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Cover: Balloon Ascension at Jones Creek, 1886
The Jones family of Baltimore County, celebrating the centennial of their farm, Walnut Grove, sent up toy hot air balloons. Photographed by Robinson Studio. Special Collections, Maryland Historical Society Library.

Editor's Notebook

Ben, We Hardly Knew Ye

You can't say we didn't try.

After two decades spent researching one of his favorite subjects, Silvio A. Bedini, distinguished scholar in history, science, and technology, published his massive biography of Benjamin Banneker with Charles Scribner's Sons in 1972. In the 1990s he added to that work, and in 1999 the Maryland Historical Society issued his revised and expanded edition, thinking to ourselves that we had served well one of Maryland's most distinguished sons. *The Life of Benjamin Banneker: The First African-American Man of Science* is a definitive biography, containing every verifiable fact about the free black man who on his own learned the complex mathematics of calculating astronomical ephemerides, competed successfully with the world's best almanacs, and in 1791 composed an angry letter to Thomas Jefferson regarding the condition of African Americans in a nation where all men were, according to that statesman, created equal. Bedini included every document, every source. He was particularly thorough in tracing the origins of misinformation about Banneker, and, for those who disagreed with him, he left a well-lit path for further research. Bedini adhered to what he could prove of Banneker's life, sweeping away the gauzy film of hagiographic exaggeration to let all see clearly Banneker, his world, and his achievements. Our work, and Dr. Bedini's, was done.

Authors and publishers know or soon learn that the joy accompanying a well-done book can be frustratingly brief. Never is that more true than when the work confronts and exposes popular myths. In January an email arrived from Charles A. Cerami, former principal editor of the Kiplinger Washington Publications and author of *Successful Leadership in Business,* and *More Profit, Less Risk,* to the effect that his new biography of Banneker was in the wings. In February it arrived. Breathlessly the marketing folks at John Wiley & Sons announced *Benjamin Banneker: Surveyor, Astronomer, Publisher, Patriot,* "the long-overdue biography of a true American hero and a scientific genius of the first order, and the first step in securing for its subject the place in history he undoubtedly deserves." A glowing jacket blurb by NAACP President Kweisi Mfume added, "Herein breathes the universal genius Benjamin Banneker—mathematician, astronomer, diarist, and sage."

For careful readers of history, at whom it clearly is not directed, *Benjamin Banneker: Surveyor, Astronomer, Publisher, Patriot* is an exercise in exasperation. It begins carelessly. "With her new belongings in hand, Molly [Welsh] reached her property . . . on the northern side of the Patapsco River, the substantial west-east waterway that flows fifty-two miles, right past Baltimore, and empties from its wide mouth into the Atlantic Ocean" (3). Ignoring the fact of the Chesapeake Bay turns out to be a comparatively small matter. Maryland seems to have been a slave society

of the harshest temperament. Most of the time, whites were hardened racists—for Cerami, the post-Revolution South, in which many whites thought seriously of ending slavery, is barely distinguishable from the post–Fugitive Slave Law South of the 1850s, when the black codes were at their infamous worst. Some sort of rudimentary documentation would be useful here, but no citations permit the reader to sort things out—a fortunate decision as they would probably only clutter a good story. For example, there is the episode of Banneker family friend, Uncle Ned, who was taken by slavecatchers in 1753 while he and Benjamin were en route to Baltimore, where aggressive—and it must be said, far-sighted—merchants were employing the strategy of non-importation in defiance of the Stamp Act (37–39), which would be passed by Parliament twelve years later, in 1765. Banneker expected a good price for his tobacco crop but instead was swindled by a corrupt British tobacco inspector who was "appalled to see so much fine tobacco being offered by a black, for it would surely infuriate the great planters who doubtless made payoffs to him for holding down the quantity of goods that would compete with their own" (42). Of course, there being no evidence at all for this episode, it probably never occurred, but "even if this is more an account of Banneker's fears than an incident he actually suffered, it is highly significant, for he recorded many dreams that show how much he was haunted by the great danger surrounding all blacks" (43). What can one say when a nonexistent incident is "highly signifiant"? Nor did we know that during the Revolution, "Banneker learned that the armed forces had a great need for more clocks and watches" (97), and that he went to Philadelphia to make clocks until someone, who had probably heard of Valley Forge, hinted that what the troops could really use was a hot meal, whereupon Banneker returned to his farm to grow food for the army. As to that business about glimpsing Pierre L'Enfant's plans for Washington and recreating the city from memory after L'Enfant walked off in a huff, Banneker didn't do it, actually—but with his photographic memory he could have.

Well, probably not. Benjamin Banneker was a maker of first-rate almanacs (not a publisher), a self-taught man of science, and a credit to Maryland, but he was not, as Cerami claims, a Galileo or Copernicus whose brilliant life's work was deliberately destroyed and hence concealed by racist arsonists, until, lo, his book happily uncovered it. This latest shoddy effort demonstrates that Banneker's very real achievements will never rise above the need to exaggerate them for modern consumption. I cannot but wonder what a man of Banneker's intelligence, modesty, enormous patience, and unwavering insistence on accuracy would think of that.

R.I.C.

Correction

In the summer 2001 issue of this journal, we incorrectly spelled the name of Charles Belfoure, co-author with Mary Ellen Hayward of *The Baltimore Rowhouse.* We greatly regret the error.

The Transported Convict Women of Colonial Maryland, 1718–1776

EDITH ZIEGLER

In March 1718, as a response to what it perceived to be rising rates in lawlessness and criminal activity, the British Parliament passed legislation which established transportation to the colonies as a punishment for a vast range of formerly capital offences.[1] This measure, together with pre-existing arrangements for capital reprieves upon condition of transportation meant that, by the time of the Declaration of Independence, some fifty thousand convicts had been forcibly banished to North America.[2] At least 3,420 of these were women who can be identified as having served (or been destined to serve) their sentences in Maryland (though the actual number was almost certainly much greater).[3]

The entire historiography of British convicts in colonial America is quite small overall. In the last 120 years or so there have been three or four books on transportation, a limited number of journal articles, and a few paragraphs or pages in general histories or in those concerned with a relevant subject such as tobacco production.[4] None of this writing has addressed the subject of women directly. Instead women have been included as a subset of principally male accounts and interpretations.[5] This has tended to marginalize (and thus trivialize) the women's experiences. Being a particular type of indentured servant (their shippers were granted a saleable property in their labor), the convict women have also been enveloped in this larger categorization.[6]

However, whilst the experiences of the convict women in Maryland may not have differed much from those of other bound female laborers (or other dependent members of society lacking economic status), their criminal origins, the wholly involuntary nature of their circumstances, and their stigmatization as mere human commodities mean they are deserving of separate attention from historians, despite the paucity or patchy nature of the source material available. While much of the documentary record is unsatisfactory, by carefully piecing together the information that is extant (including some minor individual narratives) and considering this in the context of the social, cultural, and economic world inhabited by the women, their historical experiences can be brought into sharper focus.[7]

Who were these women, what characteristics did they share and what had they done to deserve their exile from home, family, and community on the other side of the Atlantic? First, they were young; 70 percent of those whose ages are

The author is an American History graduate from the University of New England in Australia. This article is based on her master's dissertation.

known were less than thirty. Some were hardly women at all; 17 percent were less than twenty.[8] When a census was taken in Maryland in 1755, 5 percent of the then-serving convict women were under sixteen.[9] More than two-thirds were named Mary, Elizabeth, Anne, or Sarah.

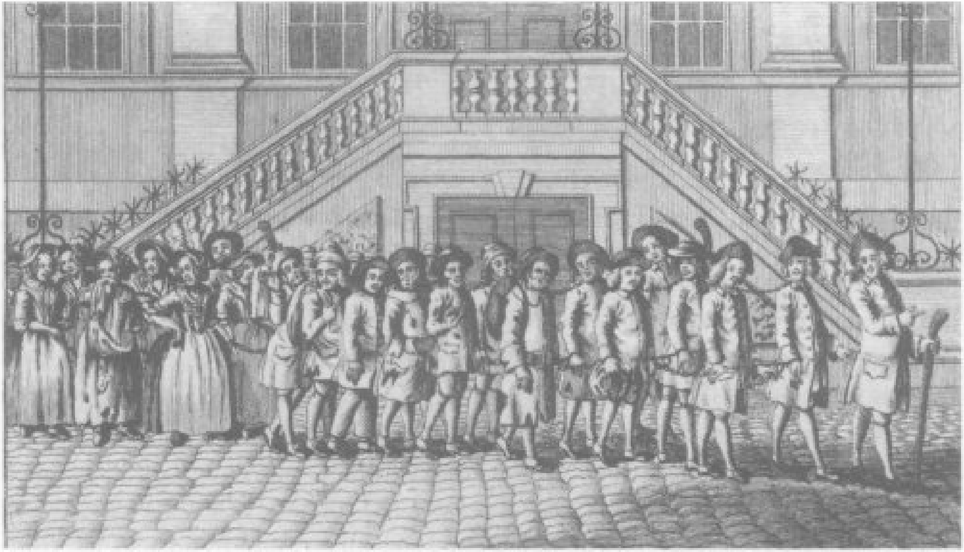
Of those whose marital status was recorded, 65 percent were married. Their husbands were mostly skilled tradesmen—blacksmiths, carpenters, flax-dressers, hoopers, malt-grinders, weavers, wheelwrights, wool-combers. Some women were married to soldiers or sailors. One was married to a schoolmaster and another to a clerk. The husbands of country women were often just described as "yeoman."[10]

Twenty-eight percent of the women whose marital status was recorded were single and 7 percent were widows. Nine percent of all the transported women had an alias that was not just a pejorative nickname indicating a woman of low repute (such as "Black Moll") and probably denoted a common law marriage: such a one was Sarah Clayton who was transported in 1740 for stealing a shirt. She was described as "a spinster alias wife of John Hughes."[11]

Many of the women were mothers, some recently so. Ester Hampton, described as "wife of William of Sawbridgworth and Great Hadham, Yeoman," was sentenced to death in Hertfordshire but, after "pleading her belly," was reprieved in July 1730. Sarah, her daughter, was subsequently born in Hertford Gaol and Ester was transported in December 1731. Ann Newbert was sentenced in Shropshire in 1759 for "stealing at Wellington" and was ordered to be transported "one month after her delivery."[12] The contractors who shipped convicts to America did not want women encumbered with babies on board their vessels nor to risk their sales appeal upon arrival.

The anguish felt by some women at the thought of leaving behind their children and families was terrible. When Ann Blackerby was sentenced she cried out to the court, "my curse and God's curse go with ye, and the prayers of my children fall upon ye." Their pain can also be detected in the petitions some addressed to successive Hanoverian kings and their ministers. In 1724, Mary Earland, a farmer's daughter incarcerated in the county jail of Devon, addressed a plea to the Duke of Newcastle in which she stated she was the victim of a "malicious prosecution" for a theft she did not commit and had been sentenced "for want of proper assistance having neither counsel nor Attorney to act for her." She described herself as "a young widow and the mother of a child not two years old" who would become a charge on the parish because her father "being upwards of sixty years of age" was unable to care for it. Her distraught father "attended his Lordship from the remotest part of Devonshire on his daughter's behalf" because "her misfortune was heartbreaking to him." The Duke was unmoved; Mary Earland was transported.

In 1746, Mary Brown, a felon with a fourteen-year sentence for "a small theft under the value of thirty shillings," was also fearful for her five children who, she



Newgate, London. Thousands of England's women prisoners served their time in the Maryland colony during the middle years of the eighteenth century. Opening image is a detail from the one above, "Representation of the Transports going from Newgate to take Waters at Blackfriars" (J. L. Rayner and G. T. Crook, editors, The Complete Newgate Calendar *[London: Privately printed for the Navarre Society, 1926].)*

said, would be deprived "by her transportation as if she had actually been Executed." Her petition was unsuccessful and she was transported.[13]

More than 78 percent of the women were sentenced in London, Middlesex, or Surrey, but many may only have been recent arrivals in the capital, seeking (but not finding) the stability they had lost as Britain's traditional rural economy was eroded by *inter alia* Enclosure Acts, the onset of the Industrial Revolution and the criminalization of longstanding customary practices such as the right to trap game on common land and the right to gather forest underwood or chips of coal for fuel.[14] Some of the women who remained in the country were caught by the new restrictions: in 1722, Hannah Bartlett of Hampshire was transported for stealing gamecock; in 1774, Ann Bragg of Durham was transported for stealing coal.[15]

The largest number of the women were probably servants or workers in the needle trades—these occupations were the most common of those occasionally noted in the court records—and their crimes were congruent with their status.[16] Nearly 70 percent of those whose crimes were listed were sentenced for stealing (largely clothing or clothing fabrics plus household items) and less than 4 percent for violent crimes such as arson, murder, and robbery. While many of their crimes were the banal and opportunistic offences of poverty (the level of which fluctuated in accordance with the prevailing economic environment), a few women plied their avocation with some color. In 1755, Mary Smith was transported for

This Day the Snow *Mary*, Capt. *Brown*, (the late Commander *John Ramſay* having died on the Paſſage,) arrived in 9 Weeks from *London*, with 52 Felons.

Annapolis merchant David Ross advertised his convict servant sale, below, the same day his cargo of felons arrived from London. (Maryland Gazette, *October 26, 1748.)*

life for stealing twenty-four guineas from a person near Snowhill "while at the same time insinuating to him that he would be fortunate and exceeding rich in three hours time." Mary White alias Scamp was transported for obtaining goods by falsely pretending to know where treasure was buried.[17]

Professional criminals were also represented. In the thriving London underworld (which had its own customs, language, and hierarchy) some women were directly involved—as receivers of stolen goods, as forgers and fraudsters, as "coiners" (i.e., counterfeiters), as thieves, as shoplifters and as pickpockets—and women were transported for all of these activities.[18] An indeterminate number were thoroughly unpleasant; Sarah Bibby was a sort of female Fagin who helped recruit waifs and strays for a den of thieves in which children were trained up for a life of crime.[19]

After consignment to the custody of shipping contractors (often former slavers who had diversified into the lucrative convict trade), the women suffered a hazardous Atlantic crossing during which they were stowed in the holds of leaking vessels or in the suffocating area below the main deck. They were often "abused and insulted" (raped and harassed) by men on board the ship. Some gave birth attended only by the ship's surgeon, who might be an inexperienced young man in his early twenties.[20] Up to 10 percent of them regularly died at sea of diseases such as scurvy, smallpox, and typhus.[21] Those who did reach Maryland were then sold for between £8 and £10 under much the same procedures which applied to slaves

JUST IMPORTED,
In the Snow MARY, *from* LONDON,

A Parcel of Servants, conſiſting of Men, Women, and Boys, for the Term of Seven Years; who will be expoſed to Sale on the 28th Inſtant, at Eleven of the Clock (and not before), on board the ſaid Snow lying in *Severn* River, for Bills of Exchange, Paper Currency, or ready Tobacco, by

DAVID ROSS.

or livestock.[22] Only when the sale was concluded did the women actually begin their seven- or fourteen-year sentences despite the time that had elapsed since their trials.[23]

Some women had been pre-ordered. In November 1774, Thomas Smyth wrote to one of the contractors, James Cheston, asking whether, when his (Cheston's) ship arrived from Bristol, he could choose a woman to be "a cook and manager for my shipyard" who would "take provision after it was given out to her — one from the country would be most probable to suit me best."[24] Smyth was duly sold Elizabeth Smith from Worcestershire when the *William* arrived in December 1774. Other women, such as Ann Bolton and Judith Williams who arrived on the *Isabella* in July 1775, were sold to a type of convict wholesaler called "soul drivers." These women were destined for buyers in the back country and would be herded there on foot "like a parcel of sheep."[25]

Sale records survive for twenty-seven women from the *Margaret,* which arrived in Annapolis from London in September 1719, and a number of the buyers can be identified in land records or because they were of some colonial significance.[26] A profile of these will indicate the sorts of environments in which the women from this ship would serve out their sentences.

Thomazin Elby was sold to Dr. Charles Carroll, the eminent physician, planter, and businessman who became one of the wealthiest men in Maryland as well as one of its leading citizens. Carroll bought convicts on several occasions from 1719 onward. Sarah Naggs was sold to Peter Galloway, a member of the Quaker family that towered over the Western Shore's mercantile community. Seven women were sold to Patrick Sympson and William Black of London Town who were partners, planter/merchants, and expediters of the Chesapeake tobacco consignment system. Joseph Pettibone, who bought Elizabeth Dobbs, was a merchant on a smaller scale. John Welch and Daniel Carter, the buyers of Winifred Haynes and Martha Barker, respectively, were both planters. The names of most of the other *Margaret* purchasers are not so easily traceable, although the "Gustavus Hesseline" to whom Elizabeth Symonds was sold may or may not have been Gustavus Hesselius, the well-known artist then practicing in Maryland.[27]

Other sources reveal convict women were bought by small businessmen (a tailor, a butcher, a miller, a surveyor, and a wigmaker were some of those who advertised for runaway women in the *Maryland Gazette*), by widows, by "gentlemen," by operators of iron works, and even by a magistrate.[28]

While buyers of convict women represented a variety of occupational and income groups and included some who owned significant numbers of slaves, the largest single number of purchasers were not wealthy but planters with estates that would have a probate value of between £100 and £500. Some may have been former convicts themselves.[29] Their economic circumstances were often precarious and highly susceptible to the cyclical downturns caused by Maryland's over-

dependence on a single commercial crop (tobacco). They could not afford to buy labor unless this would assist them measurably to improve tobacco yields and thus help them to maintain a toe-hold in the colonial economy.[30]

These growers had no qualms about putting women to work in their fields for, despite the possibility of pregnancy, all white female servants had one very special advantage in Maryland at this time: unlike men and slave women, they were not "taxable" and, by employing them, a planter could maximize his production of tobacco whilst minimizing his excise payments. This was allegedly one reason for the over-production of substandard leaf which led to poor returns. In the 1720s, after a long slump in tobacco prices, there were two attempts to improve leaf quality (and prices) by limiting the amount of tobacco each planter could produce for every taxable he owned. On both occasions the question of whether women servants would continue to be exempted was considered. The first act did not pass and the second was disallowed by the proprietor. Eventually, in the 1740s, tobacco quality was raised by means of pre-shipment inspection rather than by limiting cultivation, and women continued to be bought to work in the fields.[31]

Because convict women were required solely for their labor, planters appear to have given no thought to whether they might have any needs of their own, for example, compatible fellow workers of the same age and/or gender who might offer some mutual support and companionship. Sometimes convicts were the only white workers on the plantations where they served and, at a time when it suited masters to foster racial prejudice for the purpose of social and sexual control, the sharing of a common lot with slaves as field hands was a source of grievance to some convicts—"Nay many Neagroes are better used," complained one woman. Another convict, after returning to London, cautioned potential wrongdoers lest they should end up going "among the Negroes to work at the hoe/ in distant countries void of all relief/ sold for a slave because you prov'd a thief."[32]

Even when convicts did have other white co-workers they could not always communicate with them. Many indentured servants were from places such as Germany, and those from Britain and Ireland frequently had heavy accents or spoke in regional dialects. They were even said to have "different habits and different modes of thinking." Advertisements for runaways often stated the servant was "a Highlander who speaks broken English" or was "born in the west of England and speaks bad English."[33] Some of those parts of rural Maryland where tobacco was grown two and a half centuries ago—for example, near the Sassafras River in Cecil County—are even today relatively remote areas of farmland and forest. It is not hard to envision how isolated the convict women must have been on the plantations and how bewildering those from the busy metropolis of eighteenth-century London must have found their new lives.

Before the women could become fully productive, they had to become what the colonists called "seasoned." This meant suffering and recovering from a bout

of malaria or "ague and fever," which was endemic on both shores, particularly in August and September, owing to "the vast multitudes of mosquitoes" which had not yet been eliminated from the region. There were also other risks. In 1720, in one of his regular reports to the Board of Trade and Plantations in London, Governor Hart stated: "The climate is unhealthy, especially to strangers occasioned by the excessive heat in summer and extreme cold in winter; the vernal and autumnal quarters are attended with fevers, plurisies, etc."[34]

Some women died. Elizabeth Field arrived in Maryland on the *Rappahannock Merchant* in June 1727 to serve a fourteen-year sentence and was dead by October of the same year. Sometimes the women who survived "seasoning" were weakened and less able to withstand other diseases such as dysentery and influenza or "distempers" that were a year-round phenomenon. Another official report stated "white servants lose much of their time by sickness, which still increases the expense."[35] The scarcity of experienced medical practitioners and the distance from towns found some Chesapeake planters assuming the role of doctor to their families and servants, confident in their ability to make diagnoses and apply remedies. For malaria they purged and bled the patient which, though it may have been in accordance with contemporary practice, was possibly the worst thing they could have done when one of the symptoms of malaria is anemia. Similarly, for influenza (where the risk of dehydration must be carefully managed) they gave ipecacuanha or tartar water as an emetic to "induce the vomits" as one planter put it.[36]

Although many convict women were assigned to field work, the most fortunate (including those who worked for town-dwellers) became kitchen maids, cooks, and house servants. A London convict, James Revel, wrote a long verse narrative of his Chesapeake experiences in which he noted that his master had "four transport women in the house, to wait upon his daughter and his spouse."[37] Typically such servants had to assist their mistresses with making clothes, spinning, sewing, and knitting. As well (and if the equipment was available), they were responsible for milking, churning butter, and making cheese. Similarly, they had to assist with such tasks as tending the kitchen garden, which was necessary for self-sufficiency. Here were grown (according to season) fresh vegetables such as beans and peas, cabbages, carrots, corn, onions, and squash. Any surplus was dried for winter consumption. Servants also assisted in raising grain crops, principally Indian corn (maize), wheat and oats, which contributed the cereal component of the planter diet (bread, hominy and mush).[38]

The material circumstances of the convict women's lives can be convincingly established by archaeological evidence and by examining the exhaustive estate inventories and accounts in Maryland's probate records in which the appraisers overlooked nothing. Colonial kitchen equipment might include peels and piggins, churns and querns, crocks and cranes, Dutch ovens and roasting kitchens, skillets,

trivets, spiders, and spits. Although the names of several of these items are no longer familiar, most were associated with cooking or heating water over an open fire that burned all year round regardless of Maryland's summer heat. Actually, a kitchen with these utensils would have been well equipped. In one inventory in which two servants (including convict Barbara Black) comprised 21 percent of the entire estate of £58/13/6, they were listed along with four pots, two pewter dishes, three pans, a small looking glass, and two spinning wheels. Some of the poorer households boasted nothing more than a single pot or pan for braising meat (principally pork) or making stews.[39]

As estate values ascend (particularly into the brackets representing the planters most likely to purchase convicts), inventories indicate lives which, though they may have had a higher level of material comfort, were nevertheless frugal and indebted. Not much suggests the convict women in these households were provided for in any meaningful way. They appear to have sought their rest in spare corners of the planters' houses, beside the hearth or in the adjacent stables.[40]

The only known surviving letter from a female indentured servant who was possibly a convict was written in September 1756 by Elizabeth Sprigs, a servant to Richard Cross, one of four sons of a planter family with landholdings near Baltimore called Cross's Park and Cross's Lot. The letter is written to her father in London and says, after an apology for "having offended in the highest degree":

> O dear Father, belive what I am going to relate the words of truth and sincerity, and Ballance my former bad Conduct to my sufferings here, and then I am sure you'll pitty your Destress Daughter. What we unfortunat English People suffer here is beyond the probibility of you in England to Conceive, let it suffice that I one of the unhappy Number, am toiling almost Day and Night, and very often in the Horses druggery, with only this comfort, that you Bitch you do not halfe enough, and then tied up and whipp'd to that Degree that you'd not serve an Annimal, scarce any thing but Indian Corn and Salt to eat and that even begrudged nay many Neagroes are better used, almost naked no shoes nor stockings to wear, and the comfort after slaving dureing Masters pleasure, what rest we can get is to rap ourselves up in a Blanket and ly upon the Ground, this is the deplorable Condition your poor Betty endures, and now I beg if you have any Bowels of Compassion left show it by sending me some Relief, Clothing is the principal thing wanting, which if you should condiscend to, may easely send them to me by any of the ships bound to Baltimore Town Patapsco River Maryland, and give me leave to conclude in Duty to you and Uncles and Aunts, and Respect to all Friends.[41]

By itself, Elizabeth Sprigs's letter is only evidence of the unhappy circumstances of one abused young woman on a marginal plantation. However, the

RAN away this Morning from *Dr. Charles Carroll*, in the City of *Annapolis*, a Convict Servant Woman, imported in the Ship *Mary*, *Lewis Brown* Commander, in *October* laſt, by the Name of *Mary Rider*. She is a tall Woman, ſomewhat round of one Shoulder, has very dark Hair, and grey Eyes, but is of a Mulatto Complexion, much browner than common for Perſons of *Engliſh* Birth. She had on a new brown and white Bird-eye Stuff Gown, a dark brown Petticoat, and a white Flannel one, blue Stockings with whitiſh Clocks, low-heel'd Shoes, a good *Iriſh* Linnen Shift and Apron, a Muſlin Hood and Cap with an Edging, pretends to be a Sempſtreſs, and is much given to Drunkenneſs and taking Snuff; talks plauſibly, and good *Engliſh*.

Whoever ſecures the ſaid Servant, and brings her to the ſaid *Carroll* at *Annapolis*, ſhall have Twenty Shillings beſides what the Law allows, if taken within ten Miles of *Annapolis*; if more, reaſonable Satiſfaction beſide for Trouble and Charges; paid by C. CARROLL.

When Mary Rider/Ryder ran away from Charles Carroll in 1749 he posted a reward for her return. The detailed description of her physical characteristics, clothing, and personal habits is typical in this pre-photography era. (Maryland Gazette, *April 19, 1749.)*

observations of several contemporaries suggest her experience was actually common, if not standard. Father Joseph Mosley, a Jesuit missionary who was stationed for many years at White Marsh in Prince George's County and then later at Tuckahoe in Talbot County, wrote that servants had "no choice of masters but the highest bidder at publick sale carrys them off to be used at his mercy, without any redress at law." He went on to describe these masters as being "in general cruel, barbarous and unmerciful."[42]

William Eddis, an observant Englishman who worked in Annapolis in the years leading up to the War of Independence, wrote home in September 1770 to describe aspects of colonial life including the different forms of bound labor. He noted: "Negroes, being a property for life, are almost in every instance under more comfortable circumstances than the miserable European over whom the rigid planter exercises an inflexible severity."[43]

The reasons for this severity are not hard to gauge. Many planters had a difficult life themselves and were unlikely to have much leftover sympathy for the hardship of others. These masters also had "a prepossession in many cases" that the convicts were "supposed to be receiving their just reward due to repeated

offences." On plantations where all the labor was bound and some was bound in perpetuity, the likelihood that a master's treatment would vary greatly between indentured servants, convicts, and slaves was slight. If anything, slaves came off best because they had a permanent asset value, and indentured servants worst because, as William Eddis said, "their owners too generally conceive an opinion that the difference is merely nominal between the indented servant and the convicted felon."[44]

The control of women's sexual behavior was crucial to the security of all labor arrangements, particularly those intended to make plantations more productive. Theoretically, servitude imposed a condition of celibacy; pregnancy was punished because it threatened a planter's livelihood. However, because sexual activity was at least one way in which the convict women might seek pleasure or emotional comfort, indictments and trials for "bastardy" are recorded quite frequently in Maryland's court proceedings. Some women were indicted on multiple occasions, such as Hannah Howard who was transported in 1727. She was a servant to John Swynard when she was tried for bastardy in August 1729 and again in August 1733.[45]

Those women who sought pleasure or comfort with the men they were most likely to come into contact with—their masters' slaves—combined illicit sexual activity with racial taboos and were prosecuted for the crime of "mulatto bastardy." In Kent County, Ann Farthing, Edith Street, and Sarah Summers were so convicted and the same fate befell Charles County convicts, Ann Nelson, Ann Parrot, Maria Newman, and Sarah Stapleton. This "crime" could entail a woman being ordered to serve her master for another seven years after the expiration of her first term of servitude and having her child sold (proceeds to the county) to serve until the age of thirty-one years. She would be fined and, if unable to pay, might be ordered to be whipped "until the blood appears." Margaret Lewis, who was transported in 1731, was a servant of Thomas Hands in Anne Arundel County when charged with "bastardy and miscegenation" in 1741. She was ordered to serve Hands for an additional twelve months and then to serve a further seven years to satisfy the county court.[46] Unlike slave children, who at least represented potential long-term profits for their masters, the illegitimate children of female convicts just brought added expense. Only masters could give permission for women to marry during their service (successful labor arrangements could not allow the competing authorities of master and husband), whilst Maryland law proscribed marriage between whites and Negroes.

As well as the affection they might seek themselves, some women probably suffered unsought sexual attention from their masters, their masters' sons, and from fellow servants. A Virginia planter, William Byrd, whose diaries survive for the years 1709–1712 and 1739–1741, frequently recorded how he and his companions took advantage of female servants and other women who were socially and

racially distant from themselves.[47] In view of the controlling nature of male influence in the households of this period, Byrd is likely to have had counterparts in Maryland.

Among the convicts there were also female homosexuals. In August 1751 a London periodical, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, reported the transportation to America of "an impostress dressed in man's apparel who had married seven wives. The first six being virgins were deceived by artifice, but the seventh, a widow, soon discovered her bedfellow."[48]

The lives of servants and rural laborers were hard on both sides of the Atlantic during the eighteenth century, but it was the lack of familial support and sympathetic companionship that made the lot of the convict women so difficult. Some ran off seeking to escape the unremitting and sometimes cruel exploitation of their situation. In the years between 1728 and 1773, the *Maryland Gazette* and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* carried nearly sixty advertisements for convict women who had run away from Maryland masters. These appeared with others for runaway indentured servants and slaves, often next to those for lost horses and strayed cows.[49]

The information in these advertisements not only invests names with personal characteristics but assists the process by which various aspects of the women's lives can be discovered and shows how they asserted their individuality and humanity in spite of their unpromising circumstances. As well, the descriptions given over many years are consistent enough to allow the reasonable inference to be drawn that these women were a representative sample. This is in spite of the fact that they only comprised less than 2 percent of the number of women known to have been transported to Maryland. However, it should be noted that the *Maryland Gazette* was not published between 1735 and 1745, and probably not all runaways were advertised (it may not have been worth offering a reward for women who were of less value than male convicts). Also some runaways may have returned before their owner placed an advertisement, and some women may have wanted to run away but did not dare do so without a male protector.[50]

At a time when skirts and sleeves were long, the physical details mentioned in these advertisements suggest the women had been closely, perhaps intimately, observed by their owners. Sarah Davis' master noted she had many scars on her back from being whipped severely by a previous owner; Elizabeth Piercy was described as "missing the toe next to her great toe"; Isabella Pierce's owner mentioned that she would be found to have large scars on her ankles "if examined." Three of the advertisers shamelessly noted that their servants (including eighteen-year-old Margaret Tasker, who had only one eye) were wearing iron collars or horse fetters and chains.[51]

Not surprisingly the appearance of these women, who were often from a background of socio-economic deprivation and had suffered prison and transporta-

RAN away from the Subſcriber, living in *Annapolis*, on the 23d of ~~this Inſtant~~ *May*, a Convict Servant Woman, named *Hannah Boyer*, about 23 or 24 Years of Age, pitted much with the Small Pox, has a Scar in one of her Eye Brows, not very tall, but a very ſtrong, freſh coloured, robuſt, maſculine Wench. She had on and took with her, a blue Jacket, an old whitiſh Cloak, a brown Petticoat, a double Mobb, an Oſnabrigs Shift, a ſmall ſtriped check'd Apron, a Plaid Petticoat, and Night Gown, no Shoes nor Stockings; but without doubt will change her Cloathing; ſhe had a Horſe Lock and Chain on one of her Legs. Whoever takes up the ſaid Servant, and brings her home, ſhall have Twenty Shillings Reward, if taken in *Annapolis*; if taken 10 Miles from home, Twenty Shillings Reward, beſides what the Law allows, paid by

Daniel Wells.

Daniel Wells placed this notice when Hannah Boyer ran away from him with a "horse lock and chain on one of her legs." (Maryland Gazette, *May 28, 1752.)*

tion, does not sound very prepossessing. Adjectives such as "round shouldered," "thin visaged," "pot-bellied," "bloated under the eyes," "scarred," "stooped," "swarthy," "pitted with smallpox," and so on were all used. Nothing went unrecorded, even a "remarkable mole" on the cheek of Mary Brady.[52]

Similarly, no detail of the women's apparel was overlooked down to the pattern on their gowns. Clothing was invariably described as being made of cotton, linen, or wool though most of the fabrics are no longer familiar—"osnabrig" ("oznaburg"), "holland," "shalloon," "kersey," "calamanco," "camblet." Dictionary definitions usually mention "coarse," "hard wearing," "sturdy," "plain weave," and so on, indicating the women took off in their work clothes (probably their only clothes). The garments in which they escaped or took with them generally included a linen shift (a long, loose blouse with a drawstring neck), a petticoat (at that time an outer skirt and usually quilted), an apron, a gown, a cap or bonnet,

yarn hose and "country made cloth shoes," though twenty-three-year-old Hannah Boyer, who wore a horse lock and chain, had no shoes at all. Sometimes a cloak, a bedgown, and a handkerchief were also mentioned. The Irishwoman, Mary Barrington, was unlikely to have escaped attention with her "red hair," "red mantle," "red stockings," and a gown printed with "blue and red flowers."[53]

Clothes were an indication of status and occupation, gentility or servility, and servants wearing clothes other than those described would be suspected of theft. But even these simple garments could be a vehicle for individual expression. Slave women, who were similarly clothed, artfully mended their skirts and shifts with materials of clashing colors and patterns or made headdresses to assert their cultural identity. Convict servants may have copied their slave colleagues for reasons that were not dissimilar; poverty did not create many opportunities for adornment. The advertisement for Anne Griffith stated she was wearing a dress that was "patched in the body with lighter stuff," i.e., wool. Elizabeth Lloyd wore a shift that was "mended with old shirts." Nancy Partington wore "a bonnet set round with sticks," Catherine O'Bryan had a cap that was "very much ruffled," and Elizabeth Crowder was thought to be decked out in a "tower," or wig.[54]

Some women fled to seek love and companionship. Anne Griffith took off for Philadelphia with her baby in August 1767 to join her husband, "though she has none" the advertiser commented snidely. Two runaways were "great with child" when they left their plantations and several went away with their actual husbands or male fellow servants — "*induced* to do so" sniffed one master. Some, such as Elizabeth Willoughby, stole horses to make their escape.[55]

Margaret Cane, who had been so badly burned as a child that her fingers "lay in the palm of her left hand" may have just run off to escape the tedium of her existence. Her owner, Benjamin Philpott, noted "she is fond of drink and likes sailors' company." He forewarned the masters of ships they would carry her off "at their peril."[56]

Sarah Knox, and an "Elizabeth" who ran off in 1758 were believed to be trying to pass themselves off as soldiers. Knox had previously "been in the army for several years in Flanders and had fought at Culloden." Her owner commented, "she may be the same woman recently advertised in Chester County Pennsylvania who was pretending to be Doctor Charles Hamilton." When her gender was discovered "she said her name was Charlotte Hamilton." Dressing in "man's apparel" was not an infrequent runaway disguise. A more common ruse was to assume the identity of free servants.[57]

Sarah Wilson was too ambitious in the identity she assumed and overplayed her hand in seeking to escape from her servitude. She was already known as a "notorious imposter" or confidence trickster when she arrived in Maryland in 1771, having been reprieved from a death sentence for stealing jewels in the Royal Apartments. Her employer, a Miss Vernon, who was a maid-of-honor to Queen

Charlotte, had apparently interceded on her behalf. After a short time in Maryland, Sarah Wilson ran off. She reappeared in South Carolina, where she plausibly passed herself off as "Princess Susanna Carolina Matilda" (supposedly the Queen's sister). Invited to the homes of the gentry, she promised governmental and military preferments in return for which she extracted substantial loans. Although some cautious people suspected she was a fraud, it was not until a runaway advertisement appeared, followed by a messenger from her plantation master, who "raised a hue and cry for her serene highness," that the game was up. She was then "reduced to her former slavery."[58]

Nancy Partington and Mary Price did not have the flair to pose as princesses. Their owners described them respectively as having "a down look" and a "sour, down look." That seems reasonable enough. In Maryland, captured runaways had to serve an additional ten days for every day of absence. This was the severest penalty for absconding in any of the colonies.[59]

The rewards offered "above what the law allows" for the return of runaways varied from twenty shillings to £3 or the equivalent, presumably to reflect their residual value. For Sarah Davis the advertiser noted he would pay ten shillings and "no greater reward will be given it being the full worth of her when taken." The mention of worth provides a reminder that the women were effectively a chattel with an assessable value, like that of slaves. Women were listed in wills and in the estate inventories of their masters. Three examples show the uncertainty of this saleable and tradable existence. Mary Wall, transported on the *Forward* in 1726 and sold to Patrick Sympson, was listed in Saldine Eagle's inventory assessed two years later; Margaret Pew, transported on the *Supply* in 1726, was listed in Amos Garrett's inventory assessed in August 1729; Barbara Black of Baltimore County, transported from Middlesex in April 1733, was listed in the inventory of William Wood in 1736.[60]

Other women were lent out to neighbors and advertised for sale when their masters wished to dispose of them. Thus John Brice advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* of March 28, 1765,"To be sold: A convict woman who has near seven years to serve. She can sew, wash and iron very well, is a sober and exceedingly handy woman. Enquire at the Printing House." The unnamed woman was not snapped up. The advertisement appeared twelve times over the next three months. Servants not "disposed of" through advertisements could be "exposed to public vendue."[61] Some women were sold several times. Martha Anderson alias Blacklock, who arrived from England in 1722, was owned by Sarah James in 1728. In August 1729 she was sold to Nicholas Day for seven months. In March 1730, Day sold her to John Higginson and, in November 1733 when she was reported as being a runaway, she was owned by Henry Butler.[62]

Servants in Maryland had the right to petition the courts for relief from excessively harsh treatment from their masters though convicts occupied a somewhat

ambivalent status in regard to the validity of their evidence. However, Elizabeth Whitney, who had been transported in May 1740, brought an action against her master, William Mattingly of Baltimore County, for abusing her. The charge was proved and in March 1742 he was duly fined. Similarly, in 1728 Martha Anderson brought some type of complaint against her mistress, Sarah James, though this may not have proceeded to court.[63]

There was a strong disincentive for any servant to bring an action for abuse. Justices were mindful that owners were entitled to benefit from their investment and, as convict servants were regarded as an inherent social impurity anyway, a petitioner might receive a further penalty if she were perceived to be lying. In 1747 the *Maryland Gazette* reported on the suicide of a male convict called Elisha Williams and editorialized that "ill usage" was the "cause of many servants making an end of themselves."[64]

The labor performed by convict field workers meant economic survival for some planters, whose time was money. Yet some servants found ways of amusing themselves off the plantation. Margaret Cane would not have been the only woman who enjoyed a drink and fraternizing with sailors. A huge fleet of English ships arrived each October or November to collect the tobacco harvest, and their captains remained in the Chesapeake area probing its many estuaries until their ships were fully laden. Not infrequently tobacco collection held the vessels over until the following summer. Where there were settlements there were taverns where good beer was to be had as well as rum and apple cider. Some convicts played musical instruments, as did the husband of Mary Jackson, who possessed a set of bagpipes.[65] However, at a time when the home was regarded as the usual arena for women, those who ventured into male spaces such as taverns confirmed the marginality of their status.

Carville Earle, in a detailed study of All Hallows Parish in Anne Arundel County from 1650 to 1769, has shown how the rhythms of tobacco production conveniently matched the traditional Christian calendar, periods of sacred observance coinciding neatly with slack times for planters. Thus Whitsun, Easter, and Christmas were all celebrated both as Holy Days and, in the modern sense, as holidays. Quakers, who were of sober habits, actually complained that, when they held meetings at these times, they had to endure a "great concourse of idle and profligate white people and great crowds of Negroes that assemble together . . . drinking to excess and behaving in a riotous and turbulent manner."[66]

Although Sunday was observed as a rest day and "Grinding corn on the Sabbath" could be cause for indictment by a grand jury, James Revel claimed convicts had to attend to their own gardens on Sundays. White parish residents were expected to attend church, although there is no evidence that convict women did so. Those who were Irish were mostly Catholic, and although captains of incoming ships had to swear they were not bringing "papists" into Maryland on penalty of

paying a fine, it is clear from Father Mosley's accounts of his life in Maryland that he spent much of his time ministering to the needs of a large Catholic population. This certainly included indentured servants and probably convict servants also. Some of the convict women bore names which suggest they were Jewish (for example, Ann Abraham, Rachael Isaacs alias Jacobs, Sarah Jacobs, and Susan Moses), but it is not known whether they either practiced or were allowed to practice their faith.[67]

Throughout the entire transportation period there was a great deal of expressed hostility to the convict trade, and the Maryland Assembly made a number of attempts to regulate it more closely owing to the colonists' fear of disease and mayhem.[68] Yet the county court records which survive appear to show that the fear of increased crime, particularly in respect of women, was largely unfounded. Following their arrival, it seems few convict women were actually ever prosecuted for committing felonies or misdemeanors, and the vast majority of female convictions related to sexual transgressions.[69]

So what happened to the convict women when they had completed their sentences? It was once believed that all convicts in Maryland returned either to Britain or Ireland after they had served their terms and were accepted back into their families only "to renew their former malpractices" as William Eddis put it. Certainly some women such as Mary Godson, Alice Walker, and Elizabeth Lawrence were transported on more than one occasion. Eddis also claimed that if "they had imbibed habits of modesty and industry" the convicts removed "to a distant situation where they may hope to remain unknown, and be enabled to pursue with credit every possible method of becoming useful members of society." In 1765, a French traveler seemed to confirm this. In a letter home from Edenton, North Carolina he wrote, "this province is the asylum of the convicts that have served their time in Virginia and Maryland. When at liberty they all (or great part) come to this part where they are not known and settle here."[70]

Many of the convict women neither returned to Britain nor moved away. Recent research into probate, land, and other records by genealogists shows that some of the convicts who served their time in Maryland remained in the same counties where they had served their sentences. They may have wanted to be with or near the children to whom they had given birth and who were, if mulattos (like the children of Mary Holmes), still the property of their former masters until the age of thirty-one or, if white (like the children of Alice Carrington), bound to their masters (or a court designate) until the age of sixteen (for girls) and twenty-one (for boys).[71]

At the end of their sentences some of the women found their new freedom was the only thing they possessed and, with few options available to them in a largely wageless labor market, indentured themselves for additional terms of up to seven years to their former masters, usually as domestic servants. Although domestic

Former convicts John Dunnick and Mary Passmore married in 1742 and stayed in Maryland after completing their terms of service. (St. John's Parish Register. Maryland Historical Society.)

service certainly provided these women with food and shelter, being a permanent, twenty-four hour a day occupation, it effectively denied them the opportunity to make a family of their own.[72]

Some of the women who did have marketable skills set themselves up in business. In 1746, Elizabeth Crowder was advertised as a runaway by her mistress, Sarah Monro. She must have completed her sentence during the next twelve months because, on October 28, 1747, she placed the following advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette.*

> ELIZABETH CROWDER - QUILTER
> (Who lately lived with Mrs Carter in Annapolis)
> Is removed to Mr Carroll's Quarter about two miles from town where she performs all sorts of quilting in the best manner and at the most reasonable rates: good petticoats for eight and ten shillings a piece and coarse petticoats for six shillings. Whoever may have occasion to employ her may depend on being faithfully served by
> Your humble servant
> Elizabeth Crowder.[73]

Other women married. By cross-referencing a sample of 5 percent of the convict women with records of marriages contracted in Maryland between 1730 and 1777, it can be deduced that possibly around 10 percent of convict women married within the province during this period, some to fellow convict servants.[74] Mary Passmore (transported in April 1733) wed John Dunnick (transported in 1737) at St John's Parish, Baltimore County, in December 1742.[75] However, firmly establishing the number who married is difficult without birth dates as some names are extremely common.

Many of the women who remained in Maryland were destined for obscurity, particularly those who were unable to marry. Some had started their sentences when they were no longer young (one was seventy-one when sentenced), and the subsequent years of toil meant their future employment prospects were poor. Some apparently just stayed on the plantation where they had served their term which, in effect, replaced the parish in accepting responsibility for unproductive, disabled, and unemployable members of the laboring class.[76] Others became a charge on the community where they lived. In 1753 each county in Maryland was

made an allowance for the support of the poor, who were frequently servants left to shift for themselves. Fourteen years later each county established an almshouse for this purpose.[77]

As well as the hostile voices raised from time to time against the convict trade, other more temperate observers approvingly recorded that the experience of servitude caused many convicts to reform. Edward Kimber, another contemporary observer, noted "the convicts that are imported here sometimes prove very worthy creatures and entirely forsake their former follies." Thomas Ringgold, who was a prominent citizen besides having a financial interest in the continuance of the convict trade, claimed "the rigid discipline of colonial laws and seven years' labor converted the greater part into respectable and self-supporting citizens."[78]

In 1782, J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur asked his famous question "What then is the American, this new man?" In the course of answering that question he wrote:

> What a strange compliment has our mother country paid to two of the finest provinces in America! England has entertained in that respect very mistaken ideas; what was intended as a punishment, is become the good fortune of several; many of those who have been transported as felons, are now rich, and strangers to the stings of those wants that urged them to violations of the law: they are become industrious, exemplary, and useful citizens.[79]

Despite their economic contribution, the convict women of Maryland[80] have largely been overlooked by history, either lumped in with male convicts or concealed within the larger category of "indentured servant." However, whether as "exemplary and useful citizens," as wives and mothers or, later on, as participants in the newly independent nation, the former convict women had compelling reasons for not drawing attention to their origins as "undesirables." Instead, it appears many were anxious to turn their backs on the past and their precarious and isolated experience as servants, to blend into the population without notice, to put down roots and, in time, to become the focal point of new, American-born families and kin networks.

NOTES

I would like to warmly thank Mr. Robert Barnes for his assistance to me in researching original material in the Maryland State Archives and elsewhere. I would also like to thank the editors of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for their helpful comments and suggestions.

1. This was 4 Geo. I, c. 11 commonly called the "Transportation Act." It was introduced into Parliament in December 1717 by the Solicitor General, William Thomson. Thomson was Recorder of London as well as Solicitor General and he had thus sat regularly as a judge at the Old Bailey. London had been particularly troubled by crime in the years after the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, and the special concern of the metropolis was recognized by the inclusion of all the members for the counties of Surrey and Middlesex and the City of London on the committee appointed to consider the bill.
2. A. Roger Ekirch, *Bound for America: The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies, 1718–1775* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 24–27.
3. The figure of 3,420 has been derived by counting all the women listed as being transported to Maryland in Peter W. Coldham, *The Complete Book of Emigrants in Bondage, 1614–1775* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1988), hereinafter *CBEB*, and Coldham, *Supplement to the Complete Book of Emigrants in Bondage, 1614–1775* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1992), hereinafter *CBEB (Supp.)*, supplemented by additional names or details in Coldham, *The King's Passengers to Maryland and Virginia* (2nd ed., Westminster: Willow Bend Books, 2000). This latter book includes runaway advertisements. The figure of 3,420 is short of the actual number transported because scarcely any women from Ireland and Scotland appear in Coldham's books (though more than one thousand Irish women may have been transported to Maryland alone). However, several runaway women were Irish and these have been included in the count. Also, arrival colony is not listed and cannot be established for nearly two thousand women's names. As well, some of the women destined for Maryland died on the passage across the Atlantic though thirty-three of those destined for Maryland who are specifically recorded as having "died on passage" are included in the total figure for demographic purposes.

   The tabular information (see note 18 below) on the women's crimes and the details of these, their ages, occupations, marital status, place of sentence, their transportation details, etc., were derived from the books by Peter Coldham cited above supplemented by information derived from contemporary periodicals (e.g., the *Historical Register*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Maryland Gazette*, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*), actual and abstracted Maryland records, and manuscripts in the Public Record Office at Kew, U.K. (hereinafter PRO).
4. The principal books on transportation and convict servants are Abbot Emerson Smith's 1947 book *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607–1776* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1971), A. Roger Ekirch, *Bound for America: The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), and Peter W. Coldham, *Emigrants in Chains: A Social History of Forced Emigration to the Americas of Felons, Destitute Children, Political and Religious Non-Conformists, Vagabonds, Beggars and Other Undesirables, 1607–1776* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1992). An early article was Basil Sollers, "Transported Convict Laborers in Maryland during the Colonial Period," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 2 (1907), 17–47. Some other articles by Alan Atkinson, Margaret Kellow, and Kenneth Morgan will be cited in these notes.
5. A. Roger Ekirch's masterly writing on America's convicts may be a case in point. In *Bound for America* most of his examples are male, he uses the collective word "convicts" to universalize the convict experience and often makes mention of the typical convict being a young male

laborer. A 1962 book by Walter Blumenthal with the apparently relevant title, *Brides from Bridewell: Female Felons Sent to Colonial America*, 2nd ed. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973) was really only incidentally about women, at least in relation to the Chesapeake. Blumenthal's now rather old-fashioned account provided examples such as shipping lists to show that women were a significant part of the transportation story.

6. David Galenson's extensive writing on labor arrangements in colonial America includes convict servants as another type of white indentured labor. See Galenson's *White Servitude in Colonial America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

7. Over a period of nearly sixty years the convicts' world was obviously not static. However, from the documentary record it seems there was a reasonably consistent "convict experience," at least insofar as the women were concerned. Male convicts were occasionally impressed as soldiers for colonial wars, but the procedures applying to the shipment, sale, deployment, and management of female convicts does not appear to have varied much throughout the transportation period. There was a slight decline in passage mortality and, from about the 1740s, it seems the convicts tended to be considered at law more like slaves than regular indentured servants. See Alan Atkinson, "The Free Born Englishman Transported: Convict Rights as a Measure of Eighteenth Century Empire," *Past and Present*, 144 (1994): 100.

8. Twenty-two percent of the convict women whose ages are known were twenty or younger, 54 percent were aged between twenty-one and thirty years, 17 percent were aged between thirty-one and forty, 5 percent were aged between forty-one and fifty, and 2 percent were fifty-one and older.

9. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, 34 (1764): 261.

10. The full list of husband occupations identified for women transported after 1718 is found in Coldham, *The Complete Book of Emigrants in Bondage, 1614–1775* and *Supplement to the Complete Book of Emigrants in Bondage*. The list includes barber, blacksmith, blockmaker, butcher, carpenter, cordwainer, dyer, flax-dresser, hatter, hooper, husbandman, malt-grinder, mariner, pedlar, sailor, shovel-maker, soldier, tailor, weaver, wheelwright, wigmaker, wool-comber, woollen weaver, yeoman.

11. See note 80.

12. See note 80.

13. Ann Blackerby's words are recorded in *CBEB*, 74. Mary Earland's petition (Mary Earland to Duke of Newcastle, November 11, 1724) is in State Papers Domestic, SP35/53/131, PRO. Mary Brown's petition (Daniel and Mary Brown to the King, n.d.) is also in State Papers Domestic, SP36/149/19, PRO. For details of Blackerby's, Brown's, and Earland's transportation, see note 80.

14. John Rule, *Albion's People: English Society, 1714–1815* (New York: Longman, 1992), 186–95. There were regional differences in both the rate of change in farming practices and the employment opportunities in provincial industry, but the circumstances described were both common and widespread. See also Leon Radzinowicz, *A History of English Criminal Law and its Administration from 1750* (London: Stevens and Sons, 1948–1986), 1:77.

15. See note 80.

16. Occupations identified for the women in *CBEB* and *CBEB (Supp.)* include breeches maker, chapwoman (pedlar), cook, cook/storekeeper, dairy maid, dancing mistress, farm servant, house servant, journeyman quilter, leather-dresser, needlewoman (seamstress), quilter, spinner, spoon caster, washerwoman, weaver.

17. The description of Mary Smith's sentence is contained in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 25 (1755), Historical Chronicle for July 5, 1755. The detail of White's crime is in *CBEB*, 865. See also note 80 for details of Smith's and White's transportation.

18. TABLE 1: The Crimes of the Transported Convict Women and Types of Crimes as a Percentage of Total Crimes Recorded

Specified for 952 women or 11.6 percent of the total number transported. The crimes identified for Maryland transportees are shown in the right-hand column

Crime	All Transported Convict Women	%	Maryland Convict Women	%
Arson	13	1.37	2	0.74
Assault	1	0.10	–	–
Breaking & entering, burglary	15	1.58	1	0.37
Counterfeiting (coining)	6	0.63	2	0.74
False pretenses	4	0.42	2	0.74
Felony or several felonies*	56	5.88	56	20.97
Forgery	5	0.52	2	0.74
Highway or other robbery	25	2.62	5	1.87
High treason	3	0.32	2	0.74
Infanticide	27	2.84	4	1.49
Murder	6	0.63	2	0.74
Other	3	0.32	3	1.12
Perjury	11	1.16	3	1.12
Picking pockets	23	2.42	3	1.12
Receiving	62	6.51	16	6.00
Shoplifting	40	4.20	10	3.74
Smuggling goods	2	0.21	–	–
Stealing	649	68.17	154	57.67
Vagrancy	1	0.10	–	–
Total	952	100.00	267	100.00

* Unspecified. It should be noted that "felonies" included theft, so the actual number transported for stealing was probably higher than 68.17 percent.

TABLE 2: Items Stolen in Convictions for Stealing

"Stealing" was specified as a crime for 649 transported women in total and for 154 women identified as being transported to Maryland. It constituted 68.17 percent of all specified crimes and 57.67 percent of all reported crimes for Maryland transportees.

Type of Theft	All Transported Convict Women	%	Maryland Convict Women	%
Animal or birds	41	6.32	6	3.89
Apron	10	1.54	3	1.95
Bed or table linen	18	2.77	5	3.24
Clothing	92	14.18	39	25.32
Fabric and yarn	59	9.09	15	9.74
Food and drink	11	1.69	2	1.29
Handkerchiefs	11	1.69	2	1.29
Household items	28	4.31	10	6.49
Jewelry & watches	21	3.24	9	5.84
Lead, iron, brass (metal)	13	2.00	3	1.95
Money	19	2.93	8	5.19
Other	10	1.54	4	2.59
Silver or gold	37	5.70	16	10.38
Unspecified theft	279	42.99	32	20.77
Total	649	100.00	154	100.00

19. Re Sarah Bibby, see Coldham, *Emigrants in Chains*, 14.
20. Alexander Britton, ed., *Historical Records of New South Wales* (Sydney: NSW Government Printer, 1879), vol. I, part 2, 51. This information is contained in Arthur Phillip's "Views on the Conduct of the Expedition and the Treatment Of Convicts," i.e., suggestions prepared in relation to the First Fleet to New South Wales and what to avoid from the American experience. For childbirth on board, see evidence in hearing of charges relating to Captain John Sargeant and evidence relating to charges against Captain Barnett Bond, High Court of Admiralty Papers, HCA 1/19 and HCA 1/57, PRO.
21. Evidence of Duncan Campbell (one of the transportation contractors) in *Journals of the House of Commons*, 37 (November 26, 1778 to August 24, 1780), 311. See also Abbot Emerson Smith's 1947 book, *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607–1776* (repr. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1971), 125–26.
22. Kenneth Morgan, "The Organization of the Convict Trade to Maryland: Stevenson, Randolph and Cheston, 1768–1775," *William and Mary Quarterly* (3d ser.), 42 (1985): 105.
23. When capital prisoners were reprieved they were often ordered transported for life but their terms of servitude never seem to have been longer than fourteen years. In fact, in the later transportation years, servitude may not have exceeded seven years even when sentences were for longer periods. Alan Atkinson, "The Free Born Englishman Transported," 97.
24. Thomas Smyth to Cheston, November 1774, Cheston Incoming Letters, June–October, 1773, Cheston Galloway Papers, box 12, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.
25. Elizabeth Smith, wife of John, was sentenced for stealing at Old Swinford in the summer of 1774, *CBEB*, 733. Details of her sale are included in Peter W. Coldham, *The King's Passengers to Maryland and Virginia* (2nd ed., Westminster: Willow Bend Books, 2000), 253 (hereinafter *KPMV*). The sale data for the contracting firm, Stevenson, Randolph and Cheston, is included in *KPMV*, 255–61. The information on the practices of "soul drivers" comes from John Harrower, "Diary of John Harrower," *American Historical Review*, 6 (1904): 75–77, entry for May 16, 1774. Harrower was an indentured servant from Scotland who arrived in the Chesapeake in 1774.
26. The sale records are shown in *KPMV*, 2–5. The owners have been sought out in the pages of the *Maryland Gazette*, in records of landholders and in histories such as Aubrey C. Land's *Colonial Maryland: A History* (New York: KTO Press, 1981).
27. Dr. Carroll advertised for runaway convicts in the *Maryland Gazette*, and these advertisements appeared in many issues. For example Mary Ryder ran away and was advertised in the issue of April 19, 1749. See Land, *Colonial Maryland*, 158–60; Peter W. Coldham, *Settlers of Maryland in 5 Volumes* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1995–1996); David C. Skaggs, *Roots of Maryland Democracy, 1753–1776* (Westport: Greenwood Press Inc., 1973), 35–50. Names are frequently misspelled or anglicized in different records, and artists sometimes signed their work with a Latin variant of their name. Hesselius was one of the first artists in America to receive a public commission.
28. Purchaser information gathered from *Maryland Gazette*, August 23, 1745, April 20, 1748, November 13, 1751, May 28, 1752, October 6, 1757, August 28, 1760, November 8, 1764, and January 21 and October 17, 1768.
29. William Eddis, *Letters from America*, 1792, ed. Aubrey C. Land (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 1969), xvii. See also Land, "Economic Base and Social Structure: The Northern Chesapeake in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Economic History*, 25 (1965): 644. Edward Kimber, a visiting Englishman, wrote in 1745 that some planters "have been originally of the convict class." Kimber, "Itinerant Observations in America 1745–1746," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 51 (1956): 329. James Revel also wrote, "My Master was a man but of ill-fame, who first of all

a Transport thither came." James Revel, *The Poor Unhappy Transported Felon's Sorrowful Account of His Fourteen Years Transportation at Virginia in America*, edited by John M. Jennings, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 56 (1948): 191.
30. *Calendar of State Papers—Colonial, 1733* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1939), 49. On March 1, 1733, Sir William Janssen, Principal Secretary to the Lord Proprietor, submitted "A Short Account of the State of the Province of Maryland to the Council of Trade and Plantations." Margaret M. R. Kellow, "Indentured Servitude in Eighteenth-Century Maryland," *Histoire Sociale–Social History*, 17 (1984): 247.
31. Kellow, "Indentured Servitude in Eighteenth-Century Maryland," 247–50. See also *Proposals for a Tobacco Law in the Province of Maryland. Humbly Offered to the Consideration of the Legislature and all Lovers of their Country*. Printed in 1726, Annapolis.
32. Elizabeth Sprigs to John Sprigs, September 22, 1756, High Court of Admiralty Papers, HCA30/258, no. 106, PRO. See also Revel, *Transported Felon's Sorrowful Account*, 194. The convict women were British and probably brought contemporary racial prejudice with them to Maryland. In eighteenth-century England, "blackness" was an easily grasped symbol of the supposed baseness and inferiority in culture and status of people of color. It was also closely associated with slavery, and this was a source of resentment to convicts.
33. Eddis, *Letters from America*, 33 (Letter V). See also *Maryland Gazette*, September 30, 1746, and September 21, 1752.
34. "Seasoning" seems to have meant "developing resistance," though it was also debilitating. In 1780 a Talbot County planter, Henry Hollyday, wrote that he and his family suffered greatly from "the excessive heat and vast multitudes of mosquitoes which, he lamented, have half killed me." Quoted in Daniel B. Smith, *Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), 251. Lt. Governor Hart to Council of Trade and Plantations (London), August 25, 1720, *Calendar of State Papers—Colonial, 1720–1721* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1933), 129.
35. An Elizabeth Field left London on the *Rappahannock Merchant* in March 1727, and an Elizabeth Field died in Baltimore County on October 28, 1727. Henry C. Peden, *St. John's and St. George's Parish Registers [Baltimore and Harford Counties], 1696–1851* (Westminster, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1987), 28. The congruence of name, date, and county make it highly probable that they were one and the same Elizabeth Field, and I have assumed so for my illustration. *Calendar of State Papers—Colonial*, 1734–1735, #341, 254. *Governor Samuel Ogle to the Council of Trade and Plantations, October* 16, 1734 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1953).
36. Mark H. Beers and Robert Berkow, eds., *The Merck Manual of Diagnosis & Therapy* (Whitehouse Station, N.J.: Merck Research Laboratories,1999), 1242. Landon Carter, *The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752–1778*, edited by Jack B. Greene (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1965), 627.
37. Revel, *Transported Felon's Sorrowful Account*, 191.
38. Smith, *Inside the Great House*, 59; Henry M. Miller, "An Archaeological Perspective on Diet," in Philip D. Morgan, Jean B. Russo, and Lois Green Carr, eds., *Colonial Chesapeake Society* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 176–99. All information in this article on planter diets is based on this article. Hominy is Indian cornmeal pounded or ground with its husks, and fried. Sometimes meat, fish, or fowl was added to make "Great Homine." Mush was pounded hominy.
39. Land, "Economic Base and Social Structure," 642; Baltimore County Inventories, 6:26, Maryland State Archives (MSA). Inventory of William Wood appraised by Richard Caswell and Thomas Dulany. This particular list of kitchen items is not actually drawn directly from

a probate inventory but from a booklet the writer obtained on an inspection of the kitchen of the Hammond-Harwood House (1774) in Annapolis. Peels were long-handled implements associated with bread ovens; piggins were long-handled buckets; churns were for making butter; querns were hand-mills for grinding corn; crocks were earthenware pots for keeping food cool; cranes were devices for suspending pots over the flame; a Dutch oven was a covered metal cooking pot for braising; a roasting kitchen was a sort of metal box for cooking roast meat in coals; trivets were iron tripods on which to stand vessels for cooking and heating water; skillets and spiders were iron frying pans with long handles and legs for standing in the fire; spits were (and are) turning rods for cooking meat over coals.
40. Land, "Economic Base and Social Structure," 644; Anne E. Yentsch, *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves: A Study in Historical Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 166. Yentsch's comments in relation to slaves apply equally to white house servants and are confirmed by the letter from Elizabeth Sprigs which follows.
41. Elizabeth Sprigs to John Sprigs, September 22, 1756, High Court of Admiralty Papers, HCA30/258, no. 106, PRO. This letter has been quoted by a number of writers who describe Elizabeth Sprigs variously as an "indentured servant" or as a "convict servant" though she is not in *CBEB* or *CBEB (Supp.)*. From the text it seems reasonably clear that she had committed some serious transgression, though it may not have been criminal. A postscript to this letter asked for a reply to be directed to Mr. Richard Cross in care of Mr. Lux, merchant of Baltimore Town, Patapsco River, Maryland. Richard Cross was one of four sons of a planter family who had landholdings near Baltimore called Cross's Park and Cross's Lot. See Peter W. Coldham, *Settlers of Maryland*, vol. 3, 1731–1750 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1995–96).
42. Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*, Vol. I (London and New York: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1907), 342.
43. Eddis, *Letters from America*, 38 (Letter VI).
44. Ibid., 37–40.
45. Robert Barnes, *Baltimore County Families*, 1659–1759 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1989), 343.
46. Robert Oszakiewski, "Index to Convict Servants in Kent County, 1719–1769," *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin*, 36 (1995): 43–84; Oszakiewski, "Index to Convict Servants in Charles County Records, 1718–1778," *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin*, 32 (1991): 54–59; Anne Arundel Judgement Records, August 1741, Court, 252, MSA.
47. Kathleen Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 331–34.
48. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, 21 (1751): Historical Chronicle for August 1751 (August 30).
49. This is based on a count of the runaway advertisements for women in Maryland included in *KPMV*, 265–303.
50. Martha Anderson alias Blacklock (see note 62) was not advertised when she ran away. Runaway advertisements often mentioned male companions. See note 55 for examples.
51. The issues of the *Maryland Gazette* containing the advertisements for each runaway woman are as indicated: Sarah Davis, May 4, 1758; Elizabeth Piercy, August 23, 1745; Isabella Pierce, June 21, 1745; Margaret Tasker, January 16, 1764; Mary Burton, May 2, 1754 and Hannah Boyer, May 28, 1752.
52. Ages were stated for twenty-six runaway women. Five were twenty or younger, twelve were between twenty-one and thirty, and nine were thirty-one or older. The youngest (Margaret Tasker) was eighteen and the oldest (Mary McCreary) was forty-seven. The November 22, 1764, issue of the *Maryland Gazette* contains the advertisement for Mary Brady.

53. *Maryland Gazette*, May 28, 1752 (advertisement for Hannah Boyer), May 21, 1761 (advertisement for Mary Barrington).
54. Shane White and Graham White, *Stylin': African American Expressive Culture from its Beginnings to the Zoot Suit* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 22–23. *Maryland Gazette*, May 2, 1765 (Anne Griffith [Griffin]); July 28, 1768 (Elizabeth Lloyd); December 22, 1763 (Nancy Partington [Partinton]); October 10, 1750 (Catherine O'Bryan); April 1, 1746 (Elizabeth Crowder [Crowther]).
55. *Maryland Gazette*, August 13, 1767, contains the next advertisement for Anne Griffith (Griffin), three months after she ran away for the second time. Anne Sayer and Nell Fitzgerald were pregnant when they absconded. *Maryland Gazette* (Anne Sayer), October 6, 1757; (Nell Fitzgerald), October 6, 1774. The woman *induced* to run away was Catherine Davidson. See *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 13, 1750. The *Maryland Gazette* for October 10, 1750, contains the advertisement for Elizabeth Willoughby, who ran away with two male slaves.
56. *Maryland Gazette*, November 8, 1764.
57. Ibid., January 25, 1753, contains the advertisement for Sarah Knox alias Howard. "Elizabeth," who dressed as a soldier, is mentioned in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of September 21, 1758. The *Maryland Gazette*, August 28, 1760, and August 9, 1759, contains advertisements for Frances Burrows and the unnamed wife of Moses Dykes, who were described as dressing as men. The issue of December 22, 1763, contains the advertisement for Nancy Partington, who adopted another servant's identity.
58. The description of Sarah Wilson's escapade is contained in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 43 (July, 1773): Historical Chronicle for July 1773, 357. Sarah Wilson was also the subject of a report in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 38 (January, 1768): 44. Other aliases or identities she assumed were Sarah Wilbraham and Marchioness of Waldegrave. From the information given in this account she may be the "Mary Wilson" who was transported on the *Scarsdale*, which departed London in July 1771 and would have arrived in the Chesapeake about October of that year. Wilson's claim that she was the Queen's sister should have raised immediate suspicions. Queen Charlotte's only surviving sister was called Christine. The king (George III) had a sister called Carolina Matilda and the names Caroline, Mathilde, and Susanna all crop up in Queen Charlotte's own Mecklenburg-Strelitz family, so the fabrication had an authentic feel to it. Some other convicts also had aristocratic pretensions. Elizabeth Grieve, who was sentenced for false pretenses in 1774 at Middlesex, claimed to be a kinswoman of the Duke of Grafton. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 43 (November, 1773): 574.
59. *Maryland Gazette*, December 22, 1763 (Nancy Partington), September 14, 1769 (Mary Price); Abbot Emerson Smith, *Colonists in Bondage*, 267.
60. *Maryland Gazette*, May 4, 1758 (Sarah Davis). There does not appear to have been much variation in the rewards paid from the 1740s to the 1770s. For Mary Wall, Maryland Inventories, 11:325; for Margaret Pew, ibid., 15:1; for Barbara Black, Baltimore County Inventories, 6:26, MSA.
61. The advertisements appeared in the *Maryland Gazette*, March 28, April 4, 11, 25, May 2, 9, 16, 23, and 30, and June 6, 13, and 27, 1765. *Maryland Gazette*, September 20, 1770, contains the advertisement for the sale of a convict servant.
62. Martha Anderson alias Blacklock—sale to Day, Baltimore County Court Proceedings, HWS#6:275; sale to Higginson, Baltimore County Court Proceedings, HWS#7:98; running away, Baltimore County Court Proceedings, HWS#9:131, MSA.
63. Thomas Bacon, ed., *Laws of Maryland—Session Laws: 1637–1763*, Chapter XLIV, Clause 31 of 1715. This clause gave the provincial and county courts the authority to determine complaints between masters and servants. Alan Atkinson, "The Free-Born Englishman Trans-

ported," 104; Baltimore County Court Proceedings, TB#TD:122 and HWS#6:93, MSA.
64. Atkinson, "The Free-Born Englishman Transported," 106. See also Smith, *Colonists in Bondage*, 249–50; *Maryland Gazette*, August 4, 1747. Further research would be needed to establish the frequency of convict servant suicides and whether any convict women took their own lives. Elisha Williams was sentenced in 1746 in Middlesex and transported on the *Mary* in September 1746 (*CBEB*, 876 and *KPMV*, 112). Williams was a servant to an Annapolis couple, John and Hannah Senhouse.
65. Carville Earle, *The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650–1783* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 162. Maryland received one-third to one-half of these ships, which then fanned out to navigable estuaries with safe anchorage, abundant crops of tobacco, and a minimum of competition from fellow captains. Edward Kimber, "Itinerant Observations in America, 1745–1746," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 51 (1956): 324. A runaway advertisement for the Jacksons mentions the bagpipes. *Maryland Gazette*, May 11, 1758.
66. Earle, *Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System*, 157–58, 161. Earle quoted a document in the *Archives of Maryland*, 44:647.
67. Revel, *Transported Felon's Sorrowful Account*, 191; Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal* (London and New York: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1907), 1:342, 2:553–54. See also note 80.
68. Attempts were made by the assembly to impede or regulate the convict trade in 1719, 1723, 1728, 1751, 1754, 1766, and 1769.
69. This statement is based on cross-referencing a sample of 162 (5 percent) of the women transported to Maryland with various court records in the Maryland State Archives such as Baltimore County Court Proceedings and Anne Arundel Judgement Records, etc., and the Kent County Criminal Records for 1723–1728 abstracted in the *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin*, 36 (1995). In this sample, only three—Martha Blacklock, Rebecca Jones, and Mary Spearman—were tried for felonies while thirty-five were indicted for bastardy, mulatto bastardy or miscegenation. Mary Sheppeard was tried for fornication and Anne Roberts for "unlawful co-habitation." See note 80 for convict details.

In a study of Kent County records between 1732 and 1746, A. Roger Ekirch (*Bound for America*, 171–73) shed some light on patterns of post-arrival offenses by convicts because, in addition to court records, these include complete lists of British convict registers (the lists, which the captains of transport ships were required to lodge with the county after arrival, included each convict's name, alias, crime, sentencing court and sentence length, etc.). In these years, bills of indictment were sought in the county court against 601 men and women mainly for crimes such as assault, fornication, and non-violent property theft. Only twenty-seven individuals (for forty-one offenses, or 7 percent of prosecutions) were British convicts. Two of these were women charged with "mulatto bastardy." However, county courts like Kent's did not hear serious crimes such as murder, robbery, and burglary, though it is known that women committed small numbers of these crimes anyway in comparison with their male counterparts.
70. See note 76. Margaret Brown alias Wilson alias Long Peg, was transported five times. A. Roger Ekirch, *Bound for America*, 220; Eddis, *Letters from America*, 37 (letter VI}; "Journal of a French Traveler in the Colonies, 1765," *American Historical Review*, 26 (1920–21): 738.
71. Robert Oszakiewski, "Convict Servants in Charles County: A Further Study," *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin*, 32 (1991): 284. Mary Holmes was transported on the *Dorsetshire* in September 1736. As a servant of James Presbury, she was indicted for "bearing a mulatto bastard" in November 1743 and was tried in March 1743/4. Holmes was indicted for "Bastardy"

again in June 1750. Baltimore County Court Proceedings 1743–1745/6:72, 170, TR#5:2, MSA. Alice Carrington was transported in June 1726 from Kent to Maryland on the *Loyal Margaret.* In August 1729 and again in November 1733 as a servant of Hezekiah Balch she was indicted and tried for "Bastardy." Baltimore County Court Proceedings HWS#6:277, MSA. Carrington was the mother of Mary, born by August 1729 and bound to Hezekiah Balch to age sixteen; Johanna (by William Beezley) born September 2, 1731; and James Hogg, born by November 1733 and bound to James Lee. This information drawn from Barnes, *Baltimore County Families, 1659–1759* and Peden, *St. John's and St. George's Parish Registers,* 75.

72. Julie A. Matthaei, *An Economic History of Women in America* (New York: Schocken Books, 1982), 57.

73. *Maryland Gazette,* April 1, 1746, and October 28, 1747.

74. One hundred and sixty-two names cross-referenced with Robert Barnes, *Maryland Marriages, 1634–1777* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1975) and court and parish records.

75. Mary Passmore was transported from Middlesex to Annapolis by the *Patapsco Merchant* in November 1733. John Dunnick was a convict who had been transported to Maryland on the *Pretty Patsy* in September 1737. It is likely they were the couple of these names married in St John's Parish, Baltimore County, on December 5, 1742. Henry C. Peden, *St. John's and St. George's Parish Registers,* 238.

76. Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co, 1995), 339–40. Though Morgan deals explicitly with Virginia, it is likely this situation prevailed in other parts of the Chesapeake where there were similar servant arrangements and plantation economies.

77. Frederick R. Jones, *The History of North America,* Volume 4, *The Colonization of the Middle States and Maryland* (Philadelphia: George Barrie and Sons, 1904), 444. The allowance was 647,027 lbs. of tobacco, which had a realizable value and was frequently used as a substitute for other currency.

78. Edward Kimber, "Itinerant Observations in America, 1745–1746," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 51 (1956): 329. Letter from "A.B." (assumed to be Thomas Ringgold) in *Maryland Gazette,* July 30, 1767.

79. J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur (1782), *Letters from an American Farmer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 64.

80. All the convict women mentioned in the text of this article are shown below in alphabetical order together with their place of sentence, transportation details, page reference in *CBEB* or *CBEB (Supp.)* or alternative source and owner (if known). T = transportation date.

Ann Abraham, London, T Apr., 1741 on *Speedwell,* 2. **Martha Anderson alias Blacklock**, Middlesex, T Oct., 1722 on *Forward,* 14, Sarah James, Henry Butler. **Martha Barker**, London, T May, 1719 on *Margaret,* 40, Daniel Carter. **Mary Barrington**, Kent, T Oct., 1760 on *Phoenix,* 44, Thomas Miles. **Hannah Bartlett**, Hampshire, T 1722 on *Thornton,* 45. **Sarah Bibby**, London, T Jan., 1746 on *Plain Dealer,* 66. **Barbara Black**, Middlesex, T Apr., 1733 on *Patapsco,* 73, William Wood. **Ann Blackerby**, Middlesex, T Dec., 1735 on *John,* 74. **Ann Bolton (Boulton)** Gloucestershire, T May, 1775 on *Isabella, CBEB (Supp.),* 16, William Walters and Richard Gattrell. **Hannah Boyer** (*not listed in CBEB or CBEB [Supp.]*), Catherine Jennings and Daniel Wells. **Mary Brady**, London, T Apr., 1762 on *Dolphin,* 93, Alice Davis. **Ann Bragg**, Durham, T 1774 (*ship unknown*), 93. **Mary Brown**, Wiltshire, T Aug., 1747 (*ship unknown*) 109. **Margaret Cane**, Buckinghamshire, T 1760 (*ship unknown*) 134, Benjamin Philpott. **Alice Carrington**, Kent, T June, 1727 on *Loyal Margaret,* 138. **Sarah Clayton**, Middlesex, T Dec., 1740 on *York,* 162. **Elizabeth Crowder (Crowther)**, Yorkshire, T 1744 (*ship unknown*), 201, Sarah Monro. **Sarah**

Davis, Essex, T May, 1755 on *Rose*, 216, Paul Rankin. Essex, T May, 1755 on *Rose*, 216, Paul Rankin. **Mary Earland**, Devon, T 1724 (*ship unknown*) 250. **Thomazin Elby**, Surrey, T May, 1719 on *Margaret*, 257, Dr Charles Carroll **Elizabeth Dobbs**, London, T May, 1719 on *Margaret*, 232, Joseph Pettibone. **Ann Farthing**, Somerset, T Oct., 1732 on *Falcon*, 273. **Elizabeth Field**, London, T Mar., 1727 on *Rappahannock*, 276. **Ann Foster (Forster)**, London, T May, 1719 on *Margaret*, 288, Patrick Sympson & William Black. **Mary Godson**, London, T July, 1723 on *Alexander*, 321. **Ester Hampton**, Hertfordshire, T Dec., 1731 (*ship unknown*), 352. **Winifred Haynes**, London, T May, 1719 on *Margaret*, 375, John Welch. **Mary Holmes**, London, T Jan., 1736 on *Dorsetshire*, 401. **Hannah Howard**, Middlesex T Apr., 1733 on *Patapsco*, 409. **Rebecca Jones**, London, T May, 1719 on *Margaret*, 456, Edward Mallux. **Sarah Knox alias Charlotte or Charley Hamilton**, Cumberland, T 1751 (*ship unknown*), 351 and 478. **Rachael Isaacs alias Jacobs**, London, T Dec., 1740 on *Vernon*, 429. **Mary Jackson**, Shropshire, T 1756 (*ship unknown*) 432. **Elizabeth Jacob**, London, T Apr., 1766 on *Ann*, 433. **Sarah Jacobs**, London, T Sept., 1755 on *Tryal*, 434, David Currie. **Elizabeth Lawrence (alias Cane)**, Middlesex, T 1745 on *Justitia* and again in Dec., 1758 on *The Brothers*, 134 and 487. **Margaret Lewis**, Middlesex, T Mar., 1731 on *Patapsco*, 499. **Elizabeth Lloyd**, Wiltshire, T Apr., 1767 (*ship unknown*) 505, Thomas Johnson. **Mary McCreary** (*not listed in CBEB or CBEB [Supp.] but in Pennsylvania Gazette of July 19, 1750*), Thomas Money & Thomas Ebthorp. **Susan Moses alias Fotherby**, London, T Mar., 1727 on *Rappahannock*, 569. **Sarah Naggs**, Surrey, T May, 1719 on *Margaret*, 575, Peter Galloway. **Ann Nelson**, Middlesex, T Apr., 1742 on *Bond*, 577. **Ann Newbert**, Shropshire, T 1759? (*ship unknown*) 579. **Maria Newman**, Middlesex, T Aug., 1752 on *Tryal*, 580. **Catherine O'Bryan**, Ireland, T date unknown (*ship unknown*), no entry in *CBEB* or *CBEB (Supp.)*, John Ashford. **Ann Parrott alias Griffiths**, Middlesex, T June, 1738 on *Forward*, 337. **Ann (Nancy) Partington**, Lancashire, T 1763 (*ship unknown*), 609, Richard Cooke. **Mary Passmore**, Middlesex, T Apr., 1733 on *Patapsco*, 609. **Anne Pearce (Peirce)**, London, T May, 1719 on *Margaret*, 614, Patrick Sympson & William Black. **Mary Perkins**, London or Middlesex, T May, 1719 on *Margaret*, 621, Patrick Sympson & William Black. **Margaret Pew**, London, T Feb., 1726 on *Supply*, 651, Amos Garret. **Isabella Pierce** (*not listed in CBEB or CBEB (Supp.)*, Thomas Lewis. **Elizabeth Piercy**, Warwickshire, T 1738 (*ship unknown*), 616, William Hillhouse. **Mary Price**, Oxfordshire, T 1767 (*ship unknown*), 646, Robert Reith. **Susan Read (or Nead)**, London, T May, 1719 on *Margaret*, 663, Patrick Sympson & William Black. **Ann Roberts**, Middlesex, T Apr., 1733 on *Patapsco*, 677. **Jane Scott alias Holloway**, London, T May, 1719 on *Margaret*, 706, Patrick Sympson & William Black. **Mary Sheppeard**, Middlesex, T Aug., 1721 on *Owners Goodwill*, 717. **Elizabeth Smith**, Worcestershire, T Oct., 1774 on *William*, 733, Thomas Smyth. **Mary Smith**, London, T Sept., 1755 on *Tryal*, 740. **Mary Spearman**, Middlesex, T Oct., 1720 on *Gilbert*, 751. **Sarah Stapleton**, Middlesex T Feb., 1733 on *Smith*, 758. **Edith Street**, Somerset, T Nov., 1731 (*ship unknown*), 770. **Sarah Summers (Sommers)**, Devon, T Dec., 1738 (*ship unknown*), 774. **Elizabeth Symonds**, Sussex, T May, 1719 on *Margaret*, 779, Gustavus Hesseline. **Margaret Tasker**, Cheshire, T 1763 (*ship unknown*) 783, Joseph Watkins. **Mary Thirby (or Kirby)** London, T May, 1719 on *Margaret*, 791, Patrick Sympson & William Black. **Alice Walker**, London, T Jan., 1773 on *Justitia*, 831. **Mary Wall**, Middlesex, T Sept., 1725 on *Forward*, 833, Patrick Sympson and Saladine Eagle. **Elizabeth Whitney alias Dribnay**, Middlesex, T May, 1740 on *Essex*, 868, William Mattingly. **Mary White alias Scamp**, Worcestershire, T 1765 (*ship unknown*), 865. **Judith Williams**, Gloucestershire, T May, 1775 on *Isabella*, *CBEB (Supp.)* 84, William Walters and Richard Gattrell. **Sarah (Mary?) Wilson**, London (if Mary) T July, 1771 on *Scarsdale*, 888.

The Other Road to Yorktown: The St. Eustatius Affair and the American Revolution

ANDREW JACKSON O'SHAUGHNESSY

The Caribbean played a critical role in the Revolutionary War.[1] The Continental Army and state militias received vital supplies from the French, Spanish, Dutch, and Danish West Indies. American patriots obtained 90 percent of all their gunpowder during the first two years of the war from this source.[2] In addition, the British war effort in North America was deflected by strategic and commercial considerations in the Caribbean. French strategies and objectives centered on the Caribbean, which explained their failure to provide the patriots with as much military and naval support as they had anticipated before July 1780.

Within the Caribbean, the small Dutch island of St. Eustatius achieved particular prominence during the war. J. Franklin Jameson, in a seminal article published in 1903, was the first historian to highlight the importance of the island as an essential source of supplies for North America. Barbara Tuchman made it central to her narrative of the American Revolution. Her title, *The First Salute*, referred to the claim that St. Eustatius was the first foreign port to salute the flag of the United States of America—in 1776. Ronald Hurst subsequently wrote a more detailed history of the island during the American War. Richard Buel's recent account of the economy of revolutionary America underscored the critical importance of the trade of St. Eustatius.[3] The island's economic importance during the war is thus well known, but this article will make explicit the role of St. Eustatius and the Caribbean in the British defeat at Yorktown.

The support given by St. Eustatius to the patriots in North America was one of the main reasons why Britain declared war on the Netherlands in December 1780. The British government simultaneously sent secret orders to commanders in the eastern Caribbean—Admiral Sir George Rodney and Major General John Vaughan —for the capture of St. Eustatius. The decision would prove fateful in ways that the home government could not have anticipated. Four months later, the French admiral, Comte de Grasse, sailed from Brest for the Caribbean and then Virginia.

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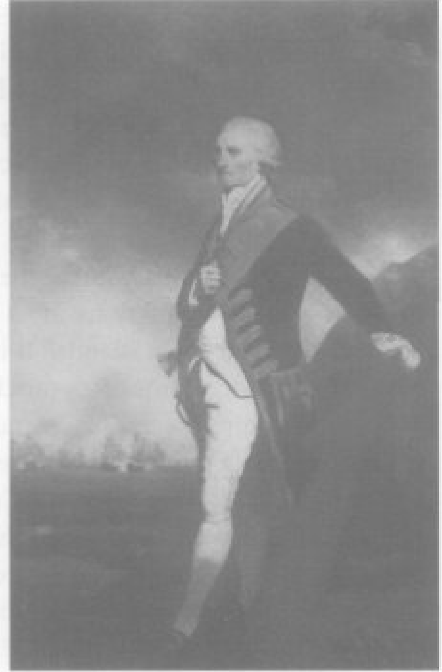
View of St. Eustatius from St. Kitts. (Author's photograph.)

In conjunction with French and American forces under the command of George Washington, his fleet helped successfully checkmate Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown.

De Grasse's sailing did not particularly worry the British government, which confidently expected his fleet to be either intercepted in the Caribbean or followed to North America by Sir George Rodney, the most experienced British admiral on the other side of the Atlantic. This was the scenario envisioned by the minister most responsible for the conduct of the American War, the British secretary of state for America, Lord George Germain, but Rodney neither intercepted de Grasse nor followed him to North America. The admiral was instead preoccupied with his own agenda in St. Eustatius and his desire to return to Britain to defend himself in Parliament against an inquiry into his conduct on the island. Contemporary periodicals like the 1782 edition of the *Annual Register* blamed Rodney and the extraordinary events in St. Eustatius for the British defeat at Yorktown, but this argument did not gain much currency after the war because Rodney was redeemed as a popular hero and because historians of the American War give insufficient attention to the Caribbean.

With France's entry into the American War in 1778, St. Eustatius was able to exploit its neutral status to become the main entrepôt of trade with the United States. According to Richard Buel, "the exchange of European imports for American staples centered on St. Eustatius, to the extent that it centered at all." Buel argues that it replaced Philadelphia at an urgent juncture when the British were



George, Lord Rodney, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1787. (National Maritime Museum, Greenwich).

blockading the city, as the "gateway" to America. Indeed, "much of the mid-Atlantic and New England commerce passed through this tiny island" according to Buel. In 1780, 80 percent of ships from abroad entering Philadelphia were from the Caribbean and "a little more than half these from St. Eustatius." The same proportions were also recorded for Baltimore.[4]

St. Eustatius is widely thought to have been the first foreign port to salute the flag of the United States in 1776.[5] Fort Orange had fired a nine-shot salute in honor of the *Andrew Doria*, one of the first four ships of the Continental navy, which was flying the red and white striped flag. The British witnessed the salute in the neighboring island of St. Kitts, where the newspaper carried a full report "wherein many *scandalous and illiberal reflections* [were] cast . . . on the Americans." The captain of the *Andrew Doria*, which had on board a copy of the Declaration of Independence, was "most graciously received by his Honour [Governor de Graff] and all ranks of people" in St. Eustatius.[6]

Situated among the northern Leeward Islands, St. Eustatius is less than five miles long and no more than two and a half miles wide. Its wealth "as a place of vast triffick from every quarter of the globe" was derived from its status as a free port and its proximity to the islands of other European powers.[7] Without its trade, it was a mere rock whose infertile land produced less than six hundred barrels of sugar a year. Janet Schaw, a Scottish visitor to St. Eustatius on the eve of the Revolutionary War, was entranced by the diversity of merchants vending "goods in

Dutch, another in French, a third in Spanish, etc. etc. [each wearing] . . . the habit of their country." She described the island as a grand market where she found "rich embroideries, painted silks, flowered Muslins, with all the Manufactures of the Indies. Just by hang Sailor's Jackets, trousers, shoes, hats etc." She marveled at "the variety of merchandize in such a place, for in every store you find every thing, be their qualities ever so opposite." Schaw treated herself to some excellent French gloves and "English thread-stockings cheaper than I could buy them at home."[8]

St. Eustatius prospered during the American War. Trade with the North Americans was "so general and done in so publick a manner, as to be no secret to any person in the West India Islands." It included the sale of guns, powder, rifles, and ammunition. Dutch firms often purchased these from France and Belgium. Some 235 American ships visited the island between 1776 and 1777. William Bingham made trips to St. Eustatius as the agent for Congress at Martinique, and Samuel Curzon was the resident agent for Congress. Abraham van Bibber, the agent for Maryland at St. Eustatius, enthused that he was "on the best terms" with the governor, who expresses "the greatest desire and intention to protect a trade with us . . . our Flag flys current every day" in the port. American agents in Europe found it safe to send their mail home via St. Eustatius.[9]

After French entry into the war, St. Eustatius eclipsed Martinique to become the major source of supply for the North Americans and for the French. Storehouses were rented for as much as twelve hundred pounds sterling a year. An armed convoy of forty to fifty French merchant ships visited the island every other week to buy provisions for Martinique and Guadeloupe. The American trade was "immense" with between seven and ten ships arriving every night and fleets of ten to thirty sail appearing regularly. The French similarly obtained vital supplies for their navy and their island colonies in the Caribbean. Jacques Texier, a French agent in St. Eustatius, corresponded "with the several French Governours, and [was] . . . most rancorous in his hatred of G[reat] Britain."[10]

Diplomatic pressure to halt the trade achieved nothing except a ban on gunpowder sales, which was not enforced, and the recall of the governor, who was back in office within a year.[11] Britain instead resorted to force.

On February 3, 1781, St. Eustatius surrendered unconditionally to the combined British naval and military forces commanded by Admiral Sir George Rodney and General John Vaughan. It was said that the blow "was as sudden as a clap of thunder [and] . . . wholly unexpected." The inhabitants were not even aware of the outbreak of war between Britain and the Netherlands. They were incapable of resistance, having but a garrison of less than sixty men and a single Dutch frigate against fifteen British warships and three thousand troops. A merchant convoy that had left the island before the attack also fell prey. Dutch St. Maarten and Saba, together with the South American colonies of Demerara and Essequibo (which make up modern Guyana) capitulated soon afterward, but St. Eustatius was the great

prize. As Admiral Rodney told Lord Sandwich, "the capture is beyond conception."[12]

In the meantime, British commanders engaged in the indiscriminate plunder of St. Eustatius. They continued to fly the Dutch flag over St. Eustatius to trick unsuspecting enemy ships of which "the largest proportion belonged to America." They ordered a general confiscation of all private property including clothing, petty cash, and even food. The broad arrow, the sign of British government property, appeared "on every store particularly on iron chests." Wallets and pockets were searched, gardens and even graves dug up for hidden treasure, houses ransacked, and slaves and horses seized. Merchant inventories, accounts, and letter books were confiscated. Warehouses were locked. Every necessity of life was withheld "for the space of twenty days, before the retail shops were permitted to be reopened." The cabinets of the Dutch governor and his wife were broken open and "every Thing valuable" taken. The British Quarter Master General told one inhabitant who pleaded for food, "Not a Mouthful; must you be told a second Time—not a Mouthful!" Soldiers stopped men and women in the street to search them "in the most Shameful manner."[13]

The commanders did not distinguish between friends and foes. Edmund Burke reported that the "Sentence of Beggary was pronounced indiscriminately against all." Inhabitants were daily paraded according to nationality in preparation for exile. Only the Dutch sugar planters were spared, except Governor De Graff, "the first Man that insulted the British" by saluting the American flag. De Graff was sent a prisoner to England and his plantation seized. Americans were ordered to leave and made to gather on the beach within the afternoon to board boats. Even loyalist refugees from America were "forced to seek bread wherever they could find it."[14]

The commanders treated British inhabitants at St. Eustatius as smugglers, an erroneous assumption because Britain had permitted a limited trade with the neutral islands. Parliament had specifically passed an act to encourage British merchants to import tobacco from neutral islands including those of the Dutch in 1780, and British ships had sailed with valid clearances from the major ports of Britain and Ireland for St. Eustatius. The British residents in St. Eustatius included refugees from the British islands occupied by France and "unfortunate traders . . . driven down by losses in business" who had "preserved their faith to their creditors and their allegiance to their country."[15] Clearly not all were smugglers but they were treated as such.

This was scandalous behavior, considering that the British army in North America and in the Caribbean had made purchases from St. Eustatius before the conquest in 1781. British naval officers had sold prizes at St. Eustatius that were sometimes resold to the patriots in North America. Governor Burt had armed and fortified St. Kitts with supplies from St. Eustatius following the fall of Dominica in 1778. The British Leeward Islands had lessened the "miseries of actual Famine" by importing provisions "formerly received from North America" in the years 1778

and 1779. The slaves of Antigua "must have perished had they not been fed from St. Eustatius."[16]

The British commanders admitted their ignorance to Lord George Germain when they declared that "we military men . . . cannot be suppos'd to be so well vers'd, in the Laws of Nations, or the particular Law of Great Britain." Yet, despite specific orders not to touch "the Property of British subjects, lawfully exported thither," Admiral Rodney went ahead with the sale of confiscated goods. When a delegation from the legislature of St. Kitts protested, Rodney replied that he had a special place for their petition in his quarter gallery (the admiral's privy). He eventually conceded that "a few, a very few may have been less guilty of those atrocious practices and may have legally imported the goods . . . from Great Britain." He even began to restore their property but again changed his mind and resumed the sale.[17]

Jews suffered the harshest treatment, even though some were British. The Jewish community at St. Eustatius was made up of some 350 members, including both Sephardim and Ashkenazim Jews. With the support of their brethren in Curaçao and Amsterdam, they had built a synagogue which they called *Honen Dalim*, meaning the one who is merciful to the poor, of which there are still remains in St. Eustatius.[18] Janet Schaw first met orthodox Jews on her visit to the island before the war, some of whom were tragic victims of persecution in Europe. One had been tortured in France, where "he was stretched on the wheel and under the hands of the executioner [until he had] . . . hardly a joint its place." Another had suffered eighteen months under the Spanish Inquisition "till he has hardly the semblance of a human creature remaining" after which he was dumped in a street at night.[19]

The conquest of St. Eustatius was "a day of desolation to the community at large & Jews in particular." Jews not only shared in the common "Loss of their Merchandise, their Bills, their Houses, Clothes, [and] Provisions," but the men were separated from their wives and children and banished. They were not even told the destination of their exile. They "petitioned, intreated, implored, [and] remonstrated against so hard a sentence, but in vain." In contrast to the Americans, Dutch, and French, they were not allowed to keep their personal possessions. Those found withholding petty cash were set apart for punishment. All the adult male Jews, numbering 101, were assembled under guard; the linings of their pockets were ripped open, and their "cloaths torn in pieces to search for concealed money" before thirty of them were "hurried off the island, destitute of everything, to solicit the cold charity of Antigua, and St. Kitts." The rest were locked in a weighing house for three days when they were released just in time to witness the auction of their belongings.[20]

Two of the banished Jews were American Loyalists who had escaped North America. The French had previously persecuted one of the two for his "partiality to the English" but this did not spare him from mistreatment by the British com-

manders. He was taken prisoner despite his "very infirm state of health" and died two days later. Myer Pollock was also taken prisoner despite having been "stripped of all his worth" in Rhode Island for importing British East India tea and despite having lost his brother and brother-in-law in the British cause. He had been left to raise their two families, as well as to care for his mother and his sister. When he tried to conceal some money from his British captors at St. Eustatius, he was separated for additional punishment. Samson Myers, the secretary to the synagogue and a loyalist refugee from Norwalk, Connecticut, suffered a similar fate.[21]

The indiscriminate plundering by British commanders at St. Eustatius had violated the spirit and customs of the laws of war, which were "generally understood" to allow a conquered people "the enjoyment of their property" as subjects of the victorious state. This was at least the convention toward fellow Europeans, for which a rich literature existed on the ethics of warfare in the works of writers like Francisco de Vitoria (1483?–1546) and Hugo Grotius (1583–1645). It was also the practice of the French toward the occupied British islands during the American Revolution. British commanders at St. Eustatius had set a precedent that critics feared the French might imitate if any more of the British islands "should hereafter have the misfortune of falling into the Enemys power." They exceeded their instructions, which, although giving them discretion over seizures, did not permit a general confiscation. Lord George Germain clarified his original instructions when he ordered the commanders not to mistreat the inhabitants and not to take the "Property of British subjects lawfully exported to St. Eustatius." His orders were disobeyed.[22]

Not even the friends and allies of the British commanders at St. Eustatius were inclined to exonerate them from censure for their indiscriminate plunder following the conquest. The Reverend James Ramsay, a former naval surgeon who was close to the commanders and whose brother-in-law was agent for the sale of the goods, admitted that "the clamour raised on the proceedings at Statia is very great and it must be confessed, that the hardships imposed on individuals, in many cases, have been scandalous, in most unnecessary, and in all so notorious, that it is in vain to attempt to palliate, or conceal them." Ramsay had tried to persuade the commanders that force was unnecessary since they had already achieved their objective of cutting the trade of the enemy. His words unheeded, he despaired that "the national character, and the honour of the service have received wounds, that will not easily be healed." Nevertheless, out of "regard for both Commanders," Ramsay advised Lord George Germain on how to make the best case for them before Parliament.[23]

There is no doubt that Rodney's behavior at St. Eustatius in part "sprang from his unshakable belief that the English merchants were traitors." Rodney was the dominant of the two commanders with an illustrious naval career and a popular following at home. Major General John Vaughan had played a leading part in the

controversial burning of Kingston in New York (1777), but he deferred to Rodney throughout the conquest of St. Eustatius. Rodney loathed St. Eustatius as a nest of "Robbers, Adventurers, Betrayers of their Country and Rebels to their King [who] . . . had no right to expect a capitulation or to be treated as a respectable People." The inhabitants were "Traitors to their King, and Parricides to their Country . . . mixed with Jews, and Dutch who, regardless of the Treaties subsisting between Great Britain and Holland, had traitorously conspired, and for years supported the Public Enemys of the state, and the Rebellion of our divided colonies." He felt justified that "a perfidious people, wearing the mask of friendship, traitors to their country, and rebelling against their king deserve[d] no favour or consideration."[24] Rodney was "fully convinced [that but for the] . . . Treasonable Correspondence [of St. Eustatius] . . . the Southern Colonies [of North America] must long since have submitted" to Britain. It was an "island inhabited by Rebellious Americans and their agents, disaffected British factors who from base, and lucrative motives, were the great support of the American Rebellion." He fumed that this "rock of only six miles in length, and three in breadth, has done England more harm than all the arms of her most potent enemies, and alone supported the infamous American Rebellion." He maintained that commerce and commerce alone had sustained the American Revolution, and that "an end to commerce, is an end to [the] Rebellion."[25]

Furthermore, Rodney believed that St. Eustatius had robbed him of a victory against the French fleet in which the balance of the American War might have turned dramatically in favor of Britain. On April 17, 1780, Rodney had fought an indecisive naval battle against a superior French fleet under the command of the Comte de Guichen. After the battle, he was unable to obtain supplies from St. Eustatius, whose merchants claimed insufficient stocks but simultaneously assisted the enemy by sending out "two vessels loaded with cordage and naval stores and full of carpenters to meet the [French] fleet." The French might otherwise have lost eight ships for refitting at St. Domingue. Instead, they retained their numerical superiority when Rodney encountered them again in battle on May 15 and May 19. This lost opportunity rankled with the admiral for the rest of his life.[26] The defeat of a French fleet would certainly have complemented the British victories of the same year with the capture of Charleston, the defeat of General Horatio Gates at Camden, and the defection of Benedict Arnold.

Yet Rodney's patriotic fervor was mixed with a sizable measure of greed. He was so badly in debt before the American Revolution that he had fled Britain to escape creditors and possible imprisonment to live in Paris. He was still unable to return when war broke out. His wife was reduced to trying to raise a subscription to pay off his debts from members of his London club and to petitioning Lord Sandwich, the first sea lord, to represent "the distressful situation of Sir George, herself and the four children, who must be in danger of literally starving if his Lordship is not induced to restore him that countenance and friendship with which

he has formerly been honoured." French sources claim that he actually served time in prison during his exile. "May God grant that you may never experience the same," he wrote to his son, and he asked his wife to "Think for me, for I can scarce think for myself." He was only able to leave thanks to the generosity of a French nobleman. On his return to London, he had to seek sanctuary from his creditors by living opposite St. James' Place, where he availed himself of the ancient immunity against arrest for anyone in the presence of the king or within the verge of a royal palace.[27]

Rodney had been born to genteel poverty and brought up on the charity of a distant relative after his father was reduced to penury and interminable legal battles with creditors soon after the great speculative bust of the eighteenth century—the South Sea Bubble (1722). Rodney had made a fortune early in his career from captures at sea and some legacies from wealthy relatives but frittered it away on a lavish lifestyle, the building of a country estate, and gambling. He was probably already in trouble after the Seven Years War; he abandoned an ambitious plan to improve his house and country estate soon afterward. His eventual ruin was caused by one of the most expensive elections of the eighteenth century when he stood for parliament in Northampton in 1768. The expense of the contest was due to the fielding of a third candidate by the first Earl of Spencer who was determined to end the monopoly of local politics shared between the Earl of Halifax and Rodney's patron the Earl of Northampton. Spencer outbid both rival earls, who were left so broke that they respectively left the county and decamped for Switzerland. Rodney sold his country estate and, in a disastrous attempt to consolidate his debts, signed a contract that committed him to paying almost 13.5 percent in interest for an *indefinite* amount of time. He was banking on another command and a war with Spain. It did not happen. Furthermore, his loan failed to consolidate all his debt.[28]

The conquest of St. Eustatius suddenly transformed Rodney's abject circumstances. It represented the best chance for this sixty-two-year-old naval commander to pay off his debts and to provide for his family. His health was poor and his children still young since he had married a second time, after being left a widower for seven years, to a woman twenty years his junior. His fifth child was born less than a year before the conquest. The first month of sales of the plunder at St. Eustatius netted an astounding £100,529 10s 4d. Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, his second-in-command, predicted that they would "find it difficult to convince the world that they [had] not proved themselves wickedly rapacious."[29]

Rodney did not disguise his elation at the sudden transformation of his situation. He wrote to his wife after the conquest: "I shall be happy as, exclusive of satisfying all debts, something will be left for my children. . . . My chief anxiety is, that neither yourself nor my girls shall ever be necessitous, nor be under obligations to others." His private letters to his family were euphoric with promises of a new London home, "the best harpsichord money can purchase" for his favorite

daughter, a marriage settlement for his oldest son, a commission in the foot guards for a younger son, a dowry for another daughter to marry an earl, and a settlement of the debts of his prospective noble son-in-law. "The lares of St. Eustatius were so bewitching," wrote Hood, "as not to be withstood by flesh and blood."[30]

The object of the commanders at St. Eustatius "was rather to increase their pecuniary emoluments, & those of their dependents, than to promote the national" interest. In the month following the capture of St. Eustatius, Rodney and Vaughan held "a grand military fair" in which they auctioned the seized goods to buyers of any country. Naval and military stores were included in this sale after "it was represented that permitting these articles to be included would *promote the sale of other* goods." Sales to the French were "so notoriously flagrant" that the officer on board the British flagship, "under whose stern they necessarily passed, [asked visitors] . . . not — *from where came ye*; but *have ye money on board?*" Captain Harvey "was appointed to see the Purchasers, with their Commodities, clear" of British privateers. The French and Americans were able to purchase stores from the British at St. Eustatius at prices 50 percent cheaper than they had purchased them from the Dutch. Meanwhile, the British commissioner of the dockyard at Antigua complained that the admiral was sending him unsuitable materials at inflated rates. Rodney countered that the commissioner and storekeepers were angry because they received a lower commission on cheaper goods.[31]

Rodney even appointed as agent for the auction of the captured goods a merchant from St. Kitts named Aretas Akers, who was friendly with the agents for South Carolina and Virginia on St. Eustatius and suspected of complicity in the illicit trade. He was said to have loans and merchandise worth between £40,000 and £50,000 on the island. The choice of Akers strained Rodney's thirty-five-year friendship with Admiral Hood, whom he punished for opposing Akers's appointment by removing him from the commission empowered to select the agent for the sale of the goods. Hood wrote scathing accounts of his commander's behavior which are sometimes dismissed as nothing more than the personal rancor of an envious subordinate but which are all too well supported by testimonies of others on St. Eustatius.[32]

Rodney was known among his contemporaries to be financially unscrupulous. He was forced to return from his stables a race horse that he had improperly taken from a French merchant ship *before* the outbreak of war in 1755. While he was commander-in-chief of the naval squadron in Jamaica in 1771–74, the first sea lord claimed that the money Rodney expended and his "mode of procuring it" was "undoubtedly very irregular and unprecedented." Rodney pleaded ignorance of the procedures as he later did at St. Eustatius: "the rules of the Navy Board I don't pretend to understand. . . . What difference could it make to the public service whether the Bills were drawn by the Admiral, or officers acting in money matters under the Navy Board?" Rodney was not eligible to receive a command on the

"The Late Auction at St. Eustatia (June 1781)." British satire of Admiral Sir George Rodney and General John Vaughan selling plundered goods after the conquest of St. Eustatius. (The British Library.)

outbreak of the American War until he settled his expenses from Jamaica with the Navy Board.[33]

Eighteenth-century warfare still possessed features of the medieval practice of private profit from the plunders of war. The loot was euphemistically called prize money. In a period of inadequate salaries and no pensions, officers and men expected rewards in the form of prize money, which was distributed according to exact proportions between the different ranks. In common with the planters and the majority of white creoles, naval and military officers anticipated making quick fortunes in the Caribbean before returning to Britain. It was disingenuous for Rodney to plead that he was unaware of the likely benefits of his capture because the royal grant of prize money was a mere formality following a naval capture. Commanders traditionally received one-eighth of the entire value of the captured goods. This gave the two commanders each one-sixteenth of all the possessions in St. Eustatius. Historian Barbara Tuchman denied that Rodney was motivated by prize money on the grounds he had just received a pension from the government, but the pension was inadequate to cover his existing debts let alone his aspirations.[34]

St. Eustatius was one of many episodes in Rodney's life in which he was deflected from an official mission by the lure of prize money. During the Seven Years

War, he was given the important responsibility of taking Major-General Jeffrey Amherst to his post as commander-in-chief of the expedition against Louisbourg. The passage was longer than expected because Rodney captured a merchant ship that, in order to prevent its recapture, he accompanied across the Atlantic. David Spinney, a sympathetic biographer, defends him against the "myth, repeated by nearly every historian who has noticed these events, that instead of holding a powerful squadron in readiness for [Admiral Sir George] Pocock, Rodney sent ships to cruise for prizes, thus disobeying orders, jeopardizing Pocock's chances of success, and confirming the legend about himself as a self-centered and rapacious careerist." In 1762 he also quarreled with the army over prize money following the capture of Martinique. During his command in Jamaica the minister responsible for the navy feared that he might deliberately provoke a war to obtain prize money and exploit the crisis with Spain.[35]

Only a few months before the conquest of St. Eustatius he had sailed to New York where he claimed superior command over Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot. He had no authority for his actions, even though the command structure was ill-defined, and it was widely suspected that his motive was to obtain a share of the prize money. Arbuthnot thought so and issued orders for prize money to be paid to his own agent with the threat of legal suits against his rival. Rodney did nothing to dispel the suspicion but rather helped foster it and made no attempt to meet Arbuthnot during his two-month sojourn in New York. His unexpected presence merely worsened existing tensions between Arbuthnot and the commander-in-chief of the army Sir Henry Clinton. However, by good chance, it saved most of his fleet from the terrible hurricane in the Caribbean of October 1780.[36]

Rodney's behavior suggests not only greed but also anti-Semitism. The most recent historian of the episode finds no evidence of anti-Semitism, but why else did Rodney discriminate against the Jews in punishing them more harshly than others? It was said that Rodney was unaware of the Jews' harsh treatment until it was too late, but several witnesses contradicted this claim. He himself wrote of apprehending "a Rascal of a Jew [who] has hid a chest of 5000 joes in a cane patch." Only the humane intervention of General Vaughan allowed the remaining Jews "time to settle their affairs" and "to return, and arrange their little matters."[37]

Earlier in his career, as a naval commander in Jamaica, Rodney had lashed out against Jews who he said conducted a "pernicious and Contraband Trade" at Kingston, insisting that "particularly the Jews" traded illegally with the Spanish. He confiscated two of their ships that were condemned for sale in the vice-admiralty court. When he wanted to obtain naval intelligence from the Jews of St. Domingo, he observed "they will do anything for money." There were of course Jews who had traditionally engaged in illicit trades. Stephen Fortune's study of Jewish merchants in the British West Indies argues that they often had the advantage of speaking several languages, together with family and religious networks in

other islands, but "creole merchants exaggerated Jewish dominance" in trade and Jews "always faced severer punishment than Christians." Rodney never attempted to demonstrate that the Jews were more guilty of illicit trade than other merchants in St. Eustatius.[38]

Rodney, according to his most recent biographer, "always evoked a curious mixture of admiration and antipathy." He has never received from historians the uncritical veneration of Nelson. Christopher Lloyd referred to his "rapacity for prize money," which "robbed his victories of their full military impact." Nicholas Rodger has argued that the navy was relatively free of the insidious effects of corruption and patronage with the major exception of Rodney, who "never displayed that reliability and trustworthiness" so necessary to "a senior officer's position," often attributing "to others those qualities of avarice and malice which independent observers thought characteristic of him." David Syrett writes, "Rodney had a long history, known throughout the service, for usurping authority and grasping every penny that came near him." David Spinney, although intent upon clearing the name of the admiral "whose case has gone by default," admits of the St. Eustatius episode that "Sir George's action, emotional and vindictive, can not be defended."[39]

The behavior of the British commanders at St. Eustatius provoked an immediate outcry against the illegality of their proceedings. Only hours after their capture of the island, a delegation of British merchants from St. Kitts arrived to claim property. They sent the commanders a lengthy memorial that was presented by the solicitor general of St. Kitts. They even threatened to arrest the admiral if he should set foot on St. Kitts. They began legal proceedings against the commanders in both St. Kitts and Britain. In Amsterdam, crowds rioted in protest against the plunder of St. Eustatius.[40]

As news of the activities of St. Eustatius reached London, the Society of West India Merchants and Planters collaborated to send a petition complaining of the commanders' behavior to the king. The society printed the petition in order to appeal to a broader external constituency, a tactic increasingly employed during the war. A delegation of merchants met with Lord George Germain to express their particular concern about the possibility of retaliation by the French—a legitimate concern since the St. Eustatius merchants had requested that France indemnify their losses out of the incomes from plantations in the occupied British islands of Grenada, Dominica, and St. Vincent.[41]

Edmund Burke brought the issue before Parliament, but his motion, for copies of the royal instructions relative to the disposal of captured property, was defeated. Undeterred, Burke began to prepare a case against Rodney that had the makings of his more famous prosecution of Warren Hastings. He renewed his appeal for copies of the instructions and made a motion for a committee of inquiry. In February 1782, supported by Charles James Fox, Burke made his final appeal when he presented the petition of one of the Jewish merchants who ap-

peared in person to present his case. He was Samuel Hoheb, an elder of the Jewish community, native of Amsterdam, and twenty-five-year resident of St. Eustatius who was too impoverished to bring legal proceedings against the commanders.

The initiative thereafter passed to the courts where the admiral faced suits until his death in 1792. The ninety claims of upwards of £300,000 far exceeded the value of his prize money. The claim of one British merchant, Richard Downing Jennings, amounted to £70,000. In 1786 the claimants won a judgment for reimbursement for the full original value of the goods and not just the profits of the sales. Mr. Hoelein, one of the claimants, settled for £1,000 from the commanders, although his goods had only yielded a little over £154 in the sale. In response to diplomatic pressure, the French merchants at St. Eustatius were similarly reimbursed. Rodney was forced to return their household goods and slaves while he was still in St. Eustatius. The British government later paid them two million livres' compensation.[42]

Rodney blamed the success of the English legal suits on the disappearance of crucial evidence: the merchant letter books and ledgers seized at St. Eustatius. His supporters argued that the loss of these papers by the British government was contrived by political enemies of Lord North, who won power in the final year of the war during the administration of Lord Shelburne. The fate of these papers must remain a mystery, but it is equally possible that his supporters in government, upon finding that they contained nothing to help his case but rather the reverse, arranged for their disappearance. Merchant papers rarely contained accounts of smuggling activities and illicit trade. The British commanders had ordered the sale of the captures without investigating these papers, and they had simply assumed the guilt of the merchants.[43]

An army officer who examined some of the merchant papers two months after the capture found "nothing material or improper" in their contents and returned them to the owners. The rest were shipped to England, where George Jackson, acting as counsel for the admiral, found them incomplete and confused. Rodney made no attempt to use these papers before their disappearance to defend himself in Parliament or in the Admiralty Court. Furthermore, Rodney's own letter book contained a gap of eleven months overlapping with the period of the conquest and plunder of St. Eustatius. Finally, his defense of his actions, *A Plain State of Facts relative to the Capture of St. Eustatius*, published in 1787, makes an unconvincing case for his innocence by failing to address the accusations of plunder.[44]

The fiasco of the conquest of St. Eustatius continued when the French seized the homeward bound convoy containing much of the remaining loot. The conquest never had the desired result of cutting off trade to America. As a conduit of illegal trade St. Eustatius was soon replaced by the Danish island of St. Thomas and by French occupied British possessions. Richard Buel argues that the conquest actually stimulated the revival of Philadelphia, which was consequently able to

feed George Washington's army as it marched to Yorktown. Furthermore, in November 1781, in a daring raid with a numerically inferior force, France retook St. Eustatius, together with pay sent for British forces in North America. It was even rumored that this last humiliation was deliberately planned by Rodney to destroy the evidence against him.[45]

Admiral Rodney's conduct at St. Eustatius had major strategic consequences. Its impact on the outcome of the war was more disastrous for the British than the momentary benefits of conquest. It contributed to the British defeat at Yorktown—and the loss of North America.

The fact is that Rodney remained at St. Eustatius for three crucial months during which he ceased to pursue further military operations. His presence was hardly necessary because "without its trade" the island was "a mere rock . . . neither of real nor relative importance." Instead of military concerns, he was preoccupied with the details of the sales of the captured goods and the safe return of his loot to Britain. He called off a proposed expedition against Dutch Curaçao and Surinam, excusing himself with intelligence reports that a French fleet had sailed for the West Indies. Hood, to whom he had promised command of the expedition, claimed that the decision was made before receiving what turned out to be a false report.[46]

These setbacks were incidental compared to Rodney's failure to intercept Admiral de Grasse's French fleet, which had left Brest on March 22, 1781, for the West Indies. British strategic policy in Virginia and the Caribbean was predicated on a superior British naval presence. The government therefore expected Rodney either to prevent de Grasse from entering Martinique or to follow him to North America, but he delegated this responsibility to Admiral Sir Samuel Hood. Rodney himself remained at St. Eustatius.

Furthermore, Rodney ordered Hood to position the British fleet to the leeward of Martinique, which Hood suspected was to protect the convoy of a hundred homeward bound prizes from St. Eustatius rather than to oppose the reinforcements from France. Hood complained, "doubtless there never was a squadron so unmeaningly stationed as the one under my command, and what Sir George Rodney's motive for it could be I cannot conceive, unless it was to cover him at St. Eustatius."[47] These were not retrospective criticisms but ones he had repeatedly expressed to Rodney. His fears were justified by events when Admiral de Grasse outmaneuvered him by sailing the windward route to Martinique.

In Rodney's defense, there were valid strategic reasons to reposition Hood. In 1779, Vice Admiral Byron had kept the windward position urged by Hood but was unable to prevent the reinforcement of Admiral d'Estaing at Martinique. It was difficult to patrol the entry to Fort Royal Bay in Martinique, either from the windward or the leeward, owing to the sudden changes in currents and the winds. Rodney twice failed to intercept the entry of a French fleet when he was positioned to the windward of Martinique against de Blénac in 1762 and de Guichen in June

Detail from a map of the West Indies in Robert Montgomery Martin, History of the West Indies *(London: Whittaker and Co., 1836.)*

1780. Furthermore, Rodney was misinformed by intelligence reports from Britain that underestimated the size and importance of the French fleet. Nevertheless, the suspicion must remain that mercenary motives caused him to reposition Hood while Rodney remained with part of the British fleet at St. Eustatius.[48]

De Grasse, after an undisturbed interlude at Martinique in which he again outwitted his British opponents by capturing Tobago, sailed via St. Domingue for Virginia. Rodney made no effort to pursue him but again delegated the job to Hood. Rodney appreciated the portentous implications of de Grasse's departure for North America and was well aware that his wily enemy intended to make for the Capes of Virginia, "where I am persuaded the French intend making their grand effort." He sent two warnings to Admiral Graves, commander of the North American squadron in New York, but neither reached him in time. The British government had assumed that Rodney would follow de Grasse, taking with him three British regiments from the Caribbean whose return had been promised to Sir Henry Clinton in 1778. After much equivocation, in which he changed his mind from day to day, Rodney instead ordered Hood to go to America while he returned to St. Eustatius and later sailed for Britain.[49]

Rodney may have decided not to follow de Grasse to Virginia because he understood the hopelessness of the British position, but such behavior was uncharacteristic of a man undaunted by the challenge of battle against a superior fleet. Moreover, Rodney assumed that de Grasse would leave some of his ships to protect the French islands in the Caribbean. He had not foreseen that de Grasse would gamble by taking his entire fleet of twenty-eight ships, giving the French naval superiority over the British in North America. Rodney blamed ill health for his inaction: he had long suffered severe gout and periods of nervous exhaustion, but, only the previous month, he had insisted that while he had "Vigour of Mind sufficient to . . . give Orders" he would pursue the French fleet "let them go where they will."[50]

It is more likely that his real motive for not pursuing de Grasse to Virginia was his desire to answer his critics in Britain about the conquest of St. Eustatius. His first priority on arriving in Britain was not recuperating his health but an unannounced visit to the king to justify his actions at St. Eustatius. He hurried from Plymouth to Windsor where he astonished and embarrassed the king, who had just returned from hunting and who was unprepared for this unexpected visitor. Dismayed by newspaper accounts of St. Eustatius, George III put off the admiral by pleading fatigue.[51] As news of the surrender of British forces at Yorktown reached London, Rodney was defending himself against Edmund Burke in the House of Commons.

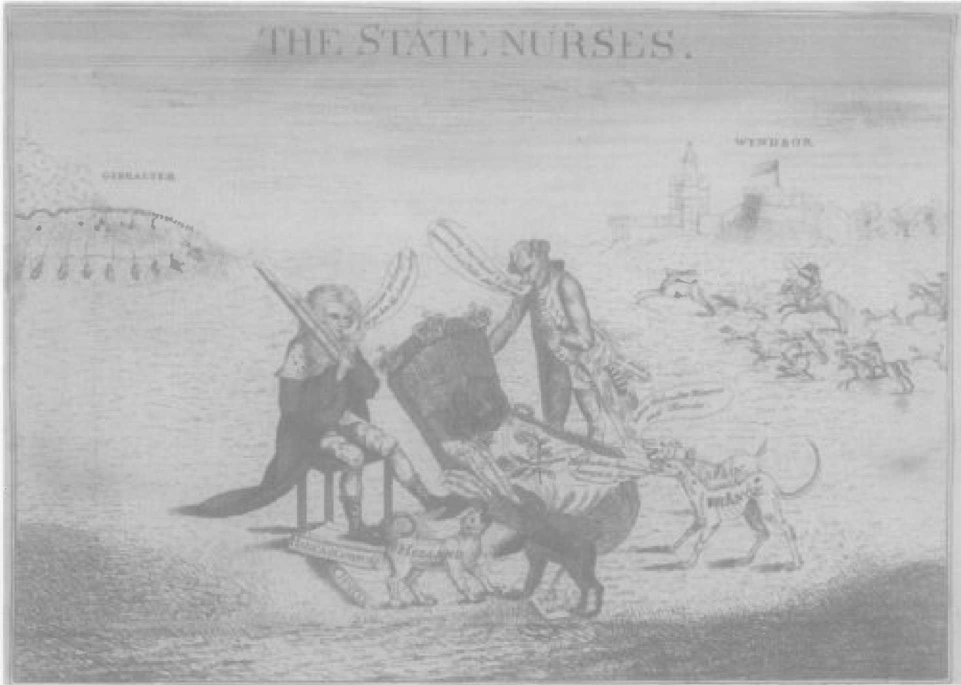
The failure of the British fleet to dislodge de Grasse in the naval battle in the Chesapeake sealed the fate of Lord Cornwallis' army at Yorktown. The British defeat was of course due to a variety of factors, but Rodney's departure had deprived the navy of their most senior and experienced commander in North America

in the summer of 1781. Hood claimed that Rodney would have won at the Chesapeake (also known as the battle of the Virginia Capes). Instead, Admiral Sir Thomas Graves, an interim appointment whom the government never intended for the post, commanded the most important naval battle of the American Revolution. Graves was temporarily commanding the squadron while waiting to be replaced from England by Admiral Robert Digby, who held a junior rank but who was considered superior for the command of the naval squadron in North America. Graves failed to appreciate the threat posed by de Grasse and ignored Hood's plea for immediate action; instead he wasted crucial critical time hunting for a convoy of enemy supplies off Boston Bay. Rodney contributed to the numerical inferiority of the British fleet at the Chesapeake by sending ships to Jamaica and by returning with three others to escort some of his plunder from St. Eustatius to Britain. Rodney was the admiral most familiar with the majority of the captains who commanded at the Chesapeake because they had only recently left his command with Hood to serve under Admiral Graves.[52]

The Hero of the Saintes

Why did Rodney not face more serious consequences when his private avarice at St. Eustatius may have helped contribute to the British defeat at Yorktown? That defeat is traditionally regarded as the closing chapter of the American Revolutionary War, but it marked the escalation of the conflict in the Caribbean. Admiral de Grasse rejected George Washington's request that the French fleet remain to assist with further operations against the British in the southern states after Yorktown, because he had already overstayed his orders to go to the Caribbean. His prime object was to combine with the Spanish fleet in a grand attack on Jamaica. French troops at Martinique daily practiced embarking and disembarking in preparation for another campaign, and aboard the French flagship were "50,000 pairs of handcuffs, and fetters . . . intended to confine the negroes" in Jamaica. In February 1782, de Grasse conquered St. Kitts, Montserrat, and Nevis as a preliminary to his proposed attack on Jamaica. He then awaited reinforcements imminently expected from France under de Guichen and the arrival of the Spanish fleet of Don Solano.[53]

Britain braced itself for the loss of its few remaining colonies in the Caribbean. The opposition rallied against the flagging government of Lord North. Charles James Fox warned that the ministry would "not be satisfied till they had mangled and destroyed the last miserable tenth" remaining of the British Empire. Lord John Cavendish feared that "the great and splendid empire of Britain was nearly overturned; calamity, disgrace, and disaster were pouring from us from every quarter; and the measure of our misfortunes was likely to be soon completed by the loss of all our dominions in America and the West Indies."[54] Cartoons lampooned the government; "The Royal Hunt or Prospect of the Year 1782," published in February, featured the devil saying, "I am sorry we have lost St. Kitts."[55]



"The State Nurses (October 1781)." Another satire, this one showing France, Spain, and Holland devouring the remnants of the British Empire. (The British Library.)

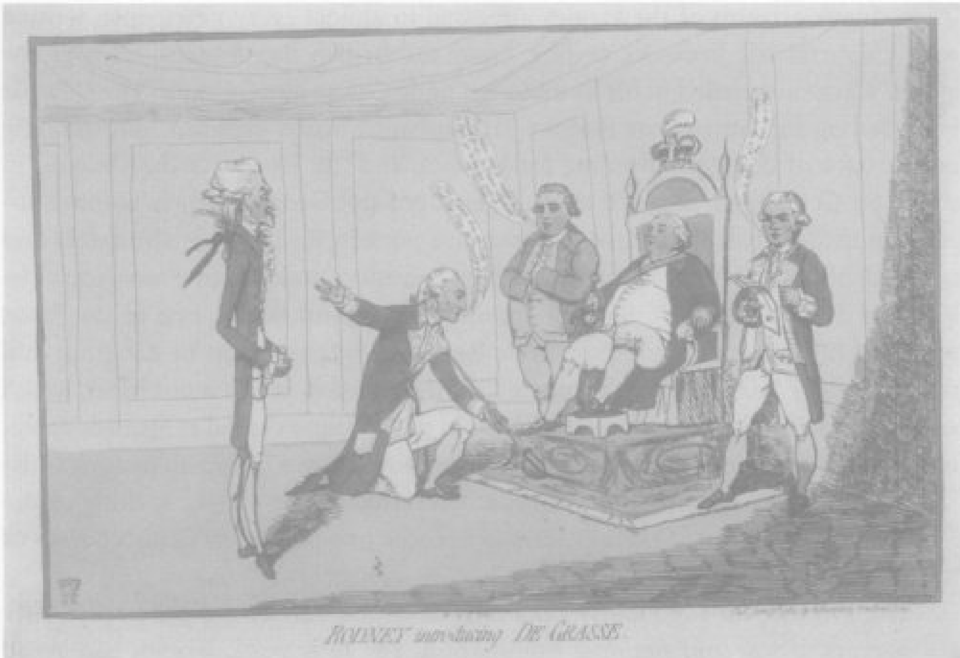
As politicians fretted over the future of the remaining British colonies in the Caribbean, Rodney became the savior of the British Empire when he defeated the French fleet at the battle of the Saintes on April 12, 1782. The home government, in what naval historian Nicholas Rodger describes as "a very dangerous scheme" in which "almost everything would be risked," concentrated its naval forces under Rodney in the Caribbean. The decision to give less priority to home defense in favor of the islands reflected the importance given to retaining the remaining colonies in the Caribbean. The government was well aware of Rodney's foibles in money matters and must have winced at trying to defend his actions in the Caribbean against Burke. However, Lord North and his ministers knew that after the defeat at Yorktown their own days were numbered. In returning to Britain, Rodney had not disobeyed orders since he had received permission before Yorktown to return home if his health continued to deteriorate. There was little to be gained by removing yet another commander as a sop to the opposition. The government therefore not only did not remove Rodney after St. Eustatius but they promoted him Vice-Admiral of Great Britain and entrusted him with their gamble in the Caribbean.

Rodney had a brilliant track record that accounted for the government's willingness to appoint him in the first place. His blockade of the French port of Le

"St. George & the Dragon." Cartoon celebrating Rodney's victory at the Saintes. (The British Library.)

Havre in 1759 had made him almost as famous as the legendary Admiral Vernon. He also commanded the fleet in the capture of Martinique and St. Lucia during the Seven Years War. He had performed spectacularly earlier in the American War capturing a Spanish squadron under Don Juan de Langara and relieving Gibraltar. Although personally disappointed by his failure to defeat de Guichen in May 1780, Lord Sandwich congratulated him that he "had captured more line of battleships than had been taken in any action in either of the two last preceding wars." Rodney was a maverick whose abuse of his authority exceeded that of his naval contemporaries but whose courage, tactical skill, and martial spirit were never doubted. He was the last best bet of Lord North's government, and the risk paid off. In a passage between Dominica and Guadeloupe, near a small group of islands known as Les Iles des Saintes, Rodney intercepted the French fleet as it sailed from Martinique to join troops in St. Domingue for the invasion of Jamaica.[56]

Eighteenth-century naval warfare had a classical symmetry that was so much a characteristic of the aesthetics of the period. The opposing fleets aligned with one another with such precision that they almost mirrored one another, with each "ship of the line" engaging an opposite ship of about equal firepower. In common with the similarly choreographed linear tactics of the land battles of the era, naval



"Rodney Introducing De Grasse." A cartoon of Rodney presenting the French Admiral De Grasse to George III. (The British Library.)

battles were often indecisive so that victory was won through attrition rather than spectacular defeats. Rodney departed from tradition in "breaking the line" in which he sailed through gaps in the opposing fleet enabling his own ships to use their cannon on both sides, to concentrate fire power and to surround the enemy ships at close range.

The resulting victory was proclaimed by Charles James Fox "perhaps the most brilliant that this country had seen" since the beginning of the eighteenth century. Rodney captured the French flagship, the *Ville de Paris,* together with four other warships, along with the siege artillery intended for the invasion of Jamaica. Four hundred men died and seven hundred were wounded on board the French flagship, more casualties than in the entire British fleet. Rodney took Admiral de Grasse prisoner, making the victory all the more satisfying for public consumption. Hood was once again critical of his commander, arguing that he might have inflicted an even greater defeat if he had pursued the rest of the French fleet after the battle, but the charge did nothing to diminish Rodney's reputation after the Saintes.[57]

The victory caused an outburst of euphoria in Britain. The memoirist Nathaniel Wraxall called it "an event which electrified the whole population of Great Britain" and later recalled that "only the enthusiasm roused by Nelson at the Nile exceeded

it." Rodney's account of the victory appeared in almost every newspaper, written with characteristic bravado, ending: "may the British flag flourish all over the globe." Cartoons reveled in his humiliation of de Grasse like Gillray's "The Ville De Paris Sailing for Jamaica, or Rodney Triumphant," which depicted him standing on the back of de Grasse heading for Jamaica, and "St. George & the Dragon" in which Sir George was depicted as the legendary Saint George. He was commemorated in medals, ballads, poems and souvenir pottery. Rodney was also celebrated in the British Caribbean, where his victory became a major anniversary until the battle of Trafalgar in 1805. Jamaica commissioned John Bacon, one of the finest sculptors in England, to commemorate Rodney. The merchants of Kingston and the planters of Spanish Town competed for the location of the monument, which survives today in the center square of the old government capital at Spanish Town. It is perhaps no coincidence that the battle became known in British history as the "Saints," and only recently have historians reverted to the correct spelling of the "Saintes." The villain of St. Eustatius had become one of the few British heroes of the American Revolutionary War.[58]

The intensity of the victory celebrations largely reflected public relief after seven years of war and national humiliation. For four years, Britain had stood alone against France. It was without allies, in contrast to earlier wars when it had successfully built coalitions within Europe against France. It had lost a great empire in North America. The Saintes rescued Britain from additional humiliation with the pending loss of its remaining colonies in the Caribbean and India. It helped to enable the British to make a separate peace agreement with the Americans and to obtain much better terms with France. Stephen Conway rightly argues that the national jubilation was "not so much an outpouring of affection for Rodney" but a reaction to the "psychological effects of fighting against the odds" and "a beleaguered nation bravely resisting a powerful array of opponents."[59]

Nevertheless, the victory at the Saintes won Rodney immunity from public censure for his actions at St. Eustatius. The government of Lord North fell before news reached London of the victory at the Saintes, and the new government of Lord Shelburne had recalled Rodney and sent out his replacement, an admiral who had never raised his flag at sea, Admiral Sir Hugh Pigot. Unable to rescind its recall in time, the government made quick amends by giving him a peerage as Lord Rodney of Rodney-Stoke. It ended the hearings against him and voted him the thanks of both houses of Parliament. Edmund Burke personally congratulated him for "such very splendid & such very substantial service to his country . . . [and denied any] personal animosity" telling others that he could crown the admiral with laurels. Burke and Fox were ridiculed in one satire for dropping the case of the Jews of St. Eustatius. They were portrayed playing musical instruments including the Jew's harp "found in the breeches['] pocket of the *St. Eustatius Israelite!*"[60]

However, the significance of St. Eustatius is not confined to a counterfactual

argument about outcome of the American War—if Rodney had tried to "break the line" of de Grasse's fleet at the Chesapeake rather than the Saintes, which might have facilitated the possible escape of Lord Cornwallis' army from Yorktown. The French and the Americans had missed similar opportunities to strike a decisive blow against the British before Yorktown. Furthermore, Graves had fought a much superior fleet to his own at the Chesapeake unlike Rodney at the Saintes. The St. Eustatius affair chiefly illustrated the importance of the war in the Caribbean for the war in North America. It was an integral but often unappreciated part of the road to Yorktown.

NOTES

1. The author wishes to give particular thanks for suggestions on earlier drafts of this article to Alison Games and Stewart R. King together with conference audiences at the Historical Society, National Convention, at Boston University in May 28, 1999; the Social Science History Association Conference, 24th Annual Meeting, Fort Worth, Texas, November 13, 1999, and the Program in Early American Economy and Society, the Library Company of Philadelphia, May 17, 2000. He also wishes to thank the University of Pennsylvania Press, publisher of *An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean,* for permission to reprint sections of chapter 9 which is developed in this article to give a fuller appreciation of the role of the St. Eustatius affair in the British defeat at Yorktown.
2. Orlando W. Stephenson, "The Supply of Gunpowder in 1776," *American Historical Review* (hereafter cited AHR), 30, 2 (1925): 271, 274, 277, 279, 281.
3. J. Franklin Jameson, "St. Eustatius and the American Revolution," *AHR,* 8 (1903); Barbara W. Tuchman, *The First Salute. A View of the American Revolution* (New York: Alred A. Knopf, 1988); Ronald Hurst, *The Golden Rock: An Episode in the American War of Independence, 1775–17* (London: Leo Cooper, 1996); Richard Buel, *In Irons: Britain's Naval Supremacy and the American Revolutionary Economy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).
4. Buel, *In Irons,* 119, 120, 180.
5. Jn Colpoys to Admiral Young, November 27, 1776, Adm. 1/309 (Pt. III) f.589, Public Record Office, Kew, London (hereafter cited PRO); Tuchman, *The First Salute,* 5–6, 16, 43, 54–55, 57. For salute of the flag in St. Croix see H. Kelly to Vice-Admiral Young, Antigua, October, 27, 1776, enclosed in Germain to Suffolk, March 14, 1777, Adm. 1/309 Part III and IV, PRO.
6. The article from St. Kitts was reproduced in the *Danish American Gazette,* April 16, 1777; quoted by Franklin L. Jameson, "St. Eustatius and the American Revolution," 691.
7. Evangeline W. and Charles M. Andrews, eds., *Journal of a Lady of Quality; Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina and Portugal, in the years 1774 to 1776* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), 136.
8. Ibid., 136–37.
9. Young to Heylinger, May 20, 1776, Adm. 1/309 f. 488; John Colpoys to Young, November 27, 1776, ibid., f. 589; F. C. Van Oosten, "Some Notes Concerning the Dutch West Indies During the American Revolutionary War," *The American Neptune,* 36 (1976): 165; Letters of Van Bibber (November 1776), Archives of Maryland, XII, 423, 436, quoted by Jameson, "St. Eustatius in the American Revolution," 690–91; Florence Lewisohn, "St. Eustatius: Depot for Revolution," *Revista/Review Interamericana,* 5 (1975–76): 625.

10. Lewisohn, "St. Eustatius: Depot for Revolution," 625; "Extract of a private letter from a gentleman in St. Kitt's, to his friend in Stirling, dated June 14," *Morning Post,* August 17, 1779; Lewisohn, "St. Eustatius: Depot for Revolution," 626; [James Ramsay], "Observations on the Caribbean Station," January 1780, volume 11, Germain Papers, William L. Clements Library, Anne Arbor, Michigan (hereafter cited WLCL); [James Ramsay] "Thoughts on the Charibbean Station," December 5, 1778, volume 8, ibid.
11. Christie to Germain, February 8, 1781, Germain Papers, volume 14; James Ramsay to Germain, March 1, 1781, ibid.; [James Ramsay] "Of St. Eustatius," March 1781, ibid.; Speech of Lord George Germain in the House of Commons, May 14, 1781, *St. James's Chronicle* (hereafter cited *StJC*), May 12–14, 1781.
12. *Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to 1803,* ed. William Cobbett, 36 vols. (London, 1806–22), 22:220–21, vol. 22; Rodney to Sandwich quoted in David Spinney, *Rodney* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1969), 362.
13. Extract of a letter from St. Eustatia, March 6, *London Chronicle,* April 12–14, 1781; Richard Downing Jennings, "Case of an English Subject at the Capture of St. Eustatius by Lord Rodney and General Vaughan in the year 1781" (1784), Sydney Papers, volume 12 f.14, WLCL; Speech of Edmund Burke, December 4, 1782, *StJC,* February 2–5, 1782; ibid., May 12–14, 1781; Hurst, *Golden Rock,* 139.
14. Rodney to Stephens, February 12, 1781, Adm. 1/314 f.50, PRO; *Royal Gazette,* April 14, 1781; James Ramsay to Germain, March 31, 1781, Germain Papers, volume 14.
15. Reverend James Ramsay to Germain, March 31, 1781, Germain Papers, vol. 14.
16. General Howe to Admiral James Young, January 30, 1776, Adm. 1/309 f.415, PRO; Sir Henry Calder to Germain, St. Lucia, September 19, 1779, CO 318/7 f.55, PRO; Petition of the West India Merchants and Planters to the King, April 6, 1781, Shelburne Papers, vol. 79, f.173, WLCL; [Anon.] *A Speech which was Spoken in the House of Assembly of St. Christopher Upon a motion made on Tuesday the 6th of November, 1781, For Presenting An Address to His Majesty, Relative to The Proceedings of Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan at St. Eustatius And the Present Dangerous Situation of The West India Islands* (London, 1782), 28; Jennings, "Case of an English Subject at the Capture of Saint Eustatius," Sydney Papers vol. 12, f.5, WLCL.
17. Vaughan and Rodney to Germain, July 3, 1781, CO 318/7, PRO; Spinney, *Rodney,* 375, 377; Hurst, *Golden Rock* p. 137; Orders given by Sir George Bridges Rodney to his Agents, July 31, 1781, Sydney Papers, volume 9; [Anon.] *A Speech which was Spoken in the House of the Assembly of St. Christopher,* 25.
18. Hurst, *Golden Rock,* 7; Norman F. Barka, "Citizens of St. Eustatius, 1781. A Historical and Archaeological Study," in Robert L. Paquette and Stanley L. Engerman, eds. *The Lesser Antilles in the Age of European Expansion* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 228.
19. Andrews, eds., *Journal of a Lady of Quality,* 136–37.
20. Jennings, "The Case of an English Subject at St. Eustatius," Sydney Papers, vol. 12, f.14; Speech of Edmund Burke, May 14, 1781, *StJC,* May 12–14, 1781; James Ramsay to Germain, March 31, 1781, Germain Papers, vol. 14.
21. Jennings, "Case of an English Subject," Sydney Papers, vol. 11 f. 14; Speech of Edmund Burke, May 14, 1781, *StJC,* May 12–14, 1781.
22. Speech of Edmund Burke, May 14, 1781, *StJC,* May 12–14, 1781; [Anon.] *A Speech Which was Spoken in the House of Assembly of St. Christopher,* 16; Richard Neave to Germain, April 26, 1781, Germain Papers, vol. 14; Germain to Vaughan, March 30, 1781, CO 318/8 f.89.
23. Reverend James Ramsay to Germain, March 1, 1781, Germain Papers, vol. 14.
24. Spinney, *Rodney,* 369; Hurst, *Golden Rock,* 26; Rodney to Stephens, February 12, 1781, Adm.

1/314 f. 48-49; Copy of a Letter from Admiral Rodney to the Marquis de Bouillé, *Maryland Gazette*, May 31, 1781.

25. Rodney to Stephens, March 9, 1781, quoted in *General Advertizer*, July 4, 1786, of which there is a copy in the Sydney Papers, vol. 13; ibid., and Vaughan to Germain, June 25, 1781, CO 28/58 f. 224; Rodney to Lady Rodney, April 23, 1781, G. B. Mundy, 2 vols. *Life and Correspondence of the Late Admiral Lord Rodney* (London, 1830), 2:97; Rodney to Stephens, June 29, 1781, Adm. 1/314 f. 214.

26. Ibid.; Rodney to Stephens, March 6, 1781, Adm. 1/314; Rodney to Stephens, March 17, 1781, Adm. 1/314 f.61.

27. Spinney, *Rodney*, 268, 274, 278, 284–85, 286, 287, 290; Christopher Lloyd, "Sir George Rodney. Lucky Admiral," in George Athan Billias, ed., *George Washington's Generals and Opponents: Their Exploits and Leadership* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1994), 332.

28. See Spinney, *Rodney*, 20–21 for childhood and father; for gambling, ibid. 111, 225, 239, 273, for lavish lifestyle, ibid. 219; for Northampton election ibid. 236; for loans and financial decline, ibid. 217, 238, 240, 241, 246, 249, 264, 266.

29. Hood to Jackson, May 21, 1781, quoted in W. M. James, *The British Navy in Adversity: A Study of the War of American Independence* (London, 1926), 257; Hood to Jackson, June 24, 1781, in David Hannay, ed., *Letters Written by Sir Samuel Hood . . . 1781–1783* (London, 1895), 18; N. A. M. Rodgers, *The Wooden World: Anatomy of the Georgian Navy* (Annapolis: Naval Institutue Press, 1988), 323; David Syrett, *The Royal Navy in American Waters 1775–1783* (Aldershot, England: Scholastic Press, 1989), 154; John A. Tilley, *The British Navy and the American Revolution* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1987), 201; Spinney, *Rodney*, 129, 215, 216, 367.

30. Rodney to Lady Rodney, April 23, 1781, in Mundy, *Life and Correspondence of the Late Admiral Lord Rodney*, 2:100; Rodney to Lady Rodney, March 18, 1781, Greenwich 35 MS. 0292, quoted in Spinney, *Rodney*, 367; Rodney to George Rodney, February 6, 1781, Rodney Papers (Belsize Park) quoted in Spinney, ibid., 380; Donald MacIntyre, *Admiral Rodney* (London: Peter Davies, 1962), 16; Hood to Jackson, June 24, 1781, Hannay, ed., *Letters Written by Sir Samuel Hood*, 18.

31. Jennings, "Case of an English Subject at the Capture of Saint Eustatius," Sydney Papers vol. 12, f. 20; ibid., f. 15, 20, 17; Speech of Edmund Burke, December 4, 1781, *StJC*, December 4–6, 1781; Spinney, *Rodney*, 368.

32. Byron to Stephens, August 3, 1779, Adm. 1/312 f. 111; Aretas Akers to Charles Lyell, July 27, 1779, ibid., f.115; Richard Downing Jennings, "Account of the proceedings of Lord Rodney and General Vaughan at St. Eustatius," April 9, 1789, Sydney Papers, volume 15; James Ramsay to Vaughan, June 26, 1780, CO 318/6 f. 169 acknowledges help of Akers in procuring information; Aretas Akers to Rodney December 28, 1780, PRO 30/20/261 f.9; Akers to Rodney, January 19, 1781, ibid. f. 14–15; Akers to Rodney, January 31, 1781, ibid., f.17; Capt. W. Young to Sir Charles Middleton, December 26, 1780, in Sir J. K. Laughton, ed., *Letters and Papers of Charles, Lord Barham, Admiral of the Red Squadron, 1758–1813*, 3 vols. (London, 1906–10), 1:86.

33. Spinney, *Rodney*, 121, 266–67, 275; Andrew J. O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided. The American Revolution and the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 229.

34. Tilley, *The British Navy and the American Revolution*, 201; Syrett, *The Royal Navy in American Waters*, 154–55; Tuchman, *The First Salute*, 172.

35. Spinney, *Rodney*, 141, 201–2, 206, 255.

36. Ibid., 346, 347, 349; N. A. M. Rodger, *The Insatiable Earl. The Life of John Montagu, Fourth*

Earl of Sandwich 1718–1792 (London: Harper Collins, 1993), 284–88; Syrett, *The Royal Navy in American Waters*, 152–59; Tilly, *The British Navy and the American Revolution*, 198.
37. Hurst, *Golden Rock*, 143; Rev. James Ramsay to Germain, March 1, 1781, Germain Papers, vol. 14; Jennings, "Case of an English Subject," Sydney Papers, vol.12 f.14; Rodney to Vaughan, February 6, 1781, Vaughan Papers vol. 3, f.21; James Ramsay to Germain, March 1, 1781, Germain Papers vol. 14; "The Most Humble Address of the Wardens and Elders of the Hebrew Congregation to His Excellency the Hon. John Vaughan, Major General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Army in the Leeward Islands," CO 28/58 f.246, PRO.
38. Rodney to Stephens, February 8, 1772, Adm. 1/238; Rodney to Stephens, March 12, 1774, Adm. 1/239; *Westminster Journal*, April 18, 1772; Hurst, *Golden Rock*, 143; Stephen Alexander Fortune, *Merchants and Jews: The Struggle for British West Indian Commerce, 1650–1750* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1984), 104, 126, 139, 145.
39. Spinney, *Rodney*, 375; Christopher Lloyd, "Sir George Rodney. Lucky Admiral," in *George Washington's Generals and Opponents*, 327; Rodgers, *Wooden World*, 323, 324. See also ibid. 124, 325, 338, 339. Rodger, *The Insatiable Earl*, 176; Syrett, *The Royal Navy in American Waters 1775–1783*, 154. See Spinney, *Rodney*, for nepotism, 250, 251, 274, 354, 380, 407; for financial malfeasance, see 266, 267, 275.
40. Ramsay to Germain, March 15, 1781, Germain Papers, vol. 14; *Pennsylvania Journal*, August 4, 1781.
41. Petition of the West India Planters and Merchants to the King, April 6, 1781, Shelburne Papers, vol. 79, f.173; Richard Neave, chairman of the society, to Germain, April 26, 1781, Germain Papers vol. 14; *Pennsylvania Journal*, December 22, 1781. The petition does not appear in the minutes of the West India Merchants. It is printed in the *London Chronicle*, April 12–14, 1781, and *Lloyd's Evening Post*, April 13–15, 1781.
42. Spinney, *Rodney*, 420–21, 423, 426; Hurst, *Golden Rock*, 139; Jennings, "Case of an English Subject at the Capture of Saint Eustatius," Sydney Papers vol. 12, f.22.
43. Spinney, *Rodney*, 420; Jennings, "Case of an English Subject at the Capture of Saint Eustatius," Sydney Papers, vol. 12, f. 15, 19.
44. Affidavit of Major Nichols, March 24, 1786, quoted in the *General Advertiser*, July 4, 1786; Spinney, *Rodney*, 383; *General Advertiser*, July 4, 1786: "Account of the controversy over Rodney's actions in the St. Eustatius Affair," of which there is a copy in the Sydney Papers, vol. 13. There was a testimony accusing Arthur Savage, an American loyalist employed in the colonial office, of selling the papers to one of the British merchants in St. Eustatius, Richard Downing Jennings. However, Rodney made no use of this document in his possession. Indeed, Savage admitted returning Jennings's papers because they contained nothing that incriminated their owner. See Hurst, *Golden Rock*, 229; Declaration of Arthur Savage concerning St. Eustatius, July 1786, Sydney Papers, vol. 13.
45. *General Advertizer*, July 4, 1786, copy in the Sydney Papers, vol. 13; Buel, *In Irons*, 44. The fall of St. Eustatius was in reality due to a classic coup de main which became a popular example in military manuals. See Robert Selig, "The French Capture of St. Eustatius, 26 November, 1781," *Journal of Caribbean History*, 27 (1993): 129–143.
46. [Anon.], *A Speech which was spoke in the House of Assembly of St. Christopher*, 11; Spinney, *Rodney*, 362–63.
47. Hood to George Jackson, May 21, 1781, Hannay, ed., *Letters Written by Sir Samuel Hood*, 13–15.
48. Spinney, *Rodney*, 339, 368.
49. Rodney quoted in Tuchman, *The First Salute*, 235; Germain to Vaughan, April 4, 1781, CO 318/8 f.103; Germain to Vaughan, July 4, 1781, ibid., f.127.

50. Rodney to Philip Stephens, June 29, 1781, in *Letters from Sir George Brydges now Lord Rodney, To His Majesty's Ministers, &c. &c. Relative to the Capture of St. Eustatius, And Its Dependencies; And Shewing the State of the War in the West-Indies, at that Period* (London, 1789), 81–82.
51. Spinney, *Rodney*, 381–82
52. William B. Willcox, "Arbuthnot, Gambier and Graves," in Billias, ed., *George Washington's Generals and Opponents*, 277–78.
53. The Institut Français De Washington, ed., *Correspondence of General Washington and Comte De Grasse* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931), 37, 46, 47, 58, 76, 121, 130–31, 138; *StJC*, January 3–5, 1782; *London Chronicle*, August 6–8, 1782: extract of a letter from a clergyman on the Island of Jamaica, dated May 13, 1782; *Morning Herald*, August 7, 1782.
54. Debate on the Resolution moved by General Conway against the further prosecution of offensive warfare on the continent of North America, February 27, 1782, in Cobbett and Hansard, eds., *Parliamentary History of England*, 22:1096, 1110.
55. M. Dorothy George, ed., *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum 1771–1783* (London, 1935), V, nos. 5961 and 5986. The political impact of the loss of St. Kitts can be gauged in George III to Lord North, March 4, 1782, in Sir John Fortescue, ed., *Correspondence of George III*, 6 vols. (London, 1928), vol. V, no. 3540; George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle, March 6, 1782, *Carlisle Manuscripts*, Historical Manuscripts Commission, ed. (London, 1891–94), 42, 586; Selwyn to Lord Carlisle, March 26, 1782, ibid., 606; Richard Neave to Ellis Yonge, London, March 7, 1782, in "West Indian Planter Attitudes to the American and French Revolutions as Seen in MSS in the National Library of Wales," ed. C. Taylor (Aberwystwyth, 1977; typescript at the Institute of Historical Research in London), 368; Lord Sandwich to George III, March 12, 1782, in Fortescue, ed., *Correspondence of George III*, V, no. 3540; George III to Lord Sandwich, March 12, 1782, in G. R. Barnes and J. H. Owen, eds., *The Private Papers of John, Earl of Sandwich*, 4 vols. (London, 1932–38), vol. IV 78, 243: Edmund Malone to Charlemont, July 5, 1780, *Charlemont Manuscripts*, Historical Manuscripts Committee, ed., 2 vols. (London, 1891), 1:374; I. R. Christie, *The End of North's Ministry* (London: Macmillan, 1958), 344–45.
56. Sandwich quoted in Spinney, *Rodney*, 341; Rodger, *The Insatiable Earl*, 327, 305.
57. Cobbett and Hansard, eds., *Parliamentary History of England*, vol. xxiii, 51, quoted in Stephen Conway, "'A Joy Unknown for Years Past': The American War, Britishness and the Celebration of Rodney's Victory at the Saints," *History*, 86, 282(2001): 181.
58. Wraxall quoted in Lloyd, "Sir George Rodney," 349 and Conway, "A Joy Unknown for Years Past," 184. See also Conway, 180–99, for a discussion of the popular reaction to the battle of the Saintes.
59. Conway, "A Joy Unknown for Years Past," 187, 189, 190, 197, 198.
60. Edmund Burke to Lord Rodney, July 1782, 30/21/6 f.73, PRO; *The Parliamentary Register* (London, 1782), v., 92 quoted in Christopher Lloyd "Sir George Rodney," in Billias, ed., *George Washington's Generals and Opponents*, 343; *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, November 6, 1783.

East elevation of the main house at l'Hermitage. The left portion was constructed in 1794, the taller right section about 1820. Embedded within the structure is a smaller building that was already standing when the Vincendieres established residence on the property in early 1794. (Author's photograph.)

L'Hermitage: A French Plantation in Frederick County

PAULA STONER REED

"Aunt Victoire in physique was regal—of majestic bearing."[1] Esther Winder Polk Lowe used those words to describe her husband's aunt Victoire Pauline Marie Gabriel Bellumeau de la Vincendiere. Victoire's story begins when she, as a seventeen-year-old girl, fled the family's plantation in St. Jerome de la Petite Riviere Parish, l'Artibonite Quarter,[2] on the French colonial island of Saint Domingue. She became a refugee of the slave revolt that began on the island in 1791 and culminated with the establishment of the Republic of Haiti in 1804. Other characters enrich the tale: Magnan, Victoire's mother; sisters Pauline, Emerentienne, Adelaide, and Helene, and brother Etienne; Payen Boisneuf, Pierre Leberon, James Marshall, Reverend John DuBois, Mr. Casenave, Mr. Walker, and Enoch Louis Lowe and his wife Esther. A major figure in the story, Victoire's father, Etienne, never appears, but his absence drives much of the drama. Victoire rose to dominance. She was strong, independent, controlling, perhaps ruthless, but generous to the point of jeopardizing her resources for causes important to her. She chose not to marry. Her triumph was her success in managing a large plantation in central Maryland, ninety slaves, and a household of homeless exiles from France and Saint Domingue.

Aboard the ship *Carolina*, Victoire arrived in Baltimore on October 25, 1793.[3] With her, although possibly traveling on other vessels and arriving separately, were her pregnant mother, Marguerite Elizabeth Pauline de Magnan de la Vincendiere, her older brother, Etienne Paul Marie, age twenty-four, an older sister who was married, Marie Françoise Pauline, age twenty-one, and younger sisters, eight-year-old Jeanne Pauline Emerentienne, and four-year-old Adelaide. The baby Helene was born in Maryland in 1794. Apparently another brother came with the family, although no record of him survives.[4]

Upon their arrival in late 1793, the Vincendieres established residence in Frederick Town but by 1794 were constructing a plantation and refuge, *l'Hermitage*, along the Monocacy River, about two miles southeast of Frederick.[5] Today their plantation is also known as the "Best Farm" on the Monocacy National Battlefield. The Vincendieres could not have accomplished the development of l'Hermitage without the help of James Marshall, merchant and farmer, who owned the land that became their plantation. Despite the fact that Victoire's household initially

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Adelaide Vincendiere (1789–1850), younger sister of Victoire Vincendiere. (Historical Society of Frederick County.)

Facing page: Carte de l'Isle de Saint Domingue, 1764. *(Library of Congress.)*

included her mother, older brother, and older sister, Victoire emerged as the head of the family. *L'Hermitage,* eventually consisting of nearly 750 acres, substantial buildings and ninety slaves, was entirely in her name and under her control. The descriptor "formidable" might be added to "regal" and "majestic" in characterizing Victoire Vincendiere.

Although Saint Domingue rumbled with unrest and rumors of slave insurrections throughout the eighteenth century, these undercurrents were controlled until August 22, 1791, when an organized colony-wide slave rebellion erupted. Saint Domingue was the French portion of the island that also included the Spanish colony that today is the Dominican Republic. "By 1789, Saint Domingue was the world's largest producer of sugar and coffee; its plantations produced twice as much as all other French colonies combined."[6] Saint Domingue was a major contributor to the French economy and produced a wealthy planter society on the island. The island, along with others in the Caribbean, formed an important link in the Atlantic Basin trade triangle of the eighteenth century. Due to its prosperity, the island attracted many planters, merchants, craftsmen, adventurers, and criminals. Plantation owners, known as *grand blancs* were at the top of the social scale of the island. While some lived year-round in Saint Domingue, many traveled back and forth between the colony and homes in France. The Vincendieres were members of the *grand blanc* group and divided their time between France and Saint

Domingue. At least some of the Vincendiere children were born in France, according to their cemetery stones. Adelaide's gravestone and the 1850 census records give her place of birth in 1789 as France. Victoire's tombstone states that she was born in France, while the 1850 census lists her place of birth as Saint Domingue. Both indicate that the year was 1776. Perhaps the family was living in France at the beginning of the French Revolution in 1789 and fled to their island plantation to escape hostilities, an ironic possibility.

Saint Domingue was the world's largest and most profitable colony by 1739, and driving the island's plantation economy was slave labor. Tens of thousands of new slaves arrived from Africa each year. In 1771 traders brought slightly more than ten thousand, a number that had doubled five years later. In the decade preceding the French Revolution, Saint Domingue's booming economy was the engine that tripled the volume of the French slave trade. According to records, the number of slaves imported *annually* nearly equaled the size of the colony's white population and had reached the staggering total of thirty thousand by 1785.[7] With so many newly imported slaves arriving each year, the slave population was made up largely of native Africans, as opposed to island-born Creoles. African religious beliefs, language patterns, and customs permeated slave life in Saint Domingue.

The colony had a reputation for brutality toward slaves. Some French planters resorted to physical abuse, torture, dismemberment, and death to "teach" slaves

obedience and submission. Not many slaves survived more than a few years in the colony, as evidenced by the large number of new imports needed each year. Yet, the population of slaves eventually came to be more than ten times greater than the number of whites. The situation resulted in tension, fear, and distrust between *grand blancs* and slaves.

In addition to the majority population of enslaved Africans and powerful *grand blancs* were two other groups. Mulattos, people of mixed blood, some of whom were slaves and others free, had ambiguous status in the colony. Those who were free could own property, and some acquired great wealth, but under French law they had no rights of citizenship. Social structure on the island was complicated; mulattos were distinguished in a hierarchy of classes, defined by their percentage of white blood. The island also had a population of lower-class whites, consisting of shopkeepers, laborers, adventurers, former pirates, and criminals. These *petit blancs* had rights of citizenship but little wealth. They were particularly hostile toward affluent mulattos.[8]

The tense and conflicted social order of Saint Domingue, always precarious, came apart with the onset of the French Revolution in 1789. The revolution and its resulting democratic policies, including a law extending the suffrage to landowning mulattos in the French West Indies, precipitated rebellion in Saint Domingue. Plantation owners, *grand blancs*, objected to enfranchising mulattos and refused to comply with the new French law, leading to a revolt among the mulattoes who were eventually aided by the majority population of slaves, which numbered about 450,000. Beginning in August of 1791, large roving bands of rebelling slaves armed with cane knives, pikes, and stolen guns set fire to sugar cane fields in the island's fertile northern plain, attacking, torturing, and killing *grand blancs*, men, women, and children alike. Refugees crowded into Cap François, the port city on the north coast of the island, seeking safety. The city was fortified, but so great was the uprising that Le Cap, as it was known, eventually fell to the rebels, who set it afire and committed atrocities against whites. Survivors escaped with little more than their lives. "[D]estitute white refugees piled into both warships and merchant craft" and set sail for the United States. This first wave of refugees landed at Baltimore on July 9, 1793. Some ten thousand eventually arrived in the United States in the wake of the fire and destruction at Cap François.[9] The slave revolt lasted until 1804, when it ended with the establishment of the Republic of Haiti.

A group of Baltimore refugees wrote in 1817 to "His Excellency Monsieur Hyde de Neuville Minister of France to the United States of America" recalling their experience during the revolt. The occasion was to honor and to request compensation for merchant Duncan McIntosh, who had helped refugees elude imprisonment and death in Saint Domingue. The year 1804, they said, was the time when Saint Domingue, "the most beautiful, the most fertile, and the most flourishing of the colonies of France, became suddenly plunged into anarchy, disorder and dis-

solution, following the open revolt of which for 13 years it had been the theatre. . . . when insatiable carnage overran the settlements when 400,000 assassins thirsty for blood, drunk with fury, and made bold with the certainty of impunity, devoted themselves to the destruction of twenty-five thousand Whites, abandoned without defense."[10]

American citizens responded to the slave revolt by conducting an emergency boatlift to rescue the French planters from the destruction at Le Cap. On July 9, 1793, a small fleet of "six ships (one a Guineaman with Negroes), four brigs and four schooners, being part of the fleet which sailed from Cape-François on the 23rd ultimo" arrived in Fells Point carrying 619 people. It was only the beginning. "We hear that 110 sail of the above fleet are destined to this port," noted the *Maryland Gazette.* A committee of Baltimore merchants formed to visit the French vessels and inquire "into the different states and conditions of each passenger on board.—This is done with a view of affording relief to those citizens who had to flee from the dreadful carnage and shocking massacre of the whites by a savage enemy, at Cape-François on the 23rd ultimo."[11] Among the committee of merchants was Mr. Casenave who was connected with Pierre Leberon, one of the refugees who resided at l'Hermitage.

In Maryland there was an outpouring of support for the hapless refugees. Committees across the state formed to lend financial aid, and Baltimore pledged nearly $11,000 in the first two days of solicitation. The French exiles from Saint Domingue "did not linger in poverty like the Acadians four decades before." Many were educated nobles or professionals. "For many years, Maryland and the West Indies had been doing business with one another, so a familiarity of economic and social structures in their adopted home was quite an advantage to the refugees."[12] Merchants were particularly desirous of helping the refugees out of sympathy, friendship, and former business relationships with French colonial planters.

Although Maryland was a major point of destination, refugees sought asylum up and down the East Coast and along the Gulf Coast. Philadelphia received the greatest number of evacuees. These displaced people came largely from the planter and merchant classes. Others were mulattos, and slaves who accompanied their owners.[13]

Maryland modified its laws to accommodate the refugees through "An Act for the relief of certain Foreigners who have settled within this state, further supplementary to the ACT for NATURALIZATION; passed the 22nd of December, 1792." The new law protected property rights and declared that French subjects who settled in Maryland might retain their slaves, but the number they could keep after the expiration of a year from their coming was limited to five domestic servants to the master of the family, and three to a single man.[14]

To comply with the law, the Vincendieres and other refugees filed "Declarations of Negroes" stating the number and names of slaves they brought into Mary-

land. Written declarations for slaves by Victoire, her mother, Magnan, brother, E. P. M. [Etienne Paul Marie] and relative Payen Boisneuf record their arrival. Victoire's certificate reads: "I the underwritten Proprietor Planter of the French part of St. Domingo at this time resident of Frederick Town in Maryland State accordingly to the law of this aforesaid state of the third and twenty day of December of the year seventeen hundred and ninety two, Declare I came to Baltimore Town the fifth and twenty day of last October by the ship Carolina, Captain Watson and I have brought a Negro servant, my slave named Saint Louis about fourteen years old whom I keep for my own service as I am authorized to do by the aforesaid law. Made in Frederick Town in the Maryland State this fourth and twenty day of December of the year seventeen hundred and ninety three."[15] The other three declarations do not list the date of arrival or name of the ship, but say that the slaves arrived on the fifth of November 1793.

Magnan's declaration states that she had "sent to her from St. Domingo," five slaves, a Black man, Janvier, 24; François, surnamed Arajon, 20; Jean, surnamed Sans-nom, 16; a black woman, Veronique, 16; and mulatto Maurice, 15. The fact that Magnan, Victoire's mother, brought five slaves, indicates that she was considered "master of the family" under the 1792 law. E. P. M. Vincendiere, Victoire's brother, had sent to him three slaves, Marianne, about 40; Cecele, her daughter, 18; and Souris, 15.[16] As a single man, Etienne was allowed three slaves under the 1792 law. Victoire, as a single young woman brought only one slave, Saint Louis. No other slave declarations are recorded for members of the Vincendiere Family.

The father, Etienne Bellumeau de la Vencendiere, apparently never came to Maryland. He has a gravestone at Saint John's Catholic cemetery, but there is no documentary evidence that he was ever in Frederick. Since his wife brought five slaves as "master of the family," and Victoire owned the family's property, he probably remained in Saint Domingue when the rest of the family fled. The youngest Vincendiere child, Helene, was baptized at St. John's Catholic Church in Frederick on October 12, 1794. In attendance were E. P. M. Delavincendiere, Victoire Vincendiere, M. Pierre Leberon, Magnan Vincendiere, Emerentienne Vincendiere, Payen Boisneuf and the Reverend J. DuBois, pastor. The baptismal record specifically notes that the father was "absent" for the occasion.[17] His fate remains a mystery.

Saint Domingue was divided into three jurisdictions, the North, the West, and the South. Most of the rebellion in the early years was concentrated in the North and its principal city, Cap François, today known as Cap Haitian. The Vincendiere family was from a part of Saint Domingue that was not a part of the first stages of violence. They were located in the Department of the West, at or near the town of Petite Reviere de l'Artibonite,[18] on the Artibonite River, about twenty-five miles inland from the west coast of the island. While the Vincendieres were not among the first wave of refugees to leave the island in June 1793, they did flee a few months later.

According to Esther Winder Polk Lowe's autobiography, written for her children,

> They [Vincendiere family] were refugees from San Domingo. Aunt Victoire told me that her uncle was one of the victims of the insurrection, having been shot by a native whilst seated at the dinner table. . . . Your grandmother was Adelaide said to have been beautiful and accomplished. She came to America when a child of four years. Helen who married Mr. Petray was an infant. Aunt Victoire was 16 years old — a charming young girl who gave up an engagement of marriage with a young nobleman to remain with her mother and devote her life to the education of her brothers and sisters. Aunt Emerentienne was next in age to Aunt Victoire — a superior woman; but, I was told without the charm of the other sisters. She married Captain Corbaley, an officer of the US Army who graduated from West Point in the same class as your grandfather Bradley Lowe. . . . There were in the family two sons. You have sketches drawn by them. They both died of that dreadful Monocacy fever that was prevalent in Frederick at that time. . . . The Hermitage, their home was bought by the family and there they lived until the changes of time and conditions made it necessary to leave and move into the town. I have been told that their home was beautiful and an asylum for many penniless exiles from France and San Domingo. It was there that your father [Maryland Governor, Enoch Louis Lowe] was born. They lived at the Hermitage several years after his birth. The family being reduced to three in number, they removed to Frederick where they built that old comfortable house."[19]

The "asylum" at l'Hermitage began almost as soon as the Vincendieres arrived in Frederick, on a portion of the plantation of James Marshall. Marshall, a native of Scotland, had developed a landholding of nearly two thousand acres along the Monocacy River. Most of this land he acquired in 1758. On April 15, 1791, Marshall bought eighty-six additional acres, part of "Locust Level" from Daniel Dulaney. That piece was on the west side of the Monocacy, adjoining "Arcadia," an 881-acre tract that Marshall patented in August 1793.[20] On a combination of Locust Level and Arcadia land recently assembled by James Marshall, the Vincendieres established l'Hermitage. Since the Vincendieres went directly to Frederick and very shortly to the land of James Marshall, who was a merchant, it appears likely that Marshall was providing significant aid to the refugee family. Perhaps Marshall acquired the eighty-six acres of Locust Level specifically for the purpose of turning it over to the Vincendieres, who may have been clients of his. No lease from Marshall to Victoire Vincendiere was recorded; their agreement must have been an informal one, or if written, it is lost to history.

A few buildings were already on the property when the Vincendieres arrived, at least two one-story stone dwellings, probably tenant habitations. Immediately the Vincendieres set to work constructing a manor house or *grand' case* plus a secondary dwelling with several living units and a large stone crop barn. These are

the buildings that survive today. The complex also would have included slave quarters and various support buildings. By their ambitious construction project, the Vincendieres, led by Victoire, gave evidence that they intended to stay in Frederick County and establish their presence on a grand scale.

That the Vincendieres immediately harbored other refugees and constructed new buildings is apparent in architectural evaluation of the French-influenced buildings and from contemporary documents. One of the French refugees residing with the Vincendieres was Pierre Leberon. He arrived in Frederick in July 1794, according to his slave declaration, and took up residence at l'Hermitage; he was a witness to Helene's baptism in October 1794. Born in 1731, Leberon became ill and died in January or February 1795. At the end of the will he wrote at l'Hermitage on December 23, 1794, he specified: "Done in the south chamber of the east wing [pavilion] of the Hermitage estate near Fredericktown in Frederick County, State of Maryland, North America."

Among Leberon's bequests was his cane, which he left to Marshall as a token of his friendship. Other bequests were made to the Vincendieres, family in France, and to Payen Boisneuf. "I give and bequeath the little money I have in the trunks I have here, which is in the hands of Citizen Payen Boisneuf and of Messrs Casanove and Walker, merchants of Baltimore, to the four children of Citizen Magnan de la Vincendiere, namely, Etienne Paul Marie Bellumeau de la Vincendiere, Victoire Pauline Marie Gabriel Bellumeau de la Vincendiere, Jean Pauline Emerentienne Bellumeau de la Vincendiere and Helene Victoire Bellumeau de la Vincendiere, provided that the interest be given to my friend Citizen Payen Boisneuf, who shall enjoy it under his sole sworn security, leaving it to his wisdom to preserve the principal." He also left to Victoire "the Negro Manuel, my slave." He gave Citizen Magnan de la Vincendiere his silver foot-warmer and asked her to accept it as a token of his friendship. To Citizen Payen Boisneuf he left his pair of gold garter buckles as a mark of his friendship. Also to Boisneuf he left "the disposition of all my personal effects now in my room, also my linens and clothing in my trunks, so that he can dispose of them according to my intentions I have made known to him. I also charge him to do what he can to have the person [unnamed female] I have named to him accept my gold watch and chain, if they are in my trunks, as a token of my regard." His merchants were made executor for his property in Saint Domingue.[21]

This will revealed that the Vincendieres were occupying the l'Hermitage within a year of their arrival in Frederick and had made substantial enlargements to the previously existing buildings, constructing the "east wing." At this point they did not yet own the property; it still belonged to James Marshall. The "east wing" of l'Hermitage in 1794 was a formal, two-story stuccoed building with a hipped roof and high-ceilinged rooms. Large windows emitted plenty of light. The Vincendieres constructed this wing against a small one-story tenant dwelling that was already on the property.

French-style, hip-roofed stone crop barn, c. 1794. (Author's photograph.)

To another two-roomed stone building to the east of the main house, the Vincendieres added a second story of log construction, oriented to face the main house. The new second story addition had two separate rooms or chambers, each with an entrance onto an elevated gallery. These rooms seem to have been constructed to house other refugees in need of a place to live. Some distance west of the main house the Vincendieres constructed a large, hipped roof stone crop barn, distinctly different from the Germanic forebay barns characteristic of central Maryland. With its hipped roof and flat courses of stone with leveling courses at intervals, the barn is characteristically French. This construction activity occurred in 1794. Certainly James Marshall had a large role in the success of the development of l'Hermitage. Whether or not the Vincendieres paid rent (no lease is recorded), Marshall's land was immediately available, apparently without restrictions, for their use.

In March 1795, just after Leberon's death, Victoire bought 457 acres of Locust Level from Daniel Dulaney. This was her first purchase at age eighteen, and it adjoined the land belonging to James Marshall where they were residing. In April 1798, Victoire bought 291 acres of Locust Level and Arcadia from James Marshall. This was the land upon which they had been living since 1794 and upon which they had already established l'Hermitage. According to the Frederick County tax assessment of that year, the 291 acres had "new improvements." These would have been the buildings constructed in 1794.

In the 1800 U.S. census, Victoire is listed as head of the household, which

included six men, twelve women, and ninety slaves. The total of eighteen men and women far outnumbered the members of the Vincendiere family, indicating that non-family members like Pierre Leberon in 1794 were in residence at l'Hermitage. The ninety slaves may have come from Saint Domingue, although it would have been contrary to Maryland law for so many to have been brought into the state. However, the quantity of slaves that Victoire owned would have placed her among the largest slaveowners in Maryland. She participated early in buying and selling slaves, and assumed control of the plantation. A plantation in central Maryland with ninety slaves was unusual. Agricultural practice in the region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries largely focused on the production of small grains, particularly wheat, that did not require extensive labor except at harvest time. Records indicate that some slaveowners in central Maryland leased their slaves to farmers and industrialists. According to Jean Libby's *From Slavery to Salvation,* French West Indian slaves were employed at Catoctin and other iron furnaces in Frederick and Washington Counties in Maryland.[22] These slaves may well have come to Maryland with fleeing French planters. While no documentation has surfaced yet, it appears likely that Victoire Vincendiere may have leased some of her slaves to local iron manufacturers, especially since the Johnson brothers, with major iron interests in central Maryland, including Catoctin Furnace, owned land close to l'Hermitage.

According to the Frederick newspaper, *Rights of Man,* dated November 25, 1795, M. [Magnan or Mademoiselle] Vincendiere, Frederick County, near the Middle Ferry on the Monocacy River, offered a reward for a black man named Phil, about forty, six feet tall, stout; he was "sold at last Whitsuntide, at Baltimore Town to Mr. Coxenave [Casenave], merchant there, by Charles Walker of that County." Casenave and Walker were the merchants who had possession of some of the trunks with the belongings of Pierre Leberon, who died earlier that year at l'Hermitage. In the *Fredericktown Herald* of May 29, 1813, Victoire Vincendiere forbade all persons from fishing on her farm without permission from herself or her overseer.

The census for 1810 again listed Victoire as head of the household, but this time there was one man, six women, and still ninety slaves. Ten years later the 1820 census records list Victoire with a household of six men, five women, and two foreigners, not naturalized. There were fifty-two slaves, of whom twenty-five were used in agriculture. Certainly the two foreigners were French citizens. Some of the others were also refugees, but they had gone through the naturalization process.

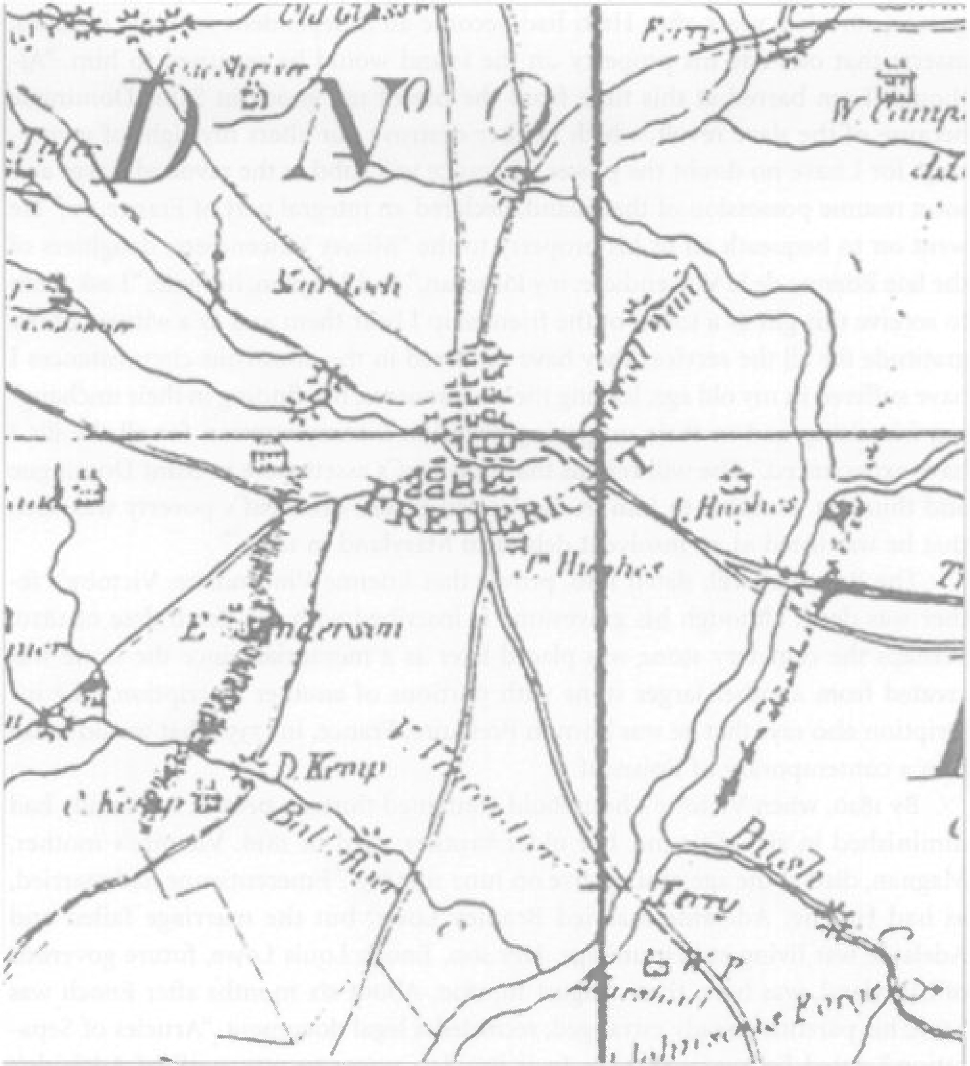
Payen Boisneuf was a cousin of the Vincendieres. He arrived from Saint Domingue with them and remained close to them for the rest of his life. Boisneuf was a leader in the trade system of Saint Domingue and was instrumental in arranging shipments to and from the island.[23] He died on April 5, 1815, according to St. John's Catholic Church records. Boisneuf, a Creole, was born in Saint Domingue, l'Artibonite quarter, Parish of Vénettes on February 20, 1738. His will made Au-

gust 15, 1810 (six years after Haiti had become an independent republic in 1804), asserts that one day his property on the island would be returned to him. "Although I am barred at this time from the use of my goods in Saint Domingue because of the slave revolt, which neither destroys nor alters my right of ownership, for I have no doubt the power of France will subdue the revolted slaves and soon resume possession of that island, declared an integral part of France. . . ." He went on to bequeath all of his property to the "Misses Vincendiere, daughters of the late Etienne de la Vincendiere, my kinsman," and Magnan, his wife. "I ask them to receive this gift as a token of the friendship I bear them and as a witness of my gratitude for all the services they have rendered in the disastrous circumstances I have suffered in my old age, leaving me no resources, but finding in their unchanging friendship and in their unsparing devotion a compensation for all the ills I have experienced." The will reveals that Boisneuf's assets were in Saint Domingue and thus not available to him in the United States. Boisneuf's poverty was such that he was listed as an insolvent debtor in Maryland in 1804.[24]

The Boisneuf will, dated 1810, proves that Etienne Vincendiere, Victoire's father was dead, although his gravestone is inscribed with the death date of 1820. Perhaps the cemetery stone was placed later as a memorial, since the stone was created from another larger stone with portions of another inscription. The inscription also says that he was born in Bressuire, France, in 1735. That would make him a contemporary of Boisneuf.

By 1820, when Victoire's household contained thirteen people, her family had diminished in size. Etienne, her older brother, died in 1816. Victoire's mother, Magnan, died at the age of sixty-five on June 20, 1819.[25] Emerentienne had married, as had Helene. Adelaide married Bradley Lowe, but the marriage failed and Adelaide was living at l'Hermitage. Her son, Enoch Louis Lowe, future governor of Maryland, was born there August 10, 1820. About six months after Enoch was born, his parents, already estranged, recorded a legal document, "Articles of Separation," dated February 23, 1821. In it Bradley agrees to return all of Adelaide's personal property that was hers before the marriage. "[H]e the said Bradley in consideration thereof hath agreed to deliver all such household Goods, furniture and personal property which belonged to the said Adelaide before her marriage to the said Victoire Vincendiere in trust never the less for the sole and separate use Benefit and disposal of the said Adelaide C. [sic] Lowe."[26] Victoire was acting as a guardian or trustee for her younger sister, although Adelaide was by this time a grown woman in her early thirties. Here is another instance where Victoire's strength and dominance is evident.

Records suggest that Victoire may have been facing financial problems by the 1820s. In 1809 she bought from the Reverend John Dubois, former pastor of the Catholic Church in Frederick, approximately 280 acres near Brunswick in Frederick County.[27] For this land she paid £1,760. Reverend DuBois acquired the land at



A section of Charles Varlé's 1808 Map of Frederick and Washington Counties. L'Hermitage appears with the symbol for a plantation dwelling with V. Vincendiere's name, just south of Frederick on the Monocacy River. James Marshall's plantation is across the river. (Maryland Historical Society.)

sheriff's sale. It had belonged to Payen Boisneuf, who purchased the property in 1796 for £2,000.[28] By September 1799, Boisneuf's property again was offered at a sheriff's sale. By virtue of a writ of *Fieri facias*, the western Shore General Court of Maryland decreed that Boisneuf's land was to be sold at public sale because of indebtedness to John Hoffman.[29] Reverend DuBois, the highest bidder, bought Boisneuf's property for £961.4.0. It appears that DuBois, to help fellow Frenchman Boisneuf, purchased the land. Then Victoire bought the land possibly to aid either DuBois or Boisneuf. DuBois had left the Catholic church in Frederick in

1806 to go to Emmitsburg to establish Mount Saint Mary's College. The purchase may have put stress on Victoire's finances, because on September 26, 1815, a few months after Boisneuf's death, she offered the property for sale in an advertisement in the Frederick *Political Examiner and Public Advertiser*. She also offered for sale 458 acres near Frederick Town on the Monocacy River.[30] This latter parcel would have been the purchase Victoire made in 1795 from Daniel Dulaney for a part of Locust Level, which she incorporated into l'Hermitage. She was still advertising the same parcels for sale in January 1816 and in January 1819.[31] Failing to sell the properties, Victoire in December 1824 transferred 201 acres of Boisneuf's 280-acre property to her sister Emerentienne Corbaley through trustees Joseph Smith and Oswald and Baker Jamison for the purpose of providing "suitable income for Emerentienne Corbaley, the wife of John R. Corbaley, her sister."[32] The deed specified that the property was for Emerentienne's sole use, without control of her husband. Again, Victoire assumed a powerful role, providing for her family.

By 1820, Victoire began selling her slaves. She had reduced the number to fifty-two and continued to sell slaves for the next several years. In June 1822 she sold a slave girl, Indianna, to Edward Smith of Tennessee, and in November she sold three, John, Ramond, and Black Emmos to Richard Woolfkill of Baltimore. More unfortunately for those involved, Victoire in June 1825 sold seventeen slaves to Nicholas Wilson of the parish of Iberville, Louisiana. Among them was Fillile who had been brought into Maryland in 1793 as an eight-year-old girl from Saint Domingue by Payen Boisneuf. Also in 1825, Victoire, her sister Adelaide, and Adelaide's young son Enoch Louis moved into a new town house they had built in Frederick near the Catholic church.

The census information and records of sales of slaves show that Victoire was reducing her holdings by the 1820s and that she had no moral difficulty with selling slaves "down river" into the Deep South. Liquidation of some of her property suggests that she may have needed cash. We can only speculate as to the cause for Victoire's financial plight. Probably the Panic of 1819 was a factor, as it was in most areas of the United States into the 1820s. Also, Victoire seems to have been very willing to spend money. She spent seemingly great sums to support the people living in her household, although they may have contributed to some extent for their room and board. Certainly Pierre Leberon and Payen Boisneuf were able to provide very little for their own support. The fact that the Vincendieres almost immediately upon their arrival in Maryland were able to undertake a major construction project to create their plantation and the buildings on it suggests that they had a source of cash. Local legend has it that they smuggled a "barrel of money" off the island. If this is true, perhaps by the 1820s it was beginning to run out. By the mid-1820s only Victoire, her sister Adelaide, and Adelaide's son Enoch Louis Lowe remained of the family, although the 1820 census shows thirteen people living in the household.

In 1827, on June 14, Victoire sold l'Hermitage to John Brien for $24,025, a sizable sum at that time.[33] The deed describes the two tracts separately, the first containing 457 acres acquired from Dulaney, and the second being the 291 acres from James Marshall. Victoire, Adelaide, and Enoch, the remaining members of the household, had already moved to their town house on Second Street in Frederick. There is some evidence that Victoire's sister Emerentienne and her husband John Corbaley were living at l'Hermitage in the 1820s. In the 1825 Frederick County Tax Assessment, John R. Corbaley is assessed for thirteen slaves and $1,355 of personal property but no real estate, in the assessment district in which l'Hermitage was located. Victoire was assessed in Frederick Town district. John R. Corbaley died on February 28, 1827, at the age of forty-five, and his will was probated on March 12, 1827.[34] A few months later, Victoire sold the plantation. Emerentienne eventually moved back to France.

Local tradition states that General Lafayette visited the Vincendieres at l'Hermitage in 1824 and that Lafayette was a distant relative, through Helene's husband, Lewis Anthony Petray.[35] Newspaper accounts record Lafayette's visit to Frederick in December 1824.

Before she moved to Frederick Town, Victoire made extensive alterations to the main house at l'Hermitage. The east wing, constructed in 1794, was restructured into a gable-roofed building to blend with the newly reconstructed and expanded north section. This portion of the house was raised to two full stories with a broad gabled roof span. New neoclassical interior appointments were made to bring the house up to date. These alterations were probably made in the 1820s, shortly before Victoire and Adelaide moved to Frederick Town, and possibly were done to accommodate the Corbaleys, or possibly the Corbalys made the renovations in anticipation of eventually acquiring the property. Victoire owed John R. Corbaly's estate over one thousand dollars according to estate records. Whether Victoire or John R. Corbaly altered l'Hermitage, these were the last major alterations made to the buildings. Thus they appear today very much as they were when the Vincendieres left in the early 1820s.

Victoire spent the rest of her life in the town house that she had built in Frederick, leaving it to sister Adelaide in her will. In 1830 census records have Victoire living in Frederick Town with five people, six slaves, and two "other free." The other free were manumitted blacks. In 1840 she was still listed in Frederick City with four people and four slaves. In the 1850 census, "Victoria," age seventy-three, is listed as head of her household, which included Adelaide Lowe, age sixty-one, Enoch L. Lowe, lawyer, age twenty-nine with his wife and four children, Charles Smith, physician, age twenty-seven, one girl from Ireland and one black woman.

According to Adelaide's daughter-in-law, Esther Winder Polk Lowe, Victoire and Adelaide would give to any charity, so long as it did not support "Protestant Progress." In June 1827, about the time of the sale of l'Hermitage, Victoire and

Northeast view of the main house. To the right is the 1794 "east wing." Behind it is the c.1820 addition. Wooden sections include an eighteenth-century one-story log kitchen at far left and next to it a later frame infill dating from the third quarter of the nineteenth century. (Author's photograph.)

Adelaide each agreed to lend five thousand dollars for the benefit of Mount Saint Mary's College in Emmitsburg. In a letter to the Reverend John F. McGerry, vice president of the college, Father John McElroy, pastor of St. John's Catholic Church in Frederick wrote, "Miss Victoire has concluded to loan your establishment about 5 thousand dollars on your receiving it by mortgage on the seminary property &c — in legal form — Mr. Brien will keep the balance — and intends to settle the whole business in a few days — I think in such a case you had better come down yourself tomorrow and transact the affair during your stay as it must be done with as little delay as possible."[36] A similar loan in the amount of five thousand dollars was recorded in Adelaide's name.

There were other efforts to help the college. There was the purchase in 1809 from Du Bois of the land that had previously belonged to Boisneuf. In March 1816, Victoire bought lot #284, improved with a dwelling, in Frederick from DuBois and sold it in July 1822. She bought other property from DuBois in 1826. One wonders whether Victoire might have been helping to bankroll the founding and development of the college through her friend Reverend DuBois.

Victoire also provided humanitarian aid. "During the cholera Aunt Victoire had tents erected just outside Frederick where the Irish laborers on the B&O road

Contemporary view of l'Hermitage from the Georgetown Pike—Maryland Route 355. (Author's photograph.)

then in the course of construction were cared for and nursed at her expense."[37] This would have been about 1830. Another story from Mrs. Lowe has it that amongst the refugees from Saint Domingue was "a friend of Aunt Victoire who was wandering in the south with two grandchildren. Aunt Victoire heard of their pitiable condition and sent for them to come to the Hermitage, and there they remained. They [the granddaughters] grew up to be charming women."

Victoire died in 1854. "It was in Annapolis in 1854 that Aunt Victoire met with the accident which caused her death a few weeks later," wrote Mrs. Enoch Louis Lowe. We don't know what the accident was or how it hastened Victoire's death at the age of seventy-eight. Mrs. Lowe described Victoire when she first met her at the age of sixty-six. "Although time had naturally made its impress, beauty of expression, of tenderness and sympathy were still in those eyes of loving kindness; she was angelic; I will never look on her like again." Certainly Victoire's life was filled with adventure, and she was strong, dominating, even controlling, yet a generous and kindly individual.

NOTES

For their assistance with the preparation of this article, I want to thank the National Park Service, Monocacy National Battlefield, for providing access to l'Hermitage. The National Park Service funded much of the initial research as part of a cultural resource study for the Monocacy National Battlefield and an update for Monocacy's National Register nomination. Thanks also to Dr. Dean Herrin and Dr. Bruce Thompson of the Catoctin Center for Regional Studies and Frederick Community College, and Dr. David Wallace for his translations of French documents.

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3. Declaration of Negroes, Liber WR11, Folio 755, Frederick County Land Records.
4. Autobiography of Mrs. Enoch Louis Lowe.
5. Declaration of Negroes; Will of Pierre Leberon, Liber GM3, Folio 27, Frederick County Wills. Translated from the original French by David A. Wallace.
6. Julius Sherrard Scott III, "The Common Wind: Currents of Afro-American Communication in the Era of the Haitian Revolution" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1986), 13–14.
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8. For a rich and powerful portrait of Saint Domingue during the slave revolt, see Madison Smartt Bell's novel, *All Souls' Rising* (Pantheon Books, 1995).
9. Francis Sergeant Childs, *French Refugee Life in the United States, 1790–1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1940), 15.
10. Letter from Robert Johnston and Maria Johnston to His Excellency Monsieur Hyde Neuville, Minister of France to the United States of America, Baltimore, October 14, 1817, MS 1032, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. Translated from the original French by David A. Wallace.
11. *Maryland Gazette*, July 11, 1793.
12. Gregory A. Wood, *The French Presence in Maryland* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, Inc., 1978), 146.
13. Childs, *French Refugee Life in the United States*, 59, 89.
14. *Maryland Gazette*, March 28, 1793; Jeffrey R. Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1889), 48.
15. Declaration of Negroes.
16. Ibid.
17. Baptismal records, St. John's Catholic Church, Frederick, Md.
18. Russell, "Frenchmen Early in Frederick County, Maryland," 228–30. The article states that Etienne Bellumeau de la Vincendiere was born at Bressuire, France on July 13, 1735. He was a planter of St. Jerome de la Petite Riviere l'Artibonite Quarter, Saint-Domingue. He married Marguerite Elisabeth Paulina de Magnan, born on the island, in 1754, a daughter of Gabriel Michel de Magnan, sometime treasurer of the Marine and Marie-Françoise de Sterlin, a Saint-Dominguen of British descent. They were the parents of ten children: 1) Etienne Paul Marie, born at Petite Riviere de l'Artibonite, December 2, 1769. 2) Marie Françoise Pauline, born July 29, 1772, and died at Augusta Georgia, November 18, 1854. At Paris, France, she married Louis Rene Adrien Dugas de Vallon on August 16, 1790. 3) Elisabeth Louise Marie Michel, born March 20, 1774, no further record. 4) Jean Victoire Marie Eugene, born November 15, 1775, no

further record. 5) Victoire Pauline Marie Gabrielle, born Saint-Domingue, October 2, 1776. 6) Jean Baptiste Marie Benjamin, born March 3, 1778, no further record. 7) Prosper Henry, born 1782, no further record. 8) Jeanne Pauline Emerentienne, born June 12, 1785, married John R. Corbaley. 9) Adelaide born in France, ca. 1788–89. 10) Helen Victoire, married Louis Anthony Petray. The source of most of this information was cited as Etienne Arnaud, "Genealogical Notes: Famille Bellumeau de la Vincendière," *Centre de généalogie des îsles d'Amérique*, 35 (March 1991): 28-29.

19. Autobiography of Mrs. Enoch Lewis Lowe.

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21. Frederick County Wills, Liber G.M.3, Folio 27. Translated from the original French by David A. Wallace.

22. Jean Libby, *From Slavery to Salvation* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1994), 81, 82.

23. Childs, *French Refugee Life in the United States*, 51.

24. Frederick County Wills, Liber H.S. 2, Folio 13. Translated from the original French by David A. Wallace; Maryland Archives, vol. 0192, page 0379. ??????

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26. Frederick County Land Records, JS 12/429.

27. Frederick County Land Records, WR 35/474.

28. Frederick County Land Records, WR 14/316.

29. Frederick County Land Records, WR 19/56

30. *Political Examiner and Public Advertiser*, September 26, 1815.

31. Ibid., January 27, 1816, January 27, 1819; *Frederick-Town Herald*, January 30, 1819.

32. Frederick County Land Records, JS 21/416.

33. Frederick County Land Records, JS 26/551.

34. Frederick County Wills, Liber H.S. 3, Folio 537; Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, 473.

35. Interview with Theresa Mathias Michel and NPS Staff, January 16, 1997. Mrs. Michel's family owned l'Hermitage from 1835 until 1993.

36. Mount St. Mary's College archives, letters and manuscripts. Letter from John McElroy, S.J. to John F. McGerry, June 1, 1827.

37. Autobiography of Mrs. Enoch Louis Lowe.

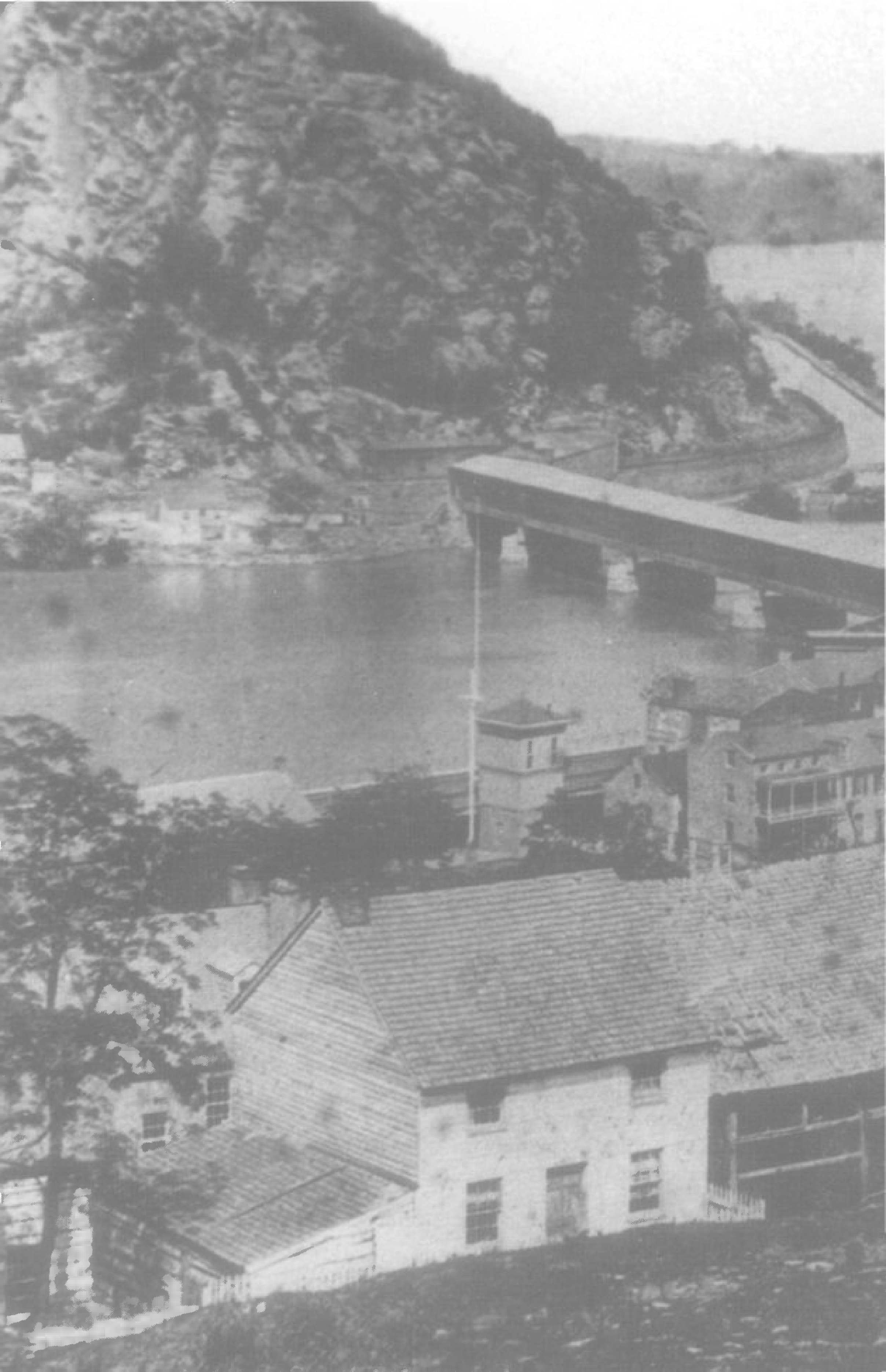
Border Strife on the Upper Potomac: Confederate Incursions from Harpers Ferry, April–June 1861

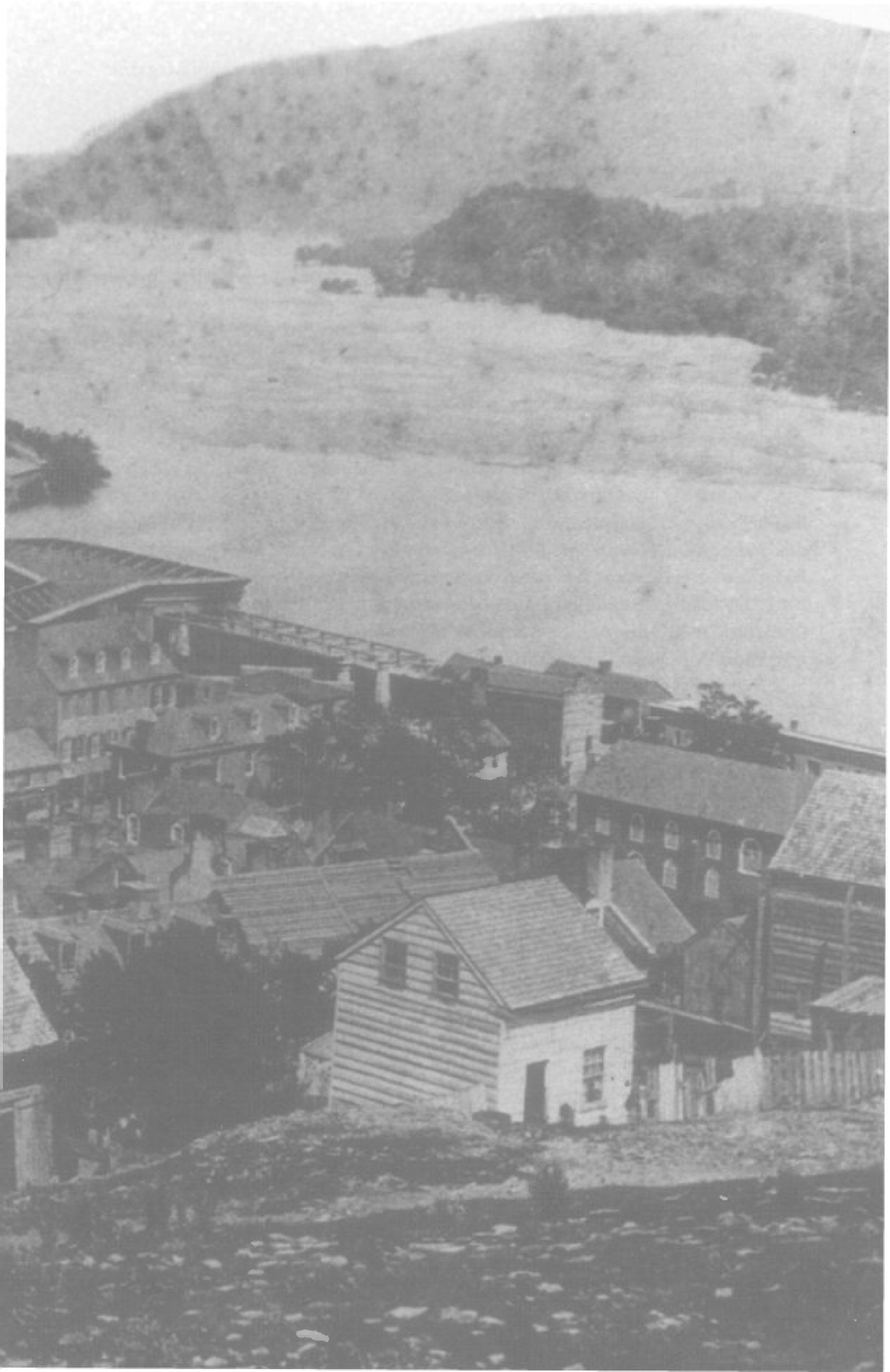
TIMOTHY R. SNYDER

On April 17, 1861, three days after the federal garrison at Fort Sumter surrendered to Confederate forces, the Virginia legislature passed an ordinance of secession and referred it to her citizens for a referendum scheduled for May 23. In the meantime, Virginia troops occupied strategic points across the state. One of those points was the town of Harpers Ferry, situated at the confluence of the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers, adjacent to Maryland. Harpers Ferry was important for several reasons: the U.S. arsenal and rifle works were located there; the town was positioned at the head of the Shenandoah Valley and served to defend that potential route of invasion by either side; and two Maryland-based transportation lines, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, were commanded by the troops who occupied the town. On April 18 the small federal garrison occupying Harpers Ferry set fire to the arsenal and evacuated the town upon the Virginians' approach. In the eight weeks that followed the troops stationed at Harpers Ferry engaged in a series of incursions into Maryland that aroused antagonism and hostility from Marylanders and threatened to undermine sympathetic relations between the two states. The commanders at Harpers Ferry, especially Confederate Colonel Thomas J. Jackson, showed little political tact and were conspicuously threatening despite the desire of both states to remain on good terms. The governors were drawn into the fray and only interstate diplomacy prevented an early disintegration of friendly relations. Diplomacy proved to be of limited and short-term value as Virginia's citizens affirmed secession and federal troops occupied Maryland and moved against Harpers Ferry.

Just two days after Virginia occupied Harpers Ferry the first conflict occurred. On April 20 Virginia troops crossed into Maryland and searched for arms which they suspected private citizens had taken from the armory and secreted across the river. On April 22 the sheriff of Washington County, Edward M. Mobley, informed Maryland governor Thomas Holliday Hicks that the state's borders had been violated. On April 29 the offended citizens of the Weverton and Sandy Hook communities met in the former city and drafted a letter to Hicks, complaining that on

Timothy R. Snyder is writing a book concerning the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal during the Civil War.





several occasions soldiers from Harpers Ferry had crossed into Maryland, searched private homes for arms, and disturbed the peace of their neighborhoods. The troops had told the citizens that Maryland's governor had given them permission to search private dwellings within twenty miles of the Ferry. The citizens told Hicks, "We mention this in order to get a refutation of such a slanderous report, as we believe it wholly without foundation." They also asked the governor to take "measures as in your good judgment will be sufficient to prevent any repetition of similar outrages."[1]

On April 21 the commanding officer at Harpers Ferry, a major-general of Virginia militia, Kenton Harper, reported that he had come to an agreement with authorities from Maryland. He informed William H. Richardson, the adjutant general of the militia, "They are pledged to report to me any hostile approach through their territory, and consent to the occupancy of the heights [Maryland Heights] commanding my position whenever necessity requires it," but in fact no record exists that he made any agreement with state authorities. The most likely event is that he made an agreement with Sheriff Mobley. In his letter to Hicks Mobley said that he had met with Harper and had asked the general to withdraw the troops from Maryland soil, adding that Harper promised to recall the men "if Northern troops are forbidden." In his letter to the governor Mobley may have downplayed his role in the agreement since he had no authority to make such a pact on behalf of the state.[2]

Several days later Virginia troops crossed into Maryland again. Charles F. Wenner, a grain merchant from Berlin (now Brunswick), Maryland, in Frederick County, owned a warehouse and two canal boats that he used to transport grain to Georgetown. At dawn on April 24 he instructed his laborers to load one of his boats with grain. At noon, as he prepared to depart, a body of Virginia cavalry approached and demanded that boat and cargo be turned over to them, under the authority of the commanding officer at Harpers Ferry. Wenner protested that as a citizen of Maryland he was not subject to the commands of Virginia's authorities and demanded to inspect the man's orders. While a soldier was dispatched to the Ferry to obtain the orders, the remaining men, under the command of Colonel William S. H. Baylor, took charge of the boat. Since the water was about to be drawn off that section of the canal for repairs, Baylor transported the boat six miles down the canal to Point of Rocks, Maryland.[3] An exasperated Wenner penned a quick note to Frederick County Sheriff Michael H. Haller. "My boat, loaded with grain, bound from Berlin to Georgetown, is detained at this point [Point of Rocks] by order of officers in command at Harper's Ferry. I demand your protection, and will hold the State of Maryland responsible for said detention and for all damages done said cargo."[4]

Overleaf: Pre-war photograph of Harpers Ferry with a view of the Maryland shore. The covered B&O Railroad bridge and C&O Canal are visible in the upper center. (National Park Service.)

Thomas Holliday Hicks (1798–1865), Governor of Maryland in 1861. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Over Wenner's protests, the Confederates began to unload the grain. He resisted until an officer ordered the soldiers to shoot him if he did not desist. The troops sent a portion of the grain over the bridge to Virginia and loaded the remainder into the cars of the B&O for transport to Harpers Ferry. Wenner insisted that the troops allow the B&O agent to weigh the grain so that he could later make a claim for damages. The Virginians refused the request, although they suggested he could go to Harpers Ferry to see it weighed. They also took grain to feed about one hundred horses without it first being weighed or measured, and refused to give Wenner one of his mules to ride home. The soldier who had gone to retrieve the orders of the post commander, General Harper, returned with additional men but no orders.[5]

The following day, while the process of unloading the grain continued, Wenner wrote another note to Haller: "I command you to protect my property that is now being loaded in the [B&O] cars to go to Harper's Ferry against my wishes or instructions, and I fall on my State for protection and damages. I demand your presence at this point. . . . There is about two hundred Virginia troops here — everything under their control. Since they have taken my boat, it is truly warlike here, with clashing of swords. They will have discharged by noon — feeding the troops with the oats. They are all troops here."[6]

The *Frederick Examiner*, a unionist newspaper, reported the seizure on May 1: "A gross outrage was perpetuated by Virginia troops on Maryland soil, at the Point of Rocks in this county on Wednesday last. . . . We also learn that this outrage

and invasion is not the first committed on our citizens by Virginia but that they have erected a battery on the Maryland side near Harpersferry and maintain an armed occupation of the bridge at that point." The newspaper pointed out that boundary between the two states was defined as the high-water mark on the Virginia shore.[7]

Hicks received notice of the canal boat seizure from Haller and referred it and the search of private homes to the legislature, then meeting in extra session in Frederick, only about twenty miles northeast of Harpers Ferry. Throughout the winter and early spring Hicks had resisted pressure to call the legislature into session, but after the fall of Fort Sumter and the movement of federal troops through Baltimore secessionist sentiment was intense and Hicks could no longer resist. Southern sympathizers were organizing for an extra-legal meeting of the legislature, which Hicks countered by formally convening the General Assembly. The legislature initially took up the issue of secession but declared that they had no authority to consider the matter. Their subsequent resolutions, however, showed a decided sympathy with the South.

Before the General Assembly took up the incidents, Hicks received a letter from another group of citizens from Frederick and Washington Counties, protesting the findings of the Weverton meeting and asking the governor not to be influenced by it. They claimed that the meeting was led by a Republican, that their memorial did not receive more than twenty votes, and that "many refused to oppose it out of disgust." They related that the demeanor of the Virginians toward Marylanders had been "generally very courteous," that only one house had been entered and then "peacably," and that the soldiers had returned to Harpers Ferry when asked. They further said that the commanding officer at the Ferry had not authorized the search of private homes and had sent assurances that no such order would be given. Hicks sent the second letter to the legislature as well.[8]

The House of Delegates' Committee on Federal Relations promptly took up both incidents. On May 2, 1861, the committee, chaired by southern-leaning Severn Teackle Wallis, issued a report to the house speaker. With regard to the search of a private home by Virginia troops, the committee recommended no further action. They reasoned that only a small body of troops had crossed into Maryland, without the authority of the commanding officer, that they had injured no person or property, and that they had departed when asked to do so. In addition, the commanding officer had given assurances that his men would make no more incursions. The committee also learned that the troops at Harpers Ferry had recently come under the command of an officer from the regular army, rather than the militia, and they expressed confidence that strict military discipline would be enforced to protect the rights of Marylanders and maintain respect for the state's soil. The new commander was Colonel Thomas J. Jackson, who before the summer was over would be known as "Stonewall."[9]

The committee found the seizure of the canal boat more troubling. They wrote, "Questions are likely daily to occur, and, in fact, are occuring, on account of the seizure of grain by the Virginia military authorities, for their own supply, and to prevent the transmission of supplies to Washington." The committee concluded with a display of affinity toward Virginia, "These difficulties, unless prevented, or some definite understanding had . . . between the two states, are likely to produce serious conflicts and embarrassments, and to disturb the friendly relations, which now, more than ever, ought to exist between their authorities and citizens."[10]

The House of Delegates and the Senate agreed to appoint a commissioner, Outerbridge Horsey of Frederick County, to investigate the matters and directed him to proceed to Richmond. He was authorized to enter into negotiations with Virginia's authorities to ensure that Marylanders and their property were protected, to obtain compensation for damages already done, and to come to some agreement with Virginia, subject to the review of the General Assembly, to "preserve harmony between the two states from disturbance by any existing causes whatsoever." Horsey departed for Richmond at once.[11]

Virginia governor John Letcher received Horsey, expressed regret at the seizure of the canal boat and said he desired to maintain harmonious relations with Maryland. Earlier, on April 29, Letcher had sent a representative to Annapolis to confer with Hicks and determine if Maryland would cooperate with Virginia and join the Confederacy. Although Hicks, who desired no confrontation with federal authorities, refused, Letcher continued to view Maryland as a potential ally and declined to entertain suggestions that Virginia troops invade its northern neighbor for either offensive or defensive purposes. Letcher appointed a representative to accompany Horsey to the border to investigate the incidents.[12]

On May 1, Governor Hicks, despite having turned the matter over to the legislature, wrote directly to Letcher and complained of recent border depredations:

> Sunday citizens of Maryland residing near the boundary between our state and Virginia have complained to me of outrages committed upon their property by the troops of Virginia now stationed at or near Harpers Ferry; and also by irresponsible bodies of citizens of your commonwealth.
>
> Cattle, grain, &c &c have been seized; canal boats laden with produce have been detained, private homes have been forcibly entered; and unoffending citizens have been insulted and threatened. . . .
>
> Your Excellency will readily perceive that they [the actions of Virginia's troops] are liable to provoke hostilities between your people and those who suffer from such unlawful acts . . . .
>
> Believing that it is the desire of the people of Maryland, even those who have suffered from these depredations, to preserve amicable relations with

> Virginia, I do most earnestly advise that you warn the perpetrators of the outrages complained of that their acts are unlawful; and take immediate steps to prevent a recurrence thereof.[13]

Letcher received Hicks's letter on May 3 and immediately drafted a reply. He too expressed a desire to "cultivate amicable relations" with Maryland. He said that he had directed Colonel Jackson at Harpers Ferry to restrain those under his command from "all acts of violence and lawlessness" and to provide him with a report of the incidents described in Hicks's letter. He promised to communicate further once the report was received.[14]

On May 6 Jackson sent his report to Letcher. He claimed that if any Virginia troops at Harpers Ferry committed outrages against Marylanders the acts were perpetrated before he had taken command. "Since I have been in command," he wrote, "I have strictly observed your Excellency's instructions touching the relations to be maintained towards the State of Maryland, and feel assured that no just complaint can be made." Jackson's investigation did uncover one instance of troops who had crossed to Maryland to recover arms that citizens had taken from the Ferry. The men had applied for permission to do so from their captain and a superior officer but were denied on both occasions. They were, however, allowed to enter into Maryland to seek the arms if the citizens who held them would voluntarily turn them over. The men obtained the arms in this fashion, Jackson reported, perhaps disingenuously, "without violence or the threat of it." Jackson also told Letcher that he had found record of an order issued by the previous post commander, militia general Harper, who had ordered the detention of boats on the canal under the presumption that they were supplying provisions to Washington. Jackson reported that he had countermanded that order, and since that time no boats had been detained by his men.[15]

Hicks also informed President Lincoln of the difficulties near Harpers Ferry. The governor's relationship with Lincoln and his administration was nothing if not complicated. During the secession crisis he initially followed a policy of neutrality, but in late March he feared that secession by Virginia would cause an uprising in Maryland and asked the administration for arms and soldiers if needed. After Fort Sumter had fallen and Lincoln had called for 75,000 volunteers, secessionist excitement in Baltimore grew, culminating in the April 19 attack on Massachusetts soldiers who attempted to pass through the city to Washington. As a result of the violence Hicks declined to issue the order for Maryland's quota of troops and asked that the administration send no more soldiers through Baltimore. He also opposed the landing of General Benjamin Butler and his troops at Annapolis, which occurred on April 22. On the other hand, he resisted pleas to call out the state militia and refused any confrontation with federal troops. He soon began cooperating with the administration again. On May 8, while he waited to

hear from Letcher, Hicks wrote Lincoln: "I deem it to be my duty to inform you that the Virginia troops at and near Harpers Ferry have seized canal boats laden with produce destined to Georgetown and Washington, have planted batteries at important positions in the neighborhood; and have grossly violated the rights and injured the property of citizens of Maryland. . . . I trust your Excellency will take such prompt steps as will effectively prevent their recurrence."[16]

Letcher referred Maryland's complaint to his advisory council, which unanimously recommended that Wenner's grain be paid for at the rates he claimed, upon receipt of evidence of the quantity seized. The council determined that nothing additional should be paid for the detention of the boat nor for transportation costs and tolls. On May 10 an aide to Letcher informed Hicks that he had issued orders to provide for payment of the grain seized by Virginia troops. The letter also enclosed a copy of Jackson's report from Harpers Ferry.[17]

Virginians seized at least one other canal boat in April. A year after the incident the boat's owner appealed to the canal company for release from the tolls that he owed on a boatload of salt that the rebels seized. The company agreed to free him from the obligation. There is no record that the owner ever sought reimbursement for the cargo from Virginia.[18]

By mid-May, the House of Delegates placed two other issues on Horsey's agenda. Governor Hicks informed the assembly that he had received a petition from citizens of Montgomery County asking for "protection in the transportation of their grain by the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal." He had also received a letter from A. A. Biggs, of Sharpsburg, who complained that Virginia troops from Harpers Ferry had seized a position in Maryland and had burned a large quantity of timber. The *Hagerstown Herald of Freedom and Torch Light* reported that rebels had burned the undergrowth to give them an unobstructed view of the approaches to Maryland Heights.[19]

On his return from Richmond, Horsey went to Montgomery County and determined that the fears of the citizens there had no basis in fact; there had been no interference with canal navigation at that point. A businessman named Darby owned a mill on Seneca Creek near the canal where he ground grain into flour for the federal government. His neighbors, the petitioners, feared that the mill upon which they relied would be damaged by Virginia's troops because of Darby's ties to the government. Horsey concluded that "their apprehension had been groundless, and [Darby's] trade on the canal and his other branches of business, had not been threatened or molested by the troops of Virginia."[20]

Horsey then investigated the matter of the occupation of Maryland soil by Virginia troops opposite Harpers Ferry. He found Maryland Heights occupied by between four hundred and five hundred troops who had cut four to five acres of small timber for temporary shelter and claimed that they had burnt another four or five acres accidentally. On May 29 Horsey returned to Richmond and met again

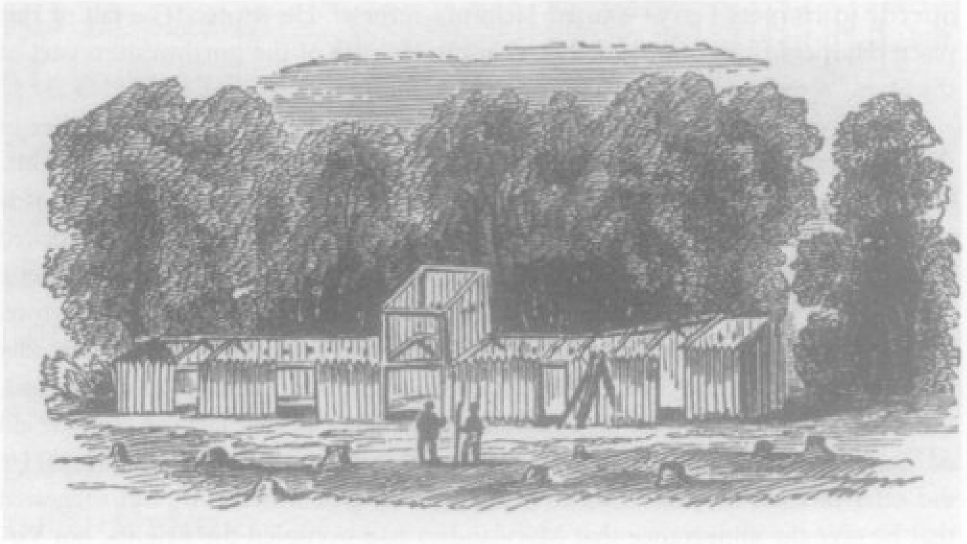
Confederate Colonel Thomas Jonathan Jackson assumed command of Rebel forces at Harpers Ferry and implemented an aggressive policy to defend his position. (Maryland Historical Society.)

with Letcher. The governor said that he would apply to the commanding officer for information about the occupation of Maryland soil, assured Horsey that any occupation was temporary and only taken out of military necessity, and promised that any damages would be liberally compensated.[21]

On June 4, 1861, Charles F. Wenner received $1,693.75 in compensation for the seizure of 2,000 bushels of oats, 200 bushels of white corn, 600 bushels of yellow corn, and 25 bushels of wheat, which he acknowledged as full satisfaction of his claim against Virginia. The first conflicts on the border were resolved diplomatically, in accordance with both states' wishes to remain on good terms with one another. Conditions at Harpers Ferry, however, did not remain static. More conflicts arose that were beyond the control of the respective state governments.[22]

Colonel Jackson and Military Necessity

Jackson held little compunction about violating Maryland's border if it contributed to the defense of his post. He was an aggressive commander with little political insight. Many of his actions were provocative, despite the potential for a deterioration of friendly relations between Virginia and Maryland. Jackson almost always interpreted the instructions of his commanding general, Robert E. Lee, as authorizing him to engage in more aggressive acts than intended, and he



Confederate barracks on Maryland Heights, spring 1861. (From Benson Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the Civil War, *Volume I, 1876.)*

repeatedly ignored several of Lee's suggestions given to avoid raising the ire of Marylanders. On May 6, Lee wrote that he considered it probable that U.S. troops would move against Harpers Ferry via either the B&O Railroad or the C&O Canal. In such an event, he advised Jackson to destroy the railroad bridge over the Monocacy River near Frederick and to obstruct navigation on the canal. On the same day, which was also the date of his report to Governor Letcher, Jackson informed Lee that he had occupied Maryland Heights and intended to fortify them when necessary. He wrote, "Thus far I have been deterred from doing so by a desire to avoid giving offense to the latter State [Maryland]," but if federal troops advanced toward his post, "I shall no longer stand on ceremony." At this time Lee had not advised Jackson regarding the occupation of positions in Maryland, although presumably Letcher had.[23]

Only a day later Jackson changed his mind. Despite having had to defend the conduct of his command in a report to Letcher, and the ongoing negotiations to prevent a disruption of relations with Maryland, Jackson wrote, "I have finished reconnoitering the Maryland Heights, and have determined to fortify them at once, and hold them . . . be the cost what it may. . . . I am of the opinion that this place should be defended with the spirit which actuated the defenders of Thermopylae, and, if left to myself, such is my determination." On the previous day Jackson wrote Lee that federal troops had occupied the strategic railroad junction of Relay House outside Baltimore. A day of contemplating the consequences of federal control of the junction—with access to the main stem, which led

directly to Harpers Ferry—caused Jackson's reversal. He wrote, "The fall of this place [Harpers Ferry] would, I fear, result in the loss of the northwestern part of the State," a region of strong union proclivities.[24]

However much he might have agreed with Jackson's military judgment, Lee in three separate letters urged Jackson to withdraw the men from Maryland Heights. On May 9, Lee wrote, "In your preparation for the defense of your position it is considered advisable not to intrude upon the soil of Maryland, unless compelled by the necessities of war." He suggested that Jackson obtain the aid of sympathetic Marylanders to notify him of the advance of federal troops. On May 10 he wrote, "Your intention to fortify the heights of Maryland may interrupt our friendly arrangements with that State, and we have no right to intrude on her soil, unless, under pressing necessity, for defense." He again suggested that Jackson seek the aid of Marylanders to give him advance notice of the movement of federal troops. He did offer Jackson the discretion to occupy the heights if necessary but suggested that he give the appearance that Marylanders had occupied the heights, not Virginians. He warned Jackson to avoid aggressive actions: "At all events, do not move until actually necessary and under stern necessity." In a second letter written on the tenth, Lee appeared dissatisfied at Jackson's exercise of the discretion allowed him: "I fear you may have been premature in occupying the heights of Maryland with so strong a force near you. The true policy is to act on the defensive, and not invite an attack. If not too late, you might withdraw until the proper time." Jackson, for his part, disregarded Lee's clear and strongly worded suggestions.[25]

Jackson intruded on Maryland's soil at other places as well. On May 11 he informed Lee that he had posted troops at Point of Rocks—where he had made arrangements "for a desperate defense"—and also at Berlin, Shepherdstown, and Martinsburg, the first two of which were located in Maryland. The *Frederick Examiner* reported that the occupation of Point of Rocks occurred on May 6, by a force of sixty men and three pieces of artillery, and was intended to interrupt the passage of federal troops that might approach Harpers Ferry by rail.[26]

Lee was concerned that Jackson's aggressiveness might inflame the passions of Marylanders and create an enemy of a neighboring state which ought to have sympathy for Virginia since the two states held much in common. When Jackson informed Lee that Maryland unionists, with artillery, were posted opposite Shepherdstown, the general replied, "I am concerned at the feeling evinced in Maryland, and fear it may extend to other points, besides opposite Shepherdstown. It will be necessary, in order to allay it, that you confine yourself to a strictly defensive course. I presume the points occupied by you at Point of Rocks, Berlin, and Shepherdstown are on our side."[27]

Jackson was probably responsible for another raid into Maryland. On May 12 local newspapers reported that Virginia secessionists had cut telegraph wires and attempted to burn the Monocacy railroad bridge, below Frederick. The saboteurs

claimed to be from Frederick, but their ignorance of the fact that the bridge was made of iron betrayed them to the locals. Almost certainly Jackson was responsible for the raid, whether it was conducted by his troops or sympathetic Marylanders. Lee's May 6 letter suggested that Jackson make arrangements with friendly Marylanders to destroy the Monocacy bridge and to draw the water out of the C&O Canal if he received news that the enemy attempted to make use of either. The day before the raid Jackson replied to Lee, "the precautions mentioned in your letter of the 6th instant have been under consideration for some time, and some of them have been taken; others are progressing as rapidly as the circumstances admit of." Lee had suggested only that Jackson destroy the bridge in the event that federal troops approached Harpers Ferry over the rails. Once again Jackson took a more aggressive posture by sending men to destroy the railroad bridge in the absence of such a movement.[28]

After the war, John D. Imboden, who served under Jackson at Harpers Ferry, wrote a controversial article claiming that Jackson had compelled John W. Garrett, president of the B&O, to pass trains by the town only during the day, between the hours of 11 A.M. and 1 P.M. Once the company began to adhere to the new schedule, Jackson's men obstructed the railroad at Point of Rocks and Martinsburg and trapped a number of trains, which then were sent south for use on southern lines. Although several recent books have claimed that the event never occurred, there is some evidence to suggest that Jackson in fact did spring the railroad trap, although certainly Imboden erred on some details.[29]

The *Baltimore American* reported that on May 24 twelve freight trains were stopped at Harpers Ferry and held on the supposition that their cargo, chiefly coal, was intended for the use of the U.S. government. The newspaper wrote that the B&O was negotiating to obtain their release. Although their final disposition was not reported, these trains may have been the ones trapped by Jackson. Only three days earlier the *American* reported that the B&O had decided not to run their trains at night between Monocacy and Harpers Ferry, and on May 27 the newspaper reported that the railroad track on both sides of Harpers Ferry had been torn up, both of which are consistent with Imboden's account. There are, however, no recorded public protests to the seizure, an especially odd circumstance since the state of Maryland was a major stockholder in the railroad.[30]

The most likely reason why no protests were recorded is because the Confederates almost certainly released the trains. Brigadier General Joseph E. Johnston replaced Jackson at Harpers Ferry at about the time the Confederates stopped the twelve trains. Johnston had the authority to control the disposition of the rolling stock, not Jackson. After the war, responding to a critic who wrote that the commanders at Harpers Ferry should have captured and sent trains south before they evacuated Harpers Ferry, Johnston cited practical reasons and one political justification why he did not do so. The rebels were using the trains of the Winchester

and Potomac Railroad exclusively to transport armory machinery to the South, and railroad engineers told Johnston that the B&O's heavy engines would crush the trestling of the Winchester and Potomac road. As to the political consideration, Johnston wrote, "It would have been criminal as well as impolitic on our part to commit such an act of war against citizens of Maryland, when we were receiving aid from the State then [from sympathetic citizens], and hoping for its accession to the Confederacy. The seizure of that property by us could have been justified only by the probability of its military use by the enemy. Such a probability did not appear, of course, until after our evacuation of Harper's Ferry." Since the rebels obstructed the B&O tracks on May 27, the coal trains likely went to the railroad facility at Martinsburg, Virginia, to await an opportunity to pass the Ferry.[31]

Such a stoppage of trains may not have been spectacular enough to generate multiple accounts of it in light of the routine stoppages and inspections that occurred at Harpers Ferry during the first two months of the war. From their first occupation of the Ferry Virginia troops interfered with the passage of B&O trains. On April 19, the day after the troops occupied the Ferry, a reporter for the *Philadelphia Inquirer* took a train from Washington to Wheeling, Virginia. When the train reached the bridge at Harpers Ferry, Virginia troops halted it with a cannon planted in the middle of the track. The conductor assured the soldiers that no United States troops or agents were on board, and they allowed the train to pass. After it crossed over the bridge the train was stopped again by more soldiers who had another cannon pointed obliquely at it. They searched the cars and allowed no one to disembark before they permitted it to pass. On April 24, the *Frederick Examiner* wrote, "A large force of Secessionists now hold military occupation of Harpersferry, and inspect every train [that] passes." On May 10 a mail train was stopped east of Point of Rocks, well into Maryland, and troops under the command of Frederick County native Bradley T. Johnson boarded and looked over the passengers and cargo before allowing it to pass. In May the *Baltimore American* printed articles which showed that not only did federal forces regularly search B&O trains at Relay House, outside Baltimore, but that southern troops regularly examined trains that passed Harpers Ferry. On May 21 the paper noted: "The officers of this road [the B&O] state that the trains are running regularly, with the exception of the detentions which take place at the Relay House and Harper's Ferry — the troops at both points overhauling all the freight contained in the cars." On May 29 the *American* reported, "The regular passenger train from the West reached here yesterday about nine o'clock. . . . The cars were inspected as usual."[32]

Virginia troops did more than just halt and inspect passing trains. On April 26 a train was stopped and a passenger, federal Brigadier General William S. Harney, was taken prisoner. In addition to stopping coal trains, in May Jackson's men

halted livestock trains and seized cattle and horses; the colonel obtained his favorite mount, Little Sorrell, in this fashion. On May 14 the rebels stopped all rail traffic to the west and seized a train at Harpers Ferry. During the night they boarded an engine and two cars and drove them toward Monocacy Junction. They stopped at Taylor's Run and applied a powder charge to the culvert there as well as to two others, which caused minor damage.[33]

Jackson interfered with the passage of canal traffic as well, despite his early statement to the contrary to Governor Letcher. Unlike the railroad, which crossed the river at Harpers Ferry and passed through Virginia, the entire canal was north of the Potomac in Maryland. Evidence suggests that Jackson only allowed canal boats to pass if the boat captain managed to obtain a permit from the Virginians. A permit signed by Jackson's staff officer, James W. Massie, was printed in the May 23 *Baltimore American*; it granted a citizen of Sandy Hook permission to send his family to Montgomery County via canal. During the same period a miller from Williamsport requested a permit from Jackson to pass a boatload of flour over the canal. The *American* reported that Jackson denied the request and stated that he would not allow any canal boats to pass until Maryland withdrew her objection to the occupation of Maryland Heights by rebel troops. Several days later the same newspaper reported, "General Jackson, who is in command at the Ferry, yesterday gave a written notification to parties interested in the coal trade on the canal that there would be no further interruption in the passage of coal boats bound for Washington." Several days later the paper noted that rebel troops at Harpers Ferry still refused to allow canal boats to pass. It is clear that few boats made the transit from points west of Harpers Ferry to Georgetown. Canal company records show that their agents collected only $657 in tolls in May, and in June only $206; in comparison, over $16,000 in tolls were collected in March in only two weeks of boating.[34]

Businessmen feared the concentration of rebels on the border. In addition to Wenner's difficulties and the fear for Darby's mill, on May 31 the *Middletown Valley Register* noticed that "No more wheat is purchased by the millers along the river in Washington County, Md. One heavy miller near Clearspring has sent word to his customers to come and remove their wheat which was left on storage at his mill, as he will not hold himself responsible. The Virginia rebels rob the people in that neighborhood of everything they can get their hands on."[35]

Lower level Confederate officers may not have been aware of the high command's desire to avoid giving offense to Marylanders. On May 14, Butler issued a proclamation that forbade the display of Confederate flags and emblems in the Department of Annapolis. The next day Colonel Blanton Duncan, who commanded Kentucky volunteers posted on Maryland Heights, wrote Butler that his men had attached a Confederate flag to the top of a pine tree and dared him to come and take it down. Bradley T. Johnson, a lawyer, endorsed Duncan's letter and noted

On May 27, 1861, a detachment of Confederate cavalry commanded by Turner Ashby blasted Bollman's Rock onto the B&O tracks and into the canal. (From Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the Civil War, *Volume I.)*

that because he knew of no state law that prohibited the display of Confederate flags or other emblems, his men had hoisted a flag on Maryland soil at Point of Rocks. He sarcastically added that his men were growing tired of beef and bacon and asked Butler to forward a barrel of oysters and some soft-shell crabs. The irascible Butler replied that he regretted Harpers Ferry was not in his department or he would strictly enforce the order there as he had done in his own jurisdiction.[36]

On May 23 Virginia's citizens authorized secession and Johnston assumed command at Harpers Ferry. While Virginia began the process of integrating its military forces into that of the Confederacy, the federal government began to take control of Maryland. In late April General-in-Chief Winfield Scott created three military departments in the state, and General Butler opened a route to Washington and was given the power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus. On May 13 he occupied Baltimore.

General Johnston and the Retreat from Harpers Ferry

Under Johnston little changed along the border. He kept the troops on Maryland Heights and continued to picket the river from Point of Rocks to western Berkeley County, Virginia. Although Johnston did not seize B&O trains, he was not adverse to halting rail traffic in other ways. Just days after he assumed com-

mand he wrote that Captain Turner Ashby, whom Jackson had posted at Point of Rocks, had been ordered by the colonel to "break the railroad whenever he found such a measure necessary for his defense." Johnston concurred with the order and reported that the cavalryman was preparing to blast rock onto the track, despite no imminent threat of invasion. Local newspapers reported that Ashby had made three attempts before, on May 27, he succeeded in blasting Bollman's Rock, a natural rock formation supported by masonry, onto the tracks. The *Frederick Examiner* wrote, "In its fall, the rock struck the outer track of the Railroad, carrying it away into the Canal beyond, and obstructing the inner track, so as to prevent the passage of trains." The rock also partially obstructed the C&O Canal. Rail traffic, however, resumed in a few days.[37]

On May 27, Alfred Spates, president of the C&O Canal, visited Harpers Ferry to meet the new commander and determine if he would allow canal boats to pass. While there he discovered that Ashby had blasted rock into the canal and that the rebels had additional plans to obstruct navigation. "I find it will be impossible for any Boat to pass the Ferry, or the Point of Rocks," he wrote to Andrew K. Stake, the company's general superintendent. "The rock that has been thrown down at the Point, would not stop the Canal, but other rocks will also be thrown down, and Boats cannot pass."[38]

The rebels continued to scrutinize passengers on the rails. On May 29 the *Frederick Examiner* observed, "The secessionists at Harpersferry continue to exercise a most intolerable espionage over passenger trains passing that point, and making unlawful arrests." Joseph Barry, a resident of the town, said that while the Confederates occupied Harpers Ferry they regularly examined the passengers that arrived at the station, and if they discovered any who were connected to the federal government, they insulted and threatened them. He wrote that Henry Hoffman, a former congressman from Allegany County, Maryland, and then U.S. House Sergeant-at-Arms, would likely have been lynched during a stop at Harpers Ferry had not some Confederate officers stepped in to prevent it. On June 2 the mail was taken from a train and, according to Barry, was opened and used to arrest unionists living among the rebels.[39]

By early June local newspapers reported the imminent advance of Union forces from Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, under the command of Major General Robert Patterson. On June 7 the movement began when Colonel George H. Thomas' brigade of federal troops marched thirteen miles south, to Greencastle, Pennsylvania. According to the *Baltimore American*, "There is great delight among the Union men at this point [Hagerstown], at the advance of Federal troops." A resident of Berlin wrote, "I can say that our District will welcome the Federal troops with a great deal of hospitality when they arrive, and indeed many are impatient to see them on our railroad and canal, as the two great works are to be resumed very soon, and business will flourish as formerly." The Berlin resident was overly optimistic.[40]

In response to the expected federal advance, the Confederates began to take steps to destroy all likely routes and means of invasion. On June 2 they burned the railroad bridge over the Opequon Creek, east of Martinsburg, and the next day a covered bridge over Sleepy Creek, near Hancock, Maryland. At the Opequon bridge fifty loaded coal cars were run into the creek and set on fire; the coal continued to burn for two months. On June 3 the rebels stopped a westbound passenger train at Point of Rocks. They instructed the engineer to return to Baltimore with the information that no more trains would be allowed to pass that point, which effectively closed rail traffic on the main stem of the B&O. On June 9 the rebels destroyed the turnpike bridges over the river at Berlin and Point of Rocks and mined other bridges for later destruction, which included the railroad bridge over the Potomac at Harpers Ferry and the turnpike bridge over the river at Shepherdstown.[41]

Skirmishes between rebel troops and home guard units in Maryland's river towns began to occur with increasing frequency. On May 22 troops in Virginia attempted to steal a ferry boat near Clear Spring. The home guard turned out and posted a detail to watch the boat. During the evening the rebels crossed the river in a skiff and seized the boat but had to abandon it midway across the river after coming under the fire of the home guard. On June 1 southern troops attempted to seize the ferry boat moored opposite Williamsport, Maryland. The Williamsport home guard skirmished with them for several hours before the rebels gave up. Sentinels were posted at the ferry around the clock.[42]

Robert E. Lee, in his May 12 letter to Jackson, expressed concern that rebel belligerence toward Maryland might result in the hostility and arming of her citizenry. His words proved prophetic. According the *Hagerstown Herald of Freedom and Torch Light*, the skirmish over the ferryboat at Williamsport "created intense excitement all along the Maryland side of the river, and aroused the people to a firm determination to defend themselves from the aggressions and outrages of the rebels." On June 5 the *New York Times*, citing a special dispatch to the *American*, described the mood at Williamsport: "The excitement against the Virginians is intense, and the people are arming in anticipation of a regular border fight."[43]

On June 4 rebel troops made another raid near Harpers Ferry, at Weverton. "A party of 150 men came to Weverton from the Ferry, and got in our house at 2 o'clock in the morning and searched it from top to bottom, going into my mother's bed room and lifting up the bed and mattress while she lay there," a citizen angrily reported. "My sister had just time to put on a dress. They took my brother prisoner and released him when they had done all. The same party then broke open Mortimore's store and stole boots, shoes, tobacco, cigars, &c. We have been threatened to have our town burned and sacked to-night." Henry Mortimer was one of the unionists who earlier had written to Hicks to complain about the earlier searches of private homes by Virginia troops.[44]

After the rebels had shut off rail traffic on the B&O, and had destroyed or

mined most major bridges over the Potomac from Point of Rocks to Hancock, they turned their attention to the C&O Canal. The canal had suffered damages as a result of flooding in April, but by mid-May the company had completed the necessary repairs. The coal companies of western Maryland were, however, unwilling to put their cargoes at risk in light of the aggressiveness of the rebels at Harpers Ferry and the uncertainty of conditions at the port of Alexandria, Virginia. On May 13, Alfred Spates wrote Walter S. Ringgold, the company clerk, "The Coal Companys are not willing to boat on account of the troubles along the line by the Virginia people and at Alexandria. I cannot tell what we are to do. The canal is now in order, yet we will have no boating as things now stand."[45]

On June 8 rebel troops attempted to destroy Dams Number 4 and 5 on the Potomac. The destruction of the dams would have left portions of the canal dry. Of particular concern was the stretch fed by Dam Number 5, which watered a section of the canal that was more than twenty-five miles long. On the evening of the eighth reports reached Williamsport that Virginians were putting a powder charge into Dam Number 5. The Williamsport Home Guard was called together, but because of threats made against the town declined to go to the dam. The Clear Spring Home Guard did respond and opened fire on the rebels, causing them to flee. During the evening the saboteurs returned with a cannon. They fired one shell at the dam, dislodging a few stones but otherwise causing little damage. On the ninth men from Williamsport reinforced the Clear Spring Home Guard and they maintained possession of the dam.[46]

Also on the eighth the rebels attacked Dam Number 4, below Williamsport. They were unable to damage the newly reconstructed masonry dam but crossed the river and destroyed the guard lock at the dam and threw large rocks into the canal in order to obstruct navigation. Rebels also crossed just down river at Mercersville and attempted to destroy canal boats and eight hundred barrels of flour stored there, but the Sharpsburg Home Guard drove them off. Newspapers reported that rebels had also destroyed all skiffs and scows between Shepherdstown and Harpers Ferry.[47]

Confederates made more raids against the canal in the vicinity of Harpers Ferry. By the eighth they had cut a sluice from the waterway to the Potomac, which drained the water from the canal. They also burned at least three canal boats and destroyed two locks between Point of Rocks and Harpers Ferry. On the tenth they destroyed twenty-five canal boats near the Ferry. "We presume there is no remedy for these 'vandal' acts," the *Frederick Examiner* reported acidly. "Virginia can't pay, and the other Secession States won't while their tory sympathisers here justify every act of Treason regardless of the life and property of the citizens. . . . The citizens along the line of the Canal are much excited and greatly outraged."[48]

Skirmishing at the dams continued. On June 10 soldiers renewed their fire at Dam Number 5, and on June 11 it continued throughout the day as the Clear

Spring Home Guard staunchly fought off the rebels. On the evening of June 13 Confederates made their final attempt to disable one of the dams. A party of men, with dark lanterns, bored at the rock on the Virginia side of Dam Number 4 in order to place a powder charge. Heavy fire commenced and a company of forty-five sharpshooters from Boonsboro, Maryland, came to reinforce the Sharpsburg Home Guard. Newspapers reported that the unionists killed four rebels who bored at the dam.[49]

At some point during the hostilities at Dam Number 4, Alfred Spates approached the river, and the Confederates permitted him to cross under a flag of truce. He demanded that the rebels take him to General Johnston at Harpers Ferry. The soldiers furnished Spates with a twelve-man escort and took him to the general. He pleaded with Johnston to stop the destruction to the canal, arguing that the canal was the property of Marylanders and should be exempt from destruction and seizure. Johnston replied that he had orders to destroy anything that may be of value to the Union and professed his intention to continue doing so.[50]

On June 13 Spates wrote to the company office at Georgetown to report that the canal was "badly injured" in many places. The rebels had destroyed four locks, burned a number of boats as well as "much other damage done. . . . A grate destruction to the Canal and the Canal interests has been made by the Virginians. . . . [I] feel very bad at the destruction committed."[51]

The damage the rebels inflicted on the canal helped to knock many fence-sitting western Marylanders onto the Union side. On June 11 a correspondent to the *Baltimore American* wrote, "It seems hard, indeed, to have our canal destroyed, and yet I do not know but we can afford it. Its attempted destruction has done more for the Union sentiment in this quarter than any other act that has transpired thus far. Many who were hitherto ready to justify any act of the Southern Confederacy are now bold and earnest in the condemnation of that act of vandalism."[52]

During this period Williamsport was a town under great duress. Initially the rebels stationed no more than two hundred troops opposite the town, but on the eve of Virginia's secession vote Jackson was concerned that the strong unionist sentiment in Berkeley County, Virginia, might intimidate and overwhelm those who supported secession. On May 21 he wrote to Lee regarding the political views there: "I regret to say that in Berkeley things are growing worse, and that the threats from Union men are calculated to curb the expression of Southern feeling." By May 20, Jackson had posted a force of nearly a thousand men opposite the town for the expressed purpose of "checking the disloyalty there." In addition to their raid on the ferryboat and their assaults against the nearby dams, rebel pickets appeared daily, skirmishing with the home guard and threatening the town. "The people of the whole Cumberland valley, particularly at this point [Williamsport], are very much excited, fearing an invasion by a strong corps of ten thousand men," noted the *Baltimore American*. "They do not fear permanent conquest, but forays

exhausting their resources. . . . Maryland has no troops to resist an advance of Virginians." On June 3, Captain William Kennedy of the home guard went directly to Chambersburg and pleaded for Union troops to support his beleaguered town.[53]

Tensions only increased after the June 5 murder of DeWitt Clinton Rench at Williamsport. Rench was a college chum of Confederate private Henry Kyd Douglas, a Marylander and future staff officer under Jackson. According to Douglas, Rench planned to join him in the 2d Virginia Infantry, posted opposite Williamsport. Rench had practiced law in Baltimore and had boasted that he had killed a Massachusetts soldier in the riot of April 19. Local unionists suspected that he was a spy. One day before he intended to join the rebels, Rench was confronted by a crowd of unionists when he went to Williamsport to attend to business for his father. He ignored repeated requests to leave town, and when he finally began to do so he proclaimed that he could personally whip any five unionists and drew his revolver. Some in the crowd threw rocks at him, one of which struck him in the head, and a man grabbed the bridle of his horse. Rench fired two shots at the man who had restrained his horse and one into the crowd. The fire was returned and Rench was struck and killed. According to Douglas's postwar memoir, Rench had visited the rebel camp on previous occasions and the *Williamsport Ledger* wrote that townspeople found weapons and a letter of introduction to the rebel officer opposite Williamsport that asked him to allow Rench passage to Harpers Ferry.[54]

Upon hearing of the murder, Douglas's regiment was anxious for revenge. On June 11 a correspondent to the *Baltimore American* wrote, "The Unionists are alarmed at Williamsport, and are fearful of an attack tonight. The Confederate pickets have boasted over the Potomac that they intend to cross the river to-night and burn the [canal] boats and the town. — Great alarm prevails." Citizens from nearby Hagerstown came to reinforce the town. The home guard increased their pickets from the usual fifteen to forty. In the evening of the same day, "All [is] quiet in Williamsport, if living in a shiver of fear can be called quiet. Every night we expect to be shelled, and every night 'nobody's hurt.'" Douglas wrote that only the intervention of officers prevented the town from being shelled and burned.[55]

Maryland towns that bordered Confederate posts were inundated with refugees from Virginia during the first weeks of the war. The refugees fell into two classes: deserters from the rebel army and unionists seeking the protection of federal forces, often fleeing impressment into the army. Significant numbers of refugees arrived at Frederick, Williamsport, and Clear Spring. On June 10 a Williamsport correspondent for the *Baltimore American*, wrote, "Men are constantly flying from Virginia to this place." The numbers were so large that Ward Lamon, President Lincoln's former law partner and marshal of the District of Columbia, came to

Overleaf: June 1861 view from the Maryland shore showing the destruction at Harpers Ferry. The railroad bridge has been destroyed, and the canal bed (at bottom of photograph) is dry. (Library of Congress.)

Williamsport to form a regiment of Virginia unionists. On June 11 the Hagerstown correspondent of the *Philadelphia Ledger* wrote:

> Marshall Lamon . . . was at Williamsport yesterday, and issued the following proclamation: "The Government of the United State will accept the services of all loyal citizens of Virginia who desire to enroll themselves into its service for and during the present war. They are requested to report at once to Philip Pendletown, at Head-quarters, Williamsport."
>
> This proclamation is issued with a view of affording the citizens of Berkley county, Va., who have been driven from their homes for refusing to enter the Confederate army, an opportunity to protect their homes. At Clear Springs, Williamsport and Hagerstown, there are some 200 citizens of Berkley county, who are anxious to be armed and equipped . . . .
>
> Thirty-four citizens of Berkley Co., Va., crossed the Potomac yesterday, and arrived safely at Clear Springs. They represent that hundreds of others will follow as soon as a favorable opportunity occurs.[56]

The Confederate army impressed one company into service twice. The rebels originally impressed the men from their hometown of Shepherdstown and sent them to the garrison at Harpers Ferry. The conscripts quickly deserted and fled to Martinsburg, but the Confederates impressed them into service again. In early June they finally crossed the river to safety at Williamsport, where some of them enlisted in the Union army.[57]

With the approach of the federal army, the rebels increased their watch of the river, and the flood of refugees slowed to a trickle. At Williamsport a correspondent wrote, "On Saturday [June 8] great activity and bustle was noticed among the Confederate pickets across the river. Their number was doubled. Fifty men, six stacks of arms and two field pieces, were discovered by the aid of the glass." On June 13 another Williamsport correspondent wrote, "The river is very vigilantly watched, and but few can now make their escape. Those now among us [refugees from Virginia] are becoming very uneasy about their families and their crops. But a venture across the river is now exceedingly dangerous."[58]

General Johnston had long been convinced that his position at Harpers Ferry was untenable and had requested authorization to evacuate the town. Confederate President Jefferson Davis and General Lee hesitated to give it. Not only did they expect Johnston to oppose an invasion of the Shenandoah Valley, but they were concerned that a retreat from the post would sever contact with Maryland and undermine efforts to obtain aid and support from their northern neighbor. On June 7, Lee wrote, "The evacuation of the latter [Harpers Ferry] would interrupt our communication with Maryland, and injure our cause in that State." Lee sent troops to western Virginia to counter the threat from that direction and grudg-

ingly gave Johnston authorization to evacuate, but only if he was unable to oppose an assault on his position. If he determined it necessary to retreat from Harpers Ferry, Lee directed him to "destroy all facilities for the approach or shelter of an enemy."[59]

On June 13 Johnston received news that two thousand federals commanded by Colonel Lew Wallace had advanced on Romney, Virginia. Johnston thought that this was the lead unit of General George McClellan's command in Ohio and was convinced that the Union army was attempting to turn his flank. He immediately began to make preparations to evacuate Harpers Ferry. Johnston sent heavy baggage and public property to Winchester by rail, and ordered the railroad bridge at Harpers Ferry and the turnpike bridge at Shepherdstown, both of which his men had mined earlier, destroyed. The rebels also destroyed the Pillar railroad bridge at Martinsburg as well as two other smaller bridges there. To the west, southern troops destroyed the Great Cacapon and Little Cacapon railroad bridges. In Harpers Ferry the rebels burned the railroad trestlework, the armory buildings, and other public structures. On June 15 the last of the rebels encamped at Harpers Ferry evacuated the town.[60]

The federal army reached Williamsport on June 15 as well, too late to prevent any of the damage to the railroad and turnpike bridges, the canal and Harpers Ferry. Several factors accounted for the delay of Patterson's force. General Scott had warned Patterson that he should attempt nothing without the certainty of success. He feared that a defeat or even a draw would raise Confederate morale and cause more volunteers to rally to their standard. Patterson's army also had great difficulty overcoming supply and transportation problems that resulted from a quartermaster's department that was unprepared for war. In addition, staff and command problems hindered the organization and preparation of his force.[61]

On June 16 unionists along the line of the Potomac rejoiced at the withdrawal of the rebels and the arrival of the federal army at Williamsport and Hagerstown. In the morning, to the accompaniment of martial music, Union General George Cadawalader's First Division forded the Potomac at Williamsport. Governor Hicks arrived at Hagerstown, met with General Patterson, and toured the camps. Soldiers and citizenry greeted him with loud cheers and hailed him as a hero of the Union. On the following day Hicks stopped in Middletown on his way back to Frederick. The local paper wrote, "On his return he stopped a few minutes in our town, when many admirers of the old patriot gathered around him and offered their congratulations."[62]

The rebels made a brief return to the border in late June. Johnston received word that his command had left rough gun stocks at Harpers Ferry. On June 19 he sent cavalry to the town to retrieve them. While doing so they also burned the rifle-works building, the bridge over the Shenandoah River, and pried a locomo-

tive into the river. Local unionists were also arrested. Jackson's command was sent to Martinsburg where they destroyed the shops of the B&O railroad, burned more than three hundred cars and nearly fifty locomotives. Several other locomotives were taken south for use on Confederates lines.[63]

Maryland's General Assembly, which had reconvened in Frederick on June 4 following adjournment in mid-May, recalled the earlier promises of Virginia's governor, John Letcher, made in May as a result of Jackson's occupation of Maryland Heights. On June 14 the secretary of the Maryland Senate delivered the following to the House of Delegates:

> Whereas, The Legislature has been informed that the southern troops are now destroying the dams, locks, canal boats, and other property belonging to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, and to individuals doing business; and,
>
> Whereas, Our commissioner to the Governor of Virginia, in his report to the Legislature informs us that the Governor of Virginia was understood to say 'that if, at any time, the military forces of Virginia should trespass, or temporarily occupy the soil of Maryland, it could only be justified by the pressing exigency of a military threatened or actual invasion, and certainly with no hostile intent towards the citizens of the State of Maryland, and with that any and all damages to person or property consequent upon such occupation should be fully and liberally compensated;' therefore,
>
> Be it resolved by the General Assembly of Maryland, That Maryland will rely upon the honor of Virginia for full recompense for all property destroyed by said troops.[64]

A day later an actual invasion of Virginia by federal forces occurred. Letcher had made his pledge to Maryland during a period of approximately six weeks when diplomacy seemed to offer the chance to resolve interstate difficulties. Afterward Virginia and her military forces were officially and irrevocably integrated into the Confederacy, and federal troops occupied and consolidated positions in Maryland and advanced toward Harpers Ferry. Diplomacy between the two border states became irrelevant, and a more violent conflict came to those along the line of the Potomac, and to the nation at large.

NOTES

1. United States War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* [hereinafter referred to as *OR*, with the appropriate series, volume, part and pages numbers indicated], I, 2, (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1880), 589; Henry Mortimer to His Excellency [Thomas H. Hicks], April 29, 1861, in *New York Times*, May 1, 1861. The May 23 *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* wrote that the *Hagerstown Torchlight* had been supplied with the names of thirty-two persons whose houses had been searched for arms by Virginia troops. The *American* listed the names of several people who resisted the search.
2. *OR*, I, 2, 589, 772.
3. Charles F. Wenner to the Governor of Maryland [Thomas H. Hicks], April 30, 1861, in Maryland General Assembly, *Journal of Proceedings of the House of Delegates, Extra Session, 1861* [hereinafter referred to as *House Journal*] (Annapolis: Maryland General Assembly, 1861), 179–81.
4. C .F. Wenner to the Sheriff [Michael H. Haller] of Frederick County [Maryland], April 24, 1861, Document B, "Correspondence Between the Governor of Maryland and the Sheriff of Frederick County," in Maryland General Assembly, *Documents of the Maryland General Assembly in Extra Session, 1861* [hereinafter referred to as *Documents]* (Frederick: Maryland General Assembly, 1861).
5. Maryland General Assembly, *House Journal*, 180–81; Michael H. Haller to the Governor of Maryland, April 27, 1861, Document B, "Correspondence Between the Governor of Maryland and the Sheriff of Frederick County," in Maryland General Assembly, *Documents.*
6. C. F. Wenner to the Sheriff of Frederick County, April 25, 1861, Document B, "Correspondence Between the Governor of Maryland and the Sheriff of Frederick County," in Maryland General Assembly, *Documents.*
7. *Frederick Examiner*, May 1, 1861.
8. J. C. McLaughridge, J. A. Johnson, R. B. Carlisle, Wm. Laughridge, Samuel Barnes, S. B. Preston, H. J. Travers, R. H. Boteler, C. Thomas, Warren Garrett, James H. Elgin, C. Stonebraker, G. C. Stonebraker, W. E. O'Byrne, Robert Cusher, W. C. Kirkhart, G. S. Byrne, S. S. Moore & J. H. Fink to Thos. H. Hicks, [April 30, 1861], in Maryland General Assembly, *House Journal*, 40–41.
9. Maryland General Assembly, *House Journal*, 53–54.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., 55.
12. Ibid., 176; W. W. Crump to Jno. Letcher, May 5, 1861, McCue Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Va.; *OR*, I, 2, 849.
13. Thos. H. Hicks to John Letcher, May 1, 1861, Records of the States of the United States, 1854–1866, M3169, 213, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland [hereinafter MSA].
14. John Letcher to Thomas H. Hicks, May 3, 1861, Records of the States of the United States, 1854–1866, M3169, 213–14, MSA.
15. [Thomas J. Jackson] to John Letcher, May 6, 1861, in [aide of John Letcher] to Thomas H. Hicks, May 10, 1861, Records of the States of the United States, 1854–1866, M3169, 220–21, MSA.
16. Thos. H. Hicks to Abraham Lincoln, May 8, 1861, Records of the States of the United States, 1854–1866, M3169, 216, MSA.
17. *OR*, I, 51, ii, 71–72, 78; [aide of John Letcher] to Thomas H. Hicks, May 10, 1861, Records of the States of the United States, 1854–1866, M3169, 220–21, MSA.

18. Proceedings of the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, May 5, 1862, Records of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.
19. Maryland General Assembly, *House Journal*, 142–43, 145; *Hagerstown Herald of Freedom and Torch Light*, May 15, 1861.
20. Maryland General Assembly, *House Journal*, 176–78.
21. Ibid.
22. Charles F. Wenner to Governor of Maryland, April 30, 1861, ibid., 179–80; receipt of Charles F. Wenner, June 4, 1861, ibid., 181.
23. *OR*, I, 2, 806–7, 809–10.
24. Ibid., 2, 814.
25. Ibid., 2, 822, 825.
26. Ibid., 2, 832; *Frederick Examiner*, May 8, 1861.
27. *OR*, I, 2, 836.
28. *Frederick Examiner*, May 15, 1861; *Middletown Valley Register*, May 17, 1861; *OR*, I, 2, 806–7, 832.
29. John D. Imboden, "Stonewall Jackson in the Shenandoah," in *The Century, a Popular Quarterly*, 30, no. 2 (June 1885): 285–86. Authors who concluded that the railroad trap never occurred include, James I. Robertson Jr., *Stonewall Jackson: The Man, the Soldier, the Legend* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1997), 229–30, and Byron Farwell, *Stonewall: A Biography of General Thomas J. Jackson* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992), 158.
30. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 21, 27, 28, 1861.
31. Joseph E. Johnston, *Narrative of Military Operations Directed During the Late War Between the States* (New York: D. Appleton, 1874), 28–29.
32. *Frederick Examiner*, April 24 and May 15, 1861; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 21, 29, 1861; *Hagerstown Herald of Freedom and Torch Light*, May 15, 1861; J. B. Ford to W. P. Smith, April 20, 1861, in William Prescott Smith, *B&O in the Civil War, From the Papers of Wm. Prescott Smith*, ed. by William E. Bain (Denver: Sage Books, 1966), 31–34.
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34. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 21, 23, 24, 27, 1861; Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, *Thirty-Fourth Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company to the Stockholders* (Washington: Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, 1862), 3, 9.

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36. Blanton Duncan to Benjamin Franklin Butler, May 15, 1861, and Benj. F. Butler to Blanton Duncan, 31 May 1861, in *Correspondence*, 86.
37. Johnston, *Narrative*, 21–22; *OR*, I, 2, 880–81; President and Directors of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, *Thirty-Fifth Annual Report of the President and Directors to the Stockholders of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, for the Year Ending September 30, 1861* (Baltimore: Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, 1863), 46; *Frederick Examiner*, May 29, 1861; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 30, 1861.
38. Alfred Spates to A. K. Stake, May 27, 1861, in *Williamsport Ledger*, n.d., reprinted in *Hagerstown Herald of Freedom and Torch Light*, June 5, 1861.
39. *Frederick Examiner*, May 29, June 5, 1861; Barry, *Harpers Ferry*, 102–3; W. P. Smith to M. Blair or Mr. McLellan, June 2, 1861, in Smith, *B&O*, 35.
40. *Frederick Examiner*, June 5, *1861; Middletown Valley Register*, June 7, 14, 1861; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 8, 15, 1861; *OR*, I, 2, 668–70.
41. B&O Railroad Co., *Thirty-Fifth Annual Report*, 47; *Frederick Examiner*, June 5, 12, 1861; *Middletown Valley Register* June 7, 1861; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 10, 1861; J. E. Johnston to Ashby, June 8, 1861, in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, vol. 29, (repr., Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus Reprint Co., 1977), 133.
42. Nesbitt, "Memoirs," 185; *New York Times*, June 2, 3, 1861; Cumberland *Civilian and Telegraph*, June 6, 1861; *Middletown Valley Register*, May 31, June 7, 1861.
43. *Hagerstown Herald of Freedom and Torch Light*, June 5, 1861; *New York Times*, June 5, 1861.
44. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 10, 1861.
45. Alfred Spates to W. S. Ringgold, May 13, 1861, Letters Received by the Office of the President and Directors, Records of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company [hereinafter referred to as Letters Received, Canal Papers], Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.
46. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 10, 11, 1861; *Hagerstown Herald of Freedom and Torch Light*, June 12, 1861.
47. *Frederick Examiner*, June 12, 1861; *Hagerstown Herald of Freedom and Torch Light*, June 12, 1861.
48. *Frederick Examiner*, June 12, 1861; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 12, 1861.
49. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 12, 13, 14, 1861.
50. *New York Times*, June 14, 1861. Lee gave Johnston the discretion to evacuate Harpers Ferry and destroy anything that might aid the enemy on June 1 and again on June 7; see *OR*, I, 2, 897, 910.
51. Alfred Spates to W. S. Ringgold, June 13, 1861, Letters Received, Canal Papers.
52. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 14, 1861.
53. Ibid., May 22, 1861; *Middletown Valley Register*, June 7, 1861; *Hagerstown Herald of Freedom and Torch Light*, May 22, 1861; *OR*, I, 2, 863.
54. *Williamsport Ledger*, n.d., in *Hagerstown Herald of Freedom and Torch Light*, June 12, 1861; *Middletown Valley Register*, June 7, 14, 1861; *Charlestown Virginia Free Press*, June 13, 1861; Henry Kyd Douglas, *I Rode with Stonewall: The War Experiences of the Youngest Member of Jackson's Staff* (repr., Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 7; Jacob Miller to Christian, Amelia and child [Houser], August 20, 1861, in Jacob Miller Letters [typescript copy], Antietam National Battlefield Library, Sharpsburg, Maryland.
55. Douglas, *Stonewall*, 7; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 12, 14, 1861; *New York Times*, June 13, 1861.

56. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 10, 11, 12, 13, 1861; Philadelphia *Ledger* [n.d.], reprinted in *New York Times*, June 15, 1861; *Frederick Examiner*, June 12 1861; *Middletown Valley Register*, June 14, 1861.
57. *New York Daily Tribune*, June 12, 1861.
58. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 11, 15, 1861.
59. *OR*, I, 2, 470–71, 881, 895–96, 897, 910; Johnston, *Narrative*, 17–21.
60. *OR*, I, 2, 472, 689; Johnston, *Narrative*, 22–23; *Middletown Valley Register*, June 21, 1861; *New York Daily Tribune*, June 16, 1861; B&O Railroad Company, *Thirty-Fifth Annual Report*, 47.
61. *OR*, I, 2, 670–71, 684, 686–89.
62. Ibid., I, 2, 691; *New York Daily Tribune*, June 17, 1861; *Middletown Valley Register*, June 21, 1861. The Union army's stay in Virginia was brief. General-in-Chief Winfield Scott was concerned about the concentration of rebel forces at Manassas Junction and ordered Patterson to send all regular army units and Ambrose Burnside's well-regarded Rhode Island regiment to Washington. Left with no experienced soldiers or artillery, on June 17 Patterson began to withdraw his men back to Maryland. He waited another two weeks before he forded the river again.
63. *OR*, I, 2, 472; Johnston, *Narrative*, 25–28; *Frederick Examiner*, June 26, 1861; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 25, July 11, 1861.
64. Maryland General Assembly, *House Journal*, 250–51.

Book Reviews

Big Chief Elizabeth: The Adventures and Fate of the First English Colonists in America. By Giles Milton. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000. 368 pages. Bibliography, index. Cloth, $24.)

The settlement of North America by Europeans was an event of major historical importance. With their superior weaponry and endless numbers of emigrants, Europeans secured the continent for western influence and, over time, marginalized the native population and their traditions. Giles Milton's new book tells the very earliest part of this story with results that are enjoyable, informative, and insightful. Extensive use of primary documents allows him to expose the multiple reasons—the greed, ambition, vision, poor advice, desperation, arrogance, and ignorance—that drew men and some women away from England to the New World.

Much of the book's rich texture is provided by the author's transatlantic perspective. While the experience of explorers and colonists on American soil is the main focus of the book, Milton pays close attention to the English court and society in which these daring schemes were born and nurtured. The conjunction in the sixteenth century of European political and religious rivalries, the consolidation of royal governments, new scientific thinking, and an increased importance of trade set numerous schemes in motion. Exploration and colonization were among them. Thus, the reader will learn not only of Raleigh's efforts to establish the colony of Roanoke in Virginia, but of Raleigh's effervescent rise as a court favorite with Elizabeth I and the latter's view that a Protestant English presence in the New World was one more way to nettle Catholic Spain. Milton deftly sketches this intricate mixture of religious jingoism, loyalty to state and crown, royal vanity, and personal financial needs that drove Sir Walter Raleigh and others forward. He takes the reader into a sixteenth-century gentleman's study. Those dens housing curio cabinets filled with exotic and fossilized flora and fauna, shelves of semi-fictitious books of travelers' accounts and speculative maps, and the latest technological artifacts provided an appropriate environment for the hatching of audacious schemes. By the end of the book, the reader has been treated to a commentary on sixteenth-century diet and medical debates about health, court intrigue, Anglo-Spanish relations, women's work, royal propaganda, the progress of tobacco, and the economic ills caused by monopolies owned by Raleigh. The book's numerous references to sixteenth-century culture, attitudes, and politics make it a valuable choice for undergraduate courses. It could be used as a point of departure for discussing some of the main themes of the Tudor century: the emergent national identity and its association with the Protestant cause, the attraction of the new sci-

ence, European aggression and the benefits expected from colonization, the fear of Spain, and the new relationship between crown and aristocracy. Furthermore, the book demonstrates how to situate historical events in their contexts.

The story itself is compelling and Milton sounds all the notes of an incredible emotional range. Here is irony, tragic miscalculation, humor, folly, frustration, and love. His first chapter, describing Richard Hore's 1536 voyage to Newfoundland, is a good example. Hore was a merchant who believed he could improve his fortunes by capturing a native inhabitant of North America and charging fees to Londoners who wished to see him. Promotion of his proposed voyage sparked interest, and numerous gentlemen joined the venture. It seems they set sail with more attention to their fine dress than to the stocks of food and seaworthiness of the vessels. They soon learned to reverse their priorities, but too late. Brought to starvation, some of these fine gentlemen became cannibals and ate members of their own party. The swift decline from self-assurance to moral depravity among Hore's men dramatically indicated the dangers awaiting Europeans in the New World. Nor was Hore's voyage the only one to produce specimens of human misery and despair who made their way back to England to tell frightening tales. It is remarkable that other adventurers could be found in the future to brave not just the unknown, but what was now known all too well. Future voyages were made, often plagued by the same problems of miscalculation: ships inadequate to meet the rigors of the Atlantic, spoiled or lost food, crews completely lacking in the skills necessary to carve an existence out of wilderness, and the interference of politics and finances in attempts to re-supply colonists who had managed to found a settlement. Human tyranny and irresponsibility also played their part.

Relations between native Americans and the English settlers were often characterized by violence and distrust, and they remind us too well of the price paid for domination, though Milton manages to capture some of the humor involved in culture clashes. Such clashes were most often the result of English attempts to turn the native Americans into loyal subjects of the English monarch. Of course, the reader knows the ultimate historical outcome of these encounters, but part of Milton's achievement is that he highlights the ironies, folly, and misadventures involved in the events leading to that outcome without losing sight of its momentous character.

LYNN JOHNSON
Towson University

The Diary of Jacob Englebrecht. William R. Quynn, ed. With editorial contributions by Jack O. Terry, Paul P. Gordon, Joyce L. Cooper, Donald R. Hunt Sr., and Mark S. Hudson. Translations by James Lowery. (Frederick: The Historical Society of Frederick County, Inc., 2002. 2 vols. Pp. xiv, 1292. Indexed. Cloth, $100.00. CD-ROM, $50.00. (The clothbound edition and the CD-ROM together: $125.00).

A diary can reveal the daily activities of the diarist, it may tell what the man or woman was thinking on a given occasion, and it may even shed some insight on the diarist's character.

Jacob Englebrecht was born in Fredericktown in 1797 and died there in 1878. From1819 until his death, he recorded events in his life, the lives of his neighbors, in the town, and the country. Englebrecht was interested in many things, and his diary reflected his interests and concerns—his family, neighbors, community, church and politics. Unlike Dickens's fictional Jacob Marley, Englebrecht did allow his spirit to walk abroad in life beyond the "narrow confines" of his business interests.On May 28, 1822, he made several entries in his diary throughout the day. He recorded the deaths of two young people. He noted the departure of Reverend D. E. Scheffer and family for Philadelphia and New York, where the clergyman was to purchase musical instruments for the "Harmonic Band." He also described the opening of a new school by the Jungmanns, father and son, and predicted that John Q. Adams would become the next president.

Engelbrecht was a loving father. On October 26, 1830, he recorded the toys his daughter Ann Rebecca got for her birthday—a doll's tea set—and he noted that a Child's Prayer was printed in the *Rep. Citizen* of October 15. On September 15, 1832, he recorded the death of poor little Ann Rebecca. He noted the time of her death, the date of her birth, and closed with the words, "Rest in peace poor darling." Two months later in commenting on the scarlet fever that was raging in the vicinity, he remarked that his own daughter was probably the first case in town. When his son, Philip Melanchton Engelbrecht, was two years old, his father noted his height and weight, and that he could talk very well. "That's all, except he's a keen little dog."

Engelbrecht took an interest in church affairs, and in recording the death of Reverend William Runkel of the German Reformed Church in 1832 he recalled a "blow-out" that had occurred about 1795 or 1796 between the Runkel party and the Schneider party. The rumpus was so bitter that children of the Schneider party who had been baptized were not found in the Runkel party's church records.

Englebrecht commented on the activities of other denominations. When a new Presbyterian pastor was installed in April 1864, Jacob noted that his predecessor had left because of his "southern Proclivities." When Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney died in October 1864, Englebrecht attended the funeral and noted that there were sixty candles burning around the altar and that thirty priests attended the corpse to the grave. "It was all done in first rate Catholic style." Englebrecht had several Jewish neighbors and his diary also contains accounts of Jewish circumcisions, a confirmation [*i.e.*, a Bar Mitzvah], and a wedding.

The diarist noted political events of the day, ranging from the election for members of the Frederick Common Council in February 1861 to the inauguration of Lincoln in March 1861. Regarding the latter, he added a prayer that the Lord would allow the whole [inauguration] ceremony to pass in "peace and quietness."

The diary contains many entries on the events of the Civil War and describes the assassination and funeral of Lincoln. While recording the events of those sad days, he also commented on the performance of the Stone & Posston Circus at Birely's Cannon Hill on Tuesday, April 18, 1865, and the arrival of Messrs Wagner & Dudley, horse tamers a week later.

Family historians will find the diary replete with notices of births, marriages, and deaths. Some of the obituaries, especially those of his own relatives, are extremely detailed. When his mother-in-law, Mrs. Rebecca Ramsburg died, Englebrecht gave a very full account of her birth, death, parentage, and siblings and children.

This two-volume work contains a detailed description of the life and times of people in nineteenth-century Frederick County. It will be helpful to students of local history, social history, and to family history.

ROBERT BARNES
Perry Hall

Coming to Terms With Democracy: Federalist Intellectuals and the Shaping of American Culture. By Marshall Foletta. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001. 313 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $45.)

The democratization of America in the opening decades of the nineteenth century meant that the days of the Federalist Party were numbered. Consequently much of the historical literature concerning this period focuses on the emergence of the Republican Party from the dust and debris of the collapsed first-party system. The question of whatever happened to the Federalists often goes unanswered, for it is accepted that after the War of 1812 and the Hartford Convention they simply faded away. But in this well-written and convincing account, Marshall Foletta argues that the ideology and culture of the party of Hamilton, Adams, and Jay continued to hold influence as a new generation of Federalists emerged who shunned politics and through the pages of a modestly successful literary journal, the *North American Review*, endeavored to reach the same conservative social goals as their fathers. In analyzing the lives and writings of these prominent New England thinkers—among them George Ticknor, Edward and Alexander Everett, Jared Sparks, and William Prescott—Foletta discovers a Federalist political culture that "was perhaps more powerful, and certainly more enduring, than the party" itself (4).

The story begins early in the nineteenth century when Federalists believed that with the rise of the common man their Armageddon had arrived. Voted out of office and spurned by popular society, they turned bitter and fatalistic, convinced that the republican experiment had failed. Young Federalists did not share in this pessimism; they were both optimistic about the future of the young Republic and

realistic about their place in it. Unlike their fathers they had come to terms with democracy, yet like them they sought to keep the United States a hierarchical and ordered society, one in which ordinary men deferred on important matters of finance and government to the men who had traditionally answered the call, the educated and affluent, the "aristocracy of talent." In 1815 these young Federalists began publishing the *North American Review*, a journal of literary discourse that would serve as the vehicle for realizing their conservative social agenda.

Through the pages of their journal, the young Federalists hoped to save the Republic by advocating numerous reforms. Ironically, their success at reaching these goals secured the loss of status and influence they intended to preserve. They advocated, for example, the development of a national literature in an effort to foster the construction of a national identity and improve public morality. It would just as importantly grant them cultural authority, for in a literary republic men of letters would be revered. The result instead was the rise of popular literature, the writing of which required neither literary expertise nor genius. They also sought the professionalization and specialization of higher education through the establishment of graduate and law schools—a shift away from the traditional apprenticeship system—in an effort to limit entry into the elite professions to skilled, highly trained specialists, like themselves. (Employing objective criteria for admission to these schools resulted in the opening of universities and previously restricted professions to the middle class.) If the young Federalists had had their way, the common man would have had access to little else than the ballot box. However, by the end of the Jacksonian era common men were reading and writing popular novels, attending university, and practicing medicine and law. Driven by their fathers' successes, the young Federalists experienced a similar fate: "The more they succeeded, the more they failed" (133).

Folleta concludes that the young Federalists' failure was not total. In reconciling democracy with order, and progress with the status quo, "they articulated an ideology that has found repeated voice throughout American political history" (211). Still, one wonders whether this small group of elites is worthy of so much attention. As the contributors to a journal that at its height had a circulation of only three thousand, are these men responsible for the rise of anti-intellectualism or, more generally, the triumph of liberalism and democracy in early America? It is unlikely; nevertheless, this book holds great appeal for students of American intellectualism who will read with interest the extent to which this early intelligentsia brought about its own marginalization and alienation, more than the external forces of "democracy, pluralism, revivalist evangelicals, or populist politicians" (227). Those interested in tracing the rise of American conservatism and the making of American nationalism will likewise profit from reading it. Foletta shines a light on a forgotten group of elitists—Brahmins motivated by fears of democracy who aimed at keeping cultural and political power in the hands of a select few, and

in the process laid the groundwork of an elitist intellectual tradition that survives today.

MATT CLAVIN
American University

Mistress of Manifest Destiny: A Biography of Jane McManus Storm Cazneau, 1807–1878. By Linda S. Hudson. (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2001. 305 pages. Appendix, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $29.95.)

Linda S. Hudson's biography of Jane McManus Storm Cazneau is an excellent example of how historians recreate understandable lives from the scattered shards of the past. Not all public figures out of our nation's past need to be rescued from obscurity, but Professor Hudson makes a determined case for Mrs. Cazneau.

Mrs. Cazneau had a number of pen names, professions, and careers, mostly as a journalist for the *New York Sun*, the *New York Tribune*, and the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*. She transcended a limited middle-class background in Troy, New York, and journeyed to Texas to begin her career as a land speculator and businesswoman. As an ardent nationalist and sexual intriguer, she was heavily involved in most of the key issues of her day—continental expansion, antislavery, and fair employment practices for immigrants and women. Among her lovers and admirers was Aaron Burr, at this time a seventy-six-year-old opportunist who enjoyed well-endowed, articulate women. At the time of her liaison with Burr, Cazneau was in her early twenties and had her eye on the main chance. Relationships and marriages with wealthy men greatly aided her career.

Known primarily by her bylines "Cora Storm" and "Montgomery," Mrs. Cazneau reported the crucial news of the day from Texas, Mexico, the Caribbean, and Europe. She stood much to gain from the various "freedom" movements she championed in Mexico, Nicaragua, and Cuba. In each case Mrs. Cazneau and her husband had large investments at stake in land, cotton, and merchant factoring that would skyrocket with independence. "Her viewpoint," writes Hudson, "reflected that of New York merchants and shippers dependent upon southern business" (53).

As a scholar using "textual analysis" (see especially page 209 in Appendix B), Hudson makes a provocative case for Mrs. Cazneau being the author of the term "Manifest Destiny" when she wrote editorials for John L. O'Sullivan's *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*. Inasmuch as historians have long thought O'Sullivan to be the author of this felicitous term, we may expect rejoinders from historians of antebellum American expansionism.

Professor Hudson offers an informed perspective of Mrs. Cazneau's service during 1846–1848 as a war correspondent for American newspapers. Her dispatches to the *New York Sun*, one of the most influential journals of the penny press of that

day, helped to condition American attitudes toward Mexico. She landed at Vera Cruz in 1847, and her dispatches from Mexico caused circulation at the *Sun* to soar to 55,000 per daily issue. She wrote under the pen name of "Montgomery," and most readers of the *Sun* thought her a man.

Afterward, her business investments in Eagle Pass, Texas, and Nicaragua came to naught. Yet despite declining eyesight, Mrs. Cazneau wrote four books promoting American expansion into the tropics, and throughout the Civil War and later served as an important public spokesman for American annexation of the Dominican Republic.

Jane McManus Storm Cazneau's public life, concludes Hudson, "contributes to a better understanding of the role that professional women played in the mid-nineteenth century" (202). Hudson seeks to establish Mrs. Cazneau's career as central to understanding the mood and temper of American expansionism and illuminates the role of this feisty woman in the early history of Texas. Unfortunately the book contains not a single sketch or portrait or photograph of this otherwise very public woman.

JOHN R. WENNERSTEN
Washington, D.C.

Black Identity & Black Protest in the Antebellum North. By Patrick Rael. (The John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. 433 pages. Illustrations, tables, notes, bibliography, index. $55.00 cloth; $19.95 paper.)

Patrick Rael's *Black Identity & Black Protest in the Antebellum North* is a sweeping and courageous intellectual history of antebellum black America, placed carefully in the social context of gradual emancipation in the North, intractable enslavement in the South, and increasingly confrontational sectional politics on the national scene. Drawing upon a rich array of primary sources and contemporary political theory, Rael offers an interpretation of identity formation in antebellum black America that resists both the perilously essentialist arguments of narrowly conceived cultural nationalism and the assimilationist/accommodationist model that dismisses elite black leaders of the period as "sell-outs" to a dominant white bourgeois ideology. This is an ambitious, important book that is sure to be controversial.

In the first chapter, Rael shows how Northern free blacks, as a marginalized minority whose situation never contrasted sharply with that of slaves either in terms of occupational status or skin color, were able to forge a common political identity with slaves, even though their leaders, as measured by participation in black conventions, did tend to be disproportionately Southern-born and light-skinned. Rael's comparative reading of economic and social characteristics of lead-

ers, property owners, and the population at large listed as "black" or "mulatto" for five northern cities raises a couple of questions. Might the significance of indigenous descent in considerable numbers of native-born people of color identified as "mulatto" in federal censuses for antebellum New England, which Rael does not mention, complicate the story? How does using census data from just the last two decades before the Civil War distort an interpretation of the peak period of transition from slavery to emancipation, 1790 to 1840?

In any case, Rael argues that a new, cohesive black identity did emerge out of the gradual transition from slavery to emancipation in the northern states. Rael locates the development of this unified identity in Habermas's public sphere. He shows how northern black leaders transformed public celebrations of black folk culture originating in slavery, such as Negro elections, into antislavery celebrations that could enlist non-elites into a "culture of activism" (56–57). The new public visibility of blacks outside the carefully circumscribed bounds of earlier master-slave relations, in conjunction with their new role as labor competitors, fostered deep resentment by whites, expressed both in print and with mob violence. These responses in turn further cemented a new conception of black identity forged in struggle—what Rael calls a "pragmatic political identity" (52).

Here Rael takes on what he calls "the recent scholarly preoccupation with searching for evidence of cultural autonomy or dependence where it cannot be found" (52) as well as scholarship that has interpreted black elites as assimilating "white" values. Although he acknowledges that northern black identity drew upon black folk culture as one of its sources, Rael argues that it was not culturalist to a significant degree; insofar as it sometimes called for black separation as a temporary expedient, it was responsive to whites' discriminatory treatment rather than claims for a transcendant cultural identity. Neither was it assimilationist or integrationist, although it fused ideologies of the enlightenment, the American Revolution, and the liberal marketplace.

Rael's interpretation of uplift ideology is provocative as well. He points out that African American leaders saw self-help as an entitlement—the right to elevate oneself materially, mentally, and morally, through education and institution building, in order to create a self whose true worth—"respectability"—could be distinguished from the posturing that might fool an increasingly impersonal public in the anonymity of the market economy. In this environment, blacks did not just assimilate uplift thought from whites; they were active partners in its creation.

Public discussion by black leaders of the "degraded condition" of their people was not self-abnegation or class disdain, as Rael sees it, but a conscious strategy to discipline and inspire activism. Black thinkers saw uplift and respectability as problems in self-representation, a kind of "racial synecdoche" in which the part (those who were disorderly or dissolute) stood for the whole (black people as a group) (179). Black people were trapped in a cycle: slavery and discriminatory practices

bred degradation, which fanned the flames of white prejudice against them as a people, which in turn fostered despair and further degradation. To interrupt the cycle and defeat prejudice, blacks must remove the barriers to elevation; seen in this light, respectability was a strategy for bringing about equality and making race prejudice disreputable—a call for activism and the exercise of personal agency.

Rael offers another innovative interpretation in his reading of antebellum black nationalism as a temporary, strategic expedient, primarily rooted not in cultural or biological essentialism but in the "central tropes of American nationalism" and the American Revolutionary tradition. He argues that black leaders defined a race as having the qualities of a nation, i.e., the right to be respected, and they saw nations as having fundamental equality. Hence, as a nation, black Americans deserved equality, and their success in achieving it would complete the American Revolution (and fulfill God's design for America as well). Here, Rael could have laid out his ideas a little more clearly.

In his conclusion, Rael acknowledges that there were serious limitations to the black public protest tradition, including its concessions to oppressive gender ideals, to the bourgeois economic order, and to the racialism of the period. Nonetheless, it constituted a passionate effort to forge racial unity in order to achieve equality and social justice.

Rael's rejection of both culturalist and integrationist paradigms in his interpretation of the antebellum black protest tradition is a tightrope walk that is bound to arouse passionate debate. Nonetheless, even his critics will find much to admire in Rael's evocation of a black leadership struggling to make common bond with slaves and poor blacks in order to hold the feet of white America to the fire of shared Revolutionary principles.

JOANNE POPE MELISH
University of Kentucky

Jefferson Davis, American. By William J. Cooper. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000. 672 pages. Cloth, $35.00.)

"American" is not the word that immediately comes to mind when one thinks of Jefferson Davis, the president of the Confederate States of America. Historians have tended to see Davis through the lens of his four-year leadership of the Confederacy rather than viewing his Confederate interlude in the context of the other seventy-seven years of his long life. In his new, deeply researched, 757-page biography of Davis, William J. Cooper—Boyd Professor of History at Louisiana State University—reinterprets Davis as "a patriotic American" (xiv) instead of "an ideologue with poor political skills and . . . a second-rate leader with a bureaucratic mind-set . . . [and] a brittle, ill-tempered personality" (xiii). Cooper's reassessment emphasizes Davis's pre- and post-Confederate careers, his family life, and his

political ideas without neglecting Davis's presidency. Indeed, Cooper devotes nearly a third of the book to those fifty-one months. Overall, Cooper argues, Davis remained remarkably consistent throughout his life to his notions of what it meant to be an American: states rights; strict construction of the constitution; liberty for whites and bondage for blacks. By implication, Cooper's reinterpretation of Davis advances a corresponding suggestion that the Confederacy was as American as apple pie and Abraham Lincoln. In short, this biography is a bold and ambitious, if understated, revisionist work.

Throughout the book, Cooper takes Davis at his word. Davis, Cooper argues, "saw himself as a faithful American, even though he tried to destroy the Union that to him had become subverted" (655). With few exceptions, Cooper echoes Davis's self-conception. Cooper reserves his harshest criticism for Davis's "disastrous" refusal to remove Braxton Bragg as the commanding general of the Army of Tennessee, a decision Cooper terms "extremely difficult to understand" (457). But Davis's other decisions as commander-in-chief, political leader, and even husband are chronicled without venturing criticism or skeptical judgment. The result is a portrait of Davis as a remarkable paragon of ideological consistency, honor-bound duty, and loyalty to cause and principle over self and expediency.

The great strength of such a portrait is its faithfulness to Davis's view of himself as documented in his voluminous papers that Cooper has thoroughly mined along with an impressive array of related archival sources. The considerable weakness of such a portrait is that one is left wondering whether Davis was the best judge of his ideas, motives, and behavior. The result is an expertly narrated biography that glides along the surfaces of Davis's life without fully evaluating or arguing with the many critical assessments of Davis's character, personality, leadership, political acumen, and self-perception. It is, in a sense, a prolonged statement of the case for Davis's defense, without a tone of hostile or aggressive defensiveness, and without explicitly acknowledging the contrary case. Whether this stealth defense of Davis prevails against historians' harsh judgments of Davis's political skills, personal traits, and blindered social vision remains to be seen. This book is the best overview of what Davis said and did during his long life, but its guidance in helping readers think through the many meanings of Davis's career is disappointing, doubly so given Cooper's superior qualifications for providing that guidance. In the end, one is left wondering whether the most important thing about Davis was whether he was an American or a Confederate American.

Michael P. Johnson
John Hopkins University

Blood on the Moon: The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln. By Edward Steers Jr. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2001. 400 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $29.95.)

We know the story, or at least we think we do: crazy John Wilkes Booth's scheme undertaken with his bedraggled band of conspirators to assassinate Abraham Lincoln and other members of the government in the waning days of the Civil War, the opportunity afforded when the president attended a play at Ford's Theater on the night of April 14, 1865, the capture of the conspirators and the vengeful military commission that sent four of them including Mary Surratt to their deaths and unfairly imprisoned an innocent Dr. Samuel Mudd in Fort Jefferson.

But in his readable, exceedingly well-researched account of the assassination, Edward Steers shreds the myths that have encrusted the story of Booth's plot and that reveal more about what some Americans want to believe than what actually happened. Comprehensive, even to the point of including the Booth-lives-again stories as well as the most painstaking account of the Lincoln funeral ever written, *Blood on the Moon* is based on the author's immersion in primary sources often neglected in synthetic accounts. It also benefits from the author's carefully thought out timetables that make the testimony of some conspirators impeach that of others, and this is devastating for those who believe in Mudd's innocence. Because of the careful detail and good writing, *Blood on the Moon* is a riveting, page-turning narrative.

While Steers corrects many of the small errors that most Americans have absorbed about the conspiracy, his major contributions are two. First, Booth and his fellow conspirators did not act independently as rogue Southern sympathizers, rather they were part of a broad-based Confederate effort to disrupt the Union government. Instead of removing the assassination from its historical setting, as most accounts do, Steers places Lincoln's murder within the context of other plots to kidnap and assassinate the president. Some were organized within the Confederacy's Torpedo Bureau with its plans to blow up the White House. Others were orchestrated by a Confederate Secret Service established by Jefferson Davis and operating out of Canada and southern Maryland. (It may come as a surprise to modern Americans to discover that the Confederacy tried to implement a plan for germ warfare which involved distributing blankets and clothing infected with yellow fever.) Booth and his band hardly acted alone, but instead were part of official projects to kidnap the president and after the surrender of the Confederates when he was more useful dead than alive, to murder Lincoln. Only with the help of a Confederate network operating out of southern Maryland that included Mudd were Booth and David Herold able to escape across the Potomac River into northern Virginia.

Nor were Booth's motives those of a madman who intended to kill a president who had exceeded his authority. Steers argues convincingly that Booth's motivation to kill Lincoln rested more with the actor's hatred of Lincoln the emancipator than Lincoln the supposed tyrant. Quite simply, a chillingly sane Booth saw sla-

very as necessary to the welfare of the nation, or in the actor's words, "a happiness for themselves [that is slaves] and a social and political blessing for us." (32) Such sentiments were widely shared in the Confederacy.

The second major contribution that Steers makes is to place the military commission that tried and convicted the captured assassins within military jurisdiction and American precedent. The conspirators were properly classified as "enemy belligerents," acting with the Confederacy, a government that still had armies in the field after Lee's surrender. Moreover, Mary Surratt and Samuel Mudd were not convicted under the wrong law. As Steers's careful detective work indicates, both had knowledge of the illegal acts, and during a time of martial law in Washington, after the murder of Lincoln and the attempted murder of Secretary of State Seward and Vice-President Andrew Johnson, both were guilty under the doctrine of "vicarious liability." Certainly, as Steers maintains, there were advantages for the prosecution in a military trial, but contrary to popular perception, the rules of evidence and judicial administration generally followed those of civilian trials.

There are special lessons in this book for Marylanders who cling to myths about their state during the Civil War and its relationship to the federal government. But all too often historical distortions have stronger legs than the kind of reasoned corrections developed by Steers. Still *Blood on the Moon* goes a long way in establishing the truth about the assassination of a president who fervently believed that "history is not history unless it is the truth."

JEAN H. BAKER
Goucher College

Ida B. Wells-Barnett & American Reform, 1880–1930. By Patricia A. Schechter. (Gender and American Culture. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. 404 pages. Bibliography, notes, illustrations, index. $55.00 cloth; $19.95 paper.)

At the onset, Patricia Schechter clearly states her goal for this intriguing work: to present Wells-Barnett's ideology and achievements in a manner which fosters understanding of women, racism, and reform efforts in the United States. She accomplishes her goals admirably, providing a comprehensive and thought-provoking study of a complex and sometimes conflicted personality shaped by gender, racial, economic, and class constraints. In addition to increasing our understanding of the "uplift" activities of African American women, as presented in Kevin K. Gaines' *Uplifting the Race*, Schechter successfully balances the similarities and differences between white and African American middle-class women engaged in ameliorative struggles.

Coining the phrase "visionary pragmatism" (3), Schechter theorizes that Wells-Barnett's religious faith shaped and supported her efforts to achieve social justice and that her demonstrated anger regarding injustice was "righteous rage" (14).

She provides sufficient biographical information to develop her thesis and demonstrate the influence of Wells-Barnett's formerly enslaved, deeply religious, socially and politically active parents. Further, she enhances her thesis via discussion of the traditional African American theological concept which equates, and even requires a direct connection between, faith and practical action for community improvement.

In this regard, Wells-Barnett was outspoken and often abrasive and therefore subject to criticism, to economic austerity, and to threats of physical danger. For example, as a journalist she editorialized that lynching was a means of political and economic control masquerading as a campaign to protect innocent white women from the sexual advances of bestial black men. She audaciously suggested that many interracial sexual encounters were consensual, a suggestion that necessitated her immediate, life-preserving flight from Memphis, Tennessee.

Although Wells-Barnett is best remembered for her campaign to call attention to, clarify the reasons for, and eliminate lynching, Schechter presents a broader portrait of her work in the political, educational, journalistic, and social work arenas. She traces Wells-Barnett's migration from her Mississippi birthplace to Memphis, to European lecture tours and to civic and political activism in Chicago, and offers a comprehensive discussion of varying ideologies and personalities engaged in reform efforts. (This subtle interweaving of races, classes, and cultures into the tapestry of reform activities is, I suspect, the reason the book is not entitled *Ida B. Wells-Barnett & African American Reform, 1880–1930.*)

I do not suggest, however, that the author neglects the subject of race and racism, and its impact on Wells-Barnett. In her discussion of the Herculean tasks confronting Wells-Barnett and others agitating for social change, Schechter graphically intertwines the burdens of race, class, and gender placed upon women in the public sphere. Schechter posits that Wells-Barnett's activism, and her expectation that both genders be held equally accountable for positive change, is linked to her father's efforts toward community improvement and the balanced gender roles she observed in her childhood home. She recognizes that Wells-Barnett's work was in keeping with the African/African American tradition of honoring the wishes of the ancestors.

Much of Wells-Barnett's interaction with men, on various levels, was colored by her determination to effect change without being held to external standards of appropriate feminine behavior. Nevertheless she sought the approval of Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington. She experienced a positive collaboration with journalist T. Thomas Fortune and A.M.E. Bishop Reverdy Ransom, and a less positive relationship with W. E. B. Du Bois. Unlike many of her cohorts, Wells-Barnett combined matrimony, motherhood, and social activism—as Schechter indicates, some would argue not always productively.

Beneficial to this study is Schechter's reliance on and analysis of the work of

scholars renowned in the field of African American and African American Women's History. The scope of sources is encyclopedic; the bibliography alone is a scholarly treasure trove. Schechter writes with clarity and effectively uses quotations and illustrations to heighten the reader's comprehension. Particularly interesting is her comparison between clergyman-educator Alexander Crummell, educator-feminist Anna Julia Cooper and Wells-Barnett, with respect to their writings, philosophies, and strategies for uplift.

Marylanders Sarah Collins Fernandis and Ida Cummings were Wells-Barnett's contemporaries who, although active reformists, have received minimal scholarly attention. Schechter's work, while not specifically related to reform efforts in Maryland, provides insight into the motivations, challenges, and accomplishments of African American women reformers and will thus prove informative to those who desire to fill this void.

DONNA TYLER HOLLIE
Museum of the African American Historical Association of Fauquier County, Virginia

Noble Powell and the Episcopal Establishment in the Twentieth Century. By David Hein. Studies in Anglican History, Peter W. Williams, ed. (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001. Pp. xii, 183. Cloth, $29.95.

Professor George H. Callcott has shown us in his article "The Quality of Life in Maryland Over Five Centuries" (*MdHM*, 96 [Fall 2001]: 272–302) how radically life changed from century to century. He shows us how each class of society, from the elite to the enslaved, can be measured and rated as to health, wealth, personal and communal freedom, and a sense of purpose. Curiously, religion is not one of his categories, perhaps because the great guru of American historiography, Henry Steele Commager, discounted it as, at best, exercises in personal piety and, at worst, irrational and undemocratic. The role of religion in society may not be as measurable as tax rates or tables of morbidity, but, as Harry Truman's 1945 speech on "Maryland and Tolerance" in the same issue (328–21) shows, it must be reckoned with in defining "quality of life."

What was it like to live in Maryland between 1943 and 1963? Surely no two decades in our state's history were more eventful, and only the Revolutionary War and Civil War periods can equal them. The Rt. Rev. Noble Cilley Powell (1891–1968), subject of David Hein's well-researched and carefully written biography, was the Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of Maryland from November 1943 to November 1963. He was installed when the nation and the world were in turmoil. In spite of some gains in Europe and the Pacific, victory over the Axis was far way. Casualty lists grew, and the catchphrase of December 1943, "Win the War in '44," was to be silenced at Bastogne, with the conquest of Germany, Iwo Jima and

Okinawa still ahead. Balancing hopes and fears was a demanding duty for people of faith, especially for the churches at the center of Maryland society. The Episcopal Church had literally been "the Establishment" in the colony from 1692 to 1776 and continued to have a special position politically and socially.

Here was the stage on which Noble Powell was called to proclaim the Gospel and to preside over the postwar boom. The Diocese (which does not include the Eastern Shore or the District of Columbia and its surrounding counties) grew by 40 percent, including nearly thirty thousand children and adults confirmed by Bishop Powell. Five of the 119 congregations now open were organized during his episcopate. In 1952 he launched the diocesan conference center near Buckeystown; it was named for the first bishop, Thomas John Claggett, and its central building is now called, in his honor, Powell Hall.

But beyond his ecclesiastical ministries, Powell made a mark on "the quality of life" in Maryland by his pursuit of ecumenical co-operation, especially with the Roman Catholic Church through his friendship with Archbishops Curley, Keough, and Shehan. Given his background in Alabama and Virginia, he was cautious about the pace of racial integration, but his gentle good humor and human compassion prepared the way for the more progressive stance taken by his successor, the Rt. Rev. Harry Lee Doll.

David Hein, whose father Charles is the retired rector of St. Thomas' Church, Providence Road, is chair of the department of religion and philosophy at Hood College in Frederick. He writes about Bishop Powell with respectful but critical scholarship. One-third of the book is taken up with footnotes citing not only the historical records but also his many conversations with people who knew Powell well. He has made good use of the Maryland diocesan archives, which were managed and extended by the late Dr. F. Garner Ranney, who had also served for many years on the staff of the Maryland Historical Society.

After twenty years of firm control over a growing church and broad influence in the wider community, Bishop Powell set his retirement at the latest date allowed by the rules of the Church Pension Fund—November 22, 1963. He had just transferred his episcopal office to Bishop Doll at a service in the Church of the Redeemer, Baltimore, when word came from Dallas that President John F. Kennedy had been shot. Before long the escalation of the Cold War in Vietnam and the intensity of the cultural changes epitomized by the civil rights movement meant that his era was over. Religion in Maryland could no longer take its social and political role for granted, but the values of faith, tolerance, and social justice which Noble Powell embodied survived. He was truly "an amiable Baltimorean."

KINGSLEY SMITH
Historiographer of the Diocese of Maryland

Books in Brief

Jon Butler's *Becoming America: The Revolution Before 1776* is now available in paperback. This award-winning historian found a distinctively modern character in eighteenth-century British North America—"multi-national, materialistic, power-hungry, and religiously plural." This new interpretation focuses on the formerly neglected pre-Revolutionary years and debunks the traditional myths of quaint colonial farmers and shopkeepers.

Harvard University Press, $16.00

August V. Kautz's *The 1865 Customs of Service for Officers of the Army: A Handbook of the Duties of Each Grade Lieutenant to Lieut.-General*, first published during the final year of the Civil War, is back in print. This pocket-sized reprint is the companion volume to Kautz's *The 1865 Customs of Service for Non-Commissioned Officers and Soldiers* (reprint Stackpole Books, 2001). These books allow both historians and re-enactors a detailed look at the inner workings of nineteenth-century military life.

Stackpole Books, cloth, $15.95

In *Prang's Civil War Pictures: The Complete Battle Chromos of Louis Prang*, editor Harold Holzer presents a complete set of the lithographer's eighteen Civil War battle prints. Prang commissioned battle painter Thure de Thulstrup and naval specialist Julian Oliver Davidson and their imaginative renderings of such moments as "Sheridan's Final Charge at Winchester," the "Battle of Fredericksburg," "Battle of Gettysburg, July 3, 1863," and the "Capture of New Orleans, Farragut Passing the Forts by Night, April 24, 1862," then became popular illustrations. Holzer adds the original marketing brochures that include a complete description of each work.

Fordham University Press, cloth, $50.00

Letters to the Editor

Editor:

Numerous references support Elaine G. Breslaw's article about Dr. Alexander Hamilton's colonial Maryland medical practice (winter, 2001). I believe, however, that the account of malaria therapy in he eighteenth century is in error, possibly due to the reference on which she relied, G. Marks and W. K. Beatty, *The Medical Garden* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971).

About 1949–50, I was a regular visitor to the University of Maryland's medical library, an old and small building on the southeast corner of Greene and Pratt Streets. On their shelves was a book entitled, I believe, The Fever Bark Tree, which detailed a different story about the development of quinine as a remedy for malaria. A half century has elapsed since I read this, and probably it was the absence of malaria in modern Baltimore that did not encourage me to research it again.

First, Hamilton noted that the bark had been taken from the Cinchona tree and it "contained a substance similar to quinine." True, but a major understatement, for it was indeed quinine. Note this definition from Stedman's *Medical Dictionary*, 25th edition,

> Chinchona, Jesuits' bark, or Peruvian bark; quina, quinaquina; quinquina; the dried bark of the root and stem of various species of Cinchona, a genus of evergreen trees, native of South America but cultivated in various tropical regions. The cultivated bark contains 7 to 10 percent of total alkaloids; about 70 percent is quinine. C. contains more than 20 alkaloids, of which two pairs of isomers are most important: quinine and quinidine, and cinchonidine and cinchonine.

And from Miriam Webster (10th Collegiate Edition)

> cinchona, noun, New Latin, genus name, from Countess of Chinchon (died 1641) wife of Peruvian viceroy. Any of a genus (cinchona) of South American trees and shrubs of the madder family.

University of Maryland's text provides an intriguing story of cinchona's use by Peru's Indians. As I recall at this distance of more than fifty years, the tale tells of the natives' rigorous control of the bark's distribution, and how it was finally revealed to European explorers by a defector from the Indian population. He had a most unhappy return to his native group but quinine plants had been made available and were no longer secret.

According to that text at University of Maryland, now out of date, sample live

cinchona plants were finally brought to Europe by Jesuits, Augustinians or other persons interested in botanicals. There, attempts failed to persuade physicians or pharmacists to cultivate it or recognize it as an effective remedy against malaria. As a result the first plants were circulated among European countries with out takers until they reached the Dutch.

Quinine's use in the Western Hemisphere, especially in Europe and North America had been either casual or unscientific, hampered by adulterations or substitutions. Malarial therapy was thus erratic, depending for effectiveness on the presence of quinine alkaloids in whatever medication was being administered, for whatever ailment.

For reasons not now recalled, the Dutch shipped those weak and ailing cinchona plants to their colonies in the Western Indies where production of therapeutic quinine grew into a monopoly. During the Second World War, Japanese occupation of those islands abruptly interrupted the supply of quinine to the U. S. and allied countries, and forced rapid development and expansion of other malaria therapies.

I was a medical officer for two wards of military patients with malaria, and chief of laboratory service, in the 255th Station Hospital, Port of Spain, Trinidad, 1942–44. Our primary therapy for malaria was Atabrine, but severe or difficult cases received therapeutic doses of the relatively short supply of quinine in our pharmacy.

Perhaps Theodore Woodward, a former University of Maryland professor and a physician with much interest in medical history might wish to provide a more extensive response or an article on quinine's effectiveness in Maryland.

Sincerely,
John B. De Hoff, MD, MPH

Editor:

As a member of the Maryland Historical Society, let me first say how much I enjoy reading the *Maryland Historical Magazine.* I am a native Marylander who has lived in South Carolina for over thirty years, and the magazine helps me keep up my ties with home.

However, in the most recent issue of the magazine, winter 2001, in the article by Robert W. Schoeberlein on mental health in Maryland, 1908–1910, I find an error. On page 443, Mr. Schoeberlein says that Dr. Hugh Young (of Johns Hopkins University Hospital) was a native Marylander. This is incorrect. Dr. Young was a native of Texas, although he resided in Maryland for many years.

I know this because Dr. Young was an active participant in the 1932 effort to try to win the Democratic presidential nomination that year for Governor Albert C. Ritchie. Indeed, on page 528 of Dr. Young's autobiography *A Surgeon's Autobiography*, a work Mr. Schoeberlein cites, Dr. Young says he was a native Texan.

When the switch of the vote of the Texas delegation (on the fourth ballot) from Speaker Garner to Governor Roosevelt took place, Dr. Young wrote (of Ritchie) "It broke my heart when my native state, which seemed to be safely in his column, was taken from him."

I am familiar with all this because I wrote my master's thesis ("The Presidential Aspirations of Albert C. Ritchie") in 1966 at the University of Maryland on Ritchie's 1932 failed campaign.

This business about Dr. Young is, of course, a small matter, but I thought it was worth calling to your attention. Perhaps you could mention it to Mr. Schoeberlein.

With Kindest Regards,

Neal D. Thigpen

Editor:

The winter edition of the journal arrived last Friday. I was especially interested in the article "The Refugees from the Island St. Domingo in Maryland." Please see the next to the last paragraph on page 480 in which the author wrote "Sieur Ponder" was working in a wig making shop in Gay Street. The wigmaker was Antoine Pontier, a native of France and probably born in the Ardeche region of south central France. He soon began to spell his first name as Anthony. He was trying to be American. On February 19, 1795, Anthony Pontier married Mary Catherine duPlan in Baltimore. He died in Baltimore February 1, 1816, at the age of forty-nine and was buried the following day in St. Peter's churchyard. The church and cemetery are long gone.

Antoine and Mary Catherine had at least seven children. Three girls died as infants and were buried in St. Peter's churchyard. A son, Joseph, was a Maryland militiaman who was a veteran of the defense of Baltimore in September 1814. Another son, Lewis Edward, a Baltimore merchant, died there on December 8, 1880, at the age of eighty-one. Daughter Mary Frances died unmarried of a "nervous fever" in Baltimore on October 6, 1820, and another daughter Mary Cecelia, born 1809–10 married merchant Bonnet F. Bedout in Norfolk. He was a native of Bordeaux. They had four surviving children. The eldest was Mary Felecia who married James Alexander Colbert. He was thirty-five years her senior and they had four surviving children. They moved to Baltimore after the War and have descendents there today. The Colberts know nothing of the Pontiers and I'm certain that the Pontiers today know nothing of the Bedouts or the Colberts. The third child of Bonnet and Mary Cecelia was Edward Leon Bedout who was my mother's paternal grandfather.

I just wanted to correct the spelling of my great, great, great-grandfather's name. It was Pontier, not Ponder.

W. E. Chesson

New Castle, Delaware

Notices

Book Prize Winner

Ronald Hoffman has won the Maryland Historical Society's 2001 book prize for *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland: A Carroll Family Saga, 1500–1782* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000). The Publications Committee, editors, and contest judges thank all of the publishers who submitted books. Works exploring Maryland history and culture, and published in 2001 and 2002, will be eligible for the 2003 competition.

Undergraduate Essay Winners

Aaron Michael Glazer, a Johns Hopkins University senior, won first prize in the society's undergraduate essay contest for "Fade to Gas: The Conversion of Baltimore's Mass Transit System from Streetcars to Diesel Powered Buses." University of Maryland Baltimore County's Robert F. Bailey III took second place with "The Pratt Street Riots: Overstated Significance?," and Johns Hopkins' Andrew Genz earned third place for "Power and Propriety in Civil War Maryland: Evaluating the Implications of Repression in a Wayward Border State."

Omohundro Institute at College Park

The Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture Eighth Annual Conference is being held June 14–16, 2002, at the Clarice Smith Performing Arts Center, University of Maryland College Park. The three-day meeting features a numerous speakers and panels on Chesapeake topics, including "The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: New Perspectives," chaired by Lois Green Carr, Historic St. Mary's City. For full program and registration information, visit the conference web site at www.wm.edu/oieahc/conferences. The event is hosted by the University of Maryland College Park's Center for Historical Studies in partnership with the C. V. Starr Center for the American Experience at Washington College, and the Maryland Historical Society.

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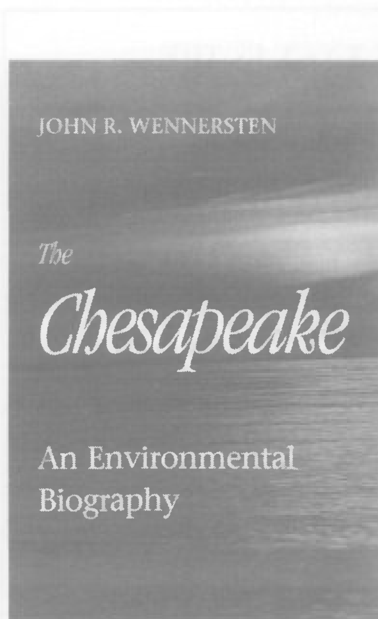

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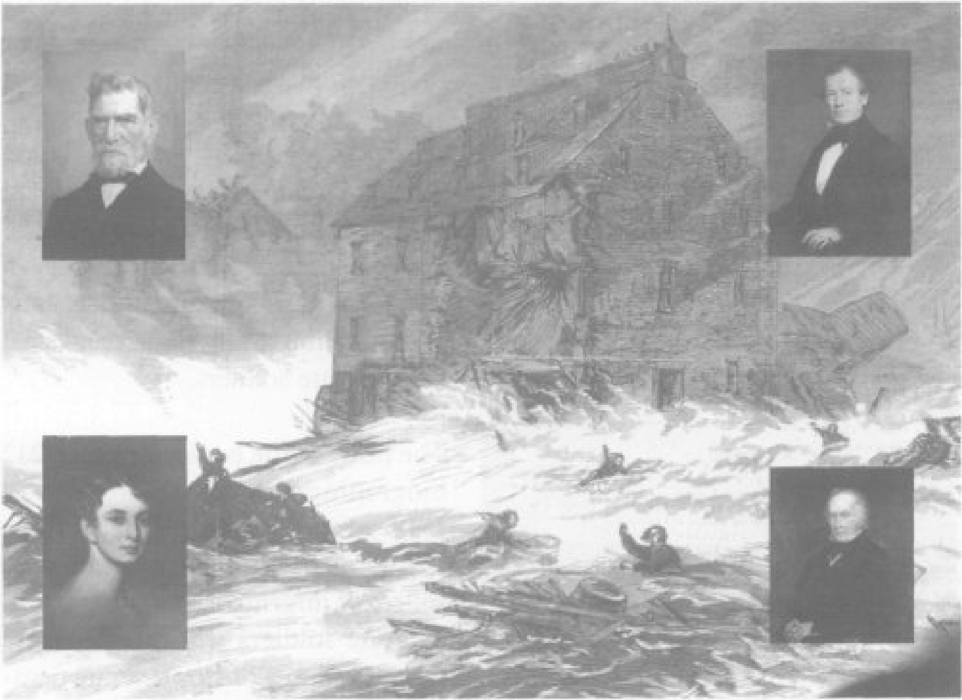

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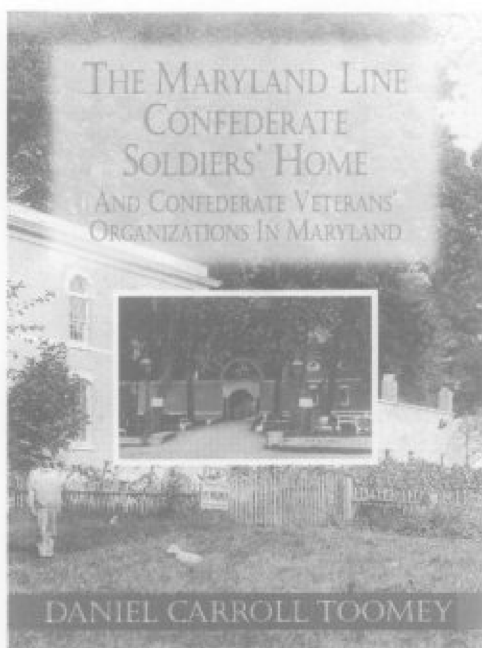

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The Other Road to Yorktown: The St. Eustatius Affair and the American Revolution
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"L' Hermitage: A French Plantation in Frederick County
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