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THE REFUGEES FROM THE ISLAND OF ST. DOMINGO IN MARYLAND

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On July 10, 1793, the citizens of Baltimore were surprised to learn that during the afternoon and night of the previous day a fleet of twenty-two vessels from St. Domingo had cast anchor off Fell's Point. More than five hundred whites and Negroes lay aboard the ships.

Still greater was their astonishment when the cause of this mass emigration was known. Cap-François, metropolis of the French colony of St. Domingo and asylum for thousands of Creoles whose plantations had been seized by rebellious slaves, had fallen into the hands of the Negroes. After a frightful massacre the town had been sacked. The surviving whites and those servants who had remained faithful to them had been forced into the harbor and had thrown themselves on the mercy of ship captains and sailors. At midnight of June 23 a flotilla of one hundred and thirty merchantmen, crowded with five thousand refugees, had put to sea, its path lighted by the glow from the burning city.¹

I

Tales of Negro insurrection could hardly fail to arouse the sympathy for the dispossessed Creoles of a slave-holding community. "As soon as it was known, that our unfortunate Allies had arrived," the editor of the *Maryland Journal* announced,

¹ For the best account of the political and social upheaval in St. Domingo, see T. Lothrop Stoddard, *The French Revolution in San Domingo* (Boston and New York, 1914).

"every Exertion was made by our animated citizens to alleviate their Distress"² Baltimoreans assembled at the Exchange and appointed a Committee of merchants to see what steps could be taken to aid the refugees. On the morning of July 10, the Committee boarded thirteen vessels and interviewed three hundred and fifty-one white passengers, of whom one hundred were women and children. "The Distresses of those unhappy People," they reported, "have not been exaggerated or perhaps equalled by the Information already given to the Public." The Committee brought back the news that refugees in other ships headed for Baltimore would outnumber those already in the harbor. A "great exertion of humanity" was required to supply their wants.³

"Actuated by Motives of pity for the helpless Part of the Passengers," the Committee on their own authority provisioned the ships with fresh vegetables, hoping that their decision would be approved by their fellow-citizens. Further aid would be made "on some regular System" until assistance could be obtained from the French Minister or from the American Government. The Committee resolved that subscriptions be opened immediately, one-third of each pledge to be paid at once, the remainder when called for. The money would be turned over to the French Consul, who had promised to find the number of those in actual want and to appoint a second committee to receive the funds and to keep an account of expenditures. The Consul's Committee was to purchase supplies and to provide houses for the refugees. As the plight of the St. Domingans required immediate attention, the Committee of merchants made a second resolution that individuals be appointed to call on the citizens of Baltimore, requesting them to receive refugees in their houses "in such numbers as would be convenient to each family."⁴

The group who had gathered at the Exchange unanimously adopted these resolutions. Without more ado they chose eleven men to canvass the town. Baltimore was divided into districts and the next day two gentlemen called on every family in their area.

The response was wholehearted. Not only did many inhabitants give the refugees beds, but they also "politely furnished

² *Maryland Journal*, July 12, 1793.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

them with the Participation of their Tables." Subscriptions were opened on July 10 and two days later nearly eleven thousand dollars had been pledged.⁵ The money was sorely needed, for meanwhile other French vessels had arrived, "particularly Yesterday, when a Number came to Anchor, several of which are full of Passengers."⁶ By July 13, thirty-six vessels from Cap-François lay in the harbor.⁷

The rest of the State, when appealed to by a Committee of Correspondence, proved no less generous than Baltimore. A gentleman of Annapolis placed a commodious brick house in London Town at the disposal of the Committee and offered to turn out the tenants of his Annapolis mansion in favor of two respectable Creole families, whose transportation from Baltimore he promised to pay. A resident of Chester Town gave one hundred dollars. "Your town," he wrote the Baltimore Committee, "have behaved most nobly upon this occasion, and [I] hope their example may excite the benevolence of other places."⁸ His confidence was not misplaced. To a writer in the *Journal* it seemed that the towns and counties of Maryland vied with each other in assisting the St. Domingans. On the Eastern Shore, the neighborhood of Centerville, Queens Town, and Wye forwarded eight hundred dollars "out of a still increasing Subscription." Talbot County responded liberally, Georgetown and Annapolis were "eminently distinguished by the largeness of their Subscriptions," as were Frederick Town and Hagerstown. Bladensburg, although small in population, was not "the least in Exertion." Its townspeople sent five hundred dollars and a letter approving the Committee's work.⁹

Instances of individual charity have not gone unrecorded. William Tinker, of Fell's Point, purchased a quantity of provisions which he carried aboard the fleet and distributed to the needy.¹⁰ "For the benefit of the FRENCH SUFFERERS, Late from Cape-Francois," Messrs. McGrath and Godwin sponsored a performance of "The favorite Comedy of the West-Indian" and a farce called "The Citizen." "As compassion for the unfortunate

⁵ *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 11, 1793.

⁶ *Maryland Journal*, July 12, 1793.

⁷ *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 13, 1793.

⁸ *Maryland Gazette and Frederick-Town Weekly Advertiser*, July 25, 1793.

⁹ *Maryland Journal*, August 27, 1793.

¹⁰ *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 15, 1793.

objects of this Benefit happily pervades every rank," they deemed it expedient to abolish differences in the price of seats. Dollar tickets admitted their holders to every part of the house.¹¹ A concert of vocal and instrumental music under the direction of Messrs. Kalkbrenner and Miller was given on July 24. The proceeds went to "our distressed brethren the French."¹² The public was assured that the greatest efforts had been made to render the entertainment "grand, beyond any Thing of the Kind ever exhibited in Baltimore." The star performer was Mademoiselle Buron, formerly "Singer to the Queen of France," who had been "obliged to leave that happy situation and fly to the West-Indies," whence she had come to the United States.¹³

II

There was, of course, another side to the picture. A writer in the *Journal* complained that too many Baltimoreans were "of a Disposition to take advantage, even of the Misfortunes of their Friends. Our Markets are shamefully raised; and the exorbitant Prices of Provisions are severely felt as well by the Honest, but poor Labourer of our own Country, as by the plundered People who have fled the *Cape* to save the Relicts of their Families. . . ." The person who would acquire wealth by such means, he philosophized, must be debased indeed. "Some Measures should be pursued to blast this disgraceful Evil."¹⁴

A few days after this protest appeared, the *Advertiser* carried a specific account of dishonesty. "A Poor Frenchman" from Cap-François approached a farmer in the market and inquired the price of eggs; "the r—1, designing to take advantage of the stranger's ignorance of our language, & demanded a *dollar per dozen*; the Frenchman thought it dear, but uncertain of the usual price of our markets, at length procured a *dozen for three quarters of a dollar*—perhaps the only sum misfortune had left him." The editor of the *Advertiser* declared that the farmer's villainy called for police action.¹⁵

The St. Domingans, however, did not always come out at the short end of the bargain. Thomas Swaine lamented the fact that

¹¹ *Ibid.*, July 19, 1793.

¹² *Maryland Journal*, July 23, 1793.

¹³ *Ibid.*, July 18, 1793.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 15, 1793.

he rented two horses from his stable to a refugee, who said that he was going to be married and wanted the horses for only one day. Several weeks passed and the horses were not returned. "As this an Imposition," Swaine offered a reward of ten dollars for the return of his property.¹⁶

III

But even with the best will in the world, the citizens of Maryland were not in a position to support the Creoles indefinitely. On July 22 the Committee of Correspondence sent a circular letter to "the commercial and other towns of the United States" in the interest of the St. Domingans. By that date fifty-three ships had brought one thousand whites and five hundred mulattoes and Negroes to Baltimore. With the twelve thousand dollars obtained from Marylanders, provision had been made for one thousand refugees, four hundred of whom were received into private families.¹⁷

Although the call upon "humanity had been peculiar and extraordinary" and the aid given by Marylanders had exceeded expectation, the whole subscription "is only equal to a relief that must shortly terminate, unless aided by the benevolent and humane in every other part of the United States." More sufferers were arriving daily and "by the peculiar circumstances of their flight, many, who heretofore enjoyed affluence, are destitute of even the most necessary clothing."

The Committee had informed Genêt, the French Minister, of his countrymen's plight and had asked him to contribute toward their relief. Genêt did not reply. Because of the immediate need of the refugees, the Committee decided to treat them as if left entirely to individual charity, with the reservation, however, of returning the subscriptions should the Minister give a favorable answer.

Some benevolent inhabitants of Philadelphia, the letter concluded, had opened already a correspondence with the Baltimore Committee and had intimated that they would be large contributors.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Maryland Journal*, July 19, 1793.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, July 26, 1793.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

In December the plight of the refugees was called to the attention of the Maryland House of Delegates.¹⁹ This body voted forty-five hundred dollars "for the temporary relief of the suffering French from St. Domingo." Three gentlemen from Baltimore—Messrs. Patterson, Scott, and Sterret—were empowered to draw five hundred dollars a week for nine weeks, from the State treasury and to distribute those sums among the Creoles.²⁰

A committee from the Maryland Legislature then went to Philadelphia and asked Congress to assume financial responsibility for the St. Domingans. Although sympathy for the refugees was universal, several congressmen hesitated to expend the money of their constituents "on objects of benevolence." James Madison of Virginia was the leader of this group. He expressed the fear that, in aiding the refugees, a dangerous precedent would be established "which might hereafter be perverted to the countenance of purposes very different from those of charity."²¹

Elias Boudinot of New Jersey, on the other hand, felt that Americans were bound by "every moral obligation that could influence mankind" to relieve a people "at present our allies, and who had formerly been our benefactors."²²

The scales were turned in favor of the refugees when the congressmen were informed that Genêt was making discriminations among the émigrés, promising assistance to those of his political party, but completely ignoring the aristocrats. In February, 1794, Congress passed "an Act providing for the relief of such of the inhabitants of Saint Domingo, resident within the United States, as may be found in want of support." George Washington was empowered to distribute fifteen thousand dollars, "in such manner, and by the hands of such persons, as shall, in the opinion of the President, appear most conducive to the humane purposes of this act."²³

Two thousand dollars of this amount were divided among four hundred refugees in Maryland.

¹⁹ *The Washington Spy* (Hagerstown), December 9, 1793.

²⁰ *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), December 18, 1793.

²¹ Thomas Hart Benton, *Abridgement of the Debates of Congress, from 1789 to 1856* (New York, 1857), I, 462.

²² *Ibid.*, 463.

²³ *Annals of the Congress of the United States, Third Congress* (Washington, 1849), 1417.

IV

The St. Domingans were grateful for the relief extended them. An anonymous refugee lamented the fact that so many of his countrymen were not acquainted with the English language, "which, they doubt, could not furnish them with words expressive of their real sentiments," and begged the printers of the *Advertiser* to convey to their benefactors, "with the strongest expressions they want," his people's appreciation. "Please to tell them that if we never have it in our power to discharge this debt, we are in hopes that some way or other it will not remain unacquitted, and that the Almighty will not be deaf to the fervent prayers addressed to him for their happiness and the prosperity and peace of their blessed country."²⁴

While the campaign for funds was under way, "The inhabitants of Cape-Francois" made public testimony of an esteem "that shall possess our hearts till our latest breath—that shall be perpetuated in the hearts of our children, whom it will be our duty to bring up in these sentiments for you." A pathetic note crept into the address; the refugees feared that calumnies would pursue them to their friendly asylum. Enemies, "envious of that humane concern with which you endeavor to make us forget our misfortunes, may endeavor still to persecute us, by attempting to rob us of your esteem." The refugees assured their hosts of their peaceful disposition. "The great sensations of the mind are far beyond the most impassioned powers of language, and your hearts are sufficiently acquainted with them to judge what must be the extent of our feelings."²⁵

Further acknowledgment was made in "an elegant and affecting Discourse to his emigrated Flock" by the Reverend Adrien Cibot, the former Superior-General of the Clergy in St. Domingo. After dwelling on the unworthiness of the Creoles, whose transgressions and infidelity had provoked the wrath of Heaven, he extolled the virtues of the Baltimoreans in extravagant apostrophes. "O worthy and generous Inhabitants of Baltimore! O, all you who dwell on this Continent! O, our Brethren and Benefactors! may this heroic Act of Benevolence be told and proclaimed

²⁴ *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 13, 1793.

²⁵ *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* (Charleston, South Carolina), August 8, 1793.

amidst all Nations of both Hemispheres! These my Sentiments, and those of my Fellow-Citizens." ²⁶

The colonists of St. Domingo, Cibot declared, had sworn a brotherly friendship for Americans. They desired to constitute henceforth one people and wished for nothing more earnestly than to be worthy of that union by endeavoring to imitate the virtues of their hosts.

That these expressions were heartfelt and were not invitations for further aid is attested by Berquin-Duvallon, an attorney from Le Cap. Ten years after the destruction of his native city when the refugees who remained in Baltimore were self-supporting, he wrote: "Baltimore immortalized herself in the eyes of France by the magnanimity with which she received the suffering colonists into her bosom." The legislators at Annapolis respected but one precept, the *caritas humani generis*, and Berquin-Duvallon contrasted their unselfishness with the indifference of the French Creoles of Louisiana toward their own blood kin, the French Creoles of St. Domingo, who landed in their province. ²⁷

V

Many were the occupations that the émigrés pursued. Those possessed of capital engaged in trade, while others who had been planters on the Island, introduced in the neighborhood of Baltimore French methods of husbandry. ²⁸

Teaching became the vocation of the cultivated refugees. In 1795 the widow Lacombe, "an accomplished Creole of St. Domingo," opened a boarding-school for girls in South Street. Her seminary was patronized by the fashionable world of Baltimore and Madame Lacombe was able to employ on her faculty several émigrés, among them two priests, Fathers Dubourg and Moranvillé. ²⁹

Paul-Aimé Fleury left Baltimore for the country. He kept a school at Upper Falls, but closed it after his marriage in October,

²⁶ *Maryland Journal*, August 20, 1793.

²⁷ Berquin-Duvallon, *Vue de la colonie espagnole du Mississipi, ou des provinces de Louisiane et Floride occidentale, en l'année 1802, par un observateur résident sur les lieux* (Paris, 1803), 230-235.

²⁸ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), 82, 83.

²⁹ Célestin N. Moreau, *Les prêtres émigrés français aux États-Unis* (Paris, 1856), 175, 176.

1794, to Clare Young and thenceforth superintended the planting of Woodbine, his wife's farm in Baltimore County. Fleury's descendants still live on the property.³⁰

Other refugees advertized for pupils in the newspapers. Two young gentlemen, "of untainted morals, being obliged by the late disasters at Cape-Francois, to make use of some accomplishments intended for their amusement," offered to teach drawing, a little painting, music, and the violin.³¹ Marye, also from Le Cap, gave lessons in vocal music, but his clientele was limited to persons knowing French, as he did not understand English.³²

Mademoiselle Buron, encouraged by her reception at a charity concert, engaged Grant's Assembly Room and on the evening of July 31 sang for the benefit of herself and her aged parents. It was reported in the press that she justified every expectation. Her voice had exquisite sweetness and considerable volume; "and the several beautiful airs she sang, accompanied by the harp and piano-forte, were received with the greatest applause by a numerous and genteel audience."³³ The receipts enabled her father to establish himself as a tuner of musical instruments.³⁴

The foils were not neglected. J. Pinaud, a fencing master of Paris and London, arrived in Baltimore with the St. Domingans and proclaimed a "fencing assault" at the Sign of the Indian Queen. He expressed the hope of opening a school.³⁵ Dr. Robin from St. Domingo, who had been a pensioner of the king of Prussia, taught tachygraphy—"Shorthand, the art of writing, as fast as the saying."³⁶

More practical, perhaps, than their fellow refugees, Marex and his wife operated a coffee and boarding house *à la mode française* in the house of Solomon Allen;³⁷ Peter Vandenbussche, "the great Tobacco Manufacturer," formerly of the Rue du Bac, Cap-François, set up a snuff and tobacco manufactory in Baltimore, whence he intended to distribute his brands throughout the country;³⁸ and the Sieur Pontier, "echappe au massacres du Cap-

³⁰ Information supplied by Mr. William B. Marye of Baltimore. Fleury's marriage is recorded in the Register of St. John's Parish, Joppa, Baltimore County (transcript in the library of the Maryland Historical Society).

³¹ *Maryland Journal*, July 30, 1793.

³² *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 25, 1793.

³³ *Ibid.*, August 2, 1793.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, August 13, 1793.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, August 5, 1793.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, July 11, 1793.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, August 3, 1793.

³⁸ *Maryland Journal*, July 23, 1793.

François," maintained a wig-making establishment in Gay Street.³⁹

The circulating library that Louis Pascault established in 1793 catered primarily to the "Accommodation and Amusement" of the refugees themselves, but in order to read "the best French Authors" many Americans joined.⁴⁰ When in 1796 the Library Company of Baltimore was founded, a Frenchman, Jean Mondésir, was made librarian. Mondésir held the position for only two months. He was succeeded in October, 1796, by the Abbé Georges de Pérrigny, a St. Domingan priest, who since his arrival in the country had enjoyed the hospitality of Charles Carroll at Doughoregan Manor. An annual salary of three hundred and fifty dollars was voted him in 1797; and the stipend was later increased. After serving as librarian for fifteen years, de Pérrigny obtained a six months' leave of absence and the appointment, as his deputy, of François Messonier, the French Vice-Consul. De Pérrigny overstayed his furlough. In June, 1812, Archbishop Carroll, president of the Company, reported to the Board that he had "no other intelligence from or concerning the abbé de Pérrigny, than, that he was, so far, pleased with his situation in Martinico and enjoyed his health to a great degree. He intimated no intention to return, nor has he written a line to the President." Messonier succeeded to the post, but resigned later in the same year. He was the last of the Company's French librarians.⁴¹

VI

Several doctors came to Baltimore from St. Domingo. Their experiences with diseases of warm climates and their knowledge of remedies that were useful in epidemics stood the community in good stead.

Pierre Chatard (1767-1847) was not only an outstanding physician of his day, but was the founder of the "Chatard medical dynasty" which has furnished Baltimore with doctors for five generations. Dr. Chatard had received an excellent education in France. A licentiate in arts of the College of Toulouse, he won

³⁹ *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 16, 1793.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, August 5, 1793.

⁴¹ See the Directors' Book (1796-1809) and the Minute Book (1809-1824) of the Library Company of Baltimore (manuscript volumes in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society).

his medical degree at Montpellier in 1788, and during the following two years studied under Dessault at the Hôtel Dieu in Paris. Returning to St. Domingo, Chatard settled on his father's plantation in the Quartier de Plaisance. In 1794 he fled from the Island. The ship on which he took passage landed at Wilmington, and there Dr. Chatard became an American citizen and joined the Medical Society of Delaware. As he was "desirous to continue the exercise of his profession on a greater theatre," he removed to Baltimore in July, 1797.⁴² Friendless and without financial resources, Chatard addressed himself to the Baltimore public, through the columns of the *Federal Gazette*. "It is not to boast of himself," he wrote, "or to promise wonders, (as is always the case with quacks) that Doctor Chatard takes this way to make himself known; it is only because he has no friends nor acquaintances here to make for him, that first and essential step toward fame—time and circumstances, he hopes will do the rest."⁴³

Time and circumstances were kind to Dr. Chatard: the yellow fever epidemic of 1797 and 1800 brought him clients and reputation. Cordell, the historian of Maryland medicine, records that his "superior education and acquirements gave to his opinions and statements great weight, and scarcely anyone in the profession then here—distinguished as it was . . .—could speak with as great authority." In a letter sent to the *Medical Repository* Chatard stated that he had attended yellow fever cases, both in St. Domingo and in Baltimore, and that he regarded the disease as a bilious fever. Although in 1797 he cured many patients by a lancet, as Dr. Rush had done in Philadelphia, in the epidemic of 1800 he ordered venesection in only two instances. Chatard recommended cold baths to sufferers and assured them that the disease was not necessarily fatal, although, he added dryly, "the flight of physicians from the city was not well adapted to remove such an impression."⁴⁴

His position established, Pierre Chatard was appointed consulting physician to the Baltimore Hospital in 1812 and later joined the faculty of Washington University. He was a prolific writer, and one of his papers is declared to be the earliest Baltimore publication which refers to diseases of the eye. So meticu-

⁴² Eugene Fauntleroy Cordell, M.D., *The Medical Annals of Maryland, 1799-1899* (Baltimore, 1903), 348, 349.

⁴³ *Federal Gazette*, July 25, 1797.

⁴⁴ Cordell, *op. cit.*, 40, 41.

lously did he keep his records that several years after his death Dr. Van Bibber was able to compile an analysis from his practice of four thousand cases of childbirth.⁴⁵

In 1801 Dr. Chatard was married to a refugee, Jeanne-Marie-Françoise-Adelaïde Boisson. One of their sons, Frederick, won a place in American naval and military history. As commander of the sloop-of-war *Saratoga*, he co-operated with Commander Paulding in the defeat of General Walker's filibustering expedition to Nicaragua; and casting his lot with the Confederacy in 1861, he commanded the batteries at Evansport on the Potomac, and later became chief of heavy artillery and constructor of batteries on the peninsula under General Magruder.⁴⁶

Another son, Ferdinand-Edmé, took his medical degree at the University of Maryland in 1826, studied in London, Paris, and Edinburgh, and on his return to Baltimore succeeded to his father's practice. Two of Ferdinand-Edmé's sons became doctors. Francis Silas Chatard (1834-1918), the elder, studied under Dr. Francis Donaldson of Baltimore and obtained his medical degree at the University of Maryland in 1856. After serving two years as interne in the Baltimore Infirmary and as physician at the city Almshouse, he decided to enter the religious life. Dr. Chatard was consecrated Bishop of Vincennes in 1878 and twenty years later was translated to the newly-created See of Indianapolis.⁴⁷ His brother, Ferdinand-Edmé, Junior, was graduated Doctor of Medicine from the University of Maryland in 1861. He was elected president of the Clinical Society of Maryland in 1877 and vice-president of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty in 1878; and was professor of Children's Diseases at the Baltimore Polyclinic.⁴⁸ Ferdinand-Edmé Junior's son, Joseph Albert, and his grandson, Ferdinand Edmé, hold degrees from Johns Hopkins University and are active Baltimore physicians of the present day.⁴⁹

The Ducatels—Edmé-Germain and his son, Jules-Timoleon—also made names for themselves through their medical and scien-

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 704.

⁴⁶ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy* (New York, 1887), 708, 709 n.

⁴⁷ See Richard J. Purcell's sketch of Bishop Chatard, *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV (New York, 1930), 39.

⁴⁸ Cordell, *op. cit.*, 348.

⁴⁹ Henry M. Hyde, "For 126 Years City has had a Dr. Chatard," *The Evening Sun* (Baltimore), June 15, 1926.

tific interests. Edmé Ducatel (c. 1757-1833) was a native of Auxerre, France, but a resident of St. Domingo before the insurrection. He came to Baltimore and by 1795 had established himself as a druggist and chemist in Baltimore Street. In 1819 he was one of the founders of a short-lived association for the promotion of science. Ducatel married in Baltimore Anne-Catherine Pineau.⁵⁰

Their oldest child, Jules-Timoleon (1796-1849), was educated at St. Mary's College, Baltimore, and in Paris. He returned from abroad to teach natural philosophy at the Mechanics Institute. Ducatel later became professor of Chemistry and Geology on the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of the University of Maryland. He passed to the School of Medicine in 1831 and taught chemistry there until 1837. State Geologist and eventually professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Geology at St. John's College, Annapolis, Dr. Ducatel spent three years on an expedition to the Upper Mississippi and Lake Superior. He was the author of a popular manual on toxicology and was a founder and president of the Maryland Academy of Science and Literature. He died in Baltimore in 1849.⁵¹ A street in that city is named Ducatel.

VII

One of the largest mercantile houses of the country was founded by Jean-Charles-Marie-Louis Pascault, Marquis de Poléon. Pascault was born on his father's plantation in St. Domingo.⁵² He left the Island several years prior to the destruction of Le Cap, settled in Baltimore, and, until his death in 1824, "was actively engaged in the transaction of business which suddenly raised Baltimore from obscurity to a high rank in the

⁵⁰ City Directories; J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), 395.

⁵¹ Cordell, *op. cit.*, 383.

⁵² "An interesting sidelight upon the sojourn of the Pascaults in Santo Domingo is contributed by a letter (February 6, 1924) from Count Jean de Sayve, who married Aileen O'Donnell [great grand-daughter of Louis Pascault] in which he states that his sister-in-law the Marquise de Sayve (*née* de Poléon Saint Georges) had shown him her family genealogy which sets forth that a certain Marquis de Poléon had last been heard of in Santo Domingo in the 18th century. All trace of him having been lost his brother assumed the title in France. This brother left no sons and the son of his daughter, the Marquise de Saint Georges, added the Poléon name to his own resulting in the present patronymic de Poléon Saint Georges." E. Thornton-Cook, *John O'Donnell of Baltimore; His Forebears & Descendants* (London, 1934), 56.

world.”⁵³ In 1789 he married Mary Magdalen Slye of St. Mary’s County. By her he had several sons and daughters.

The diary of James Gallatin, son of “The Great Peacemaker” and a young man of fashion, gives a glimpse into the Pascault family circle. It was in Geneva that Gallatin first heard of the Pascaults. Calling with his father on Madame Patterson Bonaparte, he was entertained, one winter afternoon in 1815, with a lively account of Henriette Pascault and of his hostess’s introduction to Jerome Bonaparte. Elizabeth Patterson had been invited to a dinner party at the Pascault’s and, having arrived early, was standing by a window with the eldest daughter of the Marquis when two strangers approached the house. “That man will be my husband!” exclaimed Henriette Pascault, pointing to the taller man. “Very well,” Miss Patterson replied, “I will marry the other one.” “Strangely enough,” Madame Patterson Bonaparte informed Gallatin, “we both did as we had said. Henrietta Pascault married Reubell, son of one of the three directors, and I married Jerome Bonaparte. Had I but waited, with my beauty and wit I would have married an English duke, instead of which I married a Corsican blackguard.”⁵⁴

When he reached the United States eight years later, James Gallatin went to see Madame Reubell, who had returned to Baltimore after the King of Westphalia had dismissed General Reubell for allowing the Duke of Brunswick, with an inferior army, to defeat him.⁵⁵ Henriette Reubell was then living with her father in what was considered the oldest house in Baltimore. Gallatin was impressed by the iron gates that the Marquis had ordered from Europe and by the “air of refinement about the interior [of the house] that I have never seen out of France.” He was even more impressed by Madame Reubell, “who is very handsome.” She had a daughter and two sons, “the youngest, Frederic, is the handsomest young man I have ever seen. He must be about seventeen.”⁵⁶

On his second visit Gallatin met Louis Pascault. “I am quite off my head [he wrote]. Monsieur Pascault, who is the Marquis

⁵³ *American*, June 2, 1824.

⁵⁴ *A Great Peace Maker, the Diary of James Gallatin, Secretary to Albert Gallatin, 1813-1827* (New York, 1914), 62.

⁵⁵ Philip W. Sargeant, *Jerome Bonaparte* (New York, 1909), 250, 251.

⁵⁶ Gallatin, *op. cit.*, 246.

de Poléon, is a gentleman of the old *régime*. . . . He received me with the most wonderful courtesy—tapped a beautiful gold snuff-box and offered it to me. The supper quite simple but served on beautiful silver. Everything had the air of the greatest refinement. I thought myself back in France again.”⁵⁷

Gallatin soon found himself in love with the youngest daughter of the house. His suit progressed and Josephine Pascault consented to become his wife; but, he wrote in January, 1824, “I fear there is going to be delay with regard to our marriage. Josephine is a Catholic, and that is one thing father is adamant about. He will not allow (if we have any children) that they should be brought up in that religion.”⁵⁸ In other respects, however, Albert Gallatin deemed the alliance acceptable. A descendant of dour Calvinist syndics and counsellors, he was dazzled by the elegant mode of living in this Catholic household. “. . . I noticed his astonishment,” James recorded, “at the fine plate, also the quantities of family portraits, &c. &c.”⁵⁹

By March the difficulty was overcome. The refusal of Archbishop Maréchal to perform the marriage if a Protestant ceremony was to follow, so “disgusted” Pascault that he informed the prelate he would dispense with the services of the Church and have his daughter married by a Protestant bishop. Further to annoy Maréchal, he added that a wife’s first duty was to obey her husband. The Archbishop responded by excommunicating Pascault.⁶⁰

During the eight years following his marriage, Gallatin was engaged in surveying and in selling lands in Ohio and in western Virginia. With the capital realized on his ventures, he established a brokerage firm in New York. In 1838 he succeeded his father as president of the Gallatin National Bank⁶¹ and held that position for thirty years.

According to Gallatin, Eleanor, the second daughter of Louis Pascault, was—“very beautiful like a full-blown rose, but seems to have but little brain or education.” She was the wife of Christopher Columbus O’Donnell, heir of an East Indian merchant nabob and himself a figure of importance in the financial world

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 249.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 249, 250.

⁶¹ William Hunt, *The American Biographical Sketch Book* (New York, 1849), 139.

of Baltimore. Their children married into the Hillen, Lee, Carroll, and Jenkins families of Baltimore and into the Iselin family of New York.⁶²

Two of Pascault's sons reached maturity. Francis, the younger, settled in Anne Arundel County and died there in 1827. Louis Charles (1790-1882), a captain in the Mexican War, married Ann E. Goldsborough and moved to Talbot County. His ten children left many descendants on the Eastern Shore.⁶³

VIII

In the western part of the state, Frederick Town became a Mecca for Creole dancing masters and teachers. In August, 1793, Messrs. O'Duhigg and Large, "lately arrived in this Town, from St. Domingo," opened a dancing school at Mr. Sturm's in Patrick Street.⁶⁴ Louis-Sebastian-Charles Saint-Martin de Bellevue, a former planter of the Isle à Vâche, in the Southern District of St. Domingo, who had enjoyed a legal and political career on the Island, taught French in the County Academy. He died in Frederick Town in 1805, of a complaint contracted while serving in the Royalist Army.⁶⁵ Fifteen years later, F. Marcilly, a lawyer and magistrate of St. Domingo, moved to Frederick Town from Emmitsburg, where he had been professor of French at Mount St. Mary's Seminary, and advertized for pupils in the *Frederick-Town Herald*.⁶⁶

An important Creole family, the Bellumeau de la Vincendière, struck roots in Frederick County. Marguerite-Elisabeth-Pauline, wife of Étienne-Bellumeau de la Vincendière, was the daughter of Gabriel-Michel de Magnan, sometime Treasurer of the Marine, by Marie-Françoise de Sterlin, a St. Domingan of British descent. She was born on the Island and married a planter of St. Jérôme de la Petite Rivière parish. Madame Bellumeau was in France at the time of the Revolution. She and her two youngest daughters managed to emigrate through the good offices

⁶² Thornton-Cook, *op. cit.*

⁶³ *Portrait and Biographical Record of the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (New York and Chicago, 1898), 676-678.

⁶⁴ *Maryland Gazette, and Frederick-Town Weekly Advertiser*, August 1 and August 8, 1793.

⁶⁵ *Frederick-Town Herald*, November 23, 1805.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, January 15, 1820.

of her husband's cousin, Jean Payen Boisneuf, also a native of St. Domingo. Defrauded of her savings by a land-shark, Madame Bellumeau accepted the continued support of her relative and in 1798 settled at the Hermitage, a thousand-acre plantation on the Monocacy River near Frederick Town, which Boisneuf had purchased in her daughter's name. There Madame Bellumeau was joined by her married daughter, Marie-Pauline Dugas de Vallon, who with her husband and children had wandered the length of the Atlantic seaboard since their escape from St. Domingo. Payen Boisneuf died at the Hermitage in 1815. Madame Bellumeau lived four years longer.⁶⁷ One of her daughters became the wife of Pierre-Nicolas-Simard, Chevalier de Petray, and returned to France; another, Émerentienne, married Captain John R. Corbaley, of the United States Army; and a third, Victoire-Pauline-Marie-Gabrielle, remained unmarried. After selling the Hermitage, Victoire Vincendière moved into a house she owned in Second Street, Frederick Town, and died there in 1854.

Madame Bellumeau's youngest daughter, Adelaïde, was married in 1810 to Lieutenant Samuel Adams Lowe, a graduate of West Point. Their only son, Enoch Louis, was born at the Hermitage in 1820. He entered St. John's College in Frederick Town and completed his studies in England under the Jesuits at Stonyhurst. On his return to Maryland, Lowe became the Democratic leader of the western counties. He was elected to the House of Delegates in 1845, and at the age of thirty took office as Maryland's thirty-second governor. In 1857 he refused the post of minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary to China. A southern sympathizer, Lowe moved to Augusta, Georgia, in 1861 and remained there, the guest of the Dugas family, until peace was declared. He died in Brooklyn in 1892.⁶⁸ His children shared the ardent Catholicism of Governor Lowe. One daughter became a religious of the Sacred Heart, while two others married into the devout Jenkins family of Baltimore.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ A sketch of the Bellumeau de la Vincendière family was written by Caroline de Petray Begouen for her cousin, Adelaïde Lowe Jenkins. A copy is in the possession of Miss Grace A. Dugas of Baltimore.

⁶⁸ *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IX (New York, 1899), 305.

⁶⁹ George Norbury Mackenzie, *Colonial Families of the United States of America*, II (Baltimore, 1911), 46.

IX

Freemasonry had flourished in St. Domingo, and the refugees re-established several of their lodges in American ports. To Baltimore a band of Masons from Cap-François brought a Chartered Chapter of the Rite Rose Croix de Hérédome under the distinctive title of La Vérité. Records, jewels, and a full treasury had been saved from the Negroes and these the brethren installed in their lodge house at the head of Calvert Street Wharf.⁷⁰

Members of La Vérité applied to the Grand Lodge of Maryland for a Dispensation to open a Lodge working the symbolic degrees. The request was granted and in 1794 the brethren received a Warrant to work according to the Ancient York Rite. Their distinctive title was Veritas Sancti Johannes. Edmé Ducatel was master of the lodge.⁷¹ Because of the political tension between the United States and France Veritas Sancti Johannes returned its charter to the Grand Lodge in 1798.

A number of years later former members of the French lodge organized Les Frères Réunis Number Sixty-Eight. In 1822 it was resolved "that the language of this Lodge should be English instead of French, as heretofore," and the name was changed to King David's Number Sixty-Eight.⁷²

X

The refugees from St. Domingo greatly strengthened the Catholic Church in Maryland, for there were clerics and hundreds of zealous laymen in the emigration.⁷³ Several Creole priests were

⁷⁰ Edward T. Schultz, *History of Freemasonry in Maryland* . . . (4 vols., Baltimore, 1884-1886), I, 201, 202.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, II, 173.

⁷² *Ibid.*, II, 383, 384.

⁷³ That some Americans viewed this increase of the Catholic body with disfavor is attested by the following quotation, which appeared in the *Maryland Journal* of August 23, 1793, and which was printed in French in the issue of August 30:

"Let foreigners . . . who are not of the communion of the Church of England, or Protestant Episcopal Church, be told, by their candid and well-informed friends,

"1. That they will be considered as *Dissenters* by our laws, and may of course expect a treatment corresponding with the inferiority of that subordinate character.

"2. That their churches, and other congregational property, will have no more protection than if they were Mahometan mosques, or Pagan temples, while the churches, and parochial property of the Protestant Episcopal, enjoy the additional security of particular laws, which incorporate their vestries, enabling them to hold, protect, and defend the premises, for the use and benefit of that highly-favored denomination."

assigned to country parishes. Adrien Cibot became pastor of Bohemia Manor and Marcel-Guillaume Pasquet de Leyde, "former almoner of the government and of the general hospital of Port-au-Prince," was assigned to Deer Creek. At St. Peter's Church, Baltimore, Père Jean-François Moranvillé, a missionary of the Holy Ghost who had fled from the Revolution in Guyanne, preached a sermon in French daily at the eight o'clock Mass.⁷⁴

To judge by the number of French entries on the parish registers it would seem that the St. Domingans doubled the Catholic population of Baltimore. Among the refugees buried in St. Peter's Churchyard were: Nicolas O'Rourke, son of Patrick and Marie-Angèle-Renée (de Veteaux) O'Rourke, captain of the Walsh Regiment; Nicolas-François-Just Michel, a native of Fontainebleau, "late Notary General of the Western Part of St. Domingo," who died at Fell's Point in August, 1795; de la Perrière, a native of Chamberry, Savoy, and a surgeon of Petit-Goave, St. Domingo; and Anne-Josephine de Laprade, wife of the commander of artillery and adjutant general of the southern part of St. Domingo, who died in 1799.⁷⁵

XI

In spite of the French Minister's failure to contribute to the support of the first émigrés, it must not be thought that the French Government lost interest in the refugees once they set foot on American soil. Consuls and vice-consuls throughout the country demanded that the St. Domingans declare the date of their emigration and register the births and deaths in their families. Republicans were asked to apprise newcomers of these formalities "qui ne sont point des formes nouvelles, elles sont au contraire tres ancienne, sous l'Ancien Regime. Elles sont trop utiles pour devoir etre negligees sous le nouveau."⁷⁶ This explanation, no doubt, was intended to allay the fears of the Royalists.

Notices appeared in the local press informing those French citizens "who have continued faithful to the Republic and who

⁷⁴ John Gilmary Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore* (New York, 1888), 454; *Cathedral Records: from the Beginning of Catholicity in Baltimore to the Present Time* (Baltimore, 1906).

⁷⁵ Transcripts of the early parish registers of St. Peter's Church are owned by the Maryland Historical Society.

⁷⁶ See *The Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), March 27, 1794.

desire to return to their own firesides " that the consul in New York would defray the cost of their passage home.

A few of the Creoles in Maryland accepted the consul's offer, but their departure made little difference to the St. Domingan community. Refugees continued to be married to each other by French priests and their shops and schools were to thrive on American patronage for many years to come.

The restoration of the Bourbons, however, drew off the leaders of the Baltimore colony. Those who remained conformed more and more to American cultural patterns and with the Anglicization of the French lodge in 1822, the St. Domingans made no further effort to maintain themselves as a separate group. But the influence that the refugees had exerted in educational, artistic and professional fields furnished a leaven, the results of which, although not subject to measurement, left a definite impress on Maryland.



MRS. GEORGE CALVERT
(ROSALIE EUGENIA STIER)
(1778-1821)

and her eldest child, Caroline Maria (1800-1842), later Mrs. Thomas Willing Morris of Philadelphia. Painted by Gilbert Stuart, 1805. Now owned by Mrs. Morris Murray.

THE CALVERT-STIER CORRESPONDENCE

LETTERS FROM AMERICA TO THE LOW COUNTRIES, 1797-1828.

Edited by WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

"At last we are here—citizens of Annapolis and after two or three more wearisome days we shall be ready to welcome you to our new home." Thus wrote Rosalie Stier to her brother Jean in December, 1797, soon after the Stier family emigrated from Belgium. This was the first sentence of the first letter in a long correspondence between the young lady and the brother who returned to live in the old country. Rosalie married an American and raised a family in the new land, and when she died, her son continued the letter-writing where she left off. Many of the epistles were preserved by the Stiers at "Clydael," the country estate near Antwerp, and were translated from the original French through the efforts of Mr. John Ridgely Carter, who lived in Paris for many years.* The portions quoted here contain comments on politics, society, literature, plantation life, and European events. They give an unusually interesting view of the contemporary scene as described by an alert observer.

The Stiers had been prominent in the Low Countries for a long time. Descended from the painter Rubens, Henri Stier of Amsterdam married Cornelia van Tetz; and their son Albert, who moved to Antwerp, married H el ene de Labistrate. This lady obtained from the Empress Maria Theresa for her eldest son, Jean Fran ois Stier, the title of Baron de Stier, with the addition of two flying pennants to the family coat of arms. Henri Joseph Stier (1743-1821), another son (fifth among ten children), was a member of the Equestrian Order and of the States General of the Province of Antwerp. He married (1767) Marie Louise Peeters, daughter of Jean Gilles Peeters, a wealthy merchant, and Mathilde Fran oise van den Cruyce. There were three children: Isabel, married (1790) to the Baron Jean van Havre; Charles, married (1794) to Marie van Havre, sister of Isabel's husband; and Rosalie

* The translations have been deposited with the Maryland Historical Society by their owner, Mrs. Henry J. Bowdoin, of Elkridge, Md., a great-granddaughter of Rosalie Stier.

Eugenia, a girl not yet grown. These were the writers of the letters extracted in this paper.

The French Revolution was responsible for the emigration of the Stiers to the United States. The spread of mob rule and violence in France, featuring attacks on the noble and wealthy classes, caused alarm among members of similar groups in nearby countries. The news of the battle of Fleurus created something akin to panic in June, 1794, and there was a general movement to escape from the approaching French troops. The Stiers went to Amsterdam and there contracted with Keran Fitzpatrick, master of an American ship, the *Adriana*, to convey to the United States seven members of the family, two servants, and a large quantity of baggage. The vessel sailed August 25th and reached Philadelphia early in October. There Henri Joseph Stier engaged in various commercial enterprises for a year, and then, in the autumn of 1795, moved to Annapolis in Maryland.¹

Henri Joseph Stier was the author of two missives which antedated by several weeks the beginning of the correspondence between his daughter and his son, and which may serve as an introduction to Rosalie's letters. The comments on the "gloomy prospect for American business" and the worthlessness of paper money reflect the disturbed state of affairs arising from the conflict with France. The account of the flight of the ladies from the gallery of the Assembly chamber describes an amusing episode in Annapolitan life during the last decade of the eighteenth century. The story of the encounter in the stagecoach gives a picturesque glimpse of the character of the great Sam Chase.

[Henri Joseph Stier to unknown, Annapolis, September, 1797]

. . . I cannot combat the opinions you express on the actual state of things in Europe, but I cannot on the other hand admit such measures as you wish consequently to take to be justifiable. I think we must wait for some time, and see if business gets better. Warson's failure created a great sensation here. To my great surprise it is more spoken of than any other affair of that kind, and even with feeling, as if people were interested in the thing. The losses of your town are cited in the gazettes. You must all be in great embarrassment. What is most fatal is that your town has no prospect of repairing her losses, only trading with the islands, which will be more difficult in the future. For be assured that France will

¹ Baron Hervé de Gruben, "Une famille d'émigrés belges aux États-unis pendant la Révolution Française," *Belgium*, I (1941), 7-14, gives some account of the Stier family.

not take any settlement and the pillage of the pirates and the division of the islands will go from bad to worse. Therefore put all your energy into play to recover all that is possible and do not flatter your hopes of a propitious future. Those who sink into distress now will not be able to rise again, I believe. Do not be easy-going. Have you already brought your business in Philadelphia to an end? I should be delighted to hear so. Do not lose any time, for every day makes recovery more difficult. I foresee a gloomy prospect for American business. My gardener is getting worse. I shall be obliged to dismiss him. Can you not get some sort of advice as to whether I risk having difficulties with him about his wages? This is the state of affairs: A gardener in Antwerp in my pay sent at my request one of his sons aged about seventeen to America, where he has been with me since April 1796. Without having made any stipulation with him in regard to wages, I had arranged with his father to pay him a certain sum annually. So up to the present time I have paid him some money besides the costs of his journey from Europe to America and the expenses of his lodging and clothing. I want to know in event of his leaving me unwillingly what would be the young man's rightful claims against me?

. . . Our town is in a great bustle of merriment occasioned by the marriage of Miss Murray. One day at the Loges', another at the Scotts', at the Keys', at the Cooks, and a superb entertainment at the Carrolls; a ball for the Legislature is a return by the legislative body this time made up nearly entirely of very frivolous young people of the aristocratic and democratic parties, but both in unison to please the belles who gratefully assist at the legislative assemblies by way of return. A rather amusing incident occurred to-day. For several days there has been a discussion on the subject of the use the State of Maryland should make of the treasury funds, and the import is grave. The debate had been as to whether shares should be taken in the new Bank of Maryland established last year in Baltimore, or invested for the second time in the company for the canal to be run from the Potomac to George Town. Mr. Maxon is promoting the latter project here. During this debate several parties of ladies had been in the assembly of delegates. The decision was in favor of the Bank. The Senate rejected the resolution. To-day some ladies of an inferior kind unfortunately came to the Assembly. The case on docket was an appeal for a marriage separation,² whose report was liable to contain the ordinary incidents in such a case. At the time of the opening address, a member arose and glancing at the gallery, said he saw just cause that the case should not be discussed that day. Another member observed that the reasons valid for the honourable member would exist and had existed every day. Consequently a third delegate was sent as Deputy to the offenders to explain to them the dilemma. In a minute the whole gallery had taken flight as if the devil had chased them. . . .

² *The Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis) for September 18, 1797, carried William Barroll's notice that he would petition the Assembly for divorce from his wife.

You ask my advice as to your plan of buying a house. I strongly dissuade you from any purchase of property, as I have no doubt that everything is going to decrease in value. But if you can not liquidate your debts except by these means, there can be no hesitation about the undertaking. The circulation you intend to give paper is a violent remedy which will lead definitely to nothing. Reflect at length, and be persuaded that paper of that kind can never be converted into money. The law systems of France, the *assignats* of to-day, and American paper money all amount to nothing. Be convinced (and profit by the conviction) that paper money only has some value at the very first, and one must take advantage of this knowledge to get rid of it and to realize the best possible price, but at all costs to get rid of it. None of your merchants will recover from their failure. Your town was in an abnormal state; the least shock would have inevitably brought down on your head the present situation. Be chary of paying in silver and redeem all the paper possible. The notes of your merchants will be like Morris'. Write me by each post on this subject and do not be misled. This state of things changes my design to purchase bank shares and I am holding on to my assignments till you inform me on the subject.

[Henri Joseph Stier to unknown, Annapolis, November 23, 1797]

. . . I have received a letter from Fitzpatrick who thanked me for the welcome that I had given him, sent you his kind regards, and made me a present of two dozen bottles of Bordeaux. He is going with Fitzsimmons on an expedition to Havana for sugar cane and for cocoa destined for Spain, and from Spain he travels as supercargo to Bordeaux and will bring back wine of the local brand, and within a month he will have returned to Philadelphia. He says he did not intend to go to sea this winter, but he was tempted by the prospect of a good voyage. He hopes we shall have given up the idea of returning [to the Low Countries] by the time he returns, especially in view to the actual state of political affairs.

. . . My household is running as smoothly as possible. Nevertheless I feel I am on the point of being left without a single servant at any moment, and compelled to milk my cows, feed the calves, and split the wood. Next December I may perhaps be on the streets! I am afraid of everything down to attorneys—with all the more reason because I am at odds with the myrmidons of the law. You know that I had an upset going to Baltimore, and on leaving Baltimore the last person to enter the stage was a huge man with a stentorian voice. Behold justice incarnate! He was Chase,³ one of the most prominent judges of Maryland, and the greatest cart-horse I ever knew! He planted himself in front of me on top of me, and I had to turn sideways and thrust my elbow in his back. The man having evidently had the lion's share everywhere, did not find me so complaisant and took exception to my posture. I replied spiritedly that I was in my right place and he should confine himself to his. If

³ Samuel Chase (1741-1811), justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1796 to 1811.

there had been a retort to this the discussion would have grown heated, but he did not allow me to continue. "Never mind, never mind" was his reply. However he did not change his posture, and it may have been through antipathy to his profession that I called his attention to my discomfort. Finally he complied with my request, but woe to my pleas before the Supreme Court! . . .

Rosalie Stier's first two letters to her brother show something of her initial reactions to life in the new country. It appears that the family decided at one point to return to Antwerp, and planned a grand tour in a phaeton before starting the sea voyage.

[Rosalie Stier to Jean Charles Stier, Annapolis, December 7, 1797]

At last we are here—citizens of Annapolis and after two or three more wearisome days we shall be ready to welcome you to our new home. The room reserved for you is the most cheerful of all. Mamma is sleeping there while her own is being put in order. I am busied with a jungfrau for your benefit and she is much amused. The household is moving smoothly and we have a very fat cook who makes delicious tarts.

It seems to me that you are very fine with all your *grandeas*, your *Viscounts* and your *Chevaliers*! That will not help to reconcile my sister-in-law⁴ with the 'blue' dial as she calls it. We saw the *Chevalier* to-day but by ill-luck the *Viscount* is not passing by here. I am sorry that I cannot as yet describe in detail the fashions for the gentlemen for I have not seen enough to be able to judge but when I am more familiar with them I shall write to you. The new hats have very high crowns a little smaller at the top than at the base. . . . But, my dear brother, is it possible that you wished to come here on horse back? That is not practicable at this time of the year and besides you could not bring luggage with you! and you wished to journey North in this fashion! Reflect for a minute and you will see that it is impossible! Your wife would have to wear a cloak over a pelisse at the very least! your face and hands would freeze, and then what a strange way to travel in the winter. You would not be received in any boarding house. In your place I should buy a pretty phaeton with two little ponies. It is the best way to travel unless you go by the public stagecoach which is even better as it is only half filled in the winter. You could put *Witchke* somewhere to pasture until you return. My poor *Brilliany* has been sold to a tailor here but we still have the pet *Bucephalus* and the two carriage horses—all at Strawberry Hill.⁵ . . .

⁴ Jean Charles Stier and his wife were in America at the time these letters were written.

⁵ "Strawberry Hill" was the place near Annapolis occupied for a time by the Stiers. The *Maryland Gazette* for October 5, 1797, contained an advertisement: "Lost from the shore of Strawberry Hill, a small row boat about twelve feet long. \$2.00 reward. H. J. Stier." The property later became the County Almshouse, but in 1823 was sold and finally passed to the Government for use as a farm to supply the Naval Academy. It is now the site of the Academy golf course.

[Rosalie Stier to Jean Charles Stier, n. d.]

. . . My dear Brother, now that our return to Europe is settled for the month of June, in what way do you feel about it? Favorably or adversely? We shall not know until we have arrived and experienced the differences, at any rate. At present we are growing used to our citizenship in Annapolis and we are to make the rounds in the coach tomorrow for the first time. . . . As soon as spring comes on we are going from Bath to Niagara Falls in a phaeton with our two small ponies. Isn't that a good idea? Our new house is enormously big, four rooms below, three large and two small ones on the second floor besides the staircases, and the finest garden in Annapolis in which there is a spring, a cold bath house well fitted up and a running stream! What more could I wish for? . . .

The next letter was written by Rosalie Stier's brother-in-law, Jean Michel Van Havre, from Alexandria, Virginia. The early part deals with business matters; then, after a few personal comments, there are some interesting predictions on the outcome of the campaigns in Europe.

[Van Havre to Jean Charles Stier, Alexandria, July 13, 1800]

. . . Write me the price of stocks. Nothing is to be done here. Alexandria bank shares were sold at 183½ under offer. The Insurance Companies shares are giving no dividends this quarter. The dividend of the Bank shares is 4½ per cent. for the last six months or nine dollars per share. The Insurance Company shares are no longer on sale. I find some Bank shares bought in October, 1798; but I cannot remember when or how they were paid for. You transacted the business, so you will probably know how it was done. I find also 600 dollars loaned to Andrew and William Ramsey. I know they have returned the amount, but I cannot discover what became of the money. I suppose that you partly purchased the Bank shares with it. Please write me about what you know of it. All the other accounts are correct.

. . . My children, my wife⁶ and myself are all very well. Edouard takes a very cold bath every morning and cries like a young eagle. But that does not matter. He has to go through it, as it is very good for him. You must positively make a trip north with your wife or she will certainly have a relapse next winter. You must not delay longer. All this cupping, powders, drugs, et cetera, are chips in porridge. Only the sea air and the amusement occasioned by the journey will do her lasting good. There is a physician in Dumfries who made use of a herb called fox gloves with exceptional success. You may suggest it to Doctor Schaeff.

The campaign has opened with a broken nose on one side and a black

⁶ Isabel Marie Stier married Van Havre, who was, like his father-in-law, a member of the Equestrian Order and of the States General of the Province of Antwerp.

eye on the other. It will probably be another wasted year. Moreau will drive Krey back to Bavaria harassing the Austrians at the cost of an enormous loss of life so that his army will be so weakened by these successes as to be unable to meet Krey. Then Moreau will in turn be repulsed, but the season will be too advanced to admit of protracted sieges and both armies will go into winter quarters.⁷ The campaigns of '95, '96 and '97 were like that and so will be the campaign of 1800 in Germany and in Italy. Even if Buonaparte defeats Melas, the fortresses and the nation will render it impossible for him to make great headway in Italy.⁸ If Melas defeats Buonaparte it will be about the same, for he will be held back from the complete conquest of Switzerland by the remainder of the army of Massena, probably reinforced by new recruits. If Krey could beat Moreau the balance would turn; Buonaparte would be obliged to abandon either Massena or Moreau, for he could not aid both effectively; but I see very little probability for that outcome. Moreau seems more skilled than Krey. Why is not the Archduke there? . . .

Rosalie Stier (1778-1821) was married June 11, 1799, to George Calvert (1768-1838), son of Benedict Swingate or Calvert (c. 1724-88), the natural son of Charles, 5th Lord Baltimore, and Elizabeth Calvert, daughter of Governor Charles and Rebecca (Gerrard) Calvert. When she next took up her pen to write her brother, she was living at Bladensburg (probably at the estate now known as "Riversdale"), not far from the newly established capital of the nation.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Bladensburg, December 30, 1801]

. . . I came back to-day from the Federal City, where we spent several days with Mrs. Law,⁹ who is certainly almost the most charming woman I have met in this country. I was surrounded there by Ambassadors and Ministers. Society will be very brilliant this winter. You asked me to write you all the society gossip but the time at my disposal does not allow me to do so now. I am planning to begin my diary tomorrow. My husband asks me to say that he will write to you next. My little Caroline¹⁰ is very well and is growing rapidly. She runs around now and is beginning to talk. We come very often to Bladensburg which seems to give Papa and Mamma pleasure. . . .

⁷ Moreau was put in command of the army for the invasion of Germany, crossed the Rhine, gained control of Bavaria, and won the battle of Hohenlinden near Munich before there was an armistice.

⁸ Napoleon himself took charge of the Army of Italy, crossed the Alps, entered Milan, went on to defeat the Austrian general Melas at Marengo, and continued his drive until peace came.

⁹ Eliza Parke Custis (1776-1832), eldest child of John Parke Custis and Eleanor Calvert (sister of Rosalie Stier's husband), married the Englishman, Thomas Law (1756-1834), but later separated from him.

¹⁰ Caroline Maria Calvert, born July 15, 1800, married June 19, 1823, Thomas Willing Morris of Philadelphia, died November 25, 1842.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Bladensburg, December 30, 1801]

. . . I must now tell you the great event of Annapolis society. Polly Lloyd is to be married next month to Frank Key who has nothing and who has only practiced two years. They are going to live in Fredericktown.¹¹ The number of my nieces and nephews increases incredibly. In two months I shall have four more, and I hope that you will soon announce the expectation of a fifth. My little Caroline grows charming! She has begun to prattle and is extremely merry and vivacious. Her father idolizes her. But do not be afraid! we do not spoil her at all. My husband came back to-day from the 'Federal City' and bids me send his love to you and Mimi and to say that there is nothing now in politics which is at all interesting. He witnessed the arrival of the celebrated mammoth coach presented to Jefferson by the Democrats. It was drawn by five beautiful horses. . . .

There was more talk in 1802 of returning to the Low Countries, and this time, strangely enough, it was the elder Stiers who balked at the necessary upheaval. The change had been made and they had become used to it—why give up a good situation for another trans-Atlantic voyage with uncertainty to be found on the other side?

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Mont Alban, July 3, 1802]

. . . We were very surprised to receive your pressing invitation to return. I did not expect Mamma and Papa would be so opposed to it. It appears to give them much pain to think of going back to the same country they left with so much regret! As to us, my dear Brother, I cannot imagine how you could have thought it feasible for my husband to leave in a month all his property consisting as it does entirely of real estate. How could he have possibly managed it? But supposing even that it was possible, how could we subsist over there? You understand how hard it is to find a good tenant for good estates and how still more difficult it is to find an industrious honest overseer, and no matter how well they were managed we would not derive nearly so much profit from them as if we remained on the spot. My husband did not intend to marry and so he has only begun to cultivate his estates during the last three or four years. Before he did not pay any attention to them and time is required for making profitable three plantations which consisted nearly entirely of woodland. It would therefore be impossible for us to sail before spring after next. If Papa and Mamma leave next spring it will be very sad for me to remain here alone. Do you think, dear Brother, my husband would grow used to

¹¹ Francis Scott Key (1779-1843) married January 19, 1802, Mary Tayloe Lloyd (1784-1859), daughter of Col. Edward and Elizabeth (Tayloe) Lloyd of "Wye." The diary of William Faris, Annapolis silversmith, recorded the event: "Jan. 19th. to Night Miss Polly Lloyd to be married to Mr. Fk. Key." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVIII (1938), 239.

our country? I am very much afraid that he would not. Not that he is so much attached to America, for I believe he would like to live in England if our means allowed it, but that is very different from our country. However, from your descriptions, I think social life must have gained by the revolution since gayety and ease have taken the place of the cold formality which formerly threw a cold chill on every amusement; but I am surprised that an *amateur des arts* like yourself should not approve of the clinging dress which gives the painter and sculptor opportunity to contemplate and study beauties formerly left to their imagination. In this more virtuous land only the contours are perceived through filmy batiste—a subtler fashion. Several of your Annapolis acquaintances are married; among others Polly Lloyd, whom I mentioned in my last letter, and Betsey Cook¹² who married one of the most prominent Baltimore merchants, but it is believed that she will die from a cold she caught at a ball where she wore a Greek dress. . . .

You probably know of the death of Mrs. Washington. Young Custis¹³ offered to buy Mount Vernon but Bushrod Washington did not want to sell it (or rather his wife did not agree). I am expecting her here in several days to spend the artolan and blue wings season with us. . . .

When Rosalie Calvert's sister, Isabel Van Havre, wrote their brother in the spring of 1803, the elder Stiers and the Van Havres had decided to leave America after all. Isabel's pleasure at this move is apparent, and her comment that Rosalie "would be much more attractive if she were less American" indicates in an amusing way that some of the family really had not "caught the spirit of the land."

[Isabel S. Van Havre to Jean Charles Stier, March 1, 1803]

. . . I hope to sail in less than two months and this thought consoles me for all the discomforts I may still undergo. I have not written you for the last two or three months, although I had a number of letters from you which gave me untold pleasure, but I have been in too low spirits to correspond since the death of my lovely little baby. I have had nothing but unhappiness. I have wished myself a thousand times in Anvers. Everything tends to make me more than ever disgusted with this country, but let us not discuss it for in a little while we shall be in each other's arms and all the trouble will be forgotten. Meanwhile I am determined to keep up to the end the task I have undertaken and not to lose courage so near port. It has given me pain, nevertheless, to perceive how often justice has not been rendered to me and to feel that I am not appreciated, as you said in one of your letters. I have indeed gone through trials enough! We

¹² Elizabeth Cooke, daughter of William Cooke and his wife Elizabeth Tilghman, married Robert Gilmor of Baltimore.

¹³ Martha (Dandridge) Custis Washington died May 22, 1802. George Washington Parke Custis (1781-1857) was her grandson and a son of George Calvert's sister, Eleanor.

have begun to pack up the furniture Mamma wishes to take to Europe with her, so I have been busy the last two days and cannot answer all your inquiries. I shall defer the discussion of all of them until we are together. Rosalie is still here with her two children. Her husband is coming Saturday and returns home Monday. Her baby got ill when fifteen days or three weeks old and has not been well since. However he has been better for the last few days. The wife of Will Scot, her coachman, helps her to nurse him, so he has two nurses. (This woman is an excellent nurse.) Rosalie intended to be confined here on the fifteenth of January, but on the second of January an express messenger came to tell us that this Dauphin had made his entry into this world at her home.¹⁴ Mamma and I went there through a deep snow. I came back the next day. Mamma stayed over a fortnight, then I went to relieve her, and after three or four weeks Rosalie came with me to Bladensburg where she has been ever since. She is much better since her confinement, and does not suffer from the fever she had so badly. She does not intend to come with us to Europe. I suppose she will get ready to visit us in a year or so to try the life in Belgium, of which she does not seem to have the good opinion with which you credit her. She affects to think the society and customs here infinitely preferable. It is true that she has caught the spirit of the land much more than we others, which is perhaps an advantage for her. In any event, I think she would be much more attractive if she were less American! . . .

[Isabel S. Van Havre to Jean Charles Stier, April 10, 1803]

All the hyacinths are nearly in full bloom, which divert Papa and though they cause great loss of time they put him in good spirits. He has advertised them for public sale without reflecting how we should be over run with people. Now we have to escape them by the door or windows like very Harlequins. There is a Mrs. Carroll of Baltimore who has written asking to see them before the sale. I am afraid we shall have to entertain her here. Doctor Scott is coming too and Heaven knows who else besides! The other day a whole car load of ladies and gentlemen came from Georgetown, but as we did not know them we were dispensed from very active politeness. . . .

George Calvert wrote his brother-in-law a few days later, and mentioned again the most important reason for remaining in America: the development of an estate which had been allowed to run wild for years. There is a suggestion of the large part played by Henri Stier in the construction and arrangement of "Riversdale," the home which was completed in 1803 and which was the family headquarters in the succeeding decades. It is interesting to note Stier's difficulty in managing Negroes.

¹⁴ George Henry Calvert was born January 2, 1803, married May 8, 1829, Elizabeth Steuart (1802-97), daughter of James and Rebecca (Sprigg) Steuart, and died May 24, 1889, without issue.



GEORGE CALVERT

(1768-1838)

Son of Benedict Calvert of "Mount Airy" and brother-in-law of "Jacky" Custis. Painted by Gilbert Stuart, 1805. Now owned by Mrs. Morris Murray.

[George Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, April 20, 1803]

. . . You will readily suppose that Rosalie and myself had indulged the fond hope of Papa and Mama's remaining on this side of the Atlantic, after having done so much towards fixing a residence by the improvements made upon the farm, but if it cannot be so, we must yield to the necessity and like good republicans submit to the majority who are entitled to decide, and content ourselves with praying for their return accompanied by you and Mrs. Stier. My dear Rosalie seems prepared to meet the event with that fortitude and good sense for which I think she is preeminent, and it has not failed (if that were possible) to increase the high regard I have for her, when I consider she parts with all her friends for her husband.

You are well acquainted with the nature and situation of my property, the proceeds of which much depends upon management. This was little attended to before my marriage, since which I have made considerable improvements in the agricultural line, which will enable me to make an abundance for our support here, but were I to leave my land at this time I fear the profits would not enable me to live so comfortably in Europe. We must therefore give up the idea of seeing you shortly but shall not relinquish the pleasing hope of again seeing those we so sincerely esteem and regard. . . .

Papa has made considerable improvements upon the plantation. There still remains a great deal to do which would serve him for amusement did he remain here. I fear he finds the management of negroes more troublesome than he expected; it certainly requires a large stock of patience. You will see from our public prints that we are still Democratic. It has produced no very bad effects as yet, but there is no telling where it will end. . . .

The parting had taken place before Rosalie Calvert resumed the correspondence with her brother. In her first letter from "Riversdale," there are some remarks of sympathy on the death of Jean Stier's wife, and then Rosalie comments briefly on the growth of Washington and its vicinity.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, September 12, 1803]

. . . I am very well now, and take much exercise—chiefly on horseback. Mrs. Lewis comes here three or four times a week. We ride together and several "cavaliers" accompany us. I am sure you would think our habits pretty. I gave a description of them to Mamma. Besides our "beaux" we both have a servant in livery à l'Anglaise who follows us. I have a very fine equipage now with four beautiful brown horses. I go to the Federal City nearly every day. The road has been made entirely of gravel. Bladensburg has become very brilliant indeed. People come from all directions to drink the waters on Sundays. All Georgetown in particular comes. So many people are dying at Alexandria that it is said to be—. I do not know if it is true, but it has raged from New York,

Philadelphia and Baltimore to this place. The drought has been fearful this year which causes the epidemic. We have never been so long without rain. . . .

The next letter mentions the "alarming" state of affairs in Europe and the beginnings of American conflict with the French-English 'war of decrees.'

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, June 13, 1804]

. . . I had hoped for a time to be able to come this summer, but after more mature reflection we found it impossible, it will be with great difficulty that we can put everything in order even for the spring, but we are resolved to leave then unless unforeseen events intervene. The French are now treating flagrantly the American ships they meet, ill-using all on board and pillaging like pirates. The state of Europe (if we can form a just estimate from the gazettes) is very alarming. I shall not tell you anything of politics here, as I have not time, McEwen having written me that the "Mars" is to leave for Anvers in four days, but I shall write to you on the next opportunity. . . .

Rosalie Calvert's comments on the American way of serving meals show that she was not completely converted to the customs of her adopted land. On the contrary, she expressed great admiration for the British, saying that comparison with other nations confirmed the preference more strongly each year.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, December 1, 1806]

. . . Our little Caroline is pretty and amiable and as good at present as she was naughty in her babyhood; the painter Stuart¹⁵ who did our portraits last year never wearied admiring her and tells me she resembles extremely Mrs. Sheridan, the loveliest woman in London.

I see that the manner of serving your dinners has not changed and I prefer it greatly to the American mode of serving all the meats and vegetables together. One has not time to eat sufficiently before half the dishes are cold, so one must hurry to swallow everything as if one had not dined for a month, but though I approve so much of three courses I should like to divide them differently. Nothing cold should come on for the first and the *rotis* before the stews. As in this country everyone does as he likes I am going to introduce quite a new mode. I shall take the best fashions from the different countries. Mr. & Mrs. Merry,¹⁶ whom

¹⁵ Gilbert Stuart (1755-1828) painted the portraits of the Calvert family during his stay in Washington, 1803-05, when he had a studio at I and 7th Streets and was "all the rage."

¹⁶ Anthony Merry, British minister to the United States from 1803 to 1806. He and his wife, formerly Elizabeth Death, created a minor civil war in Washington society over the question of diplomatic precedence.

we are going to lose, lived in European style. They were extremely courteous to us and I am so sorry that they are recalled. Mr. Erskine,¹⁷ who takes their place, will not live so well. He married at Philadelphia and is very young for an Ambassador. You are going to have still another general war in Europe whose issue it is impossible to foresee (in spite of the *Paris Moniteur*). That little island [England] gives Buonaparte enough work to do! For my part, I admire that nation every day more and more. In what does she not hold supremacy at this time, her government, her laws, and the impartiality with which justice is administered; the ministers and generals—nearly all not only men of distinguished talent but also of merit and virtue! With what heroism a Nelson, a Pitt, a Cornwallis, a Fox have so lately met their deaths!¹⁸ Giving at once example of courage and integrity beyond proof during their lives and of true piety in their last hours! What do you think, dear Brother, of the belief in predestination? I am rather of that persuasion. The education I received at Liège, my two trips to Spa, and several other circumstances contributed to give me this preference for the English, which a comparison with other nations only confirms more strongly from year to year. What then would have become of me if I had married a Frenchman, or even one of my fellow-countrymen. It would not have suited me, I think. . . .

Thomas Moore (1779-1852), the Irish poet, was the first literary figure to be discussed in the Calvert-Stier correspondence. Rosalie sent her brother a parcel of books containing Moore's works and gave her own reactions to them.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, January, 1807]

. . . I answer you only a few days afterwards and profit to-day by an opportunity offered me by a ship sailing from the Potomac, to write you and to send in a box addressed to Papa four books of the poems of Thomas Moore, which I beg you to accept. I have often read them and with renewed pleasure each time. Mr. Moore is a young man who is as agreeable in his manners as he is talented as a poet, and that is saying a great deal! He is much admired in England. He made a tour through America two years ago and wrote several very scathing articles on this country and its government. I hear my sister-in-law¹⁹ is learning English. A perfect knowledge of the language is needed to appreciate the delicacies of Moore's style. If you care for these volumes, I will send you the rest of his works. The name of "Little" under which his first essays were published is

¹⁷ David Montague Erskine (1776-1855), minister from 1806 to 1809. He married in 1799 Frances Cadwallader, daughter of Gen. John Cadwallader of Philadelphia.

¹⁸ Admiral Horatio Nelson (1758-1805) died October 21, 1805, General Charles Cornwallis (1738-1805), governor general of India, died October 5, 1805, William Pitt (1750-1806) died January 23, 1806, and Charles James Fox (1749-1806) died September 13, 1806.

¹⁹ Jean Charles Stier's second wife was Eugenie Van Ertborn.

fictitious. You will observe that he does not spare this country, but what he says refers to the Democrats and is not exaggerated. I do not know what is thought in Belgium but perhaps you will find some of these poems too freely expressed. I acknowledge that they would not be good for a young girl. He has been accused of the tendency to pervert public morals in his writings, but if you have continued to read English since your return to Europe you must be fascinated by the simplicity and elegance of his style and language. I have turned down the corners of several leaves in the book of odes and epistles—those I admire most.²⁰ Write me what you think of them. The "Fragments of a Journal," page 111, gives a charming description of a journey in a public stagecoach.

Society in Washington is very inferior just now! All the government officials, as well as the majority of members of Congress being Democrats and for the most part people of low extraction, so I do not go there often, and employ my leisure hours reading. Tell me how your ladies pass their days. They do not need, I suppose, to direct the most minor details in the care of their households and children as we must here. What is our brother Van Havre doing? Does he still get up at eleven o'clock? It is rarely the case that the rising sun finds me in bed. The morning is the best part of the day, the mind is more active and everything is done with more ease, and I believe that nothing contributes so much as early rising to the preservation of the youthful faculties. The habit is a little hard at the beginning, but, once contracted, it is much more agreeable.

Tell me, dear Brother, does your Eugenie improve in English? Are there any English people in Anvers and do you meet them? Do you talk of America sometimes, and what do they think of this country? The greatest failing I perceive in Americans is their heartlessness. They do not seem to feel anything deeply and are too prudent and reasonable to be lovable. We have a very nice little circle of neighbors we see often and unceremoniously. Your friend John Herbert who married Miss Snowden has built a house six miles away.²¹ I am sorry Papa did not leave us the plans you made for the house, which would have helped us greatly. We are still working on it. . . .

The letters written in 1807 and 1808 indicate a determination to avoid controversial matters, to remain in the realms of domestic and artistic affairs. The comments on literary and theatrical events show a lively interest in cultural activities.. The essay on education presents an interesting point of view.

²⁰ Thomas Moore's *The Poetical Works of the Late Thomas Little, Esq.*, sprightly amorous poetry, appeared first in 1801 and was published in Philadelphia in 1804. His *Epistles, Odes and Other Poems* (Philadelphia, 1806) contained severe attacks on America.

²¹ Col. John Carlyle Herbert (1757-1846) married Mary Snowden, daughter of Thomas and Ann (Ridgely) Snowden of "Montpelier." He was a member of Congress from 1815 to 1819. The family home was "Walnut Grange," near the modern Beltsville.

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, April 26, 1807]

. . . You sketch a truly amazing account of your campaign in Prussia, but I see, or at least I hope, from your gayety on the subject that you have no need to fear requisition from the Emperor. Our gazettes inform us of all that goes on in Europe. Here they continue to squabble without ceasing. I have taken a vow not to meddle in politics. They put everybody in a bad temper, not to say savage, and then I see so many women making themselves ridiculous by discussing politics at random without understanding the subject that I am disgusted with all controversy except about flowers, their culture absorbs me more every day, for as I go out very rarely it is my chief amusement. I am also teaching my two eldest children to read and they show much aptitude for learning. . . . We are very much occupied too in improving Riversdale, but there is still so much to do I despair of having it finished in less than ten years! You wrote that you could not find a statuette for such a small pedestal as the pillar of our staircase. I should be so annoyed for I do not think a lamp would be so effective. If, however, you cannot find a statuette, will you please send me one you think most suitable? The pillar is five feet three inches in diameter. I should like so much to have two plaster casts for our north drawing room. Papa writes that they were all too indecent, but they have changed on that subject here. I should like to have one of the Apollo Belvedere and my husband says he must have the Venus de Medici sent too. He bids me give you many messages from him and has so much to do that he cannot write to-day. At all events, if the statues are such that I cannot put them in the drawing room., I shall put them in my husband's study. . . .

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, May 5, 1808]

. . . You tell me that you yourself have little time to read or to draw, etc. You can then imagine how much less I have. Your household does not occasion you one half the trouble given me by mine. My children take up the rest of the day and when I go out or some one comes, they always suffer. I hardly have time to read a little every day, which is more interesting and amusing than music and restores me to good humor when the sordid household cares have irritated me. I never hear music, not even the old violin our old servant plays, without a sigh for the pleasure of the theatre and balls that I have so long been denied. Music makes me more sociable, but good reading makes us happier and more content with our daily existence, at least that is the effect it has on me. When I am at a dance or at a theatre, music exhilarates and enchants me—in short gives me keen pleasure, but alone in my home it recalls too vividly all the deprivations I undergo. I am reading just now Gesner's works, which are very well translated from German into English. I never admired him so much. What a fine style, so simple and touching! I was sure you would like Moore. Was there ever anything sweeter than his "Love and Reason" or the "Dismal Swamp" or the Anacreon's description of his mistress, Ode XLV. Moore is not liked here, as he is rather severe about the people

of this country, but what he says is true enough, which I suppose makes it still more offensive. But though he is my favorite I cannot pardon him for the way he speaks of the immortal Washington. It was not Appollo but Midas who inspired him when he attempted to portray that great man.

There is a very good theatre now in Philadelphia,²² much superior to what it was when you saw it. In the spring the same company plays in Baltimore and disperses in the summer going to Alexandria and Washington sometimes, and to other small towns! How I should like to see the opera "Oedipe" in Paris like you, and if you saw your nephew George, who is a remarkably clever fellow, you would like to have a son like him! No one is content with their fate and we always believe that is best which we have not. But are you not a little romantic, *cher ami*, in your ideas on the education of children? You would like to carry out Rousseau's plan, but I hope that you would have the foresight to steal a mate for each one of your children to be educated in the same way as their future companions. Else after all your trouble, they might be the most unhappy of mortals all their life because of their greater degree of perfection! Believe me, these private educations which have been followed out with so much care and method often miss their purpose. Even here there are several examples of it. Among others, my charming niece Miss Stuart²³ in whom are united all the most lovable traits with the most sordid virtues, fitted to adorn the highest position, and because her father had no fortune to give her, she has married a Virginia *bonhomme* who loves her as a *facon*, that is all. Her sisters who are really her opposites will perhaps be more happy. Do we not also often see the greatest care and attention only produce imbeciles? What was Lord Chesterfield's son? The Duke of Hamilton educated by Doctor Moore, the Duke of Tuscany by I forget whom, while we see the greatest men having risen without any particular trouble having been taken with their education. I am determined to spare neither trouble nor expense to bring up our children well, but if they are not born with talents, believe me, they will never acquire them. George seems to have a great deal of talent and application and as soon as he is old enough I shall send him to college. Now I am teaching him to read and write myself.

. . . It is difficult to see clearly in political matters at present. We are perfectly informed as to what goes on in Europe. What a singular situation for all the Continent just now! It seems to me that cannot last long. It is like Rome and Carthage, as Papa says. Isn't this expedition to India impossible, and may not England succumb at last to this current which sweeps over all? . . .

²² Chestnut Street Theatre, managed by William Warren and Alexander Reinagle. For an account of the company which played there, see Reese D. James, *Old Drury of Philadelphia. A History of the Philadelphia Stage, 1800-1835* (Philadelphia, 1932), p. 1ff.

²³ George Calvert's sister Eleanor, widow of John Parke Custis, married 2nd Dr. David Stuart, first of "Hyde Park" and then of "Ossian Hall" in Fairfax County, Virginia. Their daughter, Ann Calvert Stuart, became the second wife of William Robinson of "Bunker Hill."

The Calverts' way of life is pictured clearly in Rosalie's epistle to her brother in December, 1808. The urge to travel was gone and attention was turned to improvements on the estate, to horse-back riding, to visits with a small group of people, and to literature. There are some observations on the political scene, with the first suggestions of sectional conflict and the hint that "if Madison continues the same system as Jefferson we shall be on the brink of a civil war."

[Rosalie S. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, December 10, 1808]

. . . I do not know if it is indolence or the impossibility of carrying it out, but the taste for travelling no longer tempts me. It is undoubtedly agreeable to see lovely landscapes, above all, in the society of loved ones, but the inconvenience to which one is subjected before reaching them, the bad beds, and musty inns, etc., seem to me to counteract all the pleasure one gets, added to which there is the regret for the loss of charming acquaintances met on the journey never to be seen again! I would go more willingly fifty leagues to see a fine play than fifty of the most beautiful scenery.

I am so much obliged to you for the execution of all my commissions. I regret infinitely that you could not send them to me before this aggravating embargo came on. We work always here without a pause. A lake just finished which looks like a large river before the house on the southern side gives a very beautiful effect, and furnished us at the same time with fish and ice for our ice-house. I have intended a hundred times to send you our plan, but when I am writing to you I have always too little time to copy it. The old ice-house near the house was not good, as it leaked. We have built a new one in the wood beyond the stables. It is covered with straw and surrounded with great fine trees and looks like a hut; a little farther on a negro cabin gives the same effect and another we intend to build supported by columns will look like a temple. Our flower garden on the terrace is not yet completed, but I am raising a quantity of heliotropes to transplant outdoors in summer time with the geraniums, jasmine, rose bushes, etc. On the north side we have the loveliest possible lawn.

Have you read "Corrine" by Madame Stael-Holstein, an extremely interesting new romance?²⁴ I should like to be able to send it to you. In such a retired life reading is a relaxation after my domestic cares. It is nevertheless only rarely that I read romances. The better they are written the less they contribute to happiness. Poems, books on travel and lives of our contemporaries (formerly not obtainable until after their death) are my favourites. You know how books travel in this country from place to place (much to the detriment of their covers), but it is an excellent idea. The expense of a complete library would be too great, so every one pur-

²⁴ *Corinne; ou, L'Italie* (Paris 1807), 2 vols.

chases every year several volumes and they are loaned around and their merits discussed which clears up the estimates on both sides. You do not understand, you write, dear Brother, how anyone could attach so much importance to the care of a tree, to an equipage or to a piece of furniture. But you are very fortunate to be able to pass your time with friends at will, while I am far removed from all those dear to me in whose society I could freely give way to my impulses. I must confess that a visit, above all, from women, seems often too long for me. There are so few really amusing people. We have added a Mr. Stodert²⁵ to our set. He is a very learned man who has ruined himself in speculations of all kinds. His two daughters are extremely attractive and better bred than young American girls generally are. Having lost their mother when they were young, their father has brought them up in a way of which he should certainly reap the reward in comparing them with their companions.

I ride horseback sometimes, and I bought a very fine horse last year. A good lady's horse is difficult to find, so, as this one was perfect, my husband was induced to give two hundred dollars for him. We always have four fine carriage horses. Our old carriage is very dilapidated and with this new blockade a new one is not to be thought of. Quite a small vehicle serves me to go shopping to Georgetown. But what I should like to describe to you is a pony of my husband's called Savage of the race called Texas pony. He was caught quite young with his mother in Mexico and some time I shall send you his portrait. Black as ebony with a white stripe beginning at the head and continuing over his quarters, and two more on each side joining at the neck. It is the most beautiful animal I have ever seen. Several people have wanted to buy it to send it to England. We have two of its foals at present which promise to be very beautiful too.

. . . We are alarmed from time to time about the National bonds. People dare to speak openly of the dissolution of the States. I am often anxious on this subject. You are all so far away that you cannot be warned of the danger till too late. Perhaps I am a false prophet (and I hope so indeed) but it appears very certain that a government such as this can only last a short time. Every year they change something, the eastern States become daily more bitter against the southern States, and the latter instead of conciliating them do all they can to widen the breach,. In short that cannot go on and what will be the result? No one dares to face the issue, but if Madison continues the same system as Jefferson we shall be on the brink of a civil war. . . .

(To be continued)

²⁵ Benjamin Stoddert (1751-1813), first Secretary of the Navy (1789 to 1801), lived in Georgetown. His wife, Rebecca Lowndes, daughter of a Bladensburg merchant, died in 1800. Stoddert's later years were filled with pecuniary embarrassments.



"WAR PARK" OR "RYLIE'S DISCOVERY"

Residence at Bladensburg, Maryland, of the Reverend John Bowie when curate of Rock Creek Church, Prince George's Parish. It was owned later by his nephew, Colonel Thomas Bowie, who, after the War of 1812, called this place "War Park."

THE REVEREND JOHN BOWIE, TORY

By LUCY LEIGH BOWIE

"The undaunted, independent and uncompromising John Bowie, D. D., of Talbot, so prominent in his day in the Church of Maryland." It was thus that the historian, the Rev. Ethan Allen, wrote of him. To this can be added that he was a native of Maryland who went to college in Scotland and married there into an interesting family connection; that although he was a loyalist, he could have been the first biographer of Washington; he was deeply interested in the establishment of education in Maryland and he was also one of those clergymen whom tradition has called the "Fighting Parsons."

This John Bowie, the third of his name in direct line from the emigrant, was born at "Thorpland," his father's plantation on Collington Branch a few miles from Marlboro in Prince George's County. He was the youngest son of John Bowie, Jr., and his second wife, Elizabeth Pottinger. Two dates have been given for his birth, 1744 and 1746. After due consideration it is believed that the latter is the correct one.¹

In 1753, when John Bowie was seven years old, his father and his older half brother, William Bowie, Jr.,² both died.³ "Thorpland," which was entailed property, passed into possession of his half brother's infant son, whose name was also William. However, John Bowie, Jr., had made ample provision for his younger sons. To his second son, Allen, he left "The Hermitage" and to John, "Ryleys Discovery" and two parts of "Brookfield." His brother, Thomas Bowie, and his son-in-law, James Magruder, Jr., were named guardians. By the terms of this will the property was not to be depleted and after paying for the support and education of the sons, the increase in stock, servants and money was to be held and divided evenly between the heirs as each came of age.

Two years after the death of John Bowie, Jr., his widow mar-

¹ Walter Worthington Bowie, *The Bowies and Their Kindred* (Washington, 1899), Article No. 10.

² *Ibid.*, Articles 2, 8 and 15.

³ Will of John Bowie, Jr. Copy of will used in 1761 in possession of L. L. B.

ried Thomas Cramphin,⁴ Sr., whose home in lower Frederick County was located not far from Rock Creek Church; at the same time her son, Allen Bowie, Jr., came of age and went to live upon his plantation, "The Hermitage," and John Bowie, then nine years old, was sent to school to the Rev. Charles Lake,⁵ rector of St. James Church, Tracy's Landing. In accordance with his father's will the school was selected by his guardians. His grandfather, John Bowie, Sr., may also have had some voice in its choice. It was a good school with a large library and John Bowie acquired there the foundation upon which his high reputation for learning was built. The Rev. Charles Lake must have been a man of upright life and sound scholarship or he would not have had the profound influence upon the independent nature of John Bowie that he undoubtedly exercised. It must have been Mr. Lake who implanted within him the desire to take holy orders, as this calling has not been followed by any other of his family, although they have founded many churches and have been vestrymen almost to the last man.

Circumstantial evidence points to John Bowie as being much of the time at "Brookwood" with his grandfather during the years 1755 through 1758. The old gentleman was alone;⁶ his wife was dead and his children scattered. John was of an intellectual turn of mind so he liked tales of by-gone days, and it was through him that the only personal anecdote of the founder of the family has been handed down.⁷ No doubt he listened with enthusiasm to the memories of his grandfather's boyhood in Scotland. At any rate John Bowie was the only member of the family who was interested in returning to the land of his ancestors. Probably because of this appreciation he was given the "ancient brass disk" bearing the family coat-of-arms. Early in 1759 John Bowie, Sr., was stricken with paralysis and died later in the same year.⁸ Mr. Lake's school was closed in 1763 when his health had failed and he resigned his parish.⁹ John Bowie was then eighteen years old and made his home with his unmarried brother, Allen, at "The Hermitage." He had grown to be six feet or more with an upright manly bearing and a frank straight-

⁴ Bowie, Article 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Article 10.

⁶ Bowie, Article 1; also Bowie Papers in Maryland Historical Society.

⁷ St. James Parish record, Anne Arundel County.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Articles 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6.

⁹ MS. in possession of L. L. B.

forward manner. There is nothing to indicate how he spent the next year but he may have read under the direction of the Rev. Alexander Williamson,¹⁰ in whose parish Allen Bowie lived. John Bowie now had, at the discretion of his guardian, a comfortable sum of ready money at his disposal and his intention to complete his education in Scotland had become fixed. So in the summer of 1765, at nineteen years of age, he sailed for Scotland. It is to be supposed that he sailed in a ship belonging to his own tobacco factor, probably John Glassford and Company,¹¹ who had a large connection with Scotch colonial planters, and that he sailed from Georgetown and landed in Glasgow, North Britain.

Bowie did not linger in Glasgow. We learn from his son James that he entered the University of Edinburgh,¹² while from his son Thomas comes the information that he was a student at King's College at Aberdeen.¹³ It is believed that he attended both places. At that time the "University buildings at Edinburgh were wretched, looking more like Almshouses than halls of learning,"¹⁴ and by contrast the medieval towers of the old "University town between the Don and the Dee" must have appealed to John Bowie's New World imagination; or the course of study offered at King's College may have been advantageous, or he may have met the girl. Nor can we tell what family connections were established, for it was his grandfather who had emigrated and he may well have come into contact with both kin and kin's kin.

In Aberdeen John Bowie found the combination of Scotch culture and English theology that he desired. The English Chapel of St. Paul's was licensed by the Church of England and its clergy ordained by English bishops. It seated a thousand persons and Dr. Johnson has described the congregation as "numerous and splendid."¹⁵ The music was pronounced "admirable."

James Riddoch, who was the senior minister of the English Chapel, and John Bowie married sisters. They were the oldest and youngest daughters, respectively, of James Dallas, chief of

¹⁰ Ethan Allen, *Clergy in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1860), p. 10; J. T. Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), I, 746; Grace Dunlop Ecker, *Portrait of Old Georgetown* (Richmond, 1933), p. 40.

¹¹ Ecker, p. 8.

¹² MS in possession of L. L. B.

¹³ MS in Bowie Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

¹⁴ Varnum Lansing Collins, *President Witherspoon* (Princeton, 1925), I, 15.

¹⁵ *Journey to the Western Islands* (1775), p. 34.

the Dallas Clan and Laird of Cantray¹⁶ (whose life was lost at the battle of Colloden), and of his wife, Margaret, daughter of John Hamilton of Dalziel.¹⁷ Through her they were cousins of James Boswell, the biographer of Johnson. The Dallases were a small independent clan that dated from the twelfth century and took its name from the Barony of Dallas which lies on both sides of the River Lossie.¹⁸ When the army of Prince Charles came into Inverness, James Dallas attached himself to the MacIntosh Regiment and was appointed one of its six captains.¹⁹ The "Jacobite Memoir"²⁰ is quoted as saying "James Dallas was a loyal, kind, brave young man who raised his company at great expense to serve his royal master." On the eventful day at Colloden the MacIntosh Clan flung themselves in a wild charge against the English center. They were received with a terrible fire of musketry and James Dallas was one of the first to fall. Margaret Dallas was left a widow with five small children, William, the young laird, who was but seven years old, and four little girls, Isobel, Anne, Katherine and Margaret;²¹ the last must have been an infant in the arms when her father died or else a posthumous child; she is said to have been born at Inverness. James Boswell, the great biographer, in his diary of May, 1761, when on the Northern Circuit with his father, Lord Auchinleck, gives an attractive picture of the oldest Miss Dallas.²²

Breakfasted with Miss Dallas. . . . A charming creature indeed: excessively pretty, a most engaging manner. Great good sence, surprising propriety of language and facility of Expression. We were very merry. . . . Upon my soul, a delightful Girl. Never has been at Edin^r., nor any where in a large Place. Was in raptures to myself w^t her.

As Maryland tradition also describes her sister Margaret as pretty and animated, we may take it that they were a very attractive family of girls. The records show that after her husband's

¹⁶ James Dallas, *The Family of Dallas* (Edinburgh, 1921), p. 189.

¹⁷ *Scots Magazine*, Vol. 48 (1786), pp. 466 and 518.

¹⁸ Dallas, p. 11.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

²² Frederick A. Pottle and Charles H. Bennett, editors, *Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (New York, 1935), p. 419. It is desired to express sincere appreciation for the interest taken by both Professor Pottle and Dr. Bennett in the connection between Mrs. John Bowie and Dr. Johnson's great biographer, James Boswell.

death Mrs. Dallas was sometimes domiciled at "Cantray House" and sometimes at Inverness, but in 1768 they were living "near Aberdeen," and we turn to Boswell for the exact location. At the time of the Tour to the Hebrides, after Dr. Johnson had been given the freedom of the city of Aberdeen, at the Town Hall, the 23rd of August, 1773, he went with Sir Alexander Gordon to Old Aberdeen, while Boswell, Professor Thomas Gordon and Mrs. Riddoch, who had been Miss Dallas, called upon her mother, Mrs. Dallas, and then went on to the Old College.²³ Thus the Dallas residence must have been located adjacent to the mile of country that separated New Aberdeen from Old Aberdeen. Before this Boswell and Dr. Johnson had tea with the former's "old flame and cousin" who had married the Mr. Riddoch. Boswell was uneasy, fearing that she had "changed" but he found her the same "lively, sensible, cheerful woman as ever." They were glad to see each other. Boswell said "My mind was sensibly affected at seeing her. I believe there was sincere joy on both sides. Her youngest sister [Margaret] was gone to Maryland with her husband [John Bowie] also a clergyman. I saw her other two sisters."²⁴ Dr. Johnson was rather left out in this joyous reunion and exchange of family news. "He laid hold" of the little seven year old niece, Stuart Dallas, "and said he'd take her with him, telling her in a hollow voice that he lived in a cave and had a bed in the rock and she should have a little bed cut opposite to it."

It is believed that Margaret Dallas and John Bowie were married in 1770. Her dress was of white satin embroidered in pink roses and she brought with her to Maryland a bunch of shell flowers that she had made.²⁵ They were still being made by the Scotch ladies when Dr. Johnson and Boswell toured the Western Isles two years later. Both dress and flowers remain to this day. John Bowie was ordained deacon that same year of 1770.²⁶ He was ordained priest and licensed for Maryland by the Bishop of

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

²⁵ This satin dress and the shell flowers are in possession of Mrs. John Bowie's great great granddaughter, Mrs. William Farquhar, of Montgomery County, Maryland.

²⁶ Horace W. Smith, *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D. D.* (Philadelphia, 1879-80), II, 101.

London, July 28th, 1771,²⁷ and in August sailed with his little family for home; it would seem that his first child, Allen, was born before they left Britain.

With a fair wind the passage across required about a month. They arrived around the middle of September. John Bowie's plantation house was either newly built or was newly fitted up for them. (Until a recent date some of the building material could be found with the name "John Bowie" scratched upon it, notably the iron crane in the kitchen.) This house was beautifully located on the heights overlooking Bladensburg, in Prince George's County, which was then a port of entry and a center of social activity. Georgetown in lower Frederick County was a few miles away, with St. Paul's Church, Prince George's Parish, commonly called Rock Creek Church, between the two towns, the parish being in both counties.

Upon his arrival John Bowie was appointed curate to the rector, Alexander Williamson.²⁸ A year later Mr. Williamson sailed to the Bahamas for his health, leaving Mr. Bowie in charge of the parish. Upon his return in the spring of 1773, the rector found that his curate had been presented by Governor Eden with the living of St. Martin's Church,²⁹ Worcester Parish, which comprised the upper half of the County of that name on the Eastern Shore. In mid-summer Mr. Bowie purchased a vessel³⁰ which he ladened with his family—there were two children by this time—servants and such belongings as he did not want to replace and sailed out of the Capes for the nearest port to the town of Showell. There was no rectory to the parish, for Mr. Bowie transferred his property holdings from the Western to the Eastern Shore and settled upon his own estate.

In the summer of 1776 the storm broke for the Church of England clergy. A convention was assembled to form a constitution for the State. On November 3rd the Declaration of Rights was passed and the Church of England ceased to exist as an establishment.³¹ All salaries to the clergy ceased and as a rule they

²⁷ Ethan Allen, "Historical Sketch of Rev. John Bowie, D.D.," in *Church Record*, June, 1871.

²⁸ *Ibid.*; Parish Record, Prince George's Parish, Md.

²⁹ Commission Book 82, p. 318.

³⁰ Black Book 79, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

³¹ Theodore C. Gambrell, *Church Life in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1885), pp. 271-2.

stopped officiating as parish priests. Many felt that it was not consistent with their ordination vows to take the Oath of Allegiance. In case of refusal they either had to leave the State or pay treble taxes.³² Most of them left and a large number of the churches were closed, although the British government urged Anglican clergymen to remain in the colony as a nucleus around which the lesser loyalists might gather.

Early in 1777 General Howe issued a proclamation promising security, protection and pardon to all inhabitants of the province who would aid the British. In opposition patriotic Marylanders sent petitions to the General Assembly requesting that steps might be taken to repress the Tories, particularly in Somerset and Worcester Counties. In response to these petitions General Smallwood and Major Gist were sent to the Eastern Shore.³³ A number of loyalists had already been arrested, amongst them the Rev. John Bowie who was carried to Annapolis for imprisonment. He was arrested upon the deposition of one Matthias Davis³⁴ which was as follows:

That being in company with the Rev. John Bowie he asked him what he thought of the oath of allegiance to the state. He said before he would take that oath he would suffer his right arm to be cut off, and wished if he took it his tongue might cleave to the roof of his mouth and never come loose; but if he [Davis] would get a parcel of hearty tories, for, said he, all we Churchmen are called tories, they would go and kick them all out of the Court House who should want them to take the oath, and then they may huzza for the King and drink his health.

On another occasion, Samuel Powell being present, he asked Mr. Bowie if he had Howe's proclamation. He answered he had. The deponent desired him to read it to him and asked his opinion of it. Mr. Bowie said he thought it a very gracious thing. The deponent then asked him whether it would be proper to sign an instrument of writing to send to Lord Howe to let him know the people were content with it. On which he said to his wife, 'Honey, are you willing I shall go and see your countryman, Lord Howe?' She answered, she 'should be very loth to part with him.'

He said, 'it was indeed a very dangerous thing to undertake, for that they who did undertake it, must not think anything of staying at home, in any short time.'

³² Charles C. Tiffany, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, VII, 82.

³³ Esther M. Dole, *Maryland during the American Revolution* (Baltimore, 1941), p. 209.

³⁴ Black Book X, 79, Hall of Records. Rev. Ethan Allen's transcript used.

This was dated "9th of Feb^y 1777." The deposition is written in an educated hand but the signature is illiterate.

The next record is dated February 28, 1777:³⁵ "With regard to the Rev. Mr. Bowie the Counsel of Safety is equally divided in opinion on the point of Bailment of Rev. John Bowie," and is signed "Dan. of St. Thos. Jenifer P[resident of the Council]."

Toward the middle of March a deposition was offered by Samuel Powell³⁶ who accompanied Matthias Davis on his visit to Mr. Bowie. This oath made absolute denial of the testimony of Davis, although they were together the entire time while there. This deposition was written by "J. Dennis."

The Council of Safety, under which the Rev. John Bowie had been arrested on February 19th, 1777, had ceased to exist and a new government had been inducted into office.³⁷ He therefore addressed himself to the Governor of the State, Thomas Johnson:

Honorable Sir

I have for six weeks past been confined in this city (Annapolis) by order of the Council of Safety, and am informed that the powers lately possessed by them are now transferred to your Excellency and the Counsel. I humbly hope, therefore that your Excellency will take the charge against me under your consideration, and if it admits of bail that I may be permitted to give it agreeable to the bill of rights of this State.

I am, sir, your very humble servant

(Sgd.) J. Bowie

March 26, 1777.

The next day, March 27th, he wrote to the Legislature:³⁸

To the Honorable House of Delegates
of the State of Maryland.

The memorial of John Bowie humbly sheweth,

Whereas, the Council of Safety were divided in their opinions whether the charge against your memorialist admitted of bail, and therefore referred it again to your Honorable House, by whom the consideration of the matter was postponed, till it be known whether any further accusations would be transmitted by General Smallwood, your memorialist humbly prays the Honorable House would again resume the matter.

John Bowie.

³⁵ *Archives of Maryland*, XVI, 156.

³⁶ Black Book X, 81, Hall of Records.

³⁷ Black Book X, 83, Hall of Records. Allen's transcript used.

³⁸ Black Book X, 84, Hall of Records. Allen's transcript used.

On reading the memorial of the Rev. John Bowie, Officer of the Guard³⁹ was ordered to immediately attend the Governor and Counsel with the said Bowie in custody.

What the Governor and Counsel had before them to act upon were the two affidavits from Matthias Davis and Samuel Powell, for General Smallwood had reported nothing. So on March 29th, 1777, it was decided that, "On reading Memorial Board considered Rev. John Bowieailable⁴⁰ but from the Evidence against him and the state of the neighborhood in which he lives the Board is of Opinion that it is proper he should not continue to reside in Worcester County or the neighborhood thereof, and at the same time this Board thinks it reasonable he be given a short time to adjust his affairs and remove his family. Ordered Mr. Bowie be discharged from custody giving bond for £2000 to appear before Governour and Counsel at Annapolis 20th of April next." . . . "Bond given and Mr. Bowie discharged."

Upon his return from the Eastern Shore the following decision was handed down April 29th, 1777: "Rev. John Bowie⁴⁰ to be confined to Montgomery County and that part of Prince George's County which lies westward of road leading to Addisons Ferry on Potomac River through Upper Marlboro to Queen Anne on Patuxent River." A year after his arrest, February, 1778, Rev. John Bowie's district was enlarged⁴¹ "from Queen Anne Town to Nottingham from thence with road leading to Colonel Sim's and from thence with road to Upper Marlborough."

This district took within its compass the home of the Rev. Thomas John Claggett (later Bishop of Maryland), who was a loyalist and at whose house John Bowie is said to have made his headquarters when not with his brother, Allen, at "The Hermitage." The homes of the Rev. John Eversfield, who also had been a prisoner because of his loyalty to Britain, and the Addisons, another loyalist family, were definitely within its bounds.

Governor Thomas Johnson had looked after Bowie's interests when he was a minor and estate adjustments made a legal opinion necessary. He must have had confidence in his erstwhile client, for he certainly did not bear down hard upon him in his captivity. It has been suggested that as Mr. Bowie could be trusted to keep his bond, this enlargement was granted so that he could minister

³⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, XVI, 192-3.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 504.

to a number of otherwise closed churches in Prince George's County.⁴² However, John Bowie was impatient to return to his family. His wife and babies were across the Bay getting along as best they could without him. On October 7th, 1777, he again addressed Governor Johnson:⁴³

The memorial J. Bowie humbly showeth: That your memorialist, in order to remove any apprehensions arising from influence he may be supposed to have in the parish he formerly resided in, has disposed of his landed property he held therein. Your memorialist therefore, humbly hopes that your Excellency will permit him to return to the Eastern Shore and reside with his family, he removing to some other part of the county which may be thought by your Excellency sufficiently distant from his former residence; he moreover giving his bond with security, and likewise taking an oath not to do himself, or cause to be done by others anything contrary to the laws of the State or which may disturb the public tranquility thereof.

While no answer to this memorial has been found, there is evidence that he returned to his family six months after filing it. This is a list of marriages performed by John Bowie in Worcester County from April 26th to November 1st, 1778.

The next year found the Rev. John Bowie living in Talbot County where he had "set up an excellent school at 'Oak Hill' near Easton."⁴⁴ By this time every vestige of colonial government had disappeared from the State. The General Assembly had in March passed an Act for electing vestries to existing parishes⁴⁵ and giving such vestries, in fee simple, all church properties, also the right to appoint the ministers to their parishes, but made no provision for their support; thus voluntary subscriptions would have to replace the colonial tax of tobacco which had formerly supported the Anglican clergy. When Mr. Bowie had lived a year and a half in Whitmarsh Parish, the living became vacant and the vestry passed a resolution to "employ the Rev. Mr. Bowie as minister, if the said Mr. Bowie would accept the incumbency."⁴⁶ An agreement was reached on October 27th by which Mr. Bowie

⁴² Mr. Caleb Clarke Magruder suggests this explanation. Appreciation is here-with expressed for Mr. Magruder's information regarding Prince George's County.

⁴³ Rev. Ethan Allen's transcript in *Church Record*, June, 1871. Original not yet indexed by Hall of Records.

⁴⁴ Dr. Samuel Harrison's MS "Annals of Talbot County—Religious," Vol. 5, p. 124.

⁴⁵ Smith, *Life*, II, 35.

⁴⁶ Harrison's "Annals of Talbot Co.—Religious," Vol. 4, pp. 89, 90, 95.

was to receive £336 in hard money. There was also a glebe attached which brought in an additional £12 a year.

In that same year of 1780 there came to the Eastern Shore from Philadelphia, as rector of Immanuel Church, Chestertown, and as principal of the Kent County School, the Rev. William Smith, D. D., who had been Provost of the Philadelphia College until its charter was withdrawn. Dr. Smith was a Scotsman, born in Aberdeenshire, a Kings College man, and it is also possible that he was a kinsman to John Bowie. Inevitably they were drawn together, and Mr. Bowie gave his wholehearted support to Dr. Smith's project of establishing a College at Chestertown. He signed the charter and subscribed £15 to its endowment.⁴⁷ The payment of this money is recorded in the ledger of Washington College.⁴⁸ However, Mr. Bowie did not give his support when Dr. Smith called a meeting of the clergy on November 9th, 1780, to re-establish the Anglican Church in Maryland. His ordination vows would not permit him to do so. But after the Treaty of Peace was signed with Great Britain and the independence of the United States was finally established, John Bowie resumed his birthright as a citizen of Maryland, and when the diocesan convention met in May, 1783, at Chestertown, he felt free to participate. This convention adjourned to meet in Annapolis in August, when a charter of incorporation was presented to the General Assembly, and Dr. Smith was elected Bishop of Maryland. A testimonial of this election was prepared for the Bishop of London and signed by all the clergy in attendance, with the dates of their ordination, John Bowie giving his as 1770.⁴⁹ After this convention, the Rev. John Bowie took an active part in the counsels of the church. He was on the first committee to report such canons as would enable the society to carry out the principles of ecclesiastical government. Thereafter, when the canons of the church were to be considered he would be found almost without exception upon that Committee, and he also constantly served on the Standing Committee.

An interesting episode comes to light in connection with Mr. John Bowie in the writings of Washington for 1784. It seems that early that year John Bowie approached General Washington

⁴⁷ Smith, *Life*, II, 80.

⁴⁸ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VI (1911), 167.

⁴⁹ *Journal of the Diocesan Convention*, 1783.

through Dr. James Craik, with the object of writing his (Washington's) biography. Dr. Craik, it may be stated in parentheses, was a Scotsman, a graduate of Edinburgh, a resident of Southern Maryland and Washington's intimate friend and physician. Washington answered this request in a letter to Dr. Craik, dated March 25th, 1784, stating that he did not feel at liberty to open the Revolutionary War Archives until Congress had done so, but he would be glad to see Mr. Bowie at Mt. Vernon and give him the perusal of public papers which antedated his appointment to the command of the American Army. He then went on to say that he did not think "vanity was a trait in my character but I must stipulate against the publication of this memoir till I see more probability of avoiding the darts which *I think* would be pointed at me on an occasion." He added that he would be in Philadelphia in May "where tis probable I may see Mr. Bowie and converse further with him on this subject."⁵⁰

Washington went to Philadelphia to preside at the first meeting of the Society of Cincinnati and saw Mr. Bowie while there. It is evident that Bowie presented his project in such a way that he broke down much of Washington's reluctance. He also interested President Witherspoon, of Princeton, in the project and between them they secured Washington's consent that the memoir of his life should be written.⁵¹

The President of Princeton was a desirable person to engage in furthering this purpose. He was a Scotsman and a University of Edinburgh man, serious minded, plain spoken, quiet and slow of friendships, to which was added correctness of literary style and originality of ideas. It is also interesting to note that he desired to promote church unity, and used the Episcopal Church Catechism along with the Shorter Catechism in his Sunday classes in the college.

The matter then rested for nearly a year when, probably being prodded by John Bowie, President Witherspoon brought this subject again to General Washington's attention. The answer, dated the 3rd of March, 1785, states, in effect, that when he (Washington) gave his consent he had not been struck with the consequences to which it tended, but after some further talk with Mr.

⁵⁰ John C. Fitzpatrick, editor, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 27, as date of letter.

⁵¹ The Rev. John Bowie seems to have been the only person of that name with the necessary contacts and qualifications to propose himself for this undertaking

Bowie and reflection upon the matter he found this must be a "futile work"—most of the interesting papers were lost and his memory too treacherous to supply defects and he seemed to think that this work could not be made interesting. Nevertheless, he would give his permission provided they were not published in his life. He "would always be glad to see Mr. Bowie, but would be glad if he withdrew from the project of writing the memoir."⁵² This, of course, closed the subject and Washington's memoir, written under his supervision, was lost to the world forever, and it can be replaced by no other "life" however complete the record or penetrating its analysis. It is significant that politics were never mentioned in connection with this undertaking. This was consistent with Washington's opinion, written to the Rev. Bryan Fairfax, that with persons of "rectitude and sincerity differences of political opinion should not be condemned either by any person or any power, provided their conduct was not opposed to the general interest of the people."⁵³

Mr. Bowie accepted, in 1785, a call to Christ Church, Great Choptank Parish which is located at Cambridge, and removed there with his family and school. The church needed building up, and there are no records before his arrival. He sent out a pastoral letter which was spread in full upon the parish record. In this letter he diagnoses the ills of the parish and suggests the remedies he considered advisable. He proceeded to put into operation his plan for reorganizing the parish and building a new church. The most important event of his charge in Cambridge was the arrival of a young Scotsman as tutor in a family living near the town. He was James Kemp, born at Keith Hall, Aberdeenshire, and had been a "prize" student competing with the most distinguished scholars at Marischal College, University of Aberdeen. He was destined for the Presbyterian ministry, and after finishing his course had remained a year at the University continuing his studies in theology by attending the lectures of the celebrated Principal of Marischal College, the Rev. George Campbell.⁵⁴ Coming from Aberdeen it was natural that he should have become closely associated with the Rev. John Bowie's family, and he continued his studies, reading under the instruction of Mr. Bowie. To use

⁵² Fitzpatrick, Vol. 28, as date of letter. Dr. Bowie had at this time removed from Talbot to Dorchester County.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 11, p. 2.

⁵⁴ Allen in *Church Record*, June, 1871.

the words of the historian, Ethan Allen, "in him [Mr. Bowie] he found a teacher whom he [Mr. Kemp] learned to call Master. Led by his teaching and influence, on December 20th, 1789, he was admitted to holy orders by Bishop White, and when Mr. Bowie left Cambridge in 1790, Mr. Kemp succeeded him both in his parish and his school." Later he became rector of St. Paul's in Baltimore and after that he succeeded Bishop Claggett and was the second Bishop of Maryland.

The buildings of Washington College were completed in 1789. The commencement exercises were to be particularly distinguished that year and General Washington was to be given the degree of LL. D. Unfortunately he could not come from New York to receive it in person, but his expression of appreciation was read by Dr. Smith. The Rev. John Bowie was given the honorary degree of D. D.⁵⁵ This was Dr. William Smith's last appearance as a resident of Maryland. The charter of Philadelphia College had been restored and he was returning to his old position as Provost.

Upon the death of the Rev. Mr. Gordon, incumbent of St. Michael's Parish, Talbot County, the vestry, consisting of Matthew Tilghman, Lloyd Tilghman, William Perry, Thomas Harrison, Hugh Sherwood, Jeremiah Banning, Robert Rolle, Thomas Ray and Charles Gardiner, unanimously called Dr. Bowie to fill his place and the call was accepted. Dr. Bowie was already a land owner in Talbot, and during his former residence in the county had established warm friendships. Also St. Michael's had glebe lands and it was an advantage to Dr. Bowie as a slave owner to have these lands at his disposal, (the 1790 census credits him with twenty-five slaves). Mrs. Mary Gordon, widow of the late rector, claimed dower rights in the glebe lands under the Will of Col. Smithson. Dr. Bowie was evidently shocked, for he "voluntarily offered to pass a bond to the vestry at this time or any future day to preclude his widow, should he leave a widow, from claiming dower in any part of the glebe lands under the Will of Col. Thomas Smithson." Some arrangement was effected by which Mrs. Gordon remained in possession of the house at Miles River Bridge, which was still to be used as a chapel and a meeting place for the vestry.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, and *Baltimore Sun*, June 5, 1932.

⁵⁶ St. Michael's Parish Register; Harrison, "Annals—Religious," Vol. 7, pp. 114-126. Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County* (Baltimore, 1915), II, 138.

There was talk of building a rectory, but Dr. Bowie rented a house called "Fausley Wood," which was built by Tench Francis, grandfather of Col. Tench Tilghman, Washington's A. D. C., who had been born there and which was then owned by his father, James Tilghman. This property and the five hundred acres of glebe land on Fausley Creek were so interlaced and interlocked that they could be cultivated as one place,⁵⁷ and there Dr. Bowie retained his residence for the remainder of his life.

His family now consisted of thirty-two persons, his wife and himself, five children and twenty-five slaves. He was forty-four years old at this time (1790) and, again to quote Ethan Allen, "he was of large stature, accustomed to command and be obeyed and whom nothing could daunt." He always dressed in clerical costume, which consisted of a long black coat of clerical cut reaching to the knee, long black waistcoat which followed the line of the body, black breeches, buttoned at the knee, black stockings, a flat shoe with wide plain silver buckles, probably a clerical wig, and a broad hat of soft black felt. On informal occasions a soft white stock could be worn but for formal functions, Geneva bands were the correct neckwear. The Geneva gown, however, was not worn in Maryland where the clergy clung to the surplice and stole.

Easton was an important center at this time. A court house was being built which when completed was the most imposing building in the State, with the exception of the State House in Annapolis. When the Court was in session, and the week following, a theatrical troupe would come down from Philadelphia and there would be a performance every evening. Volunteer fire companies and militia organizations were also sources of activity. Subscribers to the Easton Assembly gave balls at stated intervals during the year. A French dancing master and a French hairdresser found demand for their services and had establishments there. The newest books were on sale at the printing office, where also more learned tomes could be ordered. The Eastern Shore Jockey Club was an old established institution; the Governor and various parties attended from Annapolis and every house in the neighborhood would be thronged with guests.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ St. Michael's Parish Register.

⁵⁸ Harrison, "Annals—Social," Vol. 1.

In May, 1790, the Diocesan Convention met in Easton and undoubtedly, like the races, filled the houses of the leading gentry with guests. Although the list of names was the same and there was much sociability, it was of a more sober nature than was in evidence during the races. Dr. Bowie had the pleasure of entertaining his brother, Allan Bowie of "The Hermitage," who was lay delegate from Prince George's Parish, and his cousin, Dr. Robert Pottinger, who was lay delegate from Queen Anne's Parish.

The Convention of 1792, which met in Annapolis, was a most momentous one for the Diocese of Maryland. Since Dr. Smith, whose election as Bishop had been held in abeyance for nine years, had returned to his former position, the Diocese felt free to elect another in his place. The name of the Rev. Thomas John Claggett was presented and it is evident that the Rev. John Bowie took a leading part in furthering his election. There are no details of this election extant.

There is a statement in correspondence which says that "Dr. John Bowie could have been a Bishop of the Episcopal Church but for ill health,"⁶⁰ and this Convention of 1792 is the only occasion when such a thing could have been possible. If this was the case the situation must have been that Dr. Bowie received a number of votes and then withdrew his name and carried his strength over to Dr. Claggett's candidacy. John Bowie's is the first name signed to the testimonial for consecration of the Rev. Dr. Claggett (the signatures are not in alphabetical sequence), and he was elected a delegate to the General Convention. As this was the one and only occasion that he showed any interest in going to this Convention, it is reasonable to suppose he went for the honor of presenting the testimonial for consecration. The clerical delegates were, Dr. Bowie of St. Michael's, Talbot; Mr. Bisset of St. Stephen's, Cecil; Mr. Bend of St. Paul's, Baltimore, and Mr. Coleman of St. John's, Harford. Mr. Bisset was a secretary of the Convention, and Mr. Bend rector of the largest city church in the Diocese, yet when the names, presenting the testimonial for consecration to the House of Bishops, were listed, Dr. Bowie's again heads the list.⁶¹

⁶⁰ *Journal Maryland Diocesan Convention, 1790, et al.*

⁶⁰ Bowie Papers in Maryland Historical Society.

⁶¹ *Journal of the General Convention, 1792.*

At the next Convention, 1793, with Bishop Claggett presiding, Dr. Bowie was on the standing committee, was appointed visitor for the fourth district, was on the committee for the state of the Church, and on the committee to build a church in Washington. He was also appointed by the Bishop to preach the sermon upon the opening of the next Convention.⁶² All this indicates that John Bowie stood in high favor with his Bishop.

Dr. Bowie's private school at "Fausley Wood" was exclusive and probably small. The Honorable John Leeds Kerr was educated there and it is probable that the Honorable Edward Lloyd, who was the same age, was also a pupil, as was the Honorable Samuel Stevens.

After Dr. Bowie left "Oak Hill" a school had been opened in Easton by his successor at Whitemarsh Parish, the Rev. Owen Magrath. This school must have been in receipt of some public funds, for Dr. John Bowie, Dr. Ennalls Martin, William Hayward, Nicholas Hammond and Thomas Bullett, Esquires, were chosen trustees and visitors. It was announced in the paper, in August, 1797, that Dr. Bowie had "conducted an examination of the pupils and expressed himself much pleased with the proficiency of the several classes."⁶³ When Mr. Magrath left Easton for St. John's College, the Rev. Joseph Jackson, who succeeded him, did not care to teach. The school was closed and education in Talbot came to a standstill. After a time Dr. Bowie advertised that he had decided to open a grammar school in Easton on January 1st, 1799.⁶⁴ Two other persons, however, made the same decision at the same time. One was the Rev. Robert Elliott, a Methodist minister from Ireland, and the other was Mr. Edward Markland. All three of these schools sought to form the nucleus of the proposed Easton Academy which was to be opened the next year, 1800. It was to be partly financed by £300 taken from funds given to Washington College. This money was bestowed by the Legislature. Party politics would influence the selection of the principal and the contest became bitter. John Leeds Bozman, the historian, entered the fray with a letter to the *Easton Herald*, dated November, 1799.⁶⁵

We are told [he states] that a certain person [the Rev. Robert Elliott]

⁶² *Journal of the Diocesan Convention*, 1793.

⁶³ Harrison, "Annals—Education," Vol. 1, pp. 7, 8.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 24.

⁶⁵ Harrison, "Annals—Religious," Vol. 11, p. 136.

has the consummate impudence to offer himself in competition with the Rev. Mr. Bowie as Principal or Provost of the Academy. It is unnecessary for me to state the highly respectable character which Mr. Bowie has long sustained in this state, not only as a private teacher for twenty years past; but a gentleman of extreme erudition, of the first rate talents and abilities, a complete classical scholar and above all a man of unblemished morals and integrity. It is useless to say more of him, for he has been known to many of you from your earliest youth.

Mr. Bozman then continued at great length a philippic upon Mr. Elliott, the gist of which was that he was not a scholar, he was not a gentleman, that he had only been in Talbot three years and nobody knew him.

Mr. Jacob Gibson⁶⁶ also took up the cudgels in this fight, but on the other side; he was a violent anti-federalist and much given to vituperative newspaper controversy. He suggested that Mr. Bowie was a tool, a mere sycophant, writing to please a party in hopes of fingering the £300 taken from Washington College and given to Talbot County. "I leave you to spew out whatever venom is put into your mouth," he adds. "If he [Gibson] had been educated at college at the expense of the poor like you aristocrats, he would make you bawl when you now only grunt." There was more of this article, unprintable according to the standards of today.

These insults were such that Parson Bowie thought they should not go unpunished and he was unwilling to postpone the punishment until after death so he undertook to inflict it at once. . . . Dr. Bowie looked upon Jacob Gibson as a ruffian and a bully to be treated with his fists or his cane. . . . He therefore marched to the Court House when he knew Gibson was engaged in business there. The Parson strode up and down before the door and when he heard the footsteps of the persons leaving the Court Room he drew off his long clerical coat and laid it on the steps saying, 'Lie there Divinity, while I *thrash* rascality,' then when Gibson came out the parson attacked him and a terrible fight ensued.⁶⁷ They were nearly the same size [although Gibson was about fifteen years younger].

No word of the results have been handed down, so they were probably separated. It was this story that confirmed Dr. Bowie in his title of the "Fighting Parson."

⁶⁶ Tilghman, *History of Talbot Co.*, I, 245. There is much of Jacob Gibson in Tilghman's work and much more in Dr. Harrison's MSS. Mr. Gibson's style of composition can be sampled in Tilghman's *History*, II, 429.

⁶⁷ Harrison, "Annals—Biographical," Vol. 1, p. 140.

Those in authority must have found that the question of who should be principal of the Easton Academy was too hot a subject to be handled, as what they decided upon amounted to giving a small subsidy to each of the three schools.⁶⁸ All were in a flourishing condition, Dr. Bowie engaged Mr. Charles Emory as his assistant, and he had planned to open his classes to young ladies. They were to have separate class-rooms from the young gentlemen, but were to study under the same masters.

There is another story of Dr. Bowie that deals with this same period. He wrote an article to the *Easton Herald* reflecting severely upon young Edward Lloyd who was just beginning his political career. "Dr. Bowie was a Federalist and one of the most ardent and strenuous of the kind" while Mr. Lloyd "had espoused the side of the Republicans with youthful enthusiasm, although his wealth and social status were such that a more natural alliance would have been with the Federalists." It was currently rumored that Mr. Lloyd, or some of his political friends, intended to inflict personal chastisement upon Dr. Bowie.

This reached his [Dr. Bowie's] ears and the parson so far from shunning rather sought encounters with the anti-Federalists, who were to hold a public meeting on the Court House Green. Parson Bowie, when the meeting assembled, strode in among those from whom attack was anticipated and ostentatiously exhibited himself. When Mr. Lloyd and his more intimate political associates repaired to a tavern to have dinner and carouse, Parson Bowie in order to give them an opportunity to attack him in a less public place than the Court House Green, repaired to the tavern and there strutted about in full view of his supposed enemies but prudence or decency deterred them from making an assault.⁶⁹ . . . The boys of his school, catching wind of his purpose, prepared to join the encounter and defend their teacher whose heavy hand they themselves had felt but for whom they had a sincere respect and affection.

It also may have been that the Parson wished to shame this Prince Hal into choosing a different class of associates.⁷⁰ If so, it had no effect, for as late as 1811 he was being censured in the opposition press for his choice of boon companions.

Dr. Bowie's last public appearance was when he preached a memorial sermon for General Washington on February 22, 1800, following Washington's death the December before. The militia

⁶⁸ Harrison, "Annals—Educational," Vol. 1, p. 25.

⁶⁹ Harrison, "Annals—Biographical," Vol. 1, p. 139.

⁷⁰ A sketch of Gov. Edward Lloyd's life suggests the probability that Dr. Bowie both baptized him and educated him.

in uniform, with reversed arms, were to march to the place of divine worship to muffled drums and music playing a dead march. The clergy of all denominations were invited to attend and Dr. Bowie was requested to deliver the sermon.⁷¹

On December 20th, 1800, he attended his last vestry meeting, but it was not until September 3rd, 1801, that he passed away. His wife, Margaret (Dallas) Bowie, is believed to have gone before, seemingly in the summer of 1797 or 1798. His obituary notice was published in the *Easton Herald*, September 8th, 1801. It began:

Quis desideris Sit pudor, Aut Modus
Tam Chari Capitis. (sic)

After some general observations it continued:

The life that was squared by rules of integrity and honor, the endearments of domestic tenderness, the patient resignation under sickness and pain, and the peaceful death, are remembered only to aggravate our unavailing sorrow.—Having his mind well stored with classical learning, he gave us his indefatigable services in the department of education. As a minister of the Gospel, he was pious and exemplary. His charity is best attested by the tears and lamentations of the poor, the widow and orphans. He did not proclaim his own charity in the streets and the high-ways; he gave it in an honorable silence and with pure benevolence of heart. He was an affectionate husband, a kind father and a sincere friend.

His son, Thomas, still a student, taught his classes until a teacher could be engaged. To his son, James, was paid the salary due him from the vestry of St. Michael's Parish. At the end of a year his books were sold in Easton. *Finis* was written to the life of the Rev. John Bowie.⁷²

⁷¹ Harrison, "Annals—Social," Vol. 2, p. 61.

⁷² The Rev. John Bowie and Margaret Dallas, his wife, left five children, Allen, Elizabeth, James, Margaret and Thomas Hamilton. The two daughters died unmarried. The descendants of his eldest son Allen are Richard Trippe of Baltimore, Md.; Thomas Dickinson Singleton of Vicksburg, Miss.; Nicholas Griffith and his sister Mrs. William Farquhar, of Montgomery County, Md.

The descendants of his second son James are those of a daughter who married Charles Page Craig of Cambridge, Md.; and of a daughter who married Thomas Smyth Hayward of Easton, Md., and of a son, Joseph Haskins Bowie, who settled in Monticello, Ill.

The descendants of his third son, Thomas Hamilton Bowie, number amongst them Bowie Chipman of Washington, D. C., and his son, who is a career man in the foreign service. All of the Rev. John Bowie's descendants with the Bowie surname live in California, of whom may be mentioned the late Henry Pike Bowie, noted connoisseur of Japanese pictures and author of *The Laws of Japanese Painting* (1911); Augustus Jesse Bowie, Jr., graduate of Harvard and Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a "star" man of his class; Allen St. John Bowie, president of the Western Light and Power Co., and a number of others in and about San Francisco.

NOTES ON THE PRIMITIVE HISTORY OF WESTERN MARYLAND

By WILLIAM B. MARYE

Local historians have written not a few admirable passages on the history of Western Maryland, beginning with the arrival of the permanent white settlers in respective parts of the land, and not neglecting, in a general way, to treat of the Indians, the fauna¹ and the flora of those regions; but the pre-settlement history of this section of our state will never be written, because records appertaining to it are so few, too few to be pieced together even with the help of inference. Pre-settlement history (as distinct from archaeology) concerns, mostly, the Indian traders, but should not ignore hunters and white men fleeing from justice, as well as runaway slaves. These unconventional, disreputable or outlawed individuals projected themselves, or were cast out, from eastern civilized parts into the wilderness. They made use of such Indian roads as they found and, in the extreme western parts of our state, perhaps, of buffalo paths. In the fastnesses of the west they came in contact with Indians, whether living in the last surviving Indian towns, or travelling those Indian highways from one distant goal to another. With them they traded, if traders they were, or, if outlaws, found a temporary refuge often disturbed by bounties and the temptation to turn their misery into profit.

The notes which follow are intended as supplementary to some

¹ Local historians have seldom concerned themselves with the question as to when, in different respective parts of Western Maryland, the larger (and, to quote Henry David Thoreau, the "nobler") wild animals, such as the wolf, elk, panther or cougar, bear, buffalo and beaver, became extinct. A noteworthy exception to those to whom the subject of these extinct wild beasts is of no interest was Edward Stabler, editor of the recollections of Meshah Browning, the Nimrod of those parts; but these reminiscences apply solely to Garrett County. Wolves were killed within the present limits of that county as late as 1842. Browning believed that panthers became extinct in that region in his day (before 1859); but the late Charles McHenry Howard, whose long association with the county is well known, informed this author that a panther was killed in Garrett about 1881, since which time none has been reported from there. In the summer of 1907 the author of these notes spent a night at the house of an aged man named Junker, who lived on Fifteen Mile Creek, about one mile up-stream from the Potomac, in Allegany County. On that occasion Mr. Junker related how, in his youth, he had been acquainted with professional wolf-hunters, who practiced their arts about the headwaters of this creek, above the Maryland line.

previously published data of this author's (Vols. 30, 32 and 34 of this *Magazine*), which bear upon the subject of the pre-settlement history of Western Maryland:

I. WILL'S TOWN ON WILL'S CREEK.

In his *History of Cumberland, Maryland* (1878) the late W. H. Lowdermilk has something to say concerning an Indian town called "Caiuctucuc," which, according to him, "was built on the ground lying between these streams" (i. e., the Potomac or Cohongoronta and Will's Creek) "from their confluence to a point some distance up the river Cohongaronta, the greater portion of the town being located upon the west side of the present city of Cumberland."²

It is not without some pangs of conscience that one casts a doubt upon one of the opening passages of a history which contains, among other excellent elements, a very well written and moving account of Braddock's expedition and defeat. However, it must be said that Lowdermilk gives no authority in support of his remarks about "Caiuctucuc," nor has any supporting evidence been brought to the attention of this author. "Very interesting, if true" is all that we feel at liberty to say regarding this point.

Lowdermilk is quite correct in saying that Will's Creek at one time went by an Indian name which was something like "Caiuctucuc." He refers to Fry and Jefferson's Map of Virginia, on which the Creek's name appears as "Caicuctuck or Wills Creek." On Benjamin Winslow's "Plan of the upper Part of Patomack River" the name is simply "Cacutuck."³ This dates from 1736. It was the custom of white men to assign to rivers, bays, and creeks the Indian names of adjacent districts or places. To give names to rivers and other waterways was not, it seems, a general Indian habit.⁴ With this in mind we are inclined to surmise that

² *History of Cumberland, Maryland*, by Will H. Lowdermilk (Washington, D. C., 1878), p. 18 *et seq.*

³ A facsimile of this map will be found in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 2nd Series, Vol. 18, accompanying an article on the subject by Mr. James W. Foster.

⁴ I quote from Robert Sandford's "Relation" of his voyage along the coast of the Carolinas in 1666: "I demanded the name of this River. They told mee Edistowe still, and pointed all to be Edistowe quite home to the side of Jordan, by which I was instructed that the Indians assigne not their names to the Rivers but to the Countryes and people." *Narratives of Early Carolina* (Original Narratives of Early American History), "A Relation of a Voyage on the Coast of the Province of Carolina, 1666," by Robert Sandford (New York, 1911), p. 82.

Cacuctuck or Caicuctuck was the Indian name for some place, possibly a town, on or near Will's Creek. That it was the name of the point of land where the creek joined the river, the site of Cumberland, is by no means incredible.

Caicuctuck may have been the Indian name for a village otherwise known as Will's Town, which, there is some reason to believe, formerly stood on the west side of Will's Creek, at the mouth of Jennings's Run, about three miles above the site of Cumberland. The historian Scharf (*Western Maryland*, pp. 1323, 1324) would place the site of Will's Town lower down the creek, but this would seem to be an error. Credence, however, may be given to his story concerning two white boys named Clemmers, who were held prisoner at Will's Town for a matter of nine years in the 1740's or thereabouts. This account seems to be based on good tradition. Lowdermilk has some interesting remarks concerning the Indian called "Will" by white people, for whom Will's Creek is supposed to have been named. Indian Will lived on that stream a few miles up from the Potomac. His immediate descendants intermarried with white people. In Lowdermilk's time trace of these mixed bloods had been lost; but early in the past century they were living in Pennsylvania, near the Allegany County line. I see no grounds for assuming that "Indian Will" might not have been still known by tradition in Lowdermilk's day, or for taking it for granted that he is apocryphal. The existence of a man of this name seems to be implied in the title of the tract of land mentioned by Lowdermilk, "Will's Town," which was surveyed for the Hon. Thomas Bladen, June 1, 1745. Bladen took out no patent for "Will's Town," which was the same land as that which, under the same name, was patented to Dr. David Ross, having been surveyed for him, March 29, 1762, but containing 1125 acres, instead of the original 915.⁵ Ross's patent calls for a tract of land situated in Frederick County, "Beginning at a bounded hickory Tree standing in a Fork of Wills Creek on the west side of the Creek about three miles from Fort Cumberland." This agrees more or less with Lowdermilk's statement regarding Bladen's "Will's Town," that it was located along Will's Creek "from the mouth of Jennings's Run." The original description

⁵ Scharf Papers, Additional Rent Roll of the Western Shore, Frederick County. Maryland Historical Society.

of "Wills Town," as surveyed for Bladen, which is not quoted by Lowdermilk, is not without interest. Courses and distances omitted, it reads as follows:

"Will's Town," for Thomas Bladen, Esq., 915 acres, surveyed June 1, 1745: "beginning at a bounded Hickory Tree standing in the First large Fork of Wills Creek, near the Bank of a Run that falls into Wills Creek, *below the Town Field*, about eight per from the Creek," etc.⁶

That which, to this author, seems most interesting in the certificate of survey from which I have just quoted, is the mention of "the Town Field." Indian towns commonly had their communal fields, but not so white settlements, unless it was some fortified outpost. The date of this survey, its name, the mention of the "town field" and Lowdermilk's account of "Indian Will" all tend to support the hypothesis that an Indian town known to white people as "Will's Town" was situated, in early historical times, on Will's Creek, at or near the mouth of Jenning's Run.

II. AN EARLY MENTION OF THE UPPER (SHAWNEE) OLD TOWN.

A record in which the Upper Old Town is mentioned, had escaped this author's attention at the time of the writing of an article on the subject of that Shawnee village.⁷ It is an unpatented certificate of survey issued to the Hon. Thomas Bladen and called "Sugar Bottom." The survey was made June 1, 1746, and (courses and distances omitted) is described as follows:

"Sugar Bottom," for Thomas Bladen, Esq.: "beginning at a bounded elm Tree standing *at the lower end of a Bottom above a place called Andersons Bottom, about Three miles below the Upper Old Town* on the North Branch of Potowmac," etc.⁸

Sugar Bottom lies in a deep bend of the Potomac River, between Riverside and Pinto. Its lower end is between five and six miles from Cumberland. The "Sugar Bottom" survey was not patented by Bladen, and the land thereabouts was taken up, under the same

⁶ Land Office of Maryland, Unpatented Certificate No. 383, Prince George's County.

⁷ These Notes on the Upper Old Town were published in this *Magazine*, Vol. 34, p. 330 *et seq.*

⁸ Land Office of Maryland, Unpatented Certificate No. 346, Prince George's County.

name, by Dr. David Ross, May 25, 1763, beginning at Bladen's bounded elm.⁹

"The Three Springs Bottom," surveyed for Governor Thomas Bladen, November 8, 1746, takes its beginning from bounded trees standing on the north bank of Potomac River "*Opposite to a place called Andersons Cabbin* about four miles Below the Upper Old Town on the North Branch of Potomac."¹⁰

The beginning-place of the land above mentioned is about seven-eighths of a mile above the mouth of Warrior Run and a little less than a mile from the lower end of Sugar Bottom. Distances from the Indian town, as given in the certificates of survey of these two respective tracts of land, therefore, present no particular discrepancy.

It is most likely that the place called "Anderson's Bottom" was the site of "Anderson's Cabin," being on the West Virginia side of the river, about three quarters of a mile from Riverside. One is inclined to believe that this place was, perhaps, the last stand of the Indian trader, Charles Anderson, fleeing before the advancing settlements. According to the evidence, Charles Anderson was at Oldtown before Cresap.¹¹ Earlier still he lived and traded on the Monocacy. It appears that he neither took up nor purchased any land in Maryland, so that his movements are difficult to trace. This is a pity, for, wherever we find him, we are pretty sure of having identified a place significant in the pre-settlement history of Western Maryland and of the Indian trade in those parts.¹²

In concluding these notes a word should be added by way of modifying a statement previously made by this author concerning the extent of the Indian fields on the North Branch of Potomac River above the site of Cumberland, which were known as the

⁹ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 34, p. 330, note 27.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 331, 332.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

¹² A clue to one of his earlier places of residence is to be found in a certificate of survey called "Sprigg's Delight," which was issued to Major Edward Sprigg. The survey was made April 12, 1734, in what was then Prince George's County, and the land is described in part as follows:

"beginning at a bounded Hickory standing near Potomack River side and against the Upper End of a small Island *below a Foarding Place called Charles Anderson's fford*," etc. (Land Office of Maryland, Patent Records for Land, Liber E. I. No. 5, folio 382).

"Sprigg's Delight" lies in Washington County. Its situation has not been exactly ascertained.

*Shawno Indian Fields.*¹³ Ostinably, these Indian fields, deserted long before the arrival of the first white settlers in that place, were the common property of the inhabitants of the Upper Old Indian Town, the site of which, as I have shown, was on the north side of the river, near Fort Hill. To judge by Benjamin Winslow's *Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River* (1736) these Indian fields ran from Fort Hill down along the river a distance of about three and a half miles to the upper end of the great bend which encloses a bottom formerly called Sugar Bottom, at or near the site of Pinto, or to within seven miles (in a straight line) of the mouth of Will's Creek. Although Winslow's map, which is so excellent in its details, would seem to have made this point clear, there appears to be good authority for the belief that the Shawno (or Shawnee) Indian fields actually extended considerably farther down the river in the bottom lands. Writing in 1755 concerning the possibilities of navigation in the North Branch of the Potomac, Lewis Evans, the noted cartographer, lets fall the following bit of information:

The North Branch is scarce passable with Canoes *beyond the Shawane Fields, some three or four Miles above Will's Creek. . . .* From Will's Creek the Ground is very stony for the greater Part of the Way to the Allegany Mountain; but not so much so from the Shawane Fields.¹⁴

¹³ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 34, pp. 330, 331.

¹⁴ *Lewis Evans*, by Lawrence Henry Gipson, *To Which is Added Evans' A Brief Account of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1939).

READING AND OTHER RECREATIONS OF MARYLANDERS, 1700-1776

By JOSEPH TOWNE WHEELER

(Continued from Volume XXXVIII, page 55, March, 1943)

Several clubs in the American colonies were looked upon as vassals by the members of the Tuesday Club. Thomas Cumming, of New York, visited the Tuesday Club when he was passing through Annapolis and was so impressed by it that he organized the Monday Club on his return home. When he was in Annapolis again, he was called before the tribunal of the Tuesday Club on the charge of betraying state secrets. This charge was dismissed later after the evidence had been heard. President Cole tried by every means at his disposal to make Sir Hugh Maccubin, the president of the Monday Club, acknowledge his fealty but he was always rebuffed.

A social club was organized at Hickory Hill in Virginia by Colonel Fitzhugh who was later made president. It was called the Thursday Club and the members recognized their allegiance to the Tuesday Club.⁵⁶

Several of the honorary members of the Tuesday Club on the Eastern Shore have already been referred to. Robert Morris of Oxford, the factor of Foster Cunliffe and Son whose tragic death has been mentioned in a previous article, visited the Tuesday Club in 1747, and spent a very enjoyable evening. When he returned to Oxford, he sent a case of English ale to his friends which was so much appreciated that he was unanimously elected an honorary member. Two years later, on the fourth anniversary of the founding of the Tuesday Club, the Rev. John Gordon reported that the Rev. Thomas Bacon, Robert Morris and he had formed the Eastern Shore Triumvirate. He said he was commissioned to pay his respects to President Cole, "as you have acquired a great name, far and near, by your wise and just conduct in that chair."⁵⁷ Henry Callister may also have been a member of this Eastern Shore club for his name is recorded in the Minute Book of the Tuesday Club as a visitor.

⁵⁶ Minutes of the Tuesday Club, 18 February, 1751.

⁵⁷ Minutes of the Tuesday Club, 16 May, 1749.

The library of the Reverend Thomas Bacon has been listed in a previous article; there is no record of the books owned by the Rev. John Gordon.⁵⁸ The private library of Robert Morris is particularly interesting because of the wide range of its contents.⁵⁹ It contained more books on literature than any other book collection mentioned in this survey of literary culture.

Chamber's Dictionary	Magazines in half Binding
Rapin's History of England	Pamphlets in half Binding
Lediard's of Ditto	Life Czar Peter the Great
Grotin's on war & Peace	— of Duke of Marlborough
Lock's works	— of Prince Eugene
Bailey's Dictionary	Oldensburgh's calculation of
Lawrence of Agriculture	Exchanges
Puffendorfs Law of Nature	Hill's Natural History
Elton's Sermons	Bacon on Government
Anderson's Collections	Living Library
Universal History	The Holy Bible
British Empire in America	Voltaire's Letters
Warburton's Divine Legation of	History of Charles XII of Sweden
Moses	Collection of Poems
History of Germany	Addison's Works
History of Virginia	Spectator's
Jacob's Law Dictionary	Guardian's
Letters on Patriotism	Suitonious's lives of the Caesars
Fielding's Miscellanies	Ray's History of the Rebellion
Vertot's Revolutions in Spain	Beveredge's Thoughts
Method of Studying History	Clarke's Essay on Study
Brand's History of the	History of the Inquisition
Reformation	Young Man's best Companion
Montaigne's Essays	Pollvitz's Memoirs
Rotrautt's Philosophy	Philip's Plays
Ditto's Physicho	Treatise on Trade
Sherlock on Death	Independant Whig
Lydenham's Works	Plato's Works
Hutchinson on the passions	Thompson's Poems
Shaftsbury's Characteristics	Plays
History of Spanish America	Tow Through Ireland
History of Thomas Kuli Khan	Compleat Family Peice
Quincy's Dispensatory	Shaws Parish laws
Crouches Book of Rates	Christianity as old as the Creation
London Brewer	Dialogues on Education
Annals of Europe	Antidote against Melancholy

⁵⁸ Joseph T. Wheeler, "Reading Interests of the Professional Classes in Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVI (1941), 188-192.

⁵⁹ Talbot County Inventories, 139-141, liber IB 3, folio 351-356.

- Nature and Laws of Chance
 Art of Cookery
 Life of King David
 Historical Register for 1724
 French and Protestant Companion
 Christian Duty 6d Scarovides 6d
 Christian Sabbath 6d Hool's
 Accidence 6d
 Moses Unveiled 6d Expositor 6d
 Magazines and pamphlets 2c 351
 @ 2d.
 Brady's Psalms 1/ Ellis's Voyages
 8/9
 Dulaney's Revelation Examin'd
 Snells Copy Book
 Chamberlaine's State of Great
 Britain 1749
 Thomson's Seasons
 6 Vol. New Plays
 Bysher Art of Poetry
 Priar's Works
 Clarisa
 Pope's Homer
 Hatton's Merchants Magazine
 Woodward on the Bible
 Cheyne on Health
 Burkley's minute Philosophy
 Swindon on Hell
 Cato's Letters
 2 ditto
 Tom Jones
 6 Magazines from Feb. to July
 Inclusive 1750
 Forbes's Reflections on Incredulity
 Pamela
 Swifts Works
 Reflections on Poetry
 Gordon's Gran
 Bowen's System of Geography
 Tindal's continuation of Ditto
 Harris's Voyages
 Clark's Works
 Temple's Works
 Miller's Gardiner's Dictionary
 Heads of Illustrious Persons
 Lex Mercaton's
 Anson's Voyage
 Hopes New Method of Fencing
 Rollin's Belles Letters
 Jure Maritimo
 Theatre of War
 Every Man his own Lawyer
 Dissertations on Partys
 Lediard's Naval History
 Tale of a Tub
 David Simple's Letters
 History of France
 Gale's Sermons
 Vertot's Roman Republic
 Kennett's Antiquities
 Keil's Anatomy
 Gay's Fables
 West's Defurse of the Chris
 Revelation
 Chamberlaine's State of Britain
 Travels into ye Nil and parts of
 Africa
 Cole's Dictionary
 Pope's Ethic Epistles
 Bacon's Book of Rates for Ireland
 Milton's Paradise Lost and Regain'd
 Grand Tower [sic] Through Europe
 Prince's British Carpinter
 Sir Isaac Newton's Philo
 Discoveries
 Amaryillis
 Newton's Chronology
 Stafford's Tryal
 2 Books 5 Quires each fine Derry
 in Vellum
 Croxal's Novels
 Gay's Poems
 Tatlers
 Freeholder
 Voiture's Works
 Lock on Government
 Glover's Leonidas
 Lamotte on Poetry and Painting
 Durham's physico Theology
 Motervill's Memoirs
 Ozell's Homer
 Molliere's Plays
 Travels of Cyrus
 Spectacle de la Nature

History of Joseph Andrews	———Sermons
Buchaneers of America	Wilson's Justice
Prior's Poems	Don Quixot
Vernons Compleat Coumpting House	Young's poems
Preceptor	Congreave's Work
Chubbs Tracts	Beggers Opera 2/6 2 Doz plays 21/
Tour through great Britain	Pomfrets Poems
Hill's Natural History [repeated]	Arbuthnot on Aliments
Hoyle's Games	Treatise on Midwifry
Cooper's Life of Socrates	Hale's Staticks
Pamela	Independent Whig
Experienced Midwife	2 Common Prayers Turkey loar gilt
Hudibras	Englishman the Sequel to the Guardian
Seaman's Vade Mecum	6 Monthly reviews Do
Young's Love of Fame	The Roman Father A Tragedy
Bailey's Exercise 6d 1 Conn Prayer	Warberton's Julian
Notes on Paradise lost pr Addison	Hutchinson's Moral Phylosophy
Middleton's Life of Cicero	

A few years after the Tuesday Club disbanded, another social club was organized in Annapolis. A manuscript minute book of the Forensic Club from its organization on October 26, 1759, until March 2, 1767, belonging to William H. Corner of Baltimore was auctioned off with the rest of his library in 1907. No record has been found of the present whereabouts of this valuable manuscript.⁶⁰

The following statement of purposes was drawn up at the organization meeting and was signed by the founders:

Whereas a club at stated times or an assembly of young gentlemen constituted for the improvement and advancement of their knowledge has been universally recommended by the wise and learned, we whose names are hereto subscribed, do for that purpose form ourselves into a body and denominate this Assemble the Forensic Club: William Rind,⁶¹ Robert Alexander, Corns. Garrettson, William Paca, Nathaniel Waters, Charles Wallace.⁶²

⁶⁰ *Catalogue of . . . William Corner auctioned by Pattison & Gahan, Wednesday, May 15, 1907 (Baltimore, 1907), No. 556.* The records of this auction firm have been destroyed and there is no record of the purchaser. Mr. Thomas C. Corner, a son, thought a copy of the manuscript was deposited in the Maryland Historical Society, but this has not been located.

⁶¹ See Joseph T. Wheeler, "Booksellers and Circulating Libraries in Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIV (1939), 112-116.

⁶² *Catalogue by . . . William Corner, No. 556, p. 41.*

Most of the active young lawyers in Annapolis were members, including William Paca, Samuel Chase and Thomas Stone, three signers of the Declaration of Independence. The minute book kept by Samuel Chase, afterwards Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, should be an invaluable source of information on the cultural interests of this group of prominent young men.

The Homony Club was another interesting social club in colonial Maryland. It was organized during the administration of Governor Robert Eden and many of its members later left the colony because of their loyalist sympathies. The main source of information about this club is a poem written by Thomas Jennings, the club's Poet Laureate about 1770.⁶³

The Homony Club, a Poem, humbly inscribed to the worthy
Members of that respectable Society by Thos. Jennings,
Poet Laureat.

Ye tuneful Nine assist my feeble Lay,
While I the Merit of our Club display,
From Helicon's imbowering Height repair,
Assist my Labours and reward my Pray'r.
O had I Pindar's Fire, then might I sing
The various Worthies of our jovial Ring,
Like his, my Muse should soar with glorious Flight,
And do each Member and his Virtues Right.
The Fire of Genuis but to few is giv'n,
That Talent only is the Gift of Heav'n,
Then how can I with scarce one Spark, aspire
To praise the Men whom all Mankind admire.

Hail! mighty Lookup, thee I first address,
Great Son of Wisdom, sent these Climes to bless,
Whose vast Perfections ev'ry Heart engage,
And mark thee, bright Example of the Age:
Oft have I seen thee in the social Chair,
As oft rever'd thy magisterial Air,
Thy nervous Eloquence and sterling Sense,

⁶³ *Dulany Papers*, Box V, No. 20. The Homony Club is mentioned in an article signed by Philomonous in the *Maryland Gazette*, December 12, 1771. In this same article the Independent Club, or the "Drum Stick Club," as the author preferred to call it, was raked over the coals because some of its members, after an evening of drinking, beat a drum on the streets of Annapolis until a late hour. The following week Philalethes, replied to the charge: "Cannot a company of young fellows of liberal education be supposed to assemble for the purpose of improving their imaginations, and indulging themselves in social mirth, without degenerating into the brutal excess of drunkenness?"

Thy Depth of Judgment and Benevolence.
 'Tis thine, when rival Orators engage,
 To check the Impulse of impetuous Rage,
 And like the Roman Moralist, controul
 By Reasons Pow'r the Tempest of the Soul
 None could like you, such various Toils sustain,
 At once preside, and all our Laws explain.

But whilst I weakly strive thy Worth to speak,
 A conscious Blush glows on my crimson'd Cheek
 For that vain, wild Attempt, to change a Law,
 Which Pallas, in thy Form, vouchsaf'd to draw;
 But Oh! with Trembling I relate the Hour
 When with Presumption rash I brav'd thy Pow'r.
 How could I dare to hesitate Dislike!
 Thy poignant Periods yet my Fancy strike;
 I own thy Justice, and thy Mercy bless
 You taught me Prudence, tho' I miss'd Success.

But worthy Eddis now my Verse invites,
 (All surely must applaud what *Eddis* writes)
 Who still with ready Hand and fertile Head,
 Records those Matters which will long be read,
 If purest Grammar, brilliant Strokes of Wit,
 Or flow'ry Periods can his Fame transmit:
 His shining Talents make us all deplore,
 When he his Office shall enjoy no more.

How oft do I admire with fond Delight
 Great Boucher's Works, and wish like him to write,
 Alas! vain Hope, that might as well aspire
 To copy Virgil's Song, or Homer's Fire.
 Who can like him, with Ease and Sweetness join,
 The mild Companion, and the grave Divine;
 Sure of all Vices which Mankind have curs'd,
 That of Hypocrisy is still the worst,
 Then learn ye Sons of superstitious Gloom,
 To act like Boucher in the festal Room.

But can I Dennis or his Worth forget,
 His modest Manner, and his Attic Wit,
 Bless'd Member, who can ev'ry Heart engage,
 Friend of my youth, and Solace of my Age;
 In Manners gentle, In Behaviour plain,
 No Dupe to Flatt'ry nor no Slave to Gain,
 Wise without Pride, and without Rashness brave,
 A Soul to love, to pity, and to save:
 Had I a Genius equal to my will,
 Gladly would I exert my utmost Skill,

And strive thy num'rous Virtues to rehearse,
But now, thy Worth would suffer by *my* Verse.

Close by his Side, and watchful of his Friend,
To all he says a willing Ear to lend,
See honest Will; Instructive yet discreet,
Of placid Nature, and of Temper sweet,
" Whose constant Care is never to offend,"
And evry honest Man, he finds his Friend.
May'st thou and Ghiseline, two congenial Souls,
In Peace and Plenty live with flowing Bowls,
Nor know the Curse of fell corroding Care,
But Money have to spend, and some to spare.

Methinks I see with slow and solemn Pace,
The grave Sir Robert take his Destin'd Place,
His courtly Bow and unaffected Air,
The high bred Man of Quality declare,
Kind lavish Nature did to him impart,
Endowments proper for the dancing Art,
And all must own, that 'tis to his Address,
Our Club's admir'd so much for Politesse:
When'er I see thy ready Hand prepare,
To lead each Stranger to the awful Chair,
I think that Roscius stands before my Sight;
So much thy polish'd Manners give Delight;
O may'st thou long thy pleasing Office fill,
For who like thee can hold it with such Skill,
Or to external Grace those Virtues join,
Which almost prove thee sprung from Race divine;
Thy spotless Honour yet unstain'd by Crimes,
Shall make thy Name rever'd to latest Times.

Now Deards with native Humour claims my Lay
Who justly blends the serious and the gay,
With Knowledge to amuse, with Sense to please,
And Wit to charm with Pleasant'ry and Ease:
When'er he sings, with Joy the list'ning Throng
Dwell on the melting Musick of his Song,
Nor less his Rhet'rich does our Wonder raise,
Which leaves a doubtful palm in Lookup's Praise.
If Pow'rs to please and Will t' exert those pow'rs,
Can wing with happy Speed the fleeting Hours,
Thy Merit shall consign to endless Fame
And mark in deathless Characters, thy Name;
Sincere I wish thy great Desert Success,
And may thy honest Heart ne'er know Distress.

But see loquacious Ghiseline rise to joke
 The Club all laugh, what says he? has he spoke?
 No not a Word; then whence this sudden Mirth?
 His Face foretels some Bull's approaching Birth,
 He smiles and charms us with his jocund Air,
 Nor dreads the Frown of Lookup from the Chair,
 Ceaseless he speaks to *entertain* his Friends,
 And, rare Example! always gains his Ends.

But say advent'rous Muse, can'st thou proclaim
 One twentieth part the Tithe of Clapham's Fame,
 Who (when the Sword of Honour O'er his Head
 Fill'd each surrounding Member's Heart with Dread)
 Like great Achilles look'd indignant round,
 As if some haughty Rival had been found,
 Then slowly stalking reassum'd his Place
 With Knight-like Breeding Dignity and Grace.
 Hail! great Sir John, may thy deserved Rise
 Ne'er draw on thee the Frowns of jealous Eyes,
 Merit alone, how rare in modern Days!
 Has rais'd thy Station, may it too thy Praise.

The next in Title to the Knight of State
 Is Brice the learn'd, and modest Advocate,
 Who can like Coke, with nice Discernment draw
 Each knotty Point from out the Depths of Law,
 Still prone to save whom others have condemn'd,
 In him the trembling Culprit finds a Friend.
 When Parties strove to crush me into Nought,
 And factious Chiefs the harsh Impeachment brought,
 When searching for a Cause of Discontent,
 They made me utter, what I never meant,
 Whilst Words (which ta'en in common Acceptation
 Could ne'er have given Cause of Provocation)
 Were urg'd by strain'd Construction, to my Shame,
 To mean a Toast, which I should blush to name
 Thy upright Heart refus'd to wrest the Laws,
 And tho' with Heat requir'd, *you shew'd no Cause:*
 Let then the Muse her grateful Tribute pay,
 Thy Merit asks a more exalted Lay.

See Paca next, with choicest Talents bless'd,
 Which can by me but poorly be express'd,
 Whose melting Periods charm the list'ning Ears,
 And might call down the Planets from their Spheres,
 May we thy Sounds harmonious Long enjoy,
 For Words so pure as thine can never cloy.

By diff'rent, Methods, diff'rent Men excel,
 If Paca *speaks*, yet Wallace *acts* as well,
 Intent his Town and Country to befriend,
 And fond to useful Works his Hand to lend,
 He rears the Column, and projects the Dome,
 And makes our Streets like those of ancient Rome,
 A grateful People shall preserve thy Fame,
 And rank with Jones, and Wren, thy honour'd Name.
 But tho' the Trav'ler views with pleas'd Surprise,
 Stupendous Fabricks reaching to the Skies,
 Admires the Structures, and applauds thy Art,
 'Tis mine to praise the Goodness of thy Heart,
 Thy many social Virtues to commend,
 The useful Citizen, and Publick Friend.

When in the Club a strange attempt was made,
 Our Laws and Constitution to invade,
 To bring a Member, as no Member there,
 To say he no where liv'd, yet ev'ry where;
 When party zeal the mad Contagion caught,
 And Some approv'd, what they condemn'd in Thought,
 Thy independant Spirit scorn'd the Note,
 And Bards in future Times thy Worth shall quote.

Say now, ye clay cold Heads, who (worldly wise)
 Affect convivial Pleasures to despise,
 Whose brainless Apathy Condemns a Jest,
 Tho' fram'd by Boucher; or by Deards express'd,
 Where, mighty Sons of Dulness, can ye find
 More social Converse for the friendly Mind?
 Here sparkling Wit and Humour still preside,
 With Order and Decorum at their Side,
 Each Member charms with Innocence and Mirth,
 And views with Scorn the Pride of Wealth and Birth,
 Long may we thus enjoy the circling Year,
 In blissful Peace, from all Affliction clear.

References to the libraries of several members of the club have been discovered but many members left the colony before they died, so that there is no record of their inventories. Sir Robert Eden was the son of a baronet and began his career in the Royal Artillery during the Seven Years' War. When he met Caroline Calvert, he was a Captain in the Coldstream Guards and undoubtedly his military costume, his youth and his prospects attracted this young lady. He married her in 1765, and his brother-in-law, the proprietor of Maryland, commissioned him as Governor of

the colony. He conducted his administration of the affairs in such a way as to win the admiration and respect of all parties. In his correspondence with English officials he showed a sympathy with the problems of the colonists and in his addresses to the Assembly and the citizens he urged moderation. The Annapolis Committee of Correspondence refused to deliver him to the radical patriots and when he at last decided to leave the Province in 1776, he was given every courtesy at their command although this action was strongly disapproved in the neighboring colonies. He returned to Maryland in 1784 and died in Annapolis. His interest in horse racing and his encouragement of the American Company have already been mentioned. An inventory of his property was made after his departure and although books are not specifically mentioned, he apparently owned a number because a bookcase was found in his bedroom and in the study there were two mahogany bookcases as well as a desk with a glass bookcase.⁶⁴

William Eddis was Governor Eden's secretary from 1769 to 1776, and with the permission of the Council of Safety he remained in the colony until 1777, in order to close the accounts of the Loan Office. His letters to his friends in England are an interesting reflection of the colonial life on the eve of the Revolution.⁶⁵

One of the most interesting loyalists from Maryland was the Rev. Jonathan Boucher who also belonged to the Homony Club. He was born in England in 1738 and received his education under the Rev. John James who remained his close friend throughout his life. Boucher accepted a position as tutor in Virginia and arrived in 1759. He did not enjoy his teaching experience and his letters are filled with his discontent with his surroundings.⁶⁶ In 1762 he went to England to take orders. On his return to the colonies he was given the church in Hanover Parish, King George's County, in Virginia, and soon after was made rector of St. Mary's in Caroline County. He opened a school and supplemented his salary as a clergyman with fees from gentlemen in

⁶⁴ Archives of Maryland, Red Book No. 1. Hall of Records. Best Biography is Bernard C. Steiner, "Life and Administration of Sir Robert Eden," *Johns Hopkins Studies*, XVI, Nos. 7-9.

⁶⁵ Published in 1792 under the title *Letters from America, Historical and Descriptive; Comprising Occurrences from 1769 to 1777 Inclusive*.

⁶⁶ Boucher's correspondence was printed in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VI-IX. The letters have to do largely with his years in Virginia.

the neighborhood who wanted their sons to receive a classical education. One of his pupils was John Custis, the stepson of George Washington. Boucher and Washington carried on a long correspondence on the problem of giving a child the proper education. Boucher was somewhat disappointed with the way his students turned out and hoped, or at least so he led Washington to believe, that young Custis would become a scholar:

. . . I have now been for upwards of seven Years engaged in the Education of Youth. . . . I have had, 'tis true, Youths, whose Fortunes, Inclinations & Capacities all gave Me Room for ye most pleasing Hopes: yet I know not how it is, no sooner do They arrive at that Period of life when They might be expected more successfully to apply to their Studies, than they either marry, or are remov'd from School on some, perhaps even still less justifiable Motive.⁶⁷

Boucher was sadly disappointed in his pupil. Young Custis turned out to be more interested in girls and guns than in his studies. When Boucher was made rector of St. Anne's Church in Annapolis in 1770, he brought his pupils with him. A few months later Washington wrote that "His [Jacky Custis's] mind is a good deal released from Study, & more than ever turned to Dogs Horses and Guns; indeed upon Dress and equipage . . ." ⁶⁸ Boucher suggested that Custis be sent on a Grand Tour through England and Europe and he offered to take a leave of absence from his church to accompany him. He suggested that Custis travel through the Northern colonies for six months and then go to England and enter a university for the winter months. After a year's tour of England, Ireland and Scotland he would be ready for a trip through the continent. Washington seriously considered this suggestion and his only reason for rejecting it was that Custis's estate could not support the expense. Boucher was particularly interested in the idea because it would enable him to see the European countries.

. . . I am unconnected in the World, with no very violent Passion, but that of increasing my slender Stock of Knowledge, which I persuade myself I shall most affectually accomplish by a Tour thro' those Countries where Arts and Sciences have been most successfully cultivated.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ S. M. Hamilton, ed., *Letters to Washington* (Boston, 1901), III, 316-318.

⁶⁸ J. D. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington*, III, 35-36.

⁶⁹ *Letters to Washington*, IV, 18-19.

Washington frequently sent parcels of books to Boucher for the use of his stepson. He also sent a few books and pamphlets for Boucher's own use:

Herewith I send the Pamphlets you desired me to get, together with your Accts from both Printing Offices discharged; both Printers (Rind & Purdie and Gaine) being desired to forward your Gazettes for the future to the care of Mr. Lowndes of Bladensburg.⁷⁰

Boucher took a prominent part in colonial affairs during his residence in Annapolis. He was, of course, an opponent of the bill to lower the tax for the support of the clergy and was very much in favor of an American Episcopacy. Governor Eden appointed him rector of Queen Anne's Parish in Prince George's County and he remained in that church until he was forced to leave the colony because of his loyal sympathies. Many years after he left the colony, he gathered together a number of his sermons and published them in London under the title *View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution*. Certain more radical members of his parish threatened him with bodily injury if he continued to preach his sermons in favor of the Royal authority, but he replied to this threat by placing a pair of loaded pistols on the pulpit. Mention has already been made of Boucher's personal library when he left the colony.⁷¹

He published several works after his return to England and his most important contribution was the glossary of obsolete words which appeared after his death under the title of *Supplement to Dr. Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language*. His large library, auctioned off after his death, was described in the catalogue as:

a fine and curious collection in Divinity, History, (Domestic and Foreign) Voyages and Travels, Poetry, Classics, Philosophy, Natural History, Mechanics, Critical, Biblical, Arts and Sciences, Belles Lettres, Miscellanies, Topography, Dictionaries, and various Branches of Literature, in all Languages, with a large and curious assemblage of Tracts . . .

The first part of the sale lasted twenty-six days, the second part eight days. A priced copy of the sale catalogue shows that the collection containing nine thousand items brought over thirty-

⁷⁰ *Writings of Washington*, III, 80-82.

⁷¹ Joseph T. Wheeler, "Reading Interests of the Professional Classes in Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVI (1941), 194-195.

eight hundred pounds. In a note on the famous book auctions he had attended, the Rev. Thomas Dibdin, well known for his *Bibliomania*, wrote:

I attended many days during this sale; but such was the warm fire, directed especially toward divinity, kept up during nearly the whole of it, that it required a heavier weight of metal than I was able to bring into the field of battle to ensure any success to the contest.⁷²

George Chalmers, another member of the Homony Club, was educated in the Scottish Universities and came to Maryland as a lawyer in 1763. He practiced law in Baltimore until the beginning of the Revolution. He then returned to England and wrote political pamphlets supporting the ministry. In 1780 he published the first volume of *Political Annals of the Present United Colonies*. A few years later as a reward for his loyal services to his party, he was appointed chief clerk of the committee of the privy council for trade and foreign plantations. He soon turned to literature, becoming interested in the poetry and folklore of Scotland. His *Caledonia* was intended as a study of the antiquities of Scotland in six volumes but he died in 1825 before the work was finished. There is no record of his private library while he was in Maryland. However, he assembled a large library during the remainder of his life in England which was sold at auction in 1841 by his family. Dibdin recorded that Chalmers was "the most learned and the most celebrated of all the Antiquarians and Historians of Scotland" and that:

[he] . . . keeps up a constant fire at book auctions; although he is not personally seen in securing the spoils which he makes. Unparalleled as an antiquary in Caledonian history and poetry, and passionately attached to everything connected with the fate of the lamented Mary, as well as with that of the great poetical contemporaries, Spenser and Shakespeare, Aurelius is indefatigable in the pursuit of such ancient lore as may add value to his stores, however precious, which he possesses.⁷³

Some of the valuable items in his library which help to show the scope of his book collecting are: Hakluyt's *Voyages* (1582), *Cronycle of Englonde* (1497) printed by Wynkyn de Worde, *Relation of Maryland* (1635), Hammond's *Leah and Rachel*,

⁷² Thomas F. Dibdin, *Bibliomania or Book-Madness* (London, 1876).

⁷³ Thomas F. Dibdin, *Bibliomania or Book-Madness* (London, 1842), pp. 135-136.

Brereton's *Brief and True Relation* (1602), Peckham's *True Reports* (1583), Eliot's *Indian Bible* (1663), Shakespeare's *Plays* (the folio editions), first editions of many Shakespeare quartos, many broadsides, newspaper volumes, bound tracts and manuscripts.⁷⁴

The libraries of the moderately prosperous individuals mentioned in this survey afford a fairly representative picture of the cultural interests of the better educated planters and professional men in eighteenth-century Maryland. There were no notable book collections in the colony such as those assembled by the Rev. Jonathan Boucher and George Chalmers after their return to England—libraries not limited to contemporary and ephemeral books but made up of volumes of enduring value—but it does not seem unlikely that there might have been if the colonists had enjoyed the same easy access to well-stocked bookstores.

⁷⁴ *Catalogue of the . . . Library of the Late George Chalmers, three parts* (London, 1841-1842).

LETTERS OF CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER

(Continued from Vol. XXXVII, page 419, December, 1942)

[An attractive picture of a gentleman of Maryland developing his country place in A. D. 1768 is furnished by the present instalment from the letterbook of Charles Carroll, Barrister, of Annapolis and Baltimore. His interest in mahogany furniture, fine wines and fruit trees may be matched today in any part of the State, not to mention his plea for a gardener and a "housekeeper, if elderly we shall like her the better." The long lists of goods ordered are as astonishing in their variety as they are illuminating in regard to the style in which the Carrolls lived—capers and anchovies, lace head cloths, two pairs of "silk shoes," a dozen men's felt hats, the "best" pamphlets, harness for a four-horse team and postilion saddles decorated with the Carroll crest and gold lace, fishing supplies, orange shrub (a drink) and the makings of a crimson broad-cloth waistcoat trimmed with gold lace and brass buttons "to button to the bottom" for the master.

Correspondence already published indicates that the erection of Mount Clare was begun in the late 1750's (probably in 1757) and continued into 1765. Carroll ordered flag stones to pave the portico of his piazza to be delivered in the latter year. This suggests that the building had then been finished. His interest from this point on is in completing the furnishing of the mansion, in obtaining domestic servants and in planting the grounds.]

Gent

I Have wrote to Mess^{rs} Scott Pringle Cheap & C^o Merch^{ts} in the Madeira to send me a Pipe of wine for the Costs in w^h I Have Directed them to Draw a Bill on you w^{ch} Bill Be Pleased to Pay when it Comes to Hand and Charge to the Acc^t of

Y^r H^{ble} Serv^t

Annapolis Maryland Dec^r 7th 1767

C. C.

To Mess^{rs} William & James Anderson

Merch^t in London

p^r Cap^t Reed in Bri. to Scot & C^o

January 15th 1768

Mr Nathan Haines/

I Hereby Acknowledge that the Bond Passed by you to me of this date is for the Ballance Due to me on the Mortgage of Mr Unkle Unkles and as you have agreed to take the Lands of the said Unkles I hereby Agree on your Payment of the Principal and Interest of the Bond in the manner and at the times you have mentioned to Give you a Release on the said Mortgage for the Whole thereof or for such of the Lands as the said Unkle Unkles shall Convey to you

I am yours

To Mr Nathan Haines }
of Frederick County }

Chas. Carroll

Gent/

I am in want of a Gardiner that understands a Kitchen Garden well and Grafting, Budding Inoculating and the managem^t of an orchard and Fruit Trees Pretty well. As I suppose there are some to be met with in your City or neighbourhood that may Answer my Description and may be willing to Come under Indentures to serve here four or five years. If you Can meet with such a one who will ship himself under Indentures to serve me as above I will pay the usual Expences of his Passage And Allow him Reasonable Annual Wages, which I suppose Considering I Pay his Passage will not be above five or six pounds Sterling ꝯ Annum. There Come in Gardiners in Every Branch from Scotland at Six pounds a year. I shall Leave it to you to Git me one on as Reasonable Terms as you Can

I will Likewise take a man that understands Tanning and Currying Leather on the same terms If he understands the Business Moderately well it will do for me as I shall only want him to Dress my Leather for Negro ware if the above servants are Turned of thirty years of age I shall Like them better as they are more Likely to be Riotous and Troublesome if young. But must take good orderly appearing fellows tho younger

Shall be obliged if you^l let me hear from you in Relation to

them by your first ship or if you Can Get them in Time be pleased to send them into me by her

Annapolis Maryland } January 28 th 1768 } To Mess ^{rs} Sedgley Hilhouse } and Randolph } Merchants in Bristol }	I am Gent ^t Your M ^h ble Servant Cha. Carroll ⌘ Captain Price July 24 th 1768
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Gent/

Be pleased to send me in by the first of your Ships Coming in the following Books, Smollets Continuation of his Compleat History of England four or five vol^s 8^{vo} Baldwin—The Voters Guide and Candidates Instructor 8^{vo} Griffith—The History of Addresses—Parliamentary Debates by the Honble Archibal Grey I think in Ten vol^s 8^{vo} by Henry &c—The Latest and best History of the Establishment—Government Laws & Trade of all the British Colonies in America—This I Leave to master Strahans Judgment as I have not seen any Character or Account of any Late Publication A Book Called the British Empire in America Let him Know I have lest he should send it in

Send me in also four flesh Brushes two of them of a Pretty Soft Hair and two of a Rougher Sort.*

I am Gentlemen Your M^hble Servant

Annapolis Jan ^{ry} 31 st 1768 } To Mess ^{rs} William and James } Anderson Merchants in London }	Charles Carroll
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added to the above

- * 2 Dozen Bottles of Genuine Daffy's Elixir
- 1 Dozen Ditto of Turlintons Balsam
- A Quarter of a Hundred of Best fresh Pruins well Packed in a Iarr
- 8th Best Sagoe
- A small Box of Castile Soap
- 3 Bottles of Hungary Water } not Prepared
- 3 D^o Lavender }
- A Pair of Exercising Leads.

⌘ Captain Price/via Bristol

Gent/

Be pleased to send me by your first Ship Coming Convenient to Annapolis the Contents of the under mentioned Invoice Insure so that in Case of Loss I may Recover the Costs of them

I am Gentlemen your most Humble Servant

March 24th 1768

C. Carroll

To Mess^{rs} Jordan and Maxwell
 Merchants in
 London

one Diamond Hoop Ring—M^{rs} Jordan has the Size—but it is desired to be Rather Less and the Sparks as Large as Can be Got for about 15 Guineas.

two other Hoop Rings such as M^{rs} Jordan shall Chuse, the two not Exceeding two or three Guineas—and a small size less than the Diamond.

one Handsome Mahogany Cabinet with best furniture and Locks of Different Sorts to the Drawers and Doors, and if any Carved ornament to the mouldings they are Desired to be solid and not Glued on such work being very apt to Come to pieces here.

one piece Rich black Sattin made into a Robe or negligee and to the Inclosed body Lining with Genteel Trimming

two pair of Table Bottle stands with Silver Rimes, with Crest or Coat as Inclosed.

✂ John Morton Jordan Esquire

Gent/

The pipe of wine I wrote to you for in mine of the Seventh of December last was for a friend of mine who had no correspondent in your Island. I shall be obliged if you^l send me for my own use by Captain Cook a pipe of the Prime full kind and the oldest you Can Get I write for the oldest as I suppose the Longer it has been Kept in your Island the more it has Improved and as you may Judge better how such a pipe of wine may turn out than a pipe of a Fresh or a new vintage. I leave it However to your taste, send me also a Quarter Cask of the best and Richest Malmsey wine and a small Box of Citron about fifteen or Twenty Pounds. I shall take it as a favour if you^l Please to send me by the Captain who has Promised his Care some of the vines of your best and Largest Eating Grape Black and White not the Cuttings but the vine with the Root to it and put up in a Box with a Little Mold that may Preserve them if you Could Procure me a Bearing Lemon

Tree or two in Boxes with Earth that have been Inoculated from Good fruit as the Trees Raised from the seed are Generally worthless.

I shall be obliged if you^l send them to me by the same opportunity or two or three of any other Trees of Good fruit you may think we Can Manage in this Climate by the help of a Green House. For the Cost of the wines Citron and the Trees be Pleased to Draw on Mess^{rs} William and James Anderson Merchants in London and send the Inclosed Letter.

I am Gent^t your M^hble Servant

Annapolis Maryland }

April 13th 1768 }

To Mess^{rs} Scott Pringle Cheap and Co }
Merchants in Madeira }

Cha. Carroll

☞ Captain Cook

Gent/

I have of this Date wrote to Mess^{rs} Scott Pringle Cheap and Company merchants in Madeira for a Pipe of Wine and Quarter Cask of Madeira and a few other Trifles for the Cost of which I have directed them to Draw a Bill on you which Please to Pay and Charge the same to my Account.

I am Gent^t your M. humble Servant

Cha^s Carroll

Annapolis April 13th 1768

To Mess^{rs} William and James Anderson }
Merchants in London }

☞ Capt. M^cLachlan

Gentlemen

I hope Ere this Reaches you M^r Jordan will be safely arrived— And have nothing more to add that to Desire you will send me by the first ship Coming Convenient to Annapolis this fall the Contents of the Invoice Give to M^r Jordan at Annapolis

Our Compliments attend M^r and M^{rs} Jordan

I am Gentlemen your most Humble Serv^t

C. Carroll

Maryland May 3^d 1768
 To Mess^{rs} Jordan and Maxwell
 Merchants in London

P. S. be pleased to make } ☞ Cap^t M^cLachlan
 Insurance on the Goods } and by Cap^t Love to put on board a
 Ship Going out of Choptank

June ☞ Capt. Purdie

Gentlemen/

I shall Ship you in your Ship the Betsey Captain Love now in
 Wye River twenty Tons of Bar Iron be pleased to make Insurance
 for me on the said Vessell there and thence to the Port of London
 that in Case of Loss I may Draw the sum of three Hundred Pounds
 Sterling

I am Gentlemen your M^hble Sery^t

Charles Carroll

Annapolis June 14th 1768 }
 To Mess^{rs} William and James Anderson }
 Merchants in London }

☞ Cap^t Purdie
 ☞ Capt. Colson out of }
 Patuxent Give to M^r }
 Joshua Johnson }

Gent

Inclosed I send you Certificate of the Tons of Bar Iron on
 Board Captain Love being Plantation made. I Desire that by
 the first of your Ships Coming in next Spring you will send me
 the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice Insured so that in Case of
 Loss I may Draw the Charges, we are in want of a Sober orderly
 woman of a Good Character that understands Cooking Pickling
 Preserving and the other Requisites for a House keeper if Elderly
 we shall Like her the Better. I suppose such are to be met with

that would on moderate wages I suppose about Ten or Twelve Pounds Sterling ꝯ Annum Come to a Good Place Here for some years we shall be much obliged if such a one to be Got that you would agree with Her for us on the best Terms and send her to us if above the ordinary Rank of servants my wife will Like her Better, as she will meet with all kind Treatment But she must not be of the flirting kind or one that will give herself airs I wrote by McLachlan to yourself and M^r Hood to Look out for an Arabian Horse for me But on Consideration I shall Like a Barb better as they are more Likely to Retain their Spirit when old are better to Breed Riding Horses from and Besides Come Cheaper so that I would have you Git me one of that Breed and kind if a True one Spirited and Shapely to be Got for the Price Limited in my Letter above mentioned that is not Exceeding one hundred Guineas but hope a True one may be Got Cheaper my master Strahan has Charged me with two vol^s of Reviews for 1767 and has not sent them another Pamphlet Published in 1766 he has sent me and with a Pin altered the Date to 1768 I have it not here at the mount now or I would Inclose it to him Pray tell him that I Expect the Reviews. Besides the Cur has no Taste in his Choice of Pamphlets Let him Know unless I am better served shall apply to some other Book Seller

Kenedy and Lee the nursery men from whom I had the fruit Trees Last year have Charged me in their note sent with all the seeds sent in to the Governor this is a mistake I am only Chargeable with the Trees Pray Give them Directions to have the Trees I now write for Packed up in the same manner if opportunity offers of sending them at the same time. Let the Stocks and Roots be Good and not wounded and Desire the Captain that Brings them to Contrive me Notice of their being Come or send them to me as soon as he Comes. Most of those that Came to me by Carcaud Died as I had not timely Notice to send for them.

The Tea you sent us in this year from Mess^{rs} Rawlinson and Company is very Good Pray make my Compliments to them and Desire we may always have the same My wife joins me in affectionate Compliments to all the Family

I am Dear Sirs your Most obed^t H^{ble} Serv^t

Charles Carroll

Maryland July 21st 1768

To Mess^{rs} William and James

Anderson Merchants in London

☞ Captain Robert Love

Give to his Brother the Reverend

M^r Love

Aug^t 13th 1768

☞ Captain George }
Buchanan }

and another Letter for Mess^{rs} Anderson

Invoice of Goods sent Inclosed in a Letter to Mess^{rs} William and James Anderson Merchants in London Dated July 21st 1768

- 1 Piece fine Irish Linen @ 5/
- 1 piece fine Ditto @ 4/
- 1 piece fine Cambrick
- 1 piece Good Strong Napkening Diaper of a Midling Size
- 3 pieces of Dowlass
- 2 pieces of the Best osnabrigs $\frac{7}{8}$ wide
- 2 lb best whited Brown thread
- 12 lb best osnabrigs D^o
- 6 lb of Coloured D^o
- 6 pair of mens Large Strong thread stockings
- 3 pair of Boys D^o
- 4 lb best Hyson and 10lb best Green Tea
- 14 Loaves best Double and 14 Loaves single refined Sugar
- 4 ounces Cinnamon
- $\frac{1}{4}$ hundred best Ship Bisquit
- $\frac{1}{2}$ hundred best Spanish Whiting
- 1 Furkin best Split Peas
- 6 two Quart Bottles to be filled 2 of them with Capers two with anchovies one with olives and 1 wth best Salad oil
- one Dozen small Enamelled thick old China Cawdle or Chocolate Basins with Saucers to them
- 2 Coffee Pots of best Burnt or Enamelled } These are Desired
China to hold about a Pint } to be very Good
2 China Pint Cans } and Well Chosen
- 3 Dozen Wine Glasses }
2 Wine and Water Glasses } to suit a }
2 Quart Decanters } Glass sent }
2 Pint Ditto }
- 1 Salver or Something Proper to Raise a Middle Dish }
on Table of Either Glass or China, Rather China }
- 4 Mustard Glasses Like the broken one sent

- 2 best flint Square Quart Bottles Ground Stopers and narrow mouths
- 4 best flint Pint Ditto for a Case to be made Here
- 1 Lawn or Gause Search * of the finest and best Sort with Leather Top and Bottom
- 6 Hair Sifter Bottoms of the Twilled sort that are fine and Good
- 2 very Good Box Irons with Hammered Heaters
- 1 best Tin fish Kettle about 2 feet or 26 Inches Long
- 6 best Larding Pins Different sizes
A Set of Tagging Irons for Cutting and Marking Paste
one Egg Slice
- 2 best Sugar boxes and Mallets
- 2 Jack Spits one of them a Good Size for Joints of Meat the other for small fowls with Handles Ready fixed for the Chain
- 1 Neat Suit of Blown Lace head Cloths which must Either have Handkerchief or Typet to it to Cost about four or five Pounds
- 1 worked Muslin Apron of the Clear Sort worked in Sprigs with an Edge Round it.
- 1 Suit of Fashionable Ribbon
- 1 Fashionable Gause Cap
- 1 Breast flower
- 12 Yards of an Edging Commonly Called Jacobs Ladder for the Tops of Lawn Aprons
- 1 Genteel set Sprig for wearing in the Hair of Paste and opal mixed
- 16 yards fine bright Blue Mantua Silk or Lutestring
- 1 piece of India Persian of blue or Pink Colour which Can be Got the brightest and not too Deep it must be very Good and not Gumed
- 1 Tunic white Callico Quilted Coat of the wove kind
- 8 pair of fine Grain Kid Gloves
- 4 pair of Ditto mitts
- 1 pair of Fashionable Silk mitts
- 6 pair fine India Cotton Hose
- 4 pair worsted Ditto—Those sent Last year to Coarse
- 2 pair Silk Shoes one pair Plain the other Embroidered
- 6 pair fine Callimancos with fine worsted bindings
- 1 pair Good Clogs with the Straps Covered wth strong silk To be made to the Measures Sent by the same Hand that made the silk Shoes
Last year—not master Hose but George Stagg I think his name is
- 1 piece of Striped Duffill for Blanketing
- 1 piece of Cloth Coloured Kersey with Trimmings
- 2 pieces of blue Half thick
- 1 Dozen mens best felt Hats
- 1 Dozen Ditto ordinary
- 1 Light mans beaver of same Size of that sent me last year ab^t 18/
- 1 Dozen mens Double worsted Caps
- 1 Dozen womens Large blue yarn Hose

* Intended for "searce," a fine sieve.

- 6 pair of Mens silk Stockings for Myself 3 pair of them to be white silk and 3 pair of them to be of the fashionable mixed Colour.
 The Reviews for 1768 and those omitted to be sent me Last for 1767
 About twenty shillings best Pamphlets
 The Act of Parliament to Explain amend and Reduce into one Act the Several Statutes now in being for the Amendment and Preservation of the Public High ways in England it was Passed I believe in 1766 or 1765
- 4 Gallons Port wine in Quart Bottles
 4 Gallons Ditto in Pints D^o
 6 Gallons best Rhenish wine in Pint Bottles
 4 Gallons Battavia Anock in Quart Bottles
 6 Gross best Velvet Corks
 ¼ Chest best Lisbon Lemons by your first Ship and ¼ Chest by your Last
 10 m 10^d and 5 m 20^d nails
 4 Good S pipe Stock Locks at 4/ Each
 6 Good S pipe Pad locks
 50 lb of Drop and 50lb of small mold shot Size about the Bristol Drop
 2 Dozen blue and White Check Handkerchiefs
 2 pieces Check Linen
 1 piece Grey fearnought
 1 piece Green Livery Cloth with Red Shalloon for Lining and Red Mohair—
- ½ Gross brass Buttons Coat and ½ Gross D^o Vest—
 1 piece of Ticking or Coarse Trustain such as they make Servants Frocks of and 6 Skains Red Mohair
- ½ Gross flat yellow Metal Coat Buttons well shanked
 1 Good seine forty Fathom Long Vest twine and strongest well Corked and Leaded
 A Set of Strong and Good Harness for four Horses to Drive Post Chariot Fashion two Postilion Saddles with Crest on the Brass Plates on the off Horses—
 9 yards of strong Gold Lace for Housing or Saddle Cloths of the Inclosed Pattern
 As much Good Crimson Broad Cloth as will Make me a waistcoat and Good strong narrow Gold Lace with Lining of the same Colour and Proper Trimmings Buttons to Button to the Bottom
- ½ Dozen Bottles best orange Shrub well Corked and Directions how to make Shrub—if they Can be Got from the Makers—
 A Bushel of Rocques Burnt seed one ounce of finest Cantaleup melion seed
 one ounce Romand D^o
- | | |
|-------------------|---------------|
| 2 violet Pardigon | } Plumb Trees |
| 2 Moroco | |
| 2 St Catherine | |

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|--|
| 4 orange | } | Apricot Trees |
| 4 Turkey | | |
| 4 Brida | | |
| 4 Roman | | |
| 6 Newington | } | Nectarines Trees |
| 6 Roman | | |
| 3 Herefordshire Heart | } | Cherry Trees— |
| 3 Carnation | | |
| 2 Easter S ^t Germain | } | Pear Trees on Tree Stocks

for Standards |
| 2 Skinless | | |
| 2 Pound Perkinsons warden | | |
| 2 Dry martin | | |
| 2 Autumn Burgamot | | |
| 2 Supreme | | |
| 2 Largonelle | | |
| 2 Royale | | |

NB I would have all the above Trees 3 years old from the Graft or Bud if Can be safely moved or as old as they Can be moved—

- 1½ lbs best Glauber Salts
- 1 piece Green Cotton
- 25 lb Brimstone
- 6 lb of Salt Petree
- 4 Boxes of wafers
- 2 Dozen Sticks best Red Sealing wax
- ½ Dozen Sticks black D^o
- 2 Gross Empty Quart Bottles
- 2 Round Long Haired wall Brooms
- 6 Large Mop heads
- 6 Best Curry Combs without Brushes
- 1 Dozen wash Balls
- 1 Ream of ordinary uncut writing Paper
- 24 Quire best Large Post Paper
- 2 Dozen Pewter Basins for a Dairy to hold }
a Gallon Each }

(To be concluded)

BOOK REVIEWS

Another Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1739-1741. With Letters & Literary Exercises, 1696-1726. Edited by MAUDE H. WOODFIN. Translated and collated by MARION TINLING. Richmond, Virginia: Dietz Press, 1942. xlv, 490 pp. \$5.00.

As is stated in the introduction, William Byrd of Westover as a diarist at sixty-five and as a man of letters and affairs from twenty-five to fifty, is revealed by the manuscripts published in this book.

From the diary (1739-1741) we learn much of the conditions in Virginia when the influence of the well-to-do colonial planters was at its height. Land, tobacco and slaves were the basis of this power. Although Byrd was much older when he wrote this diary, many of the entries are similar to those in his diary for 1709-1712, published in 1941 and reviewed in this magazine. We find, for example, the same interest in the classics, in his food and in his health. In his treatment of servants and slaves Byrd was more lenient than he had been at the beginning of the century.

The letters and literary exercises from 1696 to 1726 form the larger portion of this book, 288 pages, while the diary covers only 185 pages. These letters furnish many new interesting facts in Byrd's life during this period. While the Virginian wrote these letters to people under such imaginary names as Facetia or Sabina, as was customary at that time, it is now known that these letters were written to real people. Many of them were written to women whom he was courting. After the death of his first wife, Lucy Parke, in 1716, Byrd was anxious to marry a rich London heiress. After courting in vain several women, he succeeded in winning the consent of Maria Taylor. His love letter to Maria, who was a Greek scholar, shows Byrd's style of writing. He wrote:

When I thought you knew only your mother tongue, I was passionately in love with you: but when indeed I learned that you also spoke Greek, the tongue of the Muses, I went completely crazy about you. In beauty you surpassed Helen, in culture of mind and ready wit Sappho: It is not meet therefore to be astonished I was smitten by such grandeur of body and soul when I admitted the poison of Love through my eyes and my ears. Farewell.

During the first quarter of the century and before his final return to Virginia in 1726, Byrd tried his hand at the various literary expressions characteristic of that time. His writings included some frank descriptions of individuals. Byrd describes himself in one of them under the title of "Inamorato L'Oiseaux." Truly he wrote of himself: "Love broke out upon him before his Beard. . . ."

In a rather coarse sketch, "The Female Creed," we find examples of Byrd's satire and humor when he makes fun of the frailties of women many of whom were his acquaintances. Altogether Byrd must have had

an enjoyable time in London where he was one of a recognized social group. He went to the theater and to coffee houses and during the season visited Bath and Tunbridge Wells, popular spas of that period.

RAPHAEL SEMMES

The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution, 1763-1789. By FREEMAN H. HART. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942. 223 pp. \$3.50.

This book is a refreshing change from the usual Virginia history, which is often of the kind described by Sterne as being made like ". . . apothecaries make new mixtures, by pouring out of one vessel into another." The author has examined numerous sets of historical papers, letters, newspapers, church records, the county records of the Valley counties and documents in the Virginia State Library and Land Office, and in various historical societies, including the Maryland Historical Society. In addition, 127 volumes are listed in the bibliography.

From the first sign of trouble with Great Britain, the people of the Valley were zealous Revolutionary patriots. They were ". . . not far behind Boston and Williamsburg in both a grasp of the issues and a determination to find for those issues a successful conclusion." In 1775 they sent 137 barrels of flour to their compatriots in Boston. From the Valley came many Revolutionary soldiers and it claimed five Revolutionary Generals; namely, Daniel Morgan, Andrew Lewis, Horatio Gates, Charles Lee and Peter Muhlenberg. Muhlenberg was the first Colonel of the 8th Virginia, or German, Regiment, which had a fine record in the war, and which the author hardly accords proper recognition.

George Rogers Clark recruited in the Valley, and his able assistant, Col. John Bowman, from the German section, was at his side in what was the greatest military exploit of the Revolutionary War; namely, the winning of the Northwest from the British and the Indians. The author says the Indians termed the Valley fighters the "long knives," but in all of George Rogers Clark's writings they were referred to as the "big knives."

Prior to the war, the British policy provided a bounty on hemp, which was grown extensively in the Valley and hemp certificates were used as currency. During the war, taxes were "commuted" in tobacco, bacon, deer skins, wheat, flour and hemp, but after the war, only tobacco was permitted as a commutable, and as none was then grown in the Valley, difficult times were experienced. As a result, many of the people, including their leaders, fell into debt. Yet, notwithstanding their plight, they were opposed to paper money—"her evil genius haunts us," one leader said, and they considered—"every departure from fundamental principles mere quackeries in politicks which tend to sap the foundations of our Constitution and corrupt the morals of our people." This, too, from the land of William Jennings Bryan's forbears—he of the 16-to-1 fame. In addition, they opposed the repudiation of British debts, which was then thought a popular policy.

Due largely to the Scotch-Irish and German elements, the demand for religious liberty, not merely religious toleration, was strong in the Valley, where the separation of Church and State was insisted upon. When Virginia was called upon to ratify the Constitution of the United States, the votes of the Valley Delegates were cast for it in one entire bloc, and thereby determined the event.

To one who descends from Northern Valley stock, it appears that the Scotch-Irish of the South Valley, fine as they were, are given undue prominence. What an opportunity for the author now to write a complete history of the Valley from the earliest times. It would fill a real need, and would be a work of great interest. The exhaustion of the Tidewater tobacco lands and the prevalence of malaria in the Tidewater were certainly important reasons for the settlement of the Valley. How did the settlers get to the Valley from Tidewater, and what ports did they use for shipping? What is the history of Dumfries, which was one of their ports? We know that it was founded by Glasgow merchants, and that the first building in Warrenton was Cunninghame's Red Store, a Scotch trading outpost from Dumfries. At least one of the Valley residents who owned river bottom lands between the two branches of the Shenandoah had his own wharf at Dumfries. Trace the settlers through the Piedmont as Fairfax Harrison did in his *Landmarks of Old Prince William* and as H. C. Groome did in his *Fauquier Under the Proprietorship*. Tell of Salem (now Marshall) and of the original families there, described by one of our people as "respectable and intelligent farmers from the malarial Tidewater sections"; namely, the families of Hampton, Neville, Diggs, Preston, Barnett and Carter.

Give an authentic history of the great Fairfax grant and of Winchester, where George Washington was a holder of one of the original town lots, and where in 1754, due to the tax on them there were only four "chairs," i. e. chaises, owned by Lord Fairfax, James Wood, John Hite and Marquis Calmes. There is good material around to be had. In Front Royal, Josiah Dickinson has material enough for a history of Warren County, originally a part of Frederick County. He has traced forgotten roads; discovered the original Fairfax "Quarter" and the location of the old race track near Front Royal. Hugh E. Naylor of Front Royal is also well up on local history.

Here is an additional list of natives or residents of the Valley: Samuel Houston, founder of Texas; John Sevier, founder of Tennessee; Ephraim McDowell, who performed a world-famous surgical operation; the great Confederate Generals, Lee and Jackson; Matthew Fontaine Maury, the pathfinder of the seas; James Rumsey, inventor of the steamboat; John M. Brooke, designer of the *Merrimac*; Cyrus McCormick, inventor of the reaper; James E. A. Gibbs, inventor of the sewing machine; Rife, inventor of the hydraulic ram.

The author's work has been well done. But the Valley deserves now a complete history.

WALTER H. BUCK

The Life of Johnny Reb, the Common Soldier of the Confederacy. By BELL IRVIN WILEY. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1943. 444 pp. \$3.75.

The above work gives a revealing insight into the character, the philosophy and the weaknesses of the "buck private" in the Confederate Army. "Johnny Reb" is not one particular individual whose fortunes are followed from Sumter to Appomattox. He is rather the typical Confederate soldier. The work shows vast research, and the author unfolds in an interesting manner the psychological influences and the social, economic and martial conditions of which the "Johnny Reb," whom he pictures, is the product. Few, if any, of the motivating factors impelling a course of human conduct under given circumstances, whether happy or unfavorable, are left untouched.

"Johnny Reb" becomes a very understandable individual who arouses a deep sympathy in the heart of the reader. The lesser frailties of his nature are essentially those normally to be found in one transplanted from home and peaceful pursuits to the unaccustomed occupation of war. The graver weaknesses may frequently and not illogically be accounted for if one gives a little thought to the inefficiency of the civil government to which he had sworn allegiance, its lack of preparation for war, its continued inability to supply adequate clothing and rations, sufficient medical and surgical treatment, and proper small arms and ordnance, and the resultant hardships on "Johnny Reb." Then too, the ineptitude, in many instances, of his immediate superiors and the incompetence, in some few instances, of his ranking officers induced reactions on his part incompatible with thorough subordination and true patriotism.

In its realistic and factual description of life of the average soldier of the Confederacy, the work perhaps fulfils its purpose. It may be that heroics were intentionally avoided. Yet, after turning its last page and when in bivouac of reflection, the reader cannot but feel that the frailties of "Johnny Reb's" nature have been emphasized to the exclusion of his finer qualities and that he has not met with complete justice.

EDWARD D. MARTIN

The Golden Age of Colonial Culture. By THOMAS J. WERTENBAKER. (Anson G. Phelps Lectureship on Early American History, New York University.) New York: New York University Press, 1942. 171 pp. \$3.00.

Colonial culture reached its full growth in the eighteenth century, especially in the decades just preceding the American Revolution. Professor Wertenbaker has written an interesting survey of this flowering of colonial culture, using as a frame for his material the six leading towns of the Atlantic seaboard: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Williamsburg, and Charleston. He discusses each "crucible of culture" in all the

phases of its life: types of people, schools, churches, homes, shops, recreation, literary and scientific interests. The sketches of the architecture, the silversmiths, the cabinetmakers, etc., serve as bases for comparison and contrast.

Mr. Wertenbaker points out that colonial culture was shaped by four factors: foreign inheritance, local conditions, continued contacts with Europe, and the melting pot. He remarks that the influence of these factors was different in each part of the country, with the southern colonies looking more to England for guidance and New England most independent. There was no one uniform culture—it varied from section to section and even in the different localities of those sections. A good way to put the idea in a nutshell is to quote a sentence from the book: "To the New Englander the reading of the classics was an act of devotion, to the Virginian a luxury, to the Marylander a glass of wine."

The chapter on Annapolis naturally has particular interest for Marylanders. The culture there was "fundamentally American, Southern, Maryland, based on English traditions, and colored by the intimate contact with London." Annapolitans, unlike their brethren to the north, were avid readers of contemporary fiction and were not interested in religious treatises. Mr. Wertenbaker mentions the Tuesday and Homony clubs, and describes the work of the artists Hesselius and Charles Willson Peale, the architect Buckland, and the cabinetmakers Shaw and Chisholm. The conclusion is that members of the Maryland aristocracy enjoyed their culture more than some people, but did not themselves produce as much.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

The Hoyes of Maryland. By CHARLES E. HOYE. Oakland, Md.: Sincell Printing Company, 1942. 284 pp. \$2.75.

This work is written in a pleasing style and is, on the whole, unusually agreeable for a genealogy. It is well illustrated and interspersed with appropriate verse and other quotations. From a genealogical point of view it appears to have been carefully compiled. Numerous references, abstracts and quotations of old records reassure the reader as to the authenticity of the author's statements, and family letters add to the interest of the book. There is a very nice account of a little known part of northern Ireland, whence the Hoyer family is believed to have come. The Hoyes were three times pioneers in Maryland: first in Prince George's County; then in Frederick County (now Washington); and finally in Allegany County (now Garrett), where the author now resides. They intermarried with a number of prominent families, such as the Marburys, Wallers and Calmes. There are *excursus* on these and other families. For some of these genealogies Captain Hoyer acknowledges his indebtedness to other works, but most of them are his own. The author pays particular attention to the lands on which the family lived, a subject often conspicuous by its absence in American genealogies. He relates some interesting anecdotes

concerning members of the family, and in so doing is not deterred by a desire to keep silent about the little frailties which the subject may have had, so that, in several instances, these stories are quite humorous. The only saddening thing about the book is the evidence it silently presents of the lack of fecundity of the younger living members of this family; depressing, because it seems to be typical of most old "American" families. We use that word in its once accepted sense of descendants of the people of our old stock, mostly of our Eastern pioneers.

W. B. MARYE

Edward Boteler Passano: A Portrait. By ROBERT S. GILL. Baltimore: Privately published [Williams & Wilkins Co.]. 1942. [69 pp.]

This slender but handsome volume provides not only a likeness, as intended, of a prominent business man but also of the successful business of which he has been the chief architect. There is little doubt that the publishing business of Williams and Wilkins, Inc., is the largest such business that Baltimore has sheltered since Fielding Lucas, Jr., flourished a century and more ago. How the printing business called the Waverly Press, was developed by Mr. Passano against heavy odds and how in turn the publishing business was built up to provide fodder for the older Press, are interestingly set forth. But Mr. Gill's chief purpose was to give a portrait of the production engineer who at 70 still heads the twin concerns. This he does successfully and without slighting the subject's personal side. The result is a pleasant biography with overtones of production engineering.

J. W. F.

Rhode Island Colonial Money and Its Counterfeiting, 1647-1726. By RICHARD LEBARON BOWEN. Providence: Society of Colonial Wars, 1942. 112 pp.

This monograph aims to provide the facts concerning one phase of economic life in the first century of the Rhode Island colony. It brings together all the records dealing with the issue of money and the counterfeiting which sprang up almost immediately and prospered for varying periods of time. Some of the pages are full of dates and quotations from documents, but the narratives of the trials of the counterfeitters are interesting and readable. Among other items, one notes that the first counterfeit ring was organized and directed by a woman, Freelove Lippencott, while the cleverest group in the business—also the longest in action—was headed by a young housewife, Mary Peck Butterworth.

The illustrations are superb reproductions of colonial bills, most of them printed from the original copper plates. Mr. Bowen's book is a real contribution to colonial history, and it would be fine if similar studies were made for the other colonies.

W. D. H., JR.

Missouri Day by Day. FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor, Vol. I. [Jefferson City, Mo.:] State Historical Society of Missouri, 1942. 446 pp.

A handbook listing historical events in Missouri history and birthdays of noted Missourians in calendar form. This is no mere list but a series of succinct essays on each topic. The volume covers the dates between January 1 and June 30. When will Maryland boast a similar work of reference? Such a book is a useful tool for every high school and every public library.

J. W. F.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

The Declaration of Independence. The Evolution of the Text as Shown in Facsimiles of Various Drafts by its Author. . . . Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress, 1943. 37 pp., 43 plates. Presented by publisher.

The Handbook of American Genealogy. Vol. IV. Edited by FREDERICK ADAMS VIRKUS. Chicago: Institute of American Genealogy, 1943. 392 pp. Gift of the publisher.

Dawes—Gates Ancestral Lines. A Memorial Volume Containing the American Ancestry of Rufus D. Dawes. Vol. I. Dawes and Allied Families. Compiled by MARY WALTON FERRIS [n. p.] privately printed, 1943. 758 pp. Gift of the author.

NOTES

With the publication in May of the first issue of *Maryland History Notes*, the Society has undertaken a modest bulletin to inform members and friends of its activities and to arouse wider interest in local history topics. The proceedings of the meetings, previously appearing in the issues of this Magazine, have been discontinued. The meetings and all other activities of the Society will henceforth be fully reported in *Maryland History Notes*.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

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