strengthened as it was by the preaching of the Methodists; the teachings and practices of the French Revolutionists in regard to personal freedom which were strongly approbated by the predominant or popular party in the county; the Jeffersonian Republicans; and finally the small, marketable value at which slaves were held, even by those who had no religious nor political scruples about holding them, before there grew up that active Southern demand for them for the culture of cotton, which subsequently so enhanced their price; were all tending rapidly to one end, the abolition of slavery. Every one was looking forward to the early disappearance of what had come to be considered, almost unanimously, a great social evil, and the ablest minds were exercised not in finding suitable arguments to defend the institution, but the best means of accomplishing an inevitable result with the least injury to all interests.

As an evidence that the minds of our people were earnestly exercised upon this subject, additional to that presented in the plan of the bank hereafter to be mentioned, it is worthy of notice that in our county in 1804, the very year of the publication of the plan, there was organized and established a society, the ostensible object of which was "the relief of persons of color unlawfully held in bondage, and the aid of those who may be illegally transported from the State, &c.," but the covert or in-

direct object of which was the affecting public sentiment upon the great politico-moral question of emancipation. In other words this "Philanthropic Society," as it was called, was not only a society to prevent kidnapping and like crimes, but an abolition society under a very thin disguise. That the estimate here given of the purposes of this society is not erroneous, the preamble to the Constitution of the Society, adopted the 28th July, 1804, will sufficiently attest, and it is here inserted:

It having pleased the Creator of the world to make of one flesh all the children of men, it becomes them to consult and promote each other's happiness as members of a family, however diversified they may be by color, situation, religion or different states of society.

Commerce in the human species has been uniformly pernicious and disgraceful in every country in which it has been exercised, and long experience has sufficiently attested its repugnance to sound policy, to good morals, to the rights of mankind, and to the sacred obligations of the Christian Religion. The free Constitution of the United States suffers violence by such illicit practices. Its fundamental principles declare the original and inherent equality of mankind, and on this broad and liberal basis stands our liberty and political happiness. If the principle of slavery were in itself justifiable, it is impossible to vindicate on rational grounds the illegal exercise of it. Many persons entitled to freedom by the laws and constitutions of the several States, are detained by fraud and violence. Every good citizen is deeply interested in the impartial administration of justice, and consequently in the prevention of such illegal and unjust proceedings.

The cultivation of the minds of those that may be emancipated, in order to eradicate the habits and vices of slavery, is an object highly worthy of public attention. Society has suffered injury, and is in danger of suffering more by neglecting the education of persons of color.

Impressed with the importance of those sentiments the subscribers have associated under the title of the *Philanthropic Society* for the relief and protection of free blacks, and people of color unlawfully held in bondage, or otherwise oppressed, and for effecting these purposes have adopted the following Constitution.

This Constitution, of which the above was the preamble, was subscribed by many prominent and influential citizens of the county, and the society maintained its existence down to times within the recollection of many now living.

From what has now been said, with a greater digressiveness than is probably allowable by the canons of literary criticism, the reader will be able to trace the motives or incentives of Mr. Gibson when he made public his financial scheme for the achievement of both an economi-

cal and a benevolent purpose. This scheme it is proposed to lay before the reader in the form of an abstract, as the original article published in the *Republican Star* of Feb. 28, 1804, and republished at the author's request, in the following issue of the same journal, is too long and too full of Gibsonian idioms for insertion entire. The article thus opens:

TO THE PUBLIC: Long have I been a suffering witness, with the rest of the community, to the bending and groaning with unjust oppression, to the commercial interest of our country, and to the bowing of many of our country merchants, who are laboring under equal embarrassments, to the lordly importer rolling in luxury at our common expense.

He then proceeds to contrast the advantages enjoyed by the large merchants of the cities with the embarrassments of the mechanics and farmers in borrowing money, the banks furnishing facilities to the former of obtaining funds at a low rate per centum, while the latter have to submit to a discount of from 15 to 25 per centum, exacted by usurers, to obtain money to carry on their business. He complains that while the importer can borrow in order that he may await a market for his goods, the ship builder is driven to the sacrifice of his vessels that he has constructed in order to continue his business; and the laboring mechanic often has to suffer a discount of 25 per cent upon his daily wages, because the master builder can not obtain ready money to pay his journeymen. The farmer, too, is not able to retain his grain in his garners to wait the rise of price, but must sell his crop to the millers as soon as prepared for market, because he can not afford to pay the heavy discount exacted by capitalists, and there are no banks from which he can obtain money at reasonable rates. He says incidentally

Six per cent is no object to any man at this day.

To remedy all these evils, and withdraw that county at least in which I live, and where I have a large stake, [Mr. Gibson was a farmer on a grand scale], I have matured a plan that if carried into execution, which I am determined shall be done, will effectually place us in an independent situation, and will enable the farmers, mechanics, and country merchants to assume a position of equality with the importers and millers. * * * I will open a bank in Easton for the accommodation of all descriptions of people, who shall secure the payment of their notes by good and common securities. * * * I will deposit in the bank, as a capital, under the direction of Nicholas Hammond, Wm. Hayward, Edward Lloyd and Thomas J. Bullitt, Esquires * * * the sum of 30,000 dollars, or more if they require it, as a security for any notes that may issue like other bank notes. These gentlemen shall at all

times or at stated periods, have access to the bank, its papers, books, and capital, and shall control its policy like other directors. Vacancies among them may be filled by the citizens of Easton. They shall see that the stock in bank shall always be sufficient to take up all notes in circulation.

Let us pause here to contemplate this preposterous provision of having as directors of a bank, those who have no personal interest in the institution and of having vacancies in the board filled by a popular vote of the citizens of this town. Mr. Gibson proceeds to say the bank should be opened on the first day of January, 1805, with a specie capital of 10,000 dollars, to be paid in by himself, and that the remaining 30,000 dollars should be deposited in equal instalments of 4,000 dollars every six months. To secure the payment of this 20,000 dollars he obligated himself to give to the gentlemen above mentioned a mortgage upon one third of his real estate, without stay, and he agreed that in order to give greater security for the payments of the bank issues and to give confidence in the entire solvency of the institution, that this mortgage might continue in force as long as he retained any connection with it. He then proceeds to make division of the profits resulting from the banking operations. No more than six per cent was to be charged for the use of money. Of these six per cent, four only were to be retained by him for interest upon the capital stock, one per cent was to be funded for the ultimate extinguishment, or repayment of the capital, and one per cent was to be devoted to the payment of the necessary expenses, or so much of it as might be requisite, and the remainder, if any, should go to the formation of a fund, to be placed at the disposal of the directors for "THE MANUMITTING THE SLAVES AMONG US!" He goes on to say that at the end of five years he would resign all benefit that might be derived from the bank, and join with "the public in purchasing the stock at par for the exclusive purpose of conducting the bank for the manumission of all the negroes in our county." In order that the institution should be conducted entirely for this benevolent purpose, he proposes that after the five years mentioned, 10,000 dollars of his capital stock should remain in the bank at the rate of five per cent per annum provided the public would reimburse him the other 20,000, thus leaving the working capital intact. For the state or municipality to take stock in banks was a favorite method of raising capital in those days, and it has been but recently that Maryland divested herself of her bank stock, if indeed she have not a small interest still in our own at this place. Mr. Gibson entertained such ideas of the magnificent profits of

banking that he asserts in five years the whole capital could be paid off, and

in fifteen years or less every slave in the county, and probably in the district, might be redeemed, especially if the discounts are proportionally and equally great with other banks.

But in order "to aid the institution in its *liberating principle*," he proposes that a tax for five years be laid upon all the negroes that might be liberated through the agency of the bank, of ten dollars upon the men, five dollars upon the women, and two and a half dollars upon all children above ten years of age. In addition, he proposes the legislature should tax all negroes whatever, already free, to the amount of three dollars to be paid by the men, one dollar by the women, and one half dollar by the children above the age of ten years. The funds thus derived should be employed in purchasing and emancipating the slaves. He then enters into a statement "to prove the utility and practicability of its [the bank's] *redeeming principle*." He estimates the interest upon the capital to be derived from discounts, provided the profits prove to be anything like what they are in similar institutions, at \$5400. This amount laid out in negro slaves at \$120 per head, which he regards as the average cash value of men, women and children at the time, would emancipate the first year 45 slaves. By taxing these purchased slaves according to the rates before stated, they would yield an average tax of eight and one-fifth dollars [his arithmetic seems here to be a little at fault] or "say eight dollars," and an aggregate of 360 dollars in the second year. The tax on negroes previously free would yield at least 500 dollars. These sums added to the annual interest from the bank would give 6,260 dollars to be laid out in the purchasing of more slaves. The number thus emancipated would increase each year with a progressive ratio, and in less than fifteen years all would be liberated, and every holder that chose to resign them would receive a valuable consideration.

He wishes it distinctly to be understood that no man should be compelled to part with his slaves at this price, but he apprehended that more would from year to year be offered than there would be money to purchase, and he states he would be willing to part with his own upon the terms mentioned.

He had, or seemed to have, a high opinion of his bank, for he remarks:

I will say that it will be the safest bank now in operation, because it will not only have its capital in specie, but * * * thirty thousand

dollars worth of such real property, as it is well known I possess, mortgaged without stay, and will thus bid defiance to suspicion.

But at the same time it seems to have crossed his mind that his scheme somewhat smacked of the ridiculous, for he says:

Some persons no doubt because this institution is set on foot by *Jacob Gibson* will ridicule it as *fanciful* but when 30,000 dollars are deposited or secured in the hands of those gentlemen mentioned as directors or trustees, who will say he will not receive its notes with as much confidence as those of other banks?

Man of business as he was, he does not disdain laying bare the motives that actuated him in setting on foot this project. He declares his income to be more than sufficient for all his wants, and that his objects were higher and loftier than the acquisition of wealth.

My objects, he says, I most solemnly declare, are principally to benefit the public, when no injury can derive (?) to myself, and to open a door to the liberation of our black population, *in whose behalf all nature cries aloud*. I hold 40 or 50 of these people, for whom I paid cash, five or six excepted, and who are very profitable to me. I am as unwilling to give them up as most persons, and *like others resort for apology for holding them to a customary finesse, that it would be impolitic and dangerous to the community, at this time, to liberate them*: but if any man or institution will give me their value, they shall go tomorrow to that liberty of which I daily taste the sweets.

Mr. Gibson concludes his address with these words, a most singular peroration:

Finally, after the accomplishment of the object before mentioned the funds may be transferred to the *support of the clergy*, who are the worst paid people in this country, and whose functions are indisputably necessary. *It may also aid charity, schools and manufacturers*. If the public will give me cash for good bonds and judgments, I will put the bank in motion immediately; otherwise it will be suspended until the time mentioned. I will guarantee the assignments.

JACOB GIBSON.

Maringo, Talbot county, Feb. 28, 1804.

Think of supporting the clergy by a bank! But this is not more curious than the building churches by lotteries as used to be commonly done, or the endowing theological schools with the winnings at the stock board, as has been done recently. In this last paragraph we see adumbrated that correlation of intellectual activity (shown in a desire for common schools), of material prosperity (shown in the wish for manufactories), and of moral sensibility (shown in a solicitude for the support

of ministers of religion), which is referred to in the beginning of this contribution.

Mr. Gibson was so well pleased with his production, that he requested Mr. Smith, the editor, to republish it, *taking care to retain all the typographical errors of the original*. This was truly characteristic of the man. He possessed such individuality and egotism and yet such open honesty that he wished to appear just as he was, with all his own faults about him, and not tricked out in the borrowed though better garments of another. Accordingly in the *Star* of March 6th, 1804, the article reappears, word for word as before, but with this as a portion of the preface:

I am happy to inform the public that the proposition meets with general approbation; and that some gentlemen whom I had accommodated with money on loan, have informed me that I shall receive their money in all the spring. With this sum, and some other funds which I can raise from sales of my grain now on hand, the bank will open on or before July next, or as soon as I can obtain plates and a mill for the institution.

Let the reader observe the archaism of calling the bank note press a Mill, and how like a jibe it reads in this day of excessive paper money. It were well if we should take to heart the lesson imparted in this word "Mill," and ward against the dangers that are now threatening us, from that great money Mill in the Treasury department, which may be made to give us too large a yield of paper meal for the smaller grist of gold, or other wealth that is in the national hopper.

It is hardly necessary to say, Jacob Gibson's Bank never went into operation. Our farmers, mechanics, and country merchants, however, soon had bank accommodation from the branch bank at Easton of the Farmers' Bank of Maryland; but emancipation was deferred for 60 years, and then it came without the moderate average compensation to the master of 120 dollars for each of his slaves, and without that higher and better compensation that flows from a sense of having performed voluntarily, and without compulsion an act of justice and humanity.

JACOB GIBSON'S PRANK

“And there was mounting in hot haste: the steed,
The mustering squadron, and the clattering car
Went pouring forward with impetuous speed,
And swiftly forming in the ranks of war;
While thronged the citizens with terror dumb,
Or whispering, with white lips,—the foe! they come! they come!
—BYRON.

It is proposed in this paper to present an amusing and instructive episode of the war of 1812, the scene of which was laid in this county of Talbot. It was not altogether ludicrous, for it has its serious aspect, and as will be shown in the sequel, it came near to having a very tragic termination. It will be found instructive, inasmuch as it will serve as an illustration of the state of society here, and of the public sentiment of the time to which it refers. As to the antiquarian no object, which has come down from a former age, however trifling is without its interest and value, so to the annalist, or student of local history no incident of the past, however simple, is without its worth or significance.

The story that is to be told is of one of the most remarkable men this county has produced, whether we regard his undeniable merits or his equally undeniable faults of character and conduct. Oral tradition and written record have transmitted so much concerning this worthy that there are ample materials for the formation of a proper estimate of one who was as stalwart in mind as in body, and who was as rugged in his virtues as in his manners. In a study of his character it is impossible not to be reminded of the half mythical heroes of antiquity—he was so strong and so full of lusty life, and yet so simple and so natural. Hereafter a complete account may be given of this notable man, who for a generation kept himself more prominently in the public view, than any one of his day in this county. Mr. Gibson resided at Marengo, in Miles River neck, opposite St. Michaels—a plantation named by him soon after the great victory of Bonaparte, of whom he was a most ardent admirer. He had other farms and plantations in the county, including the one made up of Sharp's or Claiborne's island. All of these he tilled, by means of overseers and his slaves. He was as enthusiastic a farmer as he was a zealous partisan, and he carried into agriculture the same force

of character as that he bore into politics. His plantation of Sharp's island being distant from the main, in visiting it during the war, he was liable to capture by the enemy's fleet if he should venture into the bay; so it was his custom to cross from his farm at Marengo to St. Michaels, and then take a boat in Broad Creek for his island farm, thus diminishing his dangers, and shortening his voyage.

For some time after the declaration of war between the United States and Great Britain, the last mentioned country was content to blockade the coast and harbors of the former along the Atlantic, and without attempting any permanent lodgment, to harass the enemy by marauding expeditions along the shores, wherever boats could penetrate. These expeditions regarded from a military point of view were of no benefit to the invading party, but were so far serviceable to the invaded that they were most influential in uniting the people of this county who had been much divided in sentiment as to the policy of the war, in their opposition to the enemy. The British forces acquired some plunder, but much more reproach and detestation. The Americans lost some property but they obtained a greater determination to resist. In the early part of the year 1813, Admiral Warren, who was in chief command of the British fleet on the coast, arriving in the Chesapeake, ranked near Admiral Cockburn, who had been in command of the naval forces in the bay, and who had acquired already an infamous name, subsequently made more infamous by the outrages committed at Hampton and elsewhere in Virginia and Maryland. In April of this year Admiral Warren with a strong fleet sailing up the Chesapeake, or on about the 12th of the month took possession of Sharp's Island, and made a prisoner of Mr. Gibson, who had just come over from the mainland to look over his property with a view to its removal from the reach of the British. Finding himself as well as his island and the property upon it in the possession of the enemy, he asked of Admiral Warren that protection should be given to whatever was not required for the use of the fleet, so that there might be no wanton destruction. This protection was granted, and further, permission was given to Mr. Gibson, who was very quickly released, to remove certain property from the island, for which the fleet had no use, but the removal of any live stock was interdicted. Admiral Warren made use of but a small part of the stock, for which Mr. Gibson received a partial compensation in money and orders upon the British treasury. The value of the stock seized was estimated at 255 dollars. This money Mr. Gibson refused to accept as belonging to himself, and on the 24th of April he addressed a letter to the Hon.

James Monroe, Secretary of State, for the United States, and to his Excellency, Levin Winder, the Governor of Maryland, detailing the circumstances of its being in his hands, and requesting instruction as to its disposition. This letter, as well as the orders of Admiral Warren, to which reference is made in the letter, are here inserted as interesting historical documents. They are copied from a curious hand-bill entitled "Federal Treason and Democratic Gratitude" now in the hands of the compiler of this paper, and dated May 10th, 1813.

Jacob Gibson's communication to James Monroe, Esq., Secretary of State of the United States, and Levin Winder, Esq., Governor of the state of Maryland.

BALTIMORE, 24th April, 1813.

JAMES MONROE, ESQ.,
Secretary of State.

Sir:—On the 9th inst., I was in this city, and on the arrival of the news of the affair in the Rappahannock, I was much alarmed at the exposed situation of the property in and bordering on our bay, and immediately proceeded to remove my grain, stock and slaves from Sharp's Island. I reached my place of residence on the 10th, and crossed to my island on the 11th. On the morning of the 12th I was made prisoner while in the act of removing my property. My stock, consisting of cattle, sheep and hogs, was interdicted and forbid removal, by order of Sir John B. Warren. I was detained on the island until the 17th, when I returned to my family. The enemy took from the island 4 sheep from 100, 12 cattle from 57, and 28 hogs out of 50, sixteen of which were small pigs. I was treated by all the officers, but particularly by the Admiral, with marked politeness and delicacy. The purser of the Admiral's ship left on the island \$54 in specie, and informed me he should leave bills on his government for the balance of the stock taken. I protested against any agency in a transaction with the enemies of my country that might contribute to their aid, but they forced a deposit for the stock they had taken, amounting to about \$225. Considering that I have no control over the money or bills thus left, until the pleasure of the government is communicated as to its disposal. The exposed situation of my island, being nearly four miles from the main, entirely excludes it from defensive measures. I asked from the Admiral a protection for my property *there*, which he instantly granted to prevent further depredations, otherwise my growing crops might be sacrificed; as you will find by the enclosed document (it being a copy from the original left on the island). He also permitted me to transport the remnant of my last crop to the county where I resided as per document No. 2. I have now remaining on the island upwards of 90 sheep, 44 cattle and 22 hogs, which if the government thinks advisable, will please to order off by the proper authority; but I am fearful such an event might, after what has taken place, aggravate the destruction of

my buildings, slaves, crops, &c. However, I solicit no indulgence if the government consider the common cause will be advanced by the measure.

The enemy has, I believe, by this time left Sharp's Island, and taken possession of Poplar Island, where I believe they intend making a rendezvous.¹

* * * * *

I shall remain here until you do me the honor to answer this letter; and as my absence from my family and concerns is attended with great inconvenience, may I hope to hear from you by the earliest mail—and I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

JACOB GIBSON.

Address to the Post Office, Baltimore.

NUMBER 1

By the Right Honorable Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart., K. B. Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels employed and to be employed on the American and West Indian Station, &c., &c.

Whereas his majesty's squadron under my command, having occasion for refreshments, and Sharp's Island, in the bay, producing live stock, I have directed the said stock shall not be removed. Whatever cattle any of the officers, of his majesty's ships, under my orders, may take, as well as any other stock, is to be paid for by regular bills or cash, and no depredation or injury is to be committed on the houses and farms, servants or slaves, upon the above mentioned island. Given under my hand, and on board his majesty's ship St. Domingo, off Sharp's Island in the Chesapeake, April 12th, 1813.

JOHN BORLASE WARREN.

To the respective captains and commanders of his majesty's ships and vessels.

By command of the Admiral,

THOMAS FOX, Pro Secretary.

NUMBER 2.

By the Right Honorable Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart., K. B. Admiral of the Blue and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels employed, and to be employed, on the American and West Indian Station, &c., &c.

The captains and commanders of his majesty's ships and vessels are hereby required and directed to permit the vessels bearing this pass,

¹ This vacuum in the publication is a necessary omission (here) from my letters to the governments. It relates to matters unconnected with this business. However, the friends to my country may see it at the printing office—none else have a right, and are forbid. [The "friends to my country" were the Democrats of course: those that are "forbid" were the Federalists, whom Mr. G. regarded as even worse than British enemies.]

and having on board the quantity of corn and fodder specified in the margin, belonging to Jacob Gibson, Esq., to transport the same from Sharp's Island, in the Chesapeake, to any place in the river Choptank, or St. Michaels river.

Given under my hand, on board his majesty's ship San Domingo, off Sharp's Island, in the Chesapeake, April 17th, 1813.

JOHN BORLASE WARREN.

By command of the Admiral,

THOMAS FOX, Pro Secretary.

To the letter addressed to the Governor of Maryland, which was the same as that addressed to Mr. Monroe, Sec'y of State, Mr. Gibson secured a reply, to the effect that the matter had been referred to the President of the United States. To the letter to Mr. Monroe, if any answer was returned it has not yet been discovered.

During Mr. Gibson's absence from his home, and detention upon the island the most extravagant stories were put in circulation concerning him and his movements, the gist of which was that he was aiding the enemy by furnishing them with supplies, and benefiting himself by trading with the fleet. Public sentiment was aroused against him, and even his political friends were too ready to accuse him of dishonorable conduct while in communication with the British fleet. After his return, and his explanation of what had occurred, there were still those who could not believe that Admiral Warren would have granted such indulgence and favor as was indicated by the orders just presented, unless he had derived corresponding advantages. To these Mr. Gibson made this characteristic reply:

I had no right to expect to be favored, but on the contrary, to be the first victim of British vengeance. Fortunately God has made me of strong nerves, that I can shine, when I please, in a church, a drawing-room, a grog-shop or a brothel; and if by my address and urbanity of manners, I softened the roaring lion to a kind lamb and obtained papers that helped my country, and rendered no aid to its enemy, was I not justifiable? * * * * The federalists, I could persuade myself to forgive * * * but for democrats cowardly to shrink from the support of their first main pillar! From the federalists I had nothing to expect. They forced me to ride them rough shod. I have never spared them, nor ever will, when I see them err. I have given them whip and spur. I rolled them, in this county, from a high political standing to the bottom of the valley. I took democracy from its slumbering ashes. Yes—I, Jacob Gibson, did it. With my zeal, perseverance, justice of the cause, and my purse (and I dare contradiction) raised you democrats from the bottom of the lowest valley to the top of the political hill. I placed your feet on the neck of federalism, and when you got there, you forgot how it happened.

The presence of the British forces in the bay, the taking possession of Sharp's and Poplar Islands, the seizure of the bay craft plying between Baltimore and the rivers and creeks of Talbot, the penetrating of their boats from the fleets, into every water course that was undefended, created the utmost alarm in all parts of the county, which led to the formation of many military companies for defence against attack. Guard boats were placed at the mouths of the rivers. Batteries were erected in positions commanding the water approaches to the towns of St. Michaels and Easton. Cavalry companies were organized, which acted as scouts, and transmitted accounts of the movements of the enemy's fleet, or barges. St. Michaels was thought to be particularly exposed, and liable to attack. It was regarded as the outpost of Easton, the county town; and besides, within its limits and in its immediate vicinity, there were several vessels on the stocks, among them a barge for naval warfare, which the enemy desired to destroy. The people of St. Michaels and its neighborhood were in constant dread and momentary expectation of an attack. The town was accessible both by St. Michaels river, and by Broad Creek, for on either side it could be approached by small boats; while from the bay side it could be easily attacked by land forces. Among the military companies organized for the defence of the county, was the troop of horses commanded by Capt. Robert Banning, of the Isthmus. This company was made up of gentlemen living in the vicinity of Royal Oak. It was in pretty constant service as videttes or scouts, keeping watch from Knapp's narrows to Easton. In the town of St. Michaels there was an infantry company, commanded by Capt. Jos. Kemp, subsequently, Col. Kemp. This body of men gave special guard to the town, and held itself in constant preparedness.

Such was the condition of affairs in the lower part of Talbot in the middle of April, 1813—the enemy near at hand, and the people sensitive to alarm—the enemy threatening and the people expecting an attack. On the morning of the 18th or 19th, as near as the exact time can be determined, a barge-like vessel was discovered making her way, under sails and oars, up that branch of Broad Creek which approaches St. Michaels. At the mast head was displayed a red flag which was very naturally supposed to be the dreaded Union Jack of Great Britain. At the same time the beating of a drum on board the barge or boat was distinctly heard. This, though hardly consonant with hostile intentions, was thought to be done in bravado, as though the enemy was confident of success and had no need to employ any secrecy in his movements.

No soldiers were seen on board, but they were supposed to be concealed in the hold of the vessel. No one was visible but the two or three men engaged in sailing the suspicious craft. The people along the shores first took the alarm. The farmers placed messengers on fleet horses and sent them to town to announce the approach of the British, of whom the boat was thought to contain but the advance. Men with families prepared to send their wives and daughters up the county beyond the reach of a lascivious and brutal soldiery, as they had shown themselves to be farther south. Live stock was to be driven off from the shores into secluded places so they might escape the marauding bands of Cockburn. In the town the announcement of the approach of the British created the greatest consternation, except in the breasts, let us believe, of the brave citizen soldiers. Capt. Kemp's infantry company, the St. Michaels Patriot Blues, was immediately under arms, while Capt. Banning, with his horsemen were more than usually active, hastening hither and thither in quest of the most recent intelligence of the progress of the approaching enemy, and in summoning the other military companies from the surrounding country.

But neither the citizens nor the soldiery were kept long in suspense. The boat continued its easy course up, with its red flag flying and its deep drum beating. As the river or creek became narrower a nearer view of the craft and her crew was obtained from the shore. The vessel was soon discovered to be one which had lately left Broad Creek, probably Capt. Richard Spencer's of Beverly, for Kent Island, and then the burly form outlined itself against the sky, and the loud and ringing voice was heard to echo along the shores, of Jacob Gibson. A gentle breeze blew out from the mast the dreaded flag, which proved to be unmarked by St. George's cross, and was only a red handkerchief; and the tacking of the boat displayed, not a gaily decked drummer boy and his rattling instrument, but a ragged negro man thumping with his fists upon the head of an empty rum barrel. The whole affair was explained. It was Jacob Gibson returning from Sharp's Island, and playing a practical joke upon the people of St. Michaels and vicinity. Being naturally of buoyant spirits, and now, more than usual, elated by his successful negotiation with the British commanders for the protection of or probably pay for his property, he thought to have a little innocent sport at the expense of his countrymen, by feigning to be their enemy. By the time he had reached the back landing, at that part of the town called San Domingo, the feelings of the people and soldiers had undergone a great change; the fears of the former had given place

to indignation, and the courage of the latter to a desire for revenge. Neither was in a state of mind to laugh at Mr. Jacob Gibson's prank, and both were ready to inflict punishment for his having caused the one to betray timidity, and the other to show their bravery without a cause. So when he reached the town instead of meeting a hearty welcome back from the hand of the enemy, he encountered emphatic objurgations. Those who had been reluctant to credit the rumors of his having been trading with the enemy, and thus committing overt treason, did not now hesitate to brand him with this infamous accusation; while his political enemies saw, as they thought, evidences of his guilt in the cargo of his vessel, some barrels of rum which he declared were taken from a wreck he encountered in his trip from the island. The soldiers of Captain Kemp's company were ready to take vengeance upon him for a transaction which they were not in a state of mind to regard as a practical joke; and but for the interposition of their commander, his life would have paid the penalty for its perpetration. The muskets of these men were actually pointed at his breast, and undoubtedly would have been discharged but for the firmness and decision of Capt. Kemp. The gentlemen of the troop of horse were calmer and more considerate than their commander, who being an old political opponent of Mr. Gibson, from whom he had received many severe rubs in the electioneering campaigns, was not averse to seeing him, humiliated, if not harmed. As a Federalist he would have been pleased to see a pronounced war Democrat convicted of illicit traffic with the enemy, and if injured in person, his grief would not have been inconsolable. For the part Capt. Robt. Banning took in this affair, Mr. Gibson made a most violent and vituperative attack upon him in the handbill heretofore referred to in this paper. The soldiers were at last quieted, and the offender was allowed to depart without injury for his home, across St. Michaels river, after having publicly apologized for his conduct, and explained his proceedings while upon Sharp's Island. There are traditions that he was compelled, while making these apologies, to suffer some humiliating indignities: but these traditions are probably at fault, and from what is known of the sturdy character of Mr. Gibson, it is very safe to say he could have done nothing but what was becoming a haughty man, who would have lost his life rather than debase himself by an abject act, while making the only amends possible to an honorable mind, for an offence innocently committed.

This prank of Jacob Gibson had a very interesting sequel. As has been before mentioned the British fleet had command of the Chesapeake

bay. They were capturing and destroying all the crafts plying upon its waters, carrying off the cattle and other live stock for the use of the fleet and threatening all towns which were accessible by water. St. Michaels was one of the places which were to be visited with destruction and perhaps rapine. The means at the disposal of the State for the defence of her coasts were sadly deficient. There was not either a sufficiency of men, nor of arms to equip those ready to serve in the militia. Of heavy arms, in particular, there was a woful deficiency. Artillery companies were unable to procure cannon. In St. Michaels there was an organization of this kind, at the date of these transactions, under the command of Capt. William Dodson, but it was either without guns entirely, or was inadequately supplied. Mr. Gibson was informed of the inability of the State to furnish these arms and he appreciated the necessity of these being furnished to the citizen soldiers in and near St. Michaels, for its defence. He was an ardent advocate of the war, and an earnest supporter of its prosecution to a favorable end. He now saw an opportunity to justify his partisanship, gratify his patriotism, and pacify his offended fellow-citizens of St. Michaels. He accordingly while in Baltimore, immediately after the affair just related, purchased two cannon, and had them transported around the head of the bay, to avoid capture by the British whose blockade was so strict that few vessels escaped. These cannon he presented to the town of St. Michaels—an instrument of war, as a peace offering. There is no doubt the gift was intended to conciliate and placate the offended people of that place. Although in his handbill Mr. Gibson rather resents the imputation that this was his motive.

It is pleasing to know that the ill feeling which was engendered or fostered, by this affair, between Jacob Gibson and the people of St. Michaels, and which subsisted for a long time, notwithstanding the gift of the guns, has not been transmitted to their posterity, and that a grandson of that Jacob Gibson, who has inherited all his ancestor's remarkable vigor of intellect, and has only lost that ancestor's brusqueness of manner to acquire a mildness and gentleness peculiarly his own, now enjoys the confidence, respect and affection of the descendents of the angry citizens of 1813, and now ministers with unsurpassed skill to the alleviation of the sufferings of those whose fathers were once ready for a harmless joke to take the life of his high spirited progenitor.

Of the incidents here narrated it is proper to say, they are thoroughly authentic; and although they have never before been published, at least in the connection here presented, they may be relied upon as

strictly veritable, having been derived from sources worthy of all credence. Care has been taken to confirm tradition by record, so that an amusing story might be made a valuable contribution to the annals of this county. Unfortunately he was unable to procure carriages for these guns, and as there was pressing and immediate need for them, they were rudely mounted upon cart or wagon wheels, and did good service on the ever memorable 10th of August, 1813, when the British made their long expected attack on St. Michaels, and were so gallantly repelled. On this occasion they were severally commanded by John Thompson and Wrightson Jones, who continued to fire them as long as the enemy was within range. Subsequently these guns were properly and handsomely mounted upon carriages. For many years, for want of an armory, they were placed in the unused market house of St. Michaels, which stood in the middle of St. Mary's square, in the centre of the town, and were only brought to fire an occasional salute upon the fourth of July, or in honor of some political victory of either party. When the market-house was converted into a school-house, the gifts of Jacob Gibson were transferred to the armory at Easton, where they remained until our great civil war. On Sunday, June 9, 1861, by order of His Excellency Thomas Hollyday Hicks, Governor of the State, William T. Roberts, Esq., Armorer at Easton, delivered to Col. Abel Smith, of the New York volunteers, acting under Gen. Banks, all the arms belonging to the State in the Armory, and among these were the two six-pounders presented by Mr. Gibson to the people of St. Michaels. These cannon were taken by Col. Smith to Fort McHenry, where they probably are to this day, as their antiquated pattern, it is likely, prevented their employment in our late contest. Thus it has come about that on the grand moving drama of our national history the amusing comedy of Jacob Gibson frightening the people of Bayside with his red handkerchief, and empty barrel, connects itself with the bloody tragedy of our civil war.

THE SCHOOLS OF TALBOT

EARLY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL MASTERS

I

The preparation of a complete history of education in Maryland is a task as yet imperfectly performed. Indeed, it can hardly be said to have been seriously attempted; the few sketches of the subject that have been made having no pretensions to thoroughness. A sense of disqualification for the work, more, perhaps, than a perception of its arduous nature, has deterred every one from the undertaking; for a rare combination of qualities are requisite for its due accomplishment. That labor must be done by some one who unites in himself the industry of the antiquarian, the insight of the philosopher, and the ardor of the enthusiast. In the vast mass of irrelevant matter which would have to be subjected to analysis, the historic chemist would often have to be contented with the discovery of mere traces of that for which he sought. These would consist mostly of obscure hints, or minute notices, scattered here and there in public records of one kind or another—in church registers, legislative proceedings, books of law, family memoranda, and files of news papers. These sources of information would have to be searched with the patient, but sharp, eye of the archaeologist, who gropes in rubbish for remains of antiquity, and not with the simply curious glance of the *dilettante*, seeking objects of *virtu*. And, when all the materials for a history have been collected, the greater labor remains to weave them into one connected and veritable story, that shall relate the rise, the progress and the condition of the schools of Maryland, and that shall describe those influences which have affected them from time to time and in different sections of the province and State, and which has made them what they were or what they are.

As in the greater or more comprehensive panorama of Maryland history, those of her citizens who have taken a prominent part in the conduct of her civil and political affairs, or have made an impression upon her social structure should be delineated for the instruction or the veneration of those coming after, so upon the narrower canvas of this story of her schools, there should be no failure to portray the careers and

characters of her more distinguished teachers, school officers and promoters of her educational interests; for there have been those belonging to each of these classes of educationists in Maryland who are as deserving of historic commemoration as are her statesmen, her jurists, her clergy or her physicians. Who more worthy of honor than he who makes popular government possible, who enlightens the law makers, who prevents religion from lapsing into superstition, and who promotes the moral and intellectual health of the community? But even the diligence of the collector of these materials for a history of schools, coupled, as it may be, with analytic power and constructive ability, will not suffice to make the competent historian unless he be inspired with a love for all that is expressed by the term education—for the objects, the methods, the agencies and the agents. That a historian thus endowed will appear in the future may be confidently expected, for besides continuing to be a matter of the greatest possible individual or personal concern, education has become almost within the recollection of a living generation a State affair of the weightiest moment, having its administrative staff, its code, its rules and precedents, its courts of original and appellate jurisdiction, and its independent fisc or treasury. More than this, the teachers, from being the most humble of public servitors, without social standing or official recognition, have, as a body, acquired that greater consideration and consequence which are due to wider attainments in letters and science, to improved moral worth and to a more extended usefulness, and which are generally conceded to those holding direct relations to the government of the State. A great interest, public and private, like this of education, and one managed or served by a large influential and distinctive class of citizens, men and women—a class, not only of present, but increasing prospective importance and weight cannot long be without a fit historian. In anticipation of his coming, and with a view of aiding him in some small measure, it is now proposed to give an account of the earliest schools and schoolmasters of this county, of which and whom any record or memory remains. This paper will be confined to the time preceding the revolution, and the meagreness of the resources from which it must be compiled will give to it the merit of brevity and the fault of inadequacy.

The illiterateness of the earliest settlers of this State, this county included, has afforded a subject of much small wit to those who would ridicule that family pride, which many of our most respectable citizens have felt and sometimes perhaps too plainly exhibited, in their ancestry.

Those who have nothing to boast of, and others who have something to be ashamed of, in their paternal predecessors, have found some compensation, or it may be some revenge, when they could point out, to those among us who a little ostentatiously display their coats of arms, certain rude signs or symbols not recognized either by heraldry or caligraphy, attached to wills and other instruments of writing of their forefathers, in the place where their names should have been subscribed; or, when a neighbor, with a pardonable vanity, displays relics of what he fondly dreams was the former grandeur of his family, in the form of old battered household plate, or faded silk gowns of ancient pattern, the petty malice of those who possess no such memorials of the wealth and fashion of their ancestors is vastly gratified when it can present samples of defective orthography or other evidences of deficient scholarship in the script of those who first drank from the silver goblets or urns, or who wore the silken robes. There is probably as much of spite as of truth in the allegation of prevalent ignorance among those who were the permanent and substantial settlers of this province. While there is some ground for the charge, unquestionably there has been much exaggeration of the illiterateness of those who coming to Maryland first gave tone to society as it was in formation, and who, from the first, were her representatives in whatever distinguished her in manners, morals or intelligence. There was a class of emigrants who might be called ignorant. This was that of the indentured servants. But even among the people of this class there were many who enjoyed the advantages of a good elementary education. This is shown by the fact, hereafter to be more fully noticed, that many of the early school teachers were drawn from this very class. But the substantial men who settled the province, who took out patents for lands, or bought them from second hands, and lived upon them, founding families, and attaching themselves to the soil—the real planters, the traders, the professional men, and even the thrifty mechanics—were in general sufficiently well educated to be relieved from the imputation of illiterateness, though, most probably, there were exceedingly few who could lay just claim to what might be called high culture. They were certainly well enough educated to know the value of a little learning in the struggle for life, even when that struggle was rather with uncultivated nature, as is the case in all new countries, than with man, as it is in the settled States. They did not allow the pressing exigencies of the formation of new homes in the wilderness to prevent them from securing to their children, even upon the secluded plantation, such an

equipment for the contest as is afforded by the possession of the elements of letters and the rudiments of science. As wealth accumulated the education imparted or provided was of a better character. More capable instructors were employed at home, or the sons were sent to the great schools and universities of England. Thus, William Harper, of this county, in his will, dated 1739, makes particular provision, and gives specific directions, for the education of his son, Samuel Clayland Harper, requiring that his teachers be paid double for his instruction; and that he be trained up to one of the professions. Mr. Harper appears to have been a man of some fondness for literature, and a friend of schools, for he directed by his will that, if his son should die before he should arrive at the age of twenty-one, his library and one-half of his estate should pass to the Talbot County Free School. Michael Howard, Esquire, a prominent lawyer at the bar of this county, who died in 1737, provided for the education of his nephew, Michael William Howard, at the Westminster School and at King's College, Cambridge, England. It may be proper to add that the professional education of many of the lawyers and physicians was received in the old country, before the revolution.

The first schools that were formed in this county and province must have been of an elementary character to correspond with the simple life-wants of the settler. From the circumstances of the planters, it is inferable that they were of a private or domestic kind. The farms were large and widely separated, the population exceedingly sparse, and there were no considerable towns or villages. Consequently neighborhood schools, which grew up when these conditions changed, could not be formed. By the more wealthy settlers private tutors were employed, and it is not unlikely the master of the plantation, in many cases, permitted the children of his dependents, or of any poor freemen living near him, to enjoy the privileges of instruction by such tutors, for the sake of the advantages that would accrue to his own children by being associated with others while under instruction. The first schools, therefore, in this county, were what may be designated as plantation or home schools, made up of the children of the proprietors, and such others as they might see fit to admit to participate in their benefits. These schools were, of course, of small size, and the instruction imparted elementary in character.

This system of plantation or home schools continued to be followed for not many years; indeed, it can be said to have entirely disappeared at the present, for private tutors are still employed by those living remote

from the towns or by those unwilling to send their children to the common schools. But as soon as a sufficient number of settlers had made plantations and homes in any vicinage, schools of another order, but scarcely of a different grade, were instituted. Several neighbors would unite to employ a teacher, and become responsible for his salary. Others were permitted to avail themselves of the services of the master by paying a stipulated fee. Such schools were what have been designated as neighborhood subscription schools. The salary attached to the place of teacher was exceedingly small, but some additional compensation was given in the privilege he enjoyed, though now it would be regarded as a penalty inflicted, of "boarding around" in the families of the chief patrons. This system continued in existence down to the time when the State gave support to the public schools; and under it many of those school houses which are still in existence, or those which immediately preceded them upon the same sites, were built. Even after the State and county had begun to give assistance to the schools, it was customary for the neighborhoods to contribute a sum for the increase of the teachers' salaries. In these neighborhood subscription schools many persons still living received all the instruction in letters they ever obtained. Some of them were excellent, and all of them useful.

Still another class of schools was formed as soon as the density of population, the increase of wealth and refinement, and the consequent demand for better and higher instruction justified its appearance. This was the class of private schools—or those in which the master assumed all the responsibility and demanded for his services a stipulated fee from such as placed their children under his care. These often flourished side by side with the subscription schools, and sometimes took their places. As their success depended solely upon the character and abilities of the several teachers, the masters were generally men of a better order, in both their moral, intellectual and professional qualifications. These schools pretended to advance the pupil beyond the simple elements of learning, and to give him an initiation, at least, into a critical study of his own language, and into applied mathematics. In some cases, too, the Latin and Greek languages, in their elements, made up a portion of the course of study. It is hardly necessary to say that schools of this kind have had a continued existence down to the present day, though the excellence of the schools supported by the State and county has very nearly caused their extinction. They survive in but one school, or, perhaps, two schools for boys, and a few schools for girls within the limits of Talbot.

Of another class of schools, namely those which would be now designated as denominational schools, we find traces in the early records of the county. The clergy of the Church of England as established in Maryland, or at least the better and more reputable of them, manifested considerable interest in the cause of popular education. The Bishop of London, under whose ecclesiastical administration the church in this province was placed, instituted inquiries through his commissaries, from time to time, respecting the existence of parochial schools; but the responses to his queries, as far as they have survived, do not indicate that any such schools ever had an existence in this county. The Talbot County Free School that was established under the law of 1723, of which an account has already been given in a previous contribution, would not fall into this class, for, although the rector of the parish in which it was placed was always the chairman of the board of visitors, and many of the vestrymen of the same parish were members of that board, it is very certain that the school was not under the official control of the ecclesiastical authorities; nor was the school of a grade to be classed as a parish school, though some charity pupils were doubtless received, in consideration of the partial support it received from the public funds. Nor was the charity-working school of Parson Bacon, established in 1753, of which also a full account has been given in these contributions, properly a parochial school, for neither was it controlled by any parochial body. It is believed, however, that not unfrequently the clerks or curates of the parishes in Talbot taught in these schools or others, for the purpose of eking out their slender stipends, and thus a religious influence was extended over such as they had charge of. At a later day the clergymen of the Church of England were among the most efficient teachers in the county. The Friends, or Quakers, the only other denomination that had organized congregations within this county until within a few years of the revolution, very early manifested a deep "concern" in the matter of education. The minutes of their meetings indicate this solicitude. There is no doubt that they had, at a very early day, their denominational schools, which probably were held in their meeting houses, though it is proper to say this last statement is purely conjectural. Later they had houses for the uses of their schools.

Reference has already been made to the charity-working school of Mr. Bacon. This was an attempt to introduce into Maryland a class of schools which had been very successful in England. It was the only one of its kind in the province. It was supported by private annual

subscriptions and benefactions, and was designed for the education of the poor only. It not only gave instruction in letters, but also attempted the training of its pupils in some useful employment—an educational idea revived in most recent times. In other words, it was a manual labor school. One of its most curious provisions was that for the admission of negro children. A full and detailed account of this school may be found in the *Easton Star* of February and March of the present year.

Another class of schools was represented in this county by the Talbot County Free School, established, as before stated, under the law of 1723. Like schools were founded in many of the other counties, and they really were the precursors of the excellent county academies set up after the revolution. This school had legislative aid and recognition. But nothing more need be said of it than has been said in the *Easton Star* of April and May of the present year, where a full account of it has been given.

In the rude and primitive condition of society which existed in this county, as in the province generally, for many years after its settlement, there was no demand for higher culture, and if there had been there were really no teachers to impart it. In a new country not the intellectual graces, but the physical forces are in requisition. The former are unwilling to be transported from an old community to a new, and they are difficult of transportation, and yet more difficult of perpetuation. Men, learned and accomplished, find a new soil inhospitable, so they are loath to leave their old homes, where they have appreciation. From the very beginning great difficulty was experienced by the planters of Maryland and other colonies whose conditions of settlement were similar, in obtaining competent teachers. Their ability to pay learned men or those skilled in the art of instruction, was small. And besides, the compensation that was paid for mere physical labor drew off into mechanical callings all but those who were incapacitated by bodily weakness or indolence. The consequence was that the profession of teaching, if it might then be so called, was filled by those who were thought to be fit for nothing else. As a consequence, they were held in low repute. Their social position was beneath that of those pursuing the handicrafts. The public estimate of them was measured by the insignificant compensation that was extended to them for their services. The early teachers were obtained from that needy class of emigrants who secured their passage to this colony by obligating themselves to serve a certain number of years in consideration of their trans-

portation; or from that other and hardly less necessitous class who, though they might have been able to pay the ship master the moderate sum charged for bringing them over, after their arrival, found themselves unfitted for the hard labor that was exacted of them in this new country. Or again from another and a smaller class, made up of vagrants and petty criminals, or banished rebels, who were compelled to leave their old homes for an enforced residence in Maryland or Virginia. Many of the early settlers were, therefore, actually indentured servants, or were bought by the planters from the captains or supercargoes, as they stood upon the deck of the ship. From the records of the county, from the oldest newspaper printed at Annapolis, and from other authentic sources, it is certainly known that the custom of purchasing teachers was common, and that not a few of these were really convicts. It is probable that from each of the classes which furnished the early teachers—the poor freemen, the indentured servants, or the transported criminals—the most vigorous in body, or even the most sprightly in mind, were not selected as tutors for the children. In new countries physical strength is too important an element in the struggle for life, or in the pursuit of wealth to be wasted in disciplining urchins; and intelligence can win too many and rich rewards to be used upon the work of the abecedarian. The school teacher, therefore, was too generally the man of inferior physical stamina or of the less active mental qualities. Indeed, down to a very recent date, if, indeed, the same condition does not still exist, the calling of the elementary teacher was adopted, by the simply indolent, or by those who felt their physical or mental incapacity for the great competitive struggle for the honors and rewards of life. To be sure, strong men have and do become teachers for a time, that they might and may prepare themselves for, or await more remunerative and more highly esteemed positions. It may be readily inferred, from what has been said of the character of the classes from which the early teachers were taken, that they held a very humble social position, and that their very limited scholarship, if their imperfect acquaintance with even the rudiments of learning deserves to be designated by such a name, did little to raise them in general esteem; and that the low moral character of many of them was such as to hardly merit more consideration than they received from people whose standard of rectitude and purity of conduct were no higher than their standards of scholarship and literary culture.

Commensurate with the growth of the county, and the same may be said, of course, of the whole province, in population, in wealth, and

all the elements of civilization, was the improvement in the character of the teachers; so that at the close of the period to which this paper is confined, there was to be found in Talbot, as elsewhere, no inconsiderable number of very competent and exemplary instructors; though it must be confessed that much the larger part of this body of useful citizens, were still, and for years continued to be poorly qualified morally, and intellectually, for their high vocation. The legislation immediately preceding and during the war of the Revolution, by depriving many worthy and accomplished clergymen of their legal stipends, gave to the class of teachers a number of men possessed of very respectable scholarship, and irreproachable character. These were the incumbents of some of the parishes who continued to perform their ministerial duties with most conscientious fidelity, after their legal support was withdrawn, and they were left without any maintenance except that they could earn by extra-ministerial duty, and what pious benevolence felt impelled to bestow.

EARLY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

II

Having now completed this general view or periscope of the early schools and schoolmasters of Talbot, this paper will be concluded by necessarily brief notices of such particular schools and schoolmasters as have been commemorated in our very imperfect records. The first mention of any schoolmaster is that contained in the judgment record of the Court of Talbot County for the March term of 1680, and this mention is not creditable to the person of whom it is recorded, nor of the recorder, for "John Stevens, school-master" is represented as having been presented by the grand jury for being drunk on the Sabbath day, at the house of John Aldridge; and the clerk who has thus impaled John Stevens, uses such abominable orthography as to show his want of acquaintance with a good schoolmaster in his youth, or an acquaintance with even so drunken a schoolmaster as he who was arraigned. John Stevens was fined one hundred pounds of tobacco.

The school and schoolmaster next mentioned in any record, belonged to the society of Friends or Quakers. These plain, but eminently wise people, who do not disdain nourishing the inner and divine light with the oil of outward and human knowledge, have never been backward or indifferent in promoting education; and they have always preferred, for one reason or another, to have their children taught in

schools under their own denominational influence. At this time, when the public schools are so good, of their kind, the Quakers, while making no protest against them, except the one that education is a matter of private concern and not of public, in which position they are supported by some of the best authorities in social philosophy, prefer to establish schools of their own. In the year 1683 the minutes of the meeting in Talbot indicate that the Quakers had a school at or near their meeting-house in Tuckahoe, on King's Creek. This school was taught by Isaac Smith, of Virginia, that commonwealth then, as now, sending us teachers. Isaac Smith, it is stated, fell into "distraction of mind," and during his paroxysms of madness would tear his clothes, commit other destructive acts, and would also wander away from his home, near the school. The meeting ordered that this unfortunate man should be properly cared for by the Tuckahoe Friends until he could be restored to his family in Virginia. Of this school in Tuckahoe nothing more is known.

In the year 1691, among the land records of the county was recorded a deed of "Thomas Wallis, scholmaster" (the clerk still having failed to perfect his spelling of this word) to Robert Smith, for one hundred acres of land on the north side of Saint Michaels River, bordering on Bachelor's Branch, and called "Neglect"—a very appropriate name for a teacher's home. This Thomas Wallis, in the year succeeding, had all his personal effects seized under an attachment. The schedule of his property evinces his poverty, and was as follows:

	<i>Lbs. Tobacco</i>
One old chest	15
One parcel of old iron	15
Two pot-hooks, a cutting knife and a pen knife	60
A parcel of old nayles	120
A parcel of old books	100
Eight old pewter spoons	20
A parcel of pewter	100
One old feather bed	200
A spinners wheel	150
	750

The pen-knife and old books are the only symbols of Thomas Wallis' profession. This memorandum will serve to indicate the growth of humane feelings, for it shows the custom then prevailing of stripping the unfortunate debtor absolutely bare.

In 1693, at the March term of the county court, Henry Adcock, "being a man well skilled in ye art of teaching good letters," brought suit against William Warrilowe, who, according to the narrative of the case, "did retaine ye said Henry to teach and instruct his sonn William Warrilowe, Jun'r, in good letters and manners for and during the term of one yeare next ensueing ye day and yeare of (viz.: Nov. 21, 1687), and ye said Henry in fact saith that he then keeping a public school at Miles River, within the jurisdiction of this court, &c., &c." The narrative further says that William Warrilowe had promised to pay Henry Adcock the "full and just summe of four hundred pounds of tobacco," but did not. The school teacher was cast in his suit, and he not only failed to recover the amount of his tuition fee, but he was required to pay William Warrilowe two hundred and forty-two pounds of tobacco for his "false clamour." He was, however, more successful in another case in which he was sued by a tavern-keeper, the matter in contention being the "shugar" which the publican alleged, and the dominic denied, had been added to Henry Adcock's potations. It would seem, from the result, that the school teacher did not use "shugar" with his rum. This Henry Adcock, it appears, was one of those indentured servants mentioned in another part of this article, and had served, for the space of two years, Mr. Thomas Impey, sometime clerk of the county court, and resident of Bayside.

The schoolmaster whose name is next encountered was Thomas Greenwood, who, in 1717, conveyed to Christopher Sprigall a tract of land called "Adventure," upon one of the branches of King's Creek, and containing two hundred acres. The only notable circumstances connected with Thomas Greenwood are, that his wife Elizabeth could not write her name and that he was a man of comfortable fortune—a very rare happening to school-teachers, who as a class are poor. In 1720, James Fletcher, schoolmaster at Oxford, was sued by Mr. James Hollyday for a debt owing to Sarah his wife. In 1722, Daniel Walker, schoolmaster, purchased of Joseph Pond ninety-two acres of land called "Jamaica," at the head of one of the branches of Third Haven Creek, upon which Daniel Walker then lived. Of this teacher we know something more than of those before mentioned, from records written by his own hand, for he was the clerk and register of Saint Peter's Parish from 1707 to August 28, 1724. He was born at Pilkington, England, and was the son of John and Elizabeth Walker. In 1677 he was appointed to keep a ferry over Saint Michaels River, at the point where the bridge now stands, and in the levy record of the county it is quaintly

stated: "To Daniel Walker, in consideration of his poverty, many children, loss, ferrriage over river with a canowe, at least 2,500 lbs." He has not left the number of his children in doubt, for he has faithfully recorded in the parish registry their several names, the year, day of the month, day of the week, and hour of the day, when each was born.

In November, 1725, Thomas Smith, schoolmaster, is named in the public levy list as having been allowed for three days service as a petit juror, fifteen pounds of tobacco per diem, or about sixty cents of the money of today. It would seem from this that schoolmasters were not then, as now, exempt from jury duty, though Thomas Smith may have been a schoolmaster retired from business, for he was evidently a man of substance and a good liver. As late as 1755 he was residing upon his estate, part of "Grafton Manor" on Bayside, for upon the rent-roll of Lord Baltimore for that year he was assessed upon one hundred acres of land so designated. It is further known that he would occasionally draw blood, not, it is to be hoped, from the luckless urchin's back, but from his neighbors' arms when applied to to exercise the functions of a phlebotomist. For this purpose he habitually carried a lancet.

In the year 1728, was established the Talbot County Free School, to which reference has already been made, and of which a full and detailed account has been given in another contribution of this series. But one teacher's name has reached us of those certainly belonging to this school, and that is commemorated by the infamy attaching. Here, too, Mr. George Rule *probably* taught, and taught acceptably.

In 1747, Stephen Stitchbury, schoolmaster, bought a parcel of land in Island Creek Neck, called "Boone's Hope." Of him nothing more is known, but his ability to buy land argues favorably for his skill as a teacher. It is probable this worthy man has living descendants now in the county where the name is perpetuated.

In 1751, Richard Rowlinson, schoolmaster, was required to enter his recognizance for the appearance of his wife at the August term of the Court. Fortunately the offence of Mrs. Rowlinson is not mentioned.

In the year 1753 or 1754, the Charity Working School of Parson Bacon was established in Oxford Neck. A full account of this school has already been published in these contributions.

Lawrence Maynard, schoolmaster, was sued by Michael Hackett, upon his note, for 600 lbs. tobacco and twenty shillings currency, at the August term of the Court in 1755. It is likely this person has left descendants, as the name survives in the state, but not in the county.

Joseph Toope, schoolmaster, was sued in the June Court, of 1756, by Messrs. Gildart and Sons, merchants of Liverpool, who had their factors established in this county at several points, of whom Mr. Thomas Harrison, of Canton, near St. Michaels, presently to be mentioned, was one.

In 1756, Thomas Harrison, merchant on Broad Creek, sued James Price, schoolmaster, for a debt incurred to him. Price was allowed a credit for three months' schooling of Harrison's children. He afterwards absconded carrying off most of his effects. What was left was levied upon by Harrison. Among his property were found a parcel of books valued at ten shillings, and a paper of ink-powder, which mark the profession of the owner.

Among the court records of the same year, 1756, may be found the exceedingly curious petition of John Jones, schoolmaster, "to the worshipful, the Commissioners and Justices of the Peace." As this is illustrative of the condition and position of that class of teachers which was made up of indentured servants, it is copied in full. It serves also to present one phase of society in Talbot.

John Jones <i>vs.</i> Thomas Tims	}	John Jones, to the Court here, prefers the following petition:
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Worthy Gentlemen:

Your humble petitioner humbly sheweth that he is a bond servant to Thomas Timons, and has received a great deal of ill usage by blows and stripes. *Imprimis:* On the first day of October I related to him that he had violated his promise in imposing servile labour on me, and not giving me cloathes as that was his agreement when he desired me to act in quality as school master under him, whereupon he beat me with his fist about the face and much bruised me, of which Mr. Robert Goldsborough was spectator, and desired him to desist from like cruelty, and ordered him at the same time to provide me warm cloathes. Secondly, on the 15th day of the same instant, he whipt me by reason I did not walk the main road home from school according to his orders. I acquainted him that I was ashamed, as that I had scarce a shirt to my back or breeches to wear. Thirdly: on the 19th of the same instant I returned home from school, and finding no one at home, I went to the place where all the family were. I had not been there a quarter of an hour, till the master came and told me it was time to go home, and I acquainted him there was no one at home and then he went away, and in a very short time he came and told me that my mistress was gone home and I must go and shell corn. Then I desired the favour of him to let me get a drink of cyder and he replied, dare any one give you a drop. Whereupon my fellow servant who was there came along with me, and

as we walked along I related to him that master thinks to frighten one by his spleen and revenge; and I said at the same time, I have as many friends as he, and he walking behind incognito heard the words, and he directly made use of this expression: then damn you I will be your foe. Whereupon he took up a piece of pine plank about three feet long and three or four inches broad, and an inch thick, and with the said instrument struck me several blows and bruised me very much in the body, and afterward beat me with his fist and bruised me in the face, of which Mr. John Goldsborough was a spectator. Gentlemen, the real cause of the cruelties that I have suffered is, that I went into a public place there were several of the subscribers, and showed how he had beat me, and related to them the whole affair, how that he detained me every morning to work, and required the same in the evening, if occasion offered; and in doing this he says I have calumniated his reputation and character and he has often said, since I declared this, that if he cannot have satisfaction one way he will another. This my fellow-servant can affirm. So I humbly beg, worthy gentlemen, that you will take my present circumstances into consideration, and grant in your great impartiality and wisdom that I may be ordered to another master, as soon as this year's schooling is completed, that I may shun those barbarities and cruelties that are likely to attend me hereafter, which shall ever be with gratitude acknowledged by your most obedient servant and humble petitioner. JOHN JONES.

Talbot County, Nov. 2d, 1756.

Thomas Timmes was summoned to answer. The court heard and determined. The case was dismissed, Timmes discharged, and Jones sentenced to pay to him a sum in consideration of the costs and charges incurred by the said Timmes. If John Jones' statement was not true, it must have had the semblance of truth. It is, therefore, very suggestive as to the character and condition of that class of school teachers furnished by the indentured servants bought out of the ships by the planters. As the court dismissed the case, it is not unlikely this complainant was a drunkard and disreputable person, whose disorderly conduct, when in liquor, provoked the anger of his master, and whose unfitness for his calling condemned him to "servile labour," as he deserved to be.

The proceedings of the county court for the November term of 1757 contain the following minute: "Joseph Price, schoolmaster, in the court here, before the Justices aforesaid takes the oath of allegiance, the oath of abhorrency, the oath of abjuration and makes the declaration called the Test, as they are appointed to be taken and made by an Act of Assembly of this province, and doth subscribe the adjuration and declaration aforesaid severally."

At the same court William Edmondson, schoolmaster, took similar oaths and made like subscriptions. These proceedings were probably under the Act of 1716, entitled "An Act for the better security of the peace and safety of his Lordship's government, and the Protestant interest in this province," which required all persons holding offices and places of trust to take the oaths and pledges indicated. Schoolmasters and clergymen were included. But there are no other records discovered of any one of the first named class of citizens having been required to comply with this law; and why at this time there should have been this revival of loyalty to the house of Hanover, and fidelity to the Church of England, is not apparent, unless the Jacobite rebellion, and the rising in Scotland under Charles Edward, in the years just preceding, account for the new zeal. The defeat of the pretender sent many of the rebels to Maryland, and Talbot received her due share of these involuntary but acceptable emigrants.

In 1761, Patrick Parks, schoolmaster, was the principal party to a bill of sale to satisfy a debt.

In the same year, James Donellan, schoolmaster, was non-suited by Thomas Clayland. This teacher seems to have been litigious, as his name frequently appears in the records as a party to suits, either as plaintiff or defendant.

Nicholas Seymour, in the same year, was sued by Andrew Law, and cast.

In point of time, the period of a great political and social revolution has been approached in this article, and here must close this very imperfect account of the early schools and schoolmasters in Talbot. It is not pretended, of course, that those mentioned constituted the whole number or even the majority of those that existed in this county during the many years traversed by this record. Doubtless much the greater part of them have passed into entire oblivion, from which their memories can never be rescued by the most diligent student of our local history. The paucity of the facts which have been related, and the obscurity which clothes those few have rendered the attempt which has been made in the first part of this contribution to draw some general deductions, extremely hazardous. All, therefore, that has been said, aside from the plain and simple recital from authentic records, has been said hesitatingly by the writer and should be so received by the reader. Many of the details and incidents are exceedingly trivial, but not, therefore, necessarily insignificant. They constitute, perhaps, the most valuable part of this contribution, for even if they have been misunder-

stood and misused, they may again be employed by a more cunning hand, and a more perspicacious mind to write the history of education, not of Talbot, only, but of the commonwealth at large.

QUAKER SCHOOLS

The Friends or Quakers, as they are commonly but no longer deservingly called, very early in our history acquired a strong foothold in Talbot, under the earnest teachings of the apostles of this faith, and even of the very founder himself, they increased so rapidly in numbers that they soon became a most influential body, dictating, when they had need, the politics and giving tone to the society of the county. Originally drawn from the poor and simple, here they very soon became conspicuous for their wealth and intelligence. Among them were to be found some of the most enterprising and successful merchants and the largest planters of Maryland. They were among the first to appreciate the advantages which education affords not only for the increase of material prosperity, of social consideration and personal happiness, but also for the promotion of sound religious influence and healthy spiritual growth. Besides they were not slow to perceive that the errors into which were most liable to fall and into which some of the first disciples had actually fallen, after escaping those of a rigid formality, were those of a perfervid enthusiasm in religion; and that the most effective and salutary check upon those extravagancies which are said to have characterized the early Friends, and which had been, in a measure, transported to America, was the cultivation of those faculties of the mind which are the natural antagonists of the tumultuous feelings. Another motive prompted them to intellectual culture. This was a desire to acquire or furnish a substitute for those pleasures which their system of religion condemned and which neither an indulgence in religious emotion, nor an extreme devotion to the acquisition of wealth, which have always characterized this pious and thrifty people, could supply. These considerations prepare us to expect to find traces in the historic sands indicating the presence in Talbot at a very early day of Quaker schools.¹ In a previous number of this series of con-

¹ It is an interesting fact that the first public library ever formed in this county and probably in the province was the one collected by the Friends in 1676 and after, at the Betty's Cove meeting house. The following is a minute of the meeting held on the 14th of the 5th month of that year. "It is thought fit by the meeting that a stock be kept amongst Friends to pay for books, and to dispose of as Friends shall see need, from time to time, for ye service of

tributions reference was made to the establishment of such schools, and brief notices were given of one or more of them. In this paper it is proposed to present an account of some others of which uncertain traditions or scanty written records have preserved the memory.

It was stated, in the article referred to, that there exist traditions of the existence of a Quaker school upon or near the site of the first meeting house of the Friends, at Betty's Cove. There is no account of this school in the minutes of the Friends, and those minutes extend back to a period anterior to the abandonment of the ancient meeting house at that place; but this absence of record is no proof that such a school had no existence, in the face of a tradition which seems to be very positive and tolerably well substantiated. A private letter from James Dixon, a Friend, says: "We have no records of the meeting at Betty's Cove" [this is hardly correct], "but there was a Free School on that same lot under the direction of Friends belonging to *that* meeting, so I was informed by Henry Hollyday, Sr., who had been a pupil there." It is possible that the Free School attended by Mr. Henry Hollyday, was the Talbot Free School, of which an account has been given, and which was certainly near where the old Quaker meeting house once stood. But there exist records of another Quaker school, which was established at or near the "great meeting house," on Third Haven, of which it is proposed now to speak.

On the 25th of November, 1779, at a monthly meeting of the Society of Friends at Third Haven, there was present a committee, appointed by the Quarterly Meeting, in conformity with the advice of the Yearly

Truth, every Friend being left to his own liberty and freedom what to give. Upon which Friends subsided as follows:" William Berry 400 lbs. Tobacco, Bryan O. Mealy 400, John Pitt 350, Howell Powell 400, Ralph Fishbourne 400, Thomas Taylor 400, John Edmondson 400, William Southbee 200, John Jadwin 200, Henry Woolchurch 200, James Hall 100, William Sharpe 300, John Pemberton 100, Henry Parrott 200, John Dickinson and Charles Gorsuch 400, Alexander Nash 200, Obediah Judkins 100, in all 4750 pounds of tobacco. Thomas Taylor, who was clerk of the meeting, was appointed Librarian or keeper of the books. In 1681 the library had an accession of "a parcell of bookes which came from our dear friend and brother George Fox, before his death as a token of his love." It should be remembered that this was long before the attempt of the Bishop of London through Commissary Bray to establish parochial libraries in this province. Remnants of this original Quaker library are still in existence. The writer has in his possession one of its volumes much mutilated and otherwise disfigured, entitled "A Whip for the Snake," being a reply to an attack on the Friends in a book entitled "A Snake in the Grass." Lovers of peace as were the early Friends, they were not averse from religious controversy.

Meeting within the bounds of which this Monthly and Quarterly Meeting was comprised. Among other subjects commended to the consideration of this committee was that of the establishment of schools for the education of the children of Friends. This committee having duly weighed the matter, reported to the meeting and advised

that a suitable school for the instruction of youth in useful learning be erected within the verge of this meeting . . . and that this meeting do appoint a committee to take the same under care and proceed therein as way may open.

Whereupon the meeting after due deliberation, appointed these gentlemen members of the committee proposed, viz.:

WILLIAM EDMONDSON,
BENJAMIN PARVIN,
TRISTRAM NEEDLES,
RICHARD BARTLETT.

On the 27th of July, 1780, this committee reported to the meeting that "they met on the occasion in company with a number of members of this meeting, and concluded that it will be expedient to raise the sum of fifty pounds (\$133.33) for that purpose." The collectors of the meeting were directed to collect this sum before the last of the twelfth month (December). In August Thomas Wickersham and James Berry were appointed members of the school committee in the place of Benjamin Parvin and William Edmondson, relieved at their own request. On the 12th of November of same year the committee was directed by the meeting to "proceed to build a house on Third Haven meeting house lot for the aforesaid purpose." A minute of the meeting held the 22nd of the 2nd month (February), 1781, is in these words: "The consideration in regard of a school being weighty before this meeting, it appears to be the sense and judgment thereof that a house be built of brick, forty feet long and twenty feet wide, with a cellar under the whole, at the place heretofore mentioned; and the committee already appointed are directed to proceed thereto as speedily as way may be opened." On the 26th of July, of the same year "the committee appointed in the case of the school informs this meeting that they have employed a Master, who has opened a school at this place; which being approved the same committee are continued and to have oversight and care thereof until further directions." The teacher thus employed was Samuel Hutton, as appears from the following minute of a meeting held November 29, 1781: "the meeting directs the Treasurer to pay unto Samuel Hutton the sum of three pounds thirteen shillings, it being the balance due him for teaching Friends school last quarter."

Of this teacher, the minutes of the meeting have preserved some memorials. He seems to have had his residence, before coming to Talbot, within the verge of "New Garden monthly meeting in the state of Pennsylvania." He married Elizabeth, the daughter of Mr. Edward Needles of this county. He continued to teach the Friends' school very successfully and acceptably, according to the records, until 1792, and possibly later, when he removed to Nottingham, Chester County, Pennsylvania, very much to the regret of the Friends of Talbot, who at their meeting of the 13th of December of that year, appointed a committee to wait upon him for the purpose of dissuading him, if possible, from leaving the county. This committee, after having offered all inducements to abandon his purpose, reported "the Friends might give him up." Letters dismissory, therefore, were granted to Mr. Hutton, commending him, as a member in good standing in the society, to the Nottingham meeting. He died not long after leaving Talbot, whither his wife and children returned in 1795, to their relatives, bringing letters of membership to the society of Friends at Third Haven. It may be well enough to say that his widow became a teacher in the town of Easton many years later.

It would seem that the house which was authorized to be built in 1781 was not completed until 1782 or later, for in April of that year the minutes indicate that it was still in process of erection, money being then ordered to be paid as it might be needed for the purpose. Nor was it built according to the original design, of brick, but of wood, as appears by a recommendation of the school committee in 1789 that the school house be removed to the town of Easton. The meeting concurred in the opinion of the committee and authorized that body to contract with some responsible person for the purchase of a lot of ground in the town and for the removal of the house. These gentlemen accordingly agreed with Mr. John Needles that he should buy a quarter of an acre of land and place the school house upon it, they contracting to pay reasonable charges for the removal, and to allow him to hold the title of the property until he should be fully paid for the lot and his labor. The school house was in 1791, accordingly removed, agreeable to directions, and placed upon the lot at the corner of Harrison street and South lane, in the rear of the premises now owned by Dr. Jos. E. Chamberlain. In 1795, Mr. Needles having been fully satisfied, conveyed the house and ground to Richard Bartlett, Thomas Wickersham and John Dickinson in trust for the Third Haven monthly meeting, as appears by the court records of the county. In constructing this school

house, upon its original site, and its internal arrangement continued to be the same after its removal, provision was made for the accommodation of the teacher and his family, as appears by an order of the meeting in 1787 that the dwelling part of the school house should be rented to a tenant. After the house had been moved to town the portion fitted up for a dwelling was either rented out, or was occupied by poor persons belonging to the society of Friends while the portion adapted to school purposes continued to be used for what it was originally intended. In the year 1844 this school house property was sold to James L. Martin, Esq., for \$325 and the money was applied to improving the meeting house.

Little is known of the character of this school. It is presumable that it was elementary. Whether it was an absolutely free school is not apparent. Certain it is that frequent collections were taken up in the meeting for the payment of the teachers, but it is possible, indeed probable, a charge for tuition was made against those able to pay for the instruction of their children, while the poor were allowed to share its advantages without fee or expense. That the school under Mr. Hutton had been prosperous is apparent from a report of the committee having it in charge, made to the meeting in March, 1791:

The committee are free further to add that Friends' school, which is kept in part of said building and conducted by Samuel Hutton has of late so increased as to make it necessary to employ an assistant, and there is grounds to hope that if the school is properly conducted it will become a seminary of useful instruction; and notwithstanding the great object in view, of accommodating Friends' children generally hath not yet been accomplished, yet we still look forward with hope, that if the subject is pursued with ardour and attention the present inconveniencies will be removed and the institution become a subject of more extensive advantage. Signed:

THOMAS WICKERSHAM,
RICHARD BARTLET,
JOHN DICKINSON.²

How long this school continued under the direct control of the meeting it is impossible to determine; but there is ground for belief that very soon after its removal to Easton the society ceased to exercise any care or direction over it, and that it became a private school, patronized

²In 1788 John Dickinson and John Jenkinson were made members of the School Committee instead of Howell Powell and Thomas Hopkins. In 1789 the members were those signed to the report, as named above, with John Jenkinson, whose name does not appear.

and taught by Friends. A part of the building was rented out for this purpose, while the remainder was occupied as a dwelling, sometimes if not always by those of the Society unable to pay. Certain it is, by the year 1820 the school house had yielded a considerable fund from its rental, which was applied by the meeting to Church purposes. Of the succession of the teachers there is no record, after the resignation of Mr. Hutton, who, as mentioned above, was the first. He had for successors Samuel Troth, who was teaching in 1810, James Iddings and Mary Edmondson, who were teaching in 1820, and Thomas Pearson, and all worthy Friends and teachers who have left a good name behind. Thomas Cross taught in the same building, but he was not a Quaker. The dates of the incumbency of these cannot be accurately determined and tradition is not to be depended upon. It would seem that in the early part of the century many of the teachers of the county were of the Society of Friends, their pure lives and quiet ways recommending them as instructors in preference to the passionate, cruel, and often dissipated Irish. The school with which this paper is concerned became extinct, as a denominational school, by reason of decline in the numbers of the Friends in its neighborhood, and of the increased popularity and excellence of the public or common schools supported in part or wholly from the public funds. It was found to be a burden to the Society which accordingly divested itself of all responsibility for its management.

After the cessation of this school of 1780 no attempt was made by the meeting at Third Haven to establish another, until a very recent date. The Society of Friends in Talbot long maintained a precarious existence. For years they had been diminishing in numbers, but the lowest point was reached in or about 1870 when but about fourteen families were claimed as belonging to the monthly meetings assembling in the venerable building which dates from the year 1684. But after this date there appears to have been a revival of religious interest, as well as a decided increase of members. This may in a measure be accounted for by the additions which were made to strangers immigrating to this county from the North and West. The renewed vitality which has been thus acquired has been shown by the recent erection of a handsome brick meeting house, near the old one, which is very properly allowed to stand as one of the most interesting relics of pristine Quakerism. But this new life has been further manifested by the establishment of a school for Friends' children and those of all others who may see proper to avail themselves of such excellent tutorage as Friends

know how to bestow. At a meeting of the Society in 1874, these persons were appointed a board of trustees of a school to be erected or set up, under the auspices of the monthly meeting at Third Haven:

JOHN C. BARTLETT,
ROBERT B. DIXON,

SAMUEL S. YEO,
HENRY WILSON,

JAMES DIXON.

Contributions to the enterprise were made by the members of the meeting, to defray the cost of erecting a suitable building and the work was speedily completed. A commodious brick school house was erected upon Bay street, near Washington street, Easton, and a young lady, Miss Emma Satterthwait was installed as the first teacher. From the first the school was prosperous, and has continued so up to the present time, persons of all religious denominations giving their patronage. Miss Satterthwait's health failing, after two years' service, she was succeeded by Mr. Wilson M. Tyler, who is now the very capable master. In 1879 an addition was made to the school house to accommodate the increasing number of pupils, and Miss Satterthwait having recovered her health returned to Talbot, and is acting as assistant to her half brother, Mr. Tyler. As this school, like most others conducted by Friends, appears to give great satisfaction to its patrons, a long life of prosperity and usefulness is promised. Into this school both boys and girls are admitted in accordance with the well known Quaker principles of equality of rights of the two sexes. The elements of learning as well as the higher branches of a good education, including the classical languages, are taught. Although the school is under the control of the Quakers, and is so far sectarian, yet as these people, of late years at least, whatever they may have been in the height of their primitive fervor, have not shown a proselyting spirit, those who are anxious and careful to preserve the religious faith of their children as it is inculcated by parental or priestly instruction, have no fear that it may be invalidated by any denominational precepts, or an enforced conformity with any distinctive practices. But those who know the high ethical standards and the deep piety of the Friends, need not be told that true morals and fundamental religion are carefully taught—such morals and such religion as are accepted without cavil by all.

THE TALBOT COUNTY FREE SCHOOL

The attention of the citizens of this county, and indeed of almost the whole State, has been arrested, but not so thoroughly aroused as it should be, by the discussion which, at this writing, is going on in the General Assembly, respecting certain modifications of the existing school law, and particularly respecting a change in the method of appointing the county school officers. With no purpose of joining in this discussion one remark may be ventured, that the plan of appointing these officers, by the judges, is objectionable for many reasons, not the least serious of which is that it tends to impair the interest of the people in public education by removing from them all control of these schools; for men soon cease to concern themselves about a matter, not of a purely personal nature, which is withdrawn from their consideration and influence. Now, whatever can add to the popular interest, which has flagged under the present *regime*, but is now awakened in this subject by executive suggestions and legislative oratory, may indirectly affect lawmakers and cause them to govern their action by higher and wider considerations than usually influence those who are apt to confound the good of their party and the good of the public. An account of the first school supported by the public funds that ever was established in Talbot, and perhaps the second that was established in the province or State,³ may be serviceable at this juncture, as well as be gratifying to those who are curious respecting the early history of education in this county. If this account of the Talbot County Free School be prefaced by a brief survey of the legislation which attended its establishment, it will not impair the value of this paper in the eyes of those who are watching the course of their delegates to the General Assembly upon the matter of public schools.

The first steps that were taken by the authorities of Maryland towards the establishment of a school or "place of learning" was in 1671, when a bill passed the Upper House of Assembly, which at that date met at Saint Mary's, for the founding a college. This bill was amended by

³ The first public school in Maryland was undoubtedly the King William's school, in Annapolis; but in the year 1724, in reply to inquiries of the Bishop of London, "Have you in your parish any public school for the education of youth? If you have, is it endowed, and who is the Master?" the Rector of Great Choptank parish (in Dorchester) answered: "I have in my parish one public school, endowed with £20 current money, which is about 15 shillings sterling, yearly, for which the Master is obliged to teach ten charity scholars."—President Garnett's MS. address, "Past and Present of Education in Maryland."

the Lower House but the amendments were not acceptable to that branch of the legislature which had originated the bill, so it failed of becoming a law of the province. It is interesting to note that the same question which now divides the friends of public education, and which causes so much embarrassment, divided the early statesmen of this commonwealth, and caused the failure of the first scheme for providing an institution of learning in Maryland, namely the religious instruction to which the pupils should be subjected in the school—how it should be conformed to their religious professions, Catholic and Protestant.⁴

The colonial records do not indicate that any other legislative action was taken towards the establishment of schools until the year 1694, when Governor Nicholson sent a message to the assembly proposing that a plan be formed for building a free school for the province, and the maintenance of proper teachers. He pledged himself for a very liberal contribution and annual subscription, during the time he should continue in the government, while the secretary of the province and other gentlemen holding official positions promised very considerable sums. The Assembly approved of the Governor's recommendations, and imitated him by making very liberal subscriptions, to the amount of nearly forty-six thousand pounds of tobacco.⁵ But it advised that instead of there being but one school, there should be two, one at Severn, or what is now Annapolis, and the other at Oxford in Talbot, then the most considerable place upon the Eastern Shore, and but recently laid out as a town and made a port of entry. An address was ordered to be sent to their Majesties, William and Mary, which took the form of a Petitionary Act. Another address was ordered to be sent to the Bishop of London, who had ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the colony, asking his "assistance and care." A letter was directed to be sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury asking his assistance also, and that he would assume the patronage of the school. The plan of these schools was embodied in three bills which passed upon the same day, the first of which was "An Act for the encouragement of learning, and advance-

⁴ President Garnett's Manuscript History of Education in Maryland; also Scharf's History of Maryland, Vol. 1, p. 349.

⁵ These gentlemen, members of the Lower House of the General Assembly, and constituting the whole delegation from Talbot, subscribed the amounts affixed to their names:

. Hon. Robert Smith, Speaker, 2,000 lbs. tobacco, Col. Henry Coursey, 2,000 lbs. tobacco, Mr. Nicholas Lowe, 1,200 lbs. tobacco, Major Thomas Smithson, 800 lbs. tobacco.

ment of the natives of this Province." The second was an act entitled "An Act supplicatory to their sacred Majesties, for erecting Free Schools." The third was an act entitled "An Act for laying an imposition on several commodities of this Province, etc., for the maintenance of Free Schools." The texts of these laws are not in the common compendiums of law—in neither Parks nor Bacon—so their specific provisions are unknown. However, they were soon repealed by subsequent acts, presently to be noticed, and doubtless their essential features were retained in those laws which were substituted for them. Now these acts of 1694 were really the first to pass through all the stages of legislation, and become laws, which provided for schools to be supported in any degree by public funds, for as has been shown the bills introduced in 1671 failed to receive the approval of both houses. But nothing was really accomplished under them, except perhaps the collection of funds from the impost. In 1695, it may be well enough to mention, an act was passed imposing a tax of four pence per gallon on all liquors imported into the province, for the purpose of raising money for building and repairing Court Houses, Free Schools, Bridewells and such public services. This law expired by limitation in three years.

The first law of which we have the text in the books, for the establishment of Free Schools was that passed in July, 1696, and entitled "A petitionary Act for Free Schools." It will be remembered that since the year 1691 the province of Maryland had been under royal jurisdiction, and not under Lord Baltimore, who was not restored to all his Proprietary rights until 1715. The preamble to this law was in the form of a petition to King William, Queen Mary having died since the last petitionary act. This, for its curious phraseology, if for nothing else, is worthy of being here rehearsed. Its humility, amounting to abjectness, appears singular to the independent citizen of today. This preamble is as follows:

To His Excellent Majesty. Dread Sovereign: From the sincerity of our humble and loyal hearts we offer to your sacred person our most dutiful and sincere thanks for your royal care and protection to us, for your Majesty's princely zeal and pious care of our mother church of England, and for extending your royal benediction to our neighboring colony, your Majesty's subjects and territory of Virginia in your gracious grant and charter for the propagation of a college, or place of universal study in that, your Majesty's said colony. In humble contemplation thereof, and being excited by his present Excellency, Francis

Nicholson, Esq., your Majesty's Governor of this Province, his zeal for your Majesty's service, pious endeavors and generous offers for the propagation of christianity and good learning herein; we become humble suitors to your most sacred Majesty, to extend your royal grace and favour to us, your Majesty's subjects of this Province, represented in this your Majesty's General Assembly, thereof, that it may be enacted, etc.

The act then goes on to provide for the establishment of a "Free School or Schools, or place of study of Latin, Greek, Writing and the like," at Anne Arundel town on the Severn, to be called "King William's School" and to be managed by a board, which should form a body politic, under the name of the "Rectors, Governors, Trustees and Visitors of the Free Schools of Maryland." Provision was made for the raising and collecting the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds, sterling, per annum, for the payment of the teachers and other expenses. There is that further and important provision that, as soon as the revenues from whatever source for the Free Schools should exceed the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds, by an equal amount, "the Rectors, Governors, Trustees and Visitors shall proceed to erect, found and build one other Free School at the town of Oxford on the Eastern Shore of this province, in Talbot County, or in such other place in the same county as to the Rectors, Governors and Visitors aforesaid shall seem most expedient." These officers were directed to pay over the like sum of £120 sterling for the support of this school, which should be "in all respects under the same benefits, privileges, injunctions, and restrictions as the said first Free School at Anne Arundel."⁶ It was also provided that similar schools be established in each of the counties of the province, as fast as the income for the purpose would allow the same to be done. Of these schools the Archbishop of Canterbury was to be the Chancellor, in accordance with his consent obtained in 1695, given in answer to the address presented the year before. There was to be no longer dispute as to the character of the religious instruction imparted in these schools, for the law established that the rules and orders for their governance were to be in accordance with the canons and constitutions of the Church of England. It was under this act that the celebrated King William's School at Annapolis was established, a school upon whose foundations at a later day was built the now venerable College of St. John's. It does not appear that there

⁶ In this we have the germ of the first free school of Talbot, which was built not at Oxford, however.

was such an accumulation of school money as to justify the erection of any other school under this law.⁷

A brief statement of the resources from which the funds were derived that supported this school, and others which were subsequently established, including the Talbot County Free School, and a short notice of the several laws providing for the raising these funds, cannot but be interesting to friends of public education, and even to the simply curious about the past of Maryland. Already the Act entitled "An Act for laying an imposition, &c." passed in 1694, has been noticed, and also that of 1695 laying a tax of 4d. per gallon on liquors.

It would seem that there had been difficulties experienced in collecting the subscription money that had been pledged for the free school or schools; so in 1669 it became necessary to pass a private law enabling "purchasers of the subscriptions to the free schools to recover the same."

In 1704, for some reason not apparent, it became necessary to declare authoritatively that the petitionary act of 1696 was still in force. In the same year an act was passed entitled "An Act laying imposition on several commodities exported from this Province," by which it was declared that certain imports laid upon furs and skins exported should "be employed towards maintaining of a Free School or schools within the Province." Non-residents were required to pay double duty; and any person failing to pay the impost forfeited his property, one-half the value of which went to the school fund and one-half to the informer. If a master of a ship or vessel should knowingly receive on board any commodity that had not paid, but which should have paid the impost, he was required to forfeit 5,000 lbs. of tobacco, one-half to go to the schools and the other to the informer. Beef and pork were placed in the same category with furs and skins. This act repealed that of 1694 of the same tenor. It was in turn modified by the act of 1723, so far as to exempt furs and skins from the impost, but continued to bind other commodities.

In 1715 an act was passed entitled "an Act for the better security of the Peace and safety of his Lordship's government and the Protestant interest in this Province," which provided that if any one should attempt to exercise any office or administer any trust without taking

⁷ The Law of 1696 repealed an act which it calls the "Supplementary Act" of 1694; but as there was no act of that year having such a title, it referred doubtless to the "Act for the encouragement of learning &c." Bacon conjectures that the word "supplementary" was a clerical error for "supplicatory" Act, one of such a nature having been passed in that year, as before noticed in this paper.

the oaths of allegiance, of abhorrency and of abduration, he should be fined two hundred pounds, currency, one-half of which should go to the school fund and one-half to the informer.

At the May session of the Legislature of 1717, an "Act to regulate ordinaries" was passed according to which any violation of its provisions, and they were numerous and minute, was punished by heavy fines, one-half of each of which went to the schools in the county in which the offense was committed, and one-half to the informer.⁸ In any county where there was no free school established, the moiety intended for it, might be used to defray the ordinary county charges, but an account was ordered to be kept and when a school should be established, the money should be refunded. This law expired by limitation in 1720. At the same session an act was passed entitled "an Act laying an additional penalty of twenty shillings current money per poll on Irish servants, being Papists, &c., and 'on all negroes,' for raising a fund for the use of public schools, within the several counties of the Province." This 20s. per poll on all papists and negroes imported, it was said shall be "for the advancement of learning, to be applied towards the encouragement of one public school in every county within the province, that is to say, one equal share thereof for the support of each school." This law was an amendment of the law of 1715 of similar tenor, but the duty then imposed of 20s. per poll, which was continued, thus making it 40s., did not apply to the same purpose. In the same year, 1717, a "supplementary act to the act relating to servants and slaves," was passed, one of the provisions of which was the selling into slavery, or temporary servitude negroes or mulattoes intermarrying with whites, or whites intermarrying with negroes or mulattoes, and the proceeds of such sale were to be applied "towards the support of a public school within the said county" where the offense might be committed. The law of 1715, of which this was a supplement, provided that if any minister, pastor, or magistrate, or any person whatsoever, who by the law of the province "usually join people in marriage," shall join any negro or mulatto slave with any white per-

⁸ One curious provision of this law was that "no ordinary keeper whatsoever shall credit any such sailors" namely tipplers and those who spend all their wages and then run away from and desert their ships "to the neglect of their respective commanders and prejudice to the dispatch of any ship or vessel thereby" for more than five shillings, during any one voyage, under a penalty of losing his debt and being fined to his Lordship five pounds sterling—one half to be paid to the county school and one half to the informer.

son he shall pay a penalty of 5,000 lbs. of tobacco, one-half of which should go to the schools and the other to the informer.

At this session of 1717, also, there was passed an act supplementary to "an Act (of 1704) for the limitation of officers' fees" the preamble of which was to this effect: that "several and respective officers write their accounts of fees in such short abbreviated words" that the persons who have to pay these fees "cannot by any means satisfy themselves for what the said fees become due." It is provided by this act that the officers "whose fees are due upon execution shall and are obliged to draw out the particulars of their fees in a fair legible hand, and the words at full length," under a penalty of 500 lbs. of tobacco, one-half to go to the support of the Free School at Annapolis and one-half to the informer. In 1731 a similar act required Clerks and Registers to furnish copies of costs written in legible hand, and in words of full length, under a penalty, for neglect to do so, of 2,000 lbs. of tobacco, one-half the fine to go to the school of the county where the offense may be committed, and one-half to the informer. A subsequent act made lawyers as well as public officers liable to the same penalty for writing their accounts of fees in short abbreviated words. The last act of this year 1717 which was so prolific of laws favoring the schools, was a private act "for the better security of Mary Smithson, widow and executrix of Col. Thomas Smithson, in the payment of a debt from the said Col. Smithson's estate to the Free Schools." Col. Smithson was a very distinguished citizen of this county, who after holding some of the most conspicuous and responsible positions in the provincial government died here, at his residence (on the farm near Easton, now commonly known as the "Glebe," for the reason that he bequeathed it to St. Michaels' parish for the support of its minister) about April 1, 1714. It would seem that he had in his possession at his death a considerable sum of money belonging to the school fund, which he had collected in his several official capacities. By his will he devised his farm or plantation called "Surveyor's Forest," consisting of six hundred and fifty acres, in Dorchester County, with all the stock, farming implements and negroes, after the death of his wife to the Free Schools provided the Rector, Governors and Visitors would release his estate from a portion of the debt due to them to the extent of five hundred dollars, to be paid to his sister, then in England. The will is obscurely written, hence, probably the necessity of a law "for the better security of his widow and executrix." This landed property came finally into the possession of the school officers, and in

1720 an act was passed enabling them to sell it, and ordering them to invest the proceeds in good securities for the benefit of King William's School, the income from which should be used in the payment of the master or masters and usher, and for no other purposes whatever.

In 1719 an act entitled "an Act for the better supporting the dignity of magistrates in the administration of justice within this province" was passed, the object of which was the correction and punishment of attorneys and the officers of the courts for their misdemeanors and unbecoming conduct to the judges on and off the bench, or to use the phraseology of the law, to punish those "who shall use any indecent liberties towards the several magistrates and justices of the several courts within the province . . . to the lessening the grandeur and authority of their respective courts." Any person thus offending was fined 2,000 lbs. of tobacco, if the offense was committed in a lower court, and 4,000 lbs. if in a higher. If the indignity was shown to a justice out of court, yet in the discharge of duty, the offender might be imprisoned two days, or required to sit in the stocks two hours, and pay a fine of 1,000 lbs. of tobacco. The whole fine in these instances was appropriated to the public school of the county where the offense was committed. In the same year "a Supplementary act for causing Grand and Petit jurors and witnesses to come to the Provincial and County courts, and ascertaining their allowances," was passed. It would seem that beside a small per diem allowance from the public fund to jurors and witnesses, suitors or court were permitted to give to such juries as tried their respective cases a kind of *donative*. The law recites that some persons having much business with the courts "have endeavored to raise general expectation in jurors of larger donations from them than from their adversaries, thereby endeavoring to incline them to their favour." This act provides that not more than one hundred and twenty lbs. of tobacco, or twelve shillings in money should be given to any jury, sworn in any cause, and if any suitor should give more than these sums, he should forfeit 6,000 lbs. of tobacco, if his case should be in the provincial court; and 2,000 lbs. if in the county courts; one-half the amount to go to the support of the public schools, and one-half to the informer. In 1760 this law was modified, so that the donative should not exceed ninety-six lbs. of tobacco, or about four dollars of the money of the present time.

In 1722, by an Act entitled "An Act for preventing the destroying the boundaries or bounded trees, etc." a penalty of 5,000 lbs. of tobacco was laid upon all such persons as should violate the provisions which

are sufficiently set forth by the title of the law; one-half the fine to be paid for the support of the public schools, and the other to the informer.

In this rapid survey of the legislation whose secondary object was the formation of a fund and revenue for the support of public schools, we reach in chronological sequence, that act under which was founded the free school of Talbot County, namely, the act passed October 26, 1723, and entitled "An act for the encouragement of learning, and erecting schools in the several counties of this province." The preamble sets forth that

Whereas the preceding Assemblies for some years past, have had much at heart the absolute necessity they have lain under, in regard both to duty and interest, to make the best provision in their power for the liberal and pious education of the youth of this province, and improving the natural abilities and acuteness (which seems not to be inferior to any) so as to be fitted for the discharge of their duties in the several stations and employments they may be called to and employed in, either in regard to church or state, and for that end an imposition on sundry commodities exported out of, and others imported into this province, and other fines, for raising a fund for the erecting and supporting a good school in each county within this province, which has succeeded with such desired effect, that it is now thought necessary and it is prayed that it may be enacted,

that one school be erected in each county, at such place as may be selected by the visitors; that seven persons for each county be appointed and are hereby nominated, viz., for Talbot County:

THE REV. HENRY NICHOLLS,	MR. ROBERT GOLDSBOROUGH,
COL. MATTHEW TILGHMAN WARD,	MR. WILLIAM CLAYTON,
ROBERT UNGLE, Esq.,	MR. THOMAS BOZMAN,
MR. JOHN OLDHAM;	

that these visitors meet with all convenient speed; that they qualify themselves by taking the oaths prescribed by the Act of Assembly, signing the oath of abjuration, and the test, and an oath faithfully to discharge the trust committed to them; that the visitors constitute a body politic, with power to hold lands, tenements and other property and to dispose of the same, also to receive gifts, portions, annuities, etc., to the amount of one hundred pounds sterling per annum, for the use of the schools; that they have the power of perpetual succession; that they be authorized to make laws, orders and rules for the government of the schools; provided that they be in no wise contrary to the royal prerogative, nor the laws and statutes of England

and Acts of Assembly of this province, or the canons and constitution of the Church of England, by law established; that they be empowered to purchase lands to the extent of one hundred acres, and to erect the necessary school and farm buildings thereon; that they

be likewise directed to take all proper methods for the encouraging good school masters, that shall be members of the Church of England, and of pious and exemplary lives and conversations, and capable of teaching well the grammar, good writing and the mathematics, if such can conveniently be got, and they allow every such master for his encouragement, for the present (besides the benefit and use of this plantation) the sum of twenty pounds per annum, and take such other measures. . . . as may give due encouragement to one or more masters and be . . . perpetuating the school;

that they be required to meet four times a year; that the money which had accumulated in the Treasurer's hands should be divided into twelve equal parts, corresponding with the number of counties and the schools to be set up, and that the visitors of each school be authorized to draw from the Treasurer one such part to be applied to the uses of that school, and that thereafter as the funds should accumulate they should be allowed to draw each one-twelfth part annually; that the visitors be empowered to hold property, howsoever acquired, to the amount of fifteen hundred pounds, sterling: that they be required to choose a register, and keep an account of their proceedings, subject to an examination and correction by the General Assembly; and that, finally, if any person appointed visitor shall refuse to take upon him that office, he should be fined 500 lbs. of tobacco for the use of the school of that county in which the offense had been committed. This law was amended by an act of 1728, so that the board of visitors might supply the vacancies in its own body, caused by a person's refusal to serve; also so that as many children of the poor should be taught gratis, as the board of visitors should order.

It was under this law of 1723 that the Talbot County Free School was organized and here the account of this school might properly be introduced; but to make this review of the laws relating to the fund for the support of public schools complete, those passed subsequent to this date will be noted. In 1724, by an act for the limitation of officers' fees, etc., it was made penal for sheriffs to refuse to discount drafts on the tobacco held in their hands, or for making a charge for discounting such drafts, in the sum of 2,000 lbs. of tobacco, one-half of which went to the schools and one-half to the informer.

In 1725, "an Act to prevent several irregularities complained of by the people called Quakers," was passed, of which this is the preamble:

"Whereas it is humbly represented to this present General Assembly, by the persons called Quakers, that sundry persons set up booths, and sell drink and other things near their yearly meeting houses within this Province, whereby those places which were by them intended and used as places of solemn worship, are converted into places of traffick, debauchery and immorality, to their very great disturbance in the exercise of their religion and the worship of God." It was therefore enacted that "whosoever shall presume to set up a booth, or sell or dispose of any liquor or other matter or thing whatsoever, either by land or by water within one mile of the yearly meeting house of the said people called Quakers in Talbot county, or within two miles of their yearly meeting house near West river, in Anne Arundel county, during the time of such meetings shall forfeit and pay . . . ten pounds current money of Maryland, one-half to be applied to the use of the public school in that county where such offense shall be committed, the other half to him or them that shall sue for the same.

This law was modified by the act of 1747, extending the limits to three miles, within which liquors, etc., should not be sold. This act also recites other grievances of the Quakers, namely, the holding horse races near their meeting house in Talbot County, and the "tumultuous concourse of negroes," at the times of the yearly meetings at the places indicated. By this act the penalty for the offences noted, including horse racing, was fixed at five pounds currency, to be applied as in the act of 1747. This law was explained by the act of 1752, and several times extended, when about to expire by limitation, by other acts.

In the year 1729 "an Act for raising a duty of three pence per hogshead on all tobacco exported out of the province for the uses therein mentioned," appropriated one-half the revenue derived from this source to the uses of the Governor, and one-half to the use of the county schools. This law expired by limitation in 1732, was renewed and finally expired in 1739. In this same year, 1729, an additional and supplementary act to several previous acts for the "administration of justice in testamentary affairs, provided that balances of intestate estates, where there was no legal representatives, were to be paid over to the Visitors of the public schools; but if a legal representative should appear, these Visitors were required to refund the amount they had received."

By an act of 1730, entitled an "Act for the preservation of the breed of wild deer," it was provided that the penalty of 400 lbs. of tobacco should be paid for killing a wild deer between certain dates of the year,

the fine to be divided equally between the informant and the public schools.

In 1747 the towns of Princess Anne and Oxford, as other towns had been previously, were allowed by Act of Assembly to impose a fine of 100 lbs of tobacco upon any person permitting their geese or swine to go at large within their limits, one-half to go to the public schools and one-half to the informant. In the same year a penalty of £10 currency was laid upon any clerks or other persons who should remove any public records from the proper offices "between the hours of XI at night and VI in the morning," one-half the fine to go to the public schools, and one-half to the informant. The next year this law was modified so far as related to the removal of the records, but imposing a fine of 600 lbs. of tobacco upon any clerk who should absent himself from his office from 9 o'clock in the morning until sunset, to be divided as above related.

In 1763, an Act was passed imposing an additional duty of two pounds per poll on all negroes imported into the province. For violations of this law a penalty of ten pounds, currency of Maryland, was imposed upon the offender, one-half of which was paid to the informer and one-half to the visitors of the public school.

There were many other Acts of Assembly which were made in the interest of particular county schools, but inasmuch as this is not intended to be a complete history of education in the Province of Maryland, these have been omitted, as have all Acts of a post revolutionary date. None have been included in this review but such as relate to the schools of the province in general or to the Talbot County school in particular. A complete and full history of education in Maryland is yet a desideratum.

After this survey of the laws by which funds for the support of free schools were expected to be realized, it is now necessary to revert to that one under which the Talbot Free School, and all other schools of the same class within the province, except King William's School, were organized. It has been seen that under the Act of 1696 a provision was made for founding two schools, one for each of the divisions of Maryland, that for the Western Shore at Annapolis, and that for the Eastern Shore at Oxford. Without doubt the failure to establish the school at Oxford was owing to a deficiency of means, the imposts upon commodities, and the fines for offenses having failed to realize more than sufficient to maintain the school on the Severn. But by the year 1723 funds, in tobacco or money, had so far accumulated under the

various Acts of Assembly, already quoted, that the establishment and maintenance of a school in each county was considered feasible; and as has been shown, trustees or visitors were by this act nominated and appointed for each of the counties to carry into execution its provisions. Those for Talbot have already been named. It does not appear that for several years anything more was accomplished by these gentlemen than the taking the necessary preliminary steps towards the purchase of a farm upon which to locate the school. The place was left to the selection of the visitors, with this legal proviso only, that it should be near the center of the county. The board of visitors selected as satisfying these conditions and others prescribed by the nature of the institution, a parcel of land lying between the waters of Third Haven and Saint Michaels Rivers, at a point where they very nearly approach, very near the center of the county, on the main road leading from the lower part of the county, called Bayside, to Talbot Court House, now called Easton. This land is now a part of the farm owned by Joseph R. Price, Esq., and was once the residence of Col. William Hayward. It is a part of a large tract called Tilghman's Fortune, patented by a Capt. Sam'l Tilghman, and lay not far from the house where the first Quaker meeting house erected in Talbot County was built. The following is an abstract of the deed of this property:

This Indenture made this twenty-seventh day of February, in the year of our Lord God, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven (1727-8) between John Sutton of Talbot county in the Province of Maryland, cooper, and Sophia, his wife, of the one part and Henry Nichols, James Hollyday, Michael Howard, Robt. Goldsborough, William Clayton, Thomas Bozman and John Oldham, of the same county and province, Visitors of a school founded and hereafter to be erected in the same county, of the other part, Witnesseth: that the said John Sutton, and Sophia, his wife, for and in consideration of the sum of Fifty-two pounds current money of Maryland, to them in hand paid before the executing of these presents, . . . have granted bargained and sold, alienated enfeoffed and confirmed to the said H. N., J. H., M. H., R. G., W. C., T. B., and J. O., and their successors to the use of the same school, a certain parcel of land, part of a greater tract of land called Tilghman's Fortune, situate, lying and being in Talbot county aforesaid, between Saint Michaels river, and Third Haven creek, and near a cove called Betty's Cove: beginning &c., &c., . . . and containing one hundred acres of land, together with all edifices, buildings, &c.

This deed was certified before George Robins and Rezdon Bozman, two of the Justices of the Peace, or Judges of Talbot County court.

Upon the farm thus purchased the visitors erected such buildings as were necessary, regard being had, to the boarding of a part of the pupils as enjoined by law. Of the organization of the school under such "rules and orders" as the visitors prescribed for the government of "the Master, the Usher, the Tutor and the Scholars" nothing is known. That the school was intended to be something more than a primary or elementary school is clear from the curriculum laid down in the Act of Assembly, namely, "Grammar, good writing, and Mathematics." From the preamble to the Act of Assembly of 1782 authorizing the establishment of Washington College upon the foundation of the Kent County School, it is clear that this school had departed from the original plan in regard to the course of study as laid down in the Act of 1723, and that it had become an academy of high order, in which the Latin and Greek languages were taught. It is altogether probable the other county public schools had made similar changes and progress by the introduction of the same studies, and such others as are usually associated with them in the advanced education of youth. It is not likely that the Talbot school was of lower grade than the Kent school, in its latter years at least. In selecting a competent teacher, no doubt the visitors encountered the difficulty suggested by the phraseology of the law, "if such can conveniently be got." This difficulty was a common and a lasting one in the province. It cannot be said that it has disappeared even to the present day, notwithstanding the number of professional schools for the training of teachers, and the better pay that is extended to them. But there is good ground for believing that the Talbot county free school was better supplied with good teachers than the private subscription schools which were often filled by indentured servants, and even convicted criminals,⁹ from the custom of employing the curates and readers of the parishes of St. Michaels and St. Peter's as masters of this school. The vestry records indicate as much, for the mastership is occasionally offered as additional inducements to educated men to accept the curacy in one or the other of these parishes. The names of but two teachers have reached us. Mr. George Rule is commemorated in our records for his skill and excellence, but Mr. George Ewings for his rascality. The following advertisement from the old *Maryland Gazette* of Aug. 16, 1745, pillories the latter:

⁹ Bampfylde Moore Carew, the King of the Beggars, as he was called, came to Talbot as one of these unwilling immigrants, and the Captain of the ship that brought him over, recommended him to a planter of Bayside as "a great scholar * * * and an excellent school master."

Ran away from Talbot county school on Monday the 5th day of this instant August, George Ewings, the master of the same school, who took away with him a negro man, named Nero, and two geldings, the one of a grey and the other of a black color, the property of the Visitors of the same school. The said Ewings is an Irishman, of a middle stature and thin visage, is marked with the small pox and has the brogue upon his tongue. Whoever apprehends the said Ewings, negro and geldings, so that they may be had again, shall receive five pounds, current money of Maryland, as a reward, paid by the Visitors of the said school. Signed per order,

WILL. GOLDSBOROUGH.

Aug. 7th, 1745.

The salary paid to the teachers was twenty pounds (or fifty-three dollars and thirty-three cents of the money of the present time) and the use of the school farm—an insignificant sum, but doubtless regarded then as really munificent. It is probable the master was allowed to charge a tuition fee for instructing those able to pay, but was required to receive as many charity pupils as the visitors should designate. There is nothing in the law indicating that this was anything but a free school, but previous laws upon which this was based show that there was a charge for instruction, except in the cases named: and the fact that provision was required by the law of 1723 to be made for boarders may be interpreted as meaning the school was not absolutely free.

The school seems to have prospered for a long series of years, and was "looked upon as the most frequented in the Province," to use the words of an advertisement, presently to be quoted. It would seem that in the year 1764 the school had been for a considerable time under an excellent master, believed to have been Mr. George Rule, and that increased accommodations had become necessary. The Visitors had also become involved in debt which they were unable to discharge from their ordinary revenue. They, therefore, resolved to resort to a very common expedient of the time for raising money, and issued the following:

SCHEME FOR A LOTTERY

FOR THE USE OF THE TALBOT COUNTY SCHOOL.

There being necessity for making considerable repairs to the buildings of this school, and also some additions thereto for the Master's convenience, and the funds appropriate to its use being already charged with a heavy debt, the visitors, unprovided with any other means, take leave to propose the method of Lottery to raise the sum of three hundred and sixty pounds for answering the purpose above mentioned.

This school through the abilities and extraordinary assiduity of the

present master has for many years, even under great disadvantages, been looked upon as perhaps the best and most frequented in the Province; and should this scheme succeed, and the buildings rendered more commodious by having the school well fitted for the reception of boarders it might become yet more extensively useful than it has hitherto been.

Instruction or right education is universally confessed to be one of the greatest advantages in life. It is the best and truest improvement of our rational faculties; and those useful arts and sciences by which the condition of man has been rendered more happy and commodious are in a great measure owing to it. It purges off the dross of slavery and superstition and bears a friendly aspect on liberty and the social interests of mankind.

Solicitous to secure this noble advantage, and actuated entirely by sentiments of tenderness and regard for the rising generation, the Visitors flatter themselves that every lover of his country and friend of mankind will warmly promote a lottery so laudable in its intention and countenance with his favour and indulgence this nursery of school learning.

[Here follows the scheme, which had 706 prizes and 894 blanks, making 1600 tickets, which at \$4 each, was expected to realize \$6,400; all of which were divided among the prize holders. The profit to the school was derived from a deduction of 15 per centum from the prizes, before being paid, which would be \$960 or £360 Maryland currency.]

This scheme is apparently more promising to the adventurer than any hitherto offered, there being not many more blanks than prizes, and the deduction of only 15 per cent., and as the visitors have been much encouraged to propose this lottery, they have reason to hope it will speedily be drawn.

THE REV. JOHN GORDON	}	Visitors
MESSIEURS JACOB HINDMAN		
MATTHEW TILGHMAN		
JONATHAN NICOLS		
HENRY HOLLYDAY		
and Mr. WILLIAM NICOLS,		

who are appointed managers, will give bond and be on oath for the faithful execution of the trust.

The drawing to begin as soon as the tickets are sold, at Talbot Court House, in the presence of a majority of the managers and such of the adventurers as choose to attend, of which the public shall have timely notice, in the *Maryland Gazette*, and a list of the prizes shall also be published, immediately after the drawing.

All prizes not demanded within six months after publication will be deemed a generous benevolence to the school and applied accordingly.

Tickets may be had of any of the members. All money now in circulation will be received for tickets and paid in discharge of the prizes.

A subsequent announcement states that the lottery would soon be drawn, as the tickets were nearly all sold, and that Mr. Thomas Goldsborough's name had been added to the list of Managers. But the files of the old paper from which the above advertisement has been taken, give no information whether the lottery was actually drawn, though it is reasonable to presume it was. This case of the adoption of a method of raising money which would receive, at the present day, the condemnation of moralists, indeed of statesmen, and of its sanction by so excellent a man as the rector of St. Michaels parish, Mr. John Gordon, one of whose functions it was to determine for his flock the moral quality of actions, in as much as it indicates that the standards of right and wrong are not immutable, but vary from age to age, may serve to settle, in some appreciable degree, a fundamental question in ethical philosophy.

From this time onward, until its extinction, no record whatever, however slight, of this school has been discovered. How long it flourished and when it ceased to exist is unknown. It is believed, upon tradition merely, that it continued in successful operation up to the time of outbreak of the American revolution, when its revenues having been withdrawn to supply the exigencies of the state during the war, and private patronage during the troubles not being sufficient for its maintenance, its doors were closed. One fact is known, that before public affairs had become thoroughly settled and new provisions could be made for its support, the buildings upon the farm were destroyed by fire, and they never were replaced. There was less solicitude for its reestablishment from the fact that the Rev. Dr. Bowie, a clergyman who had settled in Talbot during the Revolution, having been deprived of his parish in Somerset county on account of his tory principles, had set up an excellent school near Easton, which in a measure supplied the loss of the Talbot Free School. Besides, it is proper to note, that after the war of the revolution, which produced not only a change in political relations and methods, but in habits of thought and courses of action, a subject which has not been sufficiently dwelt upon by historians, popular interest in public education was directed towards the establishment of schools of a higher order than had existed under the provincial régime. Academies and colleges absorbed the attention of our legislators, who doubtless reflected the sentiments of those they represented. Elementary education received no assistance from the public treasury but was left to be maintained by private patronage. It should be said, also, that the free schools in many of the counties

had not been as successful as that established in Talbot. Accordingly it is found that after the Revolution in a number of cases adjoining counties united their funds and established union schools, or academies, and these for years were among the best in the State. In other cases the free school property was handed over to boards of trustees who had no relation to the State or county governments, and they founded excellent schools. In yet other cases, the school property passed into the hands of the trustees of the poor, and thus was diverted entirely from its original use and purpose. The school property of Talbot had a different destiny.

In the year 1782 by an Act of Assembly the visitors of Kent county school which was then exceedingly prosperous, having one hundred and forty pupils, were authorized and empowered "to erect the said school into a college or seminary of universal learning." One of the provisions of this act was that "if the visitors of any county school on the Eastern shore, for the more effectual advancement of useful knowledge and the better promoting the good purposes for which such county schools were originally founded shall be desirous to engraft and consolidate the funds and estate of such county school, or any parts of the same, with the funds and estate of the said intended college" they should be allowed to do so, and be entitled to appoint one member of the board of visitors of the college "for every five hundred pounds which any such county schools shall contribute towards founding and supporting the said college;" or they might have "any other privileges and advantages in respect to the education of the youth of such county in the college" as might be fixed and agreed upon, in consideration of this sum of five hundred pounds "or any sum or estate of greater or less value which they might contribute." The college then and thus organized was what became and is known as Washington college, at Chestertown. For the support of this school, beside State endowments and donations, the fines and forfeitures which formerly went to the county schools, were set apart. In the year 1784 a similar Act of Assembly authorized the conversion of King William's school in Annapolis into a college, which was and is known as St. John's College, and these two institutions, the one for the Eastern and the other for the Western Shore, constituted the University of Maryland. Of these schools it is unnecessary to say more in this connection.

In the year of the organization of Washington college, namely 1782, an Act entitled "an Act to enable the Visitors of Talbot county school" was passed, of which the following is the preamble:

Whereas, it has been represented to this General Assembly by the Visitors of Talbot county school, that the school house belonging thereto hath, by unavoidable accident, been burnt down and consumed by fire, whereby the said county is deprived of any public school or seminary of learning; and the said Visitors being desirous of promoting useful knowledge and fulfilling the good purposes for which the county schools were originally founded, are willing to engraft and consolidate the estate of Talbot county school aforesaid with the funds and estate of Washington College, after paying the debts that are justly bona fide due and owing from the said school, therefore be it enacted, &c.

This law authorizes the visitors to sell the property at public sale to the highest bidder, and to pay off all debts against the school, according to the tenor of the petition presented: but there is no provision made for the disposition of the remainder of the money received from the sale. This seems to have been left to the discretion of the board of Visitors. This board was composed of these gentlemen, all of whom were residents of St. Michaels parish:

The REV. MR. JOHN GORDON,
MR. JOHN BRACCO,
MR. WILLIAM HAYWARD,
MR. WILLIAM HINDMAN,
MR. WILLIAM PERRY,
MR. ROB'T GOLDSBOROUGH.

Having on the 12th of February, 1783, made due advertisement of the intended sale of the property it was, on the 1st of April of that year offered at public vendue, and the hundred acres of land were purchased by Mr. John Stevens for the sum of four hundred and eighty-five pounds "current real money." On the first of October a deed was executed by the Visitors to him, he having paid or secured the payment, of the sum mentioned. A few days after Mr. Stevens resold the property to Mr. James Lloyd Chamberlaine for the same that he had given. Among the records of this county there is note of the disposition of the money received from the sale of the school property; but a report was presented to the General Assembly of the State by the Rev. Dr. William Smith, the first President of Washington College of the subscriptions and donations that had been made for its endowment. In this report the names of several citizens of Talbot are given as benefactors of the school, and the amounts bestowed. In addition to these it is noted that the Visitors and Governors had received from the Visitors of Talbot County Free School the sum of four hundred pounds. The subscriptions thus made entitled Talbot, according to the act of incor-

poration, to a representation in the board of Visitors and Governors of the college, and accordingly Mr. Robt. Goldsborough and Mr. William Perry were appointed as members from this county. From that time to the present, the visitors and governors have continued to elect some gentleman known for his friendliness to public education from Talbot to a seat whenever a vacancy has occurred in their body. It is to be regretted that the honor of representing the county in the oldest college of the State, and the only one upon the Eastern Shore, has not been sufficiently appreciated—so little so, indeed, that few in the county know that it enjoys the privilege of such representation. This respectable position is now held by Hon. Samuel Hambleton. The rights which the county enjoys of sending two pupils to Washington college free of all charge are not founded upon the benefactions of private citizens and of the Visitors of the Talbot Free School, above noticed, but upon endowments and appropriations by the State.

The Board of Visitors having therefore conformed in all particulars to the law—sold the property, paid off all debts binding upon it, and transferred the remainder of the proceeds of the sale to the institution designated as the residuary recipient—became *functus officio*, and thus the Talbot Free School closed forever its organic, as it had years before ended its functional existence.

The people of this county have long cherished their public schools as their most valued privilege and right. They have shown themselves, from time to time, ready to adopt any system of administering them which promised to promote their greater efficiency, however and by whomsoever framed. They have ever been jealous of any attempt to impair or restrict their usefulness. No public burden have they so cheerfully borne as that imposed for the maintenance of public instruction; and there is no private sacrifice they so willingly make as that by which an education, for the common uses of life at least, is secured to their children. How far the growth of these most creditable sentiments is attributable to that school which for more than half a century flourished in their midst, and of which an account has just been given, it would be impossible to determine: but that it had much to do with preparing the popular mind for the adoption of those systems of education which forty or fifty years later were received by Talbot with so much glad earnestness, when other counties which had no such preparation rejected them, and for the reception of that wiser and more comprehensive system which at the epoch of universal freedom inaugurated the era of general education in every portion and among all classes of the people, no one can doubt.

THE CHARITY WORKING SCHOOL OF PARSON BACON.

In a paper published in the *Easton Star* of December last, on the "Poor House," it was stated that a portion of the building now used for this public charity was erected for a manual labor school for poor boys. It is now proposed to give as full an account of this school as the imperfect records now extant will permit. A proper introduction to this account would be a survey of the life of the very able and useful man who was the founder and chief patron of the school, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bacon. But this pleasant task will be for the time deferred, it being sufficient for the present purposes to say that this pious and learned man came to this county, from the Isle of Man, in or about the year 1745, and settling at Oxford, first became curate to the Rev. Daniel Manadier, then far advanced in years, and after the death of that worthy clergyman in 1746, the rector of St. Peter's parish, within whose bounds the school of which an account is now about to be given was, by his labors, erected.

The schools which Mr. Bacon found in Talbot, with one exception presently to be noticed, were of the most primitive character, being but little above the Hedge schools of Ireland, or the Dame schools of England in the slenderness of the instruction they imparted, and below these simple institutions in the character of the teachers, who were, in too many cases, indentured servants, or even transported convicts. But these schools, such as they were, were closed to the poor, for they were supported by subscription among the planters, who, if they admitted the children of their less fortunate neighbors to share in their meagre and perhaps doubtful benefits, it was done as an act of grace which the pride of poverty was not always ready to accept. There were no parochial schools in the county, and if any of the clergy consented to teach, it was an extra duty, for which he had to be compensated by tuition fees. But there was at the time of his settlement here, one school in the county which was technically a free school, though there is ground for the belief that it was free only in name, a small number of poor children being admitted without charge, but the greatest part of the pupils being required to pay a tuition fee. This school had been founded under the law of 1723 providing for the establishment of a free school in each of the counties in the province. Under a previous law, which, however, never became operative, Oxford had been designated as a suitable place for one of the two schools to be established, the other to be at Annapolis. But the law of 1723 providing for the establishment of free schools in all the counties required them to be placed as near the

centre of the several counties as possible; so the one for Talbot was placed on a tract of one hundred acres of land, part of what was called in the original patent "Tilghman's Fortune," taken up before the organization of the county by Capt. Samuel Tilghman, of the "Golden Fortune." This hundred acres lay about three miles from Easton, on or near the Bay Side road, at a place where the waters of Third Haven and St. Michaels rivers approximate, and upon Betty's Cove. This school house lot makes a part of the farm now owned by Mr. Joseph R. Price. Occasion will be taken, hereafter, to give an account of this school. When Mr. Bacon came into Talbot this Talbot charity school was in operation, but it was so remote from his section of the county as to be practically useless to the poor of the greater part of his parish. To provide means of instructing the poor, he soon after his induction formed a plan for a school, which should be supported by the private bounty of his parishioners, and others whom he hoped to interest in his project. Any assistance from the public funds was out of the question, for all moneys that might be appropriated by the province were expected to go to the support of the county free school, above mentioned.

In the year 1750 having sufficiently matured his plans, he set himself earnestly at work for their accomplishment. He caused to be circulated throughout the province, indeed beyond its limits, the following papers asking the assistance of the charitable in the furtherance of his humane scheme. They were also published in the only newspaper of the Province, from the files of which in the State library at Annapolis they have been obtained:

THE SUBSCRIPTION ROLL

MARYLAND, 14th JULY, 1750

Whereas, profaneness and debauchery, idleness and immorality, are greatly owing to a gross ignorance of the Christian religion, especially among the poorer sort, in this Province; and whereas nothing is more likely to promote the practice of Christianity and virtue than an early and pious education of youth; and whereas many poor people are very desirous of having their children taught, but are not able to afford them a Christian and useful education: We whose names are underwritten do hereby promise and agree to pay yearly (during pleasure) the several sums of money or tobacco, over against our names respectively subscribed, for the setting up a Charity School in the parish of Saint Peter, in Talbot county, for maintaining and teaching poor children to read write and account, and instructing them in the knowledge and practice of the Christian religion, as professed and

taught in the Church of England, and such other things as are suitable to their condition and capacity, according to the general plan and rules hereunto annexed.

To this subscription roll was appended the following:

A general *plan* or *scheme* for setting up and supporting a *Charity School* in the Parish of *St. Peter's* in Talbot county, for the maintenance and education of *Orphans* and other poor children.

I. That a Master duly qualified shall be procured from England, to be recommended and approved of by one of the religious societies, who shall be obliged to teach so many poor children as shall be determined by the Trustees; and shall also instruct a certain number of negro children, if thereunto required by the Trustees.

II. That besides the annual subscriptions and casual benefactions, application be made to the vestry to appropriate the money collected at the offertory on Sacrament Sundays to the use of the said school: and also that one or more charity sermons be preached every year, and collections made thereat, for the better support of the said school.

III. That the number of poor children whether boys or girls shall be determined by the Trustees, according to the produce of the benefactions: a smaller number at first, which may be increased, as it shall please God to increase the abilities or fund of the Trustees.

IV. That the poor children shall be taught to read, write and account, and be instructed in the knowledge and practice of the Christian religion as professed and taught in the Church of England; together with such other things as are suitable to their condition and capacity; and be supplied, during their continuance in the school, with all necessaries of life proper to their state.

V. That to their learning shall be added such labor as they are capable of, that they may be inured to industry, as well as trained up in the principles of Piety and Virtue, at a time when their tender minds may be supposed the most susceptible of good impressions, and least tinctured with the prevailing indolence and vices of the country in general.

VI. That after such a course of exercise and instruction as may be necessary they shall be put out to services or apprenticeships, as may seem best to the Trustees, for the credit of the establishment, and good of the children, as well as that of the country in general.

VII. That if it shall please God so to bless the endeavors of the Trustees as to enable them to set up some useful manufacture, they shall lay themselves out in that way, and strive to make the produce of the children's labor contribute towards their support or better encouragement, as circumstances may require.

VIII. That such negro children as shall be sent by order of the Trustees to the said school, shall be taught to read and write, and introduced to the knowledge and fear of the Lord, gratis; but maintained at the expense of their respective owners.

Rules referred to in the Subscription Roll, relating to the Subscribers, Trustees, etc., for the government and support of said School; and for regulating other matters concerning the care and management thereof.

I. That the present annual subscription shall be deemed to commence from the day of the date of the subscription roll, and the payments to be made accordingly.

II. That at the end of each year any subscriber may withdraw his or her subscription for the time to come by signifying the same in writing, under his or her hand, to the Trustees and Treasurer, for the time being, three months before the expiration of the year. When no such notice is given, such persons to be deemed subscribers for the same rate of value for the following year, and payment to be made accordingly.

III. That there shall be a general meeting of the subscribers, on Saturday 29th September 1750, at the Parish Church of St. Peter's in Talbot county at the hour of XII; when six Trustees and a Treasurer shall be chosen by a majority of the subscribers then present, who with the Rector of the said parish for the time being shall have the immediate care and government of the said school, and shall report the state and condition of the same at the Quarterly or other general meetings of the subscribers.

IV. That no person shall be qualified to be chosen a Trustee or Treasurer for the said Charity school who does not at least subscribe five pounds current money of this Province, per annum, toward the support of said school.

V. That at the first general meeting of the subscribers, on the 29th of Sept., 1750, shall be settled the times and manner of the future general meetings, and such other regulations agreed upon as shall be deemed the standing rules and orders for the government and management of the said Charity school.

VI. That if there shall happen to be any money in stock at the entrance of the Treasurer in office, or that there be a considerable subscription to be received, the Treasurer shall give his bond to four or more of the subscribers, to lay out the same as the Trustees shall order; but more especially that in case of his death the money so received and not expended, may be answered to the school.

VII. That the Treasurer shall keep a fair account of all the receipts and disbursements for the view of the subscribers and others who may desire to know how the money is disposed of.

VIII. That the Treasurer shall bring in his accounts once or oftener in a year; if required, to be examined and audited by the Trustees, or persons appointed for that purpose.

IX. That on Easter Monday in each year there shall be chosen a Treasurer and six Trustees, by the majority of the subscribers then present; nor shall any Treasurer or Trustee continue in his office above one year, unless re-elected by the majority aforesaid.

X. That every person subscribing Five pounds currency *per annum*, or upwards, shall have a right to name a child to enjoy the benefit of the school, such child appearing to the Trustees to be a fit object for it. The largest subscriber to have the first nomination, and the rest in order, according to the value of their annual subscriptions. Those of equal value to cast lots for their choice or nomination, and afterwards children to be presented by them in their turns as settled by the said lot.

Before proceeding further in this account of the school it may be well to call attention to that provision of the plan that regards the education of colored children. This enlightened man, it will be seen, was anticipating by more than one hundred years that work which we have but lately commenced. It is proper to say, in this connection, that this attempt to ameliorate the condition of these people was but one act of his benevolence to them, but one evidence of his sympathy for them among many. He delivered sermons at his church to them, regularly, and some of these have been published. He delivered other sermons to their masters and mistresses upon their duties to their slaves. These two were printed and have been reprinted. His name should be ever held in grateful memory, by the colored people of Talbot.

The first assistance of which there is any record in carrying out the project of Mr. Bacon was derived as was natural from his own parish. Among the vestry proceedings of St. Peter's Parish for July 3, 1750, (Record Book, p. 272) may be found the following minute:

They [the vestry] agree that what money is now in stock of the collection money or what shall hereafter be collected at the offertory, shall be applied towards the support of a charity school in this parish.

It will be perceived this action of the vestry antedated the issuance of "the subscription roll." It therefore not only was a pledge of pecuniary support, but a sanction and confirmation of Mr. Bacon's purpose. He, from this time, was active in securing private or individual pledges. He did not confine himself to his own immediate parish or county but he extended his solicitations for aid into all parts of the province, and even to England itself. In the sequel it will be seen that citizens of the sister commonwealth of Virginia gave him assistance. He appears to have had immediate and substantial encouragement to prosecute his beneficent work. Gentlemen of almost every county on this Shore, and of several counties on the Western, and some of the mother country itself, recorded their annual subscriptions or their

direct benefactions. Flattered by this success he felt justified in calling a meeting of the subscribers for the purpose of due organization. This meeting was accordingly held in the parish church—then, as now, called, “White Marsh”—on the 29th of September, 1750, and on this occasion Mr. Bacon had the pleasure of reporting annual subscriptions amounting to 284 dollars, and donations amounting to 164 dollars.

At this meeting a board of Trustees and a Treasurer were elected. The gentlemen who consented to assume the duties of these offices were men of the first respectability and influence in the county. Their names will appear in the sequel.¹⁰ On the 14th of October, in accord-

¹⁰ The following list of the names of the annual Subscribers and Benefactors, with the sum affixed which they severally bestowed, is still extant. Its date is not precisely known, but it was of about Oct. 1st, 1750.

SUBSCRIPTIONS:

	£	s	d
IN TALBOT COUNTY			
Rev. Thomas Bacon.....	5	0	0
William Goldsborough.....	5	0	0
John Goldsborough.....	5	0	0
James Dickinson.....	5	0	0
Robert Goldsborough.....	5	0	0
Henry Callister.....	5	0	0
Rev. John Gordon.....	5	0	0
Dr. Mitchell Hackett.....	5	0	0
Jno. Hanmer.....	5	0	0
Matthew Tilghman.....	5	0	0
Hon. Saml. Chamberlaine.....	4	1	0
Saml. Bowman.....	3	0	0
Jere Nichols.....	3	0	0
Tristram Thomas.....	2	10	0
Peter Denny.....	2	0	0
Dr. Edward Knott.....	2	0	0
Daniel Manadier.....	1	10	0
Capt. Richd. Bruff.....	1	0	0
Thomas Bruff.....	1	0	0
Will. Thomas (sheriff).....	1	10	0
Peter Comerford.....	1	0	0
Thomas Barnett.....	1	0	0
Will. Nichols.....	1	0	0
Jacob Bromwell.....	1	0	0
Will. Mullikin.....	1	0	0
William Martin.....	1	10	0
IN QUEEN ANNE'S COUNTY			
Robert Lloyd.....	5	0	0
Henry Cassan.....	3	0	0

ance with his published plan, Mr. Bacon preached the first of his charity sermons at the parish church for the benefit of the school. This sermon at the request of the vestry, was subsequently printed in London, in a pamphlet of twenty-eight quarto pages, and it is the same that is referred to in the article from the *Maryland Gazette* which follows, and in the letter of Bishop Wilson, to whom the manuscript was sent for publication. This sermon is still extant, but not within the reach of the writer of this contribution.

Before a year had elapsed, from the date of Mr. Bacon's circular, the project had been so favorably received, and had met with such substantial encouragement both at home and abroad, he was prepared to announce publicly that there was no longer doubt of its accomplishment.

	£	s	d
IN KENT COUNTY			
James Nichols.....	1	10	0
IN DORCHESTER COUNTY			
Henry Ennalls.....	3	0	0
John Gaile.....	3	0	0
Will. Fishwick.....	2	0	0
IN SOMERSET COUNTY			
Capt. Henry Lowes (or Lewis).....	5	0	0
IN WORCESTER COUNTY			
James Mien (?).....	2	0	0
William Allen.....	1	0	0
IN BALTIMORE COUNTY			
Rev. Andrew Lendram (?).....	2	10	0
IN ANNAPOLIS			
Dr. Alex. Hamilton.....	2	0	0
IN LIVERPOOL			
Capt. Edward Barnes.....	1	10	0
BENEFACTIONS			
Mr. Jacob Hindman.....	0	6	0
Capt. Jno. Coward.....	1	0	0
James Edge (Talbot).....	1	0	0
Henry Lewis (Talbot).....	0	10	0
Levin Gale.....	1	6	0
Tabman Lowes or Lewis (Talbot).....	1	0	0
Capt. James Williams (Somerset).....	2	10	0
Mr. Potts (Dorchester).....	1	0	0
Rev. Mr. Glasgow (Worcester).....	1	10	0
Rev. Jno. Hamilton (Dissenter).....	2	7	0

For this list of subscribers, and for much else in this paper, the compiler is indebted to the inedited "History of the Parishes of Maryland," by the Rev. Dr. Ethan Allen, lately deceased.

In the *Maryland Gazette* for June 12th, 1751, the following communication may be found, which although not signed was almost certainly from his pen:

The proposal for erecting a Charity school in St. Peter's parish, Talbot county, meets with vast encouragement, not only in this Province, where many worthy gentlemen and ladies have generously contributed towards it, but in England where upwards of £100 sterling have been collected by the pious care and application of the Reverend Dr. Wilson,¹¹ sub-almoner to his majesty, and the Reverend Stephen Hales, who are considerable benefactors to this excellent design.

The plan has already been published in this paper, No. 282, and is reprinted, together with an account of the subscriptions and benefactions to 30th, Oct. last, at the end of a sermon preached on the occasion by the Reverend Thomas Bacon, rector of St. Peter's parish, and is to be sold for the benefit of the intended school, of which public notice will be given in this paper, and where they may be had. [No such notice was given, as far as could be discovered.]

[Here follows a paragraph of thanks to donors, and an invitation to others to imitate them. This need not be copied.]

It may be proper to observe that the sums already subscribed and given, are too considerable to admit the least doubt of a failure in the execution of this good design; and the trustees are of such unexceptionable fortunes and characters that the benefactors may depend on the due application of their charities in the best and most prudent manner.

The Trustees are:

MR. WILLIAM GOLDSBOROUGH,	THE REV. MR. JOHN GORDON
MR. JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH,	MR. ROBT. GOLDSBOROUGH
MR. MATTHEW TILGHMAN,	MR. ROBT. LLOYD.

And the Treasurer is:

MR. JAMES DICKINSON, of Dover, on Choptank, Merchant.

An annual account will be published of the benefactions and progress of this charitable scheme, in which every subscriber or contributor will see the application of his pious contributions.

The scholars are to be employed in useful labor and inured to early industry, as well as taught to read, write and account; and are to be supplied with clothing, lodging, diet, and all the necessaries of life, during their continuance in the school, and afterwards are to be put out to apprenticeships, or service, as may best conduce to their own benefit and the good of the Province.

This article, evidently written by Mr. Bacon, concludes with an invocation of the divine blessing upon the scheme, and other pious expressions, which need not be copied, as they contain no important information of the school.

¹¹ This was good Bishop Wilson, of Sodor and Man, who ordained Mr. Bacon. Of Mr. Hales, it is regretted, nothing is known.

Although an organization has been effected, it was not deemed prudent to attempt the establishment of the school until further contributions to the fund and annual subscriptions had been obtained. During the years 1751 and 1752 Mr. Bacon devoted himself earnestly to the work of securing a proper endowment. He not only succeeded in enlisting the people of Maryland in his benevolent enterprise but those of Virginia also. In the *Maryland Gazette* of June 11, 1752, he publishes a list of the contributors residing in that province, and at the conclusion of his card of thanks he adds "To the gentlemen and ladies who attended a concert of Music in the College Hall, for the benefit of the School, for 23 pistoles and a half." It would thus seem that the citizens of Williamsburg, Va., the seat of William and Mary College, had become sufficiently interested in the scheme to aid Mrs. Bacon's efforts to realize funds. It is not at all unlikely Mr. Bacon was one of the performers at this concert, for he is known to have been an accomplished musician, playing expertly upon the violin and violincello. He was also a composer of music. A concert was held in October of the same year at Upper Marlborough, in Prince George's county, Maryland, for the same purpose. It may be well enough to say here, that in the *Maryland Gazette*, of Dec. 19th, 1754, Mr. Bacon published a second list of contributors from the province of Virginia. It is to be regretted that no list of subscribers of Maryland, other than that given above, has been preserved.

On the 23rd of August, 1752, Mr. Bacon delivered another sermon in his church in behalf of the school, which also was published. It was dedicated to Lord Baltimore. A copy of the sermon and of the plan and rules for the organization of the school, with a letter dated Dec. 23rd, from the author, was sent to the Proprietary. A letter with like accompanying documents, was also sent to his Lordship's sec'y the Hon. Cæcilius Calvert. These resulted most advantageously to Mr. Bacon. At a meeting of the clergy of the province at Annapolis, in August, 1753, upon which he was attending, he received from Gov. Sharpe, who had just arrived from England, through Mr. Ridout his secretary, the following communication:

His Lordship desires his best compliments to the Rev'd Thomas Bacon, Rector of the Parish of Saint Peter's, in Talbot County, and desires he may be assured that his Lordship will ere long send a testimony of his approbation and real good will by money for setting up and carrying the plan of the Charity working school to be set up in St. Peter's parish, into execution with respect to his and the trustees

pious and charitable designs; with this proviso that the master which is intended to be sent from England be appointed by the Lord Proprietary; and that the future master of the said school for the time being, if sent from England, be first approved of by the Lord Proprietary or his heirs, and if an inhabitant of Maryland, be first approved by the Lord Proprietary's Lieut. Governor or Commander in Chief, then for the time being; and that such master be also removable on misbehavior by such Lieut. Governor or Commander in Chief. I desire you would acknowledge his Lordship's and Mr. Secretary Calvert's receipt of Mr. Bacon's letters to them dated 23rd Dec., 1752, copies of which acknowledgement will be sent to them.

Although the letter and the accompanying copies of the sermon and plans of the school were thus acknowledged through Governor Sharpe, the direct reply of the Lord Proprietary was not forwarded until Jan. 5, 1754, when the following letter from the Hon. Cæcilius Calvert, Secretary of Lord Baltimore, was despatched:

SIR: I had not been so long deficient in the acknowledgment of your first¹² but by reason, the Governor was by my Lord advised in relation to your request, viz.: for the benefit of a Charity Working School, to be set up in the parish of St. Peters, Talbot county. The Lord Proprietor has directed me to inform you, he has perused and considered the general plan, with the proposals and rules relating to the school. The advantages that may arise from such a scheme give him happiness; the tendency being to promote religion and industry among his tenants under his government. And as a peculiar mark of his favor and protection, with the means to forward so pious, humane and public a benefit, he has given instruction to Mr. Edward Lloyd, his agent and receiver general to pay into the hands of the Treasurer of the school, by virtue of a note or order drawn on him, signed by the Trustees of the school elected, of which he desires you will inform them, viz.: the sum of one hundred guineas sterling as a free gift, to be laid out as you and the Trustees shall think most meet; and the sum of twenty pounds a year, together with five pounds a year from Lady Baltimore, making the sum of twenty-five pounds a year, to be paid by two equal, half yearly payments, to commence from date of instruction, and so to continue to be paid by the present agent, and all succeeding ones, unless his Lordship's heirs or assigns, as Proprietors, shall think fitting to signify to the contrary, with other reservations in reference to his Lordship's instructions to Mr. Edward Lloyd. Your request of the boys of the school called nominal Baltimore boys, and by the title of his Lordship, you have here his direction and leave to style them so, and as an

¹² The second was probably that which accompanied an address of the clergy of Maryland, drawn up at the meeting in Aug., 1753, Mr. B., was one of the committee appointed to prepare this address to the Lord Proprietary. He was also the secretary of the meeting.

additional token of his favor and approbation, he sends you his thanks for your obliging dedication and edifying sermon, preached on the occasion of the Charity School at St. Peters parish, 23rd Aug., 1752.

Your true friend and
Humble Servant,

CÆCILIUS CALVERT.

P.S. I have desired Mr. Lloyd, my Lord's agent, and Receiver General to pay annually five pounds sterling, for the benefit of the Charity School of St. Peters Parish, in Talbot county, in two equal half yearly payments, to commence from the date of his Lordship's instruction relative thereto; and to be paid to the elected Trustees by note or order, on my account, which I desire you will advise them of, and which, with pleasure, I desire their acceptance.¹³

Before this letter from Lord Baltimore had been received Mr. Bacon and the Trustees had made one other important step towards establishing the school. Encouraged by the handsome donations and subscriptions which had been made, they resolved upon the purchase of land, upon which the school should be located.

That it might be under Mr. Bacon's immediate and constant supervision, it was determined to place it near the parish church, and not remote from the residence of the rector, which at this time was at Dover, a town which has now now entirely disappeared but which, was near to the place yet known as Dover Ferry. Negotiations were opened with Mr. David Robinson, of Oxford Neck for the purchase of a tract of land lying upon the main road leading from the parish church to the port of Oxford, then the principal port of entry upon the Eastern Shore. The result of these negotiations was the purchase of one hundred and forty-three acres of land, made up of 70 acres of "Hull," 50 acres of "David's Folly," and 23 acres of "Part of Chance." The sum paid for this was one pound of the currency of Maryland per acre, or one hundred and forty-three pounds currency for the whole. This was said to be paid to Mr. Robinson by Mr. Bacon "out of the fund of money already received towards setting up and supporting a Charity School in the parish of St. Peter's in Talbot county aforesaid, for the maintenance

¹³ The Lord Baltimore who thus became the patron of Mr. Bacon's school, was Frederick, the seventh and last of the line. He affected letters, and was an author of several books. Their merit was not equal to their numbers. He was proud to be considered a patron of learning. His fortune was immense. His life was disreputable. His lady was Diana Egerton, daughter of the Duke of Bridgewater. Cæcilius Calvert was son of Benedict Leonard, fifth Lord Baltimore, and therefore the uncle of Frederick. He died without issue.—Morris' "Lord's Baltimore."

and education of orphans and other poor children." The deed was made "to Thomas Bacon, his heirs and assigns forever, in Trust, as aforesaid for the use and benefit of a Charity School intended to be set up, etc., etc, to the only proper use and behoof the same Charity school forever, and to no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever." The deed was acknowledged before Mr. John Goldsborough and Mr. William Thomas, two of the Justices of the Peace for the county, on the 13th of Feb. 1753.

Very soon after coming into possession of the land thus purchased. Mr. Bacon and the Trustees entered into a contract for the erection of a proper building for the use of the school. In the *Maryland Gazette* of April 12, 1753, may be found an advertisement of Mr. Bacon inviting "proposals to build a house for a Charity school, sufficient to accommodate twenty pupils." The phraseology of the advertisement is such as would seem to indicate the school had already at that date been lately opened. Other information however renders this interpretation doubtful. At what time precisely the erection of the building was commenced is not known, but it is certainly known that it was not completed and delivered over by the contractors to the Trustees until 1755.

The following extract from a letter of his old and constant friend, Bishop Wilson, of the Isle of Man, will serve to indicate the progress of the work, and be otherwise interesting as showing the solicitude of that worthy prelate for the success of the school, and especially for the welfare of the blacks, for whose advancement in civilization Mr. Bacon had shown himself laboriously earnest:

LONDON, Jan. 10, 1754.

* * * As for the school you will find the noble present of 100 guineas by L'd Baltimore, besides 20£ from myself, and 5£ from his Lady and 5£ from Mr. Calvert annually. So you see by God's good blessing the design flourishes beyond what you ever thought. Go on briskly. Get the house finished. Enlarge your views. Fear nothing. The reason why I do not print and publish the accounts that are to be annexed to your sermon was this: I thought they would come out with much more eclat and figure when the house was near finished, and when we could tell the world that Lord Baltimore was a patron of it. Furnish me therefore with every thing necessary for a proper appendix to your last sermon. We must not multiply things of this kind, for the printing of such long accounts are very expensive, and it had better be done when the school house is near finished. In the mean time you may publish how the design is going on in your paper. Nothing will please me more on this side the water than pushing on the school and making it a great thing. The 50£ for the instruction

of the negroes may certainly be laid out in the purchasing a boy and a girl, who may be taught, and make useful servants for the school, and it is ready for you.

These fifty pounds mentioned in Bishop Wilson's letter may have been the gift of the Bishop himself, or they may have been given by some of his wealthy friends upon his solicitation. His suggestion for the expenditure of this donation is certainly curious. The whole tone of this communication indicates that he had warmly espoused the cause of the school, and was laboring for its success.

Upon Mr. Bacon's arrival at Oxford in 1745 he was warmly welcomed by Mr. Henry Callister, a merchant at that port, and also a compatriot of his from the Isle of Man. He had become one of the trustees of the school. Mr. Callister subsequently moved to the Head of Wye. A volume of the correspondence of this gentleman has been preserved. In a note of Mr. Bacon to him, dated May 13th, 1755, which appears to have been one of form, he was invited to attend a meeting of the Trustees of the Charity Working School to be held on the Saturday following, for the purpose of receiving from the builder the house then completed, "to agree with a Master and House Keeper, and to settle the children at their habitation." This therefore may be regarded as the date of the opening of the school, for which Mr. Bacon had been laboring for four years most assiduously. His gratification on the success of those labors may readily be conceived. The building which was thus taken possession of and occupied, was built substantially of brick, two stories in height, with a frontage of — feet, and a depth of — feet. It is still standing, and constitutes the western part of the House which is used for the accommodation of the Poor. Of its transfer to the county authorities, an account will presently be given, in substance the same as that presented in the article mentioned at the beginning of this contribution.

From this time onward records are wanting of the operations of the school. Mr. Bacon in the year 1758 without, at first, resigning his rectorship of St. Peter's Parish, removed to Frederick county on the Western Shore, where he for a while acted as reader but afterwards was inducted as rector of All Saints' parish, which was considered the most valuable living in the Province. How long the school continued to be maintained is not known. It was certainly in operation in 1764 as in that year its mastership was offered as an inducement to a clergyman to become the Rector of the Parish, and thus unite the offices of priest and teacher, a not unusual one in the latter part of the past

century, in this county. It is supposed the troubles preceding and during the Revolutionary war, caused the withdrawal of the annual subscriptions, and occupied the minds of the patrons of the school to the exclusion of its interests; and that then the pupils were dismissed, and the teachers ended their labors in the Charity Working School of Talbot county forever.

Mr. Bacon after a life of great usefulness, but of much suffering, both bodily and mental, died in Frederick county, May 24th, 1768, some years, probably, before the dispersion of the school. It would seem there was no one having sufficient interest in the property to look after it, so it appears to have been taken possession of, with or without the consent of the surviving trustees, by private persons, who used it for a very considerable time for their own purposes and benefit, until it was disposed of for a public charity of another order. Under an Act of Assembly of the year 1786 the County of Talbot was authorized to buy land and erect buildings for the care of its poor. It was suggested that the property held in trust for the use of the Charity school might be obtained for that purpose. The legal title rested in the heirs of the Rev. Mr. Bacon. The two surviving members of the Board of Trustees of this school were the Hon. Matthew Tilghman and the Rev. John Gordon. These gentlemen took measures to have the title transferred by the heirs to them; and accordingly we find recorded among the land records of the county two deeds, bearing the dates of Jan. 21st and 28th of March, 1787, from Rachel Harwood and Mary Passapae, daughters and only surviving heirs of Mr. Bacon, conveying to the Hon. Matthew Tilghman and Rev. John Gordon, all their right, title and interest in the property purchased by their father in 1723, and held in trust by him for the Charity school. The interest of the husbands of these ladies, was at the same time transferred. The deed expresses that the transfer was made to Mr. Tilghman and Mr. Gordon in trust for the same charity school, but its unexpressed purpose was to enable them to make the property over to the Trustees of the Poor of Talbot county. At the April session of the General Assembly of 1789, a memorial dated Feb. 13th was presented by these gentlemen to this effect: Whereas Matthew Tilghman and John Gordon, trustees of the Charity School in Saint Peter's parish, in Talbot county represent

that by an instrument in writing, bearing date the 13th day of February, 1753 a certain David Robinson conveyed unto Thomas Bacon, in trust, for the use and benefit of a Charity school in Saint Peter's parish in Talbot county, all that part of a tract of land called Hull,

also all that tract or parcel of land called David's ly, and also all that part or tract of land called Chance, situate in Talbot county, as by reference to the said instrument of writing will more fully appear; and that by the death of the said Thomas Bacon, the trust aforesaid devolved to the co-heirs of the said Thomas Bacon, the one named Rachel, who has married Risdén Bozman Harwood, the other named Mary, who was married to Moses Passapæ; and that by an instrument of writing, the one bearing date the 21st day of January, 1787, the other the 28th of March, 1787, Risdén Bozman Harwood and Rachel his wife, and Moses Parapoe and Mary his wife, have conveyed in trust unto said memorialists the land mentioned in the above instrument of writing, and all the right and title in the trust aforesaid, acquired by the said Risdén Bozman Harwood and Rachel, his wife, and Moses Passapæ and Mary, his wife; and the said memorialists further set forth that although the intention of the trust aforesaid to the said Thos. Bacon was for the use and benefit of the Charity school aforesaid, that notwithstanding the said intention, the lands aforesaid have not, for a considerable number of years been applied to the intended purpose, and are now, and have been for sometime in the possession of a certain Sarah Howard, who does not claim any title thereto, the memorialists have therefore humbly prayed that they may be empowered to convey the trust aforesaid to the Trustees of the poor of Talbot county, and their successors, for the benefit of the poor of said county.

As it "seemed reasonable" to the General Assembly to grant this prayer, an act was accordingly passed May 14, 1789 authorizing and empowering Mr. Tilghman and Mr. Gordon to transfer the property, according to the tenor of their memorial.

Under the sanction of this act, Mr. Tilghman, on the 12th day of October, and the Rev. Mr. Gordon on the 5th day of the same month, in consideration of one shilling current money of Maryland, "bargained and sold to Thomas Sherwood, William Goldsborough, Samuel Chamberlain, Howes Goldsborough and Lloyd Tilghman, Trustees of the Alms and Work House, for the time being and to their successors forever, in trust, for an Alms and Work House," the whole property of the charity school, as described in the deed of David Robinson to Thomas Bacon, in 1753. This property continues down to the present time in the possession of the Trustees of the Poor, and is used for the purpose expressed in the deed of trust above mentioned.

This account of the Charity Working School of Parson Bacon, has been given with greater elaboration and minuteness of detail than a rigid literary criticism, perhaps, will sanction: but it is conceived that local annals must possess these very qualities if they are to be of any value as historical materials. The authorities which have been

relied upon for its compilation are these: The Records of Talbot County; the parish Register of St. Peter's Parish; the files of the *Maryland Gazette*, at Annapolis; Kilty's *Laws of Md.*; the unpublished manuscript *History of the Parishes of Md.*, by the Rev. Ethan Allen, and the memoir of the Rev. Thomas Bacon, by the same industrious collector, published in the *American Quarterly Church Review*, for Oct. 1865.

P. S.—Since the foregoing article was placed in the hands of the printer, the writer has been able to obtain, through the kindness of Dr. Dalrymple, curator of the Archives of the Diocese of Maryland a copy of Dr. Bacon's sermon, preached Oct. 14th, 1750, "for the Benefit of the Charity Working School." To this sermon is annexed a "Copy of the Proposals, Rules, Subscription Roll, and other proceedings relating to the Charity School, intended to be set up in the Parish of St. Peter's in Talbot county, in the Province of Maryland." This appendix is prefaced by these remarks:

The Trustees have thought proper to publish the following Papers, that the nature, intent and foundation of the proposed school may be more generally known; and that well disposed charitable Christians may thereby be encouraged to bestow their Benefactions, where they may be assured of their being laid out to good and pious uses; and where the Subscriptions and contributions are already, by God's Blessing so far advanced as they need not doubt of its being carried into Execution.

Such persons as are willing to join in promoting his useful and laudable design are requested to pay or transmit their benefactions into the Hands of Mr. Jas. Dickinson, of Dover, on Choptank, Merchant, then Treasurer: or if they think proper to become annual subscribers, and live at too great a distance to sign the Subscription Roll, they are desired to signify the same to the said Treasurer by letter, that their names and subscriptions may be inserted upon the List.

This is followed by these six papers, viz: I. "A General Plan," (Already published.) II. "Rules referred to in the Subscription Roll," (already published.) III. "The Subscription Roll," (already published). IV. Minutes of the proceedings of the first general meeting of the subscribers held Sept. 29th, 1750, of which an abstract is here presented.

Mr. Bacon reported the subscriptions and benefactions to be as follows, viz:

	Currency.
Annual Subscriptions	£106 16s 0d
Benefactions & Collections	£ 61 12s 1d
Total	<hr/> £168 8s 1d

Then were elected as Trustees, and Treasurer, those gentlemen named in the text of this article. The Treasurer gave bond for £200 sterling. "The General Plan" and "the Rules," were adopted as the standing rules and orders for the government of the school, subject to changes at a general meeting of the subscribers. It was resolved that a chairman be appointed at each general meeting: that the next general meeting be held on Easter Tuesday in 1751, and that ordinary general meetings should be held on Easter Wednesday, and the third Tuesday in October of each year without previous notice; that extraordinary general meetings might be called by the Trustees, by giving notice ten days before the time selected, at the Parish church, and by advertisement set up at the Court House; that subscription should be paid half yearly on the 14th of January and the 14th of July of each year, to the Treasurer; that the Trustees, with the Rector of the Parish and Treasurer have power to regulate their own times of meeting and to form laws for the regulation of the master, scholars and all other matters relating to the school. At this first meeting Mr. Bacon paid into the hands of the Treasurer £61, 12s, 1d currency. V. "A list of the annual subscribers with their several subscriptions as they stood the 30th of October, 1750." This list is nearly the same as that already published in this contribution, which was derived from Dr. Allen's manuscripts. In order to make them exactly conform it is necessary to add the names of a few subscribers and the amounts of their annual subscriptions, viz:

IN TALBOT COUNTY

	£	s	d
William Robbins	2	5	0
Zadock Bodfield	0	5	0
William Oxenham	1	5	0
James Woolcott	0	10	0

IN DORCHESTER COUNTY

	£	s	d
John Casson	2	0	0
Dr. Jno. Ennals	1	10	0

Total value of annual subscriptions to 30th Oct. 1750	117	16	0
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VI. "A list of casual Benefactions, Collections, &c., to the 30th of October, 1750." As this list is much more complete than that already printed from Dr. Allen's manuscript, it is here given in full, and is as follows:

Received from Mr. Jacob Hindman, Talbot county, six shillings, currency; from Capt. John Williams, Somerset county, two pounds ten shillings, currency; from the Rev. Mr. Pat. Glasgow, rector of All-Hallows, in Worcester county, one pound ten shillings, currency; from Mr. John Hamilton, Dissenting teacher, at Princess Anne's, in Somerset county, one Pistole; from Henry Soves, Jr., Talbot county, ten shillings, currency; from Master Levin Gale, Talbot county, one pound, six pence, currency; from Master Tubman Soves, Talbot county, one pound currency; from a gentleman desiring to be unknown, Philadelphia, one pistole; from a lady desiring to be unknown, Talbot county, one German piece of Gold; from Capt. John Coward, Talbot county, one pound, currency; from Mr. John Edge, Talbot county, one pound, currency; from Mr. Pott's, Dorchester county, one pound, currency; from a person desiring to be unknown, Dorchester county, two pounds, currency; from a gentleman desiring to be unknown, Dorchester county, half a pistole; from Mr. Const. Bull, Cecil county, two pieces of Eight; from A. Hamilton, M.D., Annapolis, one pound, currency; from a gentleman desiring to be unknown, Annapolis, one Moidore; from Major Barth, Ennalls, High Sheriff of Dorchester county, one pound, currency; from John Ross, Esq., Annapolis, two guineas; from Dan'l Dulany, Jr., Esq., Annapolis, two pistoles; from Mr. Nich. McGubbins, Annapolis, two guineas; from a gentleman desiring to be unknown, Annapolis, ten pieces of eight; from Mr. William Middleton, Annapolis, one pistole; from Mr. Lambert Booker, Talbot county, one pound, currency; from Mr. Phil. Walker, Talbot county, two pounds currency; from Mrs. Walker, ten shillings, currency; from Miss Dickinson, Talbot county, five shillings, currency; from Major John Dixon, Talbot county, two pounds, currency; from Mr. Nich. Glenn, Talbot county, two shillings and six pence, currency; from Mr. Richard Austin, Talbot county, five shillings, currency; from several worthy benefactors at a charity sermon preached at Princess Anne's town, in Somerset county, the 23rd of August last, three shillings and two pence halfpenny, sterling, four pistoles and a half, eight pieces of eight and a half, one bitt, and four pound eleven shillings, currency; from the Vestry of St. Peter's, being money collected at the offertory, one chequin, four pieces of eight, and two pounds, eighteen shillings and seven pence, currency; ready money collected in the church on the 14th of October, 1750, at the charity sermon, three shillings, sterling, one German piece of gold, and fourteen shillings, currency—all of which being reduced to the value of current money of this Province, amounts to seventy pounds fourteen shillings, currency.

	£	s	d
Annual Subscriptions to the 30th Oct., 1750, value.....	117	16	0
Benefactions &c., to do value.....	70	14	0
Total.....	188	10	0

For which several subscriptions and benefactions, the Trustees and other managers for the school return their most hearty thanks to the several charitable Contributors; desiring their prayers and those of all pious Christians for a blessing from Heaven upon their endeavors to promote and establish the present good and useful design.

Well wishers of this sort in Maryland, are requested to note down any useful hints, suitable to the circumstances of this Province, which may occur to them, either relating to the management, employment, or putting out of the children to the greatest advantage, or to the easiest method of supplying them with necessaries, or supporting a greater number with less expense, and to communicate their observations to the Trustees:—who will thankfully receive such kind advices and make the properest use of them. Letters may be directed to the Rev. Mr. Thomas Bacon, Rector of St. Peter's in Talbot county, who is appointed by the Trustees to note down and take care of their proceedings.

The sermon from which the above has been taken was printed in London in the year 1751 by T. Oliver; and it was sold for the benefit of the charity school.

THE POOR HOUSE

The short and simple annals of the poor.

GRAY'S *Elegy*.

Behold a record which together binds

Past deeds and offices of charity

Else unremembered.

WORDSWORTH'S *Cumberland Beggar*.

Social philosophers of every class, whether moralists, economists or statesmen, equally acknowledge to have been baffled in their attempts to solve the problem of pauperism—to determine how far the promptings of humanity for the relief of poverty may be indulged by either individuals or states, without detriment to the welfare of the community. The moralists, in the main represented by the religious teachers, from the time when charity was raised by the greatest of Christian teachers to be the very princess of the virtues, have sought the solution in the practice of a universal benevolence or beneficence. They have made the giving alms to the poor to be more than an obligation to their fellow men; they have made it an act of devotion to the Deity. But this teaching where it has been most successful in its religious influence, has been most injurious in its social; for experience has proved that the more bountiful the charity that piety bestows, the more numerous becomes the class that demands and that receives it. Mendicancy increases in a very exact and direct ratio with liberality. The latest writer on morals. Mr. Herbert Spencer, has pointed out how that unlimited benevolence would lead to universal pauperism, for as long as there shall be a hand to give there will be another hand to receive the benefaction, and continuing to give must end in an inability longer to give. Political economists differ as to their solution of the question in hand, according as their views differ of the offices and functions of government. The school that limits those functions to protecting the citizen in his person, property and opinions, say that the duty of taking care of the old, the infirm and the incapable belongs to individuals, and that the government steps beyond its proper sphere when it assumes any such obligation. This school does not shrink from the consequences of this doctrine, that those who have not friends to help them in their need must perish: and this they regard as the proper and natural corrective of pauperism. The other school of economists which regards

the State as holding a kind of parental relation to the citizen, claims that poverty is incidental to organized society, and must exist until the demands of society and the wants of the individual coincide. Therefore society, as personified, in its government, ought to take care of those of its members who by age, sickness, or infirmity of whatsoever kind are not able to provide for their own necessities. Finally the statesman who is called to deal with the actual and ever present evil of pauperism, who cannot wait the determination of the moral question of public relief to the poor, and the other questions of the true functions of government—the statesman, who is really a man of expedients and not of principles, for the science of government is as yet far from being an exact science—solves the problem by providing for the merest necessities of the aged, the infirm and helpless; but this in such a scant and meagre manner that while the humane impulses of the community are barely satisfied and the public purse is not severely depleted, pauperism shall not be made inviting. Indeed, pauperism, by the statesman, is treated much as though it were criminal; and for this there is much justification, for there is a close connection between poverty and crime. But there are many worthy poor, entirely deserving of all the aid they receive either from public bounty or private charity.

The amount of money that is contributed by States, societies and individuals for the support of the poor of this country is immense. The number of the beneficiaries is very large and increasing just in proportion as the struggle for life becomes more intense. What sum is annually bestowed by private charity can never be known nor even approximated. The sum contributed by voluntary associations of various kinds, it would be exceedingly difficult to learn. But an effort is about to be made by the general government to determine what is done by public bodies towards the support of the poor, and the number of persons who are receiving aid from the public treasuries. This information acquired will be embodied in the report of the Superintendent of the Census. Mr. F. A. Walker has accordingly addressed a circular letter to the trustees and other officers in charge of the various prisons, reformatories and alms houses within the United States, in which letter are contained certain questions concerning those institutions, and the replies to these questions, when properly summarized and compiled, will furnish most valuable information concerning pauperism in this country. One of these circulars has been received by the Trustees of the Poor of Talbot County, and they are collecting information which will enable them to answer the queries propounded to them. In addi-

tion to, and in anticipation of what they may say, it is proposed in this paper to give some account of what has been done for the poor of Talbot from the organization of this county to the present time, and particularly of the Poor House, and its management from the beginning. All will not be said that could be said upon this subject, nor even all that is interesting, but as much as assigned limits will permit.

In the primitive condition of human society pauperism is unknown, for the same reason that it does not exist in the societies of brute animals. The weak, the aged, the helpless are left to die from want and exposure, if they be not dispatched by violence. In the earlier years of civilized societies, it is almost equally unknown, but for different reasons. Those who found and form such societies are usually in the very prime and vigor of life, and mostly they are men of courage and self reliance, asking and needing no help. Besides, in new communities the necessaries of life are few and easily obtained, so the most indolent may gain them with the least exertion, and the most shiftless by the least prudence. But in such communities accident may disable even the young, and sickness may prostrate even the strongest. Then food, however abundant, cannot be provided, shelter, however simple, cannot be constructed, and clothing, however plain, cannot be obtained. Then the man, young and strong as he may have been, must ask aid; and when friends are wanting, as they are apt to be in new countries, he must call for public charity. Without doubt there were those within the limits of this county almost from the very date of its organization, in 1660 or 1661, whose infirmities brought from their old homes, or whose misfortunes incurred here, or whose friendlessness, owing to their being in a new and strange land, made them pensioners upon the public bounty. There may have been others here much less deserving; others who in the old countries were vagrants and inmates of poor houses or work houses; or worse, for the planters in the early years of our history were not nice as to the character of those they brought over; and at a later day, the British authorities sought to relieve themselves of the burthen of their poor by shipping them to this colony, or made Maryland the unwilling recipient of many belonging to the criminal classes.¹

¹ As early as 1733 "An Order of Transportation" is recorded among our records, issued by the Court of Quarter Sessions, of Liverpool, County of Lancaster, England, directed to Capt. John Bibby to transport to any of his majesties plantations, Elizabeth Gream, Henry Wilkinson, Margaret and Margery his children, Peter Gream, William Gream, Perry Scott and Jane Wilkenson, convicted of petty

There are records extant in this county of paupers having been returned to England, at the public expense, rather than have them chargeable for a number of years. Thus: in 1713 a levy was ordered by the Court "to Mr. Foster Turbutt, late Sheriff, for 1,000 pounds tobacco, paid for a certain Thomas Ashton's passage to England, the said Ashton being a poor infirm person, and like to be a charge to this county." The first memorandum, however, that has been discovered of the appropriation of money, or tobacco to a poor person was to one entirely reputable who had received honorable wounds in a conflict with Indians. This was Lieut. William Smith who in 1666 had an allowance of 3,214 pounds of tobacco, and in 1667-8, 1,500 pounds and 500 pounds "for his accommodations." The following minute of the Court may be worth copying:

William Smith, that was wounded by the Indians came to this Court for some release, being disabled by his wounds: and the Court upon a former order in that ease providing have ordered that hee have for the present yeare one thousand five hundred pounds of tobacco, and that Mr. Edmundson have five hundred pounds of tobacco for his accommodations, for the time that he was at his house.

But in 1668 there was the first direct appropriation for a pauper, eighteen hundred pounds of tobacco having been given "to Abraham Bishop for keeping the ould man." In the year following 1,493 pounds were given to "Abraham Bishop, an ould man, and in 1670 he again received the county bounty of 1,054 pounds of tobacco. In 1674, 3,000 pounds of tobacco were collected by the sheriff (the sheriff was then, and for more than an hundred years later, the collector of all the taxes, except the Quit rents of the Lord Proprietary, who had "farmers" of his

larceny and vagabondage. This, the earliest record of criminals having been sent to this county, is matched by the latest, which is in the year 1775. In this year a ship arrived in the Chesapeake from Liverpool, consigned to Mr. James Braddock, of Saint Michaels. The Association of Congress having declared that all importations from Great Britain should be suspended, the Committee of Observation for this county, informed Mr. Braddock that the ship would not be allowed to discharge her cargo of merchandize, but that the Captain would be permitted to land the fourteen convicts and two indentured servants, whom he had on board; which he accordingly did, coming into the Eastern bay to do so. It may be that our patriots of Talbot thought these would make good soldiers, even though they were poor citizens. Some of them may have fought at Long Island with Smallwood, or at Cowpens with Howard, and now, as heroes of the Revolution they may be receiving the grateful tribute of our adulation, though history has failed to record their names.

revenues derived from a tax on the land) for the support of three children of William Taylor: and in the same year "William Greene, an impotent person" had a levy in his behalf of 1,000 pounds, "Jane Merytt, a poore woman, for 800 pounds" and "Benjamin ——" (his name is not legible) "sicke and weake" for the same amount. Placing tobacco at two pence or four cents per pound, these allowances were really liberal considering the poverty of the community. Subsequent to these dates the records are numerous of appropriations for the support of the unfortunate poor. A noteworthy case was that of 1756, when at the August session of the county court, sitting as a levy court; a petition was presented to the "Worshipfull, the Justices of the Peace," setting forth that Joseph Bujiale, Fermee and Charles Landree, French neutrals, have each three small children, the oldest of which is not over five years of age, and that Charles Landree has under his care a father and mother, very "antient people;" that they cannot supoprt their families, and "can hardly get bread for themselves." The court allowed to each 500 pounds of tobacco, and subsequently appropriated 750 pounds for the relief of Abraham Landree, Stephen Bujiale and Peter Landree.²

² It is unnecessary to relate the sad and shameful story of the forcible expatriation of the Acadians by order of the British Government. This is well-known from history, but even better known from poetry, as the *Evangeline* of Longfellow has been read by all. In 1755, five ship loads of these neutral French were sent to Annapolis, in this province, and thence they were distributed to the several counties, Talbot receiving her quota. They seem to have been a thriftless people, or they were thoroughly dispirited by their removal from their homes. Besides those persons mentioned in the text, there were several others of these neutral French who in the years following received assistance from the public funds of the county. This act of our County Court, in appropriating tobacco (the currency of the colony of course) for the support of a few of these helpless exiles connects Talbot with this interesting but painful episode in American history. Nowhere else better than here can be inserted a most interesting document of this time, and germane to the subject under consideration. As it sufficiently explains itself, it is here presented without further introduction.

To the Worshipful

JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH,	}	Esquires.
MATTHEW TILGHMAN,		
POLLARD EDMONDSON and		

Representatives for Talbot county in the General Assembly of Maryland.

The Humble address of the Electors, Freeholders of the said county,
Sheweth:

That the wretched Acadians, in a manner quartered upon us, are a grievance, in as much as we are not at present in a situation and in circumstances, capable of seconding their own fruitless endeavors to support their numerous families, as a people plundered of their effects: for though our magistrates have taxed us

It seems that there was no systematic relief for the unfortunate poor for nearly fifty years; further than this, the levies were made in behalf of the necessitous, according to the method of our County Commissioners of giving pensions to those in need, relying upon the assistance of friends and private benevolence to supplement this public charity. In a very large number of cases, however, paupers were placed in the care of particular individuals and allowances granted to these for the support of those under their protection. Besides the slight provision for the pressing necessities of food, clothing and shelter, the county paid liberally for medical attendance; and it is curious to note that the pay of the physician was sometimes made conditional upon the cure of the patient. In 1670 Howell Powell was allowed for the cure and charges of William Smith, probably the same that was wounded by the Indians, 1,200 pounds of tobacco, and Dr. James Benson, one of the earliest of our physicians, was frequently compensated for professional services

sufficiently to feed such of them as cannot feed themselves, they cannot find houses, clothing and other comforts; in their condition needful, without going from house to house begging, whereby they are become a nuisance to a county hardly able to afford necessary comfort to their own poor. And as it is no easy task for a Christian to withstand the importunate cravings of their distressed fellow creatures, those amongst us, especially who possess the greatest degree of humanity must, of course, be the greatest sufferers. But this is not all. Their religious principles, in a Protestant country, being dangerous, particularly at this juncture, and their attachment to their mother country, added to their natural resentment of the treatment they have met with, render it unsafe to harbour them in case of any success of the enemy, which visibly affords them matter of exultation on the slightest news in favour of the *French and Indians*. We therefore pray, that you will use your endeavors to the Assembly to have this pest removed from among us, after the example of the people of Virginia or Carolina, at their own expense, as they request, or otherwise, as the Assembly shall in their wisdom, think fit. We humbly conceive that any apprehensions of their adding to the strength of the enemy, if transported to these colonies, would argue a degree of timidity, not to be approved of: that on the contrary, they would rather be burthensome to their country in their present circumstances, encumbered with their wives and children, whose immediate wants will, for a long time, tax the utmost industry of the few able bodied fathers among them. Besides they need not be discharged without first binding them as strongly as people of their principles can be bound, by an oath of neutrality, for so long a time as may be judged needful. It will have perhaps, this further effect, that since they so earnestly desire to quit his Majesty's protection, in a manner renouncing it, they enfeeble their claim to the restitution and restoration they contend for; a point it would be greatly to the interest of the Colonies to gain with good grace.

We are Gentlemen,
Your Most Obedient Servants.

rendered and medicine administered to the poor, from the public levy. And so on down to the time of the establishment of the Alms House all the more prominent physicians from year to year presented accounts for medicine and medical attendance, which were allowed by the Court. More of this will presently be said.

In 1704 we have the genesis of our county Poor House. On the 21st of November of that year the court seems to have considered the method of pensioning the poor expensive and inefficient, and passed the following order:

Ordered by ye Court here, that all persons that receives alms from this county, except housekeepers, doe for ye future, reside at ye house of Daniel Sherwood for the ensueing year; and ye said Daniel is to find and provide sufficient necessaries for them, at ye rate of one hundred pounds of tobacco each, less than they are now allowed.

At the same time Daniel Sherwood was empowered to arrest "all vagrants and loose persons." This arrangement with Daniel Sherwood continued in practice until 1710 at least, for the records note appropriations to him for the care of the poor up to this date. Whether it continued longer is not apparent, but it is certain that not many years after, say in 1725, the county court had abolished the system of having the poor collected at one place, and had reverted to the old plan of pensioning its paupers, levying amounts in favor of certain individuals for the care of those mentioned specifically as being in their keeping. This system continued to be practiced until 1785, as will hereafter be noticed. It was subsequently revived by an Act of Assembly, and it continues to be followed up to the present day, the county commissioners granting pensions to necessitous persons, beside levying a sum of money to be disbursed by the trustees of the poor. In 1707, Dr. James Benson had two levies in his behalf for "attending ye Hospital." It is not unlikely, though it is by no means certain, that the hospital was nothing else than Daniel Sherwood's Poor House. There is no means of determining where this first Poor House stood. Mr. Sherwood was at one time, from 1707 to 1709, sheriff of the county, and at his house in Oxford the court sat for several years after the court house at York had been abandoned, and before it had been decided to build a court house near "Pitts-his-Bridge," in 1710. It is therefore probable that the first Poor House, with Daniel Sherwood as keeper was in the ancient "town and port of Oxford." But this is conjectural only.

Under the system of pensioning the poor, the county beneficiaries continued to receive relief for a great number of years. In March,

1774, a bill passed the general assembly of the State providing for the erection of a county Alms and Work house. By this bill a board of "Trustees of the Poor" was constituted, of which the following prominent gentlemen of the county were the members:

[The text of this Act, the writer, thus far has not been able to recover, as it is not to be found either in the volume of laws published by authority nor among the State archives at Annapolis. So the names of these original trustees of the poor must forever remain unknown.]

The Act authorized the Commissioners or Levy Court to assess upon the taxable inhabitants of the county for three successive years fifteen pounds of tobacco per poll for defraying the cost of this Alms or Work house. Mr. John Stevens, who was sheriff, collected the amount assessed for one year only, namely, 1775. The war of the Revolution commencing, and the proprietary government lapsing, there was no further collection of this tax, although the law otherwise remained in force. After the close of the war of Independence, namely, in March, 1786, the Act of 1774 was repealed, and another Act substituted; and it is under this law and supplements thereto, the affairs relating to the county poor are still administered. This act substantially the same as that of 1774, appointed these gentlemen "Trustees for the Poor of Talbot County," viz:

WILLIAM HAYWARD,
 JAMES BENSON,
 THOMAS SHEERWOOD,
 PEREGRINE TILGHMAN, and
 WILLIAM GOLDSBOROUGH,

with the power to fill any vacancies that should occur in the board by death, removal or any other cause. It also ordered that an "Alms and Work house" be "erected and built in Talbot County, at a convenient place therein, at the general charge and expence of the said county." Provision was also made for the levying such a tax upon the property within the county liable to assessment, as should realize the sum of four hundred pounds, currency, in each of the years 1786, 1787, 1788; which sums as they should be collected were to be paid over to the trustees. This last provision was repealed by an act of 1787, for reasons hereafter to be named. The Trustees were empowered to buy land to the extent of thirty acres, for the use of the Work house. It is expressly set forth in the act, that a Work house should make a part of the institution, and it is proper to say that this provision was carried

into execution, the poor, who were not entirely helpless being required to do something for their support, or at least for their amusement, picking oakum being the employment of the feeblest. It directed that the clothing worn by the paupers should bear a conspicuous mark of P. T. (poor of Talbot). The act also provided that the funds collected under the act of 1774, and then in the hands of Dr. Moses Allen, one of the original trustees, should be paid over to the trustees last named. Other provisions of this law, which was pretty much the same as that framed for other counties of the State, need not here be recited, as they are well known as being operative at the present time.

But that provision of the law which referred to the purchase of land and the erection of a building for the accommodation of the poor of the county was not carried into effect, its purposes having been secured by other means than those named therein. On the 13th of February, 1753-4, the Rev. Thomas Bacon, Rector of St. Peter's Parish, purchased of David Robinson, Esquire, for one hundred and forty-three pounds, current money of Maryland, parts of three tracts of land, viz: 70 acres of "Hull," 50 acres of "David's Folly," and 23 acres of "Chance," in all one hundred and forty-three. The object of this purchase was the establishment of a "Working Charity School," for the "maintenance and education of orphans and other poor children;" and the property was held in trust by Mr. Bacon for the purposes mentioned. Upon the land this enlightened clergyman erected a building for the accommodation of the pupils, and the school went into practical operation, being patronized by Lord and Lady Baltimore, and many of the gentry of this province, particularly of this county. This property lay in Oxford Neck, not far from the old parish church of White Marsh. There is no means of determining how long the school was maintained; but in 1787, as is known, it had for a considerable time been extinct. In that year the Hon. Matthew Tilghman and the Rev. John Gordon presented a petition to the General Assembly of the State, in which they represent that the heirs of the Rev. Thos. Bacon, namely Rachel (Bacon) Harwood, wife of Risdon Bozman Harwood, and Mary (Bacon) Passapæ, wife of Moses Passapæ, both daughters of the Rev. Mr. Bacon, have conveyed to them all their right, title and interest in the lands mentioned above in trust. The petition further sets forth:

that although the intention of the trust aforesaid to the said Thomas Bacon was for the use and benefit of the Charity School aforesaid, that notwithstanding the said intention the lands aforesaid have not, for a considerable number of years, been applied to the intended pur-

pose, and are now, and have been for some time, in the possession of a certain Sarah Howard, who does not claim any title thereto.

The memorialists (who represent themselves to be trustees of the Charity School in St. Peter's Parish in Talbot county) therefore ask that they be "empowered to convey the trust aforesaid to the Trustees of the Poor, of Talbot county." The prayer of the petitioners was granted by the passage of an Act, May 15th, 1787 empowering the trustees of the Charity School "to convey in fee simple the aforesaid lands unto the said Trustees of the Poor of Talbot County, and their successors for the Charitable use and benefit of the poor of said county." By this act that provision of the act of the session of 1785-6 authorizing the levying four hundred pounds for three successive years, for the purchase of lands and buildings, was repealed, though the money that had been collected, was directed to be paid over to the Trustees of the Poor. Thus it was that the county came into the possession of the farm in Oxford Neck, near Hole-in-the-Wall, which is now used for the partial support of her poor. The number of acres originally acquired was one hundred and forty-three. In 1808 the trustees applied to the court for a commission to resurvey the lands and mark its boundaries. These gentlemen were appointed of the commission:

JOHN EDMONDSON,	}	Esquires,
HENRY MARTIN,		
JOSEPH MARTIN,		

and Mr. Sam'l Jackson was the surveyor. These gentlemen determined that there were — acres belonging to the institution. By sale and purchase, rendered necessary by the running of roads and straightening of lines, the boundaries and extent of the tract have been slightly changed from what they were at the date of the purchase in 1753-4.

The buildings upon the farm have been erected at various times. That which is devoted to housing the poor consisted originally of that brick portion nearest to Hole-in-the-wall. This was built without doubt by Parson Bacon for his Charity Working School, soon after the purchase of the land. As early as 1803 the premises were so crowded, and filthy, that the erection of an addition was mooted. This measure was again seriously discussed in 1813. Lumber was ordered to be bought, and "clay to be turned" for the making of bricks. Arrangements with the Bank of Easton were effected for borrowing money until the levy of \$1,000, which was asked for, became available, the consent of the legislature for this levy having been obtained at the last session.

In 1814 further authority to levy an additional thousand dollars was asked of the General Assembly. In 1815, this project seems to have been partly abandoned, and one entertained of selling the land and purchasing elsewhere. A petition to this effect was presented to the legislature in 1817, but was not granted. Finally in January, 1819 contracts were made with sawyers, bricklayers and carpenters to erect an addition to the house, and the work immediately commenced. Thomas Hale was the brick-layer, and Joseph Kemp the carpenter. Other additions and improvements have been made in more recent years, the most important of which was the framed annex to the original school house on the South, erected in 1865, and which was rendered necessary in order that shelter might be given to the large accession to the number of the inmates created by the emancipation of the negroes. Previous to this great and beneficent act the old and infirm of the colored people were mostly supported by their masters: after these people became free some of them became pensioners upon the bounty of the county. The truth of history requires it to be said that the number of those demanding eleemosynary aid was nothing like as large as was anticipated by both those who favored and those who opposed emancipation. If it were proper in a paper of this description, the character and inadequacy of the principal building upon the farm, might afford matter for profitable remarks. It is in more than one sense a *Poor House*.

The Work house that belonged to the institution seems to have been in existence as late as about the year 1825, but afterwards disappeared.

On the 10th of November 1872 the house of the Overseer was burned down, and a new residence for this officer was built in the same year, Mr. Vansandt being the carpenter.

The site of the Poor House has long been objectionable on several accounts. It is remote from the county seat where public business is mostly transacted, and where public officers mostly reside or usually assemble. It was at one time and it may now be considered as an insalubrious location, several overseers of the poor having died in succession upon the premises after a brief residence. In 1803, a minute in the records indicate that opinions prevailed that a change was advisable.

The Trustees being of opinion that it would conduce greatly to the convenience of the poor to be placed on the water, and in the neighborhood of Easton, determine that it will be proper to petition the Legislature to empower them to sell the Poor House property and purchase

somewhere near Easton, or to authorize them to build an addition to the present building, as this seems an absolute necessity for their comfort.

Again in 1815 a petition was presented by the Trustees to the Legislature to this effect: that a law be passed authorizing them to sell their lands, &c., and purchase elsewhere, and also authorizing a levy of \$2,000 to carry the objects of the petition into execution. Nothing came of these petitions. They were renewed in 1817, and Mr. Robert Banning, who was then a member of the General Assembly, as well as of the Board of Trustees of the Poor, was requested to prefer the wishes of the Trustees, and enforce them by the use of such arguments, and the presentation of such facts, as he was able and in a position to command. The petition asked the privilege of selling the alms house property and to buy elsewhere; and that the levy court be authorized to levy upon the county the sum of \$1,000 for two or three successive years; which with the sum heretofore levied, but now uncollected, and the money that the present property would bring if sold, they believe would be sufficient to place the establishment in an eligible and comfortable situation." The prayer of the petitioners to sell was not granted. Again in 1824, doubtless upon the petition of the trustees, though their records indicate nothing of the kind, an act was passed, empowering them to sell the Poor House and land, and to purchase elsewhere to the extent of six hundred acres. The levy court by this act was empowered to assess and collect an amount sufficient to carry this object into effect. This law seems to have remained a dead letter. In 1833 a supplement to the act of 1824 was passed, the provisions of which were in the main the same as the original law. This, too, remained inoperative, and has so remained to the present day. Why this has been so, is not apparent. The Poor House and Farm still remain in the hands of the Trustees, and are used by them as a home for the unfortunate of the county. There is a growing conviction, however, that the public interests would be better subserved, and the comfort of the counties' beneficiaries be better promoted by a sale of the property, and the erection of an Alms House near the county town, without the expensive appendage of a farm.

A few items of information respecting the internal administration of the Poor-House may be of interest. As has been before noticed, by the law of 1785-6 the clothing of the inmates was marked conspicuously "P. T.," that they might be recognized should they go beyond

prescribed limits. This has been abolished, as it was a badge of degradation. The dietary of the House has always been very simple and coarse, but never so scant as to reduce vitality. Pork and Bacon have furnished from the beginning the chief flesh food, but new fresh meat is furnished. Corn meal has been the chief material for bread, but now flour is also supplied. In 1815, it is interesting to note, the Trustees paid ten dollars per barrel for corn, or two dollars a bushel. For the first time apparently coffee was furnished to the poor of the House in the year 1799, very largely diluted however with burnt rye, in the proportions of one-fourth berry to three-fourths grain. Rations of rum at an early day, or whiskey at a later, were issued—whether regularly or occasionally is not clear: but they were wholly abolished in 1817, though the order was modified the next year, so as to permit the overseer to issue six gallons in the year—a tantalizing quantity. But wine and other alcoholic stimulants were not forbidden to be administered under the physician's prescription. It is well to note that the paupers, by one means or another, obtained intoxicating liquor at Hole-in-the-wall, and gave much trouble by reason of its abuse. Up to 1855 a system of weekly allowances of provisions was followed, but after that date, the inmates seemed to have had food without any other limit than that afforded by the judgment of the Matron of the House. It is interesting to note that at one time inmates were received upon the condition they should pay for what they consumed, or a small board; and parents were permitted to enter their children at the house and have them taken care of, by paying a small sum. The records indicate that there were persons in the Poor House who were not absolutely destitute of means. Work in the Work House was exacted of all those able to do anything up to 1824 or '25 at least: but by 1848 it would seem that the paupers were not required to perform any manual labor, except domestic duty in the house by the women, and farm labor in the fields by the men. Corporal punishment was permitted to be inflicted by the overseer in 1796, and perhaps long after. The following curious minute is from the records of May 4th, 1793.

Resolved that Mary Forrester be taken off the list as one of the Poor, and employed as a school-mistress, for which service she is to have 3-9 (three shillings, nine pence, or in the money of to-day, about 50 cents) per month and her maintenance as usual.

Certainly not a very munificent reward, but Mary Forrester escaped the opprobrium of being a pauper. Nor were the religious interests of

the poor entirely disregarded, as is shown by the following minute under date of March 13, 1800:

A motion being made that three pews be purchased in White Marsh Church for the accommodation of the poor, but it was opposed by Messrs. Hollyday and Goldsborough: but a majority being of opinion that it was perfectly right and necessary, it was accordingly determined that the three pews in the north end of the gallery be purchased for the use of the poor, and John Singleton, the Treasurer, is accordingly authorized to purchase and pay for said pews.

A pauper whose memory has reached the present time, and who gave much trouble to the Trustees and Overseer, named Nan Ellis, was a pretty regular attendant at old White Marsh. She managed occasionally to have a penny to put in the bag for the poor: who were not so well provided for as herself; and for this she received the benediction "God bless you," from the pious and venerable Sam'l Chamberlaine, who collected the alms. In the years 1791 and 1793 by Acts of Assembly permission was granted to the Trustees of the Poor to bind out as apprentices any poor children, orphans, that were dependent upon the county. In 1797 was granted the permission of keeping out door pensioners to the number of ten, with an annual pension not exceeding thirty dollars. This custom of having pensioners, which was the rule previous to the date of the establishing the Alms House, was thus revived in a degree; but it was more completely revived by the Act of Assembly of 1835, which permitted the County Commissioners to pension a certain number of worthy poor, and levy money for this purpose.

THE MILES RIVER BRIDGE

A HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE FIRST BRIDGE

The proposition made July 1, 1878 for the county commissioners to buy the bridge across Miles river, and to abolish the tolls and make it a free bridge, naturally directs attention to the bridge itself, as well as to the feasibility and propriety of the county commissioners acceding to the wishes of these who advocate a free bridge. We have obtained all the information possible as to the organization of the bridge company, the construction of the bridge and such other items as would make an article interesting to the reader of *The Comet*.

At the session of the Legislature, of 1858, the Miles River Bridge Company was incorporated. The charter named Col. Edward Lloyd, Edward Lloyd, jr., Kennedy Owen, H. C. Tilghman, James Ll. Martin, and others, commissioners to obtain subscriptions to the stock of the company. The capital stock authorized by the charter was \$15,000, the shares were fixed at \$25 each, and this has continued to be their par value, though they are now assessed at \$48 each. The bridge was built in 1858 by Capt. Travers of Taylor's island, Dorchester county, who did the work by contract, for \$7,000,—he being the lowest bidder.

The dimensions of the bridge are as follows: length, 1480 yards; width 16 feet. The draw opening is 30 feet, and the draw is operated by a railway that runs it backward and forward, instead of the pivotal swing now generally employed in drawbridges. The piles and capsills were white oak; the joists white pine, and the flooring hemlock. The original joists and flooring have been almost entirely replaced by white oak.

Among the original stockholders in the company were Gen. R. C. Buchanan, Admiral F. Buchanan, Gen. Charles Winder, Capt. R. Ll. Tilghman, Comd. Charles Lowndes, Col. Edward Lloyd, Thos. H. Oliver E. L. Winder, Thomas P. Williams, Hazlitt Mackey, Alex. H. Mackey, and Wm. G. Harrison. The present board of directors are Col. Edward Lloyd, president; Com. Charles Lowndes, treasurer; Lloyd Lowndes, secretary; Thos. H. Oliver, Dr. Charles M. Tilghman and Charles H. Gibson. The secretary is a paid officer. A bridge-keeper is employed at a salary of \$250 a year, including rent and fuel. Mr. Clayton Willis now fills that place.

The average cost of repairs since 1858 would approximate \$250 a year. Some years the bills for repairs have gone much beyond that sum, and in many years they have fallen much below it. In 1877 the cost of repairs was \$177, and in 1876, \$771. For several years after the bridge was built, but a trifling sum was paid for repairs. In 1877 the receipts from tolls were \$1190. The rates of tolls as established by the board of directors are as follows: Single horse and carriage, 5 cents each way, double horse and carriage, 10 cents. The charter provides that foot passengers may be charged 6 cents each way; horse and rider, 10 cents each way; single horse and carriage, 30; double horse and carriage, 30 cents. The company reduced the tolls to the present rates and abolished the tax on foot passengers about 1872.

A dividend of six per cent on the capital stock has been regularly declared each year, with the exception of the last three years, during which time the annual dividend has been 8 per cent. The policy of the board has been not to divide all the net earnings among the stock holders, but to provide a sinking fund which would be sufficient to replace the bridge when time and decay should make a new bridge necessary. All the income of the board has not come from tolls, as the county has paid the bridge company annually \$600 which was the cost of the ferry maintained there by the county previous to the building of the bridge. All the business affairs of the bridge company, the accounts, statistics, etc., have been well kept, and all the matters well and safely managed.

At the last session of the legislature a bill was passed authorizing the county commissioners to buy the bridge, providing a sum not exceeding \$5,000 will purchase it, and to make it a free bridge for all passengers. The mode of procedure contemplated by the bill is for the commissioners to appoint two competent persons to examine the bridge, value it, and report to the county commissioners.

The bridge ought to belong to the county and to be made a free bridge. We have no doubt this will be done, and that the people of the county will endorse it, if the stockholders will sell the bridge for a fair and reasonable price. Miles River Neck is an important section of the county, and contains many of the heaviest tax payers in the county. It is not right that they should be subjected to a toll every time they go to the county seat—even when they go there to pay their taxes. If the county buy the bridge, the Miles River people will pay their large share of the money necessary to make the purchase. Miles River Neck is increasing rapidly in population, and in thrifty enterprises, and all

such impediments to the development and improvement of this part of the county as a toll bridge should be removed and residents of this part of the county should have the same unrestricted facilities of travel to the county seat and elsewhere that other sections of the county enjoy. Of special taxes, Miles River Neck has always paid a fair, and sometimes a larger proportion, even for matters not directly advantageous to that section. Miles River Neck has always paid a large school tax and until within the last five years, there was but one school in the Neck, and that did not cost ever \$400 a year. The school tax annually paid by Miles River Neck is sufficient to maintain half a dozen schools, and has maintained them in other parts of the county. The tax-payers of the Neck have never complained of the school-tax, but have always paid it cheerfully. There would, then, seem to be no doubt that it is entirely just and proper for the county to maintain a free bridge across Miles River, as to the purchasing of the old bridge, and the price to be paid for it,—the commissioners, under the authority and discretion allowed them in the enabling act, may safely be trusted with that. It is not likely that they will pay as much for an old bridge as a new one would cost, nor do we intimate that the stockholders will ask any such thing. With a stock that has paid regularly six per cent, and a reserve fund accumulated from the individual profits, the stockholders can afford to deal generously with the county. The maximum sum of \$5,000 named in the bill, was the market value of the stock at the time the act was passed.

And the matter should not remain in abeyance. It is not likely that any repairs will be done to the bridge by the bridge company while the matter of purchase is pending. Let the examiners give the bridge a thorough examination, and accurately report its value, and let the commissioners and directors come to a just and fair agreement about the price, so that the people of Miles River Neck may be relieved from the odious and onerous imposition of tolls as soon as possible.

The County Commissioners appointed two civil engineers, Captain William H. Smith and James M. Sharp, to examine and place a valuation on this bridge. These two appraisers having valued the bridge at \$3,350, being a little less, than one-half of its original cost twenty years before, the bridge company proceeded to convey the bridge to the County Commissioners of Talbot County by deed bearing date the 10th day of September, 1878, and which may be found recorded among the Land Records of Talbot County, Md. Liber 86, Folio 99.

Prior to the building of this wooden-pile bridge, a public ferry had been maintained across Miles River at this point from almost the time of the laying out of Talbot County in 1661, for as early as 1677, Daniel Walker was appointed to keep a ferry over Saint Michaels River at the point where the bridge now stands, and in the levy records of the county it is quaintly stated, "To Daniel Walker, in consideration of his poverty, many children, loss, *ferrriage over river with a canowe*, at least 2,500 lbs," meaning tobacco, which was then the currency of the Province of Maryland. Just at what date a scow, propelled by means of a rope stretched across this ferry for the conveyance of wheeled vehicles and animals superseded the canoe ferry is nowhere disclosed in the Levy Records of Talbot County; as there were no wheeled vehicles in use in this province until more than half a century after Talbot County was laid out, a dugout canoe was doubtless amply necessary to accommodate the few pedestrians who desired to cross this ferry in those early times.

A CARGO OF CONVICTS BROUGHT TO TALBOT IN 1739

[COMMUNICATED]

MR. ROBSON:—Presuming that everything relating to the history of Talbot county is of interest to its citizens, your correspondent asks the privilege of presenting one of the earliest of our memorials, which, though it may be familiar to a few, will be new to the most of your readers. It is an extract from a book entitled *An Apology for the life of Mr. Bampfylde Moore Carew*, of which several editions have been published, one within the present or the past year. The work is not in the hands of your correspondent, but the extract is from a copy now in the Peabody Library at Baltimore, which extract was obligingly furnished by P. R. Uhler, Esq., the Librarian. Occasion is taken to say that there are known to be two copies of this book in this county, belonging to Dr. Nicholas Pindall, lately removed, who lent them to some persons who failed to return them to their owner. If the present holders of these books will return them to the office of the STAR, they will be forwarded to Dr. Pindall, who is exceedingly anxious to repossess them, and has given authority to the writer to recover them if possible. This Bampfylde Moore Carew is supposed to have been born about the year 1692. He was an English adventurer, thief and pickpocket, who, by reason of his skill and prominence in his profession came to be called the "King of the Beggars." He ran away from home in boyhood, led the life of a vagrant, was convicted of larceny, sentenced to transportation, sent to America, from which he escaped, joined the Gipsies, by them was elected their King, and died, as nearly as can be ascertained, about the year 1758. Having been convicted of theft, or, as he puts it with euphemistic elegance, worthy of ancient Pistol himself, "of having disoblged some gentlemen," he was placed on ship-board, with no "indentures" truly, but a copy of the Judge's sentence, and sent to the Colonies, for his own and his country's good. Maryland, and Talbot, had the *honor* of receiving the distinguished stranger, and his arrival, and that of others, it seems, were celebrated by the drinking of a puncheon of rum by the planters of the neighborhood. Mr. Carew in his memoirs is singularly oblivious of dates—as indeed he is of facts, for many of his stories are in the Baron Munchausen vein, and does not give us the exact time of debarkation in Maryland, but an approximation to it can be made. It was probably in the same year of the declaration of war against Spain by England, namely in 1739, or early in the year following. Parson Nicols was Rector of St. Michaels' Parish from 1731¹ or before to 1748, when he

¹ Nicols became rector of St. Michael's Parish in 1708.

died, being succeeded by Parson Gordon, in that year, and Parson Nicols was one of those who went on board to receive the distinguished personage and his associates, as appears from the recital. The ship in which Mr. Carew had embarked, came up St. Michaels' or Miles' River. There is a pretty well established tradition that Deep Water Point, that is, the point of land upon the right of the entrance into the arm of St. Michaels' River, which constitutes the harbor of the town of that name, was a place of lading and unloading of ships in early colonial times, and the depth of water near the shore at that point, and the safety of the harbor within, justifies the tradition. It is probable therefore that Mr. Bampfyld Moore Carew, "rat catcher," "dog merchant," "prince of beggars," and "king of the gipsies," first touched the soil of the Western Hemisphere at Deep Water Point. And this is rendered more probable by his mention of several gentlemen, who came on board, who were undoubtedly residents of the vicinity or immediate neighborhood. Mr. Carew, as he likes to call himself, may be left to himself to tell his own story as far as it relates to Talbot. It must be confessed he was a close observer, if he learned all he tells us in the very short time that he spent upon the Eastern Shore, according to his own narrative. After his escape he wandered about some time upon this peninsula, gradually working his way towards the North, and finally succeeded in shipping for England. He joined the gipsies, strolled with them about the continent of Europe, was elected a king of one of their tribes, met with many marvelous adventures, according to his own narrative, and finally died some time anterior to 1748 as mentioned above. As indicative of the interest that is taken in this man's story, it may be mentioned that it has been dramatized, and forms one of the stock plays of the theatre in England and America. Although at present the title of the play cannot be given, there is little doubt respecting this interesting fact, as it has been derived from good authority. The names of several gentlemen are mentioned in this extract, as of those who came on board to purchase servants. Parson Nicols was rector of St. Michaels parish at the time, and has left descendants, one of whom died recently at great age in this town. Mr. Hambleton was the ancestor of our respected representative in Congress. Mr. Ashcraft's memory is perpetuated by a point of land in St. Michael's harbor, and his descendants are the prominent ship builders of Baltimore, their forefathers having followed the same calling here in Talbot. Mr. Huxter, or Hoxter, had descendants in this county up to a very recent date, and doubtless are here or in Caroline still. The family of Rolles or Rolle is residing on the homestead that it has held since the very settlement of the county, near St. Michaels. No family in the State can claim and justly claim a better descent. These gentlemen were all residents of the vicinity of the place of landing. It may not be amiss to call attention to one fact which Mr. Carew mentions, that peaches, which are about to become an important horticultural product of our county, nearly one hundred and fifty years ago were raised in such profusion as to allow them to be fed to the

stock, as they are now, in abundant years. Our forefathers very soon discovered the capacities of our land. It is asserted, upon what is deemed, by some, good authority that the first peaches grown in America were grown in this county, upon the farm "Peach Blossom," near Easton. Sometimes names, however, originate stories, just as stories originate names. The few errors into which Mr. Carew falls, we can readily pardon in consideration of his having given us so interesting, and in general, so accurate an account of what he saw in Talbot.

AN EXTRACT FROM A BOOK ENTITLED "AN APOLOGY FOR THE LIFE OF MR. BAMPFYLDE MOORE CAREW"

MR. CAREW ARRIVES IN MARYLAND

The first place they touched at was Hampton, between Cape Charles and Cape Henry, where the Captain went ashore and got a Pilot; and after about two days stay here, the Pilot bought the vessel down Miles's river, and cast anchor in Talbot county; when the Captain ordered a gun to be fired as a signal for the planters to come down and then went ashore; he soon after sent on board a hogshead of rum, and ordered all the men prisoners to be close shaved against the next morning, and the women to have their best head dresses put on, which occasioned no little hurry on board; for between the trimming of beards, and putting on of caps, all hands were fully employ'd. In the morning the Captain ordered publick notice to be given of a day of sale, and the prisoners, who were pretty near a hundred, were all order'd upon deck, where a large bowl of punch was made, and the planters flock'd on board; their first enquiry was for letters and news from old England, what passage he had, how their friends did, and the like. The Captain informed them of war being declared against Spain, and that it was expected it would soon be declared against France; that he had been eleven weeks and four days in his passage. Their next enquiry was, if the Captain had brought them good store of Joiners, Carpenters, Blacksmiths, Weavers, and Taylors; upon which the Captain called out one Griffy, a Taylor, who had lived at Chumleigh, in the county of Devon, and was obliged to take a voyage to Maryland, for making too free with his neighbor's sheep; two planters, who were Parson Nicols and Mr. Rolles, ask'd him, if he was sound wind and limb, and told him, it would be worse for him, if he told them an untruth; and at last purchased him of the Captain. The poor Taylor cry'd and bellow'd like a Bell-weather, cursing his wife who had betrayed him: Mr. Carew like a brave man, to whom every soil is his own country, ashamed of his cowardice, gave the Taylor to the Devil; and as he knew he could not do without them sent his shears, pressing-iron, thimble and needle, to bear him company: wherefore all these wailings, says our hero, have we not a fine glorious country before us? pointing to the shore; and indeed in this he was very right, for Maryland not only affords every thing which preserves and confirms health, but also all things that are charming.

The beauty of the prospect, the fragrancy of the fields and gardens, the brightness of the sky, and serenity of the air, affects the ravish'd senses; the country being a large plain, and the hills in it so easy of ascent, and of such moderate height, that they seem rather an artificial ornament to it, than one of the accidents of Nature. The abundance of rivers and brooks is no little help to the fertility of the soil.

The winter in Maryland does not continue above three or four months, December, January, February and March, of which thirty or forty days only are bad weather. The frosts are severe, but attended with a clear sky, and don't last long. The rains are frequent and refreshing: and the heats of the summer, which are most violent in June, July and August, are much mitigated by them; and the fresh breezes that are common in this country, contribute much to render the heat tolerable to new comers, and hardly sensible to the inhabitants.

Most sorts of fruits here grow wild, and without cultivating; and they have such plenty of peaches that they give them to their hogs; their flowers likewise are as fine as any in the world.

Tobacco is the standing commodity of the country, and is so beneficial to the planters, and so natural to the soil, that all other improvements give place to that. Indeed they could turn their hands to nothing that would employ so many slaves and servants, and require so little stock to manage it, or take up such a large track of land; for the same ground that is planted every year with Tobacco, would produce, if corn was sown there, more than all the plantations in America could consume.

This plant is so common in England, that we need not describe it: it grows much like a Dock; and whereas in our gardens it must be managed with as much care as the choicest fruit or flower, in Maryland they leave it exposed to all the injuries of the weather, which is very favorable to it. The Tobacco of this plantation was not at first so good as 'tis now, that of Brazil had once the greatest reputation over all Europe; but now Maryland and Virginia has the best price in all markets. It is not known how the Indians cured theirs; they now have it all from the English: 'tis said they used to let it run to seed, only suckering the leaves, to keep the sprouts from growing up and starving them. When it was ripe, they pulled them off, cured them in the sun, and laid them up for use. The Maryland planters sow the seed in beds, as the gardeners in England do Colwort seeds; they leave them there a month, taking care all that time to have them well weeded. When the plants are about the breadth of one's hands, they are removed in the first rainy weather, and transplanted into what they call Tobacco hills. In a month's time the plants will be a foot high, and they top them, and then prune off all the bottom leaves, leaving only seven or eight on the stalk, that they may be better fed by the top; and these leaves, in six weeks time, will be at their full growth. The planters prune off the suckers, and clear them of the horn-worm twice a week, which is called worming and suckering; and this last work lasts three weeks or a month, by which time the leaf from green begins to turn brown-

ish, and to spot and thicken, which is a sign of its ripening. As fast as the plants ripen, you must cut them down, leave them in the field for half a day, then heap them up let them lie and sweat a night, and the next day carry them to the Tobacco house, where every plant is hanged one by another (by a peg which is drove into the stalk of each plant) at a convenient distance, for about a month or five weeks; at the end of which time, they strike or take them down in moist weather, when the leaf gives, or else it will crumble to dust; after which, they are laid upon sticks, and covered up close in the Tobacco house for a week or a fortnight to sweat; and then opening the bulk in a wet day, the servants strip them and sort them, the top leaves being the best, and the bottom the worst Tobacco. The last work is to pack it in hogsheads, or bundle it up, which is also done in a wet season; for in the curing Tobacco, wet seasons are as necessary as dry, to make the leaf pliant, which would otherwise be brittle and break.

Besides lions, leopards, elks, bears and other animals which are met with in Maryland, there are two peculiar to the country which deserve to be described, viz.: the flying squirrel and the opossum.

The flying squirrel has a fleshy substance which extends in its skipping from one tree to another, like wings, and by the help of these he will fly or rather skip thirty or forty yards at a time, from tree to tree.

The opossum has a head like a dog, and a tail like a rat; 'tis about the bigness of a cat, and the false belly, in which the female carries her young, is thus described by one that saw it: 'tis like a loose skin quite over the belly, which never sticks to the flesh, but may be looked into at all times, after they have been concerned in procreation. In the hinder part of it is an overture big enough for a small hand to pass; and thither the young ones, after they are full haired, and strong enough to run about, fly when any danger appears, or when they go to rest or suck, and continue to do so till they have learned to live without their dam. The strangest part of this description is, that the young ones are bred in this false belly, without ever having been in the true one. They are formed at the teat, and grow there for several weeks together, till they are in perfect shape, and have strength, sight and hair: they then drop off, and rest in this false belly, going in and out at pleasure. They are to be seen fastened to a teat from the bigness of a fly, till they become as large as a mouse. Neither is it any hurt to the old one to open the bag and look in upon her young.

There were no rats and mice in Maryland when the English first landed; but they soon multiplied so from the English shipping, that once there was like to have been a sort of rat-plague among the planters.

There is no country more remarkable for the variety of birds in it than Maryland; where the woods and groves in the spring, summer, autumn, and almost all the year, are rendered as delightful by the musick of the feathered choirs, as by the coolness of their shades, or the fragrance of their flowers. Among these the mock-birds are the most diverting; they love society so well, that whenever they see mankind, they will perch upon a tree near the person, and sing the

sweetest airs in the world. The next is the humming bird, who revels among the flowers and licks off the dew and honey from the leaves; 'tis not half so large as an English wren, and its colour is a shining mixture of scarlet, green and gold.

As for fish, there is such a prodigious plenty of them, that it is hardly credible to an European. Many of these fishes will leap into canoes and boats, as the English or Indians cross a river.

The manner of the fishing-hawks here preying upon fish, is very diverting and remarkable. The sport is to be seen every summer in the morning, and some all day long. These hawks are wonderful eager after their game, when the fish first come in the spring. In the dead of the winter they fish further off at sea, or remain among the uninhabited islands upon the sea coast. They have often been seen to catch fish out of the water and as they were flying away with quarry, the bald eagles have taken it from them again. The fishing hawk will hover over the water and rest upon the wing some minutes together, then from a vast height dart down directly into the water, plunge into it for the space of half a minute, and at last bring up a fish with him as big, that he can hardly carry it. When he is on the wing, he shakes himself so strongly, that the water comes off of him like a mist, and then he flies to the woods with his prey, unless the bald eagle intercepts him, and takes it away from him. This bird as soon as he perceives the fishing hawk with the game in his mouth, pursues him, and strives to get above him in the air, which if he can do, the hawk lets his fish drop, and the eagle leaves him to take up his prey, which he shoots after with such surprising swiftness, that he catches it in the air before it falls to the ground. These fishing hawks, when the seasons are extraordinary plentiful, will catch a fish, and loiter about with it in the air, on purpose to have a chace with the eagle for it; and if the eagle does not come, he'll make a daring noise, as if it were to defy him. This sport has been frequently seen, and by the description of it, must certainly be extremely pleasant to the spectators.

But to return: when all the best tradesmen were bought up, a planter came to Mr. Carew, and asked him what trade he was of: Mr. Carew, to satisfy him of his usefulness, told him he was a rat catcher, a mendicant, and a dog merchant, what the D—l trades are those? replies the planter, in astonishment, for I have never before heard of them. Upon which the Captain, thinking he should lose the sale of him, takes the planter a little aside, and tells him, he did but jest, being a man of humour, for that he was a great scholar, and was only sent over on account of having disoblged some gentlemen; that he had no indenture with him, but he should have him for seven years, and that he would make an excellent school-master: however, no purchase was made of him. The next day the Captain asked him to go on shore with him to see the country, but indeed with a view of getting a purchase for him among the planters. As they were walking, several people came up to Mr. Carew, and asked him what countrymen he was, &c. At length they went to a tavern, where one Mr. David

Huxter, who was formerly of Lyme in Dorset, and Mr. Hambleton, a Scotchman, seemed to have an inclination to buy him between; soon after came in one Mr. Ashcraft, who put in for him too, and then the bowl of punch went round merrily. In the midst of their mirth, Mr. Carew, who had given no consent to the bargain they were making for him, thought it no breach of honour or good manners, to take an opportunity of slipping away, without taking any leave of them; and taking with him about a pint of brandy, and some biscuit cakes, which, by good luck, he chanced to lay his hands on, he immediately betook himself to the woods, as the only place of security for him.

THE FRIENDS OR QUAKERS IN TALBOT

*"Quakers that like to lanterns, bear
Their lights within 'em, never swear."*

S. BUTLER HUDIBRAS.

Society of Friends is the proper designation of a Christian sect commonly called Quakers, which took its rise in England, about the middle of the seventeenth century, through the preaching of George Fox. They agree, doctrinally, with other Christian organizations, but they lay greater stress on the doctrine of the personal presence and guidance of the Holy Spirit.

The name of "Friends" was adopted by this sect from the words of Jesus Christ to his Disciples, "Ye are my Friends if ye do whatsoever I command you."

They condemn all oath taking and war. The Protestant revolution in England, which began in 1688, had resulted in placing William and Mary on the British throne. They commissioned Sir Lionel Copley the first Royal Governor of the Province of Maryland. He arrived in the spring of 1692 and took the government from the hands of the Committee of Safety.

Upon the meeting of the Assembly at St. Maries the members all took the prescribed oaths, with the exception of John Edmondson of Talbot and Thomas Everdine of Somerset County, being Quakers they asked to be allowed to make the usual declaration by persons so principled, to which the Lower House assented, but the Upper House, consisting of the Governor and his council, refusing to assent thereto, these two Quakers were expelled from the Lower House. It was at this session that an act was passed making the Church of England the established Church of this province, and a tax of 40 pounds, per poll, of tobacco was voted to pay the expenses of the establishment, for the building of churches and the support of the clergy. This act was, of course, very obnoxious to the Quakers who, at that date, numbered among their adherents many of the largest land owners and the wealthiest ship builders in Talbot.

John Edmondson and William Sharp, both Quakers, were then the leading shipping merchants at Oxford. This was a great blow to that equality in religion that had been Maryland's boast for over a half a century.

Across the ocean to the old motherlands went the fame of Maryland as a province, where there was no persecution of those holding creeds at variance to the orthodox method of worshipping God, a country where religious and irreligious liberty was not only tolerated but allowed without comment or interference with one's conscientious belief. Along the shores of the Atlantic, from the Chesapeake to the Kennebec, the same fame of religious liberty in Maryland went, and thus those persecuted for holding conflicting creeds were glad to find a haven of refuge in this much favored land.

The result of this liberal allowance of thought in a man was the coming to the Eastern Shore of Maryland of that sadly persecuted sect, the Quakers. They came from across the sea, from Virginia, from New England and elsewhere, to see this Eldorado which would be an asylum for them. Especially did the Friends settle in Talbot County, and an unwaveringly honest, temperate, generous, yet clannish people, they left their impress ineffaceably upon this county. At that time, 1660, be it recalled, Talbot County embraced territory now included in Queen Anne's and part of Kent and Caroline counties, as well as its own extensive domain.

Among the earliest settlers in this favored section of Maryland were a dozen or more families of this Society of Friends or Quakers who had suffered untold persecutions at the hands of the Puritans of New England, and who sought refuge under the religious toleration offered them by the Province of Maryland. They led simple, sober, industrious and strictly moral lives, and found many adherents among our early protestant settlers. The carefully preserved records of the Third-Haven monthly meetings, now stored in the fireproof vault, in the office of the Register of Wills of Talbot County, covering a period of two and a half centuries, are treasures of inestimable value to the local annalist of Talbot County, as well as to the Maryland historian. In their cemeteries, surrounding their unpretentious Meeting Houses, no monuments are to be found, "Nor storied urn, nor animated bust" for the Friends ever held firmly to the belief that death places all mortals on the same level.

The Quaker city of Philadelphia has, however, taken a signal departure from this long established custom of their sect, by erecting, on the top of their city hall, a colossal bronze statue of William Penn, the Quaker Governor of Pennsylvania.

Monuments and memorial tablets erected to commemorate the virtues and manly deeds of our early worthies are however not without

their value. They are object lessons of unceasing interest to the rising generations, and a constant incentive to the young to become good and useful citizens.

In New England, Boston in particular, where only a century ago alleged "witches" were burned at the stake, the Friends were terribly persecuted, for the Eastern States were not then traveling upon the broad gauge of advancement and true liberty that now distinguish their citizens. This persecution in New England gained for Talbot many settlers whose descendants are among its best people of today, the Friends. They came hither to find an asylum and found it, while the beautiful country delighted them. They came to work hard, to found new homes, new associations and to lay the corner stones of future greatness and fortunes.

The log cabin homes erected, and in this each gave to the other a helping hand, their fields planted, they began to turn their attention to the building of their Meeting Houses, where they could worship in their own silent way. There is nothing so effective as silent prayer—it leaves one wholly alone with his conscience, often afar from pleasant companions; and to think quietly of one's sins is the surest way to reform one's self.

It was three years before the establishment of Talbot County that the Friends came here to settle, in 1657, the first coming from Virginia, and the Meeting Houses, primitive in the extreme, for they do not believe in "an outward, visible sign of an inward spiritual grace," were erected at Wye, Little Choptank, Island Creek and one, which was doubtless the first, near the head of "Betty's Cove," Miles River.

This one was built of clapboards, and stood near the boundary line between the homes of R. B. Dixon and Dr. Cherbonnier, upon a lot that covered ten acres of land, and faced the cove, from which it was distant but a few rods. The records show that here, also, was a graveyard, and that the little building was repaired in 1676, but in 1693 it was abandoned, left alone with its encircling dead, while a larger and more pretentious Meeting House had been erected in a more central location at the head of the Third Haven, or Tred Avon River. This last building was so placed as to be convenient to every part of the county, even by the few highways, the bridle paths or water ways.

The locality of this greater Meeting House, great still in the memories that cluster around it, could not have been better chosen, for it is just south of Easton, in its suburbs now, and hence the site of sites, showing how well chose they who located the county town just where they did.

The Friend's Meeting House at the head of the Avon was also not a long walk across for those who came by boat to Betty's Cove on Miles River, while as all roads lead to Rome, it is said, so all highways and streams in Talbot lead to Easton. This house was a frame building with massive timbers, boarded and shingled, and today stands as a monument to the old time style of building.

As the records have it:

Our joint Quarterly Meeting for both Shores, held at ye home of Ralph Fishbourne ye 27th day of ye First Month 1683, the meeting decided upon this greater house, it being unanimously agreed that Betty's Cove Meeting be removed to ye great Meeting House.

Hence the greater house was built, the lesser one, about which still rests the ashes of the Talbot Friend's ancestry, being left to crumble to decay, if not into entire forgetfulness, for

"So the multitude goes, like the flower or the weed,
That withers away to let others succeed
So the multitude comes, even those we behold,
To repeat the old tales so often retold."

The home of Ralph Fishbourne was a farm adjoining the present town of Claiborne, upon Eastern bay, which continues to perpetuate his name down to the present time.

Among the Friends who attended the old Meeting House was Wenlock Christison, who fell a victim to his creed and was sentenced to be hanged in Boston, yet was later released from prison, not because of humanity, but because the English government ordered a mitigation of his punishment. Many are the names in Talbot today of the ancestors of those who attended that old Meeting House, and whose ashes doubtless there repose, and among them can be named John Edmondson, William Southbee, William Troth, Howell Powell, Thomas Taylor, John Pemberton, William Cole, John Dickinson, William Dixon, Charles Gorsuch, Richard Johns, William Berry, John Jadwin, John Pitt, John Kemp, Thomas Bartlett, Peter Webb, Christopher Birkhead, Henry Woolchurch, James Hall, William Sharpe, Henry Parrott and Obediah Judkins.

It is stated as an indisputable fact that George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, attended the meeting at Betty's Cove that originated the building of the old Meeting House near Easton. It was in 1684 the meeting was held, and George Fox describes the greater house in his journal as being located upon the Avon River (old style

Third Haven). This meeting lasted five days, the first three attended by all of the Society of Friends, the last two only a men and women's assemblage for discipline. The Friends were not alone in attending their meetings, for Romanists, Protestants, Indians and Negroes were often present, in fact this new house had to be enlarged to hold the people.

To John Edmondson fell the honor of entertaining George Fox, his farm at the time being the one known as Cedar Point, now (1914) owned by Mrs. Edward B. Hardcastle of Easton. In his journal Fox says that he attended the meeting each day, going by boat, and the boats were so numerous in the river the scene reminded him of the Thames of London. He also spoke of "seeing both rivers"—the Avon and the Miles—from the Meeting House which must have stood in the field at the eastern end of the Ship's Head farm at the southeast corner of which stands Bloomfield Station on the Baltimore, Chesapeake and Atlantic Railway.

At that time the Friends in Talbot kept a boat—the "Good Will"—and horses, expressly for the use of their free ministers in travelling through the country. Upon his return to England George Fox sent to the Meeting House a number of books, some of which are still held by the Society, and this was the first library known in Talbot. This greater meeting house was built in no slipshod manner, as its fine state of preservation today shows, after having withstood the storms of over two hundred and thirty years. The builders did not slight their contract, as is too often the case with them in this hurrying age.

There was a committee of Friends appointed, as the old record reads:

To agree with ye carpenters for ye building of ye said house 60 foote long, 44 foote wide, and to be strong, substantial, framed work, with good wite oak sills and small joyst, and ye upper floors to be laid with plank and ye roof to be double raftered, and good principal rafters every ten foote, and to be double studded below, and to be well braced and windows convenient, and shutters, and good, large stairs into ye chambers, which chambers are to be 40 foote square at each end of ye house, and twenty foote vacant space between them: and for other conveniencys to be left to ye aforesaid Friends.

Now there was no going behind this contract, and if it be true that figures wont lie, it seems, even at this late day, a paradox somewhat difficult of solution, as to how in a house "60 foote long by 44 foote wide," two chambers on second floor could be made at each end 40 foote square, "with 20 foote vacant space betwix them." Still there stands

the old Meeting House today, stout, staunch, and with wondrous staying powers to resist the ravages of Old Father Time, and any one, Friend, Protestant, Romanist, can go out and measure the dimensions and then figure out on those "40 foote square rooms with 20 foote vacancy space betwix them," and see how it was done in "ye long time ago." This Third Haven Meeting House is the oldest house of worship now (1915) standing in the United States.

From a minute, dated 6th of 12th month, 1690, a house was erected on these grounds, near the river side, for the accommodation of visitors from a distance (the two chambers over the meeting rooms probably being insufficient). The statement is, "That Friends on this shore are to pay to Ralph Fishbourne 2041 lbs. of tobacco; it being ye one-half of what he disbursed for building ye house for conveniency of Friends from a distance, at the creek side, near our Great Meeting House." As late as the early part of this century some persons now living can remember when they went to and from this meeting in row or sail boats (in preference to carriages), and had only to walk a very short distance, this tributary to Third Haven River, which is merely a ditch now, being navigable then.

It is evident that provisions were furnished these Friends by the members here, if they were not already supplied. The minutes in regard to it reads:

This meeting considering ye great distance yt Friends have to come, both by land and water, yt may repair to our Yearly Meeting, whereby they want necessarys, therefore this Monthly Meeting appoints Joseph Rogers to inquire into ye same, and to give Friends accounts, yt so they may be supplied if any want to be.

Thus proving that it was not a spirit of inhospitality that prevented all visitors from being entertained at private houses, but doubtless an inability to accommodate the large number that came, or to find means of transportation for them.

For several years monthly meetings were held two days in succession. The reports varied but little in expression, but it is evident, from their length, that considerable business was accomplished. As the smaller meetings declined, others were established elsewhere. Some resigned, or suffered themselves to be disowned on account of the slavery question, which agitated the minds of friends at an early date: and many were disowned for marrying those not in membership with the Society, in consequence of the ceremonies being performed by a minister or priest

(for they styled all by that appellation), because tortures had so frequently been inflicted through their instrumentality; therefore a breach of discipline in that respect was deemed almost an *unpardonable* offense; but from a decrease of members, and a more charitable spirit toward all Christian denominations, rules of discipline in this particular have relaxed greatly.

Marriage intentions in those days were announced in the meeting by the parties themselves, in both the men's and women's meetings, on two separate occasions, and thirdly, in a written form, together with the written consent of the parents of both when under age, consequently it embraced three months before the ceremony was accomplished. At the present epoch the "passing" as it is termed, is settled in writing. The first marriage on the meeting records bears the date of 1668, and reads as follows:

William Southbee, of Talbot County, in the province of Maryland, the 29 day of the First Month (O. S.) and in the year 1668, in an Assembly of the People of God, called Quakers, at their meeting, at the house of Isaac Abrahams, solemnly in the fear of God, took Elizabeth Read of the aforesaid county and province, spinster, to be his wife; and she, the said Elizabeth Read, did then and there, in the like manner, take the said William Southbee to be her husband, each of them promising to be faithful to each other. To which the meeting now witnesseth, by signature.

A regular record of marriages, births and deaths has been kept since 1668, and it appears even earlier than that.

Settlements of estates, contracts (either legal or otherwise), all disagreements, also consents asked for certificates of removal, and for travelling Friends and ministers, as well as for approval of marriages, were submitted to the meeting, and committees appointed to investigate the clearness of the cases. Tobacco being the currency for many years, all collections and business transactions of the church were made in that way except in occasional donations of grain, produce, furniture and cattle. The first collection in money was made in 1713. In that era tobacco seems to be the staple crop. The Indians considered it a sacred herb, a precious gift of the Great Spirit to his children, and the act of smoking, with them, always had something of a ceremonial or even religious character.

Friends were conscientiously opposed to paying tithes; but their personal effects and slaves were often seized to the amount equivalent

to the assessment, though they were compensated out of the meetings fund for their loss. The records show that care has been exercised in providing for indigent members when afflicted, or unable to support themselves, and assistance rendered to fit others for business. The subject of education claimed their early attention, and several schools were established under their superintendence. A school house was built on a portion of these old Meeting-House grounds in 1782, but was removed to Easton in 1791. A proposition was made in 1816 to move this Meeting House there; a lot of ground was purchased and bricks burned for the purpose, but the matter was reconsidered and thought inadvisable.

Friends were always much exercised in regard to taking oaths. This meeting applied for an act of the English Parliament on the subject; and in 1681 Richard Johns and William Berry were requested by the meeting to appeal to the Maryland Assembly to exempt the Society from taking oaths, which was favorably received by the Lower House but not by the Upper. In 1688 Lord Baltimore published a proclamation resolving to dispense with oaths in testamentary cases. Thenceforth those who had any scruples in the matter were permitted to affirm. The spirit of war has always been denounced by Friends as inconsistent with a Christian life, believing that arbitration is a much more peaceable and satisfactory mode of settling disagreements. Minutes of their meetings state that collections were made several times for the benefit of their members suffering from the Revolutionary War in this country, and from the effects of the Rebellion in England and Ireland.

We are informed that it was the usual custom with Friends, after attending the sessions of the West River Yearly Meetings, to go on board of the slave ships and select their slaves. In 1759 the Yearly Meeting of Maryland advised care in importing and buying negroes; in 1762 condemned importing, buying or selling slaves without the consent of the meeting; but in 1777 slave-holding was made a disownable offense. The first William Dixon freed and provided for a number of his slaves long before the consciences of others had been moved in the matter. Some voluntarily manumitted theirs. Isaac Dixon, James and Benjamin Berry, Sarah Powell, Benjamin Parvin, John and Sarah Register, John and Magdaline Kemp and James Turner were a few of the number. Schools were afterwards provided for the benefit of these colored people; and their efforts were unceasing until the general manumission occurred in 1863.

The following account is given of William Penn's visit here, in 1700:

We met at a Yearly Meeting at Treadhaven, in Maryland, upon the Eastern Shore, to which meeting, for worship, came William Penn, Lord and Lady Baltimore, with their retinue; but it was late when they came, and the strength and glory of the heavenly power of the Lord was going off from the meeting; so the lady was much disappointed, as I understood from Wm. Penn, for she told him she did not want to hear him, and such as he, for he was a scholar and a wise man, and she did not question but he could preach; but she wanted to hear some of our mechanics preach, as husbandmen, shoemakers and such like rustics, for she thought they could not preach to any purpose. William Penn told her "some of these were rather the best preachers we had among us."

An interest has always been manifested by Friends in the welfare of the Indian race. The mild and persuasive treatment of George Fox, William Penn and others seemed to insure their respect and confidence through succeeding generations. So little did our early predecessors appreciate one of the comforts of life (as well as health) that for almost a century they had no means of heating this building (foot-stoves, filled with hot embers, were sometimes used by women Friends). Some opposition was offered when a stove was proposed, and afterwards bought (in 1781), declaring that their religious zeal ought to be sufficient warmth. It is authentic that one of the members was so unyielding that, to show his disapproval, he called it a "dumb idol," and made it a receptacle for his overcoat, but as there was no fire, no damage was done; the following Sabbath he repeated the act without noticing the fire, and the odor arising from the smoking garment attracted his attention (much to the amusement of the witnesses, especially the children), and Friend Parvin had the humiliation of going to its rescue, convinced of his error as to a stove being a "dumb idol."

This house was saved twice from being destroyed by fire; once by a Friend whose name was Sarah Berry (about the year 1810); she extinguished the flame by rubbing it with a stick, not having time to obtain water or give the alarm. This ancient building brings many memories. Since its erection great progress has been made in the arts and sciences—nations have been formed and fallen asunder; and now this house is following the course of all terrestrial things—decay.

What memories crowd upon us as we stand in the presence of the Past! How great is the mind of man, and how wonderful! It grapples with complex subjects but to reduce them to comprehensive simplicity. It measures the length and breadth of our land and knows the coming

of the seasons. It brings into action latent forces—commands them, and they obey. Yet how insignificant when it attempts to comprehend the duration of time, and to measure the untold length of the past! Two hundred years! what is it but a drop in the ocean, but a thought in the history of ages? Yet, short as it is, generations have come and gone, the young have become old and passed away. Sturdy oaks, that withstood the storms of winter, and among whose inviting branches carolled birds for scores of summers, have flourished and fallen.

In the silent graveyard of the old Meeting House lie entombed the ashes of those whose smiles once made glad the heart, whose buoyant laughter delighted the ears of loving friends, around whose board echoed the voices of happy children, and from whose gates the stranger was turned not away.

On the face of those rough-hewn timbers are written, "Passing away, passing away." The plain, undecorated walls seem to echo the voices of long ago, and humbly call the weary soul to rest. The unpainted benches remind us of the untarnished lives of true Christians. The unassuming doorways, low ceilings and unsteeped roofs are typical of the meek and lowly who adorn not the exterior, to be seen of men, but who worship God with an humble and contrite heart. No organ peal is heard; but beyond the solemn silence whispers the heavenly words, "Peace, be still."

THE ISLANDS OF TALBOT

The first explorations of the Chesapeake Bay by white men were made by Capt. John Smith and his party in 1608. The map traced by him of the bay and the mouths of the rivers emptying into it, as seen by him when coasting along their shores, are very crude and necessarily inaccurate, as no actual surveys were made by him. Bozman in his *History of Maryland*, vol. 1, page 115, says:

Smith's omission to explore the Eastern Shore of Maryland, at least the midland parts of it, between the Nanticoke and Sassafras rivers, has deprived us of some interesting information relative to that part of the country now composing the counties of Talbot, Queen Anne and Kent together with the several islands facing the Bay-coast thereof, since known by the appellations of Sharpe's, Tilghman's, Poplar and Kent Island.

It may be further remarked, also, he adds that the part of the Eastern Shore of which the counties of Queen Anne and Talbot are now composed, is denominated on Smith's map,

Brooke's forest, "Overgrown with wood," as he says, and the three islands, therein imperfectly sketched by him as lying opposite thereto called by him "Winstone's isles," must have been the isle of Kent, Poplar, and Tilghman's islands, but most inaccurately designed.

GREAT CHOPTANK ISLAND OR TILGHMAN'S ISLAND

Seth Foster was the original patentee of Great Choptank Island. It was surveyed for him August 11, 1659, two years prior to the organization of Talbot County, for 1200 acres and 300 acres more, doubtless of said island, were surveyed for him January 15, 1661. In 1755 it was assessed to Matthew Tilghman for 1468 acres on the Rent Rolls of Lord Baltimore.

Seth Foster married Elizabeth, the widow of Thomas Hawkins, who died 1669. In his will, probated March 12, 1674, the said Foster devises one-third of his estate, both real and personal to his widow Elizabeth; to his son-in-law (step-son), John Hawkins 1000 acres, "Tully's Delight, on Chester river;" To eldest daughter, Elizabeth Lowe, wife of Vincent Lowe, "*Great Choptank Island*;" to youngest daughter, Sarah (who later married Michael Turbutt), 1000 acres, "Stagdish Woods," on Chester river; to two daughters, aforesaid,

residue of estate. Colonel Vincent Lowe, dying in 1692, in his will, probated October 20 of that year, devised to his wife, Elizabeth, *Great Choptank Island* and all pertaining thereto, which was left said wife by her father Seth Foster, as his oldest daughter,

requesting her, if she die without heirs, to devise said Island to Foster Turbutt and heirs, he being the son of her sister Sarah, wife of Michael Turbutt. To Mary, daughter of Michael Turbutt, 1000 acres, "Four Square" farm,—residue of estate to be sold by executors. To brother Nicholas, land in Parish of Denby, England, left testator by his mother Ann Lowe; she was the natural daughter of Henry William Cavendish, and the wife of Vincent Lowe, Sr. of Denby, England. Their daughter, Lady Jane Lowe, married for her second husband Gov. Charles Calvert, who later became the third Lord Baltimore. She died in England January 24, 1701. Her first husband was Henry Sewell of Mattapony, secretary of the province of Maryland. Col. Vincent Lowe, Jr., her brother, was High Sheriff of Talbot County in 1675, and was appointed Surveyor General of the Province in 1679. He was one of the largest landed proprietors in Talbot County, and possibly in the State.

The widow of Col. Vincent Lowe married, for her second husband, William Coursey, another prominent citizen of Talbot County, who together with his wife, mortgaged Choptank Island to Capt. John Hyde, merchant, of London, who sold it to Matthew Tilghman Ward. This last named gentleman married, firstly, Mabel Dawson Murphy, daughter of Ralph Dawson, and widow of Capt. James Murphy. He married, secondly, Margaret Lloyd, daughter of Col. Philemon Lloyd of Wye House. He was commissioned Major General of the Militia of Talbot County in 1739, Chief Justice of the Provincial Court 1729-32, Member of the Governor's Council 1719 till his death in 1741, leaving his widow, Margaret Ward, the richest woman on the Eastern Shore. His only child, a daughter Mary by his first wife, died single in 1722. He devised this entire estate, after the death of his widow, to his cousin and namesake, Matthew Tilghman, whom he had adopted when a youth. His landed estates included not only Choptank or Ward's Island, but his attractive homestead "Bayside," or "Rich Neck Manor," now (1914), the elegant country-seat of Henry H. Pearson, Jr., Esq. The town of Claiborne is located on this tract of land, which was patented by Henry Fox for 1000 acres, and conveyed by him to Capt. James Murphy in 1684.

Matthew Tilghman, a few months after the death of his benefactor,

married Ann Lloyd, and soon became one of the leading public men in the province, and a prominent patriot during the American Revolution. He died in 1790. He devised his homestead to his eldest son Lloyd Tilghman who died intestate in 1811. Choptank, Ward's or Tilghman's Island continued in the possession of Matthew Tilghman's heirs until the year 1838, when it was sold and conveyed by them to Absalom Thompson; eleven years later, in 1849, he conveyed this island to Gen. Tench Tilghman, when it was surveyed by Samuel Jackson, County Surveyor, and found to contain 1869 acres, a greater part of which was covered with a forest of tall pine trees of original growth. General Tilghman erected two portable Page saw-mills on this island, the first steam saw mills ever used on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Both of these mills were unfortunately burned, and the timber project was abandoned.

It is now (1914), nearly denuded of timber trees, the land is divided into small farms, and the town of Tilghman is a busy shipping point for fish, oysters and crabs and the canning of tomatoes and herring roe are big industries at this place.

The wind storms which have for centuries caused the waters of the Chesapeake Bay to break over the banks of this island at high tides have swept away many acres of this island on the bay front. The United States Geological Survey, Department of the Interior, has just published (1914), a most interesting pamphlet entitled *Erosion and Sedimentation in Chesapeake Bay around the mouth of Choptank River*, in which the following reference is made to Tilghman's Island.

Tilghman Island is the largest and most northerly of the three islands under discussion. It is over $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and has an area of more than three square miles, providing homes for many prosperous farmers and fisherman. At its north end are located the towns of Tilghman and Avalon with a population of several hundred people. It is separated from the mainland by a narrow strait called Knapp Narrows. This island has suffered much less erosion in proportion to its area than either of the other two. The eastern coast, as in the other islands, remained essentially unchanged during the 63 years from 1847 to 1910. Extensive erosion has taken place along the western coast, except in the protected portion in Pawpaw Cove, a semicircular indentation midway of the island. During the 53 years between 1847 and 1900 the area of Tilghman's Island decreased from 2015¹ to 1686

¹ If the U. S. Government survey of 1847 is correct, which makes the area of Tilghman's Island, at that date, 2,015 acres, then the original surveys under which this island was patented to Seth Foster in 1659 and 1661 are manifestly

acres, a total loss of 329 acres or over 16.3 per cent. The maximum encroachment of the sea has been on the southern cape (Black Walnut Point, which has reached a quarter of a mile in 63 years. The average annual encroachment of the sea on the western shore during the 53 year period was 10 feet, the estimate excluding the shore of Pawpaw Cove, which has not changed. This is a much lower rate than those effective on the corresponding coasts of the other islands. Only the southern portion of the west coast was surveyed in 1910, but here the erosion has been rather rapid, averaging 29 feet a year for the 10 year period beginning with 1900. That Tilghman Island will have a much longer life than the other two islands is manifest. By considering as before the mean annual areal loss per mile of exposed shore line and using one-half the remaining westerly exposed shore line as a basis, it would seem that the island will not disappear in its watery grave for at least 570 years. However, this estimate must be regarded only as a very rough approximation. Although the earliest maps show a large stretch of water between Tilghman and Sharpe's Islands many of the residents recount the tales told by their forebears of a generation or two ago concerning the proximity and even the connection of the two islands. It may be interesting in this connection to point out the fact that during the 63 years from 1847 to 1910 the average annual widening of the intervening water area was 0.01 mile as the islands in 1910 were 3.38 miles apart, the time of their separation, if this rate of widening has prevailed continuously would be about 340 years ago or about 1570. This is a hundred years earlier than the date of the oldest map, that of Herman, which shows a considerable stretch of intervening water.

Sharpe's Island, lying at the mouth of the Great Choptank River, on the eastern side of the Chesapeake Bay, and directly opposite the "Cliffs" of Calvert County, derives its name from one of its early owners Dr. Peter Sharpe, who is called in the *Calvert County Records* Peter Sharpe of the Cliffs, "Chirurgion." This island has been known by several different names, according as it has, at various times, belonged to this or that person, but the name of the Quaker physician of Calvert has clung to it, and will ever be used to designate a little patch of earth a century ago containing 700 acres, but which is diminishing year by year, and destined at no very remote geological period to disappear beneath the waves of the Chesapeake, unless, indeed, there shall be another of those secular upheavals which first lifted it and the whole

incorrect, as his two patents call for 1,500 acres only. It is possible, however, that he may not have taken up the whole of this island, and that the neck on the north end of this island, next to the mainland, may have been patented by Robert Knapp, who died in 1682, and from whom Knapp's Narrows, the strait or narrow stream separating Tilghman's Island from the mainland, takes its name.

Eastern Shore out of the sea. If priority of designation should be allowed to govern, the proper name of this island is Claiborne's. In the deed of Will Sharpe, son and heir of Peter, to John Eason, September 10, 1675, it is expressly stated that this island was formerly known by the name of Claiborne's Island, and now, or lately, by the name of Sharpe's Island. This is repeated in other and subsequent conveyances. There is little doubt that Capt. William Claiborne, the original settler, if he may not claim the honor of founder of Maryland, visited, took possession of, and gave his name to this island. It is really due to Claiborne, whom Lord Baltimore's colonists treated so badly, and who has fared so poorly at the hands of the historians, that his name should be permanently attached to some spot of earth in a state, the seeds of whose civilization he was the first to plant. Historic justice and the laws of geographical nomenclature demand that this island, while any of it remains shall be called Claiborne's Island. Since the above was written the name of Claiborne has been given to a village at the western terminus of the Baltimore, Chesapeake and Atlantic Railway, on Eastern Bay, which promises to become a town of some importance. In "The Worthies of Talbot," volume 1 of the *History of Talbot County*, may be found a memoir of William Claiborne who founded the first settlement of white men in Maryland on the south end of Kent Island a few years before Lord Baltimore's colonists landed at Saint Mary's. It was Claiborne and his Puritan followers who defeated Lord Baltimore's Governor, Stone, at the battle of the Severn which made him not only Lord of Kent but of all Maryland, and he continued so during the reign of Cromwell the Protector in England. In the autumn of 1659, the Great Protector passed away, and two years afterwards Charles II was restored to his throne and Maryland quietly acknowledged him. That was necessarily the end of Claiborne in the province of his hold upon Kent Island. The famous "rebel," as he was then called, returned to Virginia where he owned a fine old estate, called "Romanceke" in King William County, and either there, or in the County of New Kent, where he also owned broad acres, and which he had so named in contradistinction to Old Kent in Maryland, he died at the age of about ninety toward the end of the seventeenth century. These old struggles are now long forgotten, but they lie at the foundation of Maryland history and are worthy of attention. He was a soldier, a diplomat, a politician and a man of genius, and the multitude of honorable persons of his blood in the United States need not be ashamed of the descent from him says Jno.

Eston Cooke in the August number, 1883, of the magazine of *American History*. A pamphlet just published (1914), by the U. S. Geological Survey, heretofore referred to, entitled *Erosion and Sedimentation in Chesapeake Bay around the mouth of Choptank River* contains the following interesting information relative to Sharpe's Island:

SHARPS ISLAND

Loss in area.—Sharps Island, the smallest of the three under discussion, stands directly at the mouth of Choptank River, unprotected on any side from the action of the waves. Less than a generation ago it was a summer resort and supported a number of people throughout the year. The north end was well wooded and the island was a favorite ground for hunting ducks and small game. The days of its prosperity are now but a memory, and the life of the island is a thing of the past. The trees have disappeared save for a meager half dozen; the houses have been washed away except for the large hotel which stands alone in the center of the island, a crumbling monument to the activity of other days; the site of an artesian well has been transgressed by the waves so that it now presents the unique feature of a well in the midst of the waters of the bay. The survivors of the piling that made up the long pier which formerly invited the voyager only add to the melancholy of the deserted and dreary scene.

Impressions and hearsay are not the only evidence of remarkable changes in the island, for the story told by the comparison of the three maps of 1848, 1900 and 1910 is equally noteworthy. In 1848 the island contained 438 acres; in 1900 the surprisingly small area of 91 acres, or but 21 per cent, had survived. There had been an average annual loss of 6.7 acres, or 1.5 per cent. Owing to the decrease in the length of shore line the amount of erosion annually during the period from 1900 to 1910 dropped to an average of 3.8 acres, which, however, was 4 per cent of the total area of 1900. The area of the island in 1910 was 53 acres, showing a loss of 88 per cent in 62 years, an average annual loss of 6.2 acres, or 1.4 per cent.

Linear cutting.—The maximum erosion on Sharps Island, as on James Island, has been on the west and north sides, the east and south sides having remained substantially unchanged. An interesting feature is the continuance of the sandspit on the south end until after 1900, when the pier was washed away. Since then the spit has moved around to the southeast corner of the island, inclosing a small pond. The northern part of the island is made up of material of the Talbot formation and rises out of the water as much as 7 feet. Here the erosion has been enormous, the water advancing 0.35 mile in 52 years and 0.57 mile in 62 years. The average encroachment on the north and west coasts during the 52-year interval was 0.32 mile, or at the rate of 32 feet a year. During the 10 years between 1900 and 1910 the bay advanced 0.21 mile on the north shore, or at the remarkable rate of 110 feet a

year. The loss on the west coast, however, was much less, averaging about 21 feet a year during the period.

The marshland of the southern part of the island is withstanding the force of the waves much more effectively than the rest of the island and will doubtless be the last to disappear. It may be interesting in this connection to venture a prediction, based on the facts at hand, as to the time of final disappearance of the island. By plating the length of the island as ordinates against the time interval between surveys, it is evident that the rate of erosion has greatly increased in the last 10 years. If the rate of that interval were to continue the island would disappear before 1930. However, it is obvious from the general study that the erosion was unusually intense during this period and furthermore that when the marshland is reached the rate will decrease. On the basis of the rate of encroachment during the 52-year interval and the maximum width of 0.28 mile, the time of disappearance would be put at 1947. From a consideration of the annual areal loss per mile of shore line subject to erosion, one-half the remaining exposed shore line being used as a basis, the average annual loss will be 1.67 acres. By this method the date of the island's entire submergence would be put at 1942. At the rate during the last 10 years on the west coast, the estimated date would be a little later, probably about 1950 to 1955.

From general considerations the writer feels that it is fairly safe to predict that Sharps Island will be entirely gone by 1950 and that it is not beyond the range of possibility that the island will disappear before 1940. The higher land to the north will doubtless be cut away first, and in 15 years, if the average yearly rate persists, the house will be reached. In 20 years probably little will be left but the low-lying marshland.

POPLAR ISLAND OR FOSTER'S ISLAND

In the *Calvert Papers* No. 269, Record for Land 1640, folio 106, is the following record:

Isle of Kent County, Thompson's Manor, containing the Island called Popeley's Island, containing 1000 acres, and 430 acres on Isle of Kent due Richard Thompson for transporting himself, wife, his child, one maid servant and six men servants—surveyed 6th November 1640 owned by Seth Foster 1658.

This Richard Thompson was a near kinsman and henchman of the notorious Capt. William Claiborne, the first white settler on Kent Island, which later belonged to Talbot County. A few years only after Thompson had settled on Poplar Island, his entire family, including his wife, children and servants were all massacred by the blood-thirsty Nanticoke Indians, during his absence from the Island.

In 1642 Giles Brent being Commander of the Isle of Kent, William Luddington and Richard Thompson were appointed commissioners. This entitled him to a seat in the Assembly of the Province.

In 1638 the Assembly had passed an act of Attainder against Claiborne, by which all of his property and stores at his trading post on Kent Island were forfeited to the Proprietary. Claiborne went back to England to submit his claims under the Virginia Charter to the Crown; on his return, in 1644, Thompson evidently advocated his claims, for Governor Calvert, in 1644, issued a proclamation,

to be published on the Isle of Kent, prohibiting any trade with that island till ships had first been at St. Maries, and declaring Captain William Clayborne and Richard Thompson, planter, to be enemies to the Province, and prohibiting all intelligence or correspondence with them or agents.

When the Royal Government in England was usurped by Oliver Cromwell, after the execution of Charles I, Claiborne, being a Puritan, recovered his estates on Kent Island, and became one of the leading citizens of the province. Thomas Hawkins appears to have been the next owner of Poplar Island, after Richard Thompson, for in 1654 he sold and conveyed by deed to Seth Foster "Two quarters of my land on Poplar Island." In his will, dated October 21, 1656, but not probated till October 4, 1669, he divided his land on Poplar Island between his wife Elizabeth and son Thomas Hawkins, Jr. His widow later married Seth Foster. Seth Foster, dying in 1674, devised Great Chop-tank Island to his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Vincent Lowe; to his daughter Sarah, who, later, married Michael Turbutt, 1000 acres of land in upper Talbot, later Queen Anne County, and residue of estate to his two daughters aforesaid. This residue must have included at least one-half of Poplar Island. He also mentions son-in-law, meaning stepson, John Hawkins, who later became prominent as Judge of the Provincial Court. He resided at Queenstown, the first county-seat of Queen Anne's County.

In the Assembly Proceedings 1657, *Maryland Archives*, is the following act concerning Poplar's Island.

It is enacted and declared in the name of his highness the Lord Protector of England &c and by the authority of this present General Assembly, that the island commonly called Poplar's Island lying near unto the Island of Kent be adjoyned unto the County of Kent, and from henceforth be of all persons so accounted and taken to be.

In 1661 Poplar Island was made a part of Talbot as also Kent Island, but in 1671 it was restored to Kent County together with Kent Island, by the following proclamation.

To all persons to whom these presents may come: These are to certify that I have ordered and appoynted, and doe order and appoynt that for the future the Northeast side of Chester as far as the bounds of Talbot County were formerly on that side, shall now bee added to Kent County, and I doe declare that part to belong to Kent, *as alsoe Poplar's Island*, and doe hereby require that the Sheriffe of Talbot County presume not to recover any quitt rents or dues from the inhabitants living and residing uppon the place above specified, they being within the County of Kent. Given under my hand this 4th day of June 1671.

In 1695, both Kent Island and Poplar Island were attached to Talbot. In 1706 Kent Island was divorced from Talbot and given to a younger sister Queen Anne.

After the termination of the Reign of Oliver Cromwell in England, and the accession of King Charles II, this monarch determined to dispossess the Dutch of the settlements they had made in America on what the English claimed as their territory. To this end, he granted to his brother James, Duke of York, a patent for all the country from the Connecticut to the Delaware Bay. Shortly after this grant was made war was declared between the English and Dutch and the same year New Amsterdam surrendered to an expedition under command of Col. Richard Nichols and the name of that place was changed to New York.

Shortly after the surrender of New Amsterdam an expedition under Sir Robert Carr was sent to Delaware Bay, which without much bloodshed, took possession of the country, according to Carr's instructions, in the name of his majesty the King of England. The name of New Amstel was now changed to New Castle, and Altona was called by the name of Christiana and later Wilmington. New York and the country along the Delaware remained in the possession of the English till 1674, when war again breaking out between the Dutch and English they were conquered by the former.

The downfall of the Dutch, in 1664, terminated the connection of the Dutch Governor, D'Hynioassa, with the settlement at New Castle. He sought refuge in Maryland, and his property including an island in the Delaware River, was confiscated and given to Carr. He was kindly received by Lord Baltimore who gave him a grant of the whole

or part of Foster's Island or Poplar Island, in Talbot County. No doubt this was on account of the favor he had showed the English in Maryland during the latter part of the time he was in authority in Delaware. Poplar Island had doubtless been confiscated by Lord Baltimore from the adherents of Claiborne when they were driven out of Kent and Poplar Island. Just how long D'Hyniossa continued to live on this island is not known. An interesting memoir of this Dutch Governor of Delaware may be found among the "Worthies of Talbot" volume 1 of this work.

George Lynn-Lachlan Davis in his *Day Star of American Freedom*, published in 1855, says of Poplar Island.

The number of the Dutch refugees was larger than that of the Swedish; including the Governor Alexander Diniossa, and his children, originally from Gilderland; He lived some time upon an Island of the Chesapeake then called "Fosters;" but subsequently, it seems, upon the Western Shore, and the last glimpse I obtain is in Prince George's where his family dwindled down into a state either of extreme misfortune or of great obscurity.

In common with nearly all of the many islands in the Chesapeake Bay, Poplar Island is fast washing away. It has been cut into three separate islands by the lashing of the waves of the Chesapeake Bay and constant erosions have decreased the acreage of this tract from 1000 acres in 1640 to less than 500 acres in 1912.

Royston's Island, formerly called Aldern's Island, at the mouth of Irish Creek, assessed in 1755 for 41 acres to Richard Aldern's widow, Elizabeth, and *Willey's Island*, on Broad Creek at the lower end of Church Neck, about two miles south of St. Michaels, formerly called *Hambleton's Island*, and in 1755 about double the size of Royston's Island are both fast washing away. *While Powell's Island* at the end of Howell's Point on the Choptank River, assessed to Judge Samuel Dickinson in 1755 for 55 acres has long ago entirely disappeared, as have also other smaller islands in Talbot waters, among which may be named *Sherwood's Island*, on Miles River, assessed in 1755, for 20 acres to Philemon Hambleton.

BRUFF'S ISLAND OR CROUCH'S ISLAND

This island takes its names from Thomas Bruff, silversmith, who emigrated from London, England, to Maryland, about 1665. He was constable of Chester Hundred in 1690; married, 1668, Rhoda, daughter of Charles Walker and died March 1702. He devised to

son Richard, dwelling plantation at Doncaster (pronounced Donkster), and one-half of Crouch's Island, and to son Thomas, residue of island. This island was originally called Crouch's Island from William Crouch of Ann Arundel County, who, by will probated May 25, 1676, devises "Crouch's Choyce," at mouth of Wye to son Josias. The town of Doncaster was located on this tract called Crouch's Choyce. Thomas Bruff, Jr., and Katherine, his wife, conveyed to Edward Lloyd, Crouch's Island, by deed dated April 11, 1707, and from that date it has been known as Bruff's Island. It was originally laid out for Henry Morgan who assigned it to William Crouch. Josias Crouch, Jr., sold it to Edmond O'Dwyer, who, in November, 1678, conveys to Peter Sayer Crouch's Island, containing 50 acres, Sayer reconveys it to O'Dwyer, who, in turn, conveyed it to Thomas Hinds in 1687, and in the same year the said Hinds conveys this island to Thomas Bruff. 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. The foundations of this old warehouse which had been buried under the sand for over a century were unearthed, in 1912, by Mr. Sidney S. Schuyler, the present owner of Bruff's Island, when digging sand with which to build a concrete sea-wall to protect the banks of his island. Bruff's Island is now (1914), connected with the mainland by a solid roadway of sand which has gradually filled up the deep stream or strait through which schooners formerly navigated. This island now containing about thirty acres is completely covered with handsome forest trees of great variety and is a park of rare beauty.

There were six tobacco warehouses in Talbot County during the Revolutionary War. The following communication from the commissioners of tax for Talbot to "His Excellency, the Governor, and Council of the State of Maryland" shows the locations of these several warehouses.

Talbot County, Aug. 7th, 1780.

Agreeable to Act for the regulation of the staple of tobacco, we the undersigned commissioners of the tax for Talbot County do certify that we have nominated and do hereby recommend the following persons to be Inspectors at the several warehouses therein to wit:

At Broad Creek Warehouse on Choptank River, John Caulk and James Wrightson, Jr.

At *Bruff's Warehouse* on St. Michaels River, Thomas Ray and Wm. Sherwood.

At Oxford Warehouse on Choptank River, John Markland and James Colston.

At Parson's Landing Warehouse on Choptank River, Tristram Bowdle and Philip Horney.

At Kingstown Warehouse on Choptank River, James Barnwell, Jr., and Samuel Register.

At Emerson's Warehouse on Wye River, Robert Hall and John Clayland.

THO. SHERWOOD,
JERE BANNING,
HOWES GOLDSBOROUGH,
SAM CHAMBERLAINE.

The town of Doncaster, adjoining Bruff's Island, at the mouth of Wye River, like the town of York, the ancient county seat, on the eastern branch of Wye River, probably never contained more than a dozen houses. They both doubtless went out of existence about 1707, when Queen Anne's County was organized and took away from Talbot the northern half of her territory, and when Queenstown, between Chester River, and the head of Back Wye River, became the county-seat of this new county, and the court house at York was removed to what was later Easton, but then called Talbot Court House.

WYE ISLAND

Among the many beautiful little rivers which lend a peculiar charm to the quiet scenery of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, there is none so lovely as the Wye, nor is there any which is more intimately connected with the great men and stirring events of the youthful days of the republic. Originating in a small creek in the lower portion of Queen Anne's County, near the Talbot line, it forms the boundary between the two, widening rapidly until it mingles with Skipton Creek. Just at this point its stream divides into two branches, the Back and the Front Wye, these curving arms holding in loving embrace the fertile and historic island which is the scene of the following reminiscences, until, clasping hands again round Bruff's Island, which stands like a sentinel at the outer gate, they flow together into the broad mouth of the St. Michaels and make their way with it toward the Eastern Bay. The stranger is told by those who ought to know better that the river thus forms a double Y, from which its name is derived. A glance at the county map, however, shows all along its banks the ancestral seats of the Lloyds and Tilghmans—names suggestive of the Welsh origin of the old families which bear them—and tells us more correctly that

the early settlers brought with them loving memories of the bright little river which rises in the ancient Cambrian hills, and, mingling its waters with those of the Severn, flows out through Bristol Channel to the Atlantic. It was thus, undoubtedly, that Wye River obtained its name. Its banks are almost entirely free from the dreary border of marsh which fringes most of the peninsula streams. The channel, deepening rapidly from the shore, sweeps between bold bluffs of fine woodland and smiling fields of grain or clover, dotted by the handsome residences of many whose ancestors dispensed stately hospitalities in these same homes more than a century ago.

Wye Island, the subject of this paper, is known by several other names, being called indiscriminately Chew's, Bordley's and Paca's Island² from the distinguished families which at different times have occupied it, and in connection with which it became a prominent feature in the early history, not of Maryland only, but of the United States. In shape it is exceedingly irregular, being about five and three-quarter miles in length by one and a half in breadth at its widest part, curving round with the river and broken in its outline into numerous fantastic peninsulas, indented by a multitude of miniature bays and gulfs. The land, as with all other islands in the Chesapeake rivers, is exceedingly fertile—a fact which is accounted for by their formation, the alluvial matter washed down by the stream having been gradually deposited on the sandbars which form their foundations, this accumulation giving a depth and richness to the soil unknown on the adjoining 'main.' Its natural strength is manifested in the dense thickets of young timber—oak, chestnut, walnut, hickory and other woods of similar robust growth—which spring up wherever cultivation has been intermitted for a few years. There is no gradual sloping of shore: no 'flats' stretch out in wide, shallow margin toward the channel. The quiet river opens against a firm, high bank which might almost be called a bluff and flows calm and deep on either side of the island. These features give us the key to the home life of its distinguished occupants a century and more ago. The stately mansion, now scarred by time and feeble with the infirmities of age, would never have risen on such a site had not the broad fields and teeming pastures been capable of sustaining its manorial elegance, nor would an island home less accessible by easy water-transit for coach-and-four have suited the men who took so active a part in the great events of their day. The river murmurs its

² This island was also called "Lloyd's Insula." It was conveyed by Stephen Whetstone to Philemon Lloyd in 1668.

inarticulate story of the historic past, and the wind, as it sighs among the broad leaves of the old catalpa groves, whispers its memories of silken coats and jeweled buckles; of stately minuets and courtly dinners; of brains unclouded by the crusty port of other days retiring from the festive board to discuss the problems of statecraft and the issues of unequal wars, of baying hounds and scarlet-coated riders; of wealth and intellect and culture which have faded with the peaceful golden sunset which closed a century of strife and storm. For here was the model plantation of John Beale Bordley, where that distinguished patriot delighted to expend his great wealth in giving a practical impetus to the agricultural interests of his State; and here was the home of William Paca, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the governor who represented Maryland in that august assembly which received the commission laid down by the Father of his Country, the rich harvest of seed sown by their hands with many misgivings and cultivated through eight long, weary years with blood and tears and treasure.

In the will of Mrs. Henrietta Maria Dulany, the mother of both Mrs. Judge Bordley and Mrs. Judge Paca, the first item is the bequest to her son, Philemon Lloyd Chew, of

all that tract or parcel of land lying in Queen Anne's county called Lloyd's Insula, containing seventeen hundred and ninety-five acres and also all that other tract or parcel of land called the Purchase, adjoining to the former tract, and containing one thousand acres; both which tracts together are commonly called or known by the name of The Island, or Lloyd's Island in Wye River.

This magnificent estate of nearly twenty-eight hundred acres of the richest land in Maryland was but a portion of the immense fortune of this wealthy lady. Mrs. Dulany's maiden name was Lloyd, and her paternal grandmother had been goddaughter, namesake and maid-of-honor to the queen of Charles I. Her first husband, from whom a large part of her wealth seems to have been derived, was Samuel Chew, a descendant of John Chew, who built the first stone house at Jamestown. Their daughter Margaret married John Beale Bordley, and their daughter Mary became the wife of William Paca. This will bears date this fourth day of November in the year of our Lord Christ seventeen hundred and sixty-five. Among other matters of interest it shows us the *animus* of Southern slavery in those days—a spirit which will be recognized by many as marking the 'institution' to its close. Bequeathing to her grandchild 'the old negro woman Jenny,' Mrs. Dulany adds,

I desire a tender care may be taken of the said old Jenny by those to whom she shall go as aforesaid, and I particularly hope my said granddaughter will be careful of her.

Further on we read,

It is my order and request that when my things in general shall be divided, the old ones may go with their families, and that they be well treated and taken care of for their past labor, the benefit whereof my children have received.

John Beale Bordley was one of the executors of the will. This distinguished patriot was born at Annapolis, February 11, 1727. His father was Thomas Bordley, of Bordley Hall, Yorkshire, England, attorney-general of the province of Maryland. This gentleman was the first husband of Ariana van der Hayden, the granddaughter of Augustin Hermann, the famous Bohemian exile who took so prominent a part in the affairs of New Amsterdam in the days of his friend and connection by marriage, Peter Stuyvesant. This Hermann afterward received from Lord Baltimore a grant of the tract of Cecil county, Md., still known as 'Bohemia Manor.' By his wife, Miss Shippen, of Boston, he became the ancestor of the Bordleys and Frisbies of Maryland, with all their numerous and widespread descendants, and of the Jennings and Randolph families of Virginia.

John Beale Bordley was the last of the admiralty judges of Maryland under the provincial government. Margaret Chew was his first wife, and on her death he married Mrs. Mifflin—whose maiden name was Fishbourne—of Philadelphia. He thus became stepfather to General Thomas Mifflin, governor of Pennsylvania, and president of Congress when Washington resigned his commission. Judge Bordley's name appears as an 'Esquire Justice' in a 'copy common recovery, William Paca vs. James Philips,' in 1770, the paper being still preserved at the Wye Hall mansion.

The special interest attaching to Judge Bordley, however, does not centre in the historic events of his times, but in his passion for agriculture and the object toward which its practical aim was directed. It was his 'hobby' to prove how easily the colonies could be made independent of the mother country, and Wye Island independent of the rest of the world. Accordingly, he devoted his large fortune to the culture not only of grain and fruits, but of dye-plants, herbs and domestic condiments—to the rearing of cattle and sheep and the manufacture of their various products into food and textile fabrics. His farm became a manufacturing village, supplying its own raw ma-

terial, and the result was that common to 'model farms' the world over—everybody admired, but nobody imitated it. A very practically useful fancy of his, however, was the sending of boat loads of beef and flour, fruits and vegetables, as presents to the nearest military posts, and many a hungry 'Continental' was made full and happy by these substantial tokens of the judge's success in farming. On one occasion he stripped his estate on Pool's Island, opposite the mouth of Worton Creek, of all its valuable stock for the use of the army.

While others were devoting their hours of study to the political problems of the young republic, Bordley gave up his literary leisure to the production of a work on husbandry, which makes curious reading at the present day. The book is written in the first person, giving the results of his own careful experiments, as well as his extensive studies, and covers the entire ground, from the building of farm-mansion and offices to the preservation of shoe leather and the preparation of cheap food. From this work we learn with some surprise that

in Maryland most of the wheat sown is *amongst maize*, while it is ripening, in September.

The old methods of culture are condemned, and new ones suggested which would ensure the ruin of a modern farmer in the course of two or three crops. From patriotic motives the cultivation of tobacco has been discarded for that of hemp, to which many pages are devoted, with full instructions to housewives to make fine linen out of hemp.

The following description of an improved plan for threshing wheat reads strangely enough after one has watched the throbbing steam-power as it whirls the straw clouds with a living energy from the throat or the huge threshing machine:

In my treading, twenty-four horses are formed into four ranks at some distance from the floor, and when the floor is ready laid one of the ranks has the word given to advance. For the sake of order and regular work the boy who is mounted on one of the horses advances in a walk with the whole rank haltered or tied together, and enters on the bed of wheat, walking the horses upon the track laid with wheat: another rank is ordered to follow as soon as the first is supposed to have obtained a distance equal to a fourth part of the circumference of the bed; and so for the other ranks. They are forbid to go out of a walk till, having walked upon the bed five or six rounds, word is given to move on in a sober, slow trot, and to keep the ranks at their full distance from each other, as the four cardinal points of the compass.

The first journey is eight or nine miles; then the horses are fed, watered and rested until the straw is moved, and the process repeated until twenty-five miles have been traveled which completes the operation for the day. Think of twenty-four horses trotting twenty-five miles: to do in one day what a modern field-engine accomplishes in two or three hours!

In describing the proper methods of building country habitations Judge Bordley makes original suggestions about supplying the upper stories with water. He says:

Water might be raised to a head at the top of Mr. Morris' quarry-hill on the Schuylkill for supplying reservoirs on the tops of the houses in Philadelphia. Consult ingenious men. The tide falling eight feet, and running two and five-tenths miles in an hour, at least equal to the walking of horses in mill-work, could not works be so constructed that the impetus of the water of that river should move a wheel (I think a horizontal one) which would force the water wanted up to a reservoir on the top of that hill? A horizontal wheel under water would for ever turn one and the same way, whether the water runs ebbing or flowing; as near thirty years ago I experienced in a model.

Perhaps the commissioners of the Schuylkill waterworks might take a valuable hint from the above.

One of the judge's pet schemes was the introduction of the hop to encourage 'home-brew' as a substitute for the execrable rum of those days, but in the course of his experiments he nearly overshot his mark. Describing how a certain Mr. Anderson obtained 'an English gallon of pure spirit' from a bushel of Irish potatoes, he gives the following account of the liquor:

It was in every respect the finest vinous spirit I ever saw. It was somewhat like very fine brandy, but was milder, and had a kind of coolness on the palate peculiar, to itself. Its flavor was still more peculiar, and resembled brandy impregnated with the odor of violets and raspberries. A single glass of it put into a bowl of rum-punch gave it a flavor of half rum, half brandy, impregnated with raspberries. There was no difference in the taste of the very weakest of its spirit near the end of the distilling and that of the first; which is a peculiarity.

Fortunately for the cause of temperance, so near his heart, all the judge's efforts failed to reproduce this nectar. Otherwise, one-half the farmers of Pennsylvania and the Eastern Shore would probably have gone to making potato-brandy for the other half to put into their rum-punch.

Perhaps one more extract may be of interest to Centennial house-keepers, as describing how their great-grandmothers used to make ice-cream:

Two pewter basins, one large, the other small, the small one to have a close cover: in this basin the cream is put and mixt with strawberries, etc., to give flavor and color: sweeten it. Cover it close, and set the small basin in the large one. Fill this with ice and a handful of salt, to stand three-quarters of an hour: then uncover and stir the cream well together; cover it close again, to stand half an hour longer; and then it may be turned into a plate. Tin or copper vessels may do.

In 1785, Judge Bordley removed to Philadelphia, where with Judge Peters and others he founded the first agricultural society in Pennsylvania. He died in 1804. The antique residence³ which he occupied at the lower end of Wye Island is no more. It was built by Samuel Chew of materials brought from England, and was one story high and one hundred and three feet front. The splendid granite wharves built by Judge Bordley are shapeless stone-heaps, and the salt-houses, loom houses, shops and cottages have disappeared.

Passing now to the upper portion of the island, we reach the grand old mansion which was the home of William Paca. Unlike the Bordley estate, this has never been alienated from the family, and dilapidation are everywhere prominent, it is still the property and the home of the lineal descendants of the Signer.

The dwelling stands upon a commanding eminence, whence it looks down upon the 'Narrows' and controls a view of thousands of fertile acres, once the inheritance of the Lloyds and Chews, and still owned, to a great extent, by their descendants. The land naturally slopes downward from the river bluff, but has been terraced up until it forms a broad plateau, sufficient to accommodate not only the house, but the extensive gardens and pleasure-grounds which surround it. This herculean work was done, according to a family tradition, by the negroes of the estate, the earth being trundled up in wheelbarrow. The same tradition tells how Governor Paca, in order to overcome the determination of his son John to go to sea, gave him *carte blanche* to build a house after his own ideas and without regard to expense; and John took him at his word. The original plans and elevation show a

³ This magnificent mansion was destroyed by fire in the month of ———, 1879. The tanners were at work repairing the roof, and in their absence the fire from their hand furnaces communicated with the wood work, and before it was discovered, the conflagration had obtained such headway as to render it unmanageable.

palatial mansion, with arcades and porticoes, niches and pedestals for statuary, battlements and pinnacles for roof and tower, the details of which were probably never completely carried out. Much of the elaborate ornamentation was of lead, and was taken down in the course of the Revolutionary struggle to be run into bullets for the Continental muskets. Ruinous as its present condition is, there is ample evidence of its primal grandeur. The building is in the Doric style, the plans having been drawn by the same hand which originally designed the Capitol at Washington. The central portion is square, with two spacious porticoes, the lofty columns of which present an imposing appearance. Stretching away on either side are the arcades, or more properly covered passages, terminating, the one in the kitchen and offices, the other in the grand parlor or 'ball room.' Entering the house is like stepping back into the past century. A single glance at the antique *tete-a-tete* sofa explains to us at once why the gentlemen of that day wrote to their wives as 'Dear Madam,' and subscribed themselves 'Your devoted companion, lover and friend.' No man who did his courting on that stiff-backed seat, unable to face the lady of his choice without sitting three feet away from her or breaking his spine, could ever after have come to terms of undue familiarity. Looking around the square hall which served as dining-room, we see La-Fayette's side-board, with its spindle legs, its wine-cupboards and ancient knife-cases of inlaid mahogany, and its feet elaborately carved into griffon's claws. There is nothing of elegance about this ancient furniture—nothing, indeed, except the fact of its whilom ownership, to distinguish it from similar old-time relics which may be seen in a hundred lumber closets throughout the country. But we moralize on the degeneracy of the times as we think,

How solid and substantial were the men and the ways of those days! None of your flimsy modern shams for Monsieur le Marquis and the brave old Signers, but hard, hand-carved mahogany, worth its weight in gold, if not in blood, having run the gauntlet of the Gulf voyage through waters swarming with the pirates of the Costa Rica!

Alas! a nearer inspection dissolves the spell! An irregular patch of white attracts our attention, and we turn away disgusted as we realize that at last the old fraud is only *veneered!* And perhaps the gallant Frenchman himself was, after all, but a fine specimen of veneering. A current anecdote among Eastern Shore gentlemen whose fathers or grandfathers' hospitality he enjoyed tells how his first question to a stranger after introduction would be, 'Married or single?'—'Married,

sir.'—'Happy man!' would be the rejoinder. In the next case, probably, the reply would be 'Single.'—'Lucky dog!' with a wink and a shrug and a familiar slap on the shoulder.

Opening on this square hall are several bed rooms, remarkable only for their small size. The long corridors, however, are noble apartments, and full of corner cupboards and similar housekeeping arrangements and conveniences. Here, too, one wanders in the past. The Signer's handsome bookcase, on the shelves of which stand the volumes of his law library, and the tables where he played short whist with his Revolutionary confrères, are still used by his descendants. Here, too, are the antique chairs which graced the gubernatorial mansion at Annapolis, and were loaned for Congressional use when Washington resigned his commission. Of course, among them is the inevitable chair in which Washington sat, but fortunately its identity has been lost among its half dozen fellows, as like as so many peas, and the visitor may take his choice. The grand parlor is a beautiful and stately room, the lofty ceiling ornamented with handsome structure work and the walls hung with family portraits of very great artistic men. Among them is a full length picture of Governor Paca by Peale, and in his best style. It shows us a tall, portly man, of commanding presence and strikingly handsome features. The rich dress and easy carriage betoken a gentleman of wealth and breeding, while the dark eye and well-chiseled mouth evidence character and firmness rather than great intellectual force.

William Paca was born in Harford county, Maryland, October 31, 1740. His father, John Paca, Esq., was a gentleman of large wealth, a stout, handsome and refined man, as evidenced by his portrait at Wye Hall, his features giving confirmation to the idea of Italian origin suggested by the family name. His mother was Elizabeth Smith, whose grandmother had married a brother of the duke of Marlborough, and whose mother, Elizabeth Martin, was one of the most celebrated beauties of her day. This lady, according to a family tradition, excited much comment by her flirtations with Richard Caswell, afterward governor of North Carolina, and Richard Dallam (whom she married). Some of the wits of her coterie immortalized her coquetries in the doggerel verses, still extant, beginning—

Pretty Betty Martin,
Tiptoe! Tiptoe!
Pretty Betty Martin,
Tiptoe fine!

The writer of this paper well remembers a large parrot, a favorite of his boyish days in South Carolina, one of whose accomplishments was the repetition of these lines.

William Paca was educated at Philadelphia under the tuition of Rev. William Smith, D.D. He studied law in the office of Stephen Bordley, Esq., at Annapolis, was licensed to practice in 1761, and admitted to the provincial bar in 1764. He married first Mary Chew, the sister-in-law of Judge Bordley, by whom he had one son, John P. Paca, the builder of Wye Hall. He afterward married Miss Ann Harrison of Philadelphia, a niece of the Reverend Bishop White. This lady died childless. This statement is at variance with that made by Goodrich in the brief sketch of Governor Paca among the *Lives of the Signers*, but the facts are from a genealogical paper preserved by the family at Wye Hall.⁴ Many of these papers, seemingly of no importance or interest whatever, give us a far better insight into the life and manners of those olden times and the characters of those who lived in them than the pretentious state documents which tell of public events. Thus, we find a duplicate list, dated November 9, 1766, of articles received by William Paca from the personal estate of Mrs. Dulany, his wife's mother, which not only enumerates many curious household utensils the use of which has been long since forgotten, but evinces a particular attention to detail which few modern heirs or executors would care to imitate. The list embraces about four hundred items, varying in character from negro slaves to '½ lb. sugar candy,' 'one old copper cullender,' and '1 sconce glass, broke to pieces,' and ranging in value from eighty pounds to threepence. From this we learn that a negro woman with bedding was worth thirty-five pounds while bacon and beef on the hoof were appraised at two shillings and three shillings per pound respectively. Hyson tea was valued at one pound two shillings per pound, and that ten years before the burning of the Peggy Stewart, and the Boston Tea Party! Coffee, on the other hand, was only ninepence. Those were halcyon days for the wealthy farmers of the Eastern Shore, when only the exceeding stillness of the calm forboded the coming storm. Here is a little scrap of paper which, like the burin of some skillful master, presents to us a spirited picture by the suggestions of a few well drawn lines:

⁴ Another paper, however, supports Goodrich.

DR SIR:

"We send you some Fish caught last evening in our Seine & 3 Crabs. If not engaged out nor inconvenient to the ladies we will dine with you today.

Yrs. affly

Sunday.

WM. PACA.

The calm reaches of the Wye were teeming with fish with choicest flavor, then as now, but the inquisitive crustacean had not yet discovered the comfortable grass-beds of its bottom, or perhaps was out of season. The perch and tailors are occupying the attention of the dusky scullery-maids, while the clumsy old family-coach with its four sleek bays lumbers down into the huge scow, and is ferried across the river with its powdered and farthingaled occupants on their way to service at old Wye Church. Within the sacred building the parson and clerk are rendering the service in a responsive duet, while the stiff brocades and wide hoops of the lady worshippers render kneeling in the quaint, narrow pews a simple impossibility. Without, the gentlemen, in scarlet coats, green silk waistcoats, buckskin breeches and heavy topboots, are discussing the price of tobacco, the fresh news—only six weeks old—which the Ariel has just brought from England, the growing burdens of taxation and the acts of the provincial council, entering the church with an air of stately courtesy to the minister, rather than of reverence for the place, in time to hear the "fifth head" of his formal and somewhat dry discourse, as was the general fashion of the day. And then the old coach lumbers back to the Island; the gentlemen ride alongside in a courtly converse with the fair inmates; the fish splutter in the pan and the crabs are daintily served on a "willow pattern" India-china hot plate as a Benjamin's mess for some favorite lady-guest, and the old catalpa trees cast long and dubious shadows ere the gentlemen leave their curious port to join the ladies, who are taking a dish of tea in the great parlor and discussing the latest phase of court fashions—whether rouge and patches should be worn together, and whether the new coiffure should be twenty inches or two feet in height. These same ladies, however, were very practical housewives, and knew how to look after their interests, for here is a copy of the lease and indenture between one of them and Nathan Ireland of Cecil county:

The said Nathan to have the use for three years of her farm known as Turkey Point (familiar to all canal travelers between Baltimore and Philadelphia), the annual rent to be "four hundred pounds in current money, four hundredweight of good salted butter, well put up in firkins, twenty-four turkeys, seven dozen dunghill fowls, ten barrels of good, well made herrings and one barrel of nice shad"(sic).

It is perfectly safe to assert that could tenants be found now to make the same terms, every farm on the Eastern Shore would be rented out before the close of the year.

The practice of the law and the exciting events in which he early began to take an active part left Mr. Paca but little time to enjoy the rural pleasures of his island home. His residence was usually at Annapolis—no doubt known then as Annapolis—and in 1771 we find him a member of the House of Burgesses, the people's branch of the provincial legislature. Daniel Dulany, his friend and connection by marriage, had yielded to the temptation held out by a lucrative public office and espoused the government side, but Paca's independent and fearless spirit was not to be swayed by wealth or official influence. A curious instance of the spirit of the times is found in the formal hanging on a gibbet and burying in a coffin of Governor Eden's obnoxious proclamation enforcing the onerous fee laws. This piece of mummery, which would now be regarded as worthy only of a rabble, was headed by Paca and Hammond in person, minute guns being fired from a schooner owned by the former. For the remainder of the day the queerly-planned streets of the "Ancient City"—laid out, it is said by the pattern of a cart-wheel, the State House being the hub—were thronged by a festive and excited but not disorderly crowd of citizens. In 1774 Paca was sent to Congress, where he continually advocated, against the sense of his constituents and the instructions of the council, the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. In June, 1776, these instructions were withdrawn, and Paca and his colleagues left free to append their signatures to the world-famed document which was adopted on the Fourth of July and signed on the second of August, 1776. From this time until his death he was occupied almost without cessation in the performance of the most important public duties. In 1778 he was appointed chief-justice of the Supreme Court of Maryland, in 1780 chief-judge of the United States Court of Appeals: in 1782 he was elected governor, and again in 1786. In 1789 he was appointed by President Washington judge of the United States District Court for Maryland.

The inauguration of Smallwood relieved Governor Paca for a brief season from the cares of public office, and it was probably at this time that the princely mansion at Wye Island was in its greatest glory. The spacious and convenient stables, now ruinous, show that the Signer had a truly Maryland love for fine horses, and with Judge Bordley's model farm at one end and Judge Paca's manorial home at the other,

Wye Island presented a magnificent specimen of American life in the times of the Republican Court. There can scarcely be imagined a more charming retreat for a man of wealth and literary culture wearied with the burdens of public life in such trying times. Its insular position ensured just enough of seclusion to secure rest and quietude, while the lovely river, navigable almost to its sources, afforded a short and pleasant water route to Annapolis or a narrow and safe ferriage to the principal lines of land-travel. The kindly soil yielded in richest abundance every necessary or luxury of rural life; the fields and thickets abounded then, as now, with game-birds in variety to satisfy the sportsman or the epicure; while the fox gave ample opportunity for the gentleman-farmer's favorite recreation. "The Narrows" afforded as fine duck-shooting as could be found anywhere on "the Shore," and the nets, set over-night a short distance from the land, were sure to supply the breakfast table with the choicest of fresh fish. The closets and cupboards of the long corridor are still full of the quaint old china services, which give evidence how all these "creature comforts" were enjoyed and with liberal hospitality. But the stern call of duty had twice called upon William Paca to leave all this pleasantness for the services of his country, and now a still more inexorable voice, which had also twice bidden him relinquish the dearest ties of domestic happiness, brought the summons which no man may dispute. On the 23d of October, 1799, he died at Wye Hall, having nearly completed his fifty-ninth year. It is pleasant to find a man of his position and celebrity crowning an active and useful public life with a peaceful and happy death. During his illness he conversed with perfect resignation on his approaching dissolution, and cheerfully submitted to sickness and death under a deep conviction of the unerring wisdom and goodness of his heavenly Father and of the redemption of the world by our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. To the faith and charity of a Christian he added the civil virtues of a gentleman.

Fond as a husband, indulgent as a father, constant as a friend and kind as a master.

Such is the testimony of some well-informed and appreciative friend, whose manuscript, without date or name to lead to the identification of its author, is preserved among the family archives. His burial took place, not upon the island, but at Old Wye, just across the Narrows, where the old family burying-ground was situated. There, beneath a simple mound fast sinking to the level of the surrounding

earth without a stone or stake to mark the spot, rests all that was mortal of William Paca, thrice member of Congress, twice governor of Maryland, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and holder successively of three of the highest judicial offices in the country.

In 1911, the Maryland Society of the Sons of the American Revolution erected a handsome monument over the grave of Governor William Paca, at Old Wye, in Queen Anne's County. Upon the occasion of the unveiling of this monument, on May 13th, 1911, which attracted hundreds of spectators both from Baltimore City and from the Eastern Shore, Colonel Oswald Tilghman made the address of acceptance, in which he said, "Ceremonies, such as are being enacted here today, are beautifully in accord with the eternal fitness of things—they do more than honor the dead—they serve to elevate and purify the living and raise them to a higher citizenship. They are potent inspirations to patriotism, and deserve to be encouraged by all good citizens who love their homes and their dear old State, and piously cherish her best traditions. And now, Mr. President, I accept, with the heartfelt thanks of a grateful people, not only of the Eastern Shore, but of the whole state of Maryland, and in their behalf, this monument, erected by the Maryland Society of the Sons of the American Revolution to the memory of one of Maryland's wisest statesmen and ablest jurists, who played such an active part in the founding of this great nation, and in planting the seeds of Liberty in the hearts of a liberty-loving people—Governor William Paca."

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