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EARLY SETTLERS OF THE SITE OF HAVRE DE GRACE.

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The land on which the town of Havre de Grace now stands was laid out for Godfrey Harmer July 19, 1658, and is thus described in the certificate of survey: "lying on the west side of Chesapeake Bay, beginning at a marked chesnut tree upon the point near the mouth of Sasquesahanah River running west and by south down the bay for breadth 100 perches, bounding on the west by a line drawn north and by west from the end of the west and by south line for length 320 perches to a marked oak, on the north by a line drawn east and by north from the said oak unto the said river, on the east with the river, on the south with the said bay, and now laid out for 200 acres." The survey was called "Harmer's Town."

In the same year Harmer surveyed two other tracts in Baltimore county. "Harmer's Swan Town" was laid out for him in partnership with James Robinson April 15, 1658, at the mouth of Swan Creek on the south side, and was the first land surveyed within the limits of what is now Harford county. "Powdersby" was laid out for him at the mouth of Bush river on the west side.

The land called "Powdersby" is described in the original survey as lying "near the mouth of a river called Gunpowder River." Bush River is not mentioned; but a correction is made

in the Rent Roll. This (August 29, 1658) is the first mention of Gunpowder River by its present name. According to the Rent Rolls no lands were surveyed in that river until 1659. "Powdersby" was assigned by Harmer to Nathaniel Stiles some time before 1664, in which year Stiles resurveyed it under the name of "Warrington." It is the land at Lego's Point.

That the point of marsh on Chesapeake Bay between the mouths of Bush River and Gunpowder River marked on the map of the Maryland Geological Survey "Ford Point," but always known among the natives as Fort Point, commemorates by its name the site of an ancient fort, erected not improbably by Oliver Spry and his son-in-law Godfrey Harmer, the Indian trader, is the inference we draw from the old records of the locality. Oliver Spry probably came into Maryland from Virginia (see *Early Va. Immigrants*, Oliver Spry, transported 1639 by Rd. Parsons, Lower Norfolk County; Oliver Spry, transported 1636, by Oliver Spry, Warrisquinoak County). In 1649 or 1650 he came into the Province and settled with Richard Bennett, Esq., and others for mutual security at Town Neck on Severn River (*Patents*, Liber Q, folios 385-386). Augustine Herman was his guest there October 4, 1659 ("Journal of the Dutch Embassy," *Narratives of Early Maryland*, folio 318. Through a defect in the text the name of Spry does not appear, but it is stated that Herman's host was the father-in-law of Godfried Harmer, the Indian trader). A letter dated May 23, 1658, from Oliver Spry to "Mr. Clarke" requests that his warrant for 850 acres be laid out "near my son Godfrid . . . where my son Godfrid shall appoint you" (*Patents*, Liber Q, folio 64). In 1659 three tracts were laid out at the lower end of Gunpowder Neck near the bay in the name of Oliver Spry: "Upper Ollives," "Middle Ollives" and "Ollives." "Samson" surveyed for Thomas Sampson in 1659 and assigned to Oliver Spry, was deeded by Spry to his daughter Mary Harmer, wife of Godfrey Harmer, 1663 (*Land Records Baltimore County*, Liber R. M. No. H. S., folio 4). "Hopewell" and "Chesnut Neck" were laid out for Spry in 1662;

“Hopewell Marsh” in 1667. “Mary’s Banks” was surveyed for Godfrey Harmer in 1674; “Harmer’s Addition” in 1667. “Island Point” was laid out in 1683 for Mary Stansby, wife of Captain John Stansby and widow of Godfrey Harmer, on the point of land which then ran from where Rickett’s Point now is to Spry’s Island, and which has since been entirely washed away. All of these lands, which lie adjacent to one another at the foot of Gunpowder Neck, excepting “Upper Ollives,” which lies in Bush River, descended to the Maxwell family through Mary Harmer, daughter of Godfrey Harmer, who married (1st) Benjamin Gundry and (2d) Colonel James Maxwell (*Patents*, Liber E. I. No. 4, folio 187). A resurvey of the entire lot was made in 1731 for James Maxwell, eldest son of Colonel Maxwell, and called “Maxwell’s Conclusion.” In the plot of the resurvey the location of the ancient tracts is shown. In the year 1754 a division of “Maxwell’s Conclusion” was made between the three daughters, heirs of James Maxwell, one of whom had married John Day son of Edward, another Benjamin Ricketts and the third Thomas Waltham (*Baltimore County Land Records*, Liber B. B. No. I, folios 303-338). The part assigned to Thomas Waltham et uxor is described as beginning “at the mouth of a gut between two plantations, one called the Old Fort, the other called Frame Point, and running from thence with Chesapeake Bay to the mouth of Gunpowder River, etc.” The part assigned to Benjamin Ricketts et uxor is described as beginning “at a locust post . . . standing in a marsh . . . and running thence south and by east 166 perches to Chesapeake Bay, then with said Bay to the mouth of a gut lying between two plantations, one called the Old Fort, the other Frame Point.” The courses of the three divisions of “Maxwell’s Conclusion” are the same, except for the division lines, as the original courses of the tract, following the bay and the river. The “gut lying between two plantations” is therefore easily located on the plot of the original “Maxwell’s Conclusion” as in the centre of a point projecting into Chesapeake

Bay. Comparing the plot of 1731 with the modern map of the Maryland Geological Survey and making allowance for the loss of the land between Rickett's Point and Spry's Island, we observe that the point in question can be no other than Fort Point (Ford Point) and the gut no other than Fort Point Gut which makes up into Monk's Marsh at Fort Point. We have only then to locate "Frame Point" and the site of the "Old Fort Plantation" is determined: The land called "Hopewell Marsh" surveyed for Oliver Spry June 11, 1667, is thus described: "lying on the west side of Chesapeake Bay . . . adjoining to the southward of the now dwelling plantation of the said Oliver Spry, beginning at a marked white oak standing at the end of a marsh and running along the marsh east south east 100 perches by a line drawn from the end of the east south east line and running south south west over the marsh into a point called Frame Point 160 perches to a marked red oak standing by a marsh, from the said red oak by a line drawn and running north north west 100 perches unto the first marked tree containing . . . 50 acres," Referring now to the plot of "Maxwell's Conclusion" on which, as we have already said, the original surveys are marked, we observe the following: that the "now dwelling plantation" of Oliver Spry, mentioned in the survey of "Hopewell Marsh" is the land called "Middle Ollives" laid out in 1659, and that it lies back of Fort Point and evidently includes the hill since known as Whittaker's Hill and the fine spring called Whittaker's Spring which issues below Whittaker's Hill in the midst of Monk's Marsh, the marsh which runs across the neck at this place between the bay and Gunpowder River. And we also observe that the course of the land called "Hopewell Marsh" which runs into Frame Point runs away from Fort Point towards the point now known as Robins Point. We are therefore furnished with the proof that the plantation called "The Old Fort Plantation" lay on the north side of Monk's Marsh behind Fort Point and along Chesapeake Bay including probably Whittaker's Hill and embraces the land which was Oliver Spry's dwelling plantation

in 1667. It seems not improbable that the "old fort" was built by Spry and Harmer at the time of their first settlement in Gunpowder Neck in or not much later than 1659. On November 3, 1668, Richard Windley et uxor conveyed to Oliver Spry "Windley's Forrest" at the head of Gunpowder River (Liber I. R. No. P. P., folio 71) and on November 1, 1670, Godfrey Harmer and Mary his wife "of Baltimore County in Gunpowder River" conveyed to Roger Hill the same tract (Liber I. R. No. P. P., folio 89). Spry therefore died between these dates. In another deed dated August 1, 1670, Harmer calls himself "of Gunpowder River" (Liber I. R. No. P. P., folio 84), and he so described himself in his will February 12, 1673. In all probability the plantation on the bay shore was abandoned shortly after Oliver Spry's decease. In the division of "Maxwell's Conclusion" in 1754, to which we have referred above, the middle division is described as without improvements. This is the division lying immediately north of Monk's Marsh. The uppermost division—that lying about Day's Point in Gunpowder River—is described as the "home plantation." In all likelihood the "Old Fort Plantation" had been abandoned by the family as a place of residence since the death of Oliver Spry. For the name of Fort Point Gut see the will of Samuel Ricketts, Jr., February 14, 1823 (*Harford County Wills*, Liber S. R. No. 1, folio 36): ". . . I do also give unto my son Thomas Ricketts the second division, that is from the line running from the new meadow to Conoway's gut up the bay shore to the mouth of Fort Point Gut, then across to Monks Marsh Gut on Gunpowder River the three above divisions are all known by the name of Maxwells Conclusion. . . ."

Godfrey (or Gothofrid) Harmer was an Indian trader ("Augustine Herman's Journal of the Dutch Embassy," *Narratives of Early Maryland*, folio 318). Naturalization papers were granted him in 1661 (*Maryland Archives*, Liber III, folio 430), and we learn that he was formerly "subject to the crowne of Sweeden." The same year he was appointed interpreter of the expedition under Captain John Odber sent

to the Susquehanna Fort to aid the Susquehannough Indians (*Maryland Archives*, Liber III, folio 410). There is little doubt that he was the same man as the Gotfred Hermansson or Harmer, a "Holland servant" and relative of Hindrick Hugen, the Commissary of New Sweden, whom we meet with in the Report of Governor Printz, 1644, whose retention in New Sweden in the event of the recall of his master Hugen, is urged by Governor Printz on account of the fact that the "boy" "knows the savage languages and understands well how to carry on the trade" (*Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware*, folio 106). From the way in which Augustine Herman speaks of Harmer in his Journal (*Narratives of Early Maryland*, folio 319) it is evident that the Dutch and Swedes were well acquainted with the trader. Harmer married Mary Spry, the only child of Oliver Spry and Johanna his wife. It is probable that his first permanent home in Baltimore county was in Gunpowder Neck, where his father-in-law took up land in 1659. The name of Oliver Spry is still preserved in Spry's Island, which was formerly the end of a long point extending into the Bay from where Rickett's Point now is; and a high bank on Gunpowder River between Day's Point and the mouth of Watson's (originally Waterton's) Creek still keeps the name of Mary's Banks given it in 1674 by Godfrey Harmer in honor, no doubt, of his wife Mary.

"Harmer's Town" was assigned by Godfrey Harmer to Thomas Stockett June 30, 1659 (*Patents*, Liber P. L. No. 6, folio 159), less than a year after the taking up of the land. We must, therefore, regard Stockett, and not Harmer, as probably the first white settler on the site of Havre de Grace.

The history of the Stockett family has already been written; but little or no mention is made therein of their lands and first homes in Baltimore County. "Delf" was surveyed for Francis Stockett August 6, 1658, on rights for transporting himself, Thomas and Henry his brothers, and nine servants. This tract lies on the bay between Spesutia Island and the mouth of Bush River or, to speak more exactly, between the mouth of Romney

Creek and a small creek which to this day is called Delf Creek. In recent years the place has always been known as Delf Farm. In its long history the land has had many owners since Stockett took it up; and in the eighteenth century belonged to the Paca family. It seems not improbable that Stockett settled and lived on the tract during his residence in Baltimore County; for it has an excellent harbor on Delf Creek, and even in 1658 he would have had for neighbors in the wilderness Major Samuel Gouldsmith at Gouldsmith's Hall on the bay across the mouth of Delf Creek and Captain George Utie, the brother of Colonel Nathaniel Utie, at the mouth of Romney Creek. Stockett sold the land to Thomas Thurston in 1669 after his emigration to Anne Arundel County. "Delf Island" was laid out for Francis Stockett 4th July, 1661, between "Delf" and the mouth of Romney (then called "Rumley") Creek. It is the land which in later years was known as Taylor's Island. The land called "Rupalta" was surveyed for Henry Stockett June 27, 1661. It is described as "lying on the west side of Susquehanna River, beginning at a small point respecting the lower end of Palmer's Island to the east," and is the land next to "Harmer's Town" above the mouth of the river. It was once known popularly as "Upper Stockett's" (Compare the surveys "The Rich Bottom," surveyed for James Carroll, 1706, and "The Rich Bottom Corrected," surveyed for Richard Johns, 1735). "Bourne" was surveyed for Thomas Stockett June 21, 1661. It lies about mid-way between the mouth of Susquehanna River and the mouth of Swan Creek on the Bay on the little creek once called Bourn Creek. A tract called "The Stopp," laid out for George Yates, March 24, 1679, is described as lying "at the head of the Bay between the lands of Captain Thomas Stockett, beginning at a bounded chesnut oak standing by a branch called Bourns branch, a bounded tree of the land called Bourn, and running up the Bay to a bounded red oak a bounded tree of the land called Harmers Town." So much for the lands possessed by the Stocketts in Baltimore County.

The seventh clause of the treaty made between the Lord

Proprietary and the Susquehannough Indians at Spesutia May 16, 1661, (*Archives* III, folio 421) reads as follows: "That for prevention of mischief that too often happens by misunderstanding and not distinguishing Sasquesahannough from other Indians, the Sasquesahannoughs shall not come ordinarily to any other howse but the howse of Captaine Thomas Stockett or of Jacob Clauson from whence they shall have tickets if they have occasion to come further among the English plantations" The eighth clause of the same treaty reads: "That the Sasquesahannoughs shall send all runaways of the English down to Captain Thomas Stockett immediately after their arrival at the forte."

That the "howse" of Captain Thomas Stockett mentioned in this treaty stood on the land called "Harmer's Town," the site of Havre de Grace, is hardly to be doubted. This was the only land in Baltimore County which belonged to him at that date. So located, it was absolutely with reference to the Susquehannough Indians, a frontier plantation, as is implied in the language of the treaty.

Captain Thomas Stockett was a justice of the Baltimore County Court 13th September, 1665; he was nominated for Sheriff of Anne Arundel County 13th March, 1665/6 (*Archives*, Liber III, folio 539; *Land Records Baltimore County*, Liber R. M. No. H. S., folio 5). He forsook Baltimore County for Anne Arundel some time between these dates. In 1666 he was High Sheriff of Anne Arundel County (*Archives* III, folio 451).

"Harmer's Town" remained in the Stockett family for almost thirty years. By a deed dated August 13, 1688, Thomas Stockett "son and heir apparent of Thomas Stockett late of Anne Arundel County, gent.," conveys to Jacob Lotten of Cecil County, gent., "all that plantation situate and lying on the west side of a river called Susquehanna River in the county of Baltimore at the mouth of the said river called Point Conquest formerly belonging to the said Thomas Stockett. . . ." (*Baltimore County Land Records*, Liber R. M. No. HS., folio 294). The land conveyed is not called by its tract-name of "Harmer's

Town," but the description of its bounds tallies exactly with the original survey of "Harmer's Town," and the number of acres is the same.

A history of the name of Point Conquest may not be irrelevant at this place, since the present name of the point—Concord Point—is certainly a mere corruption of the ancient name. The oldest record of the name that we have so far been able to find is on Augustine Herman's Map of Maryland, 1670, on which the point making the mouth of Susquehanna River on the west side is plainly marked "Point Conquest." The name also occurs in the proceedings of a Land Commission held in the year 1759 to determine the bounds of "Harmer's Town" (*Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Land Commissions*, Liber H. W. S. No. 4, folio 278). The name is probably much older than 1670,¹ for it is evidently related to that of "Fort

¹ It would appear that the larger rivers and the prominent points of land of the head of Chesapeake Bay had been given names by the English prior to the settlement of that part of Maryland. Elk River and North East River are mentioned as early as 1652 (*Archives*, Liber III, folio 277). We have already observed that Gunpowder River is mentioned by name in 1658, before any lands were laid out on its shores. The Manor of Spesutia Island, which was laid out for Colonel Nathaniel Utie July 25, 1658, is thus described: "an island lying near the western shore of Chesapeake Bay near the head of the said Bay formerly called Beare Point but now Spesutia, beginning at the southmost point at a marked oak and bounding on the east by the bay side 375 perches to a point called Beare Point." Bear Point still retains its ancient name. Poole's Island was surveyed under that name for Captain Thomas Morris July 27, 1659; but the name is older than the survey. A tract of land called "Planter's Paradise" laid out for Thomas Cornwallis, Esq., August 29, 1658, is described as "a neck of land lying on the west side of Chesapeake Bay and on the west side of the north branch of a river in the said Bay called Back River, the mouth of the said river lying west from the south end of Pools Island." "Planter's Paradise," it may be of interest to know, lies on Middle River between Sue's Creek and Hog Pen Creek, and is the "land of Cornwallis Mannor" proposed in 1684 by the Delegates for Baltimore County for the site of a town (*Archives*, Liber XIII, folios 26, 86, 112, 139). It remained in the Cornwallis family until 1731 (see deed, John Ross, gent., and Charles Carroll of Annapolis, surgeon, to Luke Stansbury, "Planter's Paradise," *Balto. Co. Land Records*, Liber T. B. No. A., folio 94). For the site of the manor see Unpatented Certificate 1199, "Paradise Regained," Tobias Stansbury, 1754.

Conquest," a fort established on Palmer's Island in the year 1643 (*Archives*, Liber IV, folio 275; also same, folios 230, 250, 291, 360, 361). Fort Conquest is mentioned as late as 1664 (*Archives*, Liber III, folio 500).²

It should be remembered that George Alsop, the author of "A Character of the Province of Maryland," was living in Baltimore County as servant to Thomas Stockett in the year 1661 (*Narratives of Early Maryland*, folio 378). The picture of Alsop's master's house stocked with "Fourscore Venisons" (folio 345) is interesting.

Jacob Lotten (or Looton), to whom the heir of Thomas Stockett sold "Harmer's Town" in 1689, was apparently a Dutchman. He was naturalized in 1682 (*Archives*, Liber XIII, folio 79). In the inventory of his estate taken April 9, 1694, we find the item "a pile of old Dutch books." He bought and surveyed no other land in Baltimore County; and all the evidence leads to the conclusion that he settled and lived at "Har-

²The "conquest" implied in the name of Fort Conquest and in that of Point Conquest was possibly the raid made in 1638 on Capt. Wm. Clayborne's trading-post on Palmer's Island by order of Gov. Leonard Calvert (*Archives*, Liber III, folios 76-77; letter of Governor Calvert to Lord Baltimore, 1638, *Narratives of Early Maryland*, folio 154). The order to fortify Palmer's Island on behalf of the Proprietary Government is found in *Archives*, Liber III, folio 134, dated 1643; from which it appears that the fortification of the island was decided upon as a makeshift, because it was deemed inexpedient to send an expedition against the Susquehannoughs, although such an expedition had been contemplated (folio 133). In the treaty made with the Susquehannough Indians in the year 1652 (*Archives*, Liber III, folio 278) we read in the first clause of the treaty: ". . . that the English Nation shall have all the land lying from Patuxent River unto Palmers Island and from Choptank River to the North East Branch which lyes to the northward of Elke River excepting the Ile of Kent and Palmers Islands which belong to Captain Clayborne. But nevertheless it shall be lawfull for the aforesaid English or Indians to build a howse or ffort for trade or any such like use or occasion at any tyme upon Palmers Island." Under the Protectorate Clayborne had renewed his claim to Kent Island and Palmer's Island. A suspicion lingers that Fort Conquest may have been built, not on Palmer's Island, but on the mainland near Point Conquest. In 1643 the words "at Palmers Ile" would serve to describe any place within a mile or so of the island on the unsettled shores of the river Susquehanna.

mer's Town." He was an Indian trader, and there can be no doubt that he purchased the land at the mouth of Susquehanna River because it was an excellent site for a trading-post. An interesting account of his ways of trading is found in the *Maryland Archives*, from which we quote the following:

From a letter of Colonel Nicholas Greenbury to Lionel Copley, Esq., dated Severn River, July 25, 1692:

"Since my last to your excellency on the 18th instant I was alarmed with a dull piece of paper from Major Thomas³ to Mr. Ashman,⁴ and so to me, that the Indians had besett Captain Richardsons⁵ house, as the said Richardson did signify to him by express, which writing from the said Thomas is here enclosed and also a letter to me . . . from the said Richardson to blast the aforementioned report . . . with the cry of a pig the next day I went into the said county . . . whereby I might the readier give your Excellency account of the certainty of affairs with them which is as followeth (Vizt) On Saturday the 16th Captain Maxwell⁶ took eight men with him and went to Thomas Thurstons⁷ where he expected to find that

³Major John Thomas.

⁴George Ashman, one of the Justices of Baltimore County Court.

⁵Thomas Richardson, afterwards Surveyor for Baltimore County and Lieutenant Colonel of Militia. He lived on Gunpowder River at its junction with Bird's River.

⁶James Maxwell of Gunpowder River, afterwards Colonel James Maxwell. He was Chief Justice of the County Court and High Sheriff of Baltimore County.

⁷Colonel Thomas Thurston, one time chief military officer of Baltimore County. The inventory of his estate taken April 13, 1693, shows that he traded with the Indians. In 1692 he owned three tracts lying at the head of Bush River, "Strawberry Hill," "Turkey Hill" and "Come by Chance," all situated adjacent to one another between Bynam's Run and James' Run at the intersection of these streams (a plat in the possession of the Harford County Historical Society shows the location of these tracts). Other lands owned by him at that time were in the country which was then unsettled. He styles himself "of Bush River" and there is every reason to believe that he lived at the mouth of Bynam's Run (for further proof see *Chancery Record*, Liber I. R. No. 2, folio 778, deposition of Martin Depost. Lockwood's Point, still so called, lies on the north side the mouth of Bynam's Run on the tract called "Friendship," part of which in 1731 belonged to

party of Indians mentioned in the inclosed from him to me, which came to my hand in their county, but when he came there, found the Indians had hired a guide for one good beaver skin to convey them about sixteen miles to one Mr. Jacob Lootons a Baltimore County Justice, where Captain Maxwell and his party followed them on Sunday morning, and where they found about seventy two Indian men and a hundred women and children, who had eight guns, and all the rest of their men well furnished with bows and arrows at the said Lootons house, and there they found him in his store and full of Indians a dealing with him for goods, having great store of Indian trade therein, which is said to belong to Colonel Wells⁸ and Samuel Groome and that he trades under them, but I find by Captain Maxwell and some of his men that Looton and his wife gave the English a very unwelcome reception for disturbing their trade on their market day as Looton called it: now sr. if these be Lootons friends, and he so well knows them (as Captain Maxwell declares in his letter) 'tis my opinion that he is the fittest man to render your Excellency a true account of their qualifications, which I hope your excellency will call him to account for his misdemeanor, and that he make appear what Indians they are, 'tis believed he never saw these Indians before, and for the sweet profits such traders reap by them, who value not the spoil

James Lee). The plantation of Thomas Thurston was therefore just about sixteen miles from the mouth of Susquehanna River, which could be directly reached from it on foot. Although a Quaker, he seems to have been a man of temper. When in 1692 Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Richardson, recently appointed Chief Ranger for Baltimore County, went to Thurston's house to demand the "magazine," Colonel Thurston made use of "many idle and reproachful words and discourse," saying among other things that the County "could not have a Colonel . . . but must have half a Colonel" (*Archives*, Liber VIII, folio 338). George Fox says in his Journal: "I sent for Thomas Thurston . . . and had a meeting with him to bring the truth over his bad actions" (*Narratives of Early Maryland*, folio 405).

⁸ Colonel George Wells, son of Richard Wells, Esq., of Anne Arundel Co. He married, 1667, Blanche Gouldsmith, daughter of Major Samuel Gouldsmith of Baltimore County. He died in 1696.

of their neighbors if they get the gains; Sir, one Thomas Jones⁹ of that County was with Captain Maxwell, and speaks something of most Indian tongues, and of some nations as well as the Indians themselves, but could understand very little of these, nor of what Nation they are, but believes them to be a mixt villainous sort of people that rambles up and down to seek who they can devour, and believes they were never at Looton's house before, he living not many miles from him, Looton has bought abundance of them as reported, Jones saw him buy one beaver skin for thirty green apples, and one for thirty ears and nubbins of corn; Sir, these Indians belong to the Frenchman¹⁰ that I hope is got safe down, who is much inquired after by them, and hope he has made further known of them to your Excellency before this time, Captain Maxwell tells me that he did see in one of their hands such a stick as one of the two was brought to your Excellency with such marks upon it, and feathers tyed to the end, having told him of the two by description to him as I saw them; and doubtless the murders is amongst this very party, one of these Indians presented a bow and arrow at the English at their first coming to Looton's, but was prevented by the rest of his party as a small enclosed paper mentions by Captain Maxwell, and no doubt but the rest of their party would 'a seconded him had they been further from the house, Looton since has conveyed them over Susquehannah River as informed to me; Sir, I have used my endeavors to scan the depth of this matter and will be too tedious to trouble your Excellency with every particular, but hope Mr. Looton will be called before your Excellency to give a more ample account of them, and his heathenish trade on the Sabbath Day:¹¹ Captain Maxwell and

⁹ Thomas Jones of Bush River. In 1680 he was accused of selling powder and shot to the Indians (*Archives*, Liber xv, folio 312). His lands were on the north-west branch of Bush River now called Otter Creek.

¹⁰ Same Liber, 345, 354, 383, 412.

¹¹ This profanation of the Sabbath Day must soon have been forgotten, for in the year 1693 Looton was elected a vestryman of Spesutia Parish (*Baltimore County Court Proceedings*, Liber F, No. 1 (1691-1693), folio 410). The picture of Mrs. Looton is enhanced by a notice in the Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber G. No. I, folio 391, where she is fined for "prophane swearing" in court.

the said Thomas Jones are fit persons to testify against him” (*Archives*, Liber VIII, folio 341-343).

Following the foregoing letter is a letter from Major John Thomas to George Ashman (same Liber, folio 343-344), from which we quote what is relevant to our subject: “I have been up at Captain Richardsons this very day (July 18th, 1692) with sixteen horse, and we were going up to Mr. Thurstons, but I was very well informed that the Indians was gone away up to Susquehannan River, and they were very peaceable and did no body no harm, and very friendly they was. . . .”

On page 345 of the same Book of the Archives we read: “A Frenchman lately come in with a parcell of strange Indians at the head of the Bay and taken up for a spy or party concerned with them in designe of mischief was ordered to be brought before the Board, and by an interpreter examined. . . .” The record of this examination is interesting, but too long and irrelevant to be quoted here. The following information, however, (folio 347) given before the Board relates to our subject:

“Jacob Looton according to summons appears. He is charged and accused for encouraging and inviting foreign Indians to come into this province and trade with him. He saith that they were conducted and brought to him by another Englishman in order to set them over Susquehannah River.”

“Quer how came he to entertain and trade with them without giving notice thereof as he ought to some Majistrate?”

“Ans He dealt with them only for a little corne and about half a dozen matchcoats Captain Maxwell examined saith that he was at the said Jacob Lootons house with a party of men and desired to speak with him the said Looton, but could receive no answer from him but that they were his friends and seemed very angry with him and his men for disturbing of him, it was his market day and there was an Act coming out to prohibit any trade with the Indians, and then nothing was to be done without a license The said Maxwell further saith that the said Lootons wife was also in great passion and turned their horses loose, particularly seeking after the said Maxwells horse, and

immediately went to turn him loose but as it fell out it was another mans, Mr. Thomas Jones called in and examined saith that the said Looton alledged that Captain Browne¹² had brought those Indians down to him, and that was warrant enough for him to walk by. James Frizell examined saith that the said Looton did declare they had three hundred beaver skin and he must have one half of them. Mr. Jones further saith that when the French prisoner first came in there was a rumor of these Indians and he himself went to see the French man, but before he came Captain Richardson had carried him down (i. e. to Saint Mary's), that coming to Mr. Thurstons the woman there told him they were Delaware Indians, whereupon he and the rest of his company concluded to go to Jacob Lootons, where when they came the said Lootons wife came out with her arms abroad crying out hey hoe who are you coming to kill now, and sueh like discourse Captain Maxwell replied that the great Man brought a large beaver skin, and declared by the interpreter that they presented him with a beaver in expectation of having some corn, after twice saying so the said Looton rose up and the Indian called him fool and gave the skin which he offered Looton to Mr. Jones for as much drink as he could afford for it, which was four bottles and some sugar."

As a result of his conviction of illegal trading Jacob Looton was condemned to forfeit all the furs that might be found in his possession, and did in fact forfeit a quantity (*Archives*, Liber VIII, 348, 369).

Interesting records of a suit brought in the year 1694 against Elizabeth Looton, widow of Jacob Looton, and Thomas Brown by Colonel George Wells of Baltimore County and Samuel Groome of London, merchant, the financiers of Looton's Indian trade, may be read in the *Baltimore County Court Proceedings* for that year (Liber G. No. I, 305-309). It appears that the

¹² Probably Thomas Browne of Baltimore County, founder of the Brown family of "Oakington." As will appear later, Colonel Wells and Samuel Groome, who financed Looton's trade, brought suit, after the death of Looton, against Elizabeth Looton, his widow, and Thomas Brown.

trade was conducted on a considerable scale. The invoice value of a cargoe of trading stuff delivered to Looton in the year 1692 amounted to more than a hundred and seventy-six pounds sterling, while the value of another cargoe delivered in the year 1693 was more than a hundred and two pounds sterling (Looton, it would appear, continued to trade after the set-back of 1692). Tom-a-hawks, Indian hoes, guns and gun flints, a quantity of fish hooks of all sizes, Jews harps, hawk bells, horse bells, tobacco boxes, beads, knives, Indian coats, gilt rings, a great amount of bright-colored cloth and a large supply of "malt liquor" are listed in the invoice of goods delivered in 1693. In the list of pelts accredited to Looton's account we find a hundred and fifty-three beaver skins, eighty-two raccoon skins, sixty bear skins, six wolf skins, twelve elk and sixty roe buck and doe hides, etc.

"Harmer's Town" was purchased by John Stokes from the heirs of Jacob Looton—John Looton, Jacob Looton and Mary Looton, his children—in the years 1713 and 1714 (*Balto. Co. Land Records*, Liber T. R. No. A, 244, 252, 324). For more than a century and long after the town of Havre de Grace was laid out this land remained in the possession of the Stokes family. The original tract, however, was greatly enlarged by a resurvey and by purchase of adjacent tracts. John Stokes, the founder of the family in Baltimore (now Harford) County, came into the county about the year 1700. He was High Sheriff of Baltimore County and Clerk of the county court, an office which was afterwards held by his son, Humphrey Wells Stokes. He was also an officer of the county militia. He was a relative of Philip Key of Charles County (see will of Colonel John Stokes, 1727). He married Susanna Wells, a daughter of Colonel George Wells.

A word in conclusion about Susquehanna Ferry: Elizabeth Looton, widow of Jacob Looton, married William York (*Balto. Co. Court Proceedings*, Liber G. No. I, folio 469; see also Rent Roll, Balto. Co., Md. Hist. Soc., "Harmer's Town" . . . now in the possession of William York for the orphans of Jacob

Loton"). From the County Court Proceedings, Liber G. No. I, November Court, 1695 (folio 540) we quote the following: "By his Excellency the Governor and Council, October 7th, 1695: came and appeared in council Jacob Young and William York living upon Susquehanna River and it being proposed to them in council the keeping a ferry and ordinary upon each side of the said river, William York on this side the river and Jacob Young on the other side, for which is settled upon them one shilling and six pence for the passage of horse and man and one shilling for a footman, to which they both agree, etc." The same year the Baltimore County Court grants license to William York to keep an ordinary on the south side Susquehanna River and the ferry also (same Liber, folio 391). In 1724 the ferry over Susquehanna River was granted to John Stokes (*Balto. Co. Court Proceedings*, Liber I. S. No. T. W. 4, folio 37). In 1737 it was granted to Humphrey Wells Stokes, who says in his petition: "the place where your petitioner purposes to keep it at being the old ancient place of ferrying and where the main road directly leads to and both nearer in riding and in ferrying across the river that your petitioner conceives it the most proper place" (*Balto. Co. Court Proceedings*, Liber H. W. S. No. I. A. 2, folio 143). In the will of Colonel John Stokes, 1727, the testator leaves to his son George "all that tract called Harmers Towne or commonly called the Ferry with the benefit of the resurvey thereon." (Humphrey Wells Stokes and George Stokes exchanged the lands left them in their father's will, George Stokes taking the lands on the bay which had fallen to his mother from her father Colonel Wells, and Humphrey Wells Stokes taking the lands at the mouth of Susquehanna River.) A little tract of $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres surveyed for Robert Stokes, son and heir of Humphrey Wells Stokes, in 1756, is described as adjoining "Harmer's Town Resurveyed" "one mile above the mouth of Susquehanna River at the old ferry landing." (Unpatented Certificates No. 743; the tract is called "Howell's Deceit"). In 1759 a Land Commission was held to perpetuate the bounds of "Harmer's Town," which then was in the possession of

Rebecca Stokes, widow of Robert Stokes and daughter of Colonel William Young of Baltimore County (*Balto. Co. Court Proceedings*, Liber H. W. S. No. 4, folio 278 et seq.). The depositions taken before this Commission are interesting. The land is described as "situate and lying on Susquehannah Ferry" and is called "Stokes's or the Ferry land or Harman's Town." As settlements advanced up Susquehanna River, beginning about the year 1700, there came into existence an "upper ferry" to which there are numerous references in the Baltimore County Court Proceedings. It would appear that the Baltimore County end of this ferry was where Lapidum now is at the mouth of Rock Run.

PULASKI'S LEGION.

RICHARD HENRY SPENCER.

Everything connected with the War of the Revolution is interesting to all Americans, but Pulaski's Legion, which fought over many a bravely contested battle-field, has a peculiar charm for Marylanders, for the intrepid commander himself called it "My legion, Maryland legion."

The struggle of the thirteen colonies of North America in 1776, for their independence from the mother country, brought to our shores many lovers of liberty and freedom, who offered their services to the United States, among them the gallant Poles Count Casimir Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciuszko, just from their own struggles in defense of the liberties of their native land; Baron von Steuben, Baron De Kalb, and the Marquis de La Fayette. They all came to our country to battle for the right and to aid us to gain our independence. Their military services are deeply enshrined in our hearts, and their names are forever linked with the land they helped to free.

Casimir Pulaski was born in Podolia, Poland, March 4, 1748, the son of Count Joseph Pulaski, who in 1768 formed the cele-

brated Confederation of Bar for the preservation of the liberties of Poland. In 1769 the young patriot joined his father and two brothers and enthusiastically participated in the national struggle against the despotism of King Stanislaus Augustus, but which finally resulted in the dismemberment of Poland. Being outlawed and deprived of his estates, he escaped to Turkey in 1772, and proceeded to France in 1775, where he made the acquaintance of Benjamin Franklin and offered his services to the cause of American Independence. Arriving in Philadelphia in the spring of 1777, he joined the army as a volunteer; distinguished himself at the Battle of the Brandywine, and four days later (September 15) was appointed by the Continental Congress brigadier general and given command of the cavalry. He took part in the Battle of Germantown October 4, and in March, 1778, having resigned his command, in a letter to Congress he suggested the formation of an independent corps, which was approved by General Washington.

The Continental Congress, on March 28, 1778, after the letter from Count Casimir Pulaski had been read, passed the following resolution:

“Resolved. That Count Pulaski retain his rank of brigadier in the army of the United States, and that he raise and have the command of an independent corps to consist of sixty-eight horse, and two hundred foot, the horse to be armed with lances, and the foot equipped in the manner of light infantry; the corps to be raised in such way and composed of such men as General Washington shall think expedient and proper, etc.”¹

This corps was afterwards known as Pulaski's Legion, officered principally by foreigners, and which rendered important services in the War of the Revolution, especially in the Southern campaigns.

In April, 1778, General Pulaski came to Baltimore and

¹ *Journals of The Continental Congress, 1778, vol. x, p. 291.*

opened a recruiting office, notice of which was duly published in *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Tuesday, April 14, 1778, as follows:

“ April 13, 1778.

“ Congress having resolved to raise a Corps, consisting of Infantry and Cavalry, to be commanded by General Count Pulaski, all those who desire to distinguish themselves in the service of their country, are invited to enlist in that corps, which is established on the same principles as the Roman Legions were. The frequent opportunities which the nature of the service of that corps will offer to the enterprising, brave and vigilant soldiers, who shall serve in it, are motives which ought to influence those who are qualified for admission into it, to prefer it to other corps not so immediately destined to harrass the enemy; and the many captures which will infallibly be made, must indemnify the Legionary soldiers for the hardships they must sustain, and the inconsiderable sum given for bounty, the term for their service being no longer than one year from the time that the corps shall be completed. Their dress is calculated to give a martial appearance, and to secure the soldier against the inclemency of the weather and season. The time for action approaching, those, who desire to have an opportunity of distinguishing themselves in that corps, are requested to apply to Mr. de Sequid (de Segond), Captain of Pulaski's Legion, at Mrs. Ross's house.”²

In the months of April, May, June, and July, 1778, the gallant Pole mainly organized and disciplined in Baltimore an

² Mrs. Ross' boarding house occupied the upper floors of the former residence of Dr. John Stevenson, on the south side of Market (now Baltimore) Street, between Light and Calvert Streets, corner of Public Alley (now Grant Street), where the *Baltimore News* Building stood before the great fire of 1904.

independent corps of three companies of horse, armed with lances, and three companies of infantry, a total of three hundred and thirty, of which twenty-eight were from Pennsylvania, and about sixty-two more than was at first proposed.

Just before the legion was ordered to the front, there was a review of it in Baltimore, according to the following item of news in *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Tuesday, August 4, 1778:

“On Wednesday last (July 29th), the Hon. General Count Pulaski, reviewed his Independent Legion in this Town. They made a martial appearance and performed many Manoeuvres in a Manner that reflected the highest Honour on both officers and privates.”

Doubtless the beautiful crimson silk banner, embroidered by the fair hands of the Moravian single sisters of Bethlehem, Pa., and which had been presented to the legion two months before by the patriotic women of Baltimore, fluttered in the breeze from the upright lance on that midsummer day.

According to the Diaries in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, Pa., on “April 16, 1778, General Pulaski and Colonel Kobatsch (Kowatsch) attend the meeting this afternoon.” And on “May 17. (Sunday), In the English morning service, there were present Samuel Adams, Delegate from Massachusetts and General Pulaski, with some members of his corps, in full dress uniform.”³

In a careful examination of all the diaries at Bethlehem there is not the slightest reference to the presentation of a banner, such as Longfellow narrates in his poem, to be found.

It was during the interval between April 16 and May 17, that the banner was made. “Recent investigations go to show that the General, on visiting the Sisters’ House, saw their beautiful embroidery and that he then ordered them to prepare

³ *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. XIII, pp. 82-83 (1889).

a small cavalry banner for his legion and that the whole transaction was a simple business one.”⁴

In Longfellow's *Complete Poetical Works*, 1893, edited by Horace E. Scudder, in a note to the *Hymn of the Moravian Nuns, at the consecration of Pulaski's Banner*, the editor says: “The historic facts in regard to the banner appear to be that Pulaski ordered it of the Moravian sisters at Bethlehem, who helped to support their house by needlework.”

On September 30, 1778, by a resolution in Congress, General Pulaski, with his legion, was directed to repair to Princeton to wait the orders of General Washington, or the commanding officer in New Jersey.

On October 15, while on the march to Little Egg Harbor, N. J., the enemy attacked the “corps, with 400 Men, at 3 o'clock, A. M., and after a smart Conflict were repulsed and pursued, with considerable loss on the side of the Enemy—and that the Count's Loss was estimated at about 30 Men Killed, Wounded and Missing: amongst the former were Lieut. Col. Baron de Bose and Lieut. de la Borderie.”⁵

In February, 1779, Pulaski was ordered to South Carolina, and later, in the same year he commanded the American and French cavalry at the siege of Savannah and during the attack of October 9, was mortally wounded. Captain Paul Bentalou, one of his officers, was by his side and although himself wounded, attended him until he died two days later on board the United States brig, the *Wasp*, on her way to Charleston, S. C., when his body was reluctantly consigned to a watery grave.⁶

The banner of the legion was most probably used during the rest of the war, as the survivors of the legion were incorporated

⁴ *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d Series, vol. XI, p. 153 (1880).

⁵ *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Tuesday, October 27, 1778.

⁶ *Pulaski Vindicated*, etc., by Paul Bentalou (anonymous), p. 30 (1824); also, *History of Georgia*, by Charles C. Jones, Jr., LL. D., vol. II, p. 403 (1883).

by a resolution of Congress February 23, 1780, with the corps of Colonel Armand, the Marquis de la Rouerie.

Captain (afterwards Colonel) Bentalou, on retiring from the army, took the banner home with him to Baltimore, together with a lancer's spear and Pulaski's sword cross belt, which had been bequeathed to him by Pulaski just before he died.

For forty-five years he preserved the banner, as he says, "as a holy and glorious inheritance, as a precious relic," but on the memorable visit of General La Fayette to Baltimore, October 7-11, 1824, it was carried by the Forsyth Company of Volunteers, Captain John F. Hoss, attached to the Second Regiment of Maryland Riflemen, on the day of the review of the citizen soldiers of Baltimore by the nation's guest.⁷ After the review it was deposited in the Baltimore Museum, where it remained for twenty years. The ownership of the Museum passed through various hands, but soon after it came into the possession of Mr. Edmund Peale it was presented by him March 6, 1845, through Mr. Brantz Mayer, corresponding secretary, to The Maryland Historical Society.

Colonel Paul Bentalou, who was Captain of the First Troop of Dragoons, in a pamphlet published by him in Baltimore, a few months before his death December 10, 1826, entitled "*Reply to Judge Johnson's Remarks, etc., Relating to Count Pulaski*," page 39, in possession of The Maryland Historical Society, in referring to the banner says: "It was deposited in the Baltimore Museum as 'a relic of old days,' interesting to Baltimore at least, which, when a village, had been the cradle of the legion, and *whose women, with a touch of patriotism, had caused this standard to be made and presented to the young corps.*"

The poet Longfellow has thrown around this banner such a glamour of romance and beauty, that it is to be regretted that it is lacking in historic truth. Including such historical writers as Lossing, Scharf, and others, everyone has been misled by Longfellow's poem written by him in 1825, before he was 19

⁷ *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, October 8, 1824.

years of age, and one year before Bentalou's pamphlet appeared, in thinking that the banner was not only embroidered by the Moravian single sisters (they were not nuns) of Bethlehem, Pa., but also had been presented by them to Pulaski's Legion.

Baltimore has honored the name of Colonel Bentalou, Pulaski's friend and fellow soldier, a man of the very highest character and reputation, and who was United States Marshal for Maryland at the time of his death in 1826, at the age of 91, by naming a street after him in the western part of the city. A noble, brave, and venerable soldier, who long survived his old commander, but who never forgot him.

In a letter to the Council of Maryland, dated Annapolis, the 10th April 1779, Count Pulaski writes: "I Came down to have the honour of presenting my Compliments to you; in the meantime call for your assistance in my recruiting.—I clame Gentelmen for your steem and amity, calling my legion, Maryland legion I'll endeavor myself to have that name forever honoured by our friends and respected by our enemies, and that way reach to the glory whom I and my officers are found off." ⁸

The banner is associated with the thoughts and handiwork of the Moravian single sisters of Bethlehem; the inspired hymn of a youthful poet; the patriotic gift of Baltimore women, whose sons doubtless were members of the corps; the romantic valor of the commander of the legion and the heroism of soldiers who died for the cause of liberty and freedom.

ROLL OF PULASKI'S LEGION.

Officers.

Count Casimir Pulaski..... Brigadier General.

Appointed by the Continental Congress, April 18, 1778.

Michael de Kowatz (Kowatsch).... Colonel Commandant.

Count Julius de Mountford..... Major.

John de Zielinski ⁹..... Captain Lancers.

⁸ *Maryland Archives*, vol. XXI, p. 34.

⁹ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. x, p. 364.

Appointed by the Continental Congress, October 5, 1778.

Charles Baron de Bose.....	Lieutenant Colonel.
Peter (Paul) Bentalou.....	Captain Dragoons.
Henry Bedkin.....	“ “
Jerome Le Brun de Bellecour.....	“ Infantry.
James Chevalier de Segond.....	“ “
Frederick Paschke.....	“ “
Joseph Baldesqui, (Paymaster).....	“ “
William Palmer.....	Lieutenant “
John Seydelin.....	“ “
James de Bronville.....	“ “
Francois de Roth.....	“ “
John Stey.....	“ Dragoons.
Francois Antoine de Troye.....	“ Infantry.
William Welch.....	2 nd Lieutenant “
Joseph de la Borderie.....	“ “
George Elton.....	Cornet Dragoons.
Adam Melchoir ¹⁰	“

Appointed by the Continental Congress, December 10, 1778.

Count Kolkowski.....	Captain.
(Served with Pulaski in Poland).	
Charles Frederick Bedaulx ¹¹	Lieutenant Colonel.

Appointed by the Continental Congress, February 1779.

Gérard de St Elme.....	Brevet Major.
Louis Celeron.....	Major.
Mons. Verney ¹²	“

Appointed by the Continental Congress, March 1, 1779.

Mons. O'Neill.....	Captain Infantry.
Baptiste Verdier.....	Lieutenant.

¹⁰ A list of the commissions issued, in the handwriting of Richard Peters, is in the Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 59, Vol. II, folio 123. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. XIII, p. 981.

¹¹ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. XII, p. 1210.

¹² *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. XIII, pp. 143, 215, 238.

Mons. Beaulieu.....	Lieutenant.
Mons. Kerlevan.....	“
Mons. la Close ¹³	“
Baron Charles de Frey ¹⁴	Captain.

A Captain Baitting or Bailing of Pulaski's Legion is mentioned in the Council Correspondence, May 5, 1778.¹⁵

Privates.

Recruits enlisted in Pulaski's Legion in Baltimore.

Edward Donnelly.....	enlisted April 10, 1778
William Rolph.....	“ “ 22, “
Henry Kent.....	“ “ “ “
Roger Owings.....	“ “ 27, “
John Collins.....	“ “ 28, “
Bryan Dallam.....	“ “ “ “
John Cain.....	“ May 4, “
William Herlity.....	“ “ 6, “
John Price.....	“ “ “ “
Nicholas Ryland.....	“ “ 8, “
Thomas Bond.....	“ “ “ “
Peter Neguire.....	“ “ “ “
Thomas Houlth.....	“ “ 9, “
Charles Daemon.....	“ “ 10, “
James Carter.....	“ “ “ “
Philip Beatty.....	“ “ 11, “
John Tedford.....	“ “ 12, “
William Trugard (deserted).....	“ “ 22, “
Benjamin Prior.....	“ July 1779
Notley Tippet.....	“ “ “
Joseph Smith ¹⁶	“ “ “

¹³ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. XIII, p. 263.

¹⁴ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. XV, p. 1139.

¹⁵ *Maryland Archives*, Vol. XXI, pp. 67, 90, 111.

¹⁶ *Maryland Archives*, Vol. 18, pp. 592-593.

John Hooper.....	enlisted	1778
James Murray ¹⁷	“	“

“A return of the Men belonging to the State of Maryland, who served in the First Partisan Legion commanded by Brigadier General Armand de la Rouerie, discharged November 15, 1783.

William Seth (Sergeant).....	enlisted	1778.
Edward Donnelly.....	“	1779.
Peter Teams ¹⁸	“	1778.”

Edward Donnelly was formerly a member of Pulaski's Legion, and most probably the other two were also.

First Troop? Dragoons Pulaski's Legion, commanded by late Lieutenant Beaulieu, November 1779.

Earnest Stears.....	enlisted	March 12,	1778.
Ebenezer Riggins.....	“	“ 20,	“
Andrew George.....	“	“ 22,	“
Ellias Nowell.....	“	“ “	“
Jeremie Hoppe.....	“	“ “	“
John Shaw.....	“	“ “	“
Patrick Skirt.....	“	“ “	“
Basile Wheler.....	“	“ “	“
Robert James.....	“	“ 28,	“
John Lealand.....	“	“ “	“
John Lautherback.....	“	“ “	“
Andrew McCowen.....	“	“ “	“
Andrew Ollman.....	“	“ “	“
Joseph Philips.....	“	“ “	“
Isaac Rollins.....	“	“ “	“
Hugh Fitz Patrick.....	“	April 10,	“
Adam Krauser.....	“	May 8,	“
George Ox.....	“	June 1,	“
Philip Frederick.....	“	September 1,	“

¹⁷ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. XII, p. 916.

¹⁸ *Maryland Archives*, Vol. 18, p. 594.

Godfreid Hesse.....	enlisted Sept. 10, 1778.
Christian Dearling.....	“ January 2, 1779.
Gaspard Murson.....	“ August 28, “
Joseph Horton.....	“ “ “ “
Joseph Fitz Patrick ¹⁹	“ “ “ “

Muster Roll of the Second Troop of Light Dragoons Pulaski's
Legion, Captain Zielinski, (deceased), now commanded by
Captain Le Brun de Bellecour.

Francis Frainemaker (Sergeant)....	enlisted March 12, 1778.
Joseph Snyder (Corporal).....	“ “ “ “
Martin Miller “ (Penn.)..	“ “ “ “
Joseph Sack (Trumpeter).....	“ “ 20, “
Christian Dilman.....	“ May 8, “
Deobert Coop.....	“ September 1, “
John Skoop.....	“ “ “ “
Henry Skoop.....	“ “ “ “
Ludwic Leave.....	“ April 6, “
Martin Hatkinson.....	“ “ 13, “
John Poland.....	“ May 2, “
Ludwic Spoor (Sergeant).....	“ June 11, “
George Thomson.....	“ “ 15, 1779.
John Ferell.....	“ “ “ “
John Shee.....	“ July 1, “
Ludwic Begerhoff.....	“ “ “ “
Godfreid Hesse.....	“ “ “ “
Cornelius Love.....	“ November 28, “
Nicolas Masson.....	“ “ “ “
John Hamilton ²⁰ (Waggoner).	

Roll of First Partisan Legion, commanded by Colonel Armand,
Marquis de la Rouerie, July 1782.

Second Troop.

Henry Bedkin, Captain, formerly of Pulaski's Legion.
Baptiste Verdier, Lieutenant, “ “ “ “

¹⁹ *Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, U. S. Rev.*

²⁰ *Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, U. S. Rev., November, 1779.*

Privates.

Henry Bodwin, Maryland.

Edward Donnelly, " formerly of Pulaski's Legion.

Joseph Follett, "

Third Troop.

Le Brun de Bellecour, Captain, formerly of Pulaski's Legion.

La Hoyer de Couterie, Lieutenant.

William Murdoch, Cornet.

Samuel Emerie, Maryland, Sergeant.

James Logman, " Corporal.

William Sept. " "

Privates.

William Bowman. Maryland.

John Brown. "

Thomas Brown. "

Joseph Butler. "

Robert Handwood. "

Joseph Higdon. "

Peter Limer (Waggoner). "

Bazil Lowe. "

Matthias Murray. "

Elisha Steele. "

John Steele. "

John Steel. "

John Thompson.²¹ "

NOTE.—These Marylanders in the Second and Third Troop were doubtless former members of Pulaski's Legion. The Continental Congress, on February 23, 1780, passed the following resolution: "Resolved, That the remains of the legion of the late Count Pulaski be incorporated with the corps of Colonel Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie, etc."

From that date Pulaski's Legion ceased to exist, nearly all of its members having been either killed or wounded in defense

²¹ *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd Series, Vol. XI, pp. 142-150 (1880).

of the liberties of mankind. There are no officers or privates in the First, Fourth, Fifth or Sixth Troop of Armand's First Partisan Legion, mentioned as from Maryland, in July 1782.

Pennsylvanians in Pulaski's Legion.

Henry Bedkin, Captain.
 John Shrader, Quartermaster.
 Richard Laird, Sergeant.

Privates.

Isaac Andrew.	Martin Miller.
John Bentley.	Peter Miller.
Thomas Bond.	John Myer.
Frederich Boyer.	James Rolls.
Richard Cheney.	Frederich Ruger.
Frederich Cook.	Edward Smith.
William Coram.	John Smith (3rd).
William Furnshield.	Peter Snyder.
Joseph Fogg.	William Sommerlott.
William Formshell.	Henry Walker.
Joseph Gale.	George Ziegler.
Benjamin Johnston.	George Yohe.
John Shuler (Teamster). ²²	

²² *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd Series, Vol. XI, pp. 155-156 (1880).

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE OF OBSERVATION FOR ELIZABETH TOWN DISTRICT
[WASHINGTON COUNTY].

(Continued from Vol. XIII, p. 53.)

Tuesday Jan^y 28th The Committee met according to Adjournment Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Doct ^r Woltz	Mr Stydinger
Mr Gull	Capt ⁿ Link
Mr Graver	Mr Nead

Whereas Mr^s Burgess, William Maffet & Pat^k McCardle have made Complaint to Committee that some men under the Command of Captⁿ Williams, forcibly entered into their Houses, and after violent threats, took from each house a Blanket, which it appears they cannot possibly spare, as such Proceeding are without order and tyrannical it is therefore ordered that Captⁿ Williams immediately deliver the said Blankets to their Respective Owners.

The Committee adjourns till Saturday next at 9 O'Clock.

Thursday Jan^y 30th By Special Order the Committee met at Elizabeth Town Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Doct ^r Woltz	Mr Gull
Mr Stydinger	Mr Graver
Capt ⁿ Linck	Mr Nead

Upon Request of Robert Foard Hugh Gilliland and Henry Foard, setting forth that the Comp^y of Militia in the which they had enroll'd under Denton Jacques, was making no Preparations to march agreeable to orders for that Purpose &c.

Resolved unanimously, that the said Robert Foard, Hugh

Gilliland and Henry Foard, do use their and each of their endeavours to enroll said Company, and have a proper place appoint'd for their Rendezvous, in order to Compleat said Enrollment and choose officers to Command the same, and also to make a Return to this Committee of all Delinquents who shall refuse to comply with s^d orders, to we^h purpose an order has issued to the above named Gentlemen

The Committee adjourns 'till Saturday next at 9 o'clock

Saturday February 1st 1777 The Committee met according to Adjournment. Members present.

James Clark in the Chair

Mr Tho ^s Brooke	Doct ^r Peter Woltz
Capt ⁿ And ^w Lynck	Mr Matt ^s Ridenour
Mr Chris ^r Burket	Mr Baltzer Gull
Mr Nich ^s Smith	Mr Tho ^s Sprigg
Mr Ab ^m Kneff	Mr Fred ^k Stydinger
Mr Jacob Grauer	Mr Daniel Hughes appeared
Mr Matthias Nead	

John Funday was brought before the Committee, charged that he had spoke inimical to the united States, upon Examination of Evidences it appeared that he had express'd such Sentiments when excessive drunk, but before and since that Time had spoke as a friend to the common Cause, therefore ordered that he be discharged upon paying expense of Guards

Richard Acton return'd the summons to him directed the 22nd Jan^y last, duly executed—whereupon the following Persons appear'd and on Interrogation refused to enroll in some Company of Militia, agreeable to the Resolves of the Convention of this State, because employ'd in Denton Jacques's Service and led by his Dictates, who were thereupon fin'd as followeth

s D

viz Robert Clark	fin'd £10.00..0	paid to	Capt ⁿ Linck
Philip Howard	D ^o	10.00..0	paid to D ^o
Archibald Bryson	D ^o	10.00..0	paid to D ^o
Samuel Forsythe	D ^o	10.00..0	paid to D ^o

Viz Evan Guinn	fin'd	10.00..0	paid to Capt ⁿ Linck
William Matthews	D ^o	10.00..0	paid to D ^o
William Matthews	D ^o	10.00..0	paid to D ^o
John Snyder	D ^o	10.00..0	
George James	D ^o	10.00..0	
Joseph Hurst Quaker	D ^o	8.00..0	paid to Capt ⁿ Linck

Ordered that Richard Acton be authorized and empower'd to collect and receive from John Snyder and George James the fines on them and each of them assess'd, and the same Return to this Committee

Ordered that Captⁿ Linck pay Richard Acton forty shillings for his Services of summoning the several Persons contain'd in an Order of Committee to him directed

Ordered that Captⁿ Andrew Linck pay Doct^r Peter Woltz fifty two shillings for Medicines given Garret Glasson a sick soldier belonging to the flying Camp of this State

On Motion resolved that Abraham Troxall serve as a Committee man in the Room of Maj^r Christian Orindorf who has resign'd having march'd to Camp.

The Committee adjourns 'till Saturday next at 10 o'Clock. By Special Order the Committee met Sunday evening Febr^y 2^d 1777

Members present

Mr Thomas Sprigg in the Chair

Mr Gull	Mr Stydinger
Capt ⁿ Linck	Doct ^r Woltz
Mr Nead	James Clark

John Tedrow a Prisoner in this Town, for passing counterfeit Virginia Money, was brought before Committee, upon Examination confessed that he went to Isaac Shockey on tuesday the 21st of Jan^y last tarried there some Days that ^{sd} Shockey agreed to give him the ^{sd} Tedrow 150 Dollars of ^{sd} Counterfeit Money, in order to pass out of which Tedrow was to return one half, but that afterwards ^{sd} Shockey only gave him 78 Dollars, saying

there was no more sign'd, and that the person who sign'd the Money, would sign no more, at that time, because he purpos'd to have it press'd, thinking it not yet compleat, that said Tedrow when pass'd what he had receiv'd, was to repair to s^d Shockey for more, who promised to supply him therewith, and that he the s^d Tedrow might return what he pleas'd in Lieu of the 78 Dollars receiv'd that there was at Shockey's a certain Person dress'd in white Broad-Cloath Coat Jacket and Breeches, with a velvet Cape on Coat, whom he the s^d Tedrow suspected to be the Signer of s^d Money, that s^d Tedrow asked s^d Shockey that Gentleman's name, Shockey replied he knew it not, and that he refus'd to tell his Name to any person, that a certain Christian Hearn was at Shockeys in Company with the aforesaid Gentleman, said he was a Captain, and came on purpose to Recruit.

his
Sign'd John × Tedrow
mark

Upon receiving the foregoing Confession of John Tedrow it is ordered that a strong Guard be sent to apprehend Isaac Stophel, Felty and Abraham Shockey, and all others whom they may have reason to suspect to be concern'd with the said Counterfeit Virginia money and them or either of them bring before this Committee to answer s^d Charge and likewise to bring all Counterfeit money, Materials thereto belonging, and all fire Arms that may be found in their or either of their possessions.

The Committee adjourns 'till Saturday next at 10 o'Clock

Monday Feb^y 3^d 1777 By special Order the Committee met at Elizth Town Members present

M^r Thomas Sprigg in the Chair

James Clark	Baltzer Gull
Doct ^r Peter Woltz	Fred ^k Stydinger
Capt ⁿ And ^w Linck	Matthias Nead
Abraham Kneff	Jacob Grauer
Matthias Ridenour	Christopher Burket

The Guard sent to apprehend the Shockeyes return'd, and delivered to Committee the Bodies of Isaac, and Christian Shockey, who on Examination denied the Charge of being privy to, or concern'd with the making and passing Counterfeit Virginia Money. Ordered that the said Shockeyes be confin'd in Irons in the Common Goal for this County untill legally discharged therefrom Rec^d from the Guard a Rifle Gun got at Valentine Shockey's marck'd on the Butt W. S.

The Committee adjourns till Saturday next at 9 o'Clock

Tuesday Feb^y 4th By special order the Committee met at Elizth Town Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Baltzer Gull

Jacob Grauer

Matthias Ridenour

Fred^k Stydinger

D^r Peter Woltz

Matthias Nead

Captⁿ And^w Linck

Philip Reaplogle was brought before Committee, charged with being a Deserter from Captⁿ John Bennets Company of Militia in Colⁿ Stulls Battalion upon Examination acknowledged the Charge Ordered that the said Reaplogle be confined in the Tory Goal for this County untill a proper Guard can be got to march him to Join his respective Company at Camp

John Acton (agreeable to order) was brought before Committee, charg'd with writing & sending a Letter to Isaac Shockey at said Shockey's Request, to the Intent that said Shockey and his Banditti might rescue John Tedrow a Prisoner, (for passing Counterfeit Virginia Money) from the Guard who then had said Tedrow in Custody, upon Examination acknowledged the Charge Therefore ordered that s^d Acton be kept in Irons, close confin'd in the common Goal, untill legally discharg'd therefrom.

The Committee adjourns till Saturday next at 10 o'Clock

Wednesday Feb^y 5th 1777 The Committee met by special Order Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Abraham Troxall	Dr Peter Woltz
Baltzer Gull	Matthias Nead
Capt ⁿ And ^w Linck	Jacob Grauer

George Berger a Waggoner in Captⁿ William's Company has reported to Committee that part of the Team by him drove is become unfit for service, and are now at Smizer's Tavern near York Town, therefore resolved that the respective owners thereof apply at said Smizers for their respective Properties, that they tender accounts of all Charges to Colⁿ Smith on his Return, or on failure thereof to Committee, or any other legal Body that order may be taken therein.

On Motion resolved unanimously, that no Miller (residing in Washington County) shall chop or Grind or chop any Wheat for any Person or Persons on any Pretense whatsoever for the use of distilling under the Penalty of one hundred Dollars fine and one Months Imprisonment for each and every such Offence, one third of said fine to be given to the Informer making Proof thereof and the remaining two thirds to be apply'd to the Publick Service

The Committee adjourns till Saturday next at 10 o'Clock

Thursday Feby 6th 1777 The Committee, by special order met at Elizabeth Town Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Capt ⁿ And ^w Linck	Dr Peter Woltz
Fred ^k Stydinger	Baltzer Gull
Matthias Nead	Jacob Grauer

Agreeable to order, George Miller, Gasper Snyder Deserters from, and John Solomon Miller and Fred^k Ramer absconders (alias) Delinquents in Captⁿ Bonnets Company, likewise Matthias and Nicholas Roof Deserters from Captⁿ Evan Bakers Company of Militia were brought before Committee, upon Examination acknowledged the separate Charges

Ordered that the said Deserters and Absconders give Bond

with sufficient Security in the Penalty of £1000 each, condition'd that they and each of them shall well and truly appear before Committee, when call'd upon, and march to their respective Companies at Camp, agreeable to order of said Committee

The Committee adjourns 'till Saturday next at 10 o'Clock A. M.

Saturday Feby 8th 1777 The Committee met according to Adjournment Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Doct ^r Peter Woltz	Nicholas Smith
Abraham Troxall	Baltzer Gull
Capt ⁿ And ^w Linck	Matthias Riednour
Fred ^k Stydinger	Matthias Nead
Ab ^m Kneff	Christopher Burket

Ordered that Captⁿ And^w Linck pay William Seitzler the sum of £2..8..9 for boarding and attending Garret Glasson a sick Soldier in the flying Camp of this State.

Henry Knode Sen^r appear'd before Committee agreeable to the Condition of his Bond, upon making it appear to Committee that he had used his utmost Endeavours to apprehend his son Henry Knode Jun^r a Deserter from Captⁿ Farmer's Company, but could not possibly perform the same. on Motion resolved that the said Hen^y Knode Sen^r give Bond with sufficient Security in the Penalty of £1000 Conditioned that he shall well and truly appear before Committee at Elizabeth Town, when call'd upon, and likewise use all possible means to apprehend his said son, and when found, him deliver to Committee, that order may be taken therein

On Motion resolved unanimously that if any Distiller residing in Washington County, shall distill any Wheat, either his own or any other persons Property, untill further order, such Distiller shall pay Two hundred Dollars fine, and be imprisoned for the space of two Months for every such, and each offence, one third of said Fine to be given to the Informer making Proof

thereof, and the remaining two thirds to be apply'd to the Publick Service

Ordered that George Miller, Gasper Snyder, Frederick Ramer, John Solomon Miller, Philip Reaplogle, Nicholas Roof & Matthias Roof and each of them be notified to be and appear before Committee on Monday next ready equipped and forthwith march to join their respective Companies at Camp, agreeable to the Condition of their Bonds

Ordered that Captⁿ And^w Linck pay Edmond Moran ten shillings for two of the Regulars Services in assisting to detect one McCoy an Absentee from Captⁿ Hughes's Company, and likewise £1..8..9 the account of four Regulars for expence and Services in Detecting absenters from Captⁿ Bonnets Company, that said Accounts be respectively charged to said Capt^{ns} Hughes and Bonnet, by them deducted from said Absenters Wages and remitted to Committee

Ordered that Captⁿ Andrew Linck pay Colⁿ Henry Shryock Ten Shillings and six pence for keeping the Gensbergers Horses, and likewise Ten Shillings for five quires of paper furnish'd the Committee, & that the said Gensbergers pay the said 10/6 to the Committee

Ordered that Captⁿ Andrew Linck pay David Harry the sum of £2..12..6 for his services and nine men under his Command in apprehending Isaac and Christian Shockey—and that the Shockeys pay the same to Committee

The Committee adjourns till Saturday next at 9 o'clock

Monday Feby 10th 1777 By special Order the Committee met. Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Dr Peter Woltz

Jacob Grauer

Baltzer Gull

Fred^k Stydinger

Matthias Nead

Matthias Ridenour

Captⁿ And^w Linck

Information being made to Committee that a certain Christian Kern and James Quigg (alias) Quick residing near Balti-

more are principally concern'd, with the Shockeyes, in making and passing Counterfeit Virginia Money—

Resolved that a Letter be sent to the Committee of Baltimore giving them Intelligence thereof, that they may take Order therein

The Committee adjourns 'till Saturday next at 10 o'Clock

Saturday Feb'y 15th 1777 The Committee met According to Adjournment Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Dr Peter Woltz	Matthias Ridenour
Capt ⁿ And ^w Linck	Nicholas Smith
Jacob Grauer	Matthias Nead
Fred ^k Stydinger	John Adair
Baltzer Gull	

Whereas W^m Baird Esq^r has march'd to Camp his Seat in Committee being thereby vacated, resolved unanimously that John Adair serve as a Committee man in his Room

Ordered that a summons do Issue for Joseph Rentch to be and appear before Committee on Saturday the 22^d Instant to pay Charges for Services done by Martin Harry and his Com-mand by order of Committee

Ordered that Captⁿ Andrew Linck pay Fred^k Stydinger the sum of £7.. 8.. 6 for 33 Gallons of Liquor furnish'd for the use of Captⁿ Martin Kershners Company of Militia, and five shillings for the Barrel

The Committee adjourns 'till Saturday next at 10 o'Clock

Monday Feb'y 17th 1777 By Special order the Committee met Members present

James Clark in the Chair

John Adair	Matthias Nead
Capt ⁿ And ^w Linck	Doct ^r Peter Woltz
Baltzer Gull	Fred ^k Stydinger

Captⁿ Abraham Baker came before Committee, it appear'd

upon Examination that he and almost all the Company under his Command had deserted from Colⁿ Smith's Battalion

Resolved unanimously that the said Captⁿ Baker give Bond and sufficient Security in the Penalty of £2000 Conditioned that he shall well and truly appear, and likewise use his utmost Endeavours to have said Deserters and all Enrollers in his Company before Committee on Saturday next, ready equipp'd and forthwith march to the Reinforcement of Gen^l Washington agreeable to the Requisition of Congress

The Committee adjourns 'till Saturday next at 10 o'clock

Saturday Feb^v 22^d 1777 The Committee met according to Adjournment Members present

James Clark in the Chair

Baltzer Gull	Fred ^k Stydinger
Nicholas Smith	Matthias Nead
Matthias Ridenour	Abraham Kneff
Abraham Troxal	John Adair
D ^r Peter Woltz	

Ordered that Captⁿ Andrew Linck pay William Seitzler twenty schillings for boarding and attending Garret Glasson a sick Soldier in the flying Camp of this State

Joseph Rentch appear'd before Committee agreeable to Summons—ordered that, that Matter be postpon'd 'till Saturday next

Martin Harry laid before Committee an Account against the State of Maryland of £16.10 for boarding furnish'd Captⁿ Daniel Clapsaddle's Company in the flying Camp ordered that the same be approved of in order for payment.

Captⁿ Abraham Baker appear'd agreeable to the Condition of his Bond at the same time appeared Adam Myer who forthwith march'd to the Reinforcement of General Washington

Michael Kirkpatrick appear'd before Committee charged that he had damn'd the Congress, General Washington, Colⁿ Shryock and the Committee wished Success to King George &

the Royal Family—it appeared by the Evidence of John Davies, James Garrachan & Richard Broderrick that he had express'd such Sentiments. Ordered that the said Kirkpatrick be confin'd in the Tory Goal of this Town untill he shall give Bond and sufficient Security in the Penalty of £1000—Conditioned that he shall neither say nor do anything against the Interest of the United States during the present Contest between Great Britain and America, and pay a proportionate part of the Expence of Guard &c.

The Committee adjourns 'till Monday next at 2 o'Clock

Monday Feb^y 24th 1777 The Committee met according to Adjournment Members present

James Clark in the Chair

John Adair

Abraham Kneff

Dr Peter Woltz

Matthias Ridenour

Baltzer Gull

Ab^m Troxall

Fred^k Stydinger

William Scott app^d & took his seat

On motion resolved unanimously that William Scott serve as a Committee man in the Room of Captⁿ Andrew Linck deceas'd

Moyles Reiley was brought before Committee charg'd that he had abus'd Elizabeth Piper and family in her own house near Sharpsburgh during the absence of her Husband at Camp, ordered that the said Reiley be confin'd in the Tory Goal of this Town, untill he shall give Bond and Security in the Penalty of £500 Conditioned that he shall behave quietly and peaceably for the future and pay expence of Guard &c.

On Motion resolved that Letters be sent immediately to the Committees at Reading and McAllister Town informing them that this Committee has receiv'd Intelligence that a Certain Christian Kern, James Quigg (alias) Quick and Benjⁿ Lewis are Principally concern'd in making & passing the present Counterfeit Virginia money now circulating, that they hold a Lodge near s^d Town, that the Paper of s^d money was made at

the Paper Mill on Schuylkill near Reading Town. That a Letter be likewise sent to the Committee at Chambers Town giving them intelligence that this Committee has been inform'd that a certain Benjⁿ Nugent near s^d Town is concern'd wth the afors^d persons in passing s^d money, that s^d Committees may take order therein and apprehend such Malefactors

The Committee adjourns 'till Saturday next at 10 o'clock

Saturday March 1st 1777 The Committee met according to Adjournment Members present

M^r Thomas Brooke in the Chair

Nicholas Smith	D ^r Peter Woltz
Abraham Kneff	William Scott
James Clark	Christopher Burket
Abraham Troxall	Matthias Ridenour
Baltzer Gull	

Ordered that M^r Baltzer Gull (in whose hands the publick Money is now deposited) pay Samuel Solomon the sum of 12/6 for his Services & expences in apprehending Delinquents in Captⁿ Abraham Bakers Company of Militia, that the same be chargeable to Captⁿ Baker and by him remitted to this Committee

Ordered that a Strong Guard be sent for said offenders and them bring before Committee to answer said Charge

Whereas Complaint has been made to Committee that Leonard Bilmyer and Peter Lower has been guilty of Distilling and Jacob Hess of Chopping Wheat for the use of Distilling Contrary to the former Resolves of this Committee

Ordered that John Middlecalf, John Knode and Jacob Tecterich be summoned to appear before Committee as Evidences against the above mentioned Bilmyer, Lower and Hess

Ordered that Baltzer Gull pay John Adair 10/6 for three standing Guard over Isaac, Christ^r Shockey, Jn^o Tedrow and Jn^o Acton, the sum of £4..17 that a Rifle belonging to Christ^r Shockey be apprais'd and sold to defray the said Expence

Ordered that Baltzer Gull pay John Adair 10/6 for three Buckets, by him made for use of the Tory Goal

Ordered that Baltzer Gull pay James Clark the sum of £2..13..6 which said sum was advanced by him, to Capt^m Andrew Linck in behalf of the Publick

Ordered that Baltzer Gull pay John Fackler £2. for his and seven Men's Services in assisting to apprehend John Acton &c living at Green Spring Furnace

The Committee adjourns till Monday next at 1 O'Clock

Monday March the 3^d 1777 The Committee met according to Adjournment Members present

James Clark in the Chair

John Adair

Tho^s Brooke

Ab^m Troxall

Dr Peter Woltz

Mathias Nead

Baltzer Gull

W^m Scott

Fred^k Stydinger

And the committee adjourned forever

Amen

The Committee appointed for Licencing suits met at the House of Martin Harrys on the 18 day of Sep^t 1775 present

Mr James Smith President

Charles Sweringer

Conrod Hogmire

John Rench

John Cellars

Sam^l Hughes

The follow^g applications were made by

John Swan @ Jn^o Robinson—Trespass on the case. Licence grant^d for a Writ

Dan^l Murphy @ Joseph Helm—a plea of Debt. Licence granted for a Warrant

The Committee adjourns till th 1st Monday in October

Monday Nov 1st 1775

The Committee met according to Adjournment

The following Applications was made

Isaac Cooper @ George Bond sen—a plea of Debt. Licence Granted for a Writ.

Colin Dunlop & Son & Co^v @ Mathias Smithly, Charles Hyatt, Elisha Hyatt, Tho^s Morrow, Thomas Lazune & Nannin Eatele & John Kelty—for Attachments. Licence Granted

Monday 6th Nov^r 1775

Christian, Eakel @ Thomas Morrow—Ordered to give Security and New Bond.

Ordered By the Committee that Bartholmew Caloco give a fresh Note with good Security to John Paige, Executor.

Martain Hover @ Absom Lemaster—Prapsp^tor. Licence granted for a write.

Saturday Nov^r 11th 1775

John Stull @ John Adair—Licence Grant^t John Adair for a warrant.

Monday 18 December 1775

Joseph Smith in the Chair

Christian Orendorph	John Rentch
Andrew Rentch	Conrad Hlogmire
George Swengle	John Keller

Mick Kiernan @ Thos Nelan.

And^w Miller @ John Ronderbush and Michael Hayes.

Ignatius Innus @ Thos Morrow.

If John Stull will not Bring Suit against John Adair before next meeting Said Adair may have Licence against John Stull.

Sanderson and good @ Mch Menser.

James McClealahan @ Mary Vulgamutt.

Rudolph Souther @ Peter Palmer.

Ignatius Simms @ Thomas Powel.

Thomas Simms @ John Lydney—2 Suits.

Monday Feb^{ry} 19th 1776

Henry Strom @ Jn^o Steel & David Haibsior.

Jn^o Stonesifer @ Andrew Feller.

Frances Kryelich @ Sperling & Aaron Bowman.
 Francis Hardesty @ Issacher Beaves.
 George Bright @ Jacob Barkman.
 Jn^o Obrian @ Hyatt Lazear.
 George Galespie @ Henry Kerr.
 Jacob Millar @ George Dunn.

March 4th 1776

Garrett Stonebraker @ Henry Zeller—Writt.
 Moses Obings @ Harmon Eckle—Writt.
 Mich^l Tom @ Thomas Morrow—Writt.
 Mary Vulgamut @ Henry Zeller—for Writt.
 David Grove @ Abraham Lemaster—for Writt.
 Thomas West @ Jacob Miller—for Warr^t.
 Andrew Mays @ George Galaspie—for Writt.

March the 18th 1776

Iagnetius Simms @ John Brunnen—for warr^{ts}.
 George Bright @ John Donelson, Jacob Gaphart, Philip
 Kline—for Warent.
 Joseph Melott, Michel Seister, Benjamin South, William
 Skills.
 John Litte @ George Good—for a Writt.

April 1st 1776 the Committee Meet Acording to Adgorn^t.
 Present—

	Mr Joseph Chapline in the Chair
Coll Jn ^o Stull	Mr Geo. Swinger
Cap ^t Jn ^o Cellers	Cap ^t W ^m Hyser
Coll Andrew Rench	Mr Chris ^r Lantz
Mr Jn ^o Rench	Cap ^t James Smith
Cap ^t M. Tackler	

Edmund Rutter @ Thomas Morrow—Warr^t.
 Ignatius Simms @ Arthur Oharrow & W^m Crossley—Warr^t.

The Committee met the 15 of April present

Henry Sryock in the Chear

Michael Fockler Conrad Hogmire
 William Heyser

George Bright @ Jacob Berkman—ad^t.
 Ja^s Downey @ Tho^s Belt—for Writ.
 Nicholas Smith @ Jacob Hafe—Writ.
 Charles Bell @ Vallentine Messersmith—Writ.
 Mich^l Maxfild @ Jacob Miller—Warr^t.

Monday May 6th 1776

The Committee for Licensing Suits met, according to Ad-
 journment at Sharpsburgh, Members present

Coll Joseph Smith in the Chair

Coll Samuel Beall Captⁿ Joseph Chaplain

The Committee adjourns to the third Monday of this Instant,
 being the 20th day.

The Committee Met According To Adjournment & Ad-
 journed To the first monday in June.

The Committee Met According To Adjournment Members
 Present

Coll Samuel Beall in the Chair

Maj^r Henry Shirock Joseph Chapline
 Capt Michel Fockler

Phillip Kestoe @ Joseph Wheat—warr^t.
 Nathaniel Nesbott @ Christopher Erden—war^t.
 Nicholas Shaffer @ William Alexander—writt.

Whereas it appears to us on the Oath of A president for
 Licence that Is Justly indebted to him the Sum of
and that he delays payment or Giving Security when
 required you have therefore leave to Issue such process as may
 recover the Said—Claim against according to the resolves of
 the Convention in July last by order of the Committee.

The Committee Adjourns till Tomorrow Eight o'Clock.

The Committee Met According To Adjournment—members
 Present

Coll Samuel Beale Jun^r In the Chair
 Maj^r Henry Shriock Joseph Chapline
 Cap^t Michel Fockler Coll Joseph Smith
 Cap^t William Hizer

The Committee Adjourns till Seven O'Clock in the Afternoon.

The Committee met according to adjournment, Members present

Colⁿ Sam^l Beall Jun^r in the Chair
 Capⁿ Joseph Chapline Colⁿ Joseph Smith
 Capⁿ W^m Heyser Capⁿ Mich^l Fockler
 Maj^r Henry Shryock

The Committee adjourns till the third Monday of June to meet at Sharpsburgh.

The Committee met according to Adjournment. Members present

Colⁿ Samuel Beall Jun^r in the Chair
 Colⁿ Joseph Smith Capⁿ Joseph Chapline
 Maj^r Henry Shryock

William Blakely @ James McCoy—Writ.

James Martin agst Michael Hager—warr^t.

William Blakely agst Andrew Crummy—Writ.

The Committee adjourns till the first Monday in July.

By a Special Order the Committee met the 3^d day of July 1776. Members present

Colⁿ Jos. Smith in the Chair
 Colⁿ Sam^l Beall Jun^r Capⁿ Mich^l Fockler
 Maj^r Henry Shryock Capⁿ Joseph Chapline
 Capⁿ W^m Heyser

Geo. Good agst Jam^s Knox—Warrant.

Ignatius Sims agst Mordecai Medding—warrant.

Ignatius Sims agst Sam^l Lucket—warrant.

Hen^y Tootwiler @ Adam Doile—Writ.

The Committee adjourns till the third Monday in July.

By Special Order the Committee met at Elisabeth Town on Thursday the 25th July 1776. Members present

Captⁿ Conrad Hogmire in the Chair

Maj^r Henry Shryock Captⁿ W^m Heyser
 Captⁿ Mich^l Fockler

John Swan ags^t Isaac Baker—Writ.

The Committee adjourns to the last Monday in this Instant July.

Sep^r 17th 1776 the Committee for Licence of Suit meet. Present

Cap^t M. Fockler in the Chair

Mr Lodowick Young Mr Jⁿ^o Shryock

Orderd that Coll Rich^d Davis Received the followg Instrument of writting (to witt)

Washinton County Sep^r 17th 1776

Whereas Coll Rich^d Davis Steuart of Chews Farm hath Complaind to us that Sundry Tenents on said Farm refuse to pay the rents already due or give Security for the same, such Tenents are Order'd to Settle said Rents by Bond with security, or Otherway we give said Col Davis Power to Distrain for the same. Mich^l Fockler.

The Committee was Called on the 18 of October 1776. Present Conrad Hogmire in the Chaire Capt. Michael Fockler, Ludwick Young, John Schryock.

Richard Geather @ Elisha Hyeard — Evidence Leaken Dorsey.

Michael Fockler @ George Frederick Wertzbough and George Miller—Everdance Jo^s Schryock.

The Committee met on the 18 Day of Novemb^r 1776. Present

Coll Joseph Smith in the Chair

Ludwick Young Conrad Hogmire
 John Scryock

Joseph Herdey @ George Simm.

Dr Col^l Stull Treasurer for Washington County
1776 Dec^r 24

For so much rec^d from the Dunkars & Menonist for their
Fines vz.

Christian Newcomer	7..10.. 0	John Good	5.. 0.. 0
Henry Avey	2.. 0.. 0	Christian Hoover	5.. 0.. 0
John & Jacob Hoover	4.. 0.. 0	John Rohrer	10.. 0.. 0
Joseph Bowman	5.. 0.. 0	Jacob Rohrer	10.. 0.. 0
Jacob Root	5.. 0.. 0	Martin Rohrer	10.. 0.. 0
Jacob Stover	5.. 0.. 0	Paul Road	8.. 0.. 0
Adam Shoop	3.. 0.. 0	Jacob Road	5.. 0.. 0
David & Joseph Funk	14.. 0.. 0	Samuel Vulgamet	5.. 0.. 0
Joseph Byerly	5.. 0.. 0	Chrisley Weldy	3.. 0.. 0
Christian Coogle	4.. 0.. 0	Ab ^m Houser & John Bomberger	10.. 0.. 0
Jacob Leshar	4.. 0.. 0	Jacob Hess	7.. 0.. 0
Abraham Miller	5.. 0.. 0	Michael Garber	2.. 0.. 0
Samuel Bachley Jun ^r	7..10.. 0	Jacob Studebaker	3.. 0.. 0
Isaac Bachley	7..10.. 0	David Miller	3.. 0.. 0
Adam Pifer	8.. 0.. 0	Matthias Stauffer	2.. 0.. 0
Abraham Good	5.. 0.. 0	Jacob Coughinour	3.. 0.. 0
Christian Good	5.. 0.. 0	Christian & Jacob Thomas	6.. 0.. 0
John Hoover Jun ^r	2.. 0.. 0		
Olerick Hoover	6.. 0.. 0		
Martin Funk	5.. 0.. 0		<u>206..10 0</u>

Colⁿ Stull received from Colⁿ Beall £12 as former Treasurer
paid to him by the following persons viz—

Rec^d from John Miller £54 paid to him by the following
persons Viz.

Jacob Broombaugh		John Washabaugh	5.. 0.. 0
Jun ^r	£3.. 0.. 0	Jacob Huffer	5.. 0.. 0
John Broombaugh	3.. 0.. 0	John Bowman	5.. 0.. 0
Abraham Gansinger	3.. 0.. 0	David Miller son of Philip	5.. 0.. 0
Christian Shank	5.. 0.. 0	Jacob Herr	2.. 0.. 0
Mich ^l Shank	5.. 0.. 0	Henry Calglessar	3.. 0.. 0
Abraham Lidey	5.. 0.. 0		
Andrew Postalor	5.. 0.. 0		<u> </u>

Rec^d from Captⁿ Fockler, collected by Captⁿ Heyser from the following Persons Viz. £19..7..6—

Brought over £291..17..6

Rec^d from John Shryock and by him collected from the following persons viz. £16..10—

John Funk	£7.. 10.. 0
Henry Funk Jun ^r	6.. 0.. 0
Benjamin Noll	3.. 0.. 0

Christian Hyple p^d Col. Stull 4..0..0

Rec^d from M^r Baird, collected from the following Persons viz.

Christian Coogle	£3.. 0.. 0	Henry Keedy	3.. 0.. 0
Jacob Sook Ju ^r	5.. 0.. 0	Jacob Thomas	4.. 0.. 0
Samuel Funk	5.. 0.. 0	Michael Thomas	4.. 0.. 0
Henry Funk	5.. 0.. 0	John Micokberger	2.. 0.. 0
Samuel Baker	4.. 0.. 0	Michael Boovey	2.. 0.. 0

In Consequence of a Resolve of the 2^d of January 1777, Frederick Stydinger, Matthias Neid and Andrew Lynch, agreeable to their Appointment have appraised Guns, the Property of the following Persons viz—

			£	s.	d.
Robert Douglass a Rifle Gun appraised	N ^o 1 @		5..	15..	0
Samuel Douglass	D ^o N ^o 2 @		5..	18..	0
Ludwick Young	D ^o N ^o 3 @		5..	10..	0
Hen ^y Hoover non associator a Musket deliv ^d to Capt ⁿ Samuel Hughes	N ^o 4 @		2..	10..	0
John Shryock a Rifle	N ^o 5 @		5..	10..	0
David Gillespie a smooth Gun	N ^o 6 @		3..	5..	0
William Baird a smooth Gun	N ^o 7 @		4..	12..	0
George Coll a smooth Gun	N ^o 8 @		2..	5..	0
Andrew Branstator a Rifle	N ^o 9 @		5..	15..	0
Martin Ridenour a smooth bore	N ^o 10 @		2..	10..	0
George Ridenour	D ^o N ^o 11 @		3..	10..	0
Peter Brewah	D ^o N ^o 12 @		4..	0..	0

John Lee delivered a Rifle Gun owner un- known apprais'd	N ^o 13 @	5..—..—
Henry Miller a smooth bore Gun	N ^o 14 @	3..—..—
George Shultz a Rifle	N ^o 15 @	4..—..—

Captⁿ Andrew Link DrFor so much rec^d of the Dunkard & Menonist Fines—

Jacob Sook	£4.00.. 0
Jacob Line	5..—..—
Peter Thomas	4..—..—

1777 Mr Baltzer Gull To the Committee Dr

Feb ^y 23 ^d For so much of the Publick money depos- ited in his hands formerly in the hands of Cap ⁿ Linck	£	s.	d.
	175..	8..	9

March 1 st To Cash receiv'd from Rob ^t Bennet ad- vanced to him by Capt ⁿ Wallen in Militia Service	—..15..	0
To Cash remitted by Mr Alder	—..10..	0
April 11 th To D ^o receiv'd for 11 ^b of Candles	—..	1.. 3
23 ^d To D ^o received for four quires of Paper @ 2/6	—..10..	—
To D ^o receiv'd for four quires of paper	—..10..	—

1777 Contra Cr

March 1 st By Cash paid Samuel Solomon for services in apprehending Absent- ers in Capt ⁿ Ab ^m Baker's Comp ^y	0..12..	6
By Cash paid the Regulars for stand ^g Guard over Isaac Christ ⁿ Shock- ey, Jn ^o Tedrow and Jn ^o Acton	4..17..	0
By Cash paid John Adair for 3 Buckets for the Tory Goal	—..10..	6
By D ^o paid Jam ^s Clark by him ad- vanc'd to Capt ⁿ Linck	2..13..	6

	By D ^o paid John Fockler for him & 7 Men going as Guard to Green Spring furnace for John Acton &c	2..—..—
	By D ^o paid M ^{rs} Cotz for a Blanket for the use of Capt ⁿ Wm ^{'s} Co ^y .	1..10.. 0
	By D ^o paid the Butcher for 16 lb. Candles for the Tory house .	1..00.. 0
6 th	By D ^o paid Conrad Jacoby Express to the assembly	5..00.. 0
April 7 th	By D ^o paid J. Clark Clk. of Comm ^{ee} for his Services	12.. 7.. 6
24	By Cash paid Col ⁿ Stull for the Ball. of Cash by him advanc'd more than what he had rec ^d of the publick fines being allow'd the Ad- vance of Virginia Money	17.. 3..10

Feb^y 23^d 1777. The Committee on examining the Publick Money in the hands of Captⁿ And^w Linck and all Accounts relative thereto, find a Ballance of 15/6 due, of which they can get no Account.

1777 April 24th. Colⁿ John Stull this day has remitted to the Treasury by Account the sum of £23 advanc'd to John Leidy and £12 advanc'd to Captⁿ Evan Baker and £7..13..6 advanc'd to Fred^k Stydinger amounting in the whole to £42..13..6.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CARROLL PAPERS.

(Continued from Vol. XIII, p. 179.)

Sunday morning [161]

Dr Papa

As you must be anxious to hear the result of the counsels arguments & pleadings on each side in the cause with Digges I shall give you a —— & faithful account of them, as faithful & true a one at least as I am able. It may be proper to inform you that the very day this cause was opened, a messenger was sent to Mr Digges with proposals of accomodation. I offered for the sake of peace, & in consideration of Mr Digges's bad state of health, for the ease & quiet of his & your nieces mind (and because I knew it to be your intention) to pay Mr Digges Clifton's bond with interest, each party to pay his own costs. These terms generous as they were now part & advantageous to Mr Digges were rejected by him such is the obstinacy of that mans temper, such his blindness, or so great the hopes his advisers have made him entertain. I am satisfied he will have reason to repent his non acceptance of my offer for I make no doubt upon a fair state & settlem^t of y^r accounts, it will turn out that you have greatly overpaid Mr Digges.

Mr Rogers opened the cause he took to himself the Balt. Co^o acct. he taxed you with concerted delays. 3 additional answers extorted from you, and acct^s lodged by degrees & some of them late were brought as a proof of his assertion. The profits of the other parts of Dan: Carroll's estate sunk to the children, at least to the Girls by carrying on the works, were imputed to y^r want of conduct. Some insinuations were thrown out relative to the insurances charged on Iron when it got safe to England, one insurance being made when lost. He contended this was the case in almost every instance. In this the very face of the account shewed him to be wrong, as Insurances are charged, I think, in only three instances.

Y^r Deserter M^r Jennings, seemed to be so conscious of the dirty part he has acted, that he spoke worse than I ever heard him, & least to the purpose of any of our opponents. He could not persuade himself that he was arguing in support of M^r Digges pretentions. the Baltimore company cause was so strong upon his mind, that M^r Digges was little attended to. And what were the weighty arguments brought by this able advocate in defence of his Patron. Why the silly flimsy reasoning of his Patron's answer to y^r bill expressed in worse language & with less art. You have set up a claim ag^t the Comp^y for monies you [expressed?] to be yours: in th^t answer to Digges you say you have commenced a suit ag^t the Comp^y for the benefit of M^r Digges. Here is the great contradiction, the great absurdity He cannot reconcile.

M^r Hall attempted to be witty on accounts: by totally misrepresenting them, he made them ridiculous; he laughed at his own wit & made others laugh. He had plumed himself not a little on a discovery he thought he had made of a capital error in y^r accounts no less a sum than £549.15.0 Gold & 37 years interest thereon. Cousin Daniel, who has been with me ever since thursday, & has been of great service & help, was convinced in the court of M^r Hall's mistake. As soon as we came home he pointed out the error to Mr. Johnson & myself, & shewed where that sum was credited. Unless you had the accounts lodged, it will not be possible for me to explain to you how M^r Hall came to be lead into this error. He was for striking off all commissions, would have no allowance made for y^r trouble, such sums only to be allowed, which were really paid, & for which if, exceeding 40/ you could produce vouchers. I had almost forgot to mention, that M^r Hall represented you as a creator of paper currency, before any paper currency was in existence: his misconception of that matter was clearly evinced by M^r Johnson.

M^r Rogers, Jennings, & M^r Hall took up all the day—yesterday M^r Johnson opened the defence. He spoke four hours. I never heard a man speak more forcibly, more pertinently, more

eloquently. He really was affected & touched with the ingratitude of this whole proceeding: he affected others—many in court could not refrain from tears; two or three left the court unable to conceal their sorrow. Mr Johnson who softened all the hearers, could not resist the tender feelings of his own heart, a sudden flow of grief put an abrupt stop to the most rational, eloquent, & pathetic discourse I ever heard. Even this accident had its effect, perhaps a greater than the most studied conclusion would have had.

It is impossible for me to give you a true Idea of Mr Johnson's manner, or to arrange his argument in that order or with that perspicuity & force which he so eminently displayed—to attempt it would be doing him injustice. Your cause is just—all that could be said in its support was said and with the greatest propriety & strength of reasoning.

I really want words to express the obligations we owe to Mr Johnson. On Friday almost every by stander went away with bad impressions of y^r integrity, or understanding. Yesterday they were all wiped away even our enemies were convinced contrary to the inclination and the impulse of their hearts.

I should not do justice to Mr Cooke, were I not to acknowledge that his help has been very serviceable in the cause: he spoke 2 hours & better in the afternoon: & very pointedly & forcibly on the disbursements, the fairness of the negro purchase, ag^t the necessity of producing vouchers for sums above 40/, ag^t the absurdity of Mr Digge's claim to comp^d interest. He set in a striking & strong light that the general rule, that a trustee cannot be a purchaser, would if extended to every case be productive of great injustice, particularly in the present—where it was evinced that no fraud was either intended or committed.

The Court was exceedingly crowded both days. Tomorrow the adversaries reply, tho' the intervention of one day has given them time to consider of Mr Johnson's & Cooke's arguments, such his their strength, & such the justice of y^r cause, that I trust they cannot fairly answer, or invalidate them.

The Chancellor & his assistant M^r Haywood gave the strictest attention.

Along with this you have M^r John Buchanan's letter to me, cousin Daniel's & one from his son to you. I really I am quite tired. I am

Y^r affectionate Son

Ch. Carroll of Carrollton.

4th May 1771 [162]

D^r Papa

The courses of the land mortgaged to you by Rich^d Shibly are not mentioned in the deed of mortgage, but that deed refers to Hammond's deed to Shibly which I have not got & in which the courses are expressed. Shibly has Hammond's deed to him & consequently his applying to me for the courses is a meer excuse or subterfuge to gain time. Pray press him to make pay^t he is a slippery chap.

The following is an extract of Dan: Carroll's letter of the 3^d instant, which I received the same day. I have just parted with the Governor who spoke to me on the subject (y^r suit with Digges) in the following manner viz^t have you any commands to Annapolis? My compliments to M^r Carroll & his Lady. When will you be up?—soon—I wish the difference between y^r uncle Carroll & M^r Digges could be settled to prevent my giving orders to the Auditors, which will give offence. I answered that it had been my wish & endeavour to bring about an agreement, but it was a matter of so delicate a nature, I did not know how to move in it. He then said that He & M^r Hayward should give their orders according to the best of their judgment, but supposed the *old gentleman* would be upon the *high ropes* & that the orders must be given by the 3^d tuesday in this month the next Chancery court.

The Gov^r had some conversation with Molly on this subject while I was with you—but from what she related, or what passed in that conversation I could not form any precise opinion, however it made an impression that the orders would not be so favourable as we had reason to expect: his subsequent conversation with Daniel confirms my suspicion. God knows what

orders he will give to the Auditors. If he sets aside y^r purchase of the negroes & should order you to account for the value of the original stock & their increase, or order you to pay other negroes of supposed equal value, the order will be an unjust one, & I would appeal from it.

The Gov^r is a very dissipated man—Haywood has the character of an honest man—but I wish it may not become the fashion as formerly to make courts of justice subservient to policy—I would not have you drop the least hint on this subject to any one: we must wait till the decree comes out; we may Judge from its complexion of the motives & grounds on which it is founded.

Monday 6th

I was yesterday at White Hall: Mr Haywood was of the party—he spoke to me about the suit. From what I could gather from his conversation it appears to me that the Gov^r & Mr Haywood both are very desirous of having this suit compromised, partly with a view to save themselves the trouble of going thro' such voluminous papers, & partly to avoid the occasion of giving offence. Mr Haywood told me, he was apprehensive the decree would give offence to both parties: He talked of strict rules of Chancery—in short, altho' the decree is to be given in by the 3^d tuesday of this month, I am sure they are no ways prepared to give it. While Mr Hayward & myself were talking on this subject, the Gov^r came up, & said he must likewise have some conversation with me on the subject: & expressed his desire of having this suit compromised. I told him that we had a real desire of having it settled upon just & honourable terms: that I had offered terms exceedingly generous in my opinion; that they were our ne plus ultra the utmost effort we could make to compromise the difference without doing injustice or reflecting dishonour on ourselves.

Hayward, I believe, is an honest well meaning man—but I confess, I am at a loss to know what they expect from us, what condescensions, what sacrifice of our property, to obtain peace. Peace undoubtedly is a desirable object, but it may be purchased too dear. Upon Digge's paying his part of the costs of

suit, & we ours, I would consent to pay Clifton's bond with interest: this would be giving up a great deal: but as it was y^r original intent, I would still do it, notwithstanding the ungrateful returns you have met with, such generosity will evince the greatest rectitude of intention, & display a superiority of sentiment as well as of understanding over Mr Digges. I would go no farther: we must abide by the consequences: trouble vexation & expense will ensue: but y^r accounts are just; they will bear a strict scrutiny, & will appear the fairer for it, as gold becomes purer by passing oftener thro' the Chymist's fire. I am

Y^r affectionate son

Ch: Carroll of Carrollton

P. S. I expect the Gov^r will speak to me more fully on this subject.

May 7th 1771 [163]

D^r Charley,

The Acc^t you gave me in y^{rs} of the 4th & 6th instant of what passed Between the Gov^r & D: C: & the Gov^r Haywood & y^r self, sufficient shews that M^r Johnsons Arguments have not made the same impression on them as they did on you D: Carroll & other Bystanders, or th^t the force of His Reasoning has been taken off by the Artifice & influence of others. What the Gov^r said to D. C. Vzt. th^t He supposed the *Old Gentleman* would be on the *High ropes* Confirms me in this opinion. He has been told th^t I have not kept measures with any Gov^{rs} or others whose Behaviour has not in my Opinion squared with Justice, if not told so How should He devine it, the fact is true & I shall not fail to shew the same spirit if I find His orders to the Auditors Contrary to Reason & Justice. It is very weak, in the Gov^r or M^r Haywood to talk to you or any one on the Subject, the matter is now solely before them. But since they by doing so have given you so fair & very Justifiable an opening, I advise you to let them know th^t you perceive M^r Johnsons Arguments have not th^t force with them th^t they had on you & you Believe on all Bystanders th^t one Gentⁿ sayd th^t were He in my situation as to fortune, He would Have Given £5000

rather than not have brought the matter to a Publick Hearing. That another Considering the Many scandalous Aspersions throwne out ag^t me wished th^t Every man in the Province Could Have been present at the Hearing, th^t for y^r Part it Gave you the greatest Pleasure to Observe the Hearers were so numerous & to see many of them so much Affected. That you are Persuaded th^t the Court & all in it were Convinced th^t y^r Fathers transactions & Acc^{ts} were not only fair & Honest, but such as became a faithfull trustee & an Affectionate Uncle. That upon a fair & strict settlement of the Acc^{ts} you are Convinced a Very large Ball^{ce} will be due to me. That you had without my Privity or Consent proposed to Pay Cliftons Bond & interest on it, Because you knew it was my intention to do so notwithstanding the Ingratitude & abuse I had met with but th^t I intended Digges should Acknowledge it as an Act of Generosity. If you Have not an Opening given you to say these things in the strongest manner to the Gov^r & Haywood Embrace the first time you see them, you may tell them you doe it in Consequence of what they sayed to you. In the mean time say nothing on the Subject to others, But when the Gov^{rs} order is Publick, if not agreeable to Reason & Justice, say to Every one what I have advised you to say to them, But inculcate strongly & allways th^t upon a Just Settlement of the Acc^{ts} there is a large Ball^a due to me.

May 8th you Did not answer th^t Part of my letter Relating to sending downe Timothy & the Negroe masons; Beside what I wrote to you I want Tim: to Burn my Bricks, nor did you direct when Rob^t & the two negroes who work with Him should Come downe.

I had a good opportunity & I embrace it to Propose to M^r Ireland to move to His owne Plantation, I did it in such a manner, th^t He was Pleased with it, I intend to add to His House there a snug & warme roome for Him. I Have the Elder Rigges in my eye to succeed Him I think I am Secure in getting Him, He is stayed & such a one as I wish to Have.

Last Saturday night y^r English mare foaled a very large

Beautiful Filly finely marked with a fine star & snip & the Two hind feet white.

I shall write Shipley as you desier. Mr McGilly at E: Ridge Landing Has stopt an old Main Road, wh^h is very prejudiciall to the Forge & Carriage there, I have directed Mr Hammond to Apply to A magistrate for an order to the Overseer of the Highway to open the Road. He has also shut up the usuall Passage to my warehouse & obliged me to Cut down a steep Bank to make a way to it. He is a Peevish man & at Variance with every man at the Landing. He obtained 3 Ton of Bar from Hammond on a promise to get an order from you to Deliver Him th^t Quantity, the money Has been long due I desiered Mr Hammond to Prove the Acc^t to send it to you to be put in Suit & I desier you will give it to Mr Johnson. Send me the Paper Relating to th^t Lot. I think, you will find them in the Bundle of Certificates in the Eterntorre & if the Courses of the lot be not among those Papers send the Courses of the lot Extracted from Do^r Carrolls deed to me.

May 10th I now Answer y^{rs} of May 7th I Cannot send Timothy you Can get Bricklayers, I Cannot, one of us must Hire, I suppose y^r Job to be as necessary as myne th^t they must both be Carried on immediately, you Can Hire as I sayed, I Cannot. If you Can postpone the Beginning of y^r stable to the last of August I will send Tim: & the Boys. I send down Robert & the two negroes who worked with Him with what Tools He Can Carry. I also send downe Tom the Ditcher, see th^t He does not scower the Ditches too deep, doe th^m so th^t the Water may Run within 12 Inches of the surface of y^r Meadow otherways you will Ruin y^r meadow & next year have no grass, I was forced to make stops in the Ditches to keep the water to A proper Hight, Charge Tom not to Remove them, if He Comes across them. I have also orderd the Girl for the Island. I have not got the money for the wheat, as soon as I receive it you shall Have £120. I Have no Vouchers for Payments made my Brother But such as are indicated by the nature of th^t Acc^t. There are no outstanding Debts due to me & my Brother, I do not Remember any such were Called for by the Bill, no such

List of Course was given in, & I apprehend it is now too late (were there any such debts) to Call for th^m the Creditors can only proceed upon the Acc^{ts} Lodged & before th^m from 1704 to 1750 it may be supposed th^t all Debts were Collected. I wrote as you desiered about Trammell I did not Hear He had got possession of any Part of Carrollton. Rob^t & Daniell lay together, Daniell must Have a Bed, I therefore Cannot send a Bed. You will see by a Copy of M^r Hardings letter to me that He knows nothing of a 2^d Cask of sugar to be sent: you wrote me the sugar Baker Could not at once supply all you wrote for But th^t it was all Charged, Consequently if you Have payed for more than you Received you must set Harding right you Cannot use too much Care in transacting any Business, keeping Copies of y^r Orders & letters & of the letters you Receive tho seemingly of no Consequence.

The Gov^r is shamefully too dissipated, Malbro Races Oxford Races, what time will He Have to Consider our Cause before the 3^d Tuesday in this month. He & M^{rs} Eden promised me a Visit in June, I do not think another formall invitation necessary. You may only let th^m know I expect them. Ask M^r Ogle & His wife, Ridout & His Wife, if M^{rs} Ogle talks of Comeing, you Cannot avoid saying I should be very glad to see Her But you need not Invite Her unless Molly Chuses it. I hope to Hear Molly is quite Recovered, my love & Blessing to you Her & my Dear little Darling. I am D^r Charley

Y^r Mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. We had a fine Rain yesterday the weather is now seasonable & we are in a Tollerable way, the Planting my Lucern is a Tedious & troublesome Job But I do it well & doubt not it will fully Repay the trouble & Cost. Pray Ask Coll Sharpe to Come & see me & make my Compliments to Him, I think I shall not want His Lucern seed, as the Plants in my Lucern nursery will I Believe more than fill the ground I am Planting. My wheat is everywhere much mended. You will see by Hammonds to me in what a distressed scituation y^r

People are in at the Works, I have wrote to W^m H: th^t I would lend Him 100 Bush^s if He would Fetch it & Replace it, D. D. May again Lie & say the Comp^a Teams . . . Corn from from my Plantations D. Carroll promises to send . . . y^r Corn as soon as Possible.

May 15 1771 [164]

D^r Charley

It was with the greatest Pleasure I Received y^{rs} of yesterday informing me Molly was so much mended & likely to Recover Her Health perfectly so soon: I though I had no Reason to be alarmed, yet I Could not Help being uneasy.

You did very well not to mention to M^r Tho^s Digges anything about the Law Suit, time may get the Better of Nacy's Pride & Punish His Obstinacy.

Now to y^{rs} of the 11th instant inclosing Jo: Dorseys Protest, Papers Relating to our Lot at E: R: Landing, Perkins's letter (w^h I return) accompanied with news Papers, Magazines & a letter from M^r Mills. I approve what you write about the Gov^r & the maner you propose to Behave towards Him. Long who Purchased my wheat payed £45 in part & upon paying the Rest was to have an order on W. Hammond to Deliver it. I shall send to C: Brooke next Saturday & if the Remainder of the money be not payed order Him to Return the £45 & to sell the wheat w^h I hear is at 6/6 or 6/7.

M^r Johnson & I were much Pleased with each other He left me this morning. I spoke to Him about Trammell, if He has got possession of any part of our Land you ought to Have wrote so, I wrote to you I had wrote to Jos: Johnson to prevent it: However M^r Johnson will speak to A friend He Can Confide in to Purchase of Trammell. I did not write to M^r Harding for any Certain Quantity of sugar, presuming upon what you wrote to me th^t there was a Cask of Sugar w^h was purchased, but not Come to hand, Consider & Reflect on what you write. For the Future Endorse all Bills you Remit as follows; Pay the Contents to Mess^{rs} P. B. & B: or order for the use of C: C: of Carrollton, But in a letter to them direct th^m to Carry such

Bills to the Credit of my Acc^t to save the Trouble of Raising an Acc^t with you. The Vine Plants & Cuttings were very well Packed, it is a Pity my orders came so late to M^r Mills, had they arrived sooner I am persuaded I should not have lost one of them, & as it is I am in great Hopes I shall save many of each sort. I have planted out 5 Plants & severall Cuttings of each sort w^h Came up, I shall do so by those I now send for, the Rest I shall put into the ground with the Boxes only taking out the Bottoms of the Boxes th^t the Roots may have Roome to shoote I understand Edward Osmond is going to England, tell Him I want to see Him before He goes, Prevail on Him to Come to me, I want to Engage Him to Bring me two farmers & a Gardener & to give Him directions Relating to th^m I send you two Barrills of Cyder, a Lamb & some Butter if the Cart Can Carry them. I shall send my Chair to meet M^{rs} Darnall at Honers on the Day she shall appoint or the day after, if the day she appoints should prove a Rainy one; Pray give my love & Service to Her. My love & Blessing to you Molly & my dear little darling, may God grant you all Health & a long Continuance of it. I am

D^r CharleyY^r Mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. I Have Raised all the Rafters of my Corn House & Expect it will be finished in less than a fortnight. I have done Planting my Potatoes at all the Quarters. You may send the Penn^a & Maryland news Papers by M^r Ashton.

May 30th 1771 [165]D^r Charley

I have y^{rs} from the 25th to the 28th instant inclusive. If M^r Gill & Boucher will not Accept 4/ insted of tob^o, they shall goe without either, this Resolution I have taken upon discoursing wth M^r Johnson Y^r Stallions shall be taken due Care of & kept out of the sight of Mares. I was & am very Sorry to Hear that you have been so much indisposed, I hope this will find you much better. We have Planted some tob^o at severall of

our Plantations. As y^r Horses Have not been drove a Journey by y^r People I send Will to Ride before th^m to Pick & direct the Road & to Assist in Case of any Accident to the Carriage or otherways. I shall depend on Seeing Molly, & my little Darling on Saturday.

I now send you Heads of a Bill in Chancery Ag^t W^r Dulany as M^r Cooke seems to Have most Leisure put th^m into M^r Cookes hands, who may if necessary consult M^r Johnson. I have not set downe all necessary Interrogatories as they will Clearly occur on Reading the Facts. In going thro this matter I really am Astonished th^t W: Dulany should have so little Honor or Even sense of th^t & Honesty as to Suffer Himself to be so Exposed as He must be by the filing this Bill. In my letter of the 12th of last March I threatned it should be filed in 3 months. Pray if Possible let it be filed by the 12th of June. Let not Cooke or any one Else Give W. Dulany the least Hint of it to prevent it after His Scandalous Behaviour we ought not to be more tender of His Character than He is. I have put W: D's Letters in 3 Seperate Bundles, keep them so. Whatever letters are filed keep Exact Copies of th^m & what Else is filed. My Love & Blessing to you Molly & my Darling, I am
D^r Charley

Y^r Mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. I suppose (as you may well do) that you make the Roof seats &c. of the necessary serve again Bricks, stone, &c.

June 3^d 1771 [166]

D^r Charley

I have y^{rs} of the 31st past. I Return you M^r Buchanans Letter. I expect Johnson will Call on me in His Return Home, I will try to prevail on him to draw the Bill ag^t W. D. you must be Convinced it gave me great Pleasure to Hear you was much better & what must equally Please you, We are all well. My little Girl was Coy at first, we begin to be Acquainted. I understand it is doubtfull whether I shall be Honoured with the Gov^{rs} Company, should M^{rs} Eden Come without Him I shall

tell Her th^t if the Gov^{rs} inclination was to Come th^t I am sorry anything should have prevented His following it: w^h will plainly (tho not impolitly) shew th^t I am as different as to Him as He Can be to me. I shall send downe y^r Geldings on Thursday.

God Bless you & Grant you Health. I am D^r Charley
 Y^r Mo: Aff^t Father
 Cha: Carroll

June 20th 1771 [167]

D^r Charley,

If the Gov^r has made any decree in our Cause wth Digges pray let me know the substance of it. M^r French wants between this & the middle of Sep^r to Borrow £250 or 300 Curr. Bills to th^t Value will Answer, Pray let me have y^r Answer to this. As I hear Kilty has been with you, you will send me what magazines News Papers &c you Can spare. I give M^r Deards directions about the goods for this . . . This is bad weather for our wheat, I . . . Perceive any appearance of the Rust, . . . it be warme with this moist Cloudy weather, the wheat would be Certainly Hurt. Our Corn & Oates look well, the small Rains we have had were not Sufficient to make a Season Our ground & Plants are ready for it. We are all well & I am
 D^r Charley
 Y^r Mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

8th Aug^t 1771 [168]

D^r Charley,

I have y^{rs} of the 4th & am glad you all got safe Home. Will prefers y^r Stable greatly to myne, I wish you had the large stack of Hay at the Pool meadow in the loft of it. I think the tob^o in Buchanans Hands will average £10 p^r hgd. I will write to Brownly, I intend to send it by a speciall Messenger, if I do not Receive a Satisfactory Answer, I will sel to Lee. I Return you the Bundle of W: D^s: letters with a Letter to Him, take a Copy of it, if He be in Towne or as soon as you know him to

be in Towne send it by Mr Deards, note on the Back of the Copy the Day He delivers the Originall, & if in ten days from the Delivery of it He does not Comply with it, put the Rough draft of the Bill into Mr Johnsons or Cookes hands & press the filing the Bill as soon as possible. The last letter referd to in the Rough Draft of the Bill is myne of the 12th of March 1771 Myne of the 15th of June W. D. of the 2^d of June & myne of the 5th of August 1771 must be added to the rough draft of the Bill. Mr Ireland told me He would give me the 30/ for Rob^t: if He does I will inclose it. A day Has hardly past since you left us without some small Rains, they are favourable to the Corne & tob^o but prevent my Stacking my Oates w^h are all down, The Poole meadow is mowed & good part of it stacked, Dorseys Meadow will be lent this week & I hope to have all my Hay & Oates secured by the Middle of next week. They are Sowing my Rye & I hope to have all my wheat at this Plantation in the Ground in less than a fortnight. The Corn & tob^o is Clean, the old field tob^o before the House growes well, there is a prospect of Good Crops at all the Plantations. I inclose you a letter w^h M^s Ashton brought me from my nephew who Opened it thinking it for Him. Molly did not write when she should want flour.

Aug. 9th. As Mr Ashton does not go to Annaplis untill next Saturday, I shall by Him send W: D^s letters I do not Care to trust them by the Bearer. The farrier was not free before yesterday, I sent for Him & He Came, the Horse in the mean time was treated & taken Care of According to His directions & is to Appearance much beter, for He now walks about & feeds without laying downe & gets up with ease. The farrier was with the Horse again this day & gave him a drench to loosen His skin for He is much Hide Bound. He tells me He shall Cure Him perfectly in a week, I do not Expect so Sudden a Cure but I have Hopes He will Cure Him, as the Swelling of the Spavin is much abated & the Horse walks with ease, is not nigh so lame as He was & feeds Heartily & looks lively. If He should Cure Him radically it will be a great Cure. If the morning be fair I propose to set out early to see Mr Croxall.

I send the Boy to know how you all do, I Cannot be unhappy as long as you all enjoy Health, God grant it to you. My love & Blessing to you all, kiss my little Darling for me, if you will not Molly will. I am D^r Charly

Y^r Mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

Aug^t 16th 1771 [169]

D^r Charley,

I have y^{rs} of the 10th I Returned from M^r Croxall's last Tuesday, I did not find Him in as good Spirits as on my former Visits nor does He take the Exercise He used to do, He neither rides in a Chair or on Horse back & walks but little He thinks He Cannot bear Exercise, His nerves are so weak, relaxed & disordered th^t His mind is much affected in short He is Hippochondriac to a very great degree, He does not fall a way & may linger on in His unhappy scituation some years. He desiers to be kindly remembered to you & Molly so does M^{rs} Croxall.

The farrier was with y^r Horse the 14th He had put another Rowell on the fore Part of the Joint between the Hip bone & the Spavin w^h Runs Plentifully, the Rowell w^h He placed on the Spavin is dried up & there is hardly any more Appearance of a swelling on the Spavine Joint than in the Opposit Joint of the other leg, what swelling remains may be owing to the Effect or Consequence of the Rowell which may subside when the Rowelled part is quite Heated. He feeds Heartily & He begins to have a Belly. I think He will make a present Cure, the Disorder may Return sometime after the Effect produced by Rowelling Ceases.

The little Cart goes downe with some flour and Oates for a present supply, the Quantity of each I Cannot at the writing of this Ascertain, the Wagon shall go down with more as soon as we are more at Leisure, Y^r warning was too short as I Came Home on Tuesday. The lamb shall go downe by the Wagon if not by the Cart. I have Paid a Compliment to the Gov^{rs} Brother, th^t is enough. I am in hopes of Having my Cyder

House & Mill ready in time. Heeson has not begun to sow His wheat nor are His fields in a Condition to Receive it, at all my other Plantations I hope to Have my Wheat in the ground by the last of the month. I hope y^r Visit to White Hall was agreeable to you & Molly, Monday was a Cool Pleasant day at M^r Croxall's. I am glad the improvements you have made Please you & hope those you intend will do so. Let me know what news Montgomery Brings. Were Loyd my son I should not like His sinking £10,000 in a House, ease & Convenience is the most the Best fortune in Maryland will at present bear, shew among us in any shape is folly. Poor Ireland was & is ill with the Gout, He has it badly in His shoulders elbow & hand I doubt not He will send the 30/ when better & write His lease to Do^r Scot. I expect Rigges every day. We finished yesterday at all the Plantations stacking our Oates & Hay Heesons excepted most of His Oates are stacked. He has a good deal of Hay uncut & a great deal unstacked. All my meadows Have yielded Well the Pool Meadow Particularly I have there a good Deal more Hay at one Cutting this year than at two last. We had a pretty Rain on Tuesday & a good one on Wednesday at all the Plantations especially at those below me, not so much at Moses's & Sams. Every thing looks well and thriving. Pray seal the inclosed if the Original is gone send this by Capⁿ Hanrick & Pay Him a Bill for the Earthen Ware Glasses & a Box of Lemons. The Brig Carlisle Caldwell Howard Master Belonging to M^r Smith in Baltimore Towne sailed between the 15th & 20 of May from Dublin as letters of the 21st of that month refer to letters of the 15th sent by Her, our goods are expected by Her & Her arrivall is dayly expected.

Just as I had finished the foregoing Sentence a Gentⁿ Called on me & told me the Carlisle arrived last Wednesday at Baltimore Towne, & suppose our goods are in Her Tomorrow we shall have 30 hgds of tob^o at the Landing, it will all be there before the last of the month, We shall have as I am informed 63 or 64 hgds. I suppose you Delivered to M^r West the Crop Note or Notes you had of last years tob^o at Rock Creek. Is M^cGill sued? Is Hall taken in Execution? Have you talked

to Johnson about the Decree? I Have orderd One Barrill of fine flour One of 2^s & 8 Bushells of Oates, the Ram Lamb must go by the wagon. Severall of our People are sick wth feavours & Fluxes but not Dangerously, Clem is among them. I suppose you are all well, I hope to Hear you are so. My love & Blessing to you Molly & my Darling. I am D^r Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

Aug. 23^d 1771 [170]

D^r Charley,

I have y^{rs} of the 16 & 18th inst. I have often wrote to W^m Brown, His Bond is out of Date & He knows it, if I Can I will get the 31: W. 3. I Have bought Clarkes Daughter, she is to be at the Folly with Her Father where she may be useful. I am Certain Clarkes Brother will make a very good Overseer for Annapolis Quarter, He is an Industrious hard working man, I have bespoken Him, unless you are otherways engaged. I believe His Wages will be £20 Curr^y p^r Anⁿ. I think the Elder Clarke will turn out a Valuable & profitable serv^t. I like him much you have Heard th^t we are dissappointed in the goods from Ireland. I have advertised y^r wheat in Baltimore Towne if I have an offer for it you shall know it. Severall small Boys & Girls Have been employed since the Receipt of y^r letters in Picking English grass & white Clover seed, the 1st was almost all shed, of the latter I think I shall send you enough by the wagon wh^h will be wth you the 31st inst. In Levelling y^r ground I hope you have been Carefull to preserve the top soil & to lay it on again sowe y^r Clover seed when the soil is moist Rake it & when pretty dry Role it with y^r Garden Roler if not too Heavy. We have had no Rain since the 14th, it is wanted for all things but Chiefly to Bring up the Wheat: We shall finish sowing at this Plantation this week. The Farrier has not been Here since last Sunday, the Rowell on the Hock is quite Healed, the Upper Rowell almost Healed, the Horse mends much, does not winch when you Rub the Spavin'd Joint,

you Cannot tell the Spavin'd Joint from the other without a nice inspection, He walks lame when He 1st gets up, after a time it is hardly perceptible, He mends in flesh & is not nigh so much drawne up in His Flanks as when you left Him, but He does not fill as fast as He ought to do from His food & Pasture. I Have observed (for I see Him twice a day at least) that when He lays downe on His Spavin'd Side He still Rises wth Dificulty not without two or 3 Efforts, But when on His sound Side He rises as easily as any other Horse, this indicates a great Remaining Weakness: The Farrier promises a perfect Cure it's possible not probable. Jo: Heeson left the Folly the 17th & I have not seen Him since, I think to put His Acc^t in Suit He deserves to Rot in a Prison, By Clarke's Care things go on tollerably well there & I hope to Have th^t Wheat in before the Middle of Sep^r. I am forced to keep Clarke Chiefly Here. M^r Ireland is much better, His Gout is off, & He proposes to go out to Day or tomorrow. Young Cooper Joe goes with this, send Him back as soon as you Can. I see no prospect of sparing Timothy & the negro Masons this fall, they are not & shall not be Idle Here, I think I may spare them next Spring & Summer. The wheelwright has orders to make the Carts you desier. Send up y^r Riding Horse by the Boy, I think the Farier will set Him to Rights. Nimble Came up in a Terrible Condition from His Carrying the Rum Cags, His side very much Swelled & imposthumated, the Farrier opened the impostune & Has Cured Him, He thrives fast & I think He will be in very good order before you will want Him. M^{rs} Darnall informes me you do not set out on y^r way to Philadelphia untill the 10th of Octo^r if so I shall not be with you before the 6th or 7th. M^{rs} Darnall may go to the Races. If you foresee any business to be done by me in y^r Absence Pray Begin to make y^r memorandums & make them full & Particular. I love you all & Pray to God to Bless you & grant you Health. I am D^r Charley

Y^r mo: Aff^t Father

Cha: Carroll

Aug^t 23^d P. M.D^r Charley,

Do^r Howard dined with me & informed me th^t Mr Caleb Dorsey had told Him th^t He was offered 7/ p^r Bushell for Wheat to be deliver'd at E: R Landing from this to the Expiration of 3 months: If it be not a Hum of Cale Dorsey's (w^h I shall know in a day or two) I will Endeavour to find out the Person who offers such a Price & will sell to Him if to be found. I am D^r Charley

Y^{rs} &c.

Cha: Carroll

THE SOUTH ATLANTIC STATES IN 1833, AS SEEN
BY A NEW ENGLANDER.

BEING A NARRATIVE OF A TOUR TAKEN BY

HENRY BARNARD,

Principal of St. John's College, Annapolis (1866-1867)

 EDITED BY BERNARD C. STEINER.

 PREFACE.

Henry Barnard graduated at Yale College in 1830 and then spent, as a teacher, the customary year, which was expected from every graduate, at Wellsboro, Tioga County, Pennsylvania. He then began to read law, but interrupted his study in the early months of 1833 to spend several months in Washington, D. C., and in travel through the South Atlantic States. He was twenty-two years old, attractive in his personality and possessed a strikingly handsome appearance. Endowed with curiosity and intelligence, his observations upon men and places are of considerable value. Fortunately, there have been preserved a sort of a Diary kept by him upon loose pieces of paper and a

number of letters, which he sent to his brother, Chauncey Barnard, a resident of Hartford, Connecticut. From these sources, which have been kindly placed in the hands of the editor by the Misses Barnard, the daughters of Henry Barnard, this book has been prefaced.

Mr. Barnard was fortunate in being in the National Capital during the great debates of January and February, 1833, and had unusual opportunities, as he ate in the mess of Connecticut Congressmen. The Nullification Conflict was at its hottest. Jackson had issued his proclamation of December 10. Hayne had resigned his seat in the Senate to become Governor of South Carolina and Calhoun was just returning to the Senate to defend Nullification. While Barnard was at Washington, Jackson on January 16, asked for the passage of the Force Bill and the debates on that measure were listened to with eagerness. Clay did not vote upon the Force Bill, but introduced his Compromise tariff on February 12, dividing from Webster, who had just delivered his great speech upon the Supremacy of the Constitution. Barnard waited for the conclusion of the debate and, having spent two months in observing the political and social life of Washington, he started southward.

He was a keen observer, but it is noticeable that he seemed to have evinced no unusual curiosity as to Educational Institutions. By steamboat, by railroad for a short distance, by stage, on horseback, and in sailing vessels, he journeyed, stopping at a number of towns, where the presence of classmates and the assistance of letters of introduction gave him access to the society of the places. His route was by water to Norfolk and Richmond, and across country to Petersburg, whence his friends took him to Shirley, the seat of the Carters.

Entering North Carolina and passing through Raleigh, he spent several days with the faculty of the State University at Chapel Hill, visited friends in Salisbury who took him to the gold mines, not far off, and reached the western point of Asheville. He next crossed South Carolina, stopping at Greenville,

and after a short stay at Augusta, Georgia, descended the Savannah River to the city of that name. After visiting Beaufort, South Carolina, and Charleston, whence he received hospitality from Thomas S. Grimké, Barnard sailed for Norfolk. Retracing his steps through Petersburg and Richmond, he entered the Piedmont region and came to Charlottesville and Monticello. After a visit to President Madison at Montpelier, he went through Staunton and Lexington to gaze at the Natural Bridge, to climb the Peaks of Otter and to descende into Weyer's Cave. His return journey through Harper's Ferry, Frederick and Baltimore, brought him home about the middle of June, after an absence of about five and a half months. The vividness and freshness of his description of people and places make his narrative of much interest.

NARRATIVE.

U. States Hotel, Phil. Jan. 1st. 1833.

My Dear Brother [Chauncey Barnard, Hartford, Conn.]

I will seize the opportunity of G. E. Steadmans return to Hartford to drop you a line, wishing you and the rest of the good people of our house a happy New Year. I commence it myself under rather unfavorable auspices, having been confined to my house a quarter part of the day by a very severe cold, which has gathered upon my lungs and in my head, unfitting me for every thing. I have been much relieved this afternoon however and have made several pleasant calls.

I had a grand time in N. Haven and N. York. . . We passed on the Camden Rail Road. It is a very pleasant way of traveling, but the rumbling tremuolous motion of the cars is not very pleasant. We did not go beyond 7 or 8 miles the hour. I am quite lucky in my time of starting. Yesterday was the first day for a fortnight that the boats have run on the Delaware, and between this city and Baltimore, a little item which will make a difference of some 8 or 10 dollars in my pocket. . . .

Washington City, Friday Evening [Jan. 4]

My Dear Brother—

Here I am seated in Mr. Barber's room¹ who has kindly offered me every facility of writing to my friends without any charge to them. I shall take a room and board at this place from tomorrow morning. . . . Eight or ten members of Congress "mess" together, among whom I shall take my seat, of this number are Storrs,² Huntington,³ & Young⁴ of our delegation, Davis⁵ of Mass., Slade of Vt.,⁶ etc. I think by taking this step, I shall put myself in a way to enjoy all the advantages which a residence of some weeks in this city can present.

From Philadelphia to Baltimore we had Henry Clay, with whom I had an opportunity to become acquainted. He is a man of real greatness, who had no occasion to entrench himself behind a mock dignity to be respected and keep himself from being trodden upon. He is easy of access, converses with any one on all subjects, utterly fearless in the expression of his opinions, talks on every thing—you may choose your own subject. I assure you my expectation of the man, whom we both so ardently supported, has not been disappointed.

We had also Judge Wayne⁷ of Georgia, a fine looking gentlemanly man, with several other members of Congress.

¹ Noyes Barber (1781-1844), a Representative from Connecticut from 1823 to 1835, lived in Groton, a lawyer.

² William L. Storrs (1795-1861), a Representative from Connecticut from 1829 to 1833 and from 1839 to 1840; lived in Middletown; Chief Justice of the Court of Errors, 1856 to 1861.

³ Jabez W. Huntington (1788-1847), lived in Norwich, Whig, Representative from Connecticut 1829 to 1834, when he became Judge of the Court of Errors, United States Senator, 1840-1847.

⁴ Ebenezer Young (1783-1851), a Representative from Connecticut 1829-1835, lived in Killingly.

⁵ John Davis (1787-1854), Whig Representative from Massachusetts 1825 to 1834, Governor 1834 and 1841-43, United States Senator 1835-1841, and 1845 to 1853.

⁶ William Slade (1786-1859), Whig, a Representative from Vermont 1831-1843, Governor of the State 1845-1846.

⁷ James M. Wayne (1790-1867), Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1835 to his death, at this time a democratic member of Congress.

At Baltimore, my cold gathered still more closely upon my lungs and in my head, but taking a hot bath, I soon put myself upon my legs again. I found myself very pleasantly situated among some classmates there.

I took the stage this morning at 3 and reached here in time to attend congress. I heard Holmes⁸ in the Senate, he talked about every thing in a very quizzical way, created some laughs and gave some severe hits at the president and his friends. In the house, the Tariff came up on Verplanck.⁹ The Bill of V. *will* pass the House, but not the Senate.

The mail will close soon—Direct your letters to me in an *envelope* to Noyes Barber, and then it will cost me nothing.

• • • •

Storrs, Huntington, &c., are here and have received me with the utmost cordiality.

Let me assure you, my dear B, that Henry Clay "Still stands erect." Defeat, in no way an humiliating one when we consider the means by which it was effected, has not cut down the tittle of a hair of his princely height, or graven one new line upon his ample forehead. And he will continue to "stand erect," proudly eminent among the great Statesmen of the present Senate—his eyes will still flash as brightly, and his voice ring out as clearly as of old, though the fiery spirit of Nullification itself is in the Senate Chamber and all the strength of the Administration should be brought up against him.

Calhoun took his seat today as Senator from Carolina.¹⁰

⁸ John Holmes of Maine (1773-1843). (See Congressional Debates, 2nd Session, 22nd Congress, page 51.) Democrat, Representative from Massachusetts 1817-1820, United States Senator from Maine 1820-1827 and 1829-1833.

⁹ Gulian C. Verplanck (1786-1870), Democrat, Representative from New York 1825-1833, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, on Jan. 3, 1833, moved to consider daily the tariff bill and consented that consideration of his resolution go over until the next day. He proposed a Revenue tariff with reduction of duties at once to 15 or 20 per cent.

¹⁰ John C. Calhoun (1782-1850), resigned the Vice-Presidency and succeeded Robert Y. Hayne in the Senate that he might champion the Nullification cause.

And it will be. Van Buren is in the field, the west is to be secured by holding out the alluring bribe of the Public Lands—and the Tariff is to be sacrificed as a peace offering to the South. But this vaulting ambition will o'erleap itself. If the Tariff is repealed or essentially modified under present circumstances then credit with the South will go where it belongs—to John C. Calhoun—and Nullification is not such an abomination in that section of our country, but that it will be lost sight of amid the glare of such success, and then in comes J. C. Calhoun at the head of the anti Tariff and the State Sovereignty parties.

Verplanck's Bill with slight modifications *will pass the House*. The discussion commenced today and will be hurried on till the fate of the Tariff is consummated. Six months have not elapsed since this question was settled after five or six weeks severe deliberation. The ink with which the Act of 1832 was written is hardly dry and its effect upon our revenue not ascertained and yet the House will rush madly into a fresh consideration of the subject, without pretending to have gained one new ray of light from any quarter, except the last message seemed determined to put every thing back where it was in 1816, except iron and coal in order to pacify Pennsylvania.

What miserable fluctuation! what a base surrender of the public faith! and what a set of "dough faces" have we got here to be frightened into a repeal of their Tariff, (for it will amount to that) by the impending scourge of Nullification. Are the U. States afraid of being *chastised* by S. Carolina, if they enter upon a consideration of this vexed question with proper caution? If the Tariff must be modified (and no one denies but what it must, if it creates too much revenue), or even eventually abandoned—why let us first see if the Laws of this Union can be executed—and what is the operation of the last Act, and then go forward, to legislate like men.

high minded men

men who their duties know

But know their rights, and knowing dare maintain

and the result of such legislation must be happy.

Don't misunderstand me, my dear B, I would not put the Tariff into the scale against the Union. It does not weigh the dust of the balance compared to that. Could the Union be perpetuated by the passage of the present Bill, with every patriot I should be satisfied. Nay more, could the former unhesitating confidence be restored to the country, I should rejoice to see every factory in the land utterly razed to the earth, even though they were mints to coin the stones of our gold. I know that such a step would spread misery far and wide. I know it would make N. England the theatre of such distress, as no eye in this country ever saw. But my confidence is in the industry and energy of N. England character. Her vigor of her constitution would throw off even a worse attack. The passage of this Bill at this time *will not satisfy* South Carolina and if it would, it will not restore confidence to the whole country.

If the race of vulgar politicians, who through the bye paths to office, think to quiet the agitators of one section by transferring them to another, as to eradicate a disease by merely changing the character, or shifting the seat of its symptoms, they will find themselves in the end miserably mistaken. Nullification instead of being put down, will receive new vigor, and will be an everlasting embarrassment to the Government. It will spring up like the Hydra head in every corner. But if we think of putting it down effectually we must deal with it as Hercules dealt with the Hydra—cut off the first head and sear the stump, so that it cannot spring up again and so with the second. Put down first the Nullification of your Intercourse Law and treaties—and then of your Tariff Laws—and then of your Land Laws, for some of our big sisters out in the West (to use one of Senator Holmes expressive words) will squat down upon her sovereignty and then think to cover 15 or 20 millions of the common property of the whole country.

If the President is in earnest in what he has proclaimed to the world, we have nothing to fear should S. Carolina rush in very deed upon an armed collision with the Gen. Government, which she seems to revel over in imagination. And upon her

head, as the guilty cause of that act, let the curse of the country rest.

But should she triumph over the constitution and the laws (and what a miserable triumph will it be, over the bleeding hearts of the friends of Constitutional Liberty every where) should the Union go to pieces on this rock of Nullification, I shall cling to the plank which bears N. Englands fortunes. But I would fain believe the old ship will will ride out this storm—that the flag of our high hearted fathers will still float over us, with not one star extinguished especially not one of the “glorious thirteen,” that were emblazoned on its folds when it was first given to the Winds on the morning of our Independence. . . .

Washington City, Jan. 6th 1833.

Having located myself in this grand center of political wrangling for a few weeks at least, I must avail myself to the utmost extent, of my advantages for acquiring information of men and measures. I am here a fisher of men—and in this journal and other papers I must record my impressions of them. I must mark each man’s peculiarities—the sine qua non, of his individuality.

Through the invitation of Mr. Barber, I am messing as they call it with several members of Congress at Hyatts—among whom are Storrs—Huntington, Barber and Young of my own State—Davis of Mass.—Stewart¹¹ of Penn.—Cook of Ohio¹²—Slade of Vt.—

Mr. Ellsworth¹³ called on me yesterday—and treated me with the utmost cordiality and kindness. Indeed I think all of our Delegation have strained a point, to be polite, if they have erred at all.

¹¹ Andrew Stewart (1791-1872), Democrat, Representative from Pennsylvania 1821-35 and 1843-49.

¹² Eleutheros Cooke (1787-1864), Representative from Ohio 1831-33.

¹³ William W. Ellsworth (1791-1868), Whig, Representative from Connecticut 1829-1834, Governor 1834-42, Judge of the State Supreme Court 1847-1861.

Huntington usually cold, has been too warm it looks like force on his nature—last evening he gave me a sort of synopsis of his views on the Tariff.

Sunday Evening—[Jan. 6]

Mr. Hagg¹⁴ of S. C. was present this evening to tea with Mr. Mullany—He went into a discussion of the Tariff and other matters connected with it—thinks that even this Bill will not satisfy them—nothing will satisfy them—a general convention will be called—there matters will be settled and Nullification and its advocates will have gained all this—and then new party grounds will be assumed, and Calhoun will be triumphant, and moreover stronger security will be given them over their slaves—This is at the bottom of all their ado—nay the fact that they are the weakest part of the Union, makes them long for a stronger Gov. among their slaves—they want an iron despotism there—a standing army.

They dread a war and rather than be forced into it they will cry out so lustily for a convention, that a convention will be called—and that is the only honorable retreat, they can make.

The Laws of S. C. are more bloody than the iron code of Russia—a man was actually hung for shooting a mare—and he mentioned a case in which he was engaged, where a person was actually indicted and found guilty and adjudged to be hung, for killing an ox, that broke into his garden in the night time—These things ought not to be—and yet Carolina boasts of her chivalry.

The code of honor serves to make men courteous and habitually guarded in their conversation, even when under intense excitement, hence at the Bar they treat each other with more than ordinary courtesy—Language which at the North awakens nothing but a sharp return, would here only be atoned by the blood of the offender.

The South have passed Laws which do not reach us—was there ever a more despotic Law than the ordinance of the late Convention?

¹⁴ Mr. Hagg of S. C. and Mr. Mullany have not been identified.

Monday Evening—[January 7]

Attended the Senate all day—Mr. Kane¹⁵ made his appearance against Mr. Clay's Land Bill on an amendment of his own—Mr. Clay followed in clear—comprehensive—able speech of about 2 hours—I had an early opportunity of experiencing the fascination of his manner—There was in it none of the flash and outbreak of a fiery mind aroused, except in one or two instances he threw an intensity of feeling that thrilled like electricity through the house—I should not like to have been the man to follow him—the Senate adjourned.

Mr. Calhoun says the hastening the extinction of the public debt has hurried the people onto the crisis.

Thursday [January 10]

I find it very hard to compose myself into a fit condition to enter notes in this book.

Yesterday I heard Mr. Huntington¹⁶ make a very able speech—his manner is very violent—too much so for ordinary speaking—violence of manner requires violence of matter, as I understand, to suit the action to the word. Yet H. spoke powerfully for about 2 hours. in the Senate Bibb¹⁷ had the floor, he is a very *hard* speaker—He spoke about 2 hours today—in the House Ingersoll¹⁸ made a very able speech on the financial consequences of this Bill.

¹⁵ Elias K. Kane of Illinois (see Congressional Debates, page 62) (1796-1835), Democrat, Senator 1825-1835.

¹⁶ (See Congressional Debates, 964.) The Speech was upon the tariff, opposing the bill under discussion and proposing to amend it, as far as concerned the duties on teas and coffees.

¹⁷ George M. Bibb of Kentucky (1776-1859.) (The speech is not printed in Congressional Debates, but was upon the Public Lands), Senator 1811-14, 1829-1835, Chief Justice, Kentucky Court of Appeals 1809-1810, 1827-1828, Secretary of Treasury 1844-1845.

¹⁸ Ralph I. Ingersoll of Connecticut (see Congressional Debates, 977) opposed the tariff bill (1789-1872), Democrat, Representative 1825-33, Minister to Russia 1846-48.

Friday morning [January 11]

Yesterday evening I accompanied our delegation to a splendid party given by the French Minister.¹⁹ I was so unfortunate after reaching there to be obliged to return after my glasses, a distance of more than 3 miles. However I was richly repaid by additional gratification which a more minute observation of what was going on, imparted. Everything in the entertainment wore an air of novelty which in itself was a pleasure. I had many of the most distinguished men in the city pointed out to me, and introductions to any I wished. Mr. Clay was there. To McDuffie²⁰ I had an introduction. He dresses studiously plain, wears his uncombed hair long, and falling equally over his forehead, and all his motions are certainly not offsprings of the polished drawing. Yet under this plain exterior there lurks an indomitable pride and sense of mental superiority. He retires within himself not wishing communion with his fellow men, and though courteous, yet not inclined to invite familiarity. His eyes are deep set under his heavy brows, his lips are firmly set and its (sic) deep lines breathe an air of determination, and his eyes there is a wild light that argues a degree of unsoundness of intellect. His judgment is evidently not a strong one. He reasons powerfully on his premises but those premises may or may not be *unsound*, according to the influence which determined him to take them up. He has a great but visionary mind. But to the party. There were rooms below for the gentleman and Ladies to dispose of their dress—You were then passed up stairs, into a room which opened into another by folding doors, which was also connected with another of the same size in the same way, just within the second room stood his most Christian majesty Minister, Mr. Saurier (who was formerly minister to this country under Buonaparte) and on beyond (or somewhere beyond for her head and her heels had all the feathery lightness

¹⁹ The French Minister was M. Serurier.

²⁰ George E. McDuffie (1790-1851), Democrat, Representative from South Carolina, 1821-1834, Governor 1834-1836, Senator 1842-1846.

and vivacity for which the French are celebrated) his Lady, the Madam Saurier, You move up mentioned your name, passed the ordinary compliments and then disappear among the crowd which was fast gathering there. By time it had got to be a respectable squeeze, Mr. Saurier taking a Lady under his arm led the way into dancing room, spacious and brilliantly illuminated (aye too brilliantly for it exposed in broad glare that which it seems to have the special object to conceal, the ravages of time upon the loveliness and freshness of some maiden cheeks) by slightly made and fantastically decked chandeliers. Beneath this flood of clear white light, which was poured from the chandelier, every face, with its minutest workings was distinctly visible as in the open light of day, and what worse, blaze of rouge and pink powder, with which the ravages of time were attempted to be concealed, but which were then brought out into shocking relief. To tell the truth they dont understand painting an accomplishment, which I think should be taught in every female seminary in the land. . . .

Sunday—[January 13]

This day has seemed anything like Sunday the sounds of rude mirth has rung in my ears from the skaters on the pond close by, as though it were a holyday. I dont wonder that slaves become so much attached to their kind masters—they are generally treated with harshness—and the least kind word or action binds them fast even to a stranger. This morning I asked a black who made my fire, to tell me the time from my watch—he could not,—I then told him a simple way in which he could always easily inform anyone, or himself of the time—and the poor fellow was overwhelmed with gratitude—and several times today has shown himself ever ready to do me little services. His name is Braddock—has just received his freedom and says he will do all he can to deserve the kindness of those who employ him. . . .

Called on Gov. Tomlinson ²¹—conversed freely on subjects

²¹ Gov. Gideon Tomlinson (1780-1854) at this time a member of the United States Senate from Connecticut.

of all kinds—from him I should judge that the Cherokees would be advised by their friends in Congress to accede to some advantageous terms on the part of the Gen. Gov. and migrate—I suggested that the Indians might be guaranteed a perpetual title, provided it should be secured that they should not be included in the Chartered limits of another State to be formed with them. I gathered nothing from him that was new—he threw out no suggestions that were worth treasuring up.

Sunday [January 13]

My Dear C—

. . . On Thursday evening, I accompanied some of our delegation to the French Ministers Party—it was a splendid affair. All the distinguished men, Clay, Webster, McDuffie, Livingston,²² McLane,²³ etc., were there, and the choice beauties of the place—Military and Naval officers in full uniform—There was card playing and dancing and conversation etc.—the party broke up about 1/2 past 12. A party of this kind is the most commanding point from which to survey the great men and little men who are gathered together in this city and a great many little men there are here I assure you. . . .

The Tariff does not progress much—Things begin to look more favorable. There is a prospect that Huntington's amendment will prevail and if so the Bill to pass must be materially modified. But the Bill with modifications will pass the House but will stick at the very threshold of the Senate. Nullification has not the threatening aspect here that it had at the North, and I have less respect for Southerners complaints than I had before—It is all moonshine they must look to their accursed system of slavery before they can think to remove the evils under which they [are] suffering.

The President blusters away like a madman on the subject. . . .

²² Edward Livingston (1764-1836), at this time Secretary of State.

²³ Louis McLane (1786-1857), at this time Secretary of the Treasury.

[January 16]

My Dear B—

The Capitol is of course the great center of attraction although there are other lions in the city—especially the “roaring Lion” up in the Palace as they call the President’s House here. The structure itself is worthy of long and scrutinizing attention, and if the malign influence of the State Sovereignty has not blasted all National feeling, you will feel a solemn upstirring enthusiasm when you survey that noble pile—that worthy capitol of the noblest and finest Government in the world. Its commanding position, standing alone on a stately terrace, which furnishes a highly picturesque sweep of scenery in which the far famed Potomac forms a prominent feature—its fine Colonade in front—the dome of the Rotunda lifting itself proudly into the sky—the Rotunda itself with the colossal paintings of Trumbull, which can no where be seen to advantage except in this grand vestibule of the two Walls of Congress—The majestic but harmonizing proportions of the Representatives Hall, with its semi[cir]cular sweep of marble pillars crowned with exquisitely wrought Corinthian capitals, and its crimson hangings contrasting richly with the dark material of the pillars—the more chaste but smaller dimensions of the Senate Chamber—the Library and the Supreme Court room, altogether, it presents the finest specimen of architectural skill in this country and indeed, for the beauty of its design and solidity of its masonry is worthy of the best days of Grecian Art.

But there has been enough going on in either House of Congress to engross all your attention. Mr. Clay has spoken once at large on his Land Bill which has been thus far procrastinated by the adroit management of its opponents, though I believe it will finally pass.

Mr. Webster ²⁴ called up on Monday a Bill, appropriating 5,000,000 of dollars to satisfy the claims of American citizens for French Spoliation on our commerce prior to 1800. In a

²⁴ Congressional Debates, 98, Monday, Jan. 14. The speech is not reported.

speech of about an hour and a half, he gave a lucid statement of the case, and the principle, upon which their claims are made upon our Government. The principle is this, our Gov. in its treaty of 1803 for a valuable consideration (and that was the release from the expensive and mischievous stipulations in our treaty of 17[76]) discharge the French Government from all liability to our citizens for their spoliations, and thus assumed the responsibility herself.

Upon this ground, the late treaty with France did not extend back beyond the date of 1800—although there is nothing expressly shutting out the claimants anterior to that time, yet the commissioners now sitting under this last treaty have put this construction upon it.

This is a debt of justice to our own citizens which has been long deferred but there seems to be a disposition on the part of a large majority in the Senate made up of all parties, to discharge it now. The Bill will be opposed by Mr. Tyler²⁵ of Va., when it is next called up which will be as soon as a final disposition of the Land Bill is made. Mr. T. is a vehement, powerful speaker, but he will fall into hands of one who will disentangle all his sophistry and set the question in its true light.

But if the Senate pass this Bill, there is no prospect of the House acting upon it this Session. They have involved themselves afresh in the discussion of the Tariff, either because the "Edict" (so says the *Globe* of Tuesday) of the President must be registered, or the mad threats of S. Carolina be obeyed. For one I am not anxious to see Congress legislate under the impulse of either motive, and I am rejoiced that our delegation have acquitted themselves so honorably in opposition to this Bill.

I want to see Nullification put down, and the doctrine of the Proclamation supported. I was for one glad to see this antidote administered to some of the monstrous doctrines of the Bank Veto message. Although I believe the Nullification of S. Carolina was engendered under the same noxious views of State Sovereignty which now actuate Georgia in trampling under foot

²⁵ John Tyler (1790-1862), afterwards President of the United States.

the Decision of the Supreme Court, and in which Georgia is countenanced by the present Executive, still I have no objection to see the Monster strangled by the same hand which has indirectly fostered it. I care not who gets the credit with the people, who enjoys the spoils of the victory. The battle of principles was fought 3 years ago, and won by the giant minded champion of New England. He was the first who called down the stern rebuke of all intelligent men, upon this half peaceable, half forcible, and altogether unconstitutional doctrine, as it was called a few days since by Mr. Choate of Mass.,²⁶ one of the most eloquent debaters on the floor of Congress. I know Mr. Webster's views were then denounced by the Jackson party, as "consolidation" and all such slang. But these very parties are now lauding to the skies the very same doctrines and calling on the country to sustain them in all their length and breadth, and, I pray, that it may, for they are but dead letters, although they have the signature of Andrew Jackson and the great Seal of the U. States, unless the people breath into them the breath of life. By the way nothing could be more ludicrous than the consternation and perplexity into which the appearance of the Proclamation threw the Southern Jackson and Northern Van Buren men. The first could not have been more startled if a thunderbolt had dropped from an unclouded sky at their feet, and the last dodged back as though a ghost had crossed their path. It came in such a questionable shape, that, faith, they dared not speak to it, or at least speak badly of it. So they began to cross themselves and mutter something between their teeth, but whether a curse or a prayer no one could tell. Pretty soon they began to speak in a noncommittal sort of way, taking exceptions to some of the *doctrinal points* but, now, since the message of this morning, they are pretty decided in its favor.

This morning the President sent a message to both Houses of Congr. covering the Proclamation and the Documents of S. Carolina. The reading of it occupied over an hour, and as you

²⁶ See Congressional Debates 1063 for this speech of Rufus Choate on Jan. 15.

will receive it by this mail, I will not comment on it. As far as I could see, there was no abandonment of the former ground, taken by the President and I am rejoiced at that. I never saw a man under such intense excitement as Mr. Calhoun²⁷ was when he addressed the Senate after the reading of the message. His quick restless eye glittered like fire—every muscle of his face was rigid, except those about his lips which quivered with suppressed passion. Language seemed to sink beneath him, he could not find words to express the strength of his feelings. He rose he said to give a prompt dismissal to the assertion of the President that S. Carolina wanted to break up the Union—alluded most cuttingly to the doctrine of the message that the Judiciary must decide on all cases of Constitutionality of the Tariff Law—How is this, that a narrow stream that divides Georgia from S. Carolina, should make all this difference. On one side the supremacy of the Judiciary was to be maintained and on the other, trampled under foot. I shall not attempt to follow him, his remarks will undoubtedly appear tomorrow in the Papers. The message and documents was referred both in the Senate and the House to the Judiciary Committee—The House so decided after a discussion of more than 3 hours, and ordered 25,000 copies to be printed.

There seems to be a wish on the part of the Jackson men in the House to smother all discussion of the doctrinal points and only consider the recommendations of the last message. But the attempt will be idle.

Thursday—Jan. 17—

We have had Grundy²⁸ up to-day in the Senate—and Ewing²⁹—he is a self made man—was a hostler till he was

²⁷ Congressional Debates, 100.

²⁸ Felix Grundy (1777-1840) of Tennessee, spoke on Public Lands (see Congressional Debates, 112), Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Kentucky 1806-1807, Representative (Democrat) 1811-14, Senator 1829-1838 and 1839-40, Attorney General, 1839-40.

²⁹ Thomas Ewing (1789-1871) of Ohio. (His speech and Clay's are not reported.) Whig, Senator, 1831-1837, Secretary of Treasury 1841, of Interior 1849-50, Senator 1850-51.

21—took to studying Law and his first political step was to the Senate of the U. States—Mr. Clay spoke about an 1/2 hour—. . .

Friday Evening, Jan. 18.

I have just received your letter of the 13th—as to the Franks it is what is done by every body—the members ask you, any and all of them, to avail themselves of the privilege—Still it will be well enough not to make a show of it—But drop your letter to me in an envelope to Barber into the Letter Box, and they cant make any question about it. I will risk all that matter—I will occasionally write by mail.

I will forward you any of the printed speeches which are worthy of it—About the middle of or last of next week the debate on the recommendations of the President will come up, and that will bring out Calhoun and McDuffie at any rate, and it is expected that Webster will take up Calhoun.

You have seen the last message on this—It is a good document. . . .

There is not as much personal warmth in the debates thus far as was expected—the truth is they are all shy here—the Jackson party as a party is broken to pieces, and the fragments have not yet adjusted themselves—hence a backwardness in committing themselves—If this is got over there will be a tremendous time I assure you—. . .

Saturday [Jan. 19]

I wended my way [from Georgetown] back the Avenue to the City Hall. There I met young Lee³⁰—a fine souled fellow, who insisted upon my dining with him on Monday. Heard Key³¹ examine a witness very adroitly—he is a fine intellectual looking man, very much wrinkled, which only gives a pleasant aspect to his face—he wears his hair like Milton's portrait, which he very much resembles—There were more than 200

³⁰ Zaccheus Collins Lee (1805-1859) of Baltimore. See Lee of Virginia, 466.

³¹ Francis Scott Key (1780-1843), who lived in Georgetown.

blacks in the court room, of every variety of shade, from light brown to the real coal black—with lips of every degree of thickness, from $1/2$ to an inch—and heads of one to 4 inches projection. From this place South, I suppose, the Negro begins to form a marked feature in the appearance of the Street, and what is more, they acquire to constitute a real convenience—they go and come at your bidding, and a kind word or action, especially a “small bit,” now and then attaches them fast to you. The other morning while lying in bed, I asked Braddock to tell me the time by my watch—But said he, Master, I cant read—So I told him to bring me the watch and I would show him how to tell the time, if he could say one, two, etc.—So I showed him and he has been my ready servant ever since, doing anything for me and anticipating my wants.

Went into the Sup. Court, heard Col. Brent ³² argue a writ of Habeas Corpus for Tobias Watkins ³³—who has been confined in prison these 4 years, when he is not worth one cent and this because Jackson will not pardon him.

Went into the Senate heard Poindexter ³⁴ on Clays Bill, not very interesting—crossed over to the House, Found Jenifer ³⁵ speaking on the Tariff and so I resorted to the Library where I staid till 4—then went down to dinner—After dinner went in and sat with Mr. Davis of Mass.—the ablest Tariff man in the House—has been here for 10 years—is a very strong minded man & highly respected. He told me our New England men had very erroneous notions of Southern character—that we gave them too much credit for high mindness, chivalry etc.—That they were a haughty, vindictive avaricious set—that their whole

³² Col. William Brent (1774-1848.) At this time, Clerk of the Courts of District of Columbia. A sketch of him with portrait will be found in 19 Va. Mag. of Hist., p. 206.

³³ Dr. Tobias Watkins (1780-1855), Surgeon in the War of 1812 and Fourth Auditor of the Treasury, 1824-1829.

³⁴ George Poindexter (1779-1853) of Mississippi (Congressional Debates, 123). Delegate from the territory, 1807-13; Representative, 1817-19; Governor 1819-21, Senator 1830-35.

³⁵ David Jenifer (1791-1855) of Maryland (Congressional Debates, 1135). Whig, Representative, 1831-1833 and 35-41. Minister to Austria 1841-45.

character is formed and moulded by the system of Slavery. Spent the evening with Storrs—Mr. Kane³⁶ one of the commissioners under the French Treaty came in, quoted a remark of John Sergeant,³⁷ that “he had rather a man would spit *on* him, than *over* him.” Sergeant has that little foible, which so often accompanies great minds in little bodies—a jealousy that that world will trample on him. Kane said he remembered Hamilton, he was a small man, who walked erect, and dressed in the olden style.

After Kane went out—we talked more than 2 hours on the subject of Conn. politics—S. told me how the present ticket was got up—several editors met—agreed on the ticket—wrote round to the friends of the candidate—told them to do all that could be done without alarming the fears of the other tickets and so they did, and triumphed. S. is disgusted with this kind of life—says he would not be a candidate for any consideration—he has great fears about the success of the next Clay ticket, of whomever it may consist.

Sunday—January 20.

About 11 walked over to Georgetown—found Mrs. Womans³⁸ very well—She has improved in her health since she was in Hartford—Mr. Womans, who is editor of the *Was. City Chronicle*, soon brought in the papers which occupied us for an hour.—had a very fine dinner—after dinner in came Miss Catherine W. a pretty creature of about 16, with blue eyes—slightly made and ardent temperament. . . . After 3 Mr. K., Mr. P. and myself walked out onto the canal—around by the Catholic College, which is most beautifully situated on an eminence which commands—view of the Potomac and the country around—the Nunery etc—The College and Nunery I am coming over to see during the week—

Took tea up to Mrs. W—She is a highly educated and accom-

³⁶ Kane, Commissioner under French Treaty, has not been identified.

³⁷ John Sergeant (1779-1852), Whig candidate for Vice-Presidency in 1832.

³⁸ Mr. Womans, editor of the *Washington City Chronicle*, has not been identified.

plished woman—has travelled over England and has in her possession several beautiful paintings and engravings—She treated me with whole souled hospitality and cordiality which is not exhibited at the North—She pressed me to call again, and I agreed and put myself under the guidance of the Miss Ws. to visit the Nunery. . . .

[Monday January 21]

Walked up to the capital—first into the Supreme Court room—saw there Mr. Binney³⁹ of Phil.—one of the best looking now assembled in this city—a large frame and ample brow—by his side was John Sergeant, a much more diminutive man, but very intellectual looking—I had an introduction to him, found him easy, and familiar on all subjects—had a seat assigned me on the floor of the house today, on the ground of reporter—that is letter writing—well, that is not a large tax to pay for the privilege of hearing distinctly and the opportunity it affords for conversation with the members.

Mr. White⁴⁰ of Louisiana spoke on the Tariff—he is French by birth, full of motion and after he gets agoing is wrapt up into the 3rd heaven—he uses beautiful language and is an acute reasoner, although the brilliancy of his fancy blinds as to that. He was followed by Mr. Polk⁴¹ from Tennessee—a would be leader of the administration in the House—He is a very easy debater and presented some very strong arguments for reduction—showed from information collected by the Sec. of the Treasury that the manufactures of Woolens and Cottons were making from 15 to 40 per cent.

In the Senate Mr. Poindexter finished his argument and was followed by Ewing.⁴² E. is self made man—was an hostler in

³⁹ Horace Binney (1780-1875) of Philadelphia, the famous lawyer, at this time a member-elect of Congress.

⁴⁰ Edward D. White (Congressional Debates, 1158) (1794-1847). Whig, Representative from Louisiana 1829-1834, 1839-1843, Governor 1834-38.

⁴¹ James K. Polk (1795-1849) (Congressional Debates, 1162). Representative from Tennessee 1825-1839, Governor 1839, President 1845-1849.

⁴² Thomas Ewing of Ohio (Congressional Debates, 159).

his fathers service till he was 21—has had no regular education, but is one of the most respected men in the Senate.

Went down by B to Mr. Lee—at dinner was introduced to Mrs. Washington,⁴³ a sister of his, whose husband is now in the Mediterranean, his mother, a fine talented, educated woman—and two Miss McKay, sisters from Virginia—The last two are beautiful bright eyed girls, with whom I had the pleasure of walking up to the Capitol to hear the speeches before the Colonization Society—The speeches were flat enough, take them altogether—It was expected that Mr. Clay, Mr. Everett, and Gen. Jones⁴⁴ would speak—the two latter would have done so, had it not been for a tedious long speech of more than an hour from old Custiss⁴⁵—It was the darndest piece of nonsense I ever heard—He thinned the House so, nobody would rise after him. . . . I should have mentioned above that the Judiciary committee reported a Bill, embracing all the recommendations and suggestions of the Presidents message, I was not present when it was read—The debate on the Bill will commence very soon—in a day or two.

[Tuesday] Evening [January 22.]

There is no little excitement on the Bill reported by the Judiciary Committee. The question came up incidentally on the assigning a day to go into the consideration of the subject—Thursday—next Monday and next Monday week was named—The Nullifiers were anxious to thrust it off to the last named day, in order if possible to get the Tariff through—Calhoun finds himself standing on a precipice, or rather climbing up a cliff to the stand he formerly occupied—he feels as though the slightest breath may loosen his hold and plunge him to the very bottom—his situation deserves or rather is attracting com-

⁴³ Mrs. Washington was Ann Matilda Lee, daughter of Richard Bland Lee and Elizabeth (Collins) Lee, who, born in Philadelphia, died in 1858, aged 91.

⁴⁴ Edward Everett (1794-1865), statesman and orator, Whig, Representative from Massachusetts 1825-1835. Gen. Walter Jones (1776-1861), one of the most eminent lawyers of the day.

⁴⁵ George Washington Parke Custis (1781-1857), the builder of Arlington.

miseration—his former proud reputation still surviving in the memory of his friends—Millar ⁴⁶ from S. Carolina is a queer genius—rough, with a broken voice and rude gesturing—illustrated the situation of the two Governments to the two paths of a bridge over the entrance to which is the direction “Keep to the right.” Now the Bill, he said, on your table, tells the U. S. Government to turn to the left, and ride rough shod over the liberties of the country. Next Monday was at length agreed on—and there will ensue a fierce debate—Calhoun came out to-day on a series of resolutions, embracing the essence of Nullification—which will be argued soon—I should not wonder if he called them up on Thursday. He appeared much better today than he did the other day—he was more cool and deliberate and very earnest—

Webster has not been in his seat today and was not yesterday. He is preparing himself for the Supreme Court. . . .

Wednesday Jan. 23d.

I walked over to Georgetown—after taking dinner at Mr. Womans and reading the papers, we walked out to the college—met a jolly faced, big bellied man dressed in a cassock (a black gown like, belted around the body) with a blue cap, fashioned like a miter on his head, who proved to be the President, Rev. Thomas F. Mulledy,⁴⁷—invited us into his room and upon making known our errand, he took us into the Library, containing about 15,000 vols.—saw a manuscript there written out on parchment in 1240, nearly 800 years ago, as fresh and as beautifully written as though it was done yesterday—I could hardly believe my senses—saw different specimens of printing, from its first invention down to the present time. Saw what is called the illuminated manuscripts, that is, large letters gilded as we should call it. Saw a splendid copy of Don Quixote in

⁴⁶ Stephen D. Miller (1748-1838) of South Carolina (Congressional Debates 175) Democrat, Representative 1817-19, Governor 1828-30, Senator 1831-33.

⁴⁷ Rev. Thos. F. Mulledy (1789-18—), the sixteenth President of the College, was in charge of it from 1829-1837.

4 vol., quarto, full of spirited engravings. Went into the museum which contains the largest electrical machine I ever saw—the jolly old president tried an experiment with me—by putting into my hand a vessel charged with gas, and then exploding it by communicating with the machine. Saw a piece of a *Negro's* hide tanned—it was as thick as calves skin—the chapel is all hung round with splendid painting by old artists, and are all calculated to impress the great points of Catholic faith upon young minds. When we went into the Chapel, I noticed the face of our worthy guide materially elongate, as though he was treading upon sacred ground. The sleeping rooms extend through two stories, in which there are 70 beds each separated by their partition of cloth—the rooms are well aired, however.

Attached to one of the buildings is an infirmary, in which each patient complaining has a neat room, there is a common room for amusement, and long halls to walk in, then every portion of the buildings, are decorated with paintings and engravings, presents from great characters in Europe. The discipline of this college is very strict, and were it not for its Catholicism, would be a very eligible situation for a youth from 12 to 17. The situation of the college is delightful, I can't imagine any thing finer, the grounds around, and they extend up a valley a $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, are beautifully laid out into walks, and the southern exposure of a hill, embracing 5 or 6 acres, is planted with a vineyard.

As it was late—concluded not to visit the Nunnery till another day,—concluded on next Monday, should it be pleasant. . . .

On returning found the House had not adjourned and were not likely to till 8 or 9 in the evening,—so up I went to the Capitol and found Wilde⁴⁸ of Georgia on the floor, he had a great deal of flourish in his manner, interspersed his remarks with apt quotations and instructive anecdotes and is remarkable for his courtesy to his opponents—he injured his own cause by

⁴⁸ Richard H. Wilde (1789-1847) (see Congressional Debates 1249) Democrat, Representative from Georgia 1815-1725, and 1829-35.

his allusion to Van Buren men in his speech and denounced some statements of Appleton ⁴⁹ as a gross & palpable misrepresentation after a restatement by A. Wilde insisted on his first assertion and would not retract.

Thursday [January 24.]

This morning W. commenced with remarking that the pillow has brought reflection and he had come in to do justice to all—he then retracted what he had said in fullest manner with respect to Appleton—after he finished, Vinton ⁵⁰ of Ohio began and made a very violent and able speech—pointed out other and real causes of S. Carolina distress as far as it existed distinct from the Tariff, and which the repeal of the Tariff would only increase. Said if all other articles of domestic growth were to be stripped of all adequate protection he should move to take off the duty on foreign tobacco, in order that the northern mechanic might chew his cud as cheaply as the negro could be clothed—he opposed the consideration of the subject at this time—said he would not yield a jot of the Law or Constitution to threats—that sooner than see either *obliterated by force*, he would see these seats swept of their members and the rivers of our land run red with blood. Upon this McDuffie uttered very distinctly, Robespierre, which was received with hisses. The speaker called all to order, Vinton concluded and McDuffie explained.⁵¹ It was considered on all hands a piece of affectation in McDuffie.

In the Senate Benton ⁵² spoke about 3 hours against Clay's Land Bill—for about 15 minutes he is a very pleasant speaker to listen to, but he soon tires—the Senate while he was speaking were attending to other matters—and the seats were pretty well

⁴⁹ Nathan Appleton (1779-1861) (see Congressional Debates 1194) (1779-1861) Whig, Representative from Massachusetts, 1831-33, and 1842.

⁵⁰ Samuel F. Vinton (1792-1862) (see Congressional Debates 1273) Whig, Representative from Ohio, 1823-37, 43-51.

⁵¹ Congressional Debates 1290, says that Samuel P. Carson of North Carolina also explained and defined McDuffie's action.

⁵² Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri (1782-1858) (see Congressional Debates 208), Senator 1821-51, Representative 1853-55.

cleaned. Before the question was taken on the Bill I got tired and came home, but I am informed that it has passed to a 3d reading and will be finished tomorrow.

Muhlenberg⁵³ from Penn. was very severe—he has a voice like a lion.

This evening since supper (about 9 o'clock) we have been discoursing of high matters of State.

Storrs mentioned to-night, that, he saw the last general order of Jackson—in which he, quoted the old axiom—instead of maxim etc.—and called on them to unshield the sword and throw away the scabbard. * * *

Friday [January 25.]

Today for the first time I felt very indifferently. Went up to the Senate, Forsythe⁵⁴ was speaking in favor of recommending the Bill with instructions to strike out the Colonization clause—he is a very ready debater the ablest of the friends of the administration—Benton inflicted another speech and hence Buckner,⁵⁵ but the motion did not prevail. Mr. Calhoun⁵⁶ then moved to postpone the further consideration of the subject till December next, which he supported in a speech of 15 or 20 minutes—he said he was for calling the stock holders together etc.—Mr. Clay⁵⁷ replied to him in his happiest manner—in the course of his remarks, he said emphatically that this *Union could not be destroyed*. Mr. Calhoun's motion was rejected and the Bill was passed and carried into the other House—Mr. Cambreling⁵⁸ was speaking—he has a good voice, a pompous

⁵³ Henry A. Muhlenberg (see Congressional Debates 1299) (1782-1844) Democrat, Lutheran Clergyman, Representative from Pennsylvania, 1829-1838, Minister to Austria 1838-40.

⁵⁴ John Forsyth of Georgia (1780-1841) (see Congressional Debates 232). He spoke on Public Lands bill. Democrat, Representative, 1813-18, 1823-27, and Senator, 1818-19, and 29-34; Minister to Spain, 1819-23; Secretary of State 1834-41.

⁵⁵ Alexander Buckner of Missouri (1775-1833), Senator, 1831-33. Neither his nor Benton's speech is reported.

⁵⁶ See Congressional Debates, 234. ⁵⁷ See Congressional Debates, 235.

⁵⁸ C. C. Cambreling of New York (1786-1862) (Congressional Debates 1329) Democrat, Representative 1821-29, Minister to Russia 1840-41.

manner, and a good deal of commercial knowledge—he began with lifting up his State etc., etc.—I quit and am now going to bed though it is not 7 o'clock. In the court today I heard Sergeant—he is a little man, but long headed, and received great attention from the Court.

Saturday [January 26.]

I have just returned from Mr. C. where I have spent a most delightful evening. The Misses C. are delightful girls and the youngest Miss Mary, plays charmingly—she and Miss S.—sang several duetts, very much to my entertainment. The cordiality of their reception, and the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. C., to introduce topics of conversation on which I could meet all as common ground, put me completely at my ease—as much so as it could be possible at my own home—Mr. C. pressed me to take a family dinner with him tomorrow to which I assented very readily. On returning, we, for I was introduced by Mr. Cook a member from Ohio, found three hours had slipped through our fingers very rapidly.

The Senate did not sit today—in the House Mr. Burgess⁵⁹ spoke about 3 hours and gave way to a motion to adjourn, and (as most of the friends of the Bill were down in an eating establishment below, preparing to sit out the debate till 9 or 10 o'clock) his friends carried very much to the chagrin of his opponents. Mr. B.'s set speeches are not as good as his off hand reply to his opponents—he is then terrific—his bitterness of language and manner was not surpassed by Randolph—His famous out pouring on McDuffie is said to have been tremendous—McD. turned all colors and his friends were compelled to step in and call Burgess to order—it was feared the violence of his passions would produce a fatal effect upon McD.—

He glanced today at Cambreling of N. Y.⁶⁰—“The Washingtons, and Hamiltons & Ellsworths of 1791, when they laid

⁵⁹ Tristram Burgess of Rhode Island (1770-1853) (Congressional Debates 1358) Federalist, Representative 1825-35, Chief Justice, Rhode Island 1815.

⁶⁰ Congressional Debates, 1371.

the foundations of the Protective policy, had not the advantage of that gentleman's council and wisdom, although he was then in esse (i. e. being). He was then, if it were possible, *as little* thought of & appreciated, as he is *now*." It is expected that he will out pour some of his vials of wrath on Monday, although he will not have a very full audience as the Senate will be the great point of attraction.

To be continued.
