

1984

"A School for Stoicism": The Life and Letters of Thomas Tudor Tucker

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<https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-3tx1-tm48>

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"A SCHOOL FOR STOICISM"

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The Life and Letters of Thomas Tudor Tucker

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by

Diana Dru Dowdy

1984

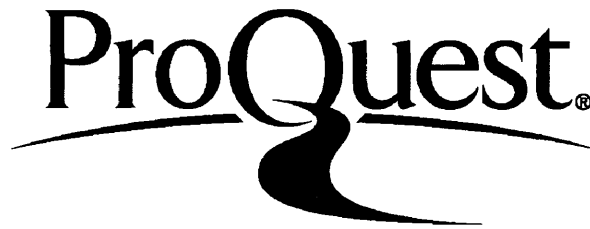
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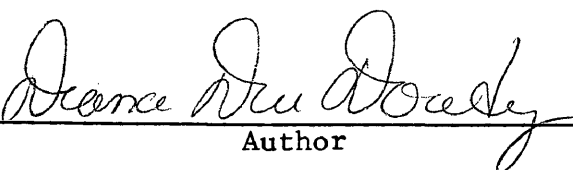
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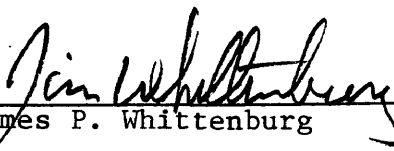
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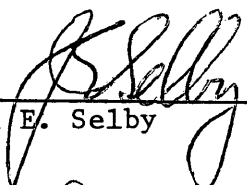
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Master of Arts


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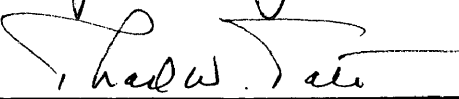

Thad W. Tate

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express her thanks to the following people for their help on this thesis: Nancy C. Luebbert, Thomas A. Mason, Robert A. Rutland, Jeanne K. Sisson, Fredrika J. Teute, and especially the staff of the Special Collections Department, College of William and Mary.

1
ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to illuminate, through a biography and through letters, the life of Thomas Tudor Tucker. Tucker, a doctor who graduated from the Edinburgh medical school in 1770, moved to Charleston, South Carolina, in 1771 and began his practice. Often haunted by debts, Tucker eventually gave up on a medical career and edged closer and closer into politics, holding several elected offices. In 1801, Thomas Jefferson appointed Tucker to the post of Treasurer of the United States and he held that office until his death in 1828.

This thesis primarily examines Thomas Tudor Tucker's early years in Charleston. Through Tucker's letters we can see the evolution of his political career, as well as the disillusionment of a young man faced with much adversity. Tucker lived in a period of great change, and eventually took part in the decision-making process of the new nation. It is through these letters of his formative years that we can see the development of his political thought.

"A SCHOOL FOR STOICISM"
THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF THOMAS TUDOR TUCKER

BIOGRAPHY

In 1784 a South Carolina physician and politician, Thomas Tudor Tucker, under the pen name "Philodemus" wrote a pamphlet entitled "Conciliatory Hints, Attempting . . . to remove Party-Prejudices." This piece was, according to Gordon S. Wood, "one of the most prescient and remarkable pamphlets written in the Confederation period." No other pamphlet written before 1787 revealed "as clearly and cogently . . . just how far Americans had departed from the English conception of politics." In it, Thomas labeled English government as one of contention, where the different factions were balanced "as not yet to have destroyed each other." Yet the Crown, House of Lords, and House of Commons possessed the power and were unchecked when working together, holding "as a maxim that whatever they have once done (however improperly) they have a right to do again." The only remedy against this was the people's rising up against them. In reflecting back to America, Thomas noted that the Constitution had not been founded "on proper authority, being only an act of the legislature," but should be supported for the time. Ideally, it "should be the avowed act of the people at large,"

prescribing the limits of power. "It should be declared to be paramount to all acts of the Legislature, and irrepealable and unalterable by any authority but the express consent of a majority of the citizens." According to Wood, this "was a conclusive statement that has not essentially changed in two hundred years."¹

Thomas Tucker's comparison of British and American government reveals a great deal about a man not well known in historical circles. His attitudes, in "Conciliatory Hints" and elsewhere, show us the mind of a man of the Republican generation. We see Thomas's distrust of the ruling gentry, yet he sought to be counted among their ranks. He objected to the Constitution of 1787 and disliked most aspects of the new government, yet had no qualms about running for office, or about becoming a part of the government. Thomas constantly felt as if life had run roughshod over him--and for a time it did--but his own complaints about poverty after the Revolution are exaggerated, and increasing political influence, including his appointment as Treasurer of the United States, greatly enhanced his economic position. Thomas made his claims as a Republican, preferring the power of the people to the aristocrats in government, but it is unlikely that he trusted anyone. Life was something to be borne with suffering--and with much complaining. It was, indeed, "a school for stoicism."

The Tucker family of Bermuda was a close one. They had arrived from England in the mid-seventeenth century and finally settled at The Grove, near Port Royal. Col. Henry Tucker and Anne Butterfield had

six children: Frances, Henry junior, Thomas Tudor, Elizabeth, Nathaniel, and St. George.² The three youngest boys left Bermuda at maturity, much to the family's regret. Luckily for historians, the Tuckers corresponded often, and it is through their letters that it is possible to piece together the life of Thomas Tudor Tucker.

Although little of his early upbringing is known, Thomas was presumably tutored in Bermuda. St. George, at least, gained his education in this manner.³ Thomas was then sent to Edinburgh to study medicine--a luxury that Nathaniel and St. George had to postpone or forego.

Medical study in the late eighteenth century was not very sophisticated. While doctors at this time were better educated than their forebears, it was doubtful that their "notions of medical practice or . . . therapy were much in advance of those of the preceding century." In fact, there were few new discoveries on which to base any improvement.⁴ Most colonial doctors studied medicine in Europe, and the medical school at Edinburgh was one of the top choices of provincials. According to Thomas, the school allowed students a great deal of freedom: "The Professors have no other Authority over them, than to require Decency of Behaviour. . . . No stude[n]t is obliged to attend any Class, but such as he chooses." Instructors taught Latin, Greek, logic, mathematics, as well as different branches of law, "Physick," and divinity for an hour each day. There was no fixed time for attending school. It was just "necessary to have attended every Medical Class at least once, and to be able to pass examination." Some students stayed only two or three years, but these

had usually been previously apprenticed to a physician. Others "stay longer as they think proper," from four or five to even eight or ten years.⁵

Thomas found Edinburgh itself pleasant, but thought Scotland in general "very deficient in Trees." Still, there were "numerous small Rivers which I regret the Want of in Bermuda," some of which had "deep Glens [that] are extremely romantic. The rum[b]ling of the Waters running among the Pebbles falling at different Distances in small Cataracts, overshadow'd with high projecting Clifts & thick Woods, wou'd in a hot Count[r]y have a most delightful Effect."⁶

Thomas finished his dissertation--on the effects of cold on the human body--in Edinburgh in 1770 and by June 1771 was in Charleston, South Carolina, attempting to set up his own medical practice. It is unknown why he chose this locale--perhaps because many Bermudians were settling there to escape the financial hardships of their island. Thomas disliked being separated from St. George but noted that "neither Time nor Distance shall ever in the least impair the Friendship between us." St. George, however, was also coming to America. Financial difficulties had, at least temporarily, prevented his father from sending him to England to study law, opting for the less expensive College of William and Mary instead. St. George was disappointed, but his brother tried to encourage him: "The Time you spend in Virginia I hope will turn to your Advantage both from the Improvement & the Connections you will make there & in England you will be able to finish your Studies to your Satisfaction."⁷

Thomas's years in Charleston were filled with worry as he sank

deeper and deeper into debt. He was "quite a Stranger" in South Carolina, and noted to his brother that there were already at least thirty-five doctors in the colony. "Most People have some Kind of . . . attachment to a particular Physician which only Time or Accident can be expected to break," he lamented. Thomas had made a start in his new home with only a few Bermuda blacks as patients.⁸

While St. George had designs on a law career, Nathaniel Tucker intended to follow in his older brother's footsteps and become a doctor. Yet the same circumstances that prevented St. George from studying in England worked against Nathaniel. It was decided that he should go to South Carolina and live with Thomas, working as an apprentice while earning enough money to attain his goal.⁹ The pair lived in a four-room house on Tradd Street in Charleston, and their arrangements were rather crude: "We are not much troubled with Furniture having in our Parlour only Three Chairs & a couple of Looking Glasses. . . . The shop is ornamented with Medicine & the Rooms upstairs with Some old Boxes & a Bedstead. . . . Rats & Mice have very little to disturb us as we do not keep a great deal of Victuals." They started out by employing a housekeeper--a widow from Bermuda--but this proved too expensive.¹⁰

Thomas's practice was definitely not going well. He worried that the plan for sending Nathaniel to England might have to be abandoned, but continued to hope that in time his luck would change. The family in Bermuda also worried. Henry, the eldest of the Tucker sons, told St. George that Thomas's practice was small but that "we must have patience." In a city as large as Charleston, he continued, it would

take time for a young doctor to get on his feet. Thomas, however, needed patients along with patience. He attributed his lack of them to Charleston's healthy winter climate and his poverty to the fact that "Physicians in this Part of the World do not immediately receive their Fees as in England." Expenses were running far ahead of payments and Thomas found himself giving away medicine--it was better than being idle.¹¹

Thomas's father, Henry, thought he could pinpoint the problem: "The plan of house-keeping I think was wrong. . . . He might have Boarded . . . in some reputable family & had the conveniencies of a shop." And he believed that their housekeeper, Mrs. Dodd, was "not the best Oeconomist." Henry senior informed St. George that he would write his older son and advise his return to Bermuda.¹²

As 1772 began, Thomas became so frustrated with his situation in Charleston that he considered moving not to Bermuda, but to Norfolk. Besides giving him a fresh start, the move would place him closer to St. George. After Thomas consulted with Nathaniel, they finally decided against it. Although there might be less competition in Norfolk, there remained the problem of paying the bills they had already accumulated in Charleston, as well as obtaining the money to begin anew in Norfolk. But Thomas had another suggestion for keeping the American side of the family together: St. George could begin practicing law in South Carolina after he finished his studies in Williamsburg.¹³

A year later, Thomas and Nathaniel's situation was even worse. "So far from being able to introduce others into genteel Company, we

are often obliged, for our own Satisfaction, to despise those who think themselves too wealthy & therefore too good to speak to us in Terms of Familiarity, or in any Terms at all." Income from the practice was infinitesimal; they were living almost entirely on credit. Thomas became discouraged at even the thought of sending Nathaniel to Edinburgh. The only encouragement was Nathaniel's attempt to earn money by publishing his poems. So far, this too had proved to be a futile effort. Thomas once again began to contemplate leaving Charleston: "The Difficulties of getting Bread from day to day are almost insurpassable, & they seem to be constantly increasing, for our Expenses are very great & our Income almost nothing. Borrowing is & has been for some time almost our only Resource . . . & even that must fail us if Matters do not soon put on a more favourable Aspect." But he always tried to be philosophical about his misfortunes; he considered himself a Pythagorean and believed that everyone would make "gradual Advances towards Perfection & Happiness," whatever their present situation.¹⁴

Nathaniel visited St. George in Williamsburg in the summer of 1773, perhaps as much to escape the oppressiveness of the Charleston heat and the ever-increasing debt as to see his brother. Thomas longed to join them but lamented that he was a slave to his profession, despite the lack of financial remuneration. On Nathaniel's return to South Carolina, Thomas became involved in a well-publicized scandal. The whole affair began when a notice signed by "Benevolus" appeared in the August 3, 1773, issue of the South-Carolina Gazette and Country Journal. It accused Thomas (not by

name; however, it was clear to whom "Benevolus" referred) of allowing a black man infected with smallpox to wander through the most populous parts of Charleston. Thomas answered this charge in a notice in the August 9 South-Carolina Gazette, explaining that he had examined a black man who had a fever and pains in his back and head. He first diagnosed measles, but as the man had previously contracted them, this was obviously incorrect. When pustules erupted, Thomas called three other doctors in consultation and each suspected, but could not confirm, smallpox. Thomas explained that he tried to take the man to a safe place, meanwhile alerting the proper authorities. "As a member of the community I did not only my duty, but more than was incumbent on me." Thomas added: "I am at a Loss to understand whether or not he ["Benevolus"] means any Impeachment of my Conduct--If he does, let him explain himself."¹⁵

On August 17, "Benevolus" pronounced surprise at Thomas's taking offense, thinking him too ill-natured to be a gentleman. He again accused Thomas of misconduct and of unnecessarily endangering the public, this time signing as Robert Williams. Letters and accusations traveled between the pair, and in early September Thomas lost his temper and wrote to Williams demanding a retraction of all accusations. If Williams declined, Thomas would meet him at an appointed time and place with sword and pistols. Williams tore up this letter, so Thomas went to the local coffeehouse and posted a sign which read: "Robt. Williams Jun. Atty. at Law is a Liar, a Rascal, & a Coward--whoever takes this down is desir'd to fix his own Name in it's Place."¹⁶

Williams tore the note down and threatened to return the next day at four o'clock. Thomas appeared, armed, but Williams did not; he had instead decided to sue. Accordingly, Thomas was indicted for sending out a challenge to duel and for libel; Williams had cleverly pasted together the letter he had torn apart earlier and submitted it as evidence. Thomas was fined £100 and sentenced to ten days in jail for sending a challenge, and fined £50 for publishing a libel. Thomas's sister Elizabeth noted that the "Indignation with which the news was received by most People gave me singular Pleasure." An appeal to the lieutenant governor resulted in suspension of the jail sentence and the £50 fine. The cost of court fees, however, brought Thomas's expenditures to £320, a heavy burden for one already deeply in debt. Williams sued again in the Court of Common Pleas (the first suit was in the Court of Sessions), but was awarded only five shillings and was required to pay his own court costs.¹⁷

Matters had evidently calmed by winter, although the financial situation was no better. Thomas commented that "Were it not incompatible with the Innate Persuasion . . . of Divine Benevolence, I shou'd be apt to imagine that Man was created for the Sport of some superior Being inconsiderate or merciless enough to torture him as Children do Butterflies." But there were bright spots: Thomas became engaged to marry Esther Evans on some undetermined date--he could not yet afford to support a family. Nathaniel thought that marriage "wou'd much encrease his [Thomas's] domestic Felicity, as the young Lady whom he has singled out . . . seems to me perfectly well calculated to render a person of his Disposition happy."¹⁸

Esther Evans was the daughter of a planter. Raised in the country, Thomas said, she "had but little Opportunity of Improvement. . . . I am not so blinded by Partiality as not to perceive that she wants many of the Perfections of an accomplish'd Woman." Yet, her docility and goodness of heart had won him over. He informed his brother that Esther's "Diffidence makes her not very fond of writing," but was sure that St. George's letters would be answered. The couple married on June 30, 1774, although Thomas's financial situation had not improved. Nathaniel was then dispatched to Bermuda to make announcements to the family, and soon after St. George paid them a visit.¹⁹

By March 1775, Thomas and Esther Tucker were expecting a child. They had moved to a house on Broad Street, but Thomas was searching for a residence out of town.²⁰ Life's problems were enveloping Thomas, for he dejectedly told St. George he would have an advantage practicing law in Virginia, for he was young and single. "I, after all this Loss of Time," Thomas continued, "have an increasing Family to support & provide for." He was also about 800 guineas in debt. However, there were things to be grateful for--by July, Esther was urging St. George to visit so she could introduce "her little Daughter [Nancy], which I assure you she is not a little proud of." She was becoming a "very good Country Wife," yet Thomas was often exasperated and impatient with her failures to write in her journal or for finding "Words in Nan's Pratling as some People discover Lions & Dragons in the Clouds." Esther's pride in her daughter was evident in her postscript to one of Thomas's letters. Nancy was "as fat as a little

Pig & I must tell you she is very pretty too. I suppose you will say that Sister of mine has a great deal of vanity, but I dare say if you were to see her you wou'd think so too."²¹

The preparations for war had begun to affect Charleston. By December 1775 the town had a fortress-like appearance, with wharves being converted into batteries and filled with cannon and the women being evacuated. "As soon as the Cloud that now hangs over America begins to be dispers'd," Thomas wrote, he wanted St. George to visit, but that was not to be possible in the near future. By 1776, although war was imminent, "the present Times lay open a wide Field for Adventurers & many have already made Fortunes." Indeed, St. George owned four small blockade runners, which were taking indigo to Bermuda and other islands in the West Indies for receipt of arms and ammunition.²² While St. George was profiting, however, once more Thomas was floundering. First his daughter became ill, then Esther, then himself, to the point of having to decline all business for six or seven weeks. On top of that, staple products were fetching enormous prices in town, making survival quite expensive.²³

In 1777 turbulence increased, not only in the political sphere, but also in Thomas's domestic life. St. George visited in April 1777 and witnessed both the happiness shared by Thomas and Esther, and the sorrow upon Esther's death on May 16, when their son Henry was born. "I cannot help repining at the Loss of the greatest Blessing of human Life," Thomas despaired. "Every thing that formerly gave me Pleasure seems now to serve only to remind me of my Misfortune." The children became his only comfort; three-year-old Nancy had grown quite fond of

talking, "in which she now improves fast."²⁴

Thomas was not loathe to advise St. George on his romantic endeavors, perhaps feeling that this was his duty as the experienced older brother. When St. George expressed apprehension about marrying a widow (Frances Bland Randolph), Thomas called this a ridiculous excuse. Marriage was an "Event that is to give you the greatest of Blessings in human life," and he suggested St. George stop hiding his interest in her from their parents, "shewing [them] . . . that Mark of Respect which is to be expected from you on such an Occasion."²⁵

After Esther's death, Thomas also became involved in shipping schemes. He bought a small schooner in 1777 but found it difficult to make profits because goods were once again very expensive in South Carolina. He also owned shares with St. George in at least two other vessels. However, prices had fallen by May 1778, so he was able to sail and even to buy another ship.²⁶ This venture continued in 1779, when Thomas was trading in indigo, but his profits were still negligible. When George Evans, Esther's father, died, Thomas hoped for a legacy to help him financially, "but [his will] was little expressive of a friendly disposition towards me." Evans had not only promised him a tract of land which was not delivered in the will, but also gave Nancy and Henry nine slaves who were in Thomas's possession. Executors were now trying to take away the slaves. "I know not whether I shall be able to support my Claim to them," he said. "I cannot but consider this Act of Mr. E's as a little unfriendly."²⁷

Thomas owned various parcels of land elsewhere at this time, so

his claims of poverty seem exaggerated. Through grants he received 450 acres on Generostee Creek; 640 acres on Twenty-Three-Mile Creek in the Ninety-Six District; and 3,517 acres on Beaver Creek in Camden District. In 1779, 155 acres of a plantation called Eagles, near the old town of Dorchester on the Ashley River, were conveyed to him. In 1784 an additional 102 acres were conveyed. And, according to 1779 tax returns, Thomas owned a total of 7,904 acres in Charleston, Camden, and Ninety-Six districts, as well as thirty-one slaves. Perhaps Thomas was land poor.²⁸

In 1779, Thomas's wartime duty was to guard the magazine at Dorchester, which was conveniently near his house and thus did not necessitate long absences from his children. Still, they had to be sent farther into the country later that year when the state was invaded by the British. Understandably uneasy about their welfare, Thomas planned to send them to St. George in Virginia if Charleston were taken. Slaves were deserting with the oncoming invasion, and Thomas noted that "one valuable Fellow . . . thought proper to look out for a new Master." Thomas managed a quick trip to St. Eustasia to investigate his trading business, meanwhile mourning his separation from brother Nathaniel, who had just decided to settle in England permanently: "I cannot help . . . wishing that we cou'd be all settled in one Neighbourhood, where we might form a little Society of real Frien[ds] who wou'd endeavour to make Life comfortable to each other." But war once again infringed on any thoughts of faraway family, bringing the immediate into a frightening perspective. Most of his property was at stake with invasion oncoming and his children's

safety was a constant worry.²⁹

Thomas finally sent Nancy and Henry, accompanied by Esther's sister, to his family in Bermuda sometime before 1782. Relatives there voiced their reassurances that the children were well. According to Henry junior, "Nancy is thin but healthy--Hal is amazingly stout & active--he is indeed a very fine Boy." Henry was, however, grieved "to find that such a gloom still continues to hang over my poor Brother." Thomas probably saw them as often as possible; records exist of visits in 1784 and in 1786, when he inoculated the family against smallpox.³⁰

Meanwhile, Thomas had evidently displeased his father by declaring his intention to give up medicine. Henry Tucker retorted that he regretted investing 1,500 guineas into his son's education and hereafter admonished St. George: "I hope you dont intend to throw by the Law." While Thomas had written home to say that he had sold all of his medicines, he was forced to resume his old career; in 1780 he was appointed physician of the Continental hospital in South Carolina. At least this exempted him "from those Fatigues of military Duty" that he had previously undertaken.³¹

On July 1, 1781, the Continental hospitals of Charleston were moved to the Williamsburg Governor's Palace and placed under Thomas's direction, on orders from the Marquis de Lafayette. The hospital was ill-supplied and miserable: "The Officers & Soldiers are really in a most distressed situation. No Liquor of any kind can be had--and nothing issued out to them but very indifferent beef and Indian Bread." Thomas told Col. James Innes that he had ninety sick men for

whom he could procure "neither Bedding, Blankets, Straw, Medicines, Wine, Spirits nor any other necessary."³² He tried to obtain help but the Marquis was "unable to furnish me with any one Article for the most pressing Necessities of People just come from a State of Captivity where they have been stript of every thing." The job was a difficult one, and in addition there were daily increases in the number of wounded coming from the Charleston troops as well as from the French army. On top of this, in early August the hospital had been notified by the British that the sick were to be removed. And there were bureaucratic irritations as well. A soldier under confinement at Yorktown was charged with breach of parole while bringing Thomas a report of the sick. "If such Trifles are to be made a Ground of Complaint," Thomas said, "I cannot think any of us safe whilst we are within Reach of the Enemy."³³ At least the location of the hospital was ideal for visiting St. George and his family. Thomas planned a trip to their home in Southside Virginia, but was ordered to stay in Williamsburg until the end of the siege. St. George added one encouraging note--his brother had "left off every scrap of mourning [for Esther] and even wears a cockade in his hat for the first time."³⁴

After the war, Thomas quickly became discouraged about practicing medicine again, and about ever ridding himself of his financial difficulties. "The Chances against my ever being able to say that the Coat I wear is my own, I feel so severely that I often have scarcely spirit to make any further Exertions, for hitherto I have almost constantly found that every endeavour to extricate myself has only

serv'd to bring an additional load of Difficulties." It was not the medical practice itself that was so unpleasant, but rather the inconvenience of getting established in society. In trying to persevere, Thomas admitted building yearly upon vain hopes while continually increasing his debts, and he dreaded "the Thoughts of being again engaged for Years in toilsome Pursuit of a Phantom." Those who allowed him credit before the war had left the scene. The principal doctor in town had also departed, but Thomas was not on equal footing with those remaining practitioners as there were "some Qualities which conduce, more than a Knowledge of the Profession, to advance a Man in the Practice of Physic." He continued bitterly, "With these [qualities] an Apothecary's Apprentice with no extraordinary Talents will often succeed better than one who has had much more Advantage of Education." He told St. George, who was attempting to persuade him to resume his old profession, that engaging in small trading adventures was preferable to medicine because it gave him the advantage of having money in his pocket. The only possible solution might be to return to Charleston (he was then in Norfolk), establish himself in business, and perhaps practice a little medicine on the side, in this way providing for his children.³⁵

Still, Thomas could not even get out of Norfolk because British men-of-war were occupying the harbor; the decision was thus postponed for a time. Upon his return to Charleston, he found that the entire practice of the principal doctor had fallen to a man who had arrived during the British occupation. The rest was divided among the old group, but there was also an abundance of new doctors. A Dr. Chanler

finally offered Thomas a partnership. If not for this, Thomas "had almost determin'd not even to make a Trial." By the next year, he found his connection with Chanler advantageous, although he still considered it a temporary situation. He was encouraged about finances by the hope of receiving money (around \$7,000) owed him for public service during the war. This amount would be insufficient to pay off his debts but would at least enable his heart to "be light with the Prospect of having no insurmountable Task before me."³⁶

In the 1780s Thomas became involved in the political arena. He served in the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh South Carolina General Assemblies. He was appointed a member of the Committee on Privileges and Elections in January 1785 and was a member of the South Carolina Privy Council from 1786 to 1788. In 1784 he sent his pamphlet, "Conciliatory Hints," to St. George for perusal, noting that "As our political Principles used to accord well together, I am hopeful you will approve the Sentiments, altho' the Execution does not answer my Wishes. It has been well receiv'd by plain Republicans, but does not chime in with the Opinions of the lofty minded."³⁷

Politics notwithstanding, financial affairs were rapidly reaching their nadir. Although Thomas's partnership with Chanler had helped him, "Demands come upon me which my Conscience tells ought long ago to have been satisfied." He had not paid anyone in the past fourteen months and was seventy guineas in arrears to his landlady "altho' I see her frequently in great distress for want of a Dollar to go to Market."³⁸

In late 1786, hot-tempered Thomas became involved in another

duel. This time he was wounded, and for some time his life was in danger. The dispute, with South Carolina politician Ralph Izard, was "occasion'd by a Freedom Mr. I. used with me at an Election for Representatives, in which my Name was put up as a Candidate, but I was not present," Thomas said. Their political views had differed before and Izard "thought proper to make me the Subject of a public Harangue, with a View to prevent my Election, in which he succeeded." Thomas called on Izard at his home to express his "Sentiments of his Conduct in Terms which necessarily brought on the consequences that follow'd." At the meeting Izard not only emphasized his right to make such comments but told Thomas he wished the entire parish had heard the remarks. The two met on December 8. Thomas's pistol misfired, "perhaps luckily," he said, "for I shou'd certainly have been sorry had he receiv'd a mortal Wound."³⁹

Izard's comments had little long-term effect on the voters; Thomas won representation in Dorchester while recovering from a thigh wound. Ironically, he was running against Izard's cousin. Edging still closer to a full career in politics, Thomas in the same year accepted appointment as a delegate to the Continental Congress. He later asked St. George if he was surprised "when you might have supposed that I was thriving fast in the Practice of my Profession. The Truth is that my Profession often disappoints me. . . . My practice of late has been so inconsiderable that it scarcely promises a Subsistence."⁴⁰

The period from 1787 to 1788 was a crucial one for the new American government. Thomas found the decision-making task to be overwhelming as it "must decide the Happiness of Millions of

Generations." He told St. George that although he feared the new system from the beginning, a "cowardly Deference to the general Opinion" soothed him for a time. Yet he began doubting more and more: "The proposed Constitution seems to me replete with Danger, & I dread it's Consequences." By December 1787, he was frightened by the certainty of the Constitution's approval: "It's Operation will . . . leave but the bare Shadow of stable Government. The President will be a Monarch whilst in Office, & every President will have it in his power to get himself continued in Office for Life." While senators supposedly represented the people, their six-year terms freed them of responsibility to the populace. Electing one-third every two years was but a smokescreen; the other two-thirds would force new members to maintain the status quo. The House only paid lip service to popular representation, with the members being "totally unknown to nine tenths of their Constituents & every Election will be carried by Intrigue among the most unprincipled of the People." State legislatures and state laws would become insignificant. Thomas waxed philosophical on the matter, hoping that their grandchildren would be better judges of the event than they. It would be far better to "give Power with a sparing Hand only as far as it is absolutely necessary, since more may at any time be given but none can ever be . . . taken back." Thomas did not expect the Constitution to be a cure-all for the new country's ills. Rather, it would evolve into a more workable model of government if it was not too precisely defined at its inception.⁴¹

Thomas took time out from politics to look after St. George's three stepchildren, Richard, Theodorick, and John Randolph, who had

been sent to Princeton for schooling.⁴² Fond though Thomas was of his nephews, he found them a handful. They had quickly run up expenses at the college and Thomas politely wrote to his brother for reimbursement.

Meanwhile, Thomas still disliked the basic operating procedure of the government. Although he believed that the House of Representatives would serve aristocrats and merely represent the shadow of freedom, Thomas the next year was elected to that body and served in the First and Second Congresses, from March 4, 1789, to March 3, 1793. As a congressman he became infuriated about Americans' tendency towards monarchy. Men are not rational, he raged: "They bawl about Liberty, & only want the Liberty to make themselves Slaves." Most irritating was the talk of giving the president a formal title. Thomas was a member of the committee appointed to discuss this matter; they concluded that titles were unnecessary. However, the Senate insisted, suggesting as suitable "His Highness the President, Protector of the Liberties of the United States." If George Washington was the type of man he believed, Thomas said, this talk must not have been pleasing. "I am out of all Patience," he continued, "when I think how we have suffer'd ourselves to be duped into Measures destructive of every Republican Ideal."⁴³

While in the House, Thomas voiced his opinions on several issues important to the young country. He spoke for lowering tariff duties, as higher duties encouraged smuggling and oppressed certain citizens and states to "promote the benefit of other States and other classes of Citizens." He was on committees to draw up rules for House

proceedings, and to prepare bills for establishing uniform rules of naturalization. His most interesting reaction is to a petition by Benjamin Franklin and the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, on February 12, 1790. Thomas asked if "these men expect a general emancipation of slaves by law? This would never be submitted to by the Southern States without a civil war." Not only did Thomas feel that promoting abolition would cause alarm in the South, but he also thought it would be "improper interference."⁴⁴

Thomas's general attitude toward the new government was described quite clearly by William Loughton Smith. During the discussion of the assumption of state debts, Smith noted that Thomas "seemed sunk in an indifference proceeding from ill-humor--he was dissatisfied with every thing (as he generally is)--he hated the Assumption, but obliged to vote for it . . . he disliked the government itself, & was not therefore sorry to see it become contemptible--he accordingly took no part, but allowed things to take their own course."⁴⁵

Yet life as a congressman was not all frustration and work. John Page, a representative from Virginia, and Thomas seemed to find plenty to amuse them while the House was in session. During several 1790 meetings, they wrote riddles in verse to each other. Page was so proud of their impromptu rhymes that he sent copies to St. George, but he carefully noted that "this rhyme-making does not interrupt our Attention to Business--for I arose between my 1st & 2nd stanza & rep[orted to the?] committee." Still another piece was written "whilst Mr. Smith was Justifying Slavery & abusing the Quakers."⁴⁶

Although Thomas pictured congressmen as aristocrats, his own

financial situation was still unfavorable. In 1791 he was struggling with new losses "which threaten to defeat every Effort I can make to free myself from Difficulties. My Claims on others have been like a Handful of Sand Every Moment eluding the Grasp until nothing remains." As 1793 began, his career as a congressman was coming to a close. His resources were sufficient only for a few months, and this did not even include provisions to be sent to the children. Just what career he would now assume, however, was a mystery. It occurred to him once more to try medical practice, perhaps in Norfolk, provided that he would not incur additional debts; this way, at least, he would be near his brother. But, if perpetual indigence was destined, Thomas wished to live out his days in Bermuda, with family and friends.⁴⁷

In March 1793 Thomas was urged by his brother Henry to visit in Bermuda, unfortunately not for pleasure but to see seventeen-year-old Nancy Tucker. She had been ill for some time with a cough and fever but her symptoms had become far worse. She was lately suffering from fits and convulsions, often lasting for hours and returning after only short intervals. The slightest noise was likely to send her into another fit, Thomas sorrowfully wrote upon observation. His helplessness in watching his oldest child suffer and eventually die affected him a great deal. He then prepared to send his son Henry to St. George in Williamsburg for a change of climate and perhaps also to attend college; at least that way they could see each other more often. Yet tragedy struck again when Henry died of a fever contracted during travel. Thus in a short space of time Thomas was bereft of those closest to him.⁴⁸

Not only were the 1790s a time of personal sorrow for Thomas, but the ever-present financial troubles continued with renewed vigor. He reluctantly considered resuming his profession, still eyeing Norfolk as a home. Yet he hoped to avoid this choice--several friends in Philadelphia encouraged him "to suppose that I was sufficiently in favor with the President to be nominated to a small Office." He was disappointed in this but began to consider, again at the insistence of friends, running for Congress. "Give me a little time to decide, altho' it is likely I shall decide wrong," he told his brother fatalistically. Politics was clearly edging out medicine as a preferred occupation. But, he decided to return to Charleston and attempted to raise an unspecified crop on borrowed funds. This endeavor fell through. Thomas relied on the purchase of state certificates to pull him through the crisis, but the South Carolina legislature declared them fraudulent. After petitioning, Thomas finally won back his money, alleviating his debt, however, by only a fraction.⁴⁹

Perhaps Thomas's lack of substantive employment kept him busy with politics, for he delivered a speech on July 4, 1795, before the Society of the Cincinnati. He was also elected to a committee sent to address George Washington concerning John Jay's controversial treaty with England. Thomas was pleased to note that their report was decent and respectful to the president, unlike many others he heard. Although Thomas viewed the treaty as hastening a preventable war, he found the disrespect shown to Washington--who had thrown his weight behind the treaty--disgusting. This intolerance was "the most heavy &

substantial Objection that can be made to a republican Government." He later noted, after Washington declined a third term as president, that there was indifference to his successor: "Nations will thrive more or less under the grossest mismanagement & abuses. The gross mismanagement & abuses pass as the causes of national prosperity, & the authors are in a manner canonized as great benefactors of their country."⁵⁰

Thomas left for New York in 1798 to watch his investments in the Philadelphia Canal crumble due to mishandling. He lost about \$4,500 in the process. He saw no path out of debt, and sadly philosophized on life "as nothing more than the porch or lobby of human existence, from which it is a special favor to make an early escape." St. George offered help but Thomas thought it useless to sink more money into the venture; evil and misfortune were traumas that must be experienced in this life to reach a better life later. He insisted that he would labor until death to obtain financial independence, but the future did not look bright, since he had been "refused a place in society in which I cou'd be useful either professionally or politically." He considered selling his land and slaves in Charleston. This had always been a last resort, but he was desperate.⁵¹

In January 1801 Thomas wrote to his friend John Page requesting a favor on the eve of Thomas Jefferson's election. "I have never had any objection to a public employment, so far as it might be compatible with my known & avow'd principles," he noted. "You are acquainted with Mr. Jefferson, & you are acquainted with me. . . . You know that I wou'd not ask a favor even of Genl. W. much less of his Successor

. . . [but] my spirit has come down a little." While his financial circumstances were embarrassing, he was "by no means insolvent. . . . In no situation wou'd I use a dollar of the public money . . . even if I were sure to replace it the next day." Thomas frankly admitted that he had no qualifications for any official post, saying he had always been too poor to buy books and study subjects other than medicine. But, almost any office would be acceptable, particularly a diplomatic post "to a republican Government, & especially to France."⁵²

By the beginning of November 1801 Jefferson had offered Thomas the post of Treasurer of the United States, which was coming vacant by the resignation of Samuel Meredith. Thomas gratefully accepted the job but "with diffidence; for I am sensible that my little experience in business will give me an awkwardness in any office for a considerable time." However, he promised to acquire "the due qualifications & expertness in business" as early as possible.⁵³ Thomas joyfully wrote to Page, adding "I assure you I had given up every expectation . . . of such an appointment."⁵⁴ Although Thomas's only prior experience with money had been to lose it, he did not feel that the task was beyond him, nor did he feel in any danger of rejection by the Senate. "A little time I presume will put me more at ease."⁵⁵

Total chaos reigned when Thomas assumed his duties: "I seem . . . to be almost intirely without intellect for I understand nothing that I am doing." Everyone was willing to help him but he was still disoriented. "I sign my name because I am told to do it, but without knowing for what reason," he continued. His only comfort was that others had found the job to be entirely reasonable, therefore there

was no cause to think he should feel differently. Gradually Thomas's proficiency increased, although his conception of the position was still unclear: "I am like a person who knows something of the manner of moving the pieces at chess, without having any thing like a comprehensive view of the game." The capital city, he also observed, was much more pleasant than he imagined, but socially unfriendly, especially in winter.⁵⁶

Thomas remained Treasurer until his death, and never again formally practiced medicine. He quite often prescribed for his family, although the lack of full-time medical practice lessened his confidence in the old profession. Letters to St. George indicate that bleeding was his favorite cure for a variety of ailments, but he always hesitated to recommend it without his supervision, as it could be harmful if not conducted properly. In directing treatment of one of St. George's ill's, he noted that three to five short bleedings were more beneficial than one or two copious ones.⁵⁷

Thomas finally began to pull himself out of debt with his income from the government. He suggested to St. George that they aid the impoverished Nathaniel, now a doctor in Yorkshire, his wife Jane, and their seven children. Nathaniel died in 1807, leaving Jane's resources "exceedingly scanty." St. George and Thomas supported her until her death in 1821 and their generosity also enabled her son to attend seminary. Thomas often felt "bewilder'd with our own & the griefs of our invaluable friends, & have been unable to exert myself as I ought, to perform the duty of attempting to soothe their sorrows." Despite his guilt, he had already set up trust funds for

his two sisters in Bermuda. It was clear that he intended to make up for the many years spent in debt by aiding his family as they had helped him earlier.⁵⁸

The spectre of war between Britain and America threatened to choke off the family ties between America, England, and Bermuda. Not only was this distressing, but James, Thomas's nephew, considered enlisting in the British army. Thomas shuddered "at the thought of beholding enemies in the sons of our most inestimable brothers. . . . I wish they were all well provided for in some other department." As war drew close, fears increased. Thomas was proud of "our little Navy" and arrogantly boasted that "2 or 3 years of War [with the British] will teach them to treat us with perfect respect, & convince them that they have foolishly lost what was of incalculable value to them." Still, he worried about St. George's safety after the British captured Hampton. The painful sluggishness of the American effort frustrated him and made him impatient--"we ought to have been at the Walls of Quebec long ago . . . whatever we may be as individuals, we appear as a nation to be without nerve."⁵⁹

As America continued to lose, Thomas wished the war to end, noting that "Shou'd our host of Plenipotentiaries finish it without humiliating concessions, they will merit thanks." Thomas resided at the capital until the British burned it and he became, like many others, a wanderer, having "no longer a country or a Government that I can speak of with pride." Many of Thomas's books and papers were destroyed in the attack, but luckily the necessities for conducting business were saved. "There is in every public Office much rubbish of

little value," he noted; he had been able to separate the important documents from the "rubbish" and carry them off before the British arrived. When peace finally came, Thomas embraced it eagerly.⁶⁰

The war upset Thomas's recently favorable financial situation, but the scenario was not as bleak as it had been previously. Part of his losses were due to general economic malaise following the war, and part were due to his efforts to extricate himself from these difficulties. After more than ten years as Treasurer, he had finally "acquired a character of punctuality [in payment], which . . . wou'd have procured me respect in any part of the United States. I have lost it."⁶¹

Because of his age, Thomas's health, not surprisingly, was declining, as was his brother's. Much of their later correspondence concerns treatment of their ills. Old age had to be accepted and was something to philosophize upon: "An old man is like an old ship. Altho' she has held together a long time her timbers are decay'd, & when she begins to fail one leak follows another faster than they can be stopp'd, because there remain no sound parts to which the repairs can be firmly attach'd." However, St. George commented shortly before his death that his brother, at age eighty-two, "has in his Appearance grown so much younger than me: that he should now be thought fifteen years younger, is to me . . . proof of the Excellence of his Constitution." Still, even by 1818 one observer had noted that Thomas was "past the age of active service." Accordingly, Thomas prepared for death and asked his brother to oversee his will. For all his earlier financial troubles, Thomas died fairly well off, admitting

that since he had been in public office he had always had enough in the bank to pay any pressing demands. By this time, the only money owed was to St. George, and this was soon paid off as well. Before his death on May 2, 1828, Thomas Tudor Tucker was the last surviving Tucker son--St. George had died six months earlier.⁶²

Thomas Tudor Tucker illustrates the stoical and gloomy aspect of human nature, as he was "persuaded in his youth that since a beneficent being is in charge of the universe, whatever is must logically be right." Throughout his life, he "struggled to persuade himself that the universe must make more sense than it seems to," but constant struggles against tragedy and calamity sorely tried his patience. One of Thomas's fine qualities was his devotion to family and friends. Although his immediate family was dead by the time he was fifty, he never ceased to take his numerous nephews and nieces under his care. Even younger brother St. George was, at the age of fifty-seven, reprimanded by his older brother for failing to spell "boil" correctly ("mind the spelling," said Thomas, "for I was obliged to correct it in your letter to our dear sister, & in one to me the error was repeated").⁶³

Thomas also contributed a wealth of medical advice, mostly appearing in his later years when he was not formally practicing. His remedies, ranging from bleeding to concocting drinks from parts of plants, must have often done more harm than good.

Throughout his life, Thomas was unable to find happiness and had not the indefatigable humor and exuberance of brother St. George. Between threats of impending illness and the problems of growing old

in a society of which he was no longer a part, Thomas wrote his brother of happier days to come: "We have arrived at a period when we can only look to another life for future enjoyment with our friends, & God grant that their & our sufferings in this may be reflected on with pleasure as the means of procuring a happier state of existence."⁶⁴

Notes for Biography

1. Gordon S. Wood, The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1781 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1969), 280-81; [Thomas Tudor Tucker], "Conciliatory Hints, Attempting . . . to remove Party-Prejudices . . ." (Charleston, S.C., 1784), 12, 21.

2. Frances (1740-1825) married a cousin and continued to live in Bermuda; Henry (1742-1803) married and lived in St. George's, Bermuda, and embarked on a political career; Elizabeth (1747-1837) never married and stayed at The Grove; Nathaniel (1750-1807), eventually moved to England; St. George (1752-1827) moved to America in 1771 and became a prominent Virginia lawyer and politician. Thomas Tudor was born on June 6, 1745; he was the third oldest child.

The devotion of the brothers is particularly apparent in some of the earliest letters written between St. George and Thomas Tudor while the latter was in Edinburgh.

3. He was tutored by Rev. Alexander Richardson in preparation for entering the Inns of the Temple in London (Lewis Leary, The Literary Career of Nathaniel Tucker, 1750-1807 [Durham, N.C., 1951], 4).

4. Wyndham B. Blanton, Medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century (Richmond, Va., 1931), 5.

5. Thomas Tudor Tucker to St. George Tucker, Jan. 10, 1768 (Tucker-Coleman Collection, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va. [hereafter cited as ViW]; unless otherwise noted, all letters are from the Tucker-Coleman Collection).

Thomas matriculated five times at the Edinburgh medical school. His courses were:

1765-66--Anatomy and surgery, chemistry 1, natural philosophy

1766-67--Anatomy and surgery, materia medica, chemistry,
theory of physic

1767-68--Anatomy and surgery 3, theory and practice of physic

2, botany 2, midwifery 2, clinical lectures, moral philosophy

1769-70--Theory and practice of physic, chemistry, materia medica, clinical lectures

1770-71--No courses listed

(Letter from J.T.D. Hall, Edinburgh University Library, to the author, Aug. 24, 1982).

Thomas became a member of the Medical Society of Edinburgh (later the Royal Medical Society) at their thirty-first session (1767-68). In 1768 he worked in St. Bartholomew's Hospital in England, presumably as part of his training (General List of the Members of the Medical Society of Edinburgh [Edinburgh, 1850], 14; letter from Iain Milne, Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, to the author, Aug. 11, 1982; N. Louise Bailey and Elizabeth Ivey Cooper, eds., Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives, III: 1775-1790 [Columbia, S.C., 1981], 725).

6. Thomas to St. George, Nov. 12, 1768.
7. Leary, Literary Career, 6; Thomas to St. George, May 28, June 22, 1771.
8. Thomas to St. George, Aug. 14, 1771.
9. Leary, Literary Career, 8.
10. Ibid., 11; Nathaniel Tucker to St. George, Nov. 16, 1771.
11. Thomas to St. George, Nov. 18, 1771; Henry Tucker, Jr., to St. George, Dec. 15, 1771; Thomas to St. George, Dec. 22, 1771.
12. Henry Tucker, Sr., to St. George, Aug. 1, 1772 ("The Tucker Letters," Bermuda Historical Quarterly, III [1946], 151).
13. Thomas to St. George, Feb. 24, 1772.
14. Thomas to St. George, Feb. 4, Mar. 4, Apr. 21, 1773.
15. Thomas to St. George, July 7, 1773; Leary, Literary Career, 20-23.
Williams, wrote Nathaniel Tucker, "has been guilty of many

Acts of meanness & shown such a Want of Generosity as has made most people speak ill of him" (Nathaniel Tucker to Henry Tucker, Jr., Oct. 2, 1773).

16. Leary, Literary Career, 20-23.

17. Ibid., 28; Nathaniel Tucker to Henry Tucker, Jr., Oct. 2, 1773; Elizabeth Tucker to St. George, Oct. 2, 1773.

18. Thomas to St. George, Nov. 27, 1773; Nathaniel Tucker to St. George, Nov. 28, 1773.

19. Thomas to St. George, May 20, July 20, 1774; "Records Kept by Colonel Isaac Hayne," South Carolina Historical Magazine, XI (1910), 103.

20. Once again Henry Tucker, Sr., voiced his disapproval of the move: "I can't say I approve the Scheme, I think he may do much better here as we are destitute of a Dr at this part of the Isld" (Henry Tucker, Sr., to St. George, Apr. 8, 1775 ["Tucker Letters," BHQ, V (1948), 177]).

21. Thomas to St. George, Mar. 19, June 14, Dec. 27, 1775; Esther Evans Tucker to St. George, Sept. 17, 1775 ("The Tucker Papers," BHQ, V [1948], 182).

In May 1775 Nathaniel Tucker left for medical school in Edinburgh (Leary, Literary Career, 48).

22. Thomas to St. George, Dec. 27, 1775, Dec. 28, 1776; William S. Prince, "St. George Tucker: Bard on the Bench," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXXXIV (1976), 270.

23. Thomas to St. George, Dec. 28, 1776.

24. Thomas to St. George, Aug. 6, 21, 1777.

St. George's account of his visit and of Esther's death is printed in "Tucker Letters," BHQ, VI (1949), 140-43.

25. Thomas to St. George, Apr. 19, May 28, July 21, 1778. In September 1778 St. George married Frances Bland Randolph (Mary Haldane Coleman, St. George Tucker: Citizen of No Mean City [Richmond, Va., 1938], 42).

26. Thomas to St. George, Nov. 20, 1777, May 28, 1778.

27. Thomas to St. George, Jan. 30, 1779.

28. Bailey and Cooper, Biographical Directory, III, 725; Henry A. M. Smith, "The Ashley River: Its Seats and Settlements," S.C. Hist. Mag., XX (1919), 47-48.

29. Thomas to St. George, Jan. 30, July 10, Nov. 18, [Dec.] 13, 1779, Mar. 22, 1780.

30. Henry Tucker, Jr., to St. George, Nov. 4, 1782, Apr. 14, 1784, May 30, 1786 ("Tucker Letters," BHQ, XI [1952], 226-27, 231; ibid., VII [1950], 142).

31. Henry Tucker, Sr., to St. George, June 3, 1779; Thomas to St. George, Mar. 22, 1780. Before this, Thomas was a surgeon with the Grenadier Company (Edward McCrady, The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775-1780 [New York, 1901], 12).

32. Blanton, Medicine in Va., 276; Col. James Innes to Gov. Thomas Nelson, Jr., July 24, 1781 (William P. Palmer, ed., Calendar of Virginia State Papers . . ., II [Richmond, Va., 1881], 243).
 The situation of sick and wounded soldiers during the Revolution was serious. Disease more than bullets was responsible for a high mortality rate. The major problems were typhus, malaria, venereal disease, and dysentery. Crude remedies were calomel, opium, camphor, Peruvian bark, Virginia snakeroot, rhubarb, and tartar emetic. Wounded were also exposed to contagious diseases which might have been prevented by isolation. Medicine, surgical instruments, and doctors were scarce. At any rate, surgery was rarely used. Overcrowding, filth, and mismanagement of hospitals and supplies added to these already serious problems (Blanton, Medicine in Va., 257-58, 261, 264).

33. Thomas to St. George, July 27, 1781; Thomas to Gov. Thomas Nelson, Jr., Aug. 5, 1781 (Palmer, Calendar of Va. State Papers, II, 295); Thomas to St. George, Aug. 16, 1781.

34. St. George to Frances Bland Randolph Tucker, Sept. 14, Oct. 5, 1781.

35. Thomas to St. George, Feb. 9, 1783.

36. Thomas to St. George, July 30, 1783, Apr. 12, Apr. 13, 1784.

37. Thomas to St. George, Apr. 21, 1785; Bailey and Cooper, Biographical Directory, III, 726; Lark Emerson Adams and Rosa Stoney Lumpkin, Journals of the House of Representatives, 1785-1786 (Columbia, S.C., 1979), 23, 459.

38. Thomas to St. George, Apr. 21, Oct. 1, 1785.

39. Thomas to St. George, Apr. 8, 1787.

40. Ibid.

41. Thomas to St. George, Nov. 21, Dec. 28, 1787, June 13, July 22, 1788.

42. By 1787 Thomas had moved to Philadelphia and returned to Charleston only between sessions of Congress (Joseph Ioor Waring, A History of Medicine in South Carolina, 1670-1825 [Columbia, S.C., 1964], 320).

43. Thomas to St. George, Feb. 17, May 13, 1789; Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961 (Washington, D.C., 1961), 1731-32.

44. Abridgement of the Debates of Congress. . ., I (New York, 1857), 44, 57, 208; Linda Grant DePauw, ed., Documentary History of the First Federal Congress of the United States of America, III: House of Representatives Journal (Baltimore and London, 1977), 7, 13, 265.

45. William Loughton Smith to Edward Rutledge, Aug. 8, 1790 (George C. Rogers, Jr., ed., "The Letters of William Loughton Smith to Edward Rutledge, June 8, 1789 to April 28, 1794," S.C. Hist. Mag., LXIX [1968], 131).

46. John Page to St. George, Feb. 26, Mar. 8, 1790.

47. Thomas to St. George, Apr. 14, 1791, Feb. 12, 1793.
In 1789 Thomas helped found the Medical Society of South Carolina and "for some years he continued to carry on medical activity

even though it was not his prime interest. . . . Shortly after this time it is likely that he abandoned medicine entirely (Waring, Medicine in S.C., 320).

48. Thomas to St. George, Mar. 1, 1793, Mar. 16, June 29, Sept. 7, 1794. Henry Tucker died "very suddenly" on Aug. 6, 1794, probably on board the ship Nordische-Lowe (Mabel L. Webber, comp., "Marriage and Death Notices from the City Gazette," S.C. Hist. Mag., XXII [1921], 90).

An account of Nancy Tucker's death may be found in "Autobiography of George Tucker [1858]," BHQ, XVIII (1961), 90-92. George Tucker, later a famous historian, was in love with Nancy but "her father . . . might have had a more ambitious match in expectation" (*ibid.*, 91). George Tucker also refers to another daughter of Thomas's, named Anne Jane, who was his tutor in Bermuda, but this is almost certainly an error (*ibid.*, 88).

49. Thomas to St. George, Mar. 16, June 29, 1794, Aug. 31, 1795. Thomas's petition noted that the certificates, which he obtained from Alex Gillon, were originally intended to pay off part of his debts. At this time the commissioner of Columbia, South Carolina, had already begun a suit against him for nonpayment of debts, and the commissioner of the loan office would soon have the power to take his property (Thomas Tudor Tucker, "Petition to the South Carolina House," May 12, 1796, Tucker-Coleman Collection).

50. Thomas to St. George, Aug. 31, 1795, Sept. 28, 1796.

51. Thomas to St. George, Dec. 10, 1799, Mar. 23, 1800, June 30, 1801.

52. Thomas to John Page, Jan. 17, 1801, Thomas Tudor Tucker Papers, Library of Congress (hereafter cited as Tucker Papers, DLC).

53. Thomas Jefferson to Thomas, Oct. 31, 1801 (Thomas Jefferson Papers, ser. 1 [microfilm; Washington, D.C., 1974]; Thomas to Jefferson, Nov. 5, 1801, *ibid.*

54. Thomas to Page, Nov. 6, 1801, Tucker Papers, DLC. Jefferson's replacement of Treasury officials was not particularly speedy (Dumas Malone, Jefferson the President: First Term, 1801-1805 [Boston, 1970], 56).

55. Thomas to St. George, Nov. 7, 1801.
56. Thomas to St. George, Dec. 3, 19, 30, 1801.
57. Thomas to St. George, Feb. 27, 1801.
58. Thomas to St. George, Mar. 26, Apr. 7, June 27, 1808. Thomas sent \$250 every six months and St. George was to add \$50 to \$100 "when you can do it with perfect convenience to yourself" (Thomas to St. George, June 27, 1808).
59. Thomas to St. George, Aug. 19, 1808, Apr. 10, 1813, June 1813.
60. Thomas to St. George, May 28, Sept. 9, 15, 1814; Thomas to John Page, July 3, 1807, Tucker Papers, DLC.
61. Thomas to St. George, Aug. 14, 1817.
62. Thomas to St. George, Oct. 10, Dec. 27, 1821, Oct. 1824, June 9, 1826; St. George to Dr. Philip Barraud, May 4, 1827, Barraud Papers, ViW; Leonard D. White, The Jeffersonians: A Study in Administrative History, 1801-1829 (New York, 1961), 377.
In his will, Thomas noted, "my debts at present are very few and of [s]mall amount." He left \$10,000 to each sister in Bermuda. Although Frances had died in 1825, the will had not been amended (will, Clerk of Court's Office, Washington, D.C.).
63. Henry F. May, The Enlightenment in America (New York, 1976), 149.
64. Thomas to St. George, Mar. 2, 1809, Oct. 10, 1821.
There are two extant likenesses of Thomas Tudor Tucker. One is a St. Mémín crayon drawing, circa 1805, presented by Thomas to the Dashiell family, with whom he boarded in Washington. The other is an early portrait by Joseph Blackburn showing Thomas at age eight. It now hangs in the President Henry Tucker House, St. George's, Bermuda (Fillmore Norfleet, Saint-Mémín in Virginia: Portraits and Biographies [Richmond, Va., 1942], 85, 216; Hereward Trott Watlington, "The Portraits in the Tucker House," BHQ, X [1953], 58-61).

METHOD

The edited body of letters running from January 10, 1768, to October 15, 1781, begins with the first extant letter of Thomas Tudor Tucker and ends at the close of the American Revolution. The letters reflect the trials of a doctor from the beginning of his training, to setting up practice at age twenty-three, to disillusionment at age thirty-six. Through these documents we see a young man ridden with despair and many times ready to abandon medical practice altogether. Thomas, in fact, does turn to politics almost fully by the 1790s, but even by 1781 it is clear that medicine will no longer provide his primary income. Thomas's early letters are reproduced here as examples of the formation of his political attitudes. We see a frustrated man of medicine grasping at various means to bring him closer to wealth and success. His political career is the final, and successful, search for status among a generation where many such as Jefferson found politics an easy road to prominence.

With noted exceptions, the original text of Thomas's letters has been followed faithfully. Superior letters have been brought down to the line and the thorn ("ye") has been expanded. However, other

abbreviations have been retained. Dashes within sentences have been retained; those between sentences have been eliminated and periods substituted. All sentences begin with a capital letter, whether or not they do in the text. Repeated words or other obvious slips of the pen have been silently corrected except where noted. The dateline has been placed at the head of the document, flush right, regardless of how it appears in the letter. The closing is run in with the text and the signature is flush right. Illegible words are marked within brackets: [illeg.]. If a reasonable guess may be made, then the word appears in brackets with a question mark afterwards. When the manuscript is torn, missing letters are supplied within brackets. Unless otherwise noted, all letters are from Thomas Tudor Tucker to St. George Tucker and are from the Tucker-Coleman Collection, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg.

Edinburgh Jany 10th. 1768.

Dear St. George

Your Favours are always most acceptable & agreeable. That by Capt. Banden arrived very lately, & I with Pleasure return my Acknowledgments. You ask of me some Account of the University here. Upon this and every other Subject you may hint to me I shall very gladly endeavour to satisfy your Curiosity. I am in general much at a loss for Materials to make out a Letter, and cou'd wish you wou'd always assist me by proposing any Question that may occur to you. The Building is old & irregular, and too mean to merit a Description. There are a number of Professors, who have each their diffe[ren]t provinces assign'd them, as Latin, Greek, Logic, Mathe[ma]tics, and the different Branches of Law, Physick, & Divinity. They have separate Rooms, and teach generally an Hour in the Day. There are two Latin Classes, for Students more or less advanc[ed] taught at different Hours, tho' by the same Professor [illeg.] the same with the Greek. The Students are in College only during the Hour of reading, the rest of their Time they employ [a]t Home with their Tutors. The Professors have no other Authority over them, than to require Decency of Behaviour whilst th[e]y are in the College. No Stude[n]t is obliged to attend any Class, but such as he chooses, except he is studying any Profession, and then he is expected to have studied every Branch of that Profession before he is admitted to practice it. Few take Degrees here except in Physic, and these take the Degree of Doctor without previously (or at English Universities) taking those of Batchelor & Master of Arts and Batchelor of Physic. Nor is any Number

of Years fix'd for attending the College before graduating. It is necessary to have attended every Medical Class at least once, and to be able to pass examination. Some who have studied Physic for a considerable time under a Physician or at another University graduate in two or three Years. Others stay longer as they think proper, from 4 or 5 to 8 or 10 Years. Students of Law are examin'd and admitted to practise not by the Professors of the College but by the Faculty of Advocates; those of Divinity, by the Clergy. Believe me ever My dear St. George Your most Affect Brother

Thos. Tudr: Tucker

Edinburgh July 9th. 1768

Dear St. George

It is always a very great Satisfaction to me to hear from you, but more particularly so when you take upon you to be circumstantial in your Accounts, for it makes me think that you write with Pleasure. Your last Letters contain'd great Variety of Entertainment, for which I am much obliged to you. I wou'd fain make you some kind of Return, but really can think of nothing but what Brother Harry can satisfy you in much better than I can do in a Letter. I am glad to hear you are become so polish'd a People as to have a Theatre establish'd among you. Assemblies you have had for a long Time. What will be next introduced? I think you can't do without an Oratorio. How shall I know little Bermuda after such wonderful Improvements? I cou'd not

help smiling when I saw the Mention of Players, for I must confess they are an Importation I little expected to hear of. It is somewhat of a droll Idea that I have of your Theatre. Very magnificent, no doubt! However I am very glad when I hear you have any new Source of Entertainment, and Things of this Kind, however short of Perfection, are amusing both by their Novelty & by affording Topics of Conversation. I thank you for the Seeds you intended sending me, tho' by Mistake they were left behind. Farewell till the next Opportunity. I am ever, My dear St. George, with the tenderest Affection Your most loving Brother

Thos. Tud: Tucker

London Nov. 12th. 1768.

Dear St. George

Your Favour by Capt. Jones was very acceptable, & I shall as far as I can recollect, endeavour to answer the Question you propose. I must begin with giving you some little Idea of Edinburgh itself. The principal Street (which was probably for a long time the only one) runs gently from East to West upon the Ridge of a very narrow Hill. This is call'd the High Street, & is about a Mile in Length. At the East End stands Holy Rood Palace, which is not a bad Building. In the West it is terminated by the Castle, where the Hill instead of descending gradually westward as it had ascended from the East ends quite abruptly in perpendicular Rocks. The whole Breadth of the Ridge

is occupied by that of the Street, so that you can't turn out of it either to the North or South without going down hill immediately. This is one Cause of the Houses being considerably higher here than in most other Cities. At a Medium they hardly exceed six Story in Front, but what is here the Ground Floor is upon a Level with the 2d. 3d. or perhaps 4th. Floor of the back Part of the Building. I shall now proceed to what more immediately concerns your Question,--to give as well as I am able, a short Account of the Country about Edinr. and shall confine myself principally to what is seen from the Castle. Facing the East you look through the High Street, but the View is soon interrupted by some Houses standing in the middle of the Street. However the Castle being, as I before said, situated upon the highest Part of the Hill enables you to see over the Town. A little towards the right Hand the Prospect is bounded by Arthur's Seat, a pretty high conic Mountain, & Salisbury Craigs which may be call'd a part of the same Mountain. These Craigs or Cliffs have something of Grandiur in their Appearance, being of Considerable Extent, very high & quite perpendicular. Their distance from the Castle is little more than a Mile. About half a Mile forward & somewhat to the left stands another Hill call'd the Calton. Between these you see the Country terminated pretty far off by the Water, no remarkable Object intervening. Turning to the South, leaving Arthur's Seat on your left Hand you have an agreeable Prospect of almost all that part of the Town that does not stand upon the same Hill with you. The Houses begin almost under your Feet extending forward & on each side. Beyond them is a pleasant Country gently rising & fallg. in different Parts having a Number of

Houses scatter'd over it, & here & there a few Trees. About 4 or 5 Miles off & very little on the right Hand is a Ridge of Mountains call'd Pentland Hills, extending to the West. This whole View taken together is very pleasant & extensive. Now lookg. to the West, you have Pentland Hills on the left & the Firth of Forth on the right, both running Westward, with a flat Country between them & a great many Country Seats. We have only the north Prospect remaining. Here is a small Piece of flat Country lying before & below you, very prettily diversify'd with numerous Houses, little Groves, & one or two small Lakes. About a Mile & Half off you see the Town of Leith situated upon the Banks of the Firth. The Firth of Forth is a Branch of the Sea running from East to West on the North Side of the City of Edinburgh, so that here you have a good View of it. Opposite to Edr. it's Breadth is about 7 Miles. The pleasant Skirt of Land below you, the Town of Leith, this narrow Sea with Ships sailing or at Anchor, one or two [Small?] Islands, two or Three little Towns on the opposite Banks, with Hills beyond all afford a very agreeable Variety & form a Prospect which is generally much admired. Thus I have gone round the Compass with you, but probably given you very little satisfaction; nor can I answer for the Accuracy of what I have done, for Memory is apt to deceive one even with regard to the most familiar Objects. Upon the whole the Country about Edinburgh is well cultivated & very pleasant, but woud, I think, be still more so if there was more Wood upon it. Sc[o]tland is in general very deficient in Trees: but there are numerous small Rivers which I regret the Want of in Bermuda. Some of them having by length of Time form'd deep Glens are extremely

romantic. The rum[b]lling of the Waters running among the Pebbles falling at different Distances in small Cataracts, overshadow'd with high projecting Clifts & thick Woods, wou'd in a hot Count[r]y have a most delightful Effect. There are scarcely any Buildings near Edinburgh worth mentioning to you. It being time to conclude, I shall only add my best Wishes, assuring you that I am most truly Dear St. George Your affect. Brother

Thos. Tudr. Tucker

London Febry 28th. 1769.

Dear St. George

In Answer to your agreeable Favour by Capt. Jones I wrote you the enclosed Letter, intended to go by the same Vessel. After he had the Misfortune to be shipwreck'd my Letter to you happen'd to be brought to Dr. Tucker¹ without the Cover, and I send it a second Time. I am affraid it is scarcely intelligible, but flatter myself you will take in good part any Attempt, however unsuccessful, to satisfy your Curiosity. You must, according to the common Phrase, take the Will for the Dead. I have nothing material to add but my best Wishes, which always do & always will attend you, for I am Dear St. George Your most sincerely affect. Bro.

Thos. Tudr. Tucker

May 28th: 1771

My dear St. George

You can better judge by your own Feelings than it is possible for Words to express how disagreeable & painful it is to me to think of our present Separation & of the long Time it may be before I have again the Happiness of seeing you. I hope however that so far as we are necessarily kept asunder, it will be for the Advantage of us both, & flatter myself that it will not be very long before we may find it convenient to be together again. In the mean while let us determine as we have hitherto done that neither Time nor Distance shall ever in the least impair the Friendship between us. By assur'd, my dear St. George, that my Affection for you is the most sincere & unalterable, & of your's I can never entertain the smallest Doubt. It is needless to desire you to let me hear from you as often as possible, as I am sure you will not neglect to gratify me in so great a Satisfaction. I hope before this arrives you will either be set out or ready to go upon your Voyage to Virginia.² I wish you every Advantage you can possibly desire, & have not the least Doubt of your arriving at a great Degree of Perfection in your Profession. My best Wishes will ever attend you, my dear St. George, for believe me most sincerely
Your ever affect. Brother

Thos. Tudr. Tucker

Charlestown. June 22d. 1771.

My dear St. George

You oblig'd me very much by your two agreeable Favours which I receiv'd by Capts. Young & Sawyer. I am sorry I have not Time to answer them so fully as I cou'd wish. I thought to have wrote my Letters at Leisure, but have been interrupted, so that I shall be oblig'd to omit writing to Mr. Tucker & my Sisters. I hope this will find you preparing to set out for Virginia. Be assur'd I am most sincerely interested in your Welfare, & shall be very glad to hear of your being fix'd there in a Manner agreeable to your Wishes. The Time you spend in Virginia I hope will turn to your Advantage both from the Improvement & the Connections you will make there & in England you will be able to finish your Studies to your Satisfaction. The Specimens you have already given me, as well as the Sincerity of your Affection of which I am fully perswaded, convince me that you will take every Opportunity to write to me. Be assur'd it will always give me the sincerest Pleasure to hear from you, & cou'd you write a Letter for every Line, they always be acceptable. If I do not write you long Letters, you must be so good as to excuse me. As often as I can do it, I will with Pleasure. Believe me ever, my dear St. George Yours most truly & affectionately

Thos. Tud. Tucker

My best Compts. to the Colr. & Family. I will write to him as soon as I get settled. Rememr. me to Mr. Slater³ too, if you should see him.

Charlestown So. Carolina Aug. 14. 1771.

My dear St. George

Where this may find you is uncertain, but I cannot miss the Opportunity of writing you a Line. I must again thank you for your agreeable Letters, & particularly for every Expression of Affection in them. Continue to favour me with a Letter by every Opportunity, & be assur'd that any thing from you upon whatever Subject will always be highly acceptable. For some Years to come we cannot flatter ourselves with the Enjoyment of each other's Company, at least not for any considerable Time, we must therefore endeavour to render our Separation more supportable by writing as much as possible. You have very kindly set me a good Example by obliging me with long Letters. I am sorry to find myself so dull a Writer as not to be able to make you an adequate Return, but whatever at any Time occurs to me I shall communicate with Pleasure. As I am truly anxious to hear that you have begun the Plan of your Studies, I hope this will find you in Virginia rather than in Bermuda, from whence I expect to hear from you as early as possible. I wish you may there find every thing agreeable to you. I am in Hopes your being a little while there will be rather an Advantage to You than otherwise. To initiate You in a Knowledge of your Profession, Virginia may be as proper as a more considerable Place, for the Human Mind cannot suddenly take in every thing that may be presented to it. I hope however that it will not be necessary you shou'd continue very long there. We have the most indulgent of Fathers who had done for me & will do for You every thing in his Power. It is his great Misfortune that his Abilities are not equal

to his Desire of promoting his Childrens Interest. It is my Duty, shou'd Fortune kindly enable me, to supply as far as possible what he is deficient in. I can not yet judge of the Encouragement I may expect. I am quite a Stranger here, & you know most People have some Kind of Engagement or Attachment to a particular Physician which only Time or Accident can be expected to break. At least it is the Case in so considerable a Place as this, where you may suppose Persons of Merit of every Profession. You will perhaps be surpriz'd when I tell you there are not fewer than 35 Practitioners of Physic in this Town. I have made a small Beginning with a few Bermuda Negros, but this is very inconsiderable. I shall let you know from time to ti[me] [illeg.] I go on, & if even it is in my Power to assist y[ou I? wi]ll do it with real Joy. If the last Farthing I am able to make will be a Sufficiency, your Wishes shall be intirely gratified in the Prosecution of your Studies; for be assur'd, my dear St. George, your Happiness & Welfare will ever greatly interest the Heart of Your most sincerely Affectionate Brother.

Thos. Tud: Tucker

Charlestown Nov. 18. 1771.

I am very happy, my dear St. George, to hear of your safe Arrival in New York, which agreeable News I receiv'd by your obligidng. Favour last Eveng. Many Thanks to you for your Readiness to inform us of

what you know must give us the utmost Pleasure. Your Letter by Natty demands my most hearty Acknowledgments. The Kindness of your Heart is visible in all your Expressions, & you may be assur'd it will be ever return'd by me with equal Tenderness. You have now left your Friends to reside for a While among Strangers, & from Experience I know that it is at first not very agreeable: but I have no Doubt but you will soon form Connections with whom you may pass your Time satisfactorily, altho' you cannot help being sensible of the Absence of those who have been the Companions of your early Years & with whom you are united in the strictest friendship. It is hard indeed to be thus separated. I feel it in the keenest Manner, when I consider how long it may be before we meet again, & the uncertainty of our ever being settled together to enjoy each others Company, as we have formerly done. However we must leave to Heaven the Determination of our Fortunes & hope that it will not deny us the Gratification of a virtuous Wish. It is a great Source of Happiness, to me while absent from my other Friends, that I have Natty with me whose good Sense & truly amiable Disposition makes him the most agreeable Companion. He left Bermuda soon after you & arriv'd about the Time you reach'd New York. We shall, I am sure, always be happy in each other, & altho' for his own Sake I wish his Stay here may not be very long, yet I cannot help looking forward with Regret on the Period of his Departure & in some measure anticipating the Mortification I shall feel on the Occasion. Our Business is at present almost nothing, & I can't avoid sometimes feeling a severe Sensation from the Reflection that our Plan may possibly be subverted. This however I do not much indulge, & I not

only hope but expect that in Times we shall be able to pursue our first Intention with Convenience. Heaven grant that you may both find every thing to answer your most sanguine Wishes! We have heard from Bermuda by Vessels that sail'd a few Days after Natty & have the Satisfaction to inform you that our Friends were all well. Mama, I rejoice to hear, submitted to a Separation from you with more Fortitude than cou'd well be expected. My Heart felt much on her Account particularly, as I was apprehensive that an Excess of Grief & Anxiety might injure her Constitu[tion]. Nor cou'd I but sincerely sympathize with the rest of the Family. My kindest Wishes & sincerest Regards to Mr. Tucker,⁴ if I shou'd not have Time to write to him. I hope to hear from him soon. Best Compliments likewise to Mr. Washington, who I shou'd be glad to hear attended you to Virginia, as he wou'd render your Journey very agreeable. Let me hear from you as often as possible & inform me of every thing that concerns your Happiness. Adieu, my dear St. George. May every Blessing attend you! Your's ever most sincerely

Thos. Tudr. Tucker

Charlestown Decr. 22d. 1771.

I am extremely glad, my dear St. George, to have this Opportunity of writing to you, & wish with all my Heart that Capt. Richardson may be able to get in at Norfolk as he intends. It is with great Regret

that I think of the Infrequency of Conveyances between this Place & Virginia. However we must endeavour to embrace every Occasion of writing & I hope we shall be able to carry on a Correspondence with some Degree of Satisfaction. You must not fail letting us hear from you as soon as you arrive, for we shall be very anxious to know that you are safe & have suffer'd nothing by the Inconveniences of a Winter Voyage. Besides we shall probably have it in our Power to send the agreeable News to Bermuda sooner than you can from Virginia. Mr. Reeve was so obliging as to call on us a few Days ago with your Letters, & told us he left you well, but as he did not come in, we had not an Opportunity of enquiring any thing more particular about you. He was going immediately to the Country & promis'd to call again upon his Return to Charlestown. I am much oblig'd to you for all your Letters & you may easily imagine we were greatly rejoic'd to hear from you, & to know that the Northern Air agrees so well with you. Your first & second Letters we sent some time ago to Bermuda lest no Vessel shou'd offer from Philadelphia as you expected, & I am glad we did so as it will give them more Satisfaction at Home to see what you wrote than to have had only a second Hand Account from us. We shall soon have another Vessel from hence to our little Island, by which they will get farther Information of you. You seem to entertain a more unfavourable Idea of this Place than it really deserves. Natty & myself enjoy our Health very well. He has had a slight sore Throat lately, not so bad as to confine him, & is now quite well again. Wou'd you believe that I have heard it asserted by People who have travell'd & even by one of our Faculty that there is not in the

English Dominions a more healthy Spot than Charlestown? Indeed for the last two or three Months it has been very healthy, but from what I have heard & from the little I saw in the Fall, I can by no means assent to such an Assertion, tho' it may perhaps be true that in general the Diseases are not very mortal. The Country however is by every One allow'd to be very unhealthy at certain Seasons & in all Probability will always be so, as long as Rice is the Staple Commodity. Natty seems to like Charlestown very well, for the People here are exceedingly hospitable. I can not however help fearing that he will be oblig'd to stay here longer than cou'd be wish'd. It concerns me to think of it, but as Things cannot be done by Force we must endeavour to be satisfied & be a little patient until we see what Fortune intends for us. Our Connexions are few & even those few not of such a Nature as that we shou'd expect them to give up any others in Favour of us. I am also willing in some measure to impute the Smallness of our Practice to the Healthiness of the present Season. It wou'd give me great Joy that Natty cou'd be enabled in the Course of a Couple of Years to set out for England. In a shorter Time it cou'd scarcely at any Rate have been expected that we shou'd lay up any Sum, as Physicians in this Part of the World do not immediately receive their Fees as in England. Our Expences are at present & I am afraid will be for some Time to come considerably more than what we enter on our Books, & there is Reason to suspect that of these Trifles not a small Portion may be deducted as bad Debts. But if we cou'd even be certain of this in each Instance, I esteem it more advisable to give Medicines gratis than to be intirely idle. You see I dwell

much upon the Subject of our Situation here, & I expect you will do the same always with regard to what concerns you. Let us chat freely together as if we were still in the same House, & not become Strangers because we are unfortunately separated: separated I hope but for a Time. I sometimes amuse myself with the Hopes that it may soon be convenient for Natty & You to set out together & that we may have the Pleasure of seeing you here for a little while before you go to England. Our last Accounts from Home were dated the 22d. Ulto. at which Time all our Friends were well & very anxious to hear of you. Mrs. Hunt with her Son Daniel⁵ were arriv'd, & he was appointed Attorney General. Jack Stiles⁶ had married his Miss. This I think is all the News. I was glad to find you had been introduced to Dr. Rush⁷ & am oblig'd to him for his Politeness. You reprehend me very justly for my Indolence,--but I am determin'd to write to him soon. Indeed I am sorry to think that I am not only indebted to him, but equally so to many other Acquaintances for whom I have a great Esteem. Bob Tucker⁸ is here & so is Mr. Hinson⁹ with his Son, the first arriv'd lately from Bera. You ask how Mama bears the cruel Separation from her Children. I am inform'd that she supported it much better than was expected, which I was rejoic'd to hear for I was really very uneasy & apprehensive about her. Heaven give you Health & every other Blessing that Mortals can wish! I am ever with unalterable Tenderness, My dear St. George Your most truly affect. Brother

Thos Tud. Tucker

Charlestown, Feb. 24. 1772.

My dear St. George

Your several Letters dated at Norfolk & Williamsburgh arrived some Days past, & you may be assured we were greatly rejoiced to find that you had safely finish'd your Voyage, for the unfavourable Season made us very anxious about you. I can not sufficiently express the Gratitude of my Heart to you for the earnest Manner in which you interest yourself for my Welfare & Success, & I hope you will not imagine that I have paid too little Attention to the Plan you proposed to me of removing to Norfolk, when you receive this instead of hearing of any Arrival there. Be assured I have consider'd it with Deliberation & consulted Natty & others upon the Subject, before I relinquish'd the Thoughts of embracing the Proposal, & that you may the better judge of my Reasons for declining it I shall endeavour to represent t[he] Matter to you in the same Light in which it appears to me. [W]hatever the Probability may be in my Favour upon settling at Norfolk in Case of no Competition, yet the Chance of having one in the Course of a few Months is such as to render my Success very precarious: I know of two young Physicians Natives of Virginia who, if not already return'd, will return there this Spring, & it is not to be expected that I or any Person shou'd in a few Months be so establish'd as to exclude others of equal Advantages besides the Recommendation of being born in the Province. But suppose there shou'd be no Obstacle of this Kind, & that there were a Certainty of making 300£ the first Year after being settled, & that my Practice shou'd in Time increase as You seem to hope. The Difficulties of removing from this Place are

such as I am affraid wou'd more than counterbalance these Advantages. You must consider that we have been some Time here, & as the Sum we brought was but trifling it was impossible to avoid incurring Debts to a considerable Account. What we have on Book, cou'd it be receiv'd, wou'd be some Assistance in discharging them, but shou'd we remove this must be given up for it wou'd be impossible to recover any considerable Proportion of it. We shou'd therefore be under a Necessity of borrowing at least 100 or 150 Guineas to enable us to quit this Place & go to Norfolk. To whom cou'd we with any Propriety apply for such a Supply without Security for the [P]resent? Mr. T. Savage,¹⁰ when he advised me to sett[le] here, offer'd me any Assistance of that Kind I might need, & I shall undoubtedly be obliged soon to make use of his Offer. To accept a proffered Service from a Stranger is not very agreeable; & to request that the Obligation shou'd be farther extended is more than I cou'd prevail with myself to do. I w[i]ll however even suppose this Difficulty surmounted: what shou'd we do on our Arrival in Norfolk? We cou'd scarcely expect to receive any thing before the Expiration of a Twelvemonth, & we shou'd in the mean while be in want of Money for our necessary Expences, unless we still farther laid ourselves under Obligations to some Person who might be generous enough to supply us. These are Inconveniences which probably have not occured to You, & I cannot wonder at it, since they did not immediately present themselves to me. I will not yet drop the Subject, but examine it still farther. From what has been said it appears that shou'd we not scruple to submit to such Inconveniences, however mortifying, yet at the End of a

Year or rather 15 Months from this Time (allowing 3 Months to be properly settled) I shou'd be in Debt about 250 Guineas, besides the Amount of the Medicines sent me from England, which is upwards of 50 Guineas more. Shou'd we after this receive after ever [sic] Year what we b[oo]k'd the preceding we might hope in 3 Years more to discharge this Debt. According to this Calculation, exclusive of the Mortification of being under great Obligations, & the Pain that every Mind of any Sensibility must feel from the Incumbrances of Debts which possibly it may never be in his power to pay, it follows that it wou'd be ab[ove] 4 Years from this Time before we were clear of the World, so that it wou'd be impossible to carry on the Plan proposed for Natty to whom such a loss of Time wou'd be altogether irretrievable. As to the Happiness which wou'd result to us from being situated so near you, believe me, my dear St. George, this wou'd be a very powerful Inducement to me, but even this when I extend my Views beyond the present Hour, is rather an Argument in favour of this Place. We shou'd indeed be happy in being with you for a Year or two, but when you have finish'd your Studies I imagine you will scarcely fix on Virginia for your Residence. I believe, & Natty is of the same Opinion, that no Part of America wou'd afford you a fairer Prospect than Charlestown. We have often spoke of your settling here, & I shou'd entertain no Doubt of your Success. A farther Reason for remaining here is that shou'd I once be tollerably establish'd it is a Field in which Natty & myself cou'd be of mutual Assistance to each other, whereas in Norfolk we cou'd scarcely be together & make a decent Subsistence. Thus I have offer'd you the chief Reasons that

i[n]fluenced me to decline entering into the Scheme which your
 Friendship & Affection induced you so warmly to advise. The Gratitude
 of my Heart for your good Intentions is not less sincere than if I had
 enjoy'd the Advantages which you so kindly wish'd me Your Plan, were
 it not for the Obstacles I have mention'd wou'd probably be more
 advantageous to me than what I am now pursuing; however I am willing
 to hope for the best & to flatter myself that Matters will by and by
 put on a more favourable Aspect. On Natty's Account as well as my own
 I am very anxious to see a favourable Change in our Circumstances. I
 am very sorry to see him losing Time, & shou'd be very happy to be
 able to promote the Prosecution of his [illeg.] in a Manner more
 agreeable to his Wishes. Our Success here is as yet uncertain. I
 have no Doubt of being able in a lit[t]le Time to make a Subsistence,
 but whether more is to be expected I am not able to judge. As yet we
 have scarcely had a fair Trial, as the Town has been pretty healthy
 since October. The Apprehensions you express on Account of our Health
 is a Mark of the Tenderness of your Affection, but you seem to be
 impress'd with too unfavourable an Idea of the Climate. The Country
 is undoubtedly very unhealthy, but Charlestown is not often visited by
 Diseases that [are?] mortal, tho' slight Attacks are not unfrequent.
 Natty has had a tedious Confinement for several Weeks past with a
 Lameness in one of his Legs which he got bruised & excoriated by an
 Accident in the Country. It was never very bad, but so tedious in
 healing that he has scarcely been able to walk on it till within these
 few Days past. It is now thoroughly heal'd & only somewhat weak for
 want of Exercise. I am much obliged to Dr. Campbell¹¹ for his good

Offices & shall write to him to make my Acknowledgments. I am also indebted to Mr. Atchison¹² & the other Gentlemen for their kind Intentions. We wrote to you Via New York & also by a Vessel bound to Norfolk, acknowledging the Receipt of your former Favours. We have had Letters dated just after Mr. Tucker's Arrival in Bermuda. He had had in New York an Attack of his former Complaint, from which he was not perfectly recover'd when he got to Bermuda. I can't say but I am very uneasy about him: The Rest of our Friends were well. I wish we cou'd see Mr. Gilchrist¹³ whom you mention in one of your Letters. He has never call'd on us nor have we heard any thing of him. The Letter in which he is mention'd came by the Post, as all the others that we have receiv'd. Since [w?]e wrote last we have had some Alt[er]ation in our Family. Dr. Fayssoux¹⁴ is married, & a Sister of his Mrs. Dodd a Widow, who used to live with him has taken up her Residence with us. It saves her some Expence & is a Convenience to us as we had before nobody to take Care of any thing for us. I will conclude this long Letter with offering you my best Wishes & assuring you that I shall ever be with tenderest & most unalterable Sentiments of Affection My dear St. George Yours most sincerely

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Don't fail to let us hear from you very soon & often & infor[m] us how you are settled.

Charlestown So. Carolina Apl. 18. 1772.

My dear St. George

Your Friend Mr. Gilchrist has just now done us the Favour to call on us & tells us he is to set out in two Days for Virga. I am very happy in having so convenient an Opportunity of scribbling a few Lines to you. Mr. Gilchrist says that he call'd when he was before in Charlestown in his Way to Georgia. But we were so unlucky as to be from Home & were not inform'd that he had been here, oth[er]wise I shou'd have been very glad to have shown him every Civility in my Power. It is a great Satisfaction to us to see anyone who can give us particular Accounts of you. You have ere this, I hope, receiv'd my Letters by the Post acknowledging the Receipt of your welcome Favours, & thanking You for the Warmth of Affection you shew'd in so earnestly interesting yourself in what concerns my Welfare. Be assured of my Gratitude for this & every other Testimony of your Friendship the Sincerity of which the Feelings of my own Heart wou'd never allow me to doubt. As I mention'd pretty fully in my last Letter the Reasons for declining to enter into the Proposal of removing to Virginia, I need not at present urge any thing more on the Subject. From what I then said you cou'd easily perceiv'd that the Difficulties amounted almost to an Impossibility, otherwise I might perhaps have been tempted to quit a Place wherein as yet I have no great Encouragement to stay. Whether Matters will mend or not I cannot judge, but if they do not soon, I believe I shall lose all Patience, tho' I have no Remedy against the Evil. I am quite tired of reflecting, & cou'd sometimes almost wish that I was not capable of it, for were I to

indulge myself I shou'd be under constant Uneasiness. I endeavour to submit to the Dispensations of Providence but cannot boast of being either Philosopher or Christian enough to be able to do it always with Chearfulness. My last Resourse for Consolation is that the Period of our Existence here is but short: & I am under no Dread or Apprehension about what is to happen hereafter. By the grave Train of Ideas into which I have fallen, you will judge that my Business has not increased much of late. The Trouble is I have had very little to do for this Month or 6 Weeks past, & I always find my Spirits ebb or flow in proportion as my Practice diminishes or increases. I am quite uneasy for poor Natty's Sake, as well as my own, for I am greatly afraid it will be much longer than cou'd be wished before it will be in his Power to prosecute the Plan on which he has set out. But we must submit, & whilst any Room for Hope remains endeavour to cherish it & not anticipate Evils. Natty's Company is a very great Satisfaction, & without it, I am sure I shou'd spend many an Hour in melancholy Reflexions. We had the Pleasure of hearing from our good Friends in Bermuda about 3 or 4 Weeks ago. Our Letters were dated the 24th. of Febry, & gave us Information of the Death of our worthy old Grandmother,¹⁵ who without Pain or Sickness was suddenly & quietly removed from this Scene of perpetual Care & Anxiety. When our esteem'd & respected Friends thus leave us we cannot help being sollicitous to know whether we may ever again expect to see them, for there is nothing more mortifying than the Thoughts of an eternal Separation from those we love. Mr. Tucker had had a very severe Illness, but was so far recover'd as to be in Town at the Meeting of

the general Assembly. Sister Fanny who was with him, Sam Howe tells us, miscarried at the Governor's but was not apprehended to be in any Danger. This happen'd after our Letters were wrote, so that no Mention was made of it. The rest of our Friends were in good Health. I have not yet wrote to Dr. Campbell, as I was not willing to put him to the Expence of Postage; but shall take this Opportunity of thanking him for his Kindness, for which I hold myself greatly indebted to him. I long to hear from you & to hear how you like your Situation in Williamsburgh. Don't fail to let us hear from you very soon, & give us a particular Account of every thing that concerns you, for you may be sure it will ever be one of our greatest Satisfactions. We shall write to Bermuda today by a Vessel that touches there in her Way to Madeira,¹⁶ & expect it will not be long before we have an Opportunity of hearing from thence again. I know of no Occurrence here worth mentioning to you. For Want of something else, I shall tell you that on the 20th. Inst. we are bound off to a Ball given by Lord Charles Greville Montagu¹⁷ our Governor. He has been civil enough to send us an Invitation, tho' we have neither of us any Acquaintance with him. I fancy it is to be a very splendid Affair by Way of Farewell to the Province, which he intends to leave very soon; & it is said he does not purpose returning to it. We expect very soon to hear from you. I hope you will not disappoint us. Whilst we are thus separated, to hear from you will ever constitute one of the greatest Pleasures of My dear St. George Your most sincerely affect. Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Charlestown So. Carolina. Feb. 4. 1773.

My dear St. George

Methinks it is an Age since I wrote to you. I must endeavour to make Amends in some degree for my past Silence by the Length of this Letter. I must begin with thanking you from my heart for all your kind Favors for the numberless Marks of sincere Affection which they contain. We were quite happy to s[e]e one who cou'd give such Satisfactory Accounts of you as Mr. Watson did, & greatly regret that such favourable Opportunities of inquiring after you so rarely occur. We were much pleased with Mr. Watson too on his own Account. I think him a very agreeable young Gentleman & shou'd have been extremely glad to be able to contribute something towards his Satisfaction & Amusement in this Place. But I assure you we are settled rather upon a disadvantageous Footing. We came here without a single Recommendation to any Person. We have no Relation whose Consequence might make us respected. Our nearest Connexion is that of Country man, & on this intirely do we depend for the little Encouragement we receive. But this, altho' our sole Resource for Sustenance, gives us no Weight among our Acquaintances, who seeing our Dependance may well consider us as much indebted to them for every Civility they shew us. So far from being able to introduce others into genteel Company, we are often obliged, for our own Satisfaction, to despise those who think themselves too wealthy & therefore too good to speak to us in Terms of Familiarity, or in any Terms at all. I do not, however, mean to accuse the People of this Country of Want of Hospitality. We have receiv'd as many Civilities as we cou'd reasonably expect, perhaps

more than we shou'd have receiv'd in most other Countries under the same disadvantageous Circumstances. But these are Reflexions, which a dependant person will often have Occasion to make in any Part of the World. I am very glad to find that you have been so fortunate as to make an agreeable Acquaintance. It must render the Time of your Absence from your Friends much less irksome & disagreeable. I am much obliged to Dr. Blair,¹⁸ McLurg¹⁹ & Hall²⁰ for their kind Remembrance of me. Be good enough to make my best Compliments to them. I have a very great Esteem for them all. Hall has done me the Favor to write several Times since I left Edinburgh, & my Conscience is still burthen'd with the Guilt of having never answer'd him. He is really a most worthy Man & I shou'd be greatly mortified that he shou'd impute my Silence to Want of Esteem & Respect for him. If it is not too late when I finish this Letter I will take this Opportunity of writing to him. You reprove me very justly for my Negligence in this Respect, & I assure you I am always much mortified when I think of it. Poor Blair! I was quite shock'd at the Accounts Mrs. Haly gave us of his unhappy Marriage. To a Wretch thus capable of sacrificing the Happiness of so deserving a Man, I cou'd from my heart say with Tibullus &, if possible, add Strength to his Expression,--sat miseré vivas,--Valeat é Votis Pars quotacumq. meis.²¹ I am not sure of the Author's Words, but you will understand his Meaning. Watson's Relation of the Affair gave me some Satisfaction as it contradicted what I had before heard, that the Distress of the unfortunate Husband had utterly robbed him of his Senses. I heard that McLurg was to settle in Norfolk, I wish him Success wherever he is. He is

exceedingly clever & deserves Encouragement. I knew many Virginians in Edinburgh in the Medical Way, but can't tell where they are settled. Shou'd you meet with any of the following, make my Comps. & I dare say they will shew you any Civility: Dr. Walter Jones,²² George Steptoe²³ Archibald Campbell,²⁴ Moore Foutleroy,²⁵ ---- Godwin,²⁶ ---- Clements,²⁷ Gustavus Richard Brown,²⁸ William Brown,²⁹ ---- Parnham, ---- Howard. The last four were from Maryland, but possibly you may see some of them in Virginia. To these I may add two other Acquaintances whom I left in Edinburgh, Tho' they will perhaps return to Virginia before you quit it: Mr. Griffon a Lawyer, & Mr. Thos. Griffin Tarpley, a Divine or Physician or both, as the Whim operates upon him. I am very glad to find that Natty's Poem³⁰ was so much admired in Virginia. The Taste of this Country is not so well adapted in general to the Enjoyment of poetical T[idi]bits. Those, however, who have seen it, are well pleased with the Performance. Natty sends you Copies of his other Pieces which I think do him equal Honor, & the Additions he had made to his Bermuda are no small Embellishments to it. He has really a very pretty Talent for Poetry & I expect to see him hold Rank in the first Class of English Bards. I am much mortified that it is not yet in my Power to put him in a more advantageous & agreeable Way of prosecuting his Studies. I am willing to flatter myself with the Hopes that Matters will turn out better in a short Time, tho' deliberate Reason will perhaps scarcely authorize it. Our Income is yet very small. I mean what we make upon our Books, for we receive scarcely any thing at all, & cannot command a Shilling but what we borrow. We have hitherto

lived almost intirely on Credit, & know not when we shall be able to extricate ourselves from the Difficulties in which we are involved. It is truly disagreeable, but it is unavoidable & we must endeavour to learn Philosophy where the Necessity is so urgent. This World seems to have been intended as a School for Stoicism. We had Letters fom Bermuda of the 5th of January. Our Friends were all pretty well except poor Sister Fanny & Mr. Tucker. I can not tell you how much I feel for them. They have of late had but very little Comfort & Satisfaction in Life. God grant they may be restored to Health & enjoy all the Blessings that this sublunary State can afford! Mr. Tucker was in a very delicate Way, as he has been for some Time, but rather better. Poor Sister had been very ill, but was mending again. Our Cousin Bet was married to Daniel Tucker.³¹ They were about writing to you, so that I need not have say more about them. Con Hinson³² arrived here to-day & desires to be remember'd to you. We heard not long ago from Durham Hall.³³ I believe you have heard that he is married. Whose Apparition shou'd present itself to t'other Day but our Friend Washington's. He enter'd our Door before we had any Notice of his Arrival or of his Intention to come here. You will receive a Letter from him. I know not how long he is to stay in Charlestown or where he goes from hence, but I suppose Bermuda will take him up. He is a great Grumbletonian & does not seem very well pleas'd with this Province. Indeed he has very few Acquaintances & it is not in our Power to take him by the Chin. Governor Wright³⁴ arrived here to-day, with the Title of Sir James. We abound in Personages of Distinction. Cou'd you enumerate five Baronets in

Williamsburgh? We have that Number in Charlestown, & a Lord & Ladies besides. I was surprized & entertain'd that you shou'd ask Copies of my Poetical Works. Dr. Blair must be mistaken or must mean some great Nonsense that was never intended for Poetry & of which not a Line now exists either in my Remembrance or any other Way that I know. I shou'd be the last Person in the World to merit a Crown of Laurels, or to claim it. I grow sleepy & must now think of finishing. Don't neglect writing by every Opportunity as much as possible. Your own Heart will tell You how great pleasure we feel in hearing from you. That you may ever be happy, my dear St. George, most sincerely prays
Yr. Truly affect. Brother

Thos. T. Tucker

Charlestown March 4. 1773.

My dear St. George

Mr. Watson is unexpectedly return'd to Charlestown & thereby affords me an Opportunity of adding a Line to what I before wrote you. By [illeg.] Accounts from Bermuda, receiv'd, I think, since the Date of our Letters to you, our Friends were pretty well in health, & we had the particular Satisfaction of hearing that our dear Sister Fanny & Mr. Tucker, about whom I had been very uneasy, were both much better than they had been. May gracious Heaven give them more Health & more Satisfaction in Life than they have for some years past enjoy'd! Natty is not at home, & knows not of Mr. Watson's Return, &

as we are engaged to dine out he will perhaps not be able to write. We are both very well in Health but exceedingly poor in Purse, & God knows whether we shall ever be otherwise, or whether we shall not be obliged, if we can escape a Jail, to quit this Place in a very short Time. I assure you, I know not what to think of it. The Difficulties of getting Bread from day to day are almost insurpassable & they seem to be constantly increasing, for our Expenses are very great & our Income almost nothing. Borrowing is & has been for some Time almost our only Resource:--a most disagreeable one you will readily allow, & even that must fail us if Matters do not soon put on a more favourable Aspect. But I will not weary you any more with this Subject at present. I hope you c[on]tinue to live agreeably among your Acquaintances in [Virginia?] & find every thing as you cou'd reasonably wish. Omit no Opportunity of writing, & be as particular as possible in every thing that interests you. My best regards, if you please, to Dr. & Mrs. Campbell & to all others to whom they may be acceptable. Believe me with every tender Wish for your Happiness My dear St George Your most Sincerely & unalterably Affect. Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Charlestown April 21. 1773

My dear St. George

I am quite tired of waiting for a direct Opportunity of writing to you, & therefore embrace this Conveyance by Philadelphia. Mr.

Washington, who has been with us for some Months, sails for that Place tomorrow, & as I understand the Post from thence to Virginia is more regular & certain than from Charlestown, I cou'd not think of neglecting to give him a Line for You. It is long since I had the Pleasure of hearing from you & I shall wait with great impatience for your next Letters. Our last Accounts from you dated about 3 Weeks ago inform us of your Health, & that you lived very agreeably in Virginia, which was a very great Satisfaction to us. We were so happy as to hear that both Sister Fanny's were safely deliver'd; our own Sister of a Daughter & Brother Harry's Wife of a Son;³⁵ & that they were both in as favourable a Situation as cou'd be expected. I cannot tell you what Anxiety I have felt for some time past about Sister Fanny nor what Joy it gave me to find that she was after her Delivery in a better State than she had been for a Twelve month before, & was likely soon to recover her Health intirely. May Heaven grant her that & every other Blessing! Cou'd the Prayers of her Friends avail she wou'd be perfectly happy. Mr. Tucker is better than he has been of late, & as I hope she will now suffer less Uneasiness of Mind I flatter myself she will have a much better Chance of growing hearty again. I often regret, my dear St. George, that we have so little Opportunity of keeping up a regular Correspondence together. I think of you & lament that unkind Fortune has made it necessary for us to be thus separated! It wou'd be hard indeed shou'd she always frown on us & oblige us to scatter ourselves to distant Corners of the Earth for a Subsistence. But this I hope will not be the Case. We may perhaps in Time be enabled to see each other & to see our dear Friends in

Bermuda. I assure you when I seriously reflect on what Terms we have our Existence, I can scarcely persuade myself that we are under any Obligation to the Being that gave it. But when I consider what an insignificant Part of the Creation our whole Globe constitutes, I no longer wonder that it's groveling Inhabitants are destitute of Capacity to comprehend the Plan of the Deity, & to distinguish by what secret [m]eans every apparent Evil may be made in the End to contribute to their Happiness. I have scarcely seen a Person who seem'd to be happy, nor can I well conceive a Possibility of Happiness in Human Life with human Affections. Yet I have seen many who appear'd to deserve Happiness. If then the Deity is Just, even without Benevolence, he must in a future State make Compensation for all the Evils we undeservedly suffer'd in the present. But if he has Benevolence likewise (and I have a particular reason to take it for granted that he has) then he cou'd never have created any Being but with a View of making it as happy as the Nature of Things wou'd admit. I presume that not only Man, but Brutes & the meanest Insect will in the Course of their Existence feel at least as much Pleasure as Pain, otherwise it wou'd have been unjust to have created them without an absolute Necessity, & to suppose that the Deity were compell'd to an Act of Injustice, wou'd be to rob him of the Attributes generally allow'd him & to debase his Nature even below that of Man or perhaps the meanest of his Creatures. I presume further from the Benevolence of the Deity that all his Creatures will be as happy as he can possibly make them. [D]ivines may talk of the Difference between the Soul of a Man & that [of a?] Brute, but I can

perceive none & am firmly persuaded that there [illeg.] but what depends on the Texture of the Corporeal Organs. They may tell us also of future Punishments, but I am equally convinced that none of us will be so unhappy in a future Life as in this. I am much of a Pythagorean³⁶ & believe every Animal will make gradual Advances towards Perfection & Happiness. I am a good deal of the Predestinariate too & think no created Being answerable for the Imperfections of it's Nature. I consider every Being, so far as it falls short of Perfection, to be under similar Circumstances with a Madman, whom no one wou'd think of punishing, after he had recover'd his Senses, for the former Inconsistency of his Actions. You see I indulge myself in any Nonsense that I occurs [sic]. But I make no Apology. Write as soon & as often as possible, & believe me ever, my dear St. George, with unfeigned Truth Yr. most affect. Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Charlestown July 7. 1773.

My dear St. George

I greatly partake with you in the Pleasure you will feel upon the Receipt of this Letter, not of on it's own Account, but on that of the Bearer of it. Methinks I see your Astonishment, your Joy, the Brightening of your Countenance, & the Expressions of ungovernable Transport. I hear a Profusion of Words jostling each other for Precedence, & see you capering about the room like a very

Bethlehemite. Indeed I cannot help anticipating your Happiness, & I heartily congratulate you on it. So unexpected a Visit from your Brother cannot fail giving you inexpressible Joy. I am much pleased that so convenient an Opportunity has presented itself. I had lately the Pleasure of receiving your Favor from Bermuda, for which I return you many Thanks. You are very kind in interesting yourself so much in my Success & Happiness. Yours, be assured, will ever be equally interesting to me. Natty will be able to give you a full Account of every thing that concerns us, so that I need not expatiate much on that Subject. We have met with many Difficulties, & it is yet uncertain when they will end. It will be an exceeding great Satisfaction when he returns, to hear such particular Accounts as he will be able to give of you. I wish you much Enjoyment in the Company of each other, & shou'd be very happy were it in my Power to make up a Triumvirate. This however is incompatible with the Nature of my Profession, which always makes Slaves of us whether it gives us Bread or not. It is growing late & I am pretty much tired, & as Natty can say for me most of what I might otherwise have wrote, I refer you to him & beg you will excuse the Shortness of my Letter. Believe me to be with every tender Wish for your Happiness, & with most permanent & unalterable Friendship My dear St. George Your ever affect. Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Charlestown July 21. 1773.

My dear St. George

This, I flatter myself, will find you very happy [illeg.]
Comp[any] of a Brother whose Arrival in Virginia could not fail
affecting you with the most agreeable Surprize. I suppose you have
scarcely yet recover'd your sober Senses. You will be able to Talk
over a thousand little Circumstances together, which though too
trivial or too numerous to commit to Paper, will afford Subjects for
the most pleasing Conversation. I do not envy you any Happiness that
Heaven can be[stow], but I wish I cou'd be more than ideally a
Partaker with you. How happy wou'd it make me to be in like manner
surprized with a Visit from you! Such as one, or one less suddenly
determined on, I hope some Day to have, when your Convenience admits
of it. Believe me, it wou'd be a most joyful Occasion to me.
Although I might not exhibit so much to the Entertainment of
Spectators, yet my Heart wou'd be equally impress'd with Joy. I find
myself sleepy, although I have not yet breakfasted. The Vessel sails
immediately, so that I have not Time to make Interest with my Brain
for a Supply of Ideas. You will excuse me then if I conclude this
short Epistle. Accept my tender Sentiment of Affection from Your most
sincere & unalterable

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Respectful Compts. to Dr. & Aunt Campbell & other Friends.

Charlestown Nov. 27. 1773.

My dear St. George

For your several Favours (the last of which was deliver'd by Capt. Todd) I now offer my Acknowledgments & Thanks. The melancholy Accident³⁷ you mention must have been truly afflicting to our Friends in Norfolk & in the highest degree shocking to yourself. You cou'd not help feeling for them all that the sympathetic Tenderness of a humane Heart was capable of experiencing on so unfortunate an Occasion. I, who have not had an Opportunity of being made personally acquainted with the Merits of our Relations in that Place, have yet contracted such an Affection for them on account of their kind Behaviour to my Brothers & the favorable Report of all who speak of them, that my Soul was impress'd with the greatest Concern for their distress'd Situation. Be good enough to make from me a Tender of sincerest Regard to them, & with your own join my Thanks for the Obligations our Family has receiv'd from them. I was happy in hearing of your little Jaunt to Bermuda. Unexpected as it was, it must have fill'd with Joy the fond Hearts of our Parents & other worthy Friends. Our dear Mother particularly must have been overwhelm'd with the unspeakable Feelings of parental Affection. When I reflect how much she suffers from the Absence of her Children, it distresses me beyond the Power of Expression. Cou'd we all at Times make sudden Excursion to our Native Country, however short our Visits, they wou'd greatly alleviate the Pain of Absence by removing the dreadful Idea of a Separation for Life & perhaps for Eternity. A Reflexion so destructive of the Pleasures of social Intercourse must give a Pang to

the hardest Heart: To one who feels in the most exquisite Manner the tender Ties of Nature, it is scarcely supportable. May Heaven bestow it's Blessings on our dear Friends & make them happy! Natty has inform'd me of your Prospects in Virginia, & seems to entertain Hopes of your Success. It will give me infinite Pleasure, my dear St. George to hear that you are in an easy & comfortable Situation. Hitherto Fortune has seem'd sparing of her Favors to any of us. That you may find her more disposed to be lavish of her Gifts is my most cordial Wish. For my own Part, I have been always tantalizing myself with ill-grounded Hopes of Relief from the Difficulties that have constantly attended us in this Place. Whether we shall ever be able to extricate ourselves from them or not is still in the Bosom of Fate. Were it not incompatible with the Innate Persuasion (if I may so term it) of Divine Benevolence, I shou'd be apt to imagine that Man was created for the Sport of some superior Being inconsiderate or merciless enough to torture him as Children do Butterflies for their Amusement. I hope it will not be long before we get some Account of the Reception of Natty's Publication. I wish it may answer his most sanguine Expectations. Without Partiality I think he has Merit little, if at all, inferior to the most elegant English Poets. His Compositions, in my Opinion, discover as correct a Taste as any that I have read. He will, no doubt, inform you of his Intention of publishing the Bermudian in England. I flatter myself it will be very well receiv'd there as well as in America. If so, it will be worth his while to make Trial of some other Pieces, some of which I think at least equal to the Bermudian. I am greatly obliged to you, my dear

St. George, for your kind Wishes for my Happiness. Be assured that I shall never cease to be equally interested in your's. I shou'd have been greatly rejoiced to have had an Opportunity of introducing you to your future Sister;³⁸ & she, I am sure, wou'd have been very happy in seeing one to whom she is to be so nearly related. She desires me to offer you her Thanks & kindest regards. We hope that a more favourable Occasion will hereafter present itself of gratifying us with the Enjoyment of your Company. Heaven grant that we may again meet & pass together many Hours. In the mean time, that all Happiness may be bestow'd on you is the ever ardent Wish of My dear St. George

Your unalterably affect. Brother

Thos. Tudor Tucker

Charlestown March 14. 1774.

My dear St. George

We are not a little surprized & no less mortified at being so long debarr'd the Pleasure of hearing from you, tho' we have been in daily expectation of it for two or three Months past. Our Patience is quite at an End & we know not how to account for it, especially as you promised to write by the first Post after your arrival at Williamsburg. Several Opportunities by Sea have likewise been neglected. As we understand that your Letters intended for Bermuda were not sent, we are willing to be charitable & conclude that you wrote to us at the same Time. Besides the constant Desire I have to

be gratified with the agreeable News of your Health & Welfare, there
 is at present another Spur to my Impatience. We have as yet had no
 Account of the Publication of the Bermudian in Virginia & I long much
 to hear the Fate of it. It is already printed in Edinburgh & Natty
 intends to inclose you a Copy. We know nothing of the Reception it is
 likely to meet with in that Part of the World, for (by some Mistake, I
 suppose) I had no Letter accompanying the Packet of Poems. However in
 a Letter I receiv'd some time ago, Dr. Blacklock³⁹ speaks of it with
 the highest Encomiums, & I have not the least Doubt of it's doing
 great Honor to the Author. If both Editions shou'd be pretty quickly
 disposed of, it wou'd furnish Natty with a Sum sufficient to support
 him a Twelvemonth abroad & in the mean while with Fortune's
 Concurrence some Method might be fallen on for farther Supplies. It
 gives me great uneasiness that my difficulties have been such as
 hitherto to render it impossible for me to give him that Assistance I
 cou'd wish. God knows how long I shall remain in the same Situation.
 I am almost tired out with it. But enough on the Subject. I hope
 your Prospects are flattering & not likely to be frustrated. It wou'd
 give me infinite Satisfaction to hear that you were in Circumstances
 to make yourself easy & happy. We are as yet a helpless Generation:
 not one of us a Groat above a Beggar. My disagreeable & troublesome
 Business with the Gentleman of your Profession⁴⁰ is at length, I
 believe, concluded. How the Matter was determined in the Court of
 Session, I beleive you have already been inform'd. Lest you have not,
 I shall observe that I was sentenced to give Security for a
 Twelvemonth, to pay a Fine of 100£ Currency & to be imprison'd for ten

Days for sending a Challenge, & to pay 50£ Currency for putting up a Libel at the Coffee-House. The latter Sum together with the Imprisonment were readily remitted by the Lieutenant Governour,⁴¹ & I beleive he wou'd also have remitted the other Sum, but his Power extends only to a Fine of 10£ sterling. In the Court of Common Pleas the most flagrant Partiality was shewn by the Judges in favor of Williams, which seem'd to have been manifest to every Person in the Court. However he obtain'd only five Shillings Currency Damages, by which Verdict he was obliged to pay his own Costs. I believe he was by no means pleased with this Verdict, & he has since told Mr. Jno. Savage⁴² that he was determined to sue me again:--in what Court or upon what Plea I know not. I did hear that he intended to carry it into the Court of Chancery, but am inform'd that it is not cognizable there. However that be, I understand that upon farther Deliberation he is resolv'd to give it over. I hope you will not neglect writing to us very soon. Be particular in every thing that concerns you, for you may be assured that I can never fail to participate very cordially in every thing in which you are interested. We had Letters from Bermuda about a Fortnight past. Our Friends were all well. Nothing of News. Adieu my dear St. George! Believe me ever with the sincerest Friendship Your most tenderly affect. Brother

Tho. Tud. Tucker

My best regards to Dr. & Mrs. Campbell &c.

Charlestown April 27. 1774.

My dear St. George

After long Expectation & much Uneasiness lest some Accident had happen'd to you, we had lately the inexpressible Pleasure of receiving Letters from you dated the 24th. of January. I cou'd not well explain your long Silence upon any other Supposition than that you were either sick or your Letters miscarried. You touch on a Subject which always afflicts my Soul beyond the Power of Expression. Our cruel Separation is a Source of painful Reflexions that damps every Joy & make Life almost insupportable. Often, but in vain do I endeavour to explore the deep Designs of Heaven, & to understand for what End Man was created. He comes into the World with Passions capable of contributing much to his Happiness, were he allow'd the Gratification of them. But alas! It is not enough that he suppresses every Propensity to vice or Immorality:--to arrive at any degree of even Negative Happiness or Exemption from Misery, he must endeavour to divest himself of every Virtuous Feeling also. To what Purpose we shou'd be perpetually tantalized & tormented is what I cannot comprehend. Sometimes I am impatient to know what Compensation a future State of Existence may make us for what we suffer here. Sometimes again I almost despair of ever being happier, & scarcely think Annihilation a Misfortune. I hope you, my dear St. George, will find Circumstances as agreeable as you cou'd wish in the Place where you have fix'd yourself. May Heaven grant you Success, & if possible, the most perfect Happiness! I shall always with a Mixture of Sincere Pleasure to alloy the keen regret of Absence hear of the Welfare of my

distant Friends. My tender Affection for them can never diminish whilst I have the Power of Feeling. I can not dwell much on this Subject, for it really affects me too deeply. I have wrote to you several Times since your Arrival in Virginia, & am surprised that you had not got any Letter from me. When we last wrote, Natty enclosed you a Copy of his Bermudian printed in Edinburgh. I wish the Williamsburgh Edition⁴³ had come out as early as we expected. I am persuaded it wou'd have sold well & it might have been of Service in enabling him to set out for Scotland. I am quite anxious about him as he is now losing much Time, which is of the utmost Importance to him. Were it in my Power to enable him to go abroad, it wou'd give me infinite Pleasure. But I am still dependant on the Generosity of Friends for my daily Sustenance:--& when this State of Wretchedness will end I cannot yet foresee. God grant that you, my dear Brother, may never experience any such Difficulties as I have been constantly struggling with since I came to this Place. I have been frequently for Weeks without a single Halfpenny at Command, & plagued with perpetual Duns for Trifles that I was quite ashamed not to be able to pay. In this Way have I held out to avoid the Mortification of borrowing, until I cou'd no lo[n]g[e]r procure upon Credit so small a Matter as a Candle or other like Necessaries of Life,--being absolutely obliged to forego every thing that was not in the strictest Sense of the Word Necessary. But enough. Your intended Sister is much obliged for your kind Remembrances & friendly Wishes. She desires to return them with the greatest Cordiality, & wishes she cou'd be personally acquainted with Friends with whom she is to be so

nearly connected. She was in great Hopes you wou'd have come here from Bermuda, & wou'd have been very happy to see you. Poverty is a bar between us & forbids me to tell you when you may call her Sister. May all Blessings attend you, my dear St. George. It is the hearty Prayer of Yr. ever affect. Brother

T.T.T.

We heard from Bera. last Week. All Friends were well. Nothing new.⁴⁴

Charlestown May 20. 1774.

My dear St. George

It was with the sincerest Pleasure that we receiv'd your last Favors by Capt. Goreham who arriv'd about ten days past. One of a former Date came to us by the Post not very long before & reliev'd us from the Anxiety we felt in not hearing from you. That you might have the better Chance of getting Accounts from us we wrote lately Via New York. We were very glad to receive the Copies of the Bermudian, hoping that some of them might be disp[os]ed of here. I am afraid, however, that the Number will not be very great. Hitherto we have no reason to expect great Matters, as not more than 5 ot 6 are yet sold. I cou'd wish that the Encouragement given to this Piece was such as to enable Natty to set out for Scotland this Summer. I shou'd use my utmost Endeavours to procure him a Supply to prevent his being obliged to return sooner than were to be wish'd. But I am at present so

involv'd that I am sometimes apprehensive that it will never be in my Power to extricate myself from the Difficulties that surround me. You can have but little Idea of the Perplexity of such a Situation. I have been a Slave to the meanest of my Fellow Creatures & have not in return even Bread to eat, without submitting to the Mortification of begging, in a manner, from those who are generous enough to afford me the means of procuring it. I cannot help continually grumbling at the Severity of such a Lot. I am very sorry, my dear St. George, to find that you are sensible of any Diminution of your usual Chearfulness. Do not encourage melancholy Reflexions, but let the Hope of a favourable Change of Circumstances support you against the present Favours of Fortune. Heaven grant you that Success & Happiness which your most flattering Hopes cou'd have ever painted to your Imagination! We shall again meet, I hope, & taste the Sweets of that Friendship by which we are so firmly connected. No Happiness cou'd equal that of being in the midst of my ever dear Friends all in Health & easy Circumstances. Gracious Heaven bestow on us this invaluable Blessing! As Natty writes to you he will, no doubt, be further on the Subject of his Publications than I cou'd be; I shall therefore add nothing on that Head. You accuse me of Remissness in making you acquainted with your intended Sister. Indeed it was accidentally that I concluded my Letter without making Mention of her. She always desires to be very affectionately remember'd to you & thanks you for your kind Enquiries & other Marks of Regard. Had you wrote to her as you threaten'd, her Diffidence wou'd possibly have occasion'd her to enter into the Correspondence with some degree of Reluctance; but this

I am persuaded w[ou]'d have been very easily surmounted by the Desire she has of becoming acquainted with you. As she has lived almost intirely in the Country, where Planting is almost the Sole Object of Attention, she has had but little Opportunity of Improvement either by Schools or Society; nor is he[r] good Opinion of herself such as to balance these Disadvantages. I am not so blinded by Partiality as not to perceive that she wants many of the Perfections of an accomplish'd Woman: yet she is possess'd of those Qualities which to me are more valuable than all the rest. A softness & Docility of Temper together with much Goodness of Heart have recommended her to me, &, I have no doubt, will secure to me lasting Satisfaction; & as she is not destitute either of Desire or Capacity to learn, any Instruction that I may be able to give her will prove to me an Amusement instead of a Trouble. Shou'd you again be in a Humour for writing to her, you need not wait for the Parson's Permission. I am sure that nothing but her Diffidence will tender her from answering You with great C[hea]rfulness, &, that she will get the better of by degrees. I wish her to be held by my Friends in the same degree of regard with myself, & I flatter myself that they will never find her undeserving of it. When you see Dr. Hall,⁴⁵ be good enough to remember me to him & tell him that I shall write to him as soon as I can get out of a lazy Humour. He is a very worthy Man & I am sure wou'd readily serve you if it were in his Power. Adieu, my dear St. George. May you enjoy every Blessing your own Heart can wish! This is [the?] hearty Prayer of Your ever affect. Brother

Tho. Tud. Tucker

No Letters from Bera. lat[er] than yours

Charlestown July 20. 1774.

My dear St. George

I am just now apprized of an Opportunity of writing you a Line, which for many Reasons I shou'd be very unwilling to fail embrasing. When Natty last wrote to you, I intended to have given you a short Letter, but finding myself a little occupied, I from day to day deferr'd it until the Vessel sail'd. I suppose you understood from Natty that I was then on the Brink of Matrimony, & that he was to sail soon for Bermuda to spend the Summer with his Friends there. You are now to understand from me that the Parson has perform'd the Ceremony that binds me for Life to one who, I am sure, will ever be justly intitled to my sincerest Love. Natty left us about ten Days ago & I flatter myself that he has already been some Time safely landed in Bermuda. I rejoice to think how happy our dear Friends, particular our tender Mother, will be made by so unexpected a Visit; for that it might give the more Joy we carefully avoided making mention of any such Intention. Such sudden Visits will make the Difficulty appear less to our good Mother & perhaps in some Degree reconcile her to our Absence. I can never speak or think of her without having my Heart fill'd with the tenderest & keenest Regret. You, my dear St. George, I hope, will be enabled in some short Time to revisit Friends that can never cease to be dear to you. I am willing to flatter my self that

Providence will one Day indulge me with the like Happiness, & it gives me much Satisfaction that my dear Hester is not averse, but on the contrary very desirous to see her new Relations. Shou'd Fortune ever put it in my Power we shall at least pay a visit to my Native Country & if there shou'd appear any Means of providing for a Family there I shou'd not hesitate to spend the Remainder of my Days amongst those I so dearly love. My Hester is now upon my Knee & desires to be kindly remember'd to her Brother whom she hopes to see in happier Days either here or in Bermuda. She wishes to be acquainted with you, & tho' her Diffidence makes her not very fond of writing, yet I am sure she will be encouraged by a brotherly Letter to enter into a Correspondence with Chearfulness. Pray, my dear St. George, let me hear from you as soon & as often as possible. I am really very anxious to hear how you are settled & what Success you are like to meet with in your Profession. Don't let your Spirits fail you, but hope always for the best. May Heaven grant you every Blessing & Happiness! When you write next, be as full & particular as you can about the Success of Natty's Publication, & the Encouragement you think he may hope for in printing the Hermit.⁴⁶ He has but little to offer any thing more for Sale in this Province, for of those you sent 2 Dozen were all he cou'd dispose of here: the rest he took with him to Bermuda. I wou'd gladly know from you as soon as possible whether you think it wou'd be advisable to print the Hermit immediately or wait until he gets to Edinburgh. I am under the greatest uneasiness about him, lest Matters shou'd turn out so unfavourably with us as to prevent my being able to give him all the Assistance I cou'd wish. Shou'd this be the Case,

the Mortification I shou'd feel wou'd be inexpressible. Nothing shall be wanting on my Part that is ever within the Reach of Possibility. I am hurried & have not Time to think of all I wou'd gladly say to you. Adieu, my dearest Brother. That you may be truly happy is the incessant Prayer of Your ever affectionate Brother

Thos. Tudo. Tucker

I rec'd a Letter from my Father dated May 28th. by Way of the West Indies. Our Friends were at that Time all well. Nothing else material to mention.⁴⁷

Charlestown Nov. 13. 1774.

My dear St. George

I scarcely know how to begin this Letter:--whether by making an Apology for not writing sooner, or by thanking you for your kind Favours dated at Philadelphia & New York. This may serve for both, & I shall proceed to answer your last Letter. I consulted Mr. Savage upon the Subject of your settling in Georgia, & am encouraged by him to hope that you wou'd succeed very well there. But as we were not certain that you cou'd be admitted to practise there, I was obliged to defer writing until I cou'd get proper Intelligence upon that Head. As I was formerly introduced to the Chief Justice of Georgia,⁴⁸ I took the Liberty of writing to him & receiv'd a very polite answer from him. He tells me that an Attempt was once made to establish such a Rule in the Courts of Georgia, as is observ'd here:--to preclude all

who were either not regularly admitted in England or Ireland, or had not serv'd a regular Clerkship in that Province. This Rule however did not take place, so that those who have been bred in any of the other Provinces are put upon the same Footing with those who have studied the Profession in Georgia, nothing farther being necessary than a Certificate from the Judge of the Court where you were admitted that you have been admitted as an Attorney, that you have not been struck out of the List, & that you have not (as far as has come to his Knowledge) been guilty of any Misdemeanour. Mr. Stokes farther adds that the Law is a thriving Profession & that if Reports are here several young Gentlemen there make very genteel Incomes by it. Shou'd you determine to make a Trial of this Plan, I think it wou'd be best for you to leave Viriginia as soon as possible, that you make become a little habituated to the Climate before the Summer comes on. I am very Sorry for your Uneasiness & for the Difficulties in the Way of such a Scheme, & shou'd be happy if it was in my Power to make you perfectly easy in every Point. To give you any Assistance from this place is altogether impracticable at present, for I can scarcely command a Shilling to furnish the Necessaries of Subsistance: but if you can take up any Sum that you may have Occasion for I shall with pleasure become answerable for it, & hope to be able to pay the Interest of it until it may prove convenient to take up the Bond. Whatever the Sum may be you can add it in the Bond to Dr. Campbell if you think so great a Favor may be ask'd of him, & I hope he will be in no Danger of suffering. You need not on my Account be in the least scrupulous about the Amount, for nothing wou'd give me more pleasure

than to be able to contribute to your Welfare & Success. You will not only need a Sufficiency to discharge your Debts in Virginia, but to support you a short Time in Georgia, & shou'd you take up more than to answer these Purposes I shou'd be by no means at a loss to employ the Surplus to advantage were it 1000 Guineas. I wou'd gladly pay Interest for that Sum to be able to extricate myself from all the Difficulties in which I am now involved. If it is not in your Power to get so much as we cou'd wish, don't scruple to make use of what you can procure, endeavouring, if possible, to reserve something for Natty to set out with. Your Disappointment mortified me much, & Hester I am sure [w]as too much in[terested?] in your Success not to feel it very sensibly. However it [illeg.] to no purpose to let it affect us. I am very glad Dr. Rush beha[ved] with so much politeness to you. His Demand will be paid with Pleasure. Our Friends in Bermuda were very well about 3 Weeks ago. I expect Natty before the End of this Month. I have not room to say every thing I intended. The Criticisms on Natty's Poem gave us much Satisfaction. Write as soon as possible & let me know your Determination. I shall expect to have the Pleasure of seeing you soon. How little did I expect it when we parted!--unless your Expedition had succeeded. Perhaps Heaven in it's Benevolence will still contrive some means of bringing us all together again with our good Parents in one happy Society. How wou'd our Hearts exult at such an Event. Hester's best Love attends you. It was not her fault that you did not receive a Letter from her before you left New York. I almost forgot the Fisher. This Work is really not finish'd. I don't know why, but I will endeavour to do it & send

it by Water. Your ever affect.

T. T. Tucker

Our respectful Compts. to Dr. & Mrs. Campbell &c.⁴⁹

[Charlestown March 19. 1775.]⁵⁰

I thank you, my dear St. George, for your Letter by the Post. I had long been in Expectation of hearing from you & was uneasy at your Silence, for your Letter Via Philadelphia (tho' several Vessels have arriv'd from that Place) has not yet reach'd me. I was ashamed to write to you by Water Conveyance on Account of the promised Description of the Fisher, which (short & easy as it may be) I have not been able to attain sufficient Composure of Mind to digest. I am perplex'd with a thousand Ideas that disturb me. I am concern'd for my own Situation, but still more for that of my Friends. Cou'd I see my Brothers all happily settled, I shou'd endeavour to be satisfied & hope in Time to be in easy Circumstances myself. But it is truly mortifying that we are scarcely in a Condition to help each other. I am very sorry you cou'd not succeed in taking up the Money we wish'd, as it wou'd have enabled you to discharge your Debts & Natty to set out with a good Support for the first Year. It is very unlucky too that your Bookseller has so basely deceiv'd you. I shall endeavour to get 100£ str. for Natty here, which with what he has brought from Bermuda will enable him I hope, to hold out until I can furnish him with a farther Supply. Whether this Sum can possibly be procured is

uncertain. If not, it wou'd be very unfortunate for us. What to say to your Plan of going to Georgia I scarcely know, after reading the Sentiments of our Friends in Bermuda upon the Subject. No other Objections occurr'd to me than the Unhealthiness of the Climate when I last wrote. I beleive that if you had your Health there you might in Time make a Fortune. But shou'd you stay only until the Courts are open again in Virginia (which may be in a few Months, &, I think, must be in 2, 3, or 4 years) there is a great Probability (independent of the Risque) that you wou'd be in a worse Situation than if you had gone to Bermuda, where at worst you cannot fall in Debt. Be assured, my dear St. George, that I am greatly & sincerely interested for you & shou'd be exceedingly happy to see you here again, but am at a loss what Advice to give yo[u]. Weigh well the Arguments of your Friends & determine by your own deliber[ate] Judgement. Had I money at Command, it shou'd be freely given you, if you thought it [r]ight to make the Trial: As I have none, I can only say that shou'd you fix on this Plan, I will do all in my Power to Procure you Credit & will be answerable to the utmost of my Ability for any Debts you may inc[ur]. If my Name can be any way of Service to you in settling your Affairs in Virginia, Use of it as freely as your own. I will be answerable to Dr. Campbell or any other Person who may be Security for the Payment of your Debts. Natty, I observe, has mention'd my Intention of going into the Country. This Plan I have thought of for some Time, & am now seriously disposed to adopt it. If it does not succeed I think to return to Bermuda. I am not yet sure of getting a House that will suit me, & if we do not remove very soon, Hester will not be in a

Situation to bear the Fatigue until she is out of the Straw, & the Sickly Season being then at hand may perhaps defeat our Design. She is at present not very well, but desires to be tenderly remember'd to you. I believe I inform'd you that we moved into Broad Street the Day before Christmas. We are better accomodated, but our rent is too high for our Circumstances. Miss Polly⁵¹ & Miss Boyd are with us & send their Compliments. God bless you, my dear St. George. Believe me
Your sincerely affect. Brother

Tho. Tud. Tucker

P.S. I forgot to tell you that if we go out of Town the Distance will not be above 20 miles, & you may easily know of Mr. Williamson or Savage where we are. If you come, the sooner the better. We shall rejoice to see you. You can go from hence to Bermuda if you shou'd give over the Georgia Scheme. At any rate let us hear from you as soon as possible. You may direct to the Care of Mr. John Blake,⁵² once more, my dear St. George, adieu.

So. Carolina June 14th. 1775.

My dear St. George

Your Favour of the 20th. of May came to hand a few Days past, at a Time when I was very anxious to hear from you, & had some Expectation of the Pleasure of seeing you. The Satisfaction I always have in hearing of your Health was almost lost in the real Concern I felt for the State of Despondency to which you seem'd at that Time to have

given yourself up. Why will you, my dear St. George, so readily yield to the Impulses of Despair? Readily, I say, for I am persuaded that if your Attention was not confined to a temporary Obstacle to your Advancement in Life, you wou'd easily perceive that the Grounds for your Uneasiness are not so great as your Imagination represents them. Believe me, I am truly sorry for your Disappointments & sincerely interested in your Difficulties, but I flatter myself that it will only be a little Loss of Time & that a Twelvemonth will set you right & put you in the same [illeg.] which was before so agreeable to your Wishes. This at your Time of Life is by no means so great a Disadvantage as at a more advanced Period. Arguments from a comparative View of our own with the Situation of others I have never found to be any Consolation to me. Otherwise I wou'd ask you, Is there any one of your Brothers whose Situation with regard to external Circumstances & the Prospect of thriving in the World you wou'd accept when you arrive at his Time of Life in Preference to your own Expectations, discouraging as they may at present appear to you? I do not need your Answer, for I am absolutely convinced that with such a Certainty you wou'd be infinitely more unhappy than you are. You are now qualified for the Exercise of you Profession by which you will even in Bermuda be able to secure yourself against an Increase of Debt & in a short Time I dare say you will have an Opportunity of following with great Advantage in Virginia; you are a single Man, & you have 8 years to come before you arrive at my Age. I, after all this Loss of Time, have an increasing Family to support & provide for; a Brother, for whose Welfare I am most tenderly interested, depending on my

Endeavours for Supplies at a Period when the least Failure must blast all his Expectations; & with these Sources of Anxiety I am so far from having a Fortune to make me easy, that I am incumber'd with a Debt of not less than 800 Guineas the Interest of which is constantly accumulating & I am scarcely able to call the Bed I lie on my own. But of this I need not say more, for, as I before observ'd, it cannot afford you any consolation. Yet I cannot help endeavouring to prevail with you, my dear St. George, to view your Circumstances in a more favourable Light & I am convinced you will find Cause to be better Satisfied. Your Friends I am sure will not desire you continue in Bermuda longer than to wait for favorable Opportunity of settling with better Prospects elsewhere. Whenever this happens, whether your Choice be Virginia, Georgia, or any other Place be assured that if it is in my Power to afford you any Assistance I shall think myself exceedingly happy in doing it to the utmost of my Abilities. You express your great Surprize that after encouraging your Scheme of going to Georgia, I shou'd in my last Letter no longer recommend it. If you knew my Heart you wou'd readily perceive that I have in every thing actuated by the sincerest & tenderest Concern for your Interest & Happiness. I must endeavour to give you some Idea of the Motives that influenced me in this Case. When you left us & for some time after, my Prospects were more flattering than they had been before. I am too apt to persuade myself that Fortune intends to bestow her Favors when she means only to tantalize me. Elated with a Glimpse of Success I begin to forget the Difficulties with which I have struggled & indulge myself in the pleasing Idea of being able to assist my

Friends. To the Hopes of being in a Situation to better my Circumstances was at the same time, as you may remember, added that of being able with your Help to procure 500£ str. upon Interest in Virginia. Had Matters answer'd my Expectations I shou'd have found myself greatly at Ease in comparison of what I now am. I shou'd have had it in my Power to help you out in your Pursuit, &, in Case of your failing of Success, to clear you of Debt & prevent you from falling into such almost insupportable & endless Inconveniences as I have experienced. This or any thing else be assured my Heart wou'd have rejoiced to do for you. How much my Expectations have fail'd in the one respect is evident from Removal from Charlestown, & my Disappointment in the other has reduced me to the same helpless Condition I was before in. I became more sensible of my own Distress & more aware of that into which you might be plunged without a Friend who cou'd extricate you. Such, my dear St. George, were the Reflexions that passed in my Mind & if you add to them a proper regard to the Disapprobation of my Father & every Individual of our Family, you must, I think, cease to wonder that in my last Letter I no longer recommended to you a Step which might lead you into a great deal of Trouble. I never however expressly dissuaded you from it. I only offer'd to your Consideration the Inconveniences that might possibly attend it. Had it been in my Power to obviate them, as I at first hoped, I shou'd never have mentioned them but still continued in the same Sentiments so far as was consistent with a due respect for those of our Friends. Or cou'd my father have afforded to support you for a while I shou'd also have been inclined to think it adviseable to make

the Trial. I hope what I have said will convince You that my Advice to you has always been founded in a real Concern for your Welfare, which my Heart will ever tenderly feel to it's latest Existence. July 22d.--I must now quarrel with you for your Severity to your Sister. I told you that I only was to blame. I assure you she was very anxious to write to you & did write more than once but we miss'd the Opportunity thro' my Delay. To send her Letters by Post wou'd have been too expensive. She was much disappointed that you did not come here, for she was very desirous of seeing you & of introducing to you her little Daughter,⁵³ which I assure you she is not a little proud of. She promises to be a very good Country Wife & to try to make as much by her Industry as will pay your Expences when you can find Leisure to pay us a Visit. She is now writing, but the Opportunity by which I send this to Town was unexpected so that her Letters are not ready. Believe me My dear St. George Your ever affect. Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

So. Carolina Decr. 27. 1775.

I am now, my dear St. George, to return you Thanks for the last Favor I receiv'd from you & likewise for one that I did not receive, for I take it for granted that you wrote to my by Capt. Blake & give you Credit for it. Your letter to Hester was all that we got by that Conveyance, for the others were all lost. I am very glad to find that

you have recover'd your wonted good Flow of Spirits after your
 Disappointment. Indeed I believe in these troublesome Times you cou'd
 be no where better than where you are. I hope you will be able in a
 short Time again to set out upon a promising Place. Your Success &
 Happiness will ever be truly interesting to me, & shou'd it ever be in
 my Power to promote them, you may always freely command my utmost
 Abilities. I congratulate you on the Arrival of Aunt Campbell and her
 Family in Bermuda. It must give great Pleasure to all her Friends &
 particularly to you who have always been treated by her with such
 motherly Kindness. I have laid down my Pen & been for a Quarter of an
 Hour reflecting on what must have been her Feelings on returning to
 the Scene of her youthful Amusements, where she must at once be struck
 with the Absence of every dear departed Friend. It is really an
 affecting Subject. I shall never forget the Impression it made on
 myself after a much shorter Absence & fewer Alterations. Pray make my
 respectful & affectionate Regards to my Aunt, Mrs. Gilchrist & the
 rest of the Family that are with you. I suppose you have ere this had
 the Pleasure of seeing the Doctor. I was favor'd with a Letter from
 our Cousin Donald Campbell⁵⁴ dated in Grenada the 21st. Octo.
 introducing to me a Friend of his one Mr. Alexr. Campbell who sent me
 the Letter from Georgia & I beleive has not yet reach'd this Province,
 or if he has I have not been able to hear of him. He wrote he
 expected to leave Georgia in about 12 Days. We have not had the
 Satisfaction of hearing from poor Natty for some Time. Poor Fellow!
 I am under the greatest Anxiety lest he shou'd be distress'd for Money
 before I can furnish him with a Supply. Hester I find is unwilling to

subject herself to so severe a Reproof as she formerly receiv'd from you. As she writes I may leave to speak not only for herself but likewise for Nan who must always be introduced in the second or third Line of her Letters. I perceive that she cannot help always telling you some Fibs about her. She finds out Words in Nan's Pratling as some People discover Lions & Dragons in the Clouds. We cannot invite you to see us in these very troublesome Times. But shou'd there be any Hopes of an Accomodation we expect you immediately to pay us a Visit. If you were now in Charlestown you find it to have quite a Martial instead of a Commercial Appearance. Few but military Drapes are to be seen & the Wharfs intended for the lading of Ships are now converted to Batteries & planted with Cannon. The Stores are mostly shut up & many houses deserted. At least the Female Part of the Inhabitants have almost intirely left the Town. The State of Houserent will give you some Idea of the Alterations. I am so unlucky as to have upon my Hands for a Twelvemonth to come a House at 525£ which I commission'd a Friend to let for me if possible. One Person who seem'd very desirous of getting it made repeated Applications, but his highest Offer for it was only 100£ p Annum. It was offer'd to him for 200£. Your Friend Grimke,⁵⁵ when I last saw him, was perfectly miserable. He has at Stake, I believe, not less than 12 or 15,000 Guineas in Houses. Without the Danger of their being destro[yed] it wou'd be sufficiently mortifying to him that they are [illeg.] most or all of them now vacant. Miss Grimke is still single. I hope we shall see better Times soon. Your Friends here desire to be remember'd to you. Observe that we are serious in expecting to see you here as soon

as the Cloud that now hangs over America begins to be dispers'd.
 Adieu, my dear St. George. May every new Year bring you an Increase
 of Happiness! I am with great Sincerity Your ever affect. Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Since folding this Letter, your's to Hester Via Georgia [illeg.]. I
 am happy to find that you intend us a Visit. I cannot tell you that
 you will prevail on her to go with you to Bermuda, but I hope the Hope
 you give us will be sufficient Inducement to you to come. We often
 wish for you & shou'd be rejoic'd beyond Expression to see you. The
 Satisfaction I shou'd have in her being made acquainted with our
 Friends wou'd almost induce me to spare her for a little while under
 your kind Protection. But I have not Time to say more on the
 Subject. Once more, adieu, my dear St. George. May all blessings be
 your's.

T.T.T.⁵⁶

Your's by Mr. Wigfall⁵⁷ is not yet receiv'd.

Charlestown Decr. 8th. 1776.

My dear St. George

I intended to have been more speedy in acknowledging my
 Obligations to you for your last several Favors by Dickinson, Righton
 &c.--and by Seymour.⁵⁸ You have my earnest Wishes for Success in
 your mercantile Scheme & in every other you may undertake. The
 present Times lay open a wide Field for Adventurers & many have

already made Fortunes in a very short Time. I hope the ill Luck of
 our Family will not still pursue them with unrelenting Malice. I
 think it is high Time they shou'd come in for a Share of the Good
 Things of this World, after having experienc'd so many bitter
 Disappointments & Difficulties. My Father has had a late Mark of the
 Ill Will of Fortune in the Loss of his Fellow Sam who was taken going
 out of this Port, but she seems to have shewn him some Kindness in
 prospering his Concern in Jno. Dickinson's⁵⁹ Vessel whose Salt
 yielded upwards of 6000*l* Currency & who will in all Probability make a
 great Voyage with his Rice in the West Indies, it being here at the
 low Price of 32/6 p 100 lb. May the good old Gentleman still live to
 enjoy Happiness in Ease and Affluence! I have the Pleasure to inform
 you that our little Nancy is much better than for a long Time past &
 we hope she will soon perfectly recover her Health. She has had many
 Relapses which have put her back very much. After moving her several
 times from Place to Place we at length brought her to Town about a
 Week past & find her within these few Days greatly recruited. God
 grant she may have ~~no~~ Return of the Fever! She has really suffer'd
 most cruelly for about 3 Months last. I dare not venture to carry
 Hester & the Child across the Water in these dangerous Times, but if
 the latter continues to mend as she has done I purpose taking Passage
 with Capt. Lusher⁶⁰ who sails for Bermuda in about 10 Days. I have
 more than one Motive for this Voyage. The chief of them is to gratify
 the Tenderness of the best of Mothers, whose impair'd Heatlh might
 receive some Benefit from the Comfort of seeing a Child after so long
 an Absence. I have likewise a View to the Reestablishment of my own

Health which has suffer'd much for above a Twelvemonth past: and further I purpose endeavouring to get some Concern in the trafficking Way, which may help me a little out of the Difficulties which incumber me with insupportable Weight. Our unsettled Situation & my own Want of Health determin'd me to decline all Business for 6 or 7 Weeks past, & I was before so frequently interrupted in it that it has been a very great Injury to me. Poverty has always haunted us & Disease has of late greatly assisted in fastening her upon us. Poor Hester has enjoy'd but a small Share of Health. Her Constitution at best is but weak & far from being proof against the poisonous Exhalations from Rice Swamps, and since the Child's Illness she has had more Fatigue than I thought her capable of enduring. Upon this Score you must excuse her Silence for she has really but little Respite & is seldom free from Complaints occasion'd by being harass'd more than her Strength can bear. She desires to be tenderly remember'd to you & sends you every good Wish & her Thanks for all your kind Letters. She wrote to you some Months ago by the West Indies, but I don't find that you ever receiv'd either her Letter or mine covering it. We need not assure you how happy we shou'd be, if you shou'd find it for your Interest to make us a Visit here. If I shou'd be so unlucky as to be absent upon the Occasion, I am sure Hester will be no less rejoic'd to see you than I cou'd be. Rum, Sugar & Dry Goods have been at an enormous Price here, but late Importations have reduced it considerably. There is however still sufficient Encouragement for the West India Produce & the most necessary Articles of the European, but it is difficult to say how long the Price may keep up as French

Vessels come in pretty fast & every Vessel that can be got here is employ'd in the West India Trade. I imagine that good Rum & Sugar will yield a considerable Profit for some Time to come. The French Rum is vile Stuff. Jamaica Rum has been at 5 or 6£ p Gallon by the Hogshead at Vendue. I believe it may sell [now?] for about 50p or 60p or perhaps more, for I am not very exactly inform'd, having been much confin'd at home. The Rum you sent by Dickinson I fancy must have turn'd out about 4£ p Gallon. Capt. Blake told me he believ'd it wou'd, before it was all sold. I have not had an Opportunity of inquiring since. I must thank you for the two Kegs you were so kind as to send us, & I assure you your old Cloaths were equally acceptable, coming very opportunely to help out in covering the Nakedness of our Negroes. A few Days past I receiv'd a Letter from you dated in June enclosing one for Miss ----- . I intended to wait on Mrs. W. with it, but I am really so feeble that the least Exercise is a Fatigue to me, so that I shall probably be oblig'd to send it. Were I less plagued with the Fever I wou'd endeavour if possible to obtain for you the Information you desired. But I am afraid I must leave it to yourself if you can make it convenient to come here, or defer it until my Return. I met both the Ladies riding in the Street once or twice lately. Mrs. W. return'd the Compliment of a Bow without Reserve. I thought the young Lady shew'd less Attention. But the Necessity of submitting to a Parent's Will might have had the same Effect as a Consciousness of real Unsteadiness. I intended to have finish'd the first Period of this Letter with saying that frequent Paroxysms of Fever prevented my writing. You must be good enough to

excuse the Delay. Believe me to be ever with the utmost Sincerity My
dear St. George Your most affect. Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

[before Aug. 6, 1777]

My dear St. George

I wrote you a few Lines by Colo. Laurens⁶¹ & inclosed some Letters from Bermuda by Capt. Tynes, which I hope you receiv'd. D. Hall is since arriv'd & I have waited for a private Conveyance, which Mr. Wells told me I might expect soon, to forward your other Letters & to thank you for your Favors of the 9th. & 28th. June. I need not inform you of the Loss of your Brig as Capt. Blake tells me he wrote to you immediately by Post. T. Tucker⁶² has been some Time in Charlestown from Augustine where he was carried by the Daphne. Capt. Blake has purchased a small Sloop for him. I saw Barnley a few Days after I wrote to you. He told me the little Vessel you were to be concern'd in was not purchased & that he had wrote to you. I know not whether he is still in the State, having not seen him lately nor heard any thing of him. I wou'd by no means advise you to set out for France without a Certainty of a Commission that will at least defray your Expences without relying on the Engagements of any Person you are unacquainted with. But this your own Prudence must necessarily suggest. I heartily wish you Success in all you undertake, but cannot but regret that your Interest shou'd require you to remove for any Length of Time so far from your Friends. With respect to Your Concern in D.H.'s Vessel, I shall do for you as for myself. Mr. Tucker's Account for the Vessel & Cargo amounts to 1748£ Bera. Cury. She brought in 2340 Bushells of Salt for the Owners. In order to enable us to make such a Remittance as wou'd prevent Mr. T's suffering any great Inconvenience on our Acct. I found it necessary to dispose of

one third of the Vessel. By retaining the 3 Quarters we held, the most we cou'd do wou'd have been to purchase with the Proceeds of the Salt a Load of Rice, which wou'd make a Remittance only of about 400 or 500£ str. liable to the great Uncertainty of her safe arrival & incumber'd with at least 300£ str. here for Insurance, besides insuring an empty Vessel back if Salt shou'd not be procur'd, which is very possible, or if procur'd, might be at such a Price as wou'd take away a considerable Part of the intended Remittance. At this Rate we must put Mr. Tucker to great Inconvenience by the Slowness of our Payment must run ourselves in Debt to more than the Amount of the Vessel before we cou'd deposite that Amount in the West Indies, & if she shou'd be taken in the first Passage be intirely depriv'd of the Means of making any Payment at all until another Vessel cou'd be got. These Difficulties are in great measure remov'd by selling a third of the whole Vessel for 500£ str, payable in the West Indies & a third of the Salt at 49[?]/ p Bushell payable here. I cou'd make no better Bargain for the Salt without foregoing the Advantage (which I think a very considerable one) of selling the Vessel upon those Terms. We then secure a certain Means of paying somewhat more than half our Debt without the Incumbrance of any Expence. To this (if the Sloop arrives safe) we may add 150 str. out of the Proceeds of Rice & by reservg. the Remainder (suppose 100£) to purchase Salt or other Goods we may defray the Expence of a smaller Insurance than otherwise wou'd have been necessary & keep ourselves out of Debt. The third part of the Salt sold with the Vessel will about pay the Premium of Insurance from Bermuda & there will be a Surplus from the remaining Salt (sold at

55/) after purchasing our Proportion of Rice, towards paying the Premium of next Insurance, which wou'd not have been the Case had we had another 3d. of the Sloop to load as we before held. I don't know how I have drawn myself into as tedious an Account of my Inducements to dispose of Part of our Concern. They wou'd have been sufficiently evident to you who know the Difficulties & Inconveniences of making such a Payment as we are oblig'd to make in the West Indies. You will know from what I have [said?] that I mean you shou'd still hold with me in the same Proportion as before. Your Part before was $\frac{1}{12}$ of the whole Vessel, which was $\frac{1}{3}$ of my $\frac{3}{4}$. You now hold $\frac{1}{9}$ of my $\frac{5}{12}$. I cou'd do no otherwise for you without leaving you subjected to the Inconveniences abovemention'd & having our Accounts very intricate.

Mr. Maurice Simmons⁶³ who was the Purchaser proposed sending the Sloop with her Salt to Baltimore or at least to No. Carolina, but a second Proclamation from the President prohibiting the Exportation of Salt prevented the Exectuion of this Plan. We have not determin'd to what Part of the West Indies to send her. As I am afraid your Risque with the Dispatch is very great in her Attempt to return to Virginia I shall inquire if there's a Possibility of making Insurance on her & will take upon me the Liberty of insuring 1000£ str. if it can be done, tho' I have little Expectation of it, as the Office has already been oblig'd to refuse many Vessels of this State on Account of their having out the full Amount of what they agreed to hazard. There is some Talk of another Company which may give an Opening shou'd it be form'd in Time & foreign Vessels not excluded. Having finish'd Matters of Business, I must now thank you, my dear St. George, for

your kind Enquiries & comforting Advice. With regard to Health I have been very well since you left us & as (I thank God) have been my dear little Babes. As to my Spirits, I cannot say that I find much Alteration in them. I cannot help repining at the Loss of the greatest Blessing of human Life--a Loss which seems now to involve in it that of every other Comfort.⁶⁴ Every thing that cou'd formerly give me Pleasure seems now to serve only to remind me of my Misfortune. I cannot, my dear Brother, forget the unbounded Affection the uninterrupted Fondness of my beloved Hester, whose Soul seem'd incapable of any Enjoyment in which mine did not partake. When I think what her kind Heart wou'd have suffer'd for me I can not help feeling the same Grief nor can I wish to banish it. It is impossible for me to feel for her more than she deserves & if I have any Satisfaction exclusive of the Hope of future Happiness it is in thinking that my Heart is not ungrateful. Forgive me, my dearest Brother, for thus falling into a Subject that must give you Pain. But I cannot help endeavouring to do some degree of Justice to the Memory of the tenderest of Wives. I cannot but wish that my Friends shou'd know the real Goodness of her Heart. I wish them to know the Kindness she sincerely entertain'd for them & to consider themselves as Partakers in my Loss independant of the Sympathy they may feel for my Affliction. But I will not trespass farther on your Friendship by continuing to give you Pain. Miss Polly is well & desires to be remember'd to you. She talks of writing to George who by his Silence has made her & his Papa very uneasy.⁶⁵ If he has not intirely forgot us, remember me to him. My dear little Nancy is very hearty &

grown very fond of talking in which she now improves fast. Your little Godson is quite fat & healthy. We have been oblig'd to take him from Mrs. Stuart on Account of the Hooping Cough among the little ones there,--a cruel Disorder which I much dread for my poor Babes. And I cannot get a House in Town to carry them out of the Way of it. We are oblig'd to break off all Intercourse with that Family for the present & to forbid it among the Negroes.

Charlestown, Augt. 6th.--I have applied to Benfield⁶⁶ to endeavour to get Insurance of 7000£ on the Dispatch by private Subscription. Mr. T. Savage agrees to take 1500£ if the Sum can be made up, at 35 p Ct. This is a very high Premium, but I doubt much if it be practicable to do it even at that & I am afraid to give more lest it shou'd not meet with your Approbation, tho' the Risk we apprehend to be very great, which makes me very anxious to secure you something if I cou'd. I wish you had left some Directions with me about this Matter. It did not occur to me before you set out & I am now uneasy lest you shou'd lose all you have been labouring for. The New Company is not yet fixt but probably will be soon. I wish you wou'd write to me immediately on receiving this, & let me know (if it is not too late) what you wou'd have done, when the Vessel might reasonably be expected in Virginia what Sum you wou'd insure & the highest Premium you wou'd choose to give rather than fail. I heard some Report that Capt. Tucker intended converting her into a Brig, in which Case you will have more Time before she can be consider'd as a missing[?] Vessel. We have had 3 Ships cruizing off our Bar for some Time. Two are seen this Day said to be in Chase of a Sloop. No Vessel from

Bera. nor any likely to go there. I am afraid they must be in Want of Provision soon, or already. D.H. will sail for some of the Islands in 10 or 12 Days. I almost forgot to tell you that Bro. H. sent poor Natty a Bill of 50£ str. from N. York, which will be some little Relief to him, tho' a very short one. Perhaps the Loss of the Brig may induce you to return here to apply your Insurance Money in some other Plan. I need not say what Satisfaction your Company wou'd give me. Adieu, my ever dear St. George. May Success & Happiness attend you sincerely prays your most affect. Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Benfield can get nothing done. No Person will underwrite upon any Terms for Virginia. I shall take Mr. Savage's 1500£ (if he will allow me) for Yourself & my Father & Brother H. tho' it is next to nothing.

Charlestown Aug. 21. 1777.

My dear St. George

It is about a Fortnight since I wrote to you by Post & having the Opportunity of a private Conveyance, I am glad to embrace it.

Inclos'd with my last I sent you Letters from Bera. by D. H. & had before sent by Colo. Laurens some that came with Tynes; all which I hope you have receiv'd. Clems Congers⁶⁷ is just arriv'd at Beaufort. By him I have a Letter from my Father & you have one also in the Hands of Messrs. Blakes which will be forwarded with this. My Letter is not long & I suppose contains nothing material but what you

will find in your's. My Father is anxious to know your Intentions & I am almost afraid to write freely to him on that Subject, as no direct Opportunity offers. He is very apprehensive of the Dispatch (& I am afraid with too much Reason) & hopes you have made the Insurance you intended. I am sorry to tell you that even the Trifle Mr. Savage offer'd to take in Conjunction with others, he did not choose to u[n]de[r]write for alone. Nor do I find any Possibility of getting Insurance made on her at all, which I am very sorry for. We have Accounts of her having sail'd from Curraçoa⁶⁸ above 3 Weeks past, so that before this reaches you you must be out of all Doubt about her. Mr. Simmons is disappointed in the Bills he depended on to make Payment for the third of the Phoenix according to our Agreement, so that he had no other Method left but to send Property in her to that Amount. In Case of her being taken he cou'd only pay the 200£ str. in the West Indies & the rest have [illeg.] the Alternative of paying (if such Accident shou'd happen) 600£ str [illeg.] 300£ Deficiency in the West Indies or to forego his Claim to the Vessel & give 60/ p Bushell for the Salt. He readily accepted the latter Proposal & seem'd very sorry for the unforeseen Disappointmnt. in the Bills. As I had sustain'd no Loss by the Transaction (no other Offer for the Vessel having been refused on that Account) I cou'd not possibly demand more of him, without being unreasonable, especially as I never discover'd any Desire to dispose of the Vessel. Nevertheless as the Bills (in Case of the Loss of the Sloop) wou'd have been of more Value to us than double the Amount here, to facilitate our Payments I shou'd have been sorry to give up the Advantage of what I thought a very

convenient Bargain, had not Mr. Savage (before the Matter was adjusted) offer'd to take a Quarter of the Vessel on the same Terms, which I think to accept, tho' I have not yet given him my Answer. We shall in this Case retain half of the Vessel & have 375£ str. in the West Indies to help us out in the Payment. We think to send her to the Cape & deposit the whole Amt. of her Cargo there except a Load of Salt. She will sail in 3 or 4 Days. I have been detain'd in Town a Week by this Affair with Simmons together with the Desire of providing Means of cancelling D. H.'s Bond which I am affraid will not be very easily done. I left Miss Polly & my dear little Babes very well & I hear by Ben that they were so yesterday. Since I wrote to you I receiv'd a Letter from George & am sorry to find that he continues in a bad State of Health. I perceive that he feels much the Want of a liberal Education & that it hangs very heavy on his Mind. I wish you wou'd endeavour to encourage him to get the better of a Diffidence which I am sensible makes him very unhappy & injures his Health. I before mention'd that I had Hopes that the Loss of the Brig might induce you to pay us another Visit here. I cannot help repeating my Wishes that you cou'd think of some Plan that might render such a Journey advantageous to your Interest. I cannot recommend the Purchase of Goods either West India or European, as both are at a most enormous Price here. You may judge of the Spirit of Traffick when I tell you that Stephen Seymour⁶⁹ carried into George Town a Prize Brig from England, the first Cost of which with her Cargo from all I can learn did not exceed 8000£ str. In the Cargo was a considerable Quantity of Beef, Flour & other Provision which cou'd not be suppos'd

to yield any great Advance upon the Cost. Nevertheless some Gentleman, who had seen the Invoices, thought proper before the Day of Sale to make Seymour an offer of 5000£ str. for the Chance of his Share which was an Eighth; which he wisely accepted. It is said the Purchaser will lose 1000£ str. by the Bargain. The Men of War that were cruizing here have not been for 10 or 12 days past; but it seems there are other arm'd Vessels on the Coast. Fr. Morgan⁷⁰ came in this Afternoon from an unsuccessful Cruize. He this Morning saw a Sloop taken by another Sloop which seem'd to be consorted with a Brig which he at the same time fell in with. He ran along side of the Brig before he discover'd her Guns which were [illeg.], but was oblig'd to quit her immediately & save himself by Dint of sailing. She mounted 16 Guns & seem'd compleatly fitted & Man'd. They chased him 2 or 3 hours & kill'd one of his Men. He parted with his brother Charles only last Night, so that it's possible he may likewise fall in with those Vessels. The Randolph is in the Road & I believe will go out in a day or two, tho' she has not got her Complement of Men. Pray don't neglect writing as often as you can by Post if no other Conveyances offer, & be particular in all that concerns you. It will afford me at least a melancholy Satisfaction which is the most I am now capable of feeling. But whilst I retain the Power of feeling I shall be most truly interested in the Welfare of my Friends & sincerely wish them a much happier Lot than it has pleased Heaven to assign to me in this World. That all Blessings may attend you, my ever dear St. George, is the fervent Prayer of Yr. most affect. Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Pray have you the Profile of my dearest Hester? If you have, I beg you will preserve it carefully & inclose in your next Letter an easel Copy of it. It is a great Grief to me that I have no Picture of her.

Charlestown Nov. 20. 1777.

My dear St. George

Your very obliging Letter by Mr. Simmons came to hand yesterday: that of Oct. 4th. I receiv'd some time before. I thank you most sincerely for these Marks of your Regard & for the Kindness of your Intentions towards me. Your first Letter was the more agreeable to me as it inform'd me of the Success of your Adventure in the Dispatch for which I had been under great Concern. I shall always partake most heartily in your Prosperity. You propose cancelling our Agreement for an Exchange of Part of our Concerns in the Fanny & the Phoenix. I readily consent to it as the Phoenix is not yet paid for & it wou'd be somewhat difficult to keep a clear Account for her. However it was only your own Generosity that made you think you had made an advantageous Bargain. The event proves the contrary. For my own Part, I thought it very immaterial to whom it might prove most advantageous, provided it shou'd answer our mutual Purpose of dividing our Concern. Poor Durham was taken on Passage to the West Indies by a Jamaica Privateer, & notwithstanding my Precautions I shall have some Difficulty in paying for the Vessel. I have bought a small Schooner to send to Bera. with that View. She will sail in about a Week if

Sailors can be got. I think to order her to you from Bera. & to return here with Tobacco. But of this I shall be more particular when my Plan is fix't. Shou'd she get back safe it will set me up a little. Tobacco is at 35£ p Cwt. here & some I'm told sells at 40£. Perhaps you might make some Advantage of this Information. Salt (altho' it is suppos'd there is 100,000 Bushells here) is risen to 10£ p Bushell. This is occasion'd by the Practice of monopolizing, which will certainly & deservedly engage the Attention of the Legislature, as it falls very heavy on the poor at this enormous Price. It is just that every Person shou'd get what Price he fairly can, but it ought not to be enhanced by Artifice. I thank you for all your kind Offers. Mr. S. has communicated your Plan, & I will readily join in it if I can do it without layg. myself under too many Obligations. I don't mean to you, for I think nothing of those: but to [illeg.] I have already been compell'd to ask Mr. B.'s A[ssistance?] (Mr. F. S. being gone to Georgia) & I also spoke to him about taking up Money & drawing on you for it, as I thought there might be Opportunities of converting it to your Advantage. He said nothing to me of your having wrote to him on the Subject nor of endorsing my Bills, but promised to let me know if he heard of any Person that wou'd take them. I feel a great Reluctance in asking Favors, tho' cruel Necessity has often compell'd me to it. However Mr. Simmons has promis'd to inquire if any Boat is to be procur'd & I am to do the same, & if I can engage in the Matter without it's going too much against the Grain with me I shall do it both for your Advantage & my own. The scheme promises well & I had already thought

of it. Indeed there never was so wide a Field or so fertile for Adventurers as at present. But I have hitherto wanted the Means & indeed I likewise want Spirits to exert myself. Since the News of the Nautilus having quitted Bera. several Vessels have sail'd suddenly for that Island, but I had not an Oppty of sending a Line. Two are now ready to sail & I have wrote to my Father to desire he will send the Sloop Adelphi either to Edenton or this Place. She had a Load of Salt but wanted Repairs & they thought of sending her to New York. I wish my Letter may arrive before she sails. Three Men of War have been seen off our Bar to day & a Schooner was chased in by them. My dear Babes have been very well since you left us & also myself. At present they have bad Color. I have not been home for several Days. I have inclosed your Letters & Papers to go by Morgan (Frank) & have sent some farther good American News you had not receiv'd. All things seem to go on prosperously & I know not how England will continue the War except by Sea. I am oblig'd to write on Scraps of Paper. If I have any thing to add I shall take another Oppty of doing it soon. Boaz Bell⁷¹ who brot. the inclos'd Letter was gone again before I knew of his Arrival so that I can tell you nothing of our Friends more than what I suppose to be contain'd in your Letter. Adieu, my ever dear St. G. Believe me to be your most Truly affect. Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Charlestown Apl. 8th. 1778.

My dear St. George

I have scarcely Time to thank you for all you kind Favors (tho' I ought to have done it long since) & for your friendly Offers of Service which I have made use of in several Instances without acquainting you of it. I shall only tell you that inclosed you will find an Invoice of such few Articles [a]s we cou'd get for our own Use & your Friends. The little Variety here made it impossible to do better than we have, & the enormous Prices deterr'd us from adventuring in the Way you proposed, so that I cannot but regret that the Waggon was sent, especially as I have even made very bad Bargain with the Tobacco having sold it at 45£ pCt. before it arriv'd as I was apprehensive that the Prospect of Peace wou'd probably reduce it & thought nothing cou'd raise it (as really happen'd) to 60£ in a few Days. Excuse me for the present. I shall write more fully by St. George,⁷² who will not be very far behind when this reaches you. I will not touch on a Subject, in which I am most sincerely interested as concerning your Happiness, farther than to wish you Success & Felicity surpassing your most sanguine Expectations. I am ever most truly My dear St. George Yr. very affect. Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Dorchester So. Carolina Apl. 19. 1778.

My dear St. George

This is intended by St. George who sets out on his Return tomorrow. I am very sorry on all our Accounts that his Plan cou'd not be executed with any Prospect of Advantage, nor even without Hazard of considerable Loss. You will see by the Price of the few Articles sent in the Waggons that Money is become less valuable here than it probably is with you. And I assure you we took not a little Trouble to procure them on the best Terms. I shou'd have been glad we cou'd have executed the Commission more perfectly & satisfactorily, but there are no Appointments of Goods to be found in any Cargo. The Reason is obvious. A few Articles that are indispensably necessary command a high Price & immediate Sale; it cannot be for the Interest of any one to import such things as lie under the double Disadvantage of being long on hand & of less proportional Value. I know not if I have been altogether right in sending the Waggons empty, but St. George was of my Opinion that there was little Chance of making even a Trifle to bear their Expences. A Cargo of Goods arriv'd not very long ago in George Town. Some Merchants in Charlestown join'd in the Purchase of the whole Cargo (amounting to about 50,000£ Cury.) & gave at the Rate of 10 for one upon the West India Cost in order to bring them to C.T. by Water, notwithstanding the Risk there was at that Time. After giving this enormous Advance, the Goods were actually taken. I told you in my Letter by the Waggoner that we had made an unlucky Bargain with your Tobacco. When St. George first arriv'd it had risen suddenly to 45£ pCt. & as there was then some Reason to

think that the next Accounts from England might inform us of a Negotiation for Peace, I thought we cou'd not do better than to engage it at that Price. We accordingly did so, but before the Arrival of the Waggon Tobacco was at 60£, so that we lost much by the Agreement. Mr. T. Savage was the Purchaser & I am in hopes, as he was generous enough, before the Tobacco arriv'd, to speak of releasing us from the Engagement that he will make some Allowance in the Price, tho' he has since taken it & said nothing of it. As you were so kind as to interest me in the Adventure proposed, I expect & insist that you charge me with my Proportion of the Loss incurr'd by the Hire of Waggon & St. G.'s Expences. Some other Scheme I hope may be more successful. It is Time I shou'd give my most cordial Thanks for your several very kind Favors & all your generous Offers of Assistance. The best Acknowledgments I can make is to tell you that I have not been scrupulous of availing myself of them. I shou'd have inform'd you sooner that I gave H. Hinson a Bill on you for 8.4 Dollars payable at 40 Days Sight. I shou'd not have done this if I had before got Intelligence of St. G's Journey here. I also receiv'd of H. Hinson £385.4.4 Curr. which Dr. Campbell desired him to deposit in my Hands for you. As I had no Authority either from my Father or you to receive the Money here (my last Letters from Bera. being lost) I gave him a conditional receipt obliging myself either to pay it to you or to return it to the Drs. Order. I have farther taken out of Mr. Simons's Hands 10,000£ Cury. which I must be accountable to you for. You see by this that I have not hesitated to use your Money as my own. I did not see Mr. Simons when I was last in Town, he being in

the Country; but mention'd to him before that I was uncertain if I shou'd take from Him the rest of your Money. He said he wou'd endeavour to procure Bills, but intimated that they were difficult to be got. I shall make Enquiry & inform him if I hear of any. No Arrivals from Bermuda lately, nor any Account of G. Gibbs.⁷³ I was in hopes he was gone to North Carolina, tho' I am now afraid he wou'd make but a bad Voyage there, as Salt is said to be very low, & I have insured on him £12,000 at 40pCt. Shou'd you hear of his Arrival, pray let me know it as soon as you can, for I am uneasy to hear of him. I must now take Notice of your Letter on the interesting Subject of changing your Condition of Life. It is an Event in which my Heart feels for you every tender Wish that the sincerest Friendship & Affection can incite on so important an Occasion. The Object of your Love, from your own Account & from the Character St. George tells me she bears, must be unexceptionable. As to the Objections rais'd by particular Circumstances, I consider them as relating chiefly or wholly to a Man's own Fancy. When the Mind is a Liberty it forms to itself Schemes of Happiness into which nothing is to be admitted but what contributes to the Perfection of the Whole. Every minute Circumstance is esteem'd indispensable & a small Deviation from our Plan (like a Blot in a beautiful Picture) is apt to engage too much of our Attention & to be consider'd as destructive of it's Perfection. But this is because the Heart is not yet engaged. When the Affections are once placed on a deserving Object, such Difficulties immediately vanish never to recur, & they are found to be no Obstacles in the Way of Happiness. I speak here of such Circumstances as different Men

according to their Fancies may approve or disapprove without Disparagement to the Heart or Understanding of either. Such, I say, when we are once reconciled to them, will never after give us Uneasiness. It is certainly possible (& perhaps has often happen'd) that a Man shou'd persuade himself that he cou'd not marry a Woman with Hair of a particular Colour, & yet that he shou'd, when his Affections are fixt, not only forget this Objection, but think that very Colour ever after the most agreeable of any.⁷⁴ In this Light, my dear St. George, do I consider every thing that can be alledg'd against your Choice, one thing only excepted, which has some Weight with me, & that is your being induced by such a Connection to settle at a Distance from your Friends. This will, no Doubt, give Pain to our tender Parents & to the rest of your Relations. I flatter myself, however, that your Circumstances will be such as to enable you in some Measure to pacify them in this respect by visiting them as soon as the Danger of the Times will permit. Shou'd no Disappointment happen to the Completion of your Wishes, I beg you will make my most affectionate Regards to my intended Sister. I need not tell you that I wish you with her every Felicity that Human Life can afford. My dear little Babes, I thank Heaven, are generally pretty hearty, tho' Nancy today seems a good deal indisposed. Your Godson is a fine little Babe. I cannot be sensibly affected with the Tenderness you express for them. Miss Polly & George desire always to be remember'd to you. Your other Acquaintances also make frequent Inquiries and send their Compliments. If I have omitted any thing you wou'd wish to know I refer you to St. George. Believe me, my dear St. George Your

ever affect. Brother & sincere Frd.

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Don't neglect writing as soon & often as possible.⁷⁵

Charlestown May 28th. 1778.

My dear St. George

I expected ere this to have heard from you since the Return of your Namesake. I inclose you several Letters from Bermuda receiv'd by D. Hall & J. Conyers.⁷⁶ You'll excuse me if I am short, for I am now in great hurry to go out of Town & have not before had Time to write. The Adelphi's Register you'll find among the Letters, which was taken away by Goodrich.⁷⁷ Pray let me know what her Salt is like to yield. I insured 12000£ on her but am to save the Premium if she left Turks Island⁷⁸ before the 18th. February. You'll inform me of this & shou'd it be in my favor (which I don't expect much) let it be authenticated. My little Schooner is down the Road at last to go to Bera. I have directed her to be sent to South Quay with Salt, to take Flour or Tobacco for this Place. Will you think of the Matter & let me know your Opinion. Flour sells at 40£ but I suppose may fall 30 or 25£. I know not the Price of Tobacco, but shall be able to tell you better in my next for every thing seems in Uncertainty. The Event of Peace or War will soon determine. In the mean while Dry Goods are fallen perhaps 50 pCt. & some more. I hope the Schooner (Nancy, Thos. Langdon) will get to South Quay in 4 Weeks. The Capt. wants a Spur,

tho' a wellmeaning Man, & she has been so immoderately expensive (not less than 11000£) & wou'd be of so little Value in Case of Peace that I cannot but be very anxious to have her dispatch'd as quick as possible, you'll therefore leave or send Directions to South Quay for that Purpose in Case of your Absence. May I congratulate you on an Event that is to give you the greatest of Blessings in human Life? I do it most sincerely when the Time arrives, & tender my most affectionate Regards to her is to contribute so gr[eatly?] to your Happiness. Excuse me that I must conclude. But first remember me to St. George. Miss Evans, George &c. desire to be remember'd to you. My little Ones I left well. Durham tells me our good Mother is heartier than she has been for some Years. All others well except such as must be mention'd in your Letters. I conclude, but still go on. I must conclude now in earnest. I am My dear St. George Yr. ever affect. Brother & Sincere friend

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Charlestown July 21st. 1778

My dear St. George

I wrote to you lately by Mr. Bule & have only Time now to add a Line by Capt. Milligen,⁷⁹ and to inclose you some Letters from Bermuda which will give you the agreeable Account of our Friends being all well, our Good Mother being much better than for some time past. I must not omit telling you that your Intention of marrying is not a

Secret in Bermuda, so that your Motive for declining to mention it ceases, & I wou'd recommend to you no longer to delay shewing our Parents that Mark of Respect which is to be expected from you on such an Occasion. My Father may perhaps take it amiss that you shou'd put it off to the last. I have no Reason to think that he yet considers you as having been wanting in Attention to him, for he mentions the Report without any Sign of Displeasure at your not having communicated it to him yourself; and as it is a Matter that cannot but be approved by him & all your Friends, I think you had better get over your Reluctance & make it known to them at once. The old Gentleman complains much of your Remissness in writing, and seems rather chagrin'd at your selling the Sloop, which, he says, has intirely disconverted his Plan. You will probably find something of this Kind in the inclosed Letters, but you must not let it make you uneasy. You know he is apt to be hasty in judging of Measures before the Motives can be explain'd to him. I dare say he will be very well satisfied upon hearing from you, & you need not doubt of giving perfect Satisfaction to the rest concern'd. My late Loss made me consider it as a very unlucky Necessity as it cut me off from a Resource which, I was in hopes, wou'd have set me to rights again. However if the Salt sells agreeable to your Expectations it will still be a great Matter to us, and will help me out much under my Losses. Shou'd you send me the Bills, as I requested, you'll acquaint my Father (if you have an Opportunity) that I don't mean to dispose of them until I hear from him, as he & my Brother may perhaps want the Money. Cou'd they spare it, I think it wou'd be better to sell them here at 5 for one, which

is the lowest I wou'd take unless the Value of Paper shou'd be rising fast. We know that American Curry. will in Time be equal to Gold & Silver or nearly so, & that Time does not seem to be very distant. I must beg you will tender my kindest Regards to my intended Sister, & beleive me to be most unalterably My dear St. George Your ever affect. Brother And sincere Friend

Thos. Tud. Tucker

My dear little Ones are well. Miss Polly & George desire to be remember'd to you.

Dorchester Janry 30th. 1779.

My dear St. George

It is long since I receiv'd your obliging Favors by Dr. Pringle⁸⁰ & Mr. Barrows, & I have in vain inquired for Opportunities of answering them. This I have been the more anxious of doing, as they were on the most interesting Subjects. I know not even now of any Conveyance for this, but am willing to have a Line ready to be forwarded by the first Occasion. I am now to congratulate you with sincerest Cordiality on the happy Event of your Marriage with one whose Character (from every Account I have heard) must afford you every Satisfaction & Enjoyment that Friendship, the greatest of human Blessings, can furnish. I am most truly interested in every thing that any way concerns your Happiness, and as this is by far the most important Occasion of your Life, the best Wishes of my Soul attend you

with more than common Earnestness & Sollicitude. Long may you, my dearest Brother, experience those Comforts which the most feeling Hearts only can find in mutual Tenderness & Affection! I will not dwell longer on a Subject which calls forth my tenderest Sentiments toward you without affording me Words to express them. Nor shall I here add any thing to welcome my good Sister into our Family, as I mean in a few Lines to herself to assure her of my Affection. At the same time that I learnt with peculiar Satisfaction that your Situation with your Family was as happy as you cou'd wish, it gave me no small Concern to find that you had suffer'd so much lately from the Fever & that you were still liable to it's Returns. I am too well acquainted with it, not to partake in your Sufferings, & as I am afraid you may not even yet have got perfectly free from it, I cannot but recommend to you to use with the utmost Care & Attention the most effectual Means of putting an intire Stop to it. It's long Continuance may bring on some other Disorder more difficult to cure, whereas the Difficulty of stopping a Fever most commonly depends on a Want of Perseverance in the Patient, who is apt to think himself well too soon or to change those Remedies with Inefficacy which he has render'd ineffectual by his own Unsteadiness & Impatience. As this has been the Case of Many, as it may be your's, & therefore I must caution you against it. I make no Doubt of your having the best Advice, & shou'd think it unnecessary to offer mine were it not for the sake of adding some Weight to that of others, which possibly you might not sufficiently attend to. I take it for granted that you must have had frequent recourse to the Peruvian Bark to check your Fever & that you

have used it with Success, so far as to procure a Respite of a Week or two, at least, & I presume the Fault lies in your leaving it off too soon. I wou'd therefore recommend to you to continue the Use of it for a Day or two after your Fever is check'd, & every 6th. or 7th. Day afterwards begin with it again & take in one Day the full Quantity you from Experience found necessary to stop your Fever. Go on regularly this Way for at least two Months & I presume you will be enabled to free yourself from so troublesome a Complaint. The Day before I rece'd your Letter by Dr. Pringle, I met with Mr. Simons, who told me he had been disappointed in the Tobacco you wrote him you had purchased for him, & express'd some Surprize at it. As I was intirely ignorant of the Matter, I cou'd only tell him I was perfectly convinced of the Goodness of your Intentions & made no Doubt of your being able to explain the Affair fully to his Satisfaction. In which he readily acquiesced. He at the same Time mention'd your having desired him to protest the Bill when it was too late, which he likewise was at a loss to account for. Upon Receipt of your Letter I immediately went to his House, but he was gone out of Town. I went several times afterwards, but cou'd not meet with him, owing to his being sick in the Country, so that I was at length obliged to send a Messenger to his Country Seat with a Letter desiring that he wou'd let me have the Bill upon paying the Money & Interest. His Answer was that if you wou'd be so good as to render him an Account of the Tobacco purchased for him he wou'd return the Bill, or if I wou'd give him a Receipt for it to be accounted for in the Purchase of Tobacco made by you; but that he cou'd not consistently do it upon any other

Footing. I saw him soon afterwards in Town & he promised to write to you fully on the Subject. I wish it had been in my Power to settle the Matter to your Satisfaction. Your Letter to my Father together with a Copy of the Paragraph relative to the Dispatch I inclosed in hopes to have forwarded them some time ago, but the Embargo being soon renew'd the Vessels are still in port. I am very glad to find the Adelphi's Cargo likely to turn out so well. When you have disposed of it, you will be good enough to credit me for one third of the real Proceeds towards reimbursing you for your kind Assistance last Year. This was all I held of the Sloop when she arriv'd in Virginia, as I Gave up a Part of my Concern in her to my Father & Brother, whom you must credit for the other two thirds. I dare not suppose that this will discharge my whole Debt to you, you will therefore be good enough to let me know how far it will go towards it, & I will endeavour to provide the Remainder. I am very sorry to find that you have had so many Losses, but hope they are more than made up by successful Adventures. I have of late been engaged in shipping small Parcels of Indigo to the West Indies, which upon the whole have been attended with some little Profit, but as (on Account of former heavy Losses) the Sums I cou'd command have been but small, no great Matters cou'd be expected, especially as our Trade has been so much obstructed by almost constant Embargoes, which still continue. I am not removed to Town as you were inform'd, but remain yet where you left me, so that I am only restrain'd by the Narrowness of my Circumstances from paying you a Visit, & shou'd this Obstacle ever be remov'd, I shall certainly make a Point of becoming personally acquainted with my good Sister.

Mr. Evans died in November last & left a Will but little expressive of a friendly Disposition towards me. You may remember that I consulted you on the Method of drawing Conveyances for Part of a Tract of Land he had promised me. These he declined signing, which was not very wide of my Expectations. This Tract he has order'd to be sold & two thirds (instead of half) of the Money to be reserv'd for my Children. He has also given them all the Negroes (nine in Number[]) which he formerly gave me, altho' he knew that I had sold one of them near three Years ago. This was by no means the full Proportion they had Reason to expect of his Estate altho' he had many Children to provide for. The Executors are under the Necessity of endeavouring to take the Negroes out of my Hands, & I know not whether I shall be able to support my Claim to them. I cannot but consider this Act of Mr. E's as a little unfriendly, & it is a Matter of real Concern to me to have Cause to entertain any other than Sentiments of sincerest Respect for the Parent of one whose Memory I hope will always be dearer to me than my Life. By the last Accounts our Friends in Bermuda were well, but I have no Letters. Their Difficulties with regard to Provisions must be greatly increased by the Embargoes in America & by the Troops canton'd in defferent Parts of the Island. Their Situation is really distressing & I think of it with great Uneasiness. My little ones (I thank God) are both hearty. Nan often talks of going to see her Uncle St. George & her Aunt Fanny in Virginia & Harry like a mocking Bird repeats every thing after her. Miss Evans & George desire me to offer their Complements & Congratulations to yourself & my Sister. You must have heard of the Invasion of our Neighbour State:⁸¹ which seems to

threaten us with our full Share of the War, for in all Probability the chief Efforts of the Enemy will in future be in these Southern Parts. We must do our best, but I am afraid they will give us much Trouble. My Station is at present in Dorchester⁸² to guard the Magazine, which happens very convenient on account of it's being so near home. Pray let me hear from yourself & my Sister as often as possible, & if I am at any time remiss don't imitate my Example. I will however endeavour to av[oid] furnishing you with such an Excuse. I am ever with unalterable Friendship My dearest Brother Your's most sincerely & Affectly.

Thos. Tud. Tucker

South Carolina July 10th. 1779.

My dearest Brother

I wrote you a long Letter in January last & at the same Time one to my Sister, which I hope have reach'd you, as it gives me, I assure you, not a little Uneasiness to think that not one Opportunity by private Hands, that I have been apprized of has offer'd since I heard of your Marriage. My Letters abovemention'd I committed to the Care of Messrs. Blakes & Sawyer, in hopes that they wou'd find a safer Conveyance than by Post, but they tell me that they cou'd hear of none & put them into the Post Office at last. I wrote to you not very long before by a private Hand & had my letter return'd after being in Virginia, & what may have been the Fate of others I cannot tell, as

you have not always been particular in mentioning the Receipt of
 them. I dwell the longer on this Subject, as it really gives me great
 Pain that you shou'd suppose me so unmindful of you as not to have
 wish'd & diligently inquired for Opportunities of writing to you,
 particularly at a Time when the bad State of your Health & the new
 Connexions you had form'd made it incumbent on me to express to you
 with more than common Attention the sincere Wishes of my Soul for your
 Welfare & Happiness. It may appear somewhat unaccountable to you that
 I shou'd not know of the intended Journeys of those you often see from
 this State, but it will not seem so strange, if you consider that I do
 not mix much with Company & that my Circumstances never permitted me
 to do it upon that Footing of Equality which might render it
 agreeable. The Consciousness of not being able to accommodate &
 entertain one's Acquaintances in such a Manner as cou'd be wish'd is
 apt to make a Person inclin'd rather to avoid than to seek for them,
 because he cannot with so good a Grace accept or return the
 Compliments of Invitation. I hope, my dear St. George, that you have
 ere this got the better of your Indisposition. I have felt much
 Concern & Anxiety about you, tho' I have been generally inform'd that
 you were getting better. Altho' I flatter myself that it is
 unnecessary, yet I can't help earnestly recommending to you to be
 steady & constant in the Use of such Means as may be thought necessary
 for the Reestablish⁸³ of your Health, & shou'd this not be very soon
 obtain'd, I wou'd advise you not to delay making a Voyage by Sea. A
 Visit to your Native Country will probably be more effectual than any
 thing else. Your Letter by Mr. Whiting, I shou'd have mention'd the

Receipt of; but I was much disappointed in not being able to see him, as I shou'd have been very glad of an Opportunity of inquiring particularly after yourself & my Sister & also of shewing Mr. Whiting every Civility in my Power. I shall inclose a little Sketch of the Account betwixt us, which will enable you to adjust it so as to let me know what Ballance is due to you. I shou'd be glad you wou'd do so by the first Opportunity & I will immediately endeavour to provide the Money. I before mention'd to you that Simons wou'd not consent to return the Bill unless I wou'd give him a Receipt for it as Part of Payment for Tobacco purchased by you on his Account. He promised to write fully to you on the Subject & has since told me that he did so. You must have heard of the great Distress of our little Country for Provisions. By the last Accounts they had receiv'd some Supplies which were a great Relief to them for the present, but the great Scarcity on this Continent must make their future Supplies very scanty & precarious. It is really a melancholy Circumstance that the Means of Subsistence are to be sought in distant Countries & liable to every Hazard that attends the Casualties of War. Our last Accounts were by our Cousin Joe Darrell⁸⁴ who arriv'd in George Town about a Month ago. Our good Mother, he says, was much complaining when he left her, the rest of our Family well. I am afraid that a perfect Reestablishment of Health is scarcely to be expected by our tender Parent at her Time of Life, but am willing to hope that it will please Heaven to give her yet some comfortable Years. We who have experienced the inexpressible Tenderness of her Affection cannot avoid being impress'd with Anguish at the most distant Prospect of losing so

dear a Friend. May God preserve her to be a Blessing to her Children as long as it consistent with the narrow Limits he has prescribed to human Life! You have heard, no Doubt, of the Visit we have lately had from our good Friends under General Provost.⁸⁵ It was, I must confess, an Event that I little expected at that Time, when I supposed that our Force was much superiour to theirs & that the Country of Course wou'd not be left open to them. But however the Matter was, they march'd without Opposition to the Gates of Charlestown, General Moultrie⁸⁶ flying before them with a small Body of Men & General Lincoln⁸⁷ so far behind that no one knew what was become of him. Their March was pretty rapid, but as their Numbers, by all Accounts were only betwixt 3000 & 4000 the Force we collected in town, was, I think, sufficient to bid them Defiance. Report, however, says that we shamefully proposed a Capitulation both for the Town & State on the most ignominious Terms. What Truth might be in this Account I will not under take to determine, but I think I may venture to say that the British Troops wou'd never have been allow'd to march into the Town on any Conditions. It is certain that General Moultrie & some others of Influence wou'd have been firmly against it & I believe it as certain that such a Plan required only to be known, to meet with general Disapprobation. For the Credit of the State I hope the Assembly will make a proper Inquiry into the Matter. After General Provost's Retreat from Charlestown an Attempt was made by our Troops to force his Lines at Stono, which, altho' it prov'd unsuccessful, serv'd to shew them that he was not very secure in that Post, & I suppose, was the Cause of his decamping a few Days after & leaving us to enjoy a

little more Peace. Some of his Troops are still on Port Royal Island in this State, but the main Body is gone to Savannah. This Expedition has been attended with much Distress to a great Number of Families, who were driven from home without knowing whither to fly for Safety. The Country was no where in a State of Defence & no Place seem'd to be secure against the Visits of Plunderers, particularly those under McGirth,⁸⁸ who was well acquainted with all Parts of the State. As it was expected that the Enemy wou'd pass thro' Dorchester, I thought it necessary to send my Sister & the Children farther up the Country. My Uneasiness about them was very great, but it was some Satisfaction that they were accompanied by Mr. Stewart's Family. Lest the enemy shou'd succeed in their Attempt on Charlestown, or they shou'd otherwise find themselves unsafe in this State, I gave them a Line to you & recommended to them to proceed, if possible, to Virginia. But the Means of travelling fail'd them, Provisions were not be got on the Road, & the Negroes grew insolent & deserted them, so that had the Necessity been more urgent they wou'd not have been able to proceed. I thank Heaven they escaped the Dangers which threaten'd them. My Loss on this Occasion was one valuable Fellow who thought proper to look out for a new Master, besides some Destruction of Furniture from Hurry & Carelessness & the Damage that arises from having every thing deserted & neglected for several Weeks together. We understand that a Part of your State has also been ravaged by the Enemy who behaved with Less Humanity & Decency than they commonly did here. I flatter myself however that you were intirely out of the Way of any Danger or even Alarm. I must now, my dear Brother, make some Inquiry about your

Family. And in the first place I must request you to be very particular in letting me know if you have recover'd your Health & if my good Sister is happy in the Enjoyment of hers. Have you yet such an Increase of Family or a Prospect of it. If you have, accept my hearty Congratulations & Wishes that it may be an additional & lasting Source of Happiness to you both. Have you been successful of late in your Commercial Transactions? I hope you have, & that Affluence & Ease may always enable you to enjoy, without the bitter Alloy of Care & Anxiety, the invaluable Blessing of Conjugal & paternal Affection. I hope soon to have the Pleasure of hearing both from yourself & my Sister. My tenderest Wishes, in the mean time, attend you both. I must beg also to be remember'd to her little Gentlemen.⁸⁹ My Sister desires her best Compliments, as also does George. My little Pair are hearty & send their Duty to their Uncle & Aunt. I am ever with most sincere & unalterable Friendship My dear St. George Your truly affect. Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Dorchester, South Carolina Augt. 25th. 1779.

My dear Sister⁹⁰

A convenient Opportunity offering to convey You a Line, I embrace it with particular Satisfaction, to renew to you my Sincere Assurances that your Connexion with our Family gives me the greatest Pleasure & that I shall esteem myself always happy in a mutual Friendship &

Correspondence with you. I wrote to you some Months past, but know not if my Letter has ever reach'd you. If it has not, I must again congratulate you on your Marriage & wish that it may be productive of every Happiness that your Heart can desire. I must also repeat my Request that you will give me the Satisfaction of hearing from you as soon & as often as possible, and that you will be particular in informing me of my Brother's Health, your own & that of your little Sons, with whom I must beg to become better acquainted. My Sister desires me to present her best Compliments to you, & my little Ones tender their Duty to their Aunt. It is not long since they were almost driven to the Necessity of paying you a Visit. I shou'd be happy in having them personally known to you, but must confess that I shou'd wish it shou'd be a Visit of Choice rather than of Compulsion. I flatter myself that we shall some Day be brought together by more desirable Circumstances than the Calamities of War. Believe me to be with the greatest Truth My dear Sister Your sincerely affect. Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Dorchester Augt. 25th. 1779.

My dear St. George

I wrote you of the 10th. July, but finding no Conveyance my Letter remains to go by this Opportunity. Mr. Neilson,⁹¹ I observe, has advertised that he is going soon to Virginia & I shall give him the Trouble of my Packet. He is a Merchant of Opulence, but my

Acquaintance with him but slight. I have little to add to what I have already wrote, except to repeat my Desire that you will let me hear from you as soon as possible & give me a particular Account of the State of your Health, the Reestablishment of which I am exceedingly anxious to hear of. Do not, my dear St. George, impute my Silence at any time to Want of that tender Regard that I ever have felt & ever shall feel for the Happiness of you & your's. I have not heard from Bermuda since the Date of my last. A Party of the Enemy remain still at Port Royal, but have not lately given us any Disturbance. My little Ones are well and their Duty to you. Their Aunt & George desire to be remembered to you also. As I have wrote a few Lines to my Sister, I shall proceed to subscribe myself My ever dear Brother
Yrs. most affectionately

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Charlestown Novr. 18th. 1779.

My dear St. George

My last to you was intended by Mr. Neilson, who not proceeding on his intended Journey sent it by Capt. Porter. I hope you have receiv'd it for really it gives me much Uneasiness that our Correspondence shou'd be so irregular & interrupted. I am most sincerely anxious for your Health & Happiness & for the Welfare of my good Sister & all that are dear to you. I am very sensible that I am but too often to blame for delay of that Duty I owe to my Friends, but

I assure you I am severely punish'd for it when they retaliate upon me. Let me beg you, my dearest Brother, to let me hear from you as soon as possible & as often; & I think I can almost promise to be more punctual than I have heretofore been in sending you a Line often by the Post, if no other Opportunities shou'd offer. I was in hopes ere this to have had the Satisfaction of a Letter from my Sister, having twice wrote to her; but the first, I fear, she never receiv'd & the other but lately, so that I can only lament that any Accident shou'd have interrupted or retarded those Testimonies of sincere Affection which I shall ever wish to shew her. I flatter myself that she & yourself will both write before the Arrival of this & that our Correspondence in future will be more uniformly kept up on both Sides. I must now inform you that I expect to sail tomorrow for St. Eustatia,⁹² with a View of endeavouring to retrieve, if possible, the Losses I have lately sustain'd. It was a sudden Resolution, enter'd into since I came to Town, & I hope if no Impediment shou'd fall in my Way, that I shall be back again in 6 or 7 Weeks. My dear little Pair I left well & have since heard that they continue so. I am the less uneasy about them, as they are with their Aunt who shews them every possible Tenderness. Being much hurried I can add little to the Length of this. My best Affections attend my Sister & if she has given you an Increase of Family my Blessing attends the Object of your Care & Tenderness. Believe me to be with the warmest Sentiments of Friendship to you & your's My dear St. George Your most affect. Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

St. Eustatia Novr. 13th. 1779.⁹³

My dear St. George

I wrote to you a few Days before I left Charlestown. If you did not receive that Letter, you will be surpris'd to hear of my being in this Island where I have had the good Luck to arrive safe, after a Passage of 13 Days. I have the Satisfaction to tell you that by Accounts from Bermuda as late as the Middle of last Month, our Friends were then well. There was no certain Intelligence of my Father's Arrival in England, but a Brig, supposed to be that in which he went, had been seen near the Isle of Wight in the Channel: And Mr. Daniel Jennings⁹⁴ tells me that his last Letters from London give him Reason to believe that there had been some late Arrival from Bermuda. Dr. Rd. Tucker⁹⁵ informs me that he saw Natty well in London in April last, & that he was to set off the next Day for some Town (he does not recollect the Name) a few Miles distant from Scarborough,⁹⁶ where he had a Prospect of settling to Advantage. Shou'd he be disappointed in his Expectations, I suppose he will come out with my Father. God grant him Success in whatever Part of the Globe he may be fix'd! But I cannot help regretting that he shou'd be so far from us, & wishing that we cou'd be all settled in one Neighbourhood, where we might form a little Society of real Frien[ds] who wou'd endeavour to make Life comfortable to each other. It is no small Satisfaction to me, my dear St. George, to hear such Accounts of you as give me Reason to think that you have recover'd your Health. Long may you enjoy it, & with it, every other Comfort. I hope my good Sister also possesses the same Blessing in such a Degree as to make both herself & you

happy. I have wrote to her several Times & to you many Times since I had the Satisfaction of hearing from you. I flatter myself I shall find Letters from you both on my Arrival in Charlestown. I have never yet been able to learn whether my Sister has yet given you an Heir, but presume that I may by this time congratulate you both on such an Event. I am very sorry to hear of the Loss of your Brig. However as she had made several safe Voyages & I am inform'd that you sav'd her last Cargo, it is to be hoped that upon the whole you have gain'd considerably by her. The Bills for Payment of the Adelphi, Mr. Jennings tells me, are protested, which I am sorry for, as I am afraid it will be a Disappointment to my Father & Brother. But there is no Help for it. Since my Arrival here, we learn that a large Force had sail'd from New York. I am in Hopes they are not intended against Carolina, but isn't⁹⁷ help being somewhat uneasy about it as I wou'd wish to be with my Family on such an Occasion. Remember me most affectionately to my Sister. My best Wishes attend you both & all that are dear to either of you. I am, my ever dear Brother, with unalterable Friendship Yours most sincerely & affectionately

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Charlestown March 22d. 1780.

My dearest Brother

I wrote to you from St. Eustatia & then promised that you shou'd again hear from me on my Arrival here. This Promise I shou'd have

perform'd sooner but for the State of Alarm & Hurry that we have been in from that Time. You have been long acquainted with the Danger that now threatens this Town. The Enemy are near at Hand. Their Land Forces are on James Island⁹⁸ chiefly, where they have raised several Batteries; as also on the Main on the South Side of Ashley River opposite to the Town. Their Men of War are at Anchor within the Bar since the Day before yesterday. As they lie behind the Point of James Island I cannot tell the exact Number or Force of them. They are said to be 12 or 13; one of 64 Guns, one of 50, 2 of 44, 3 or 4 Frigates & the Rest Sloops of War or arm'd Ships. They have also a Number of Gallies. Their Strength by Land is variously reported. I suppose 6 or 7000 must be pretty near the Truth, tho' some Deserters make them much more numerous. Whether the Shipping will attempt to reduce Fort Moultrie⁹⁹ or hasten past it is uncertain. We expect they will be in Motion in a Day or two more. In the mean while every Preparation is making for a spirited Defence of the Town, & I flatter myself that whether we are successful or not, we shall at least retrieve our Credit. I am sorry to say t[ha]t our Milit[ia] h[ave] been very backward in turning out, so that we are not so well provided with Men as cou'd be wish'd, our Works being necessarily very extensive. However I hope Heaven will be propitious to our Endeavours as heretofore. Most of the little I possess is at Stake, & what is of infinitely more Importance to me, the Safety of my Children. What to do with them I know not. My Uneasiness for them is great, but the Almighty I hope will protect them. Shou'd any thing happen to me I must beg you to make some Inquiry about them & their Aunt who has

faithfully done the Part of a Parent by them. George is in Town, being a Lieut. in the Continental Service. He desires to be remember'd to you. For my Part, I have been lately appointed one of the Physicians of the Continental Hospital, which exempts me from those Fatigues of military Duty which I have formerly been obliged to undergo. The great Length of Time that has elapsed since I had a Line from you, my dear St. George, gives me no small Degree of Pain. Whether my Letters to you have all miscarried (of which I have now written near a Dozen since your last) or whether you think you have not yet sufficiently punish'd me for former Omissions (which were never either intentional or the Effect of the smallest Abatement of the sincerest Affection & Friendship) I am somewhat at a loss to judge. I expected to have found Letters from you & my Sister on my Arrival here. I wrote to you but a few Days before my Departure for St. Eustatia & I have written to her several tiems. Be kind enough to assure her of my sincerest Affection, & if you have any little Pledge of your mutual Love, my Blessing & best Wishes attend it. Do not, my ever dear Brother, persist in that Silence, which you have so long observ'd, unless your Letters have been lost, as I am willing to hope. Let me hear from you both, as soon as possible, & give me a Satisfaction which I have long expected with Impatience, but in vain. Be assured of my tenderest Affection & Friendship to yourself, my Sister & all that are dear to you. Believe me most sincerely & unalterably Your's

Thos. Tud. Tucker

I had a little Adventure with Capt. Isaiah Young who got into North

Carolina. Should he send you the Proceeds of it (as I desired him in Case of this Town being Taken) please to secure it from Depreciation by purchasing what you may think proper that will at any time command the Money again whenever I may have Opportunity of using it.

Charlestown March 2d. 1781.

My dear Brother

I wrote to you by the Return of the last Flag to Virginia & acknowledg'd the Receipt of your several Favors. I have now the Pleasure to inform you that I am in very good Health & that my dear little Pair were pretty well, when I last heard from them, a few days past. My Concern for you was great when I understood that the British Troops under General Arnold¹⁰⁰ were moving towards your Neighbourhood, but I am Happy in observing that they did not reach Petersburg. I suppose my good Sister must have been under much Apprehension. May this little Alarm be all her Share in the Calamities of the War! Shou'd Messrs. Brice & Co. in Wilmington have put into your Hands the little Sum they had belonging to me, I shou'd be obliged to you if you cou'd find an Opportunity by some Flag to send me the Amount of it in Tobacco, as it wou'd be some Help to me in my present Situation which is very expensive. I must also give you the Trouble to inquire whether upon sending you from time to time Certificates of the Pay due to me from Congress, you wou'd be able to get the Money for me & transmit it in the manner abovemention'd. I

shou'd also be glad to know in what Money it wou'd be paid, whether in old Bills or Bills of the new Emission; whether it will be made equal to Specie or what Loss might be expected on it. If it is made equal to Specie or nearly so (as it ought to be by the original Establishment) my Pay which is from four Dollars a day wou'd be an Obejct of some Consideration; otherwise it wou'd not be worth inquiring after. As our Hospital belongs to the Southern Department, I suppose the Commander in Chief of the Southern Troops is the proper Person to apply to. Pray let me hear from you as often as possible & tell me how you are, My Sister & your little ones: Particularly let me know the Beauties & Accomplishments of my little Niece,¹⁰¹ the Namesake of all her Relations. Don't forget to tell me from time to time how many of her Names she can say by heart. Please to tender my best Affections to my Sister & the little Pups. Miss Evans & George desire me always to give their Compliments to you & yours. If our Cousin St. George is with you, pray remember me to him. Believe me to be with great Truth My dear St. George Your most affect. Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

A Gentleman who saw my Father lately tells me he was very well & also my Brother Nat. I have the same Satisfaction with regards to our Friends in Bermuda.

Charlestown March 26th. 1781.

My dearest Brother

I am very happy in having as favourable an Opportunity, as the present by General Scott,¹⁰² of writing you a Line. As I have had the Pleasure of being frequently in Company with him lately, he will be able to give you some Account of my Situation. My Last to you was by Colo. Heath,¹⁰³ who left Charlestown 2 or 3 Weeks past. I therein desired, if you had receiv'd the little Money I had in the Hands of Messrs. Brice, Walker & Craike in North Carolina, that you wou'd be so good as to endeavour to send me the Amount by any Flag bound here, in Tobacco. I likewise requested that you wou'd endeavour to get Information whether you wou'd be able to receive my Pay from time to time (upon my sending you Certificates of what might be due) & send it me in the same Manner, as this wou'd be a great Assistance to me, provided that Allowance is made for the Depreciation of Money, which I shou'd be glad to know. My little Ones were well about a Week ago. Our Friends in Bermuda, I hear, were in good Health about a Month past, & my Father & Brother Nat about 3 Months ago. I hope that yourself & my good Sister are happy in the Enjoyment of Tranquillity & every other Blessing with your little Family. Does my little Niece begin to entertain her Parents with her agreable Prattling? Let me hear from you as often as possible & believe me to be with tenderest Regard to you & your's My dear St. George Your sincerely affect.
Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Genl. Scott promises to help you in the Inquiry I have desired.

Williamsburg July 27. 1781.

My dear St. George

You will, no doubt, be at a loss to Account for my Delay of writing you at Camp. I wish'd to have done it ere this, but have not been able to get a Horse & I must confess that I am grown so much out of Humour at finding myself destitute of every Convenience for travelling, that I have given over the Thought of farther Applications. The Horse that Mr. Plume¹⁰⁴ promised, he found it no longer convenient to lend & I have in vain applied to be accomodated by the Public, from whom I had a Right to expect it. Mr. Plume has for several Days past engaged me the Loan of a Cart Horse that he had le[n]t out, & I had accepted it to set out this morning but upon seeing him I find myself but little de[signed] to undertake the Journey. To go without a Servant upon an Animl. that, after wearying every Limb of me, may oblige me to leave him on the Road & carry my own Baggage in a Country of Strangers, is too awkward a Situation for one who is not fond of a great deal of Trouble. In short, I shall be under the Necessity of sharing very great Indifference about the Public Business, unless I can be enabled to to it upon a more respectable Footing than I find any Prospect of here. My Appointment wou'd be a genteel one & wou'd enable me to appear in some Credit, were I furnish'ed with what it intitles me to, but under present Circumstances it is a mere Mockery & can only exp[ress] me t[o] Contempt. The Marquis¹⁰⁵ wrote me a very polite letter & referr'd me to Colo. Innes¹⁰⁶ for every Convenience, but he is unable to furnish me with any one Article for the most pressing Necessities of

People just come from a State of Captivity where they have been stript of every thing. Instead of finding some Respite, as I expected, after long Duty under very great Difficulties, I perceive that the Change is only to an Increase of Difficulties & at the same Time an Increase of Business which is likely to be without End; for we have a daily Addition to our Numbers from the Troops that come from Charlestown, & are also, it seems, to be charged with all the Sick & Wounded from the Marquis's Army, as if, instead of coming from the Hands of an ungenerous Enemy, we were just sent off by Congress compleatly furnish'd with every Thing necessary for our Department. It is not easy to judge how very irksome it is to be in such a Situation. I shall venture to inclose you the Paper, I mention'd, which, if you think proper, you may communicate to the Marquis. I wou'd not have any other Person know from whom it comes, as the Want of a military Name to it might p[re]vent a fair Judgment. Shou'd it be thought worthy of Atten[tio]n I shou'd be glad to know, as several of our most useful Citizens are about setting out for the Southward. If you have heard from my Sister & the Children, pray let me know how they are, & remember me most affectionately to them when you write. I wonder I have not heard from you since you left Williamsburg. It makes me somewhat doubtful of your being still at Camp. I am with great Sincerity My dear St. George Your most affect. Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Williamsburg Augt. 16th. 1781.

My dear St. George

It was truly a mortifying Disappointment to me that it was not in my Power to make you a Visit at Bizarre¹⁰⁷ whilst you remain'd there, but the Uncertainty of Things in this Place made it impossible to do it with any Propriety. I wish we were a little farther remov'd from any British Post. One of our Officers is already under Confinement at York under Pretence, it seems, of having violated his Parole. In what respect, I cannot understand, unless it be for doing his Duty in the Hospital after receiving into it 4 [o]f General's Wayne's Soldiers.¹⁰⁸ This I apprehend to be the only Ground [o]f Complaint, for I am told that it was from a Report of the Sick wh[ic]h [h]e was bringing to me, that a Breach of Parole was inferr'd. If such Tri[f]les are to be made a Ground of Complaint, I cannot think any of us safe whilst we are within Reach of the Enemy. I shall endeavour to obtain the General's Consent to remove our People into the Countr[y], & as he has agreed that we shall receive no more Sick, I hope soon to be at Leisure to gratify an impatient Desire of seeing my Sister & the Children. I hope you left them well & beg you will remember me most affectionately to them. I did not write by Harry because I sent him out in a great Hurry hearing that the British were approaching in Force, & fearing that his Horses might not be safe. I left Sim[o]n with most of the Baggage I had with me and one Horse at Richmond from which Place I sat out late at Night, having heard some Acc[ou]nts from Wms.burg which made it necessary for me to return immediately. I desired an Acquaintance to carry Simon the next

Morning to a Mr. Buchanan's a Mile or two from K. & to request he wou'd allow him to remain there until I shou'd send for him. I have heard nothing of him since, but desired Harry to call for him. I find it inconvenient being without a Servant & wish you wou'd, if you have an Opportunity, get him down to some safe Place as near this as possible & let me know it. I wou'd not have him sent directly in here for Fear of his being taken on the Road, nor wou'd I trust him to travel alone as he is young & unacquainted with the Country. Pray let me hear from you as soon as possible. Did you get a Letter I wrote you before I left Wms.burg. I think after spending a Week in your Family to go to Philadelphia & afterwards return to Carolina as the Accounts from thence are favorable. I am most sincerely My dear St. George Yr. most affect. Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Williamsburg Sept. 15. 1781.

My dear Sister

I beg you will accept my Thanks for the earnest Desire you have express'd to see me at Bizarre, & at the same time request that you will believe me when I assure You that I have been greatly mortified at not having it yet in my Power to visit you. The earliest Opportunity of doing it will be embraced with real Pleasure. I long much to be acquainted with those who are so dear to my Brother as Yourself & little Ones. You'll be so good as to remember me to them

all with sincere Affection. A Kiss or a thousand of them, if you please, to your brown Daughter & fair Son.¹⁰⁹ My Brother comes for this, or I shou'd perhaps have written you a long Letter. You'll therefore give me Credit for as much as this Paper wou'd contain. I must take the Liberty of offering my Compliments to the Lady with the fine Teeth. Believe me to be very truly My dear Sister Yr. most affect. Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Williamsburg Octo. 5. 1781.

My dear Sister

I expected about this Day or a little sooner to have set out on a Visit to Bizarre, but an Order from the General detaining me on Duty here again disappoints me of the Happiness of seeing you for a While to come. As I am much streighten'd for Cloaths & under great Inconveniences for Want of a Servant, I have requested my Brother to let Syphax¹¹⁰ go & escort Simon to me. I must now apologize for an Omission in my last Letter. I mean the Neglect of paying my Devoirs to Miss Maria.¹¹¹ As it was a fault of Inadvertence & not an intentional one I flatter myself she will excuse it & now accept my respectful Compliments, a Tender of which I must also make to Miss Hall.¹¹² My very affectionate Regards attend all your young Gentlemen & your little Pair. I shall not take upon me to give you any Article of News as you will have it from a much better Hand. I am

My dear Sister Your most sincerely affect. Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Sent by Syphax

2ps. Linnen. One to pay for the making of the other. I have no
Cambrick for Ruffles, but am told you have, which is the same
Thing.

Some shirts cut out, to be made gratis. Thread & Buttons.

NB. The Shirt Collars to be made broad as in the old Shirts.

Articles wanted.

Every Shirt & Stock that is fit to wear, having scarcely a Change of
them here.

Cloth Coats &c. & black Waist Coat, being very cold for Want of Winter
Cloaths.

2 pr. black Silk Stockings, to save Washing.

2 or 3 Pair of Shoes, that I may not wear out my Brother's which I now
have on.

A Callico Gown, to put on when I want to be at my Ease, having no
Surtout or worsted Gown, altho' the Winter is approaching.

The old Cloak, to wear in very dirty Weather, it being to shabby to use
but in Cases of Necessity or in the Night when the Condition of it
can't be seen.

Williamsburg Octo. 15. 1781.

My dear St. George

I congratulate you on the successful Attempt on the two Redoubts,
& am happy to find by Syphax that you suffer'd no material Injury from
the shell that threaten'd you. May Heaven preserve you from any
unlucky Accident. I am in hopes I shall see you in a Day or two if
Business does not press too hard on me, as I have reason to
apprehend. St. George & George desire to be remember'd to you. I am
Your most sincerely affect. Brother

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Notes to edited text

1. Possibly Dr. Richard Tucker, a Bermudian and undoubtedly a cousin of Thomas Tudor Tucker. Richard Tucker married Mary Foote in 1759 and lived at Reeve Court, St. George's, Bermuda (Hereward T. Watlington, "The Bridge House, St. George's, Bermuda," Bermuda Historical Quarterly, XXVIII [1971], 16). Later mention of a "Dr. Rd. Tucker" occurs in the letter of Nov. 13, 1779.

2. St. George actually arrived in New York on Oct. 27, 1771, accompanied by Henry Tucker, the husband of St. George and Thomas's sister Frances (Mary Haldane Coleman, St. George Tucker: Citizen of No Mean City [Richmond, Va., 1938], 13-14).

3. John Slater (d. 1771). Slater's second wife, Jane Tucker Hall, was the widowed sister of Henry Tucker, Sr. At this time St. George was placed on another part of the island to read law with Slater ("The Tucker Letters," BHQ, III [1946], 26; Coleman, St. George Tucker, 11).

4. References to "Mr. Tucker" refer to Henry Tucker of Bridge House (d. 1793), husband of Thomas's sister Frances (see n. 2).

5. Daniel Hunt, a native Bermudian who had studied at the Inns of Court in London, served as attorney general from 1772 to 1778. He married a Miss Nealey Jones, daughter of a Colonel Jones (Henry C. Wilkinson, Bermuda in the Old Empire. . . [London, New York, and Toronto, 1950], 304-5; "Tucker Letters," BHQ, III [1946], 209).

6. Jack Stiles (d. ca. 1812), a Bermudian, married Jane Penniston on July 4, 1771. According to Henry Tucker, Sr., the marriage was "no small mortification to his Mother" (Henry Tucker, Sr., to St. George Tucker, Nov. 30, 1771 ["Tucker Letters," BHQ, III (1946), 75 and n.]).

7. Dr. Benjamin Rush (1746-1813) received his medical degree from the University of Edinburgh in June 1768, after graduating from Princeton. He returned to his home in Philadelphia in 1769 and had a brief military career. Rush pioneered a number of social reforms during his lifetime, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and was treasurer of the United States Mint from 1797 to 1813 (Mark Mayo Boatner III, Encyclopedia of the American Revolution [New York, 1966], 951-52).

8. There were several contemporary Robert Tuckers in Bermuda. This is possibly the Robert (1754-1828), descendant of Chief Justice John Tucker, who married Frances Fowle. This branch of the Tucker family was related to the family of Thomas Tudor Tucker through sons of a George Tucker of Gravesend, Kent, who came to Bermuda in the mid-1600s ("Pedigree of the Tuckers of Bermuda in Connection with the Emmet Family," in Thomas Addis Emmet, An Account of the Tucker Family of Bermuda, from a History of the Emmet Family [New York, 1898], n.p.).

9. See n. 32.

10. Thomas Savage (1738-1786) was a Charleston merchant. Born in Bermuda, he followed his brothers' earlier migration to South Carolina. From 1769 to 1773 he was a partner in the mercantile firms of Savage & Legare, and Savage, Legare, & Beake. Unlike his brothers, Thomas Savage was pro-American in the Revolutionary War. He served in several political offices in South Carolina (Walter B. Edgar et al., Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives [3 vols.; Columbia, S.C., 1974-81], II, 596-97).

11. Dr. Archibald Campbell (d. 1799) married Elizabeth Tucker of Bermuda, sister of Henry Tucker, Sr., and was thus an uncle to Thomas. Campbell lived in Norfolk County, Virginia, where he was a justice of the peace (1749); was employed by the vestry of Elizabeth River Parish (1750); and was mayor of Norfolk (1763). In 1768 his house in Norfolk was burned by angry townspeople for his controversial inoculations against smallpox. In 1775 Campbell was accused of aiding Lord Dunmore and left with his family for Bermuda, where he died in 1799, leaving a large estate ("Tucker Letters," BHQ, III [1946], 74 n.; "Historical and Genealogical Notes," Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine, I [1919-20], 70-71; Wyndham B. Blanton, Medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century [Richmond, Va., 1931], 37, 255-56, 340; Patrick Henderson, "Smallpox and Patriotism: The Norfolk Riots, 1768-1769," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXXIII [1965], 413-24).

12. Probably William Atchison, or Aitcheson (d. 1776), a Norfolk

merchant who had served on several Norfolk County committees with Archibald Campbell. Atchison owned Eastwood, a Princess Anne County plantation, and in 1772 owned 275 acres of land and seven slaves. He was loyal to the Crown during the Revolution and virtually all of his property was confiscated and he and his family were "continually harassed" ("Jameson--Ellegood--Parker," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., XIII [1904-5], 287-88; William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large . . . of Virginia, VII [Richmond, Va., 1820], 435; Edward W. James, ed., The Lower Norfolk County, Virginia, Antiquary, I [Richmond, Va., 1895], 5; William M. Dabney, "Letters from Norfolk: Scottish Merchants View the Revolutionary Crisis," in The Old Dominion: Essays for Thomas Perkins Abernethy, ed. Darrett B. Rutman [Charlottesville, Va., 1964], 120-21).

13. The Gilchrist family of Norfolk was related to the Campbells (see n. 11). In 1765 John Gilchrist, probably the "Mr. Gilchrist" here, married Frances Campbell, daughter of Archibald (Mrs. Russell S. Barrett, comp., "Marriage Bonds of Norfolk County," WMQ, 2d ser., VIII [1928], 105).

14. Peter Fayssoux (1745-1795), son of Daniel and Frances Fayssoux, was an eminent Charleston physician. He was apprenticed to Dr. Alexander Garden of Charleston before being sent to Edinburgh for further studies in 1766. He was a friend of Benjamin Rush (see n. 7) and graduated in 1769, after which he returned to his home town. He served as senior physician to the Southern Department in the Continental army, and was present at the fall of Charleston in May 1780. He was a member of the South Carolina General Assembly later in life (Edgar et al., Biographical Directory, III, 226-28).

15. Frances Tudor Tucker (ca. 1681-1772), the daughter of John Tudor of New York, married Henry Tucker (1683-1734), Thomas's grandfather, in 1707. She died on Feb. 14 at age 91 and was buried at Port Royal, Bermuda (Albert M. Woods, "Tucker Pedigree," in Emmet, Account of the Tucker Family, n.p.).

16. Madeira is a North Atlantic island, about 305 square miles, situated over 600 miles southwest of Lisbon, Portugal (Leon E. Seltzer, ed., The Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer of the World [New York, 1952], 1112).

17. Lord Charles Greville Montagu (1741-1784) was the second son of Robert, third duke of Manchester. Montagu arrived in South Carolina in June 1766 and was governor three times: June 1766-May 1768; October 1768-July 1769; September 1771-March 1773. He returned to England permanently on March 2, 1773 (Edward McCrady, The History

of South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1719-1779 [New York, 1901], 587, 694, 705).

18. Dr. James Blair of Williamsburg was the son of John Blair, president of the governor's Council. He studied medicine at Edinburgh but apparently never graduated. On May 21, 1771, he married Catharine ("Kitty") Eustace of New York. The marriage broke up almost immediately, causing a local scandal, and Kitty moved out and attempted to file suit. There was a brief reconciliation in April 1772, but the couple were apart again by June. Blair died on Dec. 26, 1772 (Blanton, Medicine in Va., 86-87, 90; Frank L. Dewey, "Thomas Jefferson and a Williamsburg Scandal: The Case of Blair v. Blair," VMHB, LXXXIX [1981], 44-46).

19. Dr. James McClurg (1747-1823) was born in Hampton, Virginia, and went to Williamsburg in 1762, where he earned a reputation as a scholar. He studied medicine at Edinburgh and graduated in 1770. He returned to Virginia in 1773 and set up practice in Williamsburg. McClurg married Elizabeth Selden of Hampton in 1779. He moved to Richmond in 1783 and there began a political career (Blanton, Medicine in Va., 328-35).

20. Dr. Isaac Hall (d. ca. 1806) of Petersburg, the son of Edward Hall, studied in Edinburgh and graduated in 1771. In 1779 Hall formed a partnership with a Dr. John Shore. By 1791 Hall was listed as a sheriff of Prince George County, Virginia. He married Martha Everard (*ibid.*, 90 n., 354; "Old Kecoughtan," WMQ, 1st ser., IX [1900-1901], 123).

21. Thomas referred to the phrase sat anxia vivas, / Moverit e votis pars quotacumque deos, which came from Tibullus's elegiac poems (Book II, 6.53). The quotation concerns a love tragedy: "your life should be hard to bear/if the gods heed half of what I say of you" (Edward N. O'Neil, A Critical Concordance of the Tibullan Corpus [Ithaca, N.Y., 1963], 353; Constance Carrier, trans., The Poems of Tibullus [Bloomington, Ind., and London, 1968], 79).

22. Dr. Walter Jones (1745-1815), son of Thomas Jones and Elizabeth Cocke, was born in Northampton County, Virginia, the ninth of ten children. By 1760 he was a student at the College of William and Mary. He graduated from Edinburgh in 1769 and returned to Virginia in 1770. He established himself at Hayfield, Lancaster County, where he enjoyed a large practice. He married Alice Flood in 1773. Jones embarked on a political career in the late 1790s (Blanton, Medicine in Va., 233-36).

23. Dr. George Steptoe graduated from the University of Edinburgh in 1769. He lived at Windsor, Westmoreland County, Virginia. He died sometime before May 27, 1784, when his will was probated (*ibid.*, 87, 379).

24. Dr. Archibald Campbell, who was probably not related to Thomas's uncle of the same name (see n. 11), graduated from the University of Edinburgh in 1770. He served in the Revolutionary War as an ensign beginning on Oct. 17, 1780. On June 15, 1781, he became a lieutenant. He served until the close of the war (*ibid.*, 87, 407; F. B. Heitman, Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army . . . [Washington, D.C., 1893], 114).

25. Dr. Moore Fauntleroy (1743-1802) studied at Aberdeen and Edinburgh but never graduated. He practiced medicine in Essex County, Virginia, and died in Charleston, South Carolina (Blanton, Medicine in Va., 87, 381).

26. Dr. Joseph Godwin, who graduated from Edinburgh in 1769 (*ibid.*, 87, 91 n.).

27. Possibly Dr. Ewen Clements (d. 1774), who studied at Edinburgh in 1768 but never graduated. In 1771 he announced formation of a partnership with Hugh Mercer of Fredericksburg. By 1772 he had moved to Hobb's Hole (now Tappahannock) in Essex County (*ibid.*, 87, 91 n., 222, 349).

28. Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown (1747-1804) of Port Tobacco, Maryland, studied at Edinburgh and later resided at Rose Hall in Maryland. In 1799 he was one of the doctors consulted at George Washington's deathbed (*ibid.*, 130, 150, 300).

29. Dr. William Brown (1748-1792), son of Rev. Richard Brown, was born in Haddington, Scotland. He graduated from Edinburgh in 1770 and settled in Alexandria, Virginia, where he became one of that town's leading physicians. After a brief term in the Continental army he returned to Alexandria, where he practiced until his death (*ibid.*, 130-32).

30. The Bermudian, Nathaniel Tucker's first published work, came out with an Edinburgh imprint in March 1774 (see n. 43) (Lewis Leary, The Literary Career of Nathaniel Tucker, 1750-1807 [Durham, N.C., 1951], 33).

31. Elizabeth Tucker (1752-1794) married Daniel Tucker (1747-1812) on Dec. 17, 1772. Daniel was a brother of Henry Tucker of Bridge House (see n. 4) ("Pedigree of the Tuckers," in Emmet, Account of the Tucker Family, n.p.).

32. Probably Cornelius Hinson, Speaker of the Assembly in Bermuda from 1748 to 1785. The Hinsons had been an influential family since they came to the island in the early 1700s and had intermarried with various Tuckers along the way (Wilkinson, Bermuda in the Old Empire, 441; Wilkinson, Bermuda from Sail to Steam: The History of the Island from 1784 to 1901 [2 vols.; London, 1973], I, 247 n.).

33. Durham Hall was a cousin of the Tuckers and was a ship's captain by at least 1793 (Wilkinson, Sail to Steam, I, 85).

34. Gov. Sir James Wright (ca. 1714-1785) was born in Charleston. On May 13, 1760, he was appointed lieutenant governor of South Carolina. By 1764 he had become royal governor of Georgia. He was created a baronet in December 1772. Wright was arrested in 1776 and left for England that year. He returned to Savannah in 1779 but was recaptured by the Americans (Boatner, Encyclopedia, 1220-21).

35. Henry Tucker, Jr., brother of Thomas, was married to Frances Bruere. This son, the second of ten children, was born on Feb. 11, 1773. Frances Tucker Tucker (Thomas's sister) gave birth to a daughter on Jan. 27, 1773 ("Pedigree of the Tuckers," in Emmet, Account of the Tucker Family, n.p.; Woods, "Tucker Pedigree," in Ibid.; Henry Tucker, Sr., to St. George, Apr. 8, 1773 ["Tucker Letters," BHQ, III (1946), 207]).

36. Pythagoras (fl. 532 B.C.) was a Greek philosopher who promoted the theory of immortality and transmigration of the soul, the kinship of man and beast, and the view of the body as the tomb of the soul (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1947 ed., s.v., "Pythagoras").

37. Evidently Dr. Colin Campbell (probably the son of Dr. Archibald Campbell [n. 11]), who was killed in a duel with a Mr. Skinner. As a result, John Gilchrist (n. 13) shot himself (Nathaniel Tucker to St. George, Nov. 28, 1773 ["Tucker Letters," BHQ, IV (1947), 106-7]).

38. Esther Evans. Thomas and Esther were married on June 30, 1774.

39. Dr. Thomas Blacklock was a "poet and littérateur of some renown in Edinburgh," as well as a former teacher of Thomas's in medical school. Through Blacklock, Thomas and Nathaniel Tucker made arrangements to have The Bermudian published (Leary, Literary Career, 31, 53).

40. Robert Williams, Jr. (1733?-1808), was a prominent Charleston lawyer with whom Thomas argued in 1773. The result was a lawsuit against Thomas (see biography). Williams was admitted to the South Carolina bar in 1753. He owned a great deal of land and held various local offices. During the Revolution he wanted to remain loyal to the Crown but took the oath of loyalty in order to save his fortune (Edgar et al., Biographical Directory, II, 717-18).

41. William Bull (1710-1791) was born at Ashley Hill, St. Andrew's Parish, South Carolina. In 1740 he was elected Speaker of the South Carolina House. In November 1759 he was appointed lieutenant governor and was called upon five times from 1759 to 1775 to serve the colony. Bull was a loyalist and was banished in 1777 (ibid., 123-25).

42. Possibly the John Savage (b. 1715) who was born in Southampton Parish, Bermuda, and moved to South Carolina in 1735. He was a wealthy merchant but was a loyalist and left the American colonies. He was still alive as late as 1787 (ibid., 594-96). Alternately, this could be a brother of Thomas Savage (see n. 10).

43. In order to raise money for Nathaniel Tucker's medical training in Edinburgh, his poem The Bermudian was to be published both in Edinburgh and in Virginia, with 2,000 copies coming from each city. However, problems arose with the Williamsburg edition and publication was delayed until May 1774 (Leary, Literary Career, 30-37; see also Thomas to St. George, Mar. 19, 1775).

44. Thomas inserted this line sideways on the last page as a postscript.

45. See n. 20.

46. After the success of The Bermudian, Nathaniel sent St. George copies of his other poetry, including The Hermit, a celebration of the joys of solitude. Nathaniel thought it "much inferior" to his first work, but it finally appeared in print in early 1776 under William Creech's Edinburgh imprint as The Anchorite; A Poem. It was little

noticed and its publication was ill-timed for sale to an American audience (Leary, Literary Career, 57-58).

47. Omitted are a few lines from Esther Tucker following Thomas's letter.

48. Anthony Stokes, a native of England, was a barrister at the Inner Temple. In 1768 he was appointed chief justice of Georgia. Stokes was a loyalist whose estate was confiscated in 1778, after which he removed to Charleston and then to England (James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, eds., Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography, V [New York, 1888], 699).

49. Thomas added this line sideways on the last page of the letter.

50. The beginning of this letter was written by Nathaniel Tucker. The first line here marks the beginning of Thomas's words.

51. Polly Evans, Thomas's sister-in-law. After Esther's death in 1777, "Miss Polly" looked after Thomas's two children.

52. John Blake (1752-1810) was the son of Edward Blake (d. 1795) and Jane Savage. Edward Blake was a Charleston factor and the younger Blake joined in a partnership with him by 1774 when the firm of Edward & John Blake imported three cargoes of slaves. The younger Blake was active in business, served in the Revolution, and held office in the state legislature. He married Margaret Mercier in 1777 (Edgar et al., Biographical Directory, III, 72-73).

53. Nancy Tucker, born May 8, 1775 (Henry Tucker, Sr., to St. George Tucker, May 29, 1775 ["Tucker Letters," BHQ, V (1948), 180]).

54. Donald Campbell was the son of Dr. Archibald Campbell and Elizabeth Tucker (see n. 11) and was a contemporary and good friend of St. George Tucker (Coleman, St. George Tucker, 16).

55. Possibly John Faucheraud Grimké (1752-1819), a South Carolinian who studied law in London. He returned home by September 1775. Grimké served in the Revolution and in the South Carolina House and wrote several legal studies. He married Mary Smith (Edgar et al., Biographical Directory, III, 290-92).

56. This entire postscript was added by Thomas upside down on the outside of the letter.

57. Perhaps John Wigfall (1736-1793), a South Carolinian who served in several royal and General Assemblies. After Charleston fell in 1780 he accepted a commission in the loyalist militia (*ibid.*, 710).

58. Stephen Seymour (ca. 1750-1806) was a ship's captain working in and around Charleston at this time (Wilkinson, Bermuda in the Old Empire, 232; Harold A. Mouzon, "The Ship 'Prosper,' 1775-1776," South Carolina Historical Magazine, LIX [1958], 5; Elizabeth Heyward Jervey, "Marriage and Death Notices from the Charleston Courier, 1806," *ibid.*, XXX [1929], 118).

59. Probably John Dickinson (d. 1795) a local ship's captain. He was at one time master of the ships Savage and Nancy. At his death he was listed as "last from Wilmington" (Mabel L. Webber, comp., "Marriage and Death Notices from the City Gazette," S.C. Hist. Mag., XXIII [1922], 72; Maurice A. Crouse, ed., "The Letterbook of Peter Manigault, 1763-1773," *ibid.*, LXX [1969], 93).

60. Capt. George Lusher did in fact carry Thomas to Bermuda at that time. He arrived in early January 1777, carefully avoiding British ships hunting illicit traders around the island (Wilfred Brenton Kerr, Bermuda and the American Revolution: 1760-1783 [Princeton, N.J., 1936], 67).

61. Probably John Laurens (1754-1782), son of Henry Laurens and Eleanor Ball. Laurens went to England in 1771 for schooling. He married Martha Manning in 1776. In 1777 he returned to America, and joined George Washington as his aide-de-camp. Laurens served in the Fourth South Carolina General Assembly in 1782. He died in August of that year in a skirmish with the British (Edgar et al., Biographical Directory, III, 418-20).

62. Capt. Thomas Tucker (d. 1784), mariner and Charleston merchant, was the owner and captain of at least five schooners during the 1750s and 1760s. He participated in the slave trade and served in the First and Second Provincial Congresses and in several local offices (*ibid.*, 724-25).

63. Maurice Simmons or Simons (1744-1785), the son of Benjamin Simons and Ann Keating, was a factor and merchant in Charleston. He entered the business about 1764 with his brother Edward. In 1769-70

he was the partner of James Jamieson and Anthony Bonneau. He married Mary Mitchell and settled temporarily in Georgetown, South Carolina. Simmons served in the provincial militia and held several local offices. He was killed in 1785 while dueling with William Clay Snipes (*ibid.*, 652-54).

64. Esther had died the preceding May.

65. George Evans, Jr. and Sr., the brother and father, respectively, of Esther Evans Tucker. The younger Evans (d. 1793) served in the Continental army as a lieutenant. He was taken prisoner in 1780, exchanged in 1781, and served until the close of the war (Heitman, *Historical Register*, 169; Webber, "Notices from the City Gazette," *S.C. Hist. Mag.*, XXI [1920], 155).

66. Probably John Benfield (d. 1778), a Charleston merchant. Under his name and under the name Benfield & Jones he imported two cargoes of slaves into Charleston ("Records Kept by Colonel Isaac Hayne," *S.C. Hist. Mag.*, X [1909], 226; W. Robert Higgins, "Charles Town Merchants and Factors Dealing in the External Negro Trade, 1735-1775," *ibid.*, LXV [1964], 214).

67. Clement Conyers (d. 1784) was in the Fifth South Carolina Regiment during the Revolution. He married Francis Snell in 1778. His death notice marked him as a captain originally from Bermuda ("Records Kept by Hayne," *S.C. Hist. Mag.*, XI [1910], 165; Mabel L. Webber, comp., "Marriage and Death Notices from the South Carolina Weekly Gazette," *ibid.*, XIX [1918], 111).

68. Curaçao is the largest and principal island of what is now the Netherlands Antilles. It is 40 miles north of Venezuela. The island was at this time headquarters of the slave trade (Seltzer, *Gazetteer*, 745).

69. See n. 58.

70. Frank Morgan was a Bermudian who was captain of several privateering vessels running between the colonies and Bermuda (Kerr, *Bermuda and the Revolution*, 80-81).

71. Perhaps the son of a Capt. Boaz Bell of Southampton, Bermuda, who flourished during the 1740s (Wilkinson, *Bermuda in the Old Empire*, 57, 278, 316).

72. There were many men named St. George in the Tucker family. Perhaps this one was the son of Henry senior's brother St. George Tucker (1710-1761) and Elizabeth Gibbes.

73. George Gibbs, son of Robert and Elizabeth Gibbs, was baptized in February 1748/49. Gibbs was the master of the Adelphi, the large American prize sloop purchased by St. George (Kerr, Bermuda and the Revolution, 56-57; Mabel L. Webber, comp., "The Register of Christ Church Parish," S.C. Hist. Mag., XIX [1918], 124).

74. St. George had earlier declared his intention never to marry a widow, and the object of his affections, Frances Bland Randolph, was just that.

75. Thomas added this line sideways on the last page of the letter.

76. Probably John Conyers, a relative of Clement Conyers (see n. 67). John Conyers became co-owner of the sloop Polly with Edward Blake of Charleston and Joseph Darrell of Bermuda (George C. Rogers, Jr., et al., eds., The Papers of Henry Laurens, VI: August 1, 1768-July 31, 1769 [Columbia, S.C., 1978], 272 n.).

77. Possibly Bridger Goodrich (d. 1795), the son of John Goodrich, a well-to-do Virginia merchant. The family was loyal to the Crown and invested in privateers. Despite strong opposition from Bermudians, they chose the island as their base. Bridger married Elizabeth Tucker, a distant cousin of Thomas's. After the Revolution, Goodrich sailed privateers on raiding expeditions around the Chesapeake bay and the North Carolina coast. (William Sears Zuill, "The Goodrich Memorial," BHQ, XI [1954], 40-41).

78. The Turks Islands are the eastern group of what are now the Turks and Caicos Islands, 135 miles north-northwest of Haiti. The islands were uninhabited until 1678 when Bermudians established the salt-panning industry (Seltzer, Gazetteer, 1965).

79. Jacob Milligan was a local ship's captain. He was third lieutenant on the South Carolina warship Prosper (Mouzon, "The Ship 'Prosper,'" S.C. Hist. Mag., LIX [1958], 5; D. E. Huger Smith, "The Luxembourg Claims," ibid., X [1909], 114).

80. Probably Dr. Robert Pringle (1755-1811), son of Judge Robert

Pringle. He studied with Dr. Lionel Chalmers in South Carolina and then went to Edinburgh for further schooling. He sailed home in 1778. Pringle did not practice medicine long, becoming a merchant and noting, as did Thomas, the problems of Charleston doctors (Elizabeth H. Jervey, comp., "Marriage and Death Notices from the City Gazette and Daily Advertiser," *ibid.*, XXXVI [1935], 96; Mary Pringle Fenhagen, "Descendants of Judge Robert Pringle," *ibid.*, LXII [1961], 153-55).

81. Georgia was invaded beginning in November 1778 when 3,500 men under Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell joined 2,000 troops under Gen. Augustine Prevost. The reduction began on Dec. 23, 1778, when Campbell landed near Savannah. Augusta fell in January 1779 (Don Higginbotham, The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practice, 1763-1789 [New York, 1971], 354-55).

82. Dorchester is about 24 miles northwest of Charleston. Thomas had moved there in 1775.

83. Obviously a slip of the pen.

84. The Darrells were a prominent Bermuda family. This was possibly the Joseph Darrell (b. 1743) who married Polly Anderson. His mother was Mary Tucker, a sister of Thomas's grandfather ("Memoranda of William Hall Darrell," BHQ, XXIII [1966], 21).

85. Gen. Augustine Prevost (1732-1786) was born in Geneva, Switzerland. At the beginning of the Revolution he commanded the British forces in East Florida. Prevost moved north in 1778 to cooperate in the attack on Savannah. On Feb. 19, 1779, he was promoted to major general and undertook southern theater operations. His advances met with so little resistance that he threatened Charleston on May 11-12, 1779. He withdrew and defeated the Americans at Stono Ferry on June 20, 1779 (Boatner, Encyclopedia, 882, 1034).

86. Gen. William Moultrie (1730-1805), was the son of a prominent South Carolina physician. He became a national hero in the 1776 Charleston expedition and had Fort Sullivan renamed in his honor. When Prevost threatened Charleston in May 1779, Moultrie helped defend the city but foolishly let himself be besieged. Prevost asked for Moultrie's surrender and Gov. John Rutledge proposed a plan (to which Thomas refers below) wherein the citizens of the city would pledge their neutrality if the British left them alone. Prevost finally withdrew to James Island and then Johns Island, when he heard of Lincoln's return from Augusta (see n. 87) (*ibid.*, 214-15, 636, 750, 1034).

87. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln (1733-1810), a Continental officer from Massachusetts, was a farmer who worked his way up through the militia. He became a major general in 1776 and was appointed commander of the Southern Department on Sept. 25, 1778. Lincoln was threatening Augusta, Georgia, when Prevost diverted him by moving toward Charleston (n. 85). Lincoln stopped his advance at Silver Bluff, South Carolina, just 10 miles short of his goal, and began a rapid march to Charleston (ibid.).

88. Col. Daniel McGirth, a South Carolinian who remained loyal to the Crown, led fellow loyalist refugees in a "bitter, vindictive guerrilla war against supporters of the Revolution" in reaction to their "outrageous treatment" by colonists. After the war ended, McGirth continued his depredations in Florida until he was captured and imprisoned. He died in South Carolina (Lorenzo Sabine, Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution . . ., II [Boston, 1864], 64-65; Henry Lumpkin, From Savannah to Yorktown: The American Revolution in the South [Columbia, S.C., 1981], 27).

89. Frances Bland Randolph Tucker's children by her first marriage: Richard (1770-1796); Theodorick (1771-1792); and John Randolph (1773-1833).

90. This letter, and those of Sept. 15, 1781, and Oct. 5, 1781, are to Frances Bland Randolph Tucker.

91. John Neilson (d. 1794), a Charleston merchant. Neilson served in the Fifth South Carolina General Assembly (1783-84) and held several local offices. He married twice and died sometime before Sept. 6, 1794, when his death notice appeared. According to the 1790 census he owned seven slaves (Edgar et al., Biographical Directory, III, 524).

92. St. Eustatius, an island of 8 square miles, 8 miles southwest of St. Kitts, was by the eighteenth century one of the leading centers of West Indies trade. By the beginning of the Revolution it was a hotbed of contraband trading between Europe and America. It was captured by the British in February 1781 and recaptured by the French the next November (Boatner, Encyclopedia, 957).

93. Obviously a slip of the pen for Dec. 13, 1779.

94. Daniel Jennings settled in St. Eustatius and from there "acted as agent and financial intermediary to Bermudians in general and the Tuckers in particular" (Kerr, Bermuda and the Revolution, 58).

95. See n. 1.
96. Malton, Yorkshire. Nathaniel moved to the flourishing seaport town of Hull in 1786 (Leary, Literary Career, 65, 87).
97. A slip of the pen for "can't."
98. One of the Sea Islands on the southwest side of Charleston harbor (Seltzer, Gazetteer, 868).
99. Formerly Fort Sullivan, Fort Moultrie was named after William Moultrie after he successfully defended it in 1776 (see n. 86). In May 1780, during Sir Henry Clinton's expedition, it was surrendered without a fight and the British took 200 prisoners (Boatner, Encyclopedia, 385).
100. Gen. Benedict Arnold (1741-1801) turned traitor to the Continental army in 1779. He was then given a commission in the British army and on Dec. 20, 1780, he sailed from New York with about 1,600 troops to destroy military stores in Virginia and to rally loyalists. Arnold reached Hampton Roads on Dec. 30 and started up the James River. He occupied Richmond from Jan. 5-7, 1781. After burning some tobacco buildings there he withdrew to Westover (*ibid.*, 25, 28-29, 1149).
101. Anne Frances (Fanny) Bland Tucker (1779-1813) was the first child of Frances and St. George Tucker. She married John Coalter in 1801 and had three children (Coleman, St. George Tucker, 48-50, 134).
102. Probably Gen. Charles Scott (ca. 1739-1813), a Continental general from Virginia. He was ordered south to reinforce Lincoln and was captured at Charleston on May 12, 1780. He was paroled but not exchanged until the end of the war (Boatner, Encyclopedia, 993, 995).
103. Possibly Col. William Heath (1750-1807) of Virginia, who married Eliza Briggs (National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, DAR Patriot Index [Washington, D.C., 1966], 319).
104. Probably the same William Plume of Williamsburg who was reimbursed in February 1776 for £2.5.6 "for Horse hire" (H. W. Flournoy, ed., Calendar of Virginia State Papers . . ., VIII [Richmond, Va., 1890], 91).

105. Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette (1757-1834), Continental general. The Marquis had just participated in action at Green Spring, James City County, Virginia, on July 6, 1781 (Boatner, Encyclopedia, 593, 1149-51).

106. Col. James Innes (1754-1798) was a prominent Williamsburg attorney and orator. He was a lieutenant colonel in the Fifteenth Virginia Regiment from 1776 to 1778 and afterwards commanded a militia unit until fall 1781. He was a graduate of the College of William and Mary and was a good friend of St. George's. Innes later played a leading role in the ratification of the Constitution by Virginia (William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal, eds., The Papers of James Madison, III: 3 March 1781-31 December 1781 [Chicago, 1963], 97 n.).

107. Bizarre was the Randolph estate in Cumberland County, Virginia, on the north bank of the Appomattox River opposite the present site of Farmville. It burned in 1813 (Coleman, St. George Tucker, 52, 59; Robert Dawidoff, The Education of John Randolph [New York, 1979], 205).

108. Gen. "Mad Anthony" Wayne (1745-1796) was a Continental general from Pennsylvania and a prosperous farmer on the eve of the Revolution. In spring of 1781 he organized a force of veterans to join Lafayette in Virginia and they fought at Green Spring (Boatner, Encyclopedia, 1175-76).

109. Henry St. George Tucker (1780-1848), later eminent Virginia judge and politician.

110. Syphax was Frances Tucker's "most trusted servant" (Coleman, St. George Tucker, 42).

111. Maria Rind was an orphan sent to Matoax (the Randolph home near Petersburg) to assist Frances Tucker. In the early 1790s she married John Coalter, the tutor of St. George's children (ibid., 43, 105).

112. Patty Hall, Frances Tucker's cousin, lived with the Tuckers at Matoax (ibid., 46).

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