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# The migration into Richmond (1775 to 1860)

Ada May Land

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THE MIGRATION INTO RICHMOND  
1775 to 1860

BY

ADA MAY LAND

A THESIS  
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OF THE UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND  
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VIRGINIA

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## P R E F A C E

Richmond has today become one of the most important cities in the South. The foundation was laid for this early in its history. In 1775 Richmond was a village of only a few houses; in 1860 it was a growing city. The story of the years between 1775 and 1860 is tied up closely with the story of the migration of people into Richmond and with their lives as they helped to develop the capital of Virginia.

I have in this paper attempted to show the trend of migration into Richmond from 1775 to 1860 and to show the important part that some of the individual immigrants played in developing the city.

To all the people who have helped me I wish to express my sincere thanks. Dr. Ralph McDanel, of the University of Richmond, has always been willing to help me; this I have greatly appreciated. The librarians at the Virginia State Library have been very helpful in finding materials and giving suggestions.

## CHAPTER I

### RICHMOND'S GROWTH FROM 1775 TO 1860

The site of the City of Richmond, Virginia, was first visited by Englishmen early in the seventeenth century, not long after their arrival at Jamestown.

Nature, with strong and artistic hand, has formed a splendid site for a great city, at the Falls of the river called Powhatan (The James) .....<sup>1</sup>

Captain Newport and Captain John Smith, with twenty other men, explored in 1607 this area at the Falls. The next year Captain Newport returned, as he believed he could find a route to the South Sea by sailing up the James River.<sup>2</sup>

Early attempts to establish settlements at Richmond failed, but in 1644 the General Assembly ordered that a fort be built at the Falls to keep back the Indians. As the Indians were still giving trouble in 1679, the Assembly of the Virginia Colony granted Captain William Byrd certain rights to the lands at the Falls, if he would settle fifty strongly armed men there to

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<sup>1</sup> Christian, W. Ashbury, Richmond: Her Past and Present, p.1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p.2.

protect the settlement in the East. Captain Byrd took advantage of this and "fforte Charles",<sup>3</sup> as it was then called, protected the eastern settlements of Virginia until the frontier moved west of Richmond.

At the Fort Captain Byrd erected a warehouse, which soon became the trading post between the East and West; here boats from the East and wagons from the West met.<sup>4</sup>

After Captain Byrd's death in 1704, his son, Colonel William Byrd, succeeded him. In his journal under the date of September 19, 1733, he recorded:

When we got home, we laid the foundation for two large cities, one at Shacco's, to be called Richmond, and the other at the falls of the Appomattox River, to be named Petersburg. These Major Mayo offered to lay out into lots without fee or reward. The truth of it is, these two places being the uppermost landing of James and Appomattox rivers are naturally intended for marts where the traffic of the outer inhabitants must centre. Thus we did not build castles only, but also cities in the air.<sup>5</sup>

Richmond was established as a town by law in 1742, but it did not grow beyond a hamlet until the time of the Revolutionary War.

Williamsburg was the capital of Virginia before 1777, but as the war continued, the General Assembly realized that this city was opened to attacks by the British. They passed a bill removing the arms, ammunitions, troops and also the public records to Richmond.<sup>6</sup>

In May, 1779, because of the danger to Williamsburg and because of the central location of Richmond, the Assembly passed an act moving Vir-

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p.5.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. p.7.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. p.9.

ginia's seat of government from Williamsburg to Richmond. This decision caused the population of Richmond to grow rapidly.<sup>7</sup>

Mrs. Edward Carrington described the Richmond of 1779 to a friend in a letter.

It is indeed a lovely situation, and may at some future period be a great city, but at present it will afford scarce one comfort of life. With the exception of two or three families, this little town is made up of Scotch factors, who enhabit small tenements here and there from the river to the hill .....<sup>8</sup>

Richmond was unprepared for the sudden increase in population. As government officials moved into the town, they found hardly sufficient homes. Temporary public buildings had to be used until permanent ones could be planned and built. Not only did the war bring in government officials, but businessmen, such as innkeepers and newspapermen, came from Williamsburg. Foreigners came and settled in Richmond, drawn by the trade and industry growing up around the town. About 1781 Richmond's population was 1800; about half of these were slaves. The General Assembly in 1782 incorporated Richmond as a city, making it the sixth one of the Commonwealth.<sup>9</sup>

Morse, the geographer, has described the Richmond of 1769.

It contains about three hundred houses. The new ones are well built. A large and elegant State-house, or Capitol, has lately been erected on the hill. The lower part of the town is divided by a creek, over which there is a bridge, which for Virginia is elegant. A handsome and expensive bridge between three hundred and four hundred yards in length, has lately been thrown across James River.... A canal is cutting on the north side of the river, which is

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<sup>7</sup>Richmond Capital of Virginia, pp. 13-14.

<sup>8</sup>Christian, *op.cit.* p.18.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid*, p.21.

to terminate in a basin of about two acres in the town of Richmond. The opening of this canal promises much wealth to Richmond. <sup>10</sup>

In 1790 the first census of the United States was taken and Richmond's population had grown to 3,761. The report divided the figures as follows:

Free white males 16 and up . . . . .	878
Free white males under 16 . . . . .	353
Free white females . . . . .	786
All other free persons . . . . .	256
Slaves . . . . .	<u>1,479</u>
Total . . . . .	3,761 <sup>11</sup>

Although Richmond received only a small percentage of the foreign immigration in comparison to some of the cities of the North, more came than the majority of people realize. To help this, as early as 1788 an Amicable Society was formed to aid strangers and way-farers who came to the city. The society was a closed one with only sixty members; it lasted until 1855. <sup>12</sup> Richmond seems to have tried to make these strangers feel at home.

Soon after the Revolution the government of Virginia and the United States became interested in passing laws concerning immigrants. On May 8, 1785, the Attorney General, Edmund Randolph, gave the following opinion to the Governor of Virginia on the question of arresting foreigners:

The Executive cannot give a direction to the Sheriff to arrest foreigners at the instance of their consuls without a particular application in every case. For the act enjoins the Executive to use their discre-

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<sup>10</sup>Howe, Henry. Historical Collections of Virginia, p.10.

<sup>11</sup>First Census of the United States (1790) p.10.

<sup>12</sup>Mordecai, Samuel, Richmond in By-Gone Days, 1st.ed, p.7.



tion where he (the consul) shall require aid for executing the same; - nor does the law of nations justify such a procedure. <sup>13</sup>

Congress, in 1794 on Mr. Madison's motion, passed a law to make the obligatory period of residence before naturalization five years. The Federalists raised the term of probation to fourteen years in 1797 and passed an Alien Act saying the President had the power of arresting and sending any alien out of the Union.<sup>14</sup> The majority of Virginians were against these Aliens and Sedition Acts passed by the Federal government, and many debates were held in the General Assembly. Finally the General Assembly passed resolutions against these laws, and sent them to various other states.

The Legislature of Virginia having on the 21st of December, 1798, ordered certain resolutions, censuring the administration of the Federal Government, to be transmitted for the concurrence of the Legislature of the several states, and receiving in its last session, proceedings of some of the states on those resolutions unfavorable to their views, referred those proceedings to a committee, and justifying the resolutions, and solemnly adhering to them, as true, constitutional and salutary.

The resolutions, embracing a variety of topics, if not intended, were well calculated, as a declaration of war by the State of Virginia against the government of the United States .....<sup>15</sup>

Some foreigners were tried in Richmond because of these acts.

By 1800 Richmond's population had grown to 5,737; Richmond had grown more rapidly from 1780 to 1800 than at any period during the Colonial

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<sup>13</sup>Callendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol.IV, p.29.

<sup>14</sup>Tyler, Lyon Gardiner, History of Virginia, Vol.II, p.327.

<sup>15</sup>Addison, Alexander, Analysis of the Report of the Committee of the Committee of the Virginia Assembly, on the Proceedings of Sundry Other States in Answer to their Resolutions, p.3.

era. Part of this increase was caused by foreigners, particularly the French, coming to help us during the Revolution. Later political refugees fled from France during their Revolution, and some came to Richmond.<sup>16</sup>

There was in Europe, particularly in the German states, actual enlistment of emigrants to come to this country. The German Princes were so worried about the decrease of population in their states that they actually passed laws prohibiting migration. The agents worked so secretly that it was hard to trace them.<sup>17</sup>

Newlanders at Hamburg in 1792 had such an indirect way of working that it was very difficult for the government to trace them down and find the person chiefly responsible for enlistments. Unemployed men and deserters meeting by chance certain agents on the street or in the inns would be referred to others. These in return would refer them to American ship captains, but in such a way that if they were examined by officials, it would be impossible for the emigrants either to identify the enticers by name or admit they were going to America otherwise than of their own free will.<sup>18</sup>

These promotion agents usually worked on a commission basis and made a great deal of money on these emigrants. There have been claims that some Huguenot families in France paid as much as six or eight thousand livres to escape religious persecution. Sometimes these agents increased their profits by stealing emigrant property and cash.<sup>19</sup>

Richmond had received her share of these foreigners who came from Europe, and by 1810 her population had increased to 9,735. The number of

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<sup>16</sup>Richmond: Capitol of Virginia, p.15.

<sup>17</sup>Brite, John Duncan, The Attitude of European States Toward Emigration to the American Colonies and the United States, p.154.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid, p.155.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid, p.158.

inhabitants in the city had grown to 12,046 by 1820; there were 6,404 whites, 4,393 slaves, and 1,246 free negroes.<sup>20</sup>

Because their political rights were either curtailed or completely withdrawn, many German Hebrew families settled in Richmond about 1820. By 1830 there were 7,755 whites; 6,345 slaves; and 1,960 free negroes, making the total population of Richmond 16,060. The population of Richmond in the past ten years had increased by thirty-three and a half per cent.<sup>21</sup>

During the decade of 1840 to 1850 Richmond received a small, yet valuable group of English, Irish, and French, as well as more young Germans.<sup>22</sup> The majority of these Germans came from Hesse and Saxony. Many of them lived in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore or New Orleans before coming to Richmond. In 1840 Richmond's population was 20,153; in 1850 it was 30,280.<sup>23</sup>

Most of these immigrants adjusted themselves easily to their new home, but some of their ideas horrified the more conservative groups in Richmond for a while.

A German political club in Richmond advocated old age pensions and other measures of social security as early as 1850. One reaction to such radicalism was a sudden growth in Richmond of the Know-Nothing Party, a secret organization devoted to political activity against foreign born citizens and immigrants.<sup>24</sup>

Richmond continued to grow. In 1860, just before the War Between the States, the population had grown to 37,900. Of these 23,625 were whites,

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<sup>20</sup>Christian, op.cit., p.98.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid, p.115.

<sup>22</sup>Richmond Capital of Virginia: Approaches to Its History, p.19.

<sup>23</sup>Schmidt, Herman, The German Element in Virginia, Vol.II, p.29.

<sup>24</sup>Richmond, Capital of Virginia: Approaches to Its History, p.19.

2,575 free negroes, and 11,699 slaves.<sup>25</sup>

From the period 1775 to 1860 Richmond had grown from a village to a city. These immigrants, who had entered the city and made it a home, had given liberally to the political, social, and cultural life of Richmond. Whether they remained here the rest of their lives, or whether they stayed only a short time, there are traces of their work. Every vocational field had its representatives. There were ministers, doctors, teachers, writers, and many others who migrated here and made Richmond their home. They became a part of Richmond.

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<sup>25</sup>Schuricht, op.cit.I, p.53.

## CHAPTER II

### THE IMMIGRANTS' PART IN EDUCATION

Many of Richmond's early schools owe their existence to immigrants who came here from Europe. In many old newspapers are found, inserted by foreigners, advertisements of academies for both young gentlemen and young ladies, offering such subjects as French, dancing, mathematics, English, and bookkeeping. Many of Richmond's prominent citizens of the day were educated in these schools.

Frenchmen, because of the aid France had given the American Colonies in winning their independence, were very popular in the United States in the years immediately following the Revolution. One evidence of this popularity is the desire of many Americans during that period to learn the French language.

Richmond had its share of French people who came in during the period of the American Revolution and who remained here, some earning their living by teaching school. Other political refugees from France came during their Revolution, settled here in Richmond, and entered the field of education.

"To Richmond belongs the pulmary distinction of founding the first

academy of sciences and arts in English America having the scope of L'Academie des Sciences et des Beaux-Arts des Etats Unis!"<sup>26</sup> This academy was begun by Chevalier Alexander Marie Quesnay de Beaurepaire.

Quesnay de Beaurepaire came to Virginia in 1777 wishing to distinguish himself as a soldier in the American Revolution. He was the "grandson of Dr. Quesnay, famous French Philosopher, economist and court physician of Louis XVI."<sup>27</sup>

Sir John Peyton, a colonel of the Gloucester Militia, welcomed this former captain of the Royal Guards of Louis XVI to Virginia and presented him to Governor John Page. His army career did not last long because he lacked funds, his letters of recommendation were lost by the carelessness of the Governor's clerks, and he had a long, serious illness. During his illness he lived for two years with the Peytons in Gloucester at their home, "Isleham".<sup>28</sup>

With the suggestions of John Page and others in his mind, Quesnay de Beaurepaire set out for Philadelphia in 1780 to establish his academy in the capital city of the United States. Minus his letters of recommendation and without enough funds, he arrived in this war-weary city to compete with other Frenchmen already established there as teachers. Although his curricu-

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<sup>26</sup>Meagher, Margaret, Education in Richmond, p.19.

<sup>27</sup>Gaines, Richard Howard, "Richmond's First Academy Projected by M. Quesnay de Beaurepaire in 1786", p.4.

Virginia Historical Collection, XI (1892) p.4.

<sup>28</sup>Roberts, John G. "The American Career of Quesnay de Beaurepaire," The French Review, XX (1947), May, pp.463-464.

lum included languages, music, drafting, cartography, portrait painting, and drama, he was not too successful. Part of his work was the presenting of a French play at the Southward Theatre, but his dramatic activities soon stopped because of Philadelphia's laws prohibiting dramatic performances. As his aims in Philadelphia were not realized, he moved to New York.<sup>29</sup>

New York was not interested in fine arts; therefore Quesnay de Beaufort began to think of Richmond as the ideal place for his academy of fine arts. By 1785 he was in Richmond laying plans for his large academy: The Chevalier gives a description of the city he chose for his academy:

Richmond from its situation about 39th degree of longitude and 37th degree of latitude and by the easy approach of vessels up to the walls of the Academy (on Shockoe Hill), seems to offer the most suitable place in America to establish a general botanical emporium. The seasons of the year there make their influence regularly felt; the winter is just cold enough and the summer warm enough to cultivate what grows in North and South France.

The situation of this city is charming in all respects; its position embraces a valley and two hills, upon one of which stands the Academy. James River at the foot of enclosure (enceinte) forms a superb cascade of about three miles long. Transportation will not longer be interrupted in this place because of the use of a canal of a league in length now under construction, which will render the river navigable 80 leagues above this capital of Virginia.<sup>30</sup>

Prior to the opening of the large academy, Quesnay had a small school here in Richmond. An advertisement in the September 24th, 1785 edition of the Virginia Gazette said:

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid, pp.464-466.

<sup>30</sup>Richmond Academy of Arts, The Academy of Sciences and Fine Arts of the United States of America, p.10.

The schools of the Academy, dancing among them, are to be held opposite the Bridge, until the Academy is completed.<sup>31</sup>

Soon the Frenchmen showed "ill-disguised irritation over the lack of serious-mindedness of the Richmond people who are inclined to encourage none of the branches except dancing."<sup>32</sup>

The motives of the founder of this Academy are best expressed in his own words:

I saw . . . . the advantage . . . . of multiplying, under circumstances as interesting as those of the birth of a Republic, the relations of France with the Republic, and of uniting it to my native land of new motives of gratitude, of conformity in tastes and of the most interesting communication between the individuals of two nations.<sup>33</sup>

Through subscriptions about twelve thousand dollars was raised, and a site on Shockoe Hill was purchased. This block became known as Academy Square and was bounded by the streets known today as Broad, Marshall, and Twelfth and extended beyond the present College Street. The cornerstone of the building was laid June 26, 1786, in an impressive ceremony led by Masonic Lodge 13. The Virginia Gazette of June 28, 1786, recounts the event:

Last Saturday the Ancient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons met in their new hall at 8 a.m., were properly clothed and walked from thence in possession to Shockoe Hill under a salute of cannon, for the purpose of laying the foundation stone of Quesnay's Academy, being met by the trustees of the undertaking.<sup>34</sup>

The building was a frame structure on a brick foundation. Botanical

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>The Richmond Academy of Arts, op.cit. p.3.

<sup>34</sup>Roberts, op.cit. p.468.



gardens in a formal French setting, which might be studied by botanists from all over the world, were planned.

Because of financial problems Quesnay rented the completed Academy building to Hallam and Henry, a theatrical troupe, and continued his classes in the old building; but supplies for the Academy, such as globes from England, had arrived.

His plans were to make the Academy international in scope with Richmond the center and with branches in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. Quesnay secured the support of many of the leading people of the day, both in the United States and in Europe. Sarah Bachs, the daughter of Benjamin Franklin, supported the project and wrote to her father asking him to support it. There are listed in Quesnay de Beaurepaire's Memoire one hundred seventy-five people who are supposed to have supported his project. Thomas Jefferson early had misgivings, and soon these turned to disapproval. In letters exchanged between Quesnay and Jefferson, the latter argued that the United States was not ready for an Academy such as Quesnay had planned. Beaumarchais of France refused his support. Quesnay did win the favor of the Paris Royal Academy of Science and of the Royal Society of London.<sup>35</sup>

In 1786 Quesnay went to France to secure more funds for his Academy, and in 1788 he published his Memoires in Paris. One of the original copies is found in the Virginia State Library. He presented a copy of these Memorres to Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette.

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p.469.

While Quesnay de Beaurepaire was still in Paris, the French Revolution broke out; he did not return to this country. He did plan to return, however, and while phamphlet for the Revolution, he signed his name "le Chevalier Quesnay de Beaurepaire, President de l'Academie de Richmond en Virginie."<sup>36</sup>

The Richmond Academy, as the largest building in Richmond, had the honor of being used in 1788 by the members of the Virginia Convention to hold their meeting to ratify the Federal Constitution. By 1800 the Academy had become a theatre; it was destroyed by fire in 1803.

This project, although it failed, went beyond the paper stage. Had Quesnay succeeded in establishing the Academy on the scale conceived, Richmond would have become the intellectual centre not only of the South and a great part of the North, but perhaps of the whole country. The Chevalier was well ahead of his time.<sup>37</sup>

Another Frenchman who became a part of Richmond's educational system was Louis Francois Picot. He was an ardent Royalist who fled from France in 1790. In the United States he is better known as Louis Hue Girardin, Girardin being his mother's name. Afraid that he would be followed to Virginia he assumed this name. For over ten years he was closely associated with early education in Richmond and until his death he was the friend and correspondent of Thomas Jefferson.<sup>38</sup>

Girardin belonged to the group of refugees whose admiration for

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 470.

<sup>37</sup>Gaines, loc.cit. XI, p.11.

<sup>38</sup>Meagher, op.cit., pp.37-38.

the author of the Declaration of Independence reached the point of being a cult. He was a teacher of a type superior to the "vagabonds who went about earning a living combining the teaching of dancing and French and sometimes drawing, earning for their country a reputation of lacking serious purpose."<sup>39</sup> In America he considered himself a true American and tried to keep alive the interest in learning which he had brought with him. He was always fond of books and study. Prior to his coming to America he had done some literary work.

When he came to America, he taught for a time at Georgetown College in the District of Columbia; then in 1803 he took a professorship in history at William and Mary College. While there he continued his literary work. One book he started was the Amoenitates Graphical, written in both French and English. In 1805 he started a translation of the Revolutionary Annals of France, which he never completed.<sup>40</sup>

In 1805 Girardin moved to Richmond and advertised in 1808 that he had taken over Haller's Academy and had reduced the tuition. When the cornerstone of the Richmond Academy was laid in 1809, Girardin's pupils marched in the procession. In his Richmond school he offered Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Civil and natural history. Charles Fremont taught French composition. Mrs. Girardin, the former Polly Greenhow of Williamsburg, took care of the female pupils and taught them ornamental arts. The school occupied

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<sup>39</sup>Phillips, Edith, Louis Hue Girardin and Nicholas Gown Dufief and their Relations with Thomas Jefferson, p.3.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., pp.3-4.

the house that was formerly the home of Mr. Edmund Randolph.<sup>41</sup>

While in Richmond Girardin was the sole editor and joint proprietor of the Richmond Enquirer.

In December, 1811, tragedy struck when the Theatre fire caused the death of his wife and only son. He might have lost his life if he had not left the theatre that evening for a smoke.

Because of this he left Richmond and for a while he taught near Staunton. He continued to do some writing for the Richmond Inquirer.

L. H. Girardin's best known literary work is his completion of the fourth volume of Burke's History of Virginia. This was done under the close supervision of Thomas Jefferson. John Dailly Burke was killed in a duel with M. Cocquebert in 1804, after completing only three volumes of his history. The fourth volume was started by Skelton Jones, who was also killed in a duel after completing only sixty-three pages.<sup>42</sup>

Later in 1821 Girardin went to Baltimore to be principal of a college. At the time of his death in 1825 he was President of the Maryland Academy of Science and Literature. It has been said, "he brought to the New World the best of the Old."<sup>43</sup>

Another large scale project was attempted in Richmond by a Swiss gentleman named d'Ivernois, who proposed in 1794 to transplant to Richmond the College of Geneva. He considered the moral climate of Switzerland un-

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<sup>41</sup>Meagher, op.cit. pp. 38-39

<sup>42</sup>William and Mary Quarterly, V S.2. p.98.

<sup>43</sup>Phillips, op.cit., p. 55.

favorable. Thomas Jefferson favored this idea and even gave some financial support, but it was to fail.<sup>44</sup>

From 1787 to 1824 a Welshman by the name of Fitzwhyllson kept a school in Richmond. During the Revolution he was a member of the band of Lord Cornwallis's army; he settled in Richmond after the war. In his school he taught English, mathematics and bookkeeping. Not only did he teach school, but he played several musical instruments and kept a bookshop at the corner of Main and Pearl Streets.<sup>45</sup> His interest in music caused him later to found the Musical Society, which gave concerts in the Tambark Hall at the corner of Main and Pearl Streets.<sup>46</sup>

An old gentleman by the name of Monsieur Joseph Bonnardel, who had fled from France at the time of the French Revolution, taught French lessons privately. He wore at all times old court costumes which showed he had known better days. Mordecai asserts that he kept every article of his clothing that he had brought from France with him no matter how old or how worn it was. He was too proud to ask for assistance. Every movement of his body was stiff and angular and operated like a machine. His home was a small wooden house on Grace Street west of Fourth. Bonnardel imagined every handsome pupil who was old enough to be in love with him. "The old man rather lived to love than loved to live."<sup>47</sup>

James Ogilvie, a Scotsman, kept in Richmond a classical boarding school for boys over fifteen. Among the subjects offered were rhetoric, logic and

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<sup>44</sup>Meagher, op.cit., p.33.

<sup>45</sup>Pearl Street is now Fourteenth Street.

<sup>46</sup>Meagher, op.cit., p.35.

<sup>47</sup>Mordecai, op.cit., 1st.ed., p.134.

Scotch metaphysics. The community looked upon Ogilvie as an eccentric, and he was reputed to use opium.

On certain Sunday afternoons he gave moral and educational lectures on such subjects as "the Evil Effects of Luxury" and "Juvenile Education." The good people of the city made so much fuss that he changed his lectures from Sunday to Saturday. The people in the Gazette called his lectures a "gross and open profanation . . . . Instead of listening to lectures we should be qualifying ourselves for future felicity."<sup>48</sup>

Ogilvie also had his pupils given public examinations at the Capitol, a form of juvenile torture of the time. He also had his pupils attend the Burr trial in Richmond.

About 1820 Ogilvie returned to Scotland to assume his ancestral title, Lord Finlater. Soon after this he killed himself because of a failure in elocution. He was noted for his love of elocution and his ability and he deserves some credit for improving the taste of public speaking in Richmond.<sup>49</sup>

Previously I mentioned that L. H. Girardin took over the Haller Academy in 1808. It was incorporated in 1807 by a Swiss gentleman, C. S. L. Haller. Among its trustees were such men as John Marshall and W. H. Cabell. The curriculum was wider than that of the other local schools. Art and music were a vital part of instruction.

The faculty of this school included L. H. Girardin, who later took over the school and Charles Fremont.

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<sup>48</sup>Meagher, op.cit., p.42.

<sup>49</sup>Little, John P., History of Richmond, p.17.

Dr. Haller stressed the ornamental without neglecting the practical. He exalted the importance of educating the taste of the young ..... Nevertheless he had excellent ideas, some of them today the common places of education.<sup>50</sup>

Fisher in his History of Monumental Church states that Haller ran away from Richmond.<sup>51</sup> Mordecai called him an "impudent adventurer." <sup>52</sup>

These are the most important immigrants of the period who have had a part in creating an educational system in Richmond.

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<sup>50</sup> Meagher, op.cit., p.41.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Mordecai, op.cit., 1st. ed. p.203.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE GERMAN MIGRATION TO RICHMOND

When Richmond became the capital of the Commonwealth, there were already some Germans here in the city. This number was increased by a portion of the Hessian troops, who were brought over here by the British to fight the Americans during the Revolution and remained here to become citizens of this new country.

The German subsidiary troops, - the "d'....d Hessians," as they were called in Virginia - were only the involuntary unfortunate victims of an abominable bargain, which the English King had arranged with covetous German Princes.<sup>53</sup>

Thousands of these Hessians were captured during the Revolution, and a portion of them were brought to the Old Dominion to be held prisoners.

The German Virginians were much grieved by the deplorable part their captured countrymen were destined to take in the War of Independence, and the modern slave trade of German soldiers was most severely condemned by all intelligent people of Germany.<sup>54</sup>

In all the prison camps the Hessian troops were encouraged to desert. The officers were separated from the men, so that the troops could

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<sup>53</sup>Schuricht, *op.cit.*, I, p.112.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, I, p.115.



be more easily persuaded to join the American forces. Promises of "thirty Spanish dollars hard money,"<sup>55</sup> and the use of musicians, loose women, and liquor helped persuade many of the Germans to desert.

When the war was over, Congress offered many advantages to these German soldiers who cared to remain in this country. The German Princes, who had sent their men over here, gladly consented for many of the officers and men to remain, as they wished to reduce the number in their armies at this time.<sup>56</sup>

On February 8, 1783, the Duke of Brunswick issued an order directing the reduction of his army, and giving the officers and men permission to remain in or return to America, and granting those who did so six month's pay. Each captain was to receive an allowance on being retired, of \$15; a first lieutenant, \$8; a second lieutenant, \$6.<sup>57</sup>

One of the Hessian soldiers who settled in Richmond was Joseph Darmsdadt, who Mordecai heard, came to this country as a sutter with troops that were sold by his prince.<sup>58</sup> He was one of those who escaped the perils of war and on December 6, 1784, he declared his intention to reside in the Commonwealth of Virginia and took an oath of allegiance.<sup>59</sup> Tradition says that Joseph Darmsdadt was captured and as a prisoner was taken to Charlottesville where he early dreamed of a life in the New World.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid., I, p.148.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., I, p.149.

<sup>57</sup>Enlking, Max Von, The German Allied Troops in the North American War of Independence, p.265.

<sup>58</sup>Mordecai, op.cit., p.110.

<sup>59</sup>Ezekiel, Herbert T., and Lichlenstein, Gaston, The History of the Jews of Richmond from 1769 to 1917, p.29.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid. p.27.

Soon after settling in Richmond, he opened a market and proved himself to be a shrewd man. Many Germans had settled in the Blue Ridge Valley, and Darmsdadt's knowledge of the German language "attracted many of the farmers who drove their wagons to Richmond, laden with the products of the dairy, the mill, the forest, and the chase."<sup>61</sup> He lived in the market place and received their goods. His social disposition attracted the select members of society to his market. Almost all of Richmond's citizens went early to market to get supplies for their homes, and Mr. Darmsdadt always kept a large pot of coffee, which he prepared himself, before the fireplace to serve to his friends, the judges, lawyers, doctors and merchants of Richmond.<sup>62</sup> Many prominent citizens met here to hear the news. "Its proprietor retained it and its customers some thirty or forty years, until his death."<sup>63</sup>

It will be observed from the foregoing that the citizens of Richmond instead of feeling bitterly towards the Hessians as a people, received with open arms those who had the good fortune to become acquainted with American ideas.<sup>64</sup>

There were many other German names in Richmond by 1788. The list of members of the Amicable Society included "Wm. Schermer, J. Kemp, Joseph Darmsdadt, J. Kerr, A. Leiper, Samuel Myers, Jas. Marx,"<sup>65</sup> and others. Some of these Germans, who came in this early period, were attracted by letters written home by the former Hessian soldiers describing Virginia. So many

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<sup>61</sup>Mordecai, op.cit., p.110.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid, p.111.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>Ezekiel, op.cit., p.27.

<sup>65</sup>Schuricht, op.cit., II, p.20.

Germans were in Virginia by the end of the eighteenth century that "on December 23, 1794, House of Delegates of Virginia resolved to publish in German the most important laws of the State."<sup>66</sup>

The majority of Germans who came to Richmond in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century were leaders and were interested in education. Even as late as 1840, according to the census of Virginia, one twelfth of its population could neither read nor write. The Germans, though, had had their parochial school since the days of Governor Spotswood.<sup>67</sup>

Some of these Germans brought new ideas to Richmond. W. S. Ast, a Prussian by birth established in 1794 the first Mutual Assurance Company against fire in Virginia. Mr. Ast's office was near the corner of Franklin and Governor at Thirteenth Streets. He was "a small, shrivelled, wizenfaced man, who looked as if he was the descendant of the mother of vinegar."<sup>68</sup> His secretary in business was Louis M. Rivalain, a Turk, but not a Mohametan, and an accomplished clerk, but not a handsome man.<sup>69</sup>

William Ast brought the plan of fire insurance from Prussia, and was able to extend his plan widely to Norfolk, Petersburg, and Fredericksburg, as well as in Richmond. Every person paid a certain quota of insurance on the value of his house. Extensive fires in these cities, as so many of the houses were frame, exhausted the first quota of premium. Other payments were required, and some refused to pay. The company went through hard times, but it is still in existence today.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., I, p.143.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., II, p.253.

<sup>68</sup>Mordecai, op.cit., p.253.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid.

<sup>70</sup>Schuricht, op.cit., II, p.24.

A German, who is almost a legend in Richmond, is the fisherman, Widewilt. He used Rock Landing, a small island that had been formed in the James River by a severe ice freshet, as a resort for oyster boats and small crafts. Many people expected this island to disappear as it had been formed. "The courageous work of the German fisherman calls forth admiration and has surrounded his name with romance."<sup>71</sup>

These Germans, who came to Richmond, had their affect on the religious life of the city. During the years 1837, 1838 and 1839, several families from Bavaria arrived who had been accustomed to the German mode of worship. There was at this time only one Jewish Synagogue in the city, which was called the Congregation Beth Shulome. About 1840 some twenty families were organized into a society for religious purposes and held their services at the home of Mr. Meyer Angle. Soon more immigrants arrived, and a synagogue was built on Marshall Street near Sixth. In 1848 the Synagogue, Beth Ahaba, on Eleventh Street near Marshall, was dedicated.<sup>72</sup> Not only was the Hebrew religion well represented, but there were also Catholic and Lutheran churches.

After this large migration, which included the family of J. Brauer, V. Hecher, C. Liewer, and others, Richmond became the center of German life in Virginia. Celebration of German national events were held in the city. The German Virginian citizens hoped these celebrations would demonstrate to their countrymen the strength of the German element here and give them more national self confidence. They hoped also to create more understanding of

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid., II, p.27.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., II, p.29.

German mores among the Anglo-American citizens of Richmond.<sup>73</sup>

Some of the Germans who came to Richmond about the middle of the nineteenth century were fanatics, who cherished the idea of Germanizing America. This number was small but active for a short while, and set up an organization called "The Free German Society." This society caused suspicion and criticism among the other citizens in Richmond. Herman Schuricht, who came to Richmond in 1859 from Germany, gave an account of this organization in one of his books.<sup>74</sup>

It was about 1850 when a certain Mr. Steinmetz came to Richmond and made energetic efforts to organize a "Freie Gemeinde." He was assisted by brewer Richter, of the Chimborazo Brewery, Mr. Kempe, Mr. A. Rich, two Mess. Tempel, Mr. Steinlein, etc. Several meetings were held at Monticello Hotel, where Steinmetz addressed the members on their principles of Free-thinkers. A great deal of animosity was aroused, particularly among their countrymen, by the hoisting of a "red flag" over the meeting house, and this demonstration brought down on them the appellation of "Die Rothen" i.e. "the Reds." In the early part of 1851 Steinmetz was advised to shake the dust of the city off his feet if he did not desire to be subjected to complications peculiarly disagreeable to himself, and he heeded the advice. With his disappearance the whole movement was wrecked.<sup>75</sup>

Jealousy of the German's success in Agriculture, industry and commerce and the demonstrations in public festivals of the love of Old Fatherland increased the ill feelings with Anglo-Virginians. Germans held mass meetings demanding equal rights in the City Council. A leader in this movement was C. R. M. Pohle, who was born in 1821 at Delitsch, Prussia, came to

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<sup>73</sup>Ibid., II, p.31.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., II, p.33.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., II, p.36.

New York in 1844, and moved to Richmond in 1852. In Richmond Mr. Pohle was appointed Pro-Sector of the anatomical department of the Richmond Medical College and also filled the position of Drum Major of the First Virginia Regiment. He wrote two dramas and some poems which were severely criticized.<sup>76</sup>

As Richmond had such a large German population, there were several newspapers published in the German language. In 1853 B. Hassel, who was born in Cassel, Hussia, founded the Richmond Anzeiger. In 1900 it was the second oldest Richmond newspaper in existence. It had many difficulties, and at times its owner acted as editor, compositor, printer, and distributor. Herman Schuricht published a daily newspaper called Die Virginische Zeitung, which soon went out of existence because of the Civil War. Reverend Hoyer, pastor of the German Evangelical St. Johannes Church, published a paper called the Beobachter, a weekly paper which existed only a short time as it was so poorly supported.<sup>77</sup>

The Germans of Richmond established certain social associations such as "the Vocal Musical Association," "the Theatrical Society," and "the Social Turnverein." As these immigrants were also interested in dramatics, three German amateur theatres were developed.<sup>78</sup>

Certain German immigrants here spent part of their time writing to Germany to encourage others to come here. Frederick A. Mayo, a native of Oederan, Saxony, published a book in 1850 encouraging migration to Virginia

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<sup>76</sup>Ibid., II, pp. 37-39.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., II, p. 40.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., II, p. 56.

and West Virginia in Richmond, Virginia. In his book Schuricht tells about one of Mayo's letters.

An Immigration Society was organized in Richmond to cooperate with the Emigration Society in Massia, Saxony. He also states that the engineer Ernst Kurth, born at Koelln near Meissen, and residing in Richmond, had been authorized to give his countrymen all information they might ask about Virginia; that he had been employed upon the recommendation of Dr. Cabell by the Society for the construction in Virginia and that the plan of the Danville railroad bridge across the James river near Richmond and other architectural works were drawn by Mr. Kurth. No visible traces, however, are left of any noteworthy results of the Saxon-Virginian colonization enterprise.<sup>79</sup>

By 1860 the German element in Richmond's population represented nineteen per cent of the whole population.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid., II, p.56.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., II, p.53.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE IMMIGRANTS IN COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

Not only prior to the Revolution, but for several years afterwards, the supplies of goods imported into Virginia were handled chiefly by Scotch, English and Irish merchants. Quite often the principals of these mercantile houses resided in Great Britain, and the Junior partners conducted their business in Virginia. Usually young clerks were ordered not to marry Virginia girls, as it would weaken the central organization. This tended to prevent social intercourse with Virginian planters, and sometimes caused the merchants to form connections with disreputable characters and to form habits of intemperance.<sup>81</sup>

The merchants prior to the Revolution had drawn many of the planters far into debt, and during the Revolution there was a cessation of trade which caused prices to rise on imported goods and prices to go down on produce. To save planters from ruin and to punish Tory merchants, an act was passed confiscating British debts. The affect of this disappeared when peace came, and the British merchants kept the monopoly of the trade in Richmond for many years after 1783. Some of these young British merchants de-

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<sup>81</sup>Hordecai, op.cit., p.26.



cided to stay in Richmond and gave up their promises not to marry Virginia girls.<sup>82</sup>

One of the most important Scotch merchants was John Allan, the foster father of Edgar Allan Poe. He was born in 1780 in Irvine, Scotland, and received his formal education there. At the end of the eighteenth century prior to emigrating from Scotland, the Allans and Galts, another family of Richmond merchants, were petty traders and smugglers. John Allan's formal education was aided by a gift of keenness and a familiarity with the forms of business correspondence, legal papers, and accounts.<sup>83</sup> His letters show him as a man of "decided and astute personality, not without a pleasant and softer gleam here and there, but only too often with the glitter of steel and an affected piety."<sup>84</sup> In his youth he had been left an orphan, immigrated to Richmond and worked with his uncle, William Galt, a rich Scotch merchant.

William Galt had a prosperous mercantile and tobacco business in Richmond and over seas. He was said to have accumulated by his death one of the largest fortunes in Virginia.

Mr. Galt's generous and native clannishness were the mainstay, the hope, and the means of final gratification of a host of squabbling, poor Scotch relatives.<sup>85</sup>

In the same counting house with John Allan was another young Scotchman, Charles Ellis, who also had relatives living in Richmond in the trading business. After serving for some years in Mr. Galt's business,

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid., pp.27-29.

<sup>83</sup>Allen, Hervey, The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe, p.23.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., p.24.

John Allan and Charles Ellis established a partnership in a general mercantile and trading business to be carried on both by sea and land. Their most profitable business was the buying and selling of tobacco. Their two uncles, William Galt and Josiah Ellis, probably backed them either by capital or sufficient credit to establish their business on a firm basis.<sup>86</sup>

The store called "Ellis and Allan" was on Thirteenth Street.

The firm dealt in everything under the sun, and would do or perform anything which was profitable and ostensibly lawful. Peace could not satiate nor did war abate the infinite variety of their correspondence and their ways of gathering pence.<sup>87</sup>

The war of 1812 did not stop their trade, but they continued to get goods and news to and from Scotland.

In addition to the great item of tobacco (in which most of the imported merchandise purchased from the firm of Virginians was paid for in kind) the partners dealt in wheat, hay, maize, corn, meal, grains, fine teas and coffees, cloth, clothing of all kinds, flowered stuffs, seeds, wines and liquors (especially Philadelphia claret); outfitted slaves, supplied plantations with agricultural implements, nails and hardware; chartered ships and coastwise schooners; imported tombstones, - and, as a side issue, were not above trading in horses, Kentucky swine from the settlements and old slaves whom they hired out at the coal pit till they died. The concern also advanced money; dabled occasionally in city real estate ..... It was on the whole a thrifty, a Scotch, and sometimes a sordid atmosphere in which Charles and his partner moved.<sup>88</sup>

Mrs. Philips, who lived in Richmond at this same time and was known by the Allans, was a milliner from Scotland. It was in her home that Mrs. Poe, with her children, boarded. Mrs. John Allan and her friend, Mrs. William

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid. p.27.

Mackenzie, visited Mrs. Poe and her children at Mrs. Philip's home and assisted Mrs. Poe by bringing her food. Mrs. Philips was said to be from a well known Scotch family.<sup>89</sup>

One of the best known of the business men in early Richmond was Joseph Gallego, a native of Malaga, Spain, who was born in 1768 and died in 1818. Joseph Gallego was of noble birth, and it is said that he was connected with the family of the famous Count Ferdinand de Lesseps, who was responsible for the construction of the Suez Canal. He came to Richmond with Mr. John Augustus Chevallie of Rochelle, France; they continued to be friends and married sisters, the daughters of Mrs. Mary Magee.<sup>90</sup> He lived in the square that was bounded by Fifth and Sixth and Main and Cary Streets. His home was called "Moldavia."<sup>91</sup>

When he came to Richmond in the latter part of the eighteenth century, he became a shopkeeper of general merchandise and ship chandlery. He set up the Gallego Mills in 1789, and his flour was unrivalled in the Spanish, European, and South American markets.<sup>92</sup>

Mr. Gallego and his wife attended the theatre in Richmond the night of December 26, 1811, and Mrs. Gallego lost her life in the fire that night. Mr. Gallego escaped by leaping from a window after his wife was lost.<sup>93</sup>

John A. Chevallie, the friend of Mr. Gallego, came to Richmond soon after the Revolution to collect the claims of Baron de Beaumarchais and to be an agent for Penet, Dacosta, Brothers, co-partners and merchants

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<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>90</sup>Munford, George Wythe, The Two Parsons, p. 445.

<sup>91</sup>Weddell, Alexander Eilbourne, Richmond Virginia in Old Prints, p. 88.

<sup>92</sup>William and Mary Quarterly, II, 3-2, p. 156.

<sup>93</sup>Munford, op.cit.

in the town of Nantz, France. He had been brought up in the anti-revolutionary days of the French society. Baron de Beaumarchais had furnished large quantities of arms and supplies to the United States during the Revolution, and Mr. Chevallie was trying to collect over eleven thousand pounds from the State of Virginia.<sup>94</sup>

In 1803 he issued a petition to Governor Page on behalf of the family of Baron de Beaumarchais.

Your knowledge of the eminent service of Mr. Beaumarchais to this country will make you commiserate for the suffering of his Representatives who are unable to discharge his debt and support their families if kept much longer out of this money.<sup>95</sup>

The company of Penet, Dacosta, Brothers, had shipped military stores to Virginia for use in the Revolution. In 1791, the General Assembly passed a decree to pay the debt.<sup>96</sup>

Mordecai says about Chevallie's work of collecting debts, "After many years of constant exertion, he succeeded in his object at last if my memory serves me."<sup>97</sup>

Prior to 1804 Mr. Chevallie had been appointed as Inspector of the Penitentiary, and in 1804 he declined the appointment for a second term because of private business.<sup>98</sup>

Among the other Scotch merchants was William Brown, a native of Kirkcaldy, Scotland. He lost his life in the theatre fire of 1811.

In discharging the social duties his conduct was invariably regulated by principles of honour, rectitude and integrity.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>94</sup>Callendar of Virginia State Papers, IX, p.371.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid.

<sup>96</sup>Henning, Statues at Large, XIII, p.323.

<sup>97</sup>Mordecai, op.cit., p.101.

<sup>98</sup>Callendar of Virginia State Papers, IX, p.403.

<sup>99</sup>Burton, Lewis, W.History of Henrico Parish and Old St.John's Church, p.499.

Nathaniel Dunlop was a native of Ireland and came to Richmond as a young man. As a merchant in Richmond, he acquired success and a good reputation.<sup>100</sup>

Archibald Freeland was a successful tobacco manufacturer of Richmond and an exporter. He was born in Glasgow, Scotland, and died in Richmond in 1849.<sup>101</sup>

Each of these business men was part of the life of the city. Another was John Lester, who was born at Saul, in Great Britain.<sup>102</sup>

One of the most respectable of the commercial houses about 1800 was that of McClure, Brydie and Company, which was located near Shockoe Warehouse. When Mr. Brydie, who lived at the south-west corner of Grace and Seventh Streets, died, Mr. John McCredie took his place in the business. Mr. McCredie one night in 1807 was rushing across Capitol Square as there had been a fire alarm. The sentrie hailed him, but either because he didn't hear the call or because he did not heed it, Mr. McCredie failed to stop and the sentry shot and killed him.<sup>103</sup>

Among the small shop-keepers of Richmond was Aubon de la Foret, a Frenchman, who kept a confectionary and candy shop.

Few could compete with the Forester for the palm of ugliness. To look at him and at his sign, you would be apt to think it a misnomer - so little were the man and the name adapted to each other. His nose would have been very prominent, but that it was turned hard-a-starboard, which probably saved it from running afoul

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<sup>100</sup>Ibid., p.436.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid., p.444.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., p.465.

<sup>103</sup>Mordecai, op.cit., p.89.

of other objects. His legs were mismatched, one being exceedingly bowed, which gave him a lee lurch in walking. His eyes stood so prominently out of his head that one might suppose he could see in all directions at once, and his complexion vied in hue and wrinkles with his own dried figs. But with all this lack of "personal pulchritude," as Mr. Rootes termed beauty, Mr. Laforest, as he was usually called, was a worthy, honest, and industrious man, and his children inherited, with his good name, something better than his figure and his features.<sup>104</sup>

Richmond needed its watchmakers, and soon after the city became the capital, James Galt of Williamsburg moved to Richmond and advertised that he would "keep clocks in repair by the year at reasonable rates."<sup>105</sup> There was competition for Mr. Galt in the business of John Reetly from Dublin.<sup>106</sup>

Near the ravine between Clay and Leigh, and Seventh and Tenth Streets, there was a place called the French Garden which served refreshments. This was constructed by Didier Colin and some of his co-exiles from the massacre at St. Domingo. Here lemonade, fruits, and other refreshments were served to visitors of the Garden. It was Didier Colin who owned the land and after his death "some of his surviving partners, thinking that he had for fear of another disaster buried his money, dug up his flower-roots, his strawberries, and other fruits, in their fruitless search for the hidden treasure."<sup>107</sup>

There were several German-Hebrews in the business field in Richmond. Jacob I. Cohen, the elder, settled in Richmond towards the end of

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<sup>104</sup>Ibid., pp. 130-131.

<sup>105</sup>Stanard, Mary Newton, Richmond-Its People and Its Story, p.34.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid., p.53.

<sup>107</sup>Mordecai, op.cit., 2nd ed., p.221.

the Revolution. Cohen and Isaacs, afterwards became a prominent firm. Jacob I. Cohen left Renish, Prussia, in 1773, fought in the Revolution, and then settled in Richmond as a merchant. By 1787 he and his partner owned the Inn named "Bird in the Hand" which was at the foot of Church Hill. It was one of the oldest hotels. He built up a reputation for stern integrity as a merchant and banker and was honored by his fellow citizens in many ways. In 1794 his name appeared with John Marshall and others who were received as trustees of the Masonic Hall.<sup>108</sup>

Marcus Elcan, another merchant, came to Richmond about 1782 and according to the records owned a slave and one animal, probably a horse, in 1788. He was a member the Richmond Lodge in 1785.<sup>109</sup>

An advertisement of his store came out in the October 11, 1787,

Virginia Gazette.

Marcus Elcan, has for sale at his store, a neat assortment of seasonable goods consisting of different colours and qualities of broad-cloaths, with trimmings suitable, coatings, frizes, striped and rose blankets, rugs and flannels ..... Teneriff wigs, Geneva in cases and pigs, porter in bottles, Liverpool salt, and a number, which he will sell for cash, country Produce, and Public Securities, on very moderate terms.<sup>110</sup>

These early Jewish merchants settled here and grew up with the city. Others of these were Mr. Myer Kirkheim, the candle maker; Jacob Mordecai, a merchant, Zalma Rehine, a storekeeper, and Jacob Lyon, a merchant.<sup>111</sup>

Joseph Marx, who was born in Hanover, Germany, came to Richmond

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<sup>108</sup>Ezekiel, *op.cit.*, pp. 15-19.

<sup>109</sup>*Ibid.*, p.21.

<sup>110</sup>*Ibid.*, pp.21-22.

<sup>111</sup>*Ibid.*, p.47.

early in life and entered the mercantile business too. He soon became a merchant of the first class. Although starting business on the narrowest scale, his ventures soon became profitable as well as numerous. Mr. Marx was generous and helped many calls of charity. The Bank of Virginia, the first in this State, was established in 1804 and the Farmer's Bank, which had branches throughout the state, was founded in 1812. Joseph Marx was one of the six directors.<sup>112</sup>

Isaac Leeser came later to Richmond from Neuenkerchen, Westphalia, in 1824 when he was only seventeen. After arriving in the city he attended school and then entered the mercantile establishment of his uncle, Zalma Rehine. Isaac Leeser, like so many of the other immigrants, was drawn to this city by relatives who had already come here. He remained in the mercantile business only five years as he didn't like it. Writing interested him more. He was the founder of the Jewish press in America, a Pioneer of the Jewish pulpit in the United States, translated the Bible and became an author and publisher. The journalist, John Hamden Pleasants, helped him to receive recognition as a writer by opening the columns of his paper to him and by drawing public attention to his work.<sup>113</sup>

Gottfried Lange tried many fields of interest after coming to Richmond in 1837 from Erfurt, Prussia. He was a shoemaker and a poet. After his arrival in Richmond, he worked for sometime as a common laborer on the James River Canal. When he had saved some money, he established himself as

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<sup>112</sup>Ibid.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid., pp. 54-55.



a shoemaker, pruned vines, and at last opened a wine and beer saloon. In 1851 he founded, because of his great interest in public affairs, the organization of the "Teutache Kranken-gesellschaft zu Richmond," which in his presence celebrated its fiftieth anniversary on October 19, 1891.<sup>114</sup>

The coal mines near Richmond drew immigrants. Mr. Heinrich, the outstanding mining engineer of his day in the Richmond field, was born in Germany and was graduated from Frieberg (Germany) School of Mines. Arriving in Richmond in 1850, he practiced as a Civil Engineer and architect and taught drawing in the Richmond schools. Although he later left Richmond to work in salt mines in Canada and to conduct a mining and mechanical institute in Drifton, Pennsylvania, at his death in 1886, his body was buried in Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond.<sup>115</sup>

Many others came to Richmond prior to 1860 to enter the industries and other businesses. There are in the Richmond courts records of these immigrants applying for citizenship. There were watchmakers, storekeepers, confectioners, shoemakers, merchants, tailors, tavernkeepers, cabinet-makers, segar makers, and many others. Each of these with their families played an important part in the life of the growing city.

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<sup>114</sup>Schuricht, op.cit., II, p.41.

<sup>115</sup>Wadleigh, F.R., The Story of the Richmond, Virginia, Coal Fields and its Development, pp.29-30.

## CHAPTER V

### IMMIGRANTS IN THE PROFESSIONS

The immigrants brought their religion and sometimes their ministers with them. The Catholic religion was not represented by a priest prior to 1791 as there were few, if any Catholics, in Richmond. During the Reign of Terror in the French Revolution many Catholic priests fled to the United States, and one of these was Abbe Jean Dubois. He landed in Norfolk in July, 1791, and came to Richmond. Father Dubois had letters from Lafayette to many prominent people and families in Virginia - James Monroe, the Randolphs and the Lees.<sup>116</sup>

When the Catholic priest arrived in Richmond, the General Assembly was in session and invited him to celebrate Mass in the Hall of the House of Delegates. The present capitol building had just been completed, and it was here that the first Catholic Mass was offered in Richmond.<sup>117</sup>

During his short missionary work in Richmond, Father Dubois supported himself by teaching the French language, and he himself was taught English "by a no less illustrious personage than the great Patrick Henry himself."<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> A Priest of the Diocese, The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond, p.38.

<sup>117</sup> Keiley, A.M., Memoranda of the History of the Catholic Church in Richmond, Va., Since the Revolution, p.5.

<sup>118</sup> A Priest of the Diocese, op.cit., p.39.

Father Dubois left in 1792, but he was followed in 1798 by Father T. C. Mongrand, who was the first regular stationed priest in Richmond. When the law was passed in 1798 requiring all aliens to register, Father Mongrand was the first to register at Richmond, Virginia.

His letter was dated "Shillelah" December 18, 1798. He gave his age as fifty-four years; his place of nativity Tonnay, France; his occupation minister of the Roman Catholic Church; his place of residence "Shillelah".<sup>119</sup>

Father Xavier Michel (sometimes called Miguel) followed him in 1811. He was a French secular priest belonging to the Fathers of the Faith, and was formerly Canon of Toulonse. Father John McElroy was sent to help him, and they served until 1813.<sup>120</sup>

Joseph Gallego, the Spanish merchant of Richmond, left at his death in 1818, a thousand dollars for the support of a Catholic Chapel. In 1821 Mr. Southgate, a Scotchman by birth, and one of the most prosperous merchants in Richmond at the time, gave the Catholics a small organ.<sup>121</sup>

By 1848 there were enough German Catholics in Richmond to have their own priest. The first one was the Reverend Mr. Braun, who came in 1848 and first said Mass in the Cathedral preaching at intervals in German. Later these Germans moved their services to a house on Marshall Street on the southwest corner of Sixth.

In 1850 Father Braun left, and he was succeeded by a German Jesuit, the Reverend Mr. Palhuber. He was greatly respected and loved.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>119</sup>Ibid., p.40.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid., p.5.

<sup>121</sup>Ibid.

<sup>122</sup>Keiley. op.cit., p.11.

German Catholics of Richmond are noted for their devotedness, and especially for the number and excellence of their pious and charitable sodalities.<sup>123</sup>

As early as 1791 there was a German Hebrew Church, Beth Shalome. This church followed the Portuguese form of organization which was strange to the German immigrants. Later another synagogue was built on Marshall Street near Sixth. In 1848 the present synagogue Beth Ahaba was dedicated.<sup>124</sup>

The German Lutheran Church did not have an early beginning in Richmond; the majority of early Lutherans were in the rural areas. In 1844 a representative was sent to Richmond to see if there were enough prospective Lutherans there to encourage missionary work. The minister received a little encouragement, but it was many years before there were enough Lutherans in Richmond to organize a congregation. In 1851 John Samuel William Schmogrow, who had come from Prussia in 1849, was sent to Richmond. He established a church which was dedicated in 1854 but survived only a short time. The minister resigned in 1855 and went to Ohio.<sup>125</sup>

There were in Richmond two Scotch ministers who were the best of friends and who were loved by Richmonders. One of these was Reverend John Buchanan of the Episcopal Church. He was born in Scotland in the year 1743 and graduated as Master of Arts at the University of Edinburgh.

The man upon whom a degree of that sort was conferred in those days possessed rather more of the general knowledge which appertained to that high degree, than is acquired by the superficial skimming and cramming which enables one to obtain such a degree

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<sup>124</sup>Schuricht, op.cit., II, p.29.

<sup>125</sup>Cassell, C. W., Finch, W.T., and Hankel, Elon O., editors, History of the Lutheran Church in Virginia and East Tennessee, pp.110-111.

in too many cases in more modern times <sup>126</sup>. He became, therefore, a close student.....<sup>126</sup>

John Buchanan, who had planned to practice law, gave up the idea and instead, came to Richmond to join his oldest brother, James Buchanan, who was a merchant in the City. Another brother, Alexander, too was here with James Buchanan. John Buchanan gave up commerce and returned to England to study the ministry, coming back to Richmond just as the Revolution started.

At first he could not get an Episcopal church and became a private tutor. His study of law and his short time spent in commerce helped him in his work in the ministry. After tutoring for a while, he assisted Reverend Mr. Selden, who was the Rector of the Parish of Henrico. At the death of Reverend Selden, John Buchanan succeeded as Rector of the Parish.<sup>127</sup>

Reverend John Dunburrow Blair was a Presbyterian. He was of Scotch descent, but he was born in this country. His father was Reverend John Blair, and his mother was the daughter of an English merchant named Dunburrow.<sup>128</sup>

These two Parsons, as they were called, not only were close friends but officiated at the same church on alternate Sundays. In a letter to Parson Blair a friend wrote:-

The Rev. Mr. Buchanan, of the Episcopal, and the Rev. Mr. Blair, of the Presbyterian church, who were linked together in a very warm and intimate friendship, officiated alternately, according to the forms of their respective churches. On one Sunday, the people were Presbyterians in external appearance, and the next they

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<sup>126</sup> Munford, op.cit., p.29.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., pp. 30-31.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., p.35.

were Episcopalians in aspect; but still the same.<sup>129</sup>

The Episcopal vestry of the Henrico Parish had passed a decree permitting Reverend M. Blair to preach at St. Johns' Church in Richmond every other Sunday.<sup>130</sup>

Parson Buchanan never married, and at the death of his brother, James, he received enough money to live in comfort the rest of his life. Parson Blair did marry and had to depend upon his salary from his church and school to support his large family. His friend helped him out by giving him all the clerical fees he received from marriages or christenings.<sup>131</sup>

These two friends died only a few months apart. Parson Buchanan died at eighty in December, 1822.<sup>132</sup> His friend, Parson Blair, died January, 1823, at sixty-four.<sup>133</sup>

The first Methodist meeting house in Richmond was built in 1799 at the Northeast corner of Nineteenth and Franklin Streets.<sup>134</sup> From an article by the Reverend Doctor A. G. Brown we learn:

- The house was ... of brick, fronting thirty-five feet on Franklin Street, and running back forty feet in a line with Nineteenth Street... . This ... was formerly set apart to the worship of Almighty God in the year 1800, when there were only twenty-eight white Methodists in the city, and these for the most part not of the native population but immigrants from England and elsewhere.<sup>135</sup>

These immigrants took part not only in religion but also in the field of medicine. Dr. James McClurg was the son of an English army sur-

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<sup>129</sup>Ibid., p.36.

<sup>130</sup>Ibid., p.44.

<sup>131</sup>Ibid., p.52.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid., p.452.

<sup>133</sup>Ibid., p.455.

<sup>134</sup>Weddell, op.cit., p.32.

<sup>135</sup>Weddell, op.cit., pp.32-33.

geon and settled in Richmond in 1783, residing first at Tenth and Bank Streets and later at Sixth and Grace Streets. He was not only active as one of Richmond's leading medical practitioners, but he was active politically as well. Dr. McClurg served as a member of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, was three times mayor of Richmond, and served as first president of the Medical Society of Virginia.<sup>136</sup>

Another doctor of Richmond about 1800 was Dr. Cohen, a physician and surgeon from Hamburg, Germany.

Dr. William Fouches was educated at Edinburg and served as physician and surgeon in the Revolution. He took up his residence in Richmond after the war and became the city's first mayor. Although he served in the House of Delegates and was a member of the Priory Council, he also practiced medicine in Richmond until his death in 1835.<sup>137</sup>

John Brockenborough, Jr., graduated in medicine in Edinburgh in 1795 and became one of Richmond's prominent physicians. He built the house which became the White House of the Confederacy. Later he deserted medicine for banking.<sup>138</sup>

About 1860 the medical profession in Richmond was well represented by Germans such as

Doctors M. A. Rust, Wilhelm Grebe, Garwenzel, Th. Bolde-  
mann and Deutsch, and by the druggists O. A. Strecher,  
Julius Fischer, H. Bodecher, L. Wagner, J. Kindervater  
and Zaehrissen, who although a Swede by birth, asso-  
ciated with the Germans.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Richmond Capital of Virginia Approaches to Its History, p.233.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., pp. 232-233.

<sup>139</sup> Schuricht, op.cit., II, pp.48-49.

Some well known writers came to Richmond during this period. Among these were John Thompson Callender, "a well educated Scotchman, an able writer and a great sot."<sup>140</sup> He was employed by the editor of the Examiner in promoting the election of Thomas Jefferson and entered fully the field of Federalists' and Republicans' arguments. John Callender was an able writer, whether drunk or sober.<sup>141</sup>

A foul-mouthed, foul minded creature by the name of John Thompson Callender, - a Scotchman who had been obliged to flee his own country for political offences - drifted to Richmond, and the Republicans unable to resist using his facility for calling names, they were ashamed to call themselves permitted his abusive articles to disgrace their organ - The Examiner.<sup>142</sup>

He was tried in 1800 under the Alien and Sedition Acts for libelling President Adams, found guilty and sent to jail. The trial in Richmond was a farce except to Callender. The Judge lost his temper, and during the trial the Council for the Defense dropped the case. Callender's sentences were nine months in jail and a two hundred dollar fine.<sup>143</sup>

While in jail, he continued to write, and his article "Richmond Jail" appeared in The Examiner. In jail he wrote a volume of his book entitled The Prospect Before Us; some say Thomas Jefferson aided him with the book by sending him one hundred dollars.<sup>144</sup> In his book he described Mr. Adams as a "hoary-headed incendiary who floated on a mere bladder of popularity; and never opened his lips, or lifted his pen without threatening and scolding."<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Mordecai, op.cit., p.165.

<sup>141</sup> "Party Violence. 1790.1800," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXIX, p.175.

<sup>142</sup> Stanard, op.cit., p.80.

<sup>143</sup> Cook, John Esten, Virginia A History of the People, p.483.

<sup>144</sup> Stanard, op.cit., p.80.

<sup>145</sup> Cook, op.cit., p.482.



After Jefferson was elected president, John Callender was released and tried to get something in payment for his service. As he failed, he changed politics, and Mr. Jefferson immediately became his target.<sup>146</sup>

This Scotch blackguard in the course of a few months became the most outrageous opponent of his former friends. Securing an interest in the Recorder a Richmond paper, he poured forth a constant stream of the foulest calumny and abuse. No name and no subject was sacred from the attacks of this drunken scoundrel. It seems strange that the man of the generation so ready with the pistol as they were, should have allowed Callender to live a day after some of his publications.<sup>147</sup>

As long as he lived, Callender's ability as a writer was at the use of anyone who could pay for it. He died of drowning; he fell into Shockoe Creek while drunk.<sup>148</sup>

The only foreign born person to be offered the candidacy of Vice-President of the United States was Albert Gallatin, who was born in Geneva, Switzerland. His full name was Abraham Alphonse Albert Gallatin. In April, 1780, in company with a friend, he left Geneva secretly and came to America. Prior to leaving Switzerland, he had been a pupil of Johannes von Mueller, and the Elector of Hesse, a classmate of his, had offered him a position in his cabinet. He came to Richmond to collect claims. Although he could speak little English, his talents were soon discovered by Patrick Henry and other leaders in Virginia.<sup>149</sup>

When he first came to Richmond, he boarded in the home of Mrs. Allegne and fell in love with her daughter. At first Mrs. Allegne refused to allow her

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<sup>146</sup> "Party Violence, 1790-1800", loc.cit., p.179.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Mordecai, op.cit., p.165.

<sup>149</sup> Schuricht, op.cit., II, p.14.

daughter to marry Mr. Gallatin, but later consented.<sup>150</sup>

Later Mr. Gallatin occupied the residence on a square between Leigh and Clay Streets. He made the statement that Richmond was more fascinating to him than Boston.<sup>151</sup>

Mr. John Marshall advised Mr. Gallatin against becoming a lawyer and advised him to spend his time studying statesmanship and finance. He followed this advice and later was a member of the United States Senate, Secretary of the Treasury, and Ambassador to France and England.<sup>152</sup>

In a letter written in 1848 to the Virginia Historical Society he recalls with pleasure his experiences in Richmond expressing it "with all the warmth that age gives to its recollection of youth."<sup>153</sup>

One of the Scotch lawyers of Richmond was John Warden, who lived at the corner of Franklin and Fifth Streets.

He was one of the best read and worst featured, most good tempered and most ill formed; but among the most well informed of the Richmond bar - his mind and body were a bundle of contrasts. His ugliness was so attractive and so strongly marked, that the boys used to amuse themselves in drawing likenesses of his short thick figure, crooked legs and satyr-like features on the walls of the court room. But his talents, wit and humor compensated for the externals, in which nature had been so niggardly.<sup>154</sup>

Mr. Warden, who always retained his Scotch accent and Scotch allegiance, looked contemptuously on Republicanism in its infancy and on its rebel representatives. During one of the sessions of the Legislature, he

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<sup>150</sup>Ibid., II, p.19.

<sup>151</sup>Ibid., II, p.20.

<sup>152</sup>Ibid.

<sup>153</sup>Adams, Henry, The Life of Albert Gallatin, p.53.

<sup>154</sup>Mordecai, op.cit., p.82.

he was reported to have uttered rude remarks about that body. He was told to apologize or go to jail.

The sarcastic Scot assumed the prescribed humble position, and thus apologized: "Mr. Speaker, I confess I did say that your honors were not fit to carry guts to a bear - I now retract that assertion and acknowledge that you are fit." Then slowly rising, he brushed the dust from his keens, - muttered " a dommed dirty hoose," made his bow and retired, amid the mirth and mortification of the members and bystanders.<sup>155</sup>

Phillippe S. Peticolas, an artist who made his home in Richmond, was the son of a veteran soldier, Colonel Nicholas Peticolas, and was born at Megieres, France in 1760. He painted from life a miniature of George Washington. As a young man, he served in the army under the Prince of Deux. After leaving the army, he went to San Domingo to take possession of an estate left him by a deceased brother. In 1790 he came to America locating first in Philadelphia. It was during the latter part of his life that he acquired proficiency in the art of miniature painting. Persuasion from John Gallego helped him decide to settle in Richmond in 1805. By 1840 he was a member of the well-known St. James' Episcopal Church.<sup>156</sup>

The United States received many immigrants from 1775 to 1860. Richmond, Virginia, received only a small share of these, but this group was important to the growth of the city as I have tried to show by telling of some of the important citizens of Richmond who migrated here.

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<sup>155</sup>Ibid.

<sup>156</sup>Brock, R.A., "Virginia's Past in Portraiture", William and Mary College Quarterly, II (July 1893) pp.31-32.

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