

MSA SC 5881-1-110

ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND

Edited by J. HALL PLEASANTS, M. D.

Published by authority of the State

VOLUME L

Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly
of Maryland, 1752-1754.

The fiftieth volume of Maryland Archives, just off the press, is a worthy companion to those which have preceded it. It is the twenty-third volume of the sub-series dealing with Assembly affairs and is a handsome quarto volume of six hundred and sixty-two pages. As in other recent volumes of the work it is prefaced with a scholarly *resume* of the contents, by the Editor.

The publication of the fiftieth volume of such a series is a matter of more than passing interest and should be a subject of gratulation to the citizens of the State at large, as it is an honor to the Maryland Historical Society, which has every reason to be proud of its stewardship of our State's invaluable archives.

**BENEFACTORS AND CONTRIBUTORS TO THE FUNDS OF
THE SOCIETY**

Mrs. Mary Washington Keyser, Gift of the Buildings and grounds of the Society (1916).	
George Peabody, Gift (1866).....	\$20,000.00
J. Wilson Leakin, Bequest (1923), Historical relics and.....	10,000.00
Drayton Meade Hite, Gift (1919).....	1,000.00
and Bequest (1923).....	6,000.00
Mrs. Drayton Meade Hite, Bequest (1927).....	4,000.00
Mendes Cohen, Bequest (1915).....	5,000.00
Mrs. Caroline J. Lytle (1928).....	5,000.00
Van Lear Black, Gift.....	1,500.00
Miss Eleanor S. Cohen, Gifts (1919), Historical relics and \$300, Memorial to her parents, Israel and Cecilia E. Cohen (1926)	1,000.00
Miss Susan Dobbin Leakin (1924), Preparation of J. Wilson Leakin room and contribution to its contents.	
Charles Exley Calvert, Gift.....	1,150.00
Mrs. Thomas B. Gresham, Bequest (1926).....	1,200.00
Isaac Henry Ford, Bequest (1916).....	1,000.00
W. Hall Harris, Gift.....	1,000.00
Isaac F. Nicholson, Gift (1909).....	1,000.00
Isaac Tyson Norris, Gift (1916).....	1,000.00
J. Henry Stickney, Bequest (1892).....	1,000.00
Mrs. Emilie McKim Reed, Bequest (1926).....	1,000.00
Henry Stockbridge, Gift (1920).....	1,000.00
DeCourcy W. Thom, Gift.....	1,000.00
Mrs. DeCourcy W. Thom, Gift.....	1,000.00
W. G. Baker, Gift.....	500.00
Mrs. W. Hall Harris, Gift.....	500.00
Adelaide S. Wilson, Gift.....	500.00
J. Appleton Wilson, Gift.....	500.00
William Power Wilson, Gift.....	500.00
Mrs. Rebecca Lanier King, Bequest (1928).....	500.00
McHenry Howard, Gift.....	333.34
Charles McHenry Howard, Gift.....	333.33
Elizabeth Gray Howard, Gift.....	333.33
Simon Dalsheimer, Gift.....	300.00
Miles White, Jr., Gift.....	300.00

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

INCORPORATED 1843.

H. IRVINE KEYSER MEMORIAL BUILDING,
201 W. MONUMENT STREET,
BALTIMORE.

OFFICERS.

President,
W. HALL HARRIS.

Vice-Presidents
GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, CLINTON L. RIGGS,
RICHARD M. DUVALL.

Corresponding Secretary,
J. HALL PLEASANTS.

Recording Secretary,
JAMES E. HANCOCK.

Treasurer,
HEYWARD E. BOYCE.

THE COUNCIL.

THE GENERAL OFFICERS

AND REPRESENTATIVES OF STANDING COMMITTEES:

G. CORNER FENHAGEN,	Representing the Trustees of the Athenaeum.
J. HALL PLEASANTS,	“ Committee on Publication.
HENRY J. BERKLEY, M. D.,	“ Committee on the Library.
WILLIAM INGLE,	“ Committee on Finance.
JAMES D. IGLEHART,	“ Committee on Membership.
LAURENCE H. FOWLER,	“ Committee on the Gallery.
J. ALEXIS SHRIVER,	“ Committee on Addresses.
WILLIAM B. MARYE,	“ Committee on Genealogy.

Miss Nellie Williams, Gift.....	\$ 200.00
Charles C. Homer, Jr., Gift.....	150.00
Raphael Semmes, Gifts.....	140.00
Mrs. George F. Libby, Gifts.....	125.00
Samuel M. Wilson, Gift.....	120.00
Louis H. Dielman, Gift.....	100.00
R. C. Hoffman, Gift.....	100.00
Henry P. Hynson, Gift.....	100.00
William Ingle, Gift.....	100.00
Mrs. Rebecca Littlejohn, Gift.....	100.00
John H. Morgan, Gift.....	100.00
Lawrence J. Morris, Life Membership.....	100.00
Mrs. Charlotte Gilman Paul, Gift.....	100.00
Mrs. Mary B. Redwood, Life Membership.....	100.00
Mrs. Mary Clough Cain, Life Membership.....	100.00
George Harvey Davis, Life Membership.....	100.00
Mrs. Ida M. Shirk, Life Membership.....	100.00
Mrs. Joseph Y. Jeanes, Life Membership.....	100.00
Bernard C. Steiner, Gift.....	100.00
J. Alexis Shriver, Life Membership.....	100.00
Mr. Edmund Key, Life Membership.....	100.00
Edwin Warfield, Jr., Gift.....	75.00
Mrs. Emma U. Warfield, Gift.....	75.00
Blanchard Randall, Gift.....	43.42
Ferd. Bernheimer, Gift.....	30.00
Walter I. Dawkins, Gift.....	25.00
William J. Donnelly, Gift.....	25.00
A. E. Duncan, Gift.....	25.00
Mrs. E. Edmunds Foster, Gift.....	25.00
John W. Marshall, Gift.....	25.00
John Parker, Gift.....	25.00
Mrs. Joseph Y. Jeanes.....	25.00
Daniel Annan, Gift.....	20.00
C. C. Shriver, Gift.....	20.00
Mrs. Francis T. Redwood, Gift.....	16.00
Mrs. John H. Sherburne, Gift.....	10.00
Mrs. Annie Leakin Sioussat, Gift.....	10.00
Samuel Grafton Duvall, Gift.....	10.00
Mrs. V. E. Mohler, Gift.....	10.00
William B. Levy, Gift.....	5.00
Philip Francis Trippe, Gift.....	5.00

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
A MARYLAND GOVERNOR WHO NEVER GOVERNED. <i>By B. Howell Griswold, Jr.,</i>	101
EARLY MARYLAND NEWSPAPERS. <i>Compiled by George C. Keidel, Ph.D.,</i>	119
TENCH TILGHMAN'S RIDE. <i>By B. Latrobe Weston,</i>	138
LAND POLICIES AND ADMINISTRATION IN COLONIAL MARYLAND, 1753- 1769. <i>By Paul H. Giddens,</i>	142
CLAIBORNE <i>vs.</i> CLOBERY ET ALS. IN THE HIGH COURT OF ADMIRALTY,	172
BOOK REVIEW,	196
CORRECTION,	196
NOTICE,	196

Committee on Publications

SAMUEL K. DENNIS, *Chairman*

JOHN M. VINCENT,

J. HALL PLEASANTS.

LOUIS H. DIELMAN,

Editor.

MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XXVIII.

JUNE, 1933.

No. 2.

A MARYLAND GOVERNOR WHO NEVER GOVERNED.

By B. HOWELL GRISWOLD, JR.*

Alike above the sun-lit shelves of this library, and below in its dusty vaults, there lies hidden away, many a romantic tale imprisoned in a single sentence of some ancient document, or some dry-as-dust history.

I wonder, sometimes, when the lights are out, if the little people of these romantic tales do not crawl out of their prison sentences, to relate to each other their experiences on earth, and to explain as they do in the old soldiers' homes, why their names and the incidents of their lives are not writ larger on the pages of history.

If they do not, then their only chance of rescue from oblivion lies in the microscopic or romantic eye of some dilettante, who sometimes sees an illuminated manuscript where the historian sees only black ink.

From the standpoint of historical value, such incidents are perhaps rightly regarded by the historian as of little significance, or worthy of only the passing notice of one whose wealth of material too often overwhelms his power of choice.

If however, historians must confine themselves to a "kingdom for a stage, princes to act, and monarchs to behold"; if histories make men wise," and that is the sole motive of history, there is an end to such nonsense as romance.

And yet, if true tales of the past delight the mind, and fancy as well as reason plays its part in a well-balanced personality,

* Read before the Society.

then we must remember that much is lost to us in too sedate a history, for in the past we have had too many dull Kings, colorless Princes and uninteresting monarchs.

* * * * *

Let those of us who are young enough, or old enough, to be romantic, gather in Boccacio's garden occassionally, and make merry with tales of the past—tales of a more modest aspect, perhaps tales that bear a more genuine seal of truth.

If you will pull your chairs a little closer, one such tale I shall tell you tonight, and perhaps the best way is to tell it all or most of it at once. This is the story:

* * * * *

There was once appointed by a King of England to be Governor of Maryland a man who was reputed to be the illegitimate son of Shakespeare. He was a poet who succeeded Ben Jonson as Poet Laureate of England. He was a soldier knighted for bravery on the field of battle. He was a friend of Kings and Princes and an intimate of an unhappy Queen of England. He was a courtier "possessed of a pleasing address, a handsome person, of buoyant spirits and ready wit." He was a playwright (the most popular of his day) who first introduced the word "opera" to the English language, and scenery and women to the English stage. And last, but not least, he was a prisoner whose life was saved by the poet Milton, and a poet who in turn saved the life of the prisoner Milton.

All that remains of this colorful personality now lies buried in the Poet's corner, Westminster Abbey. Over his tomb is the inscription (borrowed from that of his neighbor in death, and his predecessor in life):

"O rare Sir William Davenant!"

* * * * *

In general reading, having crossed the trail of the story of Davenant's connection with Maryland, I applied—as is customary with all intelligent people who have such inquiries in mind, to my friend, Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, who produced from the old Calvert papers, a pamphlet "Printed in the Yeare

1653" entitled: "The Lord Baltimore's Case Concerning the Province of Maryland" giving "certaine Reasons of State" why Parliament should not impeach his rights. In this document, "Lord Baltimore" presents evidence of his adherence, not to the crown but to the Commonwealth.

Incidentally his brief further refers to the area of our now sovereign State as "so remote and wild a place as Mariland" (sic) and impolitely to its then inhabitants as "such necessitous, factious people as usually new Plantations consist of for the most parte."

How different this is from the courteous and inviting language of Lord Baltimore's first prospectus and bid for adventurers issued some nineteen years before, in which he sets forth "how Englishmen may become Angels, the King's Dominions be extended, and the adventurers attain Land and Gear; together with other advantages of that "Sweet Land."

But today, even bankers have learned the difference between a prospectus and a retrospectus.

All of this is in passing. The portion of the document that interests us tonight is annexed as a fitting climax to Lord Baltimore's brief; it is entitled: "A true Copy of a Commission from the Late King's eldest Sonne, to *Mr.* William Davenant" to dispossess Lord Baltimore of "the said Province because of his adherence to the Commonwealth."

One notes from the document the scrupulous care with which Lord Baltimore's lawyers follow the custom of the times, and refer to the heir to the throne as "the late King's eldest Sonne" and to our "Governor" as "Mr." Wm. Davenant—not *Sir* William Davenant.

The copy of the Commission so submitted with the brief is asserted to be "a true Copy * * * the original whereof remains with the Council of State."

Terms of Commission.

The Commission to Davenant sets forth that "whereas Lord Baltimore * * * doth visibly adhere to the Rebels of Eng-

land, and admits all kinde of schismatics and sectaries and other ill-affected persons to the said Plantations (of Maryland)" etc., etc., "know ye therefore that we, reposing speciall trust and confidence in the courage, loyalty and affection to Us of you Sir Wm. Davenant, do appoint you our Lieutenant Governor of the said Province or Plantations of Maryland, with all the Forts, Castles, Plantations, Ports and other Strengths thereunto belonging."

Then follows an interesting paragraph. This paragraph, as originally drafted, specifically denies any intent "to prejudice the rights of the Proprietary in the Soyle." But there is an insertion (on the side of the document) referred to by asterisk, which states emphatically: "This clause includes Soyle and all." Such a phrase sounds more royal-like than lawyer-like. The directness of the statement and the absence of the customary legal phraseology justifies the assumption that the insertion was actually made by or at the insistence of the indignant "late King's eldest Sonne."

The lawyers drafting the document evidently had in mind merely a military appointment. Not so Charles II. He meant the Commission to Sir William Davenant to include "Soyle and all."

But before we enlarge upon the significance of this Commission, or mention Davenant's effort to assume the position of "Governor" of Maryland, it may be well to give a brief sketch of Sir William Davenant himself, and to recall the historic "stage setting" before which his little drama was played:

Who was Sir William Davenant?

"Sir William Davenant?—Who was he?" I hear rumblings in the darkness of your mind, tinged with the evening lamp of the dingy boarding school, or the cracked and dirty window of the university lecture room. "Who the Dickens was Sir William Davenant?" I hear you say—"I remember him vaguely."

Of course you do—"Lives of the Poets Laureate"—"Poets of the Restoration," etc., etc.

But what did he write? Quantities, my friends—vast quan-

tities. Don't be discouraged, however. No one but Dr. Welch, or a professor of English at Johns Hopkins University could give you today Davenant's date right off the bat, for the later critics and Greenwich Village poets have pushed all reference to him out of nearly all modern literature save the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

And yet he was quite a man. He was the son of a beautiful and well educated mother, and his father was—or ought to have been — John Davenant — a wealthy vintner of Oxford, who owned the Crown Inn—which, if my memory does not fail me, is still a point of delightful hospitality and old memories in Oxford town today.

The "father" was a man not merely of wealth, but apparently of some ability, for he became Mayor of Oxford. It is known that William Shakespeare, on his way from Stratford-on-Avon to London, frequently visited with the Davenants. He was evidently a close friend, for when young William Davenant was baptized at the Crown Inn on March 3rd, 1606, Shakespeare became his godfather.

There is a story connected with this, for young Davenant, with the levity unbecoming the son of a good mother, frequently told in later years to his boon companions, the following anecdote:

"Where are you running so fast?" said an Oxford dignitary one day to little Davenant, whom he met in the street, scampering along in breathless haste. "I am going to see Godfather Shakespeare," replied the boy. "Fie, fie!" rejoined the divine, "Why are you so superfluous? Have you not learned the third commandment?"

And Davenant would further observe that "it seemed to him that he writ with the very pen that Shakespeare wrote, and was contented enough to be thought his son."

However, the statement that he was the illegitimate son of Shakespeare is generally decried today. The Mid-Victorians did not like the idea, and in "The Lives of the Poets Laureate" the author brings forward as justifiable argument the fine character of the mother of Davenant, but adds, by way of fur-

ther argument (delightfully Mid-Victorian), that the idea "jars with our well-grounded belief in the irreproachable character of our great national dramatist."

Young Davenant's first attempt at composition was an "Ode in Remembrance of Master William Shakespeare."

He was only fairly well educated. He attended the grammar school of his native parish, and in 1621 matriculated at Lincoln College. He did not however, obtain a degree. Wood who referred to him as "the sweet swan of Isis" said he obtained some knowledge of logic, and though he lacked in university learning, yet "he made as high and noble flights in the poetical faculty as fancy could advance without it."

On leaving the university, he became page to the famous Frances, Duchess of Richmond, a romantically mad creature, who aspired to an alliance with the King, then a widower. Having elevated herself by her own aspirations, she thereafter refused to eat at the table of a subject.

Later Davenant resided in the household of Sir Fulke-Greville, Lord Brooke, the poet and philosopher, and friend of Sir Philip Sidney. Lord Brooke, while Davenant was a member of his household, was stabbed to death by one of his servants. You will find that all through his life, this fellow Davenant was pursued by the spectacular—madness and murder, wars and prisons, captures and escapes.

After the death of Lord Brooke, Davenant was left without money or position, and set himself seriously to literary work. He became popular—the literary and fashionable man of his day, and was constantly about the Court. He wrote many poems of a miscellaneous character, but his real predilection was for the theatre.

After the death of Ben Jonson in 1637, Davenant's plays and poems constituted the background of his claim to the Poet Laureateship. The Queen interested herself in his appointment and he was made Poet Laureate of England. He continued to divert the Court and his friends with plays.

But the age was not destined to continue as one of poetry and plays. The struggle between the King and Commons was ap-

proaching a crisis, and Davenant, the courtier, naturally allied himself with the King's interest. He was evidently, even at this time, something more than a versifier and a man about the Courts, for he was accused in 1641 of sharing in a plot to induce the Army to desert Parliament. He sought safety in flight, and an order was issued for his arrest. He was brought back to London and released on bail. A second time he attempted to escape, and was captured again.

Eventually he managed to evade his gaolers, and joined his friends, Queen Henrietta Maria, the young Prince and their adherents in France, where he remained for several years.

As the King's affairs became more and more serious and menacing, Davenant dropped his pen, picked up the sword, returned to England and offered his services as a soldier. He proved himself to be a brave one, for in September 1643 he received the honor of knighthood for services at the siege of Gloucester.

But neither war, nor rumors of war, nor imprisonment, nor escapes, nor adventures with royalty could stop the flow of his facile pen. Everywhere and at all times he was writing—in the army—in prison—in exile—he poured out his wit, if not his soul, in plays or in verse. He was, too, a restless spirit and needed change, for after a somewhat brief war experience, he again returned to France. There we find him suddenly placing upon himself the badge of the Church of Rome, though he was not credited with any very serious convictions.

Shortly after his "conversion" his new-found religion must have been subjected to a pretty stiff test, for the Queen determined to send her advice to the King to purchase his safety by sacrificing the Church, and Davenant was selected for this delicate mission.

Charles I however, was not a man subject to such whimsies. It is recorded on this occasion that the "King was transported with so much passion and indignation that he gave him (Davenant) more reproachful terms and sharper reprehension than he did ever towards any other man, and forbade him to presume to come again into his presence," whereupon Davenant returned to France "exceedingly dejected and afflicted."

Upon his return to France, despite his duties to the family Court, Davenant's pen still continued to flow; but this outlet to his emotions could satisfy for a brief period only. Life in France became too inactive, and his earlier biographers say that in 1650 "he projected a plan for leading a body of workmen to Virginia, a scheme greatly encouraged by the Queen."

This is interesting, for it is at this point apparently, that we in Maryland became interested in him.

It is evident that his earlier biographers missed the significance of his voyage. Our present information indicates that if the copy of the Commission to Davenant now in possession of the Maryland Historical Society is correct, the adventure was something more important than that of an adventurer leading a body of workmen to Virginia. It becomes evident that he was on his way to Maryland (probably by way of Virginia) to carry out the warrant of his Prince and patron, and to assert his position as "Lieutenant-Governor" of Maryland.

* * * * *

Reasons for Davenant's Appointment.

And now having brought our "Governor" to this particular point, let us leave him on the high seas, while we examine into the causes that led to his appointment by Charles II, so far as we are able to interpret them with the information now before us.

The best approach, of course, is to sum up the conditions in England and Maryland at this time:

Davenant's commission reads: "Given at our Court in Jersey the $\frac{16}{6}$ day of February, $\frac{1650}{49}$, in the second Yeare of our Reigne."

For the purpose of comparison with other historic dates, we shall use February 16, 1650 as the date of the Commission of Charles II to Davenant.

Charles I had been beheaded January 1649. Cromwell had later marched from victory to victory in Ireland, and the future Charles II had retired to the Island of Jersey "which alone

remained faithful to him of all his southern dominions." He was in negotiation with Scotland, urging the Scotch to a renewed effort to put a Scotch Stuart back on the throne of England, and to overthrow the Puritans who were then in command of the Commonwealth.

But the attention of the "eldest Sonne of the late King, Charles I" as the Puritans referred to him, or "King Charles II" as he was known to the royalists, was not centered alone upon the crown of England. This young King, 20 years of age, was attempting to meet at every possible point the efforts of the Puritans to destroy his power. His attention had been called to Virginia and Maryland, and to the conditions in the latter colony, and moved by what he had heard, he apparently determined to attempt to assist Governor Berkeley of Virginia who had recognized him as King, and to avenge himself for what he considered the disloyalty of Lord Baltimore.

It was worth his while to protect his loyal followers in Virginia and to control these two colonies, and for lack of a better tool perhaps, he determined to appoint and did appoint as "Lieutenant Governor" of Maryland, Sir William Davenant, his friend—an adventurous spirit and a soldier of fortune. Furthermore, he intended to make it worth while, for it was not to be merely Ports and Forts that his "Governor" was to command, but Davenant was to be entitled to "Soyle and all."

About this time Charles II completed his negotiations with the Scotch, landed on the shores of Scotland, was shortly thereafter defeated at Dunbar, and a year later overwhelmingly defeated at Worcester—September 3, 1651.

* * * * *

Lord Baltimore's Position.

Now let us turn to conditions in Colonial Maryland. At this time, the leader of any colony that did not belong, by virtue of the type of its people, to one party or another, must have been much put to it to determine which way to jump.

The Puritans of New England, of course, continuously sided with the Puritans in the mother country. Governor Berkeley

of Virginia on the other hand, as has been indicated, was a royalist-Governor in fact and at heart, and attempted to support the Crown through all of its troubles.

Lord Baltimore, of course, was beset with difficulties. He had been a close friend of Charles I, had obtained his charter and his rights from him, had attempted to establish a religious sanctuary in Maryland, primarily for Roman Catholics, and held what was in those days a very advanced view—namely, the wisdom of separation of State and Church.

As we all know, the separation idea proved to be a satisfactory viewpoint only to the under-dog. When one controlled the government, it became one's religious duty to aid and support one's creed by the good old-fashioned method of excluding by law all other religions than one's own. When one was out of power it became obvious that it was cruel and brutal to attempt to influence or control by law one's liberty of conscience.

It is possible that the Lords Baltimore consistently adhered to this doctrine of separation of State and Church; but during the rapidly changing scenes in England, they must have appeared to the observant philosopher as somewhat "shifty" fellows who "ran with the hounds." All England knew that George Calvert, in his early days, when endeavoring to obtain his charter, had been befriended by Charles I, and in a letter to the King—August 19, 1629, he had stated that his object was "to enlarge your Majesty's empire in this part of the world."

His son, Cecilius, too, had proclaimed his loyalty, but later in the presentation of his "Case Concerning the Province of Maryland," Cecilius asserted his loyalty, not to the King, but to the Commonwealth, and added:

"It is notoriously known that, by his (Lord Baltimore's) expresse direction, his officers and the people there did adhere to the interest of the Commonwealth, when all other English Plantations (except New England) declared against the Parliament." He adds, as an argument persuasive to a Puritan Parliament, that he "had received their friends in time of their distresse."

So much for adherence to the Commonwealth. Perhaps we should also recall that some 65 years later, the then Lord Baltimore turned Protestant, and as a result the Proprietary government was restored to him.

But all this must seem blasphemous to Marylanders, and truth to tell, this view of the Lords Baltimore as "shifty" politicians does not do them justice. It overlooks, as has been indicated, what was perhaps their main purpose, namely, that Maryland was to be a "land of sanctuary" for men of all creeds. It is true that the idea of a "sanctuary" was not so broad in its scope as it would be today, for in the so-called famous "Act of Toleration" passed in 1649 (concerning which we boast not a little) the Act included in the list of those to be tolerated only such as "did not blaspheme God, or deny their Saviour, Jesus Christ, or deny the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, or the Godhead of the said three Persons of the Trinity, or the Unity of the Godhead."

Those who did so deny were offenders under the Act, and offenders who should be rebuked by death and confiscation of property.

Those who spoke reproachfully of the Virgin Mary, or the Apostles were to forfeit five pounds (showing an interesting weighing of values); a second offense was punishable by forfeiture of ten pounds (or by public whipping and imprisonment); and a third offense by forfeiture of goods and banishment. Anyone who called the follower of another creed a reproachful name, such as Heretic, Idolator, Puritan, Papist, Jesuit, etc., was to be fined ten shillings.

Nor could the citizens of the free state profane the Sabbath day "by frequent swearing, drunkenness * * * disorderly recreation, or work that was not absolutely necessary."

Outside of these restrictions, one could do pretty much what one wanted in such matters in Maryland, for the Act says that "enforcing of the Conscience in matters of religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequences," and provides that no one "professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall be molested in his religion with the exceptions above noted."

Disloyal Acts of Lord Baltimore.

But we are departing from our text. What were the "acts of disloyalty" on the part of Lord Baltimore of which Charles II complained? They are cited in the Commission which he issued to Davenant. They referred to Lord Baltimore's "visible adherence to the Rebels of England," his "admission of all kinde of schismatics and sectaries * * * into the Plantations of Maryland," and finally, "the very great prejudice to our service thereby, and very great danger to Our Plantations in Virginia, who have carried themselves with so much loyalty and fidelity to the King, Our Father of blessed memory, and to Us * * *."

What was the basis of the charge that he had "admitted all kinde of schismatics and sectaries in Maryland"?

In 1642, you will recall the royalists had withdrawn from Parliament; Charles I had raised his standard at Nottingham, and later was defeated at the siege of Gloucester, where our friend, Sir William Davenant had been knighted for bravery.

The year 1643 had been a year crowded with events significant in the history of England and potent in their influence upon Maryland history.

It was in this year that Parliament had passed an ordinance for the sequestration of properties of the King's adherents, doubtless causing no little uneasiness in the minds of men like Lord Baltimore. At all events, we find that Leonard Calvert himself in this year, had returned to England and had appointed Giles Brent to act for him during his absence.

In this same significant year (1643) the Virginia assembly had passed an Act requiring all ministers to conform to the orders and constitution of the Church of England. As a result, Lord Baltimore had extended an invitation to the Puritans of Virginia to change their residence and move to Maryland.

The story of the Puritan colonies in Virginia is one of very great interest and one likely to divert any writer. I remember many years ago coming across a memoranda in an ancient Massachusetts document to the effect that the Puritans of Massa-

chusetts had sent three ministers of the Gospel to Virginia to convert the "ungodly" Virginians; and I thought I remembered a note to the effect that these ministers of the Gospel were never afterwards heard of.

Whether these missionaries met a violent death, or made their descensus averno more slowly and with the aid of the ungodly julep, did not appear. The latter seems less cruel in what at that time was a very cruel world. I was interested therefore to find the other evening a practical confirmation of this ancient memoranda—(but not of my conclusion) in a book of Father Russell's—"Sanctuary in Maryland." Only Father Russell's story is much more prosaic. Truth is as rude as most wives in spoiling a good story.

But to return: It is true that but little response had been made to Lord Baltimore's first invitation to the Puritans, but it was a significant forerunner of what was to come, for in 1648, you will remember that Virginia expelled from her colony William Durant and Richard Bennett, leading Puritans, and they took refuge in Maryland. At their solicitation, Governor Stone again invited the whole colony of Virginia Puritans to settle in Maryland. Some few accepted at once, but it was in the following year, 1649, that about 300 of them established a settlement which they named "Providence" at the mouth of the Severn across "Spa Creek" from Annapolis, at a point now known as "Eastport."

We now see what Charles II meant when he charged Lord Baltimore with having "admitted into the Plantations of Maryland all kinde of schismatics and sectaries."

* * * * *

On what grounds was Lord Baltimore also charged with "adherence to the Rebels of England"?

It appears that in 1649, when news of the death of Charles I had reached Maryland, Governor Stone was absent and Thomas Greene, his appointee and vice-Governor, following the example of Governor Berkeley of Virginia, had proclaimed Charles II the lawful sovereign; Governor Stone, on his return,

set aside this action and Lord Baltimore had supported Governor Stone.

* * * * *

And so it was from the Isle of Jersey that Charles II issued his warrant to Sir William Davenant, and issued it about the time he was concluding negotiations with Scotland, and before his landing and defeat at Dunbar and Worcester.

But alas! for the best laid plans of mice and men and kings. Davenant whom we left somewhere back on the high seas was not destined to see Maryland. His ship was seized in the Channel by a Parliamentary man-of-war, which took the new "Governor" back to the Isle of Wight, whence he was removed to Cowes Castle, 1651/52, and thence to the Tower to await trial for high treason. Whether or not Davenant, languishing in prison, saw fair visions of the plantations of Maryland, history does not record.

At all events the early Marylanders apparently knew as little about its new "Governor" as the average Marylander knows today, and possibly proof of what we now know would have been lost to us had it not been that Lord Baltimore endeavored to prove his case of loyalty to the Commonwealth by indicating that Charles II thought him disloyal to the Crown.

* * * * *

This is undoubtedly the proper place to end a good "tale"—but my membership in the Maryland Historical Society is asserting itself, and I must justify my membership with a well rounded narration.

Significance of the Event.

A little study of the conditions in the plantations of Maryland at that time indicates that the action of Charles II was not an "idle compliment" to one of his supporters.

Davenant's seeming lack of sufficient power to assert his authority must not be taken too seriously. At all events he had a ship and was on his way to secure the co-operation of the Virginians. This ship, aided by an armed force from Vir-

ginia may well have seized the Government. Captain Ingle but five years before, with a Commission from the Parliament had captured St. Marys and established a fort nearby. A year later Calvert, with a small force had driven him out.

* * * * *

Now let us again pick up the thread of the story of Davenant's life. He was captured on the high seas by Parliamentary ships on his way to the Provinces, May 17, 1650. On July 2nd he was brought before the Council for trial on the charge that he and other leading loyalists had been concerned in a scheme to bring a French Army to England in 1641. Evidently the Council at the time did not know of the King's Commission to Davenant—that they had before them the King's "Governor of Maryland."

His case coming up before the Committee of Parliament, they gave him, as a witty someone said "the noes of the House because he had no nose of his own"—a reference to the fact that Davenant at this time had a nose like a "Japanese pug" due to a wound or to disease. Still he was kept in prison.

In November 1652, however, the Commission to him as Maryland "Governor" was brought before the Council of State and Davenant had a narrow escape. The Council, after consideration, influenced doubtless by the fact that Davenant had already spent much time in prison, did not proceed further with the matter, but returned him to prison.²

It is stated by one biographer that "while he was awaiting trial for high treason in the Tower, and when the storm was about to break over him, his difficulties suddenly disappeared."

At all events, it is recorded that in 1654, he made an appeal to the Protector to consider his case as a whole, and he was released June 22nd, 1655. Gosse says it is believed that the personal intercession of Milton led to this result. Another account is that he was released by the desire of two aldermen

² Inderwick, who gives an excellent account of this evidently does not know the date of the "Governor's" Commission and assumes that it was issued to Davenant while in prison.

of York, once Davenant's prisoners, whom he had allowed to escape.

However, he was released, and shortly thereafter published "Gondibert," the work on which his fame mainly rests, and which Gosse pronounces as a "cumbrous, dull production, but relieved with a multitude of fine and felicitous passages and lends itself most happily to quotation."

Pope says of "Gondibert": "not a good poem, though there are many good things in it."

Davenant's friends suggested that he again resume his theatrical career—anathema to the Puritans; yet somehow he persuaded the Government to permit him to open a sort of theatre at Rutland House in Charter House Yard, where he introduced a series of "representations" which he called "operas" as an inoffensive term. This word was thus first introduced into the English language as applicable to the stage.

But we are not yet through with his spectacular career, for in 1659, he again found himself in prison for complicity in Sir George Booth's revolt.

His fortune quickly shifted in the following year when Charles II was restored. We now find Davenant in high favor and influential in saving the life of Milton, who nine years before was reputed to have saved his (Davenant's) life.

He flourished under royal favor for eight years at his new theatre at Lincoln's Inn Field, which he called the "Duke." In the year this theatre was opened, a royal patent was obtained which permitted women's parts to be taken by women "in order to purge the stage and provide harmless amusement." Davenant, is thus credited with the first important appearance of a woman—Mrs. Coleman—on the stage.

Later critics did not like this departure from the simplicity of beardless youths representing women. Much less did they approve his final destruction of the simplicity of the Shakespearean stage by the introduction of elaborate stage scenery and mechanism. He has been condemned therefore in no measured terms as having had a wholly disturbing influence on English drama.

Yet so far as his own personal fortunes were concerned, the wisdom of his introduction of women to the stage was subsequently proven by the fact that Davenant was said to have made nearly \$1000 a week from his plays. He proceeded to build a new theatre which was finished in November 1671, after his death.

He became the most popular dramatist of his day. It is said of him that men—the most competent from capacity to judge, “pronounced in favor of his plays, and the applause of the vulgar followed the decision of the learned.”

I counted in Pepys diary, at least a half dozen favorable comments concerning Davenant's “operas,” such as:

“July 2nd, 1661. Went to Sir William Davenant's opera, this being the 4th day that it hath begun, and the first that I have seen * * * the King being come, the scene opened; which indeed is very fine and magnificent and well acted, all but the Eunuche, who was so much out that he was hissed off the stage.”

There were the customary flattering remarks of poets and wits of his day, influenced no doubt by his position at court and his office as Poet Laureate.

His verses received the following tribute from Sir John Suckling:

“Thou hast redeemed us Will, and future times
Shall not account unto the age's crimes
Dearth of pure wit; since the great lord of it,
Donne, parted hence, no man has ever writ
So near him, in's own way.”

As to his character — as might well be suspected of an adventurous soldier, it was generally agreed that he lacked something in high principles of honor, although Lord Clarendon, a careful and just commentator, in referring to the mission to Charles I entrusted to Davenant by Queen Henrietta Maria which Clarendon thought him ill-fitted for, says incidentally of Davenant: “He was an honest man and a witty.”

During these years of his prosperity, he began to “improve

upon" his godfather Shakespeare's plays, in order, as he said, to make them acceptable to the public. Curiously enough, we find that Davenant's last work, in company with Dryden, was to travesty his godfather's play, "The Tempest."

Davenant died April 2nd, 1668, and Pepys, the snob, could not refrain from this comment on his funeral:

"Here were many coaches and six horses, and many hacknies that made it look, methought, as if it were the funeral of a poor poet."

One cannot be too certain but that the adjective was justified in several of its meanings.

Lest anyone may think that the author is intimating that he has discovered a new figure in Maryland history, it should be stated that John Fiske (1897), Bozman (1811), William Hand Browne (1884), Mrs. Hester Dorsey Richardson (1913), Matthew Page Andrews (1929) and Wilstach (1931), all refer, with only minor conflicts and inaccuracies, to the appointment of Sir William Davenant as "Governor" of Maryland.

Wilstach in his recently issued and very entertaining book "Tidewater Maryland" adds a charming touch of color to the story. He says:

"On the same ship with Davenant, Henrietta Maria, the widowed Queen of the beheaded Charles I, also took passage for Maryland, an asylum undoubtedly suggested to her by her attachment to her friends, the Neales."

The Neales were a distinguished family of Southern Maryland. A daughter of Captain James Neale was a lady-in-waiting to and a goddaughter and namesake of Queen Henrietta Maria.

We shall all await with interest the revelation (for which I have written the author) of the sources of this fascinating suggestion, and if they prove of value, another romantic story may be told you next year.

EARLY MARYLAND NEWSPAPERS.

A LIST OF TITLES

Compiled by

GEORGE C. KEIDEL, PH. D.

Entries prefixed with an * are in Maryland Historical Society's Collection.

1727

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.¹1728 [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.²1729 [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.³1730 [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.⁴

1731 [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.

1732 [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette Reviv'd.

1733 [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette Reviv'd.⁵1734 [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.⁶

1735-1744 No newspaper published as far as known.

1745 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.⁷

1746 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.

1747 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.

1748 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.

1749 [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.

¹ Published by William Parks, 1727-34—see Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*. See also Clarence S. Brigham's "Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820" in *Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 25 N. S., p. 128 *et seq.*

² Four issues at M. H. S.

³ Twenty-four issues at M. H. S.

⁴ Ten photostat copies at M. H. S.

⁵ Five photostat copies at M. H. S.

⁶ Nine photostat copies at M. H. S.

⁷ Complete file, 1745-1849, at Maryland State Library.

- 1750 [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1751 [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1752 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1753 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1754 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1755 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1756 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1757 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1758 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1759 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1760 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1761 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1762 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1763 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1764 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1765 [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1766 [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1767 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1768 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1769 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1770 [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1771 [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1772 [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- 1773 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.
- 1774 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.
- 1775 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.

- * [Baltimore] Dunlap's Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.
- 1776 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Dunlap's Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.
- 1777 * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Dunlap's Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.

1778

- [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette
- * [Baltimore] Dunlap's Maryland Gazette.
- [Baltimore] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.

1779

- [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette and Annapolis Advertiser.
- [Baltimore] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.

1780

- [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- Baltimore Post (?).
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.

1781

- [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.

1782

- [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.

1783

- [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.

1784

- [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.

1785

- * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.

1786

- * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- [Baltimore] Henry Dulheuer's German Newspaper.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.
- * [Fredericktown] Maryland Chronicle.
- [Fredericktown] Matthias Bartgis' Deutsche Zeitung.

1787

- * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.
- [Baltimore] Palladium of Freedom.
- * [Fredericktown] Maryland Chronicle.
- [Fredericktown] Matthias Bartgis' Deutsche Zeitung.

1788

- * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.
- [Fredericktown] Maryland Chronicle.

1789

- * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.
- [Fredericktown] Maryland Chronicle.
- [Georgetown] Times, and the Patowmack Packet.

1790

- * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.
- * [Easton] Maryland Herald.
- * [Elizabethtown] Washington Spy.⁸
- [Fredericktown] Maryland Chronicle.
- [Fredericktown] Maryland Gazette.

1791

- * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * Baltimore Daily Repository.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.
- * [Easton] Maryland Herald.
- * [Elizabethtown] Washington Spy.
- [Fredericktown] Maryland Gazette.
- [Fredericktown] Rights of Man.
- [Georgetown] Times, and the Patowmack Packet.
- Georgetown Weekly Ledger.

1792

- * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * Baltimore Daily Repository.
- Baltimore Evening Post.
- * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.
- * [Easton] Maryland Herald.
- * [Elizabethtown] Washington Spy.
- * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Maryland Gazette.
- [Fredericktown] Maryland Gazette.
- [Fredericktown] Rights of Man.

1793

- * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * Baltimore Daily Intelligencer.
- * Baltimore Daily Repository.
- * [Baltimore] Edwards's Baltimore Daily Advertiser.

⁸ 1790-1797. Succeeded March 2, 1777, by the "Maryland Herald."

- Baltimore Evening Post.
 * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.
 * [Chestertown] Apollo.
 Chestertown Gazette.
 * [Easton] Maryland Herald.
 * [Elizabethtown] Washington Spy.
 * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Maryland Gazette.
 [Fredericktown] General Staats-Bothe.
 [Fredericktown] Rights of Man.

1794

- * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
 * Baltimore Daily Intelligencer.
 * [Baltimore] Edwards's Baltimore Daily Advertiser.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Intelligencer.
 * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.
 * [Easton] Maryland Herald.
 * [Elizabethtown] Washington Spy.
 [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Federal Gazette.
 * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Maryland Gazette.
 [Fredericktown] Rights of Man.⁹

1795

- * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
 Baltimore Bote und Märyländer
 Staats-Register (Der Neue Unpartheyische).
 Baltimore Evening Star.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Intelligencer.
 [Baltimore] Fell's-Point Telegraphe.
 * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.
 Baltimore Telegraphe.
 * [Easton] Maryland Herald.
 * [Elizabethtown] Washington Spy.
 [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Federal Gazette.¹⁰

⁹ Two issues in Maryland Historical Society.

¹⁰ Continuation of Bartgis's Maryland Gazette, 1792-94; in 1800 the title was changed to Bartgis's Republican Gazette.

[Fredericktown] Rights of Man.
 [Hagerstown] Sentinal of Liberty.
 [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.

1796

* [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
 Baltimore Bote und Märyländer
 Staats-Register (Der Neue Unpartheyische).
 [Baltimore] Eagle of Freedom.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
 * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.
 [Baltimore] Sunday Monitor.
 Baltimore Telegraphe.
 * [Easton] Maryland Herald.
 * [Elizabethtown] Washington Spy.
 * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Federal Gazette.
 [Fredericktown] Rights of Man.
 [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.

1797

* [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
 Baltimore Bote und Märyländer
 Staats-Register (Der Neue Unpartheyische).
 [Baltimore] City Gazette.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
 * [Baltimore] Maryland Journal.
 * Baltimore Telegraphe.
 [Baltimore] Weekly Museum.
 * [Easton] Maryland Herald.
 * [Elizabethtown] Maryland Herald.
 * [Elizabethtown] Washington Spy.
 * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Federal Gazette.
 [Fredericktown] Rights of Man.
 [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.

1798

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
 Baltimore Bote und Märyländer

Staats-Register (Der Neue Unpartheyische).

* [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.

* Baltimore Intelligencer.

* Baltimore Telegraphe.

* [Easton] Maryland Herald.

* [Elizabethtown] Maryland Herald.

* [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Federal Gazette.

[Fredericktown] Rights of Man.

[Fredericktown] Key.

[Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.

1799

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.

* [Baltimore] American.

* [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.

Baltimore Intelligencer.

Baltimore Post-Bothe.

* Baltimore Telegraphe.

* [Easton] Maryland Herald.

[Easton] Republican Star.

* [Elizabethtown] Maryland Herald.

* [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Federal Gazette.

[Fredericktown] Key.

[Fredericktown] Rights of Man.

[Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.

1800

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.

* [Baltimore] American.

* [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.

Baltimore Post-Bothe.

* Baltimore Telegraphe.

* [Easton] Maryland Herald.

[Easton] Republican Star.

* [Elizabethtown] Maryland Herald.

* [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Federal Gazette.

[Fredericktown] Bartgis's Republican Gazette.

[Fredericktown] Key.

[Fredericktown] Rights of Man (two issues).
 [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.

1801

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
 * [Baltimore] American.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
 [Baltimore] Honey Comb.
 * [Baltimore] Telegraphe.
 * [Easton] Herald.
 [Easton] Republican Star.
 * [Elizabethtown] Maryland Herald.
 [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Republican Gazette.
 [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.

1802

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
 [Baltimore] American.
 * [Baltimore] American Patriot.
 [Baltimore] Democratic Republican.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
 * [Baltimore] Republican.
 * Baltimore Telegraphe.
 * [Easton] Herald.
 * [Easton] Republican Star.
 * [Elizabethtown] Maryland Herald.
 [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Republican Gazette.
 * Frederick-Town Herald.
 [Fredericktown] Hornet.
 [Fredericktown] Republican Advocate.
 [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.

1803

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
 [Baltimore] American.
 * [Baltimore] American Patriot.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
 * Baltimore Price-Current.
 * [Baltimore] Republican.

- * Baltimore Telegraphe.
- * [Easton] Herald.
- * [Easton] Republican Star.
- * [Elizabethtown] Maryland Herald.
- * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Republican Gazette.
- * Frederick-Town Herald.
- [Fredericktown] Hornet.
- [Fredericktown] Republican Advocate.
- [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.

1804

- [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] American (July-Dec.).
- * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
- * Baltimore Price-Current.
- * [Baltimore] Republican.
- * Baltimore Telegraphe.
- * [Easton] Herald.
- * [Easton] Republican Star.
- * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Republican Gazette.
- Frederick-Town Herald.
- * [Fredericktown] Hornet.
- [Fredericktown] Republican Advocate.
- * [Hagerstown] Maryland Herald.¹¹
- [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.

1805

- Abingdon Patriot.¹²
- [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] American.
- * Baltimore Evening Post.
- * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
- * Baltimore Price-Current.
- * Baltimore Telegraphe.
- * [Easton] Republican Star.

¹¹ With the issue of Feb. 22, 1804, Hagerstown replaced the Elizabeth-town imprint.

¹² First issue 17th of September 1805; last issue 21st of April, 1807.

- [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Republican Gazette.
 Frederick-Town Herald.
 * [Fredericktown] Hornet.
 [Fredericktown] Republican Advocate.
 * [Hagerstown] Maryland Herald.
 [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.

1806

- Abingdon Patriot.
 [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
 * Baltimore Evening Post.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
 * Baltimore Price-Current.
 * Baltimore Telegraphe.
 [Easton] Republican Star.
 * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Republican Gazette.
 * Frederick-Town Herald.
 * [Fredericktown] Hornet.
 [Fredericktown] Republican Advocate.
 [Hagerstown] Herald and Torchlight.
 [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.

1807

- Abingdon Patriot.
 [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
 * [Baltimore] American.
 * Baltimore Evening Post.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
 * Baltimore Price-Current.
 Baltimore Telegraphe.
 [Baltimore] Whig.
 * [Easton] Republican Star.
 [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Republican Gazette.
 Frederick-Town Herald.
 [Fredericktown] Hornet.
 * [Fredericktown] Independent American Volunteer.
 [Fredericktown] Republican Advocate.
 [Hagerstown] Herald and Torchlight.

[Hagerstown] Maryland Herald.
 [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.
 [Rockville] Maryland Register.

1808

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
 * [Baltimore] American.
 * Baltimore Evening Post.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Republican.
 * [Baltimore] North American.
 * Baltimore Price-Current.
 * [Baltimore] Whig.
 Cumberland Impartialist.
 * [Easton] Republican Star.
 * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Republican Gazette.
 Frederick-Town Herald.
 [Fredericktown] Hornet.
 * [Fredericktown] Independent American Volunteer.
 [Fredericktown] Republican Advocate.
 [Hagerstown] Herald and Torchlight.
 [Hagerstown] Maryland Herald.
 [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.

1809

* [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
 * [Annapolis] Maryland Republican.
 * [Baltimore] American.
 Baltimore Correspondent.
 * Baltimore Evening Post.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Republican.
 * [Baltimore] North American.
 * Baltimore Price-Current.
 Baltimore Weekly Messenger.
 * [Baltimore] Whig.
 [Cumberland] American Eagle.

- Cumberland Impartialist.
 [Easton] People's Monitor.
 * [Easton] Republican Star.
 * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Republican Gazette.
 Frederick-Town Herald.
 * [Fredericktown] Hornet.
 Freeman of Frederick
 Hagers-Town Gazette.
 [Hagerstown] Herald and Torchlight.
 [Hagerstown] Maryland Herald.
 [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.

1810

- * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
 * [Annapolis] Maryland Republican.
 [Baltimore] American.
 * Baltimore Evening Post.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Republican.
 * Baltimore Price-Current.
 Baltimore Recorder.
 * [Baltimore] Scourge.
 * [Baltimore] Whig.
 [Easton] People's Monitor.
 * [Easton] Republican Star.
 * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Republican Gazette.
 [Fredericktown] Freiheitsbothe.
 Frederick-Town Herald.
 * [Fredericktown] Hornet.
 Hagers-Town Gazette.
 [Hagerstown] Herald and Torchlight.
 [Hagerstown] Maryland Herald.
 [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.

1811

- * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
 * [Annapolis] Maryland Republican.
 * [Baltimore] American.

- * Baltimore Evening Post.
- * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Federal Republican.
- * [Baltimore] Niles' Weekly Register.
- * Baltimore Weekly Price-Current.
- [Baltimore] Sun.
- [Baltimore] Telegraph and Daily Advertiser.
- * [Baltimore] Whig.
- [Easton] People's Monitor.
- * [Easton] Republican Star.
- * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Republican Gazette.
- Frederick-Town Herald.
- * [Fredericktown] Hornet.
- Hagers-Town Gazette.
- [Hagerstown] Herald and Torchlight.
- [Hagerstown] Maryland Herald.
- [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.

1812

- [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Annapolis] Maryland Republican.
- * [Baltimore] American.
- * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Federal Republican.
- * [Baltimore] Niles' Weekly Register.
- * [Baltimore] Patriot.
- * Baltimore Price-Current.
- [Baltimore] Sun
- * [Baltimore] Whig.
- [Easton] People's Monitor.
- * [Easton] Republican Star.
- * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Republican Gazette.
- Frederick-Town Herald.
- [Fredericktown] Hornet.
- Hagers-Town Gazette.
- [Hagerstown] Maryland Herald.
- [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.

1813

- * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Annapolis] Maryland Republican.
 - * [Baltimore] American.
 - * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Niles' Weekly Register.
 - * [Baltimore] Patriot.
 - * Baltimore Price-Current.
 - * [Baltimore] Whig.
- [Cumberland] Allegany Freeman.
- [Easton] People's Monitor.
- * [Easton] Republican Star.
- * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's, Republican Gazette.
 - Frederick-Town Herald.
 - [Fredericktown] Hornet.
 - [Fredericktown] Plain Dealer.
 - [Fredericktown] Political Examiner.
 - Hagers-Town Gazette.
- [Hagerstown] Herald and Torchlight.
- [Hagerstown] Maryland Herald.
- [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.
- [Uniontown] Engine of Liberty and Uniontown Advertiser.

1814

- [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Annapolis] Maryland Republican.
 - * [Baltimore] American.
 - * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Niles' Weekly Register.
 - * [Baltimore] Patriot.
 - * Baltimore Price-Current.
 - Baltimore Telegraph.
 - * [Baltimore] Whig.
- [Cumberland] Allegany Freeman.
- [Easton] People's Monitor.
- * [Easton] Republican Star.
- * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Republican Gazette.

Frederick-Town Herald.
 [Fredericktown] Hornet.
 [Fredericktown] Plain Dealer.
 [Fredericktown] Political Examiner.
 [Hagerstown] Maryland Herald.
 [Hagerstown] Torch Light.
 [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.
 [Uniontown] Engine of Liberty and Uniontown Advertiser.

1815

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
 * [Annapolis] Maryland Republican.
 * [Baltimore] American.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
 * [Baltimore] Mechanic's Gazette.
 * [Baltimore] Niles' Weekly Register.
 * [Baltimore] Patriot.
 * Baltimore Price-Current.
 Baltimore Telegraph.
 [Cumberland] Allegany Freeman.
 [Cumberland] Allegany Federalist.
 * [Easton] People's Monitor.
 * [Easton] Republican Star.
 * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Republican Gazette.
 Frederick-Town Herald.
 [Fredericktown] Political Examiner.
 [Hagerstown] Maryland Herald.
 [Hagerstown] Torch Light.
 [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.
 [Uniontown] Engine of Liberty and Uniontown Advertiser.

1816

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
 * [Annapolis] Maryland Republican.
 * [Baltimore] American.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Republican.

- * [Baltimore] Niles' Weekly Register.
 - * [Baltimore] Patriot.
 - [Baltimore] People's Advocate.
 - * [Baltimore] People's Friend.
 - * Baltimore Price-Current.
 - [Cumberland] Allegany Freeman.
 - [Cumberland] Allegany Federalist.
 - [Easton] Republican Star.
- * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Republican Gazette.
 - Frederick-Town Herald.
 - [Fredericktown] Political Examiner.
- * [Fredericktown] Star of Federalism.¹³
 - [Hagerstown] Maryland Herald.
 - [Hagerstown] Torch Light.
 - [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.
- [Uniontown] Engine of Liberty and Uniontown Advertiser.

1817

- [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Annapolis] Maryland Republican.
 - * [Baltimore] American.
 - * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
 - * [Baltimore] Federal Republican.
- * [Baltimore] Niles' Weekly Register.
 - * [Baltimore] Patriot.
 - * Baltimore Price-Current.
 - Easton Gazette.
 - * [Easton] Republican Star.
- * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Republican Gazette.
 - Frederick-Town Herald.
 - [Fredericktown] Political Examiner.
 - [Fredericktown] Star of Federalism.
 - [Hagerstown] Maryland Herald.

¹³ The Engine of Liberty, etc. was founded by Charles Sower in Sept. 1813, and published at Uniontown, Carroll Co.; in April 1816 the name was changed to Star of Federalism, and in Dec. of that year it was removed to Frederick.

[Hagerstown] Torch Light.
 [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.

1818

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
 * [Annapolis] Maryland Republican.
 * [Baltimore] American.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
 [Baltimore] Federal Republican.
 [Baltimore] Maryland Censor.
 * [Baltimore] Niles' Weekly Register.
 * [Baltimore] Patriot.
 * Baltimore Price-Current.
 [Cumberland] Western Herald.
 * Easton Gazette, and Eastern Shore Intelligencer.
 * [Easton] Republican Star.
 * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Republican Gazette.
 [Fredericktown] Chronicle.
 Frederick-Town Herald.
 [Fredericktown] Political Examiner.
 * [Fredericktown] Star of Federalism.
 [Hagerstown] Maryland Herald.
 [Hagerstown] Torch Light.
 [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.
 [Havre-de-Grace] Bond of Union.
 Rockville Journal.
 Westminster Observer.

1819

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
 * [Annapolis] Maryland Republican.
 * [Baltimore] American.
 [Baltimore] American Farmer.
 * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
 [Baltimore] Federal Republican.
 [Baltimore] Maryland Censor.
 * [Baltimore] Morning Chronicle.
 * [Baltimore] Niles' Weekly Register.

- * [Baltimore] Patriot.
- * [Baltimore] Price-Current.
- [Cumberland] Western Herald.
- * Easton Gazette.
- * [Easton] Republican Star.
- * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Republican Gazette.
- Frederick-Town Herald.
- [Fredericktown] Political Examiner.
- * [Fredericktown] Star of Federalism.
- [Hagerstown] Maryland Herald.
- [Hagerstown] Torch Light.
- [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.
- Rockville Courier.
- [Rockville] True American, and Farmer's Register.

1820

- * [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
- * [Annapolis] Maryland Republican.
- * [Baltimore] American.
- [Baltimore] American Farmer.
- * [Baltimore] Federal Gazette.
- [Baltimore] Federal Republican.
- * [Baltimore] Morning Chronicle.
- * [Baltimore] Niles' Weekly Register.
- [Baltimore] Patriot.
- * Baltimore Price-Current.
- * Easton Gazette.
- * [Easton] Republican Star.
- * [Fredericktown] Bartgis's Republican Gazette.
- Frederick-Town Herald.
- * [Fredericktown] Political Examiner.
- [Hagerstown] Maryland Herald.
- [Hagerstown] Torch Light.
- [Hagerstown] Westliche Correspondenz.
- [Rockville] True American, and Farmer's Register.

(To be continued)

TENCH TILGHMAN'S RIDE.

B. LATROBE WESTON.

When by land and sea with the French allied
 The Continentals at Yorktown won,
 Came the word to Tench Tilghman to mount and ride
 In seventeen hundred and eighty one.
 "Colonel Tilghman," spoke Washington, "moments plead;
 Bear the tidings to Congress with urgent speed!"

To the saddle sprang Tilghman; within him a flame
 Leapt high like a beacon that quenchless must burn.
 Now was triumph for toil! He was herald of Fame,
 To publish her tidings; nor tarry nor turn
 Till to far Philadelphia the shout should extend:
 "Cornwallis surrenders; the War's at an end!"

For the country was silent in hushed suspense—
 What had chanced in the south since the troops had sailed
 On the Bay's broad tide? Would the word borne thence
 Tell of triumph won or of hope that failed?
 And in doubt men were held in the shadow of fear,
 As they waited for tidings yet trembled to hear.

And who but Tench Tilghman the news should declare?
 Tench Tilghman, long loyal as Washington's aide;
 Whose soul was unshaken in seasons of care
 Who his part thro' the conflict had valiantly played.
 From the rich lands by Maryland's waters he came—
 None more gallant in presence or honoured in name.

Now a white-sailed ship from York River's mouth
 Thro' the great French fleet bore him northward fast;
 While faded from vision the ships in the south,
 And sank on the rim of the sky flag and mast.
 Shoal and calm vexed his course upon Chesapeake's tide
 Three days, ere his prow touched the eastern side.

It was night, but he stayed not for cheer of the sun;
The stars in their courses illumined the sky;
His good horse sprang eager the swift race to run,
And soon in the darkness was uttered the cry
That ever re-echoed should louder ascend:
"Cornwallis surrenders; the War's at an end!"

By farm-houses silent in slumber profound,
By field and by forest he swept on his way;
With rythmical hoof-beats that smote the still ground,
As stretching behind him the vanished miles lay.
He checked not his riding by bridge or by ford;
Resounding planks answered the jangle of sword.

And sleepers, quick startled from dreaming, awoke
To harken as far in the distance the tread
Of a rider who galloped drew nearer; then broke
A cry thro' the darkness and onward he sped.
Thus, swift as an arrow in flight, Tilghman bore
To the land that lay waiting the word from the War.

Now his horse panted breathless, as slacked not his pace;
Yet might not the rider seek comfort or rest.
By deep shadowed homestead he paused in the race,
And the stillness re-echoed his instant behest:
"A fresh horse for Congress!" His sword beat the door;
"Cornwallis is taken," he cried o'er and o'er.

Then lights sprang responsive and answer was given;
And soon he was mounted anew for his ride.
In the star-light he galloped beneath the clear heaven,
And his fresh horse unwearied urged faster his stride.
And as oft as the lengthrening miles made demand,
At the call of his need came a horse to his hand.

Now clear rose the sun and in fields as he rode
The husbandman gathered the fruit of the soil.
"Cornwallis is taken!" The wain with its load
Was halted; the labourer ceased in his toil.

Then was clamor uplifted his course to restrain;
But he pressed toward the goal nor an instant drew rein.

In the mists of the morning by Sassafras' flood
He galloped; the wild fowl upstarting took flight;
The cattle in pastures in wonderment stood,
As flashed the brave rider thro' shadow and light.
Vain was greeting of traveler his riding to stay;
His tidings he cried and was hence on his way.

At morn thro' the white gleam of hoar-frost he dashed;
Until faded the pale light of evening he rode.
He scattered his words like gold pieces that flashed
Far flung from his hand to each waiting abode.
October's ripe store in the fields gathered lay,
And like wine was October's keen air on the way.

In town or in village he slackened his speed;
By store or by tavern the citizens thronged.
From field and from dwelling they hastened to heed,
And he told, as they harkened with cheering prolonged,
How the scarlet-clad lines that were Britain's proud boast
Had yielded their arms to the patriot host.

Now Wilmington heard; still onward he sped;
Amid gathering darkness he thundered along.
Not far was the goal as the miles backward fled;
As his course neared its end he was eager and strong,
For the spirit that strove to bear tidings so great
Recked not of the body's o'erwearied estate.

Once again it was night; but his words were like flame
In brushwood, whose tongues of fire multiplied burn.
Thro' the dark hours he sounded his tocsin and came
Ere midnight to Schuylkill's smooth current; and stern
Was his joy as he crossed the broad stream, and his soul
Leapt to greet Philadelphia, the ride's end, the goal.

Straightway thro' the slumbering city he went;
His summons in darkness he called at the door

Of the chief of the Congress: "I'm messenger sent
"By Washington; urgent my haste from the war!"
Thus he spoke to the president, roused from his bed;
"We have taken Cornwallis's army," he said.

From stillness broke tumult; the president gave
The word to the watchmen; loud tolled the great bell.
The city awoke as the guardians grave
Cried and ceased not: "Cornwallis is taken; all's well!"
Lights flashed; from their dwellings with instant accord
To the streets in amazement the citizens poured.

And the tumult of cheer like the flood tide surged on—
"Cornwallis is taken; all's well!" Far and nigh
Resounded the tidings from midnight till dawn,
As thro' turbulent hours rang the watchmen's loud cry.
And thus thro' the night, while the clear stars shone down,
Was the triumph proclaimed in the streets of the town.

From the York to the Schuylkill the great news was borne,
Nor needed henceforward Tench Tilghman's swift steed.
From household to household 'twas carried from morn
To evening, nor hindered the darkness its speed—
Ever onward till Concord and Lexington heard,
That first by the flame of the conflict were stirred.

And abroad thro' the land from the South to the North
Like thunder-roll sounded the call of the ride.
With multiplied echoes the challenge went forth
Over valleys and hills. A Nation replied—
A Nation whose message proclaimed from her birth
Was strange to the Nations that dwelt in the earth.

LAND POLICIES AND ADMINISTRATION IN COLONIAL MARYLAND, 1753-1769.

By PAUL H. GIDDENS.

Land was the chief form of wealth in colonial Maryland; planting the main occupation. Eighty per cent of the people in Maryland in 1750 were engaged in the business of planting in one way or another.¹ Seamen and fishermen, mechanics and merchants, office-holders and lawyers, all were directly or indirectly connected with the cultivation of the soil. Lawyers, doctors, merchants, and shopkeepers invested in land; mechanics and petty tradesmen worked in the fields at tobacco time or helped to harvest wheat and pick corn. On a few plantations good judgment was used in tilling the soil; for the most part, however, farming was crudely done. The plough was little used except to break new ground in the spring and fallow in the fall. The hoe did the work in the tobacco and corn fields; the cheapness of labor made profitable this dull and slow method of tillage. No matter how primitive the method, the soil yielded the people a livelihood and formed the main source of wealth. In consequence, land policies were matters of essential importance to both people and proprietor.

The royal charter created Lord Baltimore and his heirs feudal princes. As territorial lords they had full power to assign, alienate, and grant away parts or parcels on any terms to persons willing to purchase the same. For the management and sale of land the Baltimores had established a land office. A person seeking a grant of vacant land applied to the agent and paid down the purchase or caution money.² His receipt was an

¹ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland From the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, Baltimore, 1879, Vol. II, pp. 58-60; *The Calvert Papers* (Fund Publication No. 34, Md. Hist. Soc.), pp. 242-243.

² Horatio Sharpe, *Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe* (Archives of Maryland), William Hand Browne, editor, Baltimore, 1888, Vol. II, pp. 404-406; Lewis W. Wilhelm, *Maryland Local Institutions* (Johns

order to the judges of the land office for a common warrant for the specified amount of land. The register issued an order, signed by the judges, directed to the surveyor general of the East or West Shore, and in turn the deputy surveyor of the county in which the land lay, surveyed the desired land and returned a warrant describing boundaries and situations to the examiner general. The patent, signed by the chancellor and stamped with the great seal of the province, formed the final and valid title to the tract. Where land taken up had been cultivated by some one not having a right there or where contiguous to land already held by the applicant, the procedure varied. The patentee usually petitioned for a special warrant to survey a specified piece or for a warrant to resurvey his own and include the contiguous tract. The same channels were then followed as for a common warrant, except that the deputy surveyor retained a full description of any improvements happening to be on the land. The judges then appraised them and levied a sum in excess of the purchase price. Every petition, warrant, certificate, and patent was regularly entered in the books of the land office. Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Maryland from 1753 to 1769, could suggest no better methods; there seemed to be little room for fraud or irregularities unless the officials of the land office violated their trusts. Sharpe said it was generally held in all the colonies that no land office was better managed than Maryland's. Surveyors were careful in their descriptions, Sharpe scrutinized every patent before signing, judges and chancellor made sure of the payment of caution money, and the judges reviewed and certified the yearly account of the agent.

The cost of securing title to land through all these steps bore severely on the patentee. According to the elder Daniel Dulany, "Petitions, Draughts of petitions, orders, Warrants, Renewments, Recordings, Surveys, Journey Fees, Platts, Certificates, Recordings again, Examings, Patents, Recordings again, Seals,

to say nothing of perquisites, contingent Hearings, & Lawyers fees, are very expensive in Maryland.”³ He estimated that “by the most moderate Computation” the totality of fees collected amounted to 500,000 pounds of tobacco yearly.⁴ Each land officer received compensation in the form of a fee and every December they submitted their several accounts against the patentees and collection was put in the hands of the sheriffs.

The assembly in 1747 attempted to reduce the fees, but the proprietor would brook no interference in an affair which he regarded as strictly his own. Mutterings of discontent against the exorbitant fees continued to be voiced even though there seemed to be no remedy.

Until 1682 the sale and distribution of land was based entirely upon the number of servants imported.⁵ Each settler coming into the colony received 100 acres of land, and for every servant imported an additional grant was made. Everything was done to settle the plantation as rapidly as possible in order to develop the resources and, as a means to this end, the proprietors resorted to the practice of importing servants on a large scale. In a few cases the proprietors granted large tracts to favorites without imposing the requirement to import servants. There was no such thing as direct purchase of land until 1683. In that year, all connections between the distribution of land and the importation of servants came to an end. Title to land henceforth could only be secured by the payment of purchase or caution money. From 1738 to the American Revolution the proprietors sold vacant uncultivated land at the rate of £5 sterling per 100 acres.⁶ Persons willing to take up land along disputed boundaries could obtain it on much more liberal terms.

³ *The Calvert Papers* (Fund Publication), p. 241.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁵ E. I. McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland, 1634-1820* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Vol. XXII), Baltimore, 1904, p. 12 *et seq.*

⁶ Clarence P. Gould, *The Land System in Maryland, 1720-1765* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Vol. XXXI), Baltimore, 1915, p. 10.

After 1751, the proprietor persistently tried to raise the price of Maryland land; Governor Sharpe and the chief territorial officials, Colonel Edward Lloyd, Benedict Calvert, and Dr. George Steuart with equal persistence opposed the attempt. It was true that land, both cultivated and uncultivated, sold at a higher level in the neighboring colony of Pennsylvania, but that, held the opponents, was not a sound reason for advancing the price in Maryland. And they gave the reasons for the difference in value.⁷ There was the matter of climate, for the colonies to the north were reputed to be healthier and more temperate than the south. Furthermore, Pennsylvania was more populous than Maryland and almost all were freemen capable of holding land, while one-third of Maryland's population was composed of negro slaves and consequently there were fewer capable of becoming freeholders or increasing their estates. Again the Maryland planter put his surplus capital into slaves, the Pennsylvania farmer bought land. And there was the question of markets. Maryland lacked a constant and certain market such as the farmers to the north found in Philadelphia where prices were generally higher there than anywhere, save Boston and New York, and where ready money was available for produce. Religious liberalism played its part. Every taxable Marylander had to support the established church which dissenters considered a grievous burden and thought their land less valuable than in the Quaker state where religious freedom actually existed. And while the value of land was higher in Pennsylvania, caution money and quitrents were lower than in Maryland. The purchase price of land in Pennsylvania was fixed at £15.10 currency per 100 acres in 1732 with the quitrent at a half-penny per acre. In 1765 the purchase money was reduced to £5.10 per 100 acres, though the quitrent was increased to a penny. The quitrent in Maryland was 4 sh. per 100 acres. If the price of land was raised, immigrants would not push into western Maryland and Lord Baltimore would suffer a loss in revenue. Lastly, Maryland was

⁷ *Calvert Papers*, No. 1161, Md. Hist. Soc.

troubled with boundary disputes and the risks attached to land titles in disputed areas detracted from its value. Unsettled boundary disputes existed with Pennsylvania over the northern border, with Virginia over the southern line, and with Delaware over the eastern limits. These were the factors which made it unwise to raise the price of land in Maryland. Then, too, the French and Indian War killed all hope of raising the price. Governor Sharpe repeatedly informed the proprietor of his inability to raise land prices in view of the enemy roaming over the frontier where most of the vacant land lay.⁸ Few people wanted to buy land over which the savage red man carried destruction. Even if the English triumphed, Sharpe doubted his ability to raise the rates, for the people would then "flock out" to settle on extremely rich and fertile Ohio land which they could get on easy terms. But as soon as the war ended, Secretary Calvert sounded out the leading men in the colony about increasing the price. "It is true," declared the younger Daniel Dulany in a lengthy reply to the query, "Land may rise in its value; but of that there is not a very near prospect to those who reflect what immense Tracts of Land are now to be settled in America in Consequence of our late Acquisitions, & that Land like every other Commodity is valuable, or not, in proportion to its Plenty, or scarcity & must rise very considerable indeed, in the Course of twenty Years to compensate for the Loss of the above Interest, the common quit-rent, the Alienation-fine & the chance of Escheats in the mean time."⁹ On account of these burdens and the enormous fees paid land officials there was little room left for the proprietor to increase the caution money. "I am of Opinion," concluded Dulany, "that, in the present situation of Things, his Lordship wou'd effectually put a stop to the Business of the Land Office, shou'd He raise the Caution-money, unless some method be fallen upon to do it, without increasing the Expence to the Purchaser wch., without Doubt, might be done."¹⁰ Wise advice

⁸ *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. 1, pp. 161, 163, 294.

⁹ *The Calvert Papers* (Fund Publication), p. 243.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

and opposition from his territorial officers finally influenced the proprietor to give up the idea of raising the purchase price.

Certain relics of feudalism persisted in the colonies. Land was not granted in fee simple; it was burdened with escheat, alienation fines, and quitrent payable into the proprietary purse. The most usual forms of escheating were the lack of heirs and the non-payment of rent.¹¹ The proprietor encouraged the discovery of escheated estates by offering a reward of one-third to the discoverer and first chance to purchase the remainder. One who thought land escheatable for want of heirs might venture the expense of a warrant and a survey. He then paid the price necessary to acquire title which was good so long as no one proved the land not escheated. Few apparently applied for escheat warrants. Opposition to the right of escheats did not develop until about 1760 and from then on to the Revolution it steadily increased. On every alienation or transfer of land a fine equal to one year's rent went to the proprietor.¹² If all transfers had been recorded, collection would not have been difficult. An act of 1715 required all deeds of bargain and sale to be recorded, but since only deeds of bargain and sale were specifically mentioned, people resorted to various devices which did not need recording. The payment of alienation fines, therefore was frequently evaded and the proprietor lost considerable revenue. Secretary Calvert continually urged Sharpe to push the collection of alienation fines, but the officers prevented a vigorous enforcement of the policy.

From the very outset the proprietor reserved to himself a perpetual quitrent on all grants of land. The quitrent was one of the distinctive features of English land-tenure in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During the Middle Ages, villeins of England gradually commuted their food and labor dues to annual money payments which came to be known as quitrents. By the payment of quitrents land became free from

¹¹ Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland As A Proprietary Province*, New York, 1901, p. 56; Gould, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

¹² Gould, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-33; *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. 1, p. 303.

all feudal dues except fealty. The quitrent was naturally enough transplanted to America and became an important feature of the land system of all the colonies except those of New England. The rate stood at 4 sh. per 100 acres in Maryland in 1669, and, except from 1733 to 1738, it remained the same until the Revolution.¹³ Quitrents were payable in sterling, though foreign gold and silver and Maryland paper currency were often received, but the rate of exchange was determined privately between the tenant and receiver.¹⁴ Proprietary instructions specified that foreign gold should pass at the rate of £3.17.6 sterling per ounce and dollars at £4.16 each, but farmers did not always heed the instructions and charged excessive rates of exchange.

Exceptions to the 4 sh. quitrent were sometimes made for definite purposes. In 1732 Lord Baltimore made a liberal offer to Germans who should settle on land between the Potomac and Susquehanna Rivers.¹⁵ Every person having a family might obtain 200 acres at a rental of 4 sh. per 100 acres; the rent was not payable until the beginning of the third year. Single persons between fifteen and thirty years of age could secure 100 acres on the same terms. Exemption from the quitrent was sometimes granted to those who would settle near disputed boundary lines. Otherwise, the rate remained uniform.

Lord Baltimore was bent on raising not only the price of vacant land, but also on advancing the quitrent from 4 to 10 sh. per 100 acres, a raise he it said of 250 per cent.¹⁶ The aggregate revenue from this source would have meant much to

¹³ Beverly W. Bond, *The Quit-Rent System in the American Colonies*, New Haven, 1919, pp. 175-176.

¹⁴ *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland* (Archives of Maryland), William Hand Browne, editor, Baltimore, 1911, Vol. XXXI, p. 59; Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

¹⁵ Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, New York, 1909, Vol. I, p. 168; Bond, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-198; Gould, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13; *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. III, p. 213.

¹⁶ *Calvert Papers*, No. 11-515, Md. Hist. Soc.; *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. III, p. 346.

the proprietor's pocket book at the expense of the planters and farmers. There seemed to be no end to the arbitrary demands of his lordship. Why it should be raised cannot be explained except by the proprietor's cupidity. As it was, the Maryland quitrent was higher than in any other colony. Governor Sharpe stoutly opposed the advance, holding it to be decidedly unwise. He presented much the same line of reasoning used against raising the price of land.¹⁷ A population growing at a tremendous rate and the consequent pressure on the land, the law of supply and demand, gave occasion for the increase of both the purchase money and quitrent in Pennsylvania. Maryland, however, lacked those who would become tenants, the demand for land was not pressing, and the demand for agricultural products was smaller. And, indeed, already quitrents were higher in Maryland than Pennsylvania and twice as high as Virginia where land was more fertile. Sharpe told Baltimore not to forget such items as the clergy tax and alienation fines. The colonial land officials agreed with Sharpe's stand in opposition. As it was, the quitrent now formed a burden of no mean severity on the settlers and acted as a break on the coming of new people. The proprietor heeded this advice and curbed his arbitrary demand.¹⁸ Maryland's system of gathering the quitrents was the most effective employed on the continent. Such is the judgment of a scholar expert in the history of colonial quitrent.¹⁹ On the East shore sheriffs collected the rents on a ten per cent commission; on the Western Shore they were farmed out on a twenty per cent basis. Every collector gave security and was under the direct supervision of a rent roll keeper, one for each shore. Two keepers, appointed by the governor, received a five per cent commission on all collections within their respective districts. They transmitted all receipts to the agent and kept the rent roll of each county, from which they annually made out the debt books for the farmers. The debt books formed the basis for collection.

¹⁷ *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 37.

¹⁸ Calvert Papers, No. 11-515, Md. Hist. Soc.

¹⁹ Bond, *op. cit.*, pp. 190, 200-201.

It was one of Governor Sharpe's tasks to work out a less expensive and more effective system of collection. Lord Baltimore, demanding more and more revenue, insisted that the sheriffs be compelled, as a part of their duty, to collect the quit-rents on a ten per cent basis. Owing to the short interval between Sharpe's arrival in 1753 and the expiration of the farmer's contracts in the same year, the governor could not arrange with the sheriffs, so the contracts were renewed for two more years.²⁰ Sharp managed, however, to strike a better bargain with the farmers; they agreed to accept fifteen per cent. When these contracts expired in 1755, the sheriffs agreed to collect the rents for ten per cent.²¹ The proprietor, in his desire for money, urged a reduction to six per cent. Sharpe did not see how it could be done, for the sheriffs found the task both unprofitable and unpleasant at ten per cent.²² Gladly would they have welcomed exemption from the duty. The sheriff of Frederick county resigned in 1764 rather than make the collections and not a man of any property would accept the office. The annual rents in most counties did not amount to £500 sterling. If a sheriff received every shilling, his commission would fall short of £50 sterling. In a few counties it hardly amounted to one-half that sum. Notwithstanding all diligence and care not a few sheriffs suffered losses.²³ They had to account for tracts on which rent could not be collected and many lands had nothing to distrain. Some owners lived at such distances outside the county that to go for the rent caused greater expense than the amount collected. Moreover, a farmer had to make, in some instances, several trips to get rents from those living upon the lands. It is small wonder the governor protested against a reduction of the commission to the low level of six per cent. Should the commission be reduced, Sharpe suggested that one person be allowed to farm three or four counties thereby

²⁰ *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 8, 13, 54, 60.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 295.

²² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 99-100, 409; Vol. III, pp. 214-215.

²³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 115, Vol. III, p. 214; *Port-folio*, No. 3-12, Md. Hist. Soc.

making the compensation worth while.²⁴ Otherwise, no one could be induced to farm the rents.

Two years' experience convinced Sharpe that the use of the office of sheriff was most unsatisfactory.²⁵ Rents were not collected with regularity and paid to the agent because other public duties engrossed the time of the sheriffs and the task was given to deputies. The situation induced Sharpe and the Board of Revenue to divorce the collection of rents from the sheriff's office and entrust the task to responsible persons especially appointed for the purpose. Also by uniting two or more smaller counties into one farm and allowing an adequate commission better men were induced to accept the office. Placing the collection of the rents upon a more business-like basis throws light upon Sharpe's administrative abilities.

The effective and full collection of the rents demanded that the rent rolls be in good order. From 1717 to 1732 the proprietor accepted 2 sh. a hogshead on all tobacco exported in lieu of quitrents and alienation fines.²⁶ In 1732 the assembly refused to continue the agreement and Baltimore was forced to reform his system of collection. The period of commutation permitted the rent rolls to fall into confusion; vast amounts of land no longer appeared on the rolls. By searching through the land records new rolls could be made, but it was a difficult task and one requiring time; it called for a thorough search to compile a perfect record of every owner, the acreage, and rent payable. A hard problem at best was made more so by the rent roll keepers who entertained their offices as sinecures. In 1753 the proprietor demanded that the rolls be made out annually and in detail and presented for his scrutiny.²⁷ Over and again Sharpe urged the land officials to complete the rent rolls, but the work went slowly.²⁸ Edward Tilghman and Colo-

²⁴ *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. III, p. 214.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 375-376.

²⁶ Bond, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-184; Gould, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-39; Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

²⁷ Bond, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

²⁸ *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 177, 296, 453.

nel Edward Lloyd, rent roll keepers for the East and West Shores, respectively, lacked a cooperative spirit. Tilghman often gave assurance, however, that he was doing his best to complete the rolls. His failure to perform promptly this duty was not the only objection against Tilghman holding the office. It is evident that Tilghman was careless, for he permitted farmers of the revenue on the Eastern Shore to appropriate rent money for their own private use; they were also in great arrears with their accounts. Colonial Lloyd's punctuality in completing the rolls was no better than Tilghman's. He finally completed the rolls for Anne Arundel, Charles, and Calvert counties for 1753, but upon inspection by the proprietor they did not conform to the detailed instructions sent in 1752.²⁹ "Colo Lloyd," declared the Governor Sharpe, "has for his part been always full of Professions and Promises that no one should have reason to complain of any Neglect in him, but by Your Account I think He seems as culpable as any one." Sharpe asked Lloyd and Tilghman so many times to complete the rolls that he was sure he had more than once offended them. Finally, in exasperation, the Governor gave Lloyd peremptory instructions in 1756 to demand all the rents, books and papers from Tilghman and then dismiss him.³⁰ Lloyd replied that Tilghman must be retained or Lord Baltimore's affairs would suffer and refused to remove him. Sharpe permitted the land agent to continue Tilghman in office a short time longer on the condition that he get all the papers and books and then make final settlement. Tilghman was dismissed and thereupon assumed the leadership of the anti-government party. Nothing had given Sharpe so much uneasiness as his inability to please the proprietor by perfecting the rent rolls. "Those whose Duty it is to settle & manage your Lordships Pecuniary Affairs," Sharpe declared in 1756, "are perpetually blaming each other & endeavouring to vindicate their own Conduct."³¹ With much trouble and a great expenditure of time Sharpe prepared the

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 371, 449.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 449.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 449.

rent roll of Anne Arundel county to serve as a model.³² Through personal exhortations, instructions from the proprietor, and removal of inefficient officials, Sharpe finally managed to have the rent rolls perfected by 1767, another significant achievement to his credit.

Obviously, the completion of the rent rolls increased the total rents collected. The increase came in spite of the Indian pressure on the frontier which forced the western settlers to hurry to the more settled areas. The annual rent return rose from £5,752 in 1753 to £8,383 in 1761.³³ When the hostilities of the Revolutionary Era opened the quitrents in Maryland were twice as large as the returns from this source in any other colony.³⁴ The quitrents in Pennsylvania from 1701 to 1778 amounted to £182,248. 12. 10, but only £63,697. 8. 3, or a little over a third was collected. Collections were equally as bad in New York, East Jersey, West Jersey, Georgia, North and South Carolina.³⁵ A number of factors explain why the quitrent system was so successful in Maryland: exorbitant and confusing rates, as in Pennsylvania, were avoided, an excellent system of collection with ample commissions to competent col-

³² *Ibid.*, p. 522, Vol. II, pp. 10, 61-62.

³³ Bond, *op. cit.*, p. 216; Annual net return from the quitrents:

1753.....	£5,752	44s	1¼d
1754.....	5,325	12	9¼
1755.....	5,126	2	4
1756.....	5,121	3	11¾
1758.....	8,593	16	4
1759.....	9,273	16	4½
1760.....	6,093	19	7¾
1761.....	8,383	5	11½

Annual gross value:

1722-24.....	£5,335	13s	½d
1750-55.....	6,859	10	9¼
1760-65.....	7,398	17	3¼
1770.....	8,297	6	11¾
1774.....	8,518	6	2

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

³⁵ Beverly W. Bond, "The Quit Rent System in the American Colonies," *American Historical Review*, Vol. XVII, pp. 510-511.

lectors was developed, and a disposition to be moderate in the method of enforcement and the medium of payment.

Owing to the able, consistent, and broad-minded policy of the Maryland proprietors and their officials, the quitrents were paid with less opposition than in any other colony, save perhaps Virginia. There was no wide-spread opposition to the quitrent system after 1745. Prior to that date illegal fees, illegal rates for gold, and over-charging caused numerous complaints.³⁶ In 1754, Colonel Lloyd, the land agent, required all farmers and receivers of quitrents to advertise in the most public places at what rates they would receive foreign coin in lieu of sterling. Henceforth, no farmer dared raise his demands and the system ran more smoothly. Regarding the administration of the quitrent, a leading authority has said, "Under their (the Baltimores) careful supervision a system of quit-rents was established and enforced in Maryland, which was more successful in its actual results than any similar organization in the American colonies either proprietary or royal."³⁷

Large quantities of vacant and uncultivated land still remained in nearly all parts of Maryland. But the practice of locating land warrants by selecting the most fertile areas without regard to regularity of shape or making it coincide with the boundary of land previously granted left the vacant land in such irregular and small parcels that it was of little value.³⁸ In 1760 Governor Sharpe said he doubted whether as much as 5,000 acres of good vacant land could be found in one spot unless it was in the extreme western portion of the colony.³⁹ Significant is the observation of Daniel Dulany who wrote in 1764, "In a few years there will be very little vacant Land, & therefore, there will be probably more Attention bestow'd upon the Improvement of the manors, or reserved Lands."⁴⁰

Although most of the desirable land had already been taken

³⁶ Gould, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

³⁷ Bond, *The Quit-Rent System in the American Colonies*, p. 174.

³⁸ *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 53.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 370.

⁴⁰ *The Calvert Papers* (Fund Publication), p. 242.

up, yet in 1754 vast areas of "surplus" land remained.⁴¹ Early surveyors granted certificates of survey which included a larger amount of land than the warrant certified. In some cases, ten times as much land was included in a survey as specified in the warrant. It may have been due to ignorance; perhaps there was knavery; it may have been a matter of indifference to the surveyors when land was so abundant. At any rate, this "surplus" land, as it was termed, paid neither purchase money nor quitrent. The three counties of Baltimore, Cecil, and Prince George contained a third more land than was paid for.⁴² The proprietor directed the surveyor general to make a diligent search for the "surplus," but the resumption of this land was very difficult. With the hope of encouraging voluntary resurveys the proprietor offered landowners the privilege of taking up the "surplus" providing the arrearages were paid from the date of the patent.⁴³ Governor Sharpe found it unnecessary to issue any proclamation inciting people to apply for resurvey warrants, for some were seriously trying to remove every possibility of boundary disputes.⁴⁴ Many gentlemen holding large tracts would not resurvey, however, upon the conditions proposed. Sharpe thought that if surplus land could be taken up at the original rent rate and the payment of all arrearages waived, most of them would apply for a resurvey warrant. The proprietary revenue would be thereby immediately and perpetually increased. A scheme, slightly different from the one Sharpe suggested, was adopted in 1756.⁴⁵ Those resurveying within two years and returning a certificate of the true amount might have the surplus by paying the purchase price and quitrent as expressed in the original grant, but arrearages were not demanded. Surveys on a large scale were not under-

⁴¹ Gould, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-27; *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 53; Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Bond, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-205.

⁴² *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 13.

⁴³ *Council Pro.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 22; *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 37.

⁴⁴ *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 38, 92.

⁴⁵ *Council Pro.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 103.

taken, however, and we hear of no more attempts to induce landowners to take up the surplusage.

Maryland was not a colony made up chiefly of large and princely estates. The average holding of land in a single county ranged from 250 to 475 acres. The nearer to Annapolis, center of politics and of the aristocratic class, the larger the holding.⁴⁶ The average holding per landowner in the various counties, ranging in order from high to low, were as follows: Anne Arundel 472.8, Cecil 371.9, Frederick 370.1, Calvert 364.1, and Talbot 329.5 acres.⁴⁷ In Kent, St. Mary, and Worcester, the older counties, the average ran 279.6, 282, and 255.3 acres, respectively. And it is noteworthy that nearly one-fourth of all the land in the older counties was held in quantities varying from 50 to 250 acres by men who owned no other land.⁴⁸ Indeed, the average plantation of a middle class landowner approximated 100 to 250 acres cultivated by the owner and family or with the aid of a few slaves.⁴⁹

Above the numerous group of average landholders stood the landed aristocracy which gathered wealth and prestige from vast estates. These properties consisted for the most part of many scattered tracts rather than of single large plantation surrounding the owner's residence. Daniel Dulany possessed one of the largest and most scattered estates, and the Carroll family held land in almost every county on the Western Shore. The dwelling plantations of some of the more important landholders, however, were very large. Talbot county, the home of many aristocratic families, embraced many of the largest plantations. The assessment of that county in 1783 listed sixty-seven plantations averaging 615 acres with as much as 200 acres cleared land.⁵⁰ It is probable that in no other part of the province was there such an abundance of large farms.

Huge tracts of land were purchased either for speculative purposes or because of a natural desire to provide for one's

⁴⁶ Gould, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 81.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

children. Land was plentiful in early colonial times and men patented vast tracts. Since they could not possibly cultivate it all, they lived on a corner and reserved the remainder for their children. "They who have children to provide for," declared Daniel Dulany in 1764, "keep their Land with that View, it is a kind of property less slippery, than money is, in the Hands of Young or Improvident People."⁵¹ Those not holding land for the enrichment of family estates used it for speculative purposes. William Eddis wrote in 1772, "Lands, to a very Considerable extent, are taken up by persons, who looking to futurity for greater advantages, are content to clear gradually some portions of their domains for immediate subsistence."⁵² The western land boom began when skilled German farmers without money and a knowledge of the English language, began migrating across Maryland's northern boundary in 1730. Unable to buy land and without any great aversion to becoming tenants, they played directly into the hands of the speculator. Land held for speculation was unimproved. A tax collector reported in 1757 that of the 537,500 acres patented in Frederick county 62,042 acres of uncultivated land were owned by people in Baltimore, Anne Arundel, Prince George, and Charles counties.⁵³ Daniel Dulany, the elder, was one of the largest and most successful western land dealers and upon his land was founded one of the earliest German settlements. Another noted speculator was Jonathan Hagar, who "purchased a considerable tract of land in this neighborhood, and with much discernment and foresight, determined to give encouragement to traders, and to erect proper habitations for the storage of goods, for the supply of the adjacent country. His plan succeeded: he has lived to behold a multitude of inhabitants on land which he remembered unoccupied; and he has seen erected in places appropriated by him for that purpose, more than a

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵² William Eddis, *Letters from America, Historical and descriptive; Comprising Occurrences from 1769 to 1777 inclusive*, London, 1792, p. 129.

⁵³ Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

hundred comfortable edifices, to which the name of Hagar's Town is given in honor of the intelligent founder."⁵⁴ Most of the speculation was carried on by dealing in warrants which were transferable and divisible. They could be repeatedly renewed or else the land could be surveyed and a certificate returned but left to lay. In this manner, control over large tracts was insured without having to pay the quitrent and yet one was free to dispose of it in parcels.

It should also be noted that planters held more land than they could immediately improve, not only for speculative purposes or for their children, but for other reasons. They held virgin tracts which might be available when the land under cultivation was exhausted. Tobacco, by its great value in exchange, its high yield per acre, its good keeping qualities, and comparatively low weight when ready for shipment, excluded all other major crops from the fields and forced an exhausting single-crop type of agriculture upon the soil.⁵⁵ The tobacco plant was a heavy consumer of both nitrogen and potash, and removal of the entire crop from the field caused a rapid decline in available plant food materials. Continued replanting also encouraged toxicity, harmful soil fungi, and root rats. Superior tobacco could only be produced on fresh lands, for after the second crop quality and quantity declined. A planter seldom counted upon more than two or three crops from land before abandoning it to corn, wheat, and pine. There was constant clearing of forests and constant abandonment of old fields. Large tracts of virgin land were, therefore, essential for tobacco cultivation.

As desirable vacant land gradually disappeared and patented land increased in value, leasing became a popular means of developing large landed estates.⁵⁶ A lease for twenty-one years

⁵⁴ Eddis, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

⁵⁵ Avery Odell Craven, *Soil Exhaustion As A Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860* (University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. XIII), Urbana, 1925, pp. 25-72.

⁵⁶ Gould, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-69, 77-81.

was the most common, but five, seven, or fourteen year periods were not unusual. A desire to have relief from the trouble of changing tenants and a tenant's desire to have improvements resulted in a very popular long term lease which generally ran for three lives. Rents on leased land varied from 10 sh. to £10 sterling per 100 acres, depending upon the location, quality of soil, improvements, bargaining power, and the date of leasing. About 1750 a desirable plantation containing 150 to 200 acres rented for £5 to £8 currency per year. The average size leaseholds contained from 100 to 150 acres. One hundred acres, however, seemed to be the usual size; nearly one-fourth of all the leases recorded during the first half of the eighteenth century were for that amount.

Waste of the tenants was one of the great disadvantages of the leasing system.⁵⁷ Especially was this true in tobacco cultivation. The first few crops from new ground were the heaviest and after they were off the soil was of little value for agricultural purposes until it lay fallow for a period of years. Tenants on the proprietor's manors planted so much tobacco during the last years of their terms that the soil was left impoverished and untenable. Another general complaint against leasing was the fact that tenants often cut off all the timber for clapboards, stores, shingles, rails, and left little wood. The profitableness of leasing was seriously questioned. "Every Gentleman who lets out Land in this Country, knows," wrote Daniel Dulany in 1764, "how difficult it is, with the utmost Care, to make any considerable profit by that scheme, & how impractical it is to get an annual Rent equal to half the Interest wch wou'd arise from the money, for which the Land wou'd sell, or to prevent the Abuses of Tenants in the Commission of waste."⁵⁸

Estates might also be worked through the employment of an overseer, who took complete charge of the cultivation of the plantation, supervised the erection of all buildings and fences, and occasionally performed other duties.⁵⁹ Overseers generally

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-75.

came from the best of the landless class, for no landlord would be liable to place slaves, implements, and land in charge of any but a competent and reliable man. The overseer was usually hired for a year. He was either paid a fixed salary, varying from £10 to £30 per year, or, as in most cases, given a share in the crop which depended upon the number of slaves worked. A crop was ordinarily divided into as many shares as slaves; one share went to the overseer and the rest to the owner. Sometimes an overseer was permitted to cultivate patches of corn or wheat and keep driving-horses, cattle, hogs, and sheep. If he lived on the plantation, the overseer generally received lodging, board, washing, and mending. Otherwise, only provisions were supplied.

The overseer system seems to have been more profitable than leasing. Cheap slave labor produced a surplus so large that landlord and overseer could divide and each have a greater return than where the land was rented for a fixed sum. Besides, the waste of timber and the exhaustion of the soil could be prevented. All great landowners and wealthy men had numerous plantations worked under this system.

Proprietary manors were divided into small holdings and leased like lands of private citizens. While an abundance of cheap land existed during the seventeenth century, many manors had few tenants, boundaries disappeared, squatters took possession, leases were lost, and the rents were not paid. After the Restoration, tenants could be secured much easier and an increasing amount of proprietary land was leased. Kent Manor alone had fifty-seven tenements in 1764, most of which were rented.⁶⁰ Although rents on the proprietor's land were somewhat lower than on private lands, the manors never were entirely leased out. Proprietary leases were quite similar to those on private lands.⁶¹ They ran from five to twenty-one years or three lives with a tendency toward the latter. Longer terms were refused. The tenants of Anne Arundel manor in

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 92.

⁶¹ *The Calvert Papers* (Fund Publication), p. 180.

1752 tried to secure leases for ninety-nine years renewable forever. If the proprietor had agreed to the proposition, all benefits from an increase in land values would have been lost.

Manor rents were almost uniformly 10 sh. per 100 acres in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. As lands became more valuable, the proprietor advanced the price on the expiration of leases. Rents in Baltimore and Frederick counties were raised in 1754 from 10 to 20 sh. per 100 acres.⁶² If the French and Indian War had not interfered, they could have been raised still higher. Anne Arundel county was far enough removed from the frontier so that the rents there were raised in 1755 from £3.15 to £5 per 100 acres.⁶³

Questions relating to terms of leases, sales, and the laying out of new manors were determined by the governor and agent while the routine work of finding tenants, leasing the lands, and collecting rents was done by stewards under the agent's supervision.⁶⁴ A steward frequently had charge of several manors. Young Parran was at one time steward of no less than eleven manors in Charles and St. Mary counties. Free tenure on one tenement was a steward's usual compensation. When a person wished to lease proprietary land the steward surveyed a tract, returned the certificate, together with the lease, to the agent; the governor and agent examined and signed it, and the lease was then delivered to the lessee. Each steward kept a roll in which all leases were recorded and it showed the amount of rent due.

Governor Sharpe discovered that proprietary manors were by no means efficiently managed; leases had been lost, rents had fallen into arrears, tenants had pillaged the land, and the constant cultivation of tobacco impoverished the soil.⁶⁵ Stewards, whose duty it was to see that the manors were well tenanted and managed, had allowed them to fall into a disorderly state.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

⁶³ *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 294.

⁶⁴ Gould, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.

⁶⁵ *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. II, p. 62; Gould, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

Soon after Sharpe's arrival in 1753, he immediately made several practical recommendations for improving manorial administration.⁶⁶ Stewards should be allowed a large commission on the annual rents instead of a mere free tenement; persons of ability might thereby be encouraged to become stewards. If a steward was not sufficiently paid for getting the manor settled and rents duly paid, he would not be very solicitous to procure good tenants. By advertising the terms of leasing, Sharpe thought better tenants might be secured. There should be a book for every manor where all leases and agreements as well as a detailed description could be entered. Furthermore, every steward should make a plot of the manors under his supervision and mark down every tenement as it was leased. When the time came to account for the revenue the agent might easily see from the plat what parts were settled and those vacant. Finally, rents should be regularly paid on a certain day, for as Sharpe said, "I am persuaded that nothing is so detrimental as giving them long credit."⁶⁷ Unless the proprietor approved of these suggested changes and directed the agent to enforce them, the governor saw little hope for increasing returns from the manors. Nothing was done immediately to improve the administration of manor lands because the attention of Lloyd, the land agent, was too much engrossed by his own private affairs.

Shortly after his arrival in the colony Governor Sharpe received directions to have more land erected into manors. No tract could be found in 1754 extensive enough to answer the purpose, except in Frederick county near the frontier.⁶⁸ Even after an investigation of that region, the deputy surveyor reported neither he nor his associates knew of any parcel of vacant land in the inhabited portion of the county which contained 5,000 acres.⁶⁹ Acting under the governor's orders, a survey was made in 1768 just beyond Fort Cumberland and a

⁶⁶ *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. II, pp. 62-63.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 52, 91.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 204.

manor containing 96,610 acres was laid out.⁷⁰ Some of it was very good land and would have rented for 10 sh. per 100 acres, but the greatest part was mountainous. Four other manors, all lying along the branches of the Youghiogheny, were laid out in the same year.

Although the manors brought in as much as £1,000 revenue per year, the proprietor decided in 1765 for some unknown reason to sell his uncultivated, untenanted manors and reserved lands. He may have been influenced by Daniel Dulany who argued that the revenue from the manors was not sufficient to pay the interest on the capital invested. In all probability the most influential reason was the fact that the sale would provide a source of ready money. Sharpe strongly advised against selling any of the manors. He suggested that every one should be leased on such terms as would add something annually to the proprietor's revenue.⁷¹ Furthermore, the governor forcibly called attention to the fact that if it was worth while for gentlemen to purchase these lands at a high price with no other view than leasing them, it was worth while for Lord Baltimore to keep them. Sharpe was confident that if the manors were properly managed, the rents would amount to a considerable sum. But in a letter to Sharpe, Lloyd, Calvert, Dulany, Steuart, and Key, the proprietor declared the manors yielded nothing and prevented the increase of people so he authorized them to sell the following lands:⁷²

Pancaya Manor	10,240	acres	in Charles county
Beaverdam	7,600	"	"
Mile	1,924	"	"
Woolsey	2,806	"	in St. Mary county
Bridgewater	5,960	"	in Somerset county
	<hr/>		
Total	28,530	acres	

When the commissioners met to arrange for the sale, Colonel

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 479, 485, 558.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 189-191.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

Edward Lloyd informed them that these lands were all tenanted or at least a considerable part.⁷³ He produced a list of tenants on some of the tracts and said the rents, though not over 10 sh. per 100 acres, had been regularly accounted for. The commissioners thereupon concluded not to sell any land until further information could be procured. Without it, they could not properly determine the sale price.

The commissioners adjourned to meet later, but before Lloyd could make a report, John Morton Jordan, a London merchant, arrived in Maryland with a commission authorizing Sharpe, Dulany, and himself to sell all cultivated as well as uncultivated reserved lands and manors.⁷⁴ According to the instructions, the following manors were to be offered for sale:⁷⁵

Anne Arundel.....	10,680	7/8	acres
Conegocheague.....	11,586		"
Queen Anne.....	6,000		"
Gunpowder.....	7,265	2/8	"
Chaptico.....	18,546		"
Collington.....	1,297	2/8	"
Calverton.....	7,230		"
Kent.....	8,000		"
Beaverdam.....	7,680		"
Zachariah.....	9,637		"
Pangarah.....	10,240		"
Nanticoke.....	5,449		"
West St. Marys.....	3,091		"
Mill.....	2,696		"
Woolsey.....	3,131		"
St. Johns	}		"
St. Barbaras			
Snow Hill			
Wool Cote.....	200		"

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 202-204.

⁷⁴ *Council Pro.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 134-139; *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. III, pp. 267, 273.

⁷⁵ *Port-folio* No. 3, Md. Hist. Soc.

White Plains.....	812	“
Abbingtion	109	“

Total 114,633 acres

The proprietor directed the commissioners to divide these manors into tracts not exceeding 500 acres where the land was already under cultivation, nor over 1,000 acres where uncultivated. Each tract should be auctioned off to the highest bidder, but cultivated and untenanted lands were not to be sold for less than £30 sterling per 100 acres, and so on in proportion for a greater or lesser quantity. Cultivated and tenanted land should be sold for not less than £100 sterling for every 100 acres subject to the present quitrent. All tracts were to be sold subject to an alienation fine of not less than one year's rent and a quitrent of 8 or 9 sh., but not less than 4. To defray the expenses of surveying, 6d. sterling per 100 acres was to be levied on all land sold, no matter what kind. One-fourth of the purchase money had to be paid down either in specie or good bills of exchange and the rest could be secured by a purchaser's bond until paid within three years. No interest was to be charged for the first year, but thereafter, the debt bore six per cent. Should the tracts fail to bring the amounts indicated, they were to be put on the block at a subsequent date. If not sold then, a private sale might be negotiated. For their trouble the commissioners were each to receive £2 for every £100 of purchase money paid down.

The commissioners began selling the manors during the summer of 1766, but the demand for land was not so great as anticipated. There were few bidders and lands were repeatedly withdrawn from sale. The proprietor's tenants, who could have afforded to give more for their respective tenements than others persons, were, in general, very poor and neighbors seemed unwilling to over-bid them. Scarcity of specie also hindered the sale. When the small manor of Collington was put on the block only one parcel of 65 acres and another 200-acre tract

would sell.⁷⁶ Anne Arundel manor was put up in 100-acre tracts in June, 1767, but no one would bid though many tenants were present.⁷⁷ The commissioners thereupon gave notice that, since tenants declined to bid, the manor would be divided into 400 or 500-acre tracts and auctioned again. In September, 7,104 $\frac{7}{8}$ acres were sold for £8,919. 1. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$. Most of this land was purchased by tenants for 25 to 35 sh. per acre. Three thousand acres failed to sell. Manors in Kent and Queen Anne counties were offered to the public, but no land was sold in the former and only 822 acres in the latter.⁷⁸ Only 2,477 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres could be sold from the manors in St. Mary and Prince George counties. By the spring of 1768, the commissioners had sold 17,015 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres for £18,341. 12. 5.⁷⁹ Among the larger purchasers were: Dr. George Steuart, Richard Sprigg, Henry Hall, President Tasker, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, James Dick, Samuel Galloway, Thomas and John Snowden, John Stevenson, and William Hollyday.⁸⁰ The sale continued even after the end of Governor Sharpe's administration, and by 1773 nearly 50,000 acres had been sold.⁸¹

Receipts from the quitrents, the ordinary sale of land, and manor rents brought an enormous revenue to the proprietor. Eddis said in 1772 that the annual revenue of the proprietor arising from the sale of lands and quitrents, after deducting all the various charges of government, averaged £12,500 per year.⁸² The murderous raids of the French and Indians upon the frontier, however, caused a steady decrease in the land revenue from 1754 to 1760.⁸³ The assembly would not grant sup-

⁷⁶ *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. III, p. 335.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 392; *Calvert Papers*, No. 1309, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁷⁸ *Port-folio* No. 3, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁷⁹ *Port-folio* No. 3, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁸⁰ Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁸¹ Eddis, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

⁸² *Calvert Papers* No. 938, Md. Hist. Soc. The following table shows the cash receipts of the land office over a very short period:

1753—1754	£5,190. 05. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1754—1755	3,052. 11. 7

plies acceptable to the proprietor and adequate protection was not provided for the frontier tenants. Quitrents could not be collected and people were deterred from taking up land. "The Proprietary has lost a vast country by our unhappy disputes," declared Daniel Dulany in 1755, "and the business of the Land Office has greatly decreased, and if some method is not speedily fallen upon to settle matters I can foresee that this Province will be brought to the greatest distress, and the Proprietary's revenue considerably diminished."⁸⁴ Not only did the revenue of the proprietor dwindle, but also that of other large landowners. "When the times will mend," asked Sharpe in 1757, "who can fortell? but I may venture to pronounce that if our Affairs do not assume a better Face soon the most frugal of us will be unable to make any great Addition to their Fortunes."⁸⁵

Revenue from the proprietor's vast estate would have been greater notwithstanding the war, had the agent and receiver general, Colonel Edward Lloyd, been more efficient in its management. "The Land Office," said Sharpe, "is a great Trust & of the utmost Consequence to all concerned; therefore requires real Fidelity & the best Abilities for due Execution. Much Waste has been & now is of Quit Rent not in Possession, of the Proprietor . . . the present Condition & Management of the Office is a Reproach of Misdemeanor in publick Employment."⁸⁶ Undoubtedly Lloyd's failure to attend properly to the proprietary business resulted in shameful financial losses. "The Truth is as I have often said," declared Sharpe in accounting for the trouble, "that it is impossible for a Person who has such a Multiplicity of Business of his own to mind &

1755—1756	2,215.	4. 4¼
1756—1757	1,484.	5. 4
1759—1760	5,135.	3. 8¼
1760—1761	6,793.	1. 8¾

⁸⁴ Daniel Dulany, "Military and Political Affairs in the Middle Colonies in 1755," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. III, p. 26.

⁸⁵ *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. II, p. 67, Vol. III, p. 324.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 404; Bond, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

so large an Estate to manage to give so much Attention as he ought to your Ldp's Affairs especially when he lives at a great distance from hence where most of the Business must necessarily be done."⁸⁷ No agent could have been more delinquent than Lloyd. Failure to correspond frequently with the Lord Baltimore and Calvert about the business caused no little uneasiness. On one occasion Lloyd neglected to answer proprietary inquiries for over nine months. At another time fourteen months elapsed before he answered the proprietor.⁸⁸ Neglect to remit the revenue punctually caused greater anxiety. He was at least two years in arrears with his accounts in 1755 and when the proprietor finally received the remittance there were no vouchers. On account of these and other numerous delinquencies Lloyd rapidly and steadily lost favor with the proprietor and Secretary Calvert.⁸⁹ Sharpe repeatedly urged him to be more punctual in the performance of his duties, but frequent reminders only created ill will. Lloyd resented the governor's interference and told him so.⁹⁰ While dissatisfied with his poor management and aware of the heavy financial losses, Lord Baltimore dared not dismiss Lloyd, for he was a man of power and influence. His resignation would have been an "Upright and generous" act, but Lloyd continued to hold the office until 1768 when a new plan for the management of the land office went into effect.

Since Lloyd would not resign and it was impractical to remove him, Secretary Calvert proposed a plan in 1759 that would make the agent responsible to a revenue board.⁹¹ Several objections against the scheme were raised by Sharpe who outlined his own ideas about the proper management of the proprietary business and forwarded them to Lord Baltimore. His recommendations received the hearty approval of the proprietor who immediately asked Sharpe to transmit instructions for the

⁸⁷ *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. III, p. 215.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

⁸⁹ *Calvert Papers* No. 13-626; *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 223.

⁹⁰ *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, pp. 65, 324, 409, 463-465.

⁹¹ *Council Pro.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 518-520.

agent embodying his reorganization scheme.⁹² The governor complied with the request, but cautioned the proprietor not to give Colonel Lloyd any reason to think he had been deficient in the discharge of his duty lest he become a "little piqued."

Early in 1763 Colonel Lloyd received Lord Baltimore's instructions containing Sharpe's plan, which directed him to purchase or construct a building suitable for housing all duplicate leases, rent rolls, manor plats, debt books, farmers' bonds and contracts, naval officers' accounts, and all other papers relating to the proprietary revenue.⁹³ This building was to be known as "The Office of the Receiver General." Stewards were directed to make up their accounts regularly on a certain day and if negligent, removal was the penalty. All directions from the agent to the stewards were to be made in writing. In order that tenants might not be imposed upon, the agent must give notice in each county of the conditions upon which manors would be rented or granted. As soon as possible after September 29, every year, the naval officers, sheriffs, stewards, and receivers of alienation fines were to settle with the agent. He should then close his account and submit it to a Board of Revenue, composed of the governor, commissary general, secretary, judges of the land office, and attorney general, or any three, for examination. If they approved the account, it was to be signed and transmitted to the proprietor.

Colonel Lloyd told Sharpe he would endeavor to execute the instructions, but took exception to the part obligating him to lay his accounts before the Board.⁹⁴ He was afraid Dulany and Steuart, members of the Board with whom he had suits at law, would be disposed to make trouble for him. The governor tried to allay his apprehensions, but without success. Lloyd proceeded in a very dilatory manner to carry out the instructions. He purchased in 1763 a site for the land office in Annapolis. Sharpe often pressed him to proceed with the con-

⁹² *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. II, pp. 508-509, 524.

⁹³ *Minutes of the Board of Revenue* (Archives of Maryland, Vol. XXXII), Baltimore, 1912, pp. 391-394.

⁹⁴ *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. III, pp. 54-55.

struction and Lloyd always promised action, yet did nothing until 1766. In that year construction began and the building was soon ready for occupancy.

On April 5, 1768, the Board of Revenue composed of Governor Sharpe, Daniel and Walter Dulany, Benedict Calvert, and Dr. George Steuart met for the first time. Lloyd submitted his account and after the first audit resigned, a long wished for event. With Lloyd out and a responsible board in control, prospects for a better administration of the land business seemed brighter than ever before. But the appointment of the Reverend Bennett Allen, a notorious character and favorite of the proprietor, as agent and receiver general showed that Lord Baltimore was entirely unfit to be the head of a state. Hopes for a more efficient land administrator were blasted. Probably because Allen could not provide ample security, the proprietor ordered Sharpe to remove him within six months after his appointment. Mathew Tilghman was selected, but he declined the office, and Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer was appointed. Allen would not, however, vacate the office or surrender the books and papers without direct instructions from the proprietor. After trying four months to persuade him to relinquish the post, the Board put his bond in suit; that finally forced him to retire in favor of Jenifer.

During the first year of its existence the Board of Revenue met often and exercised close supervision over the proprietor's financial affairs. They prepared written orders for every officer who had any connection with the collection of the revenue, they required acceptable bonds of the farmers and rent roll keepers, they hired and fired farmers and stewards, granted leases, examined accounts, and looked after every other matter pertaining to the revenue. The policy of the Board was always firm yet conciliatory and every action revealed a desire to promote the best interests of the proprietor. Responsible and centralized control had at last been substituted for careless, indifferent, and irresponsible management.

Not content with these reforms, the proprietor created

in 1768 the office of "Supervisor of Accounts Lands and Revenues" and appointed John Morton Jordan of London to the post.⁹⁵ Jordan was to correspond with persons qualified to give information or assistance for improving the collection of Lord Baltimore's revenue and the better regulation of the manors. Every year the Board of Revenue was to send a double set of accounts to England, one to Jordan for his inspection and the other to Secretary Hamersley. Furthermore, the Board was to "receive and pay proper Attention to whatever Information and Assistance the said John Morton Jordan may from Time to Time communicate thereon."

The reorganization of the land office was the last of a series of notable reforms in land policies and administration instituted and carried through largely by the efforts of Governor Sharpe. From both the proprietary and people's point of view his record as a land administrator is one of great achievement. His wise and successful opposition to raising the price of land and the quitrents favored the planters. On the other hand, his working out a more effective method of collecting the quitrents and perfecting the rent rolls favored his employer. The strenuous efforts made to discover surplus land were not only beneficial to the proprietor but also to the planters who wanted to remove all grounds for boundary disputes. Where possible, rents on the proprietary domains were increased and responsible management for those immense holdings provided. Delinquent and inefficient officials, who looked upon their offices as *sinécures*, were dismissed and competent men took their places. A Board of Revenue was created and given unlimited power over all proprietary finances. Finally, a land office was constructed where all papers and books relating to the revenue might be safely deposited. Every possible effort had been made by Governor Sharpe to eliminate disorder, dishonesty, injustice, and procrastination from the administration of the land office. As a result, many causes of complaint against an office of so vital importance to both the proprietor and the people were removed.

⁹⁵ *Minutes of the Board of Revenue*, pp. 410-411.

**CLAIBORNE vs. CLOBERY ET ALS.
IN THE HIGH COURT OF ADMIRALTY.**

(Continued from Vol. XXVIII, p. 43.)

Nov. 20] for 2 baggs of M ^r Bridges	0.. 08.. 00
for Eastrills diet at Kecoughton	2.. 10.. 00
for a grindstone for our use	0.. 05.. 00
To M ^r Wattlington for a boates saile tobacco 400 ^{ll}	6.. 13.. 04
for water caske for our use, tobacco 62 ^{ls}	1.. 00.. 00
for tobacco given the men to drinke in the boates	150 2.. 10.. 0
for pitch and twyne of M ^r Cage	1.. 15.. 00
for severall small necessaryes of M ^r Waldo	tobacco 38 0.. 12.. 00
for cordage and twine of M ^r Neale for the pinnace	91 1.. 10.. 04
2536.. 3.. 5	
for 26 ^{ll} of twine	0.. 08.. 00
Dec. 9] Paid Richard Griffiths and Roger Emerson Seamen for wages upon the pinnace for sundry	19.. 00.. 00
particulers bought of M ^r Menesye viz: 2 engines	
130 ^{li} of tobacco 1 handsowe 10 ^{li} 3 pericerstockes 6 ^{li}	
6 bittes 3 ^{li} 2 sacks 20 ^{li} 3 stockelocks 50 ^{li} all in tobacco 199 ^{li}	3.. 06.. 04
To Serjaunt Heyward for his service this yeare	1000 ^{lb} 16.. 13.. 04
To Thomas Dobbs for service done severall yeares a trading—tobacco 496	8.. 05.. 04
ffor 2 frise coates for the men to weare in the pinnace	2.. 00.. 00
for a little boat for the pinnace tobacco 200 ^{ll}	3.. 06.. 08
30] To Phillipp Tayler for the freight of seacoles	100 ^{ll} 1.. 13.. 04
ffor 400 ^{ll} of iron for the smiths working	6.. 00.. 00
for a line for the pinnace of M ^r Cage	0.. 03.. 04

for 100 ^{li} of powder of M ^r Cage—tobacco 600 ^{li}	10.. 00.. 00
for 6 broad woorkeing hoes of M ^r Cage 96	1.. 12.. 00
for William Westley and Frances Brookes their times of service being millers tob 1200 ^{li}	20.. 00.. 00
paid M ^r Senorne for ropes for the pinnace— tobacco 300 ^{li}	5.. 00.. 00
paid M ^r Coocke for 3 parringers, tob ^o 21	0.. 07.. 00
ffor 30 ^{li} of powder of Capt. Douglass and 1 halfe howre glasse	3.. 01.. 00
Jan. 28] for phisicke and surgery for the men this yeare past	
Feb. 24] for severall expenses for setting up the mill at Kecoughton viz	8.. 00.. 00
To M ^r Cage for M ^r Thorowgoods oxen to drawe the timber 400 ^{li} tobacco is	6.. 13.. 04
ffor Savage and Kerbis worke at the mills	11: —: —
To M ^r Cage per Lunyes noate for nayles—tobacco 600	10: —: —
To carpenters for expenses to fetch the mill stones	2: 6: —
paid in part for their dyett at the mill	7: 6: —
Transport of provisions to the mille 70 ^{li}	1: 3: 4
for Lynnyes account for other ex- penses there	140: 2.. 6.. 8
To M ^r Walker for sayles 400 tob ^o	6.. 13.. 4
for soape and nayles for the mill	1.. 0.. 4
To Simions for tooles for the mill	0.. 9.. 6
To Eastwill for a bagg and some tooles	1: 11.. 4
ffor 2 oxen to feed the millwrights there at 9 ^{li}	18: 00: 00
	————— 68.. 09.. 10

2713: 9: 11

for hasse ropes for our use tobacco 10 ^{li}	0.. 03.. 04
March 24] To Mr Cotten mynster for his paines with us this yeare past tobacco 350	5.. 16.. 08
To Mr Smyth for his Sallery being storekeeper and trader this yeare past tobacco 1100 ^{ll}	18.. 06.. 08
ffor 27 servants cloathing this yeare past at 5 ^{li} per piece	135.. 00.. 00
ffor the hyre of 8 servants this yeare past at 8 ^{li}	64.. 00.. 00
ffor expenses in howse keeping this yeare pas our famyly being greater than formerly	35.. 00.. 00
spent in wine and drinke—tobacco 1000 ^{ll}	16.. 03.. 04
for expenses this yeare in boates and other wise in Virginia to buy necessaryes and atendans at the court about the Marylanders	12.. 00.. 00
To Mr Bowden for wages uppon the pinnace	5.. 10.. 08
ffor my imployment this yeare	100.. 00.. 00

1636

Apl 1] for 2½ tunne of caske to put the beaver	2.. 10.. 00
May 16] Paid Thomas Cole for wages this yeare in our trading boates	5.. 05.. 00
paid Thomas Arnoll for wages in our trading boates	7.. 00.. 00
June 20] ffor a paire of mill stones lade uppon the mill at Kecoughton for which I am ingaged in Vir- ginia to the value of a bond	20.. 00.. 00
July 20] To Robert Hewet for his laboure in sheathing the pinnace tobacco 100	1.. 13.. 04
To Mr John Hayes for a shallop which I raised higher and built up with halfe a decke and left to the plantation and to bring the mill stones to Kecoughton in tobacco 1000 ^{ll}	16.. 13.. 04
Sept. 20] To Mr Coxe for wages in building our howses and boates and going on trading for us	23.. 13.. 06

To William Cole when he was free for cloathes and afterwarde for some worke tob ^o 163	2.. 14.. 04
Nov. 24] To Henry Crawley shipp carpenter for wages uppon the pinnace and sheathing of her	40.. 10.. 00
To M ^r John Hayes master of our pinnace in part of his wages	26.. 11.. 08
3270: 5: 1	
To M ^r Hampton our mynister in part tob ^o 1070 ^{li}	17.. 16.. 08
Dec. 23] To Thomas Adams store Keeper and trader this last yeare in part of wages	8.. 06.. 08
for expenses in the boates and in Virginia this yeare	9.. 11.. 00
Jan. 4] for 22 yards of canvas for baggs for the boates and mills tradeing and the howse	2.. 04.. 00
12] ffor wages paid to Edward Deering	5.. 17.. 00
ffor phisicke for the men this yeare	8.. 12.. 00
ffor tobacco allowed the men to drincke in howse and boates	150 ^{li} 2.. 13.. 04
Feb. 12] ffor caske for the beaver and the house	2.. 06.. 00
March 24] ffor expenses in howsekeeping this yeare	35.. 00.. 00
ffor 26 servants cloathing this yeare past at 5 ^{li} paid	130.. 00.. 00
ffor the hire of 11 servants this yeare at 8 ^{li}	88.. 00.. 00
ffor my imployment this yeare	100.. 00.. 00
To M ^r Cotten the minister for his paines severall tymes with us this yeare	13.. 00.. 00
To M ^r Nicolas White for wages 2 severall yeares in our trading boates	18.. 17.. 02

1637

Apr. 12] ffor 16 ells of canvis for the cockatrice sailes	1.. 12.. 00
--	-------------

ffor 24 yards of course linnen for table cloathes
 sheetes napkins and abought the house 2.. 08.. 00
 To William Ashed(?) for service in tradeing 3
 severall yeares 9.. 13.. 04
 Spent in Virginia to victual the boates 6^{li} of beaver 3.. 00.. 00
 20] To Thomas Smyth for service in tradeing in
 our boates 3 months at 8^{li} of beaver per month 12.. 00.. 00
 To Richard Handcockes for wages in our boates
 tobacco 422 7.. 00.. 04
 To Thomas Cole for wages in our boates 6.. 03.. 04
 30] ffor cloathes given 29 servants till my comeing
 away 30.. 00.. 00
 ffor tobacco allowed the men to drinke 1.. 00.. 00
 ffor wages paid millwrights and carpenters of this
 day viz

	l	s	d
To Anthony Linney	48..	15..	0
To Thomas Symons	13:	0	
To John Eastrill	2:	5	
To John Bennett in full	32..	0	
To Thomas Woodhowse in full	39..	3	
To Richard Hobin in part	21..	5	
To William Ellins in part	24..	10	
To Richard Hill in full	35..	10	
	—————		216.. 08.. 00

3983:17:7

ffor wages paid to the men which came
 with Capt. Evelin in part viz.

	l	s	d
To John Walker	1..	7..	
To Andrew Baker	1..	2..	7
To Thomas Steerman	2..	2..	8
To John Dandy	0..	11..	7
To William Williamson	0..	13..	6
To John Hobson	0..	17..	8
To Phillipp West	3..	2..	
	—————		09.. 16.. 00

May 20] ffor expenses in the howse till I came away	8.. 00.. 00
paid by Capt. Evelins appoyntment for the joint stocke as he said tob ^o 700 ^{li}	11.. 03.. 04
paid for him to Mr Neales man 12 ^{li} of beaver	6.. 00.. 00
To John Landis als. Fallwood in part of his wages haveing served as above 4 yeares in tradeing and especially procurest as our trade from the susquehanoughs by liveing with them and being our interpreter paid in part tobacco 1700 ^{li}	28.. 06.. 04
To Anthony Linnny in part of his wages which hee appoynted mee to laye out heare in cloathes and for my employment untill my comeing away this yeare and for my Expenses in my voyadge for England	120.. 00.. 00
ffor the charge for bringing over wittnesses of whose labour you have the benefitt	50.. 00.. 00
ffor 842 bushels of corne bought at severall tymes for the plantacion at 4 ^s per bushell	168.. 08.. 00
ffor the milke of the cattle there during the space of 6 yeares every coves milke being worthe 100 ^{li} of tobacco per yeare	160.. 00.. 00
ffor the hyre of 7 servants till my comeing away	20.. 00.. 00

4566:1:3

more disburst by Capt. Claiborne for sundry commodities bought by him in Virginia for trucke the perticulers of which follow viz.

1631

	l	s	d
Nov. 4] 30 ^{li} of tobacco	00..	10..	00
Jan. 1] 5 adzes of Willia mlockes cost	00..	07..	06

1632

July 10] 8 paire of shoes at 4 ^s	01..	12..	00
12 paire of stockings at 2 ^s	01..	04..	00
1 suite of cloathes capp and wast coat	01:	14..	00

8 Dutch Ells of broad cloath at 24 ^s per Ell	09.. 12.. 00	
28] 14 yards of redd stuffe of M ^r Muntley cost tobacco 390 ^{li} at 4 ^d per l	6.. 10.. 00	
Aug 2] 1½ fathom of pege	1: 10.. 00	
Oct.] 56 yards of redd cotten bayes at 6 ^{li} tobacco	336 ^{li} 05.. 12.. 00	
Nov. 1] 30 armes of Roanoach & pege	01.. 12.. 00	
	—————	30.. 03.. 06

1633

May 18] 122 hoes at 2 ^s 6 ^d per peece	16.. 10.. 00	
June 20] 56 hoes at 14 ^{li} of beaver	07.. 00.. 00	
July 10] 5 fathome of pege of M ^r Ludlowe	05.. 00.. 00	
Aug. 20] 6 dozen of hoes and 4 dozen of axes of Capt. Grainger	07.. 10.. 00	
Oct. 30] 24 yards of cotten sold for corne	05.. 12.. 00	
Nov. 20] 6 boone combes and 12 wooden coombes of Capt. Andrews	00: 07.. 00	
Dec. 23] 4 tradeing coates	02.. 10.. 00	
	—————	42.. 09.. 00

1634

Apr. 25] 16 axes of M ^r Kingswell	02: 08.. 00	
1 horse mans coate for Patuxent	01: 16: 00	
June 9] 9 fathome of pege of M ^r Patrison	04.. 10.. 00	
Nov. 20] 4 dozen of Knives	00.. 10.. 00	
4 dozen and 10 axes of M ^r Mehue	07.. 06.. 00	
9 dozen of sisers	01.. 11.. 00	
5 dozen of hoes	05.. 09.. 00	
12 fathome of pege	06.. 00: 00	

Jan 20] 236 hoes of Mr John James	
at 2 ^s 6 ^d	29.. 10: 06
11 armes of roanoacke	01.. 02: 00
20 fathome of pege of Mr Bolter	10.. 00.. 00
142. 5. 0	
To Mr Smith for Irish Stockings	00.. 10.. 00
	<hr/> 69.. 12.. 06

Capt. Claiborne bought of Capt. Thomas Young for trucke as followeth viz.

	l.	s.	d.
10 pieces of cloth at	100..	18..	09
5½ dozen of axes at 2 ^s 4 ^d	7..	14..	0
6 dozen of hatchetts 17½ ^d	5..	5..	0
10 dozen of Knives at 4 ^s 7½ ^d	2..	6..	2
4 dozen of Knives at 4 ^s 7 ^d	0..	18..	4
4 dozen of bone combes weight 13 ^{ll} at 11 ^s 6 ^d	1..	0..	0
4 dozen of horn combes at 17 ^d	0..	5..	10

In all the summe of 118:08: 2
 ffor which I delivered a bill of exchange on Mr Clobery for the sum of 115-15-0 which bill was returned per protest besides the charges and damages which insured thereupon by the Extent of my goodes in Virginia 244^l: 5^s 0^d is in all the summe of 350.. 00.. 00

Summe totall disbursements by him for trade goodes 492.. 05.. 00
 More disburst in severall perticulers for the plantation as in the last folio amounteth unto 4586.. 01.. 03
 More for charges disbursed by him in mainetaining the suite for the plantacion against the Lord Baltimore and other disbursements paid out by him since his coming home into England the summe of 45.. 00.. 00

5123.. 06.. 03

More paid by William Claiborne since his coming for England to Mr William Clobery towards a new suppleye the summe of	50.. 00.. 00
More paid by him in money to Mr Morehead	36.. 00.. 00
	<hr/>
Summa totalis	5209.. 06.. 03

Moreover there are sundrey debts owing to severall persons in Virginia by the joynt stocke which cannot bee perfitted till the accompte be made upp with the parties themselves in Virginia In which debts William Cleybourne demandeth to bee saved harmlesse by Mr Clobery and company for the five sixe partes thereof.

Memorandum that the beaver disbursed in divers of the payments aforesaid by William Claiborne for the use of the trade and plantacion was woorth 6^s 8^d or at the most 10^s per ll and at the same rates in the severall payments aforesaid was accepted by those to whom it was paid

The names of all such servants as were employed by Captaine William Cleyborne upon the trade and plantacion of Isle of Kent dureing his aboad there whereof such as are marked with the letter H were hyred servants at the charge of the said Cleyborne, the rest were servants sent thither and others enter-tayned there and employed uppou the joynt stocke. And those marked with the letter A were such as he formd apparell for.

1631

The names of such persons as were transported in the Affrica uppou the joynt accompt viz.

1. Thomas Bagwell, trader
2. John Belson carpenter
3. John Parre, hog Keeper.

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4. Henry East | } | These 4 were employed in the
kitchin to dress
victualls bread corne and
other worke in the howse. | |
| 5. Thomas Kendell | | | |
| 6. William Cocke | | | A |
| 7. John Russell, boy | | | A |
| 8. Joane Young mayd servant to wash our linnen | | | A |
| 9. Henry Pincke, reader of prayers in the howse | | | A |
| He breaks his Legg and was unserviceable | | | A |
| 10. John Thompson | } | These men being the ablest men
dyed within 3 or 4 monthes after
our arrivall whereof greate cause
was the hardness they indured by
loose of our goodes and cloathes by
fyre. | |
| 11. Phillipp Hamblyn | | | |
| 12. John Dunne | | | |
| 13. Christofer ffleming | | | |
| 14. John Buttler | | | |
| 15. Thomas Ivypland | | | |
| 16. Richard Hanlsey was thought by the men to have fyled the houses willingly and therefore they would not indure him. Whereupon I sold his tyme being a very untoward youth. | | | |
| 17. Arthur ffiges Leiftenant | | | |
| 18. William Claiborne Captain | | | |
| More servants hired there by Captaine Cleyborne viz. | | | |
| 1. Richard Thompson | } | H at 3 ^{li} 10 ^s per peece | |
| 2. John Abbott | | | |
| 3. James Lerricke | | | |
| 4. Henry Ubanceke | | | |
| 5. Martin Male | | | |
| 6. Edward Backler | | | |
| 7. William Collupp | | | |

1632

Men I implyed this yeare uppon the joynt accompt viz.

1. William Claiborne, Captaine
2. Richard James minyster
3. Arthur ffiges, leiftenant.
4. Richard Popsley, overseer of the men.
5. William Cockes, carpenter.
6. Hughe Hayward, huntsman

A 7.	Henry Euancke	}	H
A 8.	Martin Male		H
			H
A 9.	Edward Backler	}	hog keepers
A10.	John Parr		
A11.	Joan Young Mayd		Servant
A12.	Richard Thompson		trader H H
A13.	William Collupp		trader H
	Jeames Lerricke		trader H
A15.	Sparrowbill		trader H
A16.	John Abbott		H
A17.	Richard Bradnall	}	Labourers
A18.	William Cocke		
A19.	Joseph Cockes		
A20.	John Belsor		
A21.	Henry East	}	Theise were employed in the kitchen to beat corne.
A22.	Thomas Kendall		
A23.	Thomas Leicester		
A24.	John Russell a boy		
A25.	Christopher Flemming sicke		

Our workes and employments theise two yeares were

1. To build our howses
2. To pallizado our fort and fortify us against the Indians
3. To cleare ground, to fence it, and plant corne and victuals and tend our hoggs
4. To Keepe men abroad in severall boates a trading, which was our principall worke.

Wee went in boates often to Virgina to supply ourselves of cloathes and other necessaries.

1633

Men employed this yeare upon the service for the joynt account at the Isle of Kent.

1. William Claiborne Captaine
2. Arthur ffiges lieftenant

3. Richard James Mynister
4. Hugh Heywood overseer and huntsman
5. William Coxe carpenter
- A 6. Henry Eubancke Interpreter. H
- A 7. Martin Mole gardener
- A 8. Edward Blackler } hog keepers
- A 9. John Parr } hog keepers
- A10. Richard Thompson } traders H
- A11. James Lerrick } traders H
- A12. William Collupp } traders H
- A13. Sparrowbill trader
- A14. William Caske } labourers
- A15. Joseph Coxe } labourers
- A16. John Abbott } labourers H
- A17. John Belson } labourers
- A18. Henry East } labourers
- A19. Thomas Cakebread } H
- A20. Thomas Kendall } employed in the Ketchin
- A21. John Russell } employed in the Ketchin
- A Joane Qually mayd servant H

This yeare our employments were as in former yeares and wee planted 2000 plants of tobacco or fewe more

1634

Men employed upon the service of the Isle of Kent this yeare

1. William Claiborne captaine
2. Arthur ffiges lieftenant
3. Richard James mynister
4. Hugh Heywood overseer
5. William Coxe carpenter
- A 6. Robert Cooper carpenter $\frac{1}{2}$ yeare
- A 7. Henry Eubancke interpreter H
- A 8. Martin Mole gardner H
- A 9. Edward Backler rainger H

A10.	Joan Qually mayd	servant	H
A11.	John Pimmell	} traders	H H H
A12.	Thomas Goavell		
A13.	Edward Thompson		
A14.	Sparrowbell		
A15.	John Belson	} labourers	
A16.	John Parr		
A17.	William Cocke	} labourers	
A18.	William Dawson		
A19.	Henry Hewitt		
A	Thomas Cakebread	} H employed in the Ketchin to beate corne and dresse Vic- tualls	
A	Henry East		
A	Thomas Kendall		
A	John Russell		

This yeare we were mutch hindered and molested by the Indians falling out with us and killing our men and by the Marylanders hindring our trade. Wee made our ffort strong etc.

Servants reseaved out of England by the shipp James and Revenge viz.

1. Anthony Lynney millwright
2. Thomas Woodhouse carpenter
3. John Bennett carpenter
4. Richard Hobbin Smyth
5. Richard Hall carpenter
6. William Elvis Sawyer

These were upon wages and found themselves cloathes.

7. Edward Parry
8. Henry Barcum
9. John Assett gardner
10. Roger Backster Smyth
11. Samuell Scovell Sawyer
12. Howell Morgan
13. Thomas White
14. Thomas Audly boy
15. Ariginall Browne old and decripit

- 16. Matthew Roadon
- 17. Edward Deering Sea boy.
- 18. Henry Hunt
- 19. Phillip Jones } weake men and dyed in 4 or 6 monthes
- 20. John Hazerd } }
- 21. John Eastrill } carpenters
- 22. Thomas Symons }

1635

- 1. Hugh Heyward overseer of the men.
- 1. William Coxe carpenter
- 3. Thomas Smyth storekeeper
- 4. Anthony Lynny
- 5. John Eastrill } millwrights and carpenters
- 6. Thomas Symons } }
- 7. John Bennett
- 8. Thomas Woodhowse
- 9. Richard Hill
- 10. Richard Hobin Smyth
- 11. William Ellins Sawyer
- A12. John Belson carpenter
- A13. Henry Eubanke interpreter H
- A14. Edward Backler rainger H
- A15. Henry East planter
- A16. Thomas Cakebread } employed to dresse victualls or to
- A17. Thomas Kendall } beate corne
- A18. William Cocke } }
- A19. John Russell }
- A20. Henry Bareum taylor
- A21. John Ascul gardner
- A22. Roger Baxter Smyth
- A23. Samuel Scovell Sawyer
- A24. Howell Morgand } woodcutters and labourers
- A25. Thomas White } }
- A26. Edmond Parry } }
- A27. Originall Browne } }
- A28. Thomas Audley }

A29.	Henry Hunt		
A30.	Philip Jones		
A31.	John Haggerd		
A32.	Matthew Raidon	hyred out	
A33.	Edward Dearing	sea boy	
A34.	John Puriwell	Seaman	H
A35.	Robert Lake	seaman	H
A36.	Joane Qualley	} mayd servants imployed in the kitchen and dary	H
A37.	Mary Martyn		H
A38.	Joyce Davis		H

This year our employments were as in other years; but for our trade wee made many voyages; wee did little good and had many hinderances from the Marylanders. Our principall imployments for our men were in making 2 windmills.

1636

Men imployed upon the services at the Isle of Kent this yeare

1.	Thomas Smyth	trader	
2.	Thomas Adams	storekeeper	
3.	Edmund Parry	over the men	
4.	Vincent Mansfeild	lame	
5.	John Ascue	gardner	
6.	John Pinwell	} seamen	H
7.	Robert Lake		H
8.	Edward Deering	} traders	H
9.	Edward Thompson		H
10.	Henry Hawley		
11.	Sparrowbell		
12.	Samuel Scovell	} Sawyers	
13.	Matthew Priest		H
14.	Francis Brookes	} Myllers	
15.	William Westley		
16.	Henry Barcum		

- | | | |
|----------------------|---|----------------------------|
| 17. Thomas White | } | labourers |
| 18. Howell Morgan | | |
| 19. Originall Browne | | |
| 20. John Russell | | |
| 21. William Freeman | } | H |
| 22. Richard Reyman | | H |
| 23. Roger Baxter | } | hyred out |
| 24. Matthew Royden | | |
| 25. Thomas Audley | | |
| 26. Joane Vizard | } | in the Kitchin
and dary |
| 27. Mary Martin | | |
| 28. Anne Matthews | | |
| 29. Thomas Cakebread | | |

This yeare our works were as other yeares in trading and planting but especially wee were employed in perfecting the mills. Wee framed 2 other mills perfectly so farr as we could ready to set up. Wee framed the church we sawed divers stocks to boards.

A note of such trade and goods as Captain Claiborne hath received out of England or brought in Virginia In the following of a trade In beaver and corne with the Indians att the Isle of Kent and thereabouts viz.

ffor sundry particulers which were saved from the fire of the shipp Affricaes cargazon viz. axes hoes knives beades etc. all amounting unto as they were valued

1	s	d
53..	14..	6

More for severall parcells bought and paid for by the said Claiborne in Virginia as by the particulers in this account

142..	5..	0	258..	00..	00
-------	-----	---	-------	------	----

More which he paid for a parcell of trucke bought of Capt. Young

115..	15..	0
-------	------	---

More bought by the said Claiborne in Virginia for which he charged bills of Exchange on M^r Cloberry and Company as followeth viz off Jeremy Black-

man severall goodes which cost in Eng- land	57.. 10.. 0
off Cornelius Ford severall goodes which cost in England	80.. 10.. 3
More severall goodes bought of Richard Howe which rost in England	18: 4: 5
In all cost in England the summe of	326: 4: 8 557.. 00.. 00
ffor which there was allowed them by bills of ex- change payable by M ^r Clobery and company	557 ^{li}
More goods received by him out of England viz. By the shipp Defence and May flower to the value	l s d
of	111: 11.. 5
By the shipp James and Revenge to the value of	l s d
550.. 15.. 4 where of the value of	321.. 9.. 10
was in improper trucke not fitt for the trade nor according to Capt. Claibornes advice	550: 15: 0 662.. 6.. 9
	<hr/>
	662: 6: 9
Summa amounting unto	1531: 1: 3

But if all the said goodes had bin bought in England att the best hand and sent by M^r Clobery and company to the Ile of Kent they would not have cost above 1100^{li} but by reason of their neglect therein Capt Claiborne was constrained to buy the same above two for one

Capt. William Claiborne hath traded with the goods per contra and hath procured from the Indians the quantity

and in corne as by account the quantity of

7488 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^{li}
of beaver
2843
bushells

and for certain of the said goods sold unto Eng- 1 s d
lish men for the value of 99.. 15: 6

Besides some part of the trade goodes lost att the
plantacion in the charge of Capt George Evelin at
the coming away of the said Claiborne for
England

[Endorsed] William Claiborne's booke of accounts

[Endorsement of Allegation]

Clobery et alie C. Cleyborne

Cleborne C. Cloberrie et alias

Marten Smith

Allegation

Allegatic per Marten

data 4 Nov. 1639

copia

To all to whome these presents shall come Greetinge in our
Lord God everlasting Whereas John Delabarr William Clobery
Maurice Thompson Simon Turgis and William Claiborne have
made redie and sett forth the good ship the Affrica of London
for transportation of passengers into Virginia as alsoe for
trade and other designes as shalbe found most beneficiall for
the said voyadge In which employment the said William Clai-
borne goethe cheife commander Now know ye that we the said
John Delabarr William Clobery Maurice Thompson and Simon
Turgis doe committ and referr the manadgeing and presenta-
tion of the said voyadge unto the said William Claiborne to
doe execute and performe therein all and every thing and
things which are lawfullie to be done or may any wayes con-
cerne the good of the said voyadge, wherein the said William
Claiborne is to doe his best endeavour for the profitt and
benefitt of the said Adventurers, And the said William Clai-
borne doth hereby covenant and promise to keepe and render
unto the said adventurers a true and just accompt of all his
proceedings, and alsoe if such commodities and goodes as shalbe
had or obtayned by trade with the Indians or otherwise shall
arise. In consideration whereof the said William Claiborne is

to have one part of all profitt and benefitt which shalbe made by the said employment in what kind soever or by what meanes soever the same shall accrew And the said John Delabarr William Clobery Maurice Thompson and Simon Turgis doe further covenant and promise to allowe and accept of all such reasonable and necessary charges and expenses In the generall stocke as the said William Claiborne shall finde necessary and requisite for and about the managing of the said voyadge. Lastlie the said William Claiborne doth covenant and promise by the first returne of shipping to send such commodities furs bills of exchange etc. as he shall anye way be able to procure for the said account unto the said Adventurers. And to the true intent and meaning of these presents the said John Delabarr William Clobery Maurice Thompson Simon Turgis and William Claiborne doe bind themselves each to other their executors administrators and assignes In witnes whereof the saide John Delabarr William Clobery Maurice Thompson William Claiborne and Simon Turgis have hereunto sett their handes the 24th day of May anno domini 1631

WM. CLAIBORNE

MAUR. THOMPSON

[Endorsed] Schedule 2 a Covenant

X

High Court of Admiralty, Miscellaneous Books 276. 5th March 1638.

5 March 1638^o. Deposition of Grinder in Cleborne c. Cloberry.

Miscellaneous Books 276. 5th March 1639, in sete.

Cleborne contra Cloberry et alios	} Thomas Grinder
Martyn Smith	

Salvatoris in Burgo de South warke Victualler anno agens 43 aut circiter testis in hac parto productus juratus et examinatus dicit quoad Willielmus Cleborne partem producentem per spatium viginte annorum aut eo circiter ultima elapsorum bona

novit et Georgiani Evelyn unam partem contra quam producentem per spatium octo annorum etiam ultimum elapsorum bene novit; reliquas vero partes contra quas producuntur non novit, ut dicit.

Ad 6^m articulum libelli ex parte ante dicti Cleborne in hac parte dati et admitti deponit et dicit that within the time libellate the articulate Shippe the Affrica arrived at the Isle of Kent in Virginia, and all the goodes in the said shippe were there unladen and putt in warehouses and storehouses which the articulate Cleborne had provided there for the companyes good, for whom he was ffactor or agent, and within tenn or twelve dayes after the said goodes were put into the said houses there casually happened a lamentable and fearefull fire which in shorte time consumed and burnte downe the said houses and all the goodes in them. And when the said fire happened the said Cleborne was gone into the country aboute the companyes affaires. The premisses he knoweth to bee true for that hee was then at the Isle of Kent where the said fire was and sawe the same, being at that tyme servant to the said Cleborne. Ac aliter nescit.

Ad 8^m deponit et dicit That for the space of three or fower yeares after the fire aforesaid there came noe supplye that ever this examiniate could heare of from the companye aforesaid; but at the laste there came a small supplye in a shippe to his best remembrance called the Mayflower, of which one Andrewes was master; but what those thinges which they then sent, or what certainly was the name of the shippe in which they came he cannot remember. And hee doth not remember or know of any other supplye which the said Cleborne afterwards had from the said Company at any tyme. The premises he affirmeth to be true beinge parte of the tyme a servant to the said Cleborne and afterwards liveinge the next dore to the said Cleborne and eating and drinkinge with him almoste every daye for the space of seaven or eight yeares after.

Ad 7^m deponit et dicit That after the disaster aforesaid the said Cleborne did write letters to the articulate Cloberry

and company to intimate unto them what had happened and withall to entreate them that in case they would adventure further with him upon the plantacion that they should speedily send him over goodes and what goodes they should send and that in the meane tyme hee the said Cleborne would maintaine and uphold the said plantacion out of his owne estate and credit which hee had there which hee knoweth to bee true for that hee heard the said Cleborne reade over the same letters to one Mr James minister upon that plantacion and the said Cleborne did after the premisses releve and furnishe some of the foresaid companys servants according to their necessities with such provision and other thinges of his owne which hee had or could procure there. *Ac aliter nescit.*

Ad 9^m deponit et dicit That by reason of the said fire and the neglecte of the company in not sending over sufficient supplye of municion and other necessaries which the said Cleborne and company then stode in neede of and dayly almoste Expected notwithstanding what the said Cleborne out of his owne stocke and credit did bye and provide yet they the said Cleborne and company whereof hee this examine was one did stand in great want and miserye and were in greate danger of being destroyed by the Indians the fire haveinge consumed all their municion which they had for their defence and they haveinge nothing lefte but such as the said Cleborne could afterwards provide which was but little and yet at excessive rates. The premisses he knoweth to be true being a sharer in the want and misery aforesaid ut predeposuit. *Ac aliter pro parte sua nescit* saveinge he believeth the damage which happened by reason of the premisses to the said plantacion could not chuse but bee exceedinge greate, but howe to estimate the same hee knoweth not.

Ad 10^m refert se ad predeposita et aliter pro parte sua nescit saveinge hee saith that the said Cleborne was at exceedinge greate coste and chardges in settinge thinges in good order upon the foresaid plantacion and provideinge necessaries for the same and payeing of mens wages, and that hee believeth hee was

and is yet indebted in Virginia and elsewhere for some of those things which hee provided for that plantacion, but howe much or in what summe or value the chardge which the said Cleborne was at as aforesaid did or doth amounte unto hee knoweth not.

Ad 14^m deponit et dicit that by reason of the premisses the said Cleborne besides the extraordinarye chardge which hee hath bine att in and about the foresaid plantacion hath just arived and suffered much prejudice and hurte in his body in lyeinge uppon the grounde and some tymes uppon boardes, and some tymes in the woodes as hee conceaveth by some cold which hee hath gotten by lyeinge uppon the grounde hee hath loste the use of one of his armes viz. the righte arme. And hee was once taken by the Indians whoe, as hee conceaveth, if hee had not bine presently rescued from them would have kild him, as they have done many others heretofore. And this hee affirmeth uppon his oathe to bee true beinge one of those that helped to rescue him from the Indians and a sharer in misery with the said Cleborne as aforesaid. He aliter nescit.

Ad 17^m deponit et dicit That after the fire happened uppon the foresaid plantacion the said Cleborne for the reliefe of himselfe and the reste of the company uppon the plantacion did send for some corne which hee had in the country. And hee saieth there were fifty heade of cattle belonginge to the said Cleborne broughtd to the said plantacion, thirty whereof were milch cowes, and the milke of a cowe for a yeare in that country was then worth one hundred weichte of tobaccocoe accountinge each pounce weight of tobaccocoe worth 4^d the pounce; and the milk which the said 30 cowes did yeeld was spent and used for the maintenance and food of the companyes servants then uppon the said plantacion for the space of five or six yeares together; which hee knoweth to bee true beinge one of those that did helpe to fetch the said cattle, and live uppon that plantacion all the said tyme. Ac aliter nescit. Super relignes articulos non examinatur direccione partis producentis.

Idem ad allegacionem exparte antedicti Cleiborne in hac causa datam et admissam:

Ad quintam deposit et dicit That whiles hee this deponent was at Virginia hee hath often heard the covenants or a coppie thereof, as the said Cleiborne did affirme it to bee, reade over, which were made between him the said Cleiborne and the articulate Cloberry and companye for the trade and plantacion articulate and the stocke and adventure thereuppon; and hee saith to his beste remembrance amongste other things therein mencioned it was agreed uppon betweene them that the said Cleborne should trucke away those goodes which were sent over in the shippe the Affrica for corne and send the same in the said shippe to New England and Nova Scotia, and to raise a stocke of hogges uppon the said plantacion and to gett as much beaver and furs as hee could and to give an accounte of his proceedings in the said plantacion for soe much as concerned the joynte stocke and noe otherwise to his beste remembrance alsoe. And that the said Cleiborne was to have a 4th of the proceede or profit of the said trade or plantacion or such other good satisfaction for his paines and care therein as hee should not dislike of. And the said Cleborne in this examinate judgemente did very well deserve a hundred poundes sterlinge a yeare for his labour and paines spent in and aboute the plantacion aforesaid. And this hee affirmeth uppon his oathe to bee true reddendo rationem ut supra. Ac aliter nescit.

Ad 9^m deponet et dicit That the said Cleiborne uppon his arrivall at the articulate Island findinge moste of the companyes servants sicklye and weeke, some whereof beinge soe sicke and weeke that they were scarce able to dresse their owne victualls, and they beinge but few in number and in respect of such their sicknes & weekenes not able to resiste the Indians in case they had attempted and sett uppon them, as they had lately done uppon a Dutch plantacion not farr distante from thence, and overcome and destroyed them, hee did hire the first yeare 8 or 10 old servants at leaste that had formerly lived in the country, and every yeare afterwards some to come and live uppon that plantacion the better to preserve and keepe the same, and did soe covenante and agree with them that they should not

trade with the Indians for anything whereby to hinder the companies trade, but they were onely to serve for wages which the said Cleiborne had agreed with them for. The premisses hee knoweth to be true beinge one of those the said Cleborne hired as aforesaid.

Ad 10^m deposit et dicit That the firste yeare upon the said shippes arrivall at the Isle of Kent many of those men which came over in the said shippe dyed, and all or moste of the reste were very sicke and weeke as formerly hee hath declared, in so much that the articulate Cleiborne was forste to hire and did hire others there to worke upon the foresaid plantacion and to goe upp and downe to and againe as there was occasion to manage the trade there, and to give them wages for their service and paines such as hee could agree with them for. And hee this examine had of him for his paines 4^s a moneth for the space of a yeare, and some had more and some lesse accordinge as they were able to doe service; and none of them more then what he believeth they mighte have had of others; but what each man hadd hee cannot nowe depose. And without the helpe of those men hee saieth it had bine impossible for the said Cleiborne to have managed the said trade and plantacion soe well and securely as hee did. And when they goe a tradeinge with the Indians it is moste necessary that they goe at leaste 7 or 8 together for feare they bee sett upon and taken by the Indians. The premisses he knoweth to bee true havinge lived there many yeares together and beinge acquainted with the customs and uses there. Ac aliter nescit saveinge hee saieth the names of some of those parties who dyed were John Belson Henry Ubancke, but the reste he remembreth not.

(To be Continued)

BOOK REVIEW.

American Colonists in English Records. A guide to direct references in Authentic Lists, Passenger Lists not in Hotten, &c. George Sherwood, London. First Series. 1932.

In his prefatory note, Mr. Sherwood, who is "a record searcher and archivist," says that the following are presented as the result of constant daily search covering the last forty years. The book is a quarto containing one hundred pages, and is unusually well printed. It presents entries concerning emigrants, taken from many of the English Public Records and should prove a valuable addition to any genealogical library. A second series is in preparation, with a complete index to both series and is offered for sale at five dollars net by the author, whose address is 210 Strand, W. C. 2, London, Eng.

CORRECTION.

In the March issue, p. 73, line 7, for Kelson, read Kelso.

NOTICE.

Effective July first and continuing through August 31st, proximo, the Society's Buildings will be closed at two o'clock p. m. on each working day.