



## The Dreadful Hydra

### The American Revolution and London Town

‘We are little acquainted with the Ravages of Civil War, those countries which have been visited by that dreadful hydra would, I fancy, be at more pains to avoid it.’<sup>i</sup> These were the words of Anthony Stewart. Stewart was business partner and son-in-law to London Town’s leading subject: James Dick. These two men were unlike most London Towners: wealthy, successful, and powerful. And both would be destroyed by the greatest political and social upheaval America had ever experienced.

Stewart’s use of the words ‘dreadful hydra’ was intentional and appropriate. Even today we debate what the Revolution meant. Clearly it meant something different for the white landowning men of London Town and the enslaved people who made up most of the town’s population. Like the many headed dragon of Greek mythology, London Town’s revolution was a monster with many heads, and one that would prove to be the death of the once great seaport.

By the time Stewart wrote of the ‘dreadful hydra,’ blood had already been spilled. A month before, British regulars and colonial militia scattered their corpses along battle road between Lexington and Concord.

Generations later, that eminent statesman and founding father John Adams contemplated the Revolution. In a letter penned in 1818 he asked ‘what do we mean by the American Revolution? Do we mean the American war? The Revolution was effected before the war commenced. The Revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people, a change in their religious sentiments of their duties and obligations’ and began ‘in 1760 or 1761.’<sup>ii</sup>

By this measure, John Adams’ Revolution began right about the time that our own William Brown completed his impressive house and tavern.

This is the same William Brown House that forms the cornerstone of Historic London Town and Gardens. Built from brick, this impressive structure was constructed in the popular Georgian style that emphasized order and symmetry. Every brick is turned so that only the narrow side (the header) is visible. Every window is mimicked by a duplicate on the opposite side. Every doorway lines up with another. Like society in the British colonies, the Brown House is a physical representation of the strict order that would be threatened and shaken by the Revolution.

Indeed, the architecture of the Brown House is hierarchical. Brown, his wife, and five children probably lived in the top floor. Their guests, a motley assortment of everything from landed gentry and

wealthy merchants to lowly sailors, tailors, and servants, were welcomed onto the main floor. The cellar, an austere, dark, and bleak space, was occupied by the kitchen and tightly packed slave dwelling place.<sup>iii</sup>

London Town was undeniably built on the backs of enslaved Africans and African Americans. Their branded flesh marked them as the property of London Towners, perhaps even before they left Africa's shores. They were scourged, burned, and feared. That America was embarking on a quest for liberty, while keeping humans in bondage was not lost on her critics. The British intellectual Dr. Samuel Johnson asked pointedly "How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?"<sup>iv</sup>

And in the William Brown House we see a tavern where enslaved children like Jacob and Sall lived in a dank cell while the debate over freedom from British taxation carried on above their heads.

Slavery in the Chesapeake revolved around tobacco. In this economy, London Town thrived.

Established by an act of legislature in the seventeenth century London Town was easily the most successful tobacco port in the county. But in the years leading up to the Revolution, London Town began a long slide toward extinction. The ravages of the French and Indian War contributed in part to an economic decline in the 1750's. 1760 was the last year of major trade for London Town, and our seaport withered in the early years of the Revolution. By 1762, the *Modern Gazetteer* deemed this seaport "a small inconsiderable place."<sup>v</sup> Three years later, one visitor noted "This is a very Small place, not above a Doz'n houses."<sup>vi</sup> The memoirist Nicholas Cresswell used similar terms to describe London Town: "This is a small, pleasant place at the head of the Bay, but no great trade."<sup>vii</sup>

Still, London Town was an oft visited junction in north-south intercolonial travel. Geographically and figuratively in the middle of the greatest cultural and political upheaval in its history, there was no guarantee that London Town would not regain its former glory. The tightening of purse strings was felt throughout the British empire, not just in London Town. Wealthy merchants still did business here, and the prominent painter Charles Willson Peale created portraits of London Towners. Richard Bennet Lloyd, was a wealthy landed gentleman and soon to be an ardent loyalist. Lloyd was painted in London Town by Peale, who marked the canvas "CW Peale, London, Maryland."<sup>viii</sup>

In this recession, the British Parliament to levy direct taxes on its American colonists. Naturally, the colonists grumbled. Perhaps none grumbled so articulately nor as provocatively Patrick Henry. A representative in Virginia's House of Burgesses, Henry gave an impassioned speech against the Stamp Act in 1765. "In former times," he famously proclaimed, "Tarquin and Julius had their Brutus, Charles had his Cromwell, and he did not doubt but some good American would stand up, in favor of his Country." In effect, Patrick Henry was threatening the King with assassination. The Speaker stopped Henry's treasonous speech. "If this be treason," said Henry, "then make the most of it."<sup>ix</sup>

The speech was more dangerous than any of the members realized, because among them was a spy. Charles Murray, a Scottish merchant with Scott, Pringle, Cheap & Co. of London and Madeira travelled from the Caribbean through the British colonies in North America. A Catholic convert, Murray was infuriated by the Crown's treatment of his fellow believers, and agreed to pass on his observations of the North American colonies to the French government, which was tightly linked to the Church. If not for Murray's secret journal, hidden away in Paris for over a century and a half, we would have no contemporary record of what Henry said that day. Murray continued to travel among elite circles up and

down the colonies, meeting important men and subtly spreading the radical views he had heard Henry express in Williamsburg.<sup>x</sup>

Less than a fortnight following Henry's speech, Murray stopped in London Town. He dined here, perhaps even in the William Brown House. Taking the ferry across the South River, he continued to Annapolis. A month later, when passing back through London Town, Charles Murray was invited by fellow Scotsman James Dick to dinner. Murray found him an amiable host, declaring Dick "a Clever old gentleman" for his handlers back in Paris. Perhaps he thought too much of Dick, because Murray named him "mayor of London Town," a probably non-existent title.<sup>xi</sup>

While not the mayor, Dick was London Town's leading subject. Along with his son-in-law Anthony Stewart, the James Dick & Stewart Company was a driving force in the region. Dick himself extended a mortgage to William Brown for his house in 1764, financially propping up the new, grand tavern that overlooked the all-important ferry crossing.<sup>xii</sup> Dick was also creditor to Brown's neighbors: The Ferguson Family.<sup>xiii</sup>

Alexander and Elizabeth Ferguson, along with their six children, four enslaved people, and three servants, ran a tailoring and staymaking business on Church Street, one block east of the William Brown House. They also operated a tavern and ferry in competition with the Browns. When Alexander died in 1770, his wife took over the business and continued to operate as a stay-maker in London Town throughout the American Revolution.<sup>xiv</sup>

On Alexander Ferguson's death, his estate included numerous materials for making fabric, like spindles, cranks, and cards, and two spinning wheels. It is likely that the Ferguson family was tapping into the Homespun Movement.<sup>xv</sup>

American merchants agreed not to import an extensive list of goods from Britain as a way of putting pressure on British voters, and therefore on Parliament, to end direct taxation. An offshoot of this was the homespun movement, where local artisans produced goods that normally would have been imported from Britain. The moniker homespun came from the effort to weave cloth locally.

The nonimportation agreement for Annapolis and Anne Arundel County was signed in May 1769. In calling for a meeting of merchants to draft the letter, the very first signature was that of "James Dick & Stewart."<sup>xvi</sup> The Anne Arundel County agreement became the model for all of Maryland when that agreement was signed the next month. James Dick was at the spearpoint of mercantile resistance.

Unfortunately for Dick, he butted heads with his business partner and son-in-law Anthony Stewart. When engaged in purely business, they were a formidable force. The British merchant Joshua Johnson had to assure a partner to "not be afraid of them."<sup>xvii</sup> But when it came to politics, they may have been on different pages.

The first crack in the James Dick and Stewart Company partnership came in February 1770, when the brig Good Intent sailed into Annapolis laden with goods that were expressly forbidden in the agreement that Dick helped create. Chastised by their fellow merchants, Dick and Stewart were forced to send the Good Intent back to London without unloading a single item, putting them deeply in debt to the merchant James Buchanan of London, which their rival and sometimes customer Joshua Johnson

shared in his gossipy letters: "I am told they owe J. B & Son not less than ten or twelve thousand pound and that he had determined not to pay their bills or send them any more goods."<sup>xviii</sup>

Despite this setback, Dick and Stewart Company continued to operate a store in London Town, and to find innovative ways of making money. In 1773, apparently seeking to avoid paying customs officials, a letter signed Dick and Stewart Company mentioned needing a vessel fast enough "to pass and repass cleverly."<sup>xix</sup>

Among their vessels was the legitimate merchantman *Peggy Stewart*, named after Anthony Stewart's daughter and James Dick's granddaughter. In 1774, well after the Boston Tea Party, the *Peggy Stewart* was surreptitiously loaded with a cargo of tea by their merchant in London, apparently against the captain's objections and his American counterparts' wishes. Nonetheless, when she arrived in Annapolis, Anthony Stewart insisted that the tax on tea be paid, even when the collector warned him not to.

The people of Maryland were incensed by this clear violation of a renewed non-importation agreement. Mobs gathered in Annapolis from around the colony, some of them threatening Stewart with hanging. Charles Carroll of Carrollton suggested offloading the tea and burning it under the gallows, but the mobs wanted more. Stewart himself was rowed out to the vessel and set the *Peggy Stewart* on fire, burning her to the waterline, destroying her cargo, and satiating the mobs.

Dick & Stewart were more cautious in the future. In instructions to the captain who was sailing to the Caribbean aboard the schooner *Mulberry* in fall of 1775, they stated explicitly "bring nothing in the vessel back with you that is prohibited to be imported here by the Continental Congress."<sup>xx</sup>

Even so, Stewart remained an ardent loyalist, and a much-maligned figure for it. He later wrote that "he continued on all Occasions strenuously to oppose the Measures of the Enemies of Government, he at Length became so obnoxious to Them that they sought every Opportunity to harass and distress Him, that he even could not, without being insulted, travel in the country about his lawful Business, that he was hanged and burnt in Effigy in different Parts of the Province, and many Threats thrown out against both his Person and Property."<sup>xxi</sup>

In 1775, Stewart sailed from the colonies to England, ostensibly to settle the company's debts, but likely also to escape the ire of his fellow Marylanders. Dick warned Stewart to keep his political opinions to himself: "by the love you have for Jeany & the Children...do not enter into any disputes at home on the difference between Britain and the colonies. Depend on it if anything falls from you that may make your return disagreeable, it will be wrote of and much added to it' adding that 'Certain ruin would be the consequence'" for Dick and Stewart Company.<sup>xxii</sup>

In Stewart's absence, Dick continued business with notable patriots like Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, who would soon introduce the resolution for independence at the Continental Congress, and Henry Hill of Philadelphia: a wine merchant, politician, and soldier born here in London Town. James Dick even purchased flints and lead to arm Maryland's soldiers.<sup>xxiii</sup>

In early 1776, months before the Declaration of Independence would be signed, Maryland prepared to fight. Among the soldiers gathered, equipped, and trained was the Maryland Battalion, soon to be the legendary First Maryland Regiment.

Later to earn the nickname “Washington’s Immortals,” and the “Maryland 400,” these fighters were the unlikely backbone of George Washington’s Continental Army. They later saved Washington’s army at Brooklyn, and in the crushing defeat of Hessian forces at Trenton, as well as the surprise attack against British regulars in Princeton.

Among their first tasks, before their later feats would ensure them a place in legend, was guarding all the colony’s official papers (tax records, land records, court documents) as they were hauled out of the vulnerable port of Annapolis and to a safe destination further inland, beyond the reach of the Royal Navy’s guns. The first stop for these all-important documents was the William Brown House. Here they were kept under guard by the uniformed soldiers of the First.<sup>xxiv</sup>

It is no coincidence that it was during this time the young Andrew Ferguson, the eighteen-year-old son of Elizabeth who lived only a block from the Brown House, enlisted in the First. Joining Captain John Day Scott’s Company, Andrew was enlisted as a Corporal and sent to Annapolis to join the regiment.<sup>xxv</sup>

A few weeks later, the Chesapeake was startled by the arrival of war. The sloop *Otter*, a vessel so small it was seen almost as a support craft for the massive Royal Navy, sailed into the Bay and seized vessel after vessel, bringing the commerce of Maryland and Virginia to a standstill. In a near panic, militia were called out all along the Bay. On March 7, 1776, the following order was dispatched from Annapolis:

Ordered That Col. John Weems immediately march his Battalion to South River Ferry and quarter them there, Part on this, and Part on the other side of the Ferry, and should the Man of War and her Tenders attempt any Landing there, that he be ready to repel them.<sup>xxvi</sup>

Colonel John Weems and the rest of the Thirty First Battalion of Maryland were woefully ill equipped to fight off a landing against the Royal Navy and British Marines. A return of the Battalion taken at London Town showed that their 364 officers and men had only 246 muskets between them. Captain William Brogden, son of London Town’s late Anglican preacher, could only arm half of his company to defend his own home.<sup>xxvii</sup>

Thankfully for them, Maryland had rushed the launching of a warship in Baltimore, named the *Defense*, that drove the *Otter* from the Chesapeake and recaptured the merchantmen she had seized.

The *Defense*, captained by James Nicholson, descendant of an early London Town land owner, was part of a small fleet of warships that would come to comprise the Maryland State Navy.<sup>xxviii</sup> Every colony developed their own navy during the Revolution, and Maryland was no exception. Ship rigged and mounting twenty-two eighteen pounders, *Defense* was the de facto flagship. She would later be joined by galleys like the *Baltimore*, *Independence*, and *Conqueror*. While Andrew Ferguson was serving in the Continental Army, his older brother David was commissioned a Lieutenant of Maryland State Marines aboard the galley *Conqueror*, where he organized and trained his men in their blue rifle frocks.<sup>xxix</sup> His neighbor Richard Brogden, younger brother to Captain William Brogden of the militia, was serving as a naval officer aboard the *Baltimore*.<sup>xxx</sup> Their flotilla would sail up and down the Chesapeake Bay, ferrying goods and troops, seizing British and Tory vessels, and patrolling the waterways.

All the military might in the world could not have settled the minds of Marylanders in 1776. In the past year, the neighboring colony of Virginia had run its governor, Lord Dunmore, out of Williamsburg and onto a small squadron of warships. In retaliation, the governor issued the Dunmore Proclamation, declaring that all enslaved people who were held by rebels would be freed if they agreed to take up arms for the Crown. Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment directly challenged the notion of liberty and freedom by clothing black men in rifle frocks bearing the words "Liberty to Slaves" in red across the front. They fought in Virginia in late 1775, but the fear of a slave revolt supported by a professional army was felt throughout the colonies.<sup>xxxii</sup>

In Maryland, Governor Robert Eden was a more popular figure than Lord Dunmore, and was asked to depart rather than forced to. Dunmore dispatched his frigate *Fowey* to retrieve Eden from Annapolis that June, but while in port, a pair of indentured servants or enslaved people ran aboard, breaking the fragile truce there.<sup>xxxiii</sup> This was the same frigate that had served as a haven to runaway slaves, and where they had been armed and given uniforms with that blood red motto "Liberty to Slaves." While not always violent, resistance by enslaved Africans and African Americans was a constant in Maryland, and the *Fowey's* actions conjured images of an armed insurrection by the enormous population of enslaved people who had been brutalized for generations.

Fearing that *Fowey* would turn her guns on Annapolis and the ferry crossing at London Town, Colonel Weems was again dispatched here on June 25. The Council of safety explicitly ordered Weems and his men to defend against possible landings and "to prevent servants, or slaves making their escape from their masters." Bearing in mind how ill equipped the militia was, the Council ordered that Weems guard the coast with "such of your militia [as are] well-armed, and provided with Ammunition."<sup>xxxiii</sup>

It was in the context of this uncertainty that London Town resident and rector of All Hallow's Parish, David Love, was warned against agitating. Later, he proudly proclaimed himself "a loyal subject to reason in defense of the mother country." Reverend Love agitated for the loyalist cause throughout his stay in London Town, an act that earned him the ire of his neighbors. When he refused to stop saying the prayer for the King and royal family, Love was "threatened with violence and armed men were placed in his Church to deter him from discharging that Essential Part of his duty." Reverend Love never claims to have been physically harmed, perhaps because his neighbors drew the line at physical violence against a clergyman who had never taken up arms.<sup>xxxiv</sup>

In July 1776, everything changed. While the militia were guarding London Town, the enslaved people here contemplated how they might gain their freedom, Anthony Stewart was hiding in England, James Dick was struggling to keep his business alive, Reverend David Love was preaching loyalty to the Crown, and Andrew Ferguson was training to fight, the Declaration of Independence was passed in Philadelphia by the Continental Congress.

The First Maryland was ordered to march from Annapolis to New York to fight with the Continental Army on July 6, and that same day Andrew Ferguson signed a will leaving all his property in London Town to his youngest sister (the twelve-year-old Elizabeth) if he should be killed.<sup>xxxv</sup> It was a wise decision.

The British decided to cow the Americans by an overwhelming show of force. Thirty thousand soldiers disembarked in New York, landing in the largest amphibious assault in human history until D-Day. Washington's Continental Army, entering their first ever large-scale battle, was pounded by an

attack that even experienced European armies would have difficulty repulsing. Thousands of American rebels broke and ran.

The British army was in danger of catching the fleeing men and eliminating them. If the redcoats could only overtake the Continentals, the war would end in a bloody flurry of bayonets and bullets. Only one small unit stood in the path of total British victory: The First Maryland Regiment.

Four hundred men of the First not only stood their ground on Brooklyn Heights, they charged the oncoming British. When repulsed with serious casualties, they attacked again. And again. Six times these four hundred men threw themselves at nearly two thousand well trained soldiers. It was a hopeless task, and they knew they could not break the British, but the Marylanders sacrificed their lives to give Washington a little more time to escape the grasp of certain and final defeat. When all was said and done, the Marylanders retreated to rejoin the Continental Army and no longer numbered 400. Two hundred and fifty-six were killed in the battle, and one hundred more were captured, many of these to suffer in British prison ships.<sup>xxxvi</sup>

Corporal Andrew Ferguson, son of London Town, survived. He would fight through the battles of Trenton and Princeton through the end of 1776. Within two years, fate caught up with him. Corporal Ferguson, soldier for Maryland and son of a London Town tailor, died. Whether it was disease or a British bullet that finally claimed him is unknown.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

Reverend David Love, meanwhile, was a problematic subject of Great Britain surrounded by citizens of the United States. In 1776, by an act in the Maryland legislature, he and other Anglican clergy were stripped of their tax revenue. About the time that the young Ferguson died, a further act forbid Reverend Love from preaching unless he signed an oath of allegiance. When he refused, his taxes were tripled. Unable to support himself any longer, Reverend love “was compelled to seek an Asylum in England.”<sup>xxxviii</sup>

Around this time, Anthony Stewart returned to America, but not to Annapolis. Instead, ignoring the debts he was supposed to have settled on behalf of Dick and Stewart Company, Anthony sailed to occupied New York, where he took up a plum position as a judge on a panel for compensating the losses of fellow loyalists. Stewart also served as paymaster to the Maryland Loyalist Battalion, which was actively fighting against American independence.<sup>xxxix</sup>

The dispirited and elderly James Dick still tried to settle the debts of the long defunct Dick and Stewart Company, and to reunite his daughter Jean with her estranged husband. He applied to the Committee of Safety time and again to allow him to communicate with the notorious traitor. In 1780, he was finally permitted to send his daughter to meet Anthony between the lines. She was guarded and guided along the way by William Brogden, the same militia captain who had mustered his inadequate men to defend his London Town home in 1776.<sup>xl</sup>

The meeting did not go well. Jean returned with her children to the husband that had abandoned them, but Dick disowned Stewart, writing him out of his will in 1781.<sup>xli</sup> Without Stewart’s assets and unable to settle the company’s debts, the Dick family was in dire straits, and so the hydra sprouted another head. To offset the burden created by the Revolution, Dick called in all debts.

This included William Brown's mortgage. Trade had already dried up prior to the Revolution, and now with warships of both sides sailing up and down the Bay, privateers roaming the seas, and trade with Britain ended, there was no chance of reviving it. London Town withered in the absence of trade, and Brown must have suffered for it.

A day before the fifth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence and a few months before victory at Yorktown, William Brown was forcibly removed from his home.<sup>xlii</sup> The sheriff of Anne Arundel County drove Brown out of the grand brick tavern, the same tavern where Brown had provided protection for the new state's papers, and the same Brown who had signed an oath of allegiance to the state of Maryland in 1778.<sup>xliii</sup>

Thus, began a decade of legal wrangling, purchases and sales of the William Brown House. Dick's death within a year did nothing to slow the legal proceedings. Brown lost in the end, and died in Annapolis at his daughter's house with virtually nothing to his name.

Anthony Stewart fared only slightly better. He would never again be welcome in Maryland. A traitor to the new nation, he would only visit on occasion after the war, and never reclaimed his property here. Stewart attempted to found a community of exiled loyalists on the cold shores of Nova Scotia called New Edinburgh. It still stands today as a small community, but the town never thrived.

For London Town, the Revolution was a disaster. The most profitable company was destroyed, what little trade there was had been extinguished, the most impressive tavern was closed, and a healthy young heir to one of the only successful trades in town was killed. No longer would London Town have even a glimmer of hope for recovery. Despite the Americans' claims to liberty, and the British offers of freedom, slavery continued to be the backbone of Maryland's economy. The "dreadful hydra" reared its many heads and struck the town at several of its most vulnerable points.

The final page in London Town's Revolutionary history is an anticlimactic one. Across the South River in Annapolis, the United States Congress met and received George Washington's resignation as commander in chief. It was a much-heralded event, with the future president lauded as the "American Cincinnatus," a legendary hero who gave up military and civil power to return to his farm. Washington was accompanied by a party of dignitaries and admirers to the shores of the South River, where he boarded Brown's ferry and crossed into London Town.

That night he dined at a local tavern. Perhaps he was served by the widow Ferguson, still grieving the loss of her son in his service. Or maybe he stopped by Brown's own house, soon to be lost again in further legal battles, a direct result of the Revolution Washington led. We do not know because Washington never wrote of his dinner. The only evidence of his stop comes from the ledger kept by Washington's enslaved valet.<sup>xliv</sup>

Just as the British had dismissed London Town as "a small, inconsiderable place" with "no great trade," Washington may not have given the place much thought.<sup>xlv</sup> Following the war, there was no longer a seaport. In fact, London Town boasted little more than a horse breeder, tanyard, tailor, and a tavern or two.



While the new nation began to flesh out the rights of man and built the bureaucracy necessary to run a modern state, London Town died. The ferry crossing here continued to operate into the 1870's, but by then London Town was long lost. The people who lived here, enslaved and free, were forgotten.

The Revolution posed many different challenges and dangers. Enslaved people sought their freedom, businessmen struggled to stay afloat, the sons of the town took up arms to defend their homes against invaders. London Town's story is not a unified one. What the Revolution meant, and what the Revolution accomplished is different for every resident here. The greatest political and social upheaval in American history was indeed, as Anthony Stewart put it, a "dreadful hydra."

<sup>i</sup> Letter to A. Boyd by Anthony Stewart, Annapolis, May 17, 1775, copy in Maryland State Archives, SC 4774, James Dick & Stewart Company Collection, "Letterbook, James Dick and Stewart Company, 1773-1781," folio 42

<sup>ii</sup> Letter to H. Niles by John Adams, February 13, 1818, via *Teaching American History*, accessed October 18, 2017, <<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/john-adams-to-h-niles/>>.

<sup>iii</sup> For more on the architecture of the William Brown House, see Edward Chappell, Willie Graham, and Mark R. Wenger, *An Architectural Interpretation of William Brown's House, Commonly Known as the London Town Public House, Anne Arundel County, Maryland*, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, June 1995, with an addition from October, 1995.

<sup>iv</sup> "Later Johnson," *A Monument More Durable Than Brass: The Donald & Mary Hyde Collection of Dr. Samuel Johnson*, Harvard College Library, accessed October 18, 2017, <[http://hcl.harvard.edu/libraries/houghton/exhibits/johnson/after/8\\_3.cfm](http://hcl.harvard.edu/libraries/houghton/exhibits/johnson/after/8_3.cfm)>.

<sup>v</sup> Thomas Salmon, *The Modern Gazetteer*, London: E. Ballard, 1762.

<sup>vi</sup> Charles Murray, *Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies*, 1765, Library of Congress, page 75, accessed November 2, 2017, <<https://www.loc.gov/resource/lhbtn.00046/?sp=30&st=text>>.

<sup>vii</sup> Nicholas Cresswell, *A Man Apart: The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774 – 1781*, edited by Harold B. Gill Jr., George M. Curtis III, Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2009, page 12.

<sup>viii</sup> Charles Coleman Sellers, "Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, volume 42, part 1, 1952, page 130.

<sup>ix</sup> Charles Murray, *Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies*, 1765, Library of Congress, page 745.

<sup>x</sup> Larrie D. Ferreiro, *Brothers at Arms*, Knopf: 2016, page 344.

<sup>xi</sup> Charles Murray, *Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies*, 1765, Library of Congress, page 75, accessed November 2, 2017, <<https://www.loc.gov/resource/lhbtn.00046/?sp=30&st=text>>.

<sup>xii</sup> Maryland State Archives, *Anne Arundel County Court Judgement Records*, MSA AA Co. Judgements June Court 1788, Liber 16, Folio 333.

<sup>xiii</sup> Mechelle Kerns, *London Town: The Life of a Colonial Town*, unpublished master's thesis, UMBC: 1999, page 109.

<sup>xiv</sup> Mechelle Kerns, *London Town: The Life of a Colonial Town*, unpublished master's thesis, UMBC: 1999, page, 103.

<sup>xv</sup> Probate inventory as transcribed by Mechelle Kerns in *London Town: The Life of a Colonial Town*, unpublished master's thesis, UMBC: 1999, page 355-358.

<sup>xvi</sup> *Maryland Gazette*, May 11, 1769, page 2.

<sup>xvii</sup> "Joshua Johnson's Letterbook: 1772 (Jan - June)," in *Joshua Johnson's Letterbook, 1771-1774: Letters from a Merchant in London to his Partners in Maryland*, ed. Jacob M Price, London: London Record Society, 1979, 23-40. British History Online, accessed November 2, 2017, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol15/pp23-40>>.

<sup>xviii</sup> "Joshua Johnson's Letterbook: 1773 (April - June)," in *Joshua Johnson's Letterbook, 1771-1774: Letters from a Merchant in London to his Partners in Maryland*, ed. Jacob M Price, London: London Record Society, 1979, page 76a. British History Online, accessed November 2, 2017, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol15/pp69-83>>.

- <sup>xix</sup> James Dick to Mr. Quarles Harris, Annapolis, May 28, 1773, copy in Maryland State Archives, SC 4774, *James Dick & Stewart Company Collection*,” Letterbook, James Dick and Stewart Company, 1773-1781,” folio 42.
- <sup>xx</sup> James Dick letter to Captain Alexander Caldcleugh, Annapolis, September 12, 1775 copy in Maryland State Archives, SC 4774, James Dick & Stewart Company Collection, “Letterbook, James Dick and Stewart Company, 1773-1781.”
- <sup>xxi</sup> “The Memorial of Anthony Stewart,” March 10, 1777, as transcribed in “The Burning of the Peggy Stewart,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 5, No. 1, March 1910, page 237.
- <sup>xxii</sup> James Dick to Anthony Stewart, Annapolis, September 19, 1775, copy in Maryland State Archives, SC 4774, “ames Dick & Stewart Company Collection, “Letterbook, James Dick and Stewart Company, 1773-1781.”
- <sup>xxiii</sup> Maryland State Archives, *Journal of the Maryland Convention July 26 to August 14, 1775, Journal and Correspondence of the Maryland Council of Safety, August 29, 1775 to July 6, 1776*, Archives of Maryland Online, Volume 11, page 245, accessed November 8, 2017, <<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000011/html/am11-245.html>>.
- <sup>xxiv</sup> Maryland State Archives, *Journal of the Maryland Convention July 26 to August 14, 1775, Journal and Correspondence of the Maryland Council of Safety, August 29, 1775 to July 6, 1776*, Archives of Maryland Online, Volume 11, page 141, accessed November 2, 2017, <<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000011/html/am11-141.html>>.
- <sup>xxv</sup> Maryland State Archives, *Muster Rolls and Other Records of Service of Maryland Troops in the American Revolution*, Archives of Maryland Online, Volume 18, Page 15, accessed November 2, 2017, <<http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000018/html/am18--15.html>>.
- <sup>xxvi</sup> *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*, Vol. 4, Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1969, page 220.
- <sup>xxvii</sup> “Return of the Thirty-First Battalion of Maryland,” *American Archives: Documents of the American Revolutionary Period, 1774-1776*, Northern Illinois University, v.5:143, accessed November 2, 2017, <<http://amarch.lib.niu.edu/islandora/object/niu-amarch%3A93730>>.
- <sup>xxviii</sup> Mechelle Kerns-Nocerito, *The History of London Town, Maryland: A Case Study of an Eighteenth Century Tobacco Port and its Role in the Colonial Maritime Economy*, The University of St. Andrews, Scotland, September 4, 2003, unpublished doctoral dissertation, page 74. Family tree via *Geni*, accessed November 8, 2017, <<https://www.geni.com/people/William-Nicholson/6000000007145622204>>; Maryland State Archives, *Journal of the Maryland Convention July 26 to August 14, 1775, Journal and Correspondence of the Maryland Council of Safety, August 29, 1775 to July 6, 1776*, Archives of Maryland Online, Volume 11, page 439, accessed November 8, 2017, <<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000011/html/am11-439.html>>.
- <sup>xxix</sup> Maryland State Archives, *Journal and Correspondence of the Council of Maryland, April 1, 1778 through October 26, 1779*, Archives of Maryland Online, Volume 21, page 238, accessed November 8, 2017, <<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000021/html/am21--238.html>>.
- <sup>xxx</sup> Maryland State Archives, *Journal and Correspondence of the Council of Maryland, April 1, 1778 through October 26, 1779*, Archives of Maryland Online, Volume 21, page 91, accessed November 8, 2017, <<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000021/html/am21--238.html>>.
- <sup>xxxi</sup> For more on the Ethiopian Regiment, read Charles W. Carey Jr., *Lord Dunmore’s Ethiopian Regiment*, Blacksburg, Virginia: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1995.
- <sup>xxxii</sup> Michelle Fitzgerald, *Confiscating the Castle: The Construction of Loyalist Identity in Governor Robert Eden’s Annapolis House*, master’s thesis, University of Delaware, 2017, pages 5-7.
- <sup>xxxiii</sup> *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*, Vol. 5, Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1970, page 741.
- <sup>xxxiv</sup> “The memorial of David Love, Clerk, formerly Rector of All Hallows Parish in Maryland,” National Archives (UK), AO 13/61 (II).
- <sup>xxxv</sup> Anne Arundel County, Register of Wills, Wills, Andrew Ferguson, 1778, Liber EV 1, p. 59 [MSA C153-1, 1/3/12/112].
- <sup>xxxvi</sup> For more on the First Maryland Regiment, visit the Maryland State Archives’ website for *The Maryland 400 Project*: <https://msamaryland400.wordpress.com/>.
- <sup>xxxvii</sup> Anne Arundel County, Register of Wills, Wills, Original, Andrew Ferguson, 1778, MdHR 4869-6-3 [MSA C155-9, 1/4/14/2].

<sup>xxxviii</sup> “The memorial of David Love, Clerk, formerly Rector of All Hallows Parish in Maryland,” National Archives (UK), AO 13/61 (II).

<sup>xxxix</sup> Archives of Canada, British Headquarters Papers (Carleton Papers or American Manuscripts), item numbers 2044-2051, accessed November 8, 2017, <[http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/military-heritage/loyalists/loyalists-british-soldiers-1722-1784/Pages/list.aspx?Givenname=Anthony&Surname=Stewart&&p\\_ID=0&PagedPrev=TRUE](http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/military-heritage/loyalists/loyalists-british-soldiers-1722-1784/Pages/list.aspx?Givenname=Anthony&Surname=Stewart&&p_ID=0&PagedPrev=TRUE)>.

<sup>xl</sup> Maryland State Archives, *Journal and Correspondence of the Council of Maryland, 1779-1780*, Archives of Maryland Online, Volume 43, pages 170-171, accessed November 8, 2017, <<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000043/html/am43--170.html>>.

<sup>xli</sup> Codicil to James Dick’s will, May 1, 1778, as transcribed in Mechelle Kerns, *London Town: The Life of a Colonial Town*, unpublished master’s thesis, UMBC: 1999, page 176.

<sup>xlii</sup> Maryland State Archives, *Anne Arundel County Land Records*, Liber NH1, Folio 293.

<sup>xliii</sup> “An alphabetical list of the persons who have taken the Oath of Fidelity and Support to the State of Maryland in Anne Arundel County, 1778,” published in *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*, Vol. LI, No. 1, July 1917, page 49.

<sup>xliv</sup> Accounts from Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>xlv</sup> Thomas Salmon, John Potter, *The Modern Gazetteer: Or, a Short View of the Several Nations of the World*, London: 1773; Nicholas Cresswell, *A Man Apart: The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774 – 1781*, edited by Harold B. Gill Jr., George M. Curtis III, Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2009, page 12.