

Uniforms—A study of Baltimore Militia Uniforms (1800-1820) being undertaken by an interested group of military historians and others. Any information on these uniforms (sketches, drawings, descriptions, of uniforms, hats, buttons, etc.) will be most gratefully accepted by the undersigned.

Harry D. Berry, Jr.,
37 Alleghany Ave., Towson 4, Md.

Coombes—Information is wanted on parents of Amelia Coombs. Harford Co. marriage records show she married Aug. 10, 1791, Philip (Ruley) Reiley. Shortly thereafter they moved to Winchester, Va., died the death of his father, Martin Reyle.

Possible parents of Amelia Coombs, then living in Harford Co., Md. were:—

Colman Combes, formerly of Harford Co. See Md. Testamentary Blk. 47, p. 44, Washington Co., Md.

Jacob Combes(t) Sr., who died 1767-69. See Md. Testamentary Blk. 42, 43, 44, Harford Co.

Utery Combes, U. S. Census, 1790, Harford Co.

James Wade Emison
Citizens Trust Bldg., Vincennes, Indiana.

Gartrell—Information is wanted regarding ancestry and Revolutionary War record of Joseph Gartrell, born in either Anne Arundel, Frederick or Montgomery County twenty years or more prior to the Revolution. He and his brothers Francis and John were Maryland State Militiamen and were given land grants for this service in Georgia, where they moved shortly after the war. Data wanted as to births, marriages, etc.

Joseph Baird Magnun
16 Desbrosses St., New York 13, N. Y.

CONTRIBUTORS

DR. TILGHMAN, formerly a member of the faculty of St. John's College, has previously contributed several articles on the history of the College. ★ A prominent architect, MR. WATERMAN is well known for his researches in the history of American colonial architecture. ★ MR. WROTEN, a native of Dorchester County, is at present a Ph. D. candidate at the University of Colorado. ★ A lineal descendant of Captain Ridgely, DR. HOYT formerly was Librarian of the Maryland Historical Society and is now on the faculty of Loyola College, Baltimore.

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PORTRAIT OF A COLONIAL GOVERNOR: ROBERT EDEN

I—HIS ENTRANCE

By ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE

ON a pleasant June day in 1769 young Captain Robert Eden, his wife and two baby boys¹ with a retinue of domestics were rowed ashore from the merchant ship *Lord Baltimore* at anchor off the mouth of the Severn River. Bursts of gunfire from the ship and from the battery on shore greeted the new governor of Maryland. The Annapolis dock was thronged with the citizenry of one of the most affluent cities in the American colonies as the crowd parted to let through the splendid gentlemen of the Council who wished to be the first to welcome their new Proprietary representative.

Nearly a year had passed since Governor Sharpe had received a

¹ Frederick Morton Eden (1776-1809) and William Thomas Eden (1768-1851).

courteous letter from Lord Baltimore's secretary, Hugh Hamersley, declaring that only a most brotherly affection and congeniality for Captain Eden would have caused Lord Baltimore to remove so trusted and faithful a public servant as Colonel Sharpe.² The bluff old soldier received his orders philosophically, replying that "Whenever he arrives I shall receive him cordially—as an officer, a man of Honour, and the Brother of one to whom I am under great obligations. I flatter myself that I will not be less respected or esteemed when I become a private person and that I shall be happy in cultivating my Garden."³ He, too, was on hand to greet his successor and to offer the hospitality of Whitehall, his beloved estate on the opposite shore of the river. However, since February the Edens had owned the handsome mansion, previously rented by Sharpe for the Governor's town house. They had bought it from the builder, Edmund Jennings, a former Secretary of the Colony, and long domiciled in London. The sum of £1000 had been paid for "The mansion, gardens, yards, coach house, stables, out houses, hereditaments and premises,"⁴ overlooking the juncture of the Severn and Spa Creek, which forms Annapolis harbor. Into their still unfinished home went the Edens to rest from their long voyage.

Robert Eden's interest in Maryland had begun with his marriage to Caroline Calvert, daughter of Charles Calvert, 5th Lord Baltimore, and Mary, daughter of Sir Theodore Janssen. Her dissolute brother Frederick, the 6th Lord, was interested in his Province only for the income it produced for him to squander, and as a haven for the friends on whom he chose to lavish his patronage. Most of his time was spent on the continent and the hardships of travel to America did not appeal to him. In selecting his brother-in-law as Governor his own interests would be served and at the same time the Edens would be handsomely provided for. Worn out morally and physically, Frederick was pleased at this solution of advancing the attractive young husband of his favorite sister and of ridding himself of much anxiety in connection with the governing of Maryland.

Although Robert Eden received his appointment as the result of

² Hammersley to Sharpe, London, July 20, 1768, *Archives of Maryland*, XXXII, 256.

³ Sharpe to Lord Baltimore, Annapolis, 21 Oct. 1768, *ibid.*, XIV, 550.

⁴ Provincial Court Deed, 1769, D.D. # 2 f 582, Land Office, Annapolis. This estate was purchased in 1866 for the U. S. Naval Academy. The house was torn down in 1901.

his marriage, he nevertheless, possessed some qualifications that fitted him for a post of responsibility. The Edens came from County Durham where they had been a family of some prominence since the 14th century. In 1672 an Eden was created Baronet of West Auckland as a belated reward for his grandfather's services to King Charles I. Sir Robert, the 3rd Baronet, had died young leaving his widow with eleven children, the eldest only 15 years old.⁵ A good mother and a strong character, Lady Eden lived to see five sons grow to prominence and a daughter married to the Archbishop of Canterbury. John, the oldest son, succeeded to the West Auckland title; Robert, the Governor, became 1st Baronet of Maryland; William, secretary to Pitt and Under Secretary of State, was made the first Baron Auckland; Capt. Thomas plied his ship between Maryland and England in the tobacco trade and founded the mercantile firm of T. Eden & Co.; Morton, a diplomat, became Baron Henley. The Eden brothers had a gift for politics and a friend in William Pitt. The great Minister's unrequited love for Eleanor, William Eden's daughter, drove him to permanent bachelorhood but he held his interest for the family. There was also a clannish bond between the brothers whether their politics were in agreement or not. Incidentally, these Edens were not, as far as is known, related to Charles Eden, Governor of North Carolina from 1714 to 1722, the friend of pirates, and the man for whom Edenton was named.

Robert Eden had a good classical education before he decided on the army as a career. He was first commissioned Lieutenant Fireworker in the Royal Artillery in 1757 when only 16 years old, but transferred to the Cold Stream Guards as an Ensign the following year.⁶ With the Guards the young officer received his baptism of fire in Germany during the Seven Years War when the genius of the team of Pitt and Frederick the Great began to make itself felt. Eden was married at St. Georges, Hanover Square, in 1765 and did not resign from the army until 3 years later when Lord Baltimore offered him the governorship of Maryland. For eleven years he had been a soldier and now his ability

⁵ Mary, youngest daughter of William Davison of Beamish, Co. Durham. See, Rev. Robert A. Eden to Bernard C. Steiner, June 7, 1895, Maryland Historical Society.

⁶ Rev. Robert Allan Eden, *Some Historical Notes on the Eden Family* (London, 1907), p. 34. *The Dictionary of National Biography* lists 10 members of this family.

to take orders as well as to command was to stand him in good stead.

The day after his arrival in Annapolis Eden went to the Council chamber to take the oath as Governor and Chancellor. There he studied the faces of the men around him, men who were to be his intimate friends and advisors for the next seven years: Benedict Calvert, his wife's half-brother; Col. William Fitzhugh of "Rousby Hall," a former Virginian; Daniel and Walter Dulany, sons of the greatest legal talent in the colonies and former Secretary of Maryland; John Beale Bordley, a brilliant and versatile man; Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer; John Ridout and Richard Lee. The local governing body consisted of two branches, the upper composed of ten men hand-picked by Lord Baltimore on the recommendation of the governor; and, the lower or elected Assembly. The Council had long been controlled by the Dulanys and their relatives with the assistance of any of the Calvert family who happened to be in Maryland. They had intermarried to the extent of forming a bloc. Nepotism flourished as succeeding generations of Dulanys, Taskers, Bladens and Ogles dealt themselves all the lucrative positions under the Proprietor. John Ridout, who had exerted great influence as Sharpe's secretary, had married Governor Ogle's daughter and was now a member of the Council in his own right. Caroline Eden was a niece of old Governor Bladen's wife and thus was a cousin of the Ogles, Taskers and Dulanys who formed the "Court Circle." Dr. Upton Scott, clerk of the Council and holder of other remunerative positions, had come to America first to fight with Wolfe at Quebec and then to follow his companion in arms, Col. Sharpe, to Annapolis as his personal physician. He had married a Miss Ross, whose father on retiring from the important duties of clerk of the Council had been able to secure the same position for his son-in-law. These were the men Sharpe had recommended so highly to his Lordship as being in his opinion "gentlemen of Integrity and well attached to your Lordship's government and as well qualified as any I know to administer Justice."⁷

The Governor of Maryland had no easy task to perform. At a critical time when the authority of the British government was being questioned he represented both the Crown and the Lord

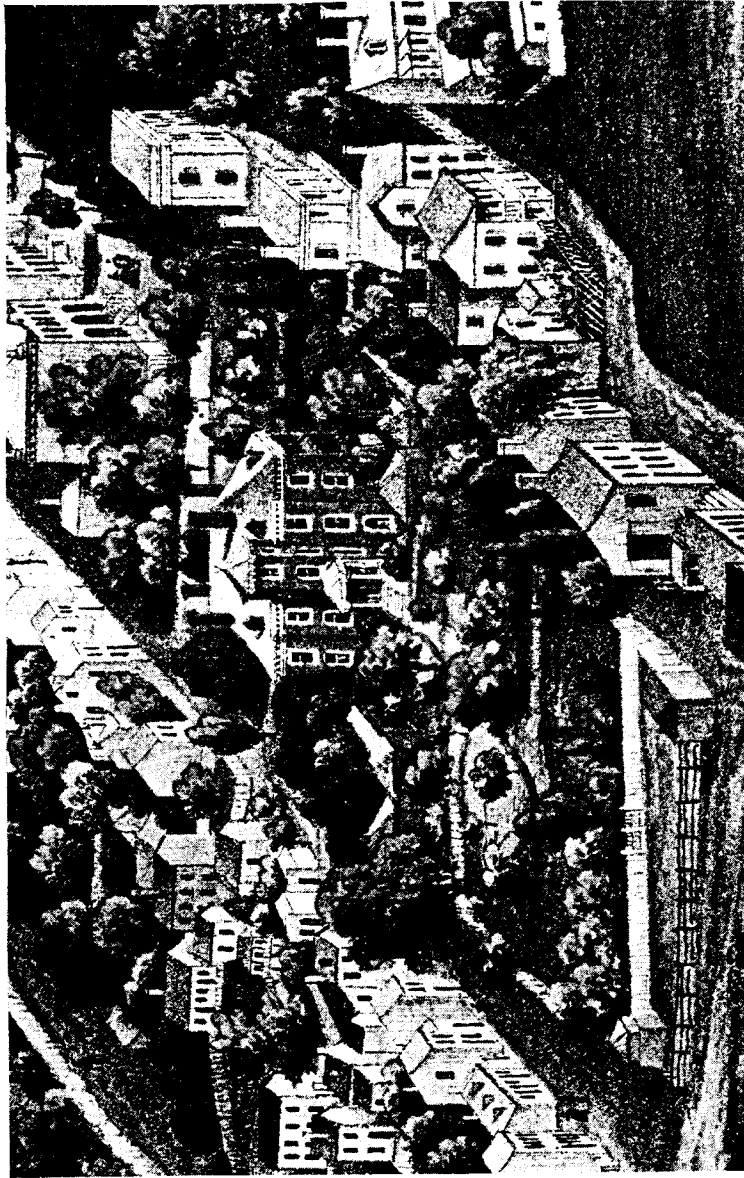
⁷ Paul H. Giddens, "Horatio Sharpe and his Maryland Government," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXII (1937), 171.



CAPTAIN ROBERT EDEN, 1741-1784,
GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND, 1768-1776.

By Charles Willson Peale

Portrait 14 x 9¼ inches owned 1907 by Frederick Morton Eden, Esq.



View from harbor of Governor's house. Used after 1869 by the U. S. Naval Academy as a library. It was razed in 1902 to make way for the present Bancroft Hall. Detail from lithographic bird's eye view of Annapolis by E. Sachse of Baltimore, made shortly before the Civil War. The view on the cover is from the border of another Sachse lithograph of Annapolis of slightly earlier date.

Proprietary. It was his duty to call and to dissolve the Assemblies, approve or veto laws, have criminals executed or pardon them, and to install the clergy in vacant parishes. In all he possessed a more extensive patronage than most contemporary high officials in the mother country.

Eden found himself at once embroiled in the disputes of the Marylanders over the hated Townshend Acts. That summer of 1769 the stubborn natives of Anne Arundel County had drawn up and passed non-importation resolutions. All over the colonies associations were formed whose members promised neither to trade with England nor use British goods until the tax questions were settled. Brewing, also, was the vitally important issue in Maryland's internal government on the fees of office. The tax on every hogshead of tobacco exported gave Lord Baltimore a munificent personal income and provided for the local government and defence. Almost without exception the gentlemen of the Council held the important positions—some of them two or three at a time—so that they were continually at variance with the Lower House in its efforts to reduce these fees and thereby reduce the taxes. Lord Baltimore's share was £12,500 and his revenue was further augmented by the sale of land.⁸ The burden of accumulated taxes had now become so great the Assembly was determined to seek some relief. With much anger on both sides, the Governor prorogued the Assembly and was, at the end of his first year, out of sympathy with the wishes of his legislature. Since the Assembly had not agreed on extending the old law as to officers' fees, he proceeded to establish the salaries of all the officers of the province by proclamation. This high-handed act set the leading men of the colony to remonstrating bitterly, but to no avail.

At the same time another contest was being carried on, hinging on the reenactment of the old laws with regard to support of the clergy. The inducting and appointing to the various parishes of the established church was one of the Governor's duties and, under the Act of 1702, every clergyman received 40 lbs. of tobacco per poll as his salary. Even the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, one of Eden's most intimate friends, admitted that few earned or deserved these large salaries. The rector of Frederick Parish was said to receive a

⁸ William Eddis, *Letters from America* (London, 1792), p. 125. For detailed account of the political developments of this period see Charles Albro Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940).

stipend larger than that of the Bishop of London. The Roman Catholics and dissenting Protestants naturally objected to supporting churches in which they had no interest. The Church of England clergy, of whom there were forty-four, quite as naturally looked to the Governor as their patron and protector. For three years these controversies raged. The *Maryland Gazette*, published in Annapolis, devoted pages to the long-winded but heated letters of prominent citizens.⁹

Although William Eddis described the Governor as an early riser and a hard worker and though public affairs demanded attention, nevertheless Eden was able to devote considerable time to pure enjoyment of life.¹⁰ First his house must be enlarged and redecorated to London standards. Wings were added and a bay on the water side increased the usefulness of the ball-room. Other alterations to the billiard room, kitchen and stables had not been completed by the winter of 1770-1. His English furniture and his many paintings gave the house an elegance not achieved by many even in a town dominated by men of wealth and taste. A portrait of Charles I, the Edens' benefactor, hung on the stair case; another of Frederick, Lord Baltimore, adorned the "Picture Parlour"; while the landscapes of that worthy's travelling companion, Francis Smith, for a while the rage of London, were interspersed with views of Dunkirk, and other cities, all in their gilt frames.¹¹ The terraced garden was extensive and ran almost to the river's edge, terminating in a mound from which one could see the shores of Kent Island.

Governor Sharpe, a bachelor, when not traveling on His Majesty's business in connection with his duties as Commander-in-Chief of the forces against the French and Indians, had spent much of his time at his farm across the Severn. Now for the first time in many years there was to be real leadership in the rounds of gayety and fashion that were part of the life of the well-to-do in Annapolis. Hospitality and good living were to be dispensed with lavish hand.

Since 1721 the governors of Maryland had made horse racing

⁹ Eddis, *Letters*, p. 37.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹¹ Inventory of Household Furniture of Sir Robert Eden, bart. 1779-1781 left in possession of his Excellency Thomas Sim Lee, Esq., Red Book # 1, Hall of Records. When the property was taken over by the Naval Academy the furniture was sold at public auction. See Ferdinand Latrobe, "Reminiscences," *Baltimore Sun*, Oct. 18, 1908.

fashionable and Robert Eden carried on this tradition. He was at once made a Steward of the Jockey Club and entered his horse "Regulus" in the Fall races. Col. Sharpe, in reducing his expenses to fit the life of a retired army colonel, had sold most of his stable and Eden bought his best known mare "Why Not" at this sale. "Badger," a grey horse, was imported by the Governor in 1770 to stand at his stud farm. "Slim" and "Cook Aglin" were acquired later. "Regulus" purchased from Benedict Calvert, while fast, had a bad trick of throwing his rider so that "Why Not" was his only consistent winner. The three mile track laid out to the west of the city drew crowds from the countryside both Spring and Fall and there were other races held during the season at the larger tracks at Marlboro, Joppa, Elk Ridge and Charles Town as well as at 16 smaller country fairs. Purses were as much as 100 guineas and competition keen when the best horses of Virginia, and, even New York, were on hand to race those of the Marylanders.¹² "They Game high, Spend freely and Dress exceedingly gay" reported one stranger who happened by at racing time.¹³

Further entertainment was provided at racing time by the theatrical stock company which traveled from city to city. A fine new theatre was finished in 1771 for which the Governor was largely responsible. He was very fond of the stage and led the list of subscribers. Shakespeare was added to a repertory of such modern plays as *The Roman Father* and *The Mayor of Garrett*.¹⁴ A public ball room was also built about the same time and the dances held there were an added attraction for the many visitors who came to town for the "Season."

Of the several men's clubs which flourished in Annapolis at this time the "Homony" was, perhaps, the most famous. The members were chosen solely for their entertainment value and evenings were spent around the punch bowl in satiric, whimsical conversation and "ingenius humor." Everyone who was anybody wanted to be a member, commented the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, the club's first president, and so the Governor was admitted as an Honorary

¹² Date set by order of silver spoons as prizes to be made by Cesar Ghiselin, Mayor's Court, Annapolis, Sept. 6, 1721, J. Hall Pleasants and Howard Sill, *Maryland Silversmiths, 1715-1830* (Baltimore, 1930), pp. 52-54; Francis Barnum Culver, *Blooded Horses of Colonial Days* (Baltimore, 1922), pp. 62-71.

¹³ Nicholas Creswell, *Journal, 1774-1777* (London, 1925), p. 20.

¹⁴ David Ridgely, *Annals of Annapolis* (Baltimore, 1841), p. 149.

member. When he did not attend weekly meetings he had, like all other members, to keep in good standing by sending a written explanation of his absence. There is one of his excuses in existence in which he most humbly and at great length plead official work and poor health.¹⁵

Both for business and for pleasure Eden tried to know his Maryland and its inhabitants. Hardly a month passed that he was not on the road, visiting, studying farming, looking at newly developed areas, discussing politics and being charming to the ladies. He had scarcely arrived in this country when he went to Williamsburg to pay his respects to his closest official neighbor, Lord Botetourt, Governor of Virginia. The great highway of the Potomac drew the two colonies together. Lees, Fitzhughs and Masons lived on both sides of the river and the Squire of Mount Vernon was as intimate with his Maryland friends as with those in Williamsburg and the lower Virginia counties. However, in November of 1769 Washington was visiting his own capital city and thus met the new governor of Maryland, at Councillor Robert Carter's dinner, beginning a friendship which lasted for the remaining fifteen years of Eden's life.¹⁶

Col. Washington and the Governor had a mutual friend in the Rev. Jonathan Boucher. More of a schoolteacher than a parson, he held parishes in Virginia before bettering his position by moving to St. Anne's in Annapolis through the patronage of Eden. Among the boys in his school whom he moved to his new rectory were John Parke Custis, Mrs. Washington's son, and Charles Calvert, son of Benedict Calvert of Mount Airy. Boucher was a cultivated man, a strong if tempestuous Christian leader, a man of violent likes and dislikes. He tells us that St. Anne's was called "Gradus ad Parnassum" and so he, like many of his predecessors, moved on to richer fields in Prince Georges' County, taking his school with him. St. Barnabas' rectory was one of the favorite objectives of the Governor's coach and four.¹⁷ There too, rode Col. Washington to see his stepson and to enjoy the good company provided by his learned friend.

Very like the royal progresses were the Governor's early wander-

¹⁵ December 26, 1771, Gilmor Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.

¹⁶ Washington Diaries ed. by John C. Fitzpatrick (4 vols., New York, 1925) I, 352, November 6, 1769. Councillor Robert Carter of Nomini Hall.

¹⁷ Rev. Jonathan Boucher, *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, 1738-1789* (New York, 1925), p. 75. The rectory was Mt. Lubentia, then called Castle Magruder.

ings around his domain. "Rousby Hall" in Calvert County, the seat of Col. William Fitzhugh, was the scene of many happy visits. Col. Fitzhugh had his schooner bring the party from Annapolis to spend Christmas of 1770 with him. The Governor, perhaps because his wife could not accompany him, passed Christmas day at home. His family had been augmented by the birth of a daughter (Catherine) in May of that year. William Eddis, Clerk of the Loan Office, describes meeting his Excellency with a numerous party at another country estate and then proceeding to Rousby Hall where the holiday season was celebrated for three weeks. From there they then "visited most of the principal families in Calvert, St. Mary's, Charles, Prince George's and Anne Arundel Counties; and were everywhere received with the most obliging proofs of regard and attention."¹⁸

A few months earlier the Governor's official family had been most hospitably entertained on the Eastern Shore, where again schooner and coach carried them from plantation to plantation and where "the true American breakfast consisted of ham, venison and beef besides the usual relishing articles." Eddis was particularly impressed with Frederick County and the frontiers of the province which he and Eden visited in the summer of 1772. As far west as Hagerstown he noted the fertility of the soil and the productive orchards. This trip must have been strictly on business for there are no comments on sumptuous banquets.

The leading Maryland families in a very short time fell captive to the Governor's charm. The Council and the Council's relatives were already on terms of the greatest intimacy with him. In February, 1770, the Edens celebrated the Proprietary's birthday with a grand entertainment in the new ball-room. "Cards and dancing engaged the attention of their respective votaries till an early hour."¹⁹ On the Edens' invitation list, but not among his happy admirers were the Carrolls, who sulking in their political and religious tents, wrote and spoke critically of their chief executive. Old Charles Carroll spent most of his time supervising his large estate "Doughoregan," thirty miles from the world of his clever son in Annapolis. Through the years they wrote almost daily letters to each other, replete with news and opinions. Trained like a prize fighter by the wise old man, Charles Carroll of Carrollton was about to enter the ring as self appointed

¹⁸ Eddis, *Letters*, p. 27.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

defender of the liberties of the people and leader of the anti-Eden party. As Roman Catholics the Carrolls had long suffered political disabilities and personal feelings, no doubt, spiced their opinions. Charles Carroll informed his father: "The Govr. is shamefully too dissipated. Marlboro Races, Oxford Races, what time will He Have to Consider our Cause before 3rd Tuesday in this month?"²⁰ The bitter controversy over officers' fees, between those who received them and those who paid them, was drawing political lines ever more sharply. Charles Carroll of Carrollton as champion of the Marylanders against the non-American incumbents in office fattening on the fee system, drew the fire of the leading lawyer of his day, Daniel Dulany. For months the anonymous letters of each appeared in the *Gazette* until all secrecy was dropped in the bitterness of the argument. Eddis was right when he said, "Party prejudices have little influence on social intercourse."²¹ Charles Carroll advised his son not to show his true feelings to the Governor as he must learn to get on with all kinds of people: "Act with the Governor and visit him as usual. His fickle behaviour and mean condensation [*sic*] to the Dulanys justly lessens him in your and the esteem of everyone acquainted with their pride and insolence."²² Yet all the time the lonely old man, isolated sometimes by twenty inches of snow, craved a half dozen of Mrs. Eden's latest London magazines, or the company of the Governor, his Lady, or Captain Eden of the Ship *Annapolis*, the Governor's brother, for a promised visit to his manor. Again on March 17, 1772, he wrote his son: "I hope your debauch [*sic*] at the Govrs has not hurt you, I hear the company was highly entertained and diverted by an Altercation between Dr. Steuart and Major Jenifer on their Independance, as it is a subject on which the Dr. had great scope to shine."²³

In spite of his gayety Eden had many things on his mind. He had begged for and been refused a Lt. Colonel's brevet which he desired in case of future wars and because Horatio Sharpe was a commissioned Colonel. He had been scolded by Lord Hillsborough for lack of vigor in not preventing the return of a ship with its contraband cargo, and, most serious of all, he had the

²⁰ May 7, 1771; "Extracts From the Carroll Papers," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIII (1918), 257.

²¹ Eddis, *Letters*, p. 92.

²² "Extracts From Carroll Papers," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIV (1919), 361.

²³ March 11, 1772, *Ibid.*, XIV, 138.

news of Lord Baltimore's death in Naples in September of 1771. Sharpe wrote to his brother: "Gov. Eden has not as yet met with much to please or disgust him but I think, he is hardly as happy as he expected to be and that a different kind of life would be more to his taste."²⁴

Before word of this unexpected death reached America, Eden had distracted himself with a Fall racing season and renewal of his acquaintance with Col. Washington, whom he was able to entertain in Annapolis. Later he visited his good friend, William Digges, at Warburton and at a signal from river bank to bank, Col. Washington was brought across in a great barge rowed by twelve Negroes. Four days the Governor, Mr. Boucher, Mr. Benedict Calvert and three Digges spent crossing and recrossing from Warburton to Mount Vernon, dining at Col. Fairfax's Belvoir and with each other.²⁵

The death of his patron and brother-in-law was bad enough but much worse was the will in which it was discovered that the Province had been left to Lord Baltimore's illegitimate son, Henry Harford, at the time only fourteen years old. Robert Eden's position was precarious and his wife's fortune might vanish before their eyes. Under the will of Charles, Fifth Lord Baltimore, Caroline Eden's older sister, Louisa Browning, would become legal heir following the death of their brother Frederick, while Caroline would receive merely a large legacy. By Frederick Calvert's will Robert Eden was made an executor and guardian, and his children would inherit the Colony, lacking heirs to the two Harford children. Which will was valid and which would be of most advantage to the Edens? It was a case for the courts to settle—but first and most important must be the confirmation of his continuance in Maryland as Governor by the other guardians in England and recognition of Harford as Proprietary by the Assembly of Maryland.

"Mr. Eden of Lincoln's Inn²⁶ thinks my attendance in England absolutely necessary," the Governor wrote to Lord Hillsborough asking for leave of absence because of "the critical situation of my private Affairs with Regard to the Disposition made of this

²⁴ Horatio Sharpe to Philip Sharpe, May 27, 1771, Bernard C. Steiner, "New Light on Maryland History," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, IV (1909), 256.

²⁵ Washington, *Diaries*, II, 44, Dec. 9-13, 1771; Amy Cheney Clinton, "Historic Fort Washington," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXII (1937), 235.

²⁶ William Eden, later Lord Auckland.

Province by Lord Baltimore's will." ²⁷ A severe illness mentioned in two letters and lack of his majesty's leave apparently prevented his sailing in August with his wife on his brother's boat, the "*Annapolis*." Old Charles Carroll gallantly wrote his son: "Give our compliments to our Friends, especially Mrs. Eden. We wish her a pleasant and short passage, Health and all the Happiness she wishes." ²⁸ With this voyage Caroline Eden and the three children passed from the American scene, for there is no further reference to them.

The Governor, forced to stay behind, contented himself with watching the erection of the new Stadt House, whose corner-stone he had layed the previous March, accompanied, the *Gazette* stated, by the toasts of the workmen and dire claps of thunder. Three visits that Fall brought Eden and Washington together. Their mutual friend, the Rev. Mr. Boucher, entertained them both in September. The Governor in his phaeton drove the party to church and then went calling on the countryside. ²⁹ In October the Virginia Colonel had his five days of gay city life as the guest of the Governor. At Christmas the Washingtons returned the hospitality by meeting the party, twelve in all, at Warburton and taking them back to Mount Vernon for the festive season.

"Antilon" and "First Citizen" ³⁰ were going for each other fire and tongs that Spring of 1773 and Charles Carroll of "Annapolis, resident at Doughoregan," longed for gossip and news of the debate: "The Govr. has a ticklish part to play. He may not see it, if Hartford's [*sic*] guardians notwithstanding his commission should be desirous of removing him. May they not make a pretense of his unpopularity and wrong step in issuing and supporting the proclamation. He has owned it as his own act. . . . I am glad you went to see the Govr. last Friday and wish you had found him at home." Later—"Our Govr. is what you say, a very silly idle dissipated man. Have you been in company with him since you left us if so, how did he behave? . . . I do not know that his smiles or intimacy have redounded to the credit of any ladies on whom he has been pleased to bestow them." ³¹

²⁷ Robert Eden to Lord Hillsborough, Aug. 21, 1772, "Correspondence of Governor Eden," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, II (1907), 297.

²⁸ "Carroll Papers," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIV, 280.

²⁹ Washington, *Diaries*, II, 78, Sept. 4-9, 1772.

³⁰ Daniel Dulany, the Younger and Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

³¹ "Carroll Papers," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XV (1920), 194, 281, 369.

Eden had offered to write letters of introduction for Jacky Custis to friends in England when the Washingtons considered sending him over to complete his education. But on the advice of various men, particularly Mr. Boucher, King's College, New York, was decided upon. ³² Eden joined the travellers from Mount Vernon and accompanied them as far as Philadelphia where one of his horses was running. ³³ Twice that year (1773) he was at Mount Vernon and again the Virginian was his guest in Annapolis for the Fall racing season. Would one have thought that politics in Maryland were at fever heat; that the Anti-Proclamation Party, whose mouthpiece Carroll had been, had won overwhelming victory at the polls; that the Lower House of the Assembly would in a week or two form a standing committee of correspondence and enquiry, for mutual protection of the sister colonies? Col. Washington found few subjects that could not still be agreeably debated with his friend the Governor.

During the winter of 1774 large quantities of tea were brewed in Boston harbor. William Eddis viewed "the impending storm with inexpressible inquietude." ³⁴ By May he shouted, "All America is in a flame!" The Annapolitans had caught the contagion and joined the other colonies in a non-importation act. But Robert Eden did not feel that affairs were too serious for him to give up his long planned trip to England where his personal business called him. His sister-in-law and her husband, the John Brownings, had entered suit against Henry Harford, already proclaimed Proprietor, and his presence was imperative. There were many things to report verbally to the Colonial Office and he could assure his government that the Americans would refrain from violence if taxes were lifted. He sailed in June, leaving his province in the hands of the senior member of the Council, Richard Lee of Blenheim.

But the fire was kindled and smouldering. In unsuspecting Annapolis a confident importer tried to land a cargo of tea and the wrath of respectable citizens as well as of the mob, descended upon him. After pleading guilty and making abject apologies to his accusers, he was forced to set fire to his ship with its unwanted cargo. ³⁵ Elections were held, delegates chosen and the first Con-

³² Now Columbia University.

³³ Washington, *Diaries*, II, 110, May 10, 1773.

³⁴ Eddis, *Letters*, p. 157.

³⁵ Burning of the *Peggy Stewart*, Oct. 19, 1774, by her owner Anthony Stewart.

tinental Congress got under way at Philadelphia. In November, 1774, Eddis wrote: "The Governor is returned to a land of trouble. He arrived this morning in perfect health. To stem the popular torrent and to conduct his measures with consistency, will require the exertion of all his faculties."³⁶ His popularity with the people had not abated for crowds went to the city dock to welcome him on his return and the guns from the battery echoed to the Eastern Shore and back.³⁷

Horatio Sharpe had returned to England because of a death in his family. He wrote long and often to his old friend and protégé John Ridout, for news of Annapolis and of Whitehall in particular. He was following the Harford-Browning law-suit with interest and remarked that if Eden resigned, he might return as Maryland's governor for a short time, but "Say not a word."³⁸ A later letter contained the opinion:

Your observations on the governor quitting the Province with a professed declaration not to return unless a repeal of all the offensive acts should take place, are certainly most just. If he gives up the Governorship before harmony is restored there are but few men that would accept it, of which number I shall not make one. . . . Mr. Browning is the man to whom the Government of the Province will be offered and I am apt to think his circumstances are such as will induce him to accept of it, particularly if nothing turns up to encourage him in a more steady pursuit of his claim to the Province. . . . The Governor certainly judges right in leaving the Province with regard to his Brother's interest but how it will be approved of by the Ministry I know not.³⁹

Col. Sharpe thought that Browning would win the suit and he also knew that Eden was striving in every way possible to make his government see that there was justice in the demands of the colonists. Sharpe had lived in Maryland so long (twenty years) that he was undoubtedly unhappy at the turn affairs were taking. If Eden was unhappy he did not show it. His buoyant nature felt that there was always hope that the storm would subside, that the Ministry would be reasonable, and that the colonists would be satisfied with some little local independence. He worked hard keeping the Colonial Office informed but he saw as much of his pleasure loving friends as ever.

³⁶ Eddis, *Letters*, p. 187.

³⁷ *Maryland Gazette*, Nov. 10, 1774.

³⁸ Sharpe to Ridout, London, 1774, Lady Edgar, *A Colonial Governor in Maryland* (London, 1912), p. 260.

³⁹ May 20, 1775, *Ibid.*, p. 260.

By 1775 there were two governments in Maryland, the Proprietary vested in Eden, and, the Council of Safety. Of the two, the latter was by far the stronger. Openly now the colonies prepared for war. Conventions met, militia was organized, supplies of all kinds were gathered and everyone knew that it required very little to touch off the explosion. It came with Lexington and Concord. The Governor, writing to his brother William, told of granting the request for arms and powder but thought the powder to be twenty years old and harmless. "You need be under no uneasiness about me," he said, writing while the sound of shooting was heard in the distance, "I am well supported and not obnoxious to any unless it be to some of our infernal Independents who are in league with the Bostonians. The majority here are friends to the Government. I hourly expect some sort of uproar but am calm enough considering I am not endowed with Patience."⁴⁰ His courage and calmness increased with danger and he still held some remnant of authority. As he made clear to Lord George Germain: ⁴¹ "His Majesty hath not a Governor on this continent, who would more freely expose both his Fortune and his Life in his Service than I would. That is well known here and contributes not a little to keep the dissolute in order." The Governor's natural inclination toward moderation and his tact in dealing with the leaders of both parties, in trying to satisfy demands and yet keep Maryland under the Crown, was well illustrated by his letters.

William Eden was now in the Foreign Office and family news was also official news. In November, 1774, William wrote his brother from Downing Street:

My dear Bob:

Tom Eden is as violent a Patriot that he will not let me write one word worth your reading, as he says that my accursed Politics have already brought a flux on the Blood of our Family. Take plain facts therefore without any comment. You who are a moderate man and wish well and kindly to both Parties at the same time that you dislike the extremes of their language and conduct pursued by both will distinguish truth from Falshood in the strange Jumble of Misrepresentation with which our Newspapers are stuffed.⁴²

⁴⁰ April 28, 1775. British Public Records, Colonial Office, transcript in Library of Congress, Washington, p. 375.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² William Eden to Robert Eden, Downing St., Nov. 15, 1775, Red Book # 1, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

On May 5, 1775, Robert Eden explained to Lord Dartmouth that he could not prevent delegates going to the newly created Congress but was assured that they would bring about reconciliation.⁴³ He stressed that he had not slept twice out of the city since his return because "disorder was too active." By August he was further disturbed by the actions of two members of his Council. Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, an intimate friend, had gone over to the patriots and accepted office. Beale Bordley, too, but he took an inactive part. The words Tory and Loyalist were bantered about and by Fall everyone knew where everyone else stood. Military training and the taking of an oath to support the Continental Congress were compulsory. The Governor's friends were leaving for England as fast as they could secure passage. The ports were to be closed in September so that often wives and children were sent off ahead to ensure a safe voyage. In the case of some of the Dulany clan, the men left rather than "associate" but their wives remained to hold on to the estates. The Rev. Jonathan Boucher's resounding voice had been raised long and loud in defense of his mother country. He had threatened to shoot any who removed him from his pulpit. However, discretion took the better part of valor and the worthy parson sailed with his Maryland wife on the last day of grace. Many families were divided politically, some members signing up for General Washington's army while others waited in England for the rout of it, which they were sure could not be far in the future.

The Governor was lonely that winter. The races had been cancelled at the suggestion of Congress; the theatrical company had scattered. Marylanders were pulling in their belts, preparing for hard times. No balls, no entertaining, only long articles in the *Gazette* on the making of gun-powder. To pass the time perhaps, he had the Annapolis portrait painter, Charles Willson Peale, do his portrait. The eyes and the sword did not suit and had to be altered. Mr. Peale, also, altered a hand on a crayon portrait of Mrs. Eden and daughter which had been done in England and which the Governor had brought back with him to console him for the absence of his family.⁴⁴ Dr. Upton Scott, his

⁴³ British Public Records, Colonial Office, transcript in Library of Congress. William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth, was Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1772-75.

⁴⁴ Diary of Charles Willson Peale, Nov. 1775. Transcript owned by Charles Coleman Sellers.

physician, and opulent Clerk of the Council, was still in town. Two intimate friends who had married Dulany sisters were almost out of reach—George Fitzhugh was thirty miles away at Epping Forest⁴⁵ in Baltimore County and the Rev. John Montgomery had moved to a parish on the Eastern Shore.⁴⁶ There was little he could discuss now with the Carrolls or Jenifer, while Paca, Chase and Johnson, his old "Homony Club" cronies, were leaders of the opposition.⁴⁷ All foreign mail had been disrupted or was censored if it did get through the lines. The only chance to send or receive a letter was to smuggle it by way of the West Indies. Eddis had been honored by an invitation to be part of the Governor's household after his family left. Urging reason and moderation on the colonists he at the same time despaired of both because of rabble rousers, he reported that "a greater degree of moderation appears to predominate in this province than in any other on the continent; and I am perfectly assured we are very materially indebted for this peculiar advantage to the collected and consistent conduct of our Governor, whose views appear solely directed to advance the interests of the community; and to preserve, by every possible method, the public tranquility."⁴⁸

The Governor relaxed from the tenseness of Annapolis long enough to go to the Eastern Shore to visit his friend the Rev. John Montgomery.⁴⁹ Installed in Shrewsbury Parish, Kent County, Montgomery was a man who spoke his language, an intimate ever since his occupancy of St. Anne's, Annapolis. The Governor was apologetic for earlier refusals of invitations but promised:

As soon as the Convention is over I will bring powder, shot and some guns and will with great Courage attack your ducks. I shall rely on your talents with the young ladies at Mrs. Chaces, for a bed-fellow—if the weather continues as cold as it is now but half, I think is preferable to a whole one. Don't tell Mrs. Montgomery and neither shall I. But I am serious in this—you can share it *now*.

⁴⁵ 400 acres of the Dulany holdings in the Valley of Jehosaphat, Baltimore County, given to Mrs. Fitzhugh after the Revolution.

⁴⁶ Shrewsbury Parish, Kent County. Ethan Allen Papers, Md. Diocesan Lib.

⁴⁷ William Paca, later Signer of the Declaration and Governor of Md., Samuel Chase, signer of the Declaration, Assoc. Justice, U. S. Supreme Court, and Thomas Johnson, 1st Governor of Md. under new constitution.

⁴⁸ Eddis, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

⁴⁹ John Montgomery, called "The Beauty of Holiness," was supposed to have been the original of Thackeray's Rev. Mr. Honeyman in *The Newcomes*. See, Mrs. Rebecca Key, "A Notice of Some of the First Buildings with Notes of Some of the Early Residents," *Md. Hist. Mag.* (1919), XIV, 268. Licensed for Maryland and served 3 parishes there from 1770 until 1775, when he returned to England with his wife. Allen Papers, Md. Diocesan Library.

This facetia he repeated a month later in a letter to George Fitzhugh: "you may promise Mrs. Addison [Fitzhugh's sister-in-law, another Dulany] all or part of my room—which ever she chooses. This cold weather but half would be preferable to a whole one."⁵⁰ One would think that Eden had not a serious thought if it were not for the ending of the letter: "God bless you all, send us better Times and peace and comfort once more, as much for your sakes as that of your sincere friend and humble sert, R. Eden."

Some time that winter, still longing for the companionship of John Montgomery, he wrote him in his best classical Latin:

The Governor sends greeting to the Pastor
Most Reverend Sir:

If you can do without feminine society, most delightful though it is, and if no other duties claim you whether at home or elsewhere, do hurry over here, I beg. Don't stand on ceremony, for you will find here the following; that doctor of mine, most famous of all doctors, my secretary, (the best of all poets) and those two well known men of more advanced age (my guest and your neighbor) all dressed in leather and ready to play cards.

If your guest has no other plans either at home or abroad, do bring him with you.

Farewell⁵¹

The Maryland convention met in Annapolis in January and busied itself relentlessly with preparations for war. Correspondence between official England and the Continental Congress was slow and plans could not wait. A shooting war was actually going on around Boston and Norfolk, Va.; Montreal had surrendered and Eden, of all the Royal Governors, stayed on in his executive capacity, though powerless. The government had passed completely into the hands of the Council of Safety and Eden was little more than a hostage.⁵² The Governor, without knowing whether any of his pleadings to his government had had results, wished once more to offer suggestions through men still friendly

⁵⁰ Eden to Montgomery, Dec. 4, 1775, Md. Historical Society; Eden to George Lee Mason Fitzhugh, son of Col. William Fitzhugh of "Rousby Hall," Jan. 29, 1776 addressed to "Epping Forest," Md. Hist. Soc.

⁵¹ Eden to Montgomery, no date. Translated by Miss Evelyn Saunders, Bryn Mawr School, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁵² Bernard C. Steiner, *Life and Administration of Robert Eden*, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, ser. 16, nos. 7-9 (Baltimore, 1898), p. 101.

to him in the Convention. In January of 1776 he drove out to Stepney, a few miles below Annapolis, to see his old companion, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer. From there issued the following letter to Charles Carroll, the Barrister:

Governor Eden is now with me and very desirous and willing to cooperate with you and Mr. Tilghman and such other gentlemen of the Convention as are willing to disperse the cloud that has almost overshadowed and ready to burst upon us.

Carroll was asked to bring a group to dinner "to form plans to save millions of money and thousands of lives." To this Barrister Carroll replied the same day explaining that they were not able to go so far and get back for the evening session of the convention but that he would be delighted to have Jenifer and Eden dine with him, if they did not mind having no meat that evening.⁵³ The result of the dinner meeting was three letters, two to William Eden and one to Lord Dartmouth on the subject of reconciliation, for which passes were asked from the Council of Safety and from Congress and in which Eden on his honor, said nothing unfriendly to America. The letters contained various printed news of Congress and of the Maryland Convention and what he termed "the important whisper of the Day." He told them that he had had no mail for seven months but excused the colonists for stopping it, and repeated that he was still sure that the Marylanders did not want to separate themselves from England and that he continued to hope for peace.⁵⁴

In the meantime Annapolis was being fortified; all important state papers were removed to Upper Marlboro for safety; and a last chance given to join the militia and sign the Association or be declared an enemy. Harbors were empty; tradesmen and mechanics closed their shops; currency, except for the new American paper, was scarce, and even the farms, mostly tobacco, were neglected. Eddis and Clapham, the sole survivors of all the British officials, still manned the Loan and Land Offices and were, with the Governor, allowed their personal freedom.

Baltimore, as Eden said, was "the great scene of Maryland politics." It was a town of recent and rapid growth and its popu-

⁵³ This correspondence is printed in *America Archives*, ed. by Peter Force (9 vols., Washington, 1837-1853), ser. 5, V, 680.

⁵⁴ Transcripts of Eden correspondence from British Public Records Office in Fisher Transcripts, Maryland Historical Society.

lation was largely composed of merchants who were anxious to have this war settled one way or another. A radical group prevailed, though being the younger city their representation in the Convention and in Congress was less strong than was that of the conservative planters of Southern Maryland. However, the radicals grew in strength each day and looked with impatience on the diplomatic messages and placating tone that emanated from the capital city. Why was not Eden confined or sent home at once? He was, they said, undoubtedly acting as secret agent for the Crown and as such was dangerous to the commonwealth. The ardent patriots of Virginia on the one side and of Pennsylvania on the other, demanded that some action be taken with regard to the Governor. This was the first, but not the last, time that Maryland resented interference with her sovereign rights. The Annapolis Council rebuffed its critics in no uncertain terms and allowed the Governor to remain.

The case broke when letters from Lord George Germain⁵⁵ to Eden were intercepted. Lord George had succeeded Lord Dartmouth in the Colonial Office and was noted for his carelessness. In answering Eden's letter of the previous August he gave away much of the news that had been sent him. He also announced that a fleet was on its way to the southern colonies, "his Majesty's deluded subjects."⁵⁶ These letters were enough to condemn Eden, but in spite of them there were still friends in power who stood up for his claim as a peacemaker. However, the Baltimore Committee of Observation took the whole matter to Congress and orders to seize the papers and person of the Governor were sent to Annapolis. An armed platoon under Captain Samuel Smith arrived in a boat to carry out the orders of the officious Baltimoreans but the Council of Safety sped them home with alacrity. There was an exchange of polite letters, Eden denying that he had ever done anything secretly or hostile to Maryland, reaffirmed his desire to remain as Governor as long as he could be helpful. The Council believed him and almost apologized for ever having been suspicious.

For the month that followed until the next meeting of the Maryland Convention Eden gave his voluntary parole not to leave

⁵⁵ George Sackville, Lord George Germain, afterwards Viscount Sackville and Baron Bolebroke, Secretary of State for Colonies, 1775-1782. Letters written Dec. 25, 1775. Fisher Transcripts, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁵⁶ *American Archives*, ser. 4, V, 1594.

the country, but at the same time he was quietly packing his belongings preparatory to his departure which seemed inevitable. Finally on May 24 a committee of five was appointed by the Convention to present the resolutions it had passed declaring "that the Publick quiet and safety . . . require that he leave the Province and that he is at full liberty to depart peaceably with all his effects." Eden told his visitors that he should "still continue most sincerely to wish for the welfare and prosperity of Maryland, and consequently, for a reconciliation with and constitutional dependency on Great Britain." Though independence was only six weeks off, there were many there that day who whole-heartedly agreed with Eden's wish. On the seventh and again on the twelfth of June the Governor called his old Council together to arrange the closing of all departments except the Land Office, and with its adjournment the Upper House of the Colonial Assembly forever passed away.⁵⁷

The moderation of the Convention and of the Council of Safety in allowing the Governor to depart voluntarily was not popular with the Baltimoreans and other groups in the Province. The Virginians, too, still cried out for his blood. Gen. Charles Lee wrote Benjamin Rush in Philadelphia, "What poor mortals are these Maryland Council men! I hope the Congress will write a letter to the People of that Province at large advising 'em to get rid of their damn'd Government. Their aim is to continue feudal Lords to a Tyrant."⁵⁸

John Parke Custis, a Virginian, awaiting the birth of a Maryland child at the seat of his father-in-law, Mount Airy, shows additional anxieties in writing to his mother, Mrs. Washington:

. . . and I believe the Province of Maryd will shortly be in a State of the greatest Confusion; the People being discontented with their Convention; and Mr. Calvert takes a Part which I fear will involve Him in many Troubles . . . Govr Eden sails for England in a few days, or goes on board a man of War, there are many Tories who would go with Him most willingly, but I hear He has absolutely refused to carry them with Him.⁵⁹

Eden continued "easy and collected" and was "treated with every exterior mark of attention" but he anxiously awaited a

⁵⁷ Steiner, *Robert Eden*, p. 133.

⁵⁸ Charlestown, June 29, 1776, Charles Lee papers, in *Collections of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1872*, p. 96.

⁵⁹ John Parke Custis to Martha Washington, "Mount Airy," June 9, 1776. Mount Vernon Collection. Benedict Calvert was a member of the dissolved Council. He remained in Maryland during the Revolution.

vessel to take him away.⁶⁰ At length on June 23, *Fowey* a naval ship of the line appeared in the harbor and the Governor was conducted to his barge by the entire Council of Safety, who took "an affectionate leave of their late supreme magistrate."⁶¹ Unfortunately the promise to get his baggage on board was not carried out. Retaliation for the *Fowey's* refusal to land some refugee servants was taken out on the Governor, and his belongings were returned to his late residence. The last tribute paid him by his friends was when a group of gentlemen from Oxford took some sheep and hogs aboard before the ship sailed down the Bay.⁶²

The last Colonial Governor to the end of his administration was sincerely solicitous for the welfare of the Province. Unfortunately he trusted the advice of the wealthy, conservative Dulany and had not the imagination to see clearly the advancing line of democracy. His frank, easy manner and his personal charm made friends wherever he went. He had courage, both moral and physical. While not courting danger, he took it in his stride, caring neither for the threats of the mob nor for the insults of former friends. Perhaps he could not understand, kindly and generous as he was, that anyone could hate him. Of the impressions left by his intimate friends, that of William Eddis is all adulation. Boucher, a more outspoken man, saw his faults as well as his virtues:

"Sir Robert Eden was a handsome, lively and sensible man. He had been in the Army and had contracted such habits of expense and dissipation as were fatal to his fortune and at length his life. . . . With an income of 3 or 4 thousand pounds a year, he was always in debt, and although he had great quickness of parts and a large experience of the world, he was a bad politician, as being not sufficiently steady and firm. . . . Few equalled him in letter writing."⁶³

Eden's letters show discernment, tact and a fluency of expression. His library of French books was a pleasure to borrowing friends.⁶⁴ In his letter of August 27, 1775 to the Colonial Office he quoted Montesquieu, Locke and Blackstone. His Latin is scholarly and he knew Horace by heart.

Thomas Jennings, Poet Laureate of the Homony Club, immortalized him in a long poem on the members:

⁶⁰ Eddis, *Letters*, p. 310.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

⁶² C. W. Peale Diary, Nov. 4, 1775. Transcript owned by C. S. Sellers.

⁶³ *Archives of Md.*, XI, 529.

⁶⁴ Boucher, *Reminiscences*, p. 67.

Me thinks I see with slow and solemn pace
The grave Sir Robert take his destined place;
His courtly bow and unaffected air,
The high-bred man of quality declare,
Kind, lavish nature did to him impart
Endowment proper for the dancing art;
and all must own that 'tis to his address
our club's admired so much for politeness.⁶⁵

Eden's scholarship and friendliness were outweighed, however, by his frivolity in the eyes of many of the Marylanders, including the Carroll family. Bits of gossip between Carrolls were constantly driving home the fact that the Governor was "a very dissipated man." Charles Carroll of Annapolis found one story was worth sending across the ocean.

"The Major [Daniel of St. T. Jenifer] tells me he has wrote to you lately, I suppose he has given you an account of his and deButt's [John Debutts, an Irishman, visiting in Annapolis] rasting at the Gov's and some other particulars of that drunken frolic. Mrs. Eden was so much alarmed (as it is said) at ye disturbance they made in ye house that she miscarried."⁶⁶

John Beale Bordley, one of the better minds of the Council, added his comment—"Foppery, idleness and dissipation are striding briskly on to bring about a general change of proprietors for our land."⁶⁷ The poem to First Citizen published in *The Maryland Gazette*, June 10, 1773, shows, crude though it is, that the Governor's popularity was not universal;

"We're assured that no plot we e'er shall succeed in
'Till we send into exile all men of reading
and hang up their patron this little God Exxx."

More courtier, than statesman; more hearty in manner than deep in feeling; victim of his class and training, one feels that Boucher summed him up wisely when he said: "Yet with all his follies and foibles which were indeed abundant,—he had such a warmth and affectioness of heart that it was impossible not to love him."⁶⁸

(to be concluded)

⁶⁵ Ms poem by Thomas Jennings ca. 1770, Gilmore Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁶⁶ Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Carroll, the Barrister, Aug. 9, 1771. *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXII (1932), 200-201.

⁶⁷ John Beale Bordley to Jennings, 1771 quoted in J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), II, 49.

⁶⁸ Boucher, *Reminiscences*, p. 67.